German Writing, American Reading
German Writing, American Reading

Women and the Import of Fiction, 1866–1917

LYNNE TATLOCK
For Joe
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When in 2007 Rochester University launched its online destination for “readers, editors, and translators interested in finding out about modern and contemporary international literature,” the site was polemically named “Three Percent.” Three percent corresponds to the estimated percentage of all books published in translation in the United States. As further noted on the website’s home page, the total number of books of poetry and fiction amounts to a much lower percentage of the total titles published, that is, around 0.7%.¹ We, however, mistake past American reading if we draw conclusions based on the present state of things. In the Gilded Age a significant percentage of books published in the United States consisted of books in translation, and Americans read internationally even at a moment of national consolidation after the divisive Civil War. A subset of Americans’ international reading—nearly a hundred original texts, approximately 180 American translations, more than a thousand editions and reprint editions, and hundreds of thousands of books strong—consisted of popular German fiction written by women and translated by American women. The adventures of this fiction in the United States concern us here.
This study emerges from a glimmer of an idea I had longer ago than I care to remember. It only gradually became feasible as I returned to it intermittently over many years and began to uncover information that I had not previously suspected existed, in particular, the historical record left behind by the three translators, Ann Mary Coleman, Annis Lee Wister, and Mary Stuart Smith. I would like to thank three former graduate research assistants, Shelly Stumme Schrappen, April Seager, and especially Alyssa Howards, who early on aided me in assembling material and locating archives that were to become critical to my work. Since their early work, I have been aided in various ways and in various phases of this project, thanks to the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, by research assistants including Amy Cislo, Benjamin Davis, Anne Fritz, Magdalen Stanley Majors, Faruk Pašić, Shane Peterson, and Brooke Shafar.

When I began the task of assembling and managing a database that currently holds nearly 1,000 detailed entries, I turned to the Humanities Digital Workshop at Washington University. Under the able supervision of Perry Trolard, the assistant director of the workshop, student fellows and assistants, including Stephen Aiken, Catherine Coquillette, Erika Deal, Linda Donaldson, Courtney LeCompte, Anna Leeper, Ervin Malakaj, Corey Twitchell, Petra Watzke, and Magdalen Stanley Majors, helped compile, enter, and find ways of managing and visualizing the data. Maggie deserves special recognition for her work in cleaning up the data in preparation for generating the graphs included in this book. I thank all of these student researchers for so willingly sharing my enthuasisms during their time working with me. I am greatly indebted to Stephen Pentecost, who designed the template for data entry, generated the graphs in chapter 1 and in Appendices C, D, and E, helped prepare scans for the black-and-white illustrations, and otherwise assisted Perry Trolard in guiding the student teams in the Humanities Digital Workshop. Perry’s successor in late 2011, Douglas Knox, immediately provided invalu-
able support by, among other things, pointing me toward the online historical database of the Muncie Public Library. Sabbatical leave promised by then Dean of Arts and Sciences Edward S. Macias and subsequently granted by Acting Dean of Arts and Sciences Ralph S. Quatrano allowed me the time I needed in the academic year 2009–10 finally to make sense of and give form to the data I had collected over the years.

I gratefully acknowledge the following libraries and archives for the permission to quote from materials from their holdings and their librarians who facilitated my access to this material: John Jordan Crittenden Papers Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky; Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University; Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; College of Physicians of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Rare Books and Manuscripts at The Ohio State University.

I am obliged to many friends and colleagues who offered encouragement and advice along the way, among others Lisabeth M. Hock, Jana Mikota, Renate Schmidt, Jim Walker, and Alexandra K. Wettlaufer. Lorie A. Vanchena deserves special appreciation for her supportive reading of a draft of the manuscript. I thank Kirsten Belgum for many a stimulating conversation about the project and the challenge of transatlantic scholarship. My dear friend and colleague Michael Sherberg provided a patient and willing ear and eye, optimism, and good advice from start to finish. Most of all, he was always ready to share my excitement and give me an occasional push.

I would also especially like to thank Sandy Crooms, Senior Editor at The Ohio State University Press, for supporting and shepherding the book and Maggie Diehl for overseeing the copyediting of the manuscript. The anonymous readers for the press offered useful suggestions and asked helpful questions that inspired my final revisions of the manuscript. It has been a privilege and pleasure to work with the staff at the press.

Finally, I am grateful to my husband and colleague, Joseph F. Loewenstein, who was interested in the project from its earliest beginnings, asked hard questions, and saw to it, when the data became so extensive, that I worked with the Humanities Digital Workshop at Washington University. Without our many years of conversation, this work would likely have been a different one. I dedicate this book to him with love and gratitude.
PART ONE

German Writing, American Reading
Introduction

Made in Germany, Read in America

I n 1905 Otto Heller, professor of German language and literature at Washington University in St. Louis, considered the work of German women writers mostly outside the “legitimate domain of letters.”1 As Heller discredits one author after another in his comprehensive essay on German women writers, one reason for his vehemence becomes usefully visible for the present undertaking. Much of this disdained work belongs to what Heller terms “amusement fiction.”2 His English label renders the derisive German term “Unterhaltungsliteratur,” the bane of late nineteenth-century German intellectuals who sought a national literature of pretension and who found popular fiction suspect, in part because it was often written by women and principally read by women. Still more detrimental to the project of German national literature and its international reputation was the popularity of this fiction—not only in Germany but also in America, where Heller had settled on the Mississippi as an arbiter of all things German for his university and the local community. Heller deplored the “widespread though unpardonable American ignorance of contemporary German literature.”3 One reason for this ignorance, he believed, was the ready availability of American translations of this shoddy German amusement fiction.4 A certain Mrs. Caspar Wister, a translator who plays a central role in my account of American reading and German cultural transfer, met with his particular disapproval. Her American renderings of German authors had served, Heller grumbled, as the conduit through which a clichéd and false view of German womanhood had entered American culture.5
Writing in a moment of national canon formation in imperial Germany, a canon that excluded most women writers, Heller, with this critical essay, participated in the segmentation of reading that was taking place internationally at the turn of the century. Yet the translated German books he despised had circulated in America for nearly four decades in a somewhat less divided reading culture. Even if in the postbellum literary field, as Richard Brodhead argues, three strata of literary production, corresponding roughly to the later categories lowbrow, middlebrow, and highbrow, were in the process of segmentation and institutionalization, American readers continued to read across these divisions. As “light” or “wholesome” reading, translated novels by German women belonged to Americans’ eclectic reading, marketed and enjoyed side by side with novels now considered literary classics. These translated books rewarded virtue and upheld marriage while entertaining readers with plots that sometimes shared elements of sensation fiction. Widely advertised, sold at a broad range of prices, available in multiple translations with different publishers of varying reputation, variously reviewed, and appearing prominently in the holdings of public libraries, they became standard, reliable, and popular American reading, enjoyed, recommended, and even esteemed by American readers up to the First World War.

Over the course of this study I will have occasion to return to Heller, for his backward glance at the nineteenth century speaks eloquently to the project at hand, if not precisely in the manner he intended. If he worried in 1905 that a feminized view of his country, its people, its literature, and its culture had penetrated more deeply and broadly into American habits of reading than had the male-authored literary work that he favored, he was not far from the mark.

When in 1892—just over a decade before Heller wrote his essay—W. M. Griswold compiled a Descriptive List of Novels and Tales Dealing with Life in Germany, translated novels by German women—and in particular the women novelists who will interest us here—predominated. Griswold’s title, moreover, asserted that Americans would learn about life in Germany from reading this fiction, and the editor stated his intention to make certain that readers could use the list to be reminded of “superior old books, equally fresh to most readers,” that might serve this purpose. By “old books” he meant the fiction of the preceding forty years. This meritorious fiction could and should endure, he thought. Although, he feared, such books were often read only a short time after their publication, they remained in libraries accessible to patrons who would surely deem them to be as good as or better than brand-
new works. However, Griswold's notion of "superior fiction" that deserved an afterlife hardly matched the idea that academics such as Heller had of important nineteenth-century German literature; Griswold had a penchant for the popular.

Thirty years later, after assembling a voluminous bibliography of German literature in English translation, another academic, Bayard Quincy Morgan, agreed with Heller, asserting that "the English-speaking public has not been getting a faithful picture of 19th century literary production in Germany." Likewise, in 1935, in her study of the reception of German literature in England and America, Lillie V. Hathaway bemoaned "this indiscriminate vogue of third-rate writers or less at a time when Keller, C. F. Meyer, Raabe and Fontane were hardly noticed." Although they observed the American rage for certain German novels, neither Morgan nor Hathaway investigated the phenomenon further, assuming that by pointing to economically motivated pandering to the "taste of the multitude," they had said all that needed to be said. Hathaway in fact could not contain her scorn for the "'Gartenlaube' ladies" and their American readers. She not only made factual errors in her account but also, as a researcher in an era in which popular reading was not taken seriously in the academy, offered unexamined opinions and value judgments about this literature. Unfavorable reviews of these novels were, in her estimation, those that recognized "their true value," that is, their lack of literary merit.

My study starts where Morgan and Hathaway stopped long ago; it investigates not the German literature that Americans should have been reading in the view of academics and cultural pundits interested in highbrow literature, but rather some of the novels they did read in a period in which "everybody [read] more or less daily." This was a German literature that seeped into American culture via popular reading in translation; it brought with it a host of beliefs and values that reinforced and sometimes expanded the boundaries of American domesticity, upholding marriage with emotionally satisfying stories in which wedlock is often embedded in an idea of nation. In translation this literature forfeited many of its national cultural valences only to highlight, as points of international entry, the plots with their inevitable happy endings, emotional appeal, and social and moral messages. Still, many of the novels were known to be "made in Germany" and sometimes they therefore sold.

In focusing on popular fiction, I follow William St Clair's call for the broader study of reading, found in his seminal work on reading culture in England in the romantic period. "Any study of the consequences of the reading of the past ought to consider the print which was actually read," St Clair
Part One, Chapter 1

maintains, and “not some modern selection, whether that selection is derived from judgments of canon or from other modern criteria.” Patterns of reading depend on the availability and the affordability of books. As he demonstrates, tracing print and “understanding how certain texts came to be made available in printed form to certain constituencies of buyers and readers” can aid us in writing a history of reading as it affects cultural formations and—importantly for the present study—cultural transfer.

In the nineteenth-century American case, what Hathaway derisively labels the work of “third-rate [German women] writers” inhabited some of the same publication and reading venues as did that of now canonical writers; they appeared in the same American publishers’ series and in the same American libraries. Interested Americans thus could read German women’s novels alongside English, American, French, and other foreign classics as well as works by the iconic Goethe. A list of “Suggestions for Household Libraries” in *Hints for Home Reading* from 1880 gives a sense of the proximity of books that we might now consider worlds apart. Goethe’s name appears in various categories in the first and second lists but not under fiction. Although fiction is accorded relatively little space on these three lists to begin with, two popular women authors, E. Marlitt and E. Werner, do appear on the third and lowest ranking list alongside German male novelists and the likes of Thomas Hardy, Sarah Jewett, Wilkie Collins, Bret Harte, and other American, British, and French authors, both classic and popular.

While attempting to answer the question of what to read in a world inundated with books of all sorts, *Hints for Home Reading* prescribes, ranks, and categorizes. Even so, it provides readers with some encouragement to enjoy their reading. Offering a tempered consideration of Emerson’s prescriptions and proscription against recent, popular literature, Fred B. Perkins admits in his essay for this volume that these sorts of dicta amount to “a record of what the codifier has found to suit his individual character.” He suggests that if one simply added to Emerson’s rules a mitigating “unless you like,” they would work perfectly well. He thus acknowledges multiple pressures on choices of reading and grants readers some autonomy. Of course Americans did not need to wait for his permission.

Novels of all kinds, sanctioned and otherwise, filled library shelves. Novels by German women often claimed more shelf space than now-recognized German authors of literary pretension. In 1889 a patron of the Chicago Public Library, for example, more readily encountered German culture in novels by Luise Mühlbach than those by Goethe. The prolific Mühlbach was represented there by eleven novels; Goethe, who had only written four novels to begin with, by only three. Some American readers—such as Emerson—of
course had a keen sense of the cultural and intellectual pretension of reading Goethe and may have reached first for Goethe and then only Goethe; for others, reading Goethe did not necessarily preclude enjoying the highly accessible and entertaining Mühlbach.

In conceiving of these translated books as American products and American reading, I adhere to the descriptive turn in translation studies that views such works as “‘facts of the culture which hosts them’ and as agents of change in that culture.” A review of finding lists and catalogues of public libraries across the United States from the period 1870 to 1917 reveals that these books had indeed been naturalized as artifacts “of the culture which hosts them”; the libraries routinely list them alongside American, English, and other novels in translation, that is, not according to their national origins but as “English fiction” or “English prose fiction.” These catalogues in no respect mark any of the translated books as foreign literature, whereas holdings in narrative fiction in the foreign language in which it was originally written are so designated and overtly separated from “English fiction.” Available American translations occasionally overlap with available works in the original German, but often they do not. In 1907, for example, those patrons of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh who could read both English and German could have enjoyed ten novels by the perennially popular E. Marlitt and one by Goethe in either language under the alternate labels of “English Fiction” and “German Fiction.” Patrons, however, had access to Fanny Lewald’s Die Erlöserin (translated as Hulda) and Wilhelmine von Hillern’s Arzt der Seele (translated as Only a Girl) and eighteen novels by Mühlbach only in translated works listed under “English Fiction.”

The great bulk of North American translation of German fiction and of the publishing of new and reprint editions of these translations occurred in the Gilded Age, coinciding with years in which the greatest annual output of titles in the United States was uniformly fiction. Fiction maintained the largest share of titles through 1916, not to be surpassed until 1917, when books and editions in the category of religion and theology moved into first place. The great American book historian John Tebbel identifies a “great fiction boom” that began in the early 1870s and reached its zenith between 1890 and 1914, when reading fiction in America was “something of a mania,” or, as W. D. Howells put it, the novel was “easily first among books that people read willingly.” The American audience was enormous. As Mary Kelley emphasizes, “by the 1840s America had the largest reading audience ever produced due to high literacy rates among white men and women early in the century.” Ten years later publishing was, in Kelley’s words, “becoming ‘big business.’” In the antebellum period women and girls sometimes
only sheepishly admitted to reading novels, but they read them nonetheless, moving “back and forth across a wide spectrum of literature.”  

After the Civil War popular novels became ever more standard reading, often overtly marketed specifically to women and girls and hardly to be kept from them. With ornamental covers and in various handy sizes, novels were designed to be displayed and not hidden as forbidden fruit. Postbellum publishers, in search of a profit, stimulated and fed Americans’ voracious appetite for novels in various ways, sometimes with foreign food, some of it German.

From 1865 to 1917, as contemporaries frequently noted, hundreds of thousands of German books circulated in the United States, both in the original German and in English translation. Reacting in 1869 to this boom in German letters in America, the Christian Examiner supposed that books such as E. P. Evans’s history of German literature, Abriß der Deutschen Literaturgeschichte, would interest “a public numbered by millions, and . . . be sent to all parts of the land.” As the reviewer further observed, no bookstore was “so small or so remote that German books [did] not make part of its stock, and help in its profits.” The presence of these many books in the everyday life of American readers has, however, not typically been accorded much attention in mainstream American literary and cultural histories. Just as Heller feared the contamination of German national literature by such popular literature, Americans, who were creating their own national literature and its still very short story, had reason to turn a blind eye to international reading.

In his recent study of German and American literature, Hugh Ridley presents a compelling case for structural similarities between the development of the national literatures of Germany and the United States and at the same time demonstrates how national literary studies can be rethought by comparative study. Eschewing influence studies, Ridley focuses instead on what he identifies as parallel developments, in particular, during the formative years of the growth of both nations: in Germany, the anticipation and formation of empire; in the United States, the struggle of a young democracy for cultural literacy with the special problem of the postbellum years in which the nation had to be rethought and knit together again. As Ridley argues, these “nations needed national literature”; that is, both nations sought “major writers, figures who would impress other states and bestow identity and prestige on the nation.”

As Ridley outlines concerning the American side, the national project led both to encouragement of American writing in the nineteenth century and to an exclusionary focus on that writing afterward in the creation of national
literary history. Those pundits concerned with forming that canon of internationally impressive national work increasingly made judgments according to aesthetic criteria while summarily and scornfully dismissing popular writing. At the same time, Ridley observes, American readers and publishers presented an unruly obstacle to American efforts toward producing a national literature of pretension, since the actual practices of these readers and publishers were guided not necessarily by national interests but rather by such concerns as pleasure and profit. Popular reading in the Gilded Age therefore often ran counter to the aims of those who wished to promote national literature. American readers, Ridley maintains, read internationally and in translation—just as their European counterparts did.

Ridley’s observation about the internationalism of the “reading nation” is generally absent from American accounts of this period of nation formation, which focus on American production or which, when they do take a broader view, tend to expand the focus only to British literature that influenced American production. Useful basic scholarship does, however, exist on German culture in America. I have turned repeatedly in the present study to the information assembled in Morgan’s weighty Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation (1922). Henry A. Pochmann’s voluminous study of the philosophical and literary influences of German Culture in America (1957) also provides useful information on translation, as does his collaborative volume with Arthur R. Schultz, Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940. In 1935 the above-mentioned Hathaway revised and expanded her painstakingly researched dissertation, an account of English and American reception of nineteenth-century German literature. Here she includes some of the same reviews that figure in my research but, as noted above, has little regard for popular novels by women. Robert E. Cazden’s A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War provides a meticulous account of books published and/or reprinted in the United States. All of this work emerges from the realm of German studies; scholarship in book history and print culture based in American studies, however, has hardly taken notice of it, let alone the material it treats.

While studies in nineteenth-century American literature, reading, and book culture long focused largely on cultural materials originally written in English and particularly those of American origin, some recent trends in American studies support a broader view. Inspired and supported by the work of Werner Sollors and Marc Shell, scholarship that emerged from new interest in multiculturalism in the 1990s, American studies has especially since 2000 begun to look beyond its traditional Anglophone focus to examine literature written in the United States in languages other than English. This
innovative work makes a case for rethinking American literature as polyglot and emerging from a mix of immigrant and native cultures. Sollors’s collection of essays *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature* (1998), Shell’s anthology *American Babel: Literatures of the United States from Abnaki to Zuni* (2003), and M. Lynn Weiss’s *Creole Echoes: The Francophone Poetry of Nineteenth-Century Louisiana* exemplify scholarship that attempts such new approaches to American studies. Shell and Sollors institutionalized this multilingual reframing of national literature in 2000 with *The Multilingual Anthology of American Literature*, a polyglot reader containing original texts with English translations intended for instructional purposes. Sollors’s inclusive reader of *Interracial Literature: Black-White Contact in the Old World and the New*, in turn, disrupts the national paradigm and moves toward an idea of world literature whose thematic transcends national boundaries, making available in the English language literature never before translated into English. The founding of the online *Journal of Transnational Studies* in 2008 in the wake of Shelley Fisher Fishkin’s presidential address on the “transnational turn” likewise harbingered new framings and impulses. In that same year, in the vein of global studies in the new millennium, Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine reconceived the field so as to de-center the U.S. nation and counter the idea of American exceptionalism with their anthology, *Hemispheric American Studies*. In the particular case of German culture in America, Sollors pointed in 2001 to German language writing in the United States as an opportunity and challenge to rethink American studies. His coedited volume with Winfried Fluck, *German? American? Literature? New Directions in German-American Studies* (2002) answers his own challenge as the second book in his New Directions in German-American Studies, an undertaking that has, among other things, supported translations and editions of German and German-American writing of interest to American studies. Sollors’s work remains one of the few impulses emerging from American (as opposed to German) studies in the United States to rethink American national literature by including the German element.

Despite these and other important new impetuses, nineteenth-century American studies tends to overlook the significance of the foreign contingent to American publishing and reading—with the exception of books in English from Great Britain. Even Sollors’s richly inclusive coedited *New Literary History of America* surprisingly does not accord much attention to international reading or multilingual America. Recent important projects in American book history—book history by its very nature having the potential to be more
inclusive than literary history—also omit the publication, translation, and reading of foreign books in the United States. Volumes 3 and 4, the pertinent volumes of the newest history of book publishing in the United States, *History of the Book in America*, for example, pay no attention to books in translation, and translation itself scarcely merits mention as a subject heading in the index of either volume.44 The older book histories by John Tebbel likewise accord scant attention to the phenomenon of translation, publishing, and reading of foreign books, although Tebbel at least acknowledges it.

Meredith McGill’s *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853*, with its interest in literary property and cultural production, importantly argues against understanding literary culture as national, pointing instead to the emergence of classic works of mid-nineteenth-century American authors “from a literary culture that was regional in articulation and transnational in scope.”45 Nevertheless, McGill understands transnational in this study only in a limited sense; that is, transnational refers to books written in English and thus to the British-American cultural axis: American reading of books written in other languages, unauthorized translations of books written in languages other than English, books written in America by immigrants in languages other than English, and American foreign language presses that reprinted books written in languages other than English play no role in her analysis. McGill’s anthology *The Traffic in Poems* likewise aims to contribute to “transatlantic literary study” as a challenge “to the reflex sorting of literary texts according to the national identity of authors,” yet here too that challenge is not framed in terms that make it as great as it might be, consisting as it does largely of examination of British and American texts, that is, mostly texts originally written in English.46 Yet in its recognition of “social and cultural systems that operate beneath and beyond the nation-state” and in its assertion of the importance of women to transatlantic cultural transfer, McGill’s project encourages the present undertaking.47

In short, American studies appears to have forgotten—or at least to consider unworthy of investigation—what nineteenth-century Americans themselves knew: many foreign texts were available in translation in the United States, and their fellow Americans enjoyed reading them, even sought them out, in their leisure hours. In later historical accounts of these periods, especially the German books under scrutiny here lent themselves to multiple marginalization: they were popular, foreign, read in translation, authored by women, and largely consumed by women. Yet, as Ridley asserts of both popular literature and women’s writing, “these ‘books’ and the authority they exert over the imagination” were “a force to be reckoned with throughout the century on both sides of the Atlantic.”48
Nineteenth-century America of course had a large population that could read German books in the original as a result of immigration and education. Some of the works examined below were also reprinted in German in the United States in German-language newspapers and in book editions for an immigrant population and were available in the original German at public libraries and even on newsstands from coast to coast. Moreover, some popular literature by women—Wilhelmine von Hillern's *Höher als die Kirche*, for instance—was edited for the purpose of teaching German in American schools and colleges. Teachers considered popular literature more likely to appeal to a young audience than weightier German writing, thus providing an attractive payoff for learning conjugations and declensions.

Reading German in the original in America is, however, precisely not what stands at the center of my investigation; the books that figure here are German books read in translation. My project thus concentrates on nineteenth-century American enjoyment of a hybrid product, hybrid because it came to the consumer altered by a process of Americanization. Americanization refers in my usage to “the processes . . . by which Americans took up, responded to, and adapted German cultural material for their own purposes,” that is, the “creative adaptation” of these books as they were translated, published, and marketed. While in twentieth-century German studies “Americanization” signifies the flow of American ideas, values, and products into Europe, here Americanization refers to the “productive re-signification, transformation, or re-packaging of German ideas, values, and products in the United States.”49 I examine these processes even as I also consider the degree to which these translated books could and still did register with the reading public as German. In short, I demonstrate how the translating, marketing, reviewing, and reading of this material could de-center and disrupt the national while still transferring certain elements of national culture. Furthermore, I trace how Americanization of German-authored works in a market culture destabilized authorship. Indeed, books in translation invite us to rethink cherished notions of “individualism and individual creativity,” calling into question the “empathic celebration of a narrowly interpreted uniqueness and originality.”50

IN THE NINETEENTH century the United States notoriously reprinted foreign books. McGill has outlined the American defense of the system of reprinting and the identification of print with public property in the nineteenth century, particularly as articulated in the years 1835–53.51 No law rec-
ognizing the principle of international copyright was passed in the United States until 1891, and indeed, no law with teeth until 1909. In the absence of a legal obligation to honor the rights of foreign authors and publishers, enterprising American publishers could exploit reprints of books by foreign authors to feed the demand in the United States for novels.

Whatever their intrinsic appeal and merit, in this print landscape English novels were especially desirable to publishers as they needed only to be reprinted and repackaged for the American reading public and thus potentially involved no author’s royalties or translator’s honorarium. By the 1860s Great Britain had long been a source of fiction in the form of American (pirated) reprints. While publishers continued to reprint British favorites to expand their catalogues and profit from Americans’ wish for leisure-time reading, some publishers also sought a fresh product in new fiction originally written in languages besides English. Thus Germany began unwittingly to supply America with stories, stories both oddly familiar and pleasantly foreign.

Some American pundits viewed the reading and expanding publication of foreign fiction—including fiction from Great Britain—with suspicion, even alarm, warning against the noxious effects of this foreign entertainment. In effect, they cautioned against what we now call “soft power,” that is, the potential of the attractiveness of entertainment for “shaping the preferences of others.” In 1887 Brander Matthews, for example, objected in nationalist tones: “It is not wholesome . . . for the future of the American people that the books easiest to get, and therefore most widely read, should be written wholly by foreigners . . . who cannot help accepting and describing the surviving results of feudalism and the social inequalities we tried to do away with once.” Germany, as portrayed in these novels, did capture reader attention with its enduring aristocratic privilege and crumbling castles, yet it remains to be seen whether the values thus transmitted differed radically from Americans’ own.

Beginning in the 1880s, imperial Germany generated an unparalleled supply of books for American publishers to mine. By 1910, thirty-nine years after unification, Germany could boast 31,281 book titles published in a single year, an output that far surpassed that of other leading industrial nations—for example, France at 12,615, England at 10,804, and the United States at 13,470. In 1913, a year before the outbreak of the First World War in Europe, Germany led the world with 34,871 titles published in a single year. Literature constituted a significant subgroup of these titles. Of the 14,941 books published in Germany in 1880, 1,521 belonged to the category
that included fiction, “schöne Literatur” (belles lettres), that is, 10.2% of the total output; by 1910, that percentage had risen to 13.2% of 31,281 books, a total of 4,134 titles.57

In the Gilded Age in the United States, meanwhile, English works maintained their sizable lead in imported entertainment in the United States, yet the American market also experienced a significant influx of books from Germany, the number of translations from German “humane letters” into English climbing to the three peak years of 1882, 1887, and 1901, each of which logged more than 140 titles. In 1914 translations from German reached a record prewar high of more than 180.58 “More than 140 titles” was a significant number in these decades. A comparison of Tebbel's and Morgan's figures from 1882, for example, yields a rough estimation of new English-language editions of German humane letters as 7% of American literary publication.59 This first peak in 1882 may register the impact of the general growth of the German book industry on American translation and publishing: the previous year, 1881, marked a forty-two-year high in German book production with 15,191 titles.60

Translations of fiction by the seventeen women who figure in my study constitute a highly visible part of the American boom in German humane letters in translation. Figure 1.1 represents the centered five-year moving averages (each bar represents the average of the corresponding year, the two years immediately preceding it, and the two immediately following it) of the total per year of first-time book publication in the United States of translations by these seventeen authors.61 As Figure 1.1 indicates, the appearance of these novels in American translation began with a burst in the late 1860s. Translation and publishing of them thereafter moved forward fitfully with a sharp rise just over twenty years later, then dropped off rapidly at the end of the new century, and nearly ceased altogether after 1903. The greatest translation activity clustered in the long decade centered in 1890–91. Figure 1.2 represents the centered five-year moving averages of the number of total book publications (discrete editions of new American translations and American reprints of translations) of these novels per year in the United States.62 As this bar graph makes clear, the publication and reprinting of translations endured a decade longer (1885–1914) than did translation of new works by these authors, with peaks in the early 1890s and especially the first years of the new century. Figure 1.2, however, only provides a partial picture of the proliferation of reprints since it cannot take account of the undated editions and reprints produced over these years. When undated editions are included, numbers rise significantly. For example, of the 101 discrete editions and reprint editions of The Old Mam'selle's Secret that I have been able
to document, forty-eight have no date and therefore play no role in the tallies
in Figure 1.2.

Below, closer examination of the ramified publishing history of individual
novels offers a more articulated view of the high profile and broad avail-
ability of German novels by women in this period that cannot be adequately
conveyed by numbers alone. As will become clear, the names of many of
these novels and their women authors, even their translators, were household
words with nineteenth-century American readers. This closer scrutiny of the fate of specific works in the United States will also explain some of the lows and highs in the bar graphs shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. The peaks in the late 1860s indicated in Figure 1.1, for example, mark the rapid translation of eighteen novels by Luise Mühlbach, some of which had been written in the previous decade, and the translation of two best-selling novels by E. Marlitt, one of which had first appeared three years earlier; that is, Americans translated successful novels that had, as it were, accumulated. Thereafter, translation of the domestic fiction by German women included in my dataset tended to occur soon after the first publication of these novels in Germany either as serializations or as books. The spikes in translation around 1890, as a further example, have in part to do with the slightly belated discovery by American translators and publishers of Wilhelmine Heimburg and the rapid translation of several of her hitherto untapped novels.

The presence of German novels of all kinds was in any case duly noted by the “literary system,” to use Andre Lefevere’s term for the broader cultural context in which translation occurs, and specifically by the culture of reviewing books and commenting on reading. So prominent were German novels in English translation in postbellum America that the *Christian Examiner* asserted in 1869: “The most popular of all romances, historical, local, of costume and of character, of life in the city and life in the country, are translations from the German.” The translations of novels from German, he further maintained, had begun to dissipate a “delusion about German literature,” namely, that German novels were “generally dull enough to make the romances of James even brilliant in the comparison and that to read one of them was such a punishment as Lowell assigns to murderers in his ‘Fable for Critics,’—‘hard labor for life.’” In short, Americans liked them. In 1874 another reviewer confirmed the American liking for this foreign fiction when he grumbled, “still [*The Second Wife*] is from the German, and will be read.”

In 1895 the *New York Ledger* maintained that German women writers had proven to be the equals of their British and American female counterparts. While *The Ledger* here named women whose works would later belong to the German literary canon (e.g., Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach and Annette von Droste-Hülshoff) as well as prominent women writers whose work was recovered in the twentieth century by second-wave feminist scholars (e.g., Fanny Lewald), the article also honored popular authors. Four German women authors in particular had provided an “exceedingly large public bright and agreeable reading, even if it may be deficient in depth.” Marlitt was “the first of the coterie,” along with E. Werner, Wilhelmine Heimburg, and Nataly von Eschstruth: “Their novels which form a miniature library by themselves have
the knack of interesting readers—a trait which is so often absent in weightier works.” Furthermore, the reviewer maintained, their popularity was attested by their availability in English translation. In other words, American readers had received these German novels warmly, despite what the critics might have had to say about their literary merit.

BEFORE WE TURN to the authors, books, and texts, some final considerations concerning foreignness and its impact on reading are in order, especially since foreignness always remains to some degree in the eye of the beholder. In present-day North America, the case for translating literature into English tends to be based not in assertions of the universality of foreign texts but in deeply held beliefs about the importance of engagement with the Other or, as Edith Grossman advocates in Why Translation Matters, to free us from “our tendency toward insularity and consequent self-imposed isolation” and to “explore through literature the thoughts and feelings from another society or another time. It permits us to savor the transformation of the foreign into the familiar and for a brief time to live outside our own skins, our own preconceptions and misconceptions.” This argument, however appealing, perforce raises the question as to how consciously real readers register the Other when they read fiction in translation. Popular literature in particular may lack or at least lose its national markers when it is read and enjoyed abroad: “under a certain level,” Ridley observes, “popular literature loses any element of national reference and shows itself to be not only international in conception and production, but also both at home in and foreign to every culture within which it is read.” “Transformation of the foreign into the familiar” may therefore be as much a process of appropriating the foreign as acknowledging it.

In what sense, then, does reading a translated text force an engagement with the Other if that other has already been made less foreign through the very process of translation and through subsequent widespread reading and acceptance in a given culture? The degree of engagement necessarily depends on the occasion for reading, the nature of the reader, her education, experience, and reading socialization, and her predisposition toward the cultural information that is mediated in a given text as well as on the cultural surround, the packaging, marketing, and reviewing of the translation.

Current translation theory and practice distinguish between translations that naturalize the original by striving for as fluent a rendering as possible, that is, texts that mask or minimize their foreign origins, and translations that in some respect attempt to preserve the linguistic foreignness and cultural
distance of the original. Lawrence Venuti, for one, has famously argued for “foreignized” translations, translations that deliberately render the translated text alien. Yet while translators can, through their choices, attempt to influence readers’ perceptions of and intellectual engagement with the culture of origin, they cannot control them. As Mary Kelley, Kate Flint, Barbara Sicherman, and other historians of books and reading have demonstrated, real readers have done different things with books and made various meanings with them. In Kelley’s words, “in the space between reader and text, they produced pluralities of meanings.”

While nineteenth-century women translators did not translate with the idea of programmatically highlighting linguistic and cultural foreignness favored by Venuti, there certainly are differences in the translations. These differences range from Annis Lee Wister’s charming preservation of linguistic features of German—deliberate or not—to Mary Stuart Smith’s competent renderings, to obvious misreadings, to clumsy verbatim translations that suggest a lack of versatility in English. Likewise important to the American perception of these novels as foreign were paratextual markers and the literary system in which the books circulated. For a variety of reasons that we shall explore below, the translations occupied different places on a spectrum of foreignness that changed over the course of time.

Nineteenth-century reviews, marketing, advertising, library cataloging, and advice on reading make clear that nineteenth-century American readers could read and were encouraged to understand the “German” in the fiction under scrutiny here variously. German could guarantee German settings, indicating that the novels provided a picture of German history or contemporary life in Germany. In its day, Griswold’s above-mentioned Descriptive List, for example, asserted and valorized the function of novels to mediate “German life.” More subtly, German could indicate to Americans that the novels were rooted in specific values or in a specific mindset or that they reflected taste. American reviews in fact sometimes base clumsy and opinionated attempts to formulate what these elements of Germanness might be in reductive reading of the novels. There is, furthermore, evidence that the designation “German” could serve as a guarantee of a good read—even of a happy ending—because that story was “made in Germany.”

Despite the apparent national specificity of the label “German,” some readers may have read some of this fiction merely as vaguely “not from here,” that is, as European, and thus merely just a little—and thus pleasantly and harmlessly—exotic. At the same time, the more popular the books became, the more frequently they were read, and the more widely available they were as “English fiction,” the more they became a part of American horizons,
the facts of American culture, and thus less German stories than American entertainment. What, then, remained legible to influence readers’ ideas of Germany?

These novels by women were originally written by Germans for Germans in a period of consolidation of German national identity. In Germany the national cultural, often patriotic, references were manifest; abroad, much less so. In considering these translated German texts as repackaged American entertainment, I examine images of Germans and Germany at stages of removal. While most of the novels rendered for American audiences betrayed their German origins in some respect—through their content or their packaging—the ability of American readers (even German Americans) to read a work in translation as did German readers the original was necessarily limited. Nevertheless—and this point was critical to the popularity of this German fiction in America—Americans could experience the pleasure of reading, follow a romance plot, or comprehend a moral lesson without possessing a strong sense of the local historical meanings of a given text. In the end, they could associate what they gathered from their reading with a place called Germany, whether or not their understanding had any basis in fact.

Yet, from the start, some texts invested more than others in urging a sense of place with its attendant history upon readers. Chapter 6 examines eleven such novels, in which German history insistently figures, and proposes what the texts might have communicated to Americans about Germany. However, it is also possible that many readers persistently read past what was for them unintelligible cultural material and instead picked up on elements that resonated more immediately with their own situation and values; in short, their reading may have had more to do with living happily in America than with learning about Germany. We shall thus have repeated occasion to consider the balance between domestication and foreign encounter in reading.

If foreignness depends, as I assert, in part on the eye of the beholder, we must also interrogate the beholder. Who were the Americans who read these nearly one hundred German novels in translation? I will be concerned with readership throughout and yet will not be able to answer questions about readership with complete certainty. Nevertheless, as will become clear, my research overwhelmingly indicates that the translations were marketed to a general Anglophone audience (and not to a niche market consisting of ethnic Germans). They were sold in international lists alongside American, British, and French favorites by mainstream and cheap publishers and reviewed in mainstream periodicals by reviewers who wrote from vantages outside of German and German-American culture. These books circulated, in the
terms of one American advertisement from 1902, as “standard books for everybody.” Even Annis Lee Wister’s translations, the set that was routinely advertised as “from the German,” were repeatedly touted not as books for people interested in Germany per se but as entertaining books from Germany that had been Americanized so as to appeal to American reading tastes. None of the three translators whose activity will be examined in chapters 7–9 was ethnically German, and none of them anywhere remarks on ethnic Germans and certainly not as their potential audience.

Did, however, the massive German emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century make a difference in the circulation and popularity of this reading material? It would be hard to imagine that it did not at some level. For one thing, the above-mentioned import and publication in America of books in the German language meant that American translators had ready access to fiction in German to translate. Wister and her sister translators combed, for example, the popular German family magazine Die Gartenlaube, which circulated widely in the United States, for stories likely to appeal to their American audiences. The cheap editions of Munro’s Deutsche Library, inaugurated in 1881 and aimed at German readers in America and available “at any news stand for a few cents,” as a further example, provided Mary Stuart Smith and her son Harry with the German texts from which to translate for the Seaside Library.

It may be useful to reflect on Munro’s Deutsche Library as a source upon which publishers wishing to cater to the taste of ethnic Germans with works in English translation could have drawn. Forty of the 236 novels in Munro’s Deutsche Library overlap with the ninety-six novels by German women in my dataset. The remainder of 196 works of fiction, eleven of which are international novels translated into German and 145 of which are German novels never translated into English, suggests that if the American publishers of the novels in my dataset had wished to target an ethnic German audience with German books in translation, they would and could have offered a much larger and more diverse set of novels; the genre would by no means have been confined to domestic fiction. The presence of eleven novels in German translation in the Deutsche Library, moreover, underlines yet again that the reading preferences of a particular ethnic group or nation are not uniformly determined by the point of origin of the fiction in question.

Did Americans of German descent comprise a fraction of the reading audience for this translated fiction by German women? No doubt they did, given that between 1870 and 1910, the number of German-born Americans fluctuated between 2.7 and 4.5% of the total U.S. population, and in 1910, moreover, 4.2% of the total American-born population claimed two
parents born in Germany. However, since these translated novels overtly target a general reading public, there is little reason to assume that Anglophone Americans of German descent flocked to them more than they did to beloved English-language novels of a similar ilk. Of the 147 borrowers of the Public Library of Muncie, Indiana, who checked out The Old Mamiselle’s Secret (1891–1902) and for whom census data exists, only five had a parent born in a German-speaking country; two additional borrowers were born in German-speaking countries, Germany and Switzerland. In the aggregate, the other books checked out by these seven borrowers indicate no special preference for books that were German in origin.

Given the complicated and diverse ways in which ethnic origin can shape the preferences of succeeding generations, it is impossible to know whether the descendant of a German family that emigrated to the United States in the 1830s chose in the 1880s to read a “romance after the German” because it was German or because it was romantic. But who was ethnic German, anyway?

The surname of the book owner Amanda A. Durff, for example, may appear to be German. What, however, does this putatively German name signify about Amanda’s reading preferences, and what does it say about her affiliation with a specific ethnic group in the 1880s and 1890s? Amanda may have been the daughter of a father of German descent or the wife of a man of German descent. Neither possibility necessarily equates to a specific interest in things German on her part. But perhaps “Durff” is not German at all, but Swiss, or Austrian. Perhaps it originates in another language group altogether or is a corruption of, for example, Durfee. In short, it is impossible to determine what the surname signifies in the case of this particular book owner. The feminine given name may, however, be more telling, as it corresponds, in the gender codes of the time, to the hearts and flowers covers of the books Amanda acquired. There were in short other, more compelling personal reasons than ethnic origin for American readers to pick up, read, and reread these books in the years 1866–1917.

Indeed, while there is little in the marketing and packaging of these translations signaling their target audience as ethnic Germans, there is ample evidence to conclude that women and girls constituted their chief readers in the United States. This female readership will become ever more visible as we examine the packaging and marketing of particular books, exemplars of books with dedications and signatures, the activity of the women translators, and the character of the books as material objects. Of the dozens of signed books I have examined, very few show signs of male ownership. Even the ambiguous “Billy Phelps,” the name of the owner of one such book, just as likely refers to a woman as a man.
Nevertheless, despite compelling evidence of a largely female readership, I do not mean to assert that women and girls were the only readers, especially of the earliest American translations of novels by Luise Mühlbach, E. Marlitt, E. Werner, and Wilhelmine von Hillern in the 1860s and 1870s. Some readers can of course always enjoy novels targeted at the opposite sex. As late as 1900, “Nelle” presented a copy of *The Old Mam’selle’s Secret* to “Uncle Jay” for Christmas.78 Indeed, both men and women borrowed German women’s fiction in translation from the Muncie Public Library (1891–1902).79 The books themselves were reviewed and advertised in periodicals that provided reading material for both men and women and even in periodicals such as the *Medical Age*, whose target audience was most certainly male. While journals aimed principally at men might have included reviews of these books to suggest to their male readers what books to buy for women, the reviews themselves are not overtly framed in terms of a gendered readership, though such ideas may be implicit, for example, in remarks about the sentimentality of the content. In the case of the historical novels of Luise Mühlbach, it is certain that both men and women read these books. As I note in chapter 7, one of Mühlbach’s translators sent her work to Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, and Andrew Johnson, assuming the interest of prominent men in them. Mary Chesnut records in her diary her husband General Chesnut’s reading of Mühlbach’s *Joseph II and His Court*.80 Still, in 1873 the *New York Herald* characterized Mühlbach’s readership back in Germany as “tender-hearted” women.81

“A Matter of Taste,” from Edith Wyatt’s collection of Chicago stories from 1901, provides a vivid snapshot of reading predilection along the fault line of gender and ethnicity, expressed specifically in terms of some of the German books at the center of my investigation and anticipating the argument I will make throughout about the special emotional appeal to American women of this set of novels from Germany. In “A Matter of Taste” an Anglo-American brother-sister pair view one another’s taste in reading with incomprehension. The pretentious Henry Norris reads foreign literature about the Italian Renaissance aloud to his bored sister Elsie, who in such moments feels that life could not be more vacuous. Elsie, who, the narrator ironically notes with a dig at the snobbish Henry, “had no Standard,” longs instead for *The Old Mam’selle’s Secret*.82 In her preference for Marlitt, Elsie shares the taste of her German friend who lives nearby, the sentimental and musical Ottilie Bhaer, who is reading Marlitt in the original German: *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* and *Die zweite Frau*. In Henry’s view Ottilie too has no Standard. Henry and Elsie must quietly reconcile themselves to their differences, realizing that “in a various world every one has need of a great deal of patience.”83
The affinity between American and German women’s reading so gently portrayed in Wyatt’s short story raises one final question concerning foreignness that must be addressed up front, namely, whether this set of German novels supplied readers with something that fiction migrating to America from France, Spain, Italy, and other non-English-speaking European countries could not or at least did not. A review of two lists of fiction popular in America strongly suggests that this set of German novels in translation did stand apart from other foreign fiction. In 1876 the Publishers’ Weekly assembled a list of 204 novels deemed by American publishers as the most salable. Most of the novels included are English and American. Of the nine German novels named, seven are domestic fiction by women. The twelve French novels on the list comprise works by five male authors—Eugène Sue, Alexandre Dumas (père), Victor Hugo, Jules Verne, and Alain-René Lesage (Gil Blas)—and two women—the by-then standard author Germaine de Staël and George Sand. The only other foreign works to appear are Andersen’s fairytales (Denmark) and Don Quixote, both staples of international reading. The only foreign novels in translation ranking higher than the German Old Mam’selle’s Secret (No. 23) and The Second Wife (No. 27) are Dumas’s Count of Monte Cristo (No. 13) and Hugo’s Les Miserables (No. 20). This list appeared ten years into the period under scrutiny here and thus could not take full account of the book publishing landscape that eventually developed. A second, late-century list of popular literature gives a better sense of what was to come.

Munro’s popular Seaside Library of more than two thousand works, including mainly American and British novels, provides a compelling snapshot of the European literature that Americans liked. Novels by Wilhelmine Heimburg, Fanny Lewald, Marlitt, Mühlbach, and Werner make up the majority of the German books on the list (Goethe is represented only by the play Faust). A review of French authors included in the Seaside Library—Dumas, Verne, Balzac, Hugo, Sue, Gaboriau, Gautier, Aimard, Feuillet, Daudet, Cherbuliez, Droz, du Boisgobey, and Ohnet—reveals that 1) in contrast to the German authors, they are all men, both standard and newly popular; 2) their novels for the most part operate in genres different from the domestic fiction by German women included on the list—science fiction, adventure, historical novel, the “mystery literature” of Sue, detective novel—and 3) on the whole, they offer much racier stuff. We find only a small handful of additional foreign authors in translation, all but one of them staples of late-century international reading and all of them men. These books include works by Cervantes and Andersen as well as the Norwegian author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, the Italian Alessandro Manzoni’s The
Betrothed, two novels by the prolific Polish novelist Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, and surprisingly a couple of novels by the Dutch (and rather obscure) Carl Vosmaer. Other publishers’ lists from the late nineteenth century present a similar picture. If there was French or other foreign fiction resembling the popular fiction by German women, it did not make it to the United States in translation in a highly visible way.

I REMAIN ATTACHED to texts and accord them considerable space in this study. Yet I have informed and constructed my central avenues of investigation with attention to Robert Darnton’s “communications circuit” and thus to the broad context in which books are produced and read. Darnton’s schema conceives of the life cycle of the printed book in terms of the convergence of cultural, social, and economic pressures and networks, that is, as a fraught passage from the author to the publisher, the printer, the shippers, the booksellers, and the readers, each step of which influences the others, including the author’s future production. Translation expands the cycle of production and circulation. I am therefore mindful of the broader context of translating, reading, and publishing and think about the book not only as carrying and shaping texts but also as an object subject to economies of materials, production, and consumption and vice versa. In other words, in contributing to the history of reading in nineteenth-century America and of cultural transfer via that reading, I look at my objects of study both as commoditized books and as texts requiring interpretation and offer a braided analysis informed by the combined approaches of book history and literary criticism and theory. In so doing, I pursue many of the strategies proposed by Darnton in 1986 for a history of reading, that is, the making of meaning from reading. I study assumptions about reading by examining advertisements and marketing ploys. I examine physical evidence of historical reading, for example, inscriptions within novels that indicate how sentimental bonds were formed via books and reading. I employ textual criticism and reception theory to analyze the books and the translator’s adaptations. I evaluate autobiographical accounts of reading and translating. I look at the book as a physical object, at covers, title pages, formats, and illustrations. I consider the numbers of translations of individual books and their availability in public libraries. I also survey reviews as a component of the literary system in which the books are read, and I situate the reading of these books within its social historical context. I have also relied on the rich scholarship in women and gender studies, which has redirected scholarly attention to the marginalized
and the popular and encouraged us to think more complexly about what may, on the surface of it, seem obvious or simple. I have generally avoided hypothesizing a monolithic “woman reader” and instead made visible that this set of books was open to different readings (and misreading) in translation. I have been mindful, too, of the fact that they were read differently as tastes changed.89 But, as I shall argue, these novels did acquire a recognizable profile in America and appealed to and cultivated readers, largely women and girls, who developed a liking for them.

My study consists of three parts. The first section, to which this introduction belongs, along with chapter 2, introduces the principal popular German women authors who were translated in Gilded Age America, the social and economic conditions of women writers in the German territories—and later the empire—in that period, and the role of the liberal family magazine *Die Gartenlaube* in providing opportunity for these women writers and shaping their fiction and ultimately American reading of it. In this first section I supply information that contributes preliminarily to “distant reading” of the American publication and translation of approximately one hundred German novels in America and provide a characterization of these novels in the aggregate as domestic fiction.90

The central section, chapters 3–6, examines thirty-three representative novels. These chapters combine close reading of texts in translation with descriptive analysis of books as industrial products and material objects to parse American reception, namely, what the novels offered that attracted and satisfied readers and what they could in turn take away from their reading as specific to German national culture. Chapter 3 focuses on three novels by the perennially popular E. Marlitt and their penetration of reading culture in the United States. *Gold Elsie* and *The Old Mam’selle’s Secret* helped initiate the vogue of German novels by women and shaped American expectations of these imports. I examine them both as pleasurable reading that combines the titillation of secrets and delayed gratification with “wholesome” messages concerning the practice of virtue and the expression of female subjectivity within domesticity. These novels conform to international, generic expectations of domestic fiction and romance even as they are steeped in German cultural information, having been written originally for a venue supporting German unification and the consolidation of German national identity. A third novel by Marlitt, *In the Schillingscourt*, relies on American characters and stereotypes rooted in Confederate Nationalism and myths of the Lost Cause to construct a German national imaginary. Its entry into American culture presents a rich occasion for considering mutual intelligibility, mis-
apprehension, appropriation, and assimilation. Although it reproduces patterns familiar from the two earlier novels, it also exhibits deviations in the romance plot that captured Americans’ attention.

Chapter 4 examines German novels as American reading from the perspective of the happy ending, an international signature of romance novels and of nearly all of the German novels by women in my dataset. The chapter uncovers and analyzes variations in plotting ritual death and recovery to a state of freedom that characterize these German novels and that appealed to American readers by offering them the vicarious experience of a multiplicity of female subjectivities and female-determined male subjectivities while cautiously expanding the boundaries of home in a place called Germany. I combine analysis of texts with examination of exemplars of books and the history of the book publication of each translated text.

In chapter 5 I identify and describe a significant subset that, paraphrasing Stanley Cavell, I have labeled the novel of remarriage. Deviating from the codes of romance that prescribe unmarried protagonists, these novels feature married—or sometimes betrothed—couples, tracing their breakup and reconciliation as a paean to marriage calibrated to female happiness and agency. The restored marriages project matrimony as emotionally satisfying while also economically beneficial and critical to the stability of the social order. Both men and women achieve maturity over the course of marital strife, the female characters playing a critical role in the reeducation of both sexes and the management of domestic prosperity and felicity. Close reading and book-historical analysis of ten examples, combined with examination of specific exemplars (covers, format, and inscriptions), demonstrate the variations within the genre and their American appeal.

Constructions of masculinity and German ethnicity figure centrally in chapter 6. The chapter examines how domesticated men make of German history family history and how in turn national history makes domesticated men both in Mühlbach’s historical romances, set in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in novels by Heimburg and Werner featuring critical historical events of the 1840s, 1860s, and 1870s. Here I raise anew the question of the legibility of the national context of origin and examine the pleasures afforded postbellum Americans by reading fictions of family crises and national tensions that find satisfying resolution as a result of women’s interventions.

The final section, chapters 7–9, focuses on cultural agents and the making of meaning and consists of three case studies of American translators (and their publishers) who together were responsible for nearly seventy widely circulating translations of German women’s fiction: Ann Mary Coleman, Annis
Lee Wister, and Mary Stuart Smith. Here I reconstruct their cultural labor, their public life in print, and the importance of translation to their lives and sense of self and family. In each case a well-educated daughter of a prominent father found her way to translation as a socially acceptable positioning between domesticity and public life that allowed her to profit from her education and culture. Economic necessity in the wake of the American Civil War pushed the two southerners, Coleman and Smith, to translate but in the end did not entirely define their labors. After the Civil War and the death of her famous father, Senator J. J. Crittenden, Coleman, who, unlike her father, was a southern sympathizer, used her translations to remake connections and regain access to men of power and social circles. Through translation outside of academia with publishing companies that sprang up as the American book trade industrialized and cultivated mass audiences, Smith, a university wife, daughter, and granddaughter, realized ambition that was not encouraged at the all-male University of Virginia on whose Lawn she was born, lived, and died. In the north, the well-situated and publicity-shy Wister, daughter of a famous abolitionist minister, found in translated popular fiction an outlet for her considerable drive and intellect, even as her brother Horace Howard Furness edited Shakespeare and her brother Frank made a name for himself as one of Philadelphia’s leading architects. Ultimately her labor gave birth to a vogue of German novels, and she became perhaps the best-known translator in Gilded Age America.

These translators were also readers. Their translations constitute exemplary instances of making meaning from reading and bear eloquent testimony to the American consumption of popular literature by German women. Coleman, Wister, and Smith had views about the books they selected, views that played a role in determining what German fiction reached Americans and how it was read. Analysis of these views provides a parting, illuminating glance at the assimilation of German novels by women into the North American imaginary as women expanded the boundaries of domesticity.
CHAPTER 2

German Women Writers at Home and Abroad

The North American appetite for entertaining German “romances” was well supplied in the last four decades of the nineteenth century, for despite virulent and enduring prejudice in Germany against women and their artistic endeavors, German women writers of popular fiction had begun to flourish, fostered by changing political, social, and economic conditions. By the end of the nineteenth century, the industrialization of publishing and the emergence of mass markets had made possible the phenomenon of the self-supporting woman writer in the German-speaking world. From 1865 to 1879 women’s magazines, family magazines, and belles lettres experienced a 202.8% growth as a result of an increase in overall reading and women’s reading and writing in particular.

The popular family magazine Die Gartenlaube cheerfully maintained in 1876 that in Germany prose fiction was unquestionably the “natural” territory of “female production.” “It is to be feared,” the author asserted, “that if all the notable authors of today were assembled it wouldn’t be possible to come up with even one gentleman for each lady.” A quarter of a century later, in 1902, Rudolf von Gottschall, who, unlike many German male authors of such national histories, devoted considerable space to women’s writing, acknowledged women’s significant production of novels as a part of Germany’s “national literature.” Yet while Gottschall offered a more appreciative assessment than most of his male contemporaries, he shared some of the common assumptions and prejudices of his times. He observed, for example, in condescending tones that the novel of contemporary life was suitable terrain for “women’s more passive and reproductive talent.”
In America *Lippincott's Magazine* also recognized the growing prominence of women in German fiction writing, observing in 1873 that in Germany the novel had been chiefly cultivated with success by women “whose delineations have gained a popularity in America only less than that which they enjoy at home—in part because the life which they depict has closer internal analogies to our own than to that of England or of France.” These depictions themselves appealed, moreover, because they were “suffused with a romantic glow which has long since faded from those of the thoroughly realistic art now dominant in the two latter countries.” The magazine might have added here that Americans were accustomed to reading and enjoying novels by women; women had written nearly three-fourths of the American novels published in the previous year.

Four women writers, who number among the most frequently translated German authors of any kind in the nineteenth century, figure prominently in my account of translation and transnational reading. They include three popular authors who established their reputations with fiction serialized in *Die Gartenlaube*: E. Werner, whom Henry A. Pochmann identifies as ranking ninth among all German authors translated into English in the nineteenth century, E. Marlitt, who ranks fifteenth, and W. Heimburg, who ranks twenty-third. Luise Mühlbach, the tenth most frequently translated German author in this period in Pochmann's tally, also merits attention, her “historical romances” embodying an important related genre of popular fiction that in allegedly writing German history laid claim to a certain pretension as well. A fifth author, Wilhelmine von Hillern, likewise deserves a closer look up front. Hillern's novels crossed boundaries with respect to their contents, venues of publication, and reception. In Pochmann's groupings of translated German authors according to genre, Werner, Mühlbach, Marlitt, and Heimburg occupy four of the five top spots under the rubric “lesser fiction and prose writers.” Hillern follows in eighth place. Ahead of Werner and Mühlbach in the general rankings is a mix of highbrow and popular male authors: Goethe, Schiller, the Grimm Brothers, Richard Wagner, three juvenile authors (Christoph von Schmid, and Johann David Wyss and Johann Rudolf Wyss, the author and reviser, respectively, of *The Swiss Family Robinson*), Baron de la Motte Fouqué, whose story of the water sprite *Undine* was a perennial favorite, and the explorer-scientist Alexander von Humboldt, who, as Kirsten Belgum has observed, was an international figure who came to be adopted as an American national icon.

The novels of eleven additional authors also figure in this study: those of Marie Bernhard (1852–1937), Nataly von Eschstruth (1860–1939), Claire von Glümer (1825–1906), E. Hartner (pseud. of Emma Eva Henriette von Twardowska [1845–89]), E. Juncker (pseud. of Else [Kobert] Schmieden
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[1841–96]), Fanny Lewald (1811–89), Ursula Zöge von Manteuffel (pseud. of Frau von Trebra-Lindenauf, 1850–1910), Golo Raimund (pseud. of Bertha [Heyn] Frederich [1825–82]), Moritz von Reichenbach (pseud. of Valeska von Reiswitz, Gräfin von Bethusy-Huc [1848–1926]), Hedwig Harnisch Schobert (1858–1919),9 and Julie Adeline Volckhausen (1823–93). In four cases represented by a single novel, they were translated, marketed, and read in America alongside Marlitt, Werner, Heimburg, Mühlbach, and Hillern. The works of these less-translated authors resemble those of Marlitt, Werner, and Heimburg, testifying to the emergence of a German genre in America and to strategic mining by American publishers and translators of German publications for novels likely to please the American palate that publishers and translators had cultivated with the more successful German women authors. One final author, whose works are included in my tallies, joined this identifiable group late in the century: Ossip Schubin (pseud. of Aloisia Kirschner [1854–34]). Although an Austrian by birth, Kirschner published her novels in imperial Germany, and they arrived in America, translated by, among others, Annis Lee Wister and packaged much like the others.

Born for the most part between 1810 and 1855, these seventeen authors belonged to two generations that benefited from the bourgeoning book trade in Germany, a historical moment that enabled greater numbers of both men and women to enter print culture. Far from securing a place in the canon of writers deemed important by literary scholars, however, most of these seventeen writers are wedged in time and in literary historical scholarship uncomfortably between such now recovered, quasi-canonical older women authors with intellectual pretension as Dorothea Schlegel (1764–1839), Rachel Varnhagen (1771–1833), and Bettina von Arnim (1775–1859) and such protofeminist and feminist authors of a slightly younger generation as Gabriele Reuter (1859–1941) and Helene Böhlau (1856–1940). In 1911 the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* identified Reuter and Böhlau as the authors of “some of the best fiction of the most recent period,” yet at that time none of their important works had been rendered into English.10 Most of the novels of Marlitt, Werner, Heimburg, and Mühlbach, by contrast, had been translated and repeatedly reprinted and were still being read in America in the new century.

Clara Mundt / Luise Mühlbach (1814–73)

In May 1873 Luise Mühlbach, who was by then well known in the United States for her historical fiction, promised to serve as a foreign correspondent to the *New York Herald* on the occasion of the World Exhibition in Vienna.
The *Herald* reminded its readers of Mühlbach’s importance in Germany and hence of her suitability to her present task, effusing, “Where is the boudoir in that land of philosophy and music where some tender-hearted woman has not shed tears over the loves of Frederick and Joseph? Where is the young school girl who has not dreamed of some hero with ‘flaming eyes’ and all that perfection of manly beauty with which every lover is endowed by Luise Mühlbach?” In feminizing history, the *Herald* noted approvingly, Mühlbach had made it more accessible. While Mühlbach herself tended to speak merely of her readership and not women readers per se, the *Herald* accurately identified the tendency of her novels to foreground romance and reasonably supposed that women—as readers of fiction—made up a significant percentage of her readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Mühlbach was a prolific writer, ever more driven in later life by the need to support two daughters, her mother-in-law, and her own liberal spending habits. In his bibliography of her works, Brent O. Peterson lists more than sixty separate items, many of whose parts and volumes each amount to full-length novels. A contemporary remarked that she once filled an entire bookshelf of the lending libraries with twelve volumes in a single year, and the American poet and translator Bayard Taylor maintained in 1869 that her works to that date amounted to “more than sixty volumes.” Even Otto Heller conceded her “considerable talent,” but then criticized her “ruinously facile pen” that catered to “the shallow taste for historical anecdote.”

Born Clara Müller to a prominent family in the town of Neubrandenburg in Mecklenburg, Mühlbach began corresponding in her twenties with the then-infamous “Young German” Theodor Mundt (1808–61), whose works, along with those of four other authors, had been banned in the German territories in 1835 as immoral and blasphemous. When the couple married in 1839, Mühlbach had already published three novels. Encouraged by Mundt, she proceeded in the 1840s to write several more social novels that addressed political issues, including the status of women. This literary production belonged to Mühlbach’s “kecke Jahre” (feisty years), as Renate Möhrmann aptly termed this period. While, as Peterson has argued, these social novels are not as unambiguously progressive as they may appear to be at first glance, they number among the important early instances of German women’s fiction that addresses the status of women. Indeed, a younger contemporary characterized Mühlbach in the pre-1848 years as one of the most zealous and passionate German women acolytes of George Sand. None of these social novels was translated in North America.

After the failed revolution of 1848, Mühlbach shifted her focus largely to the past, thus finding the vein of writing that corresponded to contem-
porary tastes and her own talent. She enjoyed her first big success in 1853 with *Friedrich der Große und sein Hof* (1853) and went on to publish scores of novels dealing with German history (including Austria) as well as a handful of novels on English, French, and Russian history. After unification and the founding of the German empire in 1871 and a trip to Egypt, she tried her hand at more exotic material, writing two novels set in Egypt, *Mohammed Ali und sein Haus* (1872) and *Mohammed Ali’s Nachfolger* (1872). Research of German lending libraries reveals Mühlbach to be “the single most popular German author of the period 1849–88.” Ahead of her were otherwise foreign authors in translation—Alexandre Dumas, Eugène Sue, G. P. R. James, and Paul de Kock. In the period 1889–1914, Mühlbach moved up to second place in Germany just behind Dumas.19

In the 1850s, soon after their publication in the German territories, Mühlbach’s historical novels began appearing in German-language newspapers in the United States.20 The first American translation of a Mühlbach novel appeared in 1864 in the midst of the Civil War in Mobile, Alabama, as *Joseph II and His Court*. Two years later, the New York publisher D. Appleton launched a series of Mühlbach translations, starting with *Frederick the Great and His Court*. In 1867, in an unusual gesture for the time, Appleton paid Mühlbach an honorarium of 1,000 thalers to acknowledge her achievements.21 If, in voluntarily remunerating Mühlbach, Appleton seems generous in view of the practices of the times, the firm had no cause to regret its largesse. The combined sales of Mühlbach’s historical novels in the end “reached the millions.”22 Meanwhile, in that same year, O. Janke, the Berlin publisher of Mühlbach’s historical novels in the 1850s reprimanded American publishers for pirating German intellectual property, threatening to report on every such future transgression. Singling out Appleton, he claimed that the American firm was boasting of publishing the most important German authors at prices lower than the German originals and yet had never contacted the publishers or the authors of these works.23 Perhaps this complaint prompted the remuneration.

The American liking for Mühlbach’s novels is well documented. *Putnam’s Magazine*, for one, remarked on their unmatched allure for postbellum Americans.24 As Lieselotte Kurth-Voigt and William H. McClain point out, the National Union Catalogue lists “some five hundred American editions and impressions” of Mühlbach’s historical novels.25 My independently gathered data corroborates that finding (see Appendix E). According to the *Literary World*, in 1873 the Lawrence Public Library in Massachusetts listed Mühlbach’s fiction as thirty-sixth in popularity among all authors checked out of the library over a year’s time.26 A year later, in 1874, the Lawrence
Public Library again supplied telling data. Within a single month the works of Mrs. Southworth, a best-selling American novelist, accounted for twenty-two of every thousand volumes borrowed; those of Dickens, the next most frequently borrowed, fifteen; Louisa May Alcott, seven; the Brontë sisters, two; and Thackeray and Trollope, four each. Mühlbach's novels, by comparison, accounted for three per thousand, which put Mühlbach in the top half of the list.27

In 1898 Appleton set a monument to the thirty-odd years in which Mühlbach had been avidly read in translation with a twenty-volume reprint collection titled *Historical Romances of Louisa Mühlbach*, a set that includes mainly novels about the history of the German-speaking world and of Prussia in particular. Mühlbach's novels are still widely available in American university libraries, their availability suggesting that they were once understood to have cultural value transcending their status as mere popular reading. They claimed from the start, after all, to recount history. Continued interest in Mühlbach prompted the Marion Company in 1915 to reprint the twenty “historical romances” originally published by Appleton. In 1927 Americans could still read about three of Mühlbach’s novels—*Henry the Eighth and His Court*, *Berlin and Sans-Souci*, and *Marie Antoinette and Her Son*—in volume 12 of Rossiter Johnson’s “world’s great stories prepared in brief,” that is, side by side with works by such American authors as London, Longfellow, and Melville (*Typee* and *Moby Dick*), and international writers such as Lewis (*The Monk*), Loti, Manzoni, Martineau, Marryat, Meredith, and Mérimée as well as novels by two German women, Lewald and Marlitt. In number of works represented, only Marryat and Meredith match Mühlbach.28 As late as 1932, Baker and Packman listed eleven of the Appleton translations in their *Guide to the Best Fiction*, inaccurately describing them as a “patient and methodical amplification of the bare historical record, designed to illustrate any given period according to the letter and spirit of historical fact.”29

Evaluations of Mühlbach’s novels were mixed on both sides of the Atlantic. Even as this fiction found enthusiastic readers in Germany in the 1850s, literary pundits withheld approval. On the American side, Bayard Taylor, who considered himself an expert on German literature and a good judge of literary quality, asserted in 1869 that Mühlbach’s romances were popular among the “‘semi-intelligent’ classes of readers in Germany” and that they could have no “permanent place in the literature of the country.”30 His male counterparts in Germany were unlikely to dispute that assessment. In 1860 the German critic Robert Prutz had ridiculed these novels as a “factory industry,” although he conceded that readers liked them. Mühlbach, writing with both eyes on the market, plied her trade with a “grandiose lack of
inhibition” and a “sublime disregard for literary criticism and good taste,” he objected.²¹

Identifying her books as “historische Memoirenromane” (historical memoir-novels) and “romanhafte Historien” (novelistic histories), Rudolf von Gottschall later recognized that over the course of writing so many novels Mühlbach achieved a better style and gradually exchanged the audience of “silly little working girls” for whom she wrote in the beginning for a more refined circle of readers.²² He identified the cycle of Frederick the Great novels, some of the same works that introduced Mühlbach to the American English-speaking public, as the turning point in her career. Still, he was not willing to grant her novels depth. Lacking a genuine historical perspective, they merely satisfied readers’ wish for entertainment that focused on “the petty idiosyncrasies of great men,” thus mediating a feeling of closeness to these historical figures.²³ This last point merits attention, for it suggests the highly personal ways in which readers engaged with the historical figures in such fiction. Precisely such engagement constitutes an important piece in the story of the sojourn of Mühlbach’s novels in America. We shall return to this aspect of Mühlbach’s work in chapter 6.

Despite its condescending tone, a review of *Berlin und Sanssouci oder Friedrich der Große und seine Freunde* (1854) in the *Deutsches Museum* usefully identifies key aspects that made possible the author’s popularity in both Germany and America. After opening with disparaging remarks about “Schriftstellernden” (women trying to be writers), the reviewer scolds Mühlbach for writing sensation literature, nastily quipping that while literary criticism could not prevent her from publishing novels, Mühlbach in turn could not force critics to take note of her books.²⁴ When at the midpoint of the essay he finally addresses the novel at hand, his tone changes. While continuing to enumerate flaws, he admits that the enchanting subject matter riveted his attention and made it impossible for him to stop reading. He sees this novel as wholesome in contrast to what he has described as her recent sensation fiction; readers not only will be entertained but will also be able to confess to reading it without blushing.²⁵ This particular history, in his view, has curbed the wantonness of Mühlbach’s writing.²⁶

Precisely the combination of absorbing, reasonably wholesome entertainment with allegedly sound historical fact lay at the heart of Mühlbach’s popularity in the United States, her books constituting, in the formulation of McClain and Kurth-Voigt, “gehobene Unterhaltungsliteratur” (elevated entertaining literature).²⁷ It made the novels acceptable reading for men, women, and even older girls, despite the fact that Mühlbach spiced her sto-
ries with illicit, occasionally even adulterous, romances. The New York Times, believing the novel written by a “Herr Mühlbach,” enthusiastically endorsed Frederick the Great and His Court as “one of the best historical novels lately published.”38 The family magazine Hours at Home noted that Mühlbach’s works “are full of interest and less objectionable than the highly wrought and sensational novel.”39

This is not to say that American critics were always friendly; some were decidedly hostile and questioned the taste of her readers.40 Furthermore, some did not find these historical novels wholesome in the least. Whereas a review of Frederick the Great and His Court in the Catholic World noted their freedom “from the false sensationalism which furnishes the spice of the lower school of modern fiction,” the same journal later decried their low and “unwholesome” moral tone that is “pagan, not Christian.”41 The New Englander disapprovingly pronounced Mühlbach’s novels “of a highly sensational order.”42

These works baffled American reviewers who were looking to categorize them; indeed, discussion of them in print revolved largely around their generic affiliation and their relationship to history. History lent them a prestige not accorded to fiction per se. Some reviewers characterized Mühlbach as having laboriously researched her subject matter. At the same time, they remarked that in attempting to be true to the historical record, the works could not be called novels at all but rather were “ingenious compilations from historical sources, with the gaps in continuity skillfully filled.”43 Many reviewers were disquieted by the hybridity of Mühlbach’s novels, their combination of fact and fiction. Harper’s Magazine termed Mühlbach’s Queen Hortense “only a history with a little imaginative filling,” asserting that Mühlbach wrote “novels without imagination and history without facts.”44 A perplexed reviewer for the Catholic World complained, “unless one is exceedingly familiar with the real history of the times, one never knows whether he is reading history or only romance.” The reviewer feared, moreover, that most people would read them as history and “thus imbibe many erroneous views of real persons and events.”45 Yet some reviews identified their appeal as precisely the combination of history and romance: Hours at Home pronounced them “exciting and entertaining far beyond the ordinary stereotyped novel,” since they had “thrown the dark veil of romance over the dry records of history.”46

Sensitive to the confusion expressed in these reviews, Appleton’s Journal published an article by John Esten Cooke in 1874 that aspired to explain Mühlbach’s novel “system” and show how it deviated from that of Scott, Thackeray, Bulwer-Lytton, Dumas, Ainsworth, James, and others. Unlike these authors,
Cooke asserted, Mühlbach did not employ history “as the canvas and framework of their groups.” Instead, she went to history “for the actual figures, making her books history dramatized.”

Whereas critical American reviews of Mühlbach worry over historical inaccuracies or fault what they perceive as a lack of narrative talent, I have found only one that mentions “national convictions and patriotic impulses” in these novels, obliquely suggesting that Mühlbach’s novels mediate a vision of an emergent Germany at once exciting and skewed. Precisely this critical question of patriotic intention will concern us when we return to Mühlbach in chapter 6.

The mixed reviews of Mühlbach suggest deviation in the criteria and purposes of reviewing and display decidedly different attitudes toward literature that is read for pleasure. While the Catholic World concluded that popularity is “a pretty good indication of their merit,” this same popularity prompted a harsh response in the New Englander. Here the reviewer judged these “widely read” novels—widely read even among “people who cannot be charged with a want of cultivation”—as “ineffably stupid, fantastic, interminable books.” Such critical reviews of course provide only a partial picture of American reception, since they do not tell us much about leisure-time reading itself.

While American reviewers equivocated on the value of entertainment in general, two reviews of Mühlbach from the 1860s doubted the ability of Germans in general to write “light literature.” The New York Times, although commending Mühlbach, remarked, “The very mental characteristics which unfit [Germans] for properly appreciating what is strictly termed ‘light literature’ prepare them to enjoy the historical novel.” The Round Table likewise stereotyped German writers’ shortcomings in the area of “light literature,” maintaining,

Were it true that the popular taste of a nation is reflected in its light literature, we should have cause to think but poorly of the readers among whom Louisa Mühlbach’s interminable so-called historical novels find favor; but in Germany the novel does not suffice for the intellectual wants of the great body of her people, and save in Wilhelm Meister, and some noteworthy productions of Freytag and Auerbach, the attempts at this species of fiction have not been attended with success.

German novels, American pundits claimed in the 1860s, are ponderous and serious. Yet at this very moment in 1868, J. P. Lippincott and the translator Annis Lee Wister were on the verge of changing this perception among novel readers with translations of two novels by E. Marlitt. Although some review-
ers clung to stereotypes of German fiction writing as labored and dry as dust, Americans who read Marlitt in translation learned instead to expect German novels to be lively, entertaining, and optimistic.

*Die Gartenlaube* as Venue for German Women’s Writing

In 1853 the liberal German publicist Ernst Keil founded *Die Gartenlaube*, a new kind of unifying publication for a politically fragmented Germany, a family magazine that provided something for everyone. With its rapidly burgeoning sales, *Die Gartenlaube* became a quintessential mass-market phenomenon in the German territories. *Die Gartenlaube* offered articles on a variety of subjects of contemporary interest at home in Germany and abroad, including hygiene and medicine, the arts, technology, politics, poetry, short biographies, historical sketches, and serialized fiction. As Kirsten Belgum outlines, although claiming not to be political, the magazine from the beginning had a central political aim: it sought to popularize and solidify the idea of “nation” in the critical years of German unification. And while *Die Gartenlaube* was not narrow or jingoistic in its outlook, it did cultivate and cater to an audience hungry for information about Germany and its place in the world, a place that changed rapidly after 1871. Keil intended the magazine to be a “thoroughly German magazine”: its contributions were German originals from German authors, its illustrations were by German artists (not reprints from images in foreign magazines), and it treated German life and aspirations. When in 1894, for example, *Die Gartenlaube* reported that the popular E. Werner was spending the winter in Egypt, where she was writing her next novel, it also hastened to assure readers that the characters in her new work were German; Egypt provided only the backdrop of the story.

Growing from its first printing of 5,000 in 1853 to its peak of 382,000 in 1875, *Die Gartenlaube* reached many more readers than these numbers indicate. It was available in reading rooms, lending libraries, and the homes of middle-class families. Each copy therefore reached at least five readers, historians of the book trade estimate. It circulated in the New World as well as the Old, read in America by ethnic Germans as well as Anglophone Americans who had learned German in school or from tutors at home. The translator Mary Stuart Smith, for one, subscribed to the magazine, which she combed over several decades for prospects for translation. In 1873 the *Chicago Tribune* reported that, of the great number of German newspapers and periodi-
cals subscribed to and read in Chicago, *Die Gartenlaube*, “a literary paper of rare excellence, . . . considered [by many] the best in the world, . . . takes the lead. . . . Something over 2,000 copies of this paper are circulating in this city,” the Tribune noted. “Many Americans, understanding the German language, subscribe for [sic] it.” The article particularly remarked on the “excellent novels” of E. Marlitt that appeared therein.

While *Die Gartenlaube* was ambivalent on the subject of women’s roles and rights—and became more conservative toward the end of the century—the magazine gave not only Marlitt but also a host of German women the opportunity to earn their living as writers and provided the platform for its most appealing authors to become internationally famous. Serialized fiction by the women to whom *Die Gartenlaube* had given opportunities in turn contributed significantly to the appeal and sales of the magazine. These authors and the magazine and its editor thus found themselves in a mutually beneficial and productive relationship. Secondarily and inadvertently in the broader, international publishing context, *Die Gartenlaube* provided opportunities for female translators as they too acceded to cultural activity and agency. It proved a reliable source of appealing fiction that Gilded Age American translators and publishers mined with hardly a second thought as to the ethics of doing so.

**Eugenie John / E. Marlitt (1825–87)**

The serialized fiction of Eugenie John was unquestionably a critical factor in the success of *Die Gartenlaube* at home and abroad. John, who initially concealed her gender under the pseudonym E. Marlitt, became not only one of the best-selling authors in Germany in the last third of the century but also an international success. Between 1865, when her first published story, *Zwölf Apostel*, was serialized, and 1871, when *Das Haideprinzeßchen*, her fourth full-length novel and sixth contribution to the periodical, began appearing in installments, subscriptions to *Die Gartenlaube* grew from ca. 150,000 to ca. 310,000. Reporting in 1868 on the success of *Goldelse* (serialized 1866; book 1867), *Die Gartenlaube* gleefully noted that after only eleven months the novel had been reprinted three times. By this time it was also well known that Marlitt was a woman.

Marlitt’s German contemporaries were keenly aware of her popularity and talent; and although she was not without detractors during her lifetime, some established male authors acknowledged her gifts as a storyteller. Upon the publication of her third novel, *Die Reichsgräfin Gisela*, in 1869,
Gottschall expressed admiration for her international success—even on “the shores of the Mississippi”—wherever Germans might be reading Die Gartenlaube. In an attempt to explain her popularity, he praised her descriptive powers and her style. He also identified as a decisive factor what he called the “Volksthümlichkeit” (popular national quality) of her material, for example, elements of German legends and fairy tales in her plots. Yet he also noted evidence of her international reading in her inclusion of familiar titillating elements from Charlotte Brontë’s Jane Eyre and Victor Hugo’s Notre-Dame de Paris. Gottschall approvingly pointed to Marlitt’s strong liberal messages. If several decades later German critics, among them one Otto Heller, felt that Marlitt’s were battles that had long since been won, in 1870 they still rang true with readers.62 Marlitt long remained a favorite with women readers. In 1931 in her autobiography, the anarchist Emma Goldman, for example, recalled her consumptive, tender-hearted German teacher in Königsberg with whom she had read Marlitt and wept.63

As Hans Arens argues, Gottschall also fostered long-enduring misapprehensions of Marlitt when he characterized her novels in terms of fairy tales, in particular their endings as “Aschenbrödels Braut- und Himmelfahrt” (Cinderella’s honeymoon and ascent to heaven).64 While, as I argue below, the happy ending was critical to the international reception of her novels, Marlitt’s happy endings do not unambiguously project an intact world.65 Nineteenth-century readers could relish the happy ending yet remain disturbed by some of the characters, situations, and problems in these books. The American Agnes Hamilton, for one, was forced through her reading of The Old Mamselle’s Secret to associate with “the nastiest people whom I should not speak to in real life.”66 Marlitt also does not generally traffic in rags-to-riches tales, Cinderella stories, in which women of low social rank marry aristocrats, or, as in Mulock’s best-selling John Halifax Gentleman, men rise from abject poverty to prosperity and prominence. Some of Marlitt’s heroines are themselves aristocrats or heiresses who must learn tolerance. Plots depict marriages of extreme difference as unviable, and in every case the texts emphasize the importance of the education and sterling character of both husband and wife.67

After her death and from the turn of the new century on, Marlitt became an easy target for critics of many stripes who saw embodied in her fiction the taste and mores of a generation that they were eager to displace, even if advice books continued to recommend her books to “young girls” into the new century.68 In 1905, for example, the Austrian feminist Rosa Mayreder pilloried such popular reading, pointing an accusing finger in particular at the literature favored by family magazines. Although she did not name Marlitt, as the
best-known writer for *Die Gartenlaube* Marlitt would have immediately come to mind. Two years later, Ernst von Wolzogen likewise excoriated the bad taste of contemporary readers of family magazines, whom he characterized as silly girls, women, and old people. He expressed disappointment that *Die Gartenlaube* had lost sight of its original national liberal mission as a result of the bad literature serialized there.69 Forgetting that Marlitt in particular had participated in that mission, he grumbled that she and others put their indelible stamp on *Die Gartenlaube* and that subsequently all the editors of family magazines took these novels as their touchstone since they were certain to satisfy their customers.70 In the new century even *Die Gartenlaube* began to speak of Marlitt’s fiction as characterizing a past phase of the magazine and of the nation as well.71 Yet her work continued to be republished on both sides of the Atlantic.

Marlitt wrote ten novels, the last of these completed after her death by W. Heimburg in 1888, and three shorter pieces. Her books were translated into not only English but also French, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Italian, Spanish, and Polish; most of this translation took place without the permission or even knowledge of the author and publisher.72 While her international success brought her more adulation than material gain, her German earnings were enough to enable her to live comfortably and to support her family. Her publisher, Keil, famously built her a villa in her hometown, Arnstadt, to express his gratitude.

Marlitt’s novels were widely read in the United States and circulated in both German and English translation. In 1871 an article on the New York Mercantile Library described the “animated scene” on Saturdays as the clerks struggled to serve the many customers. Among the popular recent publications mentioned is Marlitt’s third translated novel, *The Countess Gisela*: the library had fifty copies of it ready to meet customer demand.73 The first two full-length Marlitt novels appeared in the United States in 1868. According to Morgan’s data, seven titles appeared in the 1860s in the United States, nineteen in the 1870s, twenty-four in the 1880s, and nine in the 1890s.74 My own tallies indicate more vigorous publication even than what Morgan records. Indeed, Marlitt’s works were translated three times more frequently than Mühlbach’s many novels, each of which was only translated once for book publication (compare Appendices C and D). Furthermore, the total number of translations, editions, and reprint editions of Marlitt novels in the United States places her second after the American Mühlbach factory, even though Marlitt had furnished less than half as many original texts to begin with (see Appendix E).75 My ever-expanding database records more than 250 American editions and reprint editions of Marlitt’s ten novels.
The American reception of Marlitt was cordial from the start. The very first translation published in book form in America, *The Old Mam’selle’s Secret*, was reprinted at least twenty-two times over thirty-three years by J. B. Lippincott alone; I have documented 101 unique American issues of the novel in three different translations and suspect that there are still more unique issues to be found. In 1868 the *New York Times* welcomed *The Old Mam’selle’s Secret* to America with a review recommending it for a “pleasant idle hour’s reading.”

Four years later *The Nation* confirmed that *The Little Moorland Princess*, the fourth Marlitt novel in translation, was “as entertaining as the first one,” and *Southern Farm and Home Magazine* maintained that the “highest praise” it could give this “really charming tale” was to pronounce it “fully equal if not superior to Marlitt’s former works.” Marlitt’s popularity endured. In 1876 a reviewer deemed *At the Councillor’s*, Marlitt’s sixth novel in American translation, “one of the best German novels we have recently read,” maintaining that Marlitt’s novels were the sort that readers read through “from title page to the end.” Marlitt’s books, the *American Socialist* averred, were “healthy”; they taught that “purity and uprightness of personal character [were] of prime consequence, and of more value than rank or riches.” These reviews offer only a small sample of the enthusiasm that met these Marlitt translations across a spectrum of American periodicals.

When Marlitt died in 1887 with one novel unfinished, *Die Gartenlaube* lamented the loss of an author who had known so well how to fascinate readers. Two issues later, the magazine made certain with a biographical sketch that it kept Marlitt fans on the hook, also reporting that the remaining episodes of Marlitt’s *Das Eulenhaus* were forthcoming and that it had designated a new author to complete the novel as Marlitt would have wished. Predictably, *Das Eulenhaus* appeared in two American translations as well—*The Owl-House* (Munro) and *The Owl’s Nest* (Lippincott)—even as American newspapers and magazines mourned the passing of a woman who could be counted as “one of the most popular of modern German novelists” whose novels were “never dull and never gross.”

Mary Stuart Smith’s commemorative sketch, “a fresh-plucked spring of Virginia ivy,” recalled the author’s contribution to the “wealth of innocent and healthful fiction” and the “loving admiration in which E. Marlitt is held by thousands of Americans.”

Marlitt enjoyed a robust afterlife in America that endured at least two decades into the new century. In 1876 *Publishers’ Weekly* conducted a contest for the book trade asking which novels were the most “salable” (setting aside Bulwer-Lytton, Dickens, Eliot, Scott, and Thackeray). Marlitt’s *Old Mam’selle’s Secret* ranked twenty-third, and all five of her then-translated novels (three of them in the top fifty) made this international list of 204 novels headed by
_{John Halifax Gentleman._ These five Marlitt novels were, moreover, still circulating decades later.

An examination of thirteen late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American library catalogues reveals that all of Marlitt's novels on the 1876 list (indeed, translations of all of Marlitt's novels) were available in all of these libraries some twenty to thirty years later (see Appendix B for a list of the catalogues consulted). Some of the remaining 195 once-salable novels on the 1876 list did not prove as enduring. While predictably Mullock's _John Halifax Gentleman_ and Brontë's _Jane Eyre_ are present in these thirteen libraries, novels in the top sixty on the list by such once-deemed-most-salable American, Canadian, Irish, and English women writers as Mrs. Alexander (Annie French Hector), Mary Jane Holmes, M. C. Hay, May Agnes Fleming, Ouida, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and Eleanor Frances Poynter are, by contrast, present in seven or fewer of the same thirteen libraries. Even the once perennially popular _East Lynne_ turns up in only nine of these libraries. Borrowing records from the Muncie Public Library, 1891–1902, furthermore reveal Marlitt, represented by twenty-three books (some novels were held in multiple copies), to be the tenth most widely circulating author in the entire library.

Heller might have objected to the inclusion in 1908/1927 of digests of _The Old Mam'selle's Secret_ and _The Little Moorland Princess_ in volume twelve of the twenty-volume _Author's Digest: The World's Great Stories in Brief_, especially when Goethe was represented by only two works. Surely still more irritating to Heller would have been the reference in the biographical sketch to _The Old Mam'selle's Secret_ as Marlitt's “masterpiece,” a designation reserved by contemporary Germanists for male cultural production.

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**Bertha Behrens / Wilhelmine Heimburg (1848–1912)**

It fell to thirty-seven-year-old Bertha Behrens to complete _Das Eulenhaus_ in 1888. Behrens, who also initially hid her gender under the pseudonym W. Heimburg, had made her _Gartenlaube_ debut ten years earlier, in 1878, with her second novel, _Lumpenmüllers Lieschen_, which was to become her most enduring work. Her first full-length novel, _Aus dem Leben meiner alten Freundin_ (1878), had been serialized the year before in a regional newspaper.

A notice that appeared in _Die Gartenlaube_ during the serialization of _Lumpenmüllers Lieschen_ indicates that the author’s sex was already known, thus suggesting that the ambiguous initial was by then a gesture so well known as to reveal the sex of the author rather than conceal it. Once published in the magazine, Heimburg quickly met with success. By 1884 _Die Gar-
tenlaube cited her as one of its favorite authors, and in 1891 Adolf Hinrichsen named her “one of the most popular women writers, especially admired by women.”91 Like Marlitt, she attained international fame and could be read in English, Dutch, Swedish, French, Czech, and Finnish. Heimburg published in *Die Gartenlaube* until her death, her last novel, *Lore Lotte*, appearing there posthumously in 1913.

In her study of Heimburg, Urzsula Bonter cites a telling vignette that an envious Theodor Fontane (1819–98), one of Germany’s most prominent realists, included in a letter to his wife in 1885. Fontane, a longtime journalist, had turned novelist seven years earlier and published six novels in the interim. His novella *Unterm Birnbaum* (never translated into English) would shortly appear in *Die Gartenlaube*. In 1885 he had not yet produced his best and most enduring works and was far from attaining the stature that he enjoys in German letters today. In this letter he ruefully describes how an older married couple speaks enthusiastically of having read a novel by Heimburg: when it was serialized in *Die Gartenlaube*, they read it aloud to one another; then the wife read it a second time; now she plans to read it a third time.92

The repetitive reading that becomes visible in this vignette evidences a reader enthusiasm different from the “extensive reading” of mere consumption; instead, it suggests savoring and enduring enjoyment of a book that has become familiar. As will become visible over the course of this study, the American packaging of this popular fiction in translation also encouraged American readers to think of it as worthy of a second read and a permanent spot on the bookshelf. It was not understood simply as reading to be consumed and tossed aside.

American firms began publishing translations of Heimburg’s novels in 1881, perhaps cued by *Lizzie of the Mill*, the British translation of *Lumpenmüllers Lieschen*, which appeared in London in 1880, two years after the novel’s serialization. Praising Heimburg as standing “in the front rank of Germany’s best writers,” Smith claimed in 1898 that her translation of the very same novel as *Lieschen, a Tale of an Old Castle* for serialization in the *New York Tribune* in 1881–82 introduced American readers to Heimburg.93

The Heimburg vogue in America followed hard upon the publication of Marlitt’s *Eulenhaus* in various translations in America in 1888, the association with the perennially popular author lending Heimburg greater name recognition. In 1889 Book Chat praised Heimburg as not merely Marlitt’s successor but as possessing “a strong originality of her own” and as resembling Marlitt only “in her felicitous drawing of the cozy atmosphere of home so peculiar to the best German literature, and in her unfailing success in
awakening the interest of her readers.”94 However, after a spate of translations in the late 1880s and early 1890s, the number of new translations dropped precipitously at the turn of the twentieth century, even though Heimburg herself continued to publish in the first decade of the new century and even though her works were, as Smith noted, newly available in Germany, collected in twenty volumes in three series.95

There can be no question of Heimburg’s success with American readers. Morgan lists twenty-one titles of translations published in America in the 1880s and twenty-one in the 1890s.96 These translations are of close to twenty original German texts. According to my independently gathered data, sixteen novels and book collections of novellas by Heimburg place her third behind Mühlbach and Werner in number of works translated, second behind Werner in total number of translations, and fourth in total number of publications (see Appendices C, D, and E). Heimburg’s fiction was, as these numbers indicate, multiply translated and reprinted; Herzenskrisen, for example, appeared in America in four translations under four different titles.

American reviews were mixed. They variously describe these novels with such terms as “wholesome and mildly entertaining,” “exquisite love story,” “pleasing tale,” or as doing “no harm” or as at least “a shade less hackneyed than the general run of German fiction.”97 The Nassau Literary Magazine even found them realistic: Heimburg “puts his [sic] people in natural situations and makes them talk in a natural way.”98 Of A Penniless Girl, the Literary World maintained, charm is “not wanting in this story,” for “When a German novel is at all good, it is generally very good.”99 Other reviews took a more peevish view. Reviewing Misjudged, the Literary World pointed to the novel’s targeted appeal to a mass market.100 A cranky reviewer writing for the same magazine dismissed A Fatal Misunderstanding as belonging “to that comfortless order of modern Teutonic fiction in which all life and action are regulated by the strictly sentimental,” where “common sense plays no part in the behavior of anybody.”101 Nevertheless, Publishers’ Weekly identified A Penniless Girl, Wister’s translation of Ein armes Mädchen, as “among the most notable” translations of foreign novels for the year 1884 and, likewise, in 1891 listed two new Heimburg translations as “among the more notable issues” in translations from the German in 1890—Heimburg is one of eleven German authors mentioned in this summary article.102 Heller, however, did not deign to mention her by name in his 1905 essay, perhaps because he saw her merely as one of the “swarm of busy imitators who learned the trick [from Marlitt] though they missed the grace.”103

Bonter argues for a reevaluation of Heimburg, whose reputation as an inferior imitator of Marlitt, in her view, grows largely out of the fact that
she completed Marlitt’s *Eulenhaus*. She maintains that Heimburg struck out in a direction different from Marlitt’s and that she, unlike Marlitt, by no means uniformly depicted an intact world with happy endings. While Heimburg’s novels assuredly have a stamp of their own—of this more below—Bonter somewhat mischaracterizes Marlitt’s novels to make her point. As some American reviews of Marlitt indicate, Marlitt’s world was both disturbing and satisfying to readers. As we shall see in chapter 4, both Marlitt’s and Heimburg’s success in America depended on the happy ending, but not the depiction of a world without sadness, loss, or conflict.

**Elisabeth Bürstenbinder / E. Werner (1838–1918)**

Daughter of a wealthy Berlin merchant, Elisabeth Bürstenbinder made her debut in *Die Gartenlaube* in 1870 after publishing two insignificant stories in a south German magazine. As had Marlitt, she hid her gender under the initial E. Although *Die Gartenlaube* still coyly referred to Werner as “der Verfasser” (the male author) in 1872, her true identity and the secret of her sex did not long remain concealed in Germany. By 1873 she was out, as it were. *Die Gartenlaube* reported that she had had to make her identity public since in certain circles a woman was impersonating her. By 1873 she was out, as it were. *Die Gartenlaube* reported that she had had to make her identity public since in certain circles a woman was impersonating her. In America, by contrast, she was still known in some quarters as late as 1879 as “Ernest Werner.” In 1876, in an article titled “Eine Heldin der Feder” (Heroine of the Pen), a title that plays off her 1871 novel, *Ein Held der Feder* (Hero of the Pen), *Die Gartenlaube* stood fully behind her as a woman author, featuring a large picture of her and praising women authors in general. In Werner, the editor recognized, *Die Gartenlaube* had another winner.

Werner would eventually publish approximately thirty novels and novel- lases, many of them serialized first in *Die Gartenlaube* and many of them translated into other European languages including Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, Finnish, Czech, Russian, and Polish. Beginning in 1872 with Lippincott’s publication of *At the Altar*, over half of these works were translated in North America as well, sometimes multiple times (see Appendices C and D). Morgan identifies three critical decades for American translations of Werner: the 1870s with twenty-eight items, the 1880s with forty-two, and the 1890s with nineteen. According to my independently gathered data, Werner ranks second after Mühlbach among these seventeen women authors in number of works translated, but first in total number of translations, well ahead of Mühlbach (see Appendices C and D). Available in multiple editions and reprint editions, she occupies posi-
tion number three after Mühlbach and Marlitt (see Appendix E). In its summary article for the year 1883, Publishers’ Weekly names Werner’s Banned and Blessed alongside Emile Zola’s Au Bonheur des Dames among the “chief translations in fiction.”

When Theodor Fontane, the same journalist turned novelist whose letter testifies to Heimburg’s popularity, offered an acerbic critique of German bourgeois sentiment in his novel Frau Jenny Treibel (1892), he supplied Jenny Treibel, the central character, with the maiden name Bürstenbinder, that is, Werner’s real name. One wonders whether he thereby took revenge on Die Gartenlaube and its popular women authors. In the novel the prosaic name Bürstenbinder (broom binder) reveals the pretentious nouveau riche Jenny’s humble origins and ruthlessly pragmatic nature. Her avarice belies her outward sentimentality and jars with the poetic world that she tries to create in her opulent Berlin villa. Bourgeois sentiment, in Fontane’s scathing portrait, provides a saccharine veneer for a heartless class driven by the love of money.

Heller, however, nearly had kind words for Werner. Werner, a writer who could “lay claim to a high degree of skill . . . without being in any sense” a good writer, wielded “a good and steady pen at the business,” he asserted. She surpassed Marlitt, her model, “thanks to a greater breadth of horizon, warmth of conviction, and a certain trenchant critical faculty. Instead of limiting herself to the conventional assortment of heroes, she showed a kindly attachment for misfit individuals; this even betrayed her occasionally into representing an unmitigated crank as a hero.” As I outline below, a signature of Werner’s works is an interest in men and masculinity as it is supported and complemented by women and femininity. Even as Werner’s fiction inhabits the territory of women’s domestic fiction, it offers empathetic possibilities for male readers. Heller at least was susceptible to it.

Wilhelmine von Hillern (1836–1916)

The only child of the prolific, popular, and sometimes scorned nineteenth-century German playwright Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer (1800–1868), Hillern turned to fiction writing after a brief career on the stage and her marriage in 1857 into the lower nobility, a marriage solemnized in haste with her much older admirer Hermann von Hillern (1817–82) when she became pregnant. Armed with the experience of broad reading; contact with writers, musicians, and other makers of culture; an education overseen by her university-educated father and private tutors; and familiarity with the theater of entertainment, Hillern, as Rudolf von Gottschall conceded, knew how to
tell a story. Beginning in the mid-1860s with the novel *Ein Doppelleben* (1865), which contains a fulsome dedication to her parents, she published over the course of approximately thirty years at least fourteen novels and novellas and several plays.

Hillern serialized her work in *Die Gartenlaube* and in Janke's *Deutsche Roman-Zeitung*, but also in the more pretentious journal *Die Deutsche Rundschau*; in Germany her books thus crossed emergent cultural boundaries. It is misleading to pigeonhole her, as does Lillie V. Hathaway as, like Marlitt, Werner, and Heimburg, one of the “‘Gartenlaube’ ladies.”

Eight arresting novels and novellas translated into English brought Hillern renown in America. Pochmann lists twenty-five titles stemming from these eight original German texts, all published in the United States from 1865 to 1899. Especially the novella *Höher als die Kirche* gained long-lasting currency in America, although admittedly in a niche market. It was translated four times into English. More importantly, no fewer than eleven different editors prepared it for the purpose of instructing German in the United States. The first American school edition alone, S. Willard Clary’s edition of 1891, went through at least twelve subsequent editions, the last of which appeared in 1911. Eleonore C. Nippert’s 1928 edition for second-year German instruction was republished and reedited as late as 1939 on the eve of the Second World War.

In 1873 *Lippincott’s Magazine* described Hillern as having a “large circle of readers on both sides of the Atlantic,” her *Arzt der Seele* having “established her claim to a high place among the writers of her class.” Inasmuch as Lippincott had published translations of her first three novels, such praise in the magazine perhaps merely served the interests of its publisher. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence for widespread reading of Hillern’s work in translation in America, including, in addition to the above-mentioned *Höher als die Kirche*, especially the novels *Ein Arzt der Seele* (1869) and *Die Geier-Wally* (1875), both of which were available in multiple translations that were subsequently reprinted. Although sixth in number of works translated, Hillern ranks fifth among her fellow German women novelists in number of American publications (see Appendices C and E).

Putnam’s *The Best Reading: Hints on the Selection of Books* particularly recommended Hillern’s *Arzt der Seele*—in Annis Lee Wister’s translation *Only a Girl*—as among the best novels of the day, relying on “the opinions of the best critics, and the judgment of the better class of readers” and designating it as belonging to category “b,” that is, specifically as one of the “books that come under the designation of good novels, and which can be recommended to the readers of fiction.” Hillern told stories that interested
Americans. *Only a Girl*, for example, depicted social expectations that circumscribe women’s intellectual aspirations. Operating in the German genre of the village tale, *Die Geier-Wally* (translated for Appleton as *Geier-Wally: A Tale of the Tyrol*) recounted a bitter struggle between a father and daughter, which the daughter eventually wins. *Aus eigener Kraft* (1870; translated as *By His Own Might*) followed the fortunes of a physically disabled protagonist. Hillern had thus ventured with her writing into controversial territory. *Appleton’s Journal*, however, expressed some dissatisfaction with Hillern’s female protagonists who, the reviewer noted, tended to be a “most gushing spirit” or a “wayward creature to be tamed by love.” In chapter 4 we will take a closer look at one such wayward creature in *Only a Girl*.

**German Popular Fiction by Women as Domestic Fiction**

The German term “Familienroman” (family novel) is but one of many nineteenth-century designations for the novels by German women that Americans liked and read in the Gilded Age. American reviewers variously labeled them “romance,” “light reading,” “German sentimental novel,” “historical romance,” or “wholesome reading.” These American labels evoke the flavor of these novels and suggest the manner in which the books were marketed and the ways their publishers expected them to be read, but these designations are not particularly useful to situating them in literary history in the aggregate. For this purpose, Nancy Armstrong’s characterization of “domestic fiction” proves more helpful.

In *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*, Armstrong brings into focus the mindset, values, assumptions, and class allegiances within which novels classified as domestic fiction operate. “Domestic fiction” flags the function of the family in these works as the site of identity formation, conflict, culture, and politics, indeed, as the place where history is made. The designation “domestic fiction” in my study of German women’s novels in America includes a range of subgenres—from the historical romances of Mühlbach to the claustrophobic family stories of Heimburg. All of these works, despite a variety of generic affinities, offer German versions of Armstrong’s domestic woman and domesticated man. As Armstrong asserts of domestic fiction, in these novels the “individual's value” is represented “in terms of . . . essential qualities of mind” and “subtle nuances of behavior.” While I am well aware that Mühlbach’s novels were largely understood in their own time as historical romances, I will argue in chapter 6 that even they
can be characterized in terms of domestic fiction and that they had a similar appeal for some American readers.

In the German context, the emphasis on the power of the individual to effect change flags the midcentury liberal mindset from which the set of novels to be examined here first emerged and the national liberal context in which its earliest representatives appeared, even when the overall political message in many of them was muddy and even reactionary, especially as the century advanced. In this fiction, liberalism tends to be linked to a double vision of a national Germany conceived in the terms of the region and in turn the region conceived as the nation. Although before 1871 its proponents strenuously advocated on behalf of national unity, German liberalism proved more comfortably situated in an imaginary that reflected the values of the middle classes in the scattered German home towns than it came to be in the Reich, especially after the definitive defeat of both the National Liberals and left liberals in the Reichstag elections of 1878.

The persistence of the regional setting of the so-called home town and the outlying estates of the landed aristocracy in these novels projects a Germany that eludes the ills of modernity associated with the urbanization of the last third of the nineteenth century. Social tensions remain largely those between an aristocracy, privileged by birth and custom, and the middle classes, defined by virtue, initiative, ingenuity, duty, and hard work. The laboring classes, while sometimes acknowledged, are depicted in largely sentimental and paternalistic terms. The family itself, sometimes as a metaphor for the German nation, tends to function as the primary site of conflict, even when the novels allude to larger national and international issues.

In such fiction, female subjectivity is critical to overcoming social conflict and achieving social stability. Examining largely eighteenth-century British literature, Armstrong argues for seeing in domestic fiction an overt contestation of “the reigning notion of kinship relations that attached most power and privilege to certain family lines.” This fiction makes gender and remakes the social order, and in Armstrong’s words, “individuates wherever there [is] a collective body, to attach psychological motives to what [has] been the openly political behavior of contending groups, and to evaluate these according to a set of moral norms that [exalt] the domestic woman over and above her aristocratic counterpart.” Such fiction persisted in Germany where the privilege of birth endured. German fiction, however, does not uniformly depict a moral middle class triumphing over its aristocratic counterpart. Rather, aristocratic characters are often imbued with middle-class values and aspirations and defend these against the villainy of other aristocrats. In the moral sense, the middle classes have always already triumphed in these works.
What, then, was the character of this translated domestic fiction by German women, and why did American readers like it? What picture of Germany did it mediate in the nationalist era in which Germany unified, industrialized, modernized, militarized, and colonized, and the United States in essence did the same? Moreover, how German was it once it had been rendered by American translators, packaged and marketed by American publishers, and widely read by Americans in a variety of editions as entertaining fiction? Part 2 undertakes close readings of texts; examination of books as the product of industry, marketing, and circulation; and scrutiny of preserved exemplars in pursuit of answers to these questions.
American Periodicals Cited

American Library Journal, The
American Literary Gazette and Publisher's Circle
American Magazine: A Monthly Miscellany Devoted to Literature, Science, The
American Socialist, The
Annual American Catalogue, The
Appleton's Journal
Art Amateur: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Art in the Household, The
Arthur's Illustrated Home Magazine
Athenæum
Atlantic Monthly, The
Belford's Magazine
The Boston Courier
Boston Herald
Boston Home Journal, The
Boston Saturday Evening Gazette, The
Bostonian: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Local Interest, The
British Quarterly Review, American Edition, The
Catholic World, The
Chautauquan, The
Chicago Tribune
Christian Advocate, The
Christian Examiner, The
Christian Union
Columbus Journal, The
Congregationalist, The
Cosmopolitan, A Monthly Illustrated Magazine
Critic, The
Current Literature: Magazine of Record and Review
Daily Inter Ocean, The
Daily Picayune
Dial: A Semi-Monthly Journal of Literary Criticism, Discussion and Information
Fashion Bazaar, The
Galaxy: A Magazine of Entertaining Reading, The
Galveston Daily News, The
Godey's Lady's Book
Good Housekeeping
Harper's New Monthly Magazine
Hours at Home: A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation
International Review, The
Lippincott's Magazine of Literature, Science and Education
Littell's Living Age
Louisville Courier Journal
Louisville Daily Journal
Medical Age: A Semi-Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery, The
Milwaukee Sentinel, The
Minneapolis Journal, The
Motion Picture News
Moving Picture World
Nassau Literary Magazine
Nation, The
National Quarterly Review, The
New Englander, The
New York Herald, The
New York Ledger, The
New York Observer and Chronicle
New York Times, The
New York Tribune, The
North American Review, The
Old Guard, The
Peterson's Magazine
Philadelphia Inquirer
Publishers' Trade List Annual, The
Publishers' Weekly: The American Book Trade Journal
Putnam's Monthly Magazine, or American Literature, Science, and Art
Round Table: A Saturday Review of Politics, Finance, Literature, Society and Art, The
Saturday Evening Post, The
Scribner's Monthly
Southern Farm and Home Magazine: A Magazine of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Domestic Economy
Southern Review, The
Southwestern Christian Advocate
St. Louis Globe-Democrat
St. Louis Republic, The
United Service: A Quarterly Review of Military and Naval Affairs
Weekly Review; Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, of Social and Economic Tendencies, of History, Literature, and the Arts
APPENDIX B

Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century U.S. Library Catalogs and Finding Lists Consulted as an Index of Enduring Circulation

Boston Public Library. *Finding List of English Prose Fiction in the Public Library in the City of Boston which may be taken for home use.* Boston: Pub. by the trustees, 1903.


Columbus Ohio Public School Library. *Catalogue of all the Books in the Circulating and Reference Departments.* Columbus, Ohio: Berlin Printing Company, 1897.


Salem Public Library. *Class List No. 6 (Supplement).* Salem, Mass.: Pub. by the library, 1898.


Withers Public Library (Bloomington, Ill.). *Finding List: Withers Public Library (Bloomington, Ill.)*. Bloomington, Ill.: Lloyd & Miller, 1901.
Total German Novels Translated in America (1866–1917) by Woman Author
APPENDIX D

Total Number of Translations of German Novels in the United States (1866–1917) by Woman Author

[Graph showing the total number of translations of German novels by woman authors in the United States from 1866 to 1917.]
Total American Publications (1866–1917) by Woman Author
(“American Publications” = editions, reprint editions, rebindings)
Preface


Chapter 1

2. Ibid., 252.
3. Ibid., 267.
4. As Jeffrey L. Sammons outlines, German-born Harvard professor Kuno Francke, in his twenty-volume edition of German classics translated into English, also lamented that Germany’s best writers were neglected in America for the likes of “Zschokke, Gerstäcker, Auerbach, Spielhagen, not to mention the ubiquitous Mühlbach or Marlitt or Polko.” Jeffrey L. Sammons, Kuno Francke’s Edition of The German Classics (1913–15): A Historical and Critical Overview (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 186. Sammons here quotes Kuno Francke and William Guild Howard, eds., The German Classics of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Masterpieces of German Literature Translated into English (New York: German Publication Society, 1913–14), 9:268. Volume 9, which treats then contemporary authors, does not include any of the women authors to be examined here.
6. Sarah Wadsworth traces market segmentation in the Gilded Age in, for example, juvenile fiction, books printed in other languages for immigrant communities, and the production of cheap books. Sarah Wadsworth, In the Company of Books: Literature and Its “Classes” in Nineteenth-Century America (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006). Barbara Sicherman, who has done extensive biographical work on nineteenth-century women’s reading, however, sees the actual practice of recreational reading as cross-
ing boundaries and taking many forms in this period, determined by “mundane seasonal considerations . . . , rituals of family life, ephemeral events such as traveling shows and public readings,” political convictions, and “on occasion for emotional release and even transformation.” She cautions against claims of cultural historians that “specific genres appealed to different classes.” Barbara Sicherman, “Ideologies and Practices of Reading,” in The Industrial Book, 1840–1880, ed. Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship, vol. 3 of A History of the Book in America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 292–93, 296, respectively.


8. W. M. Griswold, A Descriptive List of Novels and Tales Dealing with Life in Germany (Cambridge, MA: W. M. Griswold, Publisher, 1892).

9. Ibid., 712.

10. Ibid.

11. Bayard Quincy Morgan, A Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature 16 (Madison, WI, 1922), 16.


13. Ibid. Morgan likewise emphasizes the economic factor in the publication of translations, which is, in his view, “to a far greater extent controlled by purely economic considerations than is the publication of native literature” (Bibliography of German Literature, 10).

14. Hathaway, German Literature, 108. See 107–10 for her discussion of Marlitt, Werner, Hillern, Heimborg, Mühlbach, and other popular authors.


17. Ibid., 7.


19. Charles Dudley Warner et al., eds., “Suggestions for Household Libraries,” in Hints for Home Reading: A Series of Chapters on Books and Their Use, ed. Charles Dudley Warner et al. (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1880), 117–47. In addition to Goethe, the authors Schiller, Lessing, and Heine predictably turn up in various categories in these lists. The German male authors (listed mostly under the third-ranked list of fiction) include, for the most part, once prominent writers who, though not entirely forgotten, did not make the twentieth-century literary canon: Berthold Auerbach, Adelbert von Chamisso, Franz von Dingelstedt, Georg Ebers, Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué, Gustav Freytag, Paul Heyse, and Ernst Reuter.


28. Robert E. Cazden provides thorough documentation of the German-American book trade up to the Civil War. Robert E. Cazden, A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984). Cazden focuses on books in German, many of which were unauthorized reprints, that were sold and read in North America.


30. Ibid., 4. Jörg Nagler identifies the decade following the American Civil War and German unification as a “high point of German-American relations,” relations that became increasingly strained over the course of the four decades preceding the First World War. Jörg Nagler, “From Culture to Kultur: Changing American Perceptions of Imperial Germany, 1870–1914,” Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776, ed. David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 131.


32. Ibid., 13.


34. Hathaway (German Literature, 3) thanks the Germanist A. R. Hohlfeld for suggesting her topic and mentions Morgan as well in her acknowledgments.

35. Susan L. Mizruchi, for one, rethinks nineteenth-century American print culture as exhibiting a “newly formed multiculturalism in all its variety and complexity,” one that was self-consciously addressed in American literature. Susan L. Mizruchi, Multicultural America: Economy and Print Culture, 1865–1915 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 9.


42. American studies practiced in German-speaking contexts has also generated new work on German-American relations. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, in Images of Germany in American Literature (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007), describes himself as “‘the Americanist’ at a major university [Vienna]” (vii). Likewise, a recent anthology focusing on the ways in which America figures in nineteenth-century German literature emerged from cooperation between professors of American studies and German studies at Dortmund, Germany. Cristof Hamann, Ute Gerhard, and Walter Grünzweig, eds., Amerika und die deutschsprachige Literatur nach 1848: Migration—kultureller Austausch—frühe Globalisierung (Bielefeld, Germany: transcript, 2009).


47. Ibid., 3.

48. Ridley, ‘Relations Stop Nowhere,’ 119.


51. McGill, American Literature, esp. 45–75, 93–108.


58. Morgan, Bibliography, 13, 16. Morgan’s numbers include all books that he labels “German literature.” Morgan’s “literature,” or rather his “humane letters,” is a broadly inclusive category; it includes philosophy, works of art history, history, travel accounts, and biography, for example (10). The total number of book titles published in America in each of these years was 3,474, 4,437, and 8,141, respectively. See Tebbel, Expansion of an Industry, 678, 681, 693.

59. Comparing Morgan’s calculations with Tebbel’s lists yields a rough approximation at best since the categories are differently constructed. My estimate is based on a figure that eliminates from Tebbel’s total for 1882 (3,474) titles in the categories theology and religion; law; education—language; medical, science, hygiene; social and political science; physical and mathematical science; useful arts; books of reference; sports, amusements, etc.; music books (chiefly singing books); and domestic and rural economies. Once these categories are removed, 2,018 titles remain. If one additionally eliminates the category humor and satire, the number falls to 1,983. I divided 140—the number of German titles listed by Morgan (itself an approximate number)—by that number.


61. I thank Stephen Aiken, Perry Trolard, and Stephen Pentecost for creating these graphs based on the data assembled by student teams over the course of nearly two years in the Humanities Digital Workshop at Washington University. Stephen Pentecost generated the final forms of this and all other graphs included. Editions published in Great Britain are not included in these tallies, even though they too circulated in the United States.
62. This summary overview was undertaken to provide an index of marketing and circulation (and hence reading) of translations by a set of seventeen authors in the United States. For this purpose, therefore, any documented and dated imprint with a distinct title page is deemed a “publication,” as are documented and dated iterations of translations with distinct covers marking them as uniquely marketed items. I am of course well aware of the differences among new editions, title editions, reprints, and rebinding. Despite our best efforts, there are certain to be more “publications” for each work than are documented in these graphs. The many such publications without dates could of course not be included in the timelines in these two graphs. The ongoing Lucile Project at the University of Iowa, which aims to recover the publishing history of Owen Meredith’s *Lucile* (1860), provides a sense of how vigorously books were reedited, reprinted, and rebound in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The project, which documents more than two thousand unique editions and issues of this text in the United States alone, demonstrates what an exhaustive search for unique copies of a popular book looks like and what collecting the data entails. See Sidney F. Hutner, *The Lucile Project*, University of Iowa, http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/lucile/. Such an exhaustive search for unique copies of book publications of each translation in my dataset was not possible.


64. "On the Study of German in America,” 2. See n. 29.

65. Ibid., 16–17.


68. Grossmann, *Why Translation Matters*, 55 and 14, respectively.

69. Ridley, ‘Relations Stop Nowhere,' 121.


73. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 24 February 1887, in Papers of the Tucker, Harrison, and Smith Families, Box 24, Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, hereafter abbreviated as THS Papers. Smith on more than one occasion, as in this letter, conflates the “Deutsche Library” with the “Seaside Library,” calling it the “Seaside” or the “Deutsche Seaside.” See her letters of 7 March 1887, 8 June 1887, 8 March 1888, Box 24.

74. Cazden describes the undertaking as “a series of cheap reprints published as a periodical to take advantage of favorable postal regulations” (*German Book Trade*, 376n81). Printed in newsprint-sized German black letter in quarto editions with triple columns, the Deutsche Library appeared semiweekly and could be purchased for ten to twenty cents an issue, depending on the number of pages, or for the annual subscription price of fifteen dollars. I thank Petra Watzke for compiling the data on the titles in the Deutsche Library.

76. These numbers were compiled with the help of Stephen Pentecost, using data supplied by “What Middletown Read?” Muncie Public Library, Center of Middletown Studies, Ball State University Library, http://www.bsu.edu/libraries/wmr/. The Muncie records run from November 5, 1891, through December 3, 1902, with a two-and-a-half-year hiatus from May 28, 1892, through November 5, 1894.


79. “What Middletown Read?” We cannot of course know who actually read the books when men and boys checked them out, but the same caveat pertains to female borrowers as well.


83. Ibid., 103.


89. Flint, in The Woman Reader, cautions against drawing hasty conclusions about reading practices by theorizing a “hypothetical woman reader.” As she summarizes in her conclusion, she herself tries to illuminate reading practice as “at once pointing inwards and outwards, to the psychological and the socio-cultural,” considering the “materiality of individual readers” as well as positionality (326–30).

Chapter 2

1. On women’s opportunities in the emergent mass market, see Lucia Hacker, Schreibende Frauen um 1900: Rollen—Bilder—Gesten, Berliner Ethnographische Studien 12 (Berlin: Hope, 2007), 95. Hacker’s data is from Reinhard Wittmann, “Das literarische Leben 1848 bis 1880,” Buchmarkt und Lektüre.


6. Tebbel, Between Covers, 179.

7. Pochmann, German Culture in America, 346–47. In his brief summary of his data, Bayard Quincy Morgan (Bibliography, 17) remarks on the “insatiable appetite of the American public for narrative literature” satisfied by Heimburg, Marlitt, Werner, and others.


24. Putnam’s *Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art* 11, no. 1 (January 1868): 128. Hathaway notes that there is “very little notice of [Mühlbach’s novels] in the English journals and they do not seem to have been translated in England, nor were the many American translations reprinted there” (*German Literature*, 110).


27. Ibid., 153–54.


33. Ibid., 4:82.

34. Rev. of *Berlin und Sanssouci oder Friedrich der Große und seine Freunde*, by Luise Mühlbach in *Deutsches Museum* 1, no. 9 (February 23, 1854): 325–27; reprt. in *Literaturkritik*, ed. Peter Uwe Hohendahl (Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Topos, 1984), 4:263, 265, respectively.

35. Ibid., 265.

36. Ibid., 266.


40. Hathaway reproduces a mordant review that appeared in the *New Englander* in 1867 that pronounces Mühlbach’s novels a “heap of rubbish.” Even Hathaway, who is ever ready to point out that popular literature by German women is third rate, allows that this review may “overshoot the mark” in its criticism. “Miss Muhlbach’s [sic] Novels,” *New Englander* 26, no. 101 (1867): 788, in *German Literature*, 110.

41. Rev. of *Frederick the Great and His Court*, by L. Mühlbach, trans. Mrs. Chapman Coleman and Daughters, *Catholic World* 4, no. 22 (1867): 579; Rev. of *Marie Antoinette and Her Son*, by L. Mühlbach, *Catholic World* 6, no. 35 (1867–68): 713.
42. Hathaway, “Miss Mühlbach’s Novels,” 788.
48. Rev. of The Merchant of Berlin, by L. Mühlbach, Round Table 5 (January 5, 1867): 12.
51. “Literary Table,” Round Table 8 (October 3: 1868): 230.
53. Ibid., 21.
55. Belgum, Popularizing the Nation, 16.
56. In 1874 Smith mentions her need to pay for her subscription to Die Gartenlaube.
Mary Stuart Smith to Eliza L. C. Harrison, 17 February 1874. In 1888 she describes how she is translating Marlitt’s Eulenhaus directly from her copy of Die Gartenlaube. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 14 February 1888. THS Papers, Boxes 18 and 24, respectively.
60. Else Hofmann, daughter of Ernst Keil’s successor, recounted in 1918, however, that Keil himself did not learn that Marlitt was a woman until he proposed to visit her at home in Arnstadt. Else Hofmann, Eugenie Marlitt: Ein Lebensbild [1918], ed. Fayeçal Hamouda (Arnstadt: Edition Marlitt, 2005), 13–14.
61. In 1885 Friedrich Friedrich, in a controversial review in Das Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes, condemned Marlitt’s novels as promoting a lurid sensuality because they were structured around delayed gratification, which in his view stimulated the reader “in hysterisch-krankhafter Weise” (in a hysterialy sick manner). Later, Michael Kienzle identified Friedrich’s review as sealing the long-enduring assessment of Marlitt as a “Trivialromanauterin” (woman author of trivial novels). Hans Arens, E. Marlitt: Eine kritische Würdigung (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1994), 16–18.
66. Agnes Hamilton to Edith Trowbridge, 19 August 1895. Hamilton Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University. I thank Barbara Sicherman for generously directing my attention to this letter.
67. Lynne Tatlock, “Domesticated Romance and Capitalist Enterprise: Annis Lee Wister’s Americanization of German Fiction,” in Tatlock and Erlin, *German Culture*, 165. See also Bonter (*Populärroman*, 41–42), who explicitly takes up the issue of their resemblance to “Cinderella” and deftly enumerates the ways in which they do not in the least conform to that fairy tale.
68. For the enduring reading of Marlitt in Wilhelmine Germany, see Lynne Tatlock, “The Afterlife of Nineteenth-Century Popular Fiction and the German Imaginary: The Illustrated Collected Novels of E. Marlitt, W. Heimburg, and E. Werner,” in Tatlock, *Publishing Culture*, 118–52. See especially 119 and 114n6 for Marlitt’s works as recommended in advice books.
70. Ibid., col. 183. In 1902 *Die Gartenlaube* wrote its own history, reminding its readers that Marlitt’s novels expressed the rapprochement of aristocracy and bourgeoisie in the spirit of the liberalism of the times. “Zur Geschichte der Gartenlaube,” *Die Gartenlaube*, no. 8 (1902): 137.
72. A notice in *Die Gartenlaube* comments that of the recent publications into English, French, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, and Italian, only the Danish and Dutch have not paid the author a fee. *Die Gartenlaube*, no. 5 (1876): 92. America is not mentioned here, and it is not clear whether “American” is subsumed under “English.”
73. “The New York Mercantile Library,” *Scribner's Monthly* 1, no. 4 (February 1871): 364. Louisa May Alcott’s *Little Women* and *An Old Fashioned Girl* were, however, available in 250 copies and were “in constant circulation” (ibid.).
74. Morgan, *Bibliography*, 15. Morgan does not include in his tally the editions from the first decade of the new century, though they are listed under the entry for Marlitt.
75. Mühlbach’s works, as historical fiction, enjoyed a somewhat different status from Marlitt’s novels and were marketed somewhat differently by Appeton. They have been better preserved in libraries and thus in records such as Worldcat and the *National Union Catalogue*. My collecting of editions of *The Old Mam’selle’s Secret* has to date enabled me to document 101 unique editions and reprint editions, and there is reason to suspect that more exist. Were one to undertake an equally thorough search for editions and reprint editions of the remaining nine novels, it is likely that Marlitt would come significantly closer to rivaling Mühlbach in the total number of publications.

78. “Some Novels,” Literary World 7 (September 1, 1876): 48.

79. “Gold Elsie; from the German of E. Marlitt,” American Socialist 4, no. 6 (February 6, 1879): 45.


82. S. Baring-Gould, “Marlitt,” reprinted from the Gentleman’s Magazine, in Little’s Living Age 176, no. 2276 (February 11, 1888): 352, 357, respectively.

83. Mary Stuart Smith, “E. Marlitt, the Novelist,” American Magazine 7, no. 3 (January 1888): 369.

84. At the Councillor’s, Marlitt’s sixth full-length novel translated in North America, did not appear until later that same year, 1876, and thus did not come into consideration for the contest. “The Prize Question in Fiction,” Publishers’ Weekly 9, no. 127 (May 20, 1876): 634–36.

85. “What Middletown Read.”


87. Johnson, Authors Digest, 20: 312.

88. According to Smith, “shrinking modesty seems to have been the motive that led Bertha Behrens, the sixteen-year-old daughter of a German army surgeon, to conceal her identity under the assumed name of Wilhelmine Heimburg when she came before the public as a writer, in the columns of a German woman’s paper, viz, Victoria.” Mary Stuart Smith, “W. Heimburg,” Current Literature 24, no. 1 (July 1898): 21.

89. Bonter, Populärroman, 75. According to Bonter, the novel was serialized from May 20 to July 14, 1877, and then appeared in book form in Magdeburg in 1878.


96. Morgan, Bibliography, 15.


98. Rev. of Lucie’s Mistake, by W. Heimburg, Nassau Literary Magazine 46, no. 4 (October 1890): 213.

99. Rev. of A Penniless Girl, by W. Heimburg, Literary World 16, no.16 (August 8, 1885): 268.
107. The spine of *At a High Price* (Boston: Estes, 1879), for example, prominently displays the name “Ernest Werner.” An anonymous review essay that appeared in 1877 in the *National Quarterly Review* refers to Elisabeth Werner throughout as “Ernst Werner.” “German Novels and Novelists,” *National Quarterly Review* 35, nos. 69–70, first series (July and October 1877): 83–104, 284–312.
110. “The Books of 1883,” *Publishers’ Weekly* 25, no. 626 (January 26, 1884): 87. Of the eleven authors that merited mention here, five are German.
112. For an account of the deceptions surrounding this pregnancy and the birth and subsequent death of the baby who was being underfed so that he would appear younger than he was, see Gisela Ebel, *Das Kind ist tot, die Ehre ist gerettet* (Frankfurt am Main: Tende, 1985).
121. “German sentimental novel” is the term used by the Literary World 22, no.18 (August 29, 1891): 293. The New York Times (May 1, 1881) recommended Wister’s translation of The Bailiff’s Maid as “wholesome, light reading for young people” and characterized her translations generally as from “safe and respectable” writers. In similar language, Harper’s remarked of The Little Moorland Princess that “its moral tone is such that it can hardly fail to exert a healthful influence.” “Editor’s Literary Record,” Harper’s New Monthly Magazine 45, no. 267 (August 1872): 463.


124. “Home town” is the historian Mack Walker’s term for the dispersed towns in the German territories that were formative of the perceived individuality that characterized German regionalism in cultural production and German particularism in politics that persisted even after unification. See Mack Walker, German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate, 1648–1871 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971).

125. Armstrong, Desire and Domestic Fiction, 5.

126. Ibid., 1.

Chapter 3


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. E. Marlitt, Gold Elsie, trans. A. L. Wister (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1869), 3. All English quotations from Gold Elsie refer to this edition and translation unless otherwise indicated and will be cited parenthetically in the text.


6. Hans Arens passionately defends Marlitt against a German review from 1885 that objected to Marlitt’s narrative structures: according to the reviewer, these were designed to arouse the reader in a “hysterically sick” manner by placing obstacles in the way of romantic union. Arens comes across as nearly as prudish as this contemporary reviewer when he insists that Marlitt’s idea of love is completely unsexual and when he asserts that, to think otherwise, one would have to be a psychopath or an unscrupulous slanderer or have completely misunderstood the novels. In staking out his position, Arens has succumbed to a failure of the imagination and read only the surface narrative. Marlitt’s novels do not promote sexual excess in the manner of sensation novels, although sexual excess is certainly present in them, only to be roundly condemned. Her works, true to the romance genre, are structured around the growing love of heroine and hero and make clear that the two
are drawn together by an unnamed, irresistible force. As discussed in chapter 4 below, the romance genre routinely erects obstacles to union to titillate readers. Moreover, in a culture that values reserve and restraint, small signs serve to indicate desire. Even as Marlitt’s novels promote virtue and self-control on the surface, desire blossoms, the combination of text and subtext perfectly fulfilling the age-old dictum *prodesse et delectare*. For Arens’s discussion, see *E. Marlitt*, 16–18.

7. The *British Quarterly Review* remarked that Marlitt had a “penchant for marrying brilliant young girls to grave middle-aged men.” “Poetry, Fiction, and Belles Lettres,” *British Quarterly Review, American Edition* 57 (April 1873): 300. She shares this tendency with her fellow German women writers, who perhaps copied this narrative pattern from her.

8. Gottschall (“Die Novellisten der ‘Gartenlaube,’” 1:43) noted similarities between Herr von Walde and Brontë’s Lord Rochester. He did not mention the similarities of the two Berthas.


11. Ibid.


16. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 24 February 1887, in *Papers of the Tucker, Harrison, and Smith Families*, Box 24, Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

17. Ibid.


19. There are likely more reprint editions than I have been able to document to date. Cf. the ongoing Lucile Project (Introduction, n. 61), which to date has established that, from 1860 to 1938, close to a hundred American publishers’ brought out at least two thousand editions and issues.


24. Advertisement, *American Literary Gazette*, 297. The publication of *Secret* preceded *Gold Elsie* by approximately half a year. *Secret* was announced as “just published” on April
Notes to Chapter 3


25. The novel was serialized in *Die Gartenlaube* in 1867 in nos. 21–38, that is, May to late September or early October.


27. Agnes Hamilton to Alice Hamilton, 10 August 1881; Agnes Hamilton to Edith Trowbridge, 19 August 1895, Hamilton Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University. Agnes’s correspondent in the first of these, her cousin Alice, would be among the first North American women to audit classes at the University of Munich. Barbara Sicherman, *Alice Hamilton: A Life in Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 89.


32. Rossiter Johnson, “Eugenie Marlitt,” in *Authors Digest* 19: 312. The two plot summaries included are in volume 12:180–202 and include *Secret* and *The Little Moorland Princess*.


36. The title page of an exemplar dated 1868 announces itself as the third edition, suggesting that the number of reprint editions is far greater than I have been able to confirm. E. Marlitt, *The Old Mamselle’s Secret*, trans. A. L. Wister, 3rd edition (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1868).


43. Charlotte Brontë, *Johanna Eyre*, trans. Ernst Susemihl (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1848). *Jane Eyre* was also adapted in 1856 for the German stage as *Die Waise von Lowood* by the popular playwright Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer.


47. Ulrich von Liechtenstein, “Lied 28,” in *Frauendienst*, ed. Franz Viktor Spechtlter (Göppingen: Kümerle, 1897), 286, 11. 13–18. The two parts of the poem in the original Middle High German are found in Wister’s translation on pp. 81 and 111, and both are translated on p. 112.


51. Steinestel’s translation is very free, condenses the text, and does not observe the original chapter divisions. Her version consists of only thirty-four chapters, but it does not omit any of the events. Wister’s consists of forty chapters. The German serialized and book versions and Miller’s translation, however, consist of forty-one chapters.

52. Wister mistranslated the opening passage, which describes the mansion as a “Fremdling auf deutschem Boden” (foreigner on German soil), taking the “Fremdling” to be the architect and not realizing that the text anthropomorphizes the house here. E. Marlitt, *Im Schillingshof*, vol. 4 of E. Marlitt’s *Gesammelte Romane und Novelle*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, n.d.), 6; E. Marlitt, *In the Schillingscourt*, trans. Annis Lee Wister (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1898), 6. Further page references to these editions appear in the body of the text, cited as M and W, respectively.


55. E. Marlitt, *In the Schillingscourt*, trans. Emily R. Steinside (New York: George Munro’s Sons, n.d.), 91 and 102, respectively. Further page references to this edition appear in the body of the text, cited as S.


58. Goings, *Mammy*, 10. See below, chapter 9, for the southern translator Mary Stuart Smith’s espousal of views associated with the Lost Cause.

59. Ibid, 9. Thurber also notes how the loving and loyal mammy as a product of the New South figured an idea of the antebellum South as it never was; the mammy demonstrated “that the South was capable of harmonious and loving relations. . . . The ideal mammy was presented as someone who loved unconditionally with forgiveness for the past” (“Development of the Mammy Image,” 108).

60. For a discussion of paternalism and patriarchy as these pertain to southern planters as compared with Prussian Junkers, see Shearer Davis Bowman, *Masters and Lords: Mid-19th-Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), esp. ch. 5, 162–83. Bowman’s study recalls that the idea of affective relationships between masters and those condemned to hereditary servitude was not foreign to the midcentury German-speaking world, when the paternalistic relationship of master and serf was on occasion nostalgically invoked as a social good characterizing an era, for example, when masters cared for workers when they reached old age (173–74).


68. Marlitt, *Schillingscourt* (Donohue). Author’s copy. The dedication is dated “Xmas 1911.”


71. See Kelley, *Private Women, Public Stage*.

74. Ibid.
75. Rev. of *In the Schillingscourt*, *The Nation*, 444.
76. On the reading of German popular fiction by southern women, see below, chapters 7 and 9.
77. Copy owned by the author.
78. The formulation is Sicherman’s in *Well-Read Lives*, 40.

**Chapter 4**

1. Mary Stuart Smith to Francis H. Smith, 8 July 1880, THS Papers, Box 19.
2. Scott Denham, Foreword, *W. G. Sebald: History—Memory—Trauma* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 6. Contemporary Germans in turn tend to see the happy ending as quintessentially American and, in a more critical take, as part of the American culture industry, indeed, as the disneyfication of culture.
7. Urszula Bonter maintains that Heimburg’s spinster is modeled on Aunt Cordula in *The Old Maniselle’s Secret* (*Populärroman*, 79). But there are significant differences. Heimburg, unlike Marlitt, shifts full attention to the unfulfilled love of an elderly woman. If her novel is also devoted to revealing secrets, then it is to bring hidden emotional life to the surface and not to facilitate a young woman’s romance.
10. Ibid., 93–104.


20. Ibid., 734.


24. Ibid., 188.

25. Mary Stuart Smith’s mention of “Lore von Tollen” in letters to her son suggests that the two had also translated (or wished to translate) the novel but failed to place it. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 24 July 1889 and 6 August 1889, in THS, Box 25.


40. “Charming Summer Novels,” *The Dial* 7, no. 75 (July 1886): 55.

41. I thank Lisabeth Hock for a critical reading of this section in progress and for sharing her own work in progress on Hillern’s *Arzt der Seele*.

42. *The Galaxy* characterized *Arzt* as treating “the Woman Emancipation question in a spirit decidedly against the view of its votaries.” Rev. of *Arzt der Seele*, by Wilhelmine von Hillern, *The Galaxy* 9, no. 4 (April 1870): 577. A review essay of ten German novels objected strenuously to *Arzt* as “the work of a conservative who has not chosen to discuss the question on its merits.” Anon., “German Novels and Novelists,” *National Quarterly Review* 35, no. 70, first series (October 1877): 307.

43. Fourteen years after the novel first appeared in English translation, Lippincott was


48. Warner, World’s Best Literature, 30:347–48. The claim in this entry that the book’s “exaggeration and sentimentality do not appeal to the English reader” (348) is refuted by the many editions and widespread availability of the book in America over forty years.


52. German feminist Hedwig Dohm remarked in 1874 that intellectual women were generally thought to have “hard features, a long nose, flat-heeled boots, [and] character quirks” and to be elderly. Patricia M. Mazón, Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education, 1865–1914 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 55. In 1872 German anatomist Theodor von Bischoff argued that university study would make women barren. Ibid., 89.

53. The grounds cited for rejecting Ernestine are historically accurate, corresponding to those that dominated the discussion in the 1870s in the German Reich as it moved from having no formal policy on women’s admission to study to policies banning women at almost all German universities by 1879. See Mazón, Gender and the Modern Research University; esp. 85–114.

54. “German Novels and Novelists,” 311. See n. 42.

55. To this day women remain underrepresented in areas of science in industrialized countries and find it difficult to balance “domestic with professional responsibilities.” Sandra Harding, Sciences from Below: Feminisms, Postcolonialities, and Modernities (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 104.


59. Wister, who was not a native speaker of German, may not have known the meaning of “Querkopf” and thus merely inferred the meaning from context. Whether she
deliberately altered the meaning or misunderstood it, either scenario involves an act of interpretation. Wilhelmine von Hillern, Ein Artz der Seele (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1869), 4: 235–36. Further page references to this edition appear in the body of the text.


61. Sicherman, Well-Read Lives, 1.

62. As Sicherman points out, “remaining single was, with few exceptions, a virtual condition for a middle-class woman to have a career.” Ibid., 2. Of the 164 borrowers of Only a Girl (1891–1902) in Muncie, Indiana, 128 are identifiably female (“What Middletown Read”).

63. Lippincott advertised Werner as “Author of the ‘Hero of the Pen’” on the title page of the first edition of At the Altar (1872). I have not, however, found evidence that Hero had been published in English by the time of the publication of At the Altar. Likewise, an advertisement in the New York Times announces At The Altar as by the author of “Hermann” and “Hero of the Pen,” even though Hermann had not yet appeared in book form in English. “New Publications,” New York Times, September 7, 1872, 8.

64. “Recent Novels,” The Nation 15, no. 376 (September 12, 1872): 171.


73. Advertisement for E. Werner’s A Lover from Across the Sea, in Edward A. Robinson and George H. Wall, The Gun-Bearer (New York: Robert Bonner’s Sons, 1894), unnumbered back page. The reference to the “German domestic love-story” in this advertisement suggests that “German” served as a kind of branding.

74. Alison Light, “Returning to Manderley: Romance Fiction, Female Sexuality, and Class,” in Feminism and Cultural Studies, ed. Morag Shiach (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 372. Further page references for Light’s work are included in the body of the text.

75. Making a case for Marlitt’s novels as belonging to German realism, Belgum argues that realism should be understood broadly to include “the perceived importance of desire
on the part of nineteenth-century readers, female as well as male." After all, milestones of nineteenth-century German realism feature male heroes who achieve their heart’s desire. See Belgum, “Narratives of Virtuous Desire,” 277.


78. “Recent Fiction,” The Critic 18, no. 553 (September 24, 1892): 164.


Chapter 5

1. “Romance,” Rev. of *In the Schillingscourt*, Milwaukee Sentinel, November 11, 1879.

2. Mary Kelley points out, the majority of the popular works by the American “literary domestics” featuring “dreams of romantic love” as courtship also “stopped short of the altar.” Kelley, *Private Women, Public Stage*, 259.


8. Rev. of *The Second Wife*, Literary World 5, no. 3 (August 1, 1874): 39.


15. The plot of Jane Eyre itself contains elements of the novel of remarriage, insofar as the first wedding ceremony of Mr. Rochester and Jane is interrupted with the dreadful news that he already has a wife. For nine chapters the couple is split apart until a chastened and maimed Mr. Rochester is able to propose a second time since his first wife has died.
17. Ibid., 212.
18. E. Marlitt, The Second Wife (Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry, n.d.). Copy owned by author. The book is also signed in another hand: “Myrtle Fuchs,” but it is unclear whether Myrtle Fuchs was the original owner, the “Mamma” intended in the dedication.
20. “Healthy Light Literature. Which should be in every Library,” American Library Journal 1, no. 10 (June 30, 1877): 352.
22. Leland’s translation of Heine’s Reisebilder (Pictures of Travel) had appeared in its fifth revised edition in New York in 1866 and by 1882 had gone through four more editions. Morgan, Bibliography, 239.
23. By contrast, in Marlitt’s Countess Gisela, which was serialized in Die Gartenlaube in 1869, the same year in which Bebel’s Workers’ Party was founded, there is no need for strikes. The conditions of the workers have been improved by the skillful management of Berthold, the benevolent absentee owner who has worked his magic from afar in opposition to the local government. Berthold has expanded the foundry into “dimensions hitherto undreamed of”; where there was once a single chimney, there are now fourteen. The factory is providing work for the needy and unemployed in the area, wages are very high, and “every possible attention [is] paid to the comfort of the work-people.” He has also founded a “popular library, a savings bank, and several other benevolent institutions.” E. Marlitt, Countess Gisela, trans. A. L. Wister (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1869), 140 and 142, respectively. Workers parties are thus superfluous in this paternalistic fantasy of affective individualism, one shared by Werner’s novel as well.
24. Emile Zola’s Germinal, with its coal-mining setting and more critical view of management, would not be published until a decade later in 1885.
25. Worker relations become an issue repeatedly in Werner’s novels, always with the plea for better conditions for the workers brought about by the iron will and ethical stance of an individual man. Those who exploit their workers are repudiated, but the workers are expected to see the greater wisdom of benevolent men who rule over them. In Freie Bahn (1893; Clear the Track, 1893), Egbert, the energetic and intelligent self-made engineer,
flirts with socialism for a time but ultimately repudiates it to become the heir apparent of Eberhard, the owner of the Odensburg works and his longtime benefactor. Although Egbert leaves the corrupt socialist party, he does not give up all of his socialist principles when he returns to the fold. Surprisingly, the factory owner concedes, “I am no longer the old blockhead who supposed that, alone, he could stem the tide of a new era. . . . I can summon to my side a young, fresh force that is in sympathy with the present.” E. Werner, Clear the Track! A Story of Today, trans. Mary Stuart Smith (New York: The Federal Book Company, n.d.), 319. Werner’s factory owner thus reflects the strategy of imperial Germany, guided by Bismarck, to outflank the socialists and split the liberals through the implementation of social legislation including insurance for illness (1883), accidents (1884), and invalidity and old age (1889). See David Blackbourn, The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780–1918 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 346. It is possible that Werner read Elizabeth Gaskell’s North and South in English or as Margarethe in German translation, where she would have encountered a scene with a lone factory owner facing an angry mob. Werner musters far less sympathy for the workers than does Gaskell.


27. E. Marlitt, Goldelse, vol. 8 of E. Marlitt’s Gesammelte Werke (Stuttgart: Union deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1890), back advertising pages. The identical advertisement for the Werner series recurs repeatedly in volumes from both the Heimburg and the Marlitt series.


30. Dickey’s translation and Smith’s rendering for the Tribune both begin with what becomes chapter 2 of the 1879 German book publication of Lumpenmüllers Lieschen (Leipzig: Keil, 1879) as does the original serialization in Die Gartenlaube, indicating that the magazine served as the source of both of these translations. Lathrop’s translation, by contrast, contains the later-added first chapter. A notice in Publishers’ Weekly announces that A Maiden’s Choice is in preparation for the International Library for the fall. Publishers’ Weekly 40, nos. 1025–26 (September 26, 1891): 392.


32. Die Gartenlaube announced the publication of Lumpenmüllers Lieschen in Heimburg’s collected works in issue no. 26 (1891): 448.

33. The illustrated German edition appeared in May or June 1891; Worthington’s illustrated edition appeared sometime in the fall of 1891.

34. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 30 April 1888, in THS Papers, Box 24.

36. "Editorial Notes," *United Service: A Quarterly Review of Military and Naval Affairs* 7, no. 1 (July 1882): 114; "Book Table," *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* 123, no. 737 (November 1891): 443. The former notice appears in a publication targeting male readers. It includes a list of "novels and romances" that are classified as summer reading for "lovers of light reading." While this listing in a men's journal might be evidence for men's reading of this literature, it is also possible that the notice suggested to men books that they could buy for the women in their lives.


44. "Recent Fiction," *The Critic*, 191 (see n. 40).

45. The insistence on Christmas and the Christmas tree as a quintessentially German holiday circulated in imperial Germany in descriptions of encounters with the alien, for example, in newspaper accounts and memoirs of the Franco-Prussian War. As Frank Becker points out, the celebration of Christmas 1870 offered the opportunity for Germans to express their love of family and home anew. Newspapers—and later on, memoirs—abounded with reports of official and improvised Christmas celebrations in the field. See Frank Becker, *Bilder von Krieg und Nation. Die Einigungskriege in der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit Deutschlands 1864–1913* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001), 367. A governess's story from 1908 offers a further example. She describes for the readers of a girls’ magazine her experience of Christmas among Russians, concluding with the statement that foreigners are incapable of understanding the meaning of the Christmas tree, “the ancient property” of the Germans. E. Kothe, “Unser Weihnachtsbaum in der Fremde,” *Töchter-Album*, ed. Thekla von Gumpert (Berlin: Carl Flemming Verlag, [1908]), 54:507.


47. The *Gartenlaube* serialization concluded in October 1874. The *New York Times* announced the publication of *Broken Chains* on December 8, 1874 ("New Publications," 7).
48. The *Literary World* spoke of “fine characterization in the book” but then asserted, “its general effect is unpleasant,” without explaining why. The reviewer may have found the original marriage too degrading to be redeemed. “Minor Book Notices,” *Literary World* 5, no. 9 (February 1, 1875): 141.


56. Heimburg may have borrowed from Marlitt’s *Countess Gisela* in adding a bronze foundry to an iron foundry to forge a wedding of art and industry. In *Countess Gisela* Marlitt recounts how the addition of a bronze foundry to an iron works has transformed the “productions of the establishment” from a “most primitive” kind to “artistic specimens of bronze-castings.” Marlitt, *Countess Gisela*, 140.


70. In 1902, for example, it is advertised in the *New York Times*, alongside several novels by Marlitt, in a popular library available from A. D. Matthews’ Sons as one of “the best books ever.” Display ad, *New York Times*, June 15, 1902, 24. The 1902 edition is the last edition I have been able to document.

75. Bethusy-Huc wrote *Die Eichhoffs* just a few years after the appearance of *Anna Karenina* (1877). In its flirtation with and avoidance of adultery and its inclusion of a character named Wronsly, the novel may signal a debt to Tolstoy. The Russian novel had, however, not yet been translated into German.


81. Ibid.
84. In her study of European realism, Lilian R. Furst contrasts “insistently acknowledged background” and “omnipresent context for the action” with the realist evocation of place as a “dynamic set of circumstances.” *All Is True: The Claims and Strategies of Realist Fiction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 176. Furst concludes that the realist evocation of place is achieved “more through enactment than through description” (188).

Chapter 6


12. E. Werner, * Flames* (Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry, 1891), 6. The preface is signed "Lake View, August 3, 1890." Subsequent page references to this edition appear in the body of the text.

13. Smith mentions wanting to start work on *Flammenzeichen* in a letter to her son and cotranslator. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 17 November 1890, in THS, Box 26.

14. Mary Stuart Smith to George Tucker Smith, 27 September 1897, in THS, Box 30.


18. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 9 December 1890, in THS, Box 26.


21. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 17 November 1890, in THS, Box 26.


23. In 1898 the readership of the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* responded to a questionnaire asking which period of history was the unhappiest of the century. The unequivocal answer was the "Franzosenzeit 1806–1812" (time of the French occupation). "Die Bilanz des Jahrhunderts," *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, December 25, 1898, 48.
24. Part 2 of *Debit and Credit* involves the restoration of a run-down estate on Polish soil and the defense of that estate against Polish rebels. Poles are depicted either as gallant but irresponsible aristocrats or dull peasants. Germans who have “gone native” are portrayed in a negative light. Gustav Freytag, *Soll und Haben* (Leipzig, 1855).


30. Joseph Duane Fike, “Frank Mayo: Actor, Playwright, and Manager” (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1980). Chapter 4 documents Mayo’s productions of *Nordeck*, and chapter 5 describes Mayo’s discouraging years with *Nordeck* and his surprising success with his Mark Twain adaptation.


35. Ibid., 214.


37. E. Werner, *The Price He Paid: A Special Translation* (New York: F. M. Lupton, 1891), 293. Although this book advertises itself as a “special translation,” it is in fact a new edition of Tyrrell’s *No Surrender* with a frontispiece depicting the duel that constitutes the climax of the novel. All further page references to this edition appear in the body of the text.


39. Ibid.


43. As Jeffrey L. Sammons outlines (*Kuno Francke’s Edition*, 189–90), Raabe was included in volume 11 of Kuno Francke’s *German Classics* alongside Theodor Storm and Friedrich Spielhagen. The work included is a deeply abridged version of Raabe’s *Der Hun-
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gerpastor (1864). Raabe’s narrative style challenges the translator, just as it did nineteenth-century German readers with whom he became increasingly unpopular.

44. Wilhelm Raabe, Eulenpfingsten, in Sämtliche Werke (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 11: 446.


49. Ibid., 97–145.


52. Cooke, “Miss Mühlbach and Her System,” 169.

53. Munro, for one, saw to it that Marlitt, Heimburg, Werner, and Mühlbach all appeared in English translation in his Seaside Library. An advertising page inserted in the front matter of an edition of What the Spring Brought contains three lists: one of Heimburg’s works contained in the Seaside Library, Pocket Edition, one of Werner’s works, and one of Mühlbach’s works. E. Werner, What the Spring Brought, trans. Mary Stuart Smith (New York: George Munro, n.d.).


56. Peterson, History, Fiction, and Germany, 118.


Part Three


3. Louisa May Alcott, Little Women, or, Meg, Jo, Beth and Amy, introd. Anna Quindlen (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994), 352.
4. Ibid., 332. Patricia Meyer Spacks, for example, observes that subjecting Jo to a father figure “was something of a sell.” Patricia Meyer Spacks, *The Female Imagination* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), 101. For an interpretation of Alcott’s decision to marry Jo to Professor Bhaer that frames it more progressively, as, among other things, a deliberate decision not to capitulate to the conventions of romance that would dictate marriage to the young, handsome, and rich Laurie, see Barbara Sicherman, “Reading Little Women: The Many Lives of a Text,” in *U.S. History as Women’s History: New Feminist Essays*, ed. Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 245–66.


**Chapter 7**


2. Ibid., 1–2.

3. Eubank’s family biography of J. J. Crittenden and his children makes a good case for Crittenden’s powerful presence as pater familias and outlines the not-always-beneficial pressures that he imposed on his children, particularly the male children. The Crittenden family serves as a cogent example of tragic familial rifts that ensued especially in border states during the American Civil War. While Eubank includes Coleman in this biography, the boys, who played prominent public roles, figure more centrally. Coleman’s correspondence provides information on the family and thus serves as an important source for Eubank’s study. Eubank has, however, not taken full measure of Coleman herself or given the translations or her biography of her father any more than passing attention. In fact, he does not mention them by name and refers instead incorrectly to “works on the campaigns of Frederick the Great” translated “years earlier” for Ulysses Grant. Ibid., 161. Francis Hudson Oxx, *The Kentucky Crittendens: The History of a Family Including the Genealogy of Descendants in Both the Male and Female Lines, Biographical Sketches of Its Members and Their Descent from Other Early Colonial Families* (n.p.: n.p., 1940), 145–46.


6. Coleman’s daughter Florence had married in 1855 and did not accompany the family. Coleman’s ostensible reason for a sojourn in Europe was to be able to live more cheaply, yet staying in Louisville would have been a financially wiser choice. It is clear from her correspondence even before her husband’s death that she was bored with her lot there, even though she was considered a queen of Louisville society and lived at a premier
address. See, e.g., John J. Crittenden to Ann Mary Coleman, 9 May 1849, JJC Papers. In this letter Crittenden tried to console his disappointed daughter when her brother, not her husband, received an appointment to Liverpool, England.


9. Ibid., April 1863, JJC Papers.

10. Ibid.


12. Eubank, *Shadow of the Patriarch*, 40. Oxx, *The Kentucky Crittendens*, 146. Oxx writes of Coleman’s “first and most difficult mission for the Confederacy” as follows: “Before she left Paris for New York she agreed to help transmit some dispatches from William Mason, the Confederate minister to France, to Jefferson Davis in Richmond. With the important documents sewed between the double soles of her shoes, she reached Louisville in safety. At this point, suspicion being aroused at the provost's headquarters, she changed shoes with Judith Venable. Miss Venable succeeded in getting through the Union lines alone . . . and delivered the papers to the Confederate authorities in Richmond.” Ibid.

13. Ibid., 147.


15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., 18 May 1863, JJC Papers.


18. Will of Chapman Coleman, JJC Papers. In late February or early March 1865 Coleman brazenly wrote to Jefferson Davis personally, requesting that her only remaining son, Chapman, be assigned some lighter duty. The letter was eventually referred to Nathan Bedford Forrest, but before he could react to it Lee and Johnston had surrendered their armies. Siegel Auctions, Item No. 2454, Letter, 6 March 1865, http://www.siegelauctions.com/1997/786/ya7864.htm (accessed August 29, 2010).

19. Her circumstance as widow and sole supporter of her unmarried daughters in wartime mirrors that of Mühlbach, whose works she would soon translate. Mühlbach suffered financially from the economy and disrupted communication and publishing in wartime, in her case during the Austro-Prussian War (1866) and Franco-Prussian War (1870–71).


23. Gerard R. Wolfe, *The House of Appleton* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981), 128. Tebbel also writes (*Expansion of an Industry*, 203–4) that the decision to publish a series of Mühlbach novels resulted from William Worthen Appleton's reading of Adelaide de Vendel Chaudron's *Joseph II*, which had been published in the Confederacy in 1864. Tebbel does not provide his sources for this account. The first version of this anecdote in


26. *Joseph II and His Court* with Appleton was not announced as “just published” until February 16, 1867. Advertisement, *Round Table* 5 (February 16, 1867): 110.

27. Chew, *Fruit among the Leaves*, 32. There are many points here that demand further scrutiny. For one, in 1865 Chaudron’s publisher, Sigismund Heinrich Goetzel, had published a second novel by Mühlbach that is never mentioned in this account, namely, *Henry the Eighth and His Court or Catherine Parr*, translated by Henry Niles Pierce. Appleton issued a new edition of it in the very same year in which he reprinted Chaudron’s translation, 1867. Goetzel was still trying to sell both volumes, for which he had secured new US copyrights after the conclusion of the Civil War, as an advertisement in the *American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular* indicates. *American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular* 6, no. 1 (1 November 1865): 30. A subsequent advertisement informs the public that *Joseph II and His Court* “and the other publications of S. H. Goetzel, Mobile,” are “for sale by Collins & Brother” in New York. Advertisement, *American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular* 6, no. 3 (December 1, 1865): 118. As I outline below, Chaudron belatedly tried to place additional translations with Appleton but was scooped by the Colemans. When Chew alludes to “other translators,” however, he may have in mind Amory Coffin, whose translation of *The Merchant of Berlin* appeared with Appleton very early in 1867 (although in some later editions the copyright date is listed as 1866, contemporary publications list the publication date as 1867, as does the volume itself), described as a “companion volume to Frederick and his Court . . . and of Joseph and his Court.” “Books of the Month,” *Hours at Home: A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 4, no. 3 (January 1867): 285. See also “List of Some Recent Publications,” *North American Review* 104, no. 214 (January 1867): 215, where *Merchant* is entered with a publication date of 1867 just below *Frederick the Great and His Court* (listed with the publication date 1866).

28. D. Appleton to Ann Mary Coleman, 8 May 1866, JJC Papers.


30. D. Appleton to Ann Mary Coleman, 8 May 1866, JJC Papers.


32. “Literary Table,” *Round Table* 4, no. 56 (September 29, 1866): 139. The *New York Times* published an account by S. H. Goetzel, the publisher, concerning the publication of *Joseph II*. According to this account, Goetzel, who had since 1859 had a copy of the
novel, contacted Chaudron to translate it for monthly serialization in a planned magazine publication. Wartime vicissitudes impeded the project and therefore Goetzel opted for publishing the translation of the book as a novel instead. Goetzel concluded his account with an emphatic assertion: “This is the true statement of the manner by which MUHLBACH’s German productions were introduced into the United States.” “New Publications,” New York Times, January 30, 1867, 2. This account was apparently intended to correct the erroneous and highly romanticized version that had appeared two weeks earlier, according to which,

While the war was in progress, a lady of Mobile received by one of the steamers which succeeded in running the blockade, a copy of Joseph II and His Court. She had the enterprise to translate it, and a publisher at Raleigh, North Carolina, we believe, brought it out. Although poorly printed and on dingy paper, it had an extensive sale, both on account of its intrinsic merit and the scarcity of reading matter in the South. Copies of the work afterward found their way to the North and attracted the attention of lovers of light literature of the more substantial sort. Shortly Messieurs Appleton & Co. determined to republish all of Mrs. MUHLBACH’s productions and commencing but a month or two ago with Frederick the Great and His Court, they now follow up that volume with The Merchant of Berlin, and promise to give fourteen more volumes of the same prolific writer. (“Literary Intelligence,” New York Times, January 14, 1867, 2)

Although erroneous, the version with Chaudron as “steel magnolia” prevailed, no doubt in part because Appleton began advertising Joseph II with a quotation from the erroneous and romantic version from the New York Times—obviously an appealing story with which to sell books. See advertisement, Christian Advocate 40, no. 5 (January 31, 1867): 40; advertisement, American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular 8, no. 7 (February 1, 1867): 227. Over the course of approximately two years a garbled account gradually emerged, according to which Joseph II was a huge success from the start, well known nationwide (apparently even during the Civil War), a success that ushered in the Mühlbach series. The Round Table, as mentioned above, had pointed out in 1866 upon the appearance of Frederick the Great and His Court that Chaudron’s translation of Joseph II was regrettably not that well known.

33. “Literary Table,” 139 (see n. 32).
34. Ann Mary Coleman to Patrick Joyes, 6 December 1866, Joyes Family Additional Papers 1820–1891 (J89b).
35. Advertisement, American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular 8, no. 8 (February 15, 1867): 225; “Announcements,” American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular 8, no. 11 (April 1, 1867): 327. These two novels were, respectively, the fourth and fifth novels by Mühlbach published by Appleton.
36. Frederick the Great and His Relations, The Merchant of Berlin, Louisa of Prussia, Napoleon in Germany, and Frederick the Great in Bohemia. The first and last of these titles are reproduced incorrectly in this announcement. “Announcements,” Round Table 4, no. 62 (November 10, 1866): 245.
37. For an outline of the creation of nationalist Frederick myths in nineteenth-century Germany, containing many examples that originate in the 1850s, see Peterson, History, Fiction, and Germany, 97–145.
38. Appleton to Ann Mary Coleman, New York, 13 August 1867, JJC Papers. “Nearly
“ready” was a bit of an exaggeration. The novel, translated by Chaudron, in the end the sixteenth in Appleton’s series of historical novels, did not appear until late November 1868. See advertisement, *American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular* 12, no. 2 (November 16, 1868): 59, where it is announced for publication on November 21, 1868.


40. Kurth-Voigt and McClain (“Louise Mühlbach’s Historical Novels,” 61) point out that it would have been possible for Chapman Coleman, who joined the American Legation in Berlin in 1869, to have met Mühlbach sometime before her death in 1873.

41. Ulysses S. Grant to Mrs. Mary Coleman & daughters, 3 October 1866, JJC Papers. The gift had already been acknowledged on Grant’s behalf by Adam Badeau (1831–95). Adam Badeau to Ann Mary Coleman, 3 September 1866, JJC Papers.

42. Robert E. Lee to Ann Mary Coleman, 12 April 1867, JJC Papers.


44. An announcement of the Phelps von Rottenburg marriage that appeared in the *New York Times* confirms that Chapman was still in Berlin as First Secretary of the Legation, having served twenty-four years there. The article inaccurately implies that he had held this title the entire time. *New York Times*, June 1, 1893, 2. As letters held in the JJC Papers to Alexander H. Stephens (1816–83), former vice-president of the Confederacy and Georgia congressman, testify, Coleman had vigorously campaigned beginning in the late 1870s for a promotion for her son. In 1884 Chapman was offered the post of First Secretary of Legation in Peking, which he turned down (possibly on her advice), but finally in the same year he received the coveted promotion in Berlin. Chapman Coleman to Ann Mary Coleman, 20 September 1884, JJC Papers.


46. Ibid., 1: vii.

47. For a list of members and a description of the founding and procedures of the Literary Society, see Helen Nicolay, *Sixty Years of the Literary Society* (Washington, DC: privately printed, 1934).

48. Among Coleman’s papers, held in the JJC Papers, are a number of manuscripts, indicated as presentations to the Literary Society.

49. Mary T. Tardy, *The Living Female Writers of the South* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelbinger, 1872), 56.

50. Ibid., 57.


52. See Coleman’s correspondence with Joyes, Joyes Family Additional Papers 1820–1891 (J89b).

53. Ann Mary Coleman to Patrick Joyes, 19 October 1888, Joyes Family Additional Papers 1820–1891 (J89b).

54. Ibid., 4 November 1888, Joyes Family Additional Papers 1820–1891 (J89b).


57. Ibid., 3 December 1867, Joyes Family Additional Papers 1820–1891 (J89b).


60. Appleton & Co. to Ann Mary Coleman, 13 August 1867, JJC Papers.

61. Ann Mary Coleman to Florence Joyes, 17 April 1872, Joyes Family Additional Papers 1820–1891 (J89b). This unidentified manuscript was never published as far as I have been able to determine. Whether it was the unpublished translation of Honoré de Balzac’s novel *La dernière fée* (1823), titled *The Last Fairy* and held in the JJC Papers, is a matter for speculation.


64. Appleton to Mrs. Chapman Coleman, 8 May 1866, JJC Papers.

65. Appleton & Co. to Ann Mary Coleman, 13 August 1867, JJC Papers.

66. “A Famous Woman,” 8 (see n. 51). In an undated list of accounts, the $3,761 received from Appleton is divided among Coleman, her three daughters, and Chapman. Joyes Family Additional Papers 1820–1891 (J89b).


69. Ibid., 205.


74. Ibid.

75. Ann Mary Coleman to John J. Crittenden, 18 May 1863, JCC Papers.


77. Drew Gilpin Faust has shown that white Confederate women became disabused of the romance of war “in the face of the unrelenting pressure of real war” as ever more sacrifices were demanded of them. If Coleman, too, had been disenchanted, that disenchantment ebbed as time passed, but then Coleman sympathized with the South, yet lived in the North where conditions were not as dire. “Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War,” in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, ed. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 171–99, esp. 181–86. For Faust’s account of suffering in and after the war, see *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).


Chapter 8


2. On the back inside cover of the June issue of Lippincott's Magazine 5 (1870) readers are alerted to the availability of the eighth edition of The Old Mam'selle's Secret (1868), as well as the sixth edition of Gold Elsie (1868) and the fifth edition of Countess Gisela (1870).


7. "My advice, worthless in all cases according to my estimation of it, is always 'destroy.' All this accumulation teaches me the same lesson. I have kept all my father's letters but I think I shall burn them before I go abroad. Carrie Thomas' I destroy regularly. You & I differ in this I know. But when the dear hands that have penned & the brains that created have left my mortal sight & I see before me these [perishable?] pen-strokes I always want to say 'Oh take this too—it has no right to permanence." Annis Lee Wister to Howard Horace Furness, 5 August 1896, Furness MSS, Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Furness MSS).


13. Ibid., 375; Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation*, 132; Peterson, “E. Marlitt (Eugenie John),” 225.

14. Inside front cover of the January issue of *Lippincott’s Magazine* 1 (1868) and front cover of the January issue of *Lippincott’s Magazine* 3 (1869), respectively.


21. Undated and unsigned note, Furness MSS. Wister is described here as a sixty-six-year-old woman, which indicates that the note was written either in 1896 or 1897.

22. Alert to women’s oppression in patriarchal Germany, the German author Gabriele Reuter pointed out the irony of exhausted women’s therapeutic drinking of water enriched in iron in a country that fancied itself built of “iron and blood.” Gabriele Reuter, *Aus guter Familie*, 6th ed. (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1897), 359.


24. In two anthologies Luise F. Putsch examines the frustration of the daughters and sisters of famous men, pointing out that these real women lived the dreary fate of Virginia Woolf’s hypothetical “Judith Shakespeare.” Their brothers and fathers, while encouraging a modicum of literacy, consistently overlooked, thwarted, or devalued the talents of their sisters and daughters. Luise F. Putsch, ed., *Schwestern berühmter Männer* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1981) and Luise F. Putsch, ed., *Töchter berühmter Männer* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1988).

25. Annis Lee Wister to Henry Lea, 1 October 1890, Furness MSS.

26. Annis Lee Wister to Mrs. E. M. Hieslaven, 18 August [no year], Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The address on Wister’s stationary is 1303 Arch Street, Wister’s home during the period when she completed most of her transla-
tions. The letter must have been written before 1883, when she moved into the new house at 1322 Locust Street, designed by her brother Frank Furness.

27. Annis Lee Wister to Miss Dickinson, 27 January [no year], letter owned by author. As in the case of the previous letter, the address on the stationary is 1303 Arch Street. The letter must therefore have been written before 1883. This same sentiment is echoed in a short notice in *The Dial* two decades or more later. *The Dial* claims that when Wister ceased translating in 1891, “she excused herself from further labors of the sort on the plea that the daughter of her father (the late William H. Furness, D.D.) and the sister of her brother (Dr. Horace Howard Furness) ought to be engaged in worthier work than translating German love stories for American girls to read.” Notice, *The Dial* 43, no. 513 (November 1, 1907): 278.


31. Annis Lee Wister to S. Weir Mitchell, 24 November 1888, MSS 2/0241–03 Ser. 4.3, Box 9, Letters from Annis Lee Wister to S. W. Mitchell, Mitchell MSS.

32. Warner et al., *Hints for Home Reading*, title page. The lists of recommended books are to be found on pp. 117–47.

33. Sicherman, “Reading and Middle-Class Identity,” 138.


36. Appleton was one of the few American publishers to make royalty payments to foreign authors in the 1870s. Tylutki, “D. Appleton and Company,” 1:23.


47. Rev. of In the Schillingscourt, by E. Marlitt, The Nation 29, no. 756 (1879): 443.
50. Ibid.
51. List of books sent by home and foreign committees to the Library of the Woman's Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, compiled for the United States World's Columbian Commission Board of Lady Managers under the direction of Edith E. Clarke (Chicago 1893), 52, col. 2. http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/clarke/library/library.html (accessed December 10, 2009). Sarah Wadsworth summarizes the importance of this exhibit: “A signal achievement in women's history and in cultural history more broadly, the resulting library gathered under one roof more than 7,000 volumes authored, illustrated, edited, or translated by women.” Sarah Wadsworth, Preface, Special Issue, Libraries and Cultures 41, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 1. I thank Katrin Völkner for alerting me to this journal's special issue.
52. “Books of the Month,” Lippincott’s Magazine 50 (1892): 820. All of Marlitt's works were reissued in Germany in an illustrated edition as Marlitt's gesammelte Romane und Novellen from 1888 to 1890. The mention of illustrations from the German editions in 1892 therefore probably refers to these illustrations. Moreover, the fact that Lippincott advertised an edition of Marlitt's works with these illustrations from German sources in 1892 after the United States had passed an international copyright law implies that the American firm had worked with Keils Nachfolger/Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft. I have, however, not been able to locate any of the illustrated Wister translations of Marlitt mentioned in this advertisement and have therefore not been able to confirm the German origins of the illustrations or in fact the existence of this ten-volume edition. For information on the German edition of the illustrated, collected works of Marlitt, see Tatlock, “Afterlife,” 118–52.
53. A “transaction” in the language of the Muncie database refers to a checkout of a book. The numbers were compiled with the help of Stephen Pentecost, using data from “What Middletown Read.”
55. I acquired these eleven volumes from an American antiquarian bookseller. I know nothing about Amanda A. Durff, their first owner.
57. Ibid., 147.
60. Review of In the Schillingscourt, by E. Marlitt, Literary World 10, no. 22 (October 25, 1879): 342.
64. Advertisement, The Dial 7, no. 82 (February 1887), advertising page.
67. Schubin, Countess Erika’s Apprenticeship, 6.
68. Ibid.
70. My copy, dated 1907, with a copyright date of November 1907 as well, claims to be a second edition, indicating at least short-term success. Adolf Streckfuss, The Lonely House, trans. by Mrs. A. L. Wister, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1907). Wister is advertised on the title page principally by means of her translations of Marlitt: “Translator of ‘The Old Mam’selle’s Secret,’ ‘Gold Elsie,’ ‘The Second Wife,’ ‘The Happy-Go-Lucky,’ etc.” Eichendorff’s Happy-Go-Lucky (Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts) also famously ends happily: “und es war alles, alles gut!” (and all, all was well!).
71. Streckfuss, Lonely House, front matter.
74. These words echo Thomas Wentworth Higginson’s discussion of stylistic attributes such as “simplicity,” “freshness,” and “choice of words” as the qualities that elevate books to the “domain of pure literature.” Thomas Wentworth Higginson, “Literature as an Art,” Atlantic Monthly 20 (1867): 745–55; quoted by Rubin, Making of Middlebrow Culture, 13.
77. Rev. of A Penniless Girl, by W. von Heimburg, The Independent 37, no. 1895 (March 26, 1885): 12.
81. The first two expressions in quotations can be read in a review of A Penniless Girl, by W. Heimburg, in The Independent 37, no. 1895 (March 26, 1885): 12. “Rehabilitate” refers to the above-quoted “A German Novel,” 16 (see n. 78).

Chapter 9

2. Ibid.
3. Mary Stuart Smith to George Tucker Smith, 23 July 1894, THS Papers, Box 28.
4. During the final year of the Civil War, the average income of professors “did not exceed one hundred dollars in value.” Philip Alexander Bruce, History of the University of Virginia, 1819–1919 (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 3:321.
5. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 26 November 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.
6. David Marvel Reynolds Culbreth, *The University of Virginia: Memoirs of Her Student-Life and Professors* (New York: Neale, 1908), 384. The Baptist minister John A. Broadus, who must have known Smith since his time as chaplain of the University of Virginia in the mid-1850s, wrote of seeing Murillo’s painting on his visit to the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden and the resemblance he saw to her, and then, in good Protestant fashion, repudiated the Mary worship in the images of the Madonna collected in the gallery. John A. Broadus to Mary Stuart Smith, 1 December 1870, THS Papers, Box 16.

7. Mary Stuart Smith to Francis H. Smith, 8 July 1880, THS Papers, Box 19.

9. Notice of this public performance appears in the *Daily Inter Ocean*, which reported on the events of the fair. “To-day’s World’s Fair Programme,” *Daily Inter Ocean* 91 (June 23, 1893): col. A.

10. Her contribution to *Harper’s Cook Book Encyclopaedia*, furthermore, is documented in a brief notice for the work in the *New York Times*. “Notes and News,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1902, BR14. See also Mary Stuart Smith to Mary Jane Harrison, 18–29 May 1873, THS Papers, Box 17, one of several letters documenting her contributions to *Harper’s Bazaar*.

11. Mary Stuart Smith to Frank H. Smith, 11 September 1871, THS Papers, Box 17.
12. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 28 March 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.

13. Ibid., 3 June 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.
14. Mary Stuart Smith to George Tucker Smith, 11 December 1896, THS Papers, Box 30. Tucker was born in 1866, which confirms the timeframe of 1868 for the translation.

15. Rosalie, who was sick, complained that her mother was only reading German and never talked. Rosalie Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 9 May 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.

16. Mary Stuart Smith to Francis H. Smith, Thursday Morning, 2 July 1896, THS Papers, Box 30.


19. She may refer here to the speech held at the Chicago Exposition, which had appeared in print a few months earlier. Mary Stuart Smith to George Tucker Smith, 17 February 1895, THS Papers, Box 29.

20. The English translator Clara Bell came in for harsh criticism when Smith and her son were producing a new translation of Georg Ebers’s *Nilbraut*. Smith found it “wretchedly poor” but then admitted a few days later that “trying [to translate] oneself makes one take more indulgent views of the efforts of others.” Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 3 June and 8 June 1887, THS Papers, Box 244.

21. Ibid., 9 April 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.
22. Quoted by Charles W. Kent, “Mary Stuart Smith,” 11:4949. Kent identifies the source merely as “one of her early essays.”

23. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 9 December 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.
24. Ibid., 3 November 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.
25. “Contemporary Literature,” International Review, August 1879, 227. Reviews of At a High Price disagreed on the quality of Smith’s skill as a translator. Two regional newspapers display this spread, ranging from a blistering criticism of this “miserable translation which has left the German idioms and positions of words as far as possible from colloquial English” to praise of “Mary Stuart Smith who seems to have the rare faculty of conveying the spirit of the author, as well as his [sic] matter and ideas.” Rev. of At a High Price, by E. Werner, Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, April 26, 1879, 8, col. A; “New Books,” St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 24, 1879, 3, col. C.
27. Mary Stuart Smith to George Tucker Smith, 30 August 1898, THS Papers, Box 30. Smith found herself speaking of Tucker’s return “home” to New York from the Spanish-American War and ruefully noted how “liberalizing” war had been for her to be able to call the “hub of Yankeedom” home.
28. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 12 December 1882, THS Papers, Box 21.
29. Ibid., 23 May 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.
30. Barbara Sicherman (“Reading and Middle-Class Identity,” 141) designates as “cheap books” books priced at five, ten, and twenty cents. Smith’s earliest translations for Munro are priced at twenty cents.
33. Sicherman maintains that, given the significant number of “classic books” available in “cheap libraries,” the idea that reading contents were stratified along class lines needs to be questioned. Sicherman, “Ideologies and Practices of Reading,” 296–97.
34. She not only translated for Munro but also wrote weekly articles for his Fashion Bazar, as this letter documents. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, dated “Monday morning or Sunday night near 1 AM” [May 1888], THS Papers, Box 24.
35. Two additional Smith translations appeared in the regular Seaside Series.
37. A letter from Margaret J[unkin] Preston makes clear that Smith has complained about the honoraria for translating: “I am sorry to hear you say that you find your work of translation an ill-paid service; I had an idea that German translation was more or less profitable, and I believe your specialty lies in that language.” Preston went on to say that she found literature generally to be unprofitable and that she had earned little from her books. Margaret J. Preston to Mary Stuart Smith, 8 April 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.
38. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 24 February 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.
39. “Eliza’s school” was a Christian school established in China in memory of Smith’s daughter Eliza Smith Walker, who died suddenly when pregnant with her first child on September 2, 1880. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, undated letter, THS Papers, Box 45.
40. Smith reported to Harry that a Mrs. Serte had told her that Mrs. Coleman received $5,000 for her translation; she thought that the honorarium had been $1,000. Mary Stuart
Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, Monday 11.20 [May 1888], THS Papers, Box 24. See chapter 6 for Coleman's earnings.
41. Ibid., April 1, [1891], THS Papers, Box 26.
42. Ibid., 9 December 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.
43. Mary Stuart Smith to George Tucker Smith, 13 March 1894, THS Papers, Box 28.
44. Ibid., 6 March 1994, THS Papers, Box 28; Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, April 1, [1891], THS Papers, Box 26.
45. Mary Stuart Smith, “Record of What she can write down, in brief, of the main incidents of her beloved and lamented Harry's Life” [sic], undated manuscript, 49, in THS Papers, Box 56. After Harry's death, Smith for a time tried to remake her son Tucker, who was serving in the navy as a physician, into a man of letters and the confidant that Harry had been. She urged him to write a story for a contest and tried to interest him in her new translation, Marie Bernhard's *The Pearl*, which she falsely characterized as a “nautical story,” simply because the heroine's true love is at sea (and out of sight) for most of the novel. See, e.g., Mary Stuart Smith to George Tucker Smith, 2 July 1894, THS Papers, Box 28.
46. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 24 February 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.
47. Ibid., 9 June 1898, THS Papers, Box 31.
48. Smith also described herself as “a representative of W. Heimburg,” but none of her letters confirms any kind of contact or agreement with the author or with Keil. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, April 1, [1891], THS Papers, Box 26.
49. Mary Stuart Smith to Lelia Smith, 12 February 1878, THS Papers, Box 19.
50. Ernst Keil to Mary Stuart Smith, 1 November 1878, THS Papers, Box 19.
53. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 1 January 1883, THS Papers, Box 21.
54. Ibid., 30 January 1883, THS Papers, Box 21.
55. Ibid., 5 June 1883, THS Papers, Box 21. In an earlier letter she pushed Harry to pay a second visit to Werner. Ibid., 5 June 1883, THS Papers, Box 21.
56. Ibid., 8 May 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.
57. Ibid., “Monday morning or Sunday night” [May 1888], THS Papers, Box 24.
58. Ibid., Monday 11.20 [May 1888], THS Papers, Box 24.
59. Ibid., 6 August 1889, THS Papers, Box 25.
60. Ibid., 29 November 1891, THS Papers, Box 27.
61. The position of Munro on international copyright, which when passed contributed to the demise of his company, was somewhat contradictory. But if his position shifted, it was consistently taken with an eye to his own undertakings. He had proposed “a royalty payment system as early as 1879” and ten years later demanded a copyright law that would favor his product (Dzwonkoski, 316). Yet he also fought copyright when it threatened his enterprise. He sometimes paid “conscience money” to authors whom he reprinted. As we have seen, Smith's letters indicate that at least small sums were paid to Werner and Lindau. Raymond Howard Shove points out, furthermore, that “while it is not improbable that Munro did pay many of the foreign authors whose works appeared in the *Seaside Library*,
the amounts paid were undoubtedly small in most cases,” and he quotes Munro who grumbled on one occasion that “the foreign author . . . was never satisfied. To sell books at low prices, Munro could not pay a hefty honorarium and still make a profit.” Raymond Howard Shove, *Cheap Book Production in the United States, 1870 to 1891* (Urbana: University of Illinois Library, 1937), 59.

62. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 26 December 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.

63. Ibid., 9 December 1890, THS Papers, Box 26. In fact, a second translation of *Frühlingsboten*, titled *The Master of Ettersberg*, appeared with Street and Smith in 1891.

64. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 9 November 9, 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.

65. Munro did, however, sometimes advertise the offerings in the Seaside Library by grouping the works under their respective authors’ names; foreign authors are not, however, necessarily identifiable as foreign.

66. “Hawking about” is Smith’s expression for this “trying” task. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 3 June 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

67. Ibid., 24 February 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

68. Ibid., 28 May 1887, 3 June 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

69. Smith’s *An Insignificant Woman* (1891) also appeared in Bonner’s Ledger Library in this time period, but Smith’s letters contain no indication that Harry collaborated with her on this translation.


71. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 30 April 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.

72. Ibid., 24 July 1889, 6 August 1889, 13 August 1889, THS Papers, Box 25.

73. Ibid., 19 November 1891, THS Papers, Box 26.

74. Ibid., 6 August 1889, THS Papers, Box 25; 30 April 1888, THS Papers, Box 24; November 1890, THS Papers, Box 26; [22 December] 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

75. Ibid., 24 February 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

76. Ibid., 28 May 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

77. Ibid., 21 June 1886, THS Papers, Box 24. Smith feared that the young woman, thanks to the resources of an aunt, had been raised with expensive tastes and a lack of a work ethic: “While the mother has toiled and labored, the daughters have been brought up to consider the first duty of youth to be enjoyment and the ornamentation of society.”

78. Ibid., 30 April 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.

79. Ibid., 7 March 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

80. Ibid., 17 October 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

81. Ibid., 1 April 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

82. Ibid., 7 March 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.

83. Ibid., 9 April 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.


85. E. Marlitt, *Gold Elsie*, trans. Mary Stuart Smith and Son (New York: Munro, 1887), 151. I thank Lisa Iacobellis, Rare Books and Manuscripts in The Ohio State University Libraries, for copying this passage for me from the copy of the Smiths’ translation held at The Ohio State University and for providing me with scans of select pages of the novel.

86. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 1 April 1887, THS Papers, Box 24.
87. Ibid., 25 November 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.
88. Ibid., 15 December [1887], THS Papers, Box 24. Smith mentions here that the manuscript was completed nineteen years earlier and that she was paid for her work. In April 1868 she noted that she had worked on the translation of the “Great Elector” all winter and has seven hundred pages to go. Mary Stuart Smith to Mary Jane Harrison, 18 April 1868, THS Papers, Box 16.
89. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 15 December [1887], THS Papers, Box 24.
90. Mary Stuart Smith to Eliza L. C. Harrison, 7 September 1873, THS Papers, Box 17.
91. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, Monday Morning or Sunday night, near 1 a.m., [May] 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.
92. Ibid. Rives’s Virginia of Virginia appeared with Harper and Brothers in the same year as The Quick or the Dead? appeared in Lippincott’s Magazine. It recounts the passion of an uneducated white southern woman for an Englishman. Virginia speaks dialect and plots the death of her rival. Although she does sacrifice herself to save the Englishman’s favorite horse, she sorely undermines cherished ideas of southern womanhood.
94. Ibid., 128.
95. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 7 January 1891, THS Papers, Box 26.
96. Ibid., 12 January 1891, THS Papers, Box 26.
97. Ibid., 11 September 1891, THS Papers, Box 26.
98. Berthold Auerbach, Das Landhaus am Rhein, Die Deutsche Library 75 (New York: George Munro, 1882), 2:74. I thank Kirsten Belgum for pointing me to this sentence. On the function of America in Auerbach’s Villa on the Rhine, see Kirsten Belgum, “Wie ein Mensch sich selbst bilden kann. Zur Funktion von Amerika in Auerbachs Landhaus am Rhein,” in Hamann et al., Amerika und die deutschsprachige Literatur, 59–82.
100. John W. Lovell Company to Mary Stuart Smith, 5 January 1891, THS Papers, Box 26. Here the suggestion is made that by looking at previous translations her “labors might be lessened” and that she could both improve on them and obtain some ideas from them.
102. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 20 November 1891, THS Papers, Box 26.
104. Printed obituary inserted in the diary of Eliza L. C. Harrison (1808–93; mother of Mary Stuart Smith), THS Papers, Box 45. The publication information has been cut off the obituary.
105. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, November 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.
106. Ibid., 29 March 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.
107. Ibid., 10 February [1889], THS Papers, Box 25.
108. Ibid., 9 January 1892, THS Papers, Box 26.
109. Ibid., 29 November 1891, THS Papers, Box 26.
110. The Smiths’ translation of Lindau’s novella *Im Fieber*, if ever completed, was not published as a book.

111. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 7 February 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.


114. Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, 19 October 1891, THS Papers, Box 27.

115. Ibid., 17 March 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.

116. Ibid., 13 April [1888], THS Papers, Box 24.


119. [Mary Stuart Smith], Rev. of Askaros Kassis, *The Copt. A Romance of Modern Egypt*, by Edward De Leon, *Southern Review* (April 1872): 446. Further citations of this article appear in the body of the text. Her feelings about *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* surface again in her correspondence from the 1890s when she writes of a performance of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* that is to take place in Charlottesville. She has heard from the students that they are going to break it up and piously avers, “Colored people are so easily wrought up. It is very wicked to try and excite them and young people generally in this way,” referring to the fact that the play was not allowed to be performed in Lynchburg.

Mary Stuart Smith to George Tucker Smith, 14 February 1894, THS Papers, Box 28.

120. Mary Stuart Smith, “Berlin, the City of the Kaiser,” *The Cosmopolitan* 8, no. 5 (March 1890): 515–28. The publication date of this essay obscures the fact that it was actually written around May 1888. Smith mentions having sent it first to Frank Leslie, where it lay fallow for two months only to be rejected.

Mary Stuart Smith to Gessner Harrison Smith, “At night,” 11 July [1888], THS Papers, Box 25.

121. Ibid., 24 February 1888, THS Papers, Box 25.

122. Ibid., 14 March 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.

123. Ibid., 30 April 1888, THS Papers, Box 24.

124. Ibid., 14 March 1890, THS Papers, Box 26.


**Conclusion**


6. The American interest in this fiction thus extended beyond the typical time that, according to Franco Moretti, “normal literature remains in place,” namely, twenty-five to thirty years (Graphs, Maps, Trees, 20). The activity of translation itself was concentrated within a thirty-five-year range with some outliers.


8. Mary Stuart Smith to Francis H. Smith, 11 August 1915, THS Papers, Box 42.

9. Mary Stuart Smith to Eleanor Smith Kent, 15 June 1914, 14 August [1917], THS Papers, Box 41 and 43, respectively. The second letter does not designate the year but is listed in THS as from 1917.

The American Heritage Dictionary, s.v. “duodecimo” and “twelvemo.”


———. “‘Wie ein Mensch sich selbst bilden kann.’ Zur Funktion von Amerika in Auerbachs Landhaus am Rhein.” In Hamann et al., Amerika und die deutschsprachige Literatur, 59–82.


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