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, Heimburg, 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.


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.
Notes to Chapter 1


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).

Notes to Chapter 2

Chapter 2

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

2. Ilsedore Rarisch, Industrialisierung und Literatur. Buchproduktion, Verlagswe- 
sen und Buchhandel in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert in ihrem statistischen Zusammen- 
lisher Ferdinand Hirt & Sohn and the Novels of Brigitte Augusti,” Publishing Culture and 
“Reading Nation”: German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century, ed. Lynne Tatlock 

Notabilitäten von heute nicht einmal auf jede Dame ein Herr kommen würde.” E. Z., “Eine 
Heldin der Feder,” Die Gartenlaube, no. 28 (1876): 465. Translations from the German are 
mine unless otherwise indicated.

4. Rudolf von Gottschall, Die deutsche Nationalliteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhun- 

Magazine of Popular Literature and Science, 11, no. 22 (January 1873): 115.

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 Amer- 
ican public for narrative literature” satisfied by Heimburg, Marlitt, Werner, and others.

with an American Spirit,” in Tatlock and Erlin, German Culture, 109.

9. The year 1858 is the date of birth listed by Pataky. Sophie Pataky, ed., Lexikon deut- 
scher Frauen der Feder (1898; repr. Bern: Herbert Lang, 1971), 2:263.


12. The best source for Mühlbach’s views on her own writing and its reception is Wil- 
liam H. McClain and Lieselotte E. Kurth-Voigt, “Clara Mundts Briefe an Hermann Co- 
stenoble. Zu L. Mühlbachs historischen Romanen,” Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 

13. Brent O. Peterson, “Luise Mühlbach (Clara Mundt),” in Nineteenth-Century Ger- 
man Writers to 1840, ed. James Hardin and Siegfried Mews, vol. 133 of Dictionary of Liter- 
ary Biography (Detroit: Gale Research, 1993), 204–6. Renate Möhrmann, however, refers 
to 290 novels in Die andere Frau: Emanzipationsansätze deutscher Schriftstellerinnen im 
Vorfeld der Achtundvierziger Revolution (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977), 61.

Art, and Science, Prepared for Putnam’s Magazine,” Putnam’s Magazine 13, no. 13 (January 
1869): 108.


18. Robert Prutz, Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart. 1848 bis 1858, 2nd ed. (Leip- 
zig: Voigt & Günther, 1860), 2:255.


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 Muhlbach’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. Fayçal Hamouda (Arnsstadt: 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 hysterically 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.

64. Arens, E. Marlitt, 15.


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.

76. Rev. of The Old Mam’selle’s Secret, by E. Marlitt, trans. by A. L. Wister, New York Times, May 7, 1868, 2.


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.


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."


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.


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
Notes to Chapter 3

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

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.


29. Rev. of The Old Mam’selle’s Secret, by E. Marlitt, Lippincott’s Magazine 1 (1868): 680.

30. The quotation appeared, for example, in the back matter of Ouida’s Friendship, along with advertisements for Susan Warner’s The Wide, Wide World, three novels by Wilhelmine von Hillern, works by Baroness Tautphoeus, and other popular reading from the period. Ouida, Friendship: A Story of Society (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1878), back matter.


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.


35. Catalogue of English Prose Fiction and Juvenile Books in the Chicago Public Library (Chicago: Chicago Public Library, 1898), 74, 145, as listed under John, E., and Wister, Annis L., Translations, respectively.

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 Mam’selle’s Secret, trans. A. L. Wister, 3rd edition (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1868).


43. Charlotte Brontë, *Johanna Eyre*, trans. Ernst Susemihl (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 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 Spechtler (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 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.), 5; 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. Steinestel (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 mid-century 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*.

Notes to Chapter 4

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 Mamiselle’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.
15. Morgan, Bibliography, 231.
17. Griswold, Descriptive List, 733–34.
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


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), un-numbered 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.

7. As 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.


12. My copy of A Brave Woman contains the date December 25, 1896, and the inscription “Paulina S. Schwarz from her teacher, Miss Florence J. Pepin.” E. Marlitt, A Brave Woman, with fifty photogravure illustrations, translated by Margaret P. Waterman (New
Notes to Chapter 5


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 deutshe Verlaggesellschaft, 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.

37. Rev. of A Maiden’s Choice, by W. Heimburg, Peterson’s Magazine 100, no. 5 (November 1891): 461.

38. W. Heimburg, A Maiden’s Choice, translated by Elise L. Lathrop (New York: R. F. Fenno & Company, 1899). Author copy. The dedication is written twice more in a different hand—“Ada B. Parker from Marie L. Bartholomew” and “Ada B. Parker / Port Gibson / New York / from Mrs. Bartholomew”—as if Ada B. Parker had a sentimental wish to remember the gift-giver. The illustrations in the Worthington edition are poor-quality reproductions of the illustrations by R. Wehle that appear in Lumpenmüllers Lieschen (1891), volume 2 of the ten-volume illustrated collected novels and novellas of Heimburg published by Keils Nachfolger/Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft. All further page references to this edition of Lathrop’s translation appear in the body of the text.


42. Michael Koser points out that the treatment of the paper mill in the novel presents early capitalism as an idyll in which social and economic disparities are bridged by personal bonds. Michael Koser, Afterword, Lumpenmüllers Lieschen, by Wilhelmine Heimburg, Das Schmökerkabinett (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1974), 247–48.

43. “Recent Fiction,” The Critic 17, no. 517 (January 16, 1892): 35.

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.

46. The novel elsewhere signals Heimburg’s reading of Freytag’s best-selling Soll und Haben, when a character speaks of family affairs as “in a perfect chaos—Jews, money-lenders” with mortgage upon mortgage (A Maiden’s Choice, 148).

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 Wronsky, 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**


4. Furst, All Is True, 176.

5. E. Werner, Hero of the Pen, trans. Frances A. Shaw (Boston: W. F. Gill, 1875); Hero of the Pen, trans. Mary Stuart Smith (New York: Munro, 1883); and The Quill-Driver, trans. H. E. Miller (Chicago: Weeks, 1895). A fourth translation appeared in Great Britain: Hero of the Pen, trans. S. Phillips (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1878). Smith may have published a translation in a periodical already in 1873. In a letter to her aunt she mentions having received payment for a translation of Hero of the Pen in 1873 but does not say from whom. Mary Stuart Smith to Mary Jane Harrison, 19 May 1873, in THS Papers, Box 17.


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.


16. E. Werner, His Word of Honor: A Copyright Translation (New York: Street and Smith, 1892).


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).


26. E. Werner, Vineta, the Phantom City, trans. Frances A. Shaw (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1877), 217.


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.

40. Rev. of The Price He Paid, by E. Werner, Medical Age 14, no. 20 (October 26, 1896): 631.


42. Rev. of The Price He Paid, by E. Werner, Annual American Catalogue 1891 (New York: Office of the Publishers’ Weekly, 1892), 201.

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-
gerpastor (1864). Raabe’s narrative style challenges the translator, just as it did nineteenth-century German readers with whom he became increasingly unpopular.


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.).


Part Three


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, S[igismund] H[einrich] 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. Goetz, the publisher, concerning the publication of *Joseph II*. According to this account, Goetz, 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.

45. The Life of John J. Crittenden, 1: v.

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).

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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-
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.
64. Advertisement, *The Dial* 7, no. 82 (February 1887), advertising page.
68. Ibid.
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 her 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 *Bazar*.

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 Junkin 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.
51. E. Werner, At a High Price, trans. Mary Stuart Smith (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1879), title page.
52. E. Werner, What the Spring Brought, trans. Mary Stuart Smith (New Y ork: George Munro, 1881), title page.
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., 25 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., 9 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 contribut- ed 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.
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.
Notes to Conclusion

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.