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## Exporting America via Leipzig, Germany: Tauchnitz Editions and the International Popularization of American Literature

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# Exporting America via Leipzig, Germany: Tauchnitz Editions and the International Popularization of American Literature

CHARLES JOHANNINGSMEIER

“He [Baron Tauchnitz] discovered, stimulated, and greatly increased a very large market among the Continental peoples themselves. English is read on the Continent, if not as much as French, yet far more than it was forty years ago and far more than most English people suspect. Almost every educated German, Dane, Swede, and Dutchman reads English; the Italians are beginning, and there are even a few Frenchmen who have been known to do the same. The circulation of Tauchnitz books among this large circle of readers is very considerable, and is steadily growing” (1895).

“They [Tauchnitz editions] were everywhere on the Continent. . . . They appeared on bookstalls in countless railway stations, they materialized astonishingly in Swiss resorts and Italian lake villages; they were known in the cities of Spain and Italy. One bought them in Rotterdam along dim canals; one found them in

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Bruges in the great sunny Place with the carillon jangling overhead; they were literally everywhere" (1942).<sup>1</sup>

**I**N THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, making a literary work readily available and potentially famous worldwide can, via the internet, be accomplished quite easily and almost instantaneously. During the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century, however, because works of fiction were published only in paper formats, and the existing means for distributing such materials and information about them were quite limited, this process was much more difficult and took considerably longer. Somewhat surprisingly, the companies that in the past actually made American literary works available to readers outside the United States have thus far received comparatively little scholarly attention. Understanding these firms and the distribution systems they established, though, is essential not only to determining how certain works of American literature—as well as their authors—became well known outside the United States but also to formulating more accurate hypotheses as to the cultural labor they performed. One of the most important facilitators of such popularity between 1841 and 1943 was an English-language reprint series published by the Bernhard Tauchnitz firm of Leipzig, Germany, at first entitled "Collection of British Authors" and, after 1930, the "Collection of British and American Authors" (henceforth simply referred to as the Collection). The former title is actually quite misleading, as American authors were involved from the beginning to the end in this series, which eventually included 5,370 volumes and sold over forty million copies;<sup>2</sup> in fact, Tauchnitz published James Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy* as number 5 in the Collection (April 1842) and Margaret Halsey's *With Malice Toward Some* was number 5,362 (1939), making the latter among the last ten volumes published in the series.

What effect did all of these Tauchnitz reprints have on the global availability and popularity of United States literature during this time period? Where were these works read, and by whom? Which American authors and titles were included, and which were not? Investigation into these

1. "Death of Baron Tauchnitz," *The Times* (London), 16 August 1895, 10; Margaret Williamson, "To Change the Subject," *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 August 1942, 11.

2. John Holroyd-Reece, *The Harvest: Being the Record of One Hundred Years of Publishing, 1837-1937* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1937), 19.

questions reveals that these seemingly negligible Tauchnitz reprint editions were very widely distributed to a quite heterogeneous audience and played an important role in making particular American authors and works popular—or in some cases, more popular than before—among international readers, especially in Europe. At the same time, though, these volumes conveyed to their readers a rather skewed version of what constituted “American literature” and “American life.”

Christian Bernhard Tauchnitz (usually known as Bernhard, or later, the first Baron) founded his eponymous publishing firm in Leipzig, Germany, in 1837, and soon thereafter, in 1841, launched the “Collection of British Authors” series that would soon become the company’s most famous endeavor. This series was comprised of inexpensive English-language reprints of British and American fictions, works of drama, and poetry collections, originally intended for readers of English living and traveling on the European continent. Because of the state of copyright law at the time, Tauchnitz did not technically have to ask authors’ permission to reprint their works or pay them for doing so; nevertheless, Tauchnitz himself always asked permission to republish their works and sent them modest payments for each text he published. Tauchnitz thus earned the right to print the words “Authorized Edition” on the covers of its books and, at least until the early twentieth century, often enjoyed the privilege of working from advance sheets sent by American publishers at the author’s behest. By 1884, twenty-two American authors were included in the series, most of them having already proven their popularity in the American market, such as Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe, Washington Irving, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Mark Twain, and Maria Susanna Cummins. Even after 1891, when the United States joined the international copyright community, most American authors were quite willing to allow Tauchnitz to reprint their works for relatively small fees, since they regarded the royalties from British and American editions of their works sold on the Continent as negligible and unaffected by Tauchnitz sales.

Between the years 1841 and 1884, Tauchnitz published 2,265 volumes in the series (but only approximately 2,000 titles, given that many works came in two volumes); in 1894, the series reached the milestone of 3,000 volumes. Between 1894 and 1914 the number of works included in the series, as well as the number of American authors involved, increased even more rapidly than before. In 1914, the firm reported that

during the previous seventy-three years it had published 4,496 volumes, written by 422 different British and sixty-eight individual American authors.<sup>3</sup> Not all of these works, of course, were still available for purchase in 1914; only the most popular titles were issued in new printings, while less popular works became unavailable when the existing stock ran out.

Bernhard Tauchnitz—made a baron by the British government in 1860 for his services to Great Britain—died in 1895, leaving his son, Christian Karl Bernhard Tauchnitz (the second Baron von Tauchnitz), in charge. According to Alistair McCleery, Christian “had little interest in actively pursuing publishing, preferring the interests of a landed gentleman,” and thus left the day-to-day operations of the firm to a man named Curt Otto. Christian died in 1921 and Otto not long afterward, in 1929. At this point the firm was reorganized as a limited stock company, with Otto’s brother Hans becoming chairman of the board of directors and Christian Tauchnitz’s heirs retaining overall control; one Max Christian Wegner was appointed “Geschäftsführer” (manager-in-chief). Under Wegner’s leadership, Tauchnitz’s trademark series was formally renamed the “Collection of British and American Authors” in 1930, and despite the worldwide economic depression, the number of titles in the Collection continued to grow. In 1934 Tauchnitz merged with the publisher of the Albatross Modern Continental Library, a reprint series funded by British financier Sir Edmund Davis and run by the Englishman John Holroyd-Reece; the latter was described by publisher Kurt Enoch as “a highly-educated British national, and a man of excellent taste who spoke fluent German, French, and Italian and had wide-ranging connections and a great personal charm.” Although the printer Oscar Brandstetter of Leipzig was brought in as a partner that year, probably to appease the Nazis, who didn’t want the company being wholly-owned by a Jew (Davis), it was Holroyd-Reece, in conjunction with Wegner, who now made the major decisions at Tauchnitz. From this point forward, both the editorial and production offices were located in Paris; the Leipzig offices and plant were chiefly involved only in printing operations. Through all of these company upheavals, Tauchnitz’s relationships with its Amer-

3. *Complete Catalogue of the Tauchnitz Edition, July 1914* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1914), 1.

ican authors (with the exception of a dispute with Edna Ferber in 1930) remained generally congenial.<sup>4</sup>

Anti-American and anti-British sentiment in Nazi Germany after 1933 surprisingly did not prevent the Collection from continuing to be published, at least not immediately. According to one source, "Until the war the Nazis permitted Tauchnitz to continue distributing its British and American authors, because this meant enormous printing orders placed in Germany." In fact, by the time Tauchnitz celebrated its centennial in 1937, the firm had published 5,290 volumes in the Collection, with approximately 1,300 of these having been by American authors. After this, however, the number of titles published annually declined rapidly. Shortly after the centennial, in July 1940 the Tauchnitz offices in Paris were taken over by the occupying Nazi authorities, and in June 1942 it was announced that henceforth the firm would no longer publish works in English.<sup>5</sup> Just over one year later, on the night of 3–4 December 1943, Tauchnitz's Leipzig plant and offices were destroyed in an allied bombing raid on the nearby rail terminal and yards. After the war a number of attempts were made to re-establish the firm, but for various reasons—including a number of new competitors and the fact that Leipzig was behind the Iron Curtain—Tauchnitz was never again able to play a significant role in the English-language Continental market.

One might have expected that a large publisher with as impressive a tenure and contact with as many authors as Tauchnitz had would have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, but such has not been the case. Indeed, very little scholarship about the firm has been published, and often it is portrayed only relatively briefly as a staid precursor to the more "progressive" and important Albatross venture. Most who have

4. Alistair McCleery, "Tauchnitz and Albatross: A 'Community of Interests' in English-Language Paperback Publishing, 1934–51," *The Library* 7, no. 3 (2006): 298; for details of the firm's history during this period, 298–301, and "Tauchnitz Marks 100th Year," *Publishers' Weekly* 131 (5 June 1937): 2316; *Memoirs of Kurt Enoch. Written for His Family* (Privately printed, 1984), 61; Tauchnitz's premature publication of Ferber's *Cimarron* in 1930 angered the author (McCleery, "Tauchnitz," 301).

5. "Exit Tauchnitz," *Time*, 20 July 1942, 86; for centennial figures see *Tauchnitz Edition Centenary Catalogue* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1937), 120; for cessation of English publishing, see "Tauchnitz Abandons English," *New York Times*, 18 June 1942, 5.

written specifically about Tauchnitz, too, have focused chiefly on the involvement of British writers with the firm, determining the exact history of the business, and the extremely complicated bibliographical details of its publications. For example, the most substantial work about Tauchnitz, William B. Todd and Ann Bowden's *Tauchnitz International Editions in English 1841–1955*, provides a good deal of historical information about the company but is also significantly subtitled, *A Bibliographical History*. This volume and other articles in the same vein have been incredibly valuable in establishing the immense scope of Tauchnitz's publishing operations. Since the appearance of Todd and Bowden's monumental work, though, only a handful of articles containing detailed information about Tauchnitz and its Collection have been published, and curiously enough, only one essay has been devoted to an American author's involvement with the company: Susan S. Williams's excellent analysis of how readers/tourists in Italy in the 1860s and 1870s transformed their copies of the Tauchnitz edition of Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* (which Tauchnitz entitled *Transformation; or, The Romance of Monte Beni*). Christa Jansohn's "The Impact of Bernhard Tauchnitz's Book Series 'Collection of British and American Authors' on the Continent and Beyond," first published in German in 2007 and subsequently in English in 2010, appeared to promise an important extension of previous scholarship, but its recapitulation of previously known information about the firm's history and its lengthy discussion of a collection of mostly uncirculated Tauchnitz volumes housed in a library in Coburg, Germany, did not provide any actual insight into these texts' "impact."<sup>6</sup> To date, then, no overview of American authors' participation in the Tauchnitz Collection, no empirical documentation of its distribu-

6. William B. Todd and Ann Bowden, *Tauchnitz International Editions in English, 1841–1955, A Bibliographical History* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1988); Susan Williams, "Manufacturing Intellectual Equipment: The Tauchnitz Edition of *The Marble Faun*," in *Reading Books: Essays on the Material Text and Literature in America*, ed. Michelle Moylan and Lane Stiles (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 117–50; Christa Jansohn, "The Impact of Bernhard Tauchnitz's Book Series 'Collection of British and American Authors' on the Continent and Beyond," *Angermion: Yearbook for Anglo-German Literary Criticism, Intellectual History and Cultural Transfers* 3 (2010): 161–83. Contributing to the difficulty of conducting research on Tauchnitz is the paucity of extant company records, which were mostly destroyed or lost during the war.

tion systems or its readership, and no critical analysis of the cultural labor performed by texts in the series has yet been published.

The almost total scholarly neglect of American authors' involvement with this firm is especially striking, because Bernhard Tauchnitz began recruiting the most popular American authors for his series almost from the very beginning. In these early years, Tauchnitz typically approached only those authors who had already established a high level of popularity in the American market, but as the series continued into the late nineteenth century and beyond, a large number of less popular yet critically well-respected authors were also invited to be part of the Collection, thereby affording them greater renown than they might otherwise have achieved.

The Tauchnitz firm sought out American authors for the Collection despite the fact that Bernhard Tauchnitz's initial experience with an American author—James Fenimore Cooper—had not been an auspicious one. With his usual courtesy, Tauchnitz in August 1843 requested permission to reprint more Cooper texts than the three he already had—*The Spy*, *Two Admirals*, and *The Jack O'Lantern; or, the Privateer*—even though he was not legally obligated to procure such permission. Cooper responded that he was very reluctant to enter into any kind of agreement with the firm because he worried advance sheets of one of his works could go amiss or the Tauchnitz edition might be released before the novel was published in England and thereby compromise the British copyright; any of these outcomes, Cooper told Tauchnitz's representative Johann Gottfried Flügel, would represent a "miscarriage [that] might render me liable to damages to my English publishers." As a result, the only Cooper title Tauchnitz ever published after this was *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1917. Other popular American authors of the nineteenth century responded much more positively to Tauchnitz's requests. In part this was due simply to their recognition that a payment from Tauchnitz represented an additional, unanticipated source of revenue from their work, even if the usual flat fee paid was not especially large. Stowe, who voluntarily wrote an original preface for the Tauchnitz edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* published in late 1852, apparently was glad to get anything from a Continental publisher; her husband Calvin, on her behalf, wrote to Tauchnitz in early 1853, "You are the only German publisher who has given or even offered her the least remuneration." Louisa May Alcott, too, recorded in her journal in January 1876: "A letter from Baron Tauchnitz asking leave to put my book in his foreign

library, and sending 600 marks [approximately \$160] to pay for it. Said, 'Yes, thank you, Baron.' " Not long afterward, Twain in 1879 wrote to William Dean Howells from Paris,

Tauchnitz called the other day—a mighty nice old gentleman. He paid me 425 francs for the *Innocents* [Abroad]—I think he paid me about 6 or 700 fr. for *Tom Sawyer* (it being new); he is going to print *Roughing It* by & by, & has engaged advanced sheets of my new book. Don't know what he will pay for the two latter—I leave that to him—one can't have the heart to dicker with a publisher who won't steal.

In return for such kind treatment, Twain was willing to write an incredibly valuable note for printing in the Tauchnitz volume of Twain's *Innocents at Home* (1881): "I desire to state that the Tauchnitz editions of my books are the only ones which I have authorized to be issued from the European Continental Press in the English language."<sup>7</sup>

American authors were also pleasantly surprised to learn that Baron Tauchnitz would, if a particular text proved more popular than he had anticipated, voluntarily send them an additional payment. Longfellow told Tauchnitz on one occasion, "Your very generous addition to the original sum agreed upon between us is pleasant to me, less for the sum itself, than for the trait of character it reveals in you, and the proof of your liberal way of dealing." Howells, too, in 1881 stridently defended Tauchnitz from those who felt he was a "pirate" of authors' books, writing, "the great German publisher not only pays for a book once, but—gird up the loins of your credulity, and prepare, for I am going to apply a good deal of a strain to it—there have been occasions when he has asked leave to pay for it a

7. James Fenimore Cooper, letter to Flügel, 15 June 1844, *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. James Franklin Beard, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 463–64; Stowe quoted in *Der Verlag Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1837–1912*, ed. Curt Otto (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1912), 119; Louisa May Alcott, *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson and Daniel Shealy (Boston, Toronto, and London: Little, Brown and Co., 1989), 200; Twain, letter to Howells, 15 April 1879, *Mark Twain–Howells Letters. The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells, 1872–1910*, ed. Henry Nash Smith and William Gibson, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960), 262; Twain, *Innocents at Home* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1881), 5.

second time! Try to conceive of that, now, in this cast-iron commercial age!”<sup>8</sup>

After the Chace Act of 1891 gave American authors the right to sell copyright to their works in European countries and elsewhere, although they still generally appreciated Tauchnitz’s invitation to appear in the Collection, they do not appear to have valued such publication as highly as they had previously. Nevertheless, there were some who would have welcomed even a small sum. For instance, in 1899 Stephen Crane, heavily in debt, wrote in a desperate tone to his agent, James B. Pinker, “Have you done anything about Tauchnitz?” (no works by Crane ever did appear in the Collection). In the twentieth century, even though popular authors such as Pearl Buck could negotiate relatively generous terms (for *The Good Earth* she received an advance of 600 gold marks plus a royalty of 5% on the first 6000 copies sold, 7.5% on the next 4000, and 10% after that), such sums would have represented relatively small portions of such authors’ overall incomes.<sup>9</sup> This does not mean, though, that scholars today should similarly devalue the importance of Tauchnitz publication for American authors by relegating mention of these volumes to footnotes or brief bibliographical references. After all, whether these authors were aware of it or not, the Tauchnitz editions of their works continued to play a significant role in increasing their worldwide popularity and reputation, a fact attested to by a great many contemporary observers and commentators. And this fame could, indirectly, provide them with a number of benefits.

On the European continent, plentiful evidence exists that works from the Collection—undoubtedly including a great number by American authors—were omnipresent from the 1840s to the 1940s. Tauchnitz editions could be found not only in railway station bookshops, regular bookstores, and street kiosks in almost every major European city but also in many unlikely, out-of-the-way places. For instance, in 1900 one could find in an English library in Nice, France, a number of Tauchnitz volumes by

8. Longfellow quoted in *Der Verlag*, 102; Howells, “The Contributor’s Club,” *Atlantic Monthly* 47 (January 1881): 141.

9. Letter, 4 February 1899, *Stephen Crane: Letters*, ed. R. W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes (New York: New York University Press, 1960), 207; worksheet, 2 March 1932, David Lloyd Agency Files, 1928–1958, Rare Books and Special Collections-Manuscript Collection, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Americans F. Marion Crawford, Hawthorne, Irving, Longfellow, Howells, Twain, and Bret Harte. In Belgrade in 1916, soldiers going through the ruins of King Peter's palace discovered two Tauchnitz volumes; and a journalist in Kiev during the Russian Civil War in 1920 noted that in the trash found in a house used as an execution chamber, "The first volume picked at hazard from a big pile proved to be a Tauchnitz copy of Twain's 'The Innocents Abroad.'" Such widespread availability continued into the 1930s. One report in the German literary magazine *Die Neue Rundschau*, for instance, stated in 1931: "In the tiniest German health resorts, in the most forlorn little Italian city, in far-off Dalmatia, in the Canary Islands as in the Balearic Islands, when almost everything else is lacking, the latest Tauchnitz is available."<sup>10</sup>

Libraries across Europe, too, both personal ones and otherwise, often included volumes from the Tauchnitz Collection. The Spanish author Don Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo, for example, had an annotated copy of Willa Cather's Tauchnitz volume *A Lost Lady* in his own library; the genteel Italian author Nerina Medici Gigluicci kept a great many Tauchnitz volumes—including many American ones—in her library at Villa Rossa in Florence, and wrote in pencil on their covers the dates when she had read them; James Joyce had dozens of Tauchnitz novels and dramas in his library in Trieste; a lending library in Cracow, Poland, in the 1930s "had a good assortment of Penguin and Tauchnitz editions"; and an American woman in Moscow's Lubyanka prison in 1939 told reporters how passing her time there was made easier by the presence in its library of numerous Tauchnitz volumes.<sup>11</sup> Vestiges of this widespread cir-

10. "English Library in Nice," *New York Times*, 4 August 1900, BR16; "Amid the Ruins of Peter's Palace," *New York Times*, 7 January 1916, 3; "Kieff Under the Terror," *Southern Argus* [Port Elliot, Australia], 28 October 1920, 4; *Die Neue Rundschau* translated from the German and quoted in *Kleiner Führer Durch die gute englische und amerikanische Literatur der Neuesten Zeit* [A Small Guide Through Good Modern English and American Literature] (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1933), 21.

11. On the Unamuno y Jugo library, see M. Thomas Inge, "Unamuno's Reading in American Literature," *Hispania*, 54, no. 1 (1971): 151; American-authored volumes from the Gigluicci library at the Biblioteca Nazionale include Gertrude Atherton, *Senator North* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1900), shelfmark SBL0665482, and Margaret Halsey, *With Malice Toward Some* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1939), shelfmark CFI0932090; on the Joyce library see Richard Ellmann, *The Consciousness of Joyce* (Toronto and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), appendix, 97-

culatation remain even today: entering the term “Tauchnitz” into the search boxes of various European antiquarian bookselling websites yields thousands of results, and numerous European university and public libraries not only still possess Tauchnitz editions but also regularly lend them to patrons.

This extensive market penetration in Europe is especially impressive considering that it was achieved by a relatively unsophisticated promotional system and distribution network. In 1884, Bernhard’s son, Christian Tauchnitz, told an interviewer,

We only deal, of course, with wholesale buyers. We constantly print fresh lists and catalogues, which are sent out to our *clientèle*, who give their orders according to their discretion. No, we never advertise; and every quarter we publish a record of our publications, with a list of our authors and a short biography of each, as comprehensive as possible.

As the years passed by, various marketing innovations were introduced, but most were quite simple. These included short publicity blurbs, updated monthly, that provided “particulars of the Latest Tauchnitz Volumes” and that were either pasted in at the back of each copy sold or printed on the back covers of paperbacks; bookmarks placed in each copy that provided information about the latest titles; and a more extensive “*Monthly Descriptive List* supplied gratis by all booksellers.” In almost all of these Tauchnitz materials, it should be noted, works by American authors were clearly distinguished, with an “Am.” printed next to the authors’ names. Christian Tauchnitz also stated in 1884 about the firm’s marketing strategy, “We employ no travellers, but appoint agents in the capitals of Europe, each of whom has, of course, his sub-agents distributed throughout each country”; no direct sales to readers, it should be noted, were allowed. After the merger with Albatross in 1934, this loose system was streamlined; from this date forward, German distribution was handled by Verlags Auslieferungs Gesellschaft (Publishers’ Distribution Company), while distribution to other European countries was handled by a company called Continenta, a branch of the Albatross/Tauchnitz firm located within the Paris office. These distributors, it was noted in 1937, sold “partly through wholesalers and partly direct to individual

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141; on the Cracow library see Dorothy Adams, *We Stood Alone* (New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1944), 182; Harold Denny, “Jailers Were Kind, Says Mrs. Rubens,” *New York Times*, 23 June 1939, 12.

bookstores. Between them, they have accounts with about 6,000 bookstores in some 37 countries."<sup>12</sup>

Besides being omnipresent on the European continent, Tauchnitz editions could also be found in many other places in the world. Each Tauchnitz edition had stamped on its cover or title page, in large letters, a notice along the lines of, "Not to be Introduced into the British Empire and U.S.A.," or, "The Copyright of this Collection is Purchased for Continental Circulation only, and the volumes may therefore not be introduced into Great Britain or her Colonies." Because it would not only have been a violation of copyright laws to ship copies elsewhere but also because doing so would have angered authors by potentially diminishing sales of editions from which they received royalties, Tauchnitz itself generally abided by these guidelines and did not themselves ship editions outside continental Europe. Others, however, appear to have routinely disregarded these restrictions. As a result, in one way or another, a great many Tauchnitz volumes found their way to Great Britain, the United States, and many far-flung places elsewhere, including British colonies.

Tauchnitz editions routinely circulated widely in Great Britain, brought back from the Continent by thousands of individuals acting on their own accord. Numerous travelers smuggled their Tauchnitz editions back into Great Britain past generally indifferent customs agents. As one British writer put it in 1904,

let us suppose that there has always been a recording angel perched up aloft on every steamboat, who has taken note of the contents of every passenger's baggage, and to count the number of smuggled Tauchnitz volumes; how many scores of thousands of these contraband luxuries would that recording spirit have had to report to have crossed the Channel and found homes in respectable libraries?

Such smuggling exponentially expanded the circulation of Tauchnitz volumes in Great Britain, according to a writer for *The Author* magazine in 1897: "almost every copy of every readable book is lent by its owner, and it is fair to suppose that out of the twenty or thirty who read it [only] one

12. Tauchnitz quoted in "The Tauchnitz Library," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 April 1884, 15; quotations and information about marketing techniques from "Tauchnitz Edition, September 1, 1905," included in copy of Edgar Allan Poe, *Tales* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1884), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, shelfmark FRBNF31126267; for 1934 and 1937 distribution information, see "Tauchnitz Marks," 2317.

would probably buy it. But all private book-shelves presently fall to the second-hand bookseller. There are many such shops where there are rows of Tauchnitz books." In the United States, where public libraries in the 1880s and 1890s had routinely ordered great numbers of Tauchnitz paperbacks for their collections because of their low price and durability (Christian Tauchnitz noted in 1884, "We sell whole sets of our books to the American libraries"), a great many smuggled copies also made their way into private libraries. The American writer Margaret Williamson in 1942 remembered the Tauchnitz volumes as "those charming little books which one once bought blithely by the armful to cherish ever after" and noted, "The customs officers in New York did not always discover how many one had brought. It would be amusing to take a census of Tauchnitz Edition copies illegally at large in the United States."<sup>13</sup>

A good number of the Tauchnitz volumes found elsewhere in the world, especially in British colonies, were also probably also taken there by individual American and British travellers. As early as 1888, it was reported that "On the Rhine boats, along Alpine passes, on the great homeward-bound Atlantic steamers, and the Meesagarie ships sailing for Japan, on the dahabeah, on the camel—no doubt in the balloon also . . . the little square, white Tauchnitz volume marks the trail of the ubiquitous tourist . . . and puts a girdle round the earth."<sup>14</sup>

Yet other, more organized, systems also appear to have helped make copies of Tauchnitz editions available in many far-flung locations. The British explorer Richard F. Burton wrote that even in Egypt in 1879, "Our only reading consists of newspapers, which come by camel-post every three weeks; and a few 'Tauchnitz,' often odd volumes." In 1881 it was reported that at a British bookseller's in Shanghai, "you [can] get all the newest books very cheap, but then they are the Tauchnitz editions," and copies of Poe's Tauchnitz edition of *Tales* could similarly be found available for purchase at a bookshop in Adelaide, Australia, in 1884. A copy of Henry Harland's *The Cardinal's Snuff-Box* (1903) now on deposit at the

13. Edward Marston, *After Work: Fragments from the Workshop of an Old Publisher* (London: William Heinemann, and New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 114–15; "Notes and News," *The Author* 8 (1 June 1897): 14; Tauchnitz quoted in "The Tauchnitz Library," 15; Williamson, "To Change the Subject," 11.

14. Blanche Willis Howard, "The 'Tauchnitz Edition,'" *The Daily Inter-Ocean* [Chicago], 23 December 1888, n.p.

Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, bears a purple stamp on its title page which reads: “The Zanzibar Stores | Main Road | Zanzibar.” A copy of Lafcadio Hearn’s *Glimpses of an Unfamiliar Japan, Second Series* (1910), bears a small gold label with the imprint of a Kyoto, Japan, bookseller. In Java (Dutch Indonesia), Tauchnitz editions were also quite readily available in 1913. And in 1931 a British traveler relayed how on some recent journeys she had found Tauchnitz editions in Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, as well as in a bookshop in Fez, Morocco (including a copy of American writer Ferber’s best-seller *Cimarron*, 1930). Marion Lay, a writer on a strict budget, in 1935 told of how he would buy Tauchnitz and Albatross paperbacks in Mexico City bookstores because “American books are now brought out in these cheap European editions only a few weeks after they are issued at from two to four dollars in the States.” Tauchnitz editions were apparently so numerous in Iran that many years later, in the 1960s, over 645 volumes could be spared for use as packing material surrounding antiquities being shipped to the University of California-Los Angeles. It is little wonder, then, that Todd and Bowden in the 1980s were able to locate over 50,000 copies of Tauchnitz books in private and public collections spread over fifty-six countries on six continents.<sup>15</sup> Many more can be found today by searching online library catalogs across the globe.

Who, though, made up the readership of Tauchnitz editions? Certainly, a great number of English-speaking tourists found these editions to be very welcome indeed during their sojourns in countries where they might not have spoken the native language. An 1888 article in *The Australasian*, for instance, notes that “Without his [Tauchnitz’s] help the aforesaid travellers would have a drearier time of it while upon the European continent, and

15. Richard Burton, *The Land of Midian (Revisited)*, vol. 1 (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1879), 145; “Chinese Sketches,” *The Argus* [Melbourne, Australia], 8 October 1881, 4; Poe information in “New Books and New Editions,” *South Australian Register* [Adelaide], 10 May 1884, 3; Henry Harland, *The Cardinal’s Snuff-Box* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1903), title page, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Italy, shelfmark SBL0676966; Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of an Unfamiliar Japan, Second Series* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1910), author copy; Java sales in “Petticoat Pilgrims,” *The West Australian* [Perth], 11 January 1913, 7; Africa availability in Rose Macauley, “English Books Abroad,” *Auckland Star*, 3 October 1931, 2; Marion Lay, “Mexico on \$20 a Month,” *Forum and Century* 44, no. 1 (July 1935): 39; Iran information in Todd and Bowden, *Tauchnitz International Editions*, 918, 920–41.

that both while indoors and out. For the Tauchnitz books alike beguile long evenings and weary railway journeys." In addition, as Susan Williams has demonstrated, in the 1860s and 1870s the Tauchnitz edition of Hawthorne's *Transformation; or, The Romance of Monte Beni* (1860) was hugely popular among American and British tourists in Rome, who bought copies of this book and inserted their own photos—or ones purchased from book-stalls—into them, thus making them highly personalized mementoes that they then carried home. Henry James acknowledged this popularity in 1879, writing, "It has probably become the most popular of Hawthorne's four novels. It is part of the intellectual equipment of the Anglo-Saxon visitor to Rome, and is read by every English-speaking traveller who arrives there, who has been there, or who expects to go."<sup>16</sup>

Yet English-speaking tourists did not, contrary to popular belief, comprise the majority of Tauchnitz readers. In 1887 British author James Payn—the Tauchnitz agent responsible for choosing which British authors to recommend for inclusion in the Collection—stated, "It is popularly supposed that the Baron's Continental series is read only by the traveling English, yet these form but a small portion of its public; it is exported everywhere." As early as 1884, Christian Tauchnitz himself authoritatively reported,

We find the greatest sale of our English editions in Germany and Austria. In Germany it is greatest. There we have a great reading public, many of them able to read English with ease, and not a few who speak it with fluency. Then comes France, and then Italy. Few of our books find their way to Russia, and not many to Spain. In Denmark and Sweden, on the other hand, we have a fair sale, as English is [widely] understood in those countries. In Germany and Austria the readers are Germans and Austrians, for the English colonies are but small.

By 1937, Holroyd-Reece noted, "The statistics kept by Tauchnitz show that 80% of Tauchnitz readers are foreigners. In other words, there are four foreigners gaining a first-hand—and first-class—knowledge of British and American thought for every British or American traveller who reads a Tauchnitz book." Most were, as in 1884, German; in 1936 Tauchnitz sales in Germany accounted for 39½% of total sales. Following far behind, sales in France reportedly made up 10% of the total, followed by Austria (6%),

16. "The Wanderer on the World's Highways," *The Australasian* [Melbourne], 22 December 1888, 49; Williams, "Manufacturing Intellectual Equipment," 124–25; Henry James, *Hawthorne* (1879; repr. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1887), 165.

Italy (6%), Switzerland (6%), Sweden (3½%), China (3%), Hungary (2½%), and the Balkans (2½%).<sup>17</sup> Even if one assumes that a certain portion of the sales in each country were made to tourists and other native-English speakers living in those countries, it is clear a large majority of the readers of Tauchnitz editions were citizens of non-English-speaking countries, both in Europe and elsewhere.

Many of the European purchasers of Tauchnitz editions simply liked to read the latest foreign literature in its original form; these most likely were relatively well-off people who had attended schools where English was taught, presumably those that catered to more cosmopolitan populations. Typical of this type of reader might have been the author Nerina Medici Gigluicci, from whose personal library many of the Tauchnitz volumes now in Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale originated. Gigluicci, the daughter of an Italian Count and an English mother, voraciously read both American and British authors' works in their Tauchnitz editions. American authors' popularity on the Continent was also due in large part, however, to those who bought Tauchnitz editions to help them improve their English. One report in 1937 described a large group of readers, "chiefly German, but also Dutch and some French, who buy Tauchnitz books because they feel they are getting not only interesting books but free lessons in English at the same time. Sales in this section ordinarily run between 8,000 and 20,000 copies." One copy of Cather's novel *A Lost Lady* (1927) offers clear evidence of one individual using a Tauchnitz edition to learn English; it is signed, "Maurice Cjzanqiá, 1931," and he penciled-in French equivalencies next to a great many English words and phrases that might not have been familiar to a non-native speaker, which he probably was.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, a great number of European high school and university students were exposed to Tauchnitz editions more formally in their English-language classrooms. In the 1930s, Tauchnitz conducted "regular correspondence with some 7,000 teachers" in Europe, supporting the as-

17. Payn, "A Literary Jubilee," *The Independent* 39 (31 March 1887): 2; Tauchnitz quoted in "The Tauchnitz Library," 15; Holroyd-Reece, *The Harvest*, 21-22; "Tauchnitz Marks," 2317.

18. Syracuse University, "The Villa Rossa—Narrative and Photo Gallery," accessed 28 January 2017, <http://suflorence.syr.edu/about-suf/villa-rossa-archive/narrative-and-photo-gallery1/index.mobile.html>; "Tauchnitz Marks," 2317; Cather, *A Lost Lady* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1927), author copy.

sertion that a significant portion “of Tauchnitz readers [was] comprised of university and school teachers and their pupils.” In France, for example, inexpensive Tauchnitz editions represented great boons to French students studying for their *certificat d’aptitude* and *agrégation* exams in the 1920s and 1930s. The classroom use of Tauchnitz editions in both France and Germany was further encouraged by their being regularly reviewed in pedagogical journals aimed at teachers, who presumably would then assign Tauchnitz editions for their students to read. In Germany, Hanns W. Eppelsheimer’s essential resource for teachers and scholars, *Handbuch der Weltliteratur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* [*Handbook of World Literature: From the Beginning to the Present*], which was first published in 1937 but updated in 1947 and 1960, regularly listed Tauchnitz editions of many American authors’ works (such as those by James, Norris, Dreiser, and Cather) as the only English versions available. Even today, numerous extant copies of Tauchnitz volumes in German university libraries bear stamps attesting to their use in English Institutes and courses.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, certain American literary works were made popular through their publication in the Tauchnitz students’ series, separate from the Collection. Many such works were listed in the “Students’ Series for School, College, and Home”: Harte’s *Tales of the Argonauts* (1886); Longfellow’s *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, parts one and two (likely 1888); Benjamin Franklin’s *Autobiography* (1888) and *The Way to Wealth* (1888); Hawthorne’s *A Wonder Book for Boys and Girls* (1896); Frances Hodgson Burnett’s *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1896), *Sara Crewe* (1896), and *The Secret Garden* (1917). In a series of “English Text-Books” published between 1916 and 1918, one could find works by Americans Poe, Twain, Emerson, John Habberton, Harte,

19. “Tauchnitz Marks,” 2318; for French exam use see Janice Simon, “French Studies in American Literature and Civilization,” *American Literature* 6 (1934): 188, and Sigmund Skard, *American Studies in Europe. Their History and Present Organization*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), 231; see, for example, Eppelsheimer, *Handbuch der Weltliteratur: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1960), 610–12; the copies of Willa Cather’s Tauchnitz editions at the University of Rostock library in Germany are all stamped, “Englisches Seminar | Universität Rostock,” and copies of Cather’s Tauchnitz editions at the University of Leipzig’s main library bear stamps from “Englisches Institut | Universität Leipzig” and “Englisches Seminar der Handels-Hochschule Leipzig [English Seminar of Leipzig Business College].”

Longfellow, and Kate Douglas Wiggin. Curiously enough, there were only two Americans represented in the “Students’ Series, Neue Folge [New Series]” of fifty-two different titles published between 1926 and 1939: Cather’s *Tom Outland’s Story* (1930) and Jack London’s *The Call of the Wild* (1931). The sales of these volumes cannot be determined without the business records of the firm. However, even as late as 1937, it was reported, “Among the [Tauchnitz] books read in schools, ‘Little Lord Fauntleroy’ has an enormous sale.” Sometimes, it would appear, teachers simply used the regular Tauchnitz edition of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1887) for instruction; one existing copy on deposit at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, for example, is signed by its owner, has a handwritten list of characters’ names on a back page, and includes numerous penciled-in translations into French; it also was so well used that some pages had to be taped together.<sup>20</sup>

Yet the question remains: How popular, exactly, did these Tauchnitz editions make their authors? One might have expected that the low price of most volumes in the Collection would have resulted in huge sales among a wide spectrum of readers. After all, until 1912, paperback volumes in the series cost 1,60 German marks, or 2,00 French francs, which typically equated to approximately 1s. 6d., or 50 cents, a third of the cost of a British or American clothbound edition, and after about 1920 they sold for only slightly more: 1,80 German marks (clothbound versions of most volumes could be purchased around 1912 for 2,20 marks or 2,75 francs and more elegant leather-bound gift volumes for 3,00 marks or 3,75 francs). Thus, these volumes would have been quite affordable for people from almost all socioeconomic levels. Nevertheless, no Tauchnitz volume in any format appears to have ever sold as many copies as an American or British bestseller of that time did in its home market. One example of an American nineteenth-century “bestseller” in Tauchnitz terms was a Longfellow book of poetry that in 1870 sold 7,000 copies. One thus has to wonder what it meant, exactly, when it was reported that the California writer Gertrude Atherton’s “books proved to be immensely popular in the German Tauchnitz editions.” After all, as one report in 1902 related, Baron

20. Students’ Series information in Todd and Bowden, *Tauchnitz International Editions*, 815–19; “Text-Books” information 819–29; Neue Folge information 831–36; “Tauchnitz Marks,” 2318; Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1887), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, shelfmark FRBNF31891801.

Christian Tauchnitz allegedly said “that 2000 copies represent a very fair sale, which is never reached by a considerable number of works published. A sale of 5000 copies is only attained in the case of works by exceptionally popular authors, while a sale of 10,000 can only be recorded in the case of six books out of the 800 published during the last ten years.” As the report concluded, “Most people, we imagine, had a very different opinion as to the circulation [numbers] of these attractive little books.”<sup>21</sup>

In later years, sales numbers were larger, but still not extraordinary. *Publishers' Weekly* reported in 1937 that the average Tauchnitz book “of light and popular fiction, with a special appeal to the continental Tauchnitz public,” had “moderate” sales—although it also noted that one book in this category, Anita Loos’s *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, had sold about 100,000 copies in its Tauchnitz form. Those appealing to “the ordinary traveler, buyer and reader,” this article stated, had typical sales of about 5,000 to 10,000, while books with “great reputations” often enjoyed “Sales of 20,000 to 50,000.” The Tauchnitz editions of American works listed as “some of the best sellers of the last hundred years” were Alcott’s *Little Women*, London’s *The Call of the Wild*, Buck’s *The Good Earth*, and most everything by Twain.<sup>22</sup> However, even if each of these sold 50,000 copies of its Tauchnitz edition, that still would have represented much lower sales than those of their copyrighted American edition.

What Tauchnitz sales lacked in sheer numbers, however, they made up for in influence. Indeed, for some authors possibly the most important benefit of being published by Tauchnitz was that it acted as a stamp of approval that could serve as a catalyst to further popularity and higher sales of those editions from which they did earn royalties. Harte wrote to his then-friend Twain in 1876 to recommend that he let Tauchnitz reprint his books, in part because “to be on his list is a kind of guarantee to the English reading people there” on the Continent. Twain would later become quite cognizant of how his Tauchnitz volumes could act as popu-

21. A description of Tauchnitz pricing from February 1912 forward is found at the back of a copy of Francis Marion Crawford, *Uncanny Tales* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1911), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, shelfmark FRBNF31979206; Longfellow sales in “Persons and Things,” *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 15 February 1870, n.p.; Carolyn Forrey, “Gertrude Atherton and the New Woman,” *California Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (Fall 1976): 202; for Tauchnitz quotation see “Trade with Russia,” *The Colac Herald* [Victoria, Australia], 5 December 1902, 6.

22. “Tauchnitz Marks,” 2317–18.

larity catalysts among readers and publishers; as one of his bibliographers, Robert M. Rodney, has written,

Appearing in most instances shortly after their first American publication, the Tauchnitz editions gave many European readers early access to Mark Twain before the later foreign language translations of his writings. This formidable collection, issued in twenty-seven titles over a forty-three-year period, gave an added dimension to Mark Twain's international popularity.<sup>23</sup>

American authors whose sales lagged behind their critical reputations especially wished to be included in Tauchnitz's Collection. James for one demonstrated on a number of occasions and in various ways his willingness to please Tauchnitz (such as creating special revised editions) and have his works included in the series; he succeeded in getting Tauchnitz to publish sixteen of his works. Howells actively lobbied, through friends such as Bayard Taylor and Twain, to have his work included in the Collection, and eventually fourteen of his titles would be published by Tauchnitz. A grateful Howells wrote to Twain in 1879, "Thanks to your generous interest in the matter, Tauchnitz is putting some of my books into his library. He has already put F[oregone]. Conclusion in, and the L[ady]. of the Aroostook goes next."<sup>24</sup>

Publication in Tauchnitz's Collection could have other benefits as well. One writer in 1914 asserted, "The popularity of a book in the Tauchnitz edition has a strong influence on its possible appearance, and also on its success, in a translation." This was certainly true in Harte's case, for the appearance of his Tauchnitz volume *Prose and Poetry* in 1872 prompted an influential German critic, Ferdinand Freiligrath, to highly recommend him to German readers in an article that appeared in a prominent German literary periodical; consequently, "Harte's reception progressed rap-

23. Bret Harte, letter to Clemens, 5 September 1876, *Selected Letters of Bret Harte*, ed. Gary Scharnhorst (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 133; Robert M. Rodney, *Mark Twain International: A Bibliography and Interpretation of His Worldwide Popularity* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1982), 119.

24. Howells's lobbying efforts in letter to Bayard Taylor, 28 December 1873, William Dean Howells, *Selected Letters. Volume 2: 1873-1881*, ed. George Arms and Christoph Lohmann (Boston: Twayne, 1979), 47, 48n; letter, Howells to Clemens, 9 September 1879, *Mark Twain-Howells Letters, The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells, 1872-1910*, ed. Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 268.

idly," with a number of translations being published in the next few years. Howells's inclusion in the Tauchnitz series had a similar effect in Germany and Austria; one scholar has argued that an 1882 article about Howells by the prominent Austrian scholar Anton Schönbach was "inspired by the recent publication of *A Modern Instance* in the Tauchnitz series," and that this in turn greatly boosted Howells's reputation and the number of his works translated into German. In his 1917 study of American literature in Germany, Clement Vollmer offered further support for the claim that Tauchnitz publication prompted subsequent translations, pointing out in regard to the 1877 Tauchnitz edition of *Little Women*: "This was only one of many cases in which Tauchnitz published some popular American novel in English, only to have it followed by numerous German translations in the next year or following years." Other examples Vollmer presented of Tauchnitz editions likely spurring on subsequent translations included the anonymously published novel *Democracy* by Henry Adams (1882), which was said to have "bore its fruit, for in 1883 no less than four editions of the German translation appeared," as well as Harte's *Gabriel Conroy* (1876), Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* (1885), and Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1887). It would appear, too, that in many cases translators even used Tauchnitz volumes as copytexts; writing about Twain's popularity in Hungary, Anna B. Katona reports that, "Most translations relied on the widely popular German Tauchnitz editions rather than the original English [editions]."<sup>25</sup>

In the twentieth century, being included in the Tauchnitz Collection could prove itself valuable to an author not only because of increased book sales but for other reasons as well. Commentator Michael Joseph wrote in *The Bookman* in 1926, "the author's foreign sales are bound to benefit in the long run through the publicity afforded the author's name by association with the Tauchnitz imprint." He added, too, "Publication in Tauchnitz is directly valuable in attracting inquiries for translation and even

25. Grace Isabel Colbron, "The American Novel in Germany," *The Bookman* 39 (March 1914): 47; Eugene F. Timpe, "Bret Harte's German Public," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 10 (1965): 217; Timpe, "Howells and His German Critics," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 11 (1966): 257; Clement Vollmer, "The American Novel in Germany, 1871-1913," *German-American Annals*, n.s. 15 (1917): 124; Vollmer, 126, 195, 202, 182; Anna B. Katona, "Mark Twain's Reception in Hungary," *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 109.

motion picture and dramatic rights, and in the long run is without doubt commercially sound from the author's standpoint."<sup>26</sup> A most interesting project, indeed, would be to investigate whether the proven popularity of particular Tauchnitz titles actually did lead to any deals between American authors' representatives and European movie companies and theater producers.

Given that Tauchnitz publication made a great number of American literary works available and well known among certain audiences in Europe and elsewhere in the world, one is naturally led to ask what kind of impressions of American literature and culture these editions promoted among such readers. One possible way to answer this question is by determining which American authors, titles, and topics were included in the Collection, and which were left out.

The long-held view has been that the Tauchnitz firm simply followed the lead of the British and American markets and confined itself almost exclusively to reprinting texts that had already proven themselves popular in those countries. In the case of American authors, Tauchnitz—without, as far as can be determined, an American agent working on its behalf to identify prospective works and authors—did choose many texts that had sold well in the United States, and which the firm likely hoped would fare similarly in the international market. The 1884 Tauchnitz catalogue includes a number of such authors: Alcott, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Cooper, Cummins, Harte, Longfellow, Twain, and Stowe. The 1905 catalogue indicates that this policy continued into the twentieth century, for added to the Tauchnitz list were Crawford (thirty-four works in fifty-four volumes—the most of any American author), Richard Henry Savage (sixteen titles in twenty-seven editions); Atherton (twelve titles); Burnett; George Horace Lorimer (his *Letters from a Self-Made Merchant to His Son*, brought out in 1903 by Tauchnitz, had large sales); and Lew Wallace (whose *Ben Hur*, published by Tauchnitz in 1888, proved to be a huge seller). American authors whose works sold well in the United States that were included in the 1914 catalogue were, once again, Crawford with forty-three titles (in sixty-eight volumes); Harte with forty titles (forty-two volumes); Mary Antin, with *The Promised Land* (1913); and children's author Kate Douglas Wiggin (ten titles). In that year, one report stated, "While there is little difference in popularity among the various works of Harte, *Huckleberry*

26. Michael Joseph, "The Seven Seas," *The Bookman* 64 (December 1926): 526.

*Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* outdistance all the other Twain books as general favorites. Louisa May Alcott and Thomas Bailey Aldrich hold their own well, *Little Women* and *Marjorie Daw* being good sellers in the Tauchnitz edition." By 1937 Tauchnitz had also added some new names and titles from this type of popular writer, including eight from Buck, six from Edgar Rice Burroughs (the Tarzan series), four from Ferber, one from Zane Grey, ten from Joseph Hergesheimer, and Loos's "*Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*": *The Illuminating Diary of a Professional Lady*. Almost all of these authors were popular in the United States before Tauchnitz chose to reprint their works; however, it is possible that without such reprinting they might not have become as widely known in Europe as they eventually did. For instance, Vollmer in 1917 noted that after publication by Tauchnitz, "[Richard Harding] Davis and especially [Richard] Savage, the former through his *Gallegber*, the latter through *My Official Wife*, became well known and cherished by German readers."<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, painting the entire Tauchnitz series as one comprised solely of middlebrow American texts by popular authors is neither completely accurate nor fair. First, the Tauchnitz firm should be given credit for publishing a great many works by authors such as Howells and James who were not extremely popular in Great Britain and the United States but who were critically well-respected there. Baron Bernhard Tauchnitz himself wrote to Howells in 1881 to tell him that one of his novels had "sold more largely than I had calculated upon," and just a few years later, he stated that in their Tauchnitz editions, "American novelists—Henry James, Howells, and the two Hawthornes—also command a large public." The popularity of James's Tauchnitz publications, and the visibility afforded by them, is also indicated in a comment Howells made to James in an 1879 letter from Paris: "I am glad to see you Tauchnitzized—your last book forms one of the ornaments of *the Boulevard*."<sup>28</sup>

Second, Tauchnitz was not completely risk averse when it came to publishing potentially controversial American fictions. Granted, the Col-

27. Quotations from Colbron, "The American Novel in Germany," 46, and Vollmer, "The American Novel in Germany," 130.

28. Tauchnitz quoted in Howells, "The Contributor's Club," 141; Tauchnitz also quoted in "The Tauchnitz Library," 15; Howells quoted in Michael Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives. Henry James and William Dean Howells* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 141.

lection certainly never included American works that were widely criticized in the United States for having crossed the line of sexual propriety. Tauchnitz also conspicuously eschewed James's Modernist novels, confining itself exclusively to publishing his more readily accessible Realist novels and travel narratives. And it most definitely did not include works by Walt Whitman, any American Modernist poets, or playwrights such as Susan Glaspell, Eugene O'Neill, or Lillian Hellman. Yet the Tauchnitz firm did occasionally take some risks with their choices as to what to include in the Collection, reprinting a number of British and American works that have for years been regarded as meriting extensive critical attention for their artistry and the ways they pushed against ideological boundaries of propriety.

One of the first of such American texts was Burnett's *Through One Administration* (1883), a biting attack on contemporary gender roles that caused a stir when serialized in *Century* magazine because it featured a main character and heroine, Bertha Amory, who has adulterous thoughts about a man other than her cold and abusive husband yet is not punished or condemned. Both Edward Bellamy's socialist critique of American capitalism, *Looking Backward*, and Twain's similarly acerbic *A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur* (a.k.a. *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*) were published by Tauchnitz in 1890. In addition, the firm published Ambrose Bierce's *In the Midst of Life* in 1892 despite the fact that, because it contained a number of stories sharply critical of the Civil War and debunked romantic notions of it, Bierce had initially experienced great difficulty finding an American publisher. Tauchnitz was not encouraged by its experiment with this type of fiction; Vollmer notes that Bierce's volume "brought forth much unfavorable criticism." As one German review stated, "I don't ever remember having read with the same distaste a so-called work of fine literature as *In the Midst of Life*; I can't comprehend how it could be included in the Tauchnitz collection." Not surprisingly, Vollmer states, "No work of Bierce's was ever published in Germany again, a conclusive proof that he created an unsavory impression."<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, just a few years later, in 1896, Tauchnitz again took a risk and published in two vol-

29. Burnett information in Mark Noonan, "Modern Instances: Vanishing Women Writers and the Rise of Realism in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*," *American Literary Realism* 42 (2010): 204-9; Vollmer, "The American Novel in Germany," 131; review translated from the German and quoted in Vollmer, 131.

umes Harold Frederic's *Illumination; or, The Damnation of Theron Ware*, a highly controversial work about a Methodist minister who lusts after a woman not his wife.

Tauchnitz continued to have a mixed record of risk taking when it came to twentieth-century American works. On the one hand, it did not reprint Upton Sinclair's more confrontational novel *The Jungle*, despite its popularity in German translation, and according to Atherton, Baron Tauchnitz "refused" her book *Rulers of Kings* "because of the fact that his Emperor was a character in it. That would mean trouble for any German publisher, and the wise publisher avoids trouble," a charge corroborated by another contemporary report: "Tauchnitz dares not publish her 'Rulers of Kings' in Germany and it is said that the book is too outspoken to suit the German censors."<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, Tauchnitz did reprint a number of works by twentieth-century American authors that could not in any way be regarded as middlebrow or non-controversial. For instance, it reprinted Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt* (1922) and *Arrowsmith* (1925) (but not *Main Street*), Floyd Dell's highly risqué *Runaway* (1926) and *Love in Greenwich Village* (1926), Theodore Dreiser's *A Gallery of Women* (1930), and not only all three works in John Dos Passos's trilogy—*The 42nd Parallel* (1931), *Manhattan Transfer* (1932), and *Nineteen Nineteen* (1933)—but also *Three Soldiers* (1932).

Overall, for most of the Collection's history there appears to have been no consistently applied policy governing Tauchnitz's selections of American works for reprinting. One writer in 1926, observing the wide variety of texts published in the Collection as a whole, stated simply, "those responsible for the selection of titles take a decidedly catholic view of literature." If Tauchnitz had wished to reprint only bestselling fictions, why did it not publish the extremely popular *David Harum: A Story of American Life* (1899) by E. V. Westcott, *The Virginian* (1902) by Owen Wister, *The Age of Innocence* (1920) by Edith Wharton, more westerns by Grey, or even *Gone with the Wind* (1936) by Margaret Mitchell? One is led to hypothesize that the non-appearance of certain texts in the Collection might have had less to do with what Tauchnitz *wanted* to reprint than with what it *could* secure the rights to reprint. Such a caveat was offered as early as

30. Gertrude Atherton, "The American Novel in England," *The Bookman* 30 (February 1910): 639; "Gertrude Atherton," *The Call* [San Francisco], 29 September 1904, 639.

1909, when American scholar Theodore Stanton urged his readers to “notice that there are cases where some of the best works of an author are not included in the ‘Tauchnitz Edition.’ The cause of these omissions is sometimes other than taste or choice.”<sup>31</sup> Thus, without knowing which American titles the Tauchnitz firm tried to obtain rights to but couldn’t, one simply cannot support the blanket assertion that it purposely and consistently avoided publishing artistically challenging works or those that proved controversial in other ways.

After the Nazis came to power in 1933, however, this conclusion deserves modification, for one would assume that, just as other German publishers did, from here on Tauchnitz had to adopt more stringent acceptance guidelines in order to avoid reprinting any texts that might offend the authorities by being too experimental, pushing moral limits, or raising politically sensitive topics. The fine line Holroyd-Reece had to tread in making his book selections during this period can be seen in the statement he offered in the company’s 1937 history: “While the range of our books is truly all-embracing we have striven simultaneously to reveal the mind and opinion of England and America without at the same time causing offense to any of the many countries within whose boundaries we have been given the privilege of guest.”<sup>32</sup>

Whether there was any intentional, consistently followed policy or not, though, it must be acknowledged that the texts included in the Tauchnitz Collection presented a rather skewed view of American literature and culture. No book of poetry by an American other than Poe and Longfellow was ever published, for instance, and not a single work of American drama was included in the Collection. Tauchnitz readers might be forgiven, too, for believing that American literature concerned itself very much with Europe rather than with American subjects, as seen by the great number of Tauchnitz reprints set in Europe by some of the most well-represented and popular American authors: Crawford, Atherton, James, Howells, and Burnett.

It should be noted, too, that when set in the United States, an inordinate number of Tauchnitz Collection books had as their subject life in the American West, mostly ignoring literature from, and the cultures

31. Joseph, “The Seven Seas,” 526; Theodore Stanton, ed., *A Manual of American Literature* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1909), vi.

32. Holroyd-Reece, *The Harvest*, 30.

of, other regions. Entirely missing from the Collection are any works from non-Western regionalist authors whose short story collections and novels had been quite popular in the United States, such as Sarah Orne Jewett (New England), Kate Chopin (Louisiana), Octave Thanet (Midwest), Joel Chandler Harris (South), and Ellen Glasgow (South); one exception was Nobel Prize-winning Lewis's biting critique of Midwestern life, *Babbitt* (1922).

Many Tauchnitz readers were instead given the strong impression that the United States was one big frontier, a region filled with romantic adventures. Europeans had long been fascinated with the American West, and works in Cooper's Leatherstocking series were extremely popular among them, both in English and in translation (also very popular were fictions by Cooper's many European imitators who wrote about the American West in their own languages, such as the German Karl May). Although, as noted earlier, Tauchnitz early on had been deterred in its desire to reprint Cooper's Leatherstocking works; however, in the nineteenth century the firm was able to publish forty different titles by Harte and twenty-seven by Twain. Such concentration on the West and American pioneers continued in the twentieth century. A number of London's works about the Yukon (a quasi-West) were reprinted by Tauchnitz almost immediately after publication (including three short story collections); Ferber's *Showboat* (1927) and *Cimarron* (1930) were also very popular. It is surely no coincidence, too, that the two American texts published by Tauchnitz in the Students' New Series for English language learners in Germany were *Tom Outland's Story* (1930), the section of Cather's novel *The Professor's House* that deals with the discovery of cliff dweller ruins in southwestern Colorado, and London's *The Call of the Wild*.

Also conspicuously missing from the Tauchnitz representation of the United States in fiction was urban poverty and strife. Nowhere can one find works by Crane, Dreiser, or Sinclair about the destitute in America's cities, for example.

Furthermore, the topic of race in the United States could only, judging by the works included in the Collection, be acceptably addressed by white authors. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and *Dred* (1856), as well as Jackson's *Ramona* (1885), are early examples of this kind of work. Although both these authors and their texts were, for their time, very sympathetic to African Americans and Native Americans, respectively, they have also been roundly criticized for offering quite biased and incomplete represen-

tations of the plights of these two groups. The same might be said for Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), although to its credit the Tauchnitz firm also published the much more confrontational *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1890). In the twentieth century, the first work of American literature in the Collection dealing with race was Thomas Dixon Jr.'s *The Leopard's Spots* (1903), which paints members of the Ku Klux Klan as heroes defending the South against carpetbaggers and emancipated slaves. This was followed by Sherwood Anderson's *Dark Laughter* (1926), Carl Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven* (1928), and Fannie Hurst's *Imitation of Life* (1935). Noticeably absent are any works by African American authors Frances Watkins Harper, Charles Chesnutt, Paul Laurence Dunbar, or by any Harlem Renaissance writer.

Philippe Berthelot, France's Ambassador to Germany, wrote about the Tauchnitz Collection in 1937: "Elle est peut-être plus précieuse encore par son objet, qui tend à une meilleure compréhension de l'âme et de la littérature des pays de langue anglaise."<sup>33</sup> Overall, however, readers guided solely by the American texts Tauchnitz presented in its Collection would have been grossly misled into believing that the "soul" of America and its literature did not include its poets or dramatists, its people from regions other than the West, its urban poor, or its people of color.

The claim made in a 1900 *New York Times* report entitled "American Authors," that "There is perhaps no better index to the popularity of an author in Europe than his appearance, or non-appearance, in the series of reprints which bear the name of Tauchnitz," was likely an over-exaggeration—but not by much.<sup>34</sup> As seen above, at a time when British and American editions of American authors' literary works were not easily available outside those countries or were prohibitively expensive, the Tauchnitz firm put a great many works of American literature into the hands of thousands of readers in Europe—as well as in the rest of the world—who otherwise might not have been exposed to them. Moreover, although the sales of these books through Tauchnitz were relatively low in comparison to, say, a bestseller's sales figures in the United States, it is clear that these Tauchnitz reprints were read by international opinion makers and

33. "It is possibly even more valuable because its purpose is to offer a better comprehension of the soul and the literature of English-speaking countries" (Berthelot quoted in Holroyd-Reece, *The Harvest*, 22).

34. "American Authors," *New York Times*, 17 November 1900, BR16.

likely led to numerous translated editions and other opportunities, which in turn would have served to increase certain American authors' popularity. It should be remembered, too, that the readership of each copy extended well past its original owner, since a great many, especially those left behind in hotel rooms or on shipboard, as well as those kept in various libraries, were likely read by multiple readers. In addition, plentiful evidence exists that these volumes were highly valued and carefully read by their readers; large numbers had them bound, put their own bookplates in them, signed them, and annotated them.

The cultural labor performed by these editions among their readers is, of course, impossible to determine exactly, although my current project of examining readers' interactions with their Tauchnitz editions will, I hope, provide more substantial evidence of this labor. What is known, though, is that between the years 1841 and 1943 American literature itself went from being regarded generally by many around the world as the poor stepchild of British literature to being viewed as possessing great significance and value in its own right. Tauchnitz's Collection of British and American Authors did not effect this transformation single-handedly, but it likely played a significant role. At the same time, what seems clear from examination of the Collection lists is that those people who relied on the Tauchnitz editions for their perception of American life and literature received only a very limited and inaccurate view. Quite possibly, one might hypothesize, this is part of what made them so popular among their readers around the world.<sup>35</sup>

35. I would like to thank Mark Walters, Interlibrary Loan Coordinator for the Dr. C. C. and Mabel L. Criss Library at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, for his invaluable work obtaining a great many of the obscure texts used in this article, as well as Emma Johanningsmeier, who deftly navigated Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale to locate and take notes on a number of Tauchnitz volumes in its collection.