Yvonne Leffler (ed.)
The Triumph of the Swedish Nineteenth-Century Novel in Central and Eastern Europe
LIR.skrifter.9

Tryck: BrandFactory AB, Kållered 2019

ISBN: 978-91-88348-93-7

Ondřej Vimr

DESPISED AND POPULAR

Swedish Women Writers in Nineteenth-Century Czech National and Gender Emancipation

The Czech translation, publishing, dissemination, reading and reception of popular Swedish female authors in the nineteenth century were strongly linked to the Czech national movement and gender emancipation. Marie Sophie Schwartz and Emilie Flygare-Carlén were among the most popular authors translated into Czech in the second half of the century, while Fredrika Bremer was less translated but considerably well known among readers in the Czech lands already by the 1840s. However, their paths in the Czech literary, cultural and social landscape are lined with paradoxes. Generally speaking, the debates on even some of the most obscure writers of the time were often rather heated in the Czech press in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but the literary and aesthetic qualities of the novels by these Swedish female authors were never thoroughly analysed in the same magazines and newspapers. Their popular novels became part of the Czech national movement discourse and the fictional characters were used as female models by some in the female emancipation discussions. Yet, at the same time, the names of Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén were progressively reduced to labels for bad taste and useless literature authors. This fact alone suggests that these authors and their works were well established in the Czech lands – either from Czech translations or from sources in languages other than Czech – and did not require any deeper introduction or analysis. What became more important in the discussions was the fact and purpose of translation of these authors into Czech. Did the Czech literature, culture, society and (female) readership need a Czech translation of these authors while they were readily available

in German? How did the translations contribute to the Czech language and literature, the emancipation of the Czech nation, the enlightenment of the Czech society, or education of Czech women? Used by numerous publishers for a variety of purposes, despised by many critics for sentimentality and arguably popular among readers, these authors and the translations of their works happened to follow the winding roads of the Czech history for over 100 years, from the 1840s until the 1950s.

Here, I will mostly focus on the developments in the second half of the nineteenth century. Against the backdrop of historical events, I will focus on the publishing initiatives that translated Bremer, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz into Czech. As far as data allow, I will analyse the context of the publishing projects, their goals, outcomes and critical reception. Firstly, I will briefly describe the key issues of the Czech National Revival and the importance of translated literature for the national movement. Secondly, I will concentrate on the first attempts to popularise Scandinavian literature, especially that written by women, among Czech readers. Thirdly, I will describe three major publishing projects that involved Bremer, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz. I will analyse these authors' position in the book market and in the Czech literary system, the projects' intended aims and successes. I will emphasise the topic of education and emancipation of women, as two of the projects were closely linked to the discussions on social enlightenment and the role of women. Fourthly, I will discuss the critical reception of the authors, especially in the last third of the nineteenth century, as well as the grounds for their popularity in the same period. Finally, I will briefly describe the fates of these authors in Czech publishing, social and political environment in the twentieth century.

1840S: FREDRIKA BREMER MEETS THE CZECH NATIONAL REVIVAL

The first Swedish (and Scandinavian) female writer translated into Czech was Fredrika Bremer. In 1843, her story *Den ensamma* (1830; *The Lonely*) appeared in an almanac, or a collection of short literary pieces in Czech, called *Horník* (The Miner) published in Kutná Hora, a former silver-mining town.[1] The almanac was an endeavour of a local patriot who returned to Kutná Hora after several years as a teacher in Prague. When he arrived in the town in 1841, he felt that the Czech-language literary scene there had a sound potential and decided to make use of his numerous contacts with Prague-based writers and publish a series of charitable almanacs. Despite his social capital, finding contributors proved challenging. In the end, it was only local writers

who sent him their contributions, either in prose or in verse. It is not known why he chose to include a story by Bremer, as it was the only translation in the three almanacs he published. The suggestion might have come from Jan Erazim Vocel (1803-1871), a renowned poet, archaeologist and historian native to Kutná Hora, who would go so far as to learn Danish just to translate the medieval Danish folk song on Dagmar of Bohemia, the Czech-born Danish queen.[2] The idea might also have come from Vocel's wife, Jaroslava Litněnská,[3] who allegedly translated the story into Czech, although she was not active as a translator or writer elsewhere.

The fact that Bremer appeared in Czech translation in the almanac, a collection of local literature and poetry in Czech, shows that she was a known author in the Czech lands in the first half of the nineteenth century. As I will show below, she was a popular and relatively recognised female author throughout the century, although her work was not largely available in Czech. She was never published in any influential Czech periodical, and only one volume of her oeuvre was ever published in Czech. In the 1840s, however, the important – usually Prague-based – periodicals and their publishers were still busy establishing the Czech language as a viable all-purpose alternative to German and they strove to avoid translations from German, which also included all Scandinavian literature, which had regularly been translated via German until around 1890.

Following the Battle of White Mountain, an early stage of the Thirty Years' War in 1620, the Czech lands underwent a process of Germanisation due to the policies of the Habsburg emperors. The Czech language was abolished from state administration, journalism, schools and literature and was reduced to the language of the peasantry, domestic servants and stable hands. During the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Czechs underwent a National Revival, a cultural movement to revive the Czech language, culture, literature, society and national identity. While in the early decades of the National Revival the Czech-language periodicals typically featured translations of German popular literature, the 1820s saw a radical programmatic shift towards original Czech production and translations from Slavic literatures, notably Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian.[4] This translation strategy was supposed to enrich the Czech language with natural Slavic vocabulary and phraseology as well as curtail the influence of German. Although some editors in chief would include more German and French literature at times, the overall trend of the period from the 1820s to the 1850s is apparent.[5] In fact, it was the intricate Czech relationship to the German-language culture and society that deeply influenced the Czech

culture, literature and society, including the translation and reception of popular Swedish female writers. The establishment and development of the Czech-language cultural and social identity in the course of the National Revival was to a certain extent based on breaking up with the German culture and literature that was so deeply entrenched in the Czech lands. Czech intellectuals were aiming to establish an independent Czech literary system in the first stage – the first half of the nineteenth century – and bring it on par with other European literatures in the second half of the nineteenth century. While revivalists struggled to bring ideas and concepts from non-German cultures, in fact programmatically constructing the Czech society, culture and literature as non-German, it was not possible to avoid the German social, cultural and literary system as a natural source of information.

LATE 1850S AND EARLY 1860S: SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURES IN CZECH ARE TAKING OFF

From the 1850s until the 1880s, Scandinavian literature gradually gained ground in Czech magazines, on the stage and in terms of book-length translations. Yet, the translations and news were unsystematic, and numbers were rather low in comparison to other source literatures, such as French, Polish and Russian. The only Scandinavian author to get published repeatedly until the 1860s was the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen, a frequent visitor to Prague. The case of Fredrika Bremer, however, shows that there was a wider and livelier Czech reception of Scandinavian literature in German translation. The Czech intellectuals were perfectly bilingual – many spoke German better than Czech – in the first half of the nineteenth century and had a good grasp of what was happening in the literature outside the extremely limited Czech-language book and press industry. Therefore, Jan Neruda (1834–1891), an influential Czech journalist and author, wrote enthusiastically and knowledgeably about the general developments in the Scandinavian literatures when discussing the recent theatre pieces by two prominent Norwegian authors in 1878:

> In the Nordic literature, exemplarily and fascinatingly productive, peculiar tectonic movements have been taking place: the whirl of activity was first led by Danes, then by Swedes, and now by Norwegians; Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Henrik Ibsen are currently the leading Norwegian names, and the dispute over "who is greater" in their homeland is both interesting and nonsensical.[6]

The shift towards more foreign literature, including Scandinavian, in Czech-language periodicals and on the stages in the late 1850s and in the 1860s coincided with a generational shift. Younger authors felt that the Czech language and literature had a strong enough foothold and that, in order to flourish and attract readership, it was necessary to open the literature to foreign influences not merely based on linguistic affinity but also on the quality and novelty of the translated production. In 1858, a brief analysis of the Scandinavian literature (Danish and Swedish) appeared as part of an extensive study on the contemporary European novel written by Karel Sabina (1813–1877), author, dramatist and critic.[7] The article was published in *Lumír* (1851–1904), an influential weekly focusing on contemporary literature, both Czech and international, featuring translations from a number of literatures. While Sabina mentions many authors in passing and most extensively discusses the Swedish writer Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (translated into Czech as late as 1965), he devotes two and a half paragraphs to Swedish female writers: Fredrika Bremer, Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Sophie von Knorring. He notes that Bremer is an internationally popular writer, known for her *Teckningar ut ur hvardagslifvet* (1828–1840; *Sketches of Every-Day Life*), stating that: "Bremer writes very well and amusingly, and she has a poetic spirit, too; yet, the circle that her spirit is joyfully moving inside is somewhat limited and does not surpass the ordinary. There is no height or depth in her writing, yet she depicts everyday life faithfully and vividly."[8] Flygare-Carlén was actually held in greater esteem as she was deemed "much richer, both in terms of inventiveness and imagery."[9] Also, she was very prolific –"as prolific as she is gifted"– and the high number of works produced did not come at the expense of quality since in each and every novel "her genius appears in a new and fresh light."[10] Knorring was described as "prolific, gifted and popular"; moreover, she exposed "her deep opinion on the social conditions."[11]

However, Sabina's analysis is not extensive; the Scandinavian literatures do not attract much attention in comparison to other larger European literatures, and they are on par with the Dutch literature. It is hard to tell what his opinions were based on, yet the inclusion of these authors proves an interest in this particular section of literature, and that it was understood that Bremer and Flygare-Carlén could not be excluded from any comprehensive overview of the contemporary literature.[12] The periodical that published Sabina's article had three pillars: original prose and poetry, translated prose and poetry, and news and essays on culture and literature. Most of the translations in the 1850s were from Slavic languages, English and French. It published several tales by Hans Christian Andersen, the only Scandinavian author to be represented.

In the 1860s, the most prominent publication to feature news about and excerpts from the Scandinavian literatures was *Česká včela* (The Czech Bee), the cultural supplement of the popular and influential *Květy* (Flowers) periodical. It brought several short translations, namely Nowegian Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's poetry and prose as well as over a dozen Danish folk songs. For the most part, however, Scandinavian literature was mentioned in shorter descriptive and informative contributions. That is the case of an article on Fredrika Bremer, actually her obituary, published in 1866, which stated among other things:

> Besides Esaias Tegnér and the Danish writer Andersen, Fredrika Bremer holds a prominent place in the Scandinavian literature. With her extraordinary poetic excellence and a great understanding of the human heart – especially the hearts of women – she managed to surpass such famous authors and Henriette Hanke and Fanny Tarnow.[13]

The author (probably Jan Neruda) details a rather long list of popular novels by Bremer "translated into a number of European languages"[14] – *Grannarne* (1837; *The Neighbours*), *Strid och frid eller några scener i Norge* (1840; *Strife and Peace*), *Presidentens döttrar* (1834; *The President's Daughters*), *Nina* (1953) and *Axel och Anna* (1838; *Axel and Anna*) – but fails to mention the only existing Czech translation, suggesting that he did not know about it, which in turn means that the almanac did not have much of an impact. This and the fact that he made a comparison to two German writers who were popular at the time also suggest a continued dependence on the German sources of information on current literary issues.

Generally, Scandinavian literature gained ground only very slowly in Czech. This slow onset – driven by the revivalists with cultural aspirations in terms of enriching the Czech literary system with quality and novelty from abroad – strongly contrasts with the sudden influx of two popular Swedish female writers: Marie Sophie Schwartz and Emilie Flygare-Carlén. Their comparably strong presence in book translations from the Scandinavian languages is self-evident from 1867 to 1875, while the rest of the Scandinavian literature only started to bloom towards the end of the 1880s (fig. 1). Although Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz continued to appear in new translations and re-editions until 1929 in remarkably high numbers, their share in the overall numbers of translations from the Scandinavian languages into Czech continued to diminish as the rest of the production kept rising strongly until the peak in the early 1920s.

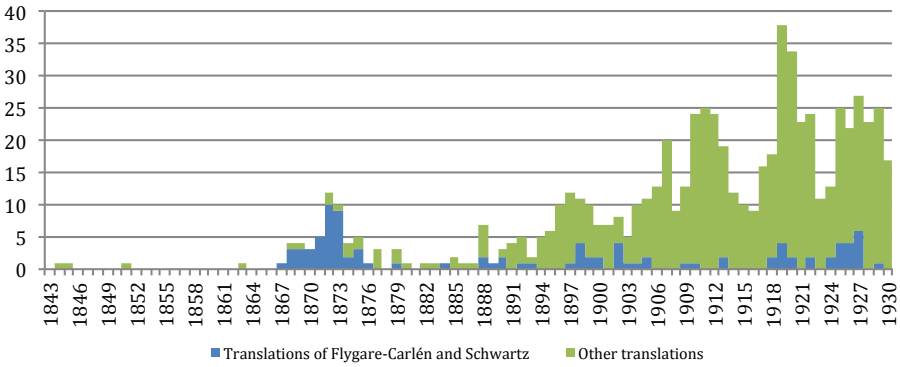

Figure 1: Book-length translations from the Scandinavian languages into Czech from 1843 until 1930; highlighted translations (including re-editions and retranslations) of novels by Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Marie Sophie Schwartz.

Three phases can be identified during which the novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were published in Czech. The first and strongest started in 1867 and lasted about 10 years. The second phase, with a number of re-editions and retranslations, stretched across almost two decades from the mid-1880s until the beginning of the twentieth century. The third phase started right after World War I and the establishment of Czechoslovakia and ran for another 10 years. Here, I will focus mainly on the first and foundational phase, but I will come back to the other two phases towards the end of the chapter.

The manner and purpose of publication of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Czech were rather particular and differed from how and why other Scandinavian authors became available and influential in the 1880s and 1890s. The logic is more evident with Flygare-Carlén as she was published almost entirely by the same publishing entity from the first translations (1868–1875) until the last one (1929), whereas Schwartz had as many as five different publishers in the initial period alone (1867–1876).

LATE 1860S: SCHALEK RETURNS FROM FRANCE AND PUBLISHES SCHWARTZ

At around the same time as the obituary of Fredrika Bremer appeared (1866), the first translations of Marie Sophie Schwartz started to be published in Czech by Gustav Schalek (1836-1889), the son of Joseph Schalek (1811-?), the German-speaking Jewish owner of a mid-sized bookstore based in Prague. Joseph Schalek opened his bookshop in

central Prague in the 1830s or 1840s, and besides selling books he ran a private lending library (*Leihbibliothek*), offering around 26 000 volumes of international literature in German, French, English and Hebrew as well as in Czech in 1855; by 1858, the library had 32 000 books and 20 000 items of music.[15] The vast majority of the books were in German and only a small fraction in Czech, reflecting not national but rather commercial considerations.[16] The advertisements Schalek commissioned in the German-language newspaper *Bohemia* and the Czech-language newspaper *Národní listy* (National Papers) from the 1850s to the 1870s reveal his pragmatic approach, as they are in German, Czech or Hebrew, depending on the items advertised and the readership targeted.

Joseph Schalek's first publishing endeavour took place in 1857–1858, when he published two volumes of Slovak folk tales collected by the influential Czech author and revivalist Božena Němcová (1820–1862). Until the mid-1860s, his further publishing activity focused almost exclusively on music. Yet, the pragmatic approach to business and an ability to reach the Czech-speaking audience paved the way for the later publishing business of his son Gustav Schalek, who returned to Prague from his studies in France in 1865.[17] Gustav Schalek was a connoisseur of the contemporary French literature and decided to make himself visible on the Czech scene. He held a series of public lectures on the French literature, subsequently published in *Národní listy*.[18] The reception of his publishing programme, however, was mixed. While the translation of a novel by Russian V. Krestovsky (pseudonym for Nadezhda Khvoshchinskaya, 1824–1889) published in 1868 was received relatively well, the novels by Marie Sophie Schwartz, the cornerstone of Schalek's publishing endeavours (fig. 2), were labelled as trash literature from the very outset.[19] In 1870, Gustav Schalek was already branded as a foreign (non-Czech) publisher who originally had good intentions "to extensively disseminate decent novels and extricate our people from the hands of Mr. Bensinger [another non-Czech trash literature publisher], but unfortunately made a wrong choice and landed in the very same footsteps as Messrs Bensinger, Steinhauser, Karafiat [and many more trash literature publishers]."[20]

There is no evidence as to why Schalek chose Schwartz as his key author. He might have thoroughly researched the contemporary book market matching the data from his bookstore and lending library in German with the authors already available in Czech. It is hard to tell whether he made a good pick market-wise, as there are no sales figures available. The fact is that he had stopped publishing Schwartz by 1872, and his later publishing activity was unsubstantial, proving the pro-

Year of publication	Author	Title	Translator	Publisher on the title page
1867	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Urozený pán a žena z lidu [=Mannen av börd och kvinnan av folket]	Vojtěch Vrána	Gustav Schalek
1868	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Práce šlechtí [=Arbetet adlar mannen]	Vojtěch Vrána	Gustav Schalek
1868	V. Krestovský	Petrohradské peleše [=Peterburgskie trushchoby]	n/a	Gustav Schalek
1869	E. Marlitt	Tajemství staré panny [=Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell]	Fr. L. Čížek	Jos. Schalek
1870-71	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Dcera šlechticova [=Ädlingens dotter]	Fr. L. Čížek	Nákladem Schalkova kněhkupectví [=Published by Schalek's Bookstore]
1871-72	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Urozenost a vzdělanost [=Börd och bildning]	Fr. L. Čížek	Nákladem Schalkova kněhkupectví
1877	Xavier de Montépin	Krvavé truchlohry aneb oběti zločincův [=Les tragédies de Paris]	n/a	Jos. Schalek
1884	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Urozený pán a žena z lidu	Vojtěch Vrána	Gustav Schalek

Figure 2: Fiction books published by Joseph and Gustav Schalek from 1867.

phetic words of the above-cited 1870 critic: "Soon, he will find out that like other publishers of trash literature, he will become useless to us."[21] Schalek probably found out that publishing and selling books in Czech was far more difficult and less lucrative than he might have expected. Print runs were generally much smaller than in the German market, and distribution was difficult. Moreover, in order to break through and reach the relatively poor Czech audiences, the prices of books in Czech were lower than those of exactly the same books in German. Unlike in the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the demand for books in Czech was growing rapidly as the Czech-speaking population benefited from the Czech social emancipation and a better Czech-language

education. The proportion of Czech readership was also growing, as Czech was a majority language of those social strata from which most new regular readers would come as of the 1860s. Finally, the bilingualism of the Czech intelligentsia was gradually shrinking and – especially in Prague – the importance of the German book market was in decline.[22] The negative reception of his publishing activities, the decline of interest in his key bookselling business and the growing competition in the Czech book market were probably some of the reasons why Schalek stopped publishing the Czech translations of Schwartz, the sales figures of which we know nothing. The German profile of Schalek's business may have contributed to the lack of success in publishing books in Czech as Schwartz was soon taken over by František Šimáček. Schalek – equally soon – merged with another German-language bookseller with the new label Schalek & Wetzler, and his visibility and importance soon waned.

LATE 1860S AND EARLY 1870S: ŠIMÁČEK SERIALISES FLYGARE-CARLÉN FOR A PURPOSE

In 1868, one year after Schwartz's first novel was translated into Czech, novels of her compatriot Emilie Flygare-Carlén started to appear as a series in *Posel z Prahy* (The Prague Messenger, 1857–1883), a Czech newspaper.[23] Owned by František Šimáček (1834–1885), the periodical was regarded as "a special newspaper for the general public, a newspaper that on the one hand would use popular fiction to attract the widest reading circles, and on the other hand would pursue a more profound programme of its own, that is, to arouse people's interest and eagerness to improve business and education."[24] Unlike Schwartz, Flygare-Carlén was included in a distinctively Czech publishing project with a non-literary aspiration to enlighten the Czech society. This did not secure a warmer reception, however.

An advertisement for the *Prague Messenger* published in the *Světozor* journal in 1869 described the main task of the newspaper, the subscription system and the nature of its supplements.[25] The newspaper was targeted at "citizens [interested in] politics, public administration, arable farming, household and national economy"[26] as well as credit unions and elected local bodies. The publishing frequency was three times a week (later daily). It featured two kinds of free supplements for subscribers. Once a week, it included a four-page supplement called *Národní hospodář* (National Business-Keeper), and every issue of the newspaper included one half-quire of a novel (two unbound sheets making eight pages). Readers could collect the unbound supplements to

eventually form a stand-alone volume. If the reader lacked some of the half-quires, it was possible to order these separately for a modest fee. It was also possible to buy a complete volume as soon as the series had been published in its entirety. The pace of publishing was swift: The project started in 1868 and by the time the advertisement appeared in 1869, three novels had been published and the third part of the fourth novel was on the way. Interestingly, as many as three of the four novels were by Flygare-Carlén, and the fourth was a translation from French of a short novel by Eugène Ducom.[27]

In fact, the serialised novels were given away for free to subscribers of the newspaper. The supplement was merely supposed to attract readers that otherwise might have been reluctant to subscribe to a newspaper with a distinctly economic and practical agenda. Such a practice was not exceptional. By that time fiction – and especially the novels – had become the driving force behind the sales of newspapers and magazines for the Czech-speaking masses.[28]

To immediately attract and retain subscribers, Šimáček needed to make a safe bet when choosing the content of the literary supplement. The last thing he would do was experiment with finding new literary forms and new authors like more established publishers and editors could do. Although he had no direct access to the sales figures for books in German on the Czech market on par with Schalek, his choice of a similarly positioned author may suggest that the good reception of both Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén among the German-speaking readership in the Czech lands was common knowledge, and the choices of both publishers were very pragmatic. To support their choices, both publishers might have considered the success of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in neighbouring Germany, where they were published in large print runs by several different publishers as well as a translation factory, Franchk'sche Verlagshandlung.

Šimáček seems to have been fascinated by the potential of Flygare-Carlén as an author from another small nation, thinking that Czechs might have a more genuine interest in her work than in the work of German or English authors he might publish. He made attempts to arouse curiosity in her work by arguing that her writing had a Czech spirit and comparing her to the best Czech authors. Paradoxically, this made the translation project redundant from a systemic point of view: Why should one import a piece of literature that does not bring anything special and new to the receiving system? In two consecutive issues of the *Prague Messenger* from October 1875, a long article appeared on the work and life of Emilie Flygare-Carlén praising her novels:

> […] no other nation can take pride in their rich and wonderful literature for the family circle as much as the Swedes can. The works by [Emilie] Flygare-Carlén, [Fredrika] Bremer and [Marie Sophie] Schwartz, their leading female novelists, have been translated into nearly all European languages. […] The Swedish are actually very much like us, especially with regard to family literature. The writings by Flygare-Carlén in particular appear to stem from the Czech spirit and are as popular in the Czech translation as the work of the best Czech male and female authors. In every respect, they are better than the products of the French and German literatures which the speculation [of publishers] has all too overwhelmingly flooded us with – unfortunately – offering a poor selection.[29]

Šimáček made it very clear that making Flygare-Carlén available in Czech was not a matter of speculation and poor selection, practised by other publishers. This was an obvious attempt to show he did not offer trash literature and was not supposed to be labelled as a trash literature publisher – which was the case of Schalek, for instance. In the 1870s, the issue of low-brow literature flooding the Czech book market became a heated topic. In the wake of the Panic of 1873, a major financial crisis triggering a depression in Europe, the financial situation in the Czech lands deteriorated, driving people away from expensive books. Publishers tried to compensate for the loss and started to publish more and more cheap, low-brow entertaining literature. This practice was met with fury by Czech intellectuals and critics as it undermined the general enlightenment project that the Czech-language literature was a part of, resulting in a pamphlet titled "In favour of the Czech reading" signed by 132 Czech politicians, scientists, journalists and writers in 1885.[30] Šimáček obviously did not consider Flygare-Carlén trash literature. Or at least he kept a poker face in the promotion article so as not to jeopardise his business plan.

In fact, the two-part praise of the author was followed by an advertisement in the subsequent issue of the newspaper.[31] It offered a 50 percent discount on novels by Flygare-Carlén that had been previously published as a series in *The Prague Messenger* as well as new (non-serialised) translation of Flygare-Carlén from the same year. All the advertised books were supposedly published by the printer of Šimáček's newspaper and journal, not by Šimáček himself. The praise, published over a year after Šimáček stopped publishing Flygare-Carlén in his newspaper, thus served as an introduction to a rather complex and well-designed advertising campaign with the purpose of selling out the stock and a new (non-serialised) translation.

In the course of six years (1868–1873), Šimáček published 22 novels by Flygare-Carlén (16 first editions, 6 re-editions). During these years, he published only one novel by a different author. In 1874, however, he stopped publishing Flygare-Carlén and published four novels, by E. M. Braddon, Ruppius Ot, Marie Sophie Schwartz, and Wilkie Collins. Two of the novels were written by and for women: one by E. M. Braddon, published by several publishers of the time, and one by Schwartz, already abandoned by Schalek. But he also published two suspension and sensational novels, a genre that was getting highly popular at the time, much to the critics' displeasure. Afterwards, he quickly ceased publishing literature altogether in the *Prague Messenger*, perhaps to avoid cannibalising another publishing project of his with distinctive social ambitions, another project that also featured both Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz.

1870S: THE EDITION OF ENTERTAINMENT AND KNOWLEDGE

As of 1872, František Šimáček supported a new book series named *Libuše: Matice zábavy a vědění* (1872–1918, 1922–1935; *Libuše: The Edition of Entertainment and Knowledge*) targeted at female readers. The project, under the auspices of the homonymous Libuše Charity, was initiated and originally run by his wife, Ludmila Šimáčková (1844–1879), but was eventually fully incorporated into Šimáček's publishing business after about two decades.[32] The goal of the Charity was to "publish books in the Czech languages of noble content for the family circle and to curb the publication and dissemination of books of defective content that are being brought to us from devious foreign sources."[33] Such a programme was in line with the above-mentioned criticism of Schalek's publishing, with Šimáček's later argumentation that was supposed to place Flygare-Carlén well above the despised trash literature, and also in line with the contemporary critical attitudes in the Czech society.

Ludmila Šimáčková was an industrious woman interested in promoting the economic emancipation of women. Her approach to the enlightening of the Czech society was similar to her husband's, yet while Šimáček focused on providing general information on business and finance, Šimáčková targeted the position of women in the society. She regarded women as full members of the society and wanted them to play an active role in the emancipation of the Czech nation. For example, she ran the first shop with sewing machines in Bohemia, as sewing was regarded as one of the easier ways that unfavourably

situated women lacking education and family support might have to make their living. Notably, the first volume published at *Libuše* was a programmatic collection of essays written by Šimáčková herself.[34]

In the book, Šimáčková gathered biographical profiles of women of outstanding achievements beyond the family circle. In an introductory note, she opened with the popular opinion that the natural centre of gravity for a woman is her family. Yet, she quickly added that "not every one of our gender is so lucky as to find her place in a family" and for a variety of reasons some women "wish to have an independent position in the society."[35] The biographies were supposed to, on the one hand, provide evidence that women can do the same work as men and, on the other hand, "encourage their peers to similar activity and also make everyone aware that our talent, capacity and determination can bring us, women, further than we have been so far."[36] While a great majority of examples were taken from Anglo-American contexts, about half of the articles were about women associated with healthcare: Florence Nightingale, Clemence Lozier, Harriot Hunt and Emily Blackwell. The other half included women active in a variety of fields, such as women's rights activist and educationalist Emma Willard, translator and linguist Elizabeth Smith, historian Catharine Macaulay, painter Fanny Corbaux and sculptor Harriet Hosmer. A decent amount of space was dedicated to Emily Faithfull, an English women's rights activist and – importantly for Šimáčková – publisher and founder of a printing establishment that employed women exclusively. Devoted to the publishing of "popular, cheap books that would help attract the public's attention to the far-reaching social changes"[37] that were taking place and a monthly "dedicated to women's issues",[38] she might have been an obvious source of inspiration for Šimáčková. It should not go unnoticed that Šimáčková's programmatic volume closes with a one-page advertisement for novels by "the famous Swedish author Emilie Flygare-Carlén" that were available in stock at the printer of the Libuše series;[39] these were the same novels originally available quire by quire in Šimáček's newspaper, printed by the very same printer. The advertisement only reinforces the evidence of a strong economic bond between Šimáček's newspaper and the Libuše publishing project that was long presented as an enlightenment endeavour of the independent Libuše Charity.

The early profile of the Libuše Edition shows a heavy reliance on the traditional and established female authors for women (fig. 3). Out of 15 novels published between 1872 and 1876, nearly two-thirds are by authors already available in Czech. With one exception, all novels are translations, with almost half written by Swedish authors Fredrika Bremer (one novel, the only dedicated volume by Bremer in Czech),

Year of Publication	Original Language	Author	Title
1872	Czech	Františka Šimáčková	Vynikající ženy mimo rodinný kruh (=Outstanding Women beyond the Family Circle)
1872	Swedish	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Dvě matky (=Tvenne familjemödrar)
1872	English	Maria Susanna Cummins	Lampářova schovanka (=The Lamplighter)
1872	Czech	Věnceslava Lužická	Johana z Rožmitála (=Johana of Rožmitál)
1872	Swedish	Fredrika Bremer	Rodina a její starosti (=Hemmet, eller familjesorger och fröjder)
1873	German	Ottilie Wildermuth	Ze života ženského (=Aus dem Frauenleben)
1873	Swedish	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Vdova a její děti (=Änkan och hennes barn)
1873	Swedish	Emilie Flygare-Carlén	Svěřenský statek (=Fidiekommisset)
1874	Swedish	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Ten pravý (=Den rätta)
1874	French	Fanny Reybaud	Slečna z Malpeiru (=Mademoiselle de Malepeire)
1874	English	M. E. Braddon	Jindřich Dunbar (=Henry Dunbar)
1875	English	Mary Mallock (?)	Šlechetný život (=?)
1875	Swedish	Emilie Flygare-Carlén	Skjutský hoch (=Skjutsgossen)
1875	English	Charlotte Brontë	Jane Eyre
1876	English	Wilkie Collins	Hrobové tajemství (=The Dead Secret)
1876	Swedish	Marie Sophie Schwartz	Emancipační horečka (=Emancipationswurmen)

Figure 3: Books published at Libuše Edition from 1872 until 1876.

Emilie Flygare-Carlén (2 novels) and Marie Sophie Schwartz (4 novels; see fig. 4).

When the Edition was announced in January 1872, including the initial target number of subscribers (20 000) and the first novel (a novel by Schwartz), it was met with tough criticism.[40] Josef Durdík, a renowned contemporary author, wrote an extensive essay discussing the relevance of aims of the edition for the Czech readership. He strongly opposed translating Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz into Czech: "What will it help if 20 000 copies of [a novel by Schwartz] will be

distributed across Bohemia?"[41] Both authors were already available in German in lending libraries, their books did not meet the "respectable" enlightenment goals of the Edition and, moreover, publishing these authors would paralyse the Edition leaving little place for better works (such as works by Walter Scott, Charles Dickens and George Sand).[42] He warned that if Libuše did not keep its promise of quality enlightenment literature and published the same authors as "foreign companies" (meaning German-run companies such as Schalek's), it would attract the attention of the same readership, but it would lose the readers again as soon as they found out that there was no added value.[43] Durdík's judgements were prophetic, yet he obviously did not make much of an impact on the Edition's actual profile in the coming years.

Thematically, a vast proportion of the novels focused on women making their way through life. The issue of industrious women active beyond the traditional family scheme – highlighted in Šimáčková's own pamphlet – is strikingly absent in most of the publications. With some exceptions, the novels tend to focus on a narrative that depicted women suffering and struggling through their life while young and/or unmarried, either by a twist of fate or by their own choice. Although a good deal of social criticism – such as the privileges of the nobility and lack of choice and social mobility for women – is often included in the novels, the overall message is often that of reconciliation as soon as a woman gets happily married. Actually, the last novel by Schwartz published in the Libuše Edition had women's emancipation as the key topic, as also suggested in the title: *Emancipationsvurmen* (1860; *Emancipation Frenzy*). It follows three women, each of whom in her own way transgresses the traditional feminine role. Yet, the Czech translator probably thought some of the key utterances on women's emancipation were far too cautious and blurred and made them deliberately more overt and explicit.[44] These changes, however, could not undo the overall paradigm showing that all three bold and subversive female behaviours lead into blind alleys and revealing the underlying irony of the novel reflected in the title. As every frenzy is an emotional exaggeration, a momentary outburst of irrationality, so are the depicted ways of emancipation far from bold or brave; they are just hyperbolic and ridiculous and lead nowhere. By making the ideas more overt, the translator suggested that the novel did not make a strong enough case for the emancipation of women and was perhaps not fulfilling the expectations of the contemporary Czech society, and especially of the intended readership of the Edition.

The contemporary reception of the Libuše Edition, and Flygare-Carlén in particular, only confirms that some notable critics perceived

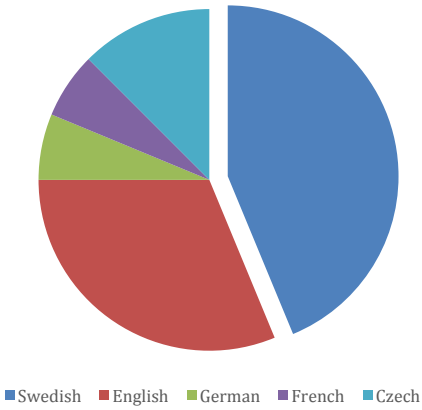

Figure 4: The distribution of the source languages (including Czech originals) of books published at Libuše from 1872 until 1876. Swedish originals highlighted.

the novels as outdated for the contemporary Czech female readership and not in line with the original intentions of the Edition. The critical reception differs greatly from the informative and persuasive articles published both in Šimáček's newspaper and the advertisement in Šimáčková's book. In 1877, the Libuše Edition stopped publishing translations and focused solely on original Czech production. On this occasion, Eliška Krásnohorská (1847–1926), an influential female poet, writer, translator and promoter of women's rights, published a short essay in *Ženské listy* (1873–1926; Female Papers), perhaps the most influential critical magazine for female readers of the time. She discussed the profile of the Edition, which was originally supposed to exercise its influence as a provider as affordable books in "the cities where the Czech language has been pushed aside as a family language due to the Germanising fashions."[45]

She began by condemning the very idea of the Czech translation of Flygare-Carlén and novels by similar authors included in the Edition:

> Let us have a look at those translations. Flygare-Carlén and the other ones – surely famous names and their writings still attract much attention. But how do these translations help to fulfil the aims of Libuše? […] Those Germanising families have already borrowed them from libraries and read them in German translation a long time ago, and the Czech female readers do not get any added value if they read this par excellence library book in German translation or in such a wrong and poor Czech rendering.[46]

The national emancipation and enlightenment was a major argument for Krásnohorská. She pointed out that even "Germans, who have no worries about the national existence, have long labelled these spoilt novels as 'Theetischromane' [tea table novels]."[47] Any Czech book edition targeted at the young and poor must bring "the purest, truest and most inherent [books] that can immediately provide them with intellectual benefit and enlightenment."[48] She went on by focusing on the ideological profile of the novels, and she strictly opposed the idea (put forward by Šimáček) that the Swedish and Czech societies and peoples ("spirit" in Šimáček's language) have much in common and that the novels portray situations, people and issues familiar and important to the contemporary Czech reader:

> Our nation needs something other than a depiction of comfortable family life of more fortunate nations, a life that only in spiritually stagnant and materially well off circles has retained such patriarchality that was generally valid in the times of Flygare-Carlén's writing, but has taken so many different and new directions since then; we need a different attitude than to sit in the warmth of the hearth and home, swiftly and smartly discussing the ups and downs of life, or to show silent and timidly one-sided virtues of family life like in a polished shop window, a painful fallacy that would break into pieces under the pressure or more powerful mysteries of our national struggle, our civic responsibilities, our materially convoluted social conditions, our needs for progress in the families and – finally – the transformed and expanded responsibilities that women of our times take upon themselves while making their own living, a girl struggling all alone for her life-long needs, fighting for her life without any family support, fighting for her good name, for her decency as a worker, as a clerk, as any man does in a similar position.[49]

In Krásnohorská's view, not only were the ideas in the works by Flygare-Carlén outdated, they were also rooted in a radically different social and national situation: Swedes had their own country while the Czechs had to strive for their national emancipation, and the Czech-language literature was part of that endeavour. Life, as depicted in the Swedish novels, had little to do with the Czech reality. Moreover, the novels – as the author interpreted them for her purpose – failed to address any issues relevant to the contemporary emancipated single Czech woman struggling to stand on her feet without any family support. Arguably, some novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz target these issues, but the author did not take this into account, either be-

cause these were not the most translated and popular ones, or because the author did not see the case put strongly enough, or she was not familiar with them. Anyway, the message of the article – published in 1877 – was clear: It hailed a new era of the Libuše Edition that promised to stop publishing translations and start a distinctly Czech national programme, making a strong case for the Czech language, women and the poor.

The initial print run of the Edition was about 20 000 copies, or the target was 20 000 subscribers, while about a half of the print run was eventually sold.[50] The number of subscribers, however, fell to roughly 3000 by 1876. The consistent decline in sales in the initial years can be attributed to several factors. One of them was the Panic of 1873 that hit all sales of literature. Most importantly, however, there was harsh competition in the field of the cheap genre literature that the Libuše Edition published despite its original aspirations, as Durdík had warned, which made it difficult for the Edition to target its audience. In 1876, the decision was taken to stop publishing translations and to start afresh, focusing on original Czech literature. New editors were hired, and the Libuše Edition became one of the most respected endeavours of its kind, with a distinctly Czech profile and without Swedish female authors. The new strategy – welcomed heartily by Krásnohorská in her 1877 article – proved right as the number of subscribers climbed to over 9000 by 1885.

1870s: Flygare-Carlén faces the emancipation of Czech women

The overall rejection of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz by Czech critics was, among other things, a matter of timing, framing and presentation. In the 1870s, the discourse of national and especially gender emancipation was far too advanced to accept the worldview depicted in the novels that might have been met with curiosity some three decades earlier when such translations could have been regarded as yet another contribution to the practical usage of the Czech language. The language-oriented national movement of the first half of the nineteenth century, however, quickly turned into a political struggle for extended national freedoms and eventually suffered two major setbacks. Firstly, there was the defeat of the revolution of 1848 and the establishment of a neo-absolutist regime in Austria that lasted for a decade and involved severe anti-Czech policies, such as Germanisation of schools, censorship and a large number of political imprisonments. Secondly, in the wake of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 – establishing the

dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary – the Czechs hoped for a similar compromise leading to greater Czech independence within the monarchy, but their claims were eventually turned down. Flygare-Carlén's Czech publisher, František Šimáček, was imprisoned twice for printing offences in the *Prague Messenger*, in 1862 and 1868. The link between historical events and cultural production was strong in the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole, yet it is especially evident in the growth of publications in Slavic languages and in Czech in particular.[51]

While the Czechs found it difficult to formulate a coherent national political agenda, they stood united with regard to the Czech cultural emancipation and social enlightenment, and women were there to help with the national project. Unlike in other European countries, such as France and the UK, the Czech national and gender emancipation went hand in hand.[52] Czech women perceived the Czech national emancipation within the Austrian – later Austro-Hungarian – Empire as an important stepping stone on their path to gender emancipation.[53] Women's emancipation was not a radical project in the Czech lands, and it did not involve a radical separation from men. Rather, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Czech women's emancipation had two distinctive features: the promotion of education and cooperation with men, both for the sake of the Czech nation.[54]

To organise and promote their activities, women started their associations. While some date back to the pre-1848 era, it was not until the 1860s and 1870s that their activities became visible and had a lasting impact. It happened after the neo-absolutist regime was abandoned, and especially after a law was adopted in Austria in 1867 permitting women to establish such associations officially (no political goals were allowed, though).[55] In the 1860s, the American Ladies Club (Americký klub dam) was founded by Vojta Náprstek (actually a man), a philanthropist who spent over a decade in exile in the US and was strongly influenced by the US tradition of associations and charitable organisations.[56] Although the Club was rather exclusive and one had to be invited to join, it gradually included thousands of women from the higher social rank in Prague and beyond, who could afford to spend time and money on its intellectual, philanthropic and social events. In 1871, the Czech Female Production Association was founded. While the Club helped to inform the discussion and to establish the key topic of the Czech female emancipation, i.e. education, the Production Association was there to put ideas into practice.

The kind of education the Czech Female Production Association had in mind was to make it possible for women to make their own living. It was a response to two major issues of the time. One was related to

the longstanding existential problems widows and unmarried women had to face. The other concerned the vast social changes that had taken place. The 1850s, 1860s and until the 1873 Vienna stock market crash, or the *Gründerzeit* years, saw massive industrialisation and an economic boom in Central Europe, bringing tectonic social changes, including a change in the status of women, who gained far wider possibilities to find employment beyond the traditional rural and family settings. In line with these changes, the Production Association and the core activities for the promotion of female education focused on practical skills, such as sewing and other handicrafts, as well as healthcare and teaching.

It was this practical approach to education and to the role of a woman in the changing social and economic environment that Krásnohorská had in mind when she argued that novels by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were of no use for the readership of the Libuše Edition. While Šimáčková outlined a similar approach in her programmatic introductory volume of biographies, the actual publishing profile was a betrayal of ideals. The characters, stories and settings in the novels did not match the Czech situation and practice and had little potential to show a positive example. The critics of the Libuše Edition – both Durdík and Krásnohorská – expected a rather utilitarian approach from the editor of the series: the literature was supposed to educate both in terms of language and social pattern, while the overall aesthetic qualities were secondary. They took into account the intended poor rural and small-town female readership of the Edition as promoted by Šimáčková, and it was this particular framing of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz that made critics dissatisfied. They would have preferred a more trendsetting and problem-solving fiction and non-fiction for such a progressive series. Krásnohorská herself was actually a translator too, and her projects included some of the most ambitious endeavours of the time; she translated some of the greatest national poets, such as Adam Mickiewicz, Alexander Pushkin and George Gordon Byron, to prove the possibilities of the Czech language and the greatness of the Czech culture.[57] But she was not an elitist and did not oppose literature that was not high-brow. Besides poetry, ambitious translation projects or opera librettos, she wrote a popular series of novels for young female readers. In her view, there was no need to translate easy reading as Czechs could write better using mother tongue (the linguistic quality of the novel translations was often criticised as poor) and closer to the expectations and supposed needs of the Czech female reader.

The conflicting ideas about the intentions and practice of the Libuše Edition – and the necessity and purpose of translating Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz into Czech – reflected a growing disagreement within the

women's movement concerning women's role in the society. The prevailing model throughout the nineteenth century in the Czech lands was that of a good housewife and mother.[58] Such a model, however, was impossible to achieve for about 80 percent (the share of the lower strata of the society) of the Czech female population. It was feasible for less than 20 percent of women (the middle class), and the share actually diminished due to the process of industrialisation in the second half of the nineteenth century.[59] Yet, this model was promoted by many leading figures of the women's associations, such as Věnceslava Lužická (1832-1920), author of a large number of novels for girls and young women and a member of the American Ladies Club, alongside Šimáčková and Krásnohorská, and of the Production Association (chaired by Krásnohorská since 1873).[60] One of Lužická's novels also appeared in the Libuše Edition, the inclusion of which was criticised by Krásnohorská. Even though rivalries between the associations and their members were significantly mitigated due to the mutual interdependence of the association (women were usually members of multiple associations at the same time) and the general attitude of demonstrating the unity of the Czech national struggle, the antipathy between Lužická and Krásnohorská was an open secret.[61] For a conservative Catholic such as Lužická, practical female education was the last resort for the widowed and unmarried.

Krásnohorská, on the other hand, was more progressive, perhaps with her finger more accurately on the pulse of the time. She saw practical education as a stepping stone in a struggle for greater independence of women, and she pushed through the establishment of a girls' grammar school in Prague in 1890 (the first of its kind in Austria), paving the way for university education for women. Yet, surprisingly, on the occasion of Lužická's 65th birthday in 1897, Krásnohorská wrote an article about her work. She praised her novels for their "accessible and distinctive tone of narration, and their capacity to adapt to female readers who enjoy the novels, and playfully convey opinions that are morally correct, pure and noble."[62] Moreover, Krásnohorská compared Lužická's literary style to that of an internationally acclaimed author, "the famous Frederika Bremer." She did not compare her to Flygare-Carlén, Schwartz or E. Marlitt (Lužická's actual source of inspiration). Fredrika Bremer had obviously gained a special status, although not articulated, and was not lumped together in the clique of the critically disdained female authors. The conciliatory tone shows respect to a famous person whose views might have proved wrong in the long run, while at the same time Krásnohorská's own efforts bore fruit. Also, this defence was published at a time when a new generation of fierce critics and authors was ready to show their wit.

1890s: Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén despised

The 1890s saw an upsurge of interest in literature of all flavours ranging from symbolist and decadent to socially critical, especially among the young generation. The Scandinavian literatures in particular were highly popular among students, with authors such as Arne Garborg, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (his socially critical theatre plays), Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg.[63] The young generation endorsed all new and ground-breaking ideas and works, and with similar ardour they also despised anything they perceived as mediocre or outdated. Hence a severe criticism of Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén from one of the most influential critics and translators, the key publisher of *Moderní revue*, a literary journal with a distinctive fin-de-siècle profile:

> And I will go further. To the last chapter of our female literary production. To the foreign one. To translations. These go hand in hand with the domestic writings. The choice goes for the worst, lowest, sentimental and sensational garbage. Lewald, Marlitt, Braddon, Mancini, Schwartz, Flygare-Carlén with complete works. Nothing else (maybe two or three exceptions). Other women have never been born. They are not allowed here. When international production by women is introduced here, it seems no one knows about Emilia Pardo Bazán, Hélène Swarth, Anne Charlotte Leffler [another Swedish female writer, 1849–1892], or Rachilde, for instance, however strange it might sound. These are neglected, disregarded, avoided, ignored, and yet, if a translation should do something for the literature that it is being brought, added, embedded into, it needs to boil with fresh, pure, lively, healthy blood, to reveal new, distinctive, strong work, as well as unknown, unseen endeavours, irritations, ideas, goals. The existing translations can never achieve this. It is mediocre, ordinary, common, international literature for old spinsters and spiritual consumptives.[64]

The emotive analysis was a part of a scathing criticism of a collection of short stories by Věnceslava Lužická published in the Libuše Edition in 1892. Procházka began his criticism with one particular book, condemned the literary work of Lužická in its entirety and went on to criticise all women's production of Lužická's generation, claiming that the whole truth needed to be said out loud about this "great, hopeless, pitiful nothing." The analysis of the women's literature translated into Czech merely wrapped up the whole context of literature by women available in the Czech book market. Procházka quickly added that he

was aware that his criticism would go unnoticed because "friendly benevolence and publishing advertising – in some of the big journals they call it 'criticism' – will laud the books shovelled to the market calmly and persistently, and the audience will buy, read and keep quiet."[65] In a slightly less emotive manner, a similar remark was made by another critic and author, Hubert Gordon Schauer (1862–1892):

> In modern literature, or more precisely in the modern book market, one particular category of the literary industry has gained broad civil rights – women's novels. That is not to say that a woman cannot be a true artist, that she cannot outperform a hundred men; let us only mention the names of George Sand and George Elliot. Yet, there are very few such real female novel artists; as a matter of rule, women are novel manufacturers. I think I will not find much opposition if I put ever so popular Marlitt in the very same basket, including Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, that our publishing circles have decided to embed into our literature.[66]

The articles reveal that a growing number of critics had their ideas about what kind of literature should and should not have been translated into Czech, and that these ideas were not compatible with the production of a large number of publishers. They also demonstrate a growing awareness among the authors that the Czech book market was driven by rules other than those derived from noble ideas, either aesthetic or educational, linguistic or patriotic.

In the 1890s, Emilie Flygare-Carlén was not received well as a representative of Scandinavian and Swedish literature either. In a review of August Strindberg's *Giftas* (1884–86; *Getting Married*), published in Czech in 1894, the anonymous author portrays the outdatedness of the female novelist in a rich manner:

> As far as the Swedish authors are concerned, the sighing Flygare-Carlén has been reigning supreme here for so long, with her "The Hermit". And she had many readers in Bohemia! […] But times have changed. […] Mrs. Flygare-Carlén has lost her admirers and her significance not only here, but also in Sweden, her fatherland. We can see that from the literature by August Strindberg. Wherever you can write and publish works such as Strindberg's, the tearful literature of the Flygare-Carlén cannot rule anymore. In such places, there must be a different kind of air than what we have got used to in Flygare-Carlén's novels, the suffocating mustiness of old castles or thick odours of mysterious caves.[67]

The critic could hardly have chosen a more ironic comparison: Flygare-Carlén's *Enslingen på Johannisskäret* (1846; *The Hermit*) and August Strindberg's *Getting Married*. A female novelist of domestic romances from the first half of the nineteenth century compared to perhaps the most controversial Swedish author and a piece of fiction of the second half of the same century. Apart from the obvious and fascinating literary breakthrough, the author actually conceded that Flygare-Carlén was highly popular among Czech readers. Moreover, the critique appeared in a newspaper published in the provincial town of Pilsen, revealing that Flygare-Carlén (as well as Strindberg) was popular and read beyond the capital city of Prague.

1860s–1890s: Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén popular

There lies the paradox of Flygare-Carlén and to a lesser extent Schwartz concerning their diffusion and reception in the Czech lands: All critics who despised them admitted at the same time that they were popular and widely read, initially often in German, but more and more also in Czech, especially in the 1880s and 1890s. Was the popularity of the Czech translations a natural consequence of the long-lasting availability and popularity of the German renderings? Schalek's model for the translations of Schwartz was based on such an assumption. Or was their success based on publishers' advertising, marketing campaigns and the lack of rigorous criticism? Procházka's scepticism concerning the "friendly benevolence" of critics suggests such an option, and so does Šimáček's aggressive model of giving away Flygare-Carlén's fiction as a free supplement and using quasi-informative promotion articles in his own newspapers. Or were the critics only out of touch while the publishers had a better idea of what readers were actually interested in, and the presence of the German translations and publishers' marketing simply facilitated a diffusion of the Czech translations that would have happened anyhow?

In 1882, František Šimáček wrote a letter to Flygare-Carlén and sent her a collection of her novels in Czech, as required by her Swedish publisher.[68] Not only did he express his great admiration in the letter, but he also revealed his ideas about her work, why it was important for the Czech audience and his overall publishing strategy. Importantly, he presented his publishing project as a part of a narrative on the Czech national movement, he stressed the importance of literature for the enlightenment of the masses and placed the works of Flygare-Carlén in the picture: "I am happy to say also that your works in Czech

translation have contributed to strengthening our people's national awareness and to disseminating noble ideas and all virtues, especially among women."[69] In his view, the translations were important in terms of language and gender. The Swedish – that is non-Czech – origin of the works was not as important for the national movements as the actual target language of Czech as opposed to German. Also, the books depicted women and their manners in a favourable way. Moreover, he emphasised that he strove to disseminate the works as much as possible and even chose cheap paper to make the books affordable for as many as possible. Interestingly, he stressed her popularity among readers, yet he did not mention the negative reactions of female critics and promoters of women's emancipation. Generally, the letter reveals that Šimáček saw the publishing of Flygare-Carlén in Czech as a national enlightenment project; he was comfortable with the ideas on the role of the women promoted by the novels and was perhaps somewhat indifferent to the negative reception. In his eyes, the project was a success.

František Šimáček assessed the popularity of Flygare-Carlén in Czech correctly. In 1888, the František Šimáček publishing house – no longer run by František Šimáček, as he had died in 1885 – started to publish re-editions and retranslations of Flygare-Carlén; retranslations were not made via German anymore, but from the Swedish originals, especially towards the end of the century when Hugo Kosterka agreed to do the translations. The works were not published as swiftly as in the first phase (see fig. 2 above; note that in the second phase there were only a few translations of Schwartz). Yet, the second phase of Flygare-Carlén stretched over two decades, thus confirming considerable popularity and a sustained interest in the author, as no publisher would be likely to continue to bring to market books that nobody bought.

At least initially, the second phase of editions and retranslations was perhaps targeted at the very same readers who were already acquainted with Flygare-Carlén. Less than a year before the first re-edition appeared, an article on Flygare-Carlén was published in a popular magazine owned by the František Šimáček publishing house. It was published on the occasion of her 80th birthday and described her in glowing terms. The sentimental and nostalgic lines are especially strong:

> One can hardly find any reader of ours who does not know at least one novel or a story she wrote. […] reading some of her key novels, you delve into dear memories and the images of familiar characters come into life, with their stories and fates that you once followed with compassion and excitement, you see all of these once again and suddenly find yourself in the times long gone, feeling sheer

> bliss. […] There are greater writers than Emilie Flygare-Carlén, but who enjoys such popularity, who can demonstrate such a large readership?[70]

The article bears some traits of the earlier promotional articles published in Šimáček's periodicals and it echoes Šimáček's letter to Flygare-Carlén. It is an informative and overtly flattering article. It was soon followed by the actual publication of her novels and therefore played the role of an advertisement. Although there is no proof of a direct correlation between the article and the books, it seems that already the second phase of Flygare-Carlén's translations into Czech was linked to nostalgia. The pragmatism of the editors might have been inspired by the claims of popularity and large readership and aimed at the very same readers. Likewise, they might have known the readership well enough on their own. In any case, some library records reveal that both Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were the most popular writers among Czech readers in certain areas in the 1880s and 1890s, but their popularity dropped substantially after the turn of the century.[71] This also correlates with the end of the second phase of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Czech.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY POPULAR WRITERS ENTER THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the wake of the establishment of the independent Czechoslovakia in 1918, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz started to appear in Czech for the third time. Flygare-Carlén was once again published by Šimáček, now merged into the Šolc & Šimáček publishing house, while Schwartz was published by a newly opened small publishing house owned by Antonín Dědourek. There is no data available on the books other than the books themselves. Generally, the publishing industry and the book market in the new country and after the war austerity years were experiencing a boom. Old and new publishing houses published large numbers of titles in order to make themselves visible and gain a market share, and the actors in the book market each sought their own particular way to survive. The fierce competition drove many publishers out of business or made them reconsider their publishing lists, and so did the Great Depression after 1929. This third and last phase of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Czech took place in this turbulent decade of 1918–1929. While neither Šolc & Šimáček nor Dědourek went bankrupt, they both perhaps found out there was no longer much interest in the nineteenth-century popular Swedish female writers and that they

could not survive on nostalgia. While Dědourek shifted focus to textbooks and other educational literature, the extensive publishing list of Šolc & Šimáček included – quite ironically with regard to the earlier criticism of Flygare-Carlén – such authors as Eliška Krásnohorská and George Sand.

The Czech story of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz, however, ended only after World War II. In the wake of the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia in 1948, all public libraries were censored and large numbers of books were removed from circulation for ideological reasons and in order to make space for the new and ideologically more suitable titles.[72] The lists of banned books included those by Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz. These lists feature short explanations for the removal of particular authors and books. Interestingly, the reasons for removing the Swedish popular authors were almost identical to those explaining why Krásnohorská, Durdík, Schauer or Procházka despised them: Flygare-Carlén was "outdated sentimental literature" while Schwartz was simply "outdated literature".[73]

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

For the Czech reception of Bremer, Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in the second half of the nineteenth century, the actual framing of the publishing event seems to be of outstanding importance. The personality of the publisher, the publishing list and the promoted intentions of the publishing event framed the individual novel in a particular way, raising particular expectations and triggering particular critical reactions.

The criticism often grouped authors into categories, and once an author was labelled as a writer of trash literature, that author's inclusion on a publishing list could easily destroy the reputation of the publisher, relegating it to the disrespected group of trash literature publishers. Based on the critics cited here, the translated trash literature list included Emilie Flygare-Carlén, Marie Sophie Schwartz, E. Marlitt, Fanny Lewald, Mary Elizabeth Braddon and Grazia Pierantoni Mancini.

Both Schalek's publishing house and the Libuše Edition suffered from the dissemination of Schwartz and Flygare-Carlén. Initially, Schalek strived to position himself as a literary connoisseur and publisher of quality literature. Nonetheless, as soon as he published Schwartz, he was labelled a trash literature publisher on par with others who brought a range of entertaining literature – including sensational novels or novels for women – to the Czech book market. This contributed to his decline as a publisher. The Libuše Edition had to dramatically change the list of authors published, exclude all authors labelled as

writers of trash literature, and eventually exclude all translated literature in order to shake off the negative criticism and regain a favourable position in the literary system.

Based on their inclusion in the Libuše Edition – intended for female readership – Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz were also categorised as authors of trash-literature-for-women, a more specific trash literature category. This reinforced their rejection, closely related to the Czech national project. Trash literature in general was supposedly no good for the Czech literary system. Trash literature by and for women was considered disastrous for the enlightenment of the Czech woman and for the emancipation project, including both the emancipation of women and the nation. The non-Czech, translated nature of the novels only made things worse.

Fredrika Bremer was not on the trash literature list. Except for one early article in Czech where Flygare-Carlén was deemed superior to Bremer, she enjoyed a good reputation. Still, Bremer never appeared on a list of top international female writers either (a list that included George Sand, George Eliot, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Hélène Swarth, Anne Charlotte Leffler, Rachilde), yet her name bore positive connotations. It is hard to say whether such an attitude was based on the literary qualities of Bremer vis-à-vis Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz or instead on the fact that the two more popular writers might have been downgraded by the utilitarian and feverish publishing and marketing processes. In any case, no Czech publisher ever used Bremer in order to attract a large readership or make money despite the fact that she was a well-known writer: only two of her works were translated into Czech, one of them well hidden in a forgotten almanac.

The popularity of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz in Czech is most visible due to the multiple translations, re-editions and retranslations that reach across several decades – although the twentieth-century editions attracted no attention and did not enter the critical discourse. It is also reflected in the library records and in disapproving critiques that admit – directly or indirectly – their popularity. The actual experience of the readers, their ephemeral enjoyment and personal reception of the novels remains – regrettably – unknown. Yet, a tiny remark written by a shaking hand on the last page of a novel may reveal that the book was "very nice" (fig. 5).

One thing is certain: While the confrontation of critics and publishers over the importance of the female authors for the language, women, nation and humankind is well preserved for our study due to their eloquence as well as their will and power to make their message and opinion visible, the actual readers remain invisible to us. Yet, we tend

Hrabě se ubytoval opět na Dagby, a od té chvíle byl považován za člena rodiny.

O rok později.

Dopis Edithy strýci Janu.

„Velké noviny, milý strýčku!

„Než-li však o nich psáti budu, dovol, abych tě na dnešní den upamatovala, abychom jak náleží uvážiti mohli, jak podivuhodné jsou osudy naše.

„Dnes jest třicátého května. Na to však dnes nikdo nemyslí — a já chci též o tom pomlčeti. Pamatuješ se zajisté, milý můj strýčku, že jsme brzy po příchodu našeho Heřmana seděli jednoho dne u snídaně, když přišel poštovní posel — ach, ten list ze Stokholmu, nezapomenu na něj nikdy. Dověděli jsme se, že se Lind těžce roznemohl a že již zemřel. Bůh sám ví, co bylo příčinou tohoto zánětu mozku. Byla jsem tomu vždy velmi povděčna, že to byl náš dobrý doktor, který jej léčil, a že konečně byl ještě tak dalece při vědomí, aby mohl napsati laskavé tři řádky pro ubohou Olgu. To bylo alespoň dobré svědectví pro manžela jejího.

„Nyní odpočívá klidně pod velkým nádherným náhrobkem z mramoru.

„Co pak ale myslíš, že dnes dělá mladá jeho vdova? To nikdy neuhádneš, neb jsi byl sám svědkem oné veliké těžkomyslnosti, která přišla po osvobození jejím. Nuže, slyš tedy! V této tiché hodině večerní zkouší Olga svůj nový — prstýnek snubní.

Velmi pěkné.

Figure 5. Reader's handwritten comment ("Very nice!") in Emilie Flygare-Carlén: *Rozmarná žena. [En nyckfull qvinna]*, Posel z Prahy, Praha 1873. (This copy in author's possession).

to interpret the importance of the authors and their books through the magnifying glass of the articles and utterances scattered across books, newspapers, journals and archives. Very often, both of Flygare-Carlén and Schwartz appear as tools of the trade used both by publishers, literary critics, revivalists and many more to attract attention, make money, fight for one's cause. Very little were they treated as people of letters, authors of works of art – books to be enjoyed by the widest public. The way their novels are referred to suggest limited interest in or knowledge of the actual stories the Swedish authors had to tell. Although the statistical evidence based on publishing lists and library loans may give us an idea of how popular the novels were, we know extremely little about the readers' individual backgrounds nor of the immersive feelings, remindings, perceptions or ideas they entertained while reading the books in the late nineteenth century, as they have gone unnoticed and remain silent.

NOTES

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 749871.

1 Fredrika Bremer, *Z denníku osamotnělé. Dle Švédkyně Bedřišky Brémowé od Jaroslawy Litněnské* [From the Diary of the Lonely. After the Swedish Fredrika Bremer from Jaroslava Litněnská], in Petr Miloslav Veselský, *Horník. Almanach na rok 1844*. Published by Petr Miloslav Veselský, Kutná Hora, 1843, pp. 73–114. On Czech almanacs in the former half of the nineteenth century see František Bačovský, "O českých almanaších doby předbřeznové" [On Czech Almanacs of the pre-March era], in *Zlatá Praha*, no. 41, 1884, p. 491.

2 Jan Erazim Vocel, "Královna Dagmar" [Queen Dagmar], in *Časopis českého Museum*, No. 4, 1846, pp. 484–500; Jan Erazim Vocel, "Dánské národní písně o královně Markétě, Dagmar nazvané" [Danish Folk Songs on Queen Markéta, Called Dagmar], in *Časopis českého Museum,* No. 6, 1846, pp. 769–785.

3 Barbora Štětková-Vocelová by her own name, deceased 1846.

4 Lenka Kusáková, "Celkový přehled situace beletristiky v českých časopisech 30. a 40. let 19. století" [A General Overview of the Fiction in Czech Periodicals in 1830s and 1840s], in Michal Jareš et al. (eds.), *Povídka, román a periodický tisk v 19. a 20. století* [Short Story, Novel and Periodical Press in 19th and 20th Centuries], ÚČL AV ČR, Praha, 2005, pp. 25–32.

5 Klára Kopřivová, "Beletrie v České včele v letech 1835-1846" [Fiction in Česká včela in 1835-1846], in Michal Jareš et al. (eds.), *Povídka, román a*

periodický tisk v 19. a 20. století [Short Story, Novel and Periodical Press in 19th and 20th Centuries], ÚČL AV ČR, Praha, 2005, pp. 33–41.

6 Jan Neruda, "Feuilleton. Dvě nové divadelní hry" [Feuilleton. Two New Theatre Plays], in *Národní listy*, Praha, 8 February 1878, p. 2. All translations into English are mine. Czech original: "V nordické literatuře, vzorně a výtečně produktivní, děje se co do produkce zvláštní přesunování: nejprv vedli rej Dánové, později Švédové, nyní Norové, Björnstjerne Björnson a Henrik Ibsen jsou nyní čelná jména norská a rovněž zajímavý jak zbytečný je také ve vlasti jejich spor, 'kdo z nich je větší'."

7 Karel Sabina, "Slovo o románu vůbec a českém zvláště. Článek druhý. Dokončení." [A Word about the Novel in General and Especially about the Czech Novel. Part Two. Ending.] in *Lumír*, No. 26, 1 July 1858, pp. 613–620, section on the Scandinavian novel, pp. 615–618. The analysis was published in the periodical throughout the first half of 1858.

8 Sabina, 1858, p. 617. Czech original: "Bremerová píše velmi hezky, zábavně a má i básnického ducha; leč kruh, v němž se duch její šťastně pohybuje, předce je obmezen jest a nad povšednost nevyniká. Není v ní ani výše ani hloubky, ale všední život pojímá dosti věrně a živě ho líčiti umí."

9 Sabina, 1858. Czech original: "mnohem bohatší, i vynálezy i obrazností".

10 Sabina, 1858. Czech original: "jejíž plodnost nemenší je, nežli její nadání"; "talentu svého, který se vždy v novém, svěžím světle objevil".

11 Sabina, 1858, p. 618. Czech original: "neméně plodnou, nadanou a oblíbenou"; "hluboký názor v společenské poměry".

12 Yet, Schwartz is not mentioned at all, perhaps because she had not had her breakthrough in German yet.

13 Anonymous [Jan Neruda], "Literární hlídka. Fridrika Bremerová" [Literary Watch. Fridrika Bremer] in *Česká včela. Příloha ku časopisu Květy*, 15 February 1866, No. 1, p. 1. Czech original: "Vedle Esaiáše Tegnéra a dánského spisovatele Andersena zaujímá jistě přední místo v literatuře skandinávské Friderika Bremerova. Nadobyčejným básnickým vzletem a velikou známostí srdce lidského, zejména ale srdce ženského předčila i věhlasné spisovatelky Jindřišku Hankovou a Františku Tarnowovu."

14 Anonymous [Jan Neruda], 1866. Czech original: "Spisy její přeloženy byly do několika řečí evropských."

15 The numbers rely on the advertisements commissioned by Joseph Schalek himself, and an impressionistic exaggeration cannot be ruled out. See Schalek's advertisements in *Beilage zu Nr. 282 der Bohemia*, 28 November 1855, p. 703, and *Bohemia*, 12 January 1858, p. 88.

16 While the breakdown of the languages at Schalek's lending library is unknown, it is supposed that the representation of languages did not differ vastly from that in other comparable institutions in Prague. Cf. Zdeněk Šimáček and Jiří Trávníček: *Knihy kupovati… Dějiny knižního trhu v českých zemích* [Buying Books… The History of the Book Market in the Czech Lands], Academia, Praha, 2014, p. 161.

17 Note that both Joseph and Gustav Schalek logically used a phonetic transcription of their surname in Czech contexts, resulting in Josef and Gustav Šálek. This was an obvious answer to the practice of numerous

Czech revivalists who would change their originally German names, either finding a new and more suitable Czech name or translating the name literally, as in the case of a philanthropist born Adalbert Fingerhut, known as Vojta Náprstek – see below.

18 Gustav Šálek [=Schalek]: "Přednášky Gustava Šálka o literatuře francouzské" [Lectures by Gustav Schalek on the French literature], serialised for six months in the Literary Supplement of *Národní listy*, from 5 January 1865.

19 František Augustin Urbánek: "Literární dryáčnictví. III. Literatura pp. Bensingera, Steinhausera a Schalka" [Trash literature. III. Literature from Messrs Bensinger, Steinhauser and Schalek], in *Věstník bibliografický. Časopis pro literaturu, hudbu a umění*, Praha, 1870, no. 2 (March), pp. 20–22.

20 Urbánek, 1870, p. 21. (Czech original: "Pan Gustav Šálek měl původně velmi krásný úmysl […] vyprostiti dalekosáhlým a solidným rozšiřováním románův svých lid náš z rukou p. Bensingerových, leč bohužel nevolil předmět vhodný a tím právě upadl do týchž šlépějí, jako pp. Bensinger, Steinhauser, Karafiat […].") See also the memoirs of Leoš Karel Žižka, commenting Schalek's efforts to publish Schwartz and connecting Urbánek's negative attitude towards Schalek's Jewish origins: "Urbánek – out of his aversion to a Jewish bookseller disseminating serialised trash literature – labelled the entire collection of the [Schwartz] novels as trash literature." (Czech original: "Urbánek celou sbírku těch románů z nechuti k židovským antikvářům, kteří rozšiřovali sešitový brak, ve svém Věstníku bibliografickém prohlásil za krvavou literaturu.") Leoš Karel Žižka: *Paměti a osudy: knihkupecké vzpomínky na léta 1871-1884* [Memoirs and Fates: A bookseller's recollections of 1871–1884], Jan Kanzelsberger, Praha, 1999, p. 391.

21 Urbánek, 1870, p. 22. Czech original: "[…] za krátký čas přesvědčí se, že jako ostatní pěstovatelé dryáčnické literatury stane se nám – zbytečným."

22 Šimáček and Trávníček, 2014, p. 208.

23 The newspaper was briefly rebranded as *Občan* (*The Citizen*) in the late 1860s, due to the owner's imprisonment for a printing offence. After the owner was released from prison the title changed back to *Posel z Prahy* (*The Prague Messenger*). For the sake of clarity, I only refer to the newspaper as the *Prague Messenger* in this essay.

24 Josef Durdík, "Vzpomínka Na Fr. Šimáčka" [In memory of Fr. Šimáček], *Světozor*, 1885, p. 338. Czech original. "[…] zvláštní časopis pro lid, časopis, který by jednak poutal nejširší kruhy čtením zábavným, jednak sledoval hlubší vlastní svůj program, totiž probouzeti učastenství a horlivosť ku zvelebení živnosti a školství."

25 Anon.: "Pozvání ku předplacení na Občana" [Invitation to Subscribe to Občan], *Světozor*, 9 April 1869, p. 128.

26 Czech original: "[…] pro občany, kteří chtějí sledovat politiku, samosprávné záležitosti, polní, domácí a národní hospodářství."

27 Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Šťastný sňatek* (*Ett lyckligt parti*), 1868; Emile Flygare-Carlén, *Rodina v údolí* (*Familjen i dalen*), 1868; Eugène Ducom,

Zápasník s býky (*La Cicoulane, scènes de la vie des landes*), 1869; Emilie Flygare-Carlén, *Panenská věž* (*Jungfrutårnet*), 1869.

28 Pavel Janáček, "Beletrie v periodickém tisku: k specifické situaci zveřejnění," [Fiction in Periodicals: On the Specific Publication Situation] in Michal Jareš et al. (eds.), *Povídka, román a periodický tisk v 19. a 20. století* [Short Story, Novel and Periodical Press in 19th and 20th Centuries], ÚČL AV ČR, Praha, 2005, p. 16f.

29 Anon., "Emilie Flygaré-Karlénová a její spisy," [Emilie Flygare-Carlén and Her Writing], *Posel z Prahy*, no. 251 (22 October 1875), p. 1. Czech original: "[…] žádný národ nemůže se honositi tak bohatou, tak rozkošnou literaturou pro kruh rodinný, jako Švédové. Spisy jejich předních beletristických spisovatelek: Karlénové, Brémové a Švarcové přeloženy téměř do všech jazyků evropských. […] Jak nám Švédové v snahách svých vůbec jsou velmi příbuzni, tak zvláště v rodinné své literatuře. Zejména spisy Emilie Karlénové jeví se nám tak, jako by byly pošly z ducha českého a docházejí v překladu českém stejné obliby jako spisy nejlepších spisovatelů a spisovatelek českých."

30 Cf. Šimáček and Trávníček, 2014, pp. 206–211.

31 Anon., "Poklad rodinného kruhu za dlouhých večerů," [The Treasure of the Family Circle for the Long Evenings] in *Posel z Prahy*, No. 253, 24 October 1875, p. 6.

32 Aleš Zach, "Libuše", in *Lexikon české literatury: osobnosti, díla, instituce* [A Lexicon of Czech Literature: Individuals, Works, Institutions], Part 2, Volume 2, Academia, Praha 1993, pp. 1177–1179.

33 Cited in Zach, 1993, p. 1177.

34 Libuše Šimáčková, *Vynikající ženy mimo rodinný kruh* [Outstanding Women beyond the Family Circle], Libuše, Praha, 1872.

35 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 3. Czech original: "není každé z pohlaví našeho přáno, zakotviti život svůj v rodině"; "přejí si samostatného postavení ve společnosti".

36 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 7. Czech original: "že obrazy tyto budou mnohým pobudkou k činnosti podobné, všem však k poznání, že i vlohy, schopnosti a vůle naše mohou nás dovésti výše, než jsme posud stály".

37 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 115. Czech original: "prostonárodní laciné knížky, v nichž mělo by se působiti k tomu, aby upoutala se pozornost obecenstva k velkým společenským opravám".

38 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 116f. Czech original: "věnovaný zájmům ženským".

39 Šimáčková, 1872, p. 160. Czech original: "proslulé švédské spisovatelky Emilie Flygare-Carlénové".

40 Josef Durdík, "Slovo o 'Maticích' a 'Libuši' zvlášť" [A Word about "Book Editions" and "Libuše" in Particular] in *Kritika. Výbor úvah J. Durdíka o zjevech literárních a uměleckých* [Criticism. Selected Essays by J. Durdík on Literary and Artistic Issues], Fr. Urbánek, Praha, 1874, pp. 166–179.

41 Durdík, 1874, p. 177.

42 Durdík, 1874, p. 170.

43 Durdík, 1874, p. 170.

44 Cf. Ursula Stohler's contribution in this volume.

45 Eliška Krásnohorská, "Literatura a umění" [Literature and Art], in *Ženské*

Listy (redakcí Elišky Pechové-Krásnohorské), no. 3 (1877), p. 40. Czech original: "v oněch městech, kde mluva česká vytištěna jest z rodin modou němčení".

46 Krásnohorská, 1877, p. 40. Czech original: "Pohlédněme na překlady ty. Carlénová i jiné – ovšem jména to dosti zvučná, a spisy jejich nacházejí vždy ještě dosti obliby. Avšak čím jsou spisy ty české 'Libuši' a účelu jejímu? […] Ony němčící rodiny dávno je čtly z půjčoven v překladech německých a čtenářky české nezískají vice ani méně, čtou-li tutéž par excellence zápůjční knihu v překladě německém aneb v češtině tak chybné a málo cenné, jakouž pěstovala 'Libuše'."

47 Krásnohorská, 1877, p. 40. Czech original: "[…] jsou dávno i u Němců, nemajících nižádné starosti o samu svou existenci národní, znamenány karakteristickým jmenem rozmazleného svého směru: 'Theetischromane' […]".

48 Krásnohorská, 1877, p. 40. Czech original: "[…] tím nejryzejším, nejpravějším, nejvlastnějším, co jí [mládeži a chudině] k bezprostřednímu jest duševnímu prospěchu".

49 Krásnohorská, 1877, p. 40f. Czech original: "Našemu lidu jest třeba něčeho jiného nežli líčení pohodlného rodinného života šťastnějších národů, kterýž je v kruzích duševně nehybných a hmotně bezstarostných udržel se v oné patriarchálnosti své, kteráž tenkrát byla obecně pravdivou, když Carlénová psala, ale od té doby již v nesčíslné jiné a nové směry se uchyluje; nám třeba jiné morálky než oné, jakáž v teple domácího krbu tak hladce přemudruje veškeré svízele a veškerá úskalí života a která rodinné, tiché, bázlivě jednostranné ctnosti v rámci románu předvádí jako ve vyšperkované výkladní skříni, která však jako smutný klam by se roztříštila o mocnější záhady našeho národního boje, našich občanských povinností, našich hmotně zapletených společenských poměrů, našich potřeb pokroku v rodinách a konečně i změněných a rozšířených těch povinností, v jaké za našich dob vstupuje žena dobývající sobě vlastní rukou chleba, dívka zápasící osaměle o svou životní potřebu a hájící uprostřed boje o bytí samostatně bez ochrany rodinné svůj život, své dobré jmeno a svou čest co pracovnice, co úřadnice, tak jako muž v postavení podobném."

50 The sales figures are from Zach, 1993, p. 1177.

51 Michaela Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting, 1848-1918*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 2015, p. 45 and table on p. 47.

52 Marie Bahenská, *Počátky emancipace žen v Čechách. Dívčí vzdělávání a ženské spolky v Praze v 19. století* [The Beginnings of Women's Emancipation in Bohemia. Female Education and Women's Associations in the 19th Century Prague], Libri, Praha, 2005, p. 10.

53 Cf. Jana Malínská, *Do politiky prý žena nesmí – proč? Vzdělání a postavení žen v české společnosti v 19. a na počátku 20. století* [There Is No Place for Women in Politics – Why? Education and the Position of Women in the Czech Society in the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Centuries], Libri, Praha, 2005, p. 23.

54 Marie Bahenská, 2005.

55 Marie Bahenská, 2005.

56 While the Czech female associations competed with similar German associations in Bohemia, they made every effort to show that they took their inspiration from non-German sources, such as the US, the UK and France, even though most women in the associations in the mid-1800s had at least been brought up in German-speaking families. See Marie Bahenská, 2005, p. 14.

57 Cf. Libuše Heczková, *Čtení o Elišce Krásnohorské* [Reading on Eliška Krásnohorská], Institut pro studium literatury, Praha 2015, p. 11.

58 Bahenská: 2005, p. 16.

59 Jana Machačová, "Žena v 19. století jako 'přívěšek'?" [A woman as an 'Appendage' in the 19th Century], in Kateřina Čadková, Milena Lenderová and Jana Stráníková (eds.): *Dějiny žen aneb evropská žena od středověku do poloviny 20. století v zajetí historiografie* [The History of Women, or the European Woman from the Middle Ages to the Mid-1900s in the Light of Historiography], Univerzita Pardubice, Pardubice, 2006, pp. 209–214.

60 On Lužická's novels see Dagmar Mocná, *Červená knihovna* [*Romance Novels*], Paseka, Litomyšl-Praha, 1996, pp. 22–27.

61 Marie Bahenská, "Spolupráce, nebo rivalita? Vztahy mezi ženskými spolky a jejich představitelkami v 40.-70. letech 19. století" [Collaboration or Rivalry? Relationships between Women's Associations and Their Representatives in the 1840s–70s], in Milan Vojáček (ed.), *Reflexe a sebereflexe ženy v české národní elitě 2. poloviny 19. století* [Reflection and Self-reflection of Women of the Czech National Elite in the Latter Half of 1800s], Scriptorium, Praha 2007, pp. 29–50.

62 Eliška Krásnohorská. "Věnceslava Lužická-Srbová. První redaktorka Ženských listů" [Věnceslava Lužická-Srbová. The First Editor-in-Chief of the Women's Papers], in *Ženské listy*, 1897, Year 25, No. 7, pp. 142–144.

63 For the Czech reception of the Scandinavian literature in late 1800s see Ondřej Vimr, *Historie překladatele* [A Translator's History], Pistorius & Olšanská, Příbram, 2014, pp. 45–76; Helena Kadečková, "Skandinávský fin de siècle z českého pohledu" [The Scandinavian Fin-de-Siècle through Czech Eyes], in Otto M. Urban and Luboš Merhaut: *Moderní revue 1894-1925*, Torst, Praha 1995, pp. 112–129.

64 Arnošt Procházka, "V. Lužická: Květy a ženy. Povídky a črty. (Recenze)" [V. Lužická: Flowers and Women. Short Stories and Sketches. (A Review)], in *Literární listy*, Vol. 14, No. 10, 1 May 1893, p. 176. Czech original: "A půjdu dále. K poslední kapitole ženské tvorby u nás. K cizí. K překladům. Jdou ruku v ruce s domácími spisy. Vybírají se ty nejhorší, nejnižší, sentimentální, sensační odpadky. Lewald, Marlitt, Braddon, Mancini, Schwartz, Flygare-Carlén s celým dílem. Jiného nic (leda s dvěma třemi výjimkami). Ostatní se nenarodily. Ty sem nesmějí. Když se uvádí ženská produkce zahraniční, jakoby se u nás ani nevědělo, že existuje Emilia Pardo Bazán, Helène Swarth, Anne Leffler, a třeba Rachilde, ať to zní jakkoliv podivně. Ty se opomíjejí, zanedbávají, vynechávají, ignorují, a přece, má-li překlad míti význam pro literaturu, do níž se vnáší, přidává, vtěluje, musí kypěti krví, čerstvou, čistou, živou, zdravou, odkrývati novou, svéráznou, silnou práci, neznámé, nepoznané snahy, vzněty, ideje, cíle.

A toliko dosavadní tradukce nemohou. Jsou průměrná běžná, společná, internacionální literatura pro staré panny a duševní souchotináře."

65 Procházka, 1893. Czech original: "Přátelská benevolence a nakladatelská reklama – v některých velkých žurnálech nadává si ‚kritika' – bude na trh házené svazky klidně a vytrvale velebiti, a obecenstvo kupovat, číst a mlčet."

66 Hubert Gordon Schauer, "Humbug v literatuře" [Humbug in Literature], in *Literární listy*, Vol. 12, No. 12 and 13, June 1891, pp. 203–204 and 219–220. Czech original: "V moderní literatuře, či abychom věc případněji označili, na moderním knihkupeckém trhu nabyla širokého občanského práva zejména jedna kategorie literárního průmyslu – myslíme t. zv. ženské romány. Nemá tím býti řečeno, že by žena nedovedla býti pravou umělkyní, že by nedovedla vyniknouti nad sta mužů; stačí jméno George Sandové a George Elliotové. Než těchto opravdových ženských umělců romanopiseckých je jen pramálo; za to žena z pravidla je romancierskou průmyslnicí. Snad nenarazím ani na přílišný odpor, když tak oblíbenou Marlittovou beze všeho do koše toho shrnu, rovněž Flygare Carlenovou a Schwartzovou, které naše nakladatelské kruhy uznaly nutno vtěliti našemu písemnictví."

67 Anonymous [abbreviation (–š)], 1894, "Ze světa literárního. August Strindberg: Manželství" [From the World of Literature. August Strindberg: Getting Married], in *Plzeňské listy*, 25 September 1894, p. 1. Czech original: "Dosud ze švédských spisovatelů kralovala u nás vzdýchavá paní Carlénová se svými 'Poustevníky na skále svatojánské'. A měla v Čechách čtenářů! […] Než časy se již změnily. […] Moderní literatura i zde koná očišťovací svou práci. Paní Carlénová však nejen u nás, ale i ve Švédsku, ve svém vlastní domovu, ztratila patrně již na své oblibě a na svém významu. Poučují nás o tom díla spisovatele Augusta Strindberga, kde možno psáti a vydávati takové věci, jako jsou Strindbergovy práce, tam nemůže plačtivá literatura paní Carlénové více panovati. Tam musí váti již jiný vzduch, než na jaký jsme zvykli v románech Carlénové, v nichž dusila nás stuchlina starých zámků a zápachy tajemných jeskyň."

68 Letter from František Šimáček to Emilie Flygare-Carlén dated 21 June 1882, Nordiska museets arkiv, Stockholm.

69 My translation of "[…] jag kan med uppriktig glädje säga att också Edra skrifter i böhmiska kläde hafva hjelpt att stärka vår folkets national känning och att utsprida ädel tänkesätt och alla dygder i synnerhet emellan qvinnkönet."

70 Anonymous, "Emilie Flygare-Karlénová" in *Světozor*, 12 July 1887, p. 606. Czech original: "Není snad nikoho ze čtenářů našich, kdo by aspoň jednoho románu, jedné povídky její neznal. […] čtouce je [tituly hlavních jejích děl], pohřížíte se při některém v milé vzpomínky, že zjeví se vám známé představy osob, že rozmanité příběhy a osudy, jež sledovali jste kdys s účastí a napjetím, zase zatanou vám na mysli a rázem přenesete se do let minulých, pocítíte zvláštní sladkou blaženost. […] Jsou větší spisovatelé než Flygare-Karlénová, ale kdož z nich se té oblibě těší, kdož z nich takovým kruhem čtenářstva vykázati se může?"

71 Petra Křivová and Jindra Pavelková, "Top 10 rajhardské klášterní knihovny v 19. století" [Top 10 of the Rajhard Monastery Library in the 19th Century], in *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [The Issues of Historical and Rare Book Collections in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia], Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, Olomouc 2010, pp. 145–151.

72 Petr Šámal: *Soustružníci lidských duší. Lidové knihovny a jejich cenzura na počátku padesátých let 20. století (s edicí seznamů zakázaných knih)* [Turners of Human Souls. Folk Libraries and Their Censorship in the Early 1950s (including an edition of the lists of banned books)], Academia, Praha, 2009.

73 Šámal, 2009, pp. 248–250, 417–418. Czech original labels: "zastaralá líbivá literatura", "zastaralá literatura".