



Moving Texts, Moving Communities: Emotions, E. Marlitt's Fiction and the Circulation of Controversial Texts in Periodicals across Linguistic and Cultural Borders in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe

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ABSTRACT

This article studies the emotional dimensions involved in the circulation of literature in order to better understand how literary texts can be detached from a specific reception context and incorporated into others. Using the best-selling fiction of E. Marlitt (1825–87) as a case study, it analyses Marlitt's place in the German illustrated family magazine *Die Gartenlaube* (The Garden Bower) (Leipzig/Berlin, 1853–1944), before following her texts to the pages of the illustrated fashion and family magazine *La Mode illustrée* (Illustrated Fashion) (Paris, 1860–1937). Its editor-in-chief and Marlitt's French translator, Emmeline Raymond (1828–1902), strongly identified with the poetics of the heart embedded in Marlitt's texts. When sectarian differences and the experience of the Franco-German War severed the emotional community of *La Mode illustrée* from that of *Die Gartenlaube*, Raymond had to undertake a painful readjustment of the relations she had woven between herself, her magazine, its readers, Marlitt's fiction, *Die Gartenlaube*, France and Germany. By contrast, the very distance of the Spanish political newspaper *El Siglo Futuro* (The Future Century) (Madrid, 1875–1936) from the emotional communities that identified with Marlitt's work facilitated its partisan adaptation of one of the author's novels, aligning the emotionality of the text with a Catholic media campaign for the re-Christianisation of Europe. At a theoretical level, the article combines Sara Ahmed's relational approach to studying the emergence and circulation of emotions with relational models of periodicals and translations. Overall, it argues for the need to consider the complexities and interrelatedness of contact zones between readers, texts, publishers, translators and distributors when studying the circulation of literature across linguistic and cultural borders.

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In 1922 the announcement that the renowned Spanish publishing house Rivadeneyra was about to release a new, unabridged and direct translation of the complete works of the best-selling German author Eugenie John, alias E. Marlitt (1825–87), was met with disbelief in the Catholic Spanish newspaper *El Debate*. Its German correspondent, the secular priest and hispanist Joseph Froberger (1879–1931) (Tietz, “*La visión de España*” 148–51), openly ridiculed the initiative to recirculate these “*novelones sentimentales*” (trashy, sentimental novels), which, according to him, were only enjoyed by “*modistas, criadas y buenas señoras*” (dressmakers, servants and good ladies); Marlitt’s stories had clearly nothing to offer to discerning contemporary readers (Froberger 1–2).¹ Ironically, Froberger phrased his surprise in such an emotionally charged tone that his very intervention mirrored the intensity with which Marlitt’s fiction had been received by her many admirers at the height of the author’s fame.

The German priest’s comments point towards the complex interplay between the movement of texts, emotions and translation on which this article focuses. I use Marlitt’s works, especially her second and probably most successful novel, *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* (1867; first English version *The Old Mam’selle’s Secret*, trans. A. L. Wister, 1868), as an example for studying how a text becomes what Sara Ahmed calls a “contact zone” that attracts and shapes emotions because “emotions are a matter of how we come into contact with objects and others” (221, 237).² The accumulation of emotional value is thus based on circulation; it is not intrinsic to the objects and people that circulate. As Helena López González de Orduña underlines, this insight calls for an analysis that is not limited to textual representations but also considers “condiciones de producción, los circuitos de distribución, las situaciones para la recepción” (conditions of production, the circuits of distribution, the circumstances of the reception) (13). This fundamental observation informs the present case study of how emotions shape, and are shaped by, the ways in which texts move between literary systems.

With this approach in mind, it is particularly relevant that Marlitt’s fiction was written for the press. Periodicals are much more than passive vehicles facilitating the circulation of texts. Rather, they are understood today as “entangled assemblages, embedding human and nonhuman entities”, as “net/works that exist both inside and outside the medium – evolving from volatile interconnected webs that sustain them” (Ernst and Scheiding 13, 1–2). Arguably, a relational lens helps focus on the role of emotions precisely because it brings to the fore how periodicals facilitate and emerge from encounters between objects and people. The way editors, translators and readers engaged with Marlitt’s texts in German, French and Spanish periodicals was shaped by their own position in a dynamic and open network of relationships. These positions have emotional dimensions, linked to the level of personal closeness and identification with the publications in question. Ikoniadou, McAllister and Hobbs therefore describe periodicals as complex and at times contradictory “spaces of belonging” with “material, spatial, and temporal dimensions” (4). Thus, each periodical forms a contact zone that becomes associated with specific expectations, values and emotions. Depending on the degree of conformity with these (partly implicit) norms and assumptions, a periodical offers different degrees of hospitality to different groups of writers, readers and texts; it creates its own emotional community.

The network of relationships is further complicated when translation enters the mix. Like periodicals, translations form relational contact zones and have been described in strikingly similar terms to periodicals as “entangled interactions which encompass physical, human and linguistic vectors” (O’Connor 17). Conversely, translation is an intrinsic part of periodicals, in multiple and often unrecognised ways (O’Connor 22). As Luc van Doorslaer (169) points out, “rewriting, localizing and recontextualizing” are normal practice in journalism. Contrary to the translation of distinct prestigious source texts, these practices are often not marked or even perceived as translation. At a methodological level, this symbiotic relationship between periodicals and translation is reflected in the frequent calls to combine periodical and translation studies in order to develop a more nuanced understanding of the circulation of texts, to the benefit of both disciplines (see, for example, Wong).

1 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author.

2 This article is inspired by collaborative and comparative research into the circulation of Marlitt’s work in Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia and Spain, which identified the need to study the historical development of “shared cultural imaginaries and emotional regimes that are still influencing us today” (Partzsch et al.).

The present study of emotions in relation to the movement of texts across linguistic and cultural borders in nineteenth-century Europe aims to contribute to this trend. Arguably, Marlitt's fiction is particularly apposite for this purpose. The German author's best-selling stories became famous for eliciting emotional responses in their readers, creating a strong following that over time led in different countries to the identification of a "typical", sentimental female reader of Marlitt, often with pejorative connotations ([Mihurko Poníž](#)). The article begins by tracing how this emotional potential is woven into the publication context of the source texts. Marlitt's stories were first published as serialisations in *Die Gartenlaube* (The Garden Bower) (Leipzig/Berlin, 1853–1944), an example of the relatively new medium of the illustrated family magazine in Germany; they contributed to shaping the emotional community of readers attached to this increasingly successful periodical. I then analyse how Emmeline Raymond (1828–1902), the editor-in-chief and most prolific contributor to *La Mode illustrée. Journal de la famille* (Illustrated Fashion. A Family Magazine) (Paris, 1860–1937), transformed Marlitt's texts into a highly appreciated fixture in her own periodical. Raymond's chronicles of the siege of Paris during the Franco-German War of 1870–71, published in *La Mode illustrée*, and the furious reaction against her Marlitt translations in *Die Gartenlaube* provide a rich context for analysing the shifts required to move the texts across a contact zone in the process of being reconfigured by military, political and religious conflict.

The last part of the article asks what happens when the translation of a literary text is introduced into a radically different circuit of distribution. This was the case with a Spanish adaptation of the French version of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell*, serialised in the aggressively political and extremist Catholic newspaper *El Siglo Futuro* (The Future Century) (Madrid, 1875–1936) in 1896. In the absence of information about the circumstances that led to the translation, I analyse the newspaper's profile, its target readership as it emerges from its pages, the place of literary serialisations in the paper and patterns of translation decisions in the target text. The image that emerges points to a different manner of managing and instrumentalising emotions, aligned with the aims of a broader Catholic movement that used modern media in an attempt to re-Christianise Europe. This brings us back to Joseph Froberger, the German priest apparently so bemused and annoyed by the project of Marlitt's oeuvre being retranslated into Spanish. Froberger was himself part of the movement for Catholic propaganda, to the extent that he edited the German translation of one of its key Spanish texts, *Los daños del libro* (The harms caused by reading) (1905) by the bishop of Jaca and later archbishop of Tarragona Antolin López Peláez ([Tietz](#), "Los daños del libro" 274–5). Froberger's intervention against Marlitt in the Spanish press thus illustrates the productivity of studying the conditions of production, the circuits of distribution and the circumstances of the reception of moving texts if we want to understand how they can move communities.

COMING INTO CONTACT WITH THE GERMAN SOURCE TEXT: ERNST KEIL'S AND E. MARLITT'S "POETICS OF THE HEART" IN *DIE GARTENLAUBE*

The production and publication of E. Marlitt's best-selling novels start with *Die Gartenlaube*, and thus the modern medium of the illustrated family magazine. E. Marlitt was the pen name of Eugenie John, who began to pursue a literary career relatively late in life after losing her place as reader and companion to the divorced Princess Mathilde von Schwarzburg-Sondershausen in 1863. Two years later she sent two manuscripts to Ernst Keil (1816–78), the publisher of *Die Gartenlaube*, who accepted both works for publication ([Kohl 185](#)). The correspondence section in *Die Gartenlaube* testifies to the fact that this was an impressive achievement.³ The section abounds with rejections of unsolicited manuscripts, often couched in rather cutting terms, and contains very little literary encouragement for aspiring writers. In the case of Marlitt, Keil had made a commercially sound judgement, as the enthusiastic reader response to her fiction has been associated with a considerable increase in subscriptions to the periodical ([Belgum 132](#)). The success of the original serialisations was prolonged thanks to the publication of illustrated book editions produced by Ernst Keil's publishing house, and multiple translations into a wide range of European languages, such as Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, French, Hungarian, Italian, Polish and Swedish ([Partzsch et al.](#)). All of Marlitt's works would

3 The full text of *Die Gartenlaube* 1853–99 is available on wikisource, https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Die_Gartenlaube.

be published in this way, including her last, unfinished novel, which appeared posthumously in *Die Gartenlaube* after completion by Wilhelmine Heimbürg (1848–1912), another author associated with the periodical.

The success and longevity of the collaboration between Marlitt and *Die Gartenlaube* were nurtured by the strong alignment between the poetics of the author and the direction of the periodical during Keil's leadership. Their approach to literature reflects a worldview rooted in the Enlightenment ideal of progress in the sense of perfecting humankind, which requires the cultivation of both hearts and minds. In this context, Kohl speaks of “undogmatic, emotionally embedded natural morality” embodied by Marlitt's female protagonists (192) and situates her writing within the tradition of the sentimental novel of the eighteenth century as well as German devotional literature. I would contend that Marlitt's emotional interpellation of the reader goes beyond a clearly gendered mode of writing, although her “poetics of the heart” follows established expectations for German literature written by women (Kohl 193). Her approach to literature is indeed strikingly similar to the one pursued by Keil in his periodical. This becomes evident if we compare the programmatic opening text in the very first issue of *Die Gartenlaube*, addressed “An unsere Freunde und Leser!” (To our friends and readers [in the masculine and general plural form]) (Stolle and Keil 1), with *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell*. The editor Stolle and the publisher Keil position their new periodical as broadly as possible, describing it as reading material for old and young, home and the family, in short, “für Jeden, dem ein warmes Herz an den Rippen pocht, der noch Lust hat am Guten und Edlen!” (for everybody who has a warm heart beating against his ribs, who still enjoys the good and the noble!) The lowest common denominator of *Die Gartenlaube*'s prospective readership is the ability to feel, coupled with an undogmatic embedded natural morality, to borrow Kohl's phrasing, and the wish to learn about the world. This programme is closely echoed in the education modelled in *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell*, in which the orphaned girl Felicitas is able to develop her heart and mind in harmony with her innate sense of the good and the noble thanks to the secret, loving relationship with a mysterious old maid exiled to the attic of the family home and shunned as a godless freethinker by her fundamentalist Protestant niece-in-law. Marlitt underlines this parallelism by showing that the spinster in the attic is also a reader of *Die Gartenlaube* (Kohl 195).

To some extent, this view of emotion and reason as necessarily entwined sits at odds with those nineteenth-century lines of thought that sharply distinguish between the two, a shift that William Reddy (259) situates with reference to France around 1815 and relates back to the experience of the French Revolution. However, that does not mean that the older, sentimental model simply disappeared without a trace. Reddy diagnoses the retreat of sentimentalism into the private sphere, where “[i]t could still provide a guide to the creation of emotional refuge” (276). Highlighting its continued development for instance in the works of George Sand, he speculates about its specific significance for women and women writers (Reddy 249, 253). Keil's *Gartenlaube* illustrates that continuations of the sentimental model remained relevant for a broad readership in nineteenth-century Germany. The periodical taps into the positive connotations that the communication of emotions enjoyed, at least “in intimate circles, in the society of friends, or between spouses” (Frevert 26).

The periodical's astonishing circulation among German-speakers worldwide, reaching 382,000 copies in 1875 (Belgum 15–18), speaks to a mass appeal that captured men as well as women, an appeal that also seems to be confirmed by the answers to messages from male and female readers in the correspondence section.⁴ The emphasis on the heart and adjacent emotional concepts, for example *Gemüt*, was perceived as characteristic not only of individuals but of German national identity more broadly (Frevert 26–30). Consequently, this vocabulary was widely used by the circles occupied with German nation building (Hakkarainen 474). *Die Gartenlaube* embraced this mission without hesitation, as the following statement from the correspondence section indicates:

⁴ Belgum (121–30) analyses how the periodical interpellated women in its pages. The letters from the rather eccentric Fürst Hermann von Pückler-Muskau to Marlitt show that at least some male readers also appreciated her two first novels as “rührend ergreifende Meisterstücke” (movingly touching masterpieces) (Hobohm 124). Having said that, Pückler described his character in this correspondence as “zur Hälfte weiblich, das heisst sehr elastisch und zugleich phantasie reich” (half female, i.e., very elastic and imaginative at the same time) (Hobohm 108).

Unsere Tendenzen sind klar ausgesprochen: wir wollen neben der Unterhaltung und Belehrung alle Bestrebungen der Humanität und Aufklärung und die Kräftigung des Nationalismus in entschiedener Weise zu fördern suchen. Dieses Programm wird unter jeder Bedingung festgehalten, und weder Kanzel noch grüner Tisch werden uns darin stören. (*Die Gartenlaube*, 1866, no. 12, p. 192)

(Our tendencies are clearly stated: we want to foster resolutely all the efforts of humanity and enlightenment and the strengthening of nationalism, in addition to entertainment and instruction. This programme will be maintained under all circumstances, and neither pulpit nor bureaucracy will hinder us.)

The first circulation context of Marlitt's novels, a periodical for the whole family and circles of friends, was consequently imagined as domestic, but not necessarily as gendered. This situation is linked to the political circumstances in which *Die Gartenlaube* was designed and founded, circumstances which also bring to the fore that the domestic is political. Ernst Keil, an experienced journalist, editor and publisher from Thuringia, was a strong supporter of the liberal ideals of the Revolution of 1848, a stance that brought him into conflict with censorship in several German states and finally led to a stint in prison (Belgum 12–13). *Die Gartenlaube*, self-described in its introductory text as “[f]ern von aller raisonnirenden Politik und allem Meinungsstreit in Religions- und andern Sachen” (far from all political debates and disagreements in religious and other matters) (Stolle and Keil 1; trans. Belgum 14), was a new initiative for reaching out to and educating the German people in a way that mostly avoided open conflict with the censors (Belgum 14), although Prussia banned the periodical between 1864 and 1867 (Belgum 16). This set-up establishes *Die Gartenlaube* as an emotional refuge from the outset, functioning in the polyvalent sense hypothesised by Reddy, by “making the current order more liveable for some people, some of the time”, while providing for others “a place from which contestation, conflict, and transformation are launched” (128).

Given the rather broad understanding of *apolitical* and *neutral* which prevailed in *Die Gartenlaube*, as seen in the quotation above, it is perhaps not surprising that at least some readers perceived the publication as an agent of change, for better or worse. Reactions to readers' letters reporting hostility towards the periodical show, for instance, that parts of the more conservative religious establishment, both Protestant and Catholic, assessed the publication as dangerous (see, for example, *Die Gartenlaube* 1866, no. 11, p. 176; 1867, no. 24, p. 384; 1873, no. 1, p. 20). Notably, Marlitt's texts are included in these accusations, which again confirms their perceived alignment with *Die Gartenlaube*'s ideology and poetics. In 1869 the editorial staff refer in the correspondence section to a brochure targeting specifically three contributions to the periodical: “Brief an eine Gläubige” (Letter to a [female] believer, 1866) by the publisher Ernst Keil; “Ein Apostel der Wahrheit” (An apostle of truth, on Leberecht Uhlich, 1866), signed J. L.; and *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* (1867) (*Die Gartenlaube*, 1869, no. 9, p. 144). What the novel, the letter and the portrait of one of the leaders of the Free Church movement have in common is their defence of undogmatic religious beliefs and practices, based on tolerance, the experience of nature, rationality and personal feeling. Reportedly, the brochure asked that pious Christians cancel their subscriptions to *Die Gartenlaube*. According to the editorial staff, this was a rather harmless request compared to the demand by another religious critic that Keil drown himself.

The people responsible for *Die Gartenlaube* affected to be undisturbed by this kind of open hostility towards their publication and its staff. However, it is interesting to observe that they tend to dwell on the onslaught of abuse in their answers to readers. In a message published in 1873, they even provide a whole list of malignant and contradictory claims, supposedly produced by their enemies, which they describe as “Mischung von Bosheit, Lüge, Neid und schäumendem Fanatismus” (a mixture of spite, lies, envy and frothing fanaticism), documented in “Hunderte[n] von Blättern und Belegen [...] die seit langen Jahren von uns gesammelt und mit Lächeln still bei Seite gelegt wurden” (hundreds of pamphlets and documents, which we have been collecting for many years and putting aside discreetly with a smile) (*Die Gartenlaube*, 1873, 22, p. 366). Being driven by negative emotions becomes here a characteristic of those who do not embrace *Die Gartenlaube*'s programme of nurturing sense and sensibility for humanity's sake. The voice of the periodical models dignified disregard towards the vocal opponents of its

programme, marking itself as different; nevertheless, the fact that all the hostile reactions are filed together is a first step towards creating a hated group of others who potentially threaten those who experience *Die Gartenlaube* as a space of belonging.

From its very first issue, *Die Gartenlaube* indeed promised to create an emotional home for its readers. The way in which this promise is phrased draws once more on heartfelt emotions entwined with elements of national identity: “[E]s soll Euch anheimeln in unsrer Gartenlaube, in der Ihr gut-deutsche Gemüthlichkeit findet, die zu Herzen spricht” (you shall find a place like home in our garden bower, in which you find good, German comfort and homeliness that speaks to the heart) (Stolle and Keil 1). In line with this announcement, the first issue of *Die Gartenlaube* multiplies the representation of emotional relationships at different levels, from the visual *mise en abyme* of the masthead illustration depicting a multi-generational family gathering around *Die Gartenlaube* in a garden bower, to the reference to reading the periodical with family and friends in the introductory text, to the contributions in the main part, which consist of a story called “Ein Mutterherz” (A mother’s heart) and two stories in epistolary form emphasising closeness despite distance, one from a German emigrant in the US to his brother back home, and the other, titled “Aus der Menschenheimath” (From the home of humankind), addressed by a retired school teacher to a former pupil.

Once more, *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* aligns with *Die Gartenlaube* in this educational celebration of positive emotional relationships. The novel’s main villains, Mrs Hellwig and her inner circle, are characterised as cold, selfish, emotionally abusive and ignorant, but thanks to the care of the spinster in the attic, the protagonist Felicitas learns to love what is noble and good during her formative years. In the affectionate relationship between pupil and educator, she learns to nurture a love of knowledge and learning, deep enjoyment of music and literature, charitable empathy and compassion for people in need, and love of God. As a young woman, Felicitas also experiences erotic attraction, culminating in companionable spousal love. Unlike her mother, who was disowned by her aristocratic German family after marrying a poor Polish performer, Felicitas also gains a stable and respectable social position thanks to her marriage.

Typically for Marlitt’s writing, the narrative perspective, interventions by the narrative voice, the occasional use of irony and sarcasm as well as the style put the readers firmly on the side of the protagonist (Kohl 194). The reader accompanies Felicitas as she learns to recognise her emotions and live according to her values. Marlitt employs what could be called emotional irony, as the reader has enough information to identify emotions long before the young protagonist understands her own heart. This strategy activates the double nature of emotional words and descriptions in an almost didactic manner. As Reddy explains, emotional utterances combine a descriptive and a performative dimension “because emotional expression has an explanatory and a self-altering effect” (128). By sorting Felicitas’s affective turmoil into distinct emotions with the help of clues, the readers are trained to recognise and inhabit certain emotional patterns that go hand-in-hand with *Die Gartenlaube*’s values. In Kohl’s words, “[t]he emotional appeal of Marlitt’s novels makes the reader all the more receptive to the values they convey, and her heroines act as role models through their moral commitment, encouraging the like-minded reader to make society more humane” (192).

But what happens to those who are not like-minded? Within the world of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell*, Felicitas’s antagonists become specific figures of rejection and scorn, based on their behaviour towards the story’s heroine as well as other marginalised and/or lower-class characters. The emotional charge associated with individual characters is, however, open to change, most prominently in the marriage plot, which follows the well-established pattern of transformation from strong antagonism to loving passion. Felicitas’s prejudiced and hostile guardian is converted into a like-minded person and worthy object of his ward’s love, and at the very end the novel even alludes to the possibility of Mrs Hellwig opening her heart to softer emotions. This development is only conveyed through an external clue: the narrator shows Mrs Hellwig knitting children’s stockings, presumably for her grandchild, Felicitas’s first-born. This choice of perspective positions the reader in a manner that is characteristic of the novel throughout. The antagonists tend to be shown from the outside only, in stark contrast to the detailed information provided about the protagonist’s rich internal world. The narration thus strikes a precarious balance between emotional advocacy for a specific worldview and the recognition of the humanity and potential for redemption of those opposed to it. As a consequence, the violent criticism modelled by Felicitas rather attaches to specific persons and

their behaviour than pre-defined groups, in contrast to the novel's negative characters, who regulate their emotions according to a fixed, hierarchical understanding of society. They see in Felicitas the *Spielerskind*, the daughter of marginalised, circus-type performers, who first does not understand and later does not accept her low station in life. However, there is only a small step from seeing the individual in the antagonist to subsuming them into a collective that is perceived as a threat and thus becomes an object of hate, an emotional potential that would be activated when Marlitt's texts started circulating in different reading communities.

MOVING MARLITT TO FRANCE: EMMELINE RAYMOND'S REWRITING OF MARLITT'S FICTION IN *LA MODE ILLUSTRÉE*

Die Gartenlaube's sensational success with Marlitt's fiction almost immediately attracted the attention of publishers in languages other than German, who quickly started to release translations (Partzsch et al.). In this context, French versions are particularly important as they often served as intermediate source texts for translations into other languages such as Spanish. Marlitt in French became closely associated with the fashion and family magazine *La Mode illustrée*, belonging to the Parisian printer-publisher Firmin Didot, echoing the strong connection between the German source texts and *Die Gartenlaube*. All the first French translations of Marlitt's work appeared in this periodical before being commercialised as books by Firmin Didot. The conditions of production, the circuits of distribution and the circumstances of the reception of Marlitt's novels and short stories in France were thus in many ways comparable to those in Germany. In both countries, her texts were serialised in a weekly illustrated periodical publication that targeted mostly middle-class readers in their domestic environment. Nevertheless, the move had already shifted the frame of reference. As its title indicates, *La Mode illustrée* was marketed as a fashion magazine whose mix of sartorial, educational, literary and entertaining content followed a well-established model for publications predominantly addressing women readers. This change of setting feminised Marlitt's texts at the same time as it distanced them from the more immediate emotional and ideological environment of Keil's *Die Gartenlaube*, shaped by its more gender-neutral commitment to liberalism, German nation building and undogmatic Protestantism. For its fashion content, *La Mode illustrée* worked in close collaboration with another German periodical, the fashion magazine *Der Bazar* (Van Remoortel), which positioned itself against the liberal agenda of *Die Gartenlaube* (Krautwald 49).

The association between *La Mode illustrée* and Marlitt's stories was further strengthened by the person of the translator, Emmeline Raymond, the formidable editor-in-chief of the periodical, who authored and signed a large part of its content each week. This included the regular fashion editorials and answers to readers' questions, which allowed Raymond to develop a continuous relationship with her audience. Her very strong personal presence in *La Mode illustrée* arguably framed how French readers would experience Marlitt's texts, in stark contrast to the experience of German readers. Marlitt was famously private and did not engage directly with her readers or with literary life, while the voice of her French translator was a weekly presence over decades in the lives of subscribers to *La Mode illustrée*. Raymond commented, reflected and advised on a broad range of topics. In the correspondence section, she also provided hands-on answers to the questions of individual readers. In the case of the French translations of Marlitt's text, the translator was certainly much more visible than the author of the source text, and her versions of the German stories could be seen as another, albeit highly popular, part of her prolific writing. Marlitt's stories and novels were thus seamlessly integrated into the space of belonging created in *La Mode illustrée*.

Raymond's first translations contributed further to detach Marlitt's texts from their environment of first circulation. She opted for a discreet cultural domestication, for instance regarding the religious environment depicted. Marlitt's stories are mostly set in small, predominantly Protestant principalities in the region of Thuringia or indeterminate places evoking it. Raymond's decision to replace passing references to Protestant institutions and practices in *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* with their Catholic equivalents allowed her predominantly Catholic French readers to forget about conflict between different Christian denominations while enjoying the stories. At the same time, Raymond also toned down the more free-thinking dimensions of

religious discourse that would have conflicted with commonly held Christian beliefs, such as the suggestion that hell might not exist (Partzsch et al.). With the benefit of hindsight, Raymond described this approach to rendering Marlitt's texts into French in 1875 as follows:

Dans les romans de Mlle Marlitt, que j'ai traduits jusqu'ici, j'ai dû accommoder certains épisodes, certains détails, de façon à les conformer au goût français. Je ne dis pas que ces romans aient gagné à être parfois une adaptation, plutôt qu'une traduction française; mais j'affirme qu'une traduction *littérale* [emphasis in the original] n'eût point convenu à nos goûts, ou, si l'on veut, à nos préjugés. (Raymond, "Avertissement" 94)

(In Miss Marlitt's novels that I have translated so far, I have had to accommodate certain episodes, certain details, to make them conform to French taste. I don't say that these novels gained from being sometimes an adaptation rather than a French translation; but I claim that a *literal* translation wouldn't have suited our tastes, or, if you prefer, our prejudices.)

However, the Franco-German War of 1870–71 left its mark on Marlitt's literary production, Raymond's translations, and very probably their French readers. Given the wide-reaching consequences of the changing political circumstances on the conditions of Marlitt's dissemination and reception, it is necessary to explore in some detail Raymond's experience of the conflict as editor-in-chief of *La Mode illustrée* and how it relates to her and the periodical's relationship with Marlitt.

The Parisian periodical returned to the German author with great consistency.⁵ The first serialisation of a text by Marlitt in *La Mode illustrée*, a version of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell*, started in November 1868, quickly followed by *Goldelse* (Gold Elsie) (1866) as *Élisabeth aux cheveux d'or* at the end of October 1869. This second serialisation ended in August 1870, a good month after the beginning of the Franco-German War and just before the decisive battle of Sedan, which led to the capture of the French emperor. The German siege of Paris in the aftermath of the battle disrupted communications and trade. Consequently, *La Mode illustrée* warned on 2 October 1870 that it would have to suspend its printing and distribution. In the same issue, Raymond started a new section called "Journal du siège de Paris" (Diary of the siege of Paris), in which she shared her impressions and reflections on the war as experienced from the isolated French capital. Perhaps surprisingly, the serialisation of the next novel by Marlitt, *Reichsgräfin Gisela* (Countess Gisela, 1869) (*Gisèle, comtesse de l'Empire*), began immediately after the last instalment of Raymond's diary, in the issue dated 1 January 1871, strictly following the timeline announced back in September 1870 (Anonymous, "Renseignements"). The January issue was probably printed in March 1871 because of the delay in production and distribution caused by the siege, according to a note in the third issue of that year. The fourth serialisation of Marlitt, her early novella *Blaubart* (Bluebeard, 1866), followed in August 1872 as *Barbe Bleue*. *La Mode illustrée* would continue to serialise every one of Marlitt's works in its pages, always translated by Emmeline Raymond.

This timeline suggests that even losing a brutal war fought with modern weaponry against a coalition of German states, and the foundation of the German Empire in Versailles in January 1871, could not alter the French appetite for Marlitt's fiction. However, the uninterrupted translation activity hides an underlying emotional shift towards Germany and Germans that can be traced in Raymond's remarkable war diary. The diary was born out of Raymond's confessed need to continue communicating with her readers, even if it was uncertain when, or if, the issues compiled during the siege would finally reach the subscribers ("Journal du siège de Paris. I" 318). Her deep personal connection with the periodical also shines through in her attachment to her physical workspace, whose transformations from buzzing publishing house and printing shop to almost empty space and then to busy war hospital she touches upon on several occasions. The decision to publish the diary shows that *La Mode illustrée*'s editor-in-chief was well aware of the historical importance of the situation, to which she responded by transforming herself from a chronicler of Parisian life and fashion to a witness of the unfolding events. However, over a long period the lives of the besieged were characterised

5 On the impact of the Franco-German War on the fashion content, see Looft.

by the absence of action. Raymond therefore had space to dwell on the emotional turmoil she experienced herself or sensed in the city, emmeshed with reflections on the causes and consequences of war.

Raymond's entries illustrate the destabilising effect produced by the sudden loss of normality and the desperate search for certainties that it unleashed, a quest made even more difficult because Raymond tries to eschew easy answers. Nevertheless, she cannot avoid the gravitational forces of nationalism while realising its perils at the same time, as the following quotation illustrates:

Et, tout en écrivant ces lignes, j'enrage de les écrire, croyez-le bien. Oui, l'un des plus funestes effets de cette funeste guerre n'est pas seulement dans la ruine, le deuil et les larmes de la France, il est encore dans les haines nationales, ravivées pour un demi-siècle peut-être. Je fais ici une confession publique: J'aimais et j'estimais la race allemande; hélas! me voici obligé de renoncer à cette sympathie. (*"Journal du siège de Paris. II"* 327)

(And while I am writing these lines, I am furious to write them, believe me. Yes, one of the most disastrous effects of this disastrous war does not lie in the ruin, the grief, the tears of France, it lies in the national hates, revived perhaps for half a century. I am making here a public confession: I loved and esteemed the German race; alas! you see me obliged to renounce that sympathy.)

It is evident throughout the diary that Raymond is exploring ways of reorganising and reconciling her conflicting values and emotions. Ruin, grief and tears align her and France with the oppressed and what is right, and against those who impose their wrong position through violence. Interestingly, Raymond asserts that both France and Germany had resorted to force rather than legal means to foster their interests, Germany by invading France after winning the battle of Sedan, and France through the actions of one man, that is, Napoleon III, although Raymond acknowledges that French victories in the Napoleonic Wars sixty years previously were also tainted by the imposition of the law of the strongest. Despite efforts not to generalise, especially in the earlier entries, Raymond arrives finally at a clear dividing line between barbaric and resentful Germans and generous and civilised French people. What marks the line between barbarism and civilisation is the attitude to the use of force, which Raymond maps on to nationalities. A civilised nation, and any civilised person, must forsake the right of conquest and stand instead for what is just against the misuse of power.

Raymond's diary of the siege of Paris in *La Mode illustrée* provides an essential background for her much more interventionist approach to the translation of Marlitt's texts after the war, which arguably goes far beyond changing the nationality of the villain in *Reichsgräfin Gisela* from French to Italian. Her additions and elaborations in *Barbe Bleue* suggest that she had developed an increased awareness of plot elements and language use that could be read as expressions of German nationalism, and that she was not willing to simply transmit these to her readers. Rather, her rewriting could almost be described as a form of hijacking, not from a feminist but from a liberal as well as nationalist position. Raymond certainly took possession of the source text, a fact that was flagged up in an enraged contribution entitled "Pariser literarische Falschmünzerei" (Parisian literary forgery) in *Die Gartenlaube*. The anonymous German author back-translates from French several added passages in which Raymond strongly condemns the imposition of the right of the strongest. For example, a fleeting reference to "Annexionsgelüste" (desire of annexation) in relation to the wars in the Danish and German region of Schleswig-Holstein, made by the outspoken character Auntie Barbara, is expanded into a long intervention on the moral wrongness of usurping what belongs to others. References to theft and pillaging by German soldiers take up accusations that are also present in Raymond's journal, to the great indignation of the anonymous contributor to *Die Gartenlaube*. He declares them to be "giftige [...] Galle der damaligen verlogenen fränkischen Tagespresse unseren siegreich heimkehrenden Kriegern gegenüber" (poisonous gall towards our victoriously returning warriors in the lying Frankish daily press of yore) (Anonymous, "Pariser literarische Falschmünzerei" 423). Even the body language of male characters is made awkward and ridiculous by added descriptions of gestures explicitly linked to Prussian militarised mores, as the author of the piece furiously argues.

The intervention in *Die Gartenlaube* brings to the fore how translation changed the contact zone created by Marlitt's text. In moving the text close to her readers, Raymond clearly prioritises the link between *La Mode illustrée* and its imagined community, who had just confronted together the devastating experience of a war with their German neighbours. At an emotional level, the diagnosis by the anonymous critic of Raymond's translations may therefore well be partially right when he describes the function of the French version as that of a "Heilpflaster" (healing plaster) for "so manches schmerzlich Empfundene an derberer Stelle" (quite some pain felt in a coarser place) (423). The allusion to corporal punishment in the quotation—pain in a coarser place—is, however, part of the confrontational and indeed violent attitude of the whole piece. Raymond is memorably called a "französische Übersetzungshyäne" (French translation hyena) and her interventions in the text classified as "literarische Vergewaltigungen" (literary rapes) (423). Thus, "poor Marlitt" has to see "[d]ie klare, durchsichtige deutsche Novelle von so viel fränkischem Schmutze und Geifer getrübt" (the clear, transparent German novella besmirched with so much Frankish dirt and drivel) (423). Rather than serving as a bridge between different worldviews, the translation process is approached as a conflict zone, a continuation of the theatre of war in which the ascription of guilt, aggression and victimhood must be fought over again and again.

This conflict over the prerogative of interpretation escalates even further in relation to the serialised translation of Marlitt's *Die zweite Frau* (The second wife, 1874) as *La seconde femme* in *La Mode illustrée* (1875). The novel's Protestant protagonist, the impoverished Juliane von Trachenberg, becomes the unloved second wife of a Catholic courtier. Throughout the novel, she must fight against multiple intrigues and the unwanted attentions of a sinister Jesuit priest before her husband finally recognises her as a superior individual, falls in love with her, and frees himself and his family from the nefarious influence of the Catholic environment.⁶ There is no doubt that the critic of Raymond's translations excludes certain groups of readers from Marlitt's work, among them clearly most subscribers to *La Mode illustrée*:

Nun ist aber der Roman zunächst durchaus nicht für Franzosen geschrieben, so wenig wie für jene von der ultramontanen Partei am Gängelbände geführte Minorität echauffirter Römlinge in Deutschland, und die Pariser Verlagshandlung hat mit dem käuflich erworbenen Uebersetzungsrecht nicht zugleich das Recht erlangt, das deutsche Werk in unverantwortlicher Weise durch Madame Emmeline Raymond verstümmeln zu lassen. (Anonymous, "Pariser literarische Falschmünzerei" 423)

(However, in the first instance, the novel was not written for French people, and also not for that minority of incensed followers of Rome in Germany, who are led by walking reins by the ultramontane party, and the Parisian publishing house did not purchase, together with the right of translation, the right to allow the German work to be irresponsibly mutilated by Madame Emmeline Raymond.)

Marlitt's novel *Die zweite Frau* thus becomes a kind of litmus test that reveals who belongs to the imagined community of *Die Gartenlaube* and who does not. Its potential for alienating certain groups of readers—French people but also Catholics in Germany—is therefore not seen as a problem; rather, it is interpreted as the consequence of taking the correct side in the culture wars between secular nation states and the Catholic Church, which raged with particular intensity in Prussia (Clark and Kaiser). As we will see below, Raymond actively changed the ideological positioning of the text, and much can be said about the ethical questions raised by this kind of intervention. However, in the violent discursive context of "Parisian literary forgery", insisting on the supposedly German characteristics of fidelity and respect for intellectual content in translations acquires a strong connotation of keeping the French enemy subjugated.

Raymond's own introductory remarks to her translation of *Die zweite Frau* certainly demonstrate how she reacted to feeling excluded from a community of readers with which she had strongly identified. In her eyes, *Die zweite Frau* marks a clear departure from Marlitt's previous fiction, which she characterises as siding almost excessively with the oppressed against "les oppresseurs de tout ordre" (all kinds of oppressors), in her eyes a partiality that is "plus noble

6 Lou Channon-Deutsch studies how easily emotions are detached and reattached to different figures of hate in relation to the depiction of Jesuits, freemasons and Jews in Spanish nineteenth-century novels of conspiracy, a mechanism that creates different spaces of belonging for different groups.

et plus généreuse que la partialité opposée” (nobler and more generous than the opposite bias) ([“Avertissement” 95](#)). This inverse bias is precisely what she sees at work in *Die zweite Frau*, a novel “conçu [...] dans un esprit qui l’eût fait repousser par tous les lecteurs français, comme il l’a fait repousser par un grand nombre de lecteurs allemands” (conceived in a spirit that would have had it rejected by all French readers, as it was rejected by a great number of German readers) ([“Avertissement” 95](#)). Given Marlitt’s talent, Raymond denies, but therefore evokes simultaneously, the possibility that Marlitt might have yielded to the need to flatter and fan “des passions qui ont le grand tort d’avoir la force à leur ordre” (passions that have the great fault of being backed by force) ([“Avertissement” 94](#)). The translator never identifies the precise nature of the conflict to which she alludes, in line with her claim of detaching the novel from partisanship (“préoccupation de parti”). Her decision to rewrite the novel, labelling her version as imitated rather than translated, allows her to reattach Marlitt’s writing to the reading pleasure experienced by the subscribers of *La Mode illustrée*, who according to Raymond love Marlitt’s talent. It also allows her to save Marlitt from the latest development of her writing “en reportant ses sympathies des persécuteurs aux persécutés” (by switching back her sympathies from the persecutors to the persecuted) ([“Avertissement” 95](#)). In practice, this is mostly achieved by changing the Christian denomination to which the characters belong: Juliane von Trachenberg becomes a Catholic fighting for her moral and indeed actual survival in a fundamentalist Protestant environment.

Raymond’s short preface starts as a relatively measured justification of her approach to translating Marlitt in general and *Die zweite Frau* in particular. Its conclusion, however, reveals the force of the emotions attached to Raymond’s reading of Marlitt, based on a strong identification with what the French writer perceived as shared human values. Ostensibly, Raymond seeks transparency of procedure to rebut the old allegation that the translator is a traitor. The last paragraph, however, betrays her fear that in this case the actual traitor might be the author herself:

S’il n’en était pas ainsi, si le malheur des temps que nous traversons troublait les intelligences et les cœurs au point de faire méconnaître, même aux meilleurs d’entre eux, les principes d’équité et de liberté sans lesquels l’univers ne serait qu’un immense coupe-gorge, dont les échos rediraient sans cesse les plaintes du droit expirant sous la force, il me resterait à me déclarer personnellement responsable de tout ce que Mlle Marlitt désavouerait dans la traduction française de la *Seconde Femme*. ([“Avertissement” 95](#))

(If it is not so, if the misery of the times that we are passing through troubled the spirits and the hearts of even the best among them to the point of mistaking the principles of equity and liberty, without which the universe would be nothing but an immense murder, the echoes of which would repeat without interruption the complaints of law expiring under the foot of force, it will be left to me to declare my personal responsibility for everything that Miss Marlitt would reject in the French translation of *The second wife*.)

One year later, Raymond would indeed take responsibility and declare that all the changes in her translation of *Die zweite Frau* had been made without Marlitt’s knowledge or agreement, according to an anonymous note published in *Die Gartenlaube* (Anonymous, [“Aus Paris” 188](#)). We do not know what happened to make this clarification necessary or desirable. It nevertheless indicates that the imagined international reading community of hearts and minds centring on Marlitt had split along confessional and, to an extent, national fault lines, fault lines that the earlier interplay between German source texts and French target texts had bridged more successfully. Raymond’s apocalyptic language in the last part of her preface, against the backdrop of her war journal, provides a glimpse into the emotional upheaval associated with this separation and the concurrent need to readjust the relations woven between herself, *La Mode illustrée*, its readers, Marlitt’s fiction, *Die Gartenlaube*, France and Germany. Even the legal arrangements seem to have echoed the separation, as Raymond’s publishing house Firmin Didot claimed the rights of translation for the French versions of Marlitt’s texts. If Marlitt was considered to be an author belonging to *Die Gartenlaube*, Raymond’s Marlitt had become an author belonging to *La Mode illustrée*, and only the translator herself, bilingual critics and very careful readers of the periodicals involved would, to varying degrees and in different ways, understand the emotional costs of this process of detachment and appropriation.

WORKS OF CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA: *EL SIGLO FUTURO* AND THE CLERICAL CIRCULATION OF *DAS GEHEIMNIS DER ALTEN MAMSELL* IN SPAIN

As we have seen, the context in which the first readers of Marlitt in French came into contact with her fiction was in many ways similar to that of the author's first readers in German, despite the religious and national differences. The subsequent book editions of Raymond's translations loosened Marlitt's close connection with *La Mode illustrée* as new target texts based on the French source texts started to circulate in other predominantly Catholic countries. This unmooring from a quite specific emotional community of readers probably facilitated the circulation of Marlitt's fiction to new reception contexts. A particularly surprising example with wide-reaching consequences is the serialisation of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* as *El secreto de la solterona* (The spinster's secret) in the Spanish daily newspaper *El Siglo Futuro* in 1896, which completely reconfigured the ways in which Spanish readers encountered Marlitt's novel.

It is indeed difficult to imagine a target readership more different from that of *La Mode illustrée* and *Die Gartenlaube* than that of *El Siglo Futuro*. Led by the Spanish politicians and journalists Ramón Nocedal (1842–1907) and his father Cándido (1821–85), the paper was aggressively political. It campaigned in favour of the most extreme positions of political Catholicism, such as the rejection of any form of religious tolerance and support for the secular power of the Pope in Italy. This attitude included fundamentalist opposition to the newly configured constitutional monarchy in Spain and temporary support for the traditionalist pretender to the Spanish throne. The periodical was famous for embracing a very polemical style ([Agudín Menéndez 404](#)). Its open hostility was not limited to liberal opponents, but it also fought Catholic and traditionalist positions deemed too conciliatory, even when these were adopted in Rome, by Spanish prelates or by the Spanish royal pretender.

El Siglo Futuro's combative attitude gained attention well beyond the rather limited circle of the paper's regular readership ([Agudín Menéndez 419–20](#)). Its very title conveyed a Manichean worldview. The phrase "the future century" refers to the coming reign of God, in opposition to the present century, which is defined by "la carne emancipada del yugo del espíritu, y la razón y la libertad emancipadas del yugo de Dios" (the flesh emancipated from the yoke of the spirit, and reason and freedom emancipated from the yoke of God) ([Anonymous, "El Siglo Futuro"](#)), according to the programmatic editorial of the periodical's first issue. The result is a very strong positioning of an in-group against an out-group, us versus them: "¿Necesitaremos decir que El Siglo Futuro es al presente lo que la luz á las tinieblas. Dios á Belial, Jerusalem á Babilonia?" (Will we have to say that the Future Century is to the current one what light is to darkness, God to Belial, Jerusalem to Babylon?) The strong interpellation of the readers reflected the organisational purpose of the periodical in providing a rallying point for fundamentalist Catholic politics in Spain. The community it addressed was only partly imagined, as can be seen in the accounts of meetings attended by Nocedal, reports from aligned provincial associations, messages of support for causes embraced by the periodical and the frequent reprinting of pieces from sister papers. The names appearing in these contexts speak of an overwhelmingly male network. The fact that Nocedal's wife Amalia Mayo Albert took an active part in her husband's political campaigns ([Dardé Morales](#)) nevertheless suggests that women may also have been involved in the creation and running of *El Siglo Futuro*, albeit from behind the scenes.

The feuilleton space of *El Siglo Futuro* reflects the priorities of the periodical. At the time, newspapers typically dedicated the bottom section of the first or last pages to the serialisation of longer texts, especially novels, and it is there that we find Marlitt's *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell*. In *El Siglo Futuro*, the feuilleton space was used irregularly, often with long gaps between the publication of different works or individual instalments of a serialisation. Furthermore, Nocedal's newspaper published both literary and non-literary texts, for instance pastoral letters or other works dealing with religious and Church matters. This irregular pattern is similar to that found in other newspapers in which overt party-political activism was the main purpose, whereas more commercial, mainstream newspapers carefully curated their feuilleton novels, as they were considered a major selling point ([Nedregotten Sørbo and Partzsch](#)). Between 1890 and the start of the serialisation of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* in April 1896, *El Siglo Futuro* only published two other novels, *Duelo a muerte* (Duel to the death) by an unnamed Spanish author in 1890 and Maria Susanna Cummins's *The Lamplighter* in 1894 and 1895, with

some very large gaps between instalments.⁷ This patchy publication record demonstrates that entertaining fiction was not important to the newspaper's core constituency, in contrast to the readers of *Die Gartenlaube* and *La Mode illustrée*.

Nevertheless, the publication of Marlitt's novel fulfilled an essential part of the newspaper's declared mission: providing what was called Catholic propaganda, in a literal as well as metaphorical sense. The periodical's New Year's reflections for 1896, the year in which it published *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell*, make this very clear indeed:

Obras de propaganda católica, amigos míos; obras de propaganda católica sobre todo, que esas son principalmente hoy las grandes obras de piedad. El combate contra la Iglesia es cada día más formidable; tal vez nunca fué tan espantosa la Guerra contra ella en nuestra patria. ¡Oh! ¡Que por mucho que haya sido un cristiano hombre de bien á su modo, no hallará en el día del juicio haber cumplido con todo su deber, si no acude hoy en una fôrma ú otra á esa brecha de la propaganda católica, á que llama la acongojada verdad á todos sus hijos. (S. y S.)

(Works of Catholic propaganda, my friends; above all, works of Catholic propaganda, as these are today in the first place the great works of piety. The fight against the Church is every day more formidable; the war against her in our fatherland has perhaps never been so horrifying. Alas! No matter how far a Christian has been an honest man in his own way, on the day of judgment he will not be found to have fulfilled all of his duty if he does not go today, in one form or another, to this breach in the front line of Catholic propaganda, to which the distressed truth is calling all her sons.)

Even though the readership of *El Siglo Futuro* was not the target audience of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* in Spanish, many of its members would have been interested in the novel at what could be called a meta level, inasmuch as the anonymous translation, written and partially adapted specifically for *El Siglo Futuro* (Anonymous, "Nuestro folletín"), could serve as an example of how Catholic propaganda could be combined with lay reading for pleasure. Meticulous scrutiny and rewriting of the French source text through the lens of Catholic dogma forms the basis of the adaptation. One striking example is the death scene of Felicitas's mother. The Spanish version adds the dying woman's declaration of her Catholic faith and the urgent request for a priest. The serene features of the departed are interpreted as a sign of the salvation of her soul, achieved thanks to sincere repentance, the confession of her sins to a priest and the acceptance of death as just atonement (p. 21, as per continuous pagination of the instalments in *El Siglo Futuro*). Additions to the text go, however, beyond ensuring perfect Catholic orthodoxy. The translator uses every opportunity to point out supposed forms of Protestant heresy and lack of sense in comparison to Catholic truth. The repulsion felt by the antagonist Mrs Hellwig towards sculptures that sensually depict mythological figures is thus attributed to Protestant iconoclasm rather than the character's exaggerated prudery, as one of "las aberraciones de su secta, que considera pecaminosa la reproducción en cuadro o escultura de la forma humana. ¿Cómo han de tolerar lógicamente cuadros ni estatuas, los que abominan hasta de las imágenes aun del mismo crucifijo?" (the aberrations of her sect, which considers sinful the representation of the human form in painting or sculpture. How can those who abhor even images of the cross itself logically tolerate paintings or sculptures?) (48). The text thus combines a strongly catechetical dimension with the open denigration of Protestantism.

The most far-reaching change, however, is the recasting of the novel's central conflict in religious terms, which reframes the protagonist's rebellious emotions. Instinctively embracing her mother's religious heritage, Felicitas becomes a clandestine Catholic who must hide her beliefs and religious practices from the austere Protestant Mrs Hellwig, only supported by the now equally Catholic spinster in the attic and a loyal Catholic servant. The major obstacle separating Felicitas and Johannes Hellwig is his adherence to Protestantism, which necessitates his conversion to the true faith before the story can end with a happy Catholic marriage. This set-up provides Felicitas's passionate rejection of her situation in the Hellwig household with an aura of religious rectitude that justifies, up to a point, the anger against her position in society. The negative emotion attaches to the hate figure of the Protestant, while Felicitas

⁷ *The Lamplighter*, first published in 1854, was a long-running international best-seller. For *El Siglo Futuro*, the novel may also have been a financially attractive option given that there was no copyright agreement between the United States and Spain until October 1895.

moves towards Christian heroism. The didactic additions, together with a tendency to reduce free indirect speech in the translation, provide further safety barriers against the dangers of uncontrolled emotional contagion that might drive young women readers to question their own situation, like Felicitas. In this manner, *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* in Spanish could be safely enjoyed as an exemplary contemporary story about religious persecution and triumphant glory, with Felicitas embodying the religious mission of the Catholic woman according to the views of *El Siglo Futuro*.

The rewriting of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* as Catholic propaganda was not an isolated event. It fitted into a broader, transnational movement that tried to re-Christianise European countries using modern channels of mass communication to distribute reading material aligned with its ideology and disrupt the circulation of texts deemed pernicious or hostile (Ruiz Sánchez). In the Spanish context, an important initiative in this area was the Apostolado de la Prensa (Ministry through the Press). An association founded in Barcelona, the Apostolado published pamphlets, book series and the magazine *La Lectura Dominical* (Sunday Reading) (Madrid, 1894–1936) (Ruiz Sánchez 26). *El Siglo Futuro*'s translation of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* would find a home in the association's catalogue in 1909; previously, the periodical had commercialised the full version through its editorial offices. This step gave the ephemeral newspaper serialisation a new and long-lasting lease of life and connected it more directly with its intended audience. In return, *El Siglo Futuro* showed support for the Apostolado in its pages in the form of positive comments and information about its publications.

The Apostolado's first pamphlet, *El porqué de la religión* (The reason for religion) (1892), provides relevant insights into how the association imagined the relationship between its publications and their readers (cited in Ruiz Sánchez 79–80) and, by extension, the later audience of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell*. The Apostolado addresses the “amado lector” (dear reader) directly, offering friendship and promising intellectual fare that is healthy but also adapted to a palate partial to peppers and spicy sauces. The personified publication declares its desire to accompany the reader wherever they go, jumbled together with everyday items such as matches, professional tools and kitchen pots, always at hand to fill a tedious moment. And as long as the reader shows engagement, it does not mind being laughed at, criticised or even physically mistreated, as its conversation may fill the reader with joy one day. Clearly, the underlying strategy is to take the battle for the souls of Spaniards beyond institutional contexts through the infiltration of the (working-class) reader's personal belongings, thus changing the nature of their contact zone with the Catholic worldview.

The texts meet the reader in their everyday spaces, and as a consequence, the reader could subject them to their every whim. However, even negative engagement with the content, as imagined in the pamphlet cited, requires intellectual and emotional attention. The very friction created would therefore further the exposure to and circulation of ideas in ways that could not be achieved via such publications as the much more narrowly designed *El Siglo Futuro*. Uses based on the materiality of the pamphlet, such as serving as kindling for the fire under the kitchen pots, were not envisaged in the self-presentation of the association, and we do not know how real historical readers reacted to the approaches made by the Apostolado. Multiple book editions of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* in versions close to the one published by *El Siglo Futuro* and the Apostolado suggest a certain success with actual readers beyond the specific emotional communities of periodical publications (Partzsch et al.).

CONCLUSION

Emotions are an important dimension of the movement of texts. Combining textual analysis with insights from periodical studies and translation studies opens promising avenues for understanding how emotions shape, and are shaped by, the ways in which texts move between literary systems, especially in the absence of archival sources concerning the agency of editors and translators or the reactions of historical readers. Marlitt's moving texts are an apt example. The textual analysis of the novel *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* shows how the author invited readers to engage with the emotional turmoil experienced by its protagonist. Readers witnessed a fictional education addressing hearts and minds, which mirrored the programme of the illustrated family magazine *Die Gartenlaube*, the medium in which the public first encountered Marlitt's oeuvre in serialised form. Marlitt's fiction thus became an important part of the specific emotional community interpellated in the periodical, in the sense of a group

that “share[s] the same or very similar norms and values about emotional behavior and even about feelings themselves” (Rosenwein 3). Her narrative explicitly “favor[ed] some emotions and shunn[ed] others” and modelled how to express emotion (Rosenwein 4). In the absence of public statements by the author, this production context and first circuit of distribution within a specific emotional community strongly framed early experiences of reading Marlitt in the original German. The editors’ reaction to attacks on *Die Gartenlaube*, which explicitly included Marlitt, shows how conflict can enhance the cohesion within an emotional community, converting contact zones with other groups into borders.

Marlitt’s sensational success roused the interest of publishers abroad, who were confronted with the task of moving her texts into new “spaces of belonging”, such as *La Mode illustrée* and *El Siglo Futuro*. In both cases, the rich context provided by the periodicals illuminates important dimensions of the translations that would otherwise go unnoticed. Emmeline Raymond’s wartime diary and her clash with *Die Gartenlaube* reveal the emotional labour invested in recreating Marlitt’s texts for the community of *La Mode illustrée*. The magazine’s editor-in-chief built on common ground concerning shared norms and values, hence the feelings of betrayal and indignation experienced when Raymond found that Marlitt continued to support the right emotions and values but attached them to what the translator saw as the wrong characters. The French writer’s increasingly free translations from the German can thus be understood as an act of saving Marlitt from herself. They also show the relative ease with which rejection and approval, love and hate, can be detached from specific figures and reattached to others.

By contrast, *El Siglo Futuro* showed a less passionate approach to its adaptation of Raymond’s version of *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* almost thirty years after the first publication of the novel. Unlike Raymond, the editors were not personally invested in the liberal values modelled in the text and seem to have had no direct contact with *Die Gartenlaube*, which by then had developed a much more conservative profile. The analysis of the paper’s attitude towards serialising fiction in its pages indicates that the provision of entertaining content was a low priority for its core community. Rather, the catechetical version of Marlitt’s novel was an example of rewriting a best-selling story as Catholic propaganda for the masses, in line with the mission of re-Christianising Europe with the help of modern media. The reworking of the text included legitimising the protagonist’s rebellious questioning of social hierarchies and norms as resistance to religious oppression.

It appears that *El Siglo Futuro* used Marlitt’s text to experiment with ways of reaching a different group of readers. This potential could only be realised, however, once the novel started to circulate in a changed material form, as part of the inexpensive publications distributed by the Apostolado de la Prensa, an association that aspired to reach out to a mass readership rather than waiting for new readers to come to it. The detachment of Marlitt’s text from the pages of a campaigning newspaper implied a radical change of its circumstances of reception. *El Siglo Futuro* positioned itself at the front line of bitter and at times violent social and political conflicts. This explicit context of the translation’s production disappeared from view when the novel became just another book that contained supposedly safe reading material from a Catholic point of view, but only as long as no new version or exposure to the German source text reconfigured the contact zone between readers, texts, publishers, translators and distributors.

Overall, Marlitt’s circulation via Firmin Didot’s and Emmeline Raymond’s *La Mode illustrée* in France and the adaptation of one of her novels by a radical ultramontane newspaper in Spain shines a fascinating light on the complexities and interrelatedness of the contact zones involved in the circulation of literature within as well as across linguistic and cultural borders. This is especially the case in relation to periodicals. In this polyphonic medium, literary texts become an intrinsic part of a broader assemblage, even though many of them are unlikely to be as well integrated into a publication as Marlitt’s fiction was in *Die Gartenlaube* under Keil’s leadership. Periodicals rely for their survival on the loyalty of a sufficiently large readership. The voices and texts that they amplify contribute to the offer of hospitality extended to the readers, and they acquire emotional value linked to the specific context of circulation. An editor-in-chief’s and/or translator’s identification with the shared assumptions of an emotional community crystallising around a specific voice or voices can facilitate a text’s movement into new spaces of belonging. Thus, interlinguistic translation is likely to become an advantage because it always includes the revoicing of the moving text, a process which can be used to enhance the compatibility with shared norms and values regarding emotional behaviour in the target community.

Expansion, however, adds further complexity and dynamism to the contact zones created through reading, with the potential to spark friction between source and target communities. Texts, and perhaps above all those that are considered to have strong emotional potential, can also be moved intentionally into already existing conflicts. Such attempts to create new contact zones in order to reroute emotions can be particularly effective if previous circuits of circulation are obscured and texts are detached from their previous emotional communities. An essential factor that influences this process of recirculation is the reframing of the text. Its adoption by a periodical with a strong emotional community, such as *El Siglo Futuro*, is likely to shape, and in this case limit, its mobility. Book publication may, however, offer more flexibility. Even if books are part of a publishing house or series with an explicit mission, they focus attention on the voice(s) of the text the reader has in their hands. Thus, a book's connection with easily identifiable existing communities can be less obvious for the unsuspecting reader. It is in this context that Froberger's outburst against a new translation of Marlitt's work into Spanish makes sense. He, and people like him, knew all too well that contact zones created through reading are dangerous, because where and how readers encounter texts affects how they are moved by them, and the new versions of Marlitt's narratives had the stated intention of reconnecting the target texts with its German source texts, reminding readers of their first circuits of circulation ([Los Editores](#)).

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