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Serializing Victorian Fiction Abroad. The Earliest Translation of *Jane Eyre* in the Iberian Peninsula

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ABSTRACT

Soon after *Jane Eyre* (1847) left Charlotte Brontë's desk, the novel began an international journey that reached several countries worldwide. In Spain, the first translation of *Jane Eyre* was serialized in the capital's daily newspaper *El Globo* from 9 September 1882 until 7 February 1883. It is a retranslation into Spanish of the 1854 French rendering of Brontë's novel by Madame Lesbazeilles-Souvestre, which had altered the English text to conform to stereotypical female attitudes in France. This paper will examine the role of *folletines* in the dissemination of foreign literature in nineteenth century Spain and the particular idiosyncrasies of the *Jane Eyre* published in *El Globo*.

KEYWORDS

Jane Eyre; first Spanish translation; relay translation; *El Globo*; Madame Lesbaizelles-Souvestre

Introduction: the early afterlife of *Jane Eyre*

Soon after *Jane Eyre* (1847) left Charlotte Brontë's desk, the novel began a journey that crossed Great Britain and reached other European countries. Adopting a variety of shapes, such as translations and theatre adaptations in the early years after its publication, Brontë's most iconic novel initiated a process of mythification that extends to the present day and has been extensively explored by a number of scholars who have focused on diverse socio-historical milieux.[1] The afterlife of the novel began in its native country when *Jane Eyre or the Secrets of Thornfield Mannor* by John Courtney (the stage name of John Fuller) premiered at the Victoria Theatre in London only three months after the novel was published. By the end of the century, at least eight different theatrical versions have been recorded (Stoneman 2007). Some of these were translated into a wide number of languages or became the source of inspiration for new versions and were staged in England, different countries of continental Europe, such as Germany, Austria, Brussels, and Slovenia, and also in America. Regarding nineteenth century translations, the Prismatic *Jane Eyre* research project has catalogued renderings into multiple languages, including the first translation of the novel into German in 1848, together with other versions in French, Russian, Danish, Swedish, Hungarian, Czech, Portuguese, and even Japanese, just before the century drew to a close.[2]

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The early reception of *Jane Eyre* in the Spanish language illustrates a similar process. In this case, the translation came first. As a matter of fact, a retranslation. *Juana Eyre: Memorias de un aya*, the first rendering into Spanish of Charlotte Brontë's renowned novel, derives from a serialized version in French by Old Nick[3] entitled *Jane Eyre ou Mémoires d'une gouvernante*, which was published in Brussels in 1849. The retranslation in Spanish was originally published in Paris by La Administración del Correo de Ultramar in 1849 (Reynolds and Vitali 2021). Thereafter, it seems to have travelled as far as South America and, within a short time, circulated both as a serial publication and in book form in Chile, Cuba and Bolivia (Ortega Sáez 2022).

Following the translation, *Jane Eyre* was adapted for the stage in Spain. *Juana Eyre: Drama en cuatro actos y un prólogo* (a play in four acts and a prologue) by Francisco Morera y Valls seems to derive from *Jane Eyre*, although rather indirectly. On the one hand, there is a change of medium since the novel was reshaped to be performed in the theatre. On the other, this Spanish theatrical adaptation is a translation from a play in French, which was itself adapted from a German version. According to Medina Calzada (2017), Morera y Valls's text comes from the French *Jane Eyre, drame en quatre actes, précédé de L'orpheline, prologue en un acte*, by Victor Lefèvre and Alphonse Royer, which had premiered in Brussels on 29 November 1855 and was also published in book form in 1855. At the same time, Medina Calzada asserts that the French version was inspired by the successful 1835 Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's German *Die Waise aus Lowood* (a source for many performances and translations into other languages). The play in Spanish entitled *Juana Eyre: Drama en cuatro actos y un prólogo* was printed in 1869 and performed in Barcelona in the Romea Theatre in 1885, quite unsuccessfully (Ortega Sáez 2022).

The next version that has been traced is the first translation of *Jane Eyre* published in the Iberian Peninsula. *Juana Eyre ó memorias de una institutriz* is a serial rendition of the novel, which featured in the section denominated 'El Folletín de *El Globo*' published from 9 September 1882 until 7 February 1883. It is, once again, a retranslation of a French version of *Jane Eyre*, called *Jeanne Eyre, ou les Mémoires d'une Institutrice*, rendered by Madame Lesbazeilles-Souvestre and published in book form in 1854. This article will examine the role of *folletines* in the dissemination of foreign literature in Spain in the nineteenth century and the distinctive features of the genre, paying special attention to *El Globo*. Also, an analysis of the Spanish translation will be carried out in an attempt to account for the idiosyncrasies of this rendering of Charlotte Brontë's admired novel.

The *folletín* and the dissemination of foreign literature in Spain in the nineteenth century

In the 1830s, the Spanish publishing world experienced a significant transformation that favoured the rise of the novel to the detriment of poetry and new means of literary dissemination (Martínez Martín 2001, 470). Novels published in book format were inaccessible to most readers and new formulas emerged that enhanced wider circulation. Considered 'one of the most notable socio-cultural phenomena from the nineteenth century' (Villapadierna and Lecuyer 1995, 15), the so-called *folletín*

became a customary section in the periodical press from the 1840s. Both as independent booklets or printed in the publication, the 'folletín' was issued periodically, making literary texts, mainly novels, accessible to subscribers:

> Novels were either issued in parts over several months as supplements to the daily press or were printed on the front and back of the broadsheet page (presumably for those who wanted to clip and save) of each day's edition. As in England, market realities put the price of individual novels way beyond the reach of many Spanish readers, and publishing longer works serially in shorter parts in the periodical press both sold newspapers and introduced new works of fiction to the Spanish public, reaching an audience as wide as the newspaper's circulation. (Galván and Vita 2013, 171)

Spanish *folletines* were inspired by the French *feuilletons*, born at the beginning of the nineteenth century, due to the inclination towards French taste that imbued the Spanish cultural and literary system in the nineteenth century. The Spanish periodical publications imitated the French layout and imported works by numerous novelists from the neighbouring country. Nineteenth century publisher Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco declared in his *Memorias* that Spanish publishers travelled to Paris to select novels that were popular there in order to import them to Spain, translate them and sell them in instalments (Villoria 1999, 196). Indisputably, translations from French novels by authors such as François-René de Chateaubriand, Honoré de Balzac, Victor Hugo, Casimir Delavigne, Alexandre Dumas, Théophile Gautier, George Sand, Pierre Souvestre, Eugène Sue, Paul Féval, Paul de Kock, Erckmann–Chatrian,[4] Georges Ohnet, Frédéric Soulié, Stendhal (Henri Beyle), Émile Zola, Jules Verne, Pierre Zaconne, among many others, filled most of the pages of *folletines* (Villapadierna and Lecuyer 1995; Figuerola 2021). Botrel (2006, 2014) estimates that between 1840 and 1859, 80% of the novels imported were originally French and most of them were published as *folletines*. By the end of the century, the percentage still amounted to 50%.

In spite of the heavy dependence on French, there was some room for homegrown authors as well as voices from other nationalities. On the one hand, the works of renowned Spanish authors such as Benito Pérez Galdós, Leopoldo Alas 'Clarín', Emilia Pardo Bazán, Fernán Caballero (a male pseudonym for Cecilia Böhl de Faber y Ruiz de Larrea) or Manuel Fernández y González, to cite but a few, can be found among the pages of different *folletines* of the period. However, the novel in Spanish was awakening in the 1830s after decades of absence (Pegenaute 2004, 335), and the void had been filled with translations, a tradition that would persist in the Spanish literary system throughout the century. Regarding these voices from abroad in Spanish *folletines*, apart from French, literature in English was introduced – mainly from Britain and to a lesser extent from North-America – and also works by Italian, German, Russian and Portuguese authors.[5] As a general rule, French remained the mediating language for the translation of these works, since, apart from the widespread knowledge of the Gallic language among elitist circles, few other languages would be familiar to the locals.[6] Therefore, most versions in Spanish were 'relay' translations, namely, 'the translation of a translated text […] into a third language' (St. André 2008, 230) and, consequently, readers of foreign literature approached texts that had gone through a linguistic filter: from the original language in which the novel was originally written, to French (the intermediate language) and, finally, to Spanish (the target/end language). However, the linguistic filter was not the only one:

there was also a double accommodation of the source text to the peculiar ideological French context, that, later on, was adapted to the much more constrained Spanish one.[7]

Throughout the century, in the capital, the most popular periodical publications included *folletines*. Gómez-Elegido has listed some of them. *La Abeja* (1835), *El Español* (1835–37), *Revista-Mensajero* (1836), *El Porvenir* (1837–40), *El Correo Nacional* (1839–42), *La Esperanza* (1844), *El Clamor Público* (1844–64), *El Regenerador* (1846–48), *El Siglo* (1848–49) belong to the first half of the century and *La Correspondencia de España, El Heraldo, La América* and *El Imparcial* were founded in the second half (2012, 965).

El Globo belongs to the second group catalogued by Gómez-Elegido. It was a four-page daily journal founded in Madrid in March 1875, which circulated until the end of May 1932. By 1882, the year when the serial publication of *Juana Eyre ó memorias de una institutriz* began, *El Globo* published 25,000 copies per issue, not reaching the circulation of around 40,000 of *La Correspondencia de España* or *El Imparcial*, but clearly superior to the majority of journals with a considerably smaller distribution (less than 3,000 copies) (Rueda Laffond 2001, 79). At that time *El Globo* was directed by Joaquín Martín de Olías, who had been one of its main contributors, and its subtitle in this second period (*Diario ilustrado, político, científico y literario*)[8] indicated that apart from being an illustrated, literary and scientific publication, it had become political, in line with liberal thought.[9] Besides political commentaries, national and international news, entertainment pages, publicity, etc., 'El Folletín de *El Globo*' was a literary section that the journal offered from the very first issue although it lacked regularity.[10] In the first issue of *El Globo*, on 1 April 1875, the translation of the French Philibert Audebrand's *Schinderhannes et les bandits du Rhin* (*Los bandidos del Rhin*) inaugurated the section, that would be followed by a multiplicity of translations of texts from different source languages: Italian, English but, above all, French texts predominated.[11] For example, *Juana Eyre ó memorias de una institutriz* was preceded by Pierre Allexi Joseph, Ferdinand de Ponson du Terrail's *Los dramas de la aldea* and followed by Alphonse Daudet's *El evangelista*. As a matter of fact, for two months, there were two sections of the 'Folletín de *El Globo*' published simultaneously. From 6 December 1882 onwards, Daudet's novel and *Juana Eyre* were issued at the same time on two separate pages of the journal. Unlike *Juana Eyre*, whose publication began unannounced, the serialization of *El evangelista* was brought to public notice through an advertisement on the opening page of the journal the day before the first issue was released. There was also an indication that the publication would be simultaneous in *El Globo* and the Parisian journal *Le Figaro*. Also, two articles were devoted to accounting for 'Las obras de Alfonso Daudet' on 5 and 6 December 1882.[12] It should be remembered that even though more than three decades had passed after the publication of *Jane Eyre* in England, in Spain the novel had not achieved wide popularity by the 1880s. At that time, only the book in English had been sold in Madrid, there was Francisco Morera y Vall's play but it would not premiere until 1885 in Barcelona, perhaps Old Nick's translation brought from Cuba may have circulated in the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish press did not consistently associate *Jane Eyre* with Charlotte Brontë but with an amalgam of names such as

Currer, Bell, Carlota, Charlotte, Bronte, Brontë, Bronté, Nichols, etc. (Ortega Sáez 2022). By contrast, Daudet found fame in the Spanish literary market of the last third of the nineteenth century and his texts were serialized in journals and in book format (Lafarga and Santa 2021).

Juana Eyre ó memorias de una institutriz (1882–1883)

This first translation of *Jane Eyre* published in the Iberian Peninsula was serialized in 134 instalments between Saturday 9 September 1882 and Wednesday 7 February 1883, on an almost regular daily basis,[13] in 'El folletín de *El Globo*'. Although this section did not have a fixed position in the journal, all the instalments of *Juana Eyre* were printed on the last third of the fourth page, which was the last one of the publication. Like the source text in English, this translation is divided into thirty-eight chapters, and around three instalments and a half are needed to reproduce each chapter. The general practice in *folletines* was that the content and length of each daily fragment 'was determined by the number of words needed to fill the requisite space or columns' (Galván and Vita 2013, 172) and that is why some instalments finish with incomplete sentences and sometimes even with hyphenated words that are completed in the subsequent issue.

The beginning of each instalment was uniform. It read as follows:

> (The number of the instalment)
> Folletín de *El Globo*
> *Juana Eyre ó memorias de una institutriz*
> Novela inglesa
> Escrita por Currer Bell

In terms of authorship, as can be seen, this first rendering of the novel in Spain introduced the identity of the British writer Charlotte Brontë masked behind 'Currer Bell', the pseudonym used by the author when her works were originally published. Further to this, there is no indication of the person responsible for the Spanish rendering. Villoria has declared this was not uncommon in the publishing field of nineteenth century serial translations:

> Publishers and *Literary Libraries* hired translators or organized teams of translators who worked too hastily to attend the requests, which grew every day, from the readership who asked for works by relevant foreign authors. A renowned writer was selected to lead these teams and to sign the translation, which adopted a higher status and prestige. What was more common, though, was that the versions remained anonymous and it was attributed to the publishing house. […] The authorship of authochthonous works and translations was meaningless. […] It comes as no surprise that anonymity became the dominant trend in this type of translations (1999, 197).

On the other hand, given the aforementioned socio-historical context, the French influence on this Spanish *Jane Eyre* is not surprising. A comparison between the 1854 French version by Madame [Noëmie] Lesbazeilles-Souvestre, *Jeanne Eyre, ou les Mémoires d'une Institutrice* and *Juana Eyre ó memorias de una institutriz* reveals that the Spanish derives from the French translation and not directly from the English

since the alterations in the French rendering are reproduced in the Spanish. The success of this French version, re-printed thirteen times between 1855 and 1903 (Duthie 1956), may have led *El Globo* to distribute a translation into Spanish.[14] Although Lesbaizelles-Souvestre's translation coexisted with Old Nick's, the abridged quality of the latter, which was in fact an 'imitation' of Charlotte Brontë's novel, and the fact that the editor Hachette had disregarded Old Nick's version since 1856 in order to publish Lesbaizelles-Souvestre's, which had obtained the authorization of the author, made this *Jane Eyre* the choice for the Spanish rendering (Ewbank [2001] 2019). The version published in *El Globo* also imitated the attribution of authorship to Currer Bell in the French version,[15] although Charlotte Brontë's identity had been revealed in the early 1850s.

With regard to the characteristics that define the French translation, it is noteworthy that the translator, Mme. Lesbazeille-Souvestre, included a preface – an 'Avertissement' – of two pages, in which she claimed that her version was 'faithful' to the English one. However, several authors have demonstrated that this French version alters Jane's character. Firstly, Ewbank argued that this translation 'take[s] the fire out of *Jane Eyre*' ([2001] 2019). Secondly, Williams confirmed that

> [W]hile Mm [sic] Lesbazeille-Souvestre did not change the plot or major events in any substantive manner, she did enact subtle changes upon Brontë's text in order to make the character of Jane Eyre conform more closely to the rules of feminine behavior; her Jane is thus less angry, less passionate, more timid and more concerned with outward perceptions of her behaviour (2012, 27).

And although it is difficult to account for the reasons behind these changes, Ewbank has considered two possible explanations: 'deliberate, self-imposed censorship or simply unconscious conditioning by fears, such as her father's, of being "seduced" by the depiction of passion'.[16] The adjustments in the passionate character of Jane Eyre seem to be the general tendency in the French translation which was afterwards rendered into Spanish. Besides, on some occasions the Spanish version seems to moderate Jane's character even further, as the analysis of some passages illustrating different stages in the development of the protagonist will reveal.

In the first example, in Chapter 1, after eight years of silence and submission to the abuse of Aunt Reed and her cousins, Jane rebels against John Reed. When she is about to be struck by her cousin because she ignored his order not to borrow their books, the three references to the comparison between her relative and those in charge of the slave trade are omitted from the French and Spanish versions.[17]

> **English:** 'Wicked and cruel boy!' I said. 'You are like a murderer—you are like a slave-driver—you are like the Roman emperors!'
>
> I had read Goldsmith's History of Rome, and had formed my opinion of Nero, Caligula, &c. Also I had drawn parallels in silence, which I never thought thus to have declared aloud. […]
>
> He ran headlong at me: I felt him grasp my hair and my shoulder: he had closed with a desperate thing. I really saw in him a tyrant, a murderer. I felt a drop or two of blood from my head trickle down my neck, and was sensible of somewhat pungent suffering:

these sensations for the time predominated over fear, and I received him in frantic sort. I don't very well know what I did with my hands, but he called me 'Rat! Rat!' and bellowed out aloud. […]

'Dear! dear! What a fury to fly at Master John!'

'Did ever anybody see such a picture of passion!' (Brontë [1847] 2006, 13–14).

French: «Vous êtes un méchant, un miserable, m'écriai-je; un assassin, un empereur romain.»

Je venais justement de lire l'histoire de Rome par Goldsmith, et je m'étais fait une opinion sur Néron, Caligula et leurs successeurs.

[…] En disant ces mots, il se précipita sur moi; il me saisit par les cheveux et les épaules. Je sentais de petites gouttes de sang descender le long de ma tête et tomber dans mon cou, ma crainte s'était change en rage; je ne puis dire au juste ce que je fis de mes mains, mais j'entendis John m'insulter et crier. […]

«Mon Dieu! Quelle fureur! Frapper M. John! (Mme Lesbaizelle-Souvestre 1854, 4–5. Volume 1).

Spanish: -¡Sois un malvado, un miserable! – exclamé; – ¡un asesino, un emperador romano!

Yo acababa de leer la historia de Roma por Goldsmith, y tenía mis opiniones acerca de Neron, de Calígula y de sus sucesores.

[…] Al pronunciar estas palabras se precipitó sobre mí y me cogió por los cabellos. Yo sentía rodar por mi cuello las gotas de sangre que se desprendían de mi cabeza, y mis temores se habían covertido en profundísima cólera. No sé lo que hice con mis manos, pero vi que John me insultaba sin piedad. […]

-¡Dios mío! ¡Qué atrevimiento! ¡Pegar a mister John!

(*El Globo* 10 September 1882, instalment no 2).

The elimination of these references ('You are like a slave-driver', 'I had drawn parallels in silence [between John Reed and those who dealt with slaves]' and 'I really saw in him a tyrant, a murderer') slightly alleviates the cruelty young Jane was experiencing. Perhaps the quite recent abolition of slavery in France in 1848 may have led the translator to omit such a delicate topic. On the other hand, although the scene still includes the physical mistreatment and Jane's reaction, her vehemence is mitigated with the omission of 'I received him in frantic sort' and 'Did ever anybody see such a picture of passion', decreasing the intensity of her involvement in this violent episode. Finally, 'but he called me "Rat! Rat!" and bellowed out aloud' has been reduced to 'mais j'entendis John m'insulter et crier' [but I heard John insult me and shout] in French and 'pero vi que John me insultaba sin piedad' [but I saw that John insulted me pitilessly] in Spanish, weakening the beast references both in 'rat' and in 'bellowed out aloud' (which refers to the roaring of an animal or in the case of a human cry is reminiscent of a bull), although it incorporates the insensitive cursing of John.

In spite of Jane's initial satisfaction with her post as governess at Thornfield, she soon becomes uneasy, as recorded in Chapter 12:

English: Who blames me? Many, no doubt; and I shall be called discontented. I could not help it: the restlessness was in my nature; it agitated me to pain sometimes. Then my sole relief was to walk along the corridor of the third storey, backwards and forwards, safe in the silence and solitude of the spot, and allow my mind's eye to dwell on whatever bright visions rose before it—and, certainly, they were many and glowing; to let my heart be heaved by the exultant movement, which, while it swelled it in trouble, expanded it with life; and, best of all, to open my inward ear to a tale that was never ended—a tale my imagination created, and narrated continuously; quickened with all of incident, life, fire, feeling, that I desired and had not in my actual existence.

It is in vain to say human beings ought to be satisfied with tranquillity: they must have action; and they will make it if they cannot find it. Millions are condemned to a stiller doom than mine, and millions are in silent revolt against their lot. Nobody knows how many rebellions besides political rebellions ferment in the masses of life which people earth. Women are supposed to be very calm generally: but women feel just as men feel; they need exercise for their faculties, and a field for their efforts, as much as their brothers do; they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as men would suffer; and it is narrow-minded in their more privileged fellow-creatures to say that they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings, to playing on the piano and embroidering bags. It is thoughtless to condemn them, or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex. (Brontë [1847] 2006, 129–130)

French: Beaucoup me blâmeront sans doute; on m'appellera nature mécontente; mais je ne pouvais faire autrement; il me fallait du movement. Quelquefois j'étais agitée jusqu'à la souffrance; alors mon seul soulagement était de me promener dans le corridor du troisième, et, au milieu de ce silence et de cette solitude, les yeux de mon esprit erraient sur toutes les brillantes visions qui se présentaient devant eux: et certes elles étaient belles et nombreuses. Ces pensées gonflaient mon coeur; mais le trouble qui le soulevait lui donnait en même temps la vie. Cependant je préférais encore écouter un conte qui ne finissait jamais, un conte qu'avait crée mon imagination, et qu'elle me redisait sans cesse en le remplissant de vie, de flamme et de sentiment; toutes choses que j'avais tant désirées, mais que ne me donnait pas mon existence actuelle.

Il est vain de dire que les hommes doivent être heureux dans le repos: il leur faut de l'action, et, s'il n'y en a pas autour d'eux ils en créeront; des millions sont condamnés à une vie plus [t]ranquille que la mienne, et des millions sont dans une silencieuse révolte contre leur sort. Personne ne se doute combien de rebellions en dehors des rebellions politiques fermentent dans la masse d'êtres vivants qui people la terre. On suppose les femmes généralement calmes: mais les femmes sentient comme les hommes; ells ont besoin d'exercer leurs facultés, et, comme à leurs frères, il leur faut un champ pour leurs efforts. De même que les hommes, elles souffrent d'une contrainte trop sévère, d'une immobilité trop absolue. C'est de l'aveuglement a leurs frères plus hereux de declarer qu'elles doivent se borner à faire des pouddings, à tricoter des bas, à jouer du piano et à broder des sacs. (Mme Lesbaizelle-Souvestre 1854, 108–109. Volume 1)

Spanish: Muchos me censurarán, sin duda, y me llamarán descontentadiza; pero yo no podía ser de otro modo y necesitaba agitación y movimiento. A veces me sentía atormentada hasta el sufrimiento; entonces mi único consuelo consistía en pasearme por el corridor del tercer piso, y en medio de aquel silencio y aquella soledad los ojos de mi espíritu contemplaban las visiones que vagaban ante ellos. Y en honor de la verdad eran numerosas y bellas. Aquellos pensamientos llenaban mi corazón. Sin embargo, prefería escuchar un cuento que nunca terminaba, un cuento que había creado mi fantasía y que era reproducido sin cesar, pero colmado siempre de vida y de pasión.

> Es inútil afirmar que el hombre ha de ser feliz cuando se encuentra tranquilo. Fáltale entonces acción y si no la encuentra por el momento la creará indefectiblemente. Millones de individuos están condenados a una existencia más reposada que la mía y están, sin embargo, en perpetua rebelión contra su mente. Nadie duda que aparte de las revoluciones políticas fermentan otras revoluciones en la masa de seres que pueblan la tierra. Créese, por regla general, que las mujeres viven de ordinario en apacible calma; pero las mujeres sienten lo mismo que los hombres; tienen necesidad de ejercitar sus facultades, y, como sus hermanos, necesitan un campo para desarrollar sus esfuerzos. Lo mismo que los hombres, sufren una consigna demasiado severa y son víctimas de una inmovilidad demasiado absoluta. Es muy triste que sus hermanos declaren que las mujeres deben limitarse a hacer pudings, a bordar y a tocar el piano. (*El Globo* 13 October 1882, instalment no 34)

This passage, which has been considered a feminist manifesto (Gilbert and Gubar [1979] 2000; Brennan 2010), reveals Jane's disconformity with the patriarchal system and the vindication of her rights as a woman. The French rendering has transformed the 'restlessness' so characteristic of Jane's nature into 'il me fallait du movement' [I missed the movement], which becomes 'necesitaba agitación y movimiento' [I needed agitation and movement] in Spanish. The English term encompasses some kind of mental distress that does not allow calm or stillness. The French has lost this connotation of mental pain and makes Jane simply in need of physical movement. Although the Spanish has incorporated the 'agitation', the overall meaning is somehow altered: the social discontent underneath the phrase 'restlessness was in my nature' (Shuttleworth [1996] 2009, 19) has been lost in the translations, particularly in the French one.

On the other hand, the treatment of other sections from this passage reveal the double filter readers of the Spanish translation in *El Globo* would be exposed to. For example, the 'tale my imagination created, and narrated continuously; quickened with all of incident, life, fire, feeling, that I desired and had not in my actual existence' reads in Spanish: 'un cuento que había creado mi fantasía y que era reproducido sin cesar, pero colmado siempre de vida y de pasión' [a tale that my fantasy had created and was reproduced incessantly, but always full of life and passion] in Spanish. In this case, the intensity of Jane's thoughts and her longings are even more simplified in the Spanish version than in the French one. Tension is built up in the source text with the enumeration of four elements ('incident, life, fire, feeling') – with alliteration in the last three – to express her longings. These elements have been reduced to two in Spanish, 'vida' and 'pasión' ('life' and 'passion'), whereas the French had kept 'vie', 'flamme' and 'sentiment' ('life', 'fire' and 'feeling'). Also, the insistence on her missing all those ('that I desired and had not in my actual existence'), which was kept in French, has been eliminated from the Spanish text. Furthermore, the version published in *El Globo* refers to the 'fantasy' of Jane rather than the 'imagination' used in the source text and in the French, encapsulating a more puerile and unreal aspiration.

The second section of this passage has also been substantially modified but now altering Jane's opinions about the position of men in society. To begin with, the pejorative and judgmental overtone used to address men who enjoyed a more entitled existence and the explicit reference to their privileges in society in 'it is narrow-minded in their more privileged fellow-creatures' has become 'C'est de l'aveuglement

a leurs frères plus heureux' ('It is the blindness of their happy brothers') in French. This has been reduced to 'Es muy triste que sus hermanos' ('It is very sad that their fellow-creatures') in Spanish, losing both the critique of patriarchy and its privileges. Also, the negative assessment of men who disregard women's aspirations found to be different from those traditionally attributed to them, as found in 'It is thoughtless to condemn them, or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex,' has been omitted from both translations. In general, the criticism has been reduced and the emphasis on the different possibilities for women has been diminished.

In the 'garden scene' in Chapter 23, Jane eventually declares her love for Rochester, revealing the feelings she has been trying to suppress. The French and Spanish renderings of the following passage transform Jane's account of her stay at Thornfield as an individual who has not been underestimated.

> **English:** 'I grieve to leave Thornfield: I love Thornfield:—I love it, because I have lived in it a full and delightful life,—momentarily at least. **I have not been** trampled on. **I have not been** petrified. **I have not been** buried with inferior minds, and excluded from every glimpse of communion with what is bright and energetic and high. I have talked, face to face, with what I reverence, with what I delight in,—with an original, a vigorous, an expanded mind. I have known you, Mr. Rochester; and it strikes me with terror and anguish to feel I absolutely must be torn from you for ever. I see the necessity of departure; and it is like looking on the necessity of death'. (Brontë [1847] 2006, 292)

> **French:** «Oui, je suis triste de quitter Thornfield, m'écriai-je; j'aime Thornfield; je l'aime, parce que, pendant quelque temps, j'y ai vecu d'une vie délicieuse; **je n'ai pas été** foulée aux pieds et humiliée; **je n'ai pas été** ensevelie avec des **esprits** inférieurs; on ne m'a pas éloignée de ce qui est beau, fort et élevé; j'ai vécu face à face avec ce que je revere et ce qui me réjouit; j'ai causé avec un **esprit** original, vigoureux et étendu; je vous ai connu, monsieur Rochester; et je suis frappée de terreur et d'angoisse en pensant qu'il faut m'eloigner de vous pour toujours; je vois la nécessité du depart, et c'est comme si je me voyais forcée de mourir. (Mme Lesbaizelle-Souvestre 1854, 34–35. Volume 2)

> **Spanish:** – Sí, – exclamé, – deploro tener que salir de Thornfield. Estoy encariñada con vuestro castillo, porque durante algún tiempo he pasado en él una vida deliciosa. En vuestra casa no me han humillado ni me he visto rodeada de gentes inferiores; no me han alejado de trato de las gentes; he vivido al lado de la persona a quien reverencio y cuya presencia alegra mi alma; he hablado con un hombre de carácter original y enérgico; os he conocido, señor Rochester, y estoy sobrecogida de terror al pensar que tengo que separarme de vos para siempre. Veo la necesidad de la partida, que es para mí lo mismo que la muerte. (*El Globo* 30 November 1882, instalment no 75)

To begin with, the repetition of the personal pronoun 'I', thirteen times in English and 'je' in French a similar number of times, reinforces Jane's individuality, a feature which is emphasized throughout the whole conversation. In Spanish, though, the effect disappears with the omission of the subject and the choice of reflexive constructions. In consonance with the previous use of repetitions, Jane declares in the English version: 'I have not been trampled on. I have not been petrified. I have not been buried with inferior minds', placing the stress on not having been treated as an inferior, which is accentuated by the anaphora. However, the weight of Jane's

statement when she declares she has not been underestimated at Thornfield is reduced in the French where the repetition is kept twice rather than three times ('je n'ai pas été foulée aux pieds et humiliée; je n'ai pas été ensevelie avec des esprits inférieurs') and is lost in Spanish because the anaphora has disappeared ('En vuestra casa no me han humillado ni me he visto rodeada de gentes inferiores'). There are still further differences regarding the implications of Jane's words. She declares that she has not been 'trampled on' or 'petrified'. The French has kept 'je n'ai pas été foulée aux pieds' ('I have not been trampled on') but has used 'humiliée' to replace 'petrified', a modification which eliminates part of the sense that Jane may have come across physical or intellectual obstacles. The Spanish has only kept 'En vuestra casa no me han humillado' ('I have not been humiliated in your house'), a reduction which sacrifices even more than the French the insistence on what Jane found fundamental for her life, and the lives of women, and became her longing: to escape the widespread entrapment of women circumscribed to the domestic sphere and with limited access for the improvement of their intellectual skills, as she had already made manifest in Chapter 12. Finally, the third sentence in the anaphora introduces the concept 'mind', a term that will be mentioned again in the following lines, thus denoting its relevance for the protagonist. Jane feels stimulated by those minds that are 'bright', 'energetic' and 'high', and she celebrates having encountered the 'original', 'vigorous' and 'expanded' mind of Mr Rochester. In the French rendering 'bright' becomes 'beau', which transforms the intellectual strength Jane finds so appealing, but the Spanish changes are more substantial. First, the term 'mind', that was kept twice in French ('esprit'), is replaced with 'gentes' ('people') and with 'un hombre' ('a man'). Also, the six adjectives that Jane uses to describe her most cherished minds in the English and French are reduced to two 'original' ('original') and 'enérgico' ('energetic'). The implications of such changes are significant: in the English and French versions, Jane admires the intellect but the Spanish focuses on the person, which may evoke other attributes such as social class or even more superficial ones in relation to physical appearance. In this connection, Jane's life at Rochester's mansion, which is described as 'full and delightful' in the source text, becomes simply 'delightful' in both the French ('une vie délicieuse') and the Spanish ('una vida deliciosa') versions, disregarding the intellectual stimulation and fulfilment Jane has found at Thornfield.

Finally, in Williams's examination of Lesbaizelle-Souvestre's rendering into French of this romantic passage from Chapter 23, it is observed how Jane's passion was silenced and those feelings and actions that may have been deemed improper were suppressed in the French rendering (2012, 27). In the first example that is analysed, the sexual implications concealed in the 'evil' that strikes Jane's mind when Rochester invites her to stay with him in the garden have been omitted in the translation. Also, the incorporation of the reference to Mr Rochester's conscience adds a moral tone to the scene that seems to point out some proper code of behaviour for governesses:

> **English:** 'I became ashamed of feeling any confusion; the *evil*—if evil existent or prospective there was—seemed to lie only with me; his mind was unconscious and quiet' (Brontë [1847] 2006, 288; italics by Williams).
>
> **French:** 'j'eus honte de mon trouble: la pensée que ce que je faisais là n'était *pas bien* ne préoccupait que moi; la conscience de M Rochester semblait parfaitement calme' [I was ashamed of my confusion: the thought that what I was doing there was not good preoccupied only me; Mr. Rochester's conscience seemed perfectly calm] (Mme Lesbaizelle-Souvestre 1854, 31. Volume 2; italics by Williams).

This segment is very similar in Spanish: the omission has also taken place, adapting Jane to a more respectable model of femininity in the Spanish context and also including the moral dimension so pertinent in nineteenth century Catholic Spain:

> **Spanish:** 'me avergoncé de mi propia turbación. La idea de que lo que yo hacía allí no estaba bien hecho, no preocupaba a nadie más que a mí. La conciencia del señor Rochester se hallaba al parecer, completamente sosegada' (*El Globo* 29 November 1882, instalment no. 74).

A second example in this scene that is analysed by Williams reveals a new modification of the passionate character of Jane, diminishing the intensity of her feelings in the French:

> **English:** 'The vehemence of emotion, stirred by grief and love within me, was claiming mastery, and struggling for full sway, and asserting a right to predominate, to overcome, to live, to rise, and reign at last: yes – and to speak' (Brontë [1847] 2006, 291).
>
> **French:** 'la souffrance et l'amour avait excite chez moi une violente émotion, qui s'efforçait de devenir maîtresse absolue, de dominer, de régner et de parler' [suffering and love excited a violent emotion in me that strove to become my absolute master, to dominate, to reign, and to speak] (Mme Lesbaizelle-Souvestre 1854, 34. Volume 2).

Williams points out how the modification of the subject in the source text 'the vehemence of emotion' to 'suffering and love' 'de-emphasizes Jane's intensity and puts the focus on her love and suffering, much more normative emotions for a female character than vehemence, which suggests a strong passion' (2021, 29). This is reproduced in the Spanish version:

> **Spanish:** 'El sufrimiento y el amor habían provocado en mí una violenta emoción que trataba de imponerse a todo mi ser e inspirarme las palabras que debía yo pronunciar' [suffering and love had caused a violent emotion in me that attempted to dominate my whole being and inspire the words I should express] (*El Globo* 29 November 1882, instalment no. 75).

However, there are modifications regarding the French which make this third version even further from the English. Similarly to the previously examined 'feminist manifesto', the list of verbs that indicate the evolution of Jane's emotions and lead to the conclusion that the power to speak is the most important decreases from six in the English (predominate – overcome – live – rise – reign – speak) to three in the French (dominer – régner – parler) and in the Spanish version there is a completely different construction that breaks this escalation from one emotion to the next and transforms the highly relevant power to speak to 'las palabras que debía yo pronunciar' ('the words I should pronounce').

Conclusion

Juana Eyre ó memorias de una institutriz, the first translation of *Jane Eyre* into Spanish published in the Iberian Peninsula, corroborates two of the literary phenomena of the period. First, the relevance of periodical publications in the introduction of foreign literature in the Spanish literary system of the nineteenth century since the translation of the novel became accessible in the '*Folletín* de *El Globo*'. Secondly, the predominant role of French as an intermediary language and as an example of good judgement since the Spanish *Juana Eyre* derives from Lesbaizelle-Souvestre's successful rendering.

These two aspects make this version diverge from the source text in a number of ways. To begin with, the fact that the novel was serialized in a newspaper in the Spanish capital restricted the access to the text and may have been one of the reasons why both the novel and Charlotte Brontë herself experienced a more limited representation and, therefore, a more delayed success than in their native country or even other European contexts such as France and Germany. On the other hand, this Spanish version is, in fact, a third derivative product, undergoing a double adjustment, both linguistic and ideological: firstly, in the French language and context and, secondly, in the Spanish one, each of them with its own singularities.

All in all, this Spanish Jane Eyre has been adapted to become a more suitable character for nineteenth century Spain, conforming to the gender normative attitudes of the period and weakening the vehemence and assertiveness she uses to address mainly powerful dominant male figures.

Notes

1. After Patsy Stoneman's seminal work *Brontë Transformations: The Cultural Dissemination of* Jane Eyre *and* Wuthering Heights (1996), other researchers have followed the lead. The contributions by Rubik and Mettinger-Schartman (2007), the ones included in the monograph "Re-Writing *Jane Eyre*" (2006) and the thesis by Ortega Sáez 2013 are some examples.
2. This research project has been led by Professor Matthew Reynolds at the University of Oxford since 2016. See: https://prismaticjaneeyre.org/
3. A pseudonym of Emile-Daurand Forgues (1813–1883). His abridged version was published in the *Revue de Paris* between April and June 1849 and, later, as a printed volume in 1855.
4. This was the name used by Émile Erckmann and Alexandre Chatrian who wrote numerous works together.
5. The most recent contribution to the reception of these languages in the 19th century in Spain can be found in the project *Historia de la traducción en España* (http://phte.upf.edu/hte/siglo-xix/).
6. There was a contingent of English-knowing population in Andalusia from the late 18th century on due to the wine trade and 19th century political exiles, such as Antonio Alcalá Galiano and José Joaquín de Mora (Stone 2021, 142–143), who would learn English in their stay in London.
7. Over the 19th century, literary and artistic products, as well as the press, experienced several periods of censorship in Spain that would not be over until 1883 (Pegenaute 2004, 331).
8. The original title when the newspaper was funded was *El Globo: Diario Ilustrado*.

9. During the first two years of *El Globo*, the journal was directed by Pedro Avial and it distanced itself from the political debates of the time.
10. The fact that the instalments were not always consecutive was common. Galván and Vita point out that the sequence of publication would be altered to satisfy the specific needs of each issue: 'publication was interrupted if other news required the space on the page or if the publishers deemed it necessary to divert its subscribers with a different work of fiction or poetry' (2013, 172). In the case of *El Globo*, in some issues 'El Folletín de *El Globo*' was replaced by a section called 'Folletín', which included very heterogeneous types of texts: 'articles, chronicles and diverse reports' (Villapadierna and Lecuyer 1995, 16), but did not reproduce literary texts. In some other issues, neither of them was published.
11. The following are some of the novels that were serialized: *El vestido blanco* (*The Woman in White*) and *El diamante de la luna* (*The Moonstone*) by Wilkie Collins, *Narración de Wey* by Ottavio Rinuccini, *El misterio de Westfield* (*Le mystère de Westfield: Roman Américain*) by Emile Desbeaux, *El amigo de todos* (*A Mutual Friend*) by Charles Dickens, *El secreto de la condesa* by Xavier de Montépin, *El rastro de la serpiente* by Elizabeth Braddon, among many others. The names of the authors were domesticized, which was the general tendency at the time.
12. The synchrony has been explored by Martí-López who argues that '[t]he intense activity of the Spanish delegates in Paris was aimed at facilitating the *simultaneous* release of originals in France and translations in Spain. The simultaneity […] was achieved by securing access to the French manuscript while it was being written. The access to the ongoing work made possible its translation chapter by chapter, even before the French had produced a first galley proof. This procedure made writing and translation simultaneous and transformed the release of a French novel into a coeval publishing event for both the French and Spanish public. On some occasions, the Spanish publisher even managed to publish the Spanish translation of a French novel before it appeared in France' (2002, 35).
13. There are eighteen exceptions that correspond to different circumstances. To begin with, *El Globo* was not published on Christmas Day. On the other hand, the section devoted to "El folletín de *El Globo*" was omitted ten times in 1882 (8 and 15 October, 9 November, between 16 and 20 November, 23 and 24 December) and once in 1883 (13 January). On five occasions there was no instalment of *Juana Eyre* but Daudet's *El evangelista* was published either on inside pages of the newspaper (14, 21, 26 December 1882) or replacing the assigned space of Charlotte Brontë's novel (15 and 21 January 1883). And, finally, *Juana Eyre* was replaced by *Mefistófeles. Ópera en cuatro actos, un prólogo y un epílogo*, by Enrique Boito (27 January 1883).
14. The good fortune of this translation into French has persisted until the present day since the most recent publication dates from 2020 when Parisian publishing house Hugo Poche brought it out. A similar phenomenon has occurred with Leopoldo Terrero's *Jane Eyre* (1889), currently commercialized by 519 Editores (Ortega Sáez 2013).
15. This is so in the 1854 edition which has been consulted at the Bibliothèque National de France (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5853797z/f8).
16. The translator was the daughter of Émile Souvestre, a writer who was concerned with 'educat[ing] consciences and reform[ing] morals' and 'severely forbade himself the seductive painting of the passions which he rejected' (Eugène Lesbazeille in Ewbank [2001] 2019). In connection with the second quote, it is interesting that one of the sentences that was omitted from the French version was precisely 'Did ever anybody see such a picture of passion' referring to Jane, as can be seen in the first example that is analysed from Chapter 1.
17. Underlining indicates suppressions in the translations.

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