

# THE DISSEMINATION VIA TRANSLATIONS OF HERBERT SPENCER'S LIBERALISM IN THE HISPANIC CONTEXT

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the dissemination of English Liberalism, as expounded by Herbert Spencer in *The Man versus the State* (1884), by analysing various Spanish translations published in Spain and Hispanic America between 1885 and 2019. In terms of methodology, this analysis draws on (i) the assumptions of Descriptive Translation Studies and Cultural Translation Studies; (ii) Lépinette's (1997) approach to translation history, which combines the socio-cultural with the descriptive-contrastive approaches; and (iii) Toury's (1995) normative-descriptive model. To that end, an in-depth study of the various translations is first presented to identify the initial and preliminary norms, paying particular attention to the profile of translators, publishers, and paratexts, followed by an analysis of the operational and linguistic-textual norms. It is concluded that the dissemination of liberal political thought in *The Man versus the State* was influenced by the intricate network of language and text, encompassing intertextuality across the multitude of Spanish translations that emerged between 1885 and 2019 and by the agents and paratexts contextualising these versions.

KEYWORDS: history of translation, translation norms, paratexts, book history, liberalism.

## LA DIFUSIÓN DEL LIBERALISMO DE HERBERT SPENCER A TRAVÉS DE SUS TRADUCCIONES EN EL CONTEXTO HISPÁNICO

## RESUMEN

El presente estudio aborda la difusión del liberalismo inglés en los términos expresados por Herbert Spencer en *The Man versus the State* (1884) a través del análisis de las distintas traducciones al español publicadas entre 1885 y 2019 en España e Hispanoamérica. En términos metodológicos, tal análisis se sirve (i) de los presupuestos de los Estudios Descriptivos de Traducción y de los Estudios Culturales de Traducción; (ii) del acercamiento a la historia de la traducción de Lépinette (1997), que combina el acercamiento sociocultural con el descriptivo-contrastivo; y (iii) del modelo normativo-descriptivo de Toury (1995). A tal efecto, se presenta inicialmente un estudio exhaustivo de las distintas traducciones para determinar las normas inicial y preliminar incidiendo específicamente, de un lado, en el perfil de los traductores, editoriales y paratextos para seguidamente aportar un análisis de las normas operacionales y lingüístico-textuales. A resultados de ello, se concluye que la difusión del pensamiento político liberal expuesto en *The Man versus the State* se ha llevado a cabo, de un lado, a través del complejo entramado lingüístico-textual que entreteje la intertextualidad entre las traducciones que se han vertido al español entre 1885 y 2019, y, de otro, por medio de los distintos agentes y paratextos que contextualizaron tales traducciones.

PALABRAS CLAVE: historia de la traducción, normas de traducción, paratextos, historia del libro, liberalismo.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Following *The Proper Sphere of Government* (1842) and *Social Statics* (1851), Herbert Spencer's (1820-1903) *The Man versus the State* (1884) is regarded as his third most significant political work and one of the most solid examples of Liberalism in the history of nineteenth-century Western political philosophy (Mack, 1981, p. xi). Throughout the work, Spencer repeatedly emphasised that Liberals and Conservatives believed the state was responsible for resolving citizenship issues. Demonstrating prophetic insight, Spencer predicted the significant curtailment of individual freedoms resulting from excessive governmental power and took direct issue with the long-held notion of absolute legislative power vested in parliamentary majorities. With this consideration in mind, this article (i) examines the uninterrupted dissemination of Spanish translations on both sides of the Atlantic from shortly after 1884 through to 2019; and (ii) provides a primarily descriptive analysis of language norms.

Methodologically, this article<sup>1</sup> falls within Descriptive Translation Studies and Cultural Translation Studies, providing data and reflections that transcend the texts under examination. In this context, it is of great importance to consider the conditions under which the original work was created when analysing translated texts (hereafter TTs) since such conditions act as a driving force for artistic, cultural, and ideological innovation within the Spanish and Latin American cultures. Similarly, it is essential to consider the role of translators, editors, and publishers who—as cultural champions and agents—propagate new literary genres, themes, and ideologies hitherto unknown in their respective target cultures (Gentzler, 2017, pp. 6; 225). Given that this article comprises analyses of a set of translations between 1885 and 2019, it also adopts Lépinette's model on the history of translation as it combines the sociocultural and the descriptive-contrastive approaches. Whilst the former focuses on the production and reception of the translation within the target community to evaluate its impact on the target culture's history, the latter examines the decisions made during the translation process that are reflected in the target text, as these are fundamental to identifying the specific units that will later be discussed in the analysis of the translation (Lépinette, 1997, pp. 4-5). Finally, to shed light on the relationships that can be established between these translations and, by extension, with the environment in which they are delivered (Toury, 1995), we provide a detailed description of the translations identifying the initial, preliminary, and operational norms.

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## 2. FROM PARATEXTS TO INITIAL AND PRELIMINARY NORMS

Assuming that translation is a norm-governed activity involving at least two languages and two cultural traditions (Toury, 1995, p. 56), it is logical to infer that the source language and culture themselves form a (source) pole that inevitably generates tensions vis-à-vis another, which in turn is articulated around its target counterparts. These tensions indicate that adherence to source norms determines the «adequacy» of a translation compared to the source text (Toury, 1995, pp. 56-57). Meanwhile, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its «acceptability». Along with other translation-related aspects from a descriptive perspective, the study of paratexts—defined as «the texts that accompany a core text, such as introduction, translator’s notes, etc.» (Jones, 2009, p. 154)—is a valuable exercise for determining the initial norm and validating the position of the original text in the universal ideological canon.

The source text, *The Man versus the State*, was published in 1884 by London-based Williams & Norgate (hereafter ST 1884). This publisher gained recognition amongst European academic circles due to the quality of their scientific literature, thus becoming Spencer’s go-to publisher during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Ramírez-Arlandi, 2018). At the same time, D. Appleton and Company, a prestigious New York publishing house, printed the same edition in the United States in 1884. William Worthen Appleton, a businessman and social benefactor, was the proprietor of Appleton and Company and had forged a close bond with Spencer at the instance of Edward L. Youmans (Ramírez-Arlandi, 2019, p. 175). The connection between Appleton and Spencer was based on their mutual personal respect. Additionally, Appleton’s unwavering support for intellectual property rights resulted in regular royalty payments to Spencer during those years (Overton, 1925, pp. 22-23; 35). Both the British and American editions included a preface, four articles, and a postscript. In the «Preface», Spencer expresses his concern about the development of new legislation, primarily designed to restrain «the citizen in directions where his actions were previously unchecked» (ST, 1884, p. i). To draw «attention to threatened evils» (ST, 1884, p. ii), Spencer wrote four articles: «The New Toryism», «The Coming Slavery», «The Sins of Legislators», and «The Great Political Superstition». These had already been published in 1884 in the February, April, May, and June issues, respectively, of the *Contemporary Review*. In «The New Toryism», Spencer unequivocally asserts that some public figures who present themselves as Liberals are «Tories of a new type» who have distorted the principles of Liberalism (ST, 1884, p. 1). Secondly, in «The Coming Slavery» Spencer poses the paradox that Liberals are preparing the way for the changes that will be introduced to institutionalise Socialism (ST, 1884, p. 43). Thirdly, «The Sins of Legislators» provides strong criticism of politicians and legislators who, in the face of the principle of «survival of the fittest», take neither the needs of citizens nor the basic tenets of evolution into account (ST, 1884, p. 68). Finally, «The Great Political Superstition» is a declaration denouncing unlimited governmental sovereignty in its various forms. The ST ends with a «Postscript» that addresses criticisms or objections that may have arisen in response to these articles (ST, 1884, p. ii).





In 1885, José María Ariza's print and lithograph house published the first peninsular Spanish translation of *El individuo contra el estado* in Seville<sup>2</sup> as part of its series «Biblioteca Científico-Literaria». This edition's title page presents a translation—«vertido directamente del inglés» (Anoll, 2022)—by Siro García del Mazo (1850-1911) (hereafter SGM 1885), a prolific writer who had a fruitful career as a translator from several languages (Ramírez-Arlandi, 2017, p. 259). In addition to the «Prefacio», the four articles, and the «Post-scriptum», this edition includes a one-page «Advertencia» by García del Mazo. In this section, the translator asserts that Spencer's primary objective was to oppose excessive governmental power, which posed a threat to the social and political environments of England and Spain (SGM, 1885, p. 5). García del Mazo suggests that England mirrored France's excessive legislative practices on multiple issues, leading to negative and prejudicial consequences rather than the intended positive outcomes (SGM, 1885, p. 5). Given this anomaly, García del Mazo argues that there is a need to make Spencer's principles accessible to European audiences and, correspondingly, an opportunity to translate the ST into Spanish (SGM, 1885, p. 6).

The initial norm analysis is organised around translation policies and the hypothetical existence of intermediate texts (Toury, 1995, p. 58). While the former governs the choice of texts to be translated and, of course, the agents and business groups involved in the process, the study of the so-called «directness of translation» allows us to expose revealing indicators such as the existence of intermediate texts, the degree of tolerance towards them, and the explicit recognition of this practice, among others (Toury, 1995, p. 58). At this point and in line with previous research on the (in)directness of translations (Ramírez-Arlandi, 2017, pp. 260-261; 2018; 2019, pp. 178-179), it is imperative to refer to SGM 1885 and its correlation with its modern French analogue. In 1885, following its publication in English in 1884, J. Gerschel translated and released the ST with the title *L'individu contre l'État* through the Ancienne Librairie Germer Baillière et Cie (hereafter JG 1885). Despite the assertion on the title page of SGM 1885 that the ST had been «vertido directamente del inglés por Siro García del Mazo», a thorough analysis of both texts indicates that, in addition to the ST, García del Mazo also used the French version. In Table 1, it can be seen that SGM 1885 incorporated segments absent from the ST that were exclusively present in JG 1885, as evidenced by «En fin» and «como debo suponer» from «Enfin» and «comme je puis le supposer», respectively.

In 1887, the Librería de C. Tamborrel in Mexico published *El individuo contra el Estado* with no explicit reference to the authorship other than the note «esta traducción es propiedad del editor». Carlos Tamborrel Siquieros, the editor of this edition, was an eminent lawyer who taught mathematics at the Chapultepec Military Academy. He amassed a considerable fortune, which he invested, among other businesses, in the Bouret bookshop, for many years the most important in Mexico

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<sup>2</sup> We thank the Ludwig von Mises Library at the Francisco Marroquín University in Guatemala for kindly providing us with a copy of this edition.

TABLE 1. SIMILARITIES BETWEEN JG 1885 AND SGM 1885

(ST, 1884, pp. 14-15)	(JG, 1885, p. 21)	(SGM, 1885, p. 36)
Finally if any, not without marks of irritation as I can imagine, repudiate this reasoning, and say that there is no true parallelism between the relation of people to government [...].	Enfin, si quelques libéraux, non sans quelques signes d'irritation, comme je puis le supposer, répudient ce raisonnement et disent qu'il n'y a pas de véritable parallélisme entre les rapports de peuple à gouvernement [...].	En fin, si algunos, no sin muestras de irritación, como debo suponer, repudian este razonamiento, diciendo que no hay verdadero paralelismo entre la relación de pueblo á gobierno [...].

TABLE 2. EXACT COINCIDENCES BETWEEN SGM 1885 AND SGM/MX 1887

(SGM, 1885, p. 175) - (SGM/MX, 1887, p. 191)
Si se preguntase á todos los ingleses si quieren entenderse para cooperar en la enseñanza de la religión y dar á la mayoría el derecho de fijar las creencias y formas del culto, se contestaría por la inmensa mayoría de ellos con un enérgico <i>no</i> .

(Galván-Duque, 2009). Against this backdrop, the growing interest in Spencer's political theory can be explained by the fact that «Latin American intellectuals widely adapted the European philosophy of positivism in keeping with the demands of their own social and political contexts» (Stehn, 2012, p. 49). Nevertheless, the analysis of this Mexican edition in Table 2, with its exact literal correspondence to SGM 1885—including even the use of italics in the text—strongly suggests that García del Mazo is also the author of this translation (hereafter SGM/MX 1887).

In the following years, Fco. Sempere y C.<sup>a</sup>, Editores published *El individuo contra el Estado*, translated by an unknown A. Gómez Pinilla. As for the publisher, the novelist Vicente Blasco Ibáñez and Francisco Sempere Masià founded Fco. Sempere y C.<sup>a</sup>, Editores in 1902. This, and the fact that no date of publication is given, indicates that this version was published in the early twentieth century, sometime after 1902. The publishing house's catalogue comprised literary works and essays that explored controversial social issues by prominent authors such as Bakunin, Darwin, Nietzsche, Tolstoi, and Zola, among others (Lluch-Prats, 2015, p. 1546). As with SGM 1885, this version features an introductory «Advertencia del traductor» in which the translator acknowledges the French Revolution's contribution to the political theory of European nations and highlights the detrimental impact of over-legislation on individual freedom in these countries. Before concluding, the translator also emphasises how overregulation is equally prevalent in Spain, which seems to be an attempt to justify the publication of this text in Spanish. It is also possible to infer that both seemingly distinct «Advertencias»—as illustrated in Table 3—were written by García del Mazo and his pen name, A. Gómez Pinilla (hereafter SGM/AGP), due to the replication of arguments and similar phrasing.





TABLE 3. SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SGM 1885 AND SGM/AGP

(SGM, 1885, pp. 5-6)	(SGM/AGP, p. 5)
[...] se ha propuesto el ilustre pensador inglés levantar una protesta, en nombre de la libertad individual, contra la intervención abusiva del Estado. [...] Los males que señala no son exclusivos de Inglaterra [...] He aquí las razones que nos han movido á verter al castellano la última obra de Herbert Spencer.	El eminente H. Spencer [...] se propuso defender la libertad individual contra la intervención cada vez más abusiva y absoluta del Estado. [...] Esa influencia desmesurada y nociva del Estado sobre el individuo, que Spencer lamenta en Inglaterra, también se siente en España y por esto su libro es de gran interés para nosotros.

TABLE 4. EXACT COINCIDENCES BETWEEN SGM 1885 AND SGM/AGP

(SGM, 1885, p. 124) - (SGM/AGP, p. 123)
La historia entera prueba la exactitud de este aserto, registrando desde el <i>tatuaje</i> , por el que los salvajes tratan de espantar á su enemigo, hasta las ceremonias religiosas y las procesiones reales, donde son circunstancias indispensables el largo manto del presidente y el bastón del ugier, revestido de flamante uniforme.

Notably, these similarities become exact coincidences when comparing extracts from both versions. Apart from irrelevant stylistic alterations, the analysis of selected extracts in Table 4 shows irrefutably that the two TTs are identical. Therefore, we can claim that Siro García del Mazo and A. Gómez Pinilla were one and the same person.

In 1930, the Spanish publisher B. Bauzá printed a version of *El individuo contra el Estado* in Barcelona as part of its «Biblioteca Helios» series, translated by an unknown Dionysios (hereafter DIO 1930). The publishing company was founded by Bartolomé Bauzá-Roselló (1876-1943). After his death, his widow, Emilia Estivill-Monlleó, founded Buigas, Estivill y Villa with other editors. From 1944, this new company became widely known, sometimes as Editorial Bauzá and more regularly as Ediciones TBO, which published the widely acclaimed teenage magazine *TBO* in the second half of the twentieth century (Manzanares, 2022). Although the one-to-one correspondences noted in SGM 1885 and SGM/AGP are not found in this translation, a thorough analysis confirms the incorporation of multiple excerpts from SGM 1885 that have been entirely replicated in DIO 1930. Thus, such correspondences are evident, for example, not only in the note provided by García del Mazo after the first chapter (SGM, 1885, pp. 41-42) and Dionysios (DIO, 1930, p. 33) but also in numerous other sections.

Although there are similarities between the two texts in Table 5, Dionysios did, on occasion, make amendments to the translation by García del Mazo. These alterations rectified certain inaccuracies and demonstrate that Dionysios alternated

TABLE 5. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN SGM 1885 AND DIO 1930

(SGM, 1885, pp. 30-31)	(DIO, 1930, pp. 24-25)
Entre las leyes de 1883, [...] sea á costa de las empresas, permite á los obreros viajar por menos precio; debiendo el Consejo de Comercio procurar por la intervención de los comisarios de ferrocarriles, la frecuente salida de trenes y la comodidad necesaria en los wagones.	Entre las leyes de 1883 [...] a costa de las empresas, permite a los trabajadores viajar por menos precio; el Consejo de Comercio debe procurar, por la intervención de los comisarios de ferrocarriles, la frecuente salida de trenes y la comodidad necesaria en los wagones.

between both texts. By using the Spanish lemma «ferrocarriles» in «(h)ablemos ahora del Estado, como propietario de los ferrocarriles» (DIO, 1930, p. 68), Dionysios corrects the inaccuracy of the translation by García del Mazo, which refers to the railways as «camino de hierro» (SGM, 1885, p. 81), by using the literal translation from the French «[e]nsuite vient l'État propriétaire des chemins de fer» (JG, 1885, p. 56). Dionysios also introduced some changes with respect to the translation by García del Mazo which clearly indicate close adherence to the pole of adequacy with the ST. In discussing the consequences of the development of the railways, Dionysios translated from the ST when he included the reference to Spain in «cuando se establecieron los ferrocarriles en España» (DIO, 1930, p. 44), as found both in the English original «when railways were first opened in Spain» (ST, 1884, p. 23) and in the French version «les chemins de fer furent établis en Espagne» (JG, 1885, p. 34).

In 1945 an Argentine publishing house, Yerba Buena, released a revised edition of García del Mazo's *El hombre contra el Estado*. This edition also includes an eleven-page introduction, an explanatory guide for each of the four chapters, and the post-scriptum, along with a substantial collection of notes on García del Mazo's translation by Francisco Ayala (hereafter SGM/FA 1945), a prominent academic who went into self-imposed exile after the Spanish Civil War (Sabio-Pinilla and Fernández-Sánchez, 2000, p. 33). In his introduction, Ayala validates Spencer's notable position in the history of ideas, juxtaposed with the gradual decline of his work following his death in 1903 (SGM/FA, 1945, pp. vii-viii). Despite waning interest in Spencer's work after his death, Ayala introduces a new section where he contextualizes Spencer's system in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As a product of his era, Spencer and his philosophy embody a line of thought that aligns with the social and political changes that accompanied the emergence of the bourgeoisie following the Industrial Revolution (SGM/FA, 1945, p. x). In essence, Spencer was the right man at the right time and place who successfully encapsulated the fundamental principles underpinning the industrial capitalism of Victorian England (SGM/FA, 1945, p. x). Despite their general acceptance in the United States, Spencer's ideas were soon challenged by other ideologies in England and by the predominant school of philosophy in Germany (SGM/FA, 1945, p. xi). Following the original dissemination and subsequent decline of Spencer's ideas, Ayala dedicates a six-page section which scrutinises the core principles of Spencer's sociology. In so doing, he highlighted the distinction between «military» and «industrial» societies



(SGM/FA, 1945, p. xii). In this regard, Ayala argues that military societies enforce mandatory cooperation amongst their members through the imposition of tyrannical leadership (SGM/FA, 1945, p. xiii). Conversely, industrial societies eschew despotic governance while championing active collaboration among their members (SGM/FA, 1945, p. xiv). This introduction concludes with a footnote in which Ayala adds some textual and translation-related considerations on the earlier texts he revised in preparing his edition (SGM/FA, 1945, p. xvii). He thus acknowledges that his edition is based on SGM 1885, and that—in preparation for its subsequent inclusion in the «Clásicos de Occidente» series—it has also been revised and annotated according to the English source text as published in *The Thinker's Library*, printed in London in 1940 by Watts & Co. Lastly, Ayala discredits the SGM/AGP version; in his view this version «desmejora» or spoils the SGM 1885 version (SGM/FA, 1945, p. xvii).

In 1953, the Spanish publisher, M. Aguilar Editor, released *El hombre contra el Estado* in Buenos Aires as part of its «Biblioteca de Iniciación Filosófica» collection. This edition featured a «Prólogo» and a translation by Luis Rodríguez Aranda (hereafter LRA 1953). Since it was founded in 1923 by Manuel Aguilar Muñoz, this publishing house has built up an excellent reputation for cultural promotion by disseminating exemplary literary works (Chereches, 2016). Despite facing financial challenges and significant changes in the publishing industry, Manuel Aguilar successfully restored his business after the Spanish Civil War (Penguin Random House, 2023). This feat was accomplished amidst political censorship, the exile of many Spanish intellectuals, antiquated equipment, and a shortage of paper (Serrano-Pascual, 2023). In parallel with these difficulties, Aguilar expanded its operations in Hispanic America by opening new branches. The «Biblioteca de Iniciación Filosófica» series, which was launched at the Buenos Aires location, achieved great success by publishing crucial philosophical works that had previously been scarce in Spanish. These prefaced and annotated texts were available in affordable paperback editions for all interested readers. The collection comprised one hundred volumes featuring works from respected authors such as Plato, Rousseau, and Schopenhauer. Arturo del Hoyo, an associate of Aguilar's, edited and proofread several texts in this collection, many of which were translated by activists who had been imprisoned during and after the Spanish Civil War. According to del Hoyo, many of these texts—translated for profit—were sometimes short on quality (Rodríguez-Espinosa, 1997, p. 155). Both the translation and the prologue were written by Luis Rodríguez Aranda, a sociologist who also authored noteworthy contributions such as *Ideas para una Sociología del pueblo español* (1973) and *El desarrollo de la razón en la cultura española* (1962). Rodríguez Aranda worked extensively for Aguilar, composing prologues and introductions, as well as translating philosophical works from various languages. In the prologue Rodríguez Aranda outlines core concepts of Spencer's philosophy, including the application of evolution to societies and individualism (LRA, 1953, pp. 10-12). Rodríguez Aranda also explains that the United States was primarily interested in Spencer's work due to its examination of the relationship between the individual and state in terms of safeguarding individual freedom (LRA, 1953, p. 12). In this regard, the constant usurpation of functions by states poses a threat to individual freedom and an affront to nature and its laws. As an outcome of this





TABLE 6. SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SGM 1885 AND LRA 1953

(SGM, 1885, p. 36)	(LRA, 1953, pp. 43-44)
En fin, si algunos, no sin muestras de irritación, como debo suponer, repudian este razonamiento, diciendo que no hay verdadero paralelismo entre la relación de pueblo á gobierno [...].	En fin, si algunos, no sin muestras de irritación, como debo suponer, repudian este razonamiento, diciendo que no existe verdadero paralelismo entre la relación de pueblo á gobierno [...].

TABLE 7. LRA'S REVISION OF SGM 1885

(SGM, 1885, p. 113)	(LRA, 1953, p. 104)
Habiendo revestido proporciones escandalosas el crecimiento de la miseria, de las enfermedades, de la mortalidad, en las casas de vecinos (1) [...].	La miseria, la enfermedad, la mortalidad en casas que son verdaderas colmenas, continuamente empeorando por los impedimentos que se oponen al aumento de casas de cuarta clase [...].
(1) El autor dice <i>rookeries</i> , que literalmente significa «árboles donde hacen sus nidos muchas cornejas.» Podría traducirse esta palabra inglesa en el caso presente por <i>colmenas</i> ; sin embargo, he creído preferible para la claridad del concepto sustituir en la versión la expresión metafórica por la literal. (N. del T.)	

process, the individual will be subject to the authority of the state, which will employ all its resources to maintain public order (LRA, 1953, p. 15). Before concluding, Rodríguez Aranda asserts that the primary challenge for liberalism will be to restrict parliamentary authority (LRA, 1953, pp. 16-17). A careful examination of this version leads us to note numerous similarities between SGM 1885 and LRA 1953, suggesting that Rodríguez Aranda had SGM 1885 at hand when he completed his translation. Save minor divergences, Table 6 shows exact matches.

Table 7 offers further evidence of the close relationship between the two TTs, as evidenced by the presence of the only translator's note in SGM 1885. Thus, García del Mazo's linguistic explanation for translating «*rookeries*» (ST 104)—referred to as «a group of rooks' nests constituting a breeding colony, usually high in a tree» (*OED*)—as «casas de vecinos» and «colmenas» (SGM, 1885, p. 113) with the sense of tenement houses or figuratively beehives, respectively, is later incorporated by Rodríguez Aranda into the main body of his version by using «colmenas» (LRA, 1953, p. 104).

Despite these similarities, it is important to recognise that Rodríguez Aranda also thoroughly revised SGM 1885. This is evidenced in Table 8 by his adherence to the target pole, including segments from the ST that García del Mazo had omitted.



TABLE 8. LRA'S REVISION OF SGM 1885

(ST, 1884, p. 23)	(SGM, 1885, p. 36)	(LRA, 1953, p. 57)
It is said that when railways were first opened in Spain, peasants standing on the tracks were not unfrequently run over; [...].	Dícese que cuando los ferrocarriles se establecieron en ciertos países, algunos campesinos fueron arrollados, [...].	Se cuenta que cuando los ferrocarriles se establecieron por vez primera en España los campesinos eran arrollados con frecuencia, [...].

In the first quarter of the twenty-first century, the ST has been published twice by Unión Editorial. In 2012, Unión Editorial and Innisfree co-published *El hombre contra el Estado*, with an «Introduction» that was a translation of the original prologue to Spencer's forgotten 1884 classic «The New Slavery: Nock on Spencer» written in 1939 by Alfred Jay Nock (1870-1945); a «Prefacio a la edición en español» by Jorge Valín; and a translation by Tamara Clemente Cano (hereafter TCC 2012). Regarding the translator, it is known that as a Philosophy graduate, Clemente Cano also undertook various courses on Art during her early education. As stated on its website, Unión Editorial seeks to spread the values of Liberalism using high-quality books which serve as tools for attaining knowledge and freedom (Unión Editorial, 2023). Under this plan, its founders were confident that advocating for individuals' freedom and personal initiative rights was the only way to attain authentic progress in Spain and all countries. With this perspective in mind, Unión Editorial has consistently championed Liberalism as the political-economic ideology that fully embodies the authentic concept of freedom by publishing over five hundred works within its thirty series. In doing so, Unión Editorial has allowed Spanish-speaking readers to gain first-hand insight into the ideas of these influential works on freedom. As for Editorial Innisfree, its website motto «Books not suited for unrehabilitated statists» clearly presents this publishing house's guiding principles (Innisfree, 2023). In addition, Innisfree proclaims itself to be the only anarcho-capitalist publishing house in Spanish. In his «Introducción», Alfred Jay Nock (1870-1945) opposed state intervention in the economy and education. While he had previously held out hope for an absolute system of *laissez-faire*, he no longer believed it was achievable (Wreszin, 1972, p. 128). Likewise, Nock defends Spencer's prophetic *Social Statics* (1851), highlighting its significance for classical liberal ideology (TCC, 2012, pp. 12-13). Nock focuses explicitly on the initial essay, «The New Toryism», as it exemplifies the distinctions between early and modern Liberalism (TCC, 2012, p. 14). To examine whether twentieth-century Liberals deserve to bear their political denomination, Nock presents how men from all backgrounds refer to themselves as Liberals and label their opponents as Tories (TCC, 2012, pp. 14-15). Assuming the original liberal ideology aimed to minimise state intervention in personal matters, Spencer notes how British Liberals were heavily influenced by statism, even surpassing the Tories in endorsing coercive laws (TCC, 2012, p. 16). Before concluding, Nock pessimistically asserts that the proliferation of statism in Great Britain has rendered the state incapable of bearing the manifold expenses involved, especially when this



ideology subjugates citizens (TCC, 2012, pp. 21-22). An eight-page «Prefacio a la edición en español» by Jorge Valín-Tutusaus follows Nock's «Introducción». Valín's premature death in 2019, aged forty-three, prevented him from becoming an ideologue of Spanish liberalism. He published extensively across various websites and newspapers, generating significant political controversy. Without reference to the translation itself, Valín emphasises that citizens who rely solely on the government to manage their affairs transform into «borregos» or politically dependent sheep (TCC, 2012, pp. 23-24). After drawing comparisons with current political matters in Spain, Valín asserts that Spencer's dedication to Social Darwinism undermined his radical laissez-faire spirit (TCC, 2012, pp. 29-30). Finally, Valín concludes by affirming the contemporaneity of Spencer's 130-year-old work, as the English intellectual has turned into a defining figure whose revisitation empowers us to shape the future (TCC, 2012, p. 30).

In 2019, Unión Editorial published a new edition of *The Man versus the State* for editorial reasons. The edition includes a new translation by Carlos Garijo Resino (hereafter CGR 2019); a prologue titled «Del 1884 de Spencer al 1984 de Orwell» translated by Mariano Bas Uribe from the original twenty-third chapter included in Hazlitt's *Man vs the Welfare State*, published in 1969; and the reviewed-above «Introducción» by Nock. Apart from his roles in finance and technology and as a freelance translator, Bas Uribe has focused on translating works related to Liberalism. Furthermore, he founded and served as editor for the *Mises Institute* in Spain (Bas-Uribe, 2023). In turn, Henry Hazlitt (1894-1993) was a prominent economist, journalist, and intellectual who strongly criticised the «economic fallacies» prevalent in state intervention in modern life. In his prologue, Hazlitt criticises the deterioration of Spencer's system because of his excessive laissez-faire (CGR, 2019, p. 9). Nevertheless, present-day readers acknowledge Spencer's prescience in predicting government intervention. As for «The New Toryism», Hazlitt cites concrete examples of how state intervention in public affairs has, in the end, undermined intended outcomes (CGR, 2019, p. 11). In the second chapter entitled «The Coming Slavery», Hazlitt critiques the introduction of rent controls, arguing that they have created disincentives for individuals and companies to repair existing rental housing or to construct new buildings (CGR, 2019, p. 14). In his analysis of «The Great Political Superstition», Hazlitt concurs with Spencer's view that the primary and sole duty of governments is to safeguard the country from external attacks and, in turn, shield individuals from any form of aggression or oppression perpetrated by fellow citizens (CGR, 2019, p. 21). Finally, Hazlitt draws attention to the disturbing coincidence between the emerging form of slavery criticised by Spencer in 1884 and the dystopian vision of its full realisation in 1984, as prophesied by George Orwell. It is worth noting that despite releasing a purportedly «new» edition of the ST by Unión Editorial in 2019, a detailed comparison of TCC 2012 and CGR 2019 in Table 9 reveals that both texts are identical.

If the correspondences between the translations by Rodríguez Aranda and García del Mazo have been previously noted, then Table 10 confirms that both Clemente Cano and Garijo Resino had access also to the previous version by Rodríguez Aranda.



TABLE 9. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN TCC (2012) AND CGR (2019)

(TCC, 2012, p. 101) - (CGR, 2019, p. 88)

El Estado, que es ya el correo exclusivo, que posee el telégrafo, no solo será el que transporte pasajeros, minerales y géneros, sino que unirá a su comercio actual otros muchos.

TABLE 10. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LRA (1953), AND TCC (2012) AND CGR (2019)

(LRA, 1953, p. 171) - (TCC, 2012, p. 210) - (CGR, 2019, p. 171)

Ahora bien: todo esto que observamos que se debe mantener desde el primer paso hacia la organización industrial por la que la vida social se sostiene, debe mantenerse, con más o menos intensidad, durante su desarrollo.

### 3. FROM THE OPERATIONAL DECISIONS TO THE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

According to Toury (1995), the consideration of operational norms affects the study of the «decisions made during the act of translation itself» (p. 58) insofar as they are projected onto two clearly differentiated spheres: the textual matrix itself and the linguistic-verbal formulation of the translation. The relevance of such decisions is therefore that they are very informative in determining the relationships that can be established between the source and target texts, i.e., what is more prone to change or, on the contrary, will remain unchanged in translation. With regard to the textual matrix, the operational rules govern three items: «the degree of fullness of translation», i.e., the greater or lesser use of target language material to replace source language material to account for, for example, omissions and additions; «the form of actual distribution» to reflect changes in the location of material in the TT with respect to the original one; and finally, «the textual segmentation» with particular reference to any changes that may have occurred (Toury, 1995, p. 59).

As to additions, translators' notes reveal «the very existence of target-language material intended as a substitute for the corresponding source-language material (and hence the degree of *fullness* of translation)» (Toury, 1995, pp. 58-59). In this connection and disregarding Ayala's remarks on SGM 1885 and SGM/AGP in his introduction (SGM/FA, 1945, p. xvii), there is only one translator's note common to all TTs. The content of the metalinguistic note on the translation of «rookeries», which provides both «casas de vecinos» and «colmenas» (SGM, 1885, p. 113) as options in the target text and footnote, respectively, is presented variably in the TTs under scrutiny. Although all the subsequent versions lack<sup>3</sup> a translator's footnote in

<sup>3</sup> The only edition to reproduce SGM's footnote is the 1980 version published by the Argentine publisher Editorial y Librería Goncourt.



TABLE 11. ADDITIONAL «NOTE» IN SGM/FA (1945), LRA (1953), TCC (2012) AND CGR (2019)

(SGM/FA, 1945, p. 229)	(LRA, 1953, p. 194) - (TCC, 2012, p. 235) - (CGR, 2019, p. 191)
El párrafo final de la obra que el profesor Cairnes critica, muestra a las claras que no pretendo evadirme de esta concepción.	Que no me he retractado de este punto de vista en la obra que critica el profesor Cairnes, lo demuestra suficientemente este párrafo final:

this format, they present various alternatives. On the one hand, both the Mexican edition (SGM/MX, 1887, p. 121) and the Argentinian edition (SGM/FA, 1945, p. 116) opt for «casas de vecinos» or tenements as García del Mazo did (SGM, 1885, p. 113); on the other hand, Rodríguez Aranda (LRA, 1953, p. 104), Clemente Cano (TCC, 2012, p. 129), and Garijo Resino (CGR, 2019, p. 110) opt for «colmenas» or beehives as in the footnote. Interestingly enough, only Dionysios uses the term «casucha» (DIO, 1930, p. 94) to describe a small and poorly constructed house with a negative connotation, which aligns with the interpretation put forth by García del Mazo. At the same time, Gómez Pinilla refers to «casas de corto alquiler» or rooming houses in the body of the TT (SGM/AGP, p. 113). Additionally, some editions contain scarce translator's notes which are not reproduced in other editions. For example, Rodríguez Aranda includes an additional institutional note (LRA, 1953, p. 113) on the «Speaker and the wand of an officially-dressed usher» (ST, 1884, p. 59) to frame the importance of this figure in the rituals and ceremonies of the House of Commons. Also, Clemente Cano (TCC, 2012, pp. 44; 52) and Garijo Resino (CGR, 2019, pp. 43; 53) include two additional metalinguistic translation notes, which refer to lexicography to justify their linguistic choices.

Finally, four of the examined editions include an eight-paragraph «Note» by Spencer himself located at the end of the «Postscript» (SGM/FA, 1945, pp. 228-230; LRA, 1953, pp. 193-195; TCC, 2012, pp. 234-237; CGR, 2019, p. 192). The original version of this note was first added to the ST, but in its 1892 edition published by Appleton in the USA. In this excerpt, the English thinker aimed to refute critical arguments that some scholars had raised in the years following the publication of ST in 1884 against the alleged incompatibility between the doctrine of evolution and philanthropy. Surprisingly, Ayala introduces a note to inform the audience about this addition which is not present in any of the earlier Spanish translations (SGM/FA, 1945, p. 228). Regarding such an addition, it is probable that Ayala made his translation of this note as it had not been included in SGM 1885. On the other hand, the remaining three TTs exhibit literal correspondences in Table 11 which reinforce the exactness among themselves.

If editors and translators use paratexts to highlight an aspect of the translation theory underlying their work, footnotes and citations by the authors themselves also allude to the transtextual relationships established between the ST and other elements, including prefaces, epilogues, forewords, translators' footnotes, and endnotes, among others (Lépinette, 1997, pp. 5-6). The examination in Table 12 of Spencer's footnotes



TABLE 12. FOOTNOTES BY SPENCER

NOTES	ST 1884	SGM 1885	SGM/MX 1887	SGM/ AGP	DIO 1930	SGM/FA 1945	LRA 1953	TCC 2012	CGR 2019
Intertextual	68	64	58	2	56	68	64	68	68
Encyclopaedic	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

in the ST and their inclusion in the TTs offer significant insight concerning the completeness of the translations and the resulting relationships among them. Based on their content within this context, it is possible to identify two distinct categories of footnotes. The first category includes intertextual notes, of which Spencer provided sixty-eight (68), referencing other relevant texts and bibliographic sources to support his argumentation. The second category mainly comprises encyclopaedic information, in which Spencer introduces his knowledge and expertise to digress and express his perspective on three (3) occasions. If these encyclopaedic notes are present in all TTs, there is a greater variation in the representation of intertextual elements. SGM/FA (1945), TCC (2012), and CGR (2019) reproduce all material from the ST, while SGM (1885) and LRA (1953) include sixty-four (64) intertextual notes. In contrast, SGM/MX (1887) and DIO (1930) contain fifty-eight (58) and fifty-six (56) intertextual notes, respectively. Finally, the SGM/AGP edition features only two (2) intertextual notes.

Before concluding this section, it is worth mentioning that Ayala incorporated a series of fifty-nine (59) footnotes containing different kinds of information. In terms of their content, the text contains thirty-six (36) encyclopaedic notes; eighteen (18) situational notes providing further information about the spatio-temporal axis; four (4) institutional notes explaining institutions of the source culture that do not exist in the target culture; and one (1) metalinguistic note helping to clarify the double meaning of a surname.

In addressing the linguistic-textual norms that account for «the selection of material to formulate the target text in, or replace the original textual and linguistic material with» (Toury, 1995, p. 59), it is necessary to determine which units will be analysed to reconstruct the translator's decisions. Given the length restrictions of this work and without claiming to be exhaustive, we suggest a lexical-semantic, pragmatic, and referential approach to specific fragments of the ST and its translated counterparts. This approach will enable us to assess adherence to either the «adequacy» or the «acceptability» pole (Toury, 1995, pp. 56-58), whilst also reporting on the implemented translation techniques (Molina and Hurtado, 2002, pp. 498-512). In terms of reference material, the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* and the *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española (NTLLE)* are used as fundamental lexicographical resources. The last edition of each resource published immediately before the dating of the translation in question is cited.

The study of government intervention in matters concerning public morals or the customs of the citizenry provides valuable information for a norm-descriptive

approach such as the one we propose. In the field of cultural references and regarding the origins of state intervention, Spencer quotes Henry VIII's efforts «to prevent the lower classes from playing dice, cards, bowls, & c., were not more prompted [...] than were the Acts passed of late to check gambling» (ST, 1884, p. 8). If all TTs reproduce «dados» as an equivalent to «dice» without exception, we attest to some variability concerning the other games listed. When translating the term «cards» for use in gambling, all TTs opt for the source pole of adequacy and translate literally «cartas» except for the Mexican edition which translates «baraja» (SGM/MX, 1887, p. 18) as «conjunto de cartas de que consta el juego de naipes [...]» (NTLLE, 1884) utilizing generalization. The translation of «bowls» as «any of several games in which balls are rolled on a green or down an alley at an object or group of objects» (OED) also displays some variability among TTs. Thus, all of them choose its literal equivalent «bolos» (SGM/MX, 1887: p. 18; DIO, 1930, p. 19; LRA, 1953, p. 34; TCC, 2012, p. 46; CGR, 2019, p. 47) as «[j]uego que consiste en poner sobre el suelo nueve bolos derechos [...] y en derribar los que pueda cada jugador, tirando con una bola» (NTLLE, 1884) whereas García del Mazo adheres to the pole of acceptability by using «bochas» (SGM, 1885, p. 23; SGM/FA, 1945, p. 22) for «juego [...] que consiste en tirar [...] con unas bolas medianas y otra más pequeña, y gana el que se arrima más á ésta con las otras» (NTLLE, 1884) as an adaptation. In turn, Gómez Pinilla modifies the latter option and reproduces «bocha» through particularisation (SGM/AGP, p. 23). Finally, the translations of «gambling» also exhibit different options. If the literal translation «azar» becomes the most widely used (SGM 1885, p. 23; SGM/AGP, p. 23; DIO, 1930, p. 19; SGM/FA, 1945, p. 22), the Mexican edition opts for «apuesta» (SGM/MX, 1887, p. 18) with an obvious shift in meaning probably led by adaptation while Rodríguez Aranda, Clemente Cano and Garijo Resino reproduce «envite» (LRA, 1953, p. 34; TCC, 2012, p. 46; CGR, 2019, p. 47) as «apuesta que [...] parando, además de los tantos ordinarios, cierta cantidad a un lance o suerte» involving particularisation.

Professional specialisation is a hallmark of advanced industrial societies, and Spencer points out, by way of example, how «Birmingham devotes itself to manufacturing hardware, or part of Staffordshire to making pottery» (ST, 1884, p. 99). All TTs uniformly reproduce «quincalla» thus making reference to a «conjunto de objetos de metal generalmente de escaso valor; como tijeras, dedales, imitaciones de joyas» (NTLLE, 1884) through particularisation to convey the sense of «hardware» as «small ware or goods of metal; ironmongery» (OED). In turn, the allusion to «pottery» as «the potter's art, ceramics; the manufacture of earthen vessels» (OED) is rendered either by «alfarería» as «arte de fabricar vasijas de barro» (NTLLE 1884) through generalisation in the earlier translations (SGM, 1885, p. 202; SGM/MX, 1887, p. 223; DIO, 1930, p. 167; SGM/AGP, p. 199; SGM/FA, 1945, p. 202) or by «cerámica» as «arte de fabricar vasijas y otros objetos de barro, loza y porcelana, de todas clases y calidades» (NTLLE, 1950) through particularisation in the last three versions (LRA, 1953, p. 172; TCC, 2012, p. 211; CGR, 2019, p. 171).

In his militancy against state control of trade standards, Spencer reports on the negative consequences of close inspection which «has lowered the quality [...] instance the case of the Cork butter-market» (ST, 1884, p. 57). As O'Hanlon (2018)



states, this Irish city boasted its tradition as the world's leading exporter of butter in the nineteenth century. However, García del Mazo might have been unaware of its reputation or, possibly due to a typographical error, the location was mistakenly referred to as «Corkt» in his and immediate subsequent editions (SGM, 1885, p. 57; SGM/MX, 1887, p. 129; SGM/AGP, p. 119). Whatever the explanation may be, such a misspelling will persist until its correction (DIO, 1930, p. 99). Regarding the reference's content, versions prior to SGM/FA 1945 present «manteca» as «sustancia crasa y oleosa de la leche» (NTLLE, 1884) using generalisation, whereas more recent translations render «mantequilla» as «manteca de vacas || Pasta blanda y suave de manteca de vacas batida y mezclada con azúcar» (NTLLE, 1950) via particularisation (LRA, 1953, p. 109-110; TCC, 2012, p. 135; CGR, 2019, p. 115). Moreover, the comparison between exclusively the two lemmas «manteca» and «mantequilla» in the interval between 1885 and 2020, provided by the *Google Books Ngram Viewer*, unequivocally shows that although «manteca» was more widely used in the period between 1885 and 1950, their use statistically converged in the period between 1950 and 2000 with cross-over points between them which might indicate a change in usage until «mantequilla» has become more widely used in the twenty-first century. Likewise, the analysis of «the case of herring-branding (now optional) the effect of which is to put the many inferior curers who just reach the level of official approval, on a par with the few better ones who rise above it» (ST, p. 57) indicates that earlier versions favour «ahumamiento del arenque» (SGM, 1885, p. 57; SGM/MX, 1887, p. 129; SGM/AGP, p. 119; DIO, 1930, p. 99; SGM/FA, 1945, p. 122) in direct correlation with the mediating French «la fumigation du hareng» (JG, 1885, p. 85), while more recent TTs reproduce «salazón de arenques» (LRA, 1953, pp. 109-110; TCC, 2012, p. 135; CGR, 2019, p. 115). Whatever the option, the exact sense of «branding» as «the action of marking with a hot iron [...] an article for sale» (OED) is not at all replicated in such interventions from the intermediate French version.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions can be drawn in the domain of initial and preliminary norms. Firstly, it is essential to acknowledge the significant mediating role of the French translation, not only in the first version of the SGM 1885 but also in all subsequent TTs. This is explained by the affinity of the Spanish intellectual elite for French culture and language in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Despite their affinity for French culture, Spain's cultural elites were quick to embrace the winds of change and ideological renewal emanating from Britain. One year after its initial English publication, *The Man versus the State* was found both on private bookshelves and within political discursive practices in Spain. Furthermore, and aligned with the ideology displayed in this formulation of liberal political thought, a majority of the TTs incorporated informative paratexts in the form of prefaces, forewords, notes, footnotes, and translator's notes that helped to introduce the interested reader to Spencer's liberal postulates. Our work shows that such paratexts in their various subtypes accompanying the SGM, FA, LRA, TCC and CGR versions operate as





propagandist texts that challenge the prevailing ideological status quo by inexorably promoting intellectual renewal.

In this context, such renewal would not have been possible without the support of several publishers who promoted the dissemination of these new ideas through a series of minority collections with limited profitability potential, from a publishing point of view. Leaving aside the Mexican edition, prestigious scientific collections in the Iberian Peninsula, such as the «Biblioteca Científico-Literaria» of the Imprenta y Litografía de José María Ariza, the F. Sempere publishing house, the «Biblioteca Helios» collection of B. Bauzá, or in Argentina the series «Clásicos de Occidente» at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries and, more recently, Unión Editorial in the twenty-first century, have included such versions in their catalogues. It was only during Franco's dictatorship and the subsequent suppression of opposing political views that Spanish-American publishers such as Yerba Buena and Aguilar's Argentine division took the lead in publishing Spencer's classic in Spanish-speaking America between 1945 and 1975.

Similarly, the work of several translators is mainly responsible for the spread of Liberalism and the defence of the individual against state interference. These translators revised the original English text using earlier editions and introduced new perspectives in their respective TTs. Thus, García del Mazo's translation—based on JG 1885—served as the first source for subsequent versions that rewrote the first Spanish version (i) without mentioning García del Mazo's authorship, as in the case of the translation published in Mexico; (ii) through the pseudonyms A. Gómez Pinilla or Dionysios; or (iii) through the author of the prologue, as in the case of Francisco Ayala's. These practices, which are a norm in themselves, were already institutionalised in the Spanish publishing industry when Rodríguez Aranda rewrote García del Mazo's text in 1953. Finally, the most recent versions, published at the beginning of the twenty-first century, are in line with the present-day norm referenced above.

For its part, the examination of the operational norms has revealed the variability between all the TTs despite the similarities noted in initial and preliminary norms. To illustrate this, the translators made different decisions as to reproducing the only translator's note that García del Mazo included in his version. In the field of intertextuality, the examination of the additions has enabled us to identify the incorporation of a new fragment. This fragment appears in later editions of the ST and has been included in subsequent versions, especially since Ayala drew our attention to it. This indicates that the following developments and reformulations of the ST itself also frame the history of translation. As for Spencer's footnotes to the ST, these were generally reproduced similarly in all the TTs except for SGM/AGP, who omitted the intertextual notes almost entirely. Likewise, the Ayala edition's scholarly direction is apparent through the prologue writer's inclusion of fifty-nine (59) notes of diverse types.

While all TTs generally replicate García del Mazo's version, the analysis of the linguistic-textual norms provides a valuable source of information on the phenomenon of rewriting. Although it is problematic to extrapolate a norm for each of the segments analysed given the variation observed, we can cautiously note—based on the items analysed—that if the first versions reveal a certain uniformity in their



choices for «bowls», «gambling», «hardware», «pottery», the «Cork butter market» and «herring branding», the most recent editions by Rodríguez Aranda, Clemente Cano and Garijo Resino also offer some consistency regarding the solutions given for the same segments. Although this observation may require further analysis encompassing more segments in the future, we could tentatively confirm the presence of two main groups of textual variants sequenced by release date.

In light of the previous discussion, it is manifest that the dissemination across Spain and Hispanic America of the doctrines of English Liberalism as outlined in *The Man versus the State* inevitably involves the study of the different versions published between 1885 and 2019, thus confirming that translation is «one of the most important forces available for introducing new ways of thinking and inducing significant cultural change» (Gentzler, 2017, p. 3). Through this intricate network of versions, their translators, publishers, and collections, including the forewords and other paratextual elements that precede them, we access a complex web of agents and events that show, as Gentzler (2017) states, how translation «ensures the regeneration of texts [and] the means through which ideas can be exchanged» (p. 231).

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