BORN-TRANSLATED MANIFESTO

STEFANIE KREMMEL





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The Communist Manifesto was first published in German as the *Manifest der kommunistischen Partei* in London in 1848. It was drafted by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels for the League of Communists. The thirty-page document describes the role of communists in society by outlining the historical genesis of bourgeois society and the need for a communist movement, and sets this communist movement apart from various other socialist currents. The text has become the prototype for manifestos, a milestone in the history of pamphlets and one of the founding texts of a powerful political ideology. Marx and Engels eschewed the form of catechism they had initially considered in favor of a powerful narrative. Their combination of analysis and call to action is what distinguishes this text from previous political proclamations and revolutionary pamphlets entitled "manifesto". They did not merely proclaim subversive ideas or recount history, they aimed to make history. *The Communist Manifesto* fulfills all the main criteria of a political manifesto: a clear programmatic stance, often of a political group or party, an explicit address to the public, opposition to the status quo and a call to action.

Its growing success after its first "boom" toward the end of the nineteenth century is attributed to different factors: the quality of the text itself and its international horizon, the growing popularity of the authors, the success of *Capital* (vol. 1 was published in 1867 in German, in 1872 in French, in 1884 in English), as well as the development of the workers' movement and its parties and infrastructure, starting with the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) in 1864. The text's transculturality as a condition of its dissemination is a very prominent point of reference. Still today, the fact that it was published in six languages from the start – at least this is what was announced – and that it has been translated countless times since is often used as evidence of its importance.

Zooming in on its transcultural features, the *Manifesto* can be characterized as a *born-translated* pamphlet that grew through the addition of prefaces to different languages. With an increasing number of versions and translations[1] that are related to one another in various ways, we can come to understand the *Manifesto* as a multilingual web of texts. This study differs from the existing, extensive works on the translation history of the *Manifesto*, because the aim is not to reconstruct and document translation events or identify or create the most accurate or "best" translation, but rather to show how translation and other transcultural elements form part of pamphletary practice.

BORN TRANSLATED

The prototype of translation is that of an interlingual process, where a source text is converted into a target text. But translation processes can involve more than two languages; translations are not only target texts but can serve as source texts as two or more language editions can together form the source text for a new translation, and so on. These aspects of translation have long been understood as minor

1 See the extensive bibliography of editions and translations by Bert Andréas: *Le manifeste communiste de Marx et Engels: histoire et bibliographie 1848–1918*, Milan: Feltrinelli (1963).

phenomena or not studied in depth in translation studies. But when it becomes clear that translations do in fact function as originals and are central to the creation of a transcultural discursive space, this has far-reaching consequences for the status traditionally ascribed to originals versus translations.

To study the translation history of the *Manifesto* and identify events and forms that go beyond the static and linear ideas on knowledge transfer and set categories such as originals as source texts for translations or a set target culture, a transcultural research approach seems appropriate because it focuses on the entanglements and ongoing shifts in cultural processes.[2] Rebecca Walkowitz's concept of *born translated* focuses on text-inherent features and literary innovation.

> [...] [M]any novels do not simply appear in translation. They have been written for translation from the start. Adapting a phrase for artworks produced for the computer ('born digital'), I call these novels *born translated*. [...] [B]orn-translated literature approaches translation as medium and origin rather than as afterthought. Translation is not secondary or incidental to these works. It is a condition of their production.[3]

Going one step further, the creation of other language editions can be considered a means of monitoring the relationship between different versions and paratexts as the text is disseminated more and more. The concept, then, is a valuable tool when it comes to describing and tracking the role of translation in the creation and make-up of the *Manifesto* and studying its transcultural and translational elements.

The Communist Manifesto takes up universal topoi, such as oppression, that transcend national, linguistic, and cultural borders. It appeals directly to readers as proletarians of all countries: It addressed the "Proletarians" (1850 translation by Helen Macfarlane) or "Working Men" (1888 translation by Samuel Moore) of all countries. The political vision of the League of Communists and of Marx and Engels was to unite the struggles of workers throughout Europe and beyond and translation was the necessary vehicle to reach this goal. The preamble shows the (idealized) self-image of the League of Communists, its motives and goals. It closes with the mention of the six European languages in which the *Manifesto* was to be made available. The need for the text to appear in different languages was already a given for the initiators; the text did not have to "prove itself" in German before someone considered or was tasked with translating it into further languages. German does not get any special placement as the original language and is listed in third place, in the German edition as well as subsequent translations:

2 Larisa Schippel: "Between Consensus and the Dissolution of Boundaries: On the Transculturality of Communicative Action", in: *Chronotopos – A Journal of Translation History* 1–2 (2020), pp. 237–251; Julia Richter: *Translationshistoriographie: Perspektiven und Methoden*, Berlin: Frank & Timme (2023), pp. 94–97.

3 Rebecca L. Walkowitz: *Born Translated: The Contemporary Novel in an Age of World Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press (2015), p. 3.

> Zu diesem Zweck haben sich Kommunisten der verschiedensten Nationalität in London versammelt und das folgende Manifest entworfen, das in englischer, französischer, deutscher, italienischer, flämischer und dänischer Sprache veröffentlicht wird.[4]
>
> To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.[5]

Martin Puchner sees Marx and Engels' strategy of creating a text more international than any capitalist world literature could ever become as their intent to erase the conception of the original altogether.[6] However, producing various language editions of one text was not a singular occurrence, but rather an effective and necessary tool for the pair. In the 1860s and 1870s, in the so-called First International, "official" versions of statutes and provisions were drafted in English, French and German and published nearly simultaneously, with Marx and Engels being actively and prominently involved. The simultaneous or near-simultaneous creation or publication of a text in more than one language has a long history, particularly in the legal and institutional sphere in multilingual societies and in international relations. In international treaty law, different language versions together form one "legal instrument" – they are all considered authentic originals.[7] One could therefore conclude that all six language versions announced in the preamble together form the *Manifesto*.

PHANTOM TRANSLATIONS

Its set-up as a born-translated text did not immediately lead to multiple translations. The gap between the announcement of six language editions and the reality of dissemination was wide. The first published translations of the *Manifesto* were: Swedish (1848), English (1850), Russian (1869), Serbian (1871), French and Spanish (1872), and Portuguese (1873). These editions had fairly limited circulation. Other languages followed in the 1880s. There are other documented translation efforts that did not result in publication, most famously that of Engels working on an English draft and at least two drafts of French translations written by comrades in Paris.

Retrospectively, however, these features bolstered the narrative of the *Manifesto's* relevance. The mention of the six languages was shared and printed countless times, decades later, with a rising interest in the text. Early on, in 1872, the

4 Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, Berlin: Dietz (1965 [1848]), p. 3.

5 Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, trans. by Samuel Moore, Moscow: Progress Publishers (1977 [1888]), p. 39.

6 Martin Puchner: *Poetry of the Revolution: Marx, Manifestos, and the Avant-Gardes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (2006), p. 56.

7 Theo Hermans: *The Conference of the Tongues*, Manchester: St. Jerome (2007), pp. 8–9.

authors themselves declared that the *Communist Manifesto* was a historical document that they would not update. Therefore, the preamble stood unchanged, and the announcement was reprinted and repeated in its original form over and over. These five announced translations evolved into what Hal Draper has called "phantom translations".[8] Friedrich Engels himself contributed to the spreading of the idea that the *Manifesto* had been translated early on. In his preface to the authorized English edition, he alluded to four translations, even though only one, the English one, had actually been published:

> Drawn up in German, in January, 1848, the manuscript was sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French revolution of February 24th. A French translation was brought out in Paris, shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848. The first English translation [...] appeared in [...] London, 1850. A Danish and a Polish edition had also been published.[9]

Still today, references like these can be found in paratexts of all kinds.[10] The *assumed* existence of these translations in part overwrote the actual events. The image of it being multilingual and international from the beginning was in keeping with the reputation of the *Manifesto* for being a text that would later become available in countless translations and contribute to political movements all over the world.

Between 1872 and 1893, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels authored seven prefaces to the *Manifesto* for different language editions (German [1872], Russian [1882], German [1883], English [1888], German [1890], Polish [1892], Italian [1893]), in an attempt to provide readers with the historical context needed to understand it as a historical document, and at the same time to convincingly demonstrate that it was relevant and not outdated.

The text grew with the addition of the authors' prefaces. Depending on the format and purpose of a publication, different prefaces were added and often had to be translated separately, sometimes from a language that was different to the rest of the text. The prefaces are therefore material proof of the internationality of the movement and thought. They reinforce the transcultural and translational aspects of the *Manifesto*, linking different language editions with each other. The prefaces also discuss projected and published translations as well as failed translation endeavors. The translation history of the text is related to the power of the text and the strength of the Communist movement:

> First of all, it is noteworthy that of late the Manifesto has become an index, as it were, of the development of large-scale industry on the European

8 Hal Draper: *The Adventures of the Communist Manifesto*, Berkeley: Center for Socialist History (1994 [1984]), p. 80.

9 Friedrich Engels: "Preface to the English Edition of 1888", in: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, ed. by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Moscow: Progress Publishers (1977), p. 15.

10 For example: Dirk J. Struik (ed.): *Birth of the Communist Manifesto: With Full Text of the Manifesto, all Prefaces by Marx and Engels, Early Drafts by Engels and other Supplementary Material*, New York: International Publishers (1971), p. 67.



1 Marx and Engels climb over books representing all the prefaces the authors wrote for different language editions of the Communist Manifesto, while Marx recites the preamble. In: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: *The Communist Manifesto*, adapted by Martin Rowson [Graphic Novel], London: SelfMadeHero (2018), pp. 13–14. Reproduced by permission of selfmadehero. Artwork © Martin Rowson.

> continent. In proportion as large-scale industry expands in a given country, the demand grows among the workers of that country for enlightenment regarding their position as the working class in relation to the possessing classes, the socialist movement spreads among them and the demand for the Manifesto increases. Thus, not only the state of the labour movement but also the degree of development of large-scale industry can be measured with fair accuracy in every country by the number of copies of the Manifesto circulated in the language of that country.[11]

TRAVELING MANIFESTO

Translation is of course a powerful tool of dissemination, but some other, lesser discussed effects of translation have particular relevance for the genre of political texts, namely the framing and re-positioning of the text. Through translation, texts can be reframed and the choices made by a translator or an editor, e.g., changes in the title, the addition of explanatory notes, omissions or the usage of certain terminology, prepare it for a local context or audience. These choices can establish a new discourse or be the reason for differences in reception in different (language) audiences that rely on different editions of the text, as the case of the first published English translation of the *Manifesto* and its later appearances will show.

With the February Revolution of 1848 in Paris, the proclamation of the Second French Republic, and the subsequent uprisings and revolutions, the political structures that the *Manifesto* was written for were partly abandoned or destroyed and circulation halted. Engels himself later argued that due to the social conditions, the time was not yet ripe for a wider dissemination of the *Manifesto*. Nonetheless, an English translation appeared in London in 1850.

Two years after it had first been published in German, an English translation of the *Manifesto* was printed in four installments in the British newspaper *Red Republican* in 1850. It was translated by Chartist journalist and activist Helen Macfarlane (1818–1860). Macfarlane and the newspaper's editor, George Julian Harney, were acquainted with Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, which is why it is widely assumed that they acted with the approval of the authors. Harney was a prominent figure in Chartism and wanted to steer the working-class movement that had been fighting for reforms, union building and the expansion of voting rights in Great Britain toward a more socialist agenda. With a few simple measures, Harney and Macfarlane managed to contextualize the text temporally and spatially, presenting it as a text by a group of *German* communists that Chartists could learn from.

11 Friedrich Engels: "Preface to the Polish Edition of 1892", in: *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow: Progress Publishers (1977), p. 33 (first published in 1892, translated from German).

> The following Manifesto, which has since been adopted by all fractions of German Communists, was drawn up in the German language, in January 1848, by Citizens Charles Marx and Frederic Engels. It was immediately printed in London, in the German language, and published a few days before the outbreak of the Revolution of February. The turmoil consequent upon that great event made it impossible to carry out, at that time, the intention of translating it into all the languages of civilized Europe. There exist two different French versions of it in manuscript, but under the oppressive laws of France, the publication of either of them has been found impracticable. The English reader will be enabled, by the following excellent translation of this important document, to judge of the plans and principles of the most advanced party of the German Revolutionists. It must not be forgotten, that the whole of this Manifesto was written and printed before the Revolution of February.[12]

The text was titled *Manifesto of the German Communist Party*, and the short introduction by Harney explained that the *Manifesto* could not be translated into various languages right away due to the turmoil of the February Revolution and the oppression the movement faced. He also instructed readers to consider the historical moment in which the text was written.

The introduction of the *Manifesto* is deeply ingrained in our cultural memory: *"Ein Gespenst geht um in Europa. Es ist das Gespenst des Kommunismus."*[13] With some time having elapsed, the way Macfarlane chose to translate the introduction catches the attention of readers and critics alike: "A frightful hobgoblin stalks throughout Europe. We are haunted by a ghost. The ghost of Communism."[14] Especially in contrast to the English version from 1888, which is so well known and widespread: "A spectre is haunting Europe. The spectre of Communism."[15] The "frightful hobgoblin" was Helen Macfarlane's clever solution to the problem of translating the German "Gespenst" since it carried two meanings: the haunting ghost, but also the eerie creature children were told would come and get them if they did not behave.[16] The translator's footnotes also shed light on her decision-making. Here she explained her choice of words, such as opting for "Shopocrat-socialism," a term established in Chartism, for "Kleinbürgerlicher Sozialismus." This translation was tailored specifically to the needs of the Chartist

12 George Julian Harney: "Editorial introduction to Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: German Communism: Manifesto of the German Communist Party (Published in February 1848)", in: *Red Republican* (November 1850).

13 Marx, Engels: *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (1965 [1848]), p. 3 (Facsimile edition).

14 Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: "German Communism: Manifesto of the German Communist Party (Published in February 1848)", trans. by Helen Macfarlane, in: *Red Republican* (November 1850), published in four installments.

15 Marx, Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1977 [1888]), p. 39 (first published in 1888, translated by Samuel Moore).

16 David Black (ed.): *Helen Macfarlane: Red Republican – The Complete Annotated Writings*, London: Unkant (2014), p. xxiii; David Black: *Helen Macfarlane: A Feminist, Revolutionary Journalist, and Philosopher in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England*, Lanham: Lexington Books (2004), p. 94.

movement and to a British audience in its bid to inform them about the German emigrants' socialist ideas. Macfarlane and Harney chose to omit most of section IV, which describes the ongoing struggles in different countries. This section was already somewhat out of date two years after it was published. As political activists, they were also careful not to print passages about revolutionary events that would put them in danger of state action and repression.

Helen Macfarlane was first named as the translator by Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx in their preface to the second German edition in 1872. After initially praising the translation, recommending and sharing it, the authors criticized it heavily and worked toward a retranslation years later. When they encountered the translation later on, its origin was not stated anywhere. Perhaps more importantly, twenty to thirty years had passed, and it was therefore often unclear to readers, including Marx and Engels, that the version in question was Macfarlane's work. The authors did not recognize the translation, but rather assumed it was a new version and thought of it as quite defective, as Hal Draper described in his *Adventures of the Communist Manifesto*.

Over twenty years after its first publication, Macfarlane's translation was reprinted in New York, in a weekly newspaper edited by sisters Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, who filled its pages with feminist and socialist content. Victoria Woodhull was a leading figure in the US suffrage movement and a co-founder and active member of the English-speaking Section 12 of the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) in New York. Shortly thereafter she was expelled, after being accused of abusing the organization for her campaign for US president in 1872, as well as various political and strategic quarrels with other North American sections dominated by German and Irish Americans. Marx, approving of the expulsion, referred to her as a "banker's woman, free-lover, and general humbug."

A newly written editorial note tied the *Communist Manifesto* to the IWA. The translator's notes by Macfarlane were included, but the translator remained anonymous. There was no information on or discussion of the translatory nature of the text; the editorial note simply announced the *reproduction* of the important document: "The manifesto we reproduce is a valuable document, and if for no other end than its preservation, we are glad to give it room in our pages."[17]

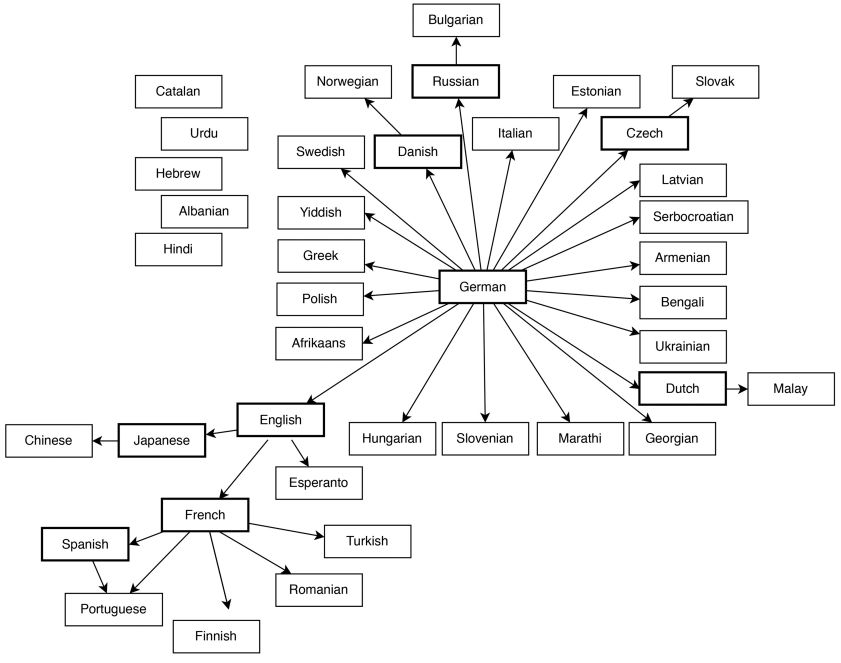
Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly had a circulation of around 20,000 copies. About fifty copies were sent to Friedrich Engels, who used it to promote the IWA, but at the same time complained about "Woodhull's English" in letters to his friend and comrade Friedrich Adolph Sorge.[18] The edition was not recognized (anymore) as Macfarlane's translation. Engels later classified it as a "retranslation." For lack of any other printed edition, he shared and disseminated it despite his complaints, and it was used as the source text for various translations.

17 Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: "German Communism – Manifesto of the German Communist Party", in: *Woodhull And Claflin's Weekly* (December 30, 1871), p. 3.

18 Friedrich Engels: "Letter from Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge in Hoboken, 17.3.1872", in: *MEW (Marx-Engels-Werke)*, vol. 33, Berlin: Dietz (1976), pp. 432–433; Engels: "Letter" (1976), pp. 537–541.

A CHAIN OF TRANSLATIONS

Indirect translations – translations based on a source text which is also a translation – connect different language editions and therefore translations with each other. By drawing on each other, they create a web of texts. The history of the *Manifesto* is rich in indirect translation events. The reasons for this vary: the German text was not available; the translator did not speak German; there was a rich tradition of importing knowledge and texts into Spanish via French, to name but a few. The radial diagram gives a first impression of how common this practice is by presenting the variety of languages that have served as source languages for just the first translation of the *Manifesto* into a specific language.



2 Radial diagram showing the source and target language of 43 first language editions of the Communist Manifesto.

Macfarlane's translation, in the form of the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* edition, played a key role in the production of translations into different Romance languages. It served as the source text for a French translation, which in turn led to other translations. Just three weeks after the edition in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* was published, a French translation was printed in the French-language New York newspaper *Le Socialiste*. Seven months later, a Spanish version based on this French edition was published in Madrid's *La Emancipación* newspaper

in November 1872, followed by a Portuguese translation based on the Spanish edition, published a few months later in Lisbon's *O Pensamento Social* in March of 1873.[19]

These translations were produced in quick succession to each other. The main motives for local editors and translators, as well as Engels, who was involved in and aware of these translation events, were of an organizational nature rather than any aspiration to disseminate the text more widely. They needed to fill the pages of the newspapers of the Madrid and Lisbon sections of the IWA and make sure that the central and founding documents of the IWA were formally available in these languages, while Marx and Engels and their comrades were under pressure as they faced struggles within the organization. The editors of *La Emancipación* regularly worked with French texts and *O Pensamento Social* often adopted content from *La Emancipación*. The *Manifesto* was treated like many other texts; what counted was to make the text available, and to do so quickly and efficiently.[20]

Even if the German edition was out of print, not available or of no use, dissemination in different languages continued. Around 1872, French was the relay language or lingua franca that boosted circulation (and continued to do so later on). After the authorized English translation by Samuel Moore (edited by Friedrich Engels) was published in 1888, it fulfilled similar functions. In the early twentieth century, Russian comes into play as a key language in the dissemination of the *Manifesto*. The practice of indirect translation and the compilation of a source text through different editions or added prefaces created the basis for a multilingual sphere of reference that is key for any international movement.

INCOGNITO – AN ASSUMED RETRANSLATION

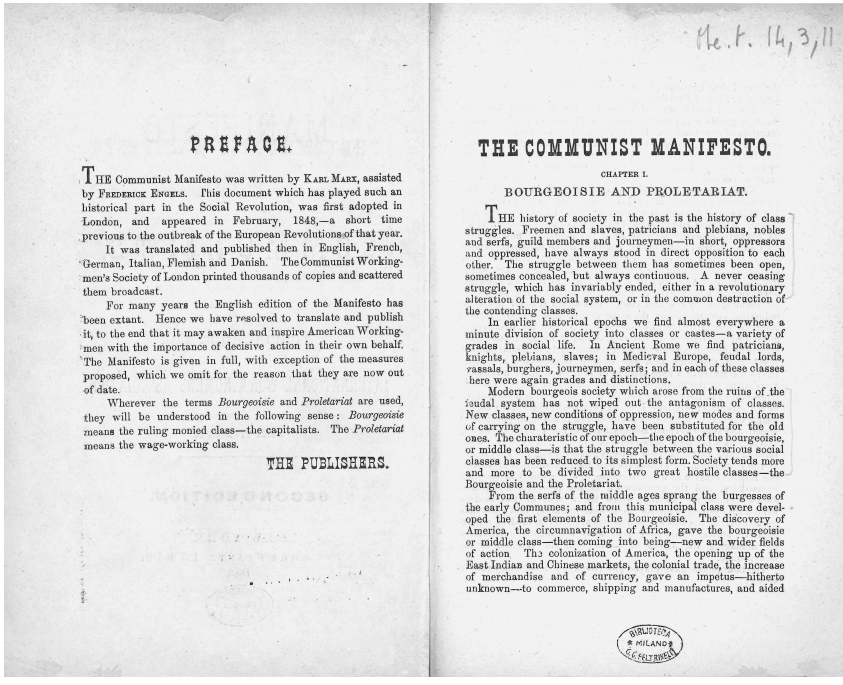
At a large memorial service in New York, shortly after Marx's death in March 1883, well-known anarchist and German emigrant Johann Most quoted from the *Manifesto* in his speech, not only portraying Marx as an anarchist but also portraying himself as the disseminator of Marx's ideas, entrusted by Marx to succeed him. Donations collected at the memorial service were to go toward the publication of an English translation of the *Manifesto*. Johann Most, together with Justus Schwab, another prominent figure of German-American anarchism, was charged with the project. What they published was, in fact, not a new translation, but a reprint of Macfarlane's translation in the *Woodhull & Claflin*'s Weekly edition, with a few changes made to reflect their taste.

19 Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: "Manifeste de Karl Marx", in: *Le Socialiste* (1872), published in nine installments (20.1., 27.1., 10.2., 17.2., 24.2., 2.3., 9.3., 16.3., 30.3.); Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: "Manifiesto Comunista de 1848, procedido de un prologo de sus autores", trans. by José Mesa, Leompart], in: *La Emancipación* 72–77 (1872), published in six installment (2.11., 9.11., 16.11., 23.11., 30.11., 7.12.), pp. 3–4; Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: "Manifesto comunista", in: *O Pensamento Social* (1873).

20 For a detailed account see Stefanie Kremmel: *Der Lebenslauf der Übersetzung: Die Transkulturalität des Kommunistischen Manifests*, Vienna: University of Vienna (2022), pp. 126–127, 180–197.

This (undeclared) recycled translation was scrutinized and harshly critiqued by Most's opponents and critics. They criticized the framing of the text, the quality of the translation, and the omissions made. However, the fact that it was actually a thirty-year-old translation with a couple of changes was not noticed or discussed.

To promote the publication, Schwab had stated in an article that his group had already been working on the translation before Marx's death and that it was "as accurate a translation as possible of the original German text [...] produced by wage labourers" who were members of the IWA.[21] There is no evidence for this scenario, yet Schwab's statements are noteworthy in that they constitute the first instance of the question of ownership, of who would be a suitable translator, being raised.



PREFACE.

THE Communist Manifesto was written by KARL MARX, assisted by FREDERICK ENGELS. This document which has played such an historical part in the Social Revolution, was first adopted in London, and appeared in February, 1848,—a short time previous to the outbreak of the European Revolutions of that year.

It was translated and published then in English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish. The Communist Workingmen's Society of London printed thousands of copies and scattered them broadcast.

For many years the English edition of the Manifesto has been extant. Hence we have resolved to translate and publish it, to the end that it may awaken and inspire American Workingmen with the importance of decisive action in their own behalf. The Manifesto is given in full, with exception of the measures proposed, which we omit for the reason that they are now out of date.

Wherever the terms *Bourgeoisie* and *Proletariat* are used, they will be understood in the following sense: *Bourgeoisie* means the ruling monied class—the capitalists. The *Proletariat* means the wage-working class.

THE PUBLISHERS.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

CHAPTER I.

BOURGEOISIE AND PROLETARIAT.

THE history of society in the past is the history of class struggles. Freemen and slaves, patricians and plebians, nobles and serfs, guild members and journeymen—in short, oppressors and oppressed, have always stood in direct opposition to each other. The struggle between them has sometimes been open, sometimes concealed, but always continuous. A never ceasing struggle, which has invariably ended, either in a revolutionary alteration of the social system, or in the common destruction of the contending classes.

In earlier historical epochs we find almost everywhere a minute division of society into classes or castes—a variety of grades in social life. In Ancient Rome we find patricians, knights, plebians, slaves; in Medieval Europe, feudal lords, vassals, burghers, journeymen, serfs; and in each of these classes here were again grades and distinctions.

Modern bourgeois society which arose from the ruins of the feudal system has not wiped out the antagonism of classes. New classes, new conditions of oppression, new modes and forms of carrying on the struggle, have been substituted for the old ones. The charateristic of our epoch—the epoch of the bourgeoisie, or middle class—is that the struggle between the various social classes has been reduced to its simplest form. Society tends more and more to be divided into two great hostile classes—the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat.

From the serfs of the middle ages sprang the burgesses of the early Communes; and from this municipal class were developed the first elements of the Bourgeoisie. The discovery of America, the circumnavigation of Africa, gave the bourgeoisie or middle class—then coming into being—new and wider fields of action. The colonization of America, the opening up of the East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonial trade, the increase of merchandise and of currency, gave an impetus—hitherto unknown—to commerce, shipping and manufactures, and aided

Me. f. 14, 3, 11

BIBLIOTECA MILANO G.G. FELTRINELLI

3 Preface and first page of Section I of the Communist Manifesto. [Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels:] *The Communist Manifesto*, published by the International Workingmen's Association, New York: Schaerr & Frantz (1883), pp. 30, p. 3–4.

Most's use of Macfarlane's translation is an example of a political group applying "translation as a means of ideological struggle," to quote Christina Delistathi,[22] through simple framing measures. Framing is an active process of signifi-

21 Justus Schwab in *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (8 June 1883), p. 4/IV–V, cited in Andréas: *Le manifeste communiste de Marx et Engels* (1963), p. 99.

22 Christina Delistathi: "Translation as a Means of Ideological Struggle", in: *Translation and Opposition*, ed. by Dimitris Asimakoulas, Margaret Rogers, Bristol; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters (2011), pp. 204–222.

cation, a strategic step deliberately taken to position a political movement or an argument in a certain perspective:

> Temporal and spatial framing involves selecting a particular text and embedding it in a temporal and spatial context that accentuates the narrative it depicts and encourages us to establish links between it and current narratives that touch our lives, even though the events of the source narrative may be set within a very different temporal and spatial framework. This type of embedding requires no further intervention in the text itself, although it does not necessarily rule out such intervention.[23]

We saw temporal and spatial framing by Macfarlane and Harney in 1850, who explained the relevance of the text to the reader, used imagery the readers could relate to, etc. Most's changes mostly consisted of omissions. He cut the ten-point program from Section II because, according to an *added* "translator's note," it was no longer up to date: "Here are a series of measures proposed, which are not applicable at the present time, as more radical measures are necessary (Translator's note)."

There were public objections to this omission on the part of German emigrants who were familiar with the *Manifesto*, and heated debates subsequently ensued. In addition to omissions, other interventions occurred: "Translator's notes" and Americanisms were inserted.[24] The most visible change concerned the title, which went from *German Communism – Manifesto of the German Communist Party* to *Manifesto of the Communists*, removing the reference a particular party of German origin as its basis. These interventions reinforced the impression that it was indeed a new translation. As did the editorial note: "For many years the English edition of the Manifesto has been extant. Hence we have resolved to translate and publish it, to the end that it may awaken and inspire American Workingmen with the importance of decisive action in their own behalf."[25]

A NEW IDEOLOGICAL HOME

What was so controversial about this edition? It was seen as a "hijacking" of Marx and Engels' work and names by anarchists. The framing of the text as a key document of anarchist groups was the trigger for criticism and rejection and although Engels later referred to this edition as "mutilated," the micro-level of the translation barely played a role in the debate. Hal Draper's well-known historical analysis of the English translation history of the *Manifesto* also fits this pattern, but has to be read with the author's Trotskyist viewpoints in mind: "Thus the English edition

23 Mona Baker: "Framing Narratives in Translation", in: idem: *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*, London: Routledge (2006), pp. 105–140.

24 Andréas: *Le manifeste communiste de Marx et Engels* (1963), p. 98.

25 *Manifesto of the Communists: Published by the International Workingmen's Association*, New York: Schaerr & Frantz (1883), p. 2.

of the Manifesto was 'captured' as the property and instrument of the Mostite anarchist sect alone, with a distorted text, lies about the translation, and charges and countercharges flying about [...] to the delight of the antisocialist press."[26]

This edition has to be understood as one event in a years-long large-scale conflict between different socialist and anarchist groups. It was published during a time when Johann Most managed to unite different anarchist groups in the US and was gaining momentum, while Engels was working on strengthening other political groups.[27] A decade later, a similar event took place in Italy, when a translation of the *Manifesto* was published, translated, and introduced by anarchist Pietro Gori. Friedrich Engels was displeased. A new translation by Pompeo Bettini was published a year later and made reference to this by stating that it was the only Italian translation that was not a betrayal to the cause. Engels wrote a preface to a later edition of Bettini's translation.[28]

Still, the Most edition was an important milestone for the English *Manifesto* – it was the first separate edition of the text, which up until 1883 had only appeared a handful of times in newspaper installments or summaries. This edition was reprinted a couple of times and is also what led Engels to work with more urgency on a new, authorized English translation, which was finally published in 1888.

THE *COMMUNIST MANIFESTO* AS A TRANSCULTURAL PHENOMENON

Helen Macfarlane's English translation, its subsequent use and the discourse surrounding it bring into focus effects of and motives for translation beyond dissemination. Some of these features are particular to the field of political translation. Translations can become the venue where different actors within the counterhegemonic field negotiate their interpretations and political strategies. By making use of framing devices and other translation strategies or by evaluating and criticizing translations of others, schisms and struggles within parties, groups or communities come to the fore.[29] They bear witness to the symbolic and representative function of attaching one's name and group to a specific text such as the *Manifesto*.

The transcultural moment of the *Manifesto* reveals itself in the context of its creation in a multilingual emigrant association, the international character and idea of the text, the authors' attempt at simultaneous multilingual text production, the phantom translations that take on a (discursive) life of their own and the

26 Draper: *The Adventures of the Communist Manifesto* (1994 [1984]), p. 72.

27 Tom Goyens: *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880–1914*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press (2007), pp. 97–98.

28 See Stefanie Kremmel: *Der Lebenslauf der Übersetzung: Die Transkulturalität des Kommunistischen Manifests* (2022), p. 131.

29 For case studies on the Greek and Turkish context in the twentieth century, see Christina Delistathi: "'He stole our translation': Translation Reviews and the Construction of Marxist Discourse", in: *Target* 2/29 (2017), pp. 201–221; İrem Konca: "The Turkish Retranslations of Marx's *Das Kapital* as a Site of Intellectual and Ideological Struggle", in: *Studies from a Retranslation Culture*, ed. by Özlem Berk Albachten, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, Singapore: Springer (2019), pp. 81–93.

authors' prefaces for different language edition. Indirect and compilative translation practices strengthen the relation between different language editions and are necessary to reach the primary goals of spreading the text quickly and at low cost.

Translation was not secondary or incidental to the *Communist Manifesto*, but a condition of its production. Applying the concept of *born translated* to describe its features has various theoretical effects. It counters the common narrative of translation as a process *subsequent* to the writing. This is closely connected to the status ascribed to translations, traditionally as inferior to what we understand as the original. The discipline of translation studies has already shifted the emphasis onto the pluralistic aspect of translation and challenged the qualitative distinction made between translations and non-translations.[30] This pluralistic viewpoint allows us to observe translation as a practice that takes different forms and relates to the so-called original or source text and to other translations in different ways. By focusing on translation as an element of genres like political manifestos and engaging with different publication formats and modes of production such as pamphlets and serialized translations in newspapers, we can reach a better understanding of the process of creation of a transcultural space of communication and knowledge.

30 Susan Bassnett: "Translators in Search of Originals", in: *Benjamins Translation Library*, ed. by Cecilia Alvstad, Annjo K. Greenall, Hanne Jansen, Kristiina Taivalkoski-Shilov, Amsterdam: John Benjamins (2017), pp. 119–129, p. 119.

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2 Robert Seymour, *The March of Intellect* (ca. 1828), London: British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum

REPRODUCING FREDERICK DOUGLASS

1 Unknown, *Frederick Douglass* (ca. 1877), Washington, D.C.: Brady-Handy photograph collection, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Online: https://loc.gov/item/2017895330/.
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BORN-TRANSLATED MANIFESTO

1 Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: *The Communist Manifesto*, adapted by Martin Rowson [Graphic Novel], London: SelfMadeHero (2018), pp. 13–14. Reproduced by permission of selfmadehero. Artwork © Martin Rowson.
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MASS VIOLENCE IN PAMPHLETS

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2 Eugène Atget, *Rue de la Montagne – Sainte Geneviève*, Paris (n.d.). Source: ImageZeno.org, ID-no. 20001850032, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=64881668.
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5 Juliane Prade-Weiss, Mural in front of bombarded Serbian state TV headquarters, Belgrade (15 August 2021). © Juliane Prade-Weiss.
6 Juliane Prade-Weiss, Monument commemorating the death of employees during a 1999 NATO air raid (15 August 2021). © Juliane Prade-Weiss.
7 Unknown, *Querdenker* protesting anti-COVID-19 policies. © picture alliance / SULUPRESS.

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