

# MARX



# IN TRANSLATION

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# MARX IN TRANSLATION

Catalogue 1519



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The use of the ALA-LC system has generally been restricted to the titles and imprints of the books. Rather than overcomplicate matters, we have tended to use the most familiar transliterations for well-known placenames, persons and political organisations in the main body of text.

### **Note on institutional holdings**

When providing a statement of institutional holdings for the books in this catalogue, we have consulted OCLC, Library Hub (formerly COPAC), and the Karlsruhe Virtual Catalog (KVK) alongside individual searches of relevant library catalogues wherever possible. However, given that searches using different qualifiers will often yield different results, especially when factoring in different languages, scripts and various systems of transliteration, we recognise that these statements should best be treated as approximations.

Maggs Bros. Ltd.  
48 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DR  
46 Curzon Street, London, W1J 7UH  
Telephone: +44 (0)20 7493 7160  
Email: gus@maggs.com

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Cover image:  
lithograph portrait of Marx after Hugo Gellert, taken from item 31; Marx, *Kapital*. 1936.

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There is a much-repeated adage derived from Francis Wheen that the “history of the twentieth century is Marx’s legacy”. Indeed, within one hundred years of Marx’s death one-third of the world’s population lived under a form of government “that professed Marxism to be their guiding faith.”

If we were to continue Wheen’s thought, then we would add that the stories behind the lives and motivations of the translators of Marx and Engels can tell us a great deal about how this came to be. We are therefore concerned with what might be described as the “who”, the “why”, and the “where” of the translations of Marx and Engels.

There are recurring themes here, including, *inter alia*: tensions and intersections between the ‘pure theory’ of German Marxist orthodoxy and localised political issues; the translations of Marx as a site of intellectual struggle and ideological legitimacy, with ‘authorised’ versions and even competing translations issued by rival groups; questions over the application of Marx’s analysis of capitalism to non-industrialised countries and the correlative dominance of anarchism in such contexts; and what might be described as “Marxism without Marx”, that is, the trajectories taken by avowedly ‘Marxist’ movements in the absence of readily available translations of original works by Marx and Engels.

Each of these variables is an example of what the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu described as the ways in which “texts circulate without their contexts”. Marx himself was keenly aware of this concept when he referred in the third section of the *Communist Manifesto* to the ways in which German philosophers co-opted the socialist and communist literature of France: “when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had not immigrated along with them. ... The work of the German literati consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view. This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated, namely, by *translation*.” (emphasis added).

It is worth quoting Bourdieu in full here:

“There is a process of selection (what is to be translated, what is to be published, who it will be translated by, who will publish it), a process of labelling and classification (often the placing of a label on a product that previously has no label at all) by the publishers, the question of the series in which it is to be inserted, the choice of the translator and the writer of the preface (who in presenting the work will take some sort of possession of it, and slant it with their own point of view, and explain how it fits into the field of reception, only rarely going so far as to explain where and how it fits into its field of origin, as the difficulties presented by such an enterprise are too large); and finally the reading process itself, as foreign readers are bound to perceive the text in different ways, since the issues which are of interest to them in the text are inevitably the result of a different field of production.”

To adapt an example of Bourdieu’s, we don’t simply get Marx, we get Marx with a preface by ‘Person X’. In all fairness, however, we encounter some remarkable people in what follows, to name but a few: Lenin’s older brother Aleksandr Ilyich Ulyanov who published a translation of Marx in the year of his execution for the attempted assassination of the Tsar; Moša Pijade, the cellmate of the Yugoslav communist leader Josip Broz Tito who smuggled his translations out of the notorious Lepoglava prison; and the German-American émigré Ernest Untermann who translated Marx on a chicken farm in Florida.

The majority of the translations in this catalogue are of *Das Kapital*. Marx's revered but widely unread *magnum opus* remains a dense and challenging book. It has never offered the same degree of utility for the lay reader as Marx's political writings such as the *Communist Manifesto*. Indeed, as Francis Wheen notes: "Those most in need of the book were the least able to understand it, while the educated elite who could read it had no wish to do so." As such, abridgements and summaries have played, and continue to play, a fundamental role in the diffusion and popularisation of the text, often serving as the source material for important early translations, foremost amongst which are those by Gabriel Deville and Carlo Cafiero.

There is a sense of foreboding here. A great many of the translations that follow are the product of political struggles that would culminate with the First and Second World Wars and the totalitarianism that characterised much of the twentieth century. And yet, these are fruitful grounds for the history of ideas, and we must avoid the temptations of the "end of history" and instead look again upon Arthur Koestler's "God that failed".

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TRANSLATED BY MARX'S DAUGHTER LAURA  
AND REVISED BY MARX HIMSELF

**1. MARX** (Karl). translated by **LAFARGUE** (Jenny Laura Marx). & **LAFARGUE** (Paul).  
**La guerre civile en France. Adresse du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale  
des Travailleurs.**

First edition in French. 12mo. 48 pp. Near contemporary quarter brown morocco with marbled paper covered boards, spine with five single raised bands outlined in black, second panel lettered in gilt on red morocco label, the rest with gilt stamped Phrygian caps, marbled endpapers, marbled edges, silk ribbon marker. A very fine copy.

[Bruxelles], [Trutys]. 1872.

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The first French translation of Marx's hugely important political pamphlet *The Civil War in France*, originally published in English in the previous year, translated into French by Marx's second daughter Laura and her husband Paul Lafargue – the first of many translations of Marx's works to be undertaken by his daughters – and revised, corrected and augmented by Marx himself.

*The Civil War in France* is "one of Marx's most intoxicating tracts" (Wheen), second only in importance to the *Communist Manifesto* amongst Marx's political writings. It was commissioned as an Address by the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) on the proletarian revolution of March 18th, 1871 in Paris, during which a working-class government – the Paris Commune – was established for the first time in history.

The political events unfolding in France offered the perfect platform for Marx to refine and update his theory of the state and revolution. The *Communist Manifesto* had been borne out of the revolutions across Europe of 1848. However, up until the Paris Commune, there had been no concrete example of what a working-class government would look like in practice. For Marx, the experience of the Commune confirmed once and for all that the dismantling of the bourgeois state was a necessary precondition for the social emancipation of the proletariat:

"But the working class," Marx wrote in *The Civil War in France*, "cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for their own purpose. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation."

There are few statements in the entire corpus of Marx and Engels as consequential as this. *The Civil War in France* was one of the most important moments in the development of Marx's theory of revolution, setting the stage for what would become arguably the single greatest schism in Marxist orthodoxy after the death of Marx and Engels, as epitomised by the social democratic 'revisionism' of Eduard Bernstein on the one hand and the revolutionary Bolshevism of Lenin on the other.

Although it had been commissioned on April 18th, by the time Marx finally delivered his fifty-page Address on May 30th it had become "an epitaph" (Wheen). The last barricades of the Commune had fallen only two days previously and the "cobblestones of Paris were

LA  
**GUERRE CIVILE**  
EN FRANCE.

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**ADRESSE**  
DU  
**CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL**  
DE  
**L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE**  
**des Travailleurs.**

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TROISIÈME ÉDITION REVUE.

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red with the blood of at least 20,000 murdered Communards” (Wheen). The Address was published in London on June 13th in an English-language pamphlet under the title *The Civil War in France*. It was an enormous success. The first edition of 1,000 copies quickly sold out and it was reprinted twice within the next two months, with the second edition alone selling 2,000 copies.

Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that the Paris Commune and *The Civil War in France* made Marx’s name. Hysteria and hyperbole abound in equal measure and no sooner had the pamphlet been published than a wave of hostile responses appeared in the Victorian bourgeois press, conjuring an image of Marx as a puppet master at the centre of the web weaved by the International across Europe. Writing in a letter to Ludwig Kugelmann dated 18 June 1871, Marx quipped:

“It is making the devil of a noise and I have the honour to be at this moment the best calumniated and the most menaced man of London. That really does one good after a tedious twenty years’ idyll in the backwoods” (MECW, Vol. 44, p. 158).

It is hard not to compare *The Civil War in France* with the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848. The original *Manifesto* contained a boast at the end of the preamble that translations were to be published imminently in five languages: English, French, Italian, Flemish, and Danish. In reality, however, it was a slow start to life for such a monumentally important document and none of the foregoing translations materialised in the years that immediately followed its original publication. The same cannot be said of *The Civil War in France*. The pamphlet was an international sensation and within a year of publication translations had appeared in German (by Engels himself), Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Danish, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, and French.

The French translation was undertaken by Marx’s second daughter Jenny Laura Marx (1845-1911), commonly known as Laura, and her husband Paul Lafargue (1842-1911). The Lafargues played a crucial role in the dissemination of Marxism in France. “It was Paul and Laura, for example, who finally secured a French publisher for *Das Kapital*, after a decade of Marx himself promising to do so” (Nicholls, p. 181). Together they also translated numerous other works by Marx and Engels into French, including the first French translation of the *Communist Manifesto* as well as the hugely popular introductory work *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, a selection of three chapters from Engels’s polemic *Anti-Dühring* translated and arranged by the Lafargues and published under the title *Socialisme utopique et Socialisme scientifique* in 1880.

The Lafargues had married in April 1868 and spent their early years together between London and then Paris. The young couple were able to escape Paris a matter of weeks before the Prussian army laid siege to the city in September 1870 and sought shelter at the home of Paul’s parents in Bordeaux. However, Paul would briefly return to Paris upon the establishment of the Commune and was able to provide a vital, although perhaps overly optimistic, first-hand account of the political situation to his father-in-law Marx in London. Back in Bordeaux, the couple set about busily agitating on behalf of the Commune, but quickly drew the attention of the local police and, shortly after the fall of the Commune, fled to Bagnères-de-Luchon in the French Pyrenes where they remained under police surveillance.

Understandably, little correspondence between the Lafargues and Marx from this time has survived. A letter from Marx to Laura dated 13 June 1871, full of pseudonyms and cryptic references, confirms that Marx sent a copy of the original English edition of *The Civil*

*War in France* to the Lafargues in Bagnères-de-Luchon (see MECW, Vol. 44, p. 154). “The Lafargues translated it into French, and suggested a possible French publisher, Lacroix of the *Librairie Internationale*. Paul admired the work. Of all he read of Marx, he said ‘it was the strongest; it struck all the popular chords’” (Derfler, p. 108).

The Lafargues translation of *The Civil War in France* was first published between July to September 1871 in Brussels across eight issues of the weekly newspaper *L’Internationale*, the organ of the Belgian section of the International edited by the Belgian syndicalist César De Paepe. This was followed by another serialised publication in Geneva between September to October 1871 in the French-language weekly newspaper *L’Égalité*, another organ of International that had been controlled by the pro-Bakunin anarchist faction since autumn 1869.

**The publication of the present pamphlet saw the first separate appearance of the Lafargues translation. The text for this edition was revised and edited by Marx himself, “who made numerous changes to the proofs and retranslated many passages”** (MECW, Vol. 22, p. 666). It was printed in Brussels in June 1872 in a deliberately reduced format with small type to aid its clandestine distribution in France. Marx is nowhere credited as the author and the title page bears the curious edition statement ‘Troisième Édition Revue’. Hal Draper has suggested that this might be a reference to the translation being based on the revised third English edition, but it is more likely an example of the French tradition of the ‘Édition Fictive’ whereby a publisher issues a book with purposely misleading edition statements to create the impression that it has enjoyed such popularity to have already been reprinted numerous times or, more pertinently in this case, to confuse the authorities and censors when distributing a publication clandestinely.

The French translation of *The Civil War in France* did much to solidify Marx’s name amongst the notoriously fractious French socialist movement. “It is no exaggeration to say that it is by this text that Marx became known in France, and attracted the support of numerous survivors of the Commune” (Dommanget, pp. 85-88). Writing in a letter dated 27 June 1872, Marx’s eldest daughter Jenny Marx-Longuet remarked upon the positive reception of the translation amongst the refugee Communards in London: “The French translation of the *Civil War* is producing a very good effect upon the refugees, equally satisfying all parties – Blanquists, *Proudhoniens*, and Communists. It is a great pity it did not appear earlier” (MECW, Vol. 44, p. 583).

Despite the progress made by *The Civil War in France*, Marxism would not come to fore amongst the numerous and often opposing factions of French socialism until the mid-1880s, largely owing to the continued efforts of Laura and Paul Lafargue in translating and publishing the works of Marx and Engels in France.

**Rare.** OCLC list three copies in North America (Yale, Illinois, & UW-Madison), two in the Netherlands (International Institute of Social History & Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam), and one apiece in France (Bibliothèque Nationale) and Germany (Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung).

See: Leslie Derfler, *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism, 1842-1882*; Maurice Dommanget, *L’Introduction du Marxisme en France*; Julia Nicholls, *Revolutionary Thought after the Paris Commune, 1871-1885*.

Rubel, 682n; *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Marx und Engels*, p. 36; Draper, M143n, ST/M49; Stammhammer, II, p. 207 (erroneously dated 1871).

“IN RUSSIA FEW WILL READ IT AND EVEN FEWER WILL UNDERSTAND IT”;  
BOUND WITH THE RARE ORIGINAL WRAPPERS

**2. MARX** (Karl). translated by **DANIELSON** (Nikolai Frantsevich). & **LOPATIN** (German Alexandrovich Lopatin). Et al.  
**Kapital**. *Kritika politicheskoi ekonomii*.

First edition in Russian. 8vo. [2], xiii, [3], 678 pp. With the half title. Near contemporary quarter roan with pebble-grain black cloth covered boards, spine with four single raised bands outlined with blind and black rules, second panel lettered in black, with the original front and rear orange printed wrappers bound-in. Contemporary ink ownership inscription in Russian cursive to head of half title undeciphered by this cataloguer, near contemporary ownership inscription of ‘D. Karlen’ to front free endpaper, title page, and dedication page, some occasional light pencilled underling and marginal highlighting throughout, substantial marginal annotation in later blue ink to p. 187 translating the quote by Dryden from English into Russian; light spotting, browning and some occasional faint staining throughout, a few patches of dark brown staining, most prominently to fore margin of p. 61 and lower corner of p. 519, not obstructing text, paper restoration to gutter of pp. 15-16, pp. 61-62, pp. 63-64 just touching a number of characters with no loss of text; rebaked with the original spine laid down, neatly recorned, endpapers sympathetically renewed retaining the near contemporary purple front free endpaper.

St. Petersburg, Izdanie N. P. Poliakova. 1872.

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The first translation of *Das Kapital* to appear in any language, and arguably the most important – bound with the exceedingly scarce original front and rear printed wrappers.

In one of the great ironies of modern printing history, the censors permitted the publication of *Das Kapital* in Imperial Russia, dismissing the book as a “colossal mass of abstruse, somewhat obscure politico-economic argumentation”, and concluding confidently “that in Russia few will read it and even fewer will understand it” (quoted in Resis, p. 221).

The Russian translation was the initiative of the socialist economist Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson (1844-1918) who had read *Das Kapital* in the original German shortly after its publication. The “work made so strong an impression on him that he immediately undertook to bring the book to the Russian reading public” (Resis, p. 223). The project would initiate a life-long correspondence between Danielson and Marx, with Danielson helping Marx source essential Russian material to aid Marx’s research. Danielson would also later produce Russian translations of the posthumously published second and third volumes of *Das Kapital*.

The first task was to find a willing publisher and Danielson eventually settled on the radical publisher Nikolai Petrovich Poliakov (1843-1905), who agreed to back the project on the condition that Danielson find an able translator. Ironically, it was not Marx’s *Das Kapital* that would bring Poliakov’s publishing career to an end, but rather a collection of Denis Diderot’s novels and short stories published ten months later that was banned by the censors who also liquidated his publishing house.



*Karlen*

# КАПИТАЛЪ.

КРИТИКА ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ЭКОНОМІИ.

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СОЧИНЕНІЕ

КАРЛА МАРКСА.

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ПЕРЕВОДЪ СЪ НѢМЕЦКАГО.

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ТОМЪ ПЕРВЫЙ.

КНИГА I. ПРОЦЕССЪ ПРОИЗВОДСТВА КАПИТАЛА.

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С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.  
ИЗДАНИЕ Н. П. ПОЛЯКОВА.

1872

Danielson wrote to Marx in September 1868, who replied immediately with his consent to undertake the project. However, nearly four years would pass until the translation was finally published, “and four translators tried their hand at it before Danielson was able to send the manuscript to the printers” (Resis, p. 220).

The first translator commissioned to undertake the mammoth task was none other than Marx’s great adversary Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), the Russian revolutionary anarchist. Bakunin accepted the work due to his desperate financial situation and, despite taking an advance payment from the publisher, he found it tedious and abandoned the translation after completing only part of the first chapter (White, p. 13). Bakunin’s brief involvement in the project was followed shortly after by his famous split with Marx at the International Workingmen’s Association (First International).

The task next fell to German Alexandrovich Lopatin (1845-1918), a close associate of Danielson’s who had visited Marx in London in 1870 and made a thorough study of *Das Kapital* in the original German. Lopatin translated about a third of the volume, however, his work on the project ended abruptly in November 1870 when he was arrested in Russia for attempting to free the great Russian socialist writer Nikolay Chernyshevsky from prison. The remaining chapters were then translated by Danielson himself with the assistance of Nikolai Liubavin (1845-1918).

Marx’s active involvement in the translation is of particular note and contributed to the protracted nature of the project. Marx was simultaneously working on both the second German edition and first French translation of *Kapital* and had intended to supply Danielson with copies of each in order to incorporate the new revisions to the Russian text. However, both of these projects would also be delayed, and Danielson would have to make do with a letter from Marx outlining some of the key changes (see MECW, Vol. 44, pp. 238-240).

The manuscript was finally sent to the printers in late December 1871 and the last remaining hurdle was the Russian censors. Interestingly, the original German edition of *Kapital* had not been banned in Russia by Central Committee of Censors of Foreign Publications and this leniency no doubt provided encouragement for Danielson and the publisher Poliakov (Resis, p. 221).

The office of Censors of Domestic Publications assigned two readers to the task of scrutinizing the text; D. Skuratov, who was tasked with the first half of the book, and A. De-Roberti, who read the second. Although both censors were able to identify numerous objectionable socialist and antireligious passages, Skuratov dismissed these offending sections in his final report as ultimately harmless, since they were imbedded in a “colossal mass of abstruse, somewhat obscure politico-economic argumentation”, concluding that “it can be confidently stated that in Russia few will read it and even fewer will understand it” (quoted in Resis, p. 221).

The Russian translation of *Kapital* was finally published on 27 March 1872 in an edition of 3,000 copies. Amusingly, the only part of the book forbidden by the censor was the inclusion of a portrait of Marx. By the standards of 700-page economic treatises, the publication was a great success and the edition rapidly sold out, with 1,000 copies already sold by the 15th of May. Marx was delighted and praised the translation as “masterly” in a letter to Danielson dated 28 May 1872 (MECW, Vol. 44, p. 385).

Despite the commercial success of the translation, the early response to *Das Kapital* in Russia was varied and did not necessarily mark the advent of Russian Marxism as such. *Das Kapital* appeared in Russia when aspects of modern industrialisation were starting to take form in the Russian economy following the vast changes brought about by the Emancipation of the Serfs in 1861. The vices and virtues of industrialisation dominated popular Russian discourse and it was precisely Marx's brilliant description of the modern industrial system that drew many to *Das Kapital* (Resis, p. 224).

For diverse parties from across the political spectrum, *Das Kapital* represented a stark warning of what was in store if Russia followed the trajectory of Western industrial development. Its publication did not necessarily denote an immediate shift towards socialism in Russia, but rather fed into pre-existing concerns about Russia's economic destiny and its future relations with Europe.

Marxism was only one of many 'socialisms' that competed for adherence in Russia at the time of the publication of *Das Kapital* and in the years that followed the Russian political landscape would be dominated by agrarian socialism of the *narodniki* or 'Populists'. "Indeed, none of the young men associated with the appearance of this Russian edition of *Das Kapital* ever became a revolutionary Marxist, even though Lopatin, Danielson, and Liubavin lived to see the Bolshevik Revolution" (Resis, p. 224). It would not be until the emergence of Georgi Plekhanov's *Emancipation of Labour* group in Geneva during the early 1880s that Marxism and *Das Kapital* would come to the fore amongst the disparate factions of the Russian socialist movement.

The printing of a second edition of *Das Kapital* was eventually forbidden in Russia and so in 1890 a New York publisher brought out a near identical reprint of the first edition: that second edition is distinguished from the first in that the misplaced comma opposite "p. 73" in the table of contents is replaced by a full stop; and the "e" at the end of l. 40, p. 65, is replaced by a "c".

OCLC, Library Hub and KVK list fifteen copies in North America, five in Germany (Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bundesarchiv, Universitätsbibliothek Osnabrück, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, & Bibliothek des Ruhrgebiets), two in the UK (BL and in the library of Piero Sraffa at Trinity College, Cambridge) and one a piece in Japan (Waseda), the Netherlands (International Institute of Social History), Poland (Biblioteka Narodowa), and Switzerland (Universitätsbibliothek Basel).

See: Albert Resis, 'Das Kapital Comes to Russia'; James D. White, *Marx and Russia: The Fate of a Doctrine*.

Rubel, 633n; *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Marx und Engels*, p. 33; Kenneth E. Carpenter, p. 38; Sraffa, 3858.

**“RELIGION IS THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE”;  
TRANSLATED BY LENIN’S OLDER BROTHER**

**3. MARX** (Karl). translated by **ULYANOV** (Aleksandr Ilyich). & edited with an introduction by **LAVROV** (Pyotr Lavrovich).

**Vvedenie k kritike filosofii prava Gegelia.**

First edition in Russian. 8vo. 47, [1, blank, pasted to inside rear wrapper] pp., with a single separately printed leaf with text on recto only tipped-in after the title page with an imprint at the foot ‘Imprimerie russe, Rue des Grottes, 22, Genève - Suisse.’ Recent plain buff paper wrappers, housed in a functional cloth backed folding case. Title page rather grubby and dusty, top corner sympathetically re-margined with matching paper, diagonal stain to top corner from old tape repair just touching a few characters but not obscuring text, remnants of small near contemporary printed paper label, paper reinforcement and further old tape residue to gutter; terminal leaf pasted to inside rear wrapper obscuring the final blank page to verso, old tape residue and substantial loss of paper to gutter just shaving one character to line 17 but otherwise not affecting text to recto, clean closed tear touching three characters to line 7 without obscuring text, closed tear closed tear touching single characters on lines 20, 22, & 23 without obscuring text.

Geneva, Vol’naia russkaia tipografiia, Sotsialisticheskaia Biblioteka, Izdanie Kruzhka Narodovol’tsev”. 1887.

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The first translation into any language of Marx’s introduction to his *Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right*, the only part of the work published within Marx’s lifetime and the source of his famous statement “Die Religion ... ist das Opium des Volkes”, **translated anonymously into Russian by Lenin’s older brother Aleksandr Ilyich Ulyanov (1866-1887) and published in the same year as his execution for the attempted assassination of Tsar Aleksandr III of Russia.**

The introduction was originally published in February 1844 under the title ‘Zur Kritik der Hegel’schen Rechts-Philosophie. Einleitung’ in the first and only issue of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, a short-lived periodical published in Paris under the editorship of Marx and Arnold Ruge. This short essay presents as a cohesive whole, but in reality belongs to a voluminous manuscript commentary on paragraphs 261-313 of Hegel’s *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (1821) prepared by Marx during the summer of 1843. Marx had initially intended to revise the manuscript for publication but abandoned the project shortly after the appearance of the introduction and apparently made no subsequent effort to return to the work. The entire manuscript was not published until in 1927, appearing in the first volume of the *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the text, the introduction published in 1844 remains of the utmost theoretical importance and Marx himself would refer to it twice in later writings in terms of its place in the development of his thought. It stands as Marx’s first substantial published engagement with Hegelian philosophy - a theme that would preoccupy him throughout his life - and contains the earliest formulation of his theory of alienation.

The present Russian translation was undertaken anonymously by Lenin’s older brother Aleksandr Ilyich Ulyanov (1866-1887) on behalf of a small group *narodniki* active in

СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ БИБЛИОТЕКА.  
Издание кружка народолюбцев.

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# КАРЛЬ МАРКСЪ.

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ВВЕДЕНИЕ  
КЪ КРИТИКЪ ФИЛОСОФІИ ПРАВА ГЕГЕЛЯ.

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*Съ предисловіемъ Н. А. Лаврова.*

Цена 1 фр.

ЖЕНЕВА  
Вольная русская типография

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1887



Saint Petersburg and Geneva. Roughly translatable as ‘populists’ (although the name bears little resemblance to the modern use of the term), the *narodniki* were a Russian revolutionary movement that represented a form of agrarian socialism. They intended to avoid the development of industrial capitalism in Russia altogether and instead believed in ‘the people’, insisting that the transformation of society would begin with the peasantry in the countryside. The movement’s early methods of societal change included the idea of ‘Going to the People’ whereby young radicals travelled to rural parts of Russia to spread their revolutionary message amongst the peasantry. However, after the failings of this somewhat patronising missionary approach their emphasis shifted to more short-term violent insurrectionary and terrorist acts.

The prominence of the movement peaked in the years between 1879 and 1881 with the formation of *Narodnaya Volya* (‘People’s Will’), Russia’s first organised revolutionary party, and the group’s subsequent successful assassination of Tsar Aleksandr II of Russia on 1 March 1881. The assassination of the Tsar ultimately backfired in political terms insofar as the extreme violence of this terrorist act alienated the majority of ordinary Russians from the movement and invoked the fearful revenge of Aleksandr II’s son and heir Aleksandr III on the revolutionary movement, with the majority of the prominent leaders of *Narodnaya Volya* being executed or exiled shortly thereafter, all but disabling the group as an effective organisation within Russia.

**The present publication therefore appeared during a challenging period for the *narodniki*.** Despite the effective dissolution of *Narodnaya Volya* as an organisation, young radicals would continue to refer to themselves as *narodovoltsy*, forming small discussion groups and cells throughout the 1880s. Aleksandr Ulyanov joined one such group in mid-1886 led by student radicals Orest Govorukhin (1864-?) and Petr Shevryev (1863-1887). Although they initially started as a student reading group, a small cell of core members emerged in the winter of 1886 intent on the assassination of Emperor Aleksandr III. “Until Govorukhin’s group grew up in 1886, there had been no serious enterprise of the sort for five years” (Service, p. 55).

Aleksandr Ulyanov was radicalised as a student at Saint Petersburg Imperial University in the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics. Much like his younger brother Vladimir Ilyich, best-known by the pseudonym Lenin, Aleksandr was a prodigious student. He was therefore a useful recruit for the terrorist cell: “he had the inestimable advantage of being a scientist with a practical knowledge of chemistry; they wanted him to make up the nitroglycerine for the bomb with which they planned to kill the Emperor. Also important was Aleksandr’s facility with language. They wanted his help with the production of propaganda explaining the political objectives of the group” (Service, p. 54).

To this end, Aleksandr was charged with providing the final literary elaboration of the group’s new ideology. In the years between 1881 and 1886 a wide split had emerged between the traditional agrarian ideology of the *narodniki* and the growing influence of Russian revolutionary Marxism as expounded by Georgi Plekhanov’s *Emancipation of Labour* group in Geneva. **It is in this context that the present translation of Marx issued by a group of *narodniki* is significant;** traditionally the movement had been influenced more by provincial Russian socialists and even anarchism rather than the brand of ‘scientific’ socialism represented by Marxism. The notion of scientific ‘laws’ within Marxism particularly appealed to Aleksandr’s background in the natural sciences. Along with the present translation of Marx, Aleksandr also co-authored the group’s Program which was purposively designed to appeal to this new generation of Russian Marxists.

However, police investigation of the group's activities in Saint Petersburg had intensified over the winter of 1886 and, at the beginning of 1887, Orset Govorukhin and several other prominent members fled to Switzerland. The group received significant support from the émigré Russian community in Geneva, including veteran *narodniki* who had fled Russia after 1881, and aimed to establish themselves as "the new rallying point for Russian revolutionary activities in Europe" (Naimark, p. 217).

**The present copy of Aleksandr's translation of Marx includes a highly interesting separately printed leaf with its own distinct imprint tipped-in after the title page comprising a political testament or 'mission statement' of the group in exile in Geneva – this political testament leaf is also present in the copy at BL, but we have been unable to examine any further examples to establish whether it was included in all copies of the edition.**

**The text of this political testament provides important insight on the motivation of Aleksandr's group and their interactions with other sympathisers in Russia and abroad.** In the first instance, it reveals that the group had acquired a name; the *Kruzhka Narodovoltsev* or 'Circle of Narodovoltsy' (Naimark, p. 217). Moreover, the text of the 'mission statement' places particular emphasis on the role of the publication and proliferation of socialist texts, declaring the present translation of Marx by Aleksandr Ulyanov to be the first in a projected series of books. The literary efforts of the group benefited from the support of the veteran Russian revolutionary and Marxist philosopher Pyotr Lavrovich Lavrov (1823-1900), who edited Aleksandr Ulyanov's translation and provided a preface to the text, dated 'October 22, 1887'.

Lavrov had been one of the major theorists of the *narodnik* movement during its traditional phase in the 1870s. He had been sentenced to internal exile in the Russian Empire for his political activities in 1867 but was able to escape to France where he was present during the Paris Commune of 1871. Lavrov left Paris in mid-April 1871 shortly before the defeat of the Commune, departing for London where he met Marx and Engels, with whom he established strong and enduring, "if not always cordial or friendly, relations" (Naimark, p. 122). Lavrov's first-hand account of the Paris Commune would no doubt have been of much use to Marx, who was at the time writing his hugely important political pamphlet *The Civil War in France* (1871). Lavrov would go on to become one of the central figures of the Russian revolutionary émigré community in Europe and, after the effective dissolution of *Narodnaya Volya* in 1881, focused his efforts on unifying the disparate and even conflicting factions of Russian socialism during the 1880s, hence his support for the 'Circle of Narodovoltsy' in Geneva.

The selection of Marx's introduction to the *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* as the group's first publication also undoubtedly owed much to Lavrov's influence. Despite the importance of the text to Marx's intellectual development, it would remain relatively obscure during Marx's own lifetime. Indeed, the 'mission statement' leaf makes reference to the original German text being a bibliographical rarity in its own right. However, the text was likely known by Lavrov through his personal acquaintance with Marx but also on account of Lavrov's own deep knowledge of Hegelian philosophy, having written numerous books and articles on the subject from as early as the 1850s.

Propaganda aside, it was during this period that the 'Circle of Narodovoltsy' ramped up their efforts to assassinate Tsar Aleksandr III. With the emigration of prominent members of the group, the leaders of the plot within Russia became Petr Shevyrev and Aleksandr

Ulyanov. In a particularly morbid symbolic gesture, the date set for the assassination attempt was to be 1 March 1887 - the sixth anniversary of the assassination of the previous Tsar.

The assassination attempt was a complete disaster for the conspirators. "One of them was already in the last stages of tuberculosis and another left the country at the last moment. The group nonetheless went ahead on the day, but luck played into the hands of the authorities. Two members were picked up in suspicious circumstances and the attempt to blow up the Emperor had to be abandoned. The *Okhrana*, the government's secret police, interrogated the arrested men and succeeded, one by one, in apprehending virtually all the group's members. Aleksandr Ulyanov was among them. The interrogations revealed everything the police needed to know, and when Aleksandr Ulyanov saw this he took an exceptionally brave decision. First, he determined to take the blame even for aspects of the conspiracy that did not involve him. Second, he made up his mind to use his trial as an opportunity to disseminate the basic ideas of the revolutionaries, an opportunity denied him in the legal press because of the official censorship. This decision, he knew, would probably cost him his life" (Service, p. 57).

Aleksandr Ilyich Ulyanov was executed on 20 May 1887 at the age of twenty-one years old. Meanwhile, Aleksandr's younger brother Vladimir Ilyich was only sixteen. He would go on to be known as Lenin - the most famous of the 160 pseudonyms he used throughout his lifetime. Revolution was to become the family business.

OCLC, Library Hub and KVK list seven copies in North America (Harvard, Yale, Hoover Institute, Yivo Institute, Indiana, Columbia, & California State Northridge), two in the UK (BL & Leeds), two in Switzerland (Bibliothèque Geneve & Swiss National Library) and one a piece in Germany (Bundesarchiv), Netherlands (International Institute of Social History), France (Nanterre-La Contemporaine), Poland (Biblioteka Narodowa), National Library of Israel, and the National Library of Finland.

See: Norman M. Naimark, *Terrorists and Social Democrats: The Russian Revolutionary Movement Under Alexander III*; James M. White, "'No, we won't go that way; that is not the way to take": The place of Aleksandr Ulyanov in the development of social-democracy in Russia'; Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography*.

Bert Andréas, *Karl Marx / Friedrich Engels: Das Ende der klassischen deutschen Philosophie. Bibliographie*, IV, 22; Kenneth E. Carpenter, *Russian Revolutionary Literature Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University: A Descriptive Guide and Key to the Collection on Microfilm*, p. 39.



Рядомъ съ тою дѣятельностью боевою, организаторскою и пропагандистскою, которую русскіе революціонеры-соціалисты продолжаютъ и будутъ продолжать въ Россіи, они находятъ въ высшей степени важнымъ основательное ознакомленіе съ теоретическими и историческими элементами социализма, а также со многими вопросами социологии вообще, къ нему относящимися. Въ этихъ элементахъ и вопросахъ заключается почва, на которой выросъ социализмъ и при помощи которой онъ можетъ осуществить свои идеалы. Желая содѣйствовать этой цѣли, заграничный „кружокъ народновольцевъ“ рѣшился приняться за изданіе ряда переводныхъ и оригинальныхъ брошюръ, ей соотвѣствующихъ. Мы получили изъ Россіи заявленія сочувствія нашему предпріятію, какъ удовлетворяющему желаніямъ не только русскихъ социалистовъ, но и вообще прогрессивной доли русскаго общества. Мы просимъ, поэтому, содѣйствія рѣшенію нашей обширной задачи, какъ матеріальными средствами, такъ совѣтами и указаніями, отъ всѣхъ, кого интересуетъ борьба социализма съ современнымъ общественнымъ строемъ или, вообще, идейная жизнь нашего отечества.

П. Л. Лавровъ и нѣкоторыя другія русскія заграничныя литературныя силы обѣщали намъ живое содѣйствіе нашему предпріятію. Рядъ нашихъ изданій мы открываемъ переводомъ сдѣланной библиографической рѣдкостью и въ оригиналѣ статьи *Карла Маркса* „Введеніе къ критикѣ Философіи Права Гегеля“, переводомъ, сдѣланнымъ подъ редакціей П. Л. Лаврова и съ его предисловіемъ.

Деньги и письма просимъ адресовать:

Imprimerie russe, Rue des Grottes, 22, Genève — Suisse.

THE FIRST TRANSLATION IN ANY LANGUAGE  
OF THE "GERM" OF DAS KAPITAL

**4. MARX** (Karl). translated by **RUMIANSTEV** (Petr Petrovich). & edited with a preface by **MANUILOV** (Alexander Appolonovich).

**Kritika niekotorykh" polozhenii politicheskoi ékonomii. (Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie.)**

First edition in Russian. 8vo. xii, [4], 163, [1, blank] pp. Recent quarter brown morocco with contemporary marbled paper covered boards, spine lettered in gilt on black morocco labels. Neat paper reinforcements to gutter and top margin of title page, very faint foxing to title, small area of light staining to pp. 5-6 not effecting legibility of text, otherwise internally clean.

Moscow, Tipo-litografiia V. S. Traugot', Izdanie Vladimira Bonch"-Bruebicha. 1896.

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The first complete translation into any language of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, the "germ" of *Das Kapital* and Marx's first attempt at a general statement of his economic theory - one of two editions of the same Russian translation published in the same year without established priority.

Originally published in German in 1859, Marx's *Contribution* represented the first major exposition of the Marxist interpretation of history and political economy, and Marx himself described *Das Kapital* as a continuation of the ideas set forth in this earlier work (PMM). The *Contribution* has been widely overshadowed by the monumental influence of *Kapital* and as such translations of the work were relatively slow to appear, with the first English translation published as late as 1904.

A single chapter from the book had earlier been translated into Russian, appearing as an appendix to the Marxist economist Nikolai Ziber's 1882 Russian edition of the Works of David Ricardo. However, **the present Russian version is the earliest full translation of the work in any language** (see Rubel, p. 148) and is of particular note as it appeared the year before the second German edition, published in 1897 under the editorship of Karl Kautsky, which served to reintroduce the long-neglected text to the literature of socialism.

Two separate editions of the present Russian translation were published in Moscow in 1896, both of which state 'Izdanie Vladimira Bonch"-Bruebicha' ('Published by Vladimir Bonch-Bruevicha') at the head of their title pages, referring to Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich (1873-1955), an immensely influential 'Old Bolshevik' and Vladimir Lenin's one-time personal secretary. Bonch-Bruevich became involved in social-democratic circles in Moscow in 1892 where he took advantage of his employment in commercial publishing to produce clandestine hectographic duplicated printings of prohibited literature. Bonch-Bruevich emigrated to Geneva in 1896 where he played an important role in importing revolutionary literature and printing equipment to Russia.

Although the text of both editions is identical, they have entirely different settings of type and bear entirely different imprints at the foot of the title pages, the present edition having been printed by Tipo-litografiya V.S. Traugot and the other edition printed by Tipografiya Z. Lissnera i Ju. Romana.

Издание Владимира Бончъ-Бруевича.

Карль Марксъ.

КРИТИКА

НѢКОТОРЫХЪ ПОЛОЖЕНІЙ

**ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ЭКОНОМІИ.**

(ZUR KRITIK DER POLITISCHEN OEKONOMIE.)

Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго П. П. Румянцева

подъ редакціей

**А. А. Мануилова.**

Цѣна 1 руб. 35 коп.

**Москва.**

Типо-литографія В. С. Трауготъ, Кузнецкій мостъ, д. кн. Голицына.

**1896.**

These editions were published legally in Russia during a period of relatively relaxed censorship laws that lasted from the mid-1890s up until the so-called 'Years of Reaction', the period of harsh tsarist repression commencing from mid-1907 as a reaction to the brief period of liberalisation brought about by the 1905 Russian revolution.

Indeed, both of the separate editions bear notices printed on the versos of the title pages stating they have passed the censor. Interestingly, although there is no established priority between the two editions, the censors notice on the present V.S. Traugot edition is dated 20th December 1895 ('20-go dekabnja 1895 g.') and as such is nearly four months earlier than the Z. Lissnera i Ju. Romana edition, which is dated 13th April 1896 ('13-go April' 1896 godaju'). **This difference may suggest that the present V.S. Traugot edition marked the first printing of the translation.**

The only part of the book that was affected by the Russian censors was the preface, which is of exceptional methodological and theoretical significance as it contains the first detailed presentation of Marx's materialist conception of history. The sections omitted by the Russian censor include: a passage referring to the "weak, quasi-philosophic echo of French socialism and communism" in the *Rheinische Zeitung*; a brief reference to Marx's 1845 expulsion from France; two key sentences from the famous paragraph detailing the concept of historical materialism ("The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual process of life." & "With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed."); and an entire paragraph towards the end where Marx traces the development of the concept of historical materialism in his earlier fragmentary works, including references to *The Holy Family* (1845), *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847), and *The Communist Manifesto* (1848).

The Russian translation was undertaken by the Bolshevik revolutionary Petr Petrovich Rumiantsev (1870-1924), a close associate of the likes Lenin and Maxim Gorky, and a prominent member of Russian social-democratic circles from the early 1890s. Rumiantsev was a member of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (*Rossiyskaya sotsial-demokraticeskaya rabochaya partiya*, RSDRP) from its foundation in 1898, eventually becoming a member of the Central Committee of the party and head of the Bolshevik-dominated St. Petersburg Committee. After the 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split in the RSDRP, Rumiantsev served as a member of the editorial staff of the Bolshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (1905) and the journal *Vestnik Zhizn* (1906-07). Rumiantsev gradually withdrew from political activity between 1907 to 1910 during the so-called 'Years of Reaction', eventually moving abroad and working as a statistician in Berlin, where he died in 1924.

Rumiantsev's translation was prepared under the editorship of the distinguished Russian economist and politician Alexander Appolonovich Manuilov (1861-1929) who also provided a short preface to the text. At the time of publication, Manuilov was a Privatdozent at the Department of Political Economy and Statistics of the Imperial Moscow University, where he would eventually become head of Department in 1899 and rector of the whole University in 1908. Manuilov was involved in liberal politics in Russia from 1880s and was a founding member of the centrist Constitutional Democratic Party (*Konstitutsionno-demokraticeskaya partiya*), eventually serving as Minister of Education in the first Russian Provisional Government following the February revolution of 1917 and subsequent abdication of Tsar Nicholas II. Lenin was an outspoken critic of Manuilov's

economic thought, especially concerning the agrarian question, describing him as one of “the bourgeois liberal friends of the *muzhik* [serfs] who desire the ‘extension of peasant land ownership’ but do not wish to offend the landlords”.

**Rare.** OCLC list three copies of the present V.S. Traugot edition in North America (Harvard, Stanford, & New York University), along with two apiece in Germany (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin & Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg) and France (La Contemporaine & Bibliotheque Nationale).

Rubel, 529n [does not differentiate between the two printings].



TWO RUSSIAN SUMMARIES OF THE FIRST AND SECOND VOLUMES  
OF KAPITAL BOUND TOGETHER

**5. MARX (Karl). & DEVILLE (Gabriel). translated by GOLDENBERG (Joseph Petrovich). Kapital". Izlozhenie 1-go toma "Kapitala" Marksa. So vstupitel'noi stat'ei: "Ocherk" nauchnago sotsializma".**

First edition in Russian. 8vo. 272, [2, table of contents] pp. Contemporary half roan with green cloth covered boards. Neatly rebacked and recornered, some occasional foxing and pencilled underling to contents.

St. Petersburg, Tipografiiia S. M. Muller".

[bound with:]

**MARX (Karl). edited by BAZAROV (Vladimir Alexandrovich). Izlozhenie 2-go t. "Kapitala" Karla Marksa.**

First edition. 8vo. [4], 88, [3, advertisements], [1, blank] pp.

St. Petersburg, Knigoizdatel'stvo Posiev", Vladimir" Girshfel'd". 1908.

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A sammelband containing two Russian abridgements of the first and second volumes of *Das Kapital*, including a Russian translation of the Gabriel Deville abridgement of the first volume bound with a summary of the posthumously published second volume of *Kapital* edited by the influential Russian Marxist intellectual and revolutionary Vladimir Bazarov.

Both works date from an intriguing period of relaxation of Russian censorship laws following the immediate aftermath of the 1905 revolution, lasting up until the so-called 'Years of Reaction', the period of harsh tsarist repression commencing from mid-1907 as a reaction to the brief period of liberalisation brought about by the 1905 Russian revolution.

The first work bound here is a Russian translation of the Gabriel Deville abridgement of the first volume of *Das Kapital*. Originally published in Paris in 1883, "Deville's internationally acclaimed abridgement of *Kapital* did more to disseminate the arguments of Marx's revered but unread *magnum opus* than did any other publication before or since" (Stuart, *Marxism at Work*, p. 25). Deville also provided a substantial introductory essay titled 'Aperçu sur le Socialisme Scientifique', a powerful and persuasive summation of the Marxist analysis of the accumulation process, which is included in the present Russian translation.

The Russian translation of the Deville abridgement was undertaken by Joseph Petrovich Goldenberg (1873-1922), also known under the alias 'Meshkovskiy'. A relatively peripheral, yet consistent presence in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Russian revolutionary circles, Goldenberg was a member of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) from 1892 and joined the Bolshevik wing of the party following the RSDLP split at 1903 conference. He collaborated with Leon Trotsky in Vienna on the clandestine revolutionary newspaper *Pravda* and returned to Russia to play an active role in the 1905 revolution. Goldenberg would later defect to the Mensheviks in 1914 and was involved with the short-lived Menshevik periodical *Novaya Zhizn* between 1917 to 1918. He was readmitted to the Bolshevik party in 1920, shortly before his premature death from a heart attack in 1922.

ГАБРИЭЛЬ ДЕВИЛЛЬ.

# Капитальъ.

Изложеніе 1-го тома „Капитала“ Маркса.

Со вступительной статьей: „Очеркъ научнаго социализма“.

Переводъ съ французскаго.

Подъ редакціей І. Гольденберга.

С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.

Тило-Литографія С. М. Муллеръ, В. О., 9 лин., д 18.

1907.

The second work is a summary of the second volume of *Das Kapital* edited by Vladimir Alexandrovich Bazarov (1874-1939), born Rudnev, a prominent Russian Marxist intellectual and revolutionary. The second volume of *Kapital* was originally published posthumously in German in 1885 under the editorship of Friedrich Engels and first translated into the Russian in the same year. Bazarov co-translated a new edition of all three volumes of *Kapital* published in Moscow between 1907 to 1909, upon which his summary of the second volume is based.

Bazarov was “one of the leading lights of the Bolshevik movement during its first decade, and later the leading, though non-party, economist of the Gosplan” (Jasny & Kaser, *Soviet Economists of the Twenties*, p. 124). He was a close ally of Alexander Bogdanov, Lenin’s main rival in the early years of Bolshevism, and is commonly associated with Russian Machism, a group of broadly positivist thinkers centred around Bogdanov and influenced by Austrian philosopher and physicist Ernst Mach, who found themselves on the receiving end of Lenin’s famous critical work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (1909).

Bazarov was active in social democratic circles in Moscow from the early 1890s and was exiled for his political activities in 1896, settling in Berlin in 1901 where he attempted to unite disparate socialist factions under the banner of the ‘Neutral Group of Social-Democrats in Berlin’. Bazarov returned to Russia in 1901 and was promptly arrested and sentenced to three years exile in Siberia. Upon his release, Bazarov joined the Bolshevik party in 1904 and participated in the 1905 revolution, writing extensively for the party press.

Following the 1917 revolutions, Bazarov drifted away from Bolshevism and towards more of a non-party position. Although he would work as one of the foremost economists of the Gosplan (State Planning Committee), Bazarov would ultimately fall foul of the early Stalinist purges. Despite being spared a public trial, he was imprisoned in 1931 and died in 1939.

His translation of *Das Kapital* would remain the standard Russian text for decades to come, although his name was removed from all editions published after his death.

**Rare.** OCLC list four copies of the first work (Harvard, Stanford, Columbia, & Wisconsin-Madison) and only one copy of the second (Hoover Institute).



ВЛАДИМИРЪ ГИРШФЕЛЬДЪ.

ИЗЛОЖЕНІЕ

2-20 т. „Капитала“

*Карла Маркса.*

Подъ редакціей В. Базарова.

С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.

Книгоиздательство „ПОСЪВЪ“.

1908.

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF DAS KAPITAL IN ITALIAN,  
EXCEEDINGLY SCARCE IN THE ORIGINAL WRAPPERS

6. MARX (Karl). & CAFIERO (Carlo).

**Il Capitale di Carlo Marx brevemente compendiato da Carlo Cafiero. Libro Primo. Sviluppo della Produzione Capitalista.**

First edition. 8vo. 126, [1, 'Indice'], [1, blank] pp. Original orange printed wrappers, edges untrimmed. Extremities slightly rubbed with some minor loss to head and tail of spine, front joint split but holding, substantial portion of loss to lower corner of front wrapper sympathetically restored with Japanese paper in matching orange, notwithstanding a very good example of this rare and fragile publication.

Milan, C. Bignami e C., Editori., Biblioteca Socialista, Volume N. 5. 1879.

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The first appearance of *Das Kapital* in Italian, an abridgement by the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero (1846-1892) that was much admired by Marx himself, one of the earliest and most important of such abridgements - exceedingly scarce in the original printed wrappers.

Carlo Cafiero was born to a land-owning family in Barletta on the Adriatic coast in the extreme South of Italy. He studied law in Naples and pursued a career in diplomacy as a young man which took him first to Paris and then to London, where he resided from July 1870 to May 1871. During his stay in London, Cafiero entered the circle of Marx and Engels, who for their part enthusiastically welcomed the young Italian to their cause. Marx and Engels had little in the way of support in the Italian socialist movement, which was dominated by the influence of the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, and it was devised that Cafiero would return to Italy to serve as their agent on the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association (First International). Cafiero was tasked with monitoring the growing influence of anarchism in Italy under the First International, reporting back to Marx and Engels in London.

However, Cafiero ironically fell under the influence Bakunin and renounced his ties with the German Marxist Orthodoxy in late-1872. **Cafiero's rejection of Marxism is interesting insofar as it is fairly typical of the wider reception of Marx's thought in Italy during this period: the analysis simply did not fit the material situation.** Although Marxism remained Cafiero's basic theoretical framework, Marx's analysis of the industrial proletariat pertained more specifically to the developed industrial economies of Western Europe. In contrast, Cafiero felt that the precapitalist social conditions of Italy applied better to Bakunin's ideas regarding the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and the lumpenproletariat. Herein lied the key to the popularity of anarchism in Italy during the 1870s; it spoke more directly to the political climate of Italy, especially in the South.

Cafiero's political activities in the 1870s came to an abrupt interregnum in April 1877 when he was imprisoned for sixteen months for his leading role in the botched anarchist insurrection in the province of Benevento, the failure of which is widely held to have signalled the decline of anarchism as the dominant force in the Italian left (Drake, p. 40). While in prison Cafiero read the French translation of *Das Kapital* by Joseph Roy. "The book electrified him with its brilliance, and he immediately set about writing a commentary on it. By the time Cafiero left prison in August 1878, he had a short book ready for publication" (Drake, p. 41).

l. 42  
1879

Banco

BIBLIOTECA SOCIALISTA, VOLUME N. 5

MARX - IL CAPITALE

IL  
CAPITALE

DI  
CARLO MARX

BREVEMENTE COMPENDIATO

DA  
CARLO CAFIERO

L'operaio ha fatto tutto; e l'operaio  
può distruggere tutto, perchè può tutto  
rifare.

*Un lavoratore italiano.*



MILANO

C. BIGNAMI E C., EDITORI

Corso Venezia, 5

1879

Cafiero's 'Compendio' was published on 20 June 1879, representing the first substantial exposition of Marx's *magnum opus* to the Italian reader. It preceded the first full Italian translation of *Das Kapital* which was serialised between 1882 and 1884 as part of the *Biblioteca dell'economista*, Italy's most prestigious economics journal, and finally published in book form in 1886. In his preface to the 'Compendio' Cafiero bemoaned the fact that such a great and original thinker as Marx could be "in fact unknown in Italy" (English translation quoted in Drake, p. 42).

Cafiero sent two copies of the 'Compendio' to Marx in London. His accompanying letter was written in flattering terms, opening with 'Stimatissimo Signore' ('Most Esteemed Sir') and closing with an expression of "the deepest respect" for Marx and the hope that he had done justice to his great work. He made no reference to his very public split with Marx back in 1872. Cafiero also apologised for not letting Marx see the manuscript before publication. It had been his intention to do so, but then a publisher had unexpectedly made him an offer. He explained to Marx: "Fear of losing a favourable opportunity prompted me to consent to the proposed publication" (quoted in Drake, p. 423).

Marx replied with high praise indeed. In his letter to Cafiero on 29 July 1879, Marx spoke negatively of previous efforts to produce similar abridgements, writing that:

"Some time ago I received two similar works, one written in Serbian, the other in English (published in the United States), but both of them err in that, by seeking to provide a succinct and popular résumé of *Kapital*, they also devote themselves in too pedantic a manner to the scientific form of the argument. Thus it seems to me that they more or less lose sight of their principal object, which is to make an impression on the public for whom these résumés are intended. And it is here that your work is vastly superior!" (MECW, Vol. 45, pp. 365-366).

Marx continued by praising Cafiero for having mastered almost all of his ideas, reserving criticism of the 'Compendio' to a single point regarding Cafiero's rather too fatalistic depiction of social development, with Marx emphasising the active role of class consciousness and class struggle:

"... I believe I am not mistaken when I find an apparent gap in the views set out in your preface, which is that there is no proof that the material conditions indispensable to the emancipation of the proletariat are engendered in spontaneous fashion by the progress of capitalist production. ... There is nothing to prevent your making, at the right moment, a further attempt aimed at placing greater emphasis on this materialist basis of Capital. Once again many thanks." (MECW, Vol. 45, p. 366).

Despite Marx's minor quibble, Cafiero's 'Compendio' stands alongside Gabriel Deville's abridgement published in Paris in 1883 as arguably one of the most important texts in the dissemination of *Das Kapital*, having arguably done "more to disseminate the arguments of Marx's revered but unread *magnum opus* than any other publication before or since" (Stuart, *Marxism at Work*, p. 25).

Provenance: formerly from the library of the now defunct Commercial and Nautical Academy of Trieste (Reale Accademia di Commercio e Nautica Trieste), a prominent nineteenth century educational institute in north-eastern Italy that operated from 1845 to 1921, with faint traces of their partially erased library stamps visible to the front wrapper, half title and title page and verso of the terminal leaf of p. 126, along with class marks to

front wrapper in pencil and half title in blue crayon and ink, the word 'Bianco' in pencil over an earlier notation to the upper corner of front wrapper.

**Rare.** OCLC, Library Hub and KVK list a single copy in North America, held by University of California Riverside, along with two copies in the UK (BL and in the library of Piero Sraffa at Trinity College Cambridge), two in Germany (Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and Bundesarchiv), and one apiece in Switzerland (Sistema Bibliotecario Ticinese) and Italy (Biblioteca Comunale di Trento).

See: Richard Drake, *Apostles and Agitators: Italy's Marxist Revolutionary Tradition*, especially chapter 2 'Carlo Cafiero: Prophet of Anarchist Communism' pp. 29-55; Paolo Favilli, *The History of Italian Marxism: From its Origins to the Great War*.

Draper, M134n; Gianni, e.i. 79. III. M.K.; Sraffa, 3862; Stammhammer, I, p. 44 & II, p. 56; Sraffa, 3862. [Gianni and Stammhammer both cite another Milan edition published in the same year by Ambrosoli, but according to de Vivo this is a ghost.]



**7. ENGELS** (Friedrich). translated by **MARTIGNETTI** (Pasquale).

**L'Origine della famiglia, della proprietà privata e dello Stato. In rapporto alle indagini di Lewis H. Morgan. Versione Riveduta Dall'Autore.**

First edition in Italian. 8vo. ix, [10]-172, [1, Index], [3, blank] pp. Original printed wrappers, edges untrimmed. Spine lightly rubbed at head and tail, covers browned with some faint spotting, otherwise a remarkably fine copy.

Benevento, Stabilimento Tipografico di F. de Gennaro. 1885.

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The first translation in any language of Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, published barely a year after the original German, and one of the earliest direct translations of an original theoretical work by either Marx or Engels to appear in Italian.

Originally published in German in 1884, the year following Marx's death, *The Origin of the Family* represents the most extensive application of the materialist conception of history in the published works of Marx and Engels. The project was initiated by Engels's discovery of manuscript notes by Marx on the American anthropologist L.H. Morgan's book *Ancient Society* (1877) and Engels described his work in the preface as "in a sense, the fulfilment of a behest" of Marx, who had planned to write a book on early human history drawing on Morgan's studies. It was later described by Lenin as "one of the fundamental works of modern socialism".

The translation was undertaken by Pasquale Martignetti (1844-1920), one of Engels's principal correspondents in Italy, the pair having initiated contact two years earlier through Martignetti's translation of Engels's *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. A "commendable yet obscure provincial translator" from Benevento in the South of Italy, Martignetti "often financed the publication of the Marx and Engels texts that he translated out of his own (rather scarce) means" (Favilli, p. 209).

Engels was hugely supportive of Martignetti's translation work, placing great importance on his role in the proliferation of Marxism in Italy. Their correspondence would last up until Engels's death in 1895, with Engels routinely sending Martignetti socialist publications that would have been otherwise virtually unobtainable in Italy at the time, along with newspapers to aid his learning of English and German language. "The relation that the proud 'general' Engels was able to establish with this humble soldier of the socialist revolution was exemplary for its level of intellectual rigour, its warm humanity, and the sense of belonging to a common ideal universe" (Favilli, p. 209).

Martignetti's translation of *The Origin of the Family* was prepared in direct collaboration with Engels, who revised the manuscript and provided various new explanatory footnotes specifically for the Italian edition. The publication also included a short prefatory biographical note on Engels by Paul Lafargue, originally published as a preface to the first edition of Engels's *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* (1880) and expanded by Lafargue himself for the present Italian edition. Engels had formally entrusted Martignetti with the Italian translation of the book in November 1884 and was delighted with the quality of his work, writing in a letter on 19 May 1885:

"I am amazed that, without having lived in Germany and learned the language there, you have been able to render my thoughts so well. ... Thank you again for the considerable work you have done on my behalf" (MECW, Vol. 47, p. 291).

*lorenzini  
Bell 337/1.000*

L'ORIGINE DELLA FAMIGLIA,  
DELLA PROPRIETÀ PRIVATA E DELLO STATO

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IN RELAZIONE ALLE RICERCHE DI LUIGI H. MORGAN

DI

FEDERICO ENGELS

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VERSIONE RIVEDUTA DALL'AUTORE

DI

PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI

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Prezzo L. 2,00.

The individual efforts of Martignetti's translations of Engels were highly emblematic of the publication of Marxist material in Italy prior to the 1890s, which were "incidental in character" and devoid of any structured attempt amongst socialist circles to undertake such a vast editorial project (Favilli, p. 207). Indeed, with the exception of Carlo Cafiero's virtually unobtainable summary of *Das Kapital* published in 1879, Martignetti's efforts represented the earliest direct translations of original theoretical works by either Marx or Engels to be published in book form in Italy (Gianni, p. xxxvii).

It would not be until the early 1890s that a systemised programme to translate the works of Marx and Engels would appear under the banner of the Italian Socialist Party and the Milanese journal *Critica Sociale*, with Martignetti's translations of Engels being republished with a much larger circulation.

Provenance: from the library of Professor Luigi Dal Pane (1903-1979), with his private library inventory label and purple ink ownership stamp to the title page.

**Rare.** We have been unable to trace any copies held institutionally in North America or the UK. OCLC list two copies in Italy (Rovereto Civica and Sistema Bibliotecario Di Ateneo which is repeated in the individual catalogues of University of Bologna and University of Padova) and one in Germany (Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung).

See: Favilli, *The History of Italian Marxism*.

Draper, E573; Gianni, e.i. 85. I. E.F.; Stammhammer, III, p. 103. Not in Sraffa.



**8. MARX (Karl).** translated by **BOCCARDO (Gerolamo).**  
**Il Capitale. Critica Dell'Economia Politica. [in: Raccolta Della Più Pregiate Opere  
Moderne Italiane e Straniere di Economica Politica. Diretta dal Professore Gerolamo  
Boccardo. Volume Nono, Parte Seconda.]**

First Italian edition in book form. 8vo. 685 pp. [collation of entire volume: [2], 903, [1, blank] pp., bound with the series title page.] Contemporary quarter roan with marbled paper covered boards, spine lettered and ruled in gilt. Corners bumped, some light wear to extremities, joints holding firmly, some occasional faint foxing, otherwise a very good copy indeed.

Torino, Unione Tipografico-Editrice. 1886.

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The first complete Italian translation of *Das Kapital*, originally serialised between 1882 and 1884 across nine issues of the *Biblioteca dell'economista*, Italy's most prestigious economics journal, and finally published separately in the present book edition in 1886 by the esteemed commercial publishing house Unione Tipografico-Editrice di Torino.

The present book edition was published as Volume Nine, Part Two of the *Biblioteca dell'economista's* series of the 'Most Valuable Modern Italian and Foreign Works of Political Economy', with *Das Kapital* appearing alongside Italian translations of Leopold Jacoby's *Die Idee der Entwicklung* and Nikolay Chernyshevsky's *Critical Observations* on John Stuart Mill, all three of which were framed as "heretics of economics".

The present translation is highly emblematic of the publication of the works of Marx and Engels in Italy prior to the 1890s, which were "incidental in character" and devoid of any structured attempt amongst socialist circles to undertake such a vast editorial project. Indeed, the first full Italian translation of *Das Kapital* "was not the result of socialist endeavour, but rather a 'bourgeois' initiative taken at the highest levels of academia and publishing" (Favilli, p. 207).

The inclusion of *Das Kapital* in such an "official and even prestigious" academic venture is noteworthy in itself insofar as it came at a time "when the greater part of the European academic establishment considered Marxism to be wholly extraneous to its own scientific paradigm" (Favilli, p. 207). Despite being a relative anomaly, it is clear that the *Biblioteca dell'economista* translation had little contemporary impact amongst socialist circles and its initial circulation was restricted principally to the academy; indeed, Marx only happened to become aware of its existence two months before his death in 1883, and Engels only in 1893.

The Italian translation was undertaken by the Italian economist and politician Gerolamo Boccardo (1829-1904) who had become the editor of *Biblioteca dell'economista* in 1876. Under Boccardo's direction, the series shifted away from its previous orthodox classical emphasis and included works of socialism and the German Historical School as well as translations of the likes of Cournot, Jevons and Walras, serving to introduce the marginalist school to Italy.

Boccardo's translation would remain the standard Italian version for nearly a hundred years, being frequently reprinted by the Turin publisher up until 1974 when it was replaced by a new version translated by Bruno Maffi and edited by Aurelio Macchioro.

It is noteworthy that the Italian socialists did not produce their own full translation of *Kapital* despite the initial relative obscurity of the *Biblioteca dell'economista's* effort, preferring instead the use of abridgements and summaries to proliferate the text, as evidenced by the enduring popularity of Carlo Cafiero's 'Compendio' and the publication of translations of the Gabriel Deville and Paul Lafargue abridgements in 1893 and 1894 respectively.

Relatively well-held in continental European institutions, but OCLC and Library Hub list only one copy apiece in North America (Chicago) and the UK (in the library of Piero Sraffa at Trinity College, Cambridge).

Rubel, 633n; Gianni, e.i. 86. III. M.K.; Einaudi (not numbered, between no. 3769 and 3770); Sraffa, 2948.

CARLO MARX

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IL CAPITALE

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CRITICA DELL'ECONOMIA POLITICA

## THE FIRST AUTHORISED ITALIAN TRANSLATION OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

**9. MARX** (Karl). & **ENGELS** (Friedrich). translated by **BETTINI** (Pompeo). & **TURATI** (Filippo).

**Il Manifesto del Partito Comunista. Con un nuovo proemio al lettore italiano di Federico Engels.**

First 'Authorised' Italian edition. 8vo. 46, [2, publisher's advertisements] pp. Original printed wrappers, sewn as issued. Some discreet paper reinforcement to spine and top right corner of front cover, faint spotting to covers, contemporary ink pen trials and short closed tear to top edge of front cover, notwithstanding an excellent example of this fragile publication, retaining the scarce original wrappers.

Milano, Uffici della Critica Sociale (Tipografia degli Operai), Biblioteca Della Critica Sociale. 1893.

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The first authorised Italian translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, including the preface 'Al Lettore Italiano' ('To the Italian Reader') prepared by Engels specially for this edition, being the final preface to the *Manifesto* ever to be written by either Marx or Engels.

The authorised version was preceded by two earlier defective efforts and presented itself as the "first and only [Italian] translation of the *Manifesto* that is not a betrayal" (*Lotta di classe*, I:8, 17-18 September 1892; English translation quoted in Musto, p. 452).

"One of the outstanding political documents of all time" (PMM), the *Manifesto* was written on behalf of the League of Communists and commissioned at their Second Congress in December 1847. It appeared for the first time in a German language edition published in London, February 1848.

Various earlier attempts had been made to translate the *Manifesto* into Italian, including two efforts that would never come to fruition: the first by Hermann Ewerbeck, a leading member of the League of Communists in Paris, who had announced his intention to translate the *Manifesto* into Spanish and Italian in 1849, neither of which would ever materialise; and a second by the "commendable yet obscure provincial translator" Pasquale Martignetti who completed a translation after receiving a copy of the *Manifesto* from Engels in 1885 but was unable to find a publisher due to a lack of funds (Favilli, p. 209).

The first partial Italian translation of the *Manifesto* was published in 1889, translated by the Italian socialist Leonida Bissolati (1857-1920) and serialised across ten issues of the Cremona-based republican newspaper *L'Eco del popolo*. The translation was desperately lacking in quality, without the various prefaces by Marx and Engels and entirely omitting the third section on 'Socialist and Communist Literature'. Various other parts were either heavily abridged or summarised, with most of the more substantial theoretical terminology either simplified or removed entirely. "Altogether, then, it was not so much a translation as a popularisation of the text, with only a number of passages actually rendered into Italian" (Musto, p. 451).

BIBLIOTECA DELLA *CRITICA SOCIALE*

CARLO MARX e FEDERICO ENGELS

# IL MANIFESTO

DEL

## PARTITO COMUNISTA

CON UN NUOVO PROEMIO AL LETTORE ITALIANO

DI

FEDERICO ENGELS

Centesimi 25

MILANO

Uffici della *CRITICA SOCIALE*

Portici Galleria, N. 23

1893

This defective partial attempt was followed two years later in 1891 by the first Italian edition in book form. The translation was undertaken by the Italian anarchist Pietro Gori (1865-1911) who provided his own preface that imposed an anarchist interpretation on the *Manifesto*. It was published by the Milanese anarchist publisher Flaminio Fantuzzi, who sent a copy to Engels after the fact as a *fait accompli*. In a letter to Pasquale Martignetti, Engels lamented the omission of the various prefaces by himself and Marx, and criticised numerous egregious errors in the translation, expressing his particular annoyance at the “prefatory remarks by the unknown character Gori” (quoted in Musto, p. 452).

The need for an authorised Italian translation of the *Manifesto* was, therefore, clear. More broadly, the uptake of Marxist thought in Italy had been notably sluggish, largely owing to the predominance of anarchism in Italy during the First International, compounded by the comparative lack of Italian translations of original theoretical works by either Marx or Engels before the 1890s.

The authorised translation came about through the efforts of Filippo Turati (1857-1932), the founder of the Italian Socialist Party (Partito dei Lavoratori Italiani). It was originally published in September 1892 in the Milanese newspaper *Lotta di classe*. Founded by Turati in June 1892 by, *Lotta di classe* served as the official organ of the newly-formed Italian Socialist Party and ran until 1898 under Turati’s editorship (see Di Scala, *Dilemmas of Italian Socialism: The Politics of Filippo Turati*, p. 15f).

The translation was undertaken by Pompeo Bettini (1862-1896), a little-known Italian writer and friend of Turati’s, best remembered (when at all) for his poetry, which was rediscovered posthumously by the great Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce. The translation as it first appeared in *Lotta di classe* was based on the German edition of 1883.

A year would pass between the initial appearance of the authorised translation in *Lotta di classe* and the publication of the first edition in book form presented here. This delay was caused partly by some necessary amendments to the text, with corrections and stylistic improvements made with reference to the fifth German edition, published in Berlin in 1891. The proofs of the revised translation were sent to Engels for his approval and, upon the request of Turati, Engels provided a preface especially for this edition as a mark of its authenticity.

The preface, ‘Al Lettore Italiano’, was written by Engels in French and translated by Turati into Italian. Engels had expressed some reservations concerning the preface, writing to Turati on 7 January 1893: “I am beginning to find these prefaces an embarrassment. Only recently I had to write one for a Polish translation. I really have nothing new left to say.” (MECW, Vol. 50, p. 78).

The preface contains general remarks on the revolutionary character of 1848 and its legacy, with little reference to the political situation in Italy. It concludes with a stirring reflection on the Italian poet Dante Alighieri and modern Italy:

“The first capitalist nation was Italy. The close of the feudal Middle Ages, and the opening of the modern capitalist era are marked by a colossal figure: an Italian, Dante, both the last poet of the Middle Ages and the first poet of modern times. Today, as in 1300, a new historical era is approaching. Will Italy give us the new Dante, who will mark the hour of birth of this new, proletarian era?”

The present book edition was published under the auspices of the doctrinally eclectic left-wing Milanese journal *Critica Sociale*, another of Turati's projects, appearing as the first volume of the book series *Biblioteca della Critica Sociale*. It also included the preface by Marx and Engels to the German edition of 1872 as well as Engels's prefaces to the German editions of 1883 and 1890, and reproduced the explanatory footnotes added by Engels to the German edition of 1890, all of which were translated by Turati.

**Rare.** OCLC, Library Hub and KVK list two copies in Germany (Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung & Bundesarchiv) and one apiece in the UK (in the library of Pierro Sraffa at Trinity College, Cambridge), the Netherlands (International Institute of Social History), and Italy (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore). We have been unable to trace any copies held in North America.

See: Musto, 'Dissemination and Reception of The Communist Manifesto in Italy: From the Origins to 1945'; Favilli, *The History of Italian Marxism*.

Andréas, 298; Draper, ME33 & ST/ME37; Gianni, e.i. 93. XIII. M.K. - E.F.; *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Marx und Engels*, p. 15; Stammhamner, II, p. 208; Einaudi, 3774; Sraffa, 3956.



## THE FIRST EVER TRANSLATION OF ENGELS'S DEBUT ARTICLE ON ECONOMICS

**10. ENGELS** (Friedrich). translated by [ANONYMOUS].

**L'economia politica (Primi lineamenti di una critica all'economia politica).**

**Con introduzione e notizie bio-bibliografiche di Filippo Turati, Vittorio Adler e Carlo Kautsky e con appendice.**

First edition in Italian. 8vo. 83, [1] pp. Original printed wrappers. Covers slightly foxed, spine chipped with some minor loss, else a very good, partially unopened copy.

Milano, Uffici della Critica Sociale, Biblioteca della Critica Sociale. 1895.

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The first Italian translation of Engels's seminal article 'Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy', his first published article on economics, later described by Marx as "a work of genius" (quoted in Wheen, p. 75). As far as we have been able to trace, the present Italian edition was the first translation of the text to be published in any language.

Written while Engels was in Manchester in 1843, the article was first published in 1844 under the title 'Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie', appearing in the first and only issue of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* under the editorship of Marx and Arnold Ruge. The essay represented a clear departure from the earlier Young Hegelian efforts of Marx and Engels and was "of real importance in the formation of a distinctively Marxian stance towards political economy" (*New Palgrave*). Marx made special reference to the article in the preface to his 1859 book *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, lauding Engels's "brilliant essay on the critique of economic categories" and would later quote from the article five times in the first volume of *Das Kapital*.

The present Italian translation was prepared to commemorate Engels's sudden death on 5th August 1895 ("pubblicata in occasione della morte dell'autore") and was first published only eleven days later in a special memorial issue of the Milanese journal *Critica Sociale*.

It was republished in the present book edition soon after in the same year along with a wealth of supplementary material, including: an introduction on Engels and Marx by Filippo Turati (1857-1932), editor of *Critica Sociale* and founder of the Italian Socialist Party; a short obituary of Engels by the Austrian socialist leader Victor Adler (1852-1918) titled 'L'universalità di Engels (Scritto nel giorno del suo funerale)'; an extended biographical piece by Karl Kautsky (1854-1938) titled 'Federico Engels. Nel settantesimo anniversario', originally published in German in 1890 in *Die Neue Zeit* in honour of Engels's seventieth birthday; and an appendix containing three letters by Engels pertinent to the Italian socialist movement (titled 'La futura rivoluzione italiana e il partito socialista', 'Il socialismo internazionale e il socialismo italiano', 'L'ultima parola all'Italia').

The timing of the publication is notable insofar as Engels had previously objected to a Russian translation of the article in a letter to Russian émigré Evgenia Papritz dated 26 June 1884:

"I am exceedingly flattered by your suggestion that a translation my *Outlines etc.* might prove useful. Although still a little proud of this, my first work on social science, I am all too aware that it is completely out of date, not only with mistakes, but also with 'howlers'.

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BIBLIOTECA DELLA *CRITICA SOCIALE*

FEDERICO ENGELS

# L'ECONOMIA POLITICA

(Primi lineamenti di una critica dell'Economia Politica)

Con introduzione e notizie bio-bibliografiche

DI

Filippo Turati, Vittorio Adler e Carlo Kautsky

*E CON APPENDICE*

PRIMA EDIZIONE ITALIANA

*pubblicata in occasione della morte dell'autore*

(5 agosto 1895)

Centesimi 50

MILANO

Uffici della **CRITICA SOCIALE**

*Portici Galleria N. 23*

1895

The misapprehensions it could hardly fail to engender would, I fear, quite outbalance such good as it might do." (MECW, Vol. 47, p. 158).

Despite his earlier protestations, the article was republished in 1890 in the original German in *Die Neue Zeit* on the occasion of Engels's seventieth birthday, which almost certainly served as the source material for the present Italian translation. Interestingly, the identity of the translator remains obscure, with no one credited in either the first appearance in *Critica Sociale* or the present book edition, and no attribution is made in Emilio Gianni's bibliography of the works of Marx and Engels published in Italian.

We have been unable to trace any other translations of the article to have been published during the nineteenth century and the present example is almost certainly the first separate appearance of the work in book form to have appeared in any language. The first full English translation of the article would not appear until 1959, published as an appendix to Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.

Provenance: (1) from the library of the Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Labriola (1843-1904), with his ownership inscription to the title page; (2) thence from the library of Professor Luigi Dal Pane (1903-1979), with his private library inventory label and purple ink ownership stamp to the title page.

**Rare.** OCLC, Library Hub and KVK list two copies in Germany (Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung & Bundesarchiv), two copies in Italy, and one apiece in the UK (in the library of Pierro Sraffa at Trinity College, Cambridge), Japan (Keio University Library), Netherlands (International Institute of Social History), and Switzerland (BCU Dorigny). We have been unable to trace any copies held in North America.

Gianni, e.i. 95. XV. E.F.; Stammhamner, III, p. 102; Sraffa, 1594.

**11. ENGELS** (Friedrich). translated with an introduction by **MARTIGNETTI** (Pasquale). & edited by **LABRIOLA** (Antonio).

**Dal terzo volume del Capitale di Carlo Marx. I, Prefazione e Commenti di Federico Engels.**

First edition in Italian. 8vo. 55, [1] pp. Original printed wrappers. Thin strip of paper tape reinforcement to spine, slight wear with a few minor chips to edges, faint scattered foxing to covers, notwithstanding a good example of a fragile publication.

Roma, Tipografia Editrice Romana. 1896.

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An excellent association copy, presented by the translator Pasquale Martignetti (1844-1920) to the great Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Labriola (1843-1904) who edited the translation; inscribed by Martignetti 'Chiarissimo Prof. Ant Labriola Omaggio del traduttore' at the head of front wrapper.

The decision to prepare a separate publication of only the prefatory matter to the third volume of *Das Kapital* is strange indeed and the motivation to do so was peculiar to the Italian 'situation' insofar as Engels's preface responded directly to criticism from the avowedly socialist Italian political economist Achille Loria (1857-1943).

The dispute between Engels and Loria dated back to 1883 with the appearance of an article by Loria published shortly after Marx's death in the Italian journal *Nuova Antologia* in which Loria accused Marx of sophistry and made various spurious claims about his works, including the suggestion that the hugely anticipated second and third volumes of *Das Kapital*, still then unpublished, were mere fictions and did not exist at all, serving only as a shield with which Marx could deflect criticism of his work.

Engels leapt to the defence of his departed friend, sending a furious letter to Loria on 20 May 1883 in which he described Loria as an "armchair socialist" and resoundingly rebutted the slanderous claims regarding Marx's character. Engels's correspondence in the following years is scattered with references to Loria, usually referring to him sarcastically as the "illustrious one", although Engels would often adopt a more directly disparaging tone: "charlatan", "rogue", "plagiarist", "academic careerist", "humbug", and "windbag" were among his milder expressions (see Henderson, p. 674).

Engels resumed his attack over a decade later in his preface to the third volume of *Kapital*, returning to Loria's 1883 article on Marx as well as Loria's 1886 book *La Teoria Economica della Costituzione Politica* in which Loria had attempted to take credit for the discovery of the concept of historical materialism that had already been enunciated by Marx forty years earlier. Engels also highlighted the ways in which Loria had failed to understand Marx's theory of surplus value. "Having first confused surplus value with profit Loria had proceeded to argue that the existence of universal rates of interest invalidated Marx's theory" (Henderson, p. 674).

Loria replied in turn with an article titled 'L'opera postuma di Carlo Marx', again published in *Nuova Antologia*, and the whole affair risked boiling over into a scandal amongst the Italian socialist movement. Moreover, the reception of the dispute in Italy was decidedly one-sided insofar as Loria's various retorts were appearing *in* Italian. The prospect of Loria's ascendancy in Italy evidently worried Engels and rather than wait for a

full Italian translation of third volume of *Kapital*, Engels and his allies in Italy prepared the present translation of only the preface in order to fully present his side of the debate.

The translation was undertaken by Pasquale Martignetti (1844-1920), a “commendable yet obscure provincial translator” from Benevento in the South of Italy who had been a close correspondent of Engels since the early 1880s, having produced Italian translations of Engels’s *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* and *The Origin of the Family* (see Favilli, p. 209). Martignetti’s translation was in turn edited by Antonio Labriola (1843-1904), a distinguished Marxist philosopher and the foremost proponent of German Marxist orthodoxy in Italy at the turn of the century, who added various stylistic flourishes to the text. On Labriola’s contribution, Engels commented in a letter to Paul Lafargue dated 26 February 1895 that Martignetti’s translation had been “reviewed by Labriola, who has rendered the passages on Loria with a voluptuousness which bursts through each line.” (MECW, Vol. 50, p. 448).

However, there was much controversy about whether the translation should be published at all. The natural choice for publication would have been the doctrinally eclectic left-wing Milanese journal *Critica Sociale* edited by Filippo Turati (1857-1932), founder of the Italian Socialist Party (Partito dei Lavoratori Italiani). However, Turati did not wish to risk alienating such a prominent figure as Loria from the socialist cause in Italy and as such rejected the publication of the preface in *Critica Sociale*. A willing publisher was eventually found in the form of *La Ressegna*, a non-socialist Neapolitan newspaper with only a limited local circulation, appearing in their ‘gennaio e febbraio 1895’ issue. In search of a wider audience, the present book edition was printed at the beginning of the following year by a commercial publisher in Rome.

As well as Engels’s preface, the book edition also contains a short introduction by the translator Pasquale Martignetti along with Engels’s posthumously published ‘Supplement and Addendum’ to the third volume of *Kapital* (titled here ‘Complementi ed aggiunte al terzo libro del Capitale’). The ‘Supplement’ was the last piece that Engels wrote during his lifetime, dating from only two months before his death, and was originally drafted as two articles to appear in *Die Neue Zeit* that aimed to respond to the first wave criticism of the third volume of *Kapital*, clarifying and updating various parts of the argument.

The first of these articles, titled ‘Law of Value and Rate of Profit’, was completely finished before Engels’s death. It is significant in the context of the present publication as we see Engels resuming his critique of Loria. The article sought to clarify Marx’s switch from value to production price in the second and third volumes of *Kapital* in response to criticism from Loria as well as the German economists Werner Sombart and Conrad Schmidt. Engels’s argument was “that the shift from value to production price was not merely a logical development entailed by the enlargement of the scope of investigation to include circulation and the ‘process of capitalist production as a whole’, but also reflected a real historical transition from the stage of simple commodity production to that of capitalism proper” (*New Palgrave*).

The second article on ‘The Stock Exchange’ was unfinished, the manuscript consisting only of a brief general outline comprised of seven bullet points. Engels was concerned with the ways in which the stock exchange had developed since Marx had last written seriously on the subject in 1865. In particular, Engels underlined the gradual conversion of different branches of industry as well as banking, trade and agriculture into joint-stock companies” (*Elgar Companion to Marxist Economics*).



*Chiarissimo  
Prof. Ant. Labriola Omaggio Del traduttore*

DAL TERZO VOLUME

DEL

# CAPITALE

DI

**CARLO MARX**

I

PREFAZIONE E COMMENTI

di **FEDERICO ENGELS**

Traduzione di **PASQUALE MARTIGNETTI**

Cent. 50

ROMA

TIPOGRAFIA EDITRICE ROMANA  
*Via della Fressa 59-61*

1896.

The two articles of Engels's 'Supplement' were eventually published posthumously in *Die Neue Zeit* (14.jg., 1. Bd., Nos. 1-2, 1895-96) along with a short preface by the leading German social-democrat Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932) which is also included in the present Italian translation.

The present Italian book edition was published in March 1896, just over six months after Engels's death. In reality, Engels need not have been overly worried about the affair with Loria and the fractious 1894-95 debate marked the beginning of a gradual "distancing of the Italian socialists from Loria" (Favilli, p. 182).

Provenance: (1) inscribed by the translator Pasquale Martignetti to Antonio Labriola, with an additional ownership inscription 'dai libri di Antonio Labriola' to inside front wrapper; (2) thence from the library of Professor Luigi Dal Pane (1903-1979), with his private library label to title page, purple rubber stamp to head of p. 10 and foot of p. 50.

**Rare.** OCLC and Library Hub list one copy in the UK (in the library of Pierro Sraffa at Trinity College, Cambridge), and a single copy in Italy. No copies on KVK. We have been unable to trace any copies held in North America.

See: Favilli, *The History of Italian Marxism: From its Origins to the Great War*; Henderson, *The Life of Friedrich Engels*.

Gianni, e.i. 96. VIII. E.F.; Stammhamner, III, p. 104; Sraffa, 1596.



**12. HYNDMAN** (Henry Mayers).

**England for All. Dedicated to the Democratic and Working Men's Clubs of Great Britain and Ireland.**

First edition. 8vo. vi, [2], 194 pp. Original blue flexible cloth, covers with triple blind fillet borders, front cover lettered in gilt, yellow endpapers. Extremities rather worn, corners lightly bumped, covers marked with small areas of black and white staining, notwithstanding a well persevered example of this fragile publication. London, Gilbert & Rivington.

London, Gilbert & Rivington. 1881.

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Inscribed by Hyndman 'With the author's compliments' in black ink to the head of the title page.

**Arguably the first partial appearance of *Das Kapital* in Britain, with Chapters Two ('Labour') and Three ('Capital') containing substantial plagiarism from Marx's great work.**

The first complete English translation of the first volume of *Das Kapital* was not published until 1887, but various partial translations and summaries had appeared earlier, the majority of which were published in the United States owing to the strong presence of German migrants in New York and the East Coast who were involved in the First International. The very first of these was printed in 1872 in the form of a broadsheet published by the New York section of the First International containing a single passage on the 'Normal Working Day' from page 201 of *Das Kapital*. This was followed by a 'popular sketch' of *Kapital*, again published New York, serialised in the periodical *The Socialist* (renamed *Labor Standard* during publication) across thirteen instalments between May and August 1876. The *Labor Standard* then serialised an English translation of Johann Most's abridgement of *Kapital*, originally published in German in 1873 and revised by Marx and Engels themselves in a second edition published in 1876. Most's abridgement was translated by Otto Weydemeyer and serialised across ten issues of the *Labor Standard* between December 1877 to March 1878 under the title "Extracts from the 'Capital' of Karl Marx" and published in pamphlet form in New Jersey circa 1878.

Despite this relative flurry of English partial translations and abridgements of *Kapital* published in the United States, the first direct partial translation to be published in Britain did not appear until 1883 in the form of two short extracts printed in the magazine *To-Day: a Monthly Gathering of Bold Thoughts* under the editorship of Ernest Belfort Bax and James Leigh Joynes. The first of the two extracts consisted of several pages from Chapter 23 under the title 'The Serfdom of Work', translated from Joseph Roy's French edition of 1872, and the second contained several sections of Chapter 10 titled 'The Lordship of Wealth', translated from the original German.

**As such *England for All*, published two years earlier in 1881, represented the first major presentation to the British public of the ideas contained within *Das Kapital* and the plagiarism in Chapters Two and Three ensure its status as the first partial appearance of *Kapital* in Britain.**

*England for All* was written by the British socialist Henry Mayers Hyndman (1842-1921) as the programme for the founding conference of the Democratic Federation, Britain's first ever organised socialist political party, founded by Hyndman in June 1881.

"A product of Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, a sometime batsman for Sussex County Cricket Club, Hyndman was said to have adopted socialism 'out of spite against the world because he was not included in the Cambridge cricket eleven'. He never shed the trappings of his class, often appearing before left-wing audiences in a frock-coat and silk top hat. His politics, too, were *de haut en bas*: the proletariat could not be freed by the workers themselves but only by 'those who are born into a different position and are trained to use their faculties in early life'. And yet he convinced himself (if no one else) that he was the reddest and hottest radical in town" (Wheen, p. 370).

Hyndman had read Joseph Roy's French translation of *Das Kapital* in early 1880 and subsequently bombarded Marx with so many extravagant tributes that Marx eventually felt obliged to meet him. "Although Hyndman claimed that he was 'eager to learn', according to Marx it was the Old Etonian who did most of the talking. Having gained his entrée, and knowing that Marx's doctor forbade him to work in the evening, Hyndman acquired the habit of turning up at Maitland Road Park uninvited after dinner. Everyone in the household found this intensely tiresome, especially Marx who came to dread the visits from this 'complacent chatterbox'" (Wheen, p. 371).

Their inevitable rupture occurred in June 1881 with the publication of *England for All* in which Hyndman reproduced whole sections of the first volume of *Kapital* across Chapters Two ('Labour') and Three ('Capital'), largely translating verbatim from Roy's French edition while paraphrasing elsewhere and distorting many of Marx's ideas in the process. Hyndman made no reference to Marx by name and included only a short note in the preface admitting that "for the ideas and much of the matter contained in Chapters II and III, I am indebted to the work of a great thinker and original writer, which will, I trust, shortly be made accessible to the majority of my countrymen" (p. vi).

Rather than ask for permission, Hyndman wrote to Marx after publication giving various excuses for not having directly credit Marx, claiming that he wished to avoid directly using the language of socialism by invoking Marx's name – "many Englishmen have an horror of Socialism and that name" – and even suggesting that it was best for Marx to remain nameless insofar as "the Englishmen have a dread of being taught by a foreigner" (quoted in MECW, Vol. 46, p. 102).

Marx was incensed and sent a letter to Hyndman dated 2 July 1881 in which he dismissed his various excuses, but also included some interesting advice on the proper drafting of political manifestos, an area in which Marx of course had considerable experience:

"Apart, however, from your rather humorous reasons, I am decidedly of opinion that to have named the *Capital* and its author, would have been a big blunder. Party programs ought to keep free of any apparent dependence upon individual authors or books. But allow me to add that they are also no proper place for new scientific developments, such as those borrowed by you from the *Capital*, and that the latter are altogether out of place in a commentary on a Program with whose professed aims they are not at all connected. Their introduction might have had some fitness in the Exposé of a Program for the foundation of a distinct and independent Working Class Party." (MECW, Vol. 46, p. 103)

*With Author's Compliments*

ENGLAND FOR ALL.

BY

H. M. HYNDMAN.

*DEDICATED TO THE DEMOCRATIC AND WORKING MEN'S  
CLUBS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.*

London :

PRINTED BY MESSRS. GILBERT & RIVINGTON.

1881.

*[All rights reserved.]*

Despite Marx's indignation, the text represented one of the earliest major English-language popularisations of his ideas to appear in Britain. Marx himself later conceded its usefulness as propaganda, writing in a letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge dated 15 December 1881:

"With all that his little book - so far as it pilfers the *Capital* - makes good propaganda, although the man is a 'weak' vessel, and very far from having even the patience - the first condition of learning anything - of studying a matter thoroughly. All these amiable middle-class writers - if not specialists - have an itching to make money or name or political capital immediately out of any new thoughts they may have got at by any favourable windfall. Many evenings this fellow has pilfered from me, in order to take me out and to learn in the easiest way." (MECW, Vol. 46, p. 163)

A more commonly encountered 'cheap edition' was also published later in the same year by E. W. Allen in London with the addition of a new subtitle 'The text-book of democracy'.

The true first edition presented here is scarce. Although surprisingly well held in North American libraries, Library Hub lists only in three copies the UK (Senate House, London Library & Bishopsgate Institute. **Not in the British Library who hold only the E. W. Allen 'cheap edition'**). OCLC adds two copies in the Netherlands (International Institute of Social History & Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam) and one in Germany (Bibliothek Der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung).

See: Willis, 'The Introduction and Critical Reception of Marxist Thought in Britain, 1850-1900'; Foner, 'Marx's Capital in the United States'.

Stammhammer, III, p. 155 (erroneously listed as 1883).

ENGLAND FOR ALL

BY

H. M. HYNDMAN

Price Half a Crown



**13. [MORRIS (William). & BAX (Ernest Belfort).]**

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.**

First edition. Single unopened sheet folded to make eight pages. Covers foxed, small closed tear to foot of spine, notwithstanding an excellent copy of a fragile publication.

London, printed by Arthur Bonner. 1885.

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*The Manifesto of the Socialist League* written by William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax drew heavily on the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, not only quoting directly from the old *Manifesto* but also paraphrasing parts of Sections I and II. **It is particularly significant as it appeared at a time when the *Communist Manifesto* itself was virtually unobtainable in English translation.** Indeed, Henry Mayers Hyndman would later remark on the availability of Marxist literature in English during the early 1880s:

“... there was then no literature to refer to, no books in English which could be obtained and read, either by the educated class or by the workers. At most, a few ill-printed copies of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 [sic] by Marx and Engels done into English could be found by searching for them in the most advanced revolutionary circles” (Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life*, p. 205).

The history of the *Communist Manifesto* in English is complicated and its existence before the authorised English translation of 1888 is fragmentary at best. The first English translation appeared in 1850 across four issues of George Julian Harney’s weekly newspaper *The Red Republican*, an organ of the English Chartists, and was translated by the Scottish Chartist feminist and philosopher Helen Macfarlane (1818-1860). Despite being one of the earliest translations of the *Manifesto* to appear in any language, *The Red Republican* translation was deficient to say the least and remained obscure in terms of circulation. The only book edition of the *Manifesto* that appeared prior to 1885 was a heavily bowdlerised version by the émigré German anarchist Johann Most published in New York in 1883.

The publication of *The Manifesto of the Socialist League* therefore represented a positive development for the dissemination of Marxist thought in the English language. The present pamphlet marked the first appearance of the text; Bert Andréas gives the publication date of the present book edition as mid-January 1885, preceding its appearance in the first issue of *Commonweal*, the official organ of the Socialist League, on the 28th January 1885 which also included an article by Engels titled ‘England in 1845 and 1885’.

Morris and Bax drew heavily on Section I ‘Bourgeois and Proletarians’ and Section II ‘Proletarians and Communists’ of the original *Manifesto* and the language as a whole is steeped in that of Marx and Engels, for example: “... there are two classes of Society - the one possessing wealth and the instruments of its production, the other producing wealth by means of those instruments but only by the leave and for the use of the possessing classes. These two classes are necessarily in antagonism to one another.”

Moreover, Morris and Bax included the famous quote from the original *Manifesto* on the bourgeois mode of production in full:

“Cheap goods are the artillery for battering down Chinese walls and for overcoming the obstinate hatred entertained against foreigners by semi-civilised nations: under penalty

*dei libri di Antonio Labriola.*

PROF. LUIGI DAL PANE  
GRAMAROLA PAINTERING

PRICE ONE PENNY.]

Biblioteca  
di L. DAL PANE  
Scansia .....  
Sezione .....  
Scaffale .....  
Fila N. 1017

THE  
MANIFESTO  
OF  
THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

We come before you as a body advocating the principles of Revolutionary International Socialism; that is, we seek a change in the basis of Society—a change which would destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities.

As the civilised world is at present constituted there are two classes of Society: the one possessing wealth and the instruments of its production, the other producing wealth by means of those instruments, but only by the leave and for the use of the possessing classes.

These two classes are necessarily in antagonism to one another. The possessing class, or non-producers, can only live as a class on the unpaid labour of the producers; the more unpaid labour they can wring out of them, the richer they will be; therefore the producing class—the workers—are driven to strive to better themselves at the



of ruin the Bourgeoisie compel by competition the universal adoption of their system of production; they force all nations to accept what is called civilisation - to become Bourgeois - and thus the middle-class shapes the world after its own image."

Bert Andréas states that this quotation is taken from the Helen Macfarlane translation, and although it bears close resemblance to her version, it has certainly been adapted to some extent.

The Socialist League was formed in December 1884 as a splinter group from Henry Mayers Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation. The founding members of the Socialist League included William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax, along with Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor and her husband Edward Aveling. Unlike Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League received the backing of Friedrich Engels, who provided encouragement but was also realistic about the group's practical potential. Assessing the prospects of the newly formed group in January 1885, Engels commented that "three more unpractical men for a political organisation than Aveling, Bax and Morris are not to be found in all England", but also allowed that the "simple, clumsy, wonderfully blundering, but sincere movement of the Socialist League" was the only socialist group in England with which he could "thoroughly sympathise" (see MECW, Vol. 47, pp. 247-248).

The Socialist League was relatively short-lived and by 1889 the anarchist wing of the party had become the dominant faction, prompting the departure of the remaining founding members from the group. However, the *Manifesto of the Socialist League* by Morris and Bax enjoyed considerable success throughout the European socialist movement. 'A New Edition' was published later in 1885 with a Walter Crane illustration to front wrapper and the addition of ten explanatory footnotes by Morris and Bax clarifying aspects of the original text. It was widely reprinted in this format and a French translation also appeared in 1885.

Provenance: (1) from the library of the Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Labriola (1843-1904), with his ownership inscription to the front cover; (2) thence from the library of Professor Luigi Dal Pane (1903-1979), with his private library inventory label and purple ink ownership stamp to the front cover.

OCLC, Library Hub and KVK list twelve copies in North America, seven copies in the UK, two in Germany (Bibliothek Der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung & Bibliothek Des Ruhrgebiets), and one in the Netherlands (International Institute of Social History).

Andréas, 175; Stammhamner, II, p. 224.

**14. MARX** (Karl). translated by **MOORE** (Samuel). & **AVELING** (Edward). under the editorship of **ENGELS** (Friedrich).

**Capital. A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production.**

'Stereotyped Edition' (third edition in English overall, first UK one-volume edition). Large 8vo. xxxi, [1, blank], 816 pp. Original red cloth, blindstamped decorative border to covers, spine lettered in gilt within a single gilt rule border, top edge untrimmed. Some wear to extremities, corners a trifle bumped, spine faded, hinges intact, covers slightly marked with small area of scuffing to front cover, notwithstanding an excellent example of a book that is prone to buckle under its own weight and usually encountered with broken hinges or rebaked entirely.

London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1889.

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The first complete English translation of *Das Kapital* was the initiative of Engels himself, but to say that the project had been long in the making would be a gross understatement. Indeed, the idea of translating *Kapital* into English had been first expressed by Marx as far back as 1863 when he was still working hard on the manuscript of the book in the library of the British Museum and in 1868 the Leipzig newspaper *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* even carried an article announcing forthcoming translations of the book into Russian and English. Despite their best intentions, Marx and Engels were confronted with numerous obstacles and false starts, and agonising talks concerning suitable translators and willing publishers would continue for nearly two decades, over the course of which complete translations of *Kapital* appeared in Russian, French, Polish, and Italian.

Marx and Engels were incredibly demanding when it came to assessing any prospective translator. These exacting standards were best expressed by Engels himself in an article titled 'How Not to Translate Marx' published in 1885:

"To translate such a book a fair knowledge of literary German is not enough. Marx uses freely expressions of every-day life and idioms of provincial dialects; he coins new words, he takes his illustrations from every branch of science, his allusions from the literatures of a dozen languages; to understand him, a man must be a master of German indeed, spoken as well as written, and must know something of German life too. ... Marx is one of the most vigorous and concise writers of the age. To render him adequately, a man must be a master, not only of German, but of English too." (*The Communist*, Vol. 1, No. 10, November 1885, p. 97).

Various potential candidates for the English translation came and went over the years, and Marx even repeatedly attempted to persuade his own daughter Laura to undertake the enormous project. "When Marx was still alive, Engels suggested that the translation should be made by his friend Samuel Moore (1838-1912), an English lawyer, whom he first met in Manchester in 1863. Engels and Moore became fast friends. The latter was always a welcome guest at the Marxes'. During his visits to London he would accompany Marx on his Sunday walks and then spend the rest of the day with Marx and his family. He also had an outstanding gift for mathematics, and Marx sometimes consulted him when formulating the main laws of economic crises" (Uroyeva, p. 218).

Samuel Moore had been an active member of the Manchester section of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) and "performed various missions

connected with the practical revolutionary activity of Marx and Engels. Once, in the summer of 1867, Engels discussed with Moore separate passages from *Kapital* and saw that the latter understood them correctly. In Engels's opinion, Moore was a hardworking, reliable translator possessing adequate theoretical knowledge. That settled the question of who should translate *Kapital* into English" (Uroyeva, p. 218). Moore made several trips to Germany to improve his grasp of the language and eventually started work on the translation in the summer of 1883 – a matter of months after Marx's death.

Moore made slow progress, however, largely due to being overloaded with legal work, and eventually broached the subject with Engels of recruiting the assistance of another translator. Edward Aveling (1851-1898) would join the project in the spring of 1884 – the same year that he began his relationship with Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor. Aveling, an atheist and Darwinist, had been prominent in the British working-class movement from the 1870s and, together with Eleanor Marx, did much to aid the development of Marxism in Britain during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

The greater part of the translation was made by Moore. Engels always praised his work and admitted that Moore was invaluable in polishing the text. "Aveling translated only a sixth of the book, but his part was much more difficult to edit. In Engels's opinion, he did not do such a thorough job as Moore, for both the economic theory and the author's language were new to him" (Uroyeva, p. 225). For his part, Engels endured a hard time editing the text. The project came about at a time when Engels was hard at work editing the third and then fourth German editions of the first volume of *Kapital* alongside preparing Marx's unfinished manuscripts of the second and third volumes for publication. He would later admit that overseeing the English translation was "terrible work" (quoted in Uroyeva, p. 224).

The translation was completed in March 1886 and Engels arranged a publishing deal with Swan Sonnenschein. In keeping with the protracted nature of the project, the printing process progressed slowly, with proofs being sent back and forth between both translators and Engels. "This confounded English translation", Engels wrote to Sroge on September 16-17 1886, "has taken up the better part of a year. But it was absolutely essential and I don't regret it" (MECW, Vol. 47, p. 492).

The English translation was finally published, with Engels's approval, in January 1887 in a two volume edition of 500 copies. The edition was sold within two months of publication, with almost half the copies being sold in the United States. Sonnenschein published a cheaper stereotyped reprint later in 1887, again issued in two volumes in a run of 500 copies, before issuing the present one-volume 'Stereotyped Edition' in 1889. It would be reprinted in this format repeatedly over the coming decades and all subsequent English editions were based on this "authorized edition", remaining the standard English text up until the 1950s.

See: A. Uroyeva, *For All Time and All Men*.

Andréas, 245; Rubel 633n; Draper, M143n; Not in Stammhammer.

CAPITAL.

A CRITICAL  
ANALYSIS OF  
CAPITALIST  
PRODUCTION

KARL MARX

L

## TRANSLATED ON A CHICKEN FARM IN FLORIDA

**15. MARX (Karl).** translated by **UNTERMANN (Ernest).**  
**Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Volume II. The Process of Circulation of Capital. Edited by Frederick Engels.**

First edition in English, UK issue. 8vo. 618 pp. Original red cloth, spine lettered and ruled in gilt, ruling continued to front cover in blind, publisher's device embossed in black to front cover. Some light wear to extremities, short nick to head of spine, otherwise an excellent copy.

Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Company; London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1907.

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The first English translation of the second volume of *Das Kapital*, originally published posthumously in German in 1885 under the editorship of Friedrich Engels. The present English translation was published in Chicago by Charles H. Kerr & Company and issued in the UK using the original sheets from the American edition bound in Swan Sonnenschein's characteristic red cloth. **The UK issue is much scarcer than the American edition.**

The English translation was the initiative of the veteran Chicago radical publisher Charles H. Kerr (1860-1944) who had long explored the possibility of producing a complete English translation of all three volumes of *Das Kapital*. In 1902 Kerr negotiated a deal with the London publisher Swan Sonnenschein to become the official American distributor of the English translation of the first volume of *Kapital* by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling under the supervision of Engels, originally published in London in 1887.

However, Kerr remained eager to produce editions of the second and third volumes of *Kapital*, still then untranslated into English either side of the Atlantic, and set about actively searching for a competent translator and the necessary funding for such a vast undertaking. Kerr had initially contacted the English social democrat Henry Mayers Hyndman, who had both sufficient grasp of Marxist economic theory and the financial means. Despite some initial interest from Hyndman, Kerr would ultimately settle on the German-American socialist Ernest Untermann (1864-1956) as his translator.

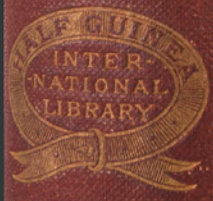
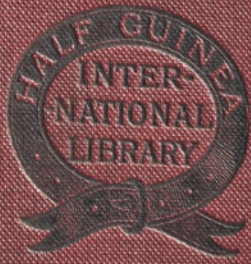
Untermann was born in Brandenburg and studied paleontology and geology at the University of Berlin before joining the merchant navy. "He first set foot in the United States in 1881 and became a citizen in 1893 after spending nearly ten years of his life aboard U.S. sailing vessels that piled the South Seas trade" (Ruff, p. 89). He quickly became involved in socialist circles and was a member of the Socialist Labor Party of America in the 1890s. Unterman had also previously collaborated with Kerr, having frequently contributed articles to Kerr's monthly periodical the *International Socialist Review* and produced translations of Engels's *Origin of the Family* and Antonio Labriola's *Socialism and Philosophy* that appeared under Kerr's imprint.

However, despite these earlier contributions to the literature of socialism, a complete translation of all three volumes of *Kapital* was of a different order of magnitude and Unterman, with wife and daughters, would require financial support if this task was to proceed. "Following an unsuccessful attempt to raise the needed funds through a company stock subscription drive", Kerr finally secured financial assistance of the German



CAPITAL  
CAPITALIST  
CIRCULATION

KARL MARX



SONNENSCHN

industrialist and socialist Eugene Dietzgen (1862-1929). Dietzgen's socialist credentials were considerable; his father, Joseph Dietzgen, was a close associate of Marx and Engels themselves as well as a serious socialist philosopher in his own right, and Eugene Dietzgen followed in his father's footsteps by becoming "the financial patron of various publishing ventures of the Second International, including Kautsky's *Die Neue Zeit*, the foremost theoretical journal of German Social Democracy" (Ruff, p. 90).

"Unterman set to work on the massive project in the spring of 1905 while living on a chicken farm in Orlando, Florida. 'I couldn't have done it on what Kerr paid me', he later recounted, 'but Eugene Dietzgen paid me a total of \$5.00 per page, so I built up a little chicken ranch that panned out well enough to keep my family and myself in groceries. I did the translating after I got through fighting skunks, opossums, snakes, and hawks and for a while it was doubtful whether the chicken business belonged to me or to preying animals. But I won out after a while.'

The transplanted Floridian not only translated volumes two and three, but he also revised and edited a new edition of volume one. Engels had edited the proofs for a fourth German edition of the first volume four years after the publication of the Swan Sonnenschein English version, and Unterman used the new German edition as the source for his translation. Kerr released the revised edition of volume one late in 1906, and the two additional volumes appeared in 1907 and 1909 respectively. The Kerr edition of *Kapital* immediately became the standard English version, and Swan Sonnenschein, in conjunction with Charles H. Kerr & Company, began to distribute it throughout the English-speaking world" (Ruff, p. 90).

See: Allen Ruff, *"We Called Each Other Comrade": Charles H. Kerr & Company, Radical Publishers.*



**“THIS NEW TRANSLATION WILL NOT BELONG TO ANY PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS,  
BUT TO THE WORKING CLASS...”**

**16. MARX (Karl). & ENGELS (Friedrich).** translated by **AITKEN (Lily Gair) & BUDGEN (Frank C.)**  
**Manifesto of the Communist Party.**

Early stereotype reprint. 8vo. iii, 29 pp. Original pink printed wrappers, stapled as issued. Some light wear to extremities, small portion of loss to lower corner of front cover, notwithstanding an excellent example of this rare and fragile publication.

Glasgow, 50 Renfrew Street, The Socialist Labour Party. N.d. [but circa 1912].

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This was the first new English translation of the *Communist Manifesto* to appear after the authorised English version translated by Samuel Moore and Engels himself and printed by the commercial publisher William Reeves in 1888.

The decision to produce an entirely new English translation so soon after the authorised English version is strange indeed and, as is so often the case with translations of the works of Marx and Engels, the motivation for doing so was principally political. The preface dated ‘September, 1909’ states: “We offer the workers of Great Britain a new translation of the ‘Communist Manifesto’, not because we claim to have improved upon previous translation, but because these previous translations are the property of private firms and individuals. This new translation will not belong to any private individuals, but to the working class, through its political organisation, the Socialist Labour Party. We regard this work as the Charter of Freedom of the workers of the world, and we therefore think that it is the duty of the Party of the workers of Great Britain to issue its own translation thereof” (p. i).

The objection, then, was that by putting the *Manifesto* “into the hands of the publisher Reeves, Engels had erected a juridical bar against pirated and distorted editions, at least in Britain” (Draper, p. 91). But who was this group who had such lofty regard of their own status amongst the working class that they claimed to be “its political organisation” (p. i, emphasis added).

The Socialist Labour Party was founded in 1903 as a radical breakaway faction from Henry Mayer Hyndman’s Social Democratic Federation under the influence of its namesake the Socialist Labor Party of America and the libertarian ‘Marxism’ of De Leonism. “Its membership [which would never exceed 1,000] lay mainly in the big cities of Scotland, long the heartland of British sectism. Like its American equivalent, its dogma was that it alone ‘represented’ the proletariat, all other alleged socialists being imposters and enemies of humanity” (Draper, p. 91). The first iteration of the group was active up until 1921, when the majority of its members merged with the newly-founded Communist Party of Great Britain. A second iteration of the group would re-emerge in 1939 and was active until 1950. The translation was undertaken by the Marxist feminist Lily Gair Aitken (c. 1874-1957), author of *Revolutionary Socialism and the Woman’s Movement* (1905) and *Woman’s Freedom* (1914), and Frank C. Budgen (1882-1971), who served as General Secretary of the SLP between 1908 and 1910 but is best-known as a painter and friend of James Joyce. Their translation was based on the German edition of 1890, although according to Draper it does occasionally yield to the reformulations introduced by the authorised English version of 1888, and includes the prefaces by Marx and Engels of 1872, 1883 and 1890.

The Socialist Labour Party were one of the most prolific publishers of socialist literature in Britain at the start of the twentieth century. However, their publications are almost always undated and as such establishing precedence of the various editions can be of great difficulty.

The SLP translation of the *Communist Manifesto* was first published with an imprint of 'Edinburgh, 28 Forth Street' where the party was based from 1907/08 to 1912. Confusingly, the front wrapper bore the date '1908', despite the preface being dated 'September, 1909'. Both Andréas and Draper suggest that the date on the front cover is erroneous and that the preface denotes the correct publication date.

It was issued in pink wrappers printed in black with the titles and the Socialist Labour Party emblem (the letters SLP intertwined) within a simple border and priced at "One Penny". The inside of the front and rear wrappers displayed advertisements for SLP publications, mostly comprising original works and translations by Daniel De Leon.

The SLP stereotyped the pages of this original edition and produced a number of undated reprints from the plates from 1909 to 1921 and again from 1942 to 1950. It is possible to establish some precedence amongst these various reprints based on factors such as the imprint address, the price and cover design.

The present edition corresponds to the first printing in all respects with the exception that it is undated and the imprint address has changed to 50 Renfrew Street in Glasgow. The SLP moved from Edinburgh to Glasgow in 1912, announcing their new address at 50 Renfrew Street for all correspondence from 28 May 1912 (see *The Socialist*, 01 June 1912). The present edition was therefore published in 1912 or later.

We have also handled other printings with the 50 Renfrew Street address that are certainly later than the present edition. They are distinguished by an entirely new design for the wrappers with a more sophisticated border to the front cover and without the SLP emblem. The imprint is also changed from 'The Socialist Labour Party' to the 'The Socialist Labour Press' with a new price of 'Threepence'. The inside of the front and rear wrappers are also blank, without the advertisements of the earlier printings.

Provenance: the British Communist R. Palme Dutt's (1896-1974) copy, with his red pencilled ownership inscription to head of front cover.

**All of Socialist Labour Party editions are rare.** Of the editions with the earlier 'The Socialist Labour Party' imprint (rather than the later 'The Socialist Labour Press' imprint) OCLC and Library Hub list five copies in the UK (Senate House, Swansea, Warwick, University of Strathclyde, & National Library of Scotland), two copies in North America (Kansas & Penn State), two in Germany (Bibliothek Der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung & Bibliothek Des Ruhrgebiets), two in Japan (Bukkyo & National Diet Library), and one in the Netherlands (International Institute of Social History), none of which distinguish between the different addresses in the imprint and various other factors with which the various printings can be distinguished.

See: Hal Draper, *Adventures of the Communist Manifesto*, pp. 91-92; Stuart Macintyre, *A Proletarian Science: Marxism in Britain, 1917-1933*.

Andréas, 509a (see 486 for first printing).

MANIFESTO  
OF THE  
Communist Party.

By **KARL MARX** and **FRIEDRICH ENGELS**.

*Translated from the Original for the Socialist Labour Party  
by LILY G. AITKEN and FRANK C. BUDGEN.*



**PRICE ONE PENNY.**

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE  
SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY,  
50 RENFREW STREET, GLASGOW.

**“WHOEVER WISHES TO READ MARX’S CAPITAL,  
ENCOUNTERS A SUPERABUNDANCE OF DIFFICULTIES.”**

**17. MARX** (Karl). edited with an introduction by **BORCHARDT** (Julian). & translated by **TRASK** (Stephen L.)

**The People’s Marx. Abridged Popular Edition of the Three Volumes of Capital.**

First edition in English. Small 8vo. vii, [1], 284, [2] pp. Original blue printed wrappers, yapp edges. Spine faded, some light creasing to yapp edges, otherwise a near fine, notably fresh copy.

London, Bradford, Manchester, International Bookshops Limited. 1921.

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The first English translation of the German social democrat Julian Borchardt’s (1868-1932) hugely successful and widely translated ‘Gemeinverständliche Ausgabe’ or ‘Popular Edition’ of *Das Kapital*, originally published in Berlin in 1919, a collection of excerpts from all three volumes of *Kapital*, with a preface and a substantial supplement titled ‘The Essence of Marx’s Theory of Crises’ by Borchardt but containing no further explanatory notes or commentary to the main body of text.

The title for the present English translation - *The People’s Marx* - was not drawn from the original German and had also confusingly also been used for the first English translation of the Gabriel Deville abridgement of the first volume of *Kapital* published in New York in 1900.

In his preface, Borchardt made no disguise of the great challenge presented by tackling Marx’s revered but widely unread *magnum opus*, in so doing providing a rationale for the continued relevance of such abridgements and summaries:

“Whoever wishes to read Marx’s *Capital*, encounters a superabundance of difficulties. We may, indeed, go further, and say that it is quite incomprehensible for the layman. And the majority of mankind are composed of laymen. In the first place there is the enormous size of the work - not less than 2200 large printed pages filling three volumes. Who can be expected to read this, if he be not a specialist in political economy, and if he have professional business to attend to?” (p. iii).

The identity of the translator Stephen L. Trask unfortunately remains obscure to this cataloguer. The present English edition was printed by the left-wing publisher’s International Bookshops Limited who issued translations of the likes of Karl Kautsky and original English works by James Ramsey MacDonald and the pacifist Theodora Wilson Wilson, amongst others, during the early 1920s.

Draper, ST/M88.



THE  
PEOPLE'S  
MARX

ABRIDGED POPULAR EDITION OF  
THE  
THREE VOLUMES OF "CAPITAL"

EDITED BY JULIAN BORCHARDT  
TRANSLATED BY STEPHEN L. TRASK

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHOPS LIMITED  
LONDON      BRADFORD      MANCHESTER

1921

## THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN EDITION OF DAS KAPITAL

### **18. MARX (Karl). edited with an introduction by [DEVANNY (Francis Harold).] *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy. Vol. I. Abridged.***

First Australian edition. 8vo. 159, [1] pp., black and white photographic portrait of Marx to title page. Original quarter blue cloth with drab boards, front cover lettered in blue. Corners bumped, extremities slightly rubbed.

Melbourne, Workers' Literature Bureau. 1944.

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The first edition of *Das Kapital* to be published in Australia, an abridgement based on the English translation of the first volume of *Kapital* by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, originally published in London by Swan Sonnenschein in 1887.

The publication appeared during a turbulent time for Marxism in Australia. The Communist Party of Australia, founded in 1920, was temporarily banned from May 1940 to December 1942 due its attempt to disrupt the Australian war effort against Germany in the early stages of the Second World War. The Party experienced a resurgence following the termination of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Germany and the Soviet Union, with party membership swelling from 4,000 when the ban was first imposed to 20,000 by the end of 1943.

The present abridgement was published by the Workers' Literature Bureau in Melbourne, an organisation that took great care to stress that it was not officially affiliated with the Communist Party of Australia - for obvious reasons given the recent lifting of the temporary ban on the Party. It appeared with a nine-page introduction signed by one 'F.D.', most likely Francis Harold 'Hal' Devanny (1894-1966), husband of the New Zealand novelist Jane Devanny and publisher of the *Workers Weekly*, the official organ of the Communist Party of Australia.

In 1932, 'Hal' Devanny was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for publishing the *Workers Weekly*, the charge being that he "did solicit contributions of money for an unlawful association, namely, the Communist Party of Australia" (see Webb, *Communism and Democracy in Australia*, p. 19). Although Devanny would ultimately see his appeal upheld in the High Court, it is not surprising that his introduction to the present abridgement of *Kapital* was discreetly signed using only his initials.

Surprisingly scarce outside of Australian institutions, with OCLC and Library Hub listing no copies held institutionally in North America or the United Kingdom.

# CAPITAL

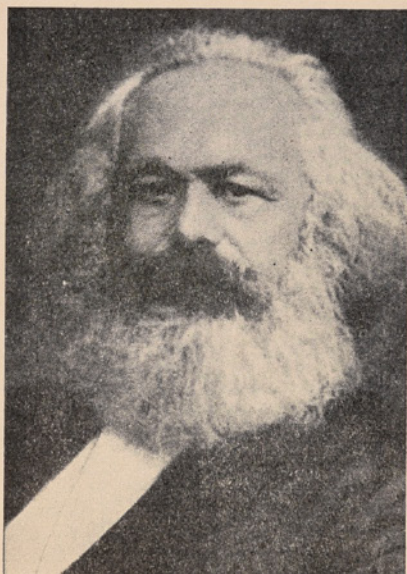
A Critique of Political Economy

By KARL MARX

**VOL. I.**

First Published Hamburg, 1867

ABRIDGED



1944

Workers' Literature Bureau,  
P.O. Box 573 D.,  
Melbourne.



**19. ENGELS (Friedrich).** translated with a preface by [ANONYMOUS].  
**Proiskhozhdenieto na familiata, chastnata sobstvennost' i gospodarstvoto.**

First edition in Bulgarian. 8vo. [5], 3, xviii, 163, [3, blank] pp. Recently rebound with quarter brown cloth, retaining the near contemporary brown pebble-grain cloth covered boards, near contemporary purple endpapers, marbled edges. Near contemporary ownership inscriptions in purple and black ink to title page, half title, contents page and pp. i & 7, title page with some very faint spotting, small patch of offsetting from purple endpapers to lower corner, neat ink inventory number 'w=48', and some neat paper reinforcement to gutter, a few instances of red pencilled marginal highlighting, original stab holes visible to the gutter throughout.

Sliven, [Pechatnitsa na TSv. P. M. Raduiov], Biblioteka na sŭvremenoto znanie. No. 1. 1893.

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The first Bulgarian translation of Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, originally published in German in 1884, the year following Marx's death. *The Origin of the Family* represents the most extensive application of the materialist conception of history in the published works of Marx and Engels. The project was initiated by Engels's discovery of manuscript notes by Marx on the American anthropologist L.H. Morgan's book *Ancient Society* (1877) and Engels described his work in the preface as, "in a sense, the fulfilment of a behest" of Marx, who had planned to write a book on early human history drawing on Morgan's studies. It was later described by Lenin as "one of the fundamental works of modern socialism".

Although Marx was relatively unknown in Bulgaria during his lifetime, the proliferation of socialist thought more broadly quickly gained traction following Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman Empire in 1878 and the subsequent unification of Bulgaria in 1885. "During the 1880s various radical, socialist, populist, anarchist and nihilist ideas were diffused in Bulgaria. Having reached the country under the influence of the Russian populists and writers like Herzen and Chernyshevsky or imbued by Bulgarian students in Western-European universities, they intermingled with the ideological legacy of the revolutionary-democratic ideas of the national-liberation movements and the political convictions of its prominent leaders" (Damianova, p. 403).

It was not until the early 1890s that the first serious inroads in the dissemination of Marxism in Bulgaria were made. Many of the publications from this period were incidental in character, appearing in small editions printed in early industrial centres such as Gabrovo and Sliven, and were devoid of any real editorial cohesion amongst socialist circles. Interestingly, Engels was more prominent than Marx amongst these initial publications, with the first book-length Bulgarian translation of any major Marxist work being Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, translated from the Russian edition by Evtim Dabev (1864-1946) and published in 1890.

This was followed by the present translation of *The Origin of the Family*. The translation was published anonymously and unfortunately the identity of the translator remains obscure. It is noteworthy for preceding the Russian translation, which appeared the following year in 1894 in a heavily censored edition published in St. Petersburg. In general, it can be said that socialism in Bulgaria followed the trajectory of Russian developments, with Bulgarian translations of the works of Marx and Engels typically being based on Russian editions.

250  
БИБЛИОТЕКА НА СЪВРЕМЕННОТО ЗНАНИЕ. № 1.

ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЕТО  
на  
ФАМИЛИЯТА, ЧАСТНАТА СОБСТВЕННОСТЪ И ГОСПОДАРСТВОТО  
ОТЪ  
ФРИДРИХЪ ЕНГЕЛСЪ

(Споредъ изследванята на Л. Х. Морланъ)

ПРЕВОДЪ  
ОТЪ  
ЧЕТВЪРТТОТО НѢМСКО ИЗДАНИЕ



С Л И В Е Н Ъ  
1893.

Instead, the present translation was based on the fourth German edition, published in Stuttgart in 1891, and includes Engels's prefaces to the first and fourth German editions along with a general theoretical introduction by the anonymous translator. It was published as the first, and apparently only, instalment of the book series *Biblioteka na s'vremennoto znanie* ('Library of Modern Knowledge').

The translations of the works of Marx and Engels into Bulgarian would accelerate significantly from 1894 onwards with the formation of the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (*Bulgarska rabotnicheska sotsialdemokraticheska partiya*, BRSDP) and the pioneering efforts of Dimitar Blagoev (1856-1924), the so-called 'father' of Bulgarian Marxism.

The Bulgarian movement would go on to become arguably the most important locus of Marxism in South-Eastern Europe. However, the publication of Marxist material in Bulgaria came to an abrupt interregnum following the failed September Uprising of 1923, after which the publication of socialist literature was banned up until the 1944 *coup d'état* over the Tsardom of Bulgaria.

**Rare.** We have been able to trace only one copy held institutionally worldwide at the Cyril and Methodius National Library in Bulgaria. No copies on OCLC, Library Hub or KVK.

See: Zhivka Damianova, 'Bulgaria', in *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective*, Vol. 1; Marin Pundeff, 'Marxism in Bulgaria Before 1891'.

## THE FIRST APPEARANCE IN BULGARIAN OF DAS KAPITAL

**20. MARX (Karl). & DEVILLE (Gabriel). translated by BAKALOV (Georgi). Kapitalūt". Sūkpateno izlozhenie.**

First edition in Bulgarian. 8vo. iv, [5]-284 pp. Contemporary green cloth, covers ruled in blind, spine lettered in blind, marbled edges, blue sugar-paper endpapers. Contemporary ownership inscription of 'G.M. Dimitrov' to front free endpaper and head of title page, extremities very slightly rubbed, otherwise a most attractive copy.

Varna, Izdava knizharnitsata na Georgi Bakalov". 1900.

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The first appearance in Bulgarian of *Das Kapital*, a translation of the Gabriel Deville abridgement that preceded any other attempt to fully translate Marx's great work into Bulgarian. Arguably the single most influential abridgement of *Kapital* ever to have appeared, Deville's "internationally acclaimed" abridgement was originally published in Paris in 1883. It was widely translated and "did more to disseminate the arguments of Marx's revered but unread *magnum opus* than did any other publication before or since" (Stuart, *Marxism at Work*, p. 25).

The translation was undertaken directly from the original French by the Bulgarian socialist and literary critic Georgi Bakalov (1873-1939), one of the "most cultivated of socialist intellectuals" (Todorova, p. 240). Bakalov was a prodigious young student and the president of the socialist society of Plovdiv Boys' High School. He played a key role in a spontaneous student revolt in February 1891 and was subsequently expelled from his high school. Not to be deterred, Bakalov promptly proceeded to become a member of the newly founded Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (*Balgarska Socialdemokraticheska Partiya*), Bulgaria's first socialist political party, before emigrating to Geneva at the end of 1891 to complete his studies.

Bakalov formed part of a circle of young Bulgarian socialists who studied in Geneva during the 1890s and were associated with the Russian revolutionary Marxist Georgi Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labour Group. He returned to Bulgaria in 1893 and exerted considerable influence over the development of Bulgarian Marxism as prolific translator and original thinker in his own right, operating his own publishing house in Varna where the present translation was printed.

He became a prominent member of what had morphed into the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party (*Būlgarska rabotniceska sotsialdemokraticheska partiya*, BRSDP) led by Dimitar Blagoev (1856-1924), the so-called 'father' of Bulgarian Marxism. Bakalov would eventually come to be one of Blagoev's main rivals in BRSDP, representing the so-called 'national-liberal' or 'anarcho-liberal' wing of the party, the entirety of whom were expelled from the party in December 1905.

Bakalov would eventually emigrate from Bulgaria in the wake of the harsh period of state repression of socialist politics brought about by the 1923 Bulgarian *coup d'état*. He eventually settled in the Soviet Union "where he became a member of the Russian Communist Party. He worked in the Soviet trade mission in Paris and later in the 'Marx-Engels-Lenin' Institute, becoming a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, a rare distinction for a foreigner. By the end of his life he had written

more than seventy books, authored over 1,300 articles, and had translated 700 works” (Todorova, p. 240).

The present translation of the Deville abridgement precedes several other important early Bulgarian translations of *Das Kapital*. A partial translation by Dimitar Blagoev from the German original appeared in 1905. This was then followed by two competing full translations by Blagoev and Bakalov published in 1910, Blagoev’s with a preface dated 1909 and as such generally considered as the first full Bulgarian translation.

**Rare.** We have been able to trace only one copy held institutionally worldwide, at the Cyril and Methodius National Library in Bulgaria. No copies in OCLC, Library Hub or KVK.

See: Maria Todorova, *The Lost World of Socialists at Europe’s Margins. Imagining Utopia, 1870s-1920s*.

Геор. М. Димитровъ

Габриелъ Девиль

# КАПИТАЛЪТЪ

НА

КАРЛА МАРКСА

СЪКРАТЕНО ИЗЛОЖЕНИЕ

Прѣвелъ отъ еренски

Г. Бакаловъ



ВАРНА

Издава книжарницата на Георги Бакаловъ

1900



**21. MARX** (Karl). translated with a preface by **BLAGOEV** (Dimitar).  
**Kritika na politicheskata ekonomia.**

First edition in Bulgarian. 8vo. [2], vi, vii, [8]-191, [1] pp. Near contemporary cloth, spine lettered in gilt on red morocco label, sprinkled edges, patterned endpapers. Originally issued in stapled wrappers, faint remnants of which are visible to the title, rust stains to title and verso of terminal leaf, original stab holes visible to the gutter throughout, neat contemporary ownership inscription of 'Leon Farm' (?) to head of title, some scattered ink staining to title and p. v of translator's preface, otherwise internally clean.

Plovdiv, Izdanie na Iv. Ignatov". 1904.

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The first Bulgarian translation of Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, the "germ" of *Das Kapital* and Marx's first attempt at a general statement of his economic theory. It has been widely overshadowed by the monumental influence of *Kapital*, which Marx himself described as a continuation of the ideas set forth in this earlier work. The long-neglected text was reintroduced to the literature of socialism by the appearance of the second German edition in 1897, edited by Karl Kautsky. Translations of the work appeared relatively late, with the first English translation published in the same year as the Bulgarian edition presented here.

The Bulgarian translation was undertaken by Dimitar Blagoev (1856-1924), the first systematic Marxist intellectual in Bulgaria and the Balkans more broadly. Blagoev converted to Marxism during his time as a student at the University of St Petersburg in the early 1880s. He formed the first organised Marxist group to be founded on Russian soil, named by its members the Party of Russian Social Democracy, but commonly referred as the 'Blagoev Circle'. Heavily influenced by Georgi Plekhanov's 'Emancipation of Labour' group in Geneva, the 'Blagoev Circle' in turn issued the first Marxist publication to appear in Russia itself, the newspaper *Rabochii*. It attracted the immediate attention of the Tsarist police and Blagoev was deported from Russia in 1885 for his revolutionary activities.

Blagoev founded Bulgaria's first socialist political party in 1891, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (*BalgarskaSocialdemokraticheska Partiya*). In the same year he produced a short work titled 'What is Socialism and Has it Ground in our Country?', the first public statement of a socialist program by a Bulgarian author described as the 'Bulgarian Communist Manifesto'.

Blagoev's translation of Marx's *Contribution* would almost certainly have been based on the Russian edition of 1896.

**Rare.** OCLC and KVK list single copies in Germany (Bibliothek der Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum) and Switzerland (Bibliothèque de Genève). We have been unable to traces any copies in North America or the United Kingdom.

Kancheva, *Dimitar Blagoev: Bibliografiya*, p. 233.



ONE OF TWO COMPETING BULGARIAN TRANSLATIONS  
PUBLISHED IN THE SAME YEAR

**22. MARX** (Karl). translated by **BLAGOEV** (Dimitar).  
**Kapitalūt". Kritika na politicheskata ekonomiiia. Tom" pūrbi.**

First edition in Bulgarian. 8vo. [6], xxxi, [1], 675, [1] pp. Original publisher's red cloth, spine lettered and ruled in black, front cover lettered and ruled in gilt, patterned endpapers. Binding slightly shaken, joints starting to split but holding, extremities rubbed, gilt to front cover dulled, a good copy only.

Sofia, Izdanie na Partiinata sotsialisticheska knizharnitsa i pechatnitsa, Nauchna biblioteka knizhka 9. N.d. [but circa 1909-1910].

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The first full Bulgarian translation of *Das Kapital*, one of two competing translations published by rival Bulgarian socialist factions in the same year - in the rare original publisher's binding.

The translation by Dimitar Blagoev (see previous item for a fuller biographical note) of the first volume of *Das Kapital* had been years in the making and he had previously published a partial translation in 1905 comprised of only 122 pages. His preface to the present full translation, dated 1909, details his source material: "This translation is made from Russian, but in fact it can be said that it was made equally from German and French. We had at our disposal all four Russian editions, but the basic text was Struve's translation, closest to the original. We still had to compare it, line by line, with the original, following the latest, fourth German edition of Friedrich Engels, and also according to the French translation edited by Marx himself" (English translation quoted in Todorova, *The Lost World of Socialists at Europe's Margins*, p. 33).

In an extraordinary testament to the partisan nature of much left-wing politics, Blagoev's translation appeared in the same year as another full Bulgarian translation of the first volume of *Das Kapital*, undertaken by the Bulgarian socialist and literary critic Georgi Bakalov (see Item 20 in this catalogue for a longer biography of Bakalov).

The appearance of these two rival translations was born out of the 1903 split in the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (*Būlgarska rabotnicheska sotsialdemokraticheska partiya*, BRSDP) between the 'Narrows', the majority revolutionary faction led by Blagoev, and the 'Broads', identified with 'left-unity' class collaboration and Bernsteinian social democracy. This divide anticipated the Bolshevik-Menshevik split in the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party that occurred a few months later in the same year, with the 'Narrows' corresponding to the Bolshevik line and the 'Broads' with the Mensheviks. Bakalov had been a member of the BRSDP since its inception and came to be an important associate of Blagoev's rivals the 'Broads' following the 1903 split.

The present translation by Blagoev contains a preface dated 'August, 1909' and as such is generally held to precede Bakalov's rival translation as the first full translation of *Kapital* in Bulgarian. That said, it may well have been the case that Blagoev, no doubt aware of Bakalov's work on a competing translation, deliberately dated the preface as 1909 to ensure priority.

НАУЧНА БИБЛИОТЕКА

Книжка 9.

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КАРЛЪ МАРКСЪ

# КАПИТАЛЪТЪ

КРИТИКА НА ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАТА ЕКОНОМИЯ

ТОМЪ ПЪРВИ

Прѣводъ отъ Д. БЛАГОЕВЪ.



ИЗДАНИЕ

на

Партийната социалистическа книжарница и печатница

СОФИЯ.

Both translations enjoyed sustained influence, being reprinted clandestinely in 1930 and 1931 respectively under the editorship of the Bulgarian Communist Todor Pavlov during the period when socialist publications were banned in Bulgaria following the failed September Uprising of 1923, lasting up until the 1944 *coup d'état* over the Tsardom of Bulgaria.

**Rare.** OCLC lists a single defective copy from the library of the Bulgarian writer Atanas Slavov held by the New Bulgarian University. KVK adds a copy in Switzerland (Ville de Genève). We have also located a copy at the Cyril and Methodius National Library in Bulgaria.

Kancheva, *Dimitar Blagoev: Bibliografiya*, p. 234.



КАПИТАЛЪТЪ

# КАПИТАЛЪТЪ

Томъ Първи



Издана отъ  
А. ПЕТРОВЪ



**23. ENGELS** (Friedrich). translated by **SACHS** (Feliks).

**Wojna chlopska w Niemczech.**

First edition in Polish. 8vo. 101, [1] pp. Original printed wrappers, wire-stitched as issued. Rather edge worn, some loss to spine, staples rusted, notwithstanding a good example of this scarce and fragile publication.

Londyn, [Printed and Published by J. Kaniowski, 67 Colworth Road, Leytonstone]. 1902.

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The first Polish translation of *The Peasant War in Germany*, a short study of the widespread sixteenth century popular revolt known as the German Peasants' War (1524-1525), originally published in German across two issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in May and October 1850. The text is significant as one of the earliest studies based on materialist conception of history in the published works of Marx and Engels.

The publication of the present translation in London is highly characteristic of Polish translations of Marx and Engels which were almost exclusively printed abroad up until the 1905 Russian revolution saw a degree of relaxation to censorship laws across the Empire. The failed Polish uprisings of 1830-31 and 1863 against the Russian Empire caused a huge wave of emigration from Poland. London became a particular haven for émigré radicals looking to deploy the burgeoning ideas of socialism in the struggle for Polish independence.

The translation was undertaken by Polish physician and socialist leader Dr. Feliks Sachs (1869-1935) under the pseudonym 'H.M.' Sachs was born in Warsaw to a lower middle-class Jewish family and became a member of the Polish Socialist Party (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*, PPS) in 1898. He was an editor of the clandestine weekly newspaper *Robotnik*, the official organ of the PPS, and was arrested with rest of the editorial board in February 1900 by the *Okhrana*, the secret police of the Russian Empire.

After his release, Sachs moved to London in February 1901 and quickly set about working on behalf of the foreign committee of the Polish Socialist Party. A native Yiddish-speaker, Sachs had long taken a particular interest in disseminating the PPS program among Jewish workers and in London he energetically "became active in the party's Yiddish press" by joining the editorial staff of *Der arbeyter*, the party's only dedicated Yiddish organ (Zimmerman, p. 142).

Sachs relocated to Vilnius in June 1902 after being elected to the central committee of the PPS as head of a new Jewish Committee charged with the task of organising Jewish workers and disseminating party propaganda in Yiddish. He would go on to play an important role in recognising the Jews as a distinct nationality within the Polish socialist movement.

**Rare.** OCLC and Library Hub list single copies in the United Kingdom (BL), North America (Hoover Institute), and the Netherlands (International Institute of Social History), along with four copies in Poland.

See: Joshua D. Zimmerman, *Poles, Jews, and the Politics of Nationality: The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892-1914*.

Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa  
Zachęty Nauk Społecznych

FRYDERYK ENGELS



# ojna chłopska

w Niemczech

PRZEŁOŻYŁ Z NIEMIECKIEGO M. H.



LONDYN

1902

**24. MARX (Karl). & ENGELS (Friedrich). translated by ORMAECHEA (Rafael García).  
Manifiesto Comunista.**

First edition. 8vo. 192 pp. Original printed wrappers, sewn as issued, lower edge untrimmed. Some discreet paper reinforcement to tips of spine, notwithstanding an excellent copy.

Madrid, Editorial Internacional, Biblioteca Internacional de Ciencias Sociales, 1906.

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The first edition of the second Spanish translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, based on the influential French edition of 1901 by the eminent Germanist and philosopher Charles Andler (1886-1933).

The first Spanish translation of the Communist Manifesto was published in 1872 across six issues of the weekly newspaper *La Emancipación*, the official organ of the New Madrid Federation of the International Workingmen's Association (First International). The translation had been carried out by José Mesa (1831-1904), co-founder of the International in Spain, and was based on both the French and German editions of 1872. The Mesa translation languished in obscurity for over a decade, only being available in extremely scarce copies of *La Emancipación*. It was eventually reprinted in June 1886 in the Madrid periodical *El Socialista* and was finally issued in pamphlet form later in the same year. It was reprinted again as a pamphlet in 1904.

The present second Spanish translation was undertaken by the socialist lawyer and politician Rafael García Ormaechea (1876-1938). The source material for Ormaechea's translation was the important French edition by Charles Andler, published in Paris in 1901. Andler is best-known as a Germanist academic, having held professorships at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France later in life. However, his interest in socialism dated from his early years as a student; he was a member of Jean Allemane's Revolutionary Socialist Workers' Party from 1890 and even met with Engels in London during the summer of 1891. Andler's translation of the *Communist Manifesto* is most significant for the inclusion of his own substantial introduction to the text, which provides much in the way of historical context as well as outlining the development of Marx and Engels's thought with reference to their early works. Andler's introduction also places considerable emphasis on the influence of French socialists as precursors of Marxism, placing particular importance on Henri de Saint-Simon and Constantin Pecqueur.

Andler's introduction is reproduced here in the present Spanish edition along with the prefaces by Marx and Engels to the German editions of 1872, 1883 and 1890 as well as the Russian edition of 1882. The text of the Manifesto is then followed by a general commentary by the Spanish translator Rafael García Ormaechea entitled 'Notas complementarias' (pp. 137-190) which serves as a general introduction to the core concepts of Marxism, including historical materialism as well as the Marxist theory of class struggle and revolution. Interestingly, Ormaechea makes reference to various writings by Marx and Engels that still had not been translated into Spanish at the time.

The Spanish translator Rafael García Ormaechea is an interesting figure whose life and career reflects some of the extreme social and political fluctuations in Spain in the first decades of the twentieth century. He was a member of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) from 1903 to 1909, during which time he served on the party's National

BIBLIOTECA INTERNACIONAL  
DE  
CIENCIAS SOCIALES

# *Manifiesto Comunista*

por

*Carlos Marx y Federico Engels*

*con una introducción histórica*

por

**C. Andler**

*Traducción de R. García Ormaechea*



MADRID  
*Editorial Internacional*

1906



Committee and successfully stood as a councillor in the 1905 Madrid municipal elections. In 1907 he was part of the delegation led by Pablo Iglesias (1850-1925), the great Spanish socialist and founder of the PSOE, to the Seventh Congress of the Second International held in Stuttgart. Ormaechea also produced various translations of socialist literature on behalf of the PSOE, including the present translation of the *Communist Manifesto* as well as the French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's book *What Is Property? or, An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government*.

Ormaechea's productive period as a member of the PSOE was brought abruptly to halt in 1908 when he was appointed as a legal advisor to the newly formed Instituto Nacional de Previsión ('Spanish Institute of Provision'), Spain's first major institute of social security. The leadership of the PSOE objected to this association with a governmental institution and Ormaechea was officially dismissed from the party in May 1909. Although Ormaechea would maintain friendly relations with members of the Spanish socialist movement, he would go on to have a successful career in politics, serving as Political Secretary to Prime Minister Eduardo Dato and as a senior social policy adviser. Ormaechea would continue in his position at the Instituto Nacional de Previsión during the Second Republic but was dismissed at the outset of the Spanish Civil War and fled to France after his home in Madrid was looted. He subsequently returned to Francoist Spain in 1938 and was reinstated in his position as legal adviser to the Instituto Nacional de Previsión. He died a year later in Santander.

Ormaechea's translation of the *Communist Manifesto* was reprinted in Madrid in 1927 and 1931 and in Buenos Aires in 1975.

OCLC and KVK list three copies in Spain (Biblioteca Nacional, Ministerio de Trabajo y Economía Social, Universidad de Deusto) and one in Germany (Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung). We have been unable to trace any copies held in North America or the United Kingdom.

Andréas, 456.

## THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF KAPITAL IN LATIN AMERICA

**25. MARX (Karl).** translated by **JUSTO (Juan Bautista).**

**El Capital. Crítica de la Economía Política.**

First Argentine edition (second overall). 8vo. 615, [1] pp., portrait of Marx to page three. Contemporary quarter brown pebble-grain roan with marbled paper covered boards, spine with four single raised bands outlined in gilt and blind, second panel lettered in gilt, the rest with floral gilt stamps, initialled in gilt 'J.R.C.' at foot, patterned endpapers, red edges. Some light wear to extremities, faint foxing to opening leaves and verso of terminal leaf, otherwise internally clean, a very pleasing copy.

Buenos Aires, Biblioteca de Propaganda Ideal Socialista. 1918.

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**The first edition of *Das Kapital* to be published in Latin America**, being the second edition overall of the first complete Spanish translation of the first volume of *Kapital*, originally published in Madrid between 1897 and 1898.

As far as we have been able to trace the only other notably early Latin American editions of *Kapital* were published in Brazil in 1931 (a Portuguese translation of the Gabriel Deville abridgement of the first volume) and Chile in 1935 (a Spanish translation of the Julian Borchardt abridgement of all three volumes). These were followed by a complete Spanish translation of all three volumes published in Mexico in 1946.

The present translation was undertaken by the Argentine socialist Juan Bautista Justo (1865-1928), the principal founder of the Socialist Party of Argentina (Partido Socialista de Argentina) and its acknowledged leader until his death. Justo's particular brand of socialism provides an interesting example of the attempt to adapt Marxism to non-European, pre-industrialised socio-economic conditions. His politics were broadly aligned with that of the German social-democratic 'revisionist' Eduard Bernstein, emphasising gradual societal change over revolution, a position that was in turn determined by the influence of the social Darwinism of Herbert Spencer in Justo's thought.

"Like Spencer, Justo linked the notion of human biological struggle to political theory and stressed evolutionary progress in society. While embracing Marx's general vision of history as expressing evolutionary ideas, he rejected Marxist ideas of imperialism and even advocated the encouragement of foreign investment in Argentina in order to speed up economic and social development and, hence, the evolutionary process toward full socialisation of the means of production. He also revised the Marxist view of class with its emphasis on the proletariat to take account of the social composition of Argentina, where there was a very small, underdeveloped working class" (Walker & Gray, *Historical Dictionary of Marxism*, p. 161f).

Justo's translation of *Kapital* came about as a result of a six-month tour of Europe made in 1895, which Justo would later credit with inspiring him to devote his life fully to politics and the development of socialism in Argentina. Justo departed for Europe via the United States, staying in London, Paris and Brussels where he met with and attended speeches by various leading social-democrats and socialists.



Most importantly, however, was Justo's visit to Spain, staying first in Madrid where he was introduced to the great Spanish socialist Pablo Iglesias (1850-1925), the founder of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE). The pair would remain in correspondence for many years to come, with Iglesias referring to Justo as the "wise Argentine Doctor Juan B. Justo" and hailing Justo's Partido Socialista de Argentina as "the socialist Germany of Hispanic America" (quoted in Tarcus).

While in Madrid Justo also contributed articles to the newspaper *El Socialista*, the official organ of the PSOE, and delivered a speech at a memorial service held to mark the death of Friedrich Engels on the 5th of August 1895. Justo would move on to Barcelona in September 1895 where, upon the recommendation of Pablo Iglesias, he made contact with Antonio García Quejido (1856-1927), a prominent Spanish socialist and a founding member of the PSOE along with Iglesias.

García Quejido was a typographer by trade and had long explored the possibility of publishing a full and direct Spanish translation of *Das Kapital* as the two previous earlier Spanish efforts had both been incomplete: the first was a partial translation by the republican Pablo Correa y Zafrilla's (1844-1888) based on only the first half of Joseph Roy's French version and serialised in the Spanish newspaper *La Republica* between 1886 to 1887, followed closely thereafter by a translation of the Gabriel Deville abridgement published in 1887 and translated by Antonio Atienza on behalf of the PSOE.

The need for a full Spanish translation of *Kapital* was therefore clear, and the project was borne out of this September 1895 meeting between García Quejido and Justo - the Spanish publisher and the Argentine translator. Upon his return to Buenos Aires, Justo set about this enormous project, periodically sending sections of the book to García Quejido in Spain. Justo's translation was based on the fourth German edition published in 1890, being the last to appear under Engels's editorship, and was therefore also the first Spanish edition to translate directly from the original German, the previous two efforts having been based on French sources. Justo's translation also contains Marx's original prefaces to the first and second German editions as well as Engels's prefaces to the posthumously published third and fourth German editions.

The translation was in turn edited by García Quejido in Madrid, who published the text in his short-lived book series *Biblioteca de Ciencias Sociales*. It was issued in successive fortnightly pamphlets of thirty-two pages between 6 September 1897 and 19 December 1898, appearing alongside a Spanish translation of Gabriel Deville's *Principios Socialistas* by Pablo Iglesias. García Quejido then began to have these individual parts bound-together at the start of 1899 and sold as a 688-page volume for 7.50 pesetas, some copies of which were exported to booksellers in Argentina.

The translation did not sell particularly well, in part owing to the continued popularity of the PSOE's edition of Deville's abridgement, and as late as 1903 García Quejido handed over the remaining 800 unsold copies (from a print run thought to have originally been 2,000) to the Madrid newspaper *El Socialista*, who this time advertised the book for a reduced price of a mere 3 pesetas.

Justo corrected and revised ('corregida y revisada') the translation for the present Argentine edition, including a translator's note ('Nota del Traductor') at the rear of volume explaining that various errors worked their way into the original text on account of Justo not being present to review the proofs in person in Madrid.

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CARLOS MARX

# EL CAPITAL

CRÍTICA DE LA ECONOMÍA POLÍTICA

TRADUCIDO DE LA CUARTA EDICIÓN ALEMANA

POR

JUAN B. JUSTO

I



BUENOS AIRES

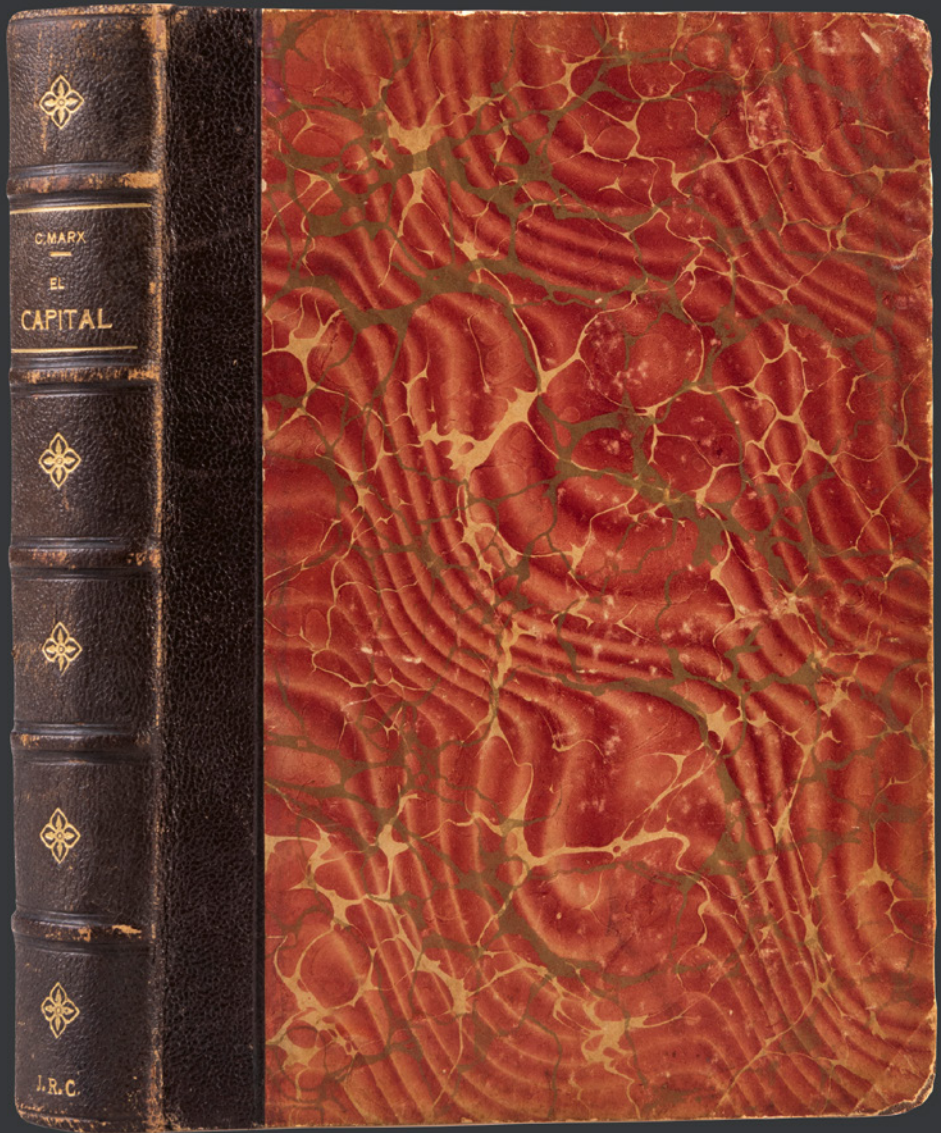
Biblioteca de Propaganda "IDEAL SOCIALISTA"

Director: JOAQUIN MARINONI

1918

**Rare.** KVK list a single copy in Germany (Bundesarchiv). OCLC list a single microfilm copy at Duke University but no physical copies worldwide. No copies on Library Hub.

See: Horacio Tarcus, 'Traductores y editores de la "Biblia del Proletariado". La suerte de El Capital en el mundo hispanoamericano'; Carlos Rodríguez Braun, 'Early Liberal Socialism in Latin America: Juan B. Justo and the Argentine Socialist Party'; Richard J. Walter, 'Argentina', in *The Formation of Labour Movements: 1870-1914. An International Perspective*, Vol II.



C. MARX  
—  
EL  
CAPITAL

J. R. C.

TRANSLATED BY "ONE OF THE NOBLEST AND MOST HEROIC  
FIGURES OF THE SERBIAN WORKERS' MOVEMENT" (TROTSKY).

**26. MARX** (Karl). translated by **TUCOVIĆ** (Dimitrije).  
**Najamni rad i kapital. S uvodom fridriha Engelsa.**

First edition in Serbian. 8vo. 53, [3] pp. Original printed wrappers, edges untrimmed.  
Ownership inscription dated 1920 to head of title, some neat paper reinforcement to spine.

Beograd, Izdanje Srpske Socijal-Demokratske Stranke. 1907.

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The first Serbian translation of Marx's *Wage Labour & Capital*, an important precursor to *Das Kapital*, originally delivered as a series of lectures at the German Workingmen's Club of Brussels in 1847 and first published as a series of articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1849. Also included is a translation of the ten-page introduction by Friedrich Engels prepared for the German edition of 1891.

The translation was undertaken by Dimitrije Tucović (1881-1914), the founder of modern trade unionism in Serbia, and published by the Serbian Social Democratic Party (*Srpska socijaldemokratska partija*, SSDP) as part of their influential book series 'Socijalistička Biblioteka', which played a key role in the diffusion of Marxist texts in the Kingdom of Serbia prior to the First World War and the subsequent formation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Tucović was a founding member of the SSDP in 1903 and led the party from 1908 until his death in 1914. Under his direction the party became one of the most progressive workers' parties in Europe, prioritising the full establishment of universal suffrage and promoting the development of trade unionism in Serbia. Tucović was also an influential socialist writer in his own right, his most important contribution to Marxist discourse being the book *Serbia and Albania* (1914), a critique of the imperialist policy of the Kingdom of Serbia in the Balkans. He also produced a Serbian translation of the *Communist Manifesto* in the same year as the present edition of *Wage Labour & Capital*.

Tucović is best remembered for his commitment to the anti-war movement, vehemently opposing the bourgeoisie interests behind the Serbian invasion of Albania in 1912. Under his leadership the SSDP were one of only three members of the Second International to officially oppose the First World War, along with Lenin's Bolsheviks and the Bulgarian 'Narrows' led by Dimitar Blagoev. Despite his anti-war principles, he was drafted into the Serbian army as a reserve officer upon the outbreak of the First Balkan War and was tragically killed in 1914 at the Battle of Kolubara against the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Tucović was well-known amongst European revolutionary circles and was eulogised upon his death by Leon Trotsky in an article published in the Ukrainian socialist newspaper *Kievskaya Mysl* as "one of the noblest and most heroic figures of the Serbian workers' movement".

**Rare.** We have been unable to trace any copies held institutionally outside of Serbia.  
No copies on OCLC, Library Hub or KVK.



КАРЛ МАРКС

# НАЈАМНИ РАД И КАПИТАЛ

С уводом Фридриха Енгелса

Превео  
Д. Туцовић



БЕОГРАД 1967.

ИЗДАЊЕ СРПСКЕ СОЦИЈАЛ-ДЕМОКРАТСКЕ СТРАНКЕ

Цена 0.40 дин.



**27. MARX** (Karl). edited with an introduction by **BORCHARDT** (Julian). & translated by **PIJADE** (Moša).

**Kapital. Kritika Političke Ekonomije od Karla Marksa. Popularno Izdanje.**

First edition in Serbian. 8vo. 198, [4] pp. Original purple printed wrappers, edges untrimmed. Early ownership inscription in red ink to title page and page 57, 4.7cm portion to head of title page re-margined with no loss of text, thick strip of paper reinforcement to top edge of second to last leaf, final leaf reinforced with paper backing obscuring the terminal blank; rebacked with the original spine laid down, some sympathetic paper reinforcement to extremities of front and rear covers.

Beograd, Izdavačka Knjižarnica Gece Kona. 1924.

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An important precursor to the first full Serbian translation of *Das Kapital*, often mistakenly referred to as a first full translation of the first volume, but in fact a translation of Julian Borchardt's 'Popular Edition', a collection excerpts from all three volumes of *Kapital* originally published in Berlin in 1919. It includes a preface and a substantial supplementary essay titled 'The Essence of Marx's Theory of Crises' by Borchardt but contains no further explanatory notes or commentary to the main body of text.

The translation was undertaken by the Serbian and Yugoslav communist Moša Pijade (1890-1957), the foremost Marxist theoretician of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (*Komunistička partija Jugoslavije*, KPJ) and one of the closest collaborators of the Yugoslav communist leader Josip Broz Tito. Pijade was a leading figure in post-war Communist Yugoslavia and played an important role in the Tito–Stalin split of 1948. He also contributed to the dissemination of Marxist thought during the interwar years in the 'first' Yugoslavia through his work translating and publishing Marxist material. The KPJ was outlawed in 1921 and in 1925 Pijade was sentenced to fourteen years in prison for illegally editing and printing socialist material. Pijade was transferred to the notorious Lepoglava prison in 1930, where he became Tito's cellmate, tutoring his junior revolutionary in orthodox Marxist theory.

There had been various earlier attempts to translate *Kapital* into Serbian, including the publication of several short excerpts printed in newspapers and other periodicals from 1872 to 1888. The first book-length Serbian edition appeared in Geneva in 1900, a translation of the famous Deville abridgement by Drag. T. Vladislavljevic – a publication of the utmost rarity. Moša Pijade would go on to produce the first full Serbian translation of *Das Kapital* while he was still imprisoned in Lepoglava. The manuscript of the first volume was smuggled out of the Lepoglava prison and published in Belgrade in 1933. Pijade also completed translations of the second and third volumes, which were published in 1934 and 1948.

The present Serbian edition of Borchardt's abridgement was published by the Jewish bookseller Géza Kohn (1873-1941) who operated the largest publishing house in Yugoslavia from 1901 until the Nazi occupation in 1941 when he became a victim of the Holocaust.

**Rare.** OCLC list only one copy held institutionally worldwide at the University of Pittsburgh. No copies on Library Hub or KVK. We have also been able to trace two copies in Croatia.

# KAPITAL

KRITIKA POLITIČKE EKONOMIJE

OD

KARLA MARKSA

POPULARNO IZDANJE

PRIREDIO

JULIAN BORHART

PREVEO

M. S. PIJADE



BEOGRAD

IZDAVAČKA KNJIŽARNICA GECE KONA

1. Knez Mihailova 1.

1924.

UKRAINIAN TRANSLATION OF THE *COMMUNIST MANIFESTO*  
PUBLISHED IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

**28. MARX (Karl) & ENGELS (Friedrich).** translated by [STEPANKIVSKYI (Volodymyr)]  
**Komunistychnyi manifest.**

Second edition of the second Ukrainian translation. 8vo. 60, [2, blank] pp. Original printed wrappers. Red rubber stamp 'UKR RES DUPLICATE' to front cover and title page, light creasing to corners, loss to head and tail of spine.

Cleveland, Ohio, Robitnyk Publ. & Prng. Co, Inc., Vydanie Ukraïns'koï federatsii Amerykans'koï sotsiialistychnoï partii. 1917.

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A Ukrainian translation of the *Communist Manifesto* published in Cleveland, Ohio under the auspices of the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party of America in the same year as the Russian revolution. The 1917 revolutions in Russia would have immediate and seismic consequences for the future of Ukraine and the present publication gives important insight into how these monumental events were received amongst Ukrainian migrants in North America.

The text of this edition is a reprint of the second Ukrainian translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, originally published in 1905 in the Western-Ukrainian city of Lviv, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The translation was produced by the Ukrainian socialist Volodymyr Stepankivskyi (1885-1957) under the pseudonym 'V. Koval'. Stepankivskyi's translation appeared only three years after the very first Ukrainian translation of the *Manifesto*, which was published in Lviv in 1902. This first Ukrainian edition had been translated anonymously by the Ukrainian poet Larisa Petrovna Kosac (1871-1913), best-known by her pseudonym Lesya Ukrainka, and is notable for its inclusion of numerous Galician expressions and phrases. This use of this regional dialect may have provided the motivation to produce an entirely new Ukrainian version of the *Manifesto* so quickly after the first translation.

Ukrainian migration to the United States began on a large scale in the late 1880s and peaked during the decade preceding the First World War. Many were originally attracted to America by recruitment agents from the coal mining companies of Pennsylvania, with more than half of the Ukrainians who emigrated before 1914 finding employment in the anthracite coal mining communities of the urban-industrial states of the Northeast, including Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Ohio (Woroby, p. 185). Given the socio-economic background of these early migrants, it was "perhaps inevitable" that, "like other European immigrants to North America at the time, members of the Ukrainian labour diaspora formed and joined organisations that attempted to improve working and living conditions" (Satzewich, p. 70-71).

The Ukrainian socialist movement in America accelerated in the wake of the 1905 revolution in Russia, with a new generation of Ukrainian radicals emigrating to America in search of refuge from tsarist persecution. Most important, however, was the establishment of two rival immigrant Ukrainian socialist newspapers in 1911 and 1912 respectively. The first was *Proletar* ('The Proletarian') founded in Detroit, Michigan followed by *Robitnyk* ('The Worker') in Cleveland, Ohio. From the outset, both outfits aspired to be more

К. МАРКС і Ф. ЕНГЕЛЬС.

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# Комуністичний маніфест

ВИДАНЭ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ФЕДЕРАЦІЇ  
АМЕРИКАНСЬКОЇ СОЦІЯЛІСТИЧ-  
НОЇ ПАРТІЇ.



ЦІНА 25 ц.

UKR RES  
DUPLICATE

CLEVELAND, OHIO, U. S. A.

1918

than just regional newspapers and an intense battle subsequently ensued “over which paper would become the official organ of the Ukrainian socialist movement in America” (Woroby, p. 190).

This ideological struggle between Detroit and Cleveland finally came to a head in 1915 when the Ukrainian socialists in Detroit set up a ‘provisional committee’ with the expressed task of establishing a Foreign Language Federation of the Socialist Party of America (SPA). Founded in 1903, the SPA was arguably the foremost American socialist party of the first decades of the twentieth century. The SPA benefited from the support of diverse immigrant communities in America, with various semi-autonomous Foreign Language Federations formed under the broad umbrella of the Party; indeed, “by 1917, the membership of the SPA was 80,126, but 32,894, or 40 percent, belonged to the various Foreign Language Federations” (Satzewich, p. 71).

Although informal ties had previously existed between the disparate Ukrainian socialist groups and the SPA, the move by the Ukrainian socialists in Detroit to establish an official Foreign Language Federation represented a serious development in the struggle for prominence between Detroit and Cleveland. The Ukrainian socialists in Cleveland responded in turn by appointing a similar ‘provisional committee’ and the “two factions appeared ready to resume their old feud. Sensing that a renewed battle would undermine recent gains”, veteran members of the movement “were able to get the Detroit and Cleveland groups to formally join forces and merge their respective newspapers”, which continued under the name *Robitnyk* (Woroby, p. 191). Cleveland was selected as the publishing site for *Robitnyk* along with the rest of the Federation’s official publications due to its superior typographic and printing equipment – hence the publication of the present edition of the *Communist Manifesto* in Cleveland, Ohio.

The Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party of America (UFSPA) was officially established in June 1915 and held its first Convention in November of the same year. The UFSPA was a ‘broad church’ representing a “hodgepodge of socialist and quasi-socialist sentiments” with competing and even conflicting ideological differences, especially over the question of Ukrainian national autonomy. “Among its membership were Ukrainian immigrant pacifists and anticlerics, supporters and opponents of Ukrainian national autonomy, pro-Austrian Galician nationalists, and pro-Russian federalists” (Woroby, p. 191). These internal divisions and tensions would come to the fore when the February Revolution broke out in Russia in 1917.

The revolution in Russia would have immediate and seismic consequences for the future of Ukraine. Only a month after the February Revolution, the Ukrainian People’s Republic was established in Kiev as an autonomous entity with close ties to the Russian Provisional Government. However, the short-lived People’s Republic was marked by series of monumental events that would characterise the Ukrainian War of Independence, to name but a few: the catastrophic Russian military defeat in the Kerensky Offensive of July 1917; the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 and the subsequent outbreak of the Russian Civil War; the Makhnovshchina anarchist uprising in the Southeast of Ukraine from 1918 to 1921; the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire, which had previously ruled Ukrainian Galicia, and the Polish annexation of Galicia during the Polish-Soviet War. The long-held dream of an independent Ukraine would eventually be curtailed with the Ukrainian People’s Republic absorption into the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of 1922-1991.



The initial "Ukrainian immigrant response to the February Revolution varied according to political outlook. For the rank-and-file Left, the end of tsarism signalled the beginning of the proletarian revolution. The nationalists, on the other hand, hoped that the revolution would weaken Allied forces to the advantage of Austria/Germany. Other Ukrainian immigrants believed that the February Revolution would hasten the end of the war, and all camps realised that the revolutionary events in Russia spelled changes for the Ukrainian territories of the former empire – if not complete Ukrainian independence, then some sort of democratic autonomy within a federated Russia" (Woroby, p. 194).

The official position of the UFSPA on developments in Ukraine was strikingly clear, however. Bolshevik support within the UFSPA had been growing since the Federation's second congress in May 1917 and, following the Bolsheviks rise to power with the October Revolution, the "internationalist" leadership of the UFSPA proclaimed its allegiance to the Bolshevik position. This move was not without controversy within the Party, with many members highlighting the obvious tension between the Bolshevik government in Moscow and an independent Ukraine. However, the leadership of the UFSPA proceeded to solidify ties with the radical left wing of the Socialist Party of America along with the Bolshevik contingency within the Russian Federation of the Socialist Party of America.

The alignment of the UFSPA with the Bolshevik position had immediate domestic consequences for the organisation. "Caught up in the red scare and patriotic hysteria that gripped the U.S. during the remaining years of the First World War, the UFSPA and *Robitnyk* were added to the federal government's list of undesirables." The editorial offices of *Robitnyk* were raided by federal authorities twice in June and July 1918 and "staff members present at the time were arrested. The decision was made to move both *Robitnyk* and its headquarters to New York City." However, the train carrying the newspaper's typographical equipment and documents was halted by the authorities just outside of Cleveland and nearly all the press materials were destroyed or damaged (Woroby, p. 196-7). This disruption in Cleveland is pertinent to the present edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, which was printed in the same premises as *Robitnyk* on 2335 W. 11th Street. Interestingly, although the title page bears the date 1917, the front cover of the printed wrappers states 1918. Given the raids on the *Robitnyk* premises, it could not have printed later than July 1918.

Not to be dissuaded, at the Federation's April 1919 Convention the leadership of the UFSPA formally pledged its allegiance to the Communist International ('Comintern' or Third International) in its call for the communist movement to come under Moscow's control. The UFSPA's official recognition of the Comintern led to its expulsion from the Socialist Party of America along with numerous other prominent Foreign Language Federations. Shortly thereafter, the various expelled Federations proceeded to form the Communist Party of America, with the UFSPA renaming their organisation the Ukrainian Federation of Communist Parties of America.

OCLC list fourteen copies held institutionally in North America along with a single copy in Germany at the Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

See: Maria Woroby, 'The Ukrainian Immigrant Left in the United States, 1880-1950', in Paul Buhle & Dan Georgakas (eds.) *The Immigrant Left in the United States*; Vic Satzewich, *The Ukrainian Diaspora*.

Andréas, 521 (see also 403/403a & 445).



A BIZARRE OCCURRENCE: TWO PORTUGUESE TRANSLATIONS  
PUBLISHED IN THE SAME YEAR

**29. MARX** (Karl). & **DEVILLE** (Gabriel). translated by **MORAES** (Albano de). with a preface by **FORTES** (Agostinho).  
**O Capital. Resumido e acompanhado de um Estudo sobre o socialismo scientifico por Gabriele Deville.**

Small 8vo. 240 pp. Original red cloth, spine lettered and ruled in black, front cover blocked in black. A notably bright, near fine copy.

Lisboa, Edição da Typographia de Francisco Luiz Gonçalves, Bibliotheca d'Educação Nacional XXI. 1912.

[*offered with:*]

**MARX** (Karl). & [**DEVILLE** (Gabriel).] translated by **ARAÚJO PEREIRA** (Emilia de).  
**O Capital.**

8vo. [3]-246 pp. Without the half title. Near contemporary red pebble grain cloth, spine panelled with five single blind rules, second and fourth panels lettered in gilt, covers panelled in blind, pink endpapers. Engraved bookplate of Raul Esteves dos Santos to front pastedown, some occasional foxing.

Lisboa, Guimarães & C.a Editores, Colecção Sociolojica. 1912.

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The year 1912 saw the first publication of two entirely separate Portuguese translations of *Das Kapital* with no established priority, a bizarre and unexplained occurrence.

Both translations were based on the famous Gabriel Deville abridgement of the first volume of *Das Kapital*, originally published in Paris in 1883. Deville's "internationally acclaimed" abridgement was widely translated, serving as the first appearance of *Das Kapital* in numerous languages, and arguably "did more to disseminate the arguments of Marx's revered but unread *magnum opus* than did any other publication before or since" (Stuart, *Marxism at Work*, p. 25).

Marxism developed comparatively late in Portugal. Although the Portuguese Socialist Party was founded in 1875, it was blighted by factional struggles and lacked mass support, largely owing to the dominance of anarchism in the Portuguese trade union movement. The Party contributed little to the proliferation of Marxist thought in Portugal and, unlike in other countries, did not directly promote the translation and publication of Marxist texts.

Indeed, very few translations of the works of Marx and Engels appeared in Portuguese prior to the publication of the two translations of *Das Kapital* presented here. The first Portuguese translation of the *Communist Manifesto* appeared in 1873 in the journal *O Pensamento Social*, which also published a translation of Marx's *Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association* in the same year. Beyond these two short works, the only other original theoretical work by either Marx or Engels to appear in Portugal prior 1912 was an 1889 translation of Engels's popular introductory text *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. In contrast, a wealth of anarchist literature was translated into Portuguese

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Carlos Marx  
Tradução de  
Albano de Moraes

# O CAPITAL



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during this period, with works by the likes of Proudhon and Kropotkin readily available in left-wing circles.

A full Portuguese translation of *Das Kapital* would not appear until 1968 in the form of an edition of all three volumes published in Brazil, while a full translation was not published in Portugal itself until 1974.

The first of the two translations offered here is attributed to Albano de Moraes, the identity of whom remains obscure although he is credited as the translator of several other minor socialist texts. His translation of *Kapital* was published in the book series *Bibliotheca d'Educação Nacional* under the editorship of the Portuguese republican Agostinho José Fortes (1869-1940), the first Professor of History at the University of Lisbon's Faculty of Humanities, who also included a critical introduction to the text. The book series primarily consisted of original Portuguese social scientific works, along with translations of the likes of William Stanley Jevons and Gustave Le Bon.

The introduction by Fortes is noteworthy for its critical tone, announcing that “the Marxist school is positively not an original school” (“a escola marxista não é positivamente uma escola original”) and that, although scientific in nature, “Marxism today fails on many points” (“hoje o marxismo falhe em muitos pontos”).

The Albano de Moraes translation enjoyed considerable success and remains in print in Portugal to this day. It was also circulated in Brazil, having been available from Brazilian booksellers in the year of publication. A Brazilian edition of the translation was published in 1931 by Editorial Moderna Paulistana and it was reprinted again in Brazil by Edições Cultura in 1944 (see Marchetti, ‘A recepção de O Capital no Brasil: 50 anos de sua primeira edição completa 1968-2018’).

The second translation presented here was undertaken by Maria Emilia de Araújo Pereira (1884 - ?), an anarchist, actress and translator. She came from a theatrical background and worked alongside her husband, the playwright Manuel Joaquim de Araújo Pereira (1871-1945), at the Escola-Teatro de Araújo Pereira, a progressive theatre company and acting school. She also produced more literary translations, including two notable translations of the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen – presumably on account of Ibsen's anarchist credentials.

Her translation of *Das Kapital* was published in the *Colecção Sociológica*, a series of original texts by Portuguese anarchists such as Emílio Costa alongside translations of works by major figures of international anarchism, including Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy, as well as two translations of Friedrich Nietzsche – reflective of Nietzsche's adoption by anarchists for his sustained critique of Christianity, despite his repeated explicit dismissals of anarchist philosophy. The series also included another of Emilia de Araújo Pereira's translations, an edition of the French anarchist Augustin Hamon's *Psychologie de l'anarchiste-socialiste* published in 1915.

The Araújo Pereira translation seems to have received a smaller circulation than the Albano de Moraes version and is relatively obscure by comparison, appearing less frequently in the literature concerning the development of Marxism in Portugal. The quality of Araújo Pereira's translation was later criticised by Alfredo Margarido, who produced a new Portuguese translation of the Deville abridgement in 1975, writing in his preface that Araújo Pereira's translation was “exemplarily unfaithful to the text” and “debatable” (“exemplarmente infiel ao texto” e “discutível”, quoted in Novo, ‘Há um

COLECÇÃO SOCIOLOGICA

*Carlos Marx*

# O CAPITAL

Tradução de Emília de Araújo Pereira



1912

GUIMARÃES & C.<sup>a</sup> — Editores

68, R. do Mundo (Ex. R. de S. Roque), 70

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marxismo português?'). Given the explicit anarchist standpoint of the *Colecção Sociológica* along with Araújo Pereira's own political inclinations, it is reasonable to suggest that these apparent discrepancies in the translation were a case of bowdlerisation, imposing an anarchist interpretation on the text, rather than technically poor translation work.

It is not unprecedented in the history of Marx translations for two entirely separate versions of the same text to appear in quick succession in the same language. For example, rival socialist factions in Spain published separate translations of *Das Kapital* in the space of a year in 1886 and 1887, while two rival Bulgarian translations of *Kapital* appeared in 1910 as a result of an earlier split in the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party. In both of these cases each party was aware of the other's project and the rival translations were produced in direct response to each other, representing political struggles over conformity to Marxist orthodoxy.

However, the appearance of the two Portuguese translations of *Das Kapital* was certainly not the result of warring political factions. Indeed, if anything, neither of the groups behind either translation were exactly sympathetic to Marxism, with the Albano de Moraes translation containing a highly critical introduction by Agostinho Fortes and the Araújo Pereira version appearing in a thoroughly anarchist publication with question marks existing over the faithfulness of the translation.

Instead, the circumstances surrounding the Portuguese translations suggest coincidence rather than competition, with both translations most likely having been produced in ignorance of the other.

**Interestingly, the Emilia de Araújo Pereira translation makes no direct attribution to Gabriel Deville** on the title page, with the only reference to his authorship appearing at the end of the preface, which is discreetly signed 'G.D.' and dated 'Paris 1883'. To enter the realm of pure speculation, this may suggest that the Albano de Moraes translation was the first to be published, with the *Colecção o Sociológica* removing any direct reference to Deville in the Araújo Pereira translation to make their publication appear as more of a separate entity.

#### **Both works are rare.**

Albano de Moraes translation: OCLC and KVK list two copies in North America (Kansas & Wisconsin), as well as single copies in Brazil (University of Sao Paulo) and Germany (Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung). No copies on Library Hub.

Emilia de Araújo Pereira translation: OCLC list only one copy, held by the University of Kansas. No copies on Library Hub or KVK.

See: Carlos Bastien, 'Readings and translations of Karl Marx in Portugal (1852-1914)'.



**30. MARX (Karl). & CAFIERO (Carlo).** translated with a preface by **FABIAN (David Finkelstein).**

**Capitalul. Rezumat de Carlo Cafiero.**

First edition in Romanian. 8vo. 99, [1, blank] pp. Modern brown cloth, front cover lettered in gilt, with the original front and rear green printed wrappers bound-in. Pencilled ownership inscription 'Negreanu' or 'Negream' (?) to title page, wrappers reinforced with thick paper backing, tiny 3mm hole to title page with loss of one character to the date in the imprint, paper repairs to gutter and inside top corner of the title and opening 32 pages, with additional paper repairs to the gutter of the final three leaves, not effecting text.

Bucuresti, Cercul de Editura Socialista, Biblioteca Socialita. 1919.

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The first book-length appearance of Marx's *Das Kapital* in Romanian, a translation of the hugely influential abridgement of the first volume of *Kapital* by the Italian socialist Carlo Cafiero, originally published in Italian in 1879 – one of the earliest and most important of such abridgements, much admired by Marx himself.

The development of Marxism in Romania prior to the First World War was slow to say the least and early Romanian “socialist organisations were far from homogeneous”, with Marxism being “only one of many ‘socialisms’ that competed for the adherence of the socialist circles”. Indeed, “there were few among them with a knowledge of socialist theory and still fewer who were acquainted with Marx’s writings” (Hitchins, p. 374).

“The first systematic attempt in Romania to explain the contents of *Das Kapital*” (Hitchins, p. 376) was made in the year of Marx’s death in 1883 by the influential Romanian socialist politician and writer Anton Bacalbasa (1865-1899). It consisted of a partial abridgement drawn from the first three sections of *Das Kapital* and was published in the socialist periodical *Emanciparea*. The article, titled ‘Capitalul’, amounted to eight pages in total, with Bacalbasa freely adding his own explanatory notes and adapting the various examples used by Marx for the benefit of the Romanian reader.

Although the first national Romanian socialist party was founded in 1893, the majority of its membership quickly concluded that the underdeveloped socio-economic conditions of Romania meant that “the prospects for the achievement of socialism in the foreseeable future were nil” and many of its members merged with the National Liberal Party in 1900 (Hitchins, p. 379). It would not be until after the First World War, under the impact of the 1917 October Russian Revolution, that Marxism would come to the fore in Romania.

However, the first full Romanian translation of the first volume of *Kapital* would still not appear until after the Second World War in the form of an official publication of the Romanian Communist Party in 1947, the same year as the forced abdication of King Michael I and the subsequent formation of the People’s Republic of Romania.

The present translation of the Cafiero abridgement therefore represented the first book-length appearance of *Kapital* in Romanian. The translation was undertaken by David Finkelstein (1895-1937), usually referred to by his pseudonym David Fabian as with the present publication which is signed ‘D. Fabian’ – the Jewish ‘Finkelstein’ presumably being dropped on account of rampant antisemitism in Romania before and after the

First World War. The translation was based on James Guillaume's French edition published in Paris in 1910 and is accompanied by a short two-page preface by Fabian.

David Finkelstein Fabian's life and political career is highly emblematic of the trajectory of Romanian communism in the aftermath of the 1917 October Russian Revolution. Fabian was active in underground Bolshevik circles in Bucharest from 1918 and was a founding member of the short-lived Socialist Party of Romania (*Partidul Socialist din România*) on 11 December 1918. Only three days later, Fabian would be involved in the events surrounding the notorious 1918 Romanian typographers' strike that culminated in a mass rally on 13 December where army regiments were ordered to fire upon the protestors. The fallout was equally extreme, with the majority of the leading members of the newly-founded Socialist Party being rounded up and imprisoned. Fabian was able to flee the country, emigrating first to Italy and then France, and was present in Moscow in 1920 at the Second World Congress of the Comintern (Third Communist International) as part of the delegation sent by the majority Bolshevik faction of the Socialist Party of Romania.

The delegation's pledge to join the Comintern caused a split in the Socialist Party of Romania, resulting in the formation of the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Român*, PCR), of which Fabian was a founding-member and served on the Central Committee from 1922. The foundation of the PCR and its incorporation into the Comintern directly brought about the notorious era of relentless state-sponsored repression of communism in the Kingdom of Romania from 1921 up until 1944, spurred on by fears that the Romanian monarchy would fall to an uprising akin to the Bolshevik revolution. The consequences were immediate and on the final day of the PCR's first Congress 271 members were arrested and tried for treason in what is known as the *Dealul Spirii* Trial.

The suppression of communism in Romania during this period brought about a structural division in the organisation of the PCR between 'internal' and 'external' factions, that is, a clandestine secretariat inside the country and a politburo in exile abroad. Fabian was a member of this 'Political Bureau Abroad' from 1924, establishing his headquarters in Vienna and later Berlin. "During this period, he served on successive central committees, and in 1926, he laid the foundations for the party's ideological apparatus as the editor in chief of the RCP's theoretical and political monthly *Lupta de clasa*" (Tismaneanu, p. 62f).

However, Fabian fell foul of a change of leadership in the PCR and was purged from the party in 1928 for having "expressed his concern about the party's future in a letter to the Comintern's Balkan Federation, advocating the establishment of its headquarters inside Romania" (Tismaneanu, p. 63). Unable to return to Romania due to the very real possibility of imprisonment, Fabian emigrated to the Russia "where there was already a strong (albeit not very numerous) group of Romanian political émigrés in Moscow and other cities. He tried to convince the RCP's new general secretary that he could contribute to the party's ideological life, but the new leadership turned down the offer and treated Fabian as a political outcast" (Tismaneanu, p. 63).

Fabian would eventually secure membership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) but "there was little else to do in Russia but ideological work" and he was primarily engaged in translating Lenin's collected works into Romanian. "One of Fabian's last translations was of Stalin's speech to the CPSU's March 1937 central committee plenum. This was at the height of Stalin's Great Terror: a time of universal fear and suspicion. Like so many of his friends, Fabian found himself trapped in the Kafkaesque

BIBLIOTECA SOCIALISTA

KARL MARX

# CAPITALUL

REZUMAT DE

CARLO CAFIERO

IN ROMĂNEȘTE DE

D. FABIAN



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CERCUL DE EDITURĂ SOCIALISTĂ

No. 5, Str. Șosei, nr. 5.

1955

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universe of the so-called *Yezhovshchina* – the terrifying period between 1937-39 when Nikolay Yezhov headed the NKVD and no one was safe” (Tismaneanu, p. 64).

Fabian was arrested and executed at the age of forty-two in December 1937 along with the vast majority of the ‘exterior’ faction of the Romanian Communist Party, amounting to an entire generation of party activists killed on Stalin’s orders.

Although Fabian would later be judicially rehabilitated in the Soviet Union, it is notable that the bibliography of the works of Marx and Engels in Romanian, an official publication of the Romanian Communist Party printed in 1956, makes little to no reference to Fabian.

**Rare**, no doubt owing to the widespread repression of communism in Romania from 1921 to 1944. No copies on OCLC, Library Hub or KVK.

See: Keith Hitchins, ‘Rumania’ in: *The Formation of Labour Movements 1870-1914: An International Perspective*, Vol. 1; Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism*.

Crisan and Barbosa, *Marx Si Engels Limba Romina 1871-1944*, p. 30.

**31. MARX (Karl). & CAFIERO (Carlo).** translated with an 'Afterword' by **ILERI (Suphi Nuri).**  
**Kapital.**

First edition in Turkish. 8vo. 128 pp., with five illustrations after Hugo Gellert across two leaves. Original pictorial wrappers with portrait of Marx to front cover after Hugo Gellert. Extremities rubbed and creased with a few short closed tears, some minor loss to head and tail of spine, faint stain to inner and bottom edges of rear cover, notwithstanding a good copy of this fragile publication.

Istanbul, Bozkurd Matbaasi, Ileri Bibliyotegi No: 1. 1936.

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The first Turkish translation of the famous Carlo Cafiero abridgement of *Das Kapital*, accompanied by a selection of six illustrations by the Hungarian-American artist Hugo Gellert reproduced from his work *Karl Marx' 'Capital' in Lithographs*, originally published in Paris as a portfolio of sixty-two plates in 1933 and in New York as a book edition the following year.

A total of six of Gellert's illustrations are reproduced here, including the portrait of Marx originally used as the frontispiece to the Gellert book edition and here adorning the front cover, along with five further illustrations across four leaves printed on rectos and verso, accompanied by Turkish captions that bear no resemblance to the extracts used in the Gellert original. A full list of the illustrations reproduced herewith is available on request.

Unlike the original Gellert edition, which included brief extracts from *Kapital* in English, the present Turkish publication includes a full translation of the hugely influential Carlo Cafiero abridgement of the first volume of *Kapital*. Originally published in Italian in 1879, it was one of the earliest abridgements of *Kapital* and was much admired by Marx himself.

The translation was undertaken by the Turkish journalist, academic and politician Suphi Nuri Ileri (1887-1945), an influential public figure during the social and political transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. He founded the newspaper *Ileri* with his older brother Celal Nuri Ileri (1881-1938) and served as the General Secretary of the Turkish Socialist Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi*). He was the author of several books on socialism, including one on the Spanish Civil War, and was a lecturer at Istanbul University Faculty of Law from 1931 until 1945 when he was dismissed for his socialist writings. Suphi Nuri's translation of the Cafiero abridgement was based on the 1910 French edition by the Swiss anarchist James Guillaume and included a five-page 'Afterword' by Suphi Nuri himself.

Suphi Nuri Ileri's translation was published in direct response to the first book-length appearance of *Kapital* in Turkish, a translation of the famous Gabriel Deville abridgement by Haydar Rifat published three years earlier in 1933. In a testament to the partisan nature of much left-wing politics, Rifat's translation proved to be immediately controversial, sparking a series of critiques by various Turkish socialist intellectuals regarding accuracy of translation and conformity to Marxist orthodoxy.

It would also prompt a series of rival translations, the first of which was the present translation of the Cafiero abridgement, followed in the same year by a thirty-two page summary by the Turkish Communist Nevzat Cerrahlar under the pseudonym Kerim Sadi



drawn from Paul Lafargue's 1893 French abridgement. Yet another Turkish abridgement was serialised in 1937 by Hikmet Kivilcimli (1902-1971), an influential Turkish Communist and original Marxist theorist in his own right.

"This rather feverish activity of translating *Kapital* into Turkish, albeit in abridged form, which saw four translations in the five-year period from 1933 to 1937 came to an abrupt end in 1938. Turkey had been moving for some time away from the Soviet Union and towards Nazi Germany, a trend that would last until the final years of World War II. This culminated in a series of attacks on the Turkish Communist movement. In 1938, the one-party regime proceeded to ban certain Marxist works that had been published in preceding years. *Kapital* was among the list of prohibited works." (Savran & Tonak, p. 4).

A variant issue of the present translation of the Cafiero abridgement appeared in the same year, issued in plain printed paper wrappers and without the two additional leaves containing the five Gellert illustrations, but otherwise identical. We have been unable to establish any precedence between the two issues. The text of the translation was reprinted in 1965.

**Rare, no doubt largely owing to the suppression of socialist literature in Turkey from 1938 onwards.** OCLC list a single copy, held by Bogaziçi University in Turkey, the record for which makes reference to illustrations. No copies on Library Hub or KVK.

See: Savran & Tonak, 'Marx's *Capital* in Turkey'; Konca, 'The Turkish Retranslations of Marx's *Das Kapital* as a Site of Intellectual and Ideological Struggle'.

**KARL MARX**



**KAPITAL**

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**IN TRANSLATION**

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