

NÚMERO 18  
ISSUE 18**THE TRANSLATION OF JOHN STUART MILL'S  
*CONSIDERATIONS ON REPRESENTATIVE  
GOVERNMENT* (1861) IN THE SPANISH-SPEAKING  
WORLD: A CASE STUDY****Juan Ramírez-Arlandi**Departamento de Filología Inglesa, Francesa y Alemana  
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**1. Introduction**

In the context of 19th-century English political thought, John Stuart Mill's (1806–1873) *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861) represents a combination of his liberal and utilitarian perspectives. Thus, this treatise articulates a theory of representative government that emphasises the active involvement of citizens in the political process as the most effective means of safeguarding individual liberty and promoting collective welfare. In light of this, it then becomes necessary for Mill, as Donner (1991: 198–9) notes, to balance the objectives of involvement in the political domain and those of effective, competent government. Furthermore, Mill tackles additional pertinent issues within his system, including the roles of representative bodies, the equilibrium between majorities and minorities, the expansion of suffrage, the duration of parliaments, the relationship between local and national governments, and the constitution of a second chamber, among other topics. In essence, Mill's theory of representative government integrates the principles of democracy and classical liberalism, representing a synthesis that is regarded as the most effective means of striking a balance between individual rights and liberties on the one hand, and efficiency and fairness in political decision-making on the other. Considering the above-mentioned framework, this article initially examines the sustained dissemination of the original English work through Spanish-language translations on both sides of the Atlantic from its initial release until the present day. Subsequently, it presents a descriptive analysis of these translated texts, adopting a norm-oriented approach.

In terms of methodology, this study is situated within the field of *Post-Translation Studies*, which engages with events, agents, and institutions that extend beyond the immediate context of the physical texts under examination and shape the future conditions of the source culture. To achieve this, it is essential to draw from publishers, editors, and translators who disseminate novel ideas, and to introduce new genres and debates by championing translation (Gentzler, 2017: 6; 225). If translators become cultural heroes, translation will no longer be regarded as a simple footnote to history; instead, it will be recognised as a driving force in disseminating new intellectual paradigms in the target culture (Gentzler, 2017: 3). Similarly, this study is aligned with the methodological assumptions of *Translator Studies*, as put forth by Kaindl (2021: 23), who asserts that "every translator has a

personal story, a personal potential, and responds in a personal way to translation norms." In presenting an analysis of a series of translations dating from 1865 to 2019, this article also adheres to Lépinette's model of the history of translation, thus integrating the *sociocultural* and the *descriptive-contrastive* approaches. The sociocultural approach explores the production and reception of translations within the target community in order to evaluate their impact on the history of the target culture, whereas the descriptive-contrastive method examines the decisions made during the translation process, which are reflected in the target text (Lépinette, 1997: 4–5). Finally, to elucidate the interconnections that can be drawn between these translations and, by extension, with the context in which they are delivered, we provide a comprehensive overview of the translated texts under scrutiny, identifying the initial, preliminary, and operational norms (Toury, 1995).

## 2. Initial and preliminary analysis

The analysis of both initial and preliminary norms is essentially determined by two key considerations: firstly, the *translation policies* that govern the choice of text types, or even individual texts, to be imported through translation into a particular culture; and secondly, the *direction* of the texts to be translated (Toury, 1995: 58). If the former determines the agents and business groups involved in the process, the study of the "directness of translation" enables the identification of illuminating factors, such as the existence of intermediate texts, the degree of tolerance towards them, and the explicit recognition of this practice, among others. In this respect, an examination of the history of the publishing house, the literary and professional career of its editor(s), or the literary genre to which the translated text belongs in the target culture will contribute to elucidating the elements that ultimately allow other texts to shape, to a greater or lesser extent, the version of the translated text.

Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861) was first published in London by Parker, Son, and Bourn and printed by Savills and Edwards on Chandos Street near Regent Street (hereafter ST 1861a). The former was a publishing house located on the West Strand, at that time a vibrant area located close to Westminster and home to numerous booksellers and magazine publishers. As Tedder (2017) notes, the company was initially established by John William Parker (1792–1870), an English publisher who launched his independent venture in 1832 after having acquired a grounding in the industry from William Clowes the elder. In addition to his role as superintendent of Cambridge University Press, Parker also served as the publisher of the Christian Knowledge Society in the 1830s. Upon leaving both posts, he devoted himself to publishing numerous works by scholars and philosophers such as Mill, Henry Thomas Buckle, George Henry Lewes, Julius Charles Hare, and James Froude (Tedder, 2017). Following the death of his son in 1860, Parker joined William Bourn in his entrepreneurial venture for a few years before eventually selling his business to Messrs Longman in 1863.

This edition comprised a preface and eighteen chapters of varying page lengths, and each was given a title as a summary of the section's content. Additionally, the text included eleven author's notes giving annotations and clarifications about the text itself, citations to bibliographic sources, and encyclopaedic information. The publisher released a second edition (ST 1861b onwards) in the same year, which besides a few purely verbal corrections included two noteworthy additions. The first of these was the insertion of seven new paragraphs at the end of Chapter VII (ST 1861b: 154–61), designed to address the concerns raised by objectors to the plan and to advocate for the representation of minorities. The second addition consisted of Mill's inclusion of two (2) new notes.

Table 1. Notes by Mill added to ST 1861b

ST (1861b: 141)	ST (1861b: 264)
<p>I must refer to Mr. Hare's 'Treatise on the Election of Representatives' (a small volume published in 1859),*</p> <p>* In a second edition, [...] Mr Hare has made important improvements in some of the detailed provisions.</p>	<p>[...] as the first great downward step in the degeneration of modern democratic government.*</p> <p>* I have been informed, however, [...] the officer to be elected is one who <i>ought</i> to be chosen not by the people but for them.</p>

In 1865, the London-based publishing house, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, released the third English edition of the work. Longman's is the longest-standing commercial publisher in the United Kingdom, having been established in London in 1724 by Thomas Longman (1699–1755). Over the course of its history, the company has published numerous significant works in various disciplines, including law, science, and medicine. This study will refer to the third edition, published by Longman in London (ST 1865a onwards). Furthermore, this same third edition, published by Longman and included in John Stuart Mill's *Collected Works*, specifically Volume XIX, which comprises *Essays on Politics and Society, Part 2*, will also be referenced (ST 1865b onwards). The inclusion of four (4) new notes by Mill, not included in ST 1861b, is the most significant change in ST 1865a and ST 1865b.

Table 2. New notes by Mill added to ST 1865a and ST 1865b

ST (1865a: 73)	ST (1865a: 310)
<p>In the modern kingdom of Greece, for example,* [...]</p> <p>*Written before the salutary revolution of 1862, which, [...] has opened to that rapidly improving people a new and hopeful chance of real constitutional government.</p>	<p>the most instructive treatise we possess on federal government.*</p> <p>* Mr. Freeman's <i>History of Federal Governments</i> [...] equally valuable by its enlightened principles and its mastery of historical details.</p>

A comprehensive analysis of the translated texts entails a preliminary examination of the French mediating versions then in circulation. After 1861, the original English text was first published in French in 1862 by the Guillaumin publishing house. This edition included a translation entitled *Le Gouvernement représentatif* and an introduction written by Charles Dupont-White (DW 1862 onwards). Hazareesingh (1997: 145) observes that Dupont-White (1807–1878) was held in high regard by his contemporaries as a prominent theorist whose written works on political economy, philosophy, and politics were widely acclaimed during his lifetime. This edition was subsequently republished in 1865 (DW 1865 onwards) and 1877 (DW 1877 onwards). Regarding the original English text used by Dupont-White, the fact that he included one of the two notes added by Mill in the English second edition provides evidence that the French translator drew on ST 1861b as the source text for DW 1862.

Table 3. Note by Mill in ST 1861b included in DW 1862

ST (1861b: 264)	DW (1862: 314)
[...] the degeneration of modern democratic government.*	[...] d'une démocratie qui dégénère sensiblement. <sup>1</sup>
* I have been informed, however, [...] in a case where the officer to be elected is one who <i>ought</i> to be chosen not by the people but for them.	1 J'ai appris cependant [...] dans le cas où le fonctionnaire à élire devrait être choisi, non <i>par</i> le peuple, mais <i>pour</i> le peuple.

As regards Mill's thirteen (13) notes in ST 1861b, Dupont-White gave a comprehensive, accurate reproduction of the content of twelve (12) of them, but for unclear reasons omitted one (1) of them.

Table 4. Note in ST 1861b omitted in DW 1862

ST (1861b: 141)	DW (1862: 168)
[...] Mr. Hare's <i>Mr. Hare's Treatise on the Election of Representatives</i> (a small volume published in 1859),* [...]	[...] au <i>Traité</i> , de M. Hare, sur l'élection des représentants (un petit volume publié en 1859) [...]
* In a second edition, published recently [1861], Mr. Hare has made important improvements in some of the detailed provisions.	

Instead, he incorporated its content into the main body of the text, thereby avoiding the omission of an intertextual reference. This practice is illustrative of the process described by Toury (1995: 59) as "a change of location [which] may often be accounted for as an omission (in one place) compensated by an addition (elsewhere)."

Table 5. Note by Mill in ST 1861b incorporated into the main text in DW 1862

ST (1861b: 314)	DW (1862: 370)
[...] as a speculative political thinker superior to any who has appeared in American politics since the authors of the 'Federalist',*	[...] comme penseur politique et spéculatif des talents supérieurs a ceux de tous les politiques américains , depuis les auteurs du " <i>Fédéraliste</i> " (M. Calhoun)
* Mr. Calhoun.	

An analysis of the dissemination of Mill's political thought in the Spanish-speaking world encompasses an examination of all translated texts published on both sides of the Atlantic following the publication of the ST 1861a. In this regard, the original English text was first translated into Spanish in 1865 in Valparaíso (Chile) by S. Tornero e Hijos, proprietors of the Imprenta y Librería del Mercurio. This edition included a translation entitled *El gobierno representativo* by Florentino González, preceded by a fourteen-page prologue also authored by the translator (GLEZ 1865 onwards). José Nazario Florentino González Vargas (1805–1874) epitomised the exiled American intellectuals who found political affinity and professional prosperity

in various Hispanic American countries. As a member of the second generation of liberators, González strove to free the Colombian Republic from all previous links with the institutions inherited from Spain (Mouchet 1960: 83). In close cooperation with other members of this generation —Cataño (2019: 329) adds— he helped draw up statutes, regulations, and charters to govern the new nation.

González was born in Cincelada (Colombia) and pursued a multifaceted career as an academic, journalist, and politician. He soon graduated in Law and immediately began to occupy numerous influential roles within the Colombian public sphere. On the night of 25 September 1828, he participated in the assassination attempt on Bolívar, but his subsequent death sentence was commuted to a term of imprisonment in Bocachica Prison. Eventually, González was released from incarceration upon the demise of Bolívar (Cataño 2019: 330). Furthermore, González also pursued a successful career in journalism, collaborating with *El Conductor*, *El Cachaco*, and *El Siglo*, among other media outlets (González, Florentino, 1805–1875).

In 1840, he embarked on a European tour and resided in Paris for five years. During this time, he continued his studies and familiarised himself with the work of Alexis de Tocqueville. He returned to Colombia and was a candidate for the presidency of the Republic in 1848. In the 1850s, González served as *Chargé d'Affaires* in France and Great Britain (Cataño, 2019: 330), and it was during this second period of residence in Europe that he became interested in the work of Mill.

González resided abroad in the 1860s and 1870s, particularly in Chile and Argentina. In 1859, he proceeded to Lima and Santiago de Chile, where he assumed the role of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary (Oliveros 2009). In 1861, he took up residence in Chile, serving as editor for various newspapers. With the government's support, he published a *Proyecto de Código de enjuiciamiento civil para la Republica de Chile* (1861). In 1868, González moved to Argentina, where he was appointed Professor of Constitutional Law, a post he occupied until he died in Buenos Aires in 1874 (Mouchet, 1960: 85).

On the one hand, González's diverse European experiences afforded him proficiency in both French and English. On the other, his academic pursuits, particularly those concerning legal and political themes, likely prompted him to translate various works from French and primarily English into Spanish (Mouchet, 1960: 99–100). Thus, before translating the original English text, González had previously translated Alfredo de Meikeurat's *Manual du savoir vivre* in 1858 from French. Similarly, upon his arrival in Argentina, Mouchet (1960: 93) states that González began translating several works, driven by his desire to gain insight into the works of renowned Anglophone scholars specialising in political science and constitutional law. Thus, González translated *Constituciones de algunos de los estados de la Unión Americana*, released in Buenos Aires by the Imprenta del Siglo in 1870, and in this same year, he undertook the translation of *Ciencia y derecho constitucional. Naturaleza y tendencias de las instituciones libres* by American jurist Frederick Grimke. In 1872, he completed his translation of *La libertad civil y el gobierno propio* by Prussian-American jurist and political philosopher Francis Lieber. All in all, through his lectures, writing, and translations, he contributed to disseminating the principles of Anglo-American public law in Argentina.

The editor, José Tornero (1808–1894), was one of the numerous Spanish expatriates who had relocated to South America to pursue economic prosperity at the beginning of the 19th century. Upon his arrival in Chile in 1834, Santos-Tornero promptly established a bookshop, the Librería Española, which sold imported Spanish books (Pas, 2020: 1). As stated by Arcos (2015: 1), in 1842 Santos-Tornero purchased the Imprenta del Mercurio, and subsequently rechristened his bookshops with the name of the printing house in Valparaíso. The Imprenta del Mercurio underwent a substantial transformation to become 19th-century Chile's most prominent publishing enterprise, as evidenced by its role in disseminating the widely read daily newspaper, *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, which is still published today. Since the 1840s, the Imprenta del Mercurio has distinguished itself through an exemplary

editorial practice, evidenced by the publication of various authors’ legal, geographical, economic, and educational works (Arcos, 2015: 2).

Regarding the edition González might have employed, it is tempting to posit that he may have completed his translation from ST 1861*a*, ST 1861*b*, or even from ST 1865*a*. However, the latter is unlikely for evident reasons, including a footnote from 1861*b* —reprinted in 1865*a* with slight changes— which proves that González used ST 1861*b*.

Table 6. Note in ST 1861*b* included in GLEZ 1865

ST (1861 <i>b</i> : 264)	ST (1865 <i>a</i> : 265)	GLEZ (1865: 278–9)
[...] in the degeneration of modern democratic government.*	[...] in the degeneration of modern democratic government. *	[...] de una democracia que dejenera sensiblemente (1)
* I have been informed, however, [...] appointed to the office by the President or by a Minister of Justice. [...]	* I have been informed, however, [...] appointed to the office by the President or by the Governor of the State. [...]	(1) He sabido sin embargo [...] escogido el presidente o un ministro de justicia. [...]

The first publication of the original English text in Spain was in 1878 in the series “Biblioteca Científico-Literaria”, printed by the Administración de la Biblioteca Científico-Literaria and the Librería de Victoriano Suárez in Seville and Madrid, respectively. These two publishing houses made a name for themselves in the second half of the 19th century, publishing foreign works and introducing new themes into the Spanish cultural and academic world. This edition included a translation entitled *El gobierno representativo* by Siro García del Mazo (1850–1911), a prolific writer who had forged a fruitful career as a translator from several languages (SGM 1878 onwards). The relationship between García del Mazo and these publishers was characterised by a high degree of mutual respect and understanding, as evidenced by the considerable number of Spanish translations of two of the most prominent thinkers in the second half of the 19th century within the context of English political philosophy: Mill and, notably, Herbert Spencer (Ramírez-Arlandi, 2017: 258–9). The title page of this edition states that the translation was “vertido al castellano en vista de la última edicion inglesa” accompanied by “notas y observaciones”. Similarly, an identical announcement was reproduced when García del Mazo translated *De la educación intelectual, moral y física* (1879) from the original *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (1861) by Herbert Spencer (Ramírez-Arlandi, 2007: 297).

In 1965, the Madrid-based Editorial Tecnos published a single-volume edition containing three separate works by Mill: *De la libertad*, *Del gobierno representativo*, and *La esclavitud femenina*. Since its foundation in 1947, the Editorial Tecnos has compiled a catalogue comprising twenty series and over one thousand titles. These editorial collections encompass diverse subjects, including legal and legislative matters, philosophical enquiry, political theory, and seminal works from all periods. This was the inaugural volume of the “Res Publica” series, which also announced the forthcoming publication of additional works by Thomas Hobbes, Thomas Aquinas, and G. W. F. Hegel, among others. The series was directed by Antonio Truyol-Serra, a full professor of Law and International Relations at the Complutense University of Madrid and a judge at the Spanish Constitutional Court (Domingo). He was passionate about literature and could read and speak proficiently in French, German, and English (Martínez-Neira and Ramírez-Jerez 2021). The back cover notes that both the “revisión y traducción” were completed by Marta C. C. de Iturbe (ITURBE

1965 onwards). In a further contribution to the field, Iturbe translated Mill's *Capítulos sobre el socialismo*, published in 1991 alongside *Sobre la libertad* and *La dominación de la mujer*. Except for the references above, no other bibliographical records of Marta C. C. de Iturbe's translation activity appear in any of the most commonly used publishing catalogues.

As Verdejo (2008: 231) noted, the ITURBE 1965 version reproduces the content and style of the SGM 1878. Nevertheless, as minor modifications are occasionally introduced to adapt lexical items to the context of the 20th century, this assertion merits further analysis. For instance, the reference to personnel selection processes in the public sphere illustrates, on the one hand, the utilisation of "concursos" by García del Mazo and, on the other, the deployment of "oposiciones" by Iturbe. Both methods of selection are in opposition to the more generic term "examinations" used by Mill.

Table 7. Lexical differences between SGM 1878 and ITURBE 1965

ST (1861b: 268)	DW (1862: 318)	SGM (1878: 410)	ITURBE (1965: 312)
The outcries which continue to be made against these examinations, [...]	La clameur que continuent d'élever contre les concours [...]	El clamor que prosiguen levantando contra los concursos [...]	El clamor que prosiguen levantando contra las oposiciones [...]

A comparative analysis of the two versions reveals that some English linguistic equivalents —also found in the French text— have been omitted in ITURBE 1965.

Table 8. English lemmas omitted in ITURBE 1965

ST (1861b: 272)	DW (1877: 351)	SGM (1878: 415)	ITURBE (1965: 314)
And, except when there is a very strong motive to job these appointments, [...]	Et à moins qu'il n'y ait un motif très—puissant pour escamoter (to job) ces nominations, [...]	A menos, pues, que haya un motivo muy importante para escamotear (to job) estos nombramientos, [...]	A menos, pues, que haya un motivo muy importante para escamotear estos nombramientos [...]

A century after publication of the first Spanish translation (GLEZ 1865), a new version was issued in 1966. The translation, entitled *Consideraciones sobre el Gobierno Representativo*, was composed by Antonio Guzmán-Balboa and published by the Mexican publisher Herrero Hermanos Sucesores. This version was first published by the Mexican Editorial Diana in 1965, and subsequently reprinted in 1987 by the printing press of the Universidad Autónoma de Centro América in Costa Rica (GUZMÁN 1987 onwards). In the early 1960s, Guzmán-Balboa had also undertaken the translation of other works on political themes, including *Documentos fundamentales de la historia de los Estados Unidos de América* (1962) by Richard B. Morris, *Plan soviético de un estado mundial* (1964) by Elliot R. Goodman, and *Los Estados Unidos en el siglo veinte* (1964) by Frank Freidel, among other works and

authors. Furthermore, Guzmán-Balboa translated another renowned work by Mill, *On Liberty*, in 1965.

The most recent Spanish translation, *Consideraciones sobre el gobierno representativo*, was undertaken by Carlos Mellizo and published by Alianza Editorial in 2001. A second edition was subsequently published in 2019 by the same publisher as part of its “El libro de bolsillo” series, and contained an introduction by the translator and a selection of works by Mill translated into Spanish, together with an overview of other relevant works on Mill and democratic theory (MELLIZO 2019 onwards). Following his graduation from the Complutense University of Madrid in 1964, Carlos Mellizo (1942–2019) relocated to the USA, where he pursued a distinguished academic career as a Spanish Literature and Philosophy professor at the University of Wyoming. A highly productive scholar and writer, Mellizo published a substantial corpus of philosophical essays, prologues, fiction works, and poetry collections. His unparalleled expertise in English thought, along with his extensive translations and scholarly contributions on this subject, has cemented his reputation as a preeminent authority in the field (Dr. Carlos Mellizo 2019).

Alianza Editorial was established in 1966 by several distinguished intellectuals to challenge the constrained cultural milieu in Spain at the end of Franco’s dictatorship. Given that the most prominent authors and literary works were only accessible in foreign or clandestine editions, the main objective of Alianza was to establish a publishing house that would collate the seminal works of authors throughout history. With this goal in mind, Alianza commissioned new translations that adhered to the highest standards of rigour, thus ensuring that its editions were executed with the utmost care. Nevertheless, the most significant achievement was the establishment of the most comprehensive anthology of Spanish literature: the “libro de bolsillo”, or pocketbook. Since its inception, this collection has provided a comprehensive, accessible resource for all readers, facilitating education and cultivating critical thinking abilities through a catalogue of nearly 2,000 titles. Furthermore, the advertising slogan “The same price as a cinema ticket” proved to be a successful strategy in a country recovering from the Civil War and its aftermath of poverty and lack of freedoms (¿Quiénes somos?). Similarly, the combination of classic and contemporary works, encompassing literature, non-fiction, and materials tailored to the academic community, has consistently appealed to a diverse readership. As González-Quirós (2019: 60) observes, through Alianza, Mellizo introduced the works and ideas of prominent intellectuals to the Spanish-speaking community, including *Autobiografía* (1986), *La vida privada de J. Stuart Mill* (1997), and *La Naturaleza* (1998), all by John Stuart Mill; *Del amor y el matrimonio* (2006) by David Hume; *Ensayo y carta sobre la tolerancia* (1999) by John Locke; *Leviatan* (1989) by Thomas Hobbes; *Reflexiones sobre la Revolución en Francia* (2003) by Edmund Burke; and *Teoría de la clase ociosa* (2004) by Thorstein Veblen, among others.

### 3. Operational analysis

In addition to other translation-related elements, the consideration of operational norms has a significant impact on an examination of the “decisions made during the act of translation itself”, with a focus on two distinct spheres: the textual matrix itself and the linguistic-verbal formulation of the translation (Toury, 1995: 58–9). As regards the textual matrix, the operational rules are concerned, firstly, with the degree of *fullness* of the translation, i.e. the extent to which target language material replaces source language material to account for omissions and additions; and secondly, the form of actual *distribution*, which reflects changes in the location of material in the target text with regard to the original. Employing this approach, we shall devote particular attention to paratexts, given that they offer a highly dynamic context for the translated text, and this is of paramount importance when establishing the initial norm and determining its status within the source culture (Genette, 1989: 11–2). In particular, we will examine the function and significance of prefaces, prologues, forewords, or notes by the translator and the author, as such



appended elements shed light not only on aspects of the translation theory underlying the translated texts (Lépinette, 1997: 5), but also on intertextual relationships between the source text(s) and the translated versions (Genette, 1989: 11).

González's translation is preceded by a fourteen-page foreword in which he emphasises the significance of Mill's contributions to those countries that have undergone the process of decolonisation (Cataño, 2019: 330). Regarding its content, González employs an irrefutable argument from authority to justify his translation. For those interested in the theory of representative government, Mill has not only become a key figure —educated in a country that embodies the values of such a form of political government— but has also authored a vast number of works dealing with relevant political issues (GLEZ 1865: 5). Similarly, González asserts that the definitive political theory of representative government is written in English rather than in French. This is because English is the official language of countries where representative government has existed and been practised, as well as the language in which its principles have been established with full knowledge of the facts (GLEZ 1865: 5–6). Additionally, González expresses concern that young Americans seek political mentorship from French political essayists whose ideologies lack a firm grounding as these writers have conceptualised forms of government for fictitious peoples rather than adapting their ideas to existing realities (GLEZ 1865: 6). Considering Mill's assertion that "governments cannot be constructed by premeditated design" as "they 'are not made, but grow'" (ST 2), González reiterates that governments are formed to serve the people according to their specific circumstances. Consequently, ideal governments cannot operate effectively unless their citizens' lifestyles and individual traits are carefully considered (GLEZ 1865: 6).

Following this introductory section, González provides an overview of each chapter, using italics to highlight the title and the key elements of the chapter under discussion. Additionally, he incorporates his commentary into this overview on occasion, with the aim of reinforcing the importance of certain concepts introduced by Mill. Thus, in the introduction to "el capítulo 7.º, tratando de la verdadera y de la falsa democracia, de la representación de todos, y de la representación de la mayoría solamente, en donde esa perspicacia y esa franqueza aparecen en su más lucida forma" (GLEZ 1865: 10), González intervenes to point out that this is "el capítulo de interés prominente en el precioso libro que hemos traducido [...] porque se desenvuelve un sistema de representación que facilita el que tanto la minoría como la mayoría sean representadas proporcionalmente" (GLEZ 1865: 11). Likewise, in the introduction to "los capítulos 8.º, 9.º y 10.º sobre la extensión del sufragio, la elección directa y la manera de votar", González openly manifests that "el sufragio [...] es un cargo público que el ciudadano tiene que ejercer en beneficio de la comunidad" (GLEZ 1865: 13). On the question of whether suffrage should be considered either as a "right" or "a matter of duty" (ST 1861b: 198–9), González supports his arguments by quoting Bolívar, as the latter "estableció [...] que el sufragio era uno de los poderes de la soberanía" (GLEZ 1865: 13). This reference is surprising —to say the least— given that González had himself been involved in a plot to assassinate Bolívar in 1828 (Cataño, 2019: 330). It is, therefore, significant to note the apparent transformation in González's assessment of Bolívar's proposals that occurred between 1828 and 1861.

Moreover, the translator draws attention to the exclusion of Chapter XVIII, which is perceived as irrelevant in the context of Latin American states, given that it addresses the governance of colonies (GLEZ 1865: 16). Additionally, another argument from authority is presented to justify the significance of the translation in question. Therefore, just as Talleyrand praised Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* as an event rather than a mere book, so too, by analogy, Gonzalez posits that the translation following his foreword is one of those events destined to have a beneficial influence on the fate of humanity (GLEZ 1865: 16). Accordingly, his translation will enable readers to avoid the errors circulated in earlier works by French theorists. Before concluding, González asserts that those with a conservative or radical outlook will find within Mill's treatise the formulas necessary to implement policies that advance freedom and civilisation (GLEZ 1865: 18).

Regarding the author's notes, González excluded two (2) of the original thirteen (13) notes in ST 1861*b*. Dupont-White had also previously omitted the first of these, and the second appeared in the eighteenth chapter, which had been excluded from this Chilean edition. Consequently, González reproduced all eleven (11) notes except for one, which is incorporated into the main body of the translated version, thus safeguarding the intertextual reference. It is essential to highlight that this practice replicates the solution proposed by the French translator three years earlier.

Table 9. Note in ST 1861*b* incorporated into the main text in DW 1862 and GLEZ 1865

ST (1861 <i>b</i> : 314)	DW (1862: 370)	GLEZ (1865: 327)
[...] since the authors of the 'Federalist',* [...] * Mr. Calhoun.	[...] depuis les auteurs " du <i>Fédéraliste</i> " (M. Calhoun) [...]	[...] desde los autores del <i>Federalista</i> (M. Calhoun), [...]

Furthermore, SGM 1878 contains an appendix reproducing the text of the electoral law passed by the Spanish Parliament. In this paratext, García del Mazo presents his interpretation of the proposed reforms, which he believes to be inspired by the principles outlined by Mill (SGM 1878: 527). García del Mazo's claim that his translation is based on the most recent English edition requires further examination. If it were true, García del Mazo should have reproduced the seventeen (17) author's notes from ST 1865*a*; however, he only incorporated twelve (12). Interestingly, the same twelve (12) notes that Dupont-White had included in DW 1862, DW 1865, and DW 1877 are also found in SGM 1878. As observed in DW 1862 and GLEZ 1865, the only change made to these notes is the incorporation of the note's content into the main text to preserve the intertextual reference.

Table 10. Note in ST 1861*b* incorporated into the main text in DW 1862, GLEZ 1865, and SGM 1878

ST (1861 <i>b</i> : 314)	DW (1862: 370)	GLEZ (1865: 327)	SGM (1878: 476)
[...] since the authors of the 'Federalist',* [...] * Mr. Calhoun.	[...] depuis les auteurs " du <i>Fédéraliste</i> " ( M. Calhoun ) [...]	[...] desde los autores del <i>Federalista</i> (M. Calhoun), [...]	despues de los redactores del <i>Federalista</i> , —nos referimos á Mr. Calhoum,— [...]

In addition, García del Mazo employed a note from ST 1865*a* to initiate a comprehensive analysis of the representative government of various countries, thereby expanding the source content to propagate his views.

Table 11. Note in ST 1865*a* adapted in SGM 1878

ST (1865 <i>a</i> : 161–2)	SGM (1878: 234–60)
[...] when it shall have passed through the militant stage in which alone the	[...] terminado ya el militante, único en que el mundo el ha visto hasta el

<p>world has yet seen it.*</p> <p>* In the interval between the last and present editions of this treatise, [...] the time should have come when they will think it worth their while to take the trouble of really attending to it.</p>	<p>presente. (I)</p> <p>(I) Desde que se publicó la primera edición de la obra de M. Stuart Mill se han hecho nuevos é importantes esfuerzos para demostrar la justicia y conveniencia de las ideas sustentadas por el eminente publicista inglés, [...] España, si ha sido de las últimas, no es la nacion que con ménos vigor ha entrado en el camino de la reforma.</p> <p>(N. del T.)</p>
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Ultimately, García del Mazo appended one (1) note from ST 1865a, which he purported to have written independently.

Table 12. Note in ST 1865a claimed by García del Mazo as his own

Zúrich

ST (1865a: 310)	SGM (1878: 310)
<p>The "Federalist," [...] the most instructive treatise we possess on federal government.*</p> <p>*Mr. Freeman's "History of Federal Governments," [...] and its mastery of historical details.</p>	<p><i>El Federalista</i>, [...] el tratado más instructivo que poseemos sobre el Gobierno federal. (I)</p> <p>(I) "La Historia de los Gobiernos federales," de Mr. Freman, [...] y por la riqueza de los detalles históricos.</p> <p>(N. del T.)</p>

An analysis of the supplementary material necessitates consideration of the translator's annotations, as these provide insight into "the very existence of target-language material intended as a substitute for the corresponding source-language material (and hence the degree of *fullness* of translation)" (Toury, 1995: 58–9). In light of the above analysis of Mill's notes, it can be posited that this edition comprises six (6) additional translator's notes, offering supplementary information of a diverse nature: four (4) are encyclopaedic, one (1) is institutional, and one (1) is metalinguistic (Peña & Hernández-Guerrero 1994: 36–8). For illustrative purposes, the metalinguistic note is the most relevant in the context of our research objectives. The proposed translation "escondites" for the French "abris" demonstrates an approach to the mediated text consistent with the pole of adequacy. However, it is noteworthy that García del Mazo explains the acceptability of his translation as the equivalent of the English "scream", an unintended result of a typographical error.

Table 13. Metalinguistic note in SGM 1878

ST (1861b: 251)	DW (1862: 299)	SGM (1878: 386))
<p>"Boards," it is happily said by Bentham, "are screens."</p>	<p>" Les conseils, a dit spirituellement Bentham, sont des abris. "</p>	<p>"Los Consejos, ha dicho ingeniosamente Bentham, son escondites.(1)</p>

* Mr. Calhoun.	(1) Traducimos por esta palabra familiar, la inglesa <i>screem</i> , (abrigo, biombo), por creer que con ella se expresa propiamente la idea de Bentham.  (N. del T.)
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At this point, and with the clear evidence provided by Ramírez-Arlandi (2007: 292–7; 2013), and more specifically, by Verdejo (2008: 219–22), it can be affirmed that García del Mazo had the French version both “en vista” and in mind when he prepared his translation. Considering the similarities identified by Verdejo (2008: 220–4), an analysis can be conducted to ascertain whether a parallel relationship exists between GLEZ 1865 and the preceding DW 1862 and between GLEZ 1865 and SGM 1878. A comparative analysis of the instances in question (Verdejo, 2008: 221), when considered alongside the corresponding sections in GLEZ 1865, reveals significant similarities between the versions under examination, including the use of exclamative forms in DW 1862 not found in ST 1861*b*.

Table 14. Correspondences between DW 1862, GLEZ 1865, and SGM 1878

ST (1861 <i>b</i> : 124)	DW (1862: 148)	GLEZ (1865: 141)	SGM (1878: 386)
It is like preaching to the worm who crawls on the ground, how much better would it be for him if he were an eagle;	Autant prêcher au ver qui rampe sur la terre combien il vaudrait mieux pour lui être un aigle !	Tanto vale predicar al gusano que se arrastra sobre la tierra que le valdria mas ser una águila!	iLo mismo daria demostrar al gusano que se arrastra por el suelo cuánto más le valdria ser un águila!

Similarly, the addition of “parlement” and “parlamento” in DW 1862 and SGM 1878 (Verdejo, 2008: 221), respectively, is also documented in GLEZ 1865. This reinforces the hypothesis that intertextual relations connected the earlier French version and the initial two Spanish editions to a greater or lesser extent.

Table 15. Correspondences between DW 1862, GLEZ 1865, and SGM 1878

ST (1861 <i>b</i> : 134)	DW (1862: 159)	GLEZ (1865: 150–1)	SGM (1878: 192)
Any minority left out, either purposely or by the play of the machinery, gives the power not to a majority, but to a minority in some	S'il y a une minorité laissée de côté, [...] le pouvoir n'appartient pas à la majorité, mais à une minorité partout ailleurs qu'au parlement.	Si hai una minoria puesta a un lado, [...] el poder no está en manos de la mayoría, sino en las de una minoria, en toda otra parte que no	Si hay una minoría dada de lado, [...] el poder no pertenece á la mayoría, sino á una minoría en todas partes, ménos en el Parlamento.

other part of the scale.		sea el parlamento.	
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Despite such correspondences, certain elisions in SGM 1878 (Verdejo, 2008: 222) were not observed in DW 1862 or GLEZ 1865. The discrepancy between the French, Chilean, and Spanish versions indicates that García del Mazo exercised autonomy in determining the material of his version.

Table 16. Discrepancies between DW 1862, GLEZ 1865, and SGM 1878

ST (1861b: 260 –1)	DW (1862: 309 –10)	GLEZ (1865: 275)	SGM (1878: 399 –400)
[...] that has either direct or indirect influence in the pending struggle.  I have not taken account of the case [...] Where such peril exists, [...] this entireness of constitutional dependence is but a weak protection.  Of all officers of government, [...]	[...] qui a une influence directe ou indirecte dans la lutte pendante.  Je n'ai pas pris en considération le cas [...] Où existe un tel danger, [...] cette prérogative [...] n'est qu'une faible sûreté.	[...] que tiene una influencia directa en la lucha pendiente.  No he tomado en consideracion el caso [...] En donde tal peligro existe, [...] esta prerogativa [...] no es sino una débil garantia.  De todos los funcionarios del gobierno [...]	[...] que disponga de influencia directa ó indirecta en la lucha pendiente.  De todos los funcionarios del Gobierno, [...]

ITURBE 1965 comprises a 24-page introduction, “John Stuart Mill y la democracia representativa” by Pablo Lucas-Verdú, which is subdivided into three sections and does not make any direct reference to the translation. Lucas-Verdú (1923–2011) was a distinguished jurist, scholar, and full professor of Political Law at various Spanish universities during the latter half of the 20th century (Basterra). Cillán (2011) notes that Lucas-Verdú translated selected books in his academic field from Italian and Portuguese into Spanish. Furthermore, the bibliographic appendix includes a comprehensive list of Mill’s published works, a directory of Spanish translations of his works, and another list of the most significant academic books and journal articles on the subject. In 1985, Tecnos published another edition of the work entitled *Del Gobierno representativo*, which featured the same translation by Marta C. C. de Iturbe (ITURBE 1985 onwards) and an extensive 26-page prologue by Dalmacio Negro, another renowned professor of the History of Ideas at the Complutense University of Madrid who has published over fifty essays in his field of expertise and two dozen translations of seminal works in political thought.

The principal distinction between SGM 1878 and ITURBE 1965/85 is observed in the presentation of the author’s and translator’s notes. Although Verdejo (2008: 232) points out that Iturbe’s translation excludes the author’s notes from the 1985 edition, Iturbe 1965/85 reproduces four (4) of the thirteen (13) notes from the ST 1865a.

Table 17. Note in ST 1865a reproduced in SGM 1878 and ITURBE 1965/85

ST (1865a: 77)	SGM (1878: 112)	ITURBE (1965/85: 194/48)
[...] except through previous subjection to a central authority common to all.*	[...] sin haber estado sometidos ántes á la misma autoridad central. (I)	[...] sin haber estado sometidos antes a la misma autoridad central. <sup>1</sup>
* Italy, which alone can be quoted as an exception, [...] Florence, Pisa, or Milan, [...] Tuscany or Lombardy, took place in the usual manner.	(I) Italia, que únicamente podría citarse como excepcion, [...] Florencia, de Pisa ó de Milan, [...] Toscana ó la Lombardía, se operó del modo que dejamos expuesto.	<sup>1</sup> Italia, que podría citarse únicamente como excepción, [...] Florencia, Pisa o de Milán, [...] Toscana y Lombardía, ocurrió como ya hemos dicho.

Similarly, the note incorporated into the main body of the text provides indisputable evidence that ITURBE 1965 accurately reproduces the style of SGM 1878, including the typographical error.

Table 18. Note in ST 1861*b* incorporated into the main text in DW 1877, SGM 1878, and ITURBE 1965

ST (1861 <i>b</i> : 314)	DW (1877: 408)	SGM (1878: 476)	ITURBE (1965: 339)
[...] since the authors of the 'Federalist',* [...]	[...] depuis les auteurs " du <i>Fédéraliste</i> " — c'est de M. Calhoun que nous voulons parler—	[...] despues de los redactores del <i>Federalista</i> , —nos referimos á Mr. Calhoun,—	[...] después de los redactores de <i>El Federalista</i> , —nos referimos a Mr. Calhoun,—
* Mr. Calhoun.			

Ultimately, despite the correspondence between ITURBE 1965 and SGM 1878, which even affects the reproduction of typographical mistakes, the former does not include any of the translator's notes in the latter.

The 1966 edition included a 21-page essay entitled "El pensamiento político de John Stuart Mill" by Currin V. Shields, a professor of Political Science at the University of California. The essay provides an in-depth examination of Mill's political philosophy. Despite the absence of new ideas, Shields (1966: viii—xix) observes that the original English work is a compendium comprising eighteen chapters on various political subjects. Thus, Mill elucidated these questions by associating them with representative government. Regarding this article, we have consulted an edition that included an introductory section by Jorge Enrique Guier-Esquivel, published in 1987 by the printing press of the Costa Rican Universidad Autónoma de Centro América as part of its series "Clásicos de la Democracia". Jorge Enrique Guier-Esquivel (1930—2000), a Costa Rican historian and lawyer, was an associate judge of the Supreme Court of Justice of Costa Rica and dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Costa Rica, where he taught legal history and philosophy for many years. A highly-cultured intellectual, he wrote an extensive history of law and numerous essays and articles (Jorge Enrique Guier-Esquivel).

This edition includes the most comprehensive collection of footnotes, totalling sixty-one (61). On one occasion, Guzmán-Balboa indicated that the translator wrote the note. In this case, the note serves an institutional function (Peña & Hernández-

Guerrero 1994: 37), providing information about a convention in the American political system. This is exemplified by the general ticket, also known as party block voting (PBV) or ticket voting, which lacks an equivalent in its Costa Rican counterpart.

Table 19. Institutional note by the translator in GUZMÁN 1987

ST (1865a: 156)	GUZMÁN (1987: 155)
<p>The "ticket" system, it is contended, would, as it does in America, operate solely in favour of the great organized parties, [...]</p>	<p>Se asegura que el sistema de "planilla", o candidatura de un partido, operaría como lo hace en los Estados Unidos, únicamente en favor de los grandes partidos organizados, [...]</p> <p>* Un sistema de votación mediante el cual cada partido presenta su lista de candidatos para todos los puestos. El voto que se otorga es para el grupo completo.</p> <p><i>N. del T.</i></p>

As regards the remaining sixty (60) notes, there are reasonable grounds for inferring that Mill authored some of them. However, this preliminary assertion remains open to further examination. All seventeen (17) notes composed by Mill in ST 1865a are fully reproduced in GUZMÁN 1987. It has been observed that Guzmán-Balboa occasionally incorporates supplementary material into the text of the concise source note provided by Mill (ST 1865a: 315). This practice differs considerably from earlier Spanish editions, which had incorporated such material into the main body of their translated texts, thus following Dupont-White.

Table 20. Additional material in a footnote by the translator in GUZMÁN 1987

DW (1862: 370)	GLEZ (1865: 327)	SGM (1878: 476)	GUZMÁN (1987: 297)
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<p>[...] depuis les auteurs " du <i>Fédéraliste</i> " (M. Calhoun) [...]</p>	<p>[...] desde los autores del <i>Federalista</i> (M. Calhoun), [...]</p>	<p>[...] despues de los redactores del <i>Federalista</i>, —nos referimos á Mr. Calhoun,—</p>	<p>[...] desde los autores del <i>Federalista</i>,<sup>4</sup> [...]</p> <p>4 Se refiere a John Calhoun, senador y vicepresidente de los Estados Unidos y a su famoso ensayo, <i>A Disquisition on Government</i> (Disquisiciones sobre el Gobierno). Edición en español de Herrero Hermanos Sucs. S. A. México.</p>
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Secondly, Guzmán-Balboa appended forty-three (43) notes not previously documented in ST 1865a. These notes can be classified into distinct categories (Peña & Hernández-Guerrero 1994: 36–8). In descending order, Guzmán-Balboa incorporated twenty (20) situational notes to provide additional information about the spatio-temporal context. He also included thirteen (13) encyclopaedic notes, presenting corroborated facts from academic sources. These are followed by five (5) intertextual notes to explain the intertextual dependencies of a fragment of the translated text with earlier texts in the source language. The remaining three (3) institutional notes furnish information regarding conventions or institutions inherent to the source culture not reflected in the target culture. Finally, two (2) metalinguistic notes are provided to clarify certain aspects of the message formulation.

In terms of paratexts, Mellizo’s interventions can be identified in three areas: the twenty-page introduction preceding the translation, the notes appended by the translator, and how the notes composed by Mill are addressed. In his introduction, Mellizo (2019: 9–12) provides a comprehensive account of Mill’s biography, emphasising the significance of *On Liberty* (1859) for the later *Considerations on the Representative Government* (1861). Next, Mellizo (2019: 12–27) sets forth an overview of the fundamental themes that Mill addressed in the original English text. The introduction concludes with a translational reference to ST 1865b, which Mellizo (2019: 27–8) drew upon for his translation. This version also contains twenty–eight (28) interventions by the translator in the form of footnotes. In descending order, Mellizo included seventeen (17) that are intertextual, six (6) that are encyclopaedic, four (4) that are institutional, and one (1) that is situational (Peña and Hernández 1994: 37–8). Of these twenty-eight (28) interventions, nineteen (19) reproduce content from the ST 1865b, as Mellizo (2019b: 27–8) indicates, namely seventeen (17) intertextual and two (2) encyclopaedic footnotes. Ultimately, two (2) of Mill’s annotations from the ST 1865b —which provide information about a specific historical event and an institution, respectively— have been omitted without sufficient justification.

Table 21. Note by Mill in ST 1865b omitted in MELLIZO 2019

<p>ST (1865b: 415)</p>	<p>MELLIZO (2019: 116–7)</p>
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<p>In the modern kingdom of Greece, for example,* [...]</p> <p>Written before the salutary revolution of 1862, which, [...] a new and hopeful chance of real constitutional government.</p>	<p>En el moderno reino de Grecia, por ejemplo, [...]</p>
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#### 4. Conclusions

Within the domain of translation history, this case study has demonstrated the necessity of acknowledging the source text as a dynamic, ever-changing entity susceptible to alterations and rewritings. This consideration is fundamental in unravelling the intertextual links underlying the various translated texts regarding notions such as the intermediation of texts from other languages.

As regards the practices of the Spanish publishing industry in the 20th century with respect to initial and preliminary norms, the attribution of García del Mazo's translation to an unidentified Marta de C. C. de Iturbe exemplifies the lack of appreciation or recognition accorded to translators' work in mid-20th century Spain. The aforementioned irregular editorial practices are not justified by the fact that Truyol-Sierra and Lucas-Verdú, two highly esteemed academics, included Iturbe's translation in a renowned series such as *Res Publica in Tecnos*, or prologued it, respectively, despite being proficient in multiple languages and having experience of literary translation, particularly in the French—Spanish combination. Similarly, the motivation behind the exclusion of references to Iturbe's translation and her professional competence in the paratexts created by Lucas-Verdú and Negro remains uncertain. In contrast, Mellizo's translation, part of an exemplary editorial collection published by a reputable publishing house, provides substantial evidence of a thorough editorial process that has assumed rigorous control of Mill's source text, edition, and dissemination some 136 years after the 1865 Chilean edition. Likewise, the two American translations by González and Guzmán, two experienced translators with expertise in various disciplines, demonstrate no such questionable practices.

Within operational norms, the authors of the opening paratexts present similar profiles. Thus, González with his untitled section, Lucas-Verdú with his "Introducción", Negro with his "Presentación", and both Guier-Esquivel and Mellizo with their respective "Prólogo" are all academics or jurists who draw upon their expertise and academic background to shed light on and elucidate Mill's political thought (Dimitriu, 2009: 193). García del Mazo is the sole exception, as he does not include any paratext preceding his translation. Examining the author's annotations and analysing the translators' notes have proven crucial in clarifying the direction of translations and establishing intertextual links between translated versions. It can thus be demonstrated that González omitted just one note included by Mill and relocated another to the main body of the text (Table 9). This alteration is consistent with the methodology employed by Dupont-White in 1862, thereby providing compelling evidence that González had access to the earlier French version. This approach to the notes has also permitted a re-examination and questioning of the extent to which García del Mazo's version employs the French translation in its various editions. The notes by Mill that García del Mazo reproduces coincide with those included in Dupont-White, but he also appropriates two notes by Mill that he claims to have authored (Table 12) and, in addition, incorporates four other notes of his own. Likewise, an examination of the similarities between Dupont-White's, González's, and García del Mazo's versions demonstrates clear connections, establishing correspondences between these translated versions (Tables 14 and 15). Nevertheless, there are also evident discrepancies between them (Table 16), which permit the conclusion that García del Mazo exercised considerable autonomy in producing his version. Although Iturbe's translation is a reproduction of SGM 1878,

there are occasional indications that the translated text may have undergone some revision (Table 7). In this regard, a comparative analysis of the author's and translator's notes reveals notable discrepancies between García del Mazo's version and Iturbe's, which is limited to reproducing only one-third of Mill's original notes (Table 17) and does not include any of García del Mazo's. Similarly, the reproduction of Mill's notes and Guzmán's addition of forty-four (44) further notes (Tables 19 and 20) demonstrates that this translation is not intertextually linked to any preceding versions. Lastly, the version produced by Mellizo incorporates twenty-eight interventions in the form of translator's notes. These account for Mellizo's definitive involvement in the editorial project, whereas a few notes from Mill's source text have been omitted.

In conclusion, this case study has yielded new evidence regarding the diffusion and dissemination of 19th-century English political thought in the Spanish-speaking world on both sides of the Atlantic. Thus, we have demonstrated the value of considering all the textual variants of the English source text, as their variations provide valuable insights into the intertextual links that can be established between the translated versions. Although this study has concentrated on an analysis of the paratexts, it is essential to expand the scope of the analysis to encompass the linguistic and textual norms of the various versions. This will enable an exploration of potential relationships between the source text(s) and the translated versions, as well as between the latter.

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