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Translating ‘unprejudiced, bright, and philanthropic views’.
Henry Brougham and Anglo-Swedish Exchanges in the Early Nineteenth Century

Abstract
During the romantic period, translation played a key role in the mediation of reform ideas from Britain to the Nordic countries, and many translators of texts aiming at social reform wished to instigate change in their home countries. This article focuses on how Henry Brougham’s programme for popular education, as presented in his Practical Observations upon the Education of the People: Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers (1825), was made available to Swedish readers in a translation by Frans Anton Ewerlöf, in 1832. The translation process and the representation of Brougham in Sweden in the 1820s and 1830s are discussed. Ewerlöf read and decided to translate Brougham’s text in 1827, and a few years later he travelled to Britain to observe how Brougham’s ideas had been put into practice. As a result, the Swedish translation combines travel writing with Ewerlöf’s own reflections on Brougham’s text, offering a foreigner’s assessment of what had transpired in Britain after Brougham wrote his book.

Keywords
Brougham, Ewerlöf, Education, Translation, Cultural exchange, Sweden

Introduction

Henry Brougham (1778–1868) is well known to scholars of British romanticism as one of the most prominent and controversial public figures of the period. In 1802, he founded – along with Francis Jeffrey (1773–1850) and others – the influential Edinburgh Review, and his more than 200 contributions to that magazine comprise articles on education, abolition, parliamentary representation, natural philosophy, and, of course, a famously negative review of Byron’s (1788–1824) first major work: Hours of Idleness (1807). As a man of law, Brougham

1 This article is based on research carried out within the project Translations with an agenda: The Swedish introduction and translation of 19th-century British social-reform literature, funded by the Swedish Research Council.
2 Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu, introduction to Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu,
made a name for himself as Attorney General, in 1820, when he defended Caroline of Brunswick (1768–1821) in the divorce proceedings brought against her by George IV of England (1762–1830). By then, Brougham was also a high-profile Whig politician. William (1770–1850) and Dorothy Wordsworth (1771–1855) had criticised his activities during the campaign for the Westmoreland Seat in 1818, when Dorothy likened him to ‘French demagogues of the Tribunal of Terror at certain times’, and William, in his pamphlet Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland (1818), described his campaign as ‘at enmity with the bonds by which society is held together, and Government maintained’. 3

So far, so familiar to scholars of British romanticism. What may be less familiar, however, is the international impact of Brougham’s ideas about popular education. As will be demonstrated, Practical Observations upon the Education of the People (1825) had an influence on the development of educational thought in Sweden as well, and the nature of this influence also helps to illustrate the key role played by translation in the mediation of ideas from Britain to the Nordic countries during the romantic period and beyond.

In what follows, I first describe the historical and material context for the transmission of Brougham’s ideas to Sweden and the principal actors involved. From there, I proceed to discuss how and to what extent Brougham’s main proponent in Sweden, the civil servant Frans Anton Ewerlöf (1799–1883), re-wrote Brougham’s text to publicize his own vision of Swedish popular education. The point of contact between translator and subject matter affected the manner, in which the translation came to be presented to the intended audience. The way in which Ewerlöf combined travel writing with reflective comments on Brougham’s text will also be discussed, as well as some paratextual considerations, to show how these affected the way in which Brougham’s educational programme was presented to Swedish readers. In a brief coda, I conclude by considering the light which translation studies can throw upon the dynamics of the transfer of texts across national and cultural boundaries during the nineteenth century.


Bringing Brougham to Sweden

Ewerlöf first contacted Brougham in August of 1827 upon reading a French translation of Practical Observations. As Ewerlöf later phrased it in the preface to his Swedish translation of the book, he had been struck by its ‘fördomsfria, ljusa och menniskoälskande åsigter’ [unprejudiced, bright, and philanthropic views] about adult education and had therefore decided to make Brougham’s ideas available to Swedish readers.\(^4\) As he did not have access to the English original, Ewerlöf asked Brougham for a copy and for supplementary information about some of the educational institutions mentioned in the book.\(^5\) Brougham’s swift response discloses his delight in Ewerlöf’s plan, and the book was immediately dispatched to Ewerlöf via the Swedish legation in London, along with a number of brochures published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which Brougham had founded in 1826 to facilitate education for working-class men through lectures and inexpensive, edifying publications.\(^6\)

The correspondence in 1827 between Ewerlöf and Brougham discloses the first steps of a translation project aimed at a Swedish import of British ideas concerning popular education. One reason why Ewerlöf was attracted to Brougham’s educational programme was no doubt its connection to an overall social and political engagement. Brougham was an influential force in British politics and education, and by the time Ewerlöf read Practical Observations, Brougham’s position in Britain, and his rhetorical skills, were also well known to the readers of Swedish newspapers.

In Practical Observations, Brougham emphasises the value of adult education both for the individual and for society. As McManners puts it, for Brougham, ‘educational progress was the obvious concomitant of the advent of the wider franchise on the one hand and of the Industrial Revolution on the other’.\(^7\) To encourage the working class to pursue education was important, according to Brougham, as ‘the true principles of the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, should be well understood by every man who lives under it’.\(^8\) He argued that to facilitate widespread education of adult workers, it was essential to make edu-

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5 Frans Anton Ewerlöf, Letter draft to Henry Brougham (9 August 1827), Lund University Library.
6 Brougham, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (25 August 1827), Lund University Library.
8 Henry Brougham, Practical Observations upon the Education of the People: Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers (London, 1825), 5.
cation affordable: ‘The peace of the country, and the stability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge’. 9 Richardson states that although reformist, Brougham’s programme ‘must also be seen as reactionary [in that his] advocacy of “sounder” political views in Practice Observations tacitly evokes the rival views they are meant to contest’. 10

Ewerlöf’s contacts with Brougham and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) have been investigated, most notably by Sörbom, although not much attention has been paid to way in which Brougham’s educational manifesto was relocated to serve the early popular education movement in Sweden. 11 In particular, whilst the transmission of Scandinavian and Germanic texts in translation to Britain during the late eighteenth century and romantic period are comparatively well documented, the transmission to Sweden of Brougham’s Practical Observations is a case in point of the extent to which research on nineteenth-century transnational exchanges of ideas has often overlooked the means by which ideas from high-status cultures like Great Britain travelled to more peripheral countries, such as Sweden, by way of translation, and the fact that most readers on the outskirts of Europe encountered progressive ideas in the form of translations carried out by their own countrymen. Importantly, translators of reform texts who were themselves engaged within the field of the texts they translated often took a strategic approach to translation in the sense that they adapted the target text to fit their own aims.

Although Ewerlöf’s translation, which was published in 1832, was not a success in terms of copies sold, it indicated the significance of translation as a strategy in the importation and adaptation of foreign ideas in periods of transition. Drawing on recognized foreign ideas, in order to promote change at home, was an established strategy among social reformers in nineteenth-century Sweden, and Ewerlöf was characteristic of his time and context in that he did not translate Brougham’s book for monetary gain but out of a pronounced wish to disseminate to his fellow countrymen specific insights that he had himself gained. Furthermore, the translation project enabled him to claim ownership of those ideas in Sweden.

9 Ibid.
11 Per Sörbom, Läsning för folket: Studier i tidig svensk folkbildningshistoria (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1972). The main focus of Sörbom’s study is Läsning för folket [Reading for the people], the journal published by the Swedish Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.
Popular Education in the 1820s and Early 1830s

Brougham used the expression ‘popular education’ when he first presented his educational programme in an 1824 article in the *Edinburgh Review*. His definition is not entirely consistent, however: sometimes he includes all ages in the concept and sometimes he refers to education for adult workers.\(^{12}\) In 1825, in his preface to *Practical Education*, Brougham states that his discussion concerns ‘the Education of Adults’ and that he intends to discuss ‘the best means of aiding the people in using the knowledge gained at school, for their moral and intellectual improvement’.\(^ {13}\) The kind of education addressed in *Practical Education* should thus be seen as an optional further education made available to working men.

Swedish popular education developed at a time when the romantic striving for autonomy and liberation amongst individuals was met with a national demand for integration and discipline.\(^ {14}\) Tøsse describes the tradition of popular education in Scandinavia as having emerged from ‘the twin influences of the Enlightenment and Romanticism’.\(^ {15}\) What in Sweden came to be known as *folkbildning* was, in Britain, alternatively referred to as ‘adult education’ or ‘popular education’. Although these are all overlapping concepts, the Swedish *bildning* goes back to the German term *Bildung* and indicates not only the acquisition of knowledge but also self-cultivation.\(^ {16}\) As with the term ‘popular’, the Swedish ‘folk’ suggests an all-inclusive category encompassing all strands in society. In reality however, as Tøsse points out, early endeavours at educating the working classes were often dictated from above.\(^ {17}\) Thus, what was referred to as the ‘education of the people’ involved a patrician as well as a romantic discourse.

Those involved in establishing the early stages of popular education movements in Britain, as well as in Sweden, belonged to an educated, socio-political elite. In Sweden, when Ewerlöf and his associate Carl af Forsell (1783–1848) began to develop a programme for popular education and set about translating certain British SDUK texts, they quickly encountered a problem: they realised that these texts were too advanced for the average Swedish reader and thus risked being comprehensible only to an already well-educated minority.\(^ {18}\)

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13 Brougham, preface to *Practical Observations*.
18 Carl af Forsell, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (6 December 1832), Lund University Library.
As already noted, SDUK was founded by Brougham in 1826 to facilitate the education of working-class men. Although not a missionizing body, the Society nonetheless encouraged the establishment of societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge in other countries; as Brougham declares in his letter to Ewerlöf in 1827, ‘nous interesses infiniment â ce que notre plan est bien recu dans l’étranger ou l’on pense exferer que nos principes seront adoptés et des sociétés semblances fondées’ [we are most interested in the positive reception of our plan abroad, where we hope our principles will be adopted and similar societies will be founded]. Ewerlöf understood this, and a constitutive meeting for a Swedish version of the SDUK was held in December 1833. Societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge were launched elsewhere, as well – in Portugal, for instance, as early as 1827. The notion of adult education also spread outside of Europe; as Palmelund Johansen has shown, the SDUK ‘was closely connected to missionary groups who were greatly involved in the import of British knowledge into imperial contexts’ in India as well as China.

A comparison between Brougham’s and Ewerlöf’s educational endeavours discloses some interesting parallels. As he was writing Practical Observations, Brougham was planning for what soon developed into the SDUK and, seven years later, Ewerlöf hoped to initiate a similar project in Sweden. This means that while translating Brougham’s book, Ewerlöf found himself in a position very similar to that of the author. Undeniably, the time gap between source text and translation had an impact on the way in which Brougham’s argument was translated. For instance, Brougham’s statement, ‘I am not without hopes of seeing formed a Society for promoting the composition, publication, and distribution of cheap and useful works’, was not included in the translation. Since the SDUK had been in existence for several years by the time Ewerlöf translated Brougham’s book, Ewerlöf instead emphasises the benefits of becoming a

19 Brougham, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (25 August 1827), Lund University Library. Ewerlöf’s request was written in French, which explains Brougham’s use of that language in his response.
20 Per Sörbom, Läsning för folket, 80.
23 Brougham, Practical Observations, 10.
member of such a Society. Being able to confirm Brougham’s prediction for the positive results of popular education, Ewerlöf, therefore, translates Brougham’s expectations into a confident statement of accomplishment.

**Henry Brougham: A Controversial Model**

Brougham was of course involved in the parliamentary debates surrounding the Education Bill in England in 1820. As a theorist of education, however, his influence rested less on the originality of his thinking than on his ability to popularise and spread the romantic notion of life-long learning for individual as well as for national improvement.  

Contemporary sources describe Brougham as a rhetorically skilled and sharp-tongued speaker, but also claim that he lacked imagination, and that he radiated encyclopaedic knowledge rather than deep thinking. In 1851, newspaper editor and politician Edward Baines (1800–1890) claimed that ‘[t]o no one individual, perhaps, has the modern progress of education been so much owing as to Henry Brougham’, although he also stated that Brougham ‘was too eagerly bent on the accomplishment of his great object to wait patiently for the working of some of his own principle’.  

Determination, possibly at the expense of reflection and diplomacy, can be seen in much of this remarkable man’s oeuvre as well as in comments about him. In 1830, *The New Monthly Magazine* explained Brougham’s public appeal somewhat ambiguously as being ‘the result of memory and self-confidence, and of a Napoleonic power of concentrating his mind and knowledge at will upon a single point, rather than of the reasoning of inventive faculties’. In April the following year, the Swedish newspaper *Stockholmsposten* ran an article titled ‘Lord Broughams karakteristik som talare’ [A characterization of Lord Brougham as a speaker], which consisted of translated passages of the *New Monthly Magazine* article. Interestingly enough, when Brougham was mentioned in Swedish newspapers, it was these rhetorical skills rather than any contents of his politics that were conveyed to Swedish readers.

Brougham’s programme for popular education in Britain was first outlined in October 1824, in a review article in the *Edinburgh Review* discussing a book by William Davis titled *Hints to Philanthropists: Or, a Collective View of Practical*

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Means for Improving the Condition of the Poor and Labouring Classes of Society. As Benchimol states, Brougham’s argument in this article was ‘relevant to the ideological purposes and educational aims of the SDUK’. Brougham focuses on some principles that later became central for the SDUK, such as ‘the encouragement of cheap publications’ and the establishment of institutions for teaching designed to cater to the needs of workers who did not have much time to spare for evening classes. Just three months later, in January 1825, the Edinburgh Review announced the forthcoming publication of Brougham’s own book Practical Observations upon the Education of the People. The volume was sold for the benefit of the recently established London Mechanics’ Institution, and in a dedication to its President, George Birkbeck (1776–1841), founder of Birkbeck University, London, Brougham clarifies that his observations form part of an ongoing development plan for British education.

Practical Observations upon the Education of the People went through twenty editions within its first year, making it ‘spectacularly successful’ in its genre. Approval of Brougham’s ideas was far from unanimous, however: in Blackwood’s Magazine, for instance, a review nearly as long as Brougham’s entire book described it as ‘a very sorry performance and … [as] miserably romantic and defective’. Another severe critic was Reverend Edward William Grinfield (1785–1864), whose pamphlet Reply to Mr. Brougham’s ‘Practical Observations’ (1825) criticised Brougham’s political ambitions and what Grinfield saw as the ‘false directions’ of popular education:

It is attempted to be made too scientific and philosophical, instead of being chiefly moral and religious; and the knowledge of particular arts and sciences is recommended as the channel of Popular Improvement, instead of that general knowledge which is the best manure of the mind.

Grinfield also levelled harsh criticism against Brougham’s opinions on the education of children, which is somewhat curious since this is not what Brougham’s book deals with, as was soon pointed out by an anonymous commentator in The Edinburgh Magazine.\textsuperscript{35}

A full decade before the translation of Practical Observations, Swedish newspapers had acknowledged Brougham as a prominent British politician. The earliest Swedish newspaper reference to him that I have found concerns a petition against slavery in 1810, but a search in digitalised Swedish newspapers from the 1820s and early 1830s shows that by that time, Brougham was frequently mentioned in reports of British parliamentary debates.\textsuperscript{36} Swedish newspapers like Post- och Inrikes Tidningar, Dagligt Allehanda, and Stockholmsposten, presented him as an influential orator. Reporting on an English parliamentary debate in May 1827, for instance, Stockholmsposten referred to Brougham’s ‘satirisk[a] tal’ [satirical speech], and a month later, the same newspaper published a translation of a French traveller’s description of Brougham:

Kraftfullt och mäktigt är allting hos Hr Brougham: hans stämmas omfång, hans armars rörelser, hans genomträngande blick, hans bittra ironi, hans blossande förtrytelse, grundligheten af hans räsonnementer, hans replikers alltid träffande udd, hans senfulla stils trollbehag.

[Everything about Mr Brougham is powerful and grand: the range of his voice, the movement of his arms, his penetrating gaze, his bitter irony, his blazing indignation, the thoroughness of his reasoning, his always precise remarks, his entralling, sinewy style.]\textsuperscript{37}

Brougham certainly made a strong impression on foreign visitors to Britain. In 1843, the Danish theologian and educationalist N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) wrote to his wife after a visit to the House of Lords that he had listened to several speakers, ‘blandt hvilke dog Ingen, uden Brougham særdeles udmærkede sig’ [among whom No One apart from Brougham distinguished themselves].\textsuperscript{38}


Grundtvig had been interested in British liberal ideas long before this; as early as the 1820s, he subscribed both to the *Westminster Review* and to the *Edinburgh Review*.39

Brougham was also known in Sweden because of his role in the so-called Queen Caroline affair, which Swedish newspapers followed closely: in 1820 alone, *Stockholmsposten* mentioned Brougham in over 30 articles, almost exclusively in connection with the Royal divorce proceedings, and *Stockholms Posttidningar* reported more than 20 times that year about the same issue.40

News travelled relatively quickly; many of the Swedish articles about the Queen Caroline Affair referred to proceedings only a fortnight after they had taken place and been reported in the British press. A few years later, it was not only Brougham’s political and legal activities which were addressed by the Swedish press: in 1825, *Dagligt Allehanda* published a long and detailed account of a banquet held in honour of Brougham as he had been elected Chancellor of Glasgow University. The article, based on a piece from the British newspaper, *The Sun*, is another indication that British newspapers were read in Scandinavia and of how their content was adapted to a Swedish audience.41

Brougham had travelled widely in his youth, and one reason for his enthusiastic response to Ewerlöf in 1827 might have been his personal recollections of Sweden as a country in great need of enlightenment. In his letter to Ewerlöf, he mentioned that he had visited Sweden many years previously.42 In the company of a friend, he spent about two months in Sweden in the autumn of 1799. Many years later, whilst preparing his autobiography, Brougham included his detailed travel journal of this Scandinavian trip, in which he had recorded various Swedish cultural habits and political issues. He had been truly shocked in Stockholm by the ‘manners of the people in this capital [which] are extremely dissolute … The instances of profligacy about Court almost exceed belief in so northerly a situation’.43 When editing his notes in the 1860s, Brougham added a comment to clarify that he had not been the only British visitor to observe what was perceived as the immoral condition of the Swedish capital; although Samuel Laing’s *A Tour in Sweden in 1838: Comprising Observations on the Moral, Political, and Eco-

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41 ‘Blandade ämnen’, *Dagligt Allehanda* (7 May, 1825): 1–2. I have not been able to locate the source *The Sun*, but several British newspapers and periodicals reported on this particular dinner, which took place on 5 April, over the next month, e.g., ‘British Chronicle, April 5 – Dinner to Mr Brougham’, *The Edinburgh Magazine, and Literary Miscellany* (May 1825): 624–626.
42 Brougham, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (25 August 1827), Lund University Library.
nomical State of the Swedish Nation (1839) was written several decades after Brougham’s visit to Sweden, Brougham noted that it corroborated his observations. In the same footnote, he also refers to the Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer (1801–1865), stating that her novels ‘let the reader into the secret of social life by her reference to those sins which prove sore temptations to the heroines whose virtue overcomes them’.44

Thus, by the time Practical Observations appeared, Brougham was an internationally renowned Whig politician. This circumstance most certainly helped to market his ideas abroad, and several translations of Practical Observations were made within a few years. 1826 saw the French translation which Ewerlöf read, as well as a Dutch one; and in 1827, a German translation was published.45 This volume was probably translated by the educator and geographer Karl Friedrich von Klöden (1786–1856), and it appears to have gained wide recognition in Germany, having been ‘recommended by the Minister to all the local administrations, and supplied by the magistrate to the district authorities’.46 While Ewerlöf first encountered Brougham’s text in French translation, a citation of von Klöden’s German translation in one of Ewerlöf’s footnotes suggests that Ewerlöf also had access to that edition.47 Moreover, the German edition contains a translation of the French preface. Such links between different translations indicates not only transnational contacts but indeed the multi-layered nature of translation and relay translation as a transmitter of ideas.

Ewerlöf: A Civil Servant with an Agenda

Frans Anton Ewerlöf was a high-ranking Swedish civil servant and diplomat. From 1825, he was posted to the Norwegian capital Christiania (now Oslo) as Secretary for the Swedish Governor-General – at the time Norway was in personal union with Sweden – and from 1833, he served for many years as Swedish-Norwegian Consul General in Denmark. After university studies at both Lund and Uppsala, Ewerlöf considered a career in the church or as a military officer, but

44 Ibid., 166n.
45 Henry Brougham, Observations pratiques sur l’éducation du peuple: Adresseés aux artisans et aux fabricans (Paris: Bossange Frères, 1826); Henry Brougham, Over eenige hulpmiddelen tot vermeerdering van beroepskunde bij ambachtslieden (’s-Gravenhagen & Amsterdam: van Cleef, 1826); Praktische Bemerkungen über die Ausbildung der gewerbtreibenden Classen: An die Handwerker und Fabrikanten gerichtet, (Berlin: Dunder und Humblot, 1827).
47 Brougham, Om folkbildung, 24.
was advised by his mentor Henric Brandel (1739–1828) to aim for consular work. Ewerlöf’s mother, who was of Spanish descent and born in Algiers, had been brought up in Brandel’s household while he served as Swedish Consul General there. As a child, Ewerlöf also spent much time with the Brandel family, by then living in Helsingborg in southern Sweden. Ewerlöf knew French from his mother and through his contacts with the Brandel family; he was also proficient in English, although it is not clear when and how he learned it. He regularly corresponded with his British contacts in English, and he wrote articles in English about Scandinavia for SDUK periodicals.

Five years passed between 1827, when Ewerlöf first read Brougham’s book and contacted him, and the publication of his translation in 1832. From surviving letters, and from the translation itself, it is possible to trace some decisive stages of the extended process of disseminating Brougham’s ideas to Swedish readers. The delay was primarily due to other commitments, as Ewerlöf’s working situation prevented him from undertaking the translation at once. Importantly, however, his preface for the Swedish translation declares that by the time an opportunity to travel to England arose, he had already made up his mind to postpone the translation until he had ‘genom vistandet i nämnde land hunnit göra mig mera bekant med ämnet’ [managed to learn more about the topic by sojourning in that country]. This decision turned out to be crucial for the outcome of the project.

Although the main purpose of Ewerlöf’s journey was to learn more about the SDUK and about the so-called Mechanics’ Institutes, Ewerlöf’s time in Britain turned out to provide an important general context for his translation project. Ewerlöf embarked on this journey in 1830, and, once in Britain, he literally followed in the footsteps of Brougham, whose book provides information about educational establishments in different parts of the country. Ewerlöf’s stay in the British Isles took him to London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin and

48 Elise Adelsköld, ‘Frans Anton Ewerlöf’, Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, accessed 15 March, 2018, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SBL/Presentation.aspx?id=15576. Apart from his long-standing career as a diplomat, Brandel developed a system which aimed to bring together different chronological systems. He called it ‘Myriaden’ [the myriad] and published an annual almanac in French based on this system. Many years later, to commemorate his mentor, Ewerlöf published a book – also in French – explaining Brandel’s system: La myriade système Chronologique pour une période de dix mille ans, par Henri Brandel, exposé par F. A. Ewerlöf (Copenhagen, 1853).

49 Martin Weibull, Frans Anton Ewerlöf (Stockholm: Ivar Haeggström’s tryckeri, 1884), 2.

50 That French nonetheless was Ewerlöf’s preferred foreign language is clear from a letter to Thomas Coates, Secretary of the SDUK: ‘Je vous ecris en français, parce qu’il me faut trop de temps pens m’expliquer même aper mal, en anglais’ [I have written in French, because it takes too long for me to explain myself, even badly, in English]. 9 May 1831. University College London Special Collections.

51 Brougham, preface to Om folkbildning.
Belfast, as well as to Glasgow and Edinburgh. Ewerlöf returned to Christiania in 1831, and his Swedish translation of Brougham’s *Practical Observations* was published by Peter (Per) Adam Wallmark (1777–1858) in the autumn of the following year. Wallmark is probably best known as a member of the Classicist school and a main target for the criticism waged by Swedish romantic poets against ‘old-school’ ideals. He was librarian at the Royal Library, a poet and a newspaper publisher, and he shared Ewerlöf’s educational interests. When Ewerlöf approached him in or around 1832, Wallmark expressed considerable enthusiasm concerning the task of publisher: ‘Ämnet intresserar mig för mycket för att jag skulle kunna undandraga mig ett sådant uppdrag’ [The subject interests me too much for me not to undertake such a commission].

The connection between the translation and Ewerlöf’s wider concerns are central, as he wished to lay the foundations for a Swedish popular education project similar to the one that had developed in Britain. The five-year interval between his initial decision to translate the book and its publication allowed him to read and make use of tracts subsequently published; for instance, texts published by the SDUK. In preparation for a Swedish SDUK, Ewerlöf corresponded for several years with Thomas Coates (1802–1883), Secretary of the SDUK. The collaborative efforts of Ewerlöf and his associate Forsell were certainly crucial for the early development of Swedish popular education, but it should be noted that it was actually Forsell, who lived in Stockholm and who was thus closer to the authorities, whose approval was needed, who was the driving force behind the establishment of the Swedish SDUK.

In contrast to Brougham, Ewerlöf does not appear to have been involved in intellectual debates or party politics. Historical records, as well as his own personal correspondence, paint a picture of him as an able civil servant having sympathy with popular education and philanthropy. The only controversy recorded by his biographers occurred towards the end of his posting in Norway, when he at one point found himself embroiled in political turmoil: as the representative of the Swedish King, Ewerlöf was criticised by the young radical poet Henrik Wergeland (1808–1845) in connection with a theatre performance in the Norwegian capital, which generated a massive Norwegian protest, against Swedish rule.

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52 Sörbom, *Läsning för folket*, 55.
53 Peter Adam Wallmark, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (13 August, 1832). Lund University Library.
Sharing British Ideas with Swedish Readers

Everlöf’s journey resulted in an analysis of how Brougham’s ideas had been put into practice in Britain since the publication of *Practical Observations*. In the preface of his translation, Ewerlöf outlined his aims as well as his working method. In this respect, Ewerlöf’s work provides a remarkable insight into his strategy. Like other translators of reform texts at the time, he acknowledges the importance of drawing on a foreign debate to achieve change in Sweden, but his approach was very unusual, in the sense that he describes how he aimed to recontextualize the source text in order to better serve his own purpose. Ewerlöf no doubt revised Brougham’s text, since certain elements were not relevant to the Swedish context. More importantly, however, a substantial part of the translation consists of Ewerlöf’s own discussion of how Brougham’s ideas had been turned into practice since the book was published and how the knowledge, he had thus gained, could help to implement similar ideas in Sweden. Hence, the Swedish publication merges translation with Ewerlöf’s own original travel account and, also, with his own observations on the outcome of Brougham’s programme for popular education. By thus negotiating between translation, rewriting, and commenting on the source text, Ewerlöf provides a foreigner’s assessment of the development of the British adult education movement while suggesting ways of adapting and applying it in Sweden.

The translation contains passages which demonstrate how Ewerlöf saw himself as a travel writer reporting to his fellow countrymen. The translator-cum-travel writer thereby resembles an explorer who describes new-fangled social and technical innovations to his compatriots in order to instigate change at home. Such information-sharing elements can be found in other Swedish nineteenth-century travel writing. One example close at hand is Ewerlöf’s associate Carl af Forsell, who wrote a book after having returned from a trip to England. An internationally acknowledged statistician and steam engine pioneer, Forsell had a keen interest in British educational, as well as social and technical development. In *Anteckningar i anledning af en resa till England i slutet af sommaren år 1834* [Notes on account of a trip to England in late summer of 1834], he mixed information about his visits to British infant schools and temperance societies with an account of how he travelled by railway between Manchester and Liverpool, and of how he almost succumbed to cholera upon arriving in England.

Liberal-minded travellers like Forsell and Ewerlöf were well-connected and thus in a position to gather information about Britain as a pioneering country that they could share with their fellow countrymen. As Ewerlöf later recorded, he had been introduced to the centres of power in the British capital during the winter of 1831 by the Swedish Minister in London, Count Magnus Björnsten (1779–1847).\(^5\) Sörbom has identified Ewerlöf as the author of a number of articles about British public life and bodies of social reform, which were published in the Swedish newspaper *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, on his return.\(^6\) These articles cover subjects as diverse as begging in Dublin, co-operatives in England, and politics. A handful of articles entitled ‘Twenne Presentationsdagar vid Engelska Hofvet 1831 (Ur en Swensk resandes dagbok)’ [Two reception days at the English court 1831 (from a Swedish traveller’s diary)] also give detailed glimpses of Ewerlöf’s impressions and experiences in London.

In these travel letters, Ewerlöf relates to Swedish newspaper readers how he was presented at Court and saw the King, foreign dignitaries, as well as British public figures, such as the Duke of Wellington (1769–1852), Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850), and Brougham, whose educational writing was the reason for Ewerlöf’s being in London in the first place.\(^7\) Swedish readers are informed in great detail about British political and cultural practices, but Ewerlöf’s texts also contain their fair share of celebrity gossip and descriptions of clothes and features of the famous people whom he encounters. Like other foreign visitors to London, Ewerlöf’s description of Brougham evinces the strong impression made by the British statesman. Brougham is presented as a highly unconventional man, dressed in a black silk cape with bows and golden braids which, according to Ewerlöf, looked ‘högst kuriöst’ [very odd], although Brougham – who was by then Lord Chancellor – was most likely wearing a Court uniform in accordance with his position. Nonetheless, Ewerlöf clearly perceived Brougham as eccentric; and he also informed his Swedish readers that, having arrived late at the King’s reception, Brougham had audaciously taken a short cut through a palace gate through which only royal coaches were to pass.\(^8\)

Ewerlöf’s travel letters are interesting in that they convey to Swedish readers a glimpse of the big world, while focussing on personal aspects of the dignitaries referred to. In one letter, for instance, Ewerlöf draws what might be the earliest Swedish personal portrait of the future Queen Victoria (1819–1901):

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57 Frans Anton Ewerlöf, Efterlämnade papper. Lund University Library.
59 Ewerlöf, ‘Twenne presentationsdagar vid Engelska hofvet 1831 (Ur en swensk resandes dagbok)’, *Post- och inrikes tidningar* (28 February 1832): 1–2; ibid. (1 March 1832), 1–2.
För sin ålder, 11 a 12 år, är Prinsessan Victoria liten till växten, men ansigtet är så formeradt, att det tycks tillhöra en 17 eller 18 års flicka, och har ett uttryck af ovanlig stadga. Hon är icke vacker, och skall vara särdeles närsynt, hvilket också kan skönjas. Drägten var utan all i ögon fallande prakt, och håret bart.

[For her age, 11 to 12 years, Princess Victoria is small in stature, but her face is shaped in a way that seems to belong to a girl of 17 or 18 years of age, and it has an expression of unusual firmness. She is not beautiful, and is said to be very short-sighted, which can also be discerned. Her dress was without any ostentatious splendour and her hair was bare.]

Ewerlöf reports that Princess Victoria’s upbringing is said to be ‘ganska okons-tlad och utan ceremoni’ [quite unaffected], and he relates how her mother, Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, Duchess of Kent (1786–1861), had once hindered a visiting lady from rising when the Princess entered the room, saying, ‘Sitt stilla min fru; hon är bara barn ännu’ [Remain seated, my lady; she is still only a child]. The modest way in which the future Queen of England was raised made a strong impression on Ewerlöf, who told his readers that ‘Sådana drag, så lik-gilliga de kunna tyckas vara, sakna icke betydelse’ [Such characteristics may seem unimportant but do matter].

Significantly, during his stay in England, Ewerlöf came to realise that the Swedish translation ought to reflect the substantial development of adult education which had taken place there since Brougham’s book was first published. In his preface, Ewerlöf explains that:

Detta förändrade mig att förändra min plan; och istället för att blott gifva en öfversättning af hela Skriften, trodde jag det vara ändamålsenligare att derutur endast meddela de stycken som innehålla grunddragen till undervisningssystemet, och sedan tillägga de anteckningar öfvers ärskilta delar, som jag sjelf samlat.

[This made me change my plan, and instead of merely providing a translation of the whole text, I thought its purpose would be better served by only reporting those passages that contain the essential features of the educational system, and then to add my own collection of notes on certain aspects.]

Although Ewerlöf here signals that he made a distinction between translation and his own additions, he nevertheless says nothing specific about where he adapts his translation to match his own observations.

In the Swedish translation of Practical Observations, Ewerlöf’s roles as translator, travel writer, and commentator merge in the parts of the translation which are based on his own observations and also in certain passages that follow Brougham’s source text closely. In the first part of his book, Brougham presents

61 Ibid. (5 March 1832), 2.
62 Ibid. (5 March 1832), 2.
63 Brougham, preface to Om folkbildning.
the foundation of popular education, and some topical passages about the value of adult education appear in italics in the translation. Sections, to which Ewerlöf may have paid particular attention while reading Brougham’s text, are thus highlighted to Swedish readers. The italicised parts concern the importance of promoting popular tracts on topics such as political economy, and the importance of education for national peace and order.  

The relation between individual and collective efforts is likewise brought to the fore, as Ewerlöf italicizes Brougham’s argument for setting up an organisation for the diffusion of useful knowledge. Brougham addresses the responsibility of the individual worker in his text, and the translation highlights to Swedish readers Brougham’s view that learners themselves must pay for their education and that they should take an active part in its execution. Such shared responsibilities seem to be of principal value to Ewerlöf. For instance, one of his footnotes states that education should come to a certain cost, as people only value that which involves a kind of sacrifice. The text of this footnote originates in a remark by von Klöden in the German translation of Practical Observations. Brougham’s original statement thus gains a double emphasis, involving both Ewerlöf’s own adaptation and the supplement of a paratextual comment from another translation.

As Ewerlöf reaches passages in which Brougham outlines and discusses different educational establishments, he transitions from translating, to commenting on, the source text. He thereby invites the Swedish reader to accompany him through an educational landscape that has altered since the publication of Practical Observations. This means that whereas Brougham’s text seeks support by presenting an ongoing formation of educational bodies, Ewerlöf, by reporting about recent success, is able to draw on several years of British experience and single out for presentation what he assumes will be of relevance to Swedish readers. Some additional comments serve to inform the reader of Ewerlöf’s personal acquaintance with the matters under discussion. For instance, by providing an outline of the SDUK – which had been founded one year after the publication of Practical Observations – Ewerlöf informs Swedish readers that he is corresponding with the current secretary of the organisation, Thomas Coates, and that he had been in direct contact with Brougham himself before the latter became Lord Chancellor. In a footnote to his translation, Ewerlöf expresses deep gratitude for the ‘ädla öppenhet och förekommande tjenstvil-

64 Brougham, Om folkbildning, 10–11; Brougham, Practical Observations, 5.
65 Brougham, Practical Observations, 10.
66 Brougham, Om folkbildning, 11; Brougham, Practical Observations, 15.
67 Brougham, Praktische Bemerkungen, 78; Brougham, Om folkbildning, 24.
lichte’ [honourable openness and courteous support] of his British contacts during his interrogations.  

A few years later, Ewerlöf was less positive towards Brougham. For reasons that remain unclear, the British statesman had by then declined an honorary membership in the Swedish version of the SDUK and, also, refused to let Ewerlöf and Forsell use woodcuts from the SDUK periodical Penny Magazine for the Swedish periodical Läsning för folket. Instead, these attractive woodcuts were sold to the Swedish publisher Lars-Johan Hierta (1801–1872), who used them in his periodical Lördags-Magasinet. One possible explanation for Brougham’s withdrawal of support is that the Swedish minister in London, who acted as an intermediary, may have tried to get access to the woodcuts for free, which might in turn have aggravated the British SDUK as such an action failed to adhere to Brougham’s tenet that education should come at a cost.

One effect of Ewerlöf’s translation following several years after the book was first published can be traced in its account of the London Mechanics’ Institute. Brougham describes the foundation and structure of this establishment, paying tribute to George Birkbeck, who was instrumental in setting it up. By the time of Ewerlöf’s translation, however, this institution was much more widely developed, and he shares details about membership and activities. From his stay in London, for instance, Ewerlöf records how ‘en simpel murare’ [a simple bricklayer], who had joined the institute six years previously, ‘ökunnig iv enklaste grunder’ [ignorant of the very basics of science], had won a competition with a scientific thesis on the qualities of the pendulum. The essay was ‘författad med en skarsinnighet och geometrisk kunskap som förvånade de vetenskapligt bildade Domerne’ [written with a sharpness and knowledge of geometry, which surprised the scientifically educated judges]. Ewerlöf mentions that one of these judges was Brougham. This circumstance perhaps inadvertently offers a reflection on Brougham’s continuous engagement with the popular education movement. As a young man, Brougham had been a student of science himself; indeed, in 1796, at the age of 17, he even published an article in Philosophical Transactions, probably being the youngest contributor ever to that periodical.

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68 Brougham, Om folkbildning, 102n.
70 Brougham, Om folkbildning, 39.
Ewerlöf’s addition of success stories like the one about the scientific bricklayer not only shared a British example with Swedish readers but also invited them to embark on an educational journey parallel to that of the worker. The progress of the unschooled bricklayer reads like a metaphor for the development of Brougham’s overall educational project, and we see here how Ewerlöf was able to capitalize on the fact that by the time he shared Brougham’s ideas of popular education with Swedish readers, the British had started to see the outcomes of those endeavours.

**Framing Brougham’s Ideas for the Swedish Market**

A comparison of the title pages of *Practical Observations* with those of its Swedish translation provides insight into the decision-making process involved in Ewerlöf’s translation and its marketing. Functioning as thresholds by which the reader approaches the text, paratextual elements in translations serve to promote the text by introducing it to readers in a new context. Brougham’s title informs the reader about the content of the text, and his subtitle asserts the dual beneficiaries of adult education, the book being addressed to both workers and their employers. Whereas the titles of the French, Dutch, and German translations all closely align with Brougham’s original, the Swedish title is much more elaborate, indicating the contents of the book as well as highlighting the translator’s role in their transmission: *Om folkbildning af Brougham, Lord-stor-cancler af England. Öfversättning med anteckningar om de i England befintliga handverks-instituterna och sällskapet för nyttiga kunskapers spridande, samlade under en resa i nämnde land, åren 1830–1831, af F. A. Ewerlöf, Förste expeditions-sekreterare, R. W. O.* [On popular education by Brougham, Lord Great Chancellor of England. Translation with notes concerning the existing mechanics’ institutes in England and the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, collected during a journey in that country, during 1830–1831, by F. A. Ewerlöf, Secretary for the Swedish Governor-General, Knight of the Royal Order of Vasa].

The Swedish title page presents the publication as a translation, although large portions of the book were, in fact, penned by Ewerlöf himself. Ewerlöf acknowledges that he has added his own observations, but he went one step further in that he also adapted the source text so that Brougham’s argument, which of course concerned Britain, was redirected to a Swedish audience. In an obituary of Ewerlöf, the historian Martin Weibull (1835–1902) refers, in passing, to the translation as a ‘fri bearbetning’ [free adaptation].

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monly used in nineteenth-century Sweden for translations which contained altered passages and additions based on the translator’s own objectives.

Although *Practical Observations* contains no illustrations, the Swedish translation features a frontispiece portrait of Brougham. Portraits of Brougham were published from the year of the publication of *Practical Observations; Mechanics’ Magazine* (a periodical mentioned several times in Brougham’s book), for instance, printed a frontispiece portrait of him, in 1825. Ewerlöf and Wallmark, however, desired a recent portrait of Lord Brougham as Lord Chancellor, and Brougham is also identified in that capacity on the title page of the translation. Brougham had not held the position of Lord Chancellor when the book was published in 1825, but did when the Swedish translation was published seven years later; and presenting the author of the book as a high-ranking English official was no doubt intended to confer upon the Swedish translation an enhanced authority. Correspondence between Ewerlöf and Wallmark confirms that the frontispiece was added for marketing purposes: Wallmark uses the word ‘Embellishment’ to motivate its inclusion. The portrait was mentioned when the translation was advertised in the Swedish press, and it was also sold separately, together with Brougham’s signature in facsimile.

Procuring a suitable portrait turned out to be a complex operation. Ewerlöf and Wallmark discussed ways of obtaining a portrait from London in order to prepare a lithographic print in Stockholm and, in February 1832, Ewerlöf consulted Thomas Coates on the matter, asking him to procure “a good likeness of Lord Brougham, in copper or well “lithographized” (especially if there is any representing him as Lord Chancellor); if I am not mistaken I have seen his portrait in copper in the London Mechanics’ Institution. I therefore hope it is yet to be had”. The following month, Coates responded that:

The only good portrait of Lord Brougham is one recently published & sold only to publishers. It is from a portrait of Sir Thomas Lawrence & is the finest specimen of Engraving that I ever saw, but it is rather expensive viz £ 3.3.0 & I will not purchase it for you until you shall have authorised me to do so. It will then give me great pleasure to procure it & see it carefully packed for you.

Instead of the coveted portrait of Brougham as Lord Chancellor, the one Coates here recommends appears to be an engraving by William Walker (1791–1867)

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74 Peter Adam Wallmark, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (13 August, 1832), Lund University Library.
75 For example Göteborgs allehanda (20 November, 1832): 4; Dagligt allehanda (24 October, 1832): 3.
76 Frans Anton Ewerlöf, Letter to Thomas Coates (3 February 1832), University College London Special Collections.
77 Thomas Coates, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (17 March 1832), Lund University Library.
from 1830, after the portrait made by Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), which had been painted five years previously.\(^\text{78}\)

Notwithstanding Coates’ recommendation, the portrait ultimately selected for the Swedish translation appears to have been the one Ewerlöf originally wished for, which probably was a mezzotint engraving published in 1831 by John George Murray and by John Porter, after a portrait painted by Robert Bowyer (1758–1834).\(^\text{79}\) Extant letters do not provide complete information on how that portrait was obtained, but Wallmark was able to borrow a copy from England, and in the early autumn of 1832, a skilled lithographer in Stockholm produced the version used for the frontispiece. This method was used to cut costs; according to Wallmark, a copper plate would be too expensive.\(^\text{80}\) Their wish to ‘embellish’ the translation with a portrait of Brougham as Lord Chancellor is a concrete manifestation of the independence assumed by Ewerlöf and Wallmark vis-à-vis the source text. This adaptation must also be seen in relation to the perceived influence that the gravitas of the author of the source would lend to the Swedish publication, a gravitas which would be extended to include the translator’s own additions.

A central paratextual element in Brougham’s text is his dedication to George Birkbeck, which serves as a preface, clarifying the background of the book. Interestingly, that dedication is not included in the Swedish translation; in its place, Ewerlöf’s own preface introduces the Swedish reader to Brougham’s book, to the translation project, as well as to its hoped-for implications for Swedish popular education. Ewerlöf explains that instead of translating the full text, his aim has been to share the main features of British popular education as presented by Brougham, in combination with his own notes from his travels to England. He hastens to add that what has been left out from the original is of no overall importance, and that his additions provide ‘en enkel framställning af hvad jag på stället sett och erfarit’ [a simple presentation of what I have seen and experienced in that place [i.e. England]].\(^\text{81}\)

One result of Ewerlöf assuming the role of commentator on the text he translates is that towards the end of the translation, Brougham’s text actually metamorphoses into Ewerlöf’s own treatise: ‘de sanna och kraftiga ord, hvarmed Brougham slutar den skrift, som föranledt närvarande uppsats, skola till alla delar finna tillämpning i Sverige’ [the true and powerful words with which Brougham ends the text, which has brought about the present essay, will in all respects be

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80 Wallmark, Letter to Frans Anton Ewerlöf (13 August 1832), Lund University Library.
81 Brougham, preface to Om folkbildning.
When Ewerlöf at this late stage of the text translates passages from Brougham’s book, he does so by referring to Brougham’s text with phrases like ‘jag citerar’ [I quote] and ‘tillägger Hr Brougham’ [Mr Brougham adds]. Ewerlöf’s role as translator thus merges with that of writer, not only in the parts of the book that have been based on his own observations, and thus been penned by himself, but also in the passages that have been transferred from Brougham’s source text.

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century Sweden was receptive to British romantic-period ideas about education, and translation was a key medium for such transnational contacts and influences. Ewerlöf was one of many Swedish nineteenth-century social campaigners who employed translation as a means of expressing his own concerns and ideas. In Brougham’s *Practical Observations*, Ewerlöf found a vehicle for his own observations on adult education, and his Swedish translation of Brougham’s book provides a unique insight into the workings of such translation practices. Ewerlöf’s translation was intimately connected with his desire to establish a programme for practical education in Sweden and crossed the boundaries of genre to offer a foreigner’s assessment of what had transpired in Britain after Brougham wrote the book. Although not nearly so successful as the original, the significance of Ewerlöf’s translation should not be underestimated as it was instrumental to the work done by Ewerlöf and his colleagues in blazing a path for Swedish popular education. It thus marks a significant point of contact between one of the most prominent political figures of the romantic period in Britain and the development of educational theory in Sweden.

Coda

This essay has taken a historical approach, focussing on the material circumstances underlying the transnational relocation of Brougham’s programme for popular education from Britain to Sweden. However, text transfers such as the one exemplified in Ewerlöf’s mediation of Brougham also lend themselves to investigations from a translation studies perspective, especially since translations with a purpose are arguably co-authored by the translator. In this brief

82 Ibid., 105.
83 Ibid., 105, 108.
84 A common position within translation studies is that translations per definition are inter-
coda, I want to consider the light that translation studies can shed on the Ewerlöf-Brougham case.

Since an ideologically motivated translation expresses not only the agenda of the source text author but also that of the translator and other agents involved in relocating the text, the purpose of a translation is central to the changes that take place in the process of translation. This is especially so when the translation is of a high-profile text: one which was presented as innovative and even radical when first introduced to a new audience. Translations of reform texts are thus never merely linguistic transfers from one language to another; they also include the relocation and, indeed, adaptation of certain foreign ideas. When the translator’s own ideological objectives and expertise are closely linked to the purpose of the translation, the result takes the form of an adaptation in which the translator assumes co-authorship of the translated text.  

If we approach Ewerlöf’s translation of Brougham’s *Practical Observations* from a translation studies perspective, it is evident that the translator assumes a certain level of authorship. It is, however, also essential for Ewerlöf – and for the success of his translation – that the reader remains aware of the standing of the original author, since his name is the selling point of the work. Ewerlöf’s voice amalgamates with the authorial voice of Brougham’s text in a way that readers of the translation would not have been able to distinguish. An example of how intricately Ewerlöf, by taking on such an authorial voice, merges his roles of translator and commentator is found in the very beginning of the translation. Brougham opens his book thus:

*I begin by assuming that there is no class of the community so entirely occupied with labour as not to have an hour or two every other day at least, to bestow upon the pleasure and improvement to be derived from reading … Let us consider how the attainment of this inestimable advantage may be most successfully promoted.*

In Ewerlöf’s translation, the opening first personal pronoun ‘I’ becomes ‘Herr Brougham’ [Mr Brougham], and the exhortative ‘Let us consider’ is altogether removed in favour of a declaration of the translator’s purpose: ‘Huru denna oskattbara fördel med mesta framgång skall kunna emås, är föremålet för närvarande undersökning’ [How this inestimable advantage may be most successfully promoted].

85 For a discussion on the notion of translators as co-authors, see Cecilia Wadsö Lecaros, ‘Who is the author of the translated text? The Swedish translation of Dinah Mulock’s *A Woman’s Thoughts about Women*’, in Hanne Jansen and Anna Wegener, eds., *Authorial and Editorial Voices in Translation*, vol. 2 (Montreal: Vita Traductiva, 2013).

cessfully attained is the object of the present investigation]. From the very first line, Ewerlöf thus comments on the text he translates. Throughout the translation, a wavering use of pronouns is noticeable, which leads to a displacement of the authorial ‘I’, in that it shifts from indicating the implied author of the source text to that of an implied translator, to use Schiavi’s term. In the opening sentences of the translation, the original authorial voice has been reduced to a third-person referral, and as the text proceeds, Ewerlöf progressively takes over as author of the text.

The voices of nineteenth-century translators of social reform texts, whose reason for translating was to achieve change in their own country, often go beyond the role of the implied translator. The translator’s authorial ‘I’ will then merge with the authorial voice of the source text. What makes Ewerlöf’s translation stand out is the use he made of the seven-year gap between the source text and the translation. Instead of simply adapting the text for his intended audience, Ewerlöf added another layer to the text by letting his own voice comment, in retrospect, as it were, on the source text, in order to bring it up to date.

The changes that nineteenth-century reform texts went through in translation regarding contents, style, and tone were rarely advertised to the reader. As a result, translators were able to use foreign texts not only to introduce foreign ideas but also to promote their own thoughts. In the nineteenth century, most readers would encounter foreign authors and their ideas in translation, and the fact that these translations were ideological statements of their own is a circumstance which needs to be considered in research based on historical text materials.

87 Brougham, *Om folkbildning*, 1.