4 Transnational Mark Twain

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“Travel,” Mark Twain wrote, “is fatal to prejudice, bigotry, and narrow-mindedness, and many of our people need it sorely on these accounts.” 1 Twain, who spent a third of his life living outside the United States, was one of America’s first truly cosmopolitan writers, as at home in the world as he was in his own country. His works traveled widely as well: they have been translated into virtually every language in which books are printed. Twain critics, however, have largely confined their gaze to a relatively parochial, easy-to-access body of material: writing on Twain published in English and the original English-language versions of his texts.

When it comes to this focus, the critics are not out of step with their colleagues, even those at the forefront of efforts to make American literary studies more transnational. However, during the past fifteen years, in both monographs and anthologies of primary and secondary materials, scholars have increasingly focused on American literature in languages other than English. Works by Merle Bachman, Nicholas Kanellos, Mark Shell, Werner Sollors, Hana Wirth-Nesher, Xiao-huang Yin, and others have helped make it possible for what I call the transnational turn in American studies to embrace American literature originally written in Spanish, French, Chinese, Yiddish and other languages and have drawn our attention to the ways in which other languages have inflected the timbres and tones of American literature in English. 2 This work has succeeded in making us-based scholars more attentive to voices that were previously beyond their hearing and has helped reduce the damage that an English-only myopia has inflicted on our field since its start.

But this ferment of multilingual recovery and recognition has been limited by self-imposed restrictions rooted in genre and geography, privileging fiction and poetry written within the boundaries of what is now the United States. This essay explores what we can learn by focusing on a different
geography and different genres. Its geographical focus is on work published in languages other than English outside of the United States. The genres it considers are translations of American literary texts on the one hand, and critical writing on American literature on the other hand. These geographical and generic choices open up to our scrutiny vast continents of writing that critics of American literature have previously ignored. What kinds of questions does this body of writing challenge us to ask? I will take as my case study writing about and translations of work by Mark Twain.

Writers and critics around the world have been writing about Twain for at least 140 years in languages other than English, but US-based critics have been largely oblivious to this body of work. And although Twain’s works began to be translated soon after they first appeared, the topic of translation has received relatively little critical attention from Twain scholars. This essay will probe the ways in which recently translated writing about Twain that was originally published in Chinese, Danish, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish, Russian, or Yiddish can help us understand both Twain’s achievement as a writer and his impact on world literature. The essay will also explore what we can learn about how American literature travels when it leaves home by examining some of the decisions, elisions, and misprisions involved in translating Twain into French, German, Japanese, and Spanish. I will then suggest how digital technologies may facilitate new insights into the cultural work that Twain’s writings have done around the world. Finally, in addition to looking at how Twain’s texts have traveled, I will explore some aspects of the impact that Twain’s own travels had on those texts to begin with. My goal is, by example, to open American literary studies to a range of new and fruitful transnational approaches and perspectives, taking Mark Twain as my case study.

If we set out to look for an American author most likely to achieve a world readership, we would be hard-pressed to find a less promising candidate, at the start of his career, than Mark Twain. Twain’s first national fame came with a sketch about a storyteller in a Western mining camp and the uptight Easterner whom this storyteller regaled with a tale about an inveterate gambler and all the animals he bet on. That story was the lead piece of Twain’s first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County and Other Sketches.* An early French reader, Thérèse Bentzon, wrote that “it was quite difficult for us to understand, in reading the [‘Jumping Frog’] story the ‘roars of laughter’ that it has brought in ‘Australia and India, New York and London,’ the title of ‘inimitable’ that it has been granted by admiring critics in the English press.” “What is most impossible to translate,” she wrote, “is the original and mordant style, the idiomatic language, a strange and
often picturesque mixture of neologism, dialect and what the Americans call \textit{slang}.”

If European readers found the idiomatic language and slang of Twain’s first book hard to penetrate, the insults he hurled at them in his second book were downright insufferable. The idea that the author of \textit{The Innocents Abroad} would one day be the toast of Europe probably seemed even more preposterous than the idea that the author of “The Jumping Frog” would one day get an honorary degree from Oxford. \textit{The Innocents Abroad}, the record of a trip Twain took to Europe in the company of a group of middle-class, middle-brow fellow Americans, was, in the opinion of the German writer Eduard Engel, “a thoroughly irritating book.” It wasn’t written for readers like him. It was written for readers back home, designed to help armchair travelers see Europe and the Holy Land as they might have seen it with their own eyes. It was designed to let Twain’s fellow Americans see Europe at his side, learning something along the way, but not in a manner that constantly reminded them of how new their own country was and how lacking in all the conventional trappings of civilization. Recall Henry James’s lament about all that was absent from American life—no sovereign, no court, no palaces, no castles, no manors, etc. Of course Americans had an inferiority complex about Europe. \textit{The Innocents Abroad} was designed to let Americans feel unself-conscious before the great icons of European culture—to let them learn something about the Old World while keeping their self-respect. Engel was not amused. Writing in 1880, he found the book crude and “unforgiveable,” and he opined that “if the muses are in favor of Mark Twain, they will not allow him to cross the Atlantic again.”

Twain expected readers in Europe to hate \textit{Innocents Abroad}. The book was garnering largely positive reviews from newspapers across the United States when, in October 1870, Twain read in the \textit{Boston Advertiser} that a solemn, serious critique of the English edition of his book had just appeared in the London \textit{Saturday Review}. Before he even set eyes on that review, Twain could not resist writing a parody of what a humorless, literal-minded review of his book might look like, nor could he resist publishing it in the December issue of \textit{Galaxy} in the “Memoranda” section that he edited—supposedly reprinted from the London journal. Twain’s review of his own book began like this: “Lord Macaulay died too soon. We never felt this so deeply as when we finished the last chapter of the above-named extravagant work. Macaulay died too soon—for none but he could mete out complete and comprehensive justice to the insolence, the impertinence, the presumption, the mendacity, and, above all, the majestic ignorance of this author.”

Later in the “review” Twain added: “That we have shown this to be a remarkable book, we think no one will deny. That it is a perversen book
to place in the hands of the confiding and uninformed, we think we have also shown. That the book is a deliberate and wicked creation of a diseased mind, is apparent upon every page.”

Twain confessed to the hoax in the next issue of *Galaxy*, writing that “the idea of such a literary breakfast by a stolid, ponderous British ogre of the quill was too much for a naturally weak virtue, and I went home and burlesqued it—revelled in it, I may say. I never saw a copy of the real ‘Saturday Review’ criticism until after my burlesque was written and mailed to the printer.”

The real review must have been a bit of a letdown. It contained no exasperated fulminations about “the insolence, the impertinence, the presumption, the mendacity, and . . . the majestic ignorance of this author.” Although the English critic did acknowledge that the reader of the review might be persuaded that “Mr. Twain is a very offensive specimen of the vulgarest kind of Yankee,” he added: “And yet, to say the truth, we have a kind of liking for him. There is a frankness and originality about his remarks which is pleasanter than the mere repetition of stale raptures.”

“The mere repetition of stale raptures,” as the English reviewer put it, was de rigueur in travel books of the day, but Twain’s book was different. In *The Innocents Abroad* and later works, Twain broke out of the mold with such originality that many Europeans who justly could have been offended were intrigued instead. Bentzon, who found his slang so impossible to translate, found that she couldn’t deny the “unquenchable verve” of his prose. A little over a decade later, one of her countrymen, Henry Gauthier-Villars, would be so taken with Twain’s refreshing style and the humor that infused it that he would claim Twain as a new model for the kind of writing his fellow Frenchmen should strive to produce. Gauthier-Villars had lost patience with the “precious” and “tangled-up” sentences carefully crafted by the “refined stylists” then in vogue in his country. He strongly preferred the “lively . . . incisive . . . bold irony” so abundant in Twain’s work. The first book on Mark Twain published anywhere turns out to be the one Gauthier-Villars published in French in 1884. In *Mark Twain*, Gauthier-Villars wrote: “Hello then, charming writer with no model or imitator! I bid you welcome among us, newcomer with endless verve; the sound of the hurrahs you have raised has already crossed the ocean. We have been waiting for you, for we are tired of the grubby woes that have taken over too many of our countrymen. We have not forgotten that ‘Laughter is the best medicine’ and we want to learn American humor from you, the cheerful Yankee with the ringing laugh, the inimitable Mark Twain!”

Even Engel, who found Twain’s first European travel book “thoroughly irritating,” had to admit that Twain’s comments on German in his second
European travel book were remarkably sound. Engel wrote that “the best Mark Twain has ever accomplished is his appendix to [A Tramp Abroad] titled ‘The Awful German Language.’ Here, ignorance, good humor, and wit form such a strange mixture that when reading it one really does not know if one should get angry or laugh. I preferred the latter and advise any reader of this appendix to do the same. . . . [O]ut of his mouth—as out of the mouth of children and sucklings—come some truths quite worth taking to heart.”

Engel, the great turn-of-the-century authority on German, credits Twain with having somehow aptly hit on many “a sad truth” about the language, such as when he deplores the “parenthesis disease” that allows a “sort of luminous intellectual fog” to substitute for “clearness,” or when he considers the frequently convoluted, interminable quality of German sentences. (In a later work, Twain will convey his critique of the length German sentences with admirable economy when he calls German a language in which a man can “travel all day in one sentence without changing cars.”) Engel claimed in 1880, concerning one point Twain raised, that it was “well-known” that “a reform . . . is on its way,” one that he wagered Mark Twain could witness if he “visits Germany again in another ten years.” But Valerie Bopp, who translated Engel’s comments on Twain for The Mark Twain Anthology, notes that over a century later, that reform has still not come to pass.  

Other Europeans initially appalled by what Twain had to say about them also came around eventually. “To think how he mistreated Italians in his early travel writings!” exclaimed Italian writer Livia Bruni in 1905. She quotes Twain’s description of the Civita Vecchia in The Innocents Abroad:  

The people here live in alleys two yards wide, which have a smell about them which is peculiar but not entertaining. . . . These alleys are paved with stone, and carpeted with deceased cats, and decayed rags, and decomposed vegetable-tops, and remnants of old boots, all soaked with dish-water, and the people sit around on stools and enjoy it. . . . They work two or three hours at a time, but not hard, and then they knock off and catch flies. This does not require any talent, because they only have to grab—if they do not get the one they are after, they get another. It is all the same to them. They have no partialities.
Whichever one they get is the one they want. They have other kinds of insects, but it does not make them arrogant. . . . They have more of these kind[s] of things than other communities, but they do not boast.25

Writing more than three decades after Twain wrote this, Bruni adds: “Maybe he wasn’t all that wrong, given the miserable situation in our country!”26

When I accepted an invitation to keynote a symposium on Twain in Lisbon in the fall of 2010, I rather timidly asked Teresa Alves, the colleague who invited me, whether I should avoid mentioning The Innocents Abroad, given Twain’s offensive comments about the Portuguese Azores in that book. She wrote back: “My Dear, he is completely forgiven, to the point that we are launching a translation of the book with the Symposium!”27 (This translation by Margarida Vale de Gato, A Viagem dos Inocentes, marked the first time that The Innocents Abroad was translated into Portuguese.28 When she read aloud some of the offending passages from her translation at the Lisbon symposium on October 8, 2010, the Portuguese audience’s unrestrained, raucous laughter was ample testimony to the accuracy of Alves’s view that Twain was, indeed, “completely forgiven.”)

Although it sometimes seemed as if Twain managed to find new ways of offending European readers every time he published a book, each book ultimately ended up earning him more admirers than detractors. When A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court came out, for example, the British writer William Stead daringly selected it as the Novel of the Month in the English publication Review of Reviews. He wrote that he realized that many would rebuke him for doing so, charging that the book “profaned” English institutions, that it was “not a novel” but rather “a ponderous political pamphlet, and so forth and so forth.” Nevertheless, he went on, “to those who endeavour to understand what the mass of men who speak English are thinking . . . this book of Mark Twain’s is one of the most significant of our time.” Praising the “irreverent audacity of its original conception,” Stead noted that “Mark Twain gets ‘directlier at the heart’ of the masses” than any of the “superfine literary men of culture who pooh-pooh the rough rude vigour of the American humorist.”29

Charles Darwin kept The Innocents Abroad on his bedside table, within easy reach when he wanted to clear his mind and relax at bedtime.30 Chancellor Otto von Bismarck committed favorite parts of that book to memory to share with his grandchildren. Friedrich Nietzsche offered to send Tom Sawyer to some good friends as a gift.31 Joseph Conrad often thought of Life on the Mississippi when he “was in command of a steamer in the Congo and stood straining in the night looking for snags.”32 The Nobel Laureate Kenzaburō Ōe cites Huckleberry Finn as the book that spoke so deeply to
his condition in war-torn Japan that it inspired him to write his first novel, as discussed below.

Fellow writers have long strained to convey their wonder at how Twain managed to transform the rough, raw material of American life into transcendent art. “Literature is now an occupation for gilders. It urgently needs to be an occupation for miners. The hands hurt more, but you extract, with strong hands, pure metal,” José Martí wrote after hearing Twain read from a book about to be published that turned out to be *Huckleberry Finn*. Unlike those effete gilders of the genteel tradition, Martí wrote, Twain had “been in the burning workshops where the country was forged.” Maxim Gorky wrote that Twain “has always impressed me as a blacksmith who stands at his anvil with the fire burning and strikes hard and hits the mark every time.”

Writers the world over marveled at the art Twain wrought from the speech of ordinary people—speech whose previous appearance in literature had most often been treated with ridicule. Jorge Luis Borges observed that in *Huckleberry Finn* “for the first time an American writer used the language of America without affectation”; the book, Borges believed, “taught the whole American novel to talk.” Mark Twain’s dazzling experiments with the vernacular helped inspire writers around the world to create art out of the language spoken by their countrymen—writes like Johannes Jensen, the first great modern Danish author. In 1910 Jensen wrote in an editorial in *Politiken*, a newspaper in Denmark, that “vitality is the word that almost fully covers Mark Twain’s nature. There is something singularly rested and awake about him, he rears, challenges, he is new, and there is a new world around him. His essence is a new beginning.” Jensen was proud of having imparted something akin to that vitality to his own country’s literature: in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech in 1944, he wrote, “I inspired a change in the Danish literature and press by introducing English and American vigour, which was to replace the then dominant trend of decadent Gallicism.” The Nobel Prize committee had applauded the “bold, freshly creative style” that Jensen had developed when it gave him the award; the “American vigour” and vitality Jensen attributed to Twain’s prose probably helped shape the ways in which Jensen transformed Danish writing in the twentieth century.

Multifaceted and complex, Twain appealed to diverse readers for a multitude of different reasons. As she shows in a poem she wrote in 1905, the Russian poet Marina Tsvetaeva recalled the ways in which Twain’s books about children—*Huck Finn, Tom Sawyer*, and *The Prince and the Pauper*—enticed her into intoxicating realms of the imagination (during a childhood in which her family discouraged her own aspirations as a writer, this experience proved especially important). G. K. Chesterton wrote in 1910 that
he was attracted to Twain’s “splendid explosive little stories,” in which “the excitement mounts up perpetually” as “they grow more and more comic”; Chesterton was drawn to the “mad logic” of Twain’s “wild wit” and to the “truly mountainous and almost apocalyptic” humor that he found in Twain’s work. Jesús Castellanos, a leading Cuban public intellectual a generation younger than Martí, delighted in Twain’s “delicious” “way of saying things precisely as they are not,” while Theodor Herzl, who met Twain when he was working as a journalist in Paris, found Twain’s humor “immense, overpowering, and shattering.”

Writers around the world endeavored to place Twain in their own national literary traditions, alongside the titans of world literature who were more familiar to them and their readers. The Yiddish critic Maks Eric, for example, writing in a Yiddish paper in Vilna in 1924, wrote an extended comparison of Twain with Sholem Aleichem; the Spanish novelist Angel Guerra and Martí both compared Twain with Cervantes.

William Dean Howells found it hard to account for Twain’s worldwide popularity. Referring to Twain’s humor, Howells wrote, “When I think how purely and wholly American it is, I am a little puzzled at its universal acceptance.” It is all the more remarkable that Twain won such a fervent international following when we realize that many readers around the world were often encountering his work in translations of very mixed quality. As Gauthier-Villars, the Frenchman who wrote the first book on Twain reminds us, we need to “be aware that the old Italian saying traduttore, traditore is especially true when applied to Mark Twain—to translate him is to betray him.” Gauthier-Villars cautions that translations may not “capture the joyous temerity of the American prose, or the joyous eccentricity of the expressions Twain creates from whole cloth, nor the sharp edges of the humor to which the original use of slang adds irresistible comedy.” This observation resonates with that of the Japanese writer Okakura Kakuzo, who wrote that “translation is always a treason and can at its best be only the reverse side of a brocade—all the threads are there, but not the subtlety of color or design.”

Some translations of Twain’s work were remarkably apt, as we learn from the great Chinese writer Lu Xun, widely viewed as the father of modern Chinese literature, the first author to write short stories and prose poems in the language everyday Chinese people actually speak, rather than in the traditional literary language. In 1931 Lu’s two-year-old son found an old copy of Eve’s Diary by Mark Twain in a pile of trash left by a Westerner who had just moved out of the house next door in Shanghai. Lu was entranced by both the text and Lester Ralph’s striking illustrations. He asked a friend, Li Lan, to translate the book into Chinese, and she did. Lu wrote
the preface to the Chinese edition of *Eve’s Diary*, which was first published in a small edition later that year, the first book-length publication of Twain’s work in Chinese. Lu said that the “translator’s faithful, simple and natural rendering” of Twain’s language would lead people to almost think that “it wouldn’t have been any better if Eve had kept her diary in Chinese.”

But the felicitous result of Li’s translation of *Eve’s Diary* could not have been more different than the experience of one of Twain’s early Japanese translators, Hara Hoitsuan. Indeed, as Indra Levy tells us, Hara’s efforts to translate Twain constitute an episode of early twentieth-century literary history that has long lived in infamy as a cautionary tale among scholars of translation studies in Japan. Levy’s 2011 article, titled “Comedy Can Be Deadly: Or, How Mark Twain Killed Hara Hoitsuan,” tells us that in April 1903 *Asahi Shimbun* published a translation of a burlesque by Twain called “The Killing of Julius Caesar ‘Localized,’” by Hara, a best-selling translator. Levy writes: “This minor translation of a minor text by a world-famous American author quickly sparked a knock-down, drag-out fight between Hara and another translator, Yamagata Iso’o.”

Yamagata attacked Hara for having failed to understand both Twain’s sense of humor and the moral purpose behind it. Levy observes: “In response to Hara’s dismissals of both the humor and the sense of justice he has imputed to Twain, Yamagata makes the following claim: ‘by looking at his humorous writings [kokkei bunshō, glossed with the transliteration yūmorasu raichingusu], the person who is truly capable of understanding humor should be able to see that in his jokes he satirizes the dark side of life and lambastes the hypocrisy of people, that there are hot tears within the laughter, and moral indignation within the quips.’” In Yamagata’s formulation, Levy notes, “there is nothing particularly admirable in the literary provocation of laughter for its own sake, and he thus dismisses the Japanese tradition of comic fiction as nothing more than pandering to the vulgar tastes of an unenlightened public. What distinguishes the humorous writings of an author like Twain is a deeper critical purpose, one informed by ‘hot tears’ and ‘moral indignation.’ He thus brands Hara’s understandable failure to ‘get’ a rather elaborate foreign joke as a mark of his intellectual, cultural, and even spiritual inferiority.”

As Levy tells us, Yamagata was incensed by Hara’s failure to grasp Twain’s subtle sense of humor and decided to deliver a final, devastating slam: an annotated retranslation of the same text, published in book form along with the original text itself and a blow-by-blow account of his altercation with Hara, replete with verbatim citations from both sides. Within a year of the publication of Yamagata’s book, Hara was committed to a psychiatric hospital, reportedly as a result of a suicide attempt. He died eight months later. This sensational tale of one translator’s demise “has become
the stuff of legend in the annals of Meiji literary history.” Levy’s startling paper limns a complicated answer to the question of how a translator’s “descent into madness and death” could be connected to “his failure to convey an essentially foreign sense of what is funny.”

Although later Japanese translators of Twain avoided Hara’s tragic fate, they nonetheless sometimes produced seriously flawed translations. Tsuyoshi Ishihara describes some of the changes that Kuni Sasaki made when he translated Tom Sawyer as a book for Japanese children.

For instance, Sasaki deleted the well-known scene in which Tom and Becky say “I love you” and exchange kisses, after which Tom reveals to Becky’s dismay that she is not the first girl to whom he has been engaged. In Sasaki’s version there is no engagement, no “I love you,” and no kisses. Instead, Tom tries to win Becky’s affection by promising that he will invite her to his circus every day when he becomes a clown. “Sasaki’s alteration,” Ishihara continues, “seems reasonable in light of the conservative tradition in Japanese children’s literature and the differences in the custom of courtship between America and Japan. To say ‘I love you’ is still embarrassing for most Japanese.” Despite these changes, Ishihara notes, Sasaki’s introduction of “bad boy” figures like Tom and Huck to “contemporary Japanese children’s literature,” where no equivalent tradition of bad-boy stories existed, “was truly revolutionary.” “Most of the boys in Japanese stories,” Ishihara tells us, “were loyal, well-tamed children without much vitality.” Sasaki’s translation of Tom Sawyer “opened up Japanese children’s literature to fresh perspectives.” Sasaki’s translation of Huckleberry Finn, in contrast, so sentimentalized Huck and made him so respectable that the Huck first encountered by readers of Japanese would be hard for a reader of English to even recognize.

Sasaki’s version of Jim is even more removed from Twain’s. Sasaki simply omits two of Jim’s most important scenes in the novel—the scene where he rebukes Huck for fooling with him after they’re separated in the fog, after which Huck forces himself to apologize, and the scene where Jim recalls, with deep shame, the time he beat his little daughter ‘Lizbeth for not doing as she was told before he realized that she was deaf. In addition, Sasaki simply omits exchanges that are central to the book’s satirical look at racism—such as the famous exchange between Huck and Aunt Sally about the steamboat explosion. (Lest we judge Sasaki too harshly, it is worth pointing out that many readers in the United States in this period also misunderstood the book’s satire on racism.)

It is fortunate that a much more accurate Japanese translation of Huckleberry Finn by Tameji Nakamura appeared in 1941. It was this inexpensive paperback edition from a prestigious Japanese publisher that Kenzaburō
Ōe read as a young boy in the remote mountain village of Shikoku. His mother managed to barter some rice for a copy of this book, telling her son that his father, who had passed away the year before, had said that it was “the best novel for a child or for an adult.” Since Japan was then at war with the United States, his mother warned Ōe that “if your teacher ask you who is the author, you must answer that Mark Twain is the pseudonym of a German writer.”57 After the war, when Ōe read the book again—this time in English—he called it “a work that ‘opened the door to the world of literature’ for him.”58 Ōe’s translator, John Nathan, notes that “it was Huck’s moral courage, literally Hell-bent, that ignited his imagination. For Ōe the single most important moment in the book was always Huck’s agonized decision not to send Miss Watson a note informing her of Jim’s whereabouts and to go instead to Hell. With that fearsome resolution to turn his back on his times, his society, and even his god, Huckleberry Finn became the model for Ōe’s existential hero.”59 When I met Ōe in Austin, Texas, in 1996, and asked him whether his first book, The Prize (or The Catch), was a direct response to Twain’s most famous novel, Ōe wrote in my copy of a book by him that I had brought for him to sign, “Yes, I agree with your opinion about Huck, the narrative of my first novel is under the shadow of Huck.” The Japanese scholar Shoji Goto “has suggested that since Ōe’s works have had a tremendous impact on postmodern Japanese literature,” Huckleberry Finn, through Ōe, has played an important role in the development of that literature as well.60

By far the vast majority of translators of Huckleberry Finn fail to meet the challenge of translating the multiple dialects Twain crafted with such painstaking care, noting: “In this book a number of dialects are used, to wit: the Missouri negro dialect; the extremest form of the backwoods Southwestern dialect; the ordinary ‘Pike County’ dialect; and four modified varieties of this last. The shadings have not been done in a haphazard fashion, or by guesswork; but painstakingly, and with the trustworthy guidance and support of personal familiarity with these several forms of speech.”61 Sometimes, as is the case with a 1944 Spanish translation of the book by G. López Hipkiss, the translator states a reason for this: “Creamos en la mente del lector una impression falsa. El carácter de los personajes sera español y no extranjero” (We create a false impression in the mind of the reader. The characters would become Spanish and not foreign.)62 More commonly, translators simply omit the dialect without explanation, as Sasaki did when he translated the book into standard Japanese, or as is the case in twelve of the thirteen Spanish-language editions of the novel that Jessica Harris examined.

Occasionally, however, a translator came up with a creative alternative to
at least a part of the dialect issue. Although Andrés Mateo’s 1967 Spanish translation of *Huckleberry Finn* published in Mexico has Huck speak standard Spanish, Harris demonstrates that he has Jim and several of the other African American characters in the book speak a variant of Spanish that is markedly different from the Spanish that Huck speaks. Harris argues persuasively that “Mateo’s translation of Jim’s speech is based in reality, on an actual, observable Mexican dialect of Spanish as it is described in an anthropological report by Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán,” who in 1958 studied a community in Oaxaca of “descendants of African slaves brought by the Spanish conquistadores to supplement the slave labor provided by the indigenous peoples of what is now Mexico.”63 In Harris’s view, “Jim’s dialectal Spanish as written by Andrés Mateo exhibits too many of the features of Spanish dialect described in *Cuicla* for the similarity to be coincidental.” Harris believes that Mateo consciously chose “a dialect spoken by africano-mexicanos” for Jim. She writes: “By attempting a dialectal form of Spanish for Jim’s speech, Andrés Mateo retains some of Twain’s original vernacular energy. By basing Jim’s dialect on an actual, spoken dialect, Mateo follows even the spirit of Twain’s explanation of his dialects as written according to observation and experience. And by choosing a dialect most likely spoken by the descendants of former African slaves, Mateo’s Jim would be recognizable as belonging to a formerly subjugated and persecuted class of people.”64 For Harris, Mateo’s translation succeeded where the twelve other Spanish translations she examined failed.

Francisco José Tenreiro made a similarly creative choice when crafting the speech of black characters in his Portuguese translation of *Huckleberry Finn*. Tenreiro, who was born in São Tomé, was a respected African poet (as well as a geographer) who was inspired by the Francophone poet Aimé Césaire as well as by Langston Hughes. Tenreiro is credited with having introduced the concept of negritude to Afro-Portuguese poetry. In his translation of *Huckleberry Finn*, Jim and other black characters speak in a Cape Verde dialect.65

Scholars working in French and German are increasingly looking at the ways in which the asymmetrical or symmetrical forms of address that Jim and Huck use for each other in translations of the book have changed over time, reflecting, in part, changes in racial attitudes in the French-speaking, Spanish-speaking, and German-speaking countries in which translations have been published. While early French translations of *Huckleberry Finn* undercut the novel’s subversive critiques in various ways, including having Jim use the formal *vous* to address Huck while Huck used the informal *tu* in addressing Jim, Ronald Jenn notes that Susanne Nétillard’s 1948 translation for the Communist publishing house, Les Éditions Hier et Aujourd’hui
departed from this pattern, having both Jim and Huck use *tu*. Jenn writes that Nétillard made “every effort to render the linguistic subtleties of the novel” and “painstakingly worked at rendering the polyphony of the original.” Judith Lavoie has similarly high praise for the superiority of Nétillard’s translation to those that preceded it. Raphaele Berthele has conducted analogous research on changes in the representation of Jim’s speech in the history of German translations of the novel.

According to statistics only through 1976, Twain’s books have been published in fifty-five countries and translated into seventy-two foreign languages. According to Robert Rodney, who gathered these numbers, Twain was enormously popular from early in his career in Germany (with Swiss and Austrian audiences reading German editions of his work). Indeed, by 1976 over six hundred German-language editions of Twain’s works had been issued, along with over 500 Spanish-language editions and “well over two hundred editions each in French and Italian, and almost two hundred in Swedish, over one hundred in Dutch for the Netherlands and Belgium, and more than one hundred editions each in Danish and Portuguese, with a large output of the latter in Brazil.” In addition to enjoying tremendous audiences in English-speaking countries—Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—Twain was particularly popular in Spain, Italy, Russia, Yugoslavia, Japan, France, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, Brazil, and India. He also had sustained popularity during various periods in Mexico, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Turkey, Romania and Israel. Rodney notes that Twain also reached substantial audiences in at least twenty-three other countries—including Norway, Iceland, Chile, Columbia, Uruguay, and China. After World War II, multiple editions of Twain’s work were published in Cuba, Albania, Greece, Iran, Egypt, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan, and Korea; there were more than a hundred Serbo-Croatian editions of his work; and by the 1960s at least one edition of his work had been published in Peru, Morocco, Ceylon, Burma, Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand, with translations appearing in Burmese, Tagalog, Indonesian, Malay and Thai. Rodney notes that in the twentieth century, Twain’s major works were translated into Polish, Finnish, Yiddish, Bohemian, Magyar, Bulgarian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, Albanian, Macedonian, Greek, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian, among others. Between 1950 and 1976 there were at least thirty-nine editions of Twain’s works published in Turkish and at least twenty-four Hebrew editions, and there were translations into Arabic and Farsi as well. *Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn*, and *The Prince and the Pauper* were the most frequently translated works. Rodney notes that “after Indian independence in 1947,” *Tom Sawyer* and *Huck Finn* were translated into As-
samese, Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, and Tamil, as well as other languages. Sixty-three Chinese-language editions of Twain’s works were published between 1931 and 1969, and there have been well over seventy-five editions of various works translated into Japanese. Taken collectively, Rodney reports, Twain’s novels “were published in more than thirty-four hundred international editions, his stories and sketches in more than nine hundred editions, and his travel works in approximately five hundred editions. It is safe to say that by the mid-twentieth century readers of almost all nationalities and cultures had been exposed to something from Mark Twain.” Twain’s “literary legacy” “continued to grow,” Rodney writes, “and eventually included every nationality with a publishing enterprise large enough to support the translation and publication of his writings.” It would be hard to find a writer with the geographic coverage and duration of Mark Twain.

Although Rodney does not mention this point, recent scholarship has demonstrated that foreign translations of Twain’s works are occasionally doubly translated, surely a recipe for miscommunication if ever there was one. For example, Jessica Harris notes the translator Carlos Pereyra’s 1939 complaint about the propensity of Spanish translators (with a better command of French than English) to translate Twain’s works from the French translations available to them, and Margarida Vale de Gato has noted that Portuguese translators similarly translated Twain from French translations rather than from the original English. Similarly, Xilao Li notes that a 1904 Chinese translation of “Cannibalism in the Cars” by the well-known writer and translator Chen Jinghan (under his pen name Leng Xue) turned out to be a retranslation from an unacknowledged Japanese source—in fact, from a translation by none other than the ill-fated Hara Hoitsuan! And in a 2010 article written in Japanese and published in the Japanese Journal of Mark Twain Studies, Liang Yan, a Chinese student getting her PhD from Kyushu University in Japan, notes that other works by Twain, such as “The Californian’s Tale,” were also translated not from the original English but from Japanese translations.

Certain works by Twain spoke especially to particular countries at specific moments in time. For example, as Ishihara tells us, “the undemocratic atmosphere of imperial Japan at the turn of the century significantly shaped the Japanese reception of Twain. Japan was not yet ready for Twain’s anti-authoritarian stories, such as Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. The Prince and the Pauper, on the other hand, seemed acceptable.” In a way, Ishihara writes, The Prince and the Pauper is “a story about the loyalty of subjects to a sovereign, which was a common theme in Japanese juvenile stories. Moreover, while the story denounces the undemocratic elements of feudalistic
society, reform is made from the top to the bottom. As a result, the strict social hierarchy of royal rule remains unchanged, which was quite acceptable to imperial Japan.”

The work that spoke to the Cuban revolutionary and national hero José Martí was *A Connecticut Yankee*. A few weeks after the book was published in the United States, Martí, who was living in that country at the time, wrote in *La Nación*, an Argentinian newspaper, that the book was “fueled by indignation” and that reading it made him want to congratulate its author in person. He recognized that Twain was committed as a writer and as a citizen of a democracy to values that Martí shared: both men rejected the claims of aristocracy to deference and legitimacy, both abhorred injustice, both sympathized with the downtrodden and disempowered, and both disdained writing that was pretentious and affected. Martí clearly saw in Twain a kindred spirit. Viewing *A Connecticut Yankee* as much more than a satire of medieval chivalry, Martí recognized it as compelling criticism of contemporary injustice. He wrote that Twain “makes evident—with an anger that sometimes borders on the sublime—the vileness of those who would climb atop their fellow man, feed upon his misery, and drink from his misfortune.” Twain “handles his subject with such skill,” Martí writes, that we get much more than scenes that are faithful to “that age [of] kings and bishops, villagers and serfs. [Instead] a picture emerges of that which is starting to be seen in the United States today: virtuous men who are scourged by whips, armed by nature, with only solitude and hunger, men who go forth with a pen for a lance and a book for a shield to topple the money castles of the new aristocracy. There are paragraphs in Twain’s book that make me want to set off for Hartford to shake his hand.”

Martí clearly saw Twain as a writer whose critique of the exploitative aspects of modern society paralleled Martí’s own critique in important ways. Martí also admired (and emulated) Twain’s rejection of the belabored, ornamental “gilded” literary conventions with Old World pedigrees in favor of a more rough-hewn, natural prose style better suited to the exigencies of the New World. Indeed Martí, who would title his most widely reprinted essay “*Nuestra América*” (“Our America”), referred to the author of *A Connecticut Yankee* with affection as “nuestro Mark Twain” (our Mark Twain). (Castellanos similarly claimed Twain as a kinsman from a continental standpoint, writing in 1910 that there is only “one in all the continent who can call himself truly American. . . . No one else has presented such astonishing discoveries of expression, feeling, ideas, language.”)

The Twain whom Martí celebrated as an impassioned critic of the lack of social justice in American society was also the Twain praised by writers in China and the Soviet Union for much of the twentieth century. But until
the 1990s, this Twain was largely unknown to readers in the United States. Writing in Scanlan’s Monthly in 1970, the unjustly neglected critic Maxwell Geismar penned the following indictment of the dangerously limited ways in which his fellow Americans had engaged Twain: “During the Cold War era of our culture, mainly in the 1950s although extending back into the ’40s and forward far into the ’60s, Mark Twain was both revived and castrated. The entire arena of Twain’s radical social criticism of the United States—its racism, imperialism, and finance capitalism—has been repressed or conveniently avoided by the so-called Twain scholars precisely because it is so bold, so brilliant, so satirical. And so prophetic.”85 Probably at least in part because Chinese and Soviet writers and critics lauded the Twain who was a radical social critic, American writers and critics felt free to largely ignore that Twain as a construct of Chinese and Soviet propagandists. America’s Twain, in the Americans’ view, was a writer worth celebrating not for his satire and social criticism, but for his marvelous humor. Clearly the Chinese and Soviets did find Twain’s social criticism well-suited to the propagandistic purposes for which they used it. But it is unfortunate that the rivalries of the Cold War encouraged Americans to neglect the valid aspects of Twain’s critiques.

Lao She was one the leading Chinese authors of the twentieth century. In 1960, as president of the National Association of Writers, he delivered a speech in Beijing to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Twain’s death.86 Twain was one of the few foreign writers whose works were allowed to be translated and published in China after the founding of the People’s Republic, as Xilao Li has noted. The anti-imperialist, antiwar aspects of his work were emphasized, and Lao’s speech fits this mold.87 But alongside some of the expected Cold War jargon, one finds some insightful readings of pieces by Twain that were largely unknown in the United States at the time.88 These pieces—and the ideas they put forward—would not become central to scholarship on Twain in the United States until the 1990s.

In his speech in 1960, Lao wrote that he considered Twain’s “reprimand of the imperialist aggressive powers and sympathy for the anti-colonialist Asian and African people” to be “the part of his literary heritage we should value most.”89 But American critics paid little attention to this aspect of Twain until the 1992 publication of Jim Zwick’s Mark Twain’s Weapons of Satire.90 Zwick’s book helped set in motion a process of reevaluation that continues today.91

One of the comments Lao made in his 1960 speech noted that the anti-imperialism for which Twain became well known in 1900 dates back at least to 1868: Twain, he notes, “gave strong support to the Chinese people’s fierce struggle against imperialist aggression. As early as 1868, in his
essay entitled ‘Treaty with China,’ he berated the shameless invaders for their forceful setting up of concessions.” But even to this day relatively few Americans have even heard of “Treaty with China,” an article Twain published in the New York Tribune in 1868. It is so obscure that its first reprinting since the year of its initial publication was in the spring of 2010, in the second issue of the Journal of Transnational American Studies, which also features an analysis of it by Martin Zehr.

Lao was not the only writer to fault American critics at midcentury for their neglect of Twain’s anti-imperialism. Writing in Literaturnaya Gazeta in 1959, the Soviet critic Yan Berezinsky charged that Charles Neider, in his 1959 edition of Mark Twain’s Autobiography, had allowed previously unpublished “inoffensive trifles” such as “Twain’s meditations on baldness, on the value of hair-washing,” and so on to displace Twain’s “indignant notes about the predatory wars which the United States carried on half a century ago” or his critiques of the “knights and henchmen of American expansionism.”

Lao had similarly complained that American critics were reducing a bracing, satirical social and political critic to a figure who told trivial humorous anecdotes. “Twain by no means was a mere humorist,” he said in 1960. “He was a profound and excellent satirist.” Indeed, in the United States the idea that what matters most about Twain is his humor dominated writing on Twain throughout the twentieth century and continues to do so in the twenty-first century. But as Twain himself once said, “humor must not professedly teach and it must not professedly preach, but it must do both if it would live forever.” If the extended appraisals of Twain’s long arc of anti-imperialist writing by Lao and Berezinsky had been more familiar to Americans, critics of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries might have been less prone to periodize Twain’s anti-imperialism as incorrectly as they have. For example, if Americans had been more aware of Twain’s 1868 anti-imperialist “Treaty with China” (which Lao lauded in 1960), perhaps Amy Kaplan would have recognized the error of her assertion that Twain was aligned with pro-imperialist forces until the last decade or so of his life, an attitude that, she argued, was central to making him the writer he became.

John Carlos Rowe warns us that “Twain’s public statements about his ‘change of mind’ about imperialism belie “the continuity of his thinking about imperialism from Connecticut Yankee to his overtly anti-imperialist satires of the period 1898–1905.” But “Treaty with China” suggests that he began expressing anti-imperialist views twenty years before he published A Connecticut Yankee. “The great achievement” of Twain’s “critique of European and emerging U.S. imperialisms,” should not be trivialized, Rowe warns,
adding that few of Twain’s peers “were able to understand and even fewer were willing to challenge the emerging imperium of the United States.” The Chinese and Soviet critics Lao and Bereznitzky focused on precisely these issues decades before US critics began pay them serious attention.

The proliferation of digitization around the world offers some potentially exciting opportunities for exploring in fresh ways the kinds of issues this essay has raised. Technology that allows us to digitize both translations of and commentaries on Twain from the nineteenth century to the present, combined with technology that allows us to locate these publications at the geographical sites where they were written or published, can make it possible for us to engage in transnational, comparative, and multilingual studies that would have been much more difficult in an earlier era. I coined the acronym DPMPs (or “Deep Maps”) to refer to what I call Digital Palimpsest Mapping Projects, a concept I describe in an article in the Journal of Transnational American Studies. In nodes on an interactive map, Deep Maps would embed links to archival texts, images, and interpretive materials in different locations and different languages. To construct such maps, scholars would mine digital archives around the world for material to include as links, using the durable URL of the text or image in the digital archive in which it resides, as well as additional relevant source information. Scholars would also scan previously undigitized materials and put them online. Ideally, the materials would be accessible at no cost to as broad an international audience as possible and would be available as pedagogical tools to any teacher or student with access to the Internet. Deep Maps would be palimpsests in that they would allow multiple versions of events, texts, and phenomena to be written over each other—with each version still visible under the layers of the other versions. The gateway into any topic would be a geographical map. Deep Maps would be projects rather than products because they would be open-ended, collaborative works in progress.

I have begun to collaborate with colleagues around the world on a Deep Map called Global Huck that would make it easier to explore in comparative ways many of the kinds of materials discussed in this essay. While existing digitized translations of Huckleberry Finn would be the most convenient texts to link to, it might also be possible (under fair use) to digitize portions of previously undigitized translations for inclusion on the Deep Map. If the same key sections of the novel were digitized across an array of different languages and translations from different periods, scholars would be able to pursue comparative studies of them in ways that were previously prohibitively difficult. And links to selective commentaries on these translations would provide scholars with road maps to help them understand
the cultural work the translations have done in the countries in which they were published. Colleagues with whom I am collaborating on Global Huck include Selina Lai (Hong Kong University), who is an expert on Chinese translations; Tsuyoshi Ishihara (Waseda University), who is an expert on Japanese translations; Seema Sharma (Mumbai University) and Aparajita Nanda (University of California, Berkeley), who are exploring Hindi and Bengali translations; Paula Harrington (Colby College), who is pursuing a systematic study of French translations; Eleftheria Arapoglu (University of California, Davis), who is exploring Greek translations; Chris Suh (Stanford University), who is examining Korean translations; and Aruni Kashyap (a writer from Guwahati), who is examining an Assamese translation. Global Huck might be one website or a portal to linked websites. The idea would be to bring together in one place as many digitized translations of the book as possible—either housed on the site or available through links to the institutions that digitized the text, using maps as a gateway—as well as links to both critical commentary on the book in a range of languages and covers and illustrations with metadata about them. Ideally, it would be possible to take a specific passage in the book—such as Pap’s “Call this a guvment” speech—and make it easy for users to look at multiple translations within one language and across many languages, as well as critical discussions of those translations. The Omeka platform, developed at the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media at George Mason University, is one promising platform for Global Huck. It was developed for archivists and has a template for inputting all of the relevant metadata; it is also fairly simple to use. It has the advantage of allowing multiple scholars in different locations to upload texts in different languages, which can then be organized into exhibits based on a particular time period or geographical region. In addition, Omeka has developed an interface with the Neatline platform built by the University of Virginia, which may make it increasingly easy to show the geographical location of archival materials on maps. Omeka may well become the technology of choice for Deep Maps. But other platforms may be useful, as well.

There is a growing interest in translation studies, suggesting that now is the right time to launch a project like Global Huck. Princeton University has recently instituted a major in translation and intercultural communication; the University of Michigan, Kent State University, and the University of California, Santa Barbara, offer PhDs in translation studies; and Stanford recently established a translation studies minor.

While, for a range of reasons, Global Huck might be the best place to start when it comes to Deep Maps involving Mark Twain, it is certainly not the place to stop. There would be clear advantages to having scholars
collaborate on a Global Twain project that would bring together a range of translations and critical studies. As I noted above, many Spanish and Portuguese translations were made from earlier French translations rather than English originals, and a number of Chinese translations were made from Japanese translations. Making the different generations of translations available in one place might yield interesting insights into what happens when translators play the multilingual equivalent of the game of telephone. The growth over the past few years in a range of crowd-sourced translation ventures suggests that engaging scores of people around the globe in analyzing the choices that translators made in various editions of *Huck Finn* might not be the chimera it may appear to be, as Dana Oshiro’s overview in 2009 makes clear.\(^{102}\) Enterprises like the ones Oshiro discusses could serve as models for Twain scholars around the globe when it comes to identifying and translating the most important criticism on *Huck Finn* that has been published in languages other than English. It could also suggest some ways of crowd-sourcing the annotation of the potentially hundreds or even thousands of translations that could eventually be digitized and made available to a global audience. Throughout his career, Twain was intrigued—as well as horrified—by the fate of his texts in translation, as is clear from his piece in *Sketches New and Old* titled “The ‘Jumping Frog.’ In English. Then in French. Then Clawed Back into a Civilized Language Once More By Patient, Unremunerated Toil.”\(^ {103}\) And Twain, a celebrated early adopter, was famously captivated by technology. Global Huck and Global Twain Deep Maps would honor Twain’s fascination with languages and technology as they would encourage scholars around the world to pioneer in melding technology, translation, and comparative cultural studies in fresh and engaging ways.\(^ {104}\)

Mark Twain traveled throughout the world more than any other American writer of his era. His travels helped give him global perspectives on such issues such as racism, imperialism, and anti-Semitism.\(^ {105}\) It was often when he was abroad that he gained the clearest understanding of his own country. For example, when he was in Bombay in 1896, the sight of a German abusing a native servant triggered memories of similar scenes involving the abuse of slaves that he had witnessed during his childhood in the South.\(^ {106}\) He had not described those scenes from his childhood in print before. It was only when he was about as far away from Hannibal, Missouri, as he could be that he was able to write about the brutality he had witnessed there half a century before.\(^ {107}\)

The time Twain spent outside the United States was key to the enlargement of his moral awareness. The anti-Semitism he observed in the Reichs-
rath of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the Dreyfus affair resonated with the racism that fueled lynchings in the United States, and with the racist assumptions that underlay Western powers’ imperialism in Asia and Africa. Prejudice, racism, the exercise of unjust authority—these qualities crossed borders, and as Twain had the chance to see them in a range of contexts, his insights into the dynamics of these phenomena were sharpened profoundly.

Twain viewed travel as the best antidote to “prejudice, bigotry and narrow-mindedness,” believing that “broad, wholesome, charitable views of men and things can not be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the earth all one’s lifetime.” As Richard Bridgman has noted, travel “had powerful attractions for a skeptical intelligence like Twain’s. Its formal displacements generated the very situations that produce humor: values clashed, perspectives underwent abrupt shifts, and around the next corner, surprise.” Twain’s traveling had a profound impact on the development of his understanding of world affairs, on his sensibilities as a writer, and on his compassion toward his fellow human beings. One of his most important stories, “The War-Prayer,” which was not published until after his death, is rooted, as the critic Hua Hsu tells us, “in the lessons one learns looking beyond borders, studying the dynamics of international power and politics and noting the hypocrisy of spreading ideas like freedom, liberty and salvation by force.” Hsu goes on to suggest that “it isn’t merely the creation of a great humorist or social critic; it is the creation of one of American culture’s great travelers. Roughing it on the road, Twain achieved insights into the human condition and the tenuousness of national affiliations that were unavailable to his more provincial peers.” Hsu believes that “the success of ‘The War-Prayer’ as a cogent and prescient piece of criticism calls for a reappraisal of Twain as a trans-Pacific traveler, an American with a consciously global viewpoint.”

Twain’s travels allowed him to make connections and recognize patterns that others did not. They allowed him to witness myriad forms of prejudice, hatred, and injustice promulgated by so-called civilized nations. (“There are many humorous things in the world,” he wrote in Following the Equator. “Among them is the white man’s notion that he is less savage than the other savages.”) And they allowed him to question the idea of American exceptionalism with the characteristic confidence and wit he deployed to challenge so many other pieties: “I think that there is but a single specialty with us, only one thing that can be called by the wide name ‘American.’ That is the national devotion to ice-water.”

Mark Twain’s works have traveled more widely than those of any other American author, and travel was central to the development of his thinking and of his art, a key factor in shaping his rejection of American exception-
alism and his embrace of a border-crossing compassion and openness to cultures beyond his own. For these reasons and others, it is appropriate to allow Twain’s writings to inspire some of our boldest efforts to forge new border-crossing, transnational habits of scholarship.

Notes


3. The recently translated pieces cited in this essay are all translations that I commissioned as editor of The Mark Twain Anthology: Great Writers on His Life and Works (New York: Library of America, 2010).


6. Ibid., 28. “Slang” appears in English in the original.


8. Ibid., 31.

10. Ibid., 22.
15. Henry Gauthier-Villars quotation from his Mark Twain, translated by Shelley Fisher Fishkin in The Mark Twain Anthology, ed. Fishkin, 56.
17. Ibid.
25. Quoted in ibid., 110.
26. Ibid., 112.
30. Sir Harry Britain relates Darwin’s comments on this subject (comments relayed


34. Ibid., 50.


43. Maks Erik, excerpt from Tog (Vilna), May 23 and 30, 1924; translated by Zachary M. Baker as “From ‘Sholem Aleichem and Mark Twain: Notes on the Eighth Anniversary of Sholem Aleichem’s Death,’” in The Mark Twain Anthology, ed. Fishkin, 151–57.

44. Angel Guerra, excerpt from Prólogo: Mark Twain, Cuentos Escogidos (Madrid: Libreria Moderna, 1903); translated by Edward M. Test as “From ‘Prologue to Mark Twain: Selected Tales,’” in The Mark Twain Anthology, ed. Fishkin, 105; José Martí, “Escenas Norteamericanas,” La Nación (Buenos Aires), February 20, 1890, reprinted in Obras Completas de Martí (Havana: Editorial Trópico, 1941), 38:186; translated by


47. Ibid.


49. Lu Xun, excerpt from *Xiawariji “Xiaoyin”* (A short introduction to “Eve’s Diary”) (Shanghai, 1931); translated by Gongzhao Li as “Preface to Mark Twain, ‘Eve’s Diary,’” in *The Mark Twain Anthology*, ed. Fishkin, 174.


52. Ibid., 341.

53. Ibid., 329.


57. Quoted in ibid., 59.

58. Ibid.


64. Harris, “When the Right Word Is Not Enough,” 51.

65. Mark Twain, *As Aventuras de Huckleberry Finn*, trans. Francisco José Tenreiro, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Inquérito, 973). I am grateful to Isabel Caldeira for bringing this translation to my attention, and to Isabel Oliveira Martins for having shown it to me in the
exhibit she produced with Maria De Deus Duarte at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal on October 9, 2010. See the exhibit catalogue, Isabel Oliveira Martins and Maria de Deus Alves Duarte, *Mark Twain em Portugal* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2010).


70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., xxvi.

72. Ibid., xliii.

73. Ibid., xxiii.


76. Liang Yan, “The Californian’s Tale’ no chugokugo-yaku ‘Yamaga-kigu’ ni kansuru kenkyu” (A study of “The Californian’s Tale” in Chinese translation), *Mark Twain: kenkyu to bibyo* (Journal of Mark Twain Studies) (Japan) 9 (April 2010): 86–93. I first heard about Liang’s work from Tsuyoshi Ishihara, a professor at Waseda University, who is mentoring her work on Twain. I met Liang when I lectured in Fukuoka, Japan, in September, 2010, and she gave me a copy of her article.


78. Ibid.


80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., 53–54.

82. Ibid. 48–53.


84. Castellanos, “Mark Twain,” 134.

86. Lao She, “Mark Twain: Exposer of the ‘Dollar Empire.’ A Speech by Lao She Com-memorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Death of Mark Twain,” trans. Zhao Yuming, Sui Gang, and J. R. LeMaster, *US-China Review* 19 (Summer 1995): 11–15; in *The Mark Twain Anthology*, ed. Fishkin, 283–88. Although it is undisputed that Lao She delivered this speech, and although the text is now widely credited to him in print in China, the well-known Chinese poet and scholar Yuan Kejia claimed in a Chinese journal in 1985 that he was paid to write this speech for Lao She to deliver, and that he is its actual au-thor. “In Feb. 1985, *Foreign Literature Review*, run by the Institute of Foreign Literature, China Academy of Social Sciences, published a note by Yuan Kejia, in which he pointed out the mistake in publishing, in the 4th issue of *Foreign Literature Review* in 1984 (p. 132), the essay under the name of Lao She. He also described the circumstance under which Lao She read the essay. It was read at a national conference in memory of Mark Twain in 1960. They made the agreement that Yuan was to write the essay, and Lao She was to read the essay under his name, but the payment for the writing was to go to Yuan. Yuan said in the note that it was not uncommon for one to write an essay and for another to read it under his name. But for publication, it was another matter. The essay should be given its right author’s name to avoid confusions in the future” (Gongzhao Li, personal communication, July 8, 2010).


88. The two leading exceptions to this situation in the United States were the critics Philip Foner and Maxwell Geismar. See Philip S. Foner, *Mark Twain, Social Critic* (New York: International, 1958); Maxwell Geismar, “Mark Twain and the Robber Barons” and *Mark Twain: An American Prophet* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1970). While these works by Foner and Geismar were not totally neglected, they did not generally set the agenda for scholarship when they were published. Their real impact would not be felt until the 1990s, when their approach resonated with new publications—by Jim Zwick, in particular—that underlined the importance of the texts to which they had drawn Americans’ attention two decades earlier. The fact that International Publishers, the publishing firm of the US Communist Party, published Foner’s *Mark Twain, Social Critic* may have prevented the book from setting scholars’ agendas as much as it might have. Meanwhile, Geismar was marginalized as a critic at least in part because of his progressive politics.

89. Lao, “Mark Twain,” 283–84 (emphasis added).


92. Lao, “Mark Twain,” 284.

93. Martin Zehr, “Mark Twain, ‘The Treaty with China,’ and the Chinese Connec-


95. Lao, “Mark Twain,” 287.

96. For an example of the continuation of this view in the twenty-first century, see the 2001 edition of Louis J. Budd’s 1962 book, *Mark Twain: Social Philosopher*, in which the author concludes his preface to the new edition with this comment: “Though I consider sociopolitical ideas—or the art of how we do and must live together—supremely important, we care about [Twain’s] particular questions and answers primarily because of his gift for humor” (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001, xvii).


100. Ibid., 139.


104. This discussion of Global Huck draws on three papers I delivered and the discussions that followed: “Recent Developments in Transnational American Studies,” at the Transnational Ethnic and American Studies Working Group, University of California, Berkeley, Humanities Center (October 13, 2011); “A Digital Palimpsest Mapping Project (DPMP)—‘Deep Map’—on ‘Global Huck,’” at the annual meeting of the American Literature Association (May 26, 2012, San Francisco); and “Transnational American Studies: Next Steps,” at the Hong Kong University Conference on Oceanic Archives and Trans-
national American Studies (June 6, 2012) and at the Tsinghua University Conference on Transnational American Studies as Theory and Praxis (June 7, 2012, Beijing).


108. See Fishkin, “Mark Twain and the Jews.”


112. Ibid.

113. Twain, *Following the Equator*, 213.