NOTES

Introduction


11. I refer to this geography as “the Americas” because it significantly includes the USA, the Caribbean, and what I prefer to call the Hispanic Americas. I find the term “Hispanic Americas” more congenial than the more popular “Latin America,” whose singular appeals to a cultural unity that does not exist. Consequently, I call the people who inhabit the Hispanic Americas “Hispanic Americans.” This is not to confuse them with the Latino populations in the USA, an abbreviation that also acknowledges, in a way that simply US does not, the existence of another United States, that of Mexico. I thus follow Djelal Kadir in using the adjective “USAmerican.” See “Concentric Hemispheres: American Studies and Comparative Literature,” in Trans/American, Trans/Oceanic, Trans/lation: Issues in International American Studies, ed. Susana Araújo et al. (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2010): 27–37. While I am concerned about distinctions among the different parts of the Americas that are otherwise elided, I also wish to signal in my nomenclature important historical and contemporary linkages between the Hispanic Americas and USA. That no geography is an island without ties to the rest of the world almost goes without saying. The Americas are clearly no exception. See also afterword.

12. Jahan Ramazani’s Poetry of Mourning: The Modern Elegy from Hardy to Heany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) can be said to mark this change. Ian Peddie calls the label “social protest” a “dubious misnomer,” pointing out that “Hughes’s range was always wider than that description might suggest.” “‘There’s No Way Not To Lose’: Langston Hughes and Intraracial Class Antagonism,” Langston Hughes Review 18 (Spring 2004): 40.


14. “There are still many scholars who approach ‘emerging’ literatures (and which literature really is not ‘emerging’?) as if they themselves were ethnographers doing fieldwork.” Guido Podestá, “Cultural Liaisons in American Literatures,” in Modernism and Its Margins, ed. Anthony L. Geist and José B. Monléon (New York: Garland, 1999), 181. The status of literary translation has been complicated by anthropological debates about access to other cultures: the “idea of translation…as a crossing of borders is closely connected to the interpretive
procedures of anthropology and of ethnography as a practice, which, like literary translation, is predicated upon the representation of a fundamental otherness.” Stephanides, “Translation of Heritage,” 50. There are, however, significant differences between anthropological ethnography and literature. Literature does not assume the translatability of others’ cultural codes, and anthropological texts tend not to foreground translational processes in their own linguistic fabric. See also Tejaswini Niranjana, Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), chap. 2; Stephanos Stephanides, “Translation and Ethnography in Literary Translation,” in Studying Transcultural Literary History, ed. Gunilla Lindberg-Wada (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 300–309; Scanlon, “Poets Laureate,” 251; and James Clifford, Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late-Twentieth Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

15. Kadir has wisely noted that fictionalizing—that is, creating reality effects—can be a “deliberate and calculated intervention against the impunity of recalcitrant realities that deem themselves unassailable.” “Concentric Hemispheres,” 35.

16. Edward Mullen, for one, contends that “the case of Hughes serves not only as a paradigm of the African American literary experience, which has been deeply shaped by influences outside of the USA (one recalls the cases of Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and Chester Himes, all of whom flourished in Paris), but also demonstrates the deeply rooted interconnections among writers of the black diaspora.” “Langston Hughes in Mexico and Cuba,” Review: Latin American Literature and Arts 47 (1993): 24. See also Alice Deck and Marvin Lewis’s special issue, “Langston Hughes and the African Diaspora,” Langston Hughes Review 5, no. 1 (1986); Richard Jackson, Black Writers in Latin America (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), and Black Writers and Latin America: Cross-Cultural Affinities (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1998).


19. See Baldwin, Beyond the Color Line. Five Hughes poems in the 1934 Uzbek collection Langston Hyus She'rları have no extant English equivalent. See David Chioni Moore on the difficulty of restoring these poems to English as well as the actual restorations. “Colored Dispatches from the Uzbek Border: Langston Hughes’ Relevance, 1933–2002,” Callaloo 25, no. 4 (2002), 1124. On nomadism, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia (London: Continuum, 2004), 23–24, and Karl Schlögel, Planet der Nomaden (Pilsen, Czech Rep.: Oldenbourg, 2006). Hughes mentions in passing that “the [Japanese] translations of my Harlem blues poems, so I was told, were quite well done and attracted considerable attention in Tokyo.” IW, 242. Since The Weary Blues was not published in Japanese translation until 1958—as Shisbu, Niguro to Kawa by Todatoshi Saito—Hughes’s reference might be to earlier journal publications of those poems. The only earlier book-length translation was of Not Without Laughter: Yae Yokemura’s Wara Wa Nu Demo Nashi from 1940. Hughes also briefly remarks on translation of his poems into Spanish and French, IW, 295 and 400.

Notable exceptions are William Scott’s “Motivos of Translation: Nicolás Guillén and Langston Hughes,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 5, no. 2 (Fall 2005), and Edwards’s *Practice of Diaspora*, 59–68.

Most of the materials I consulted are part of the Langston Hughes Papers housed in the James Weldon Johnson Collection at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

It bears pointing out that “Negro dialect” is not the same as “Black English” or as black vernacular. For more details, see chapter 4. See also Joshua Miller, *Accented America: The Cultural Politics of Multilingual Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). An example I do not pursue in this book is Hughes’s translation of Jacques Roumain’s *Gouverneurs de la rosée*. In *Masters of the Dew*, Hughes and his collaborator, Mercer Cook, consistently translate “nègre” as “Negro.” In Haitian Kreyòl, however, and in Roumain’s narrative, “nègre” is almost deracialized, being used as a synonym for “man” or “person.” I thank J. Ryan Poynter for calling my attention to this.

I am very much in agreement with José María Rodríguez García, who urges that “great attention needs to be bestowed upon the shifting locations and historicization of origins in translation, particularly those founding moments which have been transmitted to us in an unexamined way.” “Literary into Cultural Translation,” *Diacritics* 34, nos. 3–4 (2004): 27.

It is astonishing how few scholars seem to have noticed the release of the transcripts of Hughes’s secret testimony in 2003. Greer, for instance, recounts the story of Hughes’s public testimony as if this is all we knew. See *Langston Hughes*, chap. 1.

The eighteen essays in Roseanna Warren’s *Art of Translation: Voices from the Field* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989) include but a single one on translations into Spanish. This is but one example among many.


Edwin Genzler’s *Translation and Identity in the Americas: New Directions in Translation Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2008) is one of few studies that takes this into account. Relevant here is also the polysystems theory of translation pioneered by Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury, whose work is the basis for the more recent work of Lawrence Venuti and others; see Even-Zohar and Toury, *Translation Theory and Intercultural Relations* (Tel Aviv: Porter Institute for Poetics and Semantics, 1981), and Even Zohar, *Polysystem Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990). Although Even-Zohar’s interest is in “locating” translational texts, his polysystems are still based on a hierarchical center-periphery model; see Rodríguez García, “Literary into Cultural Translation,” 23–25.

31. I borrow the phrase “lexical shock” from Willis Barnstone, *Poetics of Translation: History, Theory, Practice* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 266. Siobhan Somerville is quite right in pointing out that “the formation of notions of heterosexuality and homosexuality emerged in the United States through (and not merely parallel to) a discourse saturated with assumptions about the racialization of bodies”; thus the “challenge is to recognize the instability of multiple categories of difference simultaneously.” *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 4, 5 (my emphasis).
33. Being finally able to grasp “the beauty and the meaning of the words” in Maupassant’s stories, which Hughes had read in high school in Cleveland, made him “really want to be a writer and write stories about Negroes so true that people in faraway lands would read them—even after I was dead.” *BS*, 34. See Isabel Soto, “‘To Hear Another Language’: Lifting the Veil between Langston Hughes and Federico García Lorca,” in *Border Transits: Literature and Culture across the Line*, ed. Ana María Manzanas (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 102.
38. In Judith Butler’s paraphrase of Monique Wittig, “Discourse becomes oppressive when it requires that the speaking subject, in order to speak, participate in the very terms of that oppression—that is, take for granted the speaking subject’s own impossibility or unintelligibility.” *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 147.
39. Stephanides, “Translation of Heritage,” 48. His reference point here is Benjamin, who talks about the need to (re)claim source texts for present generations so that translation becomes an allegory of the past’s resurrection.


47. Ibid., 32.


49. Literary translation, a form of cultural mediation that is not as easily consumable as most of the hybridized information with which the media envelop us, has fared no better in this respect.

50. There are relatively few literary and scholarly translations into USAmerican English. In the April 15, 2007 issue of *The New York Times Book Review*, which was devoted to translations, Jascha Hoffman offered a collage of statistical information, culled from a variety of sources, about the state of translation, in the USA and elsewhere, in the twenty-first century. In 2004, for instance, only 2.6 percent of the total number of new books published in the USA in 2004 were translations, compared with 29 percent in the Czech Republic and South Korea; China is low with 4 percent but still better than the USA. The percentages would, of course, depend on the total numbers of new books published in each country, which this collage does not provide. But if we consider that in 2005, about 1.5 million new books were published worldwide and that 30 percent of those were in English, it is a pretty good guess that we are talking about something in the vicinity of eight thousand books out of roughly three hundred thousand. That leaves us with 70 percent distributed unevenly among the remaining 6,912 languages of the rest of the world. We also read here that the National Endowment for the Arts’ funding for literary translation into English for 2006 was a whopping $200,000 (compared with the $13.3 million the French Ministry for Culture expended for translation of French literature into other languages in the same year).

51. Lawrence Venuti has argued that “[m]odernism seeks to establish the cultural autonomy of the translated text by effacing its manifold conditions and exclusions, especially the process of domestication by which the foreign text is rewritten to serve modernist cultural agendas.” *The Translator’s Invisibility: History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995), 188. He also calls for “historicizing various forms of receiving the foreign.” *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), 94. But his default for “foreign” is nondominant or marginalized.

53. Chris Prentice uses the biological term “translocation,” which is typically applied to chromosomes, in the subtitle to Cultural Transformations: Perspectives on Translocation in a Global Age (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).

54. Ottmar Ette uses the term “Vektorisierung” (vectorization) in ZwischenWelten-Schreiben: Literaturen ohne festen Wohnsitz (Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2005), 11.


56. Stephanides has proposed that “the foregrounding of a translation poetics in the act of writing and in the defining of the literary” is a distinguishing feature of literary writing from the Americas. “Translation and Ethnography,” 301. Although his point is compelling, its hemispheric exceptionalism might be hard to sustain in a more global context. See, for instance, Ette, ZwischenWeltenSchreiben, on so-called New German writers such as Yoko Tawada, Emine Sevgi Özdamar, and José Oliver.

57. Johnston, “Mapping the Geographies,” 258. For a similar framework, see also Pavlić, Crossroads Modernism. Also see Michael Soto, who asks, “What impact do Berlin and Paris and Mexico City have on the African American literary imagination as opposed to, say, Harlem or rural Georgia?” The Modernist Nation: Generation, Renaissance, and Twentieth-Century American Literature (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 90.

58. Chambers, Mediterranean Crossings, 144; see also Astradur Eysteinsson, The Concept of Modernism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), and Ette on the “unabschliessbarer Prozess ständiger Sprachenquerung” (endless process of continuous linguistic crossings), ZwischenWeltenSchreiben, 21.

1. Nomad Heart


3. Meshrabpom, or Meshrabpom-Rus, was a German-Russian collaboration with headquarters in Berlin and production facilities in Moscow. It was founded in 1924 and was actually quite successful. The fiasco Hughes describes appears not to have been a representative episode in the studio’s history. Film historians are now beginning to rediscover this company.

4. Some reviewers damned The Big Sea with faint praise: “a string of good stories” or “a strange commentary on twentieth-century America”; “some three-hundred odd pages of charming conversational reminiscence” (CR, 249, 258). There are many charges that Hughes wrote autobiographies without “revealing himself,” as George Kent still claimed in 1972. Quoted in R. Baxter Miller, “Even After I Was Dead: The Big Sea—Paradox, Preservation, and Holistic Time,” Black American Literature Forum 11, no. 2 (1977): 42. Miller disagrees but offers no evidence to the contrary. More recently, Hughes has been accused of being “shallow” for not revealing the intimate details about his personal life that would enable scholars to make the kinds of incontrovertible pronouncements about his sexuality that Rampersad resists in his biography.

5. Craig Werner rather unconvincingly singles out Toomer, Hurston, and Hughes as writers “whose explicit modernist awareness contrasts sharply with their conventional autobiographical voice.” According to him, “neither I Wonder As I Wander or The Big Sea would alert a reader to the modernist complexities beneath the tactful surfaces of Hughes’s Simple stories.” Playing the Changes: From Afro-Modernism to the Jazz Impulse (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 89.

7. John Lowney, “Langston Hughes and the ‘Nonsense’ of Bebop,” *American Literature* 72, no. 2 (June 2000): 376–77. Hughes’s oft-quoted lines from “The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain” are the following: “We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn’t matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too….If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn’t matter either” (Essays, 36). See also James Weldon Johnson’s “The Dilemma of the Negro Author” in The Essential Writings of James Weldon Johnson, ed. Rudolph P. Byrd (New York: Modern Library, 2008), 201–9.


9. For Hughes’s decision to omit pieces on central Russia from *I Wonder As I Wander*, see Baldwin, *Beyond the Color Line*, 87.

10. I do not agree with Paul Gardullo that “[by] describing his radical years as ‘wanderings,’ Hughes downplays their importance. “Heading Out for the Big Sea: Hughes, Haiti and Constructions of Diaspora in Cold War America,” *Langston Hughes Review* 18 (2004): 64. The word itself may downplay strategy, but it also opens a space for critique as Hughes navigates an increasingly perilous domestic climate.


15. See Chambers: “The figure of the author is not dead but displaced. It is a point of departure not of arrival.” *Migrancy*, 129.


22. On jazz, see also Hughes’s “The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain,” Essays 35–36. Borshuk, who locates Hughes as a “hybrid modernist,” places his “unique jazz-inspired innovations within the Signifyin(g) tradition” of African American literature. Swinging the Vernacular, 32, 50. See also Brent Edwards’s readings of jazz in Hughes’s poetry, Practice of Diaspora, 65ff, and Scanlon on the differences between Hughes and white vanguardists, “Poets Laureate”.


24. Much valuable work has been done on Hughes and the blues. See, for instance, Steven Tracy, Langston Hughes and the Blues (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Werner, Playing the Changes; Jürgen Grandt, Shaping Words to Fit the Soul (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2009).


27. Pavlíc, Crossroads Modernism, 22. The term is derived from the Greek συν-δεσις, “binding together” (OED), and is used in the study of chromosomes; its first documented use was in 1904 (in zoology).

28. Ibid., 58.

29. The preeminent symbolic spaces in relation to African American literature from the USA are the North and the South. Stepto has aptly called them “ritual grounds” (see his From Behind the Veil). Unlike Stepto, who limits himself to narrative, Pavlíc analyzes both fiction and poetry. Surprisingly, to my mind, he does not have much to say about Hughes; he does, however, include Hurston’s autobiography in his excellent discussion of asymmetries and angles in her writing. See Crossroads Modernism, chapter 3.

30. Chambers, Migrancy, 12.

31. Apter defines what she calls Being “in-translation” as “belonging to no single, discrete language or single medium of communication.” Translation Zone, 6.

32. Loftus poignantly notes that “Rampersad misses the irony and inversions that saturate the text.” “In/verse Autobiography,” 147.

33. An exception here is Edwards’s Practice of Diaspora.

34. Pavlíc, Crossroads Modernism, 22.

35. Carl Van Vechten, introduction to TWB, 9 (my emphasis).

36. La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades was first published in 1554 and 1555. Translated widely in Europe, it was considered heretical in Spain and banned by the Inquisition. See also Patterson on Hughes and Laforgue’s Pierrot in Race, 100–101.


38. In his Spanish translation of I Wonder, Gáler leaves the lyrics in English and adds explanatory notes. See Yo viajo, 89.

39. Hughes recounts that he began reading Don Quixote with a tutor in Mexico and mentions his Simple stories in connection with this. IW, 291.

40. Baldwin, Beyond the Color Line, 116–17.

42. Baldwin shows how Hughes rewrote Du Bois’s Hegelian-inspired trope of the veil, especially its heteronormative bias. *Beyond the Color Line*, 90, 108.


44. Koestler’s book was published in an expurgated German version in Kharkov, Ukraine. Unlike Hughes, Koestler had become disaffected with communism by 1940, the year he published the influential anti-Soviet novel *Darkness at Noon*.


47. See, for instance, Nick Aaron Ford, “Literature of Race and Culture,” *CR*, 501, and Webster Gault, “Days of Travel,” *CR*, 491. Faith Berry argues that Hughes’s heterosexual persona may have been a way of protecting Zell Ingram, “whose interest in men was greater than his interest in women.” *Langston Hughes: Before and Beyond Harlem* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1983), 123. Gardullo also notes that this autobiographical persona might have been a way for Hughes to protect himself, since homosexuals were persecuted by McCarthy almost as much as supposed Communists were. It is quite possible that Hughes chose to “perform heterosexuality as well as conservatism to protect himself from several vectors of McCarthyist attack.” “Heading Out,” 63. See also chapter 5.

48. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 8–10. Note Huizinga’s definition of play as “a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted and absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy and the consciousness that it is ‘different’ from ‘ordinary’ life” (28).


51. Hughes was not only a playwright but also a producer and director. He helped found the Karamu Theater and the Harlem Suitcase Theater. See David Krasner, “Negro Drama and the Harlem Renaissance,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Harlem Renaissance*, ed. George B. Hutchinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 68.

52. These conventions were first analyzed by Stepto in *From Behind the Veil* (1979).

53. Almost without exception the label “postcolonial” is seen as excluding African American writers from the USA by definition, which implicitly creates yet another American exceptionalism. See, for instance, Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Life-Writing*.

54. The “dark moving waters” (*las oscuras aguas movedizas*) in the Spanish translation makes the connection to the Middle Passage more readily available than Hughes’s own phrasing, IM, 17. See also the “[t]all, black, sinister ships” off the Nigerian coast, *BS*, 120, which evoke Robert Hayden’s poem “Middle Passage.” See also Miller, “For a Moment.”

55. Loftus prefers to cast this mixture in terms of hybridity, which I find too limiting: “The text [*The Big Sea*] is populated by hybrid figures that...are figures for the text and its performance; the text simplifies subject matter so that the content remains benign, yet it functions simultaneously to signify the return of the suppressed term(s).” With reference to Loftus’s
earlier point, I should note that in order “to destabilize the categories of race, class, and sex that attempt to define them,” hybrids do not just invert available categories of identity. “In/verse Autobiography,” 144, 146.


57. See Lamming’s Water with Berries (1971) and The Pleasures of Exile (1960), Césaire’s Un tempête (1969), and James’s Toussaint L’Ouverture (1936). USAmerican-born African American writers have not usually embraced an affinity with this figure and its linguistic dualities. On second-language acquisition in the play, see also Rodríguez García, “Literary into Cultural Translation,” 7.


59. On the falling out Hughes had with Hurston over the play Mule Bone, see Hemenway, Zora Neale Hurston, 136–48; also Life, 1:195–200.


61. Florian Niedlich takes identity as “something that is always already constructed and which privileges play, performativity, and plurality.” “Travel as Transgression: Claude McKay’s Banana Bottom, J.M. Coetzee’s Life and Times of Michael K., and Hanif Kureishi’s The Black Album,” in Local Natures, Global Responsibilities: Eccocritical Perspectives on the New English Literatures, ed. Laurenz Volkmann (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 349.

62. There are other strategic omissions in The Big Sea: for instance, Hughes leaves his father out in his recitation of his family’s genealogy.


64. The episode entitled “Salvation” must also be read in this context. BS, 18–21.

65. Lofts claims that “this repetition is a literal inversion.” “In/verse Autobiography,” 160. I disagree.

66. Chambers, Mediterranean Crossings, 32; Homi Bhabha, “The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha,” in Rutherford, Identity, 211. Bhabha regards “all forms of culture [as] continually in a process of hybridity” and defines hybridity as the “third space” that enables other positions to emerge.

67. Chambers, Migrancy, 11; see also 25.

68. Hughes’s S.S. Malone was the freighter West Hesseltine. Life, 1:71.

69. Gardullo, “Heading Out,” 62. Gardullo also rightly notes that this scene brings to mind Gilroy’s metaphor of the ship as a chronotope.

70. Pavlić, Crossroads Modernism, 24 (my emphasis). See also Benston, Performing Blackness, chap. 8.

71. George is only implicitly racialized by the reference to his Harlem landlady.


73. Hughes mentions Arabian Nights in IW, 123.

74. If translation is a hybrid form, then, as Eileen Julien suggests, we also need to “query the appropriateness of the terms ‘target’ and ‘source.’ . . . [T]he term ‘target literature’ seems a misnomer, for the fusion of two (or more) sources produces a literature which—in linguistic terms—is neither the superstrate nor substrate but a creole. The creole (rather than ‘target’) literature is the product of the contact (rather than ‘interference’) of metropolitan culture and literature and that of the periphery.” “Arguments, and Further Conjectures on World Literature,” in Lindberg-Wada, Studying Transcultural Literary History, 127. Wai-Chee Dimock has pointed out is that literature “is a creole tongue not only in the commingling of languages, but equally in the commingling of expressive media. . . . [S]cripts made with words and scripts not made with words are also gathered together.” Through Other Continents: American Literature across Deep Time (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 158–59.
75. See also Loftus, “In/verse Autobiography,” 149: “While the body is the signifier of race, in this anecdote Hughes makes the body signify contradictory races and defy the language that confirms the difference between them.”


77. Compare this with Charles Wilder’s snide remark that “[o]ne would like to know quite a bit more about just what Langston Hughes did wonder as he wandered.” “A Poet Retraces the ’30s,” CR, 488.

78. Chambers, Migrancy, 5. See also Ette, Zwischen Welten Schreiben, 27–60.

79. I will elaborate on this in connection with Waldo Frank in chapter 3.

80. See Edwards, “Translating the Word Nègre,” in Practice of Diaspora, 25–38, which includes a brief commentary on this passage.


83. Chambers, Migrancy, 10.


85. See chapter 3. Isabel Soto, Brent Edwards, and Michael Thurston, among others, have written about Hughes’s stay in Spain. See also Ana María Fraile Marcos, Langston Hughes: Oscuridad en España/Darkness in Spain (Texto bilingüe) (León, Sp.: Universidad, Secretario de Publicaciones, 1998).


87. Hughes did write Spanish dialogue in his first play, Harvest (1934), whose characters include Mexican farm workers in California.

88. Much more could be said on this subject, but doing so is beyond the scope of this book. Suffice it to note that Claude McKay’s untranslated autobiography, A Long Way from Home (1937), is a notable contrast to Hughes’s I Wonder. Like Hughes, McKay had spent some time in the Soviet Union, being “the first Negro to arrive in Russia since the revolution.” McKay, A Long Way from Home: An Autobiography (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970), 168. If translation is any indication, the Jamaican-born McKay was more of an internationally recognized figure than either Johnson or Locke, at least in the early 1930s. Louis Guilloux translated McKay’s Home to Harlem as Quartier noir (1932); an Italian version, Ritorno ad Harlem, by Alessandra Scalero had appeared in Milan in 1930. A Spanish version by A. Rodríguez de Léon and R. R. Fernández-Andes was issued in Madrid in 1931 under the title Cock-tail negro. Hughes mentions McKay once, BS, 165. In the eighty-some pages McKay devotes to chronicling this journey, he spends much time glorying in his “personal triumph” and the special treatment he received for having been “a typical Negro” who had “mobilized [his] African features and won the masses of the people.” A Long Way from Home, 153, 173. When McKay recounts being invited to speak about and for “American Negro workers” at the Congress of the Communist International at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow in place of the “official mulatto delegate,” he declares, “I was like a black ikon in the flesh.” Ibid., 168, 173.

89. Consequently, diaspora, for Edwards, “is a term that marks the ways that internationalism is pursued by translation.” Practice of Diaspora, 7, 11.


93. Huizinga noted that the ludic character of poiesis as play is not necessarily or always “outwardly preserved.” He argues that this is true of epic and lyric poetry alike, and that of all literary genres, only drama retains a connection to play. See *Homo Ludens*, 143–44. He never mentions the novel or any form of literary narrative and would likely have been surprised by the extent to which the playfulness in *Changó* proves him wrong. It is also worth noting that the work of Mikhail Bakhtin on the theory of the novel roughly coincides with Huizinga’s *Homo Ludens* but did not become known in Russia or elsewhere until the 1970s.

94. Zapata Olivella, *Changó el Gran Putas*, 572; Zapata Olivella, *Changó, the Biggest Badass*, 348. Tittler misses this allusion by translating the journal’s title as *The New Black*.

95. On February 19, 1954, Hughes wrote to Zapata Olivella that he was “most pleased that you have used a portion of my poems, *THE NEGRO SPEAKS OF RIVERS*, in the front of your book” (LHP, 176:79). The book in question is *He visto la noche* (1949).

96. Zapata Olivella took the first stanza of this poem from Carlos López Narváez’s collection, which also includes “Canción de la rosa,” a translation of “Breath of a Rose,” which had first been published in BS, 170–71. *El cielo en el río* (Bogotá: Ediciones Espíral Colombia, 1952), 139–40. In a letter from Bogotá, Colombia, dated August 29, 1947, Zapata Olivella, founder of the Centro de Estudios Afrocolombianos, mentions to Hughes that the Bogotense poet Aurelio Arturo planned to translate a series of Hughes poems for the literary page of *El Tiempo* (LHP, 176:3229). But it was López Narváez who published “El negro habla de los ríos” in the literary supplement of *El Tiempo* on June 6, 1948. Some of Hughes’s poems also appear to be included in another Colombian publication, José Ratto Ciarlos’s *Defensa y apología de las razas de color* (Caracas: Editorial Bolívar, 1937). I have not yet been able to locate this volume.


98. Jessica Berman uses the example of Gertrude Stein and others to argue that modernist fiction “gestures toward a new and profound cosmopolitan geography” that resists “an oversimplified biological determinism” and “static national or racial categories.” “Modernism’s Possible Geographies,” in Winkiel and Doyle, *Geomodernisms*, 296. Hughes’s geography, though it resists the same assignations, is quite different from Stein’s.


2. Southern Exposures

1. See also Rodríguez García, “Literary into Cultural Translation,” 4.


5. Mullen rightly calls 1931 a “key year” for Hughes’s evolving reputation in the Hispanic world. “Presencia y evaluación,” 18. Fourteen poems were translated and put into circulation during this one year alone.


11. See Mullen, *Langston Hughes*, 47–65. Without this bibliography, any work on Hughes translations in the Hispanic Americas and Spain would have been nearly impossible. But Mullen’s information is neither entirely reliable nor complete. I have found it necessary to go back to the original sources and to supplement the information he provides. Mullen also did not have the benefit of Rampersad and Roessel’s *Collected Poems*, without which it would be have been exceedingly difficult to trace any given translation back to an original and make any reliable pronouncements about the version of a poem that a given translator used. Helpful in this respect is also Peer Mandelik and Stanley Schatt’s earlier *Concordance to the Poetry of Langston Hughes* (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1975). There are also three poems that I have been unable to trace back to any of Hughes’s published texts (more on this in chapter 3). Future research will likely add to the information in the appendix.

12. Using as landmarks the three book-length collections, these numbers can be broken down to show how many poems were added to the archive at what time. In 1952, Gáler added eighty-two translations of Hughes’s poems to the seventy-six that had already been circulated in anthologies and periodicals. In 1968, the year after Hughes’s death, Ahumada offered yet another fifty-two translations in *YT*, thirty-three of poems not previously rendered in Spanish. In 2004, Cruzado and Hricko’s *Blues* contributed forty more new translations of Hughes poems, among them their versions of eighteen previously untranslated early lyrics.
13. The abiding interest of literary comparatists has been in assessing Hughes’s influence on Hispanic American writers through close-ups on the relationship between Hughes and Guíl·lén as represented in the early poetry of each. I show in chapter 3 that most of these scholarly assessments, carried out mainly under the auspices of African American/Afro-Hispanic Studies, are based on assumptions grounded in precious little historical and textual evidence.

14. One could of course take my initial quantitative analysis further. To estimate how many Hispanic American readers may have read a translation of a particular Hughes poem at a particular time, one might cross-reference the source of the above data with the print runs, subscription data, and sales figures for all relevant publications (assuming those are available for the relevant dates). But that work will have to wait for another day. Whatever data one might derive in this fashion, they could not include library readers or casual readers of the books or journals of family, friends, and acquaintances. They would also not include readers of Hughes’s autobiographical and fictional prose.


16. I disagree with Mullen’s view that some of Hughes’s Hispanic American audiences (notably Mexicans), “while almost always appreciative, often misread him.” “Langston Hughes in Mexico and Cuba,” 25.


20. Podestá, “Cultural Liaisons,” 175. The north-south traffic in literary texts that the translations of Hughes’s poems embody is, in many ways, a continuation of the nineteenth-century cultural exchanges between the USAmerican and Hispanic Americas that Gruesz has delineated in her Ambassadors of Culture.


23. One example here is the “Ideales de una Raza” page, which became part of the Sunday supplement of Havana’s Diario de la Marina in 1928. For details, see Kutzinski, Sugar’s Secrets, 146–49. Also relevant here is the attraction of Mexican artists to Harlem. See Deborah Cullen, “Allure of Harlem: Correlations between Mexicanidad and the New Negro Movements,” in Nexus New York: Latin American Artists in the Modern Metropolis, ed. Deborah Cullen (New York: El Museo del Barrio in association with Yale University Press, 2009), 126–49.

24. Jackson speculates that Hughes’s criticisms of the USA were similar to those that many Hispanic American intellectuals advanced at the time. See “Langston Hughes,” 28. See also the editor’s preface from the inaugural issue of the Revista de la Habana, which is reprinted in Berta G. Montalvo, Índice bibliográfico de la Revista de la Habana (Miami: Ediciones Univers- sal, 2001), 33.


26. In Pereda Valdés’s anthology, Antología de la poesía negra americana (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1936; repr., Montevideo, Biblioteca Uruguaya de Autores, 1953), Hughes finds himself in the company of Phyllis Wheatley, James Corrothers, Albert Whitman,
Carrie Williams Clifford, James Weldon Johnson, Lewis Alexander, Sterling Brown, William Stanley Braithwaite, Angelina Weld Grimké, Gwendolyn Bennett, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Countee Cullen, Fenton Johnson, and Claude McKay. While most contributions to the volume are limited to one or two poems, Hughes’s work is represented by eleven, with Nicolás Guillén’s nine poems the only close second. Ballagas’s section on the USA also includes Whitman, Longfellow, Johnson, and Cullen. Mapa de la poesía negra americana (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1946).

27. See Karem, Purloined Islands, esp. chap. 3.
30. Ibid., xxiv (my emphasis).
32. Cruzado and Hricko are mistaken in their claim that “The Negro Speaks of Rivers” was the most anthropologized of Hughes’s poems in translation. Blues, 13.
34. Cruzado and Hricko’s volume consists almost exclusively of poems from The Weary Blues and Fine Clothes—precisely the poems that had rarely, if ever, been translated (see below).
36. See my comments on Silvia Ocampo and Sur in chapter 3.
37. See Bost, Mulatas and Mestizas, 102.
41. Rafael Alberti, trans., “Yo soy Negro,” El Mono Azul 11, no. 29 (August 19, 1937): 1; this translation was published on the occasion of Hughes’s visit to Madrid during the Spanish Civil War (see chapter 3). Alberti was also loosely affiliated with the vanguardist Mexican group Contemporáneos and their journal. See Mullen, “European and North American Writers,” 339.
42. Andrés Bansart, Amelia Jiménez, and Diego Santa Cruz, eds., Poesía negra-aficana (Santiago de Chile: Universidad Católica de Chile, Ediciones Nueva Universidad de la Vicerrectoría de Comunicación, 1971), 41; Juan Felipe Toroño, ed., Poesía negra: Ensayo y antología (Mexico: Colección obsidiana, 1953), 46. See also José Luis González and Mónica Mansour, eds., Poesía negra de América (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1976), 39. One of the founders of Ultraísmo was Borges, whose Hughes translations I analyze in the following chapter.
Lozano also regarded Hughes as “un cantor primitivo” (a primitive singer) whose verse was “no suprarealista, ni mallarméneo” (neither suprarealist nor Mallarméan). Lozano, “Langston Hughes,” 227.


44. Pereda Valdés, Antología, 7–8.

45. See also his Línea de color (ensayos afro-americanos) (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1938); El negro rioplatense y otros ensayos (Montevideo: C. García & Cía, 1937); Negros esclavos y negros libres: Esquema de una sociedad esclavista y aporte del negro en nuestra formación nacional (Montevideo: Imprenta “Gaceta comercial,” 1941); and the compilation Toda la poesía negra de Ildéfonso Pereda Valdés (Montevideo: Índice Mimeografía, 1979).

46. Pereda Valdés, Antología, 42.

47. Pereda Valdés writes in the foreword to his anthology that the poesía negra written in the rest of the Americas, with the exception of Cuba and Brazil, pales (resulta pálida) by comparison with Negro poetry from the USA. Antología, 10.

48. Florit, Antología, xxiv.

49. Pereda Valdés, Antología, 30.

50. Ibid., 9 (my emphasis).

51. Neither poem enjoyed much popularity in the Hispanic Americas. There are only two Spanish versions of the former, Pereda Valdés’s and Ahumada’s. The latter has been neither reprinted nor translated since.

52. Alejandro’s Spanish titles are “Buenos días, revolución” and “El Waldorf-Astoria.”


56. Caparicio also translated the poems by Cullen and McKay in this volume.

57. Emilio Ballagas also includes in his section on the USA in Mapa a clunky version of “I, Too,” along with translations of two other poems, “Negro” (“Preludio a Weary Blues”), “Poem [1]” (“Poema”).

58. Ballagas, Mapa, 51.


60. Mullen’s Langston Hughes in the Hispanic World offers a useful summary of Hughes’s connections with Hispanic writers. But Mullen focuses much more on Hughes in Spain than on Hughes in the Hispanic Americas. Mullen also does not appear to have consulted any of Hughes’s correspondence. See also Mullen’s earlier articles, “European and North American Writers in Contemporáneos” and “Presencia y evaluación.” See also Drewey Wayne Gunn, American and British Writers in Mexico, 1556–1973 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), 82–86. It is somewhat difficult to believe that Hughes’s Hispanic American connections—he had cultivated countless contacts there since his initial stays in Mexico as a young man—did not at all impact McCarthy’s decision to subpoena him in 1953 (see chapter 5).

61. Only two “revolutionary” poems are included in either the 1936 or the 1953 edition of Antología de la poesía negra americana: “Siempre lo mismo” (“Always the Same,” from Negro Worker, 1932) and “Unión” (“Union,” from New Masses, 1931). Hughes included only “Union” in A New Song (1938); “Always the Same” was not reprinted.

62. Cruzado and Hricko’s volume still reflects this tendency to exclude Hughes’s socialist poetry. They note that they gave special emphasis to “los elementos más importantes de su
[Hughes's] obra: la música, la afirmación de la negritude, el deseo de integración social y racial y el problema de la identidad.” *Blues*, 68 (the most important elements of Hughes's work: music, affirmation of blackness, the desire for social and racial integration, and the problem of identity).


64. Both editors, neither of African descent as far as I know, were themselves poets who wrote their own *poesía negra*.


66. González's translation, “Yo también canto a América,” was reprinted from *Siempre! Presencia de México* 278 (June 14, 1967), 34–35, where it had appeared along with two other Hughes poems, “Tiovivo: Niño negro en el carnabal” (“Merry-Go-Round: Colored Child at Carnival”) and “Mestizaje” (“Cross”).

67. Marques’s *Videntes e sonâmbulos*, which ranges broadly from Longfellow and Dickinson to the Anglo-American modernists and features Cullen and Hughes as the only Negro poets, includes “Eu também canto a América” by Orígenes Lessa (235) and “Jazzonia” by Guilherme de Almeida (239).

68. Borges, whose other translations I analyze in the following chapter, was one of the founders of *ultraísmo*, one of the “tendencias modernas o ultramodernas” (modern or ultra-modern tendencies) to which others liked to juxtapose black poetry in general and Hughes's poems in particular. Toruño, *Poesía negra*, 46. See also note 42. The Sunday supplement of *El Diario de la Marina* was a bit of an oddity in what was otherwise a politically conservative paper. For details see Kutzinski, *Sugar's Secrets*, 146–47. The George A. Smathers Libraries at the University of Florida, Gainesville, is in the process of digitizing the entire run of the *Diario de la Marina*. For available volumes see http://dloc.com/UF00001563/05607/allvolumes. The Sunday supplement was a bit of an oddity in what was otherwise a politically conservative paper. For details see Kutzinski, *Sugar's Secrets*, 146–47.

69. See *Life*, 1:177. In a letter to Hughes dated May 1, 1930, Gustavo E. Urrutia called Fernández de Castro a leader of “the white 'intelectuales' [who] wrote an energetic letter of solidarity with the negroes” on the occasion of an incident of racial discrimination at the Havana Yacht Club. “This is the first time,” Urrutia continues, “that the white people take our defence in cases like this, whenever we had some trouble of this character we fought [sic] alone against bigotry, while our best white friends kept silence” (LHP, 158:2926). For Fernández de Castro's continued interest in African American literatures, see his “La literatura negra actual de Cuba,” *Estudios Afro cubanos* 4, nos.1–4 (1940): 9, 11, 17, 22; his prologue to Raúl C. Vianello’s *Versos negros* (Mexico City: Librería Urbe, 1942, 5–9); and his *Tema negro en las letras de Cuba (1608–1935)* (Havana: Mirador, 1943).

70. The poem was reprinted in both *The Weary Blues* and *The Dream Keeper* (1932). Its title in *The Weary Blues* was “Epilogue” (see CP, 625).

71. There are some variations on these three lines as well, but they do not rise to the same level of importance as the others. Most translators, unlike Fernández de Castro and also Lozano, do not omit Hughes's rhythmically and insistently repeated “And.” Other phrases used to translate “I grow strong” range from Fernández de Castro’s “fortalezco” (also used by Alberti) to “me pongo fuerte” (Borges and Toruño), “me hago fuerte” (Florit) to “crezco fuerte,” which is the most common (in Villaurrutia, Lozano, Ballagas, Gáler, González, and Ahumada, as well as Sastre and Cruzado). Bansart uses “tomo fuerzas” to rhyme more resonantly with “como,” something that “fortalezco” does as well and “pongo” does more subtly, whereas most of the others seem to prefer the simpler alliteration of “crezco” with “como.”
74. Compare this with Ahumada’s version of “Song” (“Canción”) in which he translates “Lovely, dark, and lonely one” as “amada obscura y solitaria.” By contrast, Ahumada renders “dark closed gate” as “verja negra y cerrada” (YT, 31; CP, 45, 31).
75. Hughes translated several pieces by Urrutia for Opportunity and Crisis in 1931. Urrutia was the one who wrote a letter to the secretary of state in Havana on March 5, 1930, to get permission for Hughes to enter the country. In his correspondence with Hughes from the same year, he mentions receiving these and other USAmerican publications regularly. He also acknowledges receipt of several books that Hughes sent him, including The Weary Blues and The New Negro. See LHP, 158:2926, and 434:9959 for details.
77. It is unclear whether the translation that appeared in El Diario in April 1930 is a reprint from La Revista de la Habana, a small literary and cultural journal edited by Gustavo Gutiérrez y Sánchez, of which only twelve issues, in four volumes, appeared between January and October 1930. For an index and details on the journal, most of which appears to have been lost, see Montalvo, Indice bibliográfico, 18–19.
78. It has been generally assumed that the 1930 version in El Diario de la Marina is a reprint of the 1928 translation from Social, which is not the case. Borges also translated the poem twice (see chapter 4).
79. José Antonio Fernández de Castro, “Presentación de Langston Hughes,” Revista de La Habana 1, no. 3 (March 1930): 367. See also Mullen, Langston Hughes, 171.
83. Review in the Chicago Whip, February 16, 1927 (CR, 100).
84. Social 13, no. 9 (September 1928), 30.
87. This would not have worked in the case of another Hughes poem from 1925, entitled “America,” CP, 52–53. Retaining the poem’s specific USAmerican references while turning the title and its many recurrences into “América” would have had precisely the opposite effect. In such a translation, the title would have suggested a familiarity confounded by the very inaccessibility of local references and allusions to a non-USAmerican reader. “America” has never been translated into Spanish.
88. Bansart makes the first and last lines of his translation identical; they both read “Yo también soy América.”
89. Sixteen of the poem’s eighteen translators rendered the line in the exactly same way. Lozano prefers “Me sentarán a la mesa” (they will invite me to the table), Bansart, “Yo me quedaré en la mesa” (I will stay at the table).
90. Among the later translators, only Gáler, Toruño, and Bansart avoid the comparative “darker.” Florit (in 1955) is the first one to pick it up in Spanish as “el hermano más oscuro.” Later translators, including González, Ahumada, and Cruzado, seem to have adopted this phrasing from Florit. There are only very minor differences between their translations and Florit’s earlier version.

91. Lozano, Gáler, and Toruño use “negro” as well, but they do not repeat it later in the poem.

92. Negro, in a lowercase spelling, was not infrequently used to translate “nigger.” See, for instance, Pereda Valdés’s lines from “Mulato”: “negros, no sois mis hermanos. / No. Nunca, / negros, series mis hermanos” (Antología, 41), which in Hughes’s “Mulatto” read: “Niggers ain’t my brother. / Not ever. / Niggers ain’t my brother” (CP, 100).

93. See Edwards, Practice of Diaspora, 35. Hughes does this in other poems, however, most notably in “The Negro Speaks of Rivers” and “The Negro,” where the translators usually retained the noun, mostly in lowercase. See, for instance, Lozano’s version of the opening stanza “I am a Negro: / Black as the night is black, / Black like the depths of my Africa” (CP, 24): “Soy un negro: / Negro, como la noche es oscura, / Negro, como el corazón de mi África” (“Langston Hughes, 228). Albertí was the only translator to capitalize “Negro” in “Yo soy Negro.” Cruzado and Hricko are the only ones thus far to use “oscur” in these lines: “Soy negro: / Oscuro como oscura es la noche, / Oscuro como mi África profunda.” Blues, 75.


95. See, for example, Life, 1:178–81. Also chapter 4.


97. Fernández de Castro, “Presentación,” 368. See also Mullen, Langston Hughes, 170 (my emphasis).

98. With the exception of Claude McKay, the other African American writers from the USA mentioned in Fernández de Castro’s article—Countee Cullen, Jessie Fauset, and Walter White—do not exemplify the activist outspokenness on racial issues that the Cuban imputes to Hughes.

99. See also “Dinner Guest: Me” from 1965, which can be read as an updated revision of the much earlier “I, Too”: “I know I am / The Negro Problem / Being wined and dined.” CP, 547.


101. Podestá rightly complaints about this “obsessive pursuit of analogies” among literary comparatists. “Cultural Liaisons,” 173. Radhakrishnan, writing about postcolonial theories, points out that “[a]ll hybridities are not equal, and furthermore hybridity does carry with it an ideologically tacit nominal qualifier, such as in western or European hybridity. Though, theoretically speaking, it would seem that hybridity functions as the ultimate decentering of all identity, in fact and in history hybridity is valorized on the basis of a stable identity, such as European hybridity, French hybridity, American hybridity, etc… Metropolitan hybridity is underwritten by the stable regime of western secular identity and the authenticity that goes with it, whereas postcolonial hybridity has no such guarantees: neither identity nor authenticity.” “Postcolonialities and the Boundaries of Identity,” Callaloo 16, no. 4 (1993): 753–55.

102. Venuti, Scandals, 158. I am taking my cue here from Benjamin’s comments on the “kinship of languages,” which he then generalizes: “Wie es denn überhaupt einleucht, daß Ähnlichkeit nicht notwendig bei Verwandtschaft sich einfinden muß.” Gesammelte Schriften IV.i., ed. Tillman Rexroth (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1972), 13 (It makes sense that likeness

103. Venuti, Scandals 10.


3. Buenos Aires Blues


4. Gustav, Regler, ed., Romancero de los Voluntarios de la Libertad (Madrid: Ediciones del Comisario de Las Brigadas Internacionales, 1937). I thank the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library at Duke University for providing me with a copy of this pamphlet.


7. La rosa blindada might be rendered in English as “the armored, or bullet-proof, rose.”


10. Patterson limitedly takes into account trans-American contexts, such as Hughes’s links to some parts of the Caribbean, mainly the francophone ones.


15. An example is Hughes’s reading tour through the southern states of the USA (*IW*, 40ff).


17. The same holds true for writers such as Richard Wright who were part of the Chicago Renaissance of which Hughes is also sometimes considered a part. See Mary Hricko, *Genesis of the Chicago Renaissance: Theodore Dreiser, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, and James T. Farrell* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

18. Gruesz’s *Ambassadors of Culture* is among the few studies that explore nineteenth-century intellectual crossovers between the Hispanic Americas and the USA in the varied print culture of the time.


20. Examples of such studies are Guido Podestá, George Handley, and, to some extent, Joshua Miller, James DeJongh, Anita Patterson, and Jeff Karem. By contrast, the *Cambridge History of Latin American Literature* has a separate chapter on Afro-Hispanic American literature.

21. González Echevarría and Pupo-Walker, *Cambridge History*, 7, 69. Patterson points out that theoretical categories such as “postmodernism” and “postcolonialism,” which also have different valences in different parts of the world, have done their share to exacerbate the confusion. *Race*, xx. See also Ned Davidson, *The Concept of Modernism in Hispanic American Criticism* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Press, 1966).


23. See Hugo Verani, “The Vanguardia and Its Implications,” in González Echevarría and Pupo-Walker, *Cambridge History*, 2:114. Important to Hutchinson is that “Modernismo was the movement through which Latin American writers in Spanish broke from their Spanish literary tradition and established the basic vectors of their own indigenous bearings. To North American eyes, their ‘modernisms’ look much like realist localism.” *Harlem Renaissance*, 220. The political geography of North America, however, also includes Mexico, a fact that is often elided.


27. As a field, Afro-Hispanic studies developed in the USA largely around the journal *Afro-Hispanic Review*. See also Kutzinski, “Afro-Hispanic American Literature.”

28. The work of non-black writers with an interest in African American culture has typically been dismissed as inauthentic and exoticist—the poetic (and political) equivalent of blackface minstrelsy. Their counterparts during the Harlem Renaissance would be Carl Van Vechten and Waldo Frank, among others.


30. *Contemporáneos* was launched in 1928. See also Lozano’s *Euterpe. Poesías sobre motivos musicales* (Mexico City: Ediciones del Bloque de Obreros Intelectuales de Mexico, 1930), which includes poems such as “Minstrels” (37–39), “Danzón Cubano” (115–16), “Canciones Criollas” (125–26), and “Blues Medley” (155–57). Mullen notes that by 1934, “Hughes had become a familiar figure among the Mexican literati,” to whom he had first been introduced by the poet Carlos Pellicer, who introduced Hughes to Novo and Villaurrutia. According to Mullen, they “were fascinated with both the content and form of [Hughes’s] poetry and had begun to view him as a genuine spokesman for the black proletariat.” Mullen also contends that Hughes’s Mexican audience, while almost always appreciative, often misread him. “Langston Hughes in Mexico and Cuba,” 25.


33. See Knopf’s letter to Hughes from June 19, 1942, in which she mentions that she is about to leave for South America. Also Hughes to Blanche Knopf, November 30, 1950, LHP, 176:1828 and 1830.

34. Knopf issued Clarice Lispector’s *The Apple in the Dark* in 1957; Arturo Uslar Pietri’s *The Red Lances* in 1963; José Donoso’s *This Sunday* in 1967, followed by *The Obscene Bird of Night*; Gilberto Freyre’s *Mother and Son: A Brazilian Tale* in 1967; João Guimarães Rosa’s *The Third Bank of the River, and Other Stories* in 1968; Autran Dourado’s *A Hidden Life* in 1969; José Maria Gironella’s *Peace after War* in 1969; Jorge Amado’s *Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands* in 1969; and Jose J. Veiga’s *The Misplaced Machine and Other Stories* and Alejo Carpentier’s *War of Time* in 1970. These were followed by Manuel Puig’s *Kiss of the Spider Woman* in 1979, Julio Cortázar’s *Change of Light and Other Stories* in 1980, *We Love Glenda so Much* in 1983, and in 1990 García Márquez’s *The General in His Labyrinth*.


37. See José Quiroga, “Spanish American Poetry from 1922 to 1975,” in González Echevarría and Pupo-Walker, *Cambridge History*, 2:316–17. Raúl González Tuñón recalls, “Yo tengo dos imágenes de Borges: el que yo conocí, el de los grandes libros de su juventud—*Fervor de Buenos Aires, Luna de enfrente, Cuaderno San Martín*—, el Borges yrigoyenista acérrimo” (I had two images of Borges: the one I knew, the one of the great books of his youth...and the staunch defender of Yrigoyen). “Autoretrato,” in Orgambide, *Recordando a Tuñón*, 35. In 1930 Borges had founded a committee to support the reelection of Hipólito Yrigoyen, two-time president of Argentina (1916–22, and 1928–30). In this he turned against the oligarchy and imperialism, something, Tuñón remarks, Borges had absorbed from his father and his circle of socialist and anarchist friends. Yrigoyen was deposed in September of 1930 by José Felix Uriburu, whose military regime opened what was known as the Infamous Decade; it ended with another coup in 1943.

38. Frank’s *Dawn in Russia* was published in the same year as Hughes’s *The Big Sea*. Also like Hughes, he did not join the Communist Party. See Michael Ogorzaly, *Waldo Frank: Prophet of Hispanic Regeneration* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1994), 36, 73–75.


42. King, *Sur*, 42.


44. King, *Sur*, 43. Sarlo argues that Ocampo saw *Sur* “como instrumento del purificación del gusto, indispensable, a juicio de Ocampo, en una ciudad donde la inmigración ha ido dejando marcas materiales que producen una anarquía estilística con diversos orígenes nacionales” (as an instrument for purifying taste, which, in Ocampo’s estimation, was indispensable in a city where immigration had left palpable marks, producing a stylistic anarchy with diverse national origins). *Borges, un escritor en las orillas* (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 1995), 34.

46. See Frank, Memoirs of Waldo Frank, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 163–64, 170–71; also Ogorzaly, Waldo Frank, 77. King emphasizes more than others have the role Glusberg, who organized Frank’s speaking tour, played in the discussions that led to the founding of Sur. Sur, 41–43.


48. Ogorzaly, Waldo Frank, 79.

49. See Sergio Waisman, Borges and Translation: The Irreverence of the Periphery (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 35; on Ocampo and translation, see Sarlo, La máquina cultural, 127.


52. It is not surprising that the epigraph to Frank’s Our America is from Whitman. Toomer chided Frank for “not including the Negro” in Our America, an omission that Frank promised to remedy in a later edition of that book. See Kathleen Pfeiffer, ed., Brother Mine: The Correspondence of Jean Toomer and Waldo Frank (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 28, 47. He never did.

53. Pfeiffer, Brother Mine, 169.

54. See Sarlo, Borges, and Una modernidad periférica, 180.

55. Pfeiffer, Brother Mine, 169.


57. Pfeiffer, Brother Mine, 170.

58. Some of Hughes’s more starkly modernist lyrics, such as “The Cat and the Saxophone,” rather vexed Cullen.


64. Waisman, Borges and Translation, 42. See Rodríguez García’s excellent commentary on this essay in “Literary into Cultural Translation,” 11–12.


67. In this, Borges anticipated the reader-response theories that have been promulgated by Wolfgang Iser and others since the 1970s. Borges’s concept of infidelity resonates with Ette’s
notion of the translator as *wahrer Lügner* (true liar), though Ette does not place it in the context of (post)colonialism. See *Zwischen Welten Schreiben*, 107ff.


69. Waldo Frank to Jean Toomer, 1923, in Pfeiffer, *Brother Mine*, 121. The occasion was Frank’s reaction to the negative reviews of his novel *Holiday*.


71. Patterson, “Jazz,” 652.

72. Van Vechten, introduction to *TWB*, 12.

73. Patterson “Jazz,” 660.

74. Compare the end first stanza of “Po’ Boy Blues”: “Since I come up North de / Whole damn world ‘s turned cold” (*CP*, 83). Gáler translates this very freely and without consideration of the vernacular: “Desde que me vine al Norte / Hasta la luz se me ha enfriado” (Ever since I came to the North, / the light gave me chills). *Poemas*, 55. In colloquial use, the Spanish verb *enfriarse* can also mean “to die.” Ahumada’s later translation, which is entitled “Blues del Pobrecito,” stays closer to Hughes: “Desde que vine al Norte / el mundo todo se ha vuelto frío.” *YT*, 17.


76. It was reprinted in *Opportunity* (1924) and *Survey Graphic* (1925).

77. The journal Frank had first discussed with Glusberg and then proposed to Ocampo was to have been entitled *Nuestra América*, not *Sur*.


80. Gáler translates these lines rather differently: “Seguro, / El camino es para todos, / Los blancos pasan en autos / Y el negro los ve pasar” (Sure, / the road is for everyone, / the whites pass by in cars / And the negro seen them pass). *Poemas*, 109.


82. Patterson has convincingly argued that “the deceptive simplicity of Hughes’s early lyrics obscures a concern with craft and stylistic innovation he shared with his modernist contemporaries, and his engagement with the European avant-gardes, and poets such as Laforgue and especially Baudelaire, was deeper and more extensive than has previously been shown.” *Race*, 93, also 103–9.

83. Compare this with Gáler’s version, which puts an emphasis on the “I” (yo) that is unusual in Spanish: “Yo he conocido ríos viejos como el mundo, y / Más viejos que el fluir de sangre humana por humanas venas. / Mi alma se ha tornado profundo como los ríos.” Lozano puts the poem in the present tense: “Conozco algunos ríos: / Conozco algunos ríos tan antiguos como el mundo y más viejo que la / Corriente de sangre humana en las venas de la humanidad.”

84. Gáler: “Yo me bañe en el Éufrates cuando las albas eran jóvenes. / Alce mi choza junto al Congo y al me arrullo en mi sueño. / Mis ojos se miraron en el Nilo y erigi la Pirámide a su vera. / Oí cantar el Mississippi cuando Abraham Lincoln bajo hasta Nueva Orleans, y he visto / Su barroso pecho volverse dorado en el atardecer.” Lozano: “Me bañe en el Éufrates cuando las auroras eran jóvenes. / Construí mi choza cerca del Congo, el cual me arrullo a mi sueño. / Contemple el Nilo y construí las pirámides sobre de él. / Oí la canción del Mississippi cuando Abraham Lincoln fue a Nueva Orleans, / Y vi su corriente lodosa volverse aere con el crepúsculo.”

86. We might say that he updates the poem when he writes “Mississippi” in 1955. See CP, 452.
87. Emphasizing the “link between traduzione (traducement) and tradizione (tradition),” Stephanides comments that “[t]ranslation might be infidelity but it is also an agent for reshaping tradition.” “Translation of Heritage,” 45.
89. For the song’s lyrics and music, see W. C. Handy, ed. Blues: An Anthology (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1926), 71–74.

90. Jason Miller, who contends that this poem “needs to be read within the context of a United States lynching culture that grew more and more intimidating after the Red Summer of 1919,” argues that “The Negro Speaks of Rivers” “reserves Hughes’s need to contemplate the way in which African Americans have previously survived and flourished near riverscapes. The meditation implies that because others have survived, he and his readers can survive too. Hughes must have attached much personal significance to a poem that serves as a reminder that passing through the South can be a survivable act.” “Justice, Lynching, and American Riverscapes: Finding Reassurance in Langston Hughes’s ‘The Negro Speaks of Rivers,’” Langston Hughes Review 18, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 25, 31.


92. See Grandt, Shaping Words to Fit the Soul, 79, which I quoted in chapter 1. There is also a very interesting possible connection here to another blues that Handy both performed and included in his anthology with words both in English and Spanish: “Deep River Blues” (1925; Blues, 106–108).


94. Tuñón explains that “no dice al otro poeta de Buenos Aires, que sería una cosa ambiciosa, como diciendo en Buenos Aires hay solamente dos poetas” (he did not say ‘to the other poet of Buenos Aires,’ which would have been an ambitious thing, like saying that there are only two poets in Buenos Aires). Horacio Salas, Conversaciones con Raúl González Tuñón (Buenos Aires: Ediciones La Bastilla, 1975), 41. See also Héctor Yanover, who does not get this story quite right. “Raúl González Tuñón,” in Orgambide, Recordando a Tuñón, 51.


97. See Sarlo, Una modernidad periférica, 180–81. Also important, as James Smethurst explains, is that “bohemia is a place or a quarter, but one of shifting, mobile, and unusually permeable boundaries” of class, gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality.” The African American Roots of Modernism: From Reconstruction to the Harlem Renaissance (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 125.
98. On Martín Fierro, see Lafleur et al., Las revistas literarias, 91–112.
101. Ibid., 24–25; also Smethurst, African American Roots, chap. 3.
102. “¿Y qué dirá la muerte cuando vaya / y nadie sepa dónde vive / la persona que busca en esa calle, / la oscura, la cortada, / la ignorada del censo municipal, sin nombre, / sin ayer, sin mañana? // Perdida entre los yugos y la siesta, / La soledad y la desesperanza.” (And what will death say when it comes / and no one knows where lives / the person she looks for in that street / the dark, the dead end / ignored by the local census, nameless, / without a yesterday, without a tomorrow? // Lost between the grindstones and the siesta, / solitude and hopelessness.) “Calles sin nombre” from Poemas para el atril de una pianola (Poems for the Music Stand of a Player Piano) (1971), in Raúl González Tuñón: Poemas de Buenos Aires. Antología, ed. Luis Osvaldo Tedesco (Buenos Aires: Torres Aguero, 1983), 80.
103. González Tuñón, Todos bailan, 20.
104. Ibid., 36–37.
105. DeJongh devotes the fourth chapter in Vicious Modernism to Harlem as a literary topic/topos in the work of select writers from the Caribbean, Africa, and some parts of South America. He includes many poems written in homage to Hughes (see 48–70). See also his very helpful Checklist of Black Harlem in Poetry, app. 1, 218–43.
106. Chambers, Mediterranean Crossings, 43.
109. In 1958, Tuñón traveled to Tashkent for the First Congress of the Writers of Asia and Africa; he had been invited as a special guest. See Orgambide, El hombre, 60, 233.
112. Enrique González Tuñón, Raúl’s older brother and also a poet, published the volume Tangos in 1926, the same year as The Weary Blues. Sarlo argues that, for Raúl González Tuñón, the tango did not have the popular dimension that interested him. Instead, what attracted him was “[l]a música de feria y de barraca, la chanson, los sonidos y los instrumentos de jazz o de las orquestas de circo, las cajas de música y las canciones de guignol” (the music of the fairs and the barracks, the chanson, the sounds and instruments of jazz and of the circus orchestras, the juke boxes and the songs of the guignol). Una modernidad periférica, 165.
115. Sarlo, Una modernidad, 155.
116. Ibid., 157. Costumbrismo is, in many ways, the equivalent of nineteenth-century regionalism in the USA.

118. Ibid., 98.

119. In blues terminology, eagle rock, which typically refers to a 1920 dance first developed by rural slaves, can also function as a sexual metaphor.

120. Scanlon has commented at some length on the significance of the mother tongue’s institutional location in the domestic sphere (the nursery, the household, set against the authority of the church). He argues that Hughes “presents motherhood as the crucial mediating category between the public and the private, and the vernacular and the poetic. This enables him to insist that race relations are not only more urgent but also more intimate than commonly imagined.” An example is “Mother to Son,” a poem in which the vernacular form is transmitted from mother to child “to include the whole of culture, not just language.” Scanlon, “Poets Laureate,” 246–48, 250.


122. Ibid., 179–80.

123. From also Scanlon, “Poets Laureate,” 234.


125. González Tuñón, *Las brigadas de eboque*, http://elternliterario.blogspot.com/2008/12/las-brigadas-de-echoque-de-la-poesa.html. See also Orgambide, *El hombre*, 83ff. Tuñón did not include this poem in Todos bailan so as not to delay the book’s publication, and the book itself opens with a note to this effect.

126. See Rosana Gutiérrez, Raúl González Tuñón: Prestidigitador de poemas y revoluciones (Babab Biblioteca, 2001), http://www.babab.com/no07/gonzalez_tunon.htm. “Juratory caution” is a special kind of bail under judicial discretion, in which a defendant who lacks financial resources is released on his own good word. Guillén suffered a similar fate under Batista, whose government exiled him in 1937. Guillén spend two years in Buenos Aires, where he apparently saw much of Tuñón.


130. “A New Song” was never translated. Pereda Valdés translated “Always the Same” as “Siempre lo mismo” in 1936. “Canto a Tom Mooney” was included in YT.

131. “El mercado de las pulgas” (Flea Market) from Tuñón, *Todos bailan*, 57.

132. Borges had family connections to publishing. His brother-in-law, Guillermo de Torre, who had married Borges’s sister Norah in 1928, was involved in the founding of Losada, which soon became a major press.


134. Lautaro is renowned for publishing Spanish translations of six volumes of Antonio Gramsci’s writings between 1950 and 1962.

135. Blanche Knopf wrote to Hughes on September 16, 1941, “We have been in correspondence with him [Pereda Valdés] and maybe something will come of it as far as THE BIG SEA is concerned.” LHP, 176:1826 and 1939. Part 3 of *The Big Sea* was printed as a separate book entitled *Renacimiento negro* (1971). This part had been included in the 1940 Knopf edition only at Carl Van Vechten’s insistence.

136. In 1964, the Spaniard Alfonso Sastre wrote an adaptation of Hughes’s play *Mulatto* (1929); it was reprinted in 1993. In 1998, Fraile Marcos published a bilingual edition of section 8 of *I Wonder As I Wander*, entitled *Oscuridad en España*. 
Notes to Pages 123–127

137. Dorothy L. Shereff (at Knopf) to Hughes, July 13, 1945. The contract states that the Spanish edition was to be published by June 31, 1945. In December Hughes received three copies from Lautaro. That same month he also found in his mail a copy of the Brazilian translation of *The Big Sea* (O imenso mar, 1944) from Editorial Vitória in Rio de Janeiro, commenting that he had not known about this one. See LHP 176:75.


140. Hughes to Margarete A. Rente (at Knopf), June 16, 1948, LHP 4:79. The letter includes a list of the books sent to Gáler.


143. When he was in the process of translating *I Wonder*, to which Muchnik refers as “la hermosa autobiografía de Langston Hughes” (Langston Hughes's beautiful autobiography), Gáler went to Muchnik for a job. He started working for Jacobo Muchnik Editor right after it was launched in 1955 and then continued at Fabril. Muchnik, who effectively ran Fabril, describes Gáler as “mi alter ego.” Jacobo Muchnik, *Editing: Arte de poner los puntos sobres las ies—y difundirlas* (Madrid: el Taller de Mario Muchnik, 2004), 121–23.


145. After he retired from the ILO in 1987, he worked for the government of Argentina as part of the Ministry of Labor and International Relations. Gáler died in 2006.


147. See Lucie Lipschutz Gabriel, *El siglo de la siglas* (Madrid: Hebraica Ediciones, 2005), 159ff. She may very well have heard of Hughes while she was still in Spain.

148. She returned to Madrid in 1974 with her husband and has since collaborated on several films and television series with her son, the Spanish director Enrique Gabriel.

149. Guillén’s main publisher in Buenos Aires was Losada.


152. Hughes asked that fifty copies be sent to him. The inscribed copy in LHP is dated September 3, 1952.

153. Gáler calls Dunbar the first to use the blues form (*el blue*) in his poetry.

154. Ahumada includes translations of fifty-five poems, twenty-seven of which were published between 1921 and 1927. Of the eighty-three poems in Gáler’s volume, forty-five are from the same time period.

156. Gáler was the first and only translator of a total of thirty-eight Hughes poems.

157. Ramazani, Poetry of Mourning, 163.


160. Gáler: “El calmo, / Frío rostro del torrente / Me pidió un beso” (The calm, / freezing face of the stream / asked me for a kiss), *Poemas*, 46. See also Villaurrutia: “La serena, / fría cara del río / me pidió un beso” (The serene, / cold countenance of the river / asked me for a kiss), *Contemporáneos*, 159.

161. The others are “The South” (“El Sur”), “Song to a Negro Washerwoman” (“Canción a una lavandera negra”), “Negro Dancers” (“Bailarines negros”), “Ruby Brown,” and “The Cat and the Saxophone” (“El gato y el saxofón”). Other poems that fall into this category are “April Rain Song” (“Canción de la lluvia abrileña”), “Question” (“Pregunta”), “The Jester” (“El juglar”), “Parisian Beggar Woman” (“Mendiga de París”), and “Lenox Avenue” (“Avenida Lenox: Medianoche”).

162. See chapter 1. Also Scanlon, “Poets Laureate,” 251.

163. See also Bansart, “Tener miedo,” in Bansart, Jiménez, and Santa Cruz, *Poesía negra-africana*.

164. George Steiner’s comment on the “heightening of a work’s existence when it is confronted and reenacted by alternate versions of itself” applies well here. *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 453.

4. **Havana Vernaculars**

1. The complete text of *Cuba Libre*, unfortunately minus the line drawings from the original edition, is reprinted in volume 16 of Rampersad’s *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes*. There are no notes on textual variations. Translations of a handful of Guillén’s poems had been published earlier in USAmerican journals, magazines, and anthologies.

2. Hughes believed that, with library sales, they could sell at least 500 copies. Hughes to Caroline Anderson, July 8, 1948, LHP, 7:160. Later sales figures indicate that more than 250 copies must have been printed.


5. Hughes to Guillén, August 27, 1948, LHP, 70:1366). Ironically, Hughes specifically asked Ben Carruthers, who was traveling in South America at the time, to look for work by “poets having Negro blood.” Hughes to Carruthers, June 13, 1947, LHP, 42:726.

6. When Doubleday issued a revised and expanded version in 1970, not a trace of the Caribbean section remained. See Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps, eds., *The Poetry of the Negro, 1746–1970* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970). The entire section was scrapped to make room for new black poets from the USA; it was as if it had never existed. In the first edition, *The Poetry of the Negro, 1746–1949* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1949), the francophone and Hispanic Caribbean are represented by Oswald Durand, Isaac Toussaint-Louverture, Louis Morpeau, Ignace Nau, Luc Grimard, Philippe Thoby-Marcelin, Christian Werleigh, Normil Sylvain, Duracine Vaval, Emile Roumer, Charles F. Pessio, Jacques Roumain, Roussau Camille, Jean Briere, Aquah Lalual (all from Haiti), Martinique’s Aimé Césaire, French Guiana’s Léon Damas, and Cuba’s Regino Pedrozo and Guillén. LHP, 333:5419 has the actual poems, 5420 the material on the Caribbean plus the notes on contributors. For this first edition of *The Poetry of the Negro*, Hughes also translated poems by Regino Pedrozo (“Opinions of the New Chinese Student”), as well as Léon Damas, and Jacques Roumain (“When the Tom-Tom Beats” and “Guinea” are both reprinted from Dudley’s Fitts’s *Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Poetry/Antologia de la poesía americana contemporánea* (Norfolk, CT: New Directions, 1942). For a discussion of the mixed reviews of *The Poetry of the Negro*, see *Life*, 2:159–60, 397–98.

7. See, for instance, Guillén’s “Conversación con Langston Hughes,” which is translated in Mullen, *Langston Hughes*, 27–29. Hughes would visit Cuba for a third time in 1931.


9. Guillén to Hughes, July 11, 1930. What Guillén also meant had less to do with Hughes’s abilities as a translator, however, than it did with Guillén’s sense of Hughes as someone with potentially lucrative connections to USAmerican editors, publishers, and foundations. On November 3, 1938, as he was working on “España,” Guillén expressed his desire to live in New York City for a while, and he asked Hughes about the possibility of getting a Guggenheim Fellowship. There is pencil-written note from Hughes on the letter indicating that he sent Guillén the Guggenheim announcement. Guillén returned to the topic in a letter dated December 31, 1939, in which he hoped that Hughes would support his application for the fellowship. Guillén seemed unusually insistent, even a bit desperate. He did spend two weeks in New York in March of 1949. He had been invited to the Fourth American Writers Congress to be held in New York City in early June 1942 but was denied a visa, which incensed him: “En los Estados Unidos entran todos los días escritores *fascistas* y no son molestados en lo absoluto.” Guillén to Hughes, May 15, 1941; both in LHP, 70:1366.

10. On September 30, 1930, Guillen asks Hughes (again) for a copy of the number of *Opportunity* in which “Mujer Negra” appeared.


12. Scanlon calls Hughes, for whom the relation between the African American “vernacular and poetic tradition was one of the defining concerns of his entire career,” a “crucial authority in the vernacular in Anglophone culture generally.” “Poets Laureate,” 225–26.
13. Fernández de Castro to Hughes, February 2, 1931, LHP 61:1180; Urrutia to Hughes, March 5, 1930, LHP, 158:2926. These letters are written in English. See also Kaup, who points out that Guillén himself never mentioned any “direct influence by Hughes.” She adds parenthetically, “Given the enormous affinities between Guillén and Hughes, I do not think that the controversy that has developed between Guillén and Hughes scholars over the ‘Hughes prompt’ theory matters much at all” (“Our America,” 92). I agree that the question of who had been there first matters little when it comes to an assessment of their work’s quality. But it does have considerable relevance in light of the perpetually strained relations between Cuba and the USA ever since Cuba’s so-called liberation in 1898 and the assumed unidirectionality of literary exchanges that persists even in diasporic theories.


15. On Fitts’s reputation as translator, see Venuti, Translator’s Invisibility, 208–14.

16. Volume 16 of The Collected Work of Langston Hughes includes only the former three translations. It appears that the executor of Gabriela Mistral’s estate did not care for Hughes’s translations of Mistral’s poetry and refused permission to have them reprinted in any form. This is why I decided not to write a chapter on Hughes’s Mistral translations. The above volume also does not include the Gypsy Ballads.

17. Compare this with the story of Knopf’s marketing of translations of Thomas Mann. Catherine Turner, Marketing Modernism between the Two World Wars (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), chap. 3. See also IW, 288.

18. Hughes wrote to Blanche Knopf on September 25, 1946: “For a while, as you probably know, you were considering publication of my translation of García Lorca’s Romancero Gitano, with illustrations by Miguel Covarrubias, but that manuscript was returned to me not long ago.” In a letter to Hughes from June 28 of that same year, Herbert Weinstock, then executive editor at Knopf, mentions a García Lorca project for which Knopf had no enthusiasm. LHP, 97:1828.


20. Weinstock to Hughes, September 1952. On September 3 Hughes had sent Weinstock the shorter version, for non-Cuban readers, of Manuel Horrego Estuch’s Maceo, héroe y carácter, titled El titán de bronce. A note on the carbon of the rejection letter indicates that Hughes intended to offer the manuscript to Putnam next. LHP, 5:84. Although things did change in the 1960s, Maarten Steenmeijer’s analyses show that the USA was rather behind European countries such as Italy and Germany when it came to introducing Hispanic American fiction. “How the West Was Won: Translations of Spanish American Fiction in Europe and the United States,” in Balderston and Schwartz, Voice-Overs, 150.


23. Cuba Libre was a pro bono project. Anderson called it “one of [their] own non-profit, cooperative projects.” Anderson to Hughes, June 30, 1948, LHP, 7:160. The book won a prize for graphic design from the American Institute of Graphic Arts, but it received little other attention and did not sell well. For commentary on reviews, see Life, 2:159. Anderson still had copies on hand in early 1960. Anderson to Hughes, February 6, 1960. For details about marketing, expectations, and actual sales figures see the correspondence between Hughes and Caroline Anderson, head of the Ward Ritchie Press, LHP, 7:60–61.

25. On August 28, 1948, Hughes mentions that he sent Anderson an address list for the book's promotion, for which he himself wrote the flyer. He adds, “You probably have thought of this, too, that we send announcements to all LIBRARIES, and to the heads of Romance language, Spanish, and English Departments at all COLLEGES. Also, of course, all COLLEGE LIBRARIES.” Hughes also organized an evening of readings and performances of Guillén’s poetry at the Schomburg Library: “After the program I was able to dispose of every single copy of CUBA LIBRE which I had, and I would have been able to sell more had I had them on hand at the time.” Hughes to Anderson, January 10, 1949, LHP, 7:161.

26. For the full text of this amendment, which became part of Cuba’s Constitution in 1902, see http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1901platt.asp.


28. A prominent example at the time was Dudley Fitts, whose massive bilingual anthology from 1942 does not include a single vernacular poem. Nor does Ortíz-Carboneres’s also bilingual edition of Guillén’s poems, Yoruba from Cuba: Selected Poems/Poesías Escogidas de Nicolás Guillén (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 2005). See Fitts’s introduction for details on his approach to translating the poems he chose to include. Anthology, xiv–xv. See also Macha Rosenthal, “Notes on Some Afro-Cuban Translations,” Phylon 6, no. 3 (1945): 267–72.

29. “Tuve el gusto de enviarle un pequeño folleto con mis motivos de son. Supongo también que habrá recibido un número de ‘La Semana’ con la entrevista que me hizo José Antonio [Fernández de Castro], y el cual le envió [Gustavo E.] Urrutia” (It is my pleasure to send you a little booklet with my Motivos de son. I also assume that you will have received an issue of La Semana with the interview José Antonio did with me and which Urrutia sent you). Guillén to Hughes, May 19, 1930 in Pérez Heredia, Epistolario, 3:5. In the same letter, Guillén tells Hughes, “Creo que Urrutia le envía a usted regularmente la Página Negra todos los domingos” (I believe that Urrutia is sending you the “Black Page” every Sunday). Mullen quotes (and translates) this letter from Hughes from Augier’s Nicolás Guillén: Notas para un estudio biográfico crítico (Santa Clara, Cuba: Universidad Central de las Villas, 1964), 139–40. See Mullen, Langston Hughes, 30. See Guillén to Hughes, May 19, 1930. Pérez Heredia, Epistolario, 3:5. The “Página Negra” is “Ideales de una Raza,” part of the Sunday Literary Supplement of El Diario de la Marina, which Urrutia edited.

30. “‘Ayé me dijeron negro’ es precioso!” Hughes wrote to Guillén on July 17, 1930. Augier, “Epistolario,” 150; Pérez Heredia, Epistolario, 4:1. The poem is omitted from all later collections of Guillén’s poems, including his Obra poética, 1920–1972 (Havana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1975), where it is reproduced only in the notes (1:482) without any reason for its disappearance. In its place appears “Hay que tené boluntá” (“One Must Have Willpower”), another 1930 poem that was not part of the original “Motivos.” Poema-son is Guillén’s own term. It refers to a poem structurally modeled on the popular musical form of the Cuban son.


33. In an argument that might be extended to ethnic texts, Astradur Eysteinsson presents the condition of marginality almost as a guarantee that certain texts, precisely because of their noninstitutionalized status, would better retain their ability to be subversive of the high-modernist mainstream. The basis for Eysteinsson’s argument is his claim that “as soon as writers become more prominent members of the canon . . . there is clearly much less tendency to emphasize the experimental character of their works.” He contends that literary experimentation “is not assumed to accord with respectability” because “[e]xperiments with language or other aesthetic media relate to a certain paranoia concerning ‘authenticity.’ ” Concept of Modernism, 154. Hutchinson argues that “the very voicing of formerly suppressed speech could be an intervention in the very settled language of literature no less ‘new’ and disruptive than the
experiments of the avant-garde.” *Harlem Renaissance*, 119. See also Sanders, *Afro-Modernist Aesthetics*.

34. Podestá, “Cultural Liaisons,” 177.

35. Jonathan Gill argues that “Hughes’s most significant contribution to the poetry of the Harlem Renaissance—the use of black English instead of the stilted dialect voices that had dominated Negro poetry thus far—may be seen as a typically modernist rejection of the artificial in favor of the natural.” “Ezra Pound and Langston Hughes,” 82.


37. Anderson to Hughes, June 30, 1948. On September 29, 1948, just as *Cuba Libre* had finally gone to press, Hughes wrote to Carruthers that *The Crisis* “is taking a double page spread of Guillén’s poems (mostly your translations) with his picture and a note about him. Your Introduction (minus the last paragraph) I’m trying to place as an article somewhere, as it will help publicize the book. Maybe we can get it into the SATURDAY REVIEW.” LHP, 42:726.

38. Carruthers had ended with a fawning paragraph that Hughes, to his credit, crossed out: “The justly celebrated poet, Langston Hughes, is the co-creator of this volume of translations. His was the original suggestion which led to the publication of CUBA LIBRE and it is to him that I am indebted for innumerable suggestions and valuable assistance in the selection and revision of my part of this work.” Dated August 1945, received August 8, 1948, LHP, 424:9438.

39. This is the final sentence in the draft of a promotional flyer that Hughes sent to Anderson on September 20, 1948. LHP, 7:160.


42. In fact, Hughes compared Guillén to Whitman when he likened the Cuban’s proclivity for revising to Whitman’s: “[Guillén] has made quite a few little revisions and changes—a la Walt Whitman who revised until he died.” Hughes to Anderson, September 20, 1948, LHP 7:160.

43. Ramón Guirao, *Órbita de la poesía afrocubana, 1928–1937 (antología)* (Havana: Talleres de Ucar, 1938), 85. Carruthers translated “Me bendo caro” as “High-Priced Now.” The eight original “Motivos” were “Negro bembón” (“Thick-Lipped Cullud Boy”), “Mi chiquita” (“My Gal”), “Búcate plata” (“No, Sirrie!”), “Sigue” (“Pass on By”), “Ayé me dijeron negro” (“Last Night Someone Called Me Darky”), “Tú no sabe inglé” (“Don’t Know No English”), “Si tú supiera” (omitted), and “Mulata” (“High Brown”). The translations in parentheses are Carruthers’s versions of the poems’ titles. Guillén retitled “Si tú supiera” (If only you knew) “Sóngoro consongo” when he included it in *Sóngoro cosongo: Poemas mulatos* (Havana, 1931), his first collection of poems to appear in book form. It may have been omitted from *Cuba Libre* because the repeated phrase *sóngoro cosongo* and its variations, usually read as *jitanjáfora*, made it particularly resistant to translation. But this would have been equally true of “Sensemayá,” which Carruthers did translate for *Cuba Libre*. For a reading of “Sóngoro cosongo,” see Roberto González Echevarría, “Guillén as Baroque: Meaning in *Motivos de Son*,” *Callaloo* 10, no. 2 (1987): 312ff.

44. Blanche Knopf wrote to Hughes on October 2, 1946, “I do not believe, also, there is anything in the poems by Nicolás Guillén for us.” LHP, 97:1830). John Farrar returned the manuscript on April 21, 1947, commenting, “I am afraid, alas, that it does not seem to make sense from a broad publishing point of view and I am sorry.” LHP, 61:1158. See Hughes’s remark to Anderson from September 29, 1948. “We were originally thinking of a university press as a possible publishers [sic].” LHP, 7:160.

45. Carruthers had written a thesis on the Cuban mulatto poet Plácido (Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés) in 1941. He taught Spanish at Atlanta University and Howard and later worked in public relations for the Venezuelan government. Hughes had envisioned a primarily
academic audience for *Cuba Libre* at an earlier stage of the project, when he had hoped to do this book with a university press.

46. Urrutia to Hughes, March 5, 1930, LHP, 138:2926. Urrutia's letters to Hughes were mostly written in English.

47. Guíllem to Hughes, April 21, 1930, LHP, 70:1366.

48. Rampersad seems to be under the impression that Guíllem asserted a direct link between his own poetry and that of Hughes in this brief article. What Guíllem actually wrote, however, is less unequivocal: “[S]in ser el son igual al blues ni no existir semejanza entre Cuba y el Sur de los Estados Unidos, es a mi juicio una forma adecuada para lograr poemas vernáculos, acaso porque ésa sea también actualmente nuestra música representativa” ([W]ithout either the *son* being equal to the blues, or even Cuba and the South of the United States being similar places, the *son*, in my view, is an appropriate form in which to write vernacular poems, perhaps because it is also, in fact, our most representative music). Guíllem, *Prosa de prisa*, 1:20.


51. See North, *Dialect of Modernism*.

52. Miller, “Gypsy Rhythm,” 331–32, attributes to both a poem, “Song of the Cuban Drum,” that was actually translated entirely by Carruthers but with a different title: “Song of the Bongo.” See LHP, 424:9431.

53. Carruthers contacted Hughes on October 4, 1941, including his thesis abstract with the letter. He also sent Hughes “a few translations from Cuban Negro poets and from two white poets, Estenguer and Portuondo writing in the Afro-Cuban idiom.” He also mentions that he had translated Regino Pedrozo’s “Hermande negro.” At the time, he was likely back at Howard. LHP, 42:726.


55. Carruthers to Hughes, October 4, 1941, LHP, 42:726.

56. Anderson to Hughes, June 17, 1948. Hughes replied to Anderson on July 8, 1948, “I’ve...seen a couple of big articles about [Guillem's] work in Latin magazines recently. Certainly I feel that he is a poet whom we should know better in the U.S.A.” LHP, 7:160.


58. LHP, 424:9430 (my emphases). The original lines are “poque tu boca e bien grande / y tu pasa, colorá.”


60. The draft manuscripts of *Cuba Libre* show that Carruthers was the one who worked on the “Motivos de son” and other *poemas-son*. In the manuscript versions of *Cuba Libre*, each poem is signed with the translator’s initials, either L.H. or B.C.
61. Spicer, for instance, simply places Guillén’s poems side by side with her own English translations instead of offering literary analysis. See “The Blues and the Son.”


63. This would be true in reverse as well, and the demand for a nonstandard version of Hispanic American Spanish in translations of USAmerican Negro dialect is as problematic. See Soto, “Translation as Understanding,” 15–16.

64. Hughes’s own books, all in hardcover editions since there was little paperback publishing at the time, retailed for $2.00 to $2.50 (*The Weary Blues*, for instance, retailed for $2.00 in 1945 and *One-Way Ticket* for $2.50 in 1949). Hughes to Joseph Levin, Knopf Order Department, March 25, 1945, and January 25, 1949, LHP, 4:77.


66. The poem is reprinted in the notes to Guillén, *Obra poética*, 1:482.

67. See González Echevarría, “Guillén as Baroque,” 311. The poem can also be read as a descendant of the popular “¿De dónde son los cantantes?,” a *son* about the origins of the *son* and of those who sing it. In a sense, all *sones* are about origins, including that mother of all *sones*, “El son de la Ma Teodora.”


74. N.d., LHP, 425:9434. In José Juan Arrom’s introduction to Lloyd Mallan’s “Little Anthology of Afro-Cuban Poetry,” “negro bembón” is rendered as “nigga-lips.” “Afro-Cuban Poetry,” in Mallan, “A Little Anthology of Afro-Cuban Poetry,” *New Directions 1944, Number 8*, edited by James McLaughlin (Norfolk, CT: New Directions, 1944), 270. The translation appears to be Mallan’s.

75. McLaughlin, ed., *New Directions 1944*, xvi.


77. I am using boldface and strikethroughs to represent Hughes’s handwritten revisions to the typed manuscript.


80. See also Carruthers’s “adaptation” of Rafael Estenguer’s poem “Colloquio” (“Conversation”) in McLaughlin, *New Directions 1944*, 293.


82. Only the plural *niétos* can encompass both genders.

83. See Kutzinski, *Sugar’s Secrets*. 
84. In the obituary he published in Granma shortly after Hughes’s death in 1967, Guillén wrote: “¿Hablaban él [Hughes] español? Pues sí, pero como hablan sus numerosos idiomas los marineros (y él lo había sido). Lo conocía mejor de lectura, y podría traducirlo sin dificultad.” Prosa de prisa, 3:314. (Did he speak Spanish? Of course, but like a sailor speaks it (and he had been a sailor). His reading abilities were better, and he could translate without any problems).

85. Urrutia to Hughes, April 20, 1930, LHP, 158:2926.

86. Guillén to Hughes, April 21, 1930, LHP, 17:1366; Augier, “Epistolario,” 148; Pérez Heredia, Epistolario, 27. Augier published thirteen Guillén-Hughes letters in 1995–96, six of which are reprinted in Pérez Heredia’s edition. Language is an issue to which Guillén returns again on May 19, 1930, when he asks if Hughes liked the “Motivos” and again expresses concerns about his ability to understand them since they are “escritos en el lenguaje popular de Cuba” (written in Cuba’s popular idiom). See also Life, 1:180–81, and Guillén, Páginas vueltas. Memorias (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 1982), 105.


89. Guillén to Hughes, July 11, 1930, LHP, 70:1366.

90. Guillén to Hughes, September 30, 1930. In an earlier letter to Hughes, from July 11, 1930, Guillén alludes to Fernández de Castro’s “Oye muchacho,” a translation of a chapter from the novel Not Without Laughter, which was published in the Revista de La Habana 3, nos. 1–2 (July–August 1930): 77–84.

91. Guillén to Hughes, September 30, 1930, LHP, 70:1366.


95. Diario de la Marina, April 27, 1930.

96. Jean-Jacques Lecercle, The Violence of Language (London: Routledge, 1990), 229. Stephanides has remarked that translation calls attention to the fact that “[n]ationalism suppresses the process of creolization or syncretization in the construction of the nations, and naturalizes what it has invented to give purity and homogeneity to its narrative.” “Translation and Ethnography,” 301.


98. So was Carl Van Vechten; see his introduction to The Weary Blues.

99. This may well be the reason why Scanlon speculates that it is “difficult to find a systematic account of the term in any field; nor does there seem much awareness of interest in a particular field in the term’s functioning in others. Instead, ‘vernacular’ seems to mark a place where disciplines allow themselves to become a bit less than systematic, less than disciplined, where they aspire to speak of what lies beyond them, the unlearned, the pre-disciplinary, the non-disciplinary, or anti-disciplinary, to get beyond their own learned boundaries and speak from it and with it.” “Poets Laureate,” 200.

100. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson, eds., The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), x (my emphasis).
Notes to Pages 164–172 295

101. Ibid., ix. Scanlon has pointed out that “the African-American literary tradition is the first Anglophone tradition to originate in a condition of enslavement,” so “(b)y a weird and sobering irony, applying ‘vernacular’ to that tradition [as Houston Baker has done] literally returns the term to its original Latin roots.” “Poets Laureate,” 226.

102. Somerset and Watson, Vulgar Tongue, ix.


104. See Fernando Ortiz, Los negros brujos: Hampa afro-cubana.


106. The result is a misrepresentation of how Bito Manué would have pronounced “strike one, and one, two, three”—which might have been better represented as “estraike uan and uan, tu, tree” to capture the suggestion that what is being spoken here is not English, and certainly not any standard English, but what might be represented as “Inglish,” something in between English and Spanish.


108. See Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1 (1967). In 1967, Virginia and fifteen other states still had statutes that outlawed interracial marriage: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia. The first state that had recognized that the miscegenation statutes violated the Equal Protection Clause was the Supreme Court of California in Perez v. Sharp, 32 Cal. 2d 711, 198 P.2d 17 (1948).


110. Lisa Brock and Bijan Bayne write, “But there were before 1959, and still are today, Afro-Cubans who, while recognizing US American racism to be blunt and brutish, find the island’s more subtle forms of racism equally if not more distressing. For these Cubans, the assertiveness of American blacks, provoked by an overt and unabashed US American racism, is preferable to the undermined sense of self created by the more hidden Cuban racism.” “Not Just Black: African-Americans, Cubans, and Baseball,” in Brock and Castaneda Fuertes, Between Race and Empire, 168.


113. Both are quoted in Brock and Bayne, “Not just Black,” 185–86. The occasion was Gómez’s joining the Washington Senators in 1944.


115. See Sugar (Sony Classics, 2008) directed by Anna Boden and Ryan Fleck, http://www.sonymclassics.com/sugar/. “For most North Americans,” Brock and Bayne comment, “Cubans were feminized colonial subjects, and as long as the island remained tightly under US(American) control and their ‘racial mixing’ was contained there, white Americans felt little to fear from an occasional Cuban playing in a white team.” “Not Just Black,” 191.


119. Roberto Márquez’s English version of Guillén’s poem, entitled “Yu Don’t Know No English,” adds yet another variation with its distinctly anglophone Caribbean tone and inflections: “The American’s looking for yu, / An’ yu gots to hide from she.” My Last Name and Other Poems / El apellido y otros poemas y/ de Nicolás Guillén (London: Mango Publishing, 2002), 49. While Carruthers’s cultural and historical context demands a warning about race relations in the USA, the context in Márquez’s translation more plausibly speaks to the inherent uncertainties in romances such as the one between a USAmerican tourist and the Jamaican bellboy depicted in Terry McMillan popular novel How Stella Got Her Groove Back (1996). See also Hughes’s “Brothers” (1924): “You’re related—you and I, / You’re from the West Indies, / I from Kentucky.” CP, 424.

120. Venuti, Translator’s Invisibility, 203.
121. Venuti, Scandals, 11.
122. Benjamin, Gesammelte Schriften IV, 20; Venuti, Scandals, 189.
123. Spengler’s Der Untergang des Abendlandes is surely behind phrasings such as “morsche Schranken der eigenen Sprache” (decaying barriers of his own language), quoted in Benjamin, Gesammelte Schriften IV, 19.

124. Venuti ends The Translator’s Invisibility with the laudable statement that “translation strategies can be defined as ‘foreignizing’ or ‘domesticating’ only in relation to specific cultural situations, specific moments in the changing reception of a foreign literature, or in the changing hierarchy of domestic values” (272). In later work he does not seem to heed his own advice as much as one would have hoped.


126. The phrase is Michel de Certeau’s, or more accurately, that of his translator, Steven Rendall, in The Practice of Everyday Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 32.

127. On cultural pluralism see Hutchinson, Harlem Renaissance, 78–93.

128. Dudley Fitts, “The Poetic Nuance” (1958), quoted in Venuti, Translator’s Invisibility, 211. Venuti comments that “Fitts’s work as a translator and as an editor and reviewer makes quite clear that the innovations of modernist translation were the casualty of the transparent discourse that dominated Anglo-American literary culture” (214).

129. Several translations appear in both collections: “Cane” (“Caña”), “Dead Soldier” (“Soldado muerto”), “Two Weeks” (“Dos semanas”), “Proposition” (?), “Barren Stone” (“Piedra púlida”), “Federico,” “Wake for Papa Montero” (“Velorio de Papá Montero”), and “Sightseers in a Courtyard.” The latter is Hughes’s version of Guillén’s “Visita a un solar,” which Fitts translates as “Visit to a Tenement.” Anthology, 255. The versions of the translations in these two volumes are identical, except for an omitted line in “Barren Stone” as it appears in Cuba Libre (97). The line was probably omitted because it would have made the poem just slightly too long for one page.

130. Fitts, Anthology, 251; CL, 37.

131. Fitts, Anthology, 261.

132. Ibid., 260. The version of this stanza reprinted in Guillén’s Obra poética, 1:125, no longer includes the exclamation marks.

133. There are four drafts of this translation in LHP, 424:9430, each with significant changes.


135. Venuti, Scandals, 12.

136. Fitts, Anthology, 253.

137. Guillén, Obra poética, 1:201.

138. See Lecercle, Violence of Language, esp. 182ff.

139. Hughes had met first Mistral in Madrid during the 1930s.
According to Nwankwo, Hughes’s translations in *Cuba Libre* show that he “was absolutely committed to conceptualizing and actualizing a transnational Black collectivism.” *Langston Hughes,* 60. She musters no evidence to support this claim.

These drawings are not, as Nwankwo argues in “Langston Hughes,” 67–68, replacements for Guillén’s own hand-drawn illustrations in the first volume of *Obra poética* for the simple reason that that volume was not published until 1974, seven years after Hughes’s death. On Vallejo’s often vexing orthographical, syntactic, and typographical inventions, see Jean Franco, *César Vallejo: The Dialectics of Poetry and Silence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 96ff.

In his New York Public Library lecture of 1964, Alfred Knopf does not even mention Hughes as a Knopf author. But he does mention Van Vechten, who clearly brought Hughes into the fold. *Publishing Then and Now,* 14.

Anderson (Mrs. Trench R. Fogle) to Hughes, February 6, 1960, LHP 7:160.

Bernard Smith to Hughes, February 15, 1938, LHP 4:72.

Western Union night letter to Anderson, December 16, 1948, LHP 7:160.

On January 27, 1949, Hughes reported to the good news to Carruthers. LHP 7:160.


Hughes to Anderson, January 27, 1949, LHP 7:160.

Guillén to Hughes, August 7, 1931, LHP 70:1366.

In a letter dated July 19, 1932, to Lautaro concerning payment for the fifty copies of *Poemas de Langston Hughes* they had sent him, Hughes complains that his bank seems unable to translate the amount of pesos on the invoice into dollars. LHP, 58:1101.

Hughes to Guillén, May 5, 1951, details the breakdown. The money is sent to Guillén on May 7, and he acknowledges receipt of it on June 6. Guillén and Regino Pedrozo also received royalties ($2.50 per poem) from Doubleday for the poems in translation published in Hughes and Bontemps’s anthology. See Hughes to Guillén, September 12, 1948, LHP 70:1366.


Hughes to Anderson, August 9, 1948. “We have a beautiful gold stamped red-sealed Cuban government approved agreement with Guillén for the publication of his poems in this country under which royalties are shared with him.” Hughes to Anderson, July 8, 1948, LHP, 7:160. Apparently Hughes did not keep the original document, only a carbon.

See Ford, “Making Poetry Pay,” 275; also *Life* II, 133.


5. Back in the USSA


3. See Nelson, *Revolutionary Memory*. Chapter 1 is entitled, “Modern Poems We Have Wanted to Forget.” Faith Berry’s *Good Morning Revolution: Uncollected Writings of Social Protest* (Secaucus, NJ: Carol Pub. Group, 1992), first published in 1973, is an exception, but it does not, for instance, include “One More ‘S’ in the U.S.A.” Breaking open the USAmerican canon seems not to have extended yet to Communist writers. See Wald, *Writing from the Left*, 69.

4. The McCarthy Committee had nothing to worry about when it came to the image of the USA that Hughes’s poems in translation represented to Latin Americans. Only one of the poems to which the committee objected, “Good Morning, Revolution,” was ever translated; it was printed once in the journal *Nueva Cultura* in 1936, never to surface again. See Miguel Alejandro, “Buenos días, revolución,” *Nueva Cultura* 2 (January 1936): 154–57.

5. Although Joseph McCarthy became chair of this particular Senate subcommittee only in 1953, to be followed by John McClellan in 1955, McCarthyism, as the term is popularly used, dates back to McCarthy’s announcement in the early 1950s that he had a list of Communist subversives who were working in the State Department. The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), which came to target the entertainment industry in 1947, was formed in 1938 under the leadership of Texas Democrat Martin Dies, Jr. as the Dies Committee. See Ted Morgan, *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Random House, 2004), chap. 8, for further details. The first permanent congressional committee established to investigate subversive activities in 1945, HUAC remained in existence until 1975. It is ironic that McCarthy acquired his Senate seat with the help of Communist organizations in Wisconsin. See David Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 47.


10. Redish, *Logic*, 4; also 7 ff.

11. Ibid., 25; also 99.

The complete set is available at http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/senate/senate12cp107.html. Hughes’s complete testimony is in 2: 973–98. The records of the closed-door hearings of HUAC are still sealed.

16. There is a passing reference to the secret testimony in “Simple Speaks His Mind before the McCarthy Committee,” a one-page commentary Hughes wrote in 1954 and sent to Arthur P. Davis and Charles S. Johnson, among others. See LHP, 365:5863). See also Donna Harper, There’s No Way, 41. Hughes never appeared before HUAC.
17. Hughes sent a wire to McCarthy on March 22, 1953: “The space apparently provided in the subpoena to inform me why my presence is required is entirely blank. I therefore do not know and have not been informed why or what you wish to question me about.” Carbon and actual wire in LHP, 109:2030.
18. Jim Tuck claims that the committee’s aim was “to enlist the poet as a guide on how to expunge the works of ‘subversive’ Hughes and replace them with those of the ‘patriotic’ Hughes.” McCarthyism and New York’s Hearst Press: A Study of Roles in the Witch Hunt (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995), 190.
19. This series, which began on March 6, 1943, is reproduced in its entirety in Christopher de Santis, Langston Hughes and the Chicago Defender: Essays on Race, Politics, and Culture, 1942–62 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 161–90.
22. LHP, 365:5861 includes two pages of typewritten notes that describe the origin of the charges of Communism against Hughes. See also Life, 2:140–43.
23. LHP, 365:5861 has an excerpt from the Capitol City News, dated March 6, 1948, that reads, “A letter was sent even to Congressman Richard Vail, a member of the committee on Un-American Activities, who wrote from Washington, D.C., ‘The House Committee on Un-American Activities has never arrived at the conclusion that Langston Hughes is a self-confessed Communist.’ ” The committee had earlier accused Hughes of being a member of the Communist Party, at which point Hughes suggested that “they check with the F.B.I.,” which did not share this belief. De Santis, Langston Hughes and the Chicago Defender, 181).
25. In a letter to Caroline Anderson from August 9, 1948, Hughes mentions a bit coyly that he, like Guillén, does not expect to make a living from writing poetry. LHP 7:160. In fact, however, Hughes was one of the few African American poets who did succeed in doing precisely that. See Ford, “Making Poetry Pay,” 275. See also Life, 2:133.
26. For accounts of Hughes’s public hearing, see Berry, Langston Hughes, 315ff.; Life, 2:213–19; also Hoffmann, Citizen Cohn, 155–59; Morgan, Reds, 442.
27. At the public hearing, Cohn explained to McCarthy that “we went into them [a number of writings] with Mr. Hughes in executive session.” PT, 79.
and Stuart Symington (Missouri)—were typically absent from its closed proceedings, but they were clearly present during at least some of its public hearings.


30. Hughes stated earlier in the hearing that he “completely broke with the Soviet ideology” “roughly 4 or 5 years ago.” When questioned further by Cohn about statements he had made in 1949, Hughes acceded to the suggestion that “your complete change in ideology came about 1950”: “I would say certainly by 1950: yes.” PT, 74–75.

31. Life, 2:218. See also Tuck, who sees Hughes as “a fondly welcomed prodigal son.” McCarthyism, 190.

32. Berry, Langston Hughes, 318.

33. From the public testimony: McCarthy agreed with Cohn that “in deference to Mr. Hughes, there are a number of writings of his written during this period of time…which I frankly think should not be read to the public” because “some of them use words and terms that would not be too good” and because “we went into them with Mr. Hughes in executive session.” PT, 79. The deal with McCarthy apparently involved an agreement that “Hughes’ most inflammatory poems would not be read aloud—unlike the work of other authors who dared to resist the subcommittee.” Life, 2:213.

34. Berry, Langston Hughes, 318.


36. Cohn was likely referring to aHUAC hearing. Supposedly, the professional government witnesses Manning Johnson and Louis Budenz, who also testified at the Dennis trial, had named Hughes in 1953. Navasky, Naming Names, 191–92. LHP, 365:5861, includes a four-page rebuttal from one Dr. Watson to an American Legion pamphlet denouncing Watson and, implicitly, Hughes. Of particular interest is the following sentence from the pamphlet: “At the time, Dr. Watson knew that Hughes was a Communist, for he had so testified under oath before HSC on April 1, 1943.” In the Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 Regular California Legislature, Sacramento, Hughes is named—“together with such well-known Communists” as Mary McLeod Bethune, J. R. Brodsky, and Theodore Dreiser, among others—as a signatory of the January 1943 Message to the House of Representatives opposing the Dies Committee investigating un-American activities in the USA. LHP, 365:5862 includes “Material refuting charges of Langston Hughes as a member if the Communist Party.” Most of the documents collected here are from 1947 and early 1948, but some go back to 1945.

37. Daily Worker, April 2, 1934; not reprinted until CP. Berry notes that this poem “would later be ‘sung’ into the Senate Record by Senator Albert Hawkes as proof of Hughes’s Communist sympathies.” Berry, Langston Hughes, 316; see also Dawahare, Nationalism, 107–8.

38. First published in New Masses (1932); also mentioned in Hughes’s public testimony.

39. First published in Anvil (1933) and later included in A New Song (1938).

40. First published in Poetry (1926) and later included in Fine Clothes. This poem was mentioned to accuse Hughes of disrespect for Jews. ST, 993.

41. At the public hearing, Cohn informed Hughes that this book was in libraries in Tel-Aviv, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Kuala Lumpur at that time. PT, 76. McCarthy viewed libraries abroad largely as tools for pro-USAmerican propaganda. Oshinsky, Conspiracy, 278. Cohn’s ideas on censorship are worth quoting:
Were we book burners? In a way, I guess we were. Confronted with more than thirty thousand works by Communists, fellow-travelers and unwitting promoters of the Soviet cause on the shelves of America’s overseas libraries, we decided to do something about it. The whole purpose of these libraries and reading rooms was to sell America to Western Europe, that’s what we were paying for. One could argue—but how many liberals did?—that this in itself was wrong, was jingoistic, was playing the Ugly American. But having made the decision to fight for the minds of men during the Cold War, why lead with our chin? Why beat up on America and extol totalitarianism? This wasn’t the New York Public Library we were talking about, where free circulation of ideas is the reigning virtue. Our job, on behalf of the McCarthy committee, was to see that the taxpayers weren’t footing the bill for anti-American propaganda. The issue was salesmanship, not censorship. (Cohn and Sidney Zion, The Autobiography of Roy Cohn [Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1988], 95)


42. Smethurst notes that Cohn did not discuss anything from Montage of A Dream Deferred (1951), even though Montage was hardly the portrait of the steadily improving race relations in which Hughes claimed to believe under Cohn’s questioning. See New Red Negro, 226.

43. The flyer is reproduced in Nelson, Revolutionary Memory, 67 (figure 19).

44. I am quoting the poem from the transcript, here and below, in which it differs from the version in CP 166.

45. Hughes’s reply is consistent with what he had written in 1941 in “Concerning ‘Goodbye, Christ,’” a response to the poem’s unauthorized reprints and the flyer mentioned above: “The I which I pictured was the newly liberated peasant of the state collectives I had seen in Russia merged with those American Negro workers of the depression period who believed in the Soviet dream and the hope it held out for a solution of their racial and economic difficulties. (Just as the I pictured in many of my blues poems is the poor and uneducated Negro of the South—and not myself who grew up in Kansas).” Essays, 208.

46. Hughes had ended his 1941 essay on the poem with the following statement: “Goodbye, Christ” does not represent my personal viewpoint. It was long ago withdrawn from circulation and has been reprinted recently without my knowledge or consent. I would not now use such a technique of approach since I feel that a mere poem is quite unable to compete in power to shock with the current horrors of war and oppression abroad in the greater part of the world. I have never been a member of the Communist party.” Essays, 209. See also LHP, 291:4754, which has several versions of “Concerning Goodbye Christ,” and Thurston’s reading of “Christ in Alabama” in Making Things Happen, 95–101.

47. Lowney notes that “[a]s the McCarthyist hysteria about social deviance intensified during these early years of the Cold War bebop musicians were increasingly targeted as symbolic figures of racial and generational rebellion. And as jazz became increasingly associated by police and police authorities with illegal drug use, jazz musicians were identified with Communists as agents of moral decays and threats to national unity.” “Langston Hughes,” 367.

48. See Woods, Black Struggle, 38ff. HUAC would not be abolished until 1975. On the effects on black federal workers and the NAACP, see Hoffman, Citizen Cohn, 136–37.

50. Robeson's wife, Eslanda, testified publicly before McCarthy in July 1953; like Hughes, she was deposed in closed session first. See ST, 1223–27. See Tuck, *McCarthyism*, 192–95.

51. Woods, *Black Struggle*, 48; see also 5.

52. Hoffman, *Citizen Cohn*, 140.

53. Schine became an unpaid “consultant” to the committee after his pamphlet *Definition of Communism* in 1952 attracted Cohn's attention. After he was drafted into the army in late 1953, Cohn obtained special privileges for him. During the Army-McCarthy Hearings in 1954, Schine's preferential treatment became an occasion for charges that McCarthy and Cohn had unduly influenced the Army on behalf of a member of his staff. There were also insinuations that Cohn and Schine had a homosexual relationship, which have never been proven. Nonetheless, many historians have called Schine Cohn's “dumb blonde.” Morgan, *Reds*, 429. The fact that the Army-McCarthy Hearings were televised live exposed the public to the committee's methods of interrogation and precipitated McCarthy's demise in 1954. A particular concern among Europeans was “that McCarthy would trigger a revival of the American isolationism of the thirties. They castigated Schine and Cohn as witch-hunters and ‘book burners.’... The image of book burner stuck.” Arthur Herman, *Joseph McCarthy: Reexamining the Life and Legacy of America's Most Hated Senator* (New York: Free Press, 2000), 229.


55. The attendance list in the record for Tuesday, March 24, 1953 is as follows: “Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican, South Dakota; Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican, Illinois; Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; and Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat, Missouri. Present also: Roy Cohn, chief counsel; David Schine, chief consultant; Daniel Buckley, assistant counsel; Henry Hawkins, investigator; and Ruth Young Watt, chief clerk.” United States Senate, *Executive Sessions*, 2:945.

56. After again consulting with Frank Reeves, Hughes finally concedes: “If that statement is from a column of mine, as I presume it probably is, I would say that I believed the entire context of the article in which it is included.” ST, 985.


59. *Dennis et al. v. United States* began in as a trial in the U.S. District Court for Southern New York in 1949: *United States v. Foster et al.*, 83 F. Supp. 197. The named defendant in that case was William Z. Foster, the then chairman of the Communist Party, who later fell ill and was replaced in the appeal by the party’s general secretary, Eugene Dennis, the assumed name of Frankie Waldron. Judge Medina overruled the defendants’ motion to quash and dismiss the entire panel, venue, and jury list and to dismiss the indictments against them on the grounds that there had been a willful, deliberate, and systematic exclusion of jurors based on their economic, racial, and political status and affiliation. The case subsequently went to the U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, where Medina’s decision was upheld by Judge Learned Hand on August 1, 1950. See *United States v. Dennis et al.*, 183 F.2d 201, 205–9 (2d Cir. 1950). From there the case went to the U.S. Supreme Court. *Dennis* has never been overruled. See J. Woodford Howard and John Maltese, “Revisiting Judge Harold R. Medina’s Charge to the Jury in United States v. Dennis: Notes on Freedom of Speech” (paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2005), 2.

60. The Sedition Act, one of four Alien and Sedition Acts, was known as “An Act for the Punishment of Certain Crimes against the United States.” Enacted on July 14, 1798, with an expiration date of March 3, 1801, it can be regarded as a precedent, though not a legal one, for the sentiments of the Smith Act. See United States, *Statutes at Large*, 5th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1798), ch. 73–74, 1 Stat. 596.

62. See Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298, 300–338 (1957). The Court’s opinion delivered by Justice Harlan reversed the convictions of the fourteen convicted petitioners and remanded the case with directions to enter judgments of acquittal in five cases where the evidence was insufficient. The remaining members of the Communist Party were granted a new trial.

63. Redish, Logic, 7 (my emphasis).

64. This was in part because the Court “refused to examine the evidentiary sufficiency of the conviction.” Redish, Logic, 90; see also 97 and, for a detailed legal reading of Dennis and its implications, 81–106).


66. Ibid., 587–88 (my emphases). Teaching was an issue in this trial because several of the defendants were academics. See Ellen Schrecker, No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

67. “Clear and present danger” are the words Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes used in his 1919 opinion in Schenck v. United States, 249 U.S. 47, 52 (1919), which confirmed the convictions of a lower court: “The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent.... If the act, (speaking, or circulating a paper), its tendency and the intent with which it is done are the same, we perceive no ground for saying that success alone warrants making the act a crime.”

68. Alan Filreis, “Words with ‘All the Effects of Force’: Cold-War Interpretation,” American Quarterly 39, no. 2 (1987): 306–7. As Howard and Maltese point out, the eleven leaders of CPUSA were convicted “for knowing conspiracy (1) to advocate and teach Marxist-Leninist doctrines of violent overthrow of the federal government as principles or rules of action, and (2) to organize secret programs of revolutionary indoctrination and infiltration, preparatory to action. Party membership charges, probably the strongest, were dropped during pretrial. No charges were brought for publishing, the only statutory offense requiring ‘with intent.’ ”


70. Ibid., 163.


72. See Hoffman, Citizen Cohn, 329.

73. Redish, Logic, 92.


75. Filreis, “Words,” 308.

76. Nelson, Revolutionary Memory, 144, 157. For an earlier argument against the monologic nature of poetry, see Vera M. Kurtzinski, Against the American Grain: Myth and History in William Carlos Williams, Jay Wright, and Nicolás Guillén (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 168–69.

77. No one has been convicted under the Smith Act since Scales v. United States, 367 U.S. 203 (1961); at least no conviction appears to have been upheld since then. It seems that federal
law enforcement and jurisprudence’s attention has now solidly shifted toward the (apparently) less thorny question of terrorism, including what it might mean to provide “material support” to a U.S.-government-designated “foreign terrorist organization.” For better or for worse, a 2010 U.S. Supreme Court decision (Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project, 130 S. Ct. 2705) briefly used the Smith Act, via the Scales case, as a point of comparison to a post 9/11 criminal statute (18 USCS §2339B) that controls the question of criminal aid or support to a designated foreign terrorist organization. The 2010 U.S. Supreme Court, in a 6-3 decision authored by Chief Justice Roberts, determined that compared with the Smith Act, 18 USCS §2339B was better defined by Congress and less problematic in its scope than the Smith Act. It was deemed less problematic in part because “material support and resources” can be more easily defined than “intent.” With respect to the question of the constitutionality of the Smith Act, this decision left us right where we were before.


80. Smethurst aptly notes that “[a]s would be the case with much of Hughes’s most successful later poetry, Hughes . . . drew on a complex of discourses that often contradicted each other, allowing many of the contradictions to remain within the poems.” New Red Negro, 97.


82. Smethurst, New Red Negro, 102.


84. For a reading of this poem, see Shulman, The Power, 272–75.


86. Dawahare, Nationalism, 106. See also Life, 1:285–86.

87. Dawahare regards Hughes’s radical poetry as “‘truly an accomplishment of modern poetry’ because, ‘unlike most other twentieth-century poetry,’ it is not ‘marred by spurious nationalism.’” Nationalism, 109–10.

88. De Santis, Langston Hughes and the Chicago Defender, 26–27.

89. Hughes’s autobiographical “digression” was printed in Harper’s (December 2003). Virtually no context is provided for these remarks.

90. This is at variance with what Hughes said elsewhere about how he wrote poetry. See especially his remarks on “The Negro Speaks of Rivers” in BS.


93. On the Hollywood and other blacklists in the media and the entertainment industry, see Fariello, Red Scare, 253–374.

94. See Wald, Writing from the Left, 67–68.

95. See Hoffman, Citizen Cohn, 127–33; Morgan, Reds, 428; see Tuck, McCarthyism, 147. Cohn died of AIDS-related complications in 1986. Tony Kushner’s acclaimed play Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes (1993) grimly portrays an unrepentant Cohn
who, though disbarred, proudly reprises his role in the Rosenberg trial on his deathbed, all the while pretending that he has not AIDS but liver cancer (a bit like McCarthy’s cirrhosis of the liver!). The play became the basis for an HBO miniseries in 2003, in which Al Pacino played Cohn, and an opera in 2004.

96. See also the construction of Charlie Chaplin’s image as a subversive, which led to attacks not only on his political views but also on his sex life and his alien status. John Shardel-latzi and Tony Shaw, “Booting a Tramp: Charlie Chaplin, the FBI, and the Construction of the Subversive Image in Red Scare America,” Pacific Historical Review 72, no. 4 (November 2003), 514.

97. A copy of Hughes’s transcript (80–83 of the official transcript), can be found in LHP, 365:5863. LHP, 365:5862, has a list of those who received a transcript of portions of the testimony’s radio broadcast. Rampersad claims that Hughes’s prepared statement, which he quotes at Life, 2:213–15, was formally accepted at his March 26 hearing, but there is no record of it in any of the government documents. See PT, 73. It was certainly not part of what Hughes sent out.

98. On McCarthyism as a waning intellectual force in the late 1950s and early 1960s, see Wald, Writing from the Left, 17ff. The one book that Wald particularly emphasizes as an indicator of the return to political tolerance is Daniel Aaron’s Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism (1961).

99. This voice, Smethurst explains, “usually means what it says, but never quite says all that it means in a straightforward way. Instead it remains elusive through a skillful use of syntactic manipulation, rhythm, and other formal devices, conveying multiple meanings to multiple audiences.” New Red Negro, 103.

100. De Santis, Langston Hughes and the Chicago Defender, 7.


102. See Whitfield, Culture of the Cold War, 16.

103. Ibid., 195.


105. “Unfortunately for the peace of mind of the artist, art has a political value, that is why, in times of stress, the politicians set up various open or covert censorships to try for their own ends to control art. In order to play safe, the bad artist often conforms to the political needs of the moment and creates a saleable tissue of conscious lies in order to keep his cupboard full.” Hughes, “Art and Integrity,” Chicago Defender, October 20, 1945, in de Santis, Langston Hughes and the Chicago Defender, 201.


AFTERWORD


2. Lawrence Jackson rightly points out that “only recently have we begun to reckon fully with the import and prominence of the American Communist Party as an engine of
intellectual and artistic development for black Americans who were committed to issues of social and economic justice.” The Indignant Generation: A Narrative History of African American Writers and Critics, 1934–1960 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 12.

3. Hughes’s blues poems may well be elegies of sorts, as Ramazani has argued in Poetry of Mourning. But they are ultimately about life and especially survival. Singing is a survival mechanism; so is writing poetry.


6. See Apter, Translation Zone, 6.

7. For the purposes of my discussion, I have defined “nation” as a provisional political construct that proffers, and restricts, cultural affiliation or extended kinship.


10. Ette, ZwischenWeltenSchreiben, 18 (my emphasis). Ette suggests terms such as “translocal,” “transregional,” “transareal,” “transnational,” and “transcontinental,” which would articulate five different layers of relations that would then have to be combined with temporal movements. Ibid., 23). For a narrower focus, see also Damrosch, “Global Regionalism,” European Review 15, no. 1 (2007): 135–43.


15. Karl Marx, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aeling (New York: Random House, 1906), 1:66 (my emphasis). According to Marx, “[i]t is the expression of equivalence between different sorts of commodities that alone bring into being into relief the specific character of value-creating labour, and this it does by actually reducing the different varieties of labor embodied in the different kinds of commodities to their common quality of labour in the abstract.” Ibid., 1:59. For details see “The Equivalent Form of Value,” ibid., 1:64ff. See also Melas, All the Difference, 42.


17. Moretti, “Conjectures,” 151. Dimock, Through Other Continents, which is heavily indebted to Moretti’s ideas, offers a good demonstration of what happens when textual and historical details disappear.
18. Cultural anthropology and sociology are disciplines in which translation has been assumed to be wholly transparent. See Scanlon on the limits of ethnography in relation to literature. “Poets Laureate,” 251–52.

19. The gaps of which I speak are analogous to the loci of indeterminacy that Wolfgang Iser has identified in modern literature (specifically narrative) as spaces where readers most actively interact with texts.


22. Gentzler avers that “the name Latin America is already a translation,” adding, no doubt with a chuckle, that “[t]here were no Romans in South America.” Translation and Identity, 174.


30. Kadir puts it well: “Traditionally..., American Studies has been engaged not in a discourse of differentiation, but enmeshed in a conjunctive logic of rationalization that incorporates the scientific enterprise to the object of its science. When the contradictions of field object and of disciplinary practice fuse, contradiction is not transcended but compounded.” “Concentric Hemispheres,” 33. See also Jennifer Gurley, “How U.S.A. Transnational Studies Reinforce American Exceptionalism,” in Trans/American, Trans/Oceanic, Translation: Issues in International American Studies, ed. Susana Araújo, João F. Duarte, and Marta Pacheco Pinto (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 39–49.


35. There have, of course, always been exceptions to this rule. More significant than such exceptions, however, is the significant generational shift among USAmericanists during the past two decades, exemplified by the work of Anna Brickhouse, Suzanne Bost, Robert Irwin, Kirsten Gruesz, Justin Read, and Jeff Karem, among others.

36. Gurley diagnoses “an antipathy for foreign languages” among USAmericanists “that at times limits their ability to be precise when revealing the internationality of national literatures.” “How U.S.A. Transnational Studies,” 39.


38. In her ASA presidential address, Jan Radway emphasized multilingualism but largely from a utilitarian point of view (64–65). Her methodological preferences for analyzing “the complexity of social relations that produce the cultural flows, transactions, and exchanges” are social scientific. “What’s in a Name?,” in Pease and Wiegman, *The Futures of American Studies*, 64–66. Jing Tsu points us in a more fruitful direction by arguing that “[a]s nationalization now shows signs of giving way to the unraveling of standardization histories and their polymorphous strands of origin and diffusion, language returns us to multiplicity as a starting norm... the once limiting, naturalizing linguistic mandate of area studies moves to center stage as a valuable source of pluralism.” “New Area Studies and Languages on the Move,” *PMLA* 126, no. 3 (May 2011), 698–99.

39. The so-called Berlin Debate on the New World had reached its first culmination point after the publication of the initial volume of Cornelius de Pauw’s *Réflexions philosophiques sur les Américains* (*Philosophical Reflections about the Americans*) in 1768.


42. Ibid.

43. A recent example of this on the Latin Americanist side is Walter Mignolo’s *Idea of Latin America* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005).

44. See Kadir, “Concentric Hemispheres,” 32.


(Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005). For USAmericanists to embrace the concept of transnationalism has been far less risky because the transnational leaves untouched the shape of the nation, complete with political, cultural, and psychological borders that may then be crossed in orderly fashion and by the light of day. What applies here is Stuart Hall’s insight that “a transgressive politics in one domain is constantly sutured and stabilized by reactionary or unexamined politics in another.” “What Is This ‘Black’ in Black Popular Culture?” in Black Popular Culture, ed. Michelle Wallace and Gina Dent (Seattle: Bay Press, 1992), 31.


49. See Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (New York: Routledge, 1992), and Gloria Anzaldúa, Borderlands / La Frontera (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987).


52. Ibid., 655.


55. Kadir argues the same point differently, chiding practitioners of American studies for denying “that theirs is even a discipline.” He argues that “there is a strong form of disciplinariness at work in this denial and, in the context of interdisciplinary transaction, it has often fallen to disciplines such as Comparative Literature, as one of the front-lines of theoretical discourse and cultural critique, to point out this fact to American Studies, something which has not always gone down well with a good number of more traditional Americanists.” “Concentric Hemispheres,” 32. See also Amy Kaplan, “Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today: Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, Hartford, Connecticut, October 17, 2003,” American Quarterly 56, no. 1 (2004): 1–18.


57. For distinctions between these and related terms, see Ette, Zwischen Welten Schreiben, 20. See also Lisa R. Lattuca, Creating Interdisciplinarity: Interdisciplinary Research and Teaching among College and University Faculty (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2001); Julie Thompson Klein, Crossing Boundaries: Knowledge, Disciplinariness, and Interdisciplinarities (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996); and Lewis Pyenson, ed., Disciplines and Interdisciplinarity in the New Century (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1997).


60. To put the affective and professional value of these identifications in perspective, it is worth remembering that these and similar geopolitical labels are quite meaningless, indeed perplexing, outside the humanities and the social sciences.


68. Former Dutch and Danish colonies in the greater Caribbean have suffered a similar fate.

69. The field of Afro-Hispanic studies, by contrast, has rarely presented challenges to the paradigms of African diaspora studies.


73. In the English-speaking world, the work of Lawrence Venuti has probably contributed most to rehabilitating the figure of the translator.


77. On the politics of the New Critics and the failure of progressive northerners to question “the fundamental assumptions and images of the plantation tradition,” see Pavlić, *Crossroads Modernism*, 55.

78. On the “marginality” narrative as a significant obstacle to a deeper understanding of the interrelation between black writers and their societies, see Jacques, *Change in the Weather*, 151.

79. See, for example, Baker, *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance*. See also Pavlić’s excellent survey of (black) modernist scholarship, or the lack thereof, in his preface to *Crossroads Modernism*. 