**The „Descent into the Maelstrom“ of Mark Twain’s Publishing Company and**

**The Renowned Author’s Narrow Escape from Personal Bankruptcy**

By: Patrick E. Mears

„Our first slide into the abyss itself, from the belt of foam above, had carried us a great distance down the slope; but our farther descent was by no means proportionate. Round and round we swept—not with any uniform movement—but in dizzying swings and jerks, that sent us only a few hundred feet—sometimes nearly the complete circuit of the whirl. Our progress downward, at each revolution, was slow, but very perceptible.“

Edgar Allan Poe, „A Descent into the Maelstrom“

(1841)

In 1841, the American author Edgar Allan Poe composed „A Descent into the Maelstrom“--an imaginative and harrowing short story about a sailor’s deadly encounter with the *Moskstraumen,* a series of tidal eddies and whirlpools that regularly forms off the shores of Lofoten, Norway. In this work, the narrator’s Norwegian guide relates his experience three years earlier of being caught in this „maelstrom“ with his brother and of escaping certain death by drowning when the brothers’ ship was circling the sides of the whirlpool and descending to the ocean’s bottom. The guide inventively tied himself to an empty wooden barrel, and when his ship struck bottom, he floated to the water’s surface and was saved. His brother, however, was not so fortunate and perished. This imaginary experience is not unlike those of successful business owners whose enterprises are caught in a „death spiral“ caused by excessive debts and other financial misfortunes. Another illustrious Nineteenth Century American author, Mark Twain, lived through a somewhat similar episode when his publishing house failed in 1894 and was subsequently liquidated. Although Twain was personally liable for payment of the massive debts of his company, he was able to avoid personal financial tragedy by satisfying all of the insolvent publisher’s debts via the liquidation of its assets and Twain’s payment to creditors of all of the creditors’ resulting deficiency claims over a period of four years. Twain was fortunate enough to have tied himself to a „floating barrel,“ and ultimately escaped financial ruin.

1. **Mark Twain’s Birth, Childhood and Early Development as a Writer**

Samuel Langhorne Clemens, better known as „Mark Twain,“[[1]](#footnote-1) was likely America’s greatest writer and humorist. He was born on November 30, 1835 in Florida, Missouri, when Halley’s Comet illuminated the skies above the earth. Twain spent most of his childhood in the small, Mississippi River village of Hannibal, Missouri, where he lived among many lively and eccentric characters.[[2]](#footnote-2) Later Twain successfully employed their striking individual characteristics in his novels and short stories, most notably in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* The characters of both of these young adventure-seekers will likely never disappear from the memories of Twain’s worldwide readership.

After the death of his father, the 12-year old Twain worked first as a printer’s assistant and and a typesetter, at first in Hannibal and later in many other cities throughout the United States. His life changed dramatically in 1857, when he became an apprentice steamboat pilot on the Mississippi River. Two years later, Twain received his pilot’s license und steered these boats up and down the river until 1861, when the outbreak of the American Civil War prohibited this traffic.[[3]](#footnote-3) After a short term of service at the outbreak of hostilities in a Missouri militia, Twain moved to the state of Nevada, where he prospected for silver and became a newspaper editor. In 1865, he moved again, this time to San Francisco, where he authored his first, commercially successful short story, „The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County.“ The publication of this humorous piece in 1865 by a New York City publishing house transformed him almost overnight into a nationally celebrated writer and humorist.

1. **Mark Twain as Travel Writer and his 1878 Sojourn in Heidelberg**

During the writer’s life and after his death, the name, „Mark Twain,“ became and has remained synonymous with world travel. Soon after his success with „The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County,“ he sailed to the Hawaiian Islands, which were then an independent kingdom, in the capacity as an author and newspaper reporter. Two years later, another newspaper financed his crossing of the Atlantic in order to visit and report about Europe and the Near East, which trip culminated in a visit to Palestine, then part of the Ottoman Empire. Twain’s letters and other writings composed during this adventure formed the contents of his 1869 book, *The Innocents Abroad.*

On April 11, 1878, the writer and his young family sailed on the ship, *Holsatia,* from New York City to Hamburg, Germany, where they arrived 14 days later. On May 6, 1878, after a brief excursion to Frankfurt-am-Main, Twain arrived in Heidelberg, where he remained until July 23rd. In the following month, after making a side trip to the spa town of Baden-Baden and the surrounding Black Forest, Twain undertook a „raft“ voyage[[4]](#footnote-4) on the Neckar River from the city of Heilbronn to Heidelberg. On August 9th after his arrival in Heidelberg on the „raft,“ Twain continued south to Baden-Baden again. During his three-month stay in Heidelberg, the writer visited the famous castle perched on a bluff above the Neckar, attended lectures at Heidelberg University, took German language lessons, witnessed sword-fighting contests between student fraternity members („Mensur“), took courses in sketching and painting, and attended a performance of Richard Wagner’s opera, „Lohengrin,“ at Mannheim’s National Theater.

In his travel book detailing these adventures, *A Tramp Abroad,* the author painted a romantic picture of the city of Heidelberg and the Neckar River Valley, as viewed from his window in the Schloss Hotel above the Neckar River and near the castle:

„The first night we were there, we went to bed and to sleep early; but I awoke at the end of two or three hours, and lay a comfortable while listening to the soothing patter of the rain against the balcony windows. I took it to be rain, but it turned out to be only the murmur of the restless Neckar, tumbling over her dikes and dams far below, in the gorge. I got up and went into the west balcony and saw a wonderful sight. Away down on the level, under the black mass of the Castle, the town lay, stretched along the river, its intricate cobweb of streets jeweled with twinkling lights; there were rows of lights on the bridges; these flung lances of light upon the water, in the black shadows of the arches; and away at the extremity of all this fairy spectacle blinked and glowed a massed multitude of gas jets which seemed to cover acres of ground; it was as if all the diamonds in the world had been spread out there. I did not know before, that a half mile of sextuple railway tracks could be made such an adornment.“[[5]](#footnote-5)

Some literary historians believe that Twain, when he first arrived in Heidelberg, was suffering from „writer’s block“ concerning his then work-in-progress, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* He had been unable to finish a critical chapter in the novel, describing Huck and Jim on their raft on the Mississippi River after they missed landing at the river town of Cairo, Illinois. During their voyage, they had planned to terminate their raft journey in Cairo and board a riverboat traveling northeast up the Ohio River to the „Free States,“ in a bid to obtain Jim’s freedom from slavery. These historians contend that Twain was finally inspired to finish this chapter by the crashing of his raft against a stone support of the Old Bridge in Heidelberg’s Old Town. The author describes this event in *A Tramp Abroad* as follows:

„We went tearing along in a most exhilarating way, and I performed the delicate duties of my office very well indeed for a first attempt, but perceiving presently, that I really was going to shoot the bridge itself instead of the archway under it, I judiciously stepped ashore. *The next moment I had my long coveted desire: I saw a raft wrecked.* It hit the pier in the center and went all to smash and scatteration like a box of matches struck by lightning.“ (Emphasis supplied)[[6]](#footnote-6)

Other historians, referring to Twain’s correspondence and other extant writings concerning this voyage, have pointed out that Twain rented a skiff for the river journey terminating at the Old Bridge in Heidelberg spanning the Neckar River. The famous humorist’s dramatic claim of his raft crashing into the stone bridge was perhaps just another instance of his habit of having „mainly. . .told the truth.“

1. **Mark Twain’s Masterpiece: „The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn“**

Mark Twain began his novel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* in an octagonally-shaped study built expressly for him on the estate owned by his wife’s family, „Quarry Farm,“ in Elmira, New York. When he composed this work, he rummaged through his childhood memories of life in the river town of Hannibal and his experiences as a river pilot on the Mississippi. Twain’s earlier novel, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer,* in whch the character of Huckleberry Finn made his debut in Twain’s imaginary world, was his first detailed portrayal of life on the Mississippi River during his childhood and early manhood. His non-fiction book, *Life on the Mississippi,* which was published only one year before *Huckleberry Finn* appeared in Great Britain and Canada, describes in detail the history of the Mississippi River Valley as well as his experiences as a riverboat pilot. This career abruptly ended in 1861 with the outbreak of the American Civil War, when commercial and leisure traffic on the Mississippi was halted.

In *Huckleberry Finn* Twain merged the theme of life on the Mississippi River with another: the evils of slavery and the moral dilemmas which were necessarily generated by this involuntary human bondage in „the land of the free.“ The author examined these topics in this novel of Huck’s river journey with the escaped slave, Jim, on a raft down the Mississippi, to help Jim secure his freedom. During this voyage, the reader encounters local characters, scenes, local dialect and customs, which have long since disappeared. At the same time, Huck struggles with his conscience over the question: should he help Jim with his flight to freedom or should he return Jim to his owner in Huck’s home town of St. Petersburg, Missouri? After a prolonged moral struggle, Huck decides to help Jim, although he could be damned to hell as a result.

Mark Twain completed the final chapters of *Huckleberry Finn* between 1879 and 1883 after returning from his extended rambles through Germany and elsewhere in Europe, as previously described. The novel was published in 1883 by the New York City publishiing house of Charles L. Webster & Company, which was jointly owned in partnership by Twain and his nephew. This commercial undertaking, Twain’s significant financial investment in a revolutionary but unreliable printing machine, and the national depression triggered by the „Panic of 1893“ would later effect a sea-change in the life of the celebrated author.

1. **Mark Twain’s Investment in a „Revolutionary“ Printing Machine, the Founding of his Publishing Company, the Economic Impact of the „Panic of 1893,“ and the Publisher’s Eventual Insolvency**
2. **Twain and the Paige Compositor**

During his lifetime, Mark Twain used a liberal portion of his accumulated wealth to invest in various entrerprises, many of which he unwisely chose.[[7]](#footnote-7) In the decade of the 1880s, two significant projects of his failed, which transported him to the edge of his own personal bankruptcy. Twain made his first critical mistake when he invested $300,000 (circa $6 million today) in order to finance the development of the Paige Compositor, a revolutionary typesetting machine for its time. This machine, invented by James W. Paige (1842-1917), weighed four tons and was developed in order to print books, magazines and newspapers.[[8]](#footnote-8) These funds came from Twain’s book royalties and the inheritance of his wife, Olivia Langdon, who was a heiress to a coal-mining fortune. Twain had the bad luck to witness one of the few successful trial demonstrations of the Compositor, which stimulated him to make this investment.[[9]](#footnote-9) Unfortunately for Twain, the Compositor proved to be outdated and never reliably functioned. As a consequence, the Linotype, a fast, reliable and efficient typesetting machine invented in 1884 by Ottmar Mergenthaler in Baden-Württemberg, Germany, became the industry favorite, thereby assigning the Compositor to the „dustbin of history.“ As a consequence, Twain suffered the loss of his entire investment in this venture.

1. **Mark Twain and Charles L. Webster and Company**

Perhaps Mark Twain’s greatest misstep was the establishment of a publishing house as a partnership, in which his young nephew, Charles L. Webster, operated the business on a full-time basis. In 1884, the publishing house named „Charles L. Webster and Company“ was founded in the State of New York, with the intention of increasing Twain’s personal wealth. The underlying reasons for the creation of this enterprise were Twain’s mistrust of his publishers, his belief that they had defrauded him out of royalties, and his conviction that these publishers had failed to advertise properly his works.[[10]](#footnote-10) The new partnership’s business model focused on printing and selling books in response to prior customer subscriptions, as contrasted with the advance printing of an amount of volumes estimated by the publisher to satisfy post-publication market demand.

In the beginning, the publishing house was extremely successful. Thousands of copies of the first two books that it published[[11]](#footnote-11) were sold via subscription, which sales generated large profits for the authors and pubisher. The enterprise continuted to publish biographies about Civil War heroes and other historical personalities, e.g., General George McClellan, General Philip Sheridan and Pope Leo XIII, and creative works by famous writers, e.g., Walt Whitman, Leo Tolstoy and, naturally, Mark Twain. Nevertheless, the publishing house afterward suffered large financial losses from disappointing sales of these works and, as a consequence, Twain invested a portion of his royalties back into the business to stop the bleeding. His efforts, however, were not sufficient to stop the eventual catastrophe.

1. **The „Panic of 1893“ Exacerbates Twain’s Financial Woes**

At first, Twain assigned blame for the failure of the business on his nephew, finally dismissing him from the business in 1888. In 1891, Twain’s 39-year old nephew was dead. Only two years later, in the midst of the publishing house’s financial distress, the „Panic of 1893“ swept the country. This event was triggered by the hoarding of cash by bank depositors in the South and West of the nation and quickly spread to other regions. Runs on banks were a common occurrence, leading to the failure of 642 banks during the Panic’s first year. The American stock market soon crashed, which wiped out vast amounts of personal and business wealth and restricted the availability of credit dramatically. As Joseph Csicsilla relates,

„. . .1893 was the nation’s ‚first great industrial collapse.’ Only the Great Depression compares, and the shocking statistics bear out the claim. National unemployment, which stood at about 3% in 1892, jumped by some estimates to over 18% in 1894. In parts of the agricultural Midwest, those figures are thought to have exceeded 30% and 40%. Further, as David Whitten points out in a separate article, ‚the unemployment rate exceeded ten percent for five or six consecutive years. The only other time this occurred in the history of the US economy was during the Great Depression of the 1930s.’ By the end of 1893, 15,242 businesses had failed, including 119 railroads—a staggering 30% of the total number of American railroad companies at the time. Another 37 railroads would succumb by the middle of 1894.“[[12]](#footnote-12)

This severe economic depression was the final straw that broke the back of Charles L. Webster & Company. The Mount Morris Bank headquartered in New York City had a credit relationship with Mark Twain going back at least to the early 1880s and, as of early April 1894, had extended outstanding loans totaling $29,500 (almost $725,000 in today’s dollars) to the publishing house. At that time, the bank demanded payment in full of these loans which, due to the unavailability of credit caused by the „Panic,“ neither the publishing house nor Twain could repay by means of new loans obtained from another financial institution. This development spelled the doom of Charles L. Webster & Company and threatened Twain’s personal assets, especially his copyrights and their attendant royalties. As a partner in the publishing house, Twain was exposed to personal liability for the debts of the business.[[13]](#footnote-13)

1. **Twain Satisfies All Unpaid Claims Against the Insolvent Publishing House From His Own Earnings**

As the end of the publishing house quickly approached, a good friend of Twain’s and and a high official of the Standard Oil Company advised the author to transfer all of his assets to his wife. Twain followed this advice in March, 1894 and accomplished these transfers. One month later the publishing house voluntarily commenced its insolvency proceeding under New York state law in the New York courts; this proceeding was entitled an „Assignment for the Benefit of Creditors.“ At that time, the United States lacked a national bankruptcy law providing for the liquidation or reorganization of insolvent persons, including artificial persons, e.g., partnerships and corporations. Filling in this legal gap, this New York procedure compelled the financially-troubled owner of assets to transfer title to them to a designated assignee, who would later sell that property for cash and distribute the proceeds to the assignor’s creditors.[[14]](#footnote-14)

On April 18, 1894, Mark Twain and Frederick J. Hall, the latter being the successor to Charles L. Webster, recorded with the New York County Clerk in Manhattan a document entitled „Assignment Without Preference.“ This document directed the transfer of the publishing house’s assets to an individual, Banbridge Colby, authorized him to to sell this property for cash, and then distribute this money to partnership creditors ratably in accordance with the amount of their allowed claims. The partnership’s schedules accompanying the Assignment listed total debts of the partnership at $91,191 and assets worth $54,164. The publishing house had more than 200 creditors scattered throughout the country. These creditors included the Mount Morris Bank ($29,500), the United States National Bank ($15,000), and S.D.Warren & Co. ($6,332). Authors holding unpaid claims for book royalties included the Estate of General Ulysses S. Grant ($2,216), the widow of General George Armstrong Custer ($1,825), and the Estate of General Philip Sheridan ($374). Mark Twain’s wife, Olivia, held a „preferred claim“ representing amounts due by the partnership for loans made by her from her remaining inheritance. At that time, a preferred creditor under New York law included a spouse of a partner who had loaned funds to the partnership-assignor.

The legal documents creating the partnership had been drafted by the lawyer for Twain’s nephew and provided that Twain owned 90% of the partnership’s equity with Webster owing the remaining 10%. In addition, Twain was responsible for paying all of the partnership’s debts. After the Assignment was effected, Twain negotiated with creditors to pay their remaining deficiency claims after final cash distributions were made to them by the assignee. Although Twain refused in these negotiations to accept legal responsibility for these payments, he recognized his „moral responsibility“ for making creditors whole.[[15]](#footnote-15) The creditors accepted this promise from Twain and by 1898, the author had satisfied all remaining claims against the defunct partnership. The sources of these payments were Twain’s continuing book royalties and his income from lectures given in the United States and during a world tour, during which he made 122 lectures in 71 cities, primarily in states and colonies under the suzerainty of the British Empire.[[16]](#footnote-16)

1. **The End of Twain’s Career, his Death and his Enduring Legacy**

Mark Twain wrote and gave lectures up to the end of his life. His last books published during his lifetime were *Is Shakespeare Dead?* (1909) and *Queen Victoria’s Jubilee* (1910). He began composing his *Autobiography* in 1906, which was published by the University of California recently in three volumes. This work became a bestseller upon its publication. In 1909, Twain composed this prophecy about Halley’s Comet and his death:

„I came in with Halley’s Comet in 1835. It is coming again next year, and I expect to go out with it. It will be the greatest disappointment of my life if I don’t go out with Halley’s Comet. The Almighty has said, no doubt, ‚Now here are these two unaccountable freaks, they came in together, they must go out together’.“

As if on cue, Mark Twain passed away on April 21, 1910, only one day after the reappearance of the comet in the skies over the earth. The remains of the author were buried together with his wife and children in their family plot in Woodlawn Cemetery, Elmira, New York.

Twain’s death failed to diminish his fame and popularity within and without the United States. His masterpiece, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* was later praised by many leading critics and noteworthy authors, including T.S. Eliot and Ernest Hemingway. The latter remarked about the novel as follows:

„All American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called ‚Huckleberry Finn’. . .There was nothing before. There has been nothing as good since.“[[17]](#footnote-17)

*Huckleberry Finn* is still widely read and is included in English Literature curricula of many high schools and universties throughout the United States and in other countries. However, in some circles this novel is still the subject of controversy. Many people oppose the presentation of the novel in educational settings because of Twain’s use of the „N-word“ in the dialog of his characters and in Huck’s narration. This use is considered by these critics today as racist. In the face of these arguments, many American high schools and universities have stricken this work from their curricula.

Notwithstanding this ban, Twain’s portrayal in *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* of the extinct life-styles and customs of the Mississippi River Valley illustrates an inestimable element of American culture and national character. This is evidenced by the many films and plays of these two novels produced during the last 100 years. For example, American film studios released six films of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* between 1907 and 1973 and seven films of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* between 1920 and 1975. In 1985, the Broadway musical, *Big River,* which was based on *Huckleberry Finn* received a Tony Award in the category of „Best Musical.“ A revival of this play on Broadway was performed in 2003.

Finally other American plays have been written and performed, that portray the quintessence of this lost world along the Mississippi. Perhaps the best example of these is the musical, *Showboat,* which was produced in 1927 on Broadway by Florenz Ziegfield, Jr. (1867-1932) and was based on the popular 1926 novel of the same name by Edna Ferber. The story describes, *inter alia,* life on a Mississippi River steamboat in 1887, which traveled from one river town to another to perform plays and songs for the towns’ inhabitants. Jerome Kern composed the music and Oscar Hammerstein II wrote the text of the musical’s songs. *Showboat* premiered on Broadway on December 27, 1927, and became an immediate sensation. The 1927 play has been described as a „radical departure in musical storytelling marrying spectacle with seriousness,“ when compared with the operettas and other light-fare that had up until then dominated the Broadway stage.[[18]](#footnote-18) Later, two Hollywood films of *Showboat* were produced. One was released by Universal Pictures in 1936 and starred Paul Robeson, Irene Dunne and Hattie McDaniel in the cast. In 1951, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer released another version of the musical, which starred Ava Gardner, Kathryn Grayson and Howard Keel.

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1. The expression, „Mark Twain,“ comes from the work slang of early American steamboat pilots and means „Mark number two,“ „two fathoms,“ or „12 feet.“ This cry signalled that the depth of the river for riverboat travel was safe; the boat would not scrape the river bottom. Samuel Clemens adopted this expression at the beginning of his writing career as his *nom de plume.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Mark Twain recounts some of his early childhood experiences in his essay, “Early Days,“ composed in 1907. Tom Quirk, ed., *The Portable Mark Twain*, pp. 519-533, Penguin Books, London (2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Twain’s book, *Life on the Mississippi,* published in 1883 contains his remembrances during his employment as a steamboat pilot. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. As discussed below, this voyage, undertaken during Twain’s pencraft on *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was made not on a raft but with a rented skiff. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad,* Chapter 11, p.10, Penguin Group (USA), Inc., New York (1997). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. *Id.,* Chapter 19, p. 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Some of these ill-conceived investments were a magnetic telegraph, a steam pulley, the Fredonia Watch Company and railroad equities. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. For a description of this machine, see <https://www.asme.org/about-asme/who-we-are/engineering-history/landmarks/11-paige-compositor>. Only one of these machines still exists today and is displayed in the Mark Twain House and Museum in Hartford, Connecticut. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. After this demonstration, Twain wrote that the Compositor was the „Shakespeare of mechanical inventions.“ [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. The story of the relationships between Twain and his prior publishers, however, is more complex than Twain’s expressed viewpoint of these publishers as predators. For an excellent discussion of these interactions, see Joseph Csicsilla, „These Hideous Times: Mark Twain’s Bankruptcy and the Panic of 1893,“ in *Mark Twain and Money,* edited by H.B. Wohnham and Lawrence Howe, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama (2017) (hereinafter cited as „Csicsilla“). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884/1885) and *The Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant*  (1885). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. See, e.g., Csicsilla, *supra*. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. *Id.* [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. This New York state law did not provide the assignor with a discharge of debts on account of the prohibition in Article I, section 10 of the United States Constitution prohibiting states from „impairing the Obligation of Contracts.“ New York presently has a similar law to the same effect as ist 1894 predecessor. New York Laws, Debtor and Creditor, Article 2, Section 2, *et seq.* Other states have similar laws, e.g., Illinois and California. See, e.g., Benjamin Weintraub, et al., „Assignments for the Benefit of Creditors and Comparative Systems for Liquidation of Insolvent Estates,“ 39 Cornell L.Rev. 3 (1953); Carly Landon, „Making Assignments fort he Benefit of Creditors as Easy as A-B-C,“ 41 Fordham Urban L.Rev. 1451 (2016). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. At that time, Twain blamed his deceased nephew for the financial meltdown of the publishing house. In 1946, however, Charles Webster’s son challenged these claims in a book entitled *Mark Twain, Business Man.* [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. See generally Richard Zacks, *Chasing the Last Laugh:* *How Mark Twain Escaped Debt and Disgrace With a* *Round-the-World-Tour,* Anchor Books, New York (2017), for an extended examination of Twain’s financial distress and resulting recovery. In 1897, Twain authored the book, *Following the Equator,* in which he recounted his adventures on this world tour. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Ernest Hemingway, *The Green Hills of Africa,* Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York (1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. John Lahr, „Mississippi Mud,“ *The New Yorker*, pp. 123-126 (Oct. 22, 1993). See also Geoffrey Block, *Enchanted Evenings: The Broadway Musical From* *Showboat to Sondheim and Lloyd Weber,* Oxford University Press (2nd ed. 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)