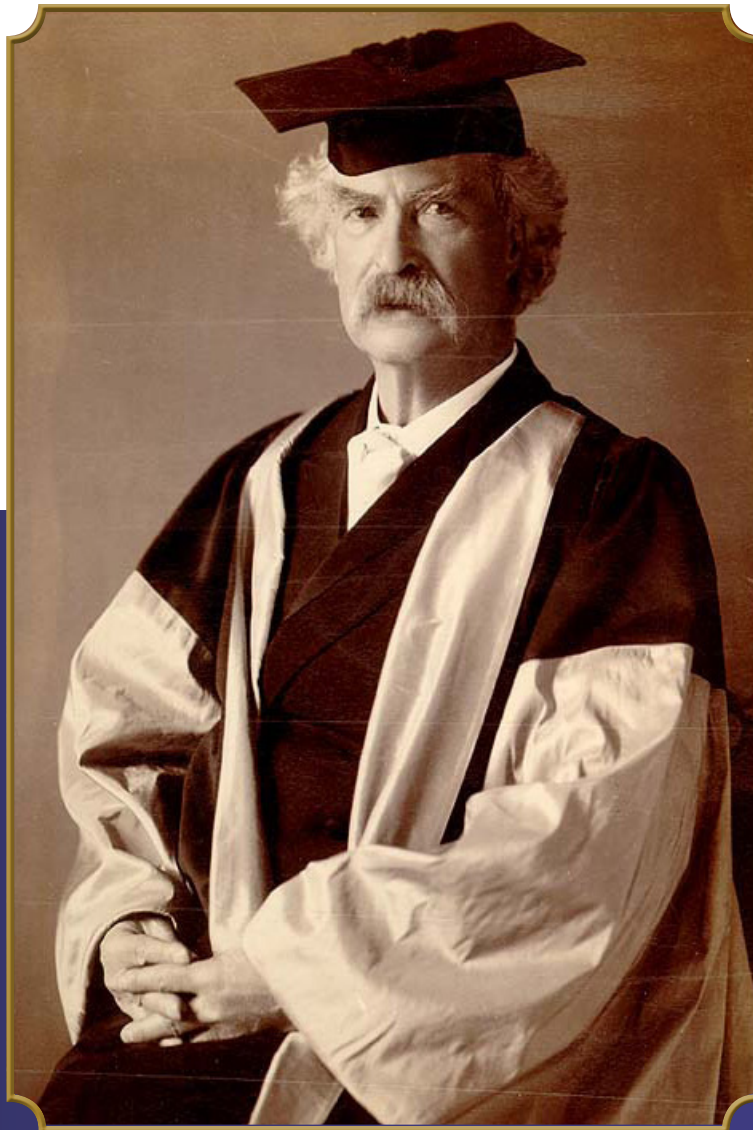


ELMIRA 2017: THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE ON THE STATE OF  
MARK TWAIN STUDIES

ABSTRACTS

*(In alphabetical order by last name)*



Alvarez, Joseph, *Independent Scholar*

“Dystopian Views of Heaven in *Letters from the Earth* and *Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven*”

Throughout much of *Letters from the Earth*, Mark Twain asserts a dystopian vision of heaven, e.g., “It is easy to see that the inventor of the heaven did not originate the idea, but copied it from the show-ceremonies of some sorry little sovereign State up in the back settlements of the Orient somewhere” (225). Likewise, Twain expressed a similar, but tempered, dystopian vision of heaven in *Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven*, “This ain’t just as near my idea of bliss as I thought it was going to be” (157). Granted, *Letters from the Earth* was written in his later years and remained unpublished until 1962. Although *Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven* was published in 1907, three years before he died, he began writing it in 1869 because of his “disgust with popular conceptions of Paradise” (Baetzhold and McCullough, Introduction xix). In these dystopian views of heaven, the renowned humorist creates relatively little humor.

*Letters from the Earth* comprises eleven letters purportedly written by Satan to Saints Gabriel and Michael (three archangels closest to God) while he is on banishment from Heaven for one celestial day, equivalent to 1,000 earth years. During this exile, he decides to “hunt up the earth and see how the Human-Race experiment was coming along” (Twain, *Letters* 221). Although he was used to punishment “on account of his too flexible tongue” (221), he was still in good enough graces with God to avoid the permanent exile he was to receive later. The *Letters* discuss other subjects (e.g., Adam and Eve, the ordeal Noah endured in fulfilling God’s requirement to save animals, and the destruction of the Midianites), but they focus on humanity’s unsuccessful attempt at creating a utopian afterlife in heaven.

According to Satan, the human race “invented a heaven, out of its own head, all by itself” (Twain, *Letters* 224). His five-part explanation of this heavenly invention shows how dystopian this purported utopia is:

1. As noted, it omits sexual intercourse;
2. All day, everyone sings only one hymn repeatedly;
3. While singing, “every person is playing on a harp” (225) together creating an unbearable cacophony;
4. Despite the claim that “on earth all nations hate each other, and every one of them hates the Jew”

(226), in heaven, all are equal.

5. Although humans seem to possess “some share of intellect” and to take pride in the “majestic intellectual chiefs of [their] race,” their heaven “has not a rag of intellect in it” (226).

As noted, *Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven* presents a tempered vision of heaven, perhaps a reflection of Twain’s changing views. He wrote several versions of *Stormfield* in the 1870s, the early 1880s, and the early 1900s, before publishing it in two parts in the December 1907 and January 1908 issues of *Harper’s Monthly*. As late as June 1906, he wrote to William Dean Howells that he still felt the story was too controversial to publish but changed his mind by 1907 (Baetzhold and McCullough, *Bible* 136).

As the title suggests, Captain Stormfield “visits” heaven, traveling for thirty years after his death, a sort of limbo. “Visit” seems to be a questionable term for an eternal stay because it implies a return home from the place visited. In Stormfield’s case and that of all celestial travelers headed toward heaven, his visit becomes a permanent stay. Unfortunately, he lands at a gate millions of miles (leagues) away from his own gate and is eventually processed like all immigrants into heaven. On his first day, he realizes the vast expanse of heaven is not what he expected. He eventually finds that there ‘s a substantial cognitive dissonance between the heaven about which he learned during his life on earth and the reality he encounters in heaven. Dispirited, he felt “so downhearted and homesick I wished a hundred times I never had died” (Twain, *Stormfield* 155). He tells an old man he meets that he was getting “low-spirited” because “This ain’t just as near my idea of bliss as I thought it was going to be, when I used to go to church” (157).

He is also puzzled that he is not issued what he thought was standard equipment: his harp, wreath, halo, hymn-book, and palm branch (Twain, *Stormfield* 154). He soon discovers “that a man’s got to be in his own heaven to be happy” (155). He also learns that heaven is not a place to rest, but one that requires a person to occupy his or her time with activity or work and that he can choose his own occupation. Contrary to conventional beliefs about heaven, he learns that pain and suffering also abound even though pain is not fatal and suffering is fleeting. As for angel wings, he finds that most people don’t wear them except for show because they are impractical. Among other disillusionments, Stormfield discovers heaven is not a republic and that he and others are not equal; he accedes to heaven’s hierarchies. One final discovery Stormfield makes confirms the dissonance between his expectations of heaven and its reality: one’s age, as chosen by the individual. Stormfield believes that “down below, I always had the idea that in heaven we would all be young, and bright, and spry” (158). His friend, Sandy, replies, “Well, you can be young if you want to” (158). Sandy had tried various ages, but found them uncomfortable, so he returned to his age upon death, seventy-two.

In *Letters from the Earth* Satan states that man created heaven; *Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven* posits a more or less conventional creation. Twain’s two visions of heaven differ in their characters, their plots, and their seriousness; but they both suggest that heaven is more a dystopia than a utopia.

(jalvarez@carolina.rr.com)

Amare, Nicole and Alan Manning, *University of South Alabama and Brigham Young University*

“Through the Veil of Unbelief: Twain’s Transformative Grief and Mormon Imagery”

In *Continuing Bonds with the Dead: Parental Grief and Nineteenth-Century American Authors*, Harold K. Bush describes Twain, in his late-life grief, as “a man of highly divided nature—in fact, divided to almost epic proportions. Nobody could be so sweet and nostalgic, or nearly so bitter and furious, as the late Mark Twain” (Bush 146). Bush cites two grief poems, “In Memoriam” (1897) and “Broken Idols,” (1898) as emblematic of Twain’s divided self: a man who is both a hopeful visionary and a nihilistic blasphemer. These disparate poems “document the divided and highly contested response” at the first and second anniversary of Susy’s death—the warring factions of Twain’s religious and metaphysical universe for the final fourteen years of his life” (Bush *Mark* 241).

We concur with Bush's assertion that much more critical attention has been paid to Twain's determinism and rejection of the Almighty than there has been to Twain's desire for an afterlife and a peaceful reunion with the dead, especially with his wife and three deceased children, although more critical attention to Twain's religiosity has recently surfaced (see e.g., Berkove; Reesman). In this presentation, we propose to focus on a religious reading of images found in Twain's "In Memoriam," generally through the lens of Christianity but more specifically with reference to the Mormon Church, also known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (or LDS). Although, as David Levy notes, Twain generally denounced organized religion, he was nevertheless "obsessed with religion [...] throughout his life" (200). Bush's reading of "In Memoriam" places Twain's elegiac verse rightly in the tradition of sentimentalism, a tradition that Twain mocks ruthlessly earlier in his life (Howell; Lowenherz). The few scholars besides Bush (e.g. Cavitch 11-12; Kolb 296) who have noticed "In Memoriam" have considered its style anomalous for Twain: an allegory set in a distant mythological world. However, we suggest that Twain's poem may be historical rather than mythical. Pellowe (52-53) suggests Twain's religious consciousness was shaped in part by the Nauvoo temple (eighty miles north of Hannibal) and throngs of Mormon travelers passing through Hannibal during Clemens' boyhood. "In Memoriam" supports Pellowe, but in this paper, we explore how Twain, in his grief over the loss of Susy and at the gates of an end-of-life disaffection from God, might build from the iconography of Mormonism specific points of emotional refuge.

We and others have argued elsewhere (e.g., Cracroft; Eliason; Nibbelink) that even as Twain throws softly satirical barbs at Mormons in *Roughing It*, he also makes more serious and subtle references to LDS history, in *Huckleberry Finn* and then in his later writings, references that reveal a strange kinship to Mormons, particularly Joseph Smith, the first Mormon prophet and President of the LDS Church. It is precisely at the points in his life when Twain was grieving most that we find that his musings on God, heaven, and death align most particularly with uniquely Mormon imagery. Bush states that "the death of a child could destroy any remaining belief, becoming a final coup de grace against any serious loyalty toward God" (Continuing 131), and yet we find Twain most clearly reaching out for God in Twain's deepest moments of despair. We analyze Twain's grief in moments of intense loss: deaths of his brother Henry; his children Langdon, Susy, and Jean; and his wife Livy—a grief which reveals the heart of Twain turning toward at least the desire for forgiveness and the longing to speak a type of eternal truth, one that speaks from the grave, in a manner strikingly analogous to voices from Joseph Smith's visions of Ancient America: "as one crying from the dead, yea, even as one speaking out of the dust" (531), and thus Twain likewise wrote in his 1904 private notebook:

"None but the dead have free speech."

"None but the dead are permitted to speak the truth."

"In America—as elsewhere—free speech is confined to the dead." (MTN 393)

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(namare@southalabama.edu and alan\_manning@byu.edu)

**Arima, Yoko**, *Keiai University; The Mark Twain Papers*

"Influence of Charles Henry Webb on Twain: Rereading of the *Californian*"

Bernard DeVoto once wrote that during Twain's two and a half years in San Francisco, his work had grown surer and broader in scope and that "[all] the rest of Mark Twain's books are embryonic in what he had written by December 1866." Most would agree that this has much to do with the close relationship Twain developed with the editors of the *Californian*, Charles Henry Webb and Bret Harte, who alternated editorship with each other. They were Twain's literary models as well as competitors.

However, although much has been researched on Harte's influence on Twain, no one had paid serious attention to C.H. Webb until James E. Caron included him in a discussion of the comic abilities of Sam Clemens. He asserted: "Webb's Inigo showed Clemens

how to wed his Washoe humor of raillery to a literary, Bohemian sensibility.”

Webb and Harte were principals of the *Californian*, who planned it as the best-written and best-printed literary weekly in the west. But their experiment of writing for “the highest class of the community,” turned out to be a failure. It ceased publication two years after Webb left the Pacific Coast in early 1866.

Concerning this failure, an article written by G.M. Troxell in the *Yale University Library Gazette* (Vol. 3, No. 2. Oct. 1928. 39-42) gives an idea why Harte’s high-culture literary aspirations did not contribute to the endurance of the *Californian*. According to the article, in 1928 it was already the Mark Twain rather than the Bret Harte association that made the *Californian* interesting, because Bret Harte seemed “dated” to an extraordinary degree “with his passion for scenery and sunsets and his rather limited range of thought,” while Mark Twain, “spite of his lapses into vulgarity,” possessed always an amazing vitality.

But Webb *did* recognize the weakness of Harte’s “pretty sentences” and wrote, in February 10th 1866 in the series “Inigoings,” that those sentences “sometimes beguiles a writer into obscurity.” He even regretted that sometimes Harte was so idiomatic that Webb himself did not exactly understand him.

Often Webb is regarded as merely the sponsor and publisher of Twain’s first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* (1867). But a careful reading of his two series called “Things” and “Inigoings” reveals that, besides a Bohemian sensibility, there is more in Webb that Twain might have learned from him, even leaving aside his humor. It is not rare that we come across in Webb the same subjects found in Twain’s humorous writings. It seems likely that Webb had a keen intuition about where amusement could be found and that Twain, recognizing his genius, was attentively watching.

More interestingly, however, Webb was experimenting with fantastic even grotesque writing in fiction as early as March 1866, even though no one has paid much attention so far. And still more interestingly, about a month earlier in February 1866, Twain published probably his earliest fantasy, “Remarkable Dream.” In Webb’s story, a distinguished man of letters having been nearly suffocated by gas, briefly woke up when a cocktail was brought near to his lips. He “sprang up in bed, extended both arms, and emptied the glass at a gulp” and had a comical yet strange conversation with his friend before he fell back exhausted. In “Remarkable Dream,” Twain received several visits from the worst characters in hell, while he was sitting in his room falling into a doze, smoking his pipe and looking into the dying embers on the hearth. Both Webb and Twain are using a subliminal condition of mind to generate their fantastic tales. They may have shared an interest in similar fantastic materials and have been influencing each other.

When DeVoto characterized Twain’s work in San Francisco, he also mentioned that those casual pieces “outline the future: the humorist, the social satirist, the pessimist, the novelist of America.” Written at a time when fantasy or fantastic tales were undervalued, DeVoto did not include “the fantasist,” but Twain is now widely recognized as a fantasist as well. By rereading the *Californian* now, we may find other aspects of Webb’s genius that influenced Twain in this formative period. (88arimiy@gmail.com)

**Bates, Courtney**, *University of Findlay*

“Turning from the Darkness: Twain’s Use of Fandoms to Address Reader Backlash on “To the Person Sitting in Darkness”

After Twain published his anti-imperialist essay “To the Person Sitting in Darkness” in 1901, he experienced a backlash from readers both in published editorials and private letters mailed to him directly. He used his media savvy, developed in part through his career-long exchange with unknown readers, to deflect that criticism without actually changing his position on American imperialism. The archival letters that Twain exchanges with his readers show that he was monitoring his readers’ reactions to his work in a unique manner—scoring the envelopes. Twain was not simply keeping count of whether the letters weighted on one side of the scale of approval or disapproval. He was also using that information to launch a public relations counterattack by changing entirely the tenor of his response by borrowing a move from Tom Sawyer: the power of a premature eulogy. This project enumerates the causes and effects of Twain’s manipulation and recuperation of his value as an author through his invitation to “amend” any pre-existing obituaries about him. Although his invitation specifies submissions from journals and newspapers, readers from all corners respond to the call. Thus, I argue, Twain shifts the conversation about him from the specific, tension-filled issue of imperialism to broad panegyrics of his life-long career. (bates@findlay.edu)

**Bianculli, David**, *Rowan University*

“Mark Twain on Television”

In previous years, when I’ve attended the Mark Twain Studies conferences at Elmira, I’ve seen my TV critic friend and colleague, Mark Dawidziak, deliver two papers related to Mark Twain and television: analyses of the 1960 *The Shape of the River* teleplay on the CBS anthology series *Playhouse 90*, and of the 1967 Hal Holbrook CBS production of *Mark Twain Tonight!* With this abstract, I’m proposing a wider overview, looking at some of the portrayals of Mark Twain, and Samuel Clemens, spread over the entire history of television.

*Shape of the River* and *Mark Twain Tonight!* would be touched upon, of course, but so would scripted portrayals of Clemens in TV series or specials from almost every decade since television began. If I were selected to present a paper, my twenty-minute presentation lecture would include brief samples, on DVD, of most of the basically obscure, sometimes forgotten programs featuring actors portraying the man known as Mark Twain.

These would even predate the *Shape of the River* live telecast, thanks to a first-season episode of the Western series *Laramie* from earlier in 1960 – and, before that, a 1959 first-season episode of *Bonanza*. That was the first of three times the Samuel Clemens character would appear on that classic Western, each time playing a writer for the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise*. Those three episodes, though, would span a total of 13 years, and the character of Clemens would be played, over those years, by three different actors.



In addition to *Laramie* and *Bonanza*, Mark Twain would make appearances on two other early Westerns: In an episode of *The Rifleman* from 1961, and two different episodes of *Death Valley Days* – once in 1962, and again in 1968.

Outside of Westerns, Sam Clemens and/or Mark Twain made other key TV appearances over the decades as characters in scripted shows. The famed author, as a character, was featured in 1970's *Swing Out, Sweet Land*, a special also known as *John Wayne's Tribute to America*. Twain "appeared" in another, similar type of TV special, *General Electric's All-Star Anniversary*, in 1978. And he was the star of a biographical docudrama, 1979's *Mark Twain: Beneath the Laughter*, starring Dan O'Herlihy as Mark Twain, overseen by Mark Twain scholars.

Then there are the well-made PBS Twain adaptations of the 1980s, semi-autobiographical stories featuring, as well as written by, the author. These would include 1980's *Life on the Mississippi* (starring David Knell as a young Twain, training as a riverboat pilot) and 1983's *The Innocents Abroad* (starring Craig Wasson as a young adult Twain, working as a travel correspondent), both shown on the PBS series *Great Performances*, starring Craig Wasson as young Mark Twain, and both very good.

And finally, there are the oddities, which would include a 1982 Mark Twain appearance on *Fantasy Island*, a featured guest role in a two-part 1992 time-travel episode of *Star Trek: The Next Generation* – and, most recently, as a young Sam Clemens recounting the story of the jumping frog in a particularly unreliable account told by an inebriated "historian" in a 2013 installment of *Drunk History*.

Overall, these TV treatments range from serious dramatizations of Clemens' life to farcical or fanciful appropriations of his character and reputation. They may seem to have little in common, except for the fact that they were written for and performed on television. But from the 1950s to the current decade, Mark Twain as a character has made regular appearances on our society's most popular medium as a popular culture figure of continued interest. Each generation is expected to recognize him on sight, be aware of at least his most famous writings, and embrace or at least understand him accordingly. How many other authors, over the same 75-year span – about the same time it takes for a return trip by Halley's Comet – can claim the same?

(davidbianculli@comcast.net)

**Bird, John**, *Winthrop University*

"Mark Twain's Autobiography: The Metaphor of Invention, Encomium, and Invective"

Mark Twain's autobiography provides an excellent window into Twain's mind and psychology, since he was dictating the entries and thus was not subject to his usual composing and revising process. One very interesting aspect of the autobiographical entries is his use of metaphorical language.

In the three volumes of the complete autobiography, I have focused on three clusters of metaphor: invention, encomium, and invective. Especially in the first volume, he has numerous metaphors for his inventive process as he tried to arrive at his idiosyncratic method of "writing" an autobiography. These metaphors of invention provide us with insights into the way Twain thought about the composing process and the process of memory. As he talks about various people, he uses metaphorical language of both praise and scorn. His metaphors of encomium are often quite beautiful and moving; but it is in his metaphors of invective that he really shines and entertains. In fact, the scorn that comes through as he talks about James Paige, Andrew Carnegie, and Theodore Roosevelt, among many others, shows us Mark Twain at his irascible and iconoclastic best.

These dictated metaphors are especially arresting, entertaining, and illuminating because they were invented as he spoke, on the spur of the moment. They provide us a nearly uncensored and unmediated look into the mind of Mark Twain, and they help us make sense of the welter of words that make up his autobiography.

(birdj@winthrop.edu)

**Bliss, Donald**, *Independent Scholar*

"Mark Twain and Politics - Then and Now"

During the economic boom of 1869–73, Twain wrote his first novel in collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner, an editor of the Hartford Courant. The title of the book, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of To-day*, gave its name to the era it describes. This provocative tale about Americans' obsession with getting rich—greed and speculation in the financial markets and the influence of money and lobbyists in Congress—remains a Tale of Today. Contemporary commentators are drawing parallels between our age and the Gilded Age.

As he grew in public stature, Clemens became a sought after commentator. He bitterly attacked America's imperialist engagement in unjust wars and its occupation of foreign lands. He strongly advocated social and racial justice and passionately promoted civic education. He feared the American experiment would fail unless educated and informed voters elected competent representatives. He implored Americans and their elected representatives to reject platitudes, platforms, pledges, and petty partisanship and instead to think and act independently, relying only on their conscience. Twain's only guide was his conscience—free of blind allegiance to any political or religious institution or conventional wisdom. In his many books, articles, newspaper reports, unpublished dictations, letters, lectures, and essays, he spoke caustically, critically, and insightfully about the American political system. His insightful commentary about corporate lobbying, the corrupting influence of money in the legislative process, an overtly political media, parliamentary gamesmanship, an arrogant foreign policy, and a lethargic, uniformed voting public remains relevant today. With his acerbic wit, Twain commanded public attention and demanded that Americans rise up, exercise their democratic powers, and hold their leaders accountable.

We have witnessed the inauguration of President Donald J. Trump after an extraordinary presidential campaign that seemed to defy all political conventions. While there are many interpretations of Trump's surprising victory, it is not a stretch to assume that some of Clemens' well-honed observations during the Gilded Age may have been contributing factors— a Congress and federal bureaucracy that

has lost touch with the American people, rising income inequality that leaves too many working families behind, the corrupting effect of money in politics, and a general skepticism of professional politicians. The 2016 campaign revealed the pent-up frustrations of many Americans with the uneven impact of globalization and brought into question America's global responsibilities in a world beset with proliferating terrorism and ethnic and religious conflict. Populism or nationalism seems on the rise globally. A 2017 report showed that the richest eight people in the world, six of them Americans, have as much wealth as the poorest one half of the world's population—is this really sustainable?

Fundamental questions are being raised today about the viability of American representative democracy, the objectivity and truthfulness of the media, the integrity and relevance of political campaigns and the election process, the role and responsibilities of Congress, America's role in an increasingly interconnected world.

These are all issues that Mark Twain addressed thoughtfully. His advice is worthy of consideration today:

- Effective representative democracy depends upon educated, informed, and engaged voters demanding accountability from their elected leaders, and to achieve this result over the long term, civic education should be emphasized throughout the educational spectrum.
- Congress should amend its procedures and ways of doing business to reflect the framers' constitutional vision of accomplished senators and representatives debating the great issues of the day as they seek to advance the common good after taking into account the different perspectives and interests of their constituents.
- In the election of candidates for public office, Americans need to place greater emphasis on character, relevant experience, the courage of one's convictions, and the capacity to govern effectively, and less emphasis on party politics and winning at all costs.
- Americans and their elected representatives should reject the partisan politics that floods the airways with negative ads, abuses the legislative process, and forces lawmakers into uncompromising corners.

We do not know what the future will bring. It is a pity that Mark Twain is no longer around to comment on it—or at least ease our anxiety with a heavy dose of humor.

(dbliss@omm.com)

**Bush, Hal**, *St. Louis University*

“Tennyson, Evolution, Pain & Parasites: Further Thoughts on the Continuing Bonds of Mark Twain”

In the months after their daughter Susy's death in 1896, Mark Twain and his wife Livy immersed themselves in various versions of the poetry of mourning. Most importantly, the Clemenses became absorbed in reading and re-reading Alfred Lord Tennyson's famous eulogy *In Memoriam* (1849). Like many grieving parents, they had received a copy from a friend, John McAlister, who meant it to be a source of consolation; Livy later wrote: “How can I thank you for the exquisite copy of *In Memoriam* which has just reached me. You must have divining power because it is exactly what I was wanting. I have been reading the poem a good deal this Winter.” Twain himself wrote about the poem in a letter from Switzerland dated 20 July 1897—the month before the one-year anniversary of Susy's death: “I have read part of *In Memoriam* again. It is a noble poem. Mrs. Clemens reads it persistently, & thanks you all the time for the healing it brings her.” As one historian writes, “*In Memoriam* held great meaning for many Victorians in mourning. . . they were reassured to know that Tennyson's search for faith finally triumphed over doubt.”

Tennyson's poem is a long and profound meditation on loss and grief. Tennyson's singular achievement, in this extremely popular “grieving manual,” which predates Darwin's publications, is to couple meditations on the warlike qualities of the natural world, “red in tooth and claw,” with the horror of personal loss, in the case of the death of a beloved friend at an early age. Parasites, in particular, became a common trope of the era. Thus did Tennyson present a powerful case against God that would reverberate throughout the Victorian Age.

Twain's admiration for Tennyson's long elegy is worth noting, especially as it influenced his own obsessive attempts to wrestle with the problem of evil, pain and suffering. This problem was deeply complicated by the grief experience after his grown daughter died. Her illness was untreatable at that time, and so his focus on germs, “parasites,” and disease took on an even more personal edge. For the Victorians, the parasite became symbolic of this theological issue. The historian John Fiske, friend of Twain, wrote in 1885: “nothing can be clearer than that Nature is full of cruelty and mal-adaptation. In every part of the animal world we find implements of torture surpassing in devilish ingenuity anything that was ever seen in the dungeons of the Inquisition.” (*Idea of God* 121-22). Twain became very attentive to this line of reasoning.

My paper proposal will consider the influence of Tennyson's meditations on evolutionary pain and suffering within the context of Twain's grief, and as expressed in numerous writings of the grieving period, such as “Little Bessie,” “Refuge of the Derelicts,” “30,000 Years among the Microbes,” “Thoughts of God,” and others. I will use Tennyson's poem to foreground the larger questions of theodicy as impacted by the rise of evolutionary biology, and how these questions became important in the writings of Mark Twain. As such, it will be the first study of how this philosophical trend of the horror and cruelty of nature was manifest in the writings of Mark Twain. In particular, the trope of the horrific nature of parasites and germs, some of the most horrific items in the litany of the natural world “red in tooth and claw,” became a preoccupation, if not an obsession. These were symbolic of the never-ending warfare of nature, and were clues about the monstrous nature of the Creator: a theme that he repeated over and over in his late writings.

(bushhk@slu.edu)

**Camfield, Gregg**, *University of California, Merced*  
 “Is Satire Compatible with Free Speech?”

Though history does not repeat itself, eras demonstrate strong family resemblances. In Twain’s day, the rapid improvements in printing technology coupled with the birth of electronic communication in the telegraph helped American political parties and their allied media to create a public sphere of stifling rancor, a virtually information free zone in which heat replaced light. The family resemblance to our own times jumps out. Satire was one tool of resistance, and yet, it contributed as much to the rancor as any straightforward attack. Again, I doubt many of us would fail to see the family resemblance in our own times.

In this context, and perhaps of value to our own, Twain investigated the values and limitations of freedom of speech. At various times he expressed absolute support (*Connecticut Yankee*), qualified support (*A Tramp Abroad*), qualified disagreement (“How I Edited an Agricultural Newspaper Once,” “Running for Governor”), and energetic disagreement (“Journalism in Arkansas,”) with free speech. Given that Twain is usually held up as an icon of free speech, I’ll begin with his disagreements before coming to the ways in which his thought and career show the ultimate value of free speech.

Throughout his career, Twain expressed concern that untrammelled freedom of speech encouraged people to make the most outrageous of statements in order to be heard. The escalating scream needed to rise to the top of outrageous statements meant that more and more people would be outraged, and, among the casualties would be truth. In one respect, subtle satire could be simultaneously outrageous and quiet—it could be the whisper at a crowded table that would ultimately command attention. But in this sense, Twain was simply thinking strategically about being heard; freedom of speech in this sense is the desire to express one’s position, perhaps to convince others, perhaps to preach to the choir, perhaps just to show off. Twain understood and appreciated this desire; he also feared it.

An alternate justification for freedom of speech is to listen. John Stuart Mill, Twain’s older contemporary, influentially expressed this idea in Chapter II of *On Liberty*. According to Mill, freedom of speech is the freedom to hear ideas that one would not normally entertain so as to grow and improve. This justification of free speech is connected to curiosity, to a desire to explore. Throughout his career, Twain found freedom of speech as a mode of *exploration*, rather than merely as a mode of expression, to be attractive and worth defending (“Dr Loeb’s Incredible Discovery”). And insofar as he cared as much about finding the truth as about expressing it, he turned not to satire, but rather to humor. Insofar as satire is dogmatic, it certainly does not serve the best ends of free speech, and thus, when Twain was truest to his artistic gifts, he would, I think, say that satire, while perhaps not incompatible with free speech in a trivial sense, is incompatible with free speech in the most important sense.

(gcamfield@ucmerced.edu)

**Carkeet, David**, *Independent Scholar*

“Adapting Twain’s Short Works for the Stage: David Carkeet and the Mark Twain Players”

In 2016, I began adapting selected short works by Mark Twain for the stage, primarily as ten-minute plays—an odd little dramatic form not much seen outside of festivals and competitions (with the exception of John Cariani’s frequently produced collection, *Almost, Maine*). I found several of Twain’s short stories well suited to this short form, thanks to their high-concept premises, their clear and easily established characters, and their brisk movement to resolution. But the project posed challenges as well—almost, it seemed, a different challenge for every work I chose.

I have engaged the Mark Twain Players, at their usual rate, to present adaptations of three works as staged readings (music stands, few props, little movement): “Buck Fanshaw’s Funeral,” “The McWilliamses and the Burglar Alarm,” and *Meisterschaft*—a medium-length Twain play shortened to about 12 minutes in my version. After the staged reading, I will discuss the adaptation process. The Mark Twain Players who will tread the boards are John Bird, Kerry Driscoll, Dennis Eddings, Susan K. Harris, Linda Morris, and Holger Kersten.

(davidcarkeet@gmail.com)

**Caron, Jim** *University of Hawai’i at Manoa*

“The Pernicious Use of ‘Humorist’ to Describe Mark Twain (and Other Comic Writers)”

“But thou, O Lord, shalt laugh at them; thou shalt have all the heathen in derision” —Psalms 59:8

I argue that the near ubiquitous use of *humorist* in critical commentary masks or at least obscures the satire in laughable texts, repressing the dark side of The Comic. Light-hearted (amiable) laughter has become the sign of the humorist. In a regime that assumes *humorist* as the umbrella term, what happens to the assaults of (ridiculing) laughter that are a hallmark of satirists? No assault allowed because mere pleasure reigns: entertain but not a-muse (i.e. laugh as prelude to thinking about the issue raised via ridicule of a comic butt).

I will in melodramatic fashion blame Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, and William Thackeray from a line-up of usual suspects for the dominance of *humorist* as a term and thus for a chronic conceptual confusion, then focus on post-1900 Mark Twain texts as evidence. Critical commentary from contemporary reviews of those texts can be arranged almost without exception into three groups complete with titles for Mr. Clemens’s efforts: Mark Twain the humorist, Mark Twain the satirist, Mark Twain the professional jester. Mark Twain critics today still operate for the most part under the same mashed-up discourse. Indeed, the confusion haunts nearly all commentary on America’s comic writers.

(caron@hawaii.edu)

Click, Ben, *St. Mary's College of Maryland*

"Rhetorical Listening, Silence, and Cultural Consubstantiality in Adventures of Huckleberry Finn: Revisiting the Raftsmen's Episode Again, Ugh!"

Mark Twain well understood the value of both silence and talk and the rhetorical power of each. "The pause is an exceedingly important feature in any kind of story, and a frequently recurring feature, too." "It is my custom to keep talking until I get my audience cowed." Perhaps none of his other books illustrate the value of and relationship between silence and talk better than *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

As Toni Morrison's introductory essay to the Oxford edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* claims: "much of the novel's genius lies in its quiescence, the silences that pervade it . . . (xxxiii). Eloquently, she identifies some effects those silences have on the reader: "swell[ing] the heart unbearably"; "forc[ing] an act of imagination almost against the will"; setting up the "eloquence of a child," or "frightening meditations on estrangement and death" or "murmuring interludes of despair, soleness, isolation and unlove"; and finally highlighting "Tom Sawyer's silence about Jim's legal status as perverse" (xxxiii).

The raftsmen's episode is one extended moment of silence in the novel and a problematic one at that. Critics debate: should editions restore the chapter to the novel or not. Briefly, the main stance against restoration is author's wishes: Twain officially authorized removal in a letter to publisher Charles L. Webster. The arguments for restoration are more numerous: deleting the chapter leaves a narrative gap between two paragraphs, omits technical info about the river and Cairo, removes dramatic irony, diminishes character development in Huck, denies reading the Charles William Allbright story as a parable of Huck's situation, and eliminates the elapsed time that allows Huck's Conscience to work on him. Despite these arguments, other critics may share Jonathan Arac's position: "no major interpretive argument about *Huckleberry Finn* . . . depends on the presence, or the absence, of this episode"; it is "in no way essential to the whole [novel]. . . (139-142).

My talk offers an "interpretive argument" about this one extended (and representative) episode of silence and listening, through the lens of recent rhetorical theory about these two long neglected aspects of rhetoric. I will apply the individual and collaborative work of rhetoricians Cheryl Glenn and Krista Ratcliffe (see Works Cited) in my analysis. Their work shows the power of silence and listening as "effective for historicizing, theorizing, and practicing the cultural stances and power of both dominant and nondominant (subaltern) groups;" and for offering "people multiple ways to negotiate and deliberate, whether with themselves or in dyadic, small-group, or large-scale situations" (*Silence and Listening* 2-3). Thus understood, the chapter possesses deeper purposes than propelling the plot; or "illustrating keelboat talk," and "furnishing a glimpse of the departed raftsmen and keelboatman" as was "thrown in" to *Life on the Mississippi* (51, 63); or enhancing its artistic structure (arguments listed above). Rather, rhetorically analyzing the chapter reveals what Jacqueline Jones Royster calls a "cross-boundary exchange" in which "voicing" is a phenomenon not only constructed and expressed visually and orally, but also as a "thing heard, perceived, and reconstructed" (30). This phenomenon of hearing, perceiving, and reconstructing takes place in the raftsmen's episode and throughout the novel. Here's a short analysis of such a voicing phenomenon:

Huck swims over to the raft to learn whether he and Jim have passed Cairo. Huck's position while listening to the keelboatmen makes him what rhetorician Kenneth Burke calls "consubstantial" with Jim. In the ten pages that Huck sits "warm, soft, and naked" he hears the tall talking, sees violent fighting, and listens to the haunting Allbright story. Discovered and falsely called a "beggar" and "thief," nearly painted sky blue all over, humiliated and scared, Huck identifies with being caught, alone, without name, and naked. Only Huck's eavesdropping saves him because he can employ the discourse of the keelboatmen, telling them his name is "Charles William Allbright." Applying Ratcliffe's "Eavesdropping as Rhetorical Tactic: History, Whiteness, and Rhetoric," Huck's process of listening allows him to "acknowledge" the existence of the discourse, (un)consciously listen for its presence, and consciously integrate into [his] world view" (91). It's a process repeated over and over again in the novel: with Mrs. Loftus, with the King and the Duke, with the Phelps and the Wilkes, and, of course, with Jim.

The manageable context of examining only raftsmen's chapter offers a way to further explore Morrison's claim that "novel's genius lies in its quiescence," and "the silences that pervade it. . . ." This initial analysis has implications for examining those moments of silence that pervade much of Twain's other works, which is part of my larger project on his fictive use of the silence/talk relationship and its rhetorical power. My talk recognizes the performances of silence and listening within this chapter (and throughout the novel) as a means of understanding the cultural stances and power of both dominant and nondominant groups as well as negotiating and deliberating with one's self or with others—as Huck must.

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(baclick@smcm.edu)



Csicsila, Joseph, *Eastern Michigan University*  
 “Mark Twain’s First Season in Hell: The England Trip of 1872”

In late August 1872 Mark Twain made his first visit to England. The standard reading of that trip going as far back as Albert Bigelow Paine’s account in his 1912 biography is that Twain traveled there chiefly for business purposes and that his nearly three-month stay was pleasurable, invigorating, and an all-around success. Twain, according to Paine and subsequent scholarly accounts, took in parties, delivered speeches to adoring audiences, and collected material for a satirical book on England that he had been planning to write. A careful examination of the historical record suggests a very different story.

Just two months before Twain would leave for that trip to England, Twain’s first child and only son, Langdon, died at the age of 18 months. The following weeks were understandably harrowing. Neither Twain nor his wife accompanied the child’s body to Elmira, New York, for burial, for example. Livy, severely depressed, was too ill to travel and Twain would not leave her, so the couple remained in Hartford with their two-month-old daughter, Susy. Surviving letters and accounts of neighbors suggest that in the days immediately following Langdon’s death Twain was profoundly somber. But by mid-June, just a week or two later, flashes of levity suddenly began appearing in his correspondence with close acquaintances.

On July 5, 1872, about a month after Langdon’s death, Twain took Livy and Susy for the summer to Fenwick Hall, a newly built seaside resort in New Saybrook, Connecticut, about fifty miles south of Hartford. Livy, still mourning, remained close to her room for much of their stay. Twain, on the other hand, threw himself into the social milieu of New Saybrook and became “a very visible participant in the daily activities,” often playing billiards and ten-pins in the resort’s main hall by day and entertaining guests in the hotel’s parlor by night (L5 113). The Hartford Courant even reported that summer that Twain was “a great favorite with the ladies, really the lion of the house” (L5 113). Outwardly, Twain seemed his characteristic demonstrative self. Inwardly, it is nearly impossible to believe that he, like Livy, was not still grieving at New Saybrook, appearing to cope with Langdon’s death through modes of avoidance.

By the end of July 1872, Twain would seek out a more tried-and-true way of distracting himself—travel. While vacationing at New Saybrook, he decided to journey to England for a few months, ostensibly to gather material for a new book. He left his wife and infant daughter behind at Fenwick Hall with family and friends and sailed from New York alone on August 21, 1872. While he was away, Livy, perhaps sensing her husband’s pain despite appearances to the contrary, confided in a letter to Mary Mason Fairbanks, “I am contented to have him away because I think it is just the work he should be at now” (MTTF 164). And just as he had that summer at New Saybrook, Twain immersed himself that fall in London’s social life. “Too much company—too much dining—too much sociability,” he protested, if a little facetiously, in a letter to Livy just a week or two after his arrival (L5 155). But such remonstrations were too frequent during the London trip not to have been constructed at least in part for Livy’s consumption, even if they were an accurate reflection of Twain’s busy schedule. She would sorely miss her husband while he was away, objecting repeatedly that he hadn’t written her often enough or that he continuously seemed to be rushing off to one event or another: “Livy darling, got yours of 8th tonight, & was amused to see how you always complain of being ‘st sleepy & stupid’ when you write, & I am always ‘in haste—dinner ready’” (L5 178-79).

Throughout much of September and October, as Twain regularly wrote home with stories of attending elaborate banquets with England’s elites and delivering speeches to large adoring audiences, he also unfailingly expressed love and affection to his wife and daughter. Only once during that trip, however—in a letter dated September 11—did Twain seemingly refer to Langdon and then only by way of an apparent Freudian slip: “I send all my love to you & our dear babies” (L5 155). Twain at last returned to Hartford the final week of November, but evidently only after Livy pleaded with him to come home.

This paper argues that evidence suggests Twain was in crisis over Langdon’s passing during the summer and fall of 1872 and that his first trip to England was motivated as much by his business concerns as his grief over the death of his son and his attempts to avoid the pain of that loss.

(jcsicsila@emich.edu)

Davis, Hugh H., *C.S. Brown High School*  
 “On Teaching Huck Finn: Reflections from the Secondary Classroom”

In August 2013, I read the abstracts for presentations at the International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies and marked with interest the planned discussion by Alan Gribben. Dr. Gribben was preparing to explain and discuss the origins of the New-South editions of both *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (including the options for the editions in which he edited the original language of the works). His abstract explained the move was made, in part, to ensure the books were still taught in school classrooms across the country. As a veteran high school English teacher, I read his words with curiosity and some confusion; I had certainly never met a challenge to teaching *Huckleberry Finn* in my years teaching it, and I was living proof that current teachers were still teaching the novel. However, as I listened to his talk, I realized that Dr. Gribben’s comments were based more in truth than I initially wanted to admit, for I could think of multiple colleagues who had dropped *Huck Finn* from their teaching (and my inclusion of it was, more often than not, precisely because other teachers were omitting it from their syllabi). With this realization now at the forefront of my thoughts, I began reconsidering my history with teaching *Huckleberry Finn* and Mark Twain.

Over nearly two decades in the English classroom, I have had a variety of opportunities to teach works by Mark Twain, but it was not until my reflection on these moments that I saw my own fortune in having had these opportunities. My teaching has been split evenly between rural public and suburban private school settings, with classes that have been single-sex in one case (the private school is an all-girls’ institution) and nearly single-race in the other (the public schools are in an area that is “majority minority,” with a very high percentage of African Americans), and I have been lucky enough in these very different environments to be allowed to select (within

reason) and teach works of my choosing, including Mark Twain's works. However, that is not the case for all teachers, and the controversy—real or anticipated—related to the sensitive topics and language covered in *Huckleberry Finn* has caused teachers over the years to shy away from the work.

Future options to re-incorporate the novel into the curriculum are not necessarily promising. Expectations for testing and a call, at least, for a more diverse selection of authors (which, of course, ignores the potential to explore diverse characters within the now-neglected canon) limit opportunities to teach many, if any, novels by Mark Twain. Secondary classes are moving to less traditional texts and away from literal textbooks. (My own state of North Carolina is just one of many states that have now eliminated textbook budgets completely and are actively encouraging the use of new textual forms in nontraditional formats.) While a turn to electronic delivery options does not preclude teaching *Huck Finn* (in fact, there are several reasons those options enhance teaching choice), the reliance on those options assumes accessibility and availability of resources that many schools and their students lack. I face this very issue as I try each year to find quality texts to put in my students' hands. At this point, without physical copies of the books, I cannot teach them to my students, and Dr. Gribben played an effective role in helping me procure copies of the NewSouth omnibus edition of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* to use with my students. His generosity and help offered my students the chance to read Mark Twain and discuss directly the controversies of the novel and the issues related to changing racially-sensitive words. My continued work with students and this text came as a direct result of these editions being available.

My teaching experiences with works by Mark Twain are not unique, but my good fortune to be able to continue finding and maintaining the opportunity to teach such titles as *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is rare, the product of some perseverance on my part, coupled with a stubborn belief in the merits of some classic texts and mingled with the luck of some good circumstances. However, I find as I reflect on the years I do have in the high school classroom that Mark Twain remains a powerful voice that resonates with students and that needs to be heard and taught, assuming both teachers and students can have access to the works. I will present these reflections as part of my ever-evolving understanding of *Huckleberry Finn* and in the light of the ever-present consideration of the novel in the American classroom.

(HughHDavis@gmail.com)

Davis, John H., *Chowan University*

"Telephone, Television, Tell-a-Story: Mark Twain's Use of Future Technology as Plot Device"

Although Mark Twain wrote *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, an early time-travel story, wrote of outer space and aliens in "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven," a trip through the human body in "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes," sailing in a water-drop under a microscope in "The Great Dark," envisioning nanoscience, he is not popularly considered a science-fiction writer; however, in stories, he speculated about a past that looked to a future beyond his present, a future that commented on the present, and a present with futuristic characteristics. Bruce Franklin defines science fiction as "a form of literature that developed as part of industrial society, and it is intimately connected with the rise of modern science and technology" (vii). In his first book, *The Innocents Abroad*, an enchanted Mark Twain describes a mechanical marvel of the eighteenth century, a robotic silver swan at the International Exposition in Paris, "which had a living grace about his movements, and a living intelligence in his eyes" (124), but the human characteristics in this description partially explain his abruptly shifting attention to the diverse people at the Exposition. Technology interests him; people interest him more, certainly possibilities of technology and human interaction. As John Bird notes, Mark Twain "was very much a person of his time" and "in many ways he was ahead of his time" (77). Even looking back, he looks to his own time and beyond. At the Exposition, "... I found a revolving pistol several hundred years old which looked strangely like a modern Colt..." (125). He took the Colt revolver *back* several hundred years in *Connecticut Yankee*, illustrating the future destructive power of his present. In the century that produced photography, the locomotive, the telegraph, phonograph, typewriter, telephone, movie camera, fountain and ballpoint pen, the zipper and the automobile, as well as the bicycle, the machine gun, cash registers, and barbed wire, he was fascinated by the faster-growing technology of his own day, but he also conjectured its consequences for future generations, sometimes speculating, as Franklin observes about one of Twain's stories, that "a severe reversal of historical progress has accompanied the rapid advancement of technology" (381). As the first author to use a typewriter, a fountain pen, and phonographic dictation, the first to have a telephone in his home (Cummings 17-24), possibly the first to appear in a motion picture or an automobile, Mark Twain not only uses these new devices and discoveries but places many of them into his stories. Pudd'nhead Wilson is the first fictional character to solve a crime with fingerprints; a man arrives in Missouri from France via balloon airship in "A Murder, a Mystery, and a Marriage"; the Connecticut Yankee installs telegraph lines, phone service, and stock tickers in medieval England and kills knights with electrified wire and Gatling guns. Believing in thought transmission he labeled mental telegraphy, "he saw the telephone as [its] almost magical technological equivalent" (Camfield 601). His Yankee strings telephone lines across Arthurian England; Twain projects continental/transoceanic long distance, portable phones, television-phones, bugging and anti-bugging devices. Some writers attribute prediction of the internet in 1898 and social networking to him (Crowe; Murdock; Kilian). Visionary and literary artist, he both incorporates technologies into fiction and makes them plot devices. The first telephone in literature appears in his "The Loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and Rosannah Ethelton" (1878). Furthermore, as a literary artist, in that story, and others, particularly "From the *London Times* of 1904," written in 1898, going beyond inclusion of technology, even its minor irritations, exemplified by "A Telephonic Conversation" (1879), which illustrates both the distant connections with people telephones make possible and the disconnections it creates with those in the same place who hear half of a conversation, Twain uses technology itself as a device to determine as well as become the plot, while often prophesying future uses and ramifications. Such stories ask, "How does technology affect or alter human behavior?" Answers become plots. More than harbinger, technology in these fictions is both the force behind and the reason for the plot. Two stories written twenty years apart, "The Loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and

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(jhdavis@chowan.edu)

**Dawidziak, Mark, *Independent Scholar***  
 “Mark Twain Meets Dracula”

“I heard once of an American who so defined faith, ‘that faculty which enables us to believe things which we know to be untrue.’ For one, I follow that man. . .” ~ Professor Van Helsing, *Dracula*, Chapter Fourteen

Does Mark Twain make a cameo appearance in *Dracula*, the landmark horror novel published in May 1897? Well, right off the bat, best evidence suggests that the reports of his being quoted in the novel are not greatly exaggerated. Mark Twain most likely is the American intrepid vampire fighter Abraham Van Helsing cites in Chapter Fourteen of Bram Stoker’s famous vampire story.

Compare Van Helsing’s paraphrase with the actual Twain line in *Following the Equator*: “Faith is believing what you know ain’t so.” Knowing that Twain and Stoker were friends, most *Dracula* scholars have no doubt that the line is a sly nod to the author of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*. But most works published on *Dracula*, as well as annotated editions of the novel, wrongly attribute the “you know ain’t so” line to *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, which was published in 1894. Twain sent Stoker a copy of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* in 1894, and since the line is one of the chapter headings known as “Pudd’nhead Wilson’s Calendar,” the assumption has been that Stoker knew of it three years before *Dracula* was published.

The line actually appeared in *Following the Equator* as part of “Pudd’nhead Wilson’s New Calendar,” a device Twain carried over from the previous work. *Following the Equator* was published in 1897, the same year as *Dracula*. Does this drive a stake through the claim that Van Helsing was quoting Twain? This paper will explore that question while looking at the Twain-Stoker friendship.

*Dracula* scholar Leonard Wolf has suggested another American as a possible source for the Van Helsing paraphrase: William James, the psychologist and philosopher who died the same year as Twain, 1910. Writing about the title essay in his *The Will to Believe, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy*, James observed that it is ““in justification of faith, or defence of our right to adopt a believing attitude in religious matters, in spite of the fact that our merely logical intellect may not have been coerced.”

James fails as an American claimant, however, for three reasons. First, his scholarly phrasing has none of the folksy quality shared by the Van Helsing passage and the familiar Twain line. Second, there’s no evidence that Stoker knew or read James (although Twain did, and was reading *Principles of Psychology* in January 1897). And third, *The Will to Believe, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy* also was published in 1897, raising the same question of access as *Following the Equator*.

Twain remains the obvious, overwhelming, and favorite candidate for Van Helsing’s wise American, and, despite their widespread error in dating Pudd’nhead’s calendar entry, students of *Dracula* probably arrived at the right conclusion. What Twain scholars could have told Stoker scholars was that Stoker had access to Twain and *Following the Equator* in late 1896 and early 1897.

“Van Helsing is quoting Mark Twain,” said David J. Skal, author of the definitive Bram Stoker biography, *Something In the Blood* (2016). “There is no doubt in my mind. That’s Mark Twain putting in an appearance in *Dracula*.”

Twain was just one of the many literary celebrities Stoker counted among his friends. Stoker was admired and trusted by staggering number of authors, artists, and statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic. He carried on a long correspondence with Walt Whitman, who said of Stoker, “My gracious, he knows enough for four or five ordinary men, and what tact . . . He’s like a breath of good, healthy, breezy, sea air.”

Friends with both Mark Twain and Walt Whitman? You’re just beginning to chart the circumference of the Stoker friendship circle. That circle included Sherlock Holmes creator Arthur Conan Doyle, Oscar Wilde (once a suitor to Stoker’s wife, Florence), W.S. Gilbert (the notoriously prickly playwright best known for his collaborations with Arthur Sullivan), journalist-explorer Henry Morton Stanley, painter James Whistler, aging poet Alfred, Lord, Tennyson, George Bernard Shaw, William Ewart Gladstone, Theodore Roosevelt, and Winston Churchill. If you’re judged by the company you keep, Stoker’s marks are off the chart.

Twain and Stoker may have met in England during the summer of 1879 (when Twain also met Henry James, Charles Darwin, and James Whistler). There would be many more meetings on both sides of the Atlantic. The two writers last saw each other in 1907, when Twain received his honorary degree from Oxford University. They corresponded until Twain’s death in 1910. Twain invited Stoker to invest in the Paige Compositor (he returned Stoker’s money when it was obvious that the typesetter was too complicated and accident-

prone to succeed). “I can’t get up courage enough to talk about this misfortune myself, except to you,” Twain wrote to Stoker.

When the Clemens family went into seclusion after Susy’s death in 1895, it was in a rented house in the Surrey town of Guilford. In October, they moved to a rented house at 23 Tedworth Square in London’s Chelsea district. This was near Bram and Florence Stoker’s St. Leonard’s Terrace home in London.

Many of Twain’s closest English friends didn’t even know he was in London. One of the few people the family saw on regular basis during this difficult period was Bram Stoker, whose friendship, loyalty, and discretion were greatly valued by Twain.

In late 1896, Twain certainly would have been well aware that his friend was about to publish a vampire novel. Stoker made sure to send Twain a presentation copy of *Dracula*.

(hlgrouch@sbcglobal.net)

**Dixon, M. Christine Benner**, *Winchester Thurston School*

“This Way to the Egress”

Burdened with the enviable problem of excessive success, P.T. Barnum needed to find a way to get people to leave his American Museum. The problem was, they just weren’t getting bored; they were staying all day, and their leisurely gawking was slowing down commerce. So, the wily proprietor posted his enigmatic, tantalizing signs: “This Way to the Egress.” Greedy for a new spectacle, the crowds filed themselves out the door and onto the street. They had been inspecting each exhibit for signs of humbug, but they weren’t prepared for the concept of an exhibit itself to fall under suspicion. Standing bewildered in the sunlight, Barnum’s gullible patrons were left with two choices: pay for reentry or turn their scrutiny to the wide world as the grand spectacle, the ultimate humbug.

Barnum’s sly redirection of his audience is recreated in Mark Twain’s writing. Like Barnum, Twain manipulates the relative positions of reader and text. He extends the boundaries of the joke, the fiction, the text. What begins as a spectacle of fiction—an invitation to decipher the joke, point, wonder, and laugh—bleeds into the more inscrutable (and participatory) spectacle of its context: reality. *Pudd’nhead Wilson* sneaks the reader out the door between exhibitions of wit and a pair of Extraordinary Twins. On the other side of the door stand the conjoined intentions to racial and moral superiority. No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger* presents as an impish fantasy about an innocent devil, but somewhere in the text there is an invitation: “This Way to the Egress.” ‘You think this world is a little nutty?’ asks 44. ‘Well, you made it up.’ We are suddenly outside not only of the fiction of *The Mysterious Stranger* but of the fiction of our very existence. In a particularly clever twist, Twain’s autobiography leads the reader through the paces of celebrity worship and then delivers them straight into the circus of copyright law.

We expect a realist work to turn our eyes to the world-as-it-is, unvarnished and authentic, but this is no purely realistic endeavor. Twain plays to our enjoyment (and seems also to enjoy on his own account) a rather sensational entertainment scheme. Like Hawthorne or Poe, he parades out the bizarre and the allegorical. Like Stowe, he scripts scenes of Victorian morality and pathos. While these others offer a highly crafted exhibit, their texts let out onto the street via a clearly labeled exit door; we leave with a souvenir—a unified effect or moral lesson. Twain mimics the romantic display, but his spectacle does not distort, refine, or transcend reality—it is indecipherable from it. The exhibition of the Barnumesque real-or-manufactured marvels exits to the street without ever admitting that the show is over. Twain’s audience leaves without first dropping their sense that what they’re about to see next might be an absurdity, a natural wonder, or a lesson of highest moral importance (and it will be up to them to tell the difference). They step out onto the street ready to look hard and spot the humbug.

It is worth noting that Twain was far less the ringmaster than Barnum—the permeable boundary between spectacle and reality may reflect his own uncertainty. Seemingly as gullible as any of us, he revels in the spectacle and then, in his turn, enchanted by the mystery of the great egress. As he writes his Barnum works, his own position shifts—is he the master of ceremonies or the prime attraction? And, uncertain and intrigued, we follow him straight out the door.

(m.christine.benner@gmail.com)

**Driscoll, Kerry**, *University of St. Joseph*

“My love and patriarchal blessing:’ Mark Twain and the Saturday Morning Club of Hartford”

On 17 August 1880, Sam Clemens placed an order with Tiffany & Co. jewelers of New York City for “19 badges” intended as gifts for the members of Hartford’s Saturday Morning Club—a group of unmarried upper-class local women, ranging in age from 16–20—who meet weekly from October through June for an alternating series of lectures and discussions intended “to promote Culture and Social Intercourse.”[i] The writer’s correspondence with the jeweler during June and July indicate that he was actively involved in—and personally approved—its gold and enamel design (seen here). Offered three possibilities for the pin’s fabrication—“In 3 colors of gold as No. 1, the price will be \$13, or the same in enamel \$16, & No. 2 \$22”—Clemens chose the most expensive option, paying \$418, a sum roughly equivalent to ten thousand dollars today. Several months later the writer presented the pins, each engraved on the back with the member’s name and the year “1876” to commemorate the date of the Club’s founding, at one of the association’s many meetings held in the library of his home. This extravagant gesture is both the starting point and fulcrum of my paper, exploring the history of Clemens’ sustained engagement with the Saturday Morning Club and the insights it provides into his views on gender and female education.

Although Clemens was not the Club’s founder as a number of earlier scholars have claimed, its members affectionately considered him their “patron saint.”[ii] Between 1876–1891, he addressed the group on at least fifteen occasions, speaking on a wide array of topics ranging from “Liberty” and “Banquets” to “The Life of Lord Macaulay.” Some of his lectures, such as “On the Decay of the Art of Lying,” later appeared in print; others appear to have been expressly written for the occasion. According to Helen Smith Ellsworth,



one of the Club's original members, during the winter of 1878 the writer regaled the women with portions of *The Prince and the Pauper*, then a work in progress.[iii] On 28 March 1878, just two weeks before the family departed for an extended sixteen-month stay in Europe, Clemens sent the "dear young ladies" an effusive note of thanks:

"For Mrs. Clemens & myself, I hasten to thank you cordially for this exquisite remembrancer, these lovely flowers. If you will let me say it, it is like coming to us yourselves, in a body, these gracious creatures do so worthily & so truly represent your own fresh bloom & grace & beauty.

Although I am doubtless to be absent a long time, I am too proud of my patriarchal position in the Club to be willing to either resign it or allow another to occupy it in the interregnum. I beg, instead, the privilege of appointing a vacant chair, of ordinary pattern, to represent me & my wisdom on occasions when I ought to be present in my official capacity..."[iv]

Clemens seems to have regarded the group as an extension of the "charmed circle" of familial female auditors whom Laura Skandera-Trombley argues "constituted his literary wellspring" in *Mark Twain in the Company of Women*.<sup>[v]</sup> But perhaps more importantly, he encouraged these young women to find—and use—their own voices. According to a reminiscence by Annie Eliot Trumbull, another of the Club's founding members, "Mr. Clemens alone, outside of the active membership, was invited to a discussion meeting, and we had ample reason to be grateful for his presence in that he urged us—and it must have been at the cost of some personal self-sacrifice—to speak without preparation on the subject of the day."<sup>[vi]</sup> The writer's emotional engagement with the group continued long after his departure from Hartford in 1891. Invited to attend the Club's 25th anniversary in 1901, he sent his regrets via telegram: "I have tried hard to arrange so that I could accept but have not succeeded. Please give my love and patriarchal blessing to the Club."<sup>[vii]</sup> He did, however, return to the city in April 1907 wearing "his infamous white suit...[and] read the ladies an unpublished story that is soon to appear in magazine form."<sup>[viii]</sup>

And in 1926 Clara Clemens paid poignant tribute to the Saturday Morning Club's enduring place in her father's affections by journeying to Hartford from Detroit to perform a solo concert for its 50th Jubilee.

[i] *Constitution*, The Saturday Morning Club of Hartford, 1876. Harriet Beecher Stowe Research Center, Hartford.

[ii] Helen Post Chapman, *My Hartford of the Nineteenth Century* (Hartford: Edwin Valentine Mitchell, 1928), 61.

[iii] William Webster Ellsworth, *A Golden Age of Authors: A Publisher's Recollection* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1919), 223.

[iv] SLC and OLC to the Saturday Morning Club, 25 March 1878 (MTP).

[v] Laura Skandera-Trombley, *Mark Twain in the Company of Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 25.

[vi] Quoted in Alice Delana, *One Hundred Years of the Saturday Morning Club of Hartford, 1876-1976* (privately printed), 45.

[vii] Saturday Morning Club Scrapbook, Harriet Beecher Stowe Research Center, Hartford.

[viii] *Hartford Courant*, "Personal Mention, 22 April 1907: 2.

(kdriscoll@usj.edu)

**Eddings, Dennis**, *Western Oregon University*

"How Poe's Devil Helped Corrupt Twain's Hadleyburg"

While we unfortunately do not have a specific full-length study focusing on the many connections between Edgar Allan Poe and Mark Twain, a significant number of sources do connect Twain to Poe's serious tales. The little notice given to the influence of Poe's comic tales, however, is brief and almost universally negative. Considering Twain's comic genius, it would seem natural that he would be aware of, if not appreciative of, Poe's humor. Furthermore, if Poe exerted the major influence on Twain many suggest, then exploring the role of the comic tales in terms of that influence could well prove meaningful. A case for precisely this point can be made by examining the influence of Poe's masterful "The Devil in the Belfry" on Twain's "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

Ample primary and secondary sources prove that Twain was very familiar with Poe's work. A detailed comparison of the similarities between "Devil" and "Hadleyburg" then reveals how closely Twain, consciously or subconsciously, made use of Poe's comic extravaganza. To begin with, both tales feature small, remote villages with reputations that far exceed their size, that codify that reputation in mottoes, and that are inordinately proud of their reputation. Both villages allow that reputation to dictate the terms of their existence, and both are ultimately undone because their faith in that reputation betrays them, for as Poe and Twain demonstrate the vaunted reputations are bogus. From this we begin to appreciate that Twain appropriates more than superficial similarities in adapting Poe. Both tales satirize, among other things, conformity and small-mindedness, suggesting that Twain not only sees the gist of Poe's tale, but agrees with and uses it.

In arranging the well-deserved disruption of smug, complacent, self-centered Hadleyburg, Twain again follows Poe's lead. Both villages meet their down-fall through the machinations of a devilish mysterious stranger. And while at the outset Twain's Stephenson is described quite differently than Poe's devil, that difference disappears when Stephenson returns to Hadleyburg to relish his successful corruption of this most incorruptible town disguised as an amateur detective. The detective disguise not only evokes Poe, frequently identified as the father of the detective story, but also the inherent theme of detective fiction, the conflict of appearance and reality and the necessity of resolving that conflict, a theme that runs rife through both Poe's and Twain's work.

The similarities between the two tales seem to falter at their conclusion, however. There is no question that Poe's devil succeeds in his machinations. The village has dissolved into total chaos, the protective sanction of its complacency and mottoes shattered, while

the Devil's raucous laughter peals triumphantly over the rooftops. This ending seems to match the revelry at the town hall in Hadleyburg at the revelation of the corruption of the incorruptibles. And if we accept the reading that Hadleyburg has learned nothing, has merely substituted one flawed motto for another, then the tales do end pretty much on the same note. But Twain's tale does not end with the town hall carnival. Rather we follow the Richardses to their final dark end. That conclusion, seemingly so negative, is so replete with ironies turning inward upon one another that it is absolutely, and most appropriately, Poesque.

Following the congruences between "The Devil in the Belfry" and "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" helps reveal some of the many affinities between Edgar Allan Poe and Mark Twain, affinities well worth a book-length study. Such a study would reveal that, as widely and wildly different as were their lives and careers, they were above and beyond anything else, Kindred Spirits.

(ajbe1@comcast.net)

**Eden, Mary**, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

"Building the Brand: How Albert Bigelow Paine Nurtured Mark Twain's Legacy"

That Albert Bigelow Paine made selective alterations to Mark Twain's work is an undeniable fact, yet no one has undertaken a systematic study of those change to learn Paine's objective and his reasoning. One question we seldom ask is *why* did Paine make those changes? What motivated him to revise America's best known and best loved novelist, essayist, and humorist? And what gave him that "authority?"

The last question is simplest to answer. Paine was Samuel Clemens's "particular" friend, as Clemens called him in a letter of introduction dated 1 March 1907. Paine earned Clemens's trust to such an extent that he was virtually a member of the Clemens family. The final article of Clemens's will explicitly invested Paine and Clemens's daughter Clara with authority over his entire literary output. Accordingly, Paine collaborated with Clara to prepare Twain's posthumously published work. Paine and Clara sorted through thousands of letters, notes, and manuscripts that Clemens had written. They and the other trustees of Clemens' will were particularly concerned with Mark Twain's legacy, his "brand."

In life, Clemens agonized over his Mark Twain image, his "brand." He relied upon his family and close friends to help him rein in his passionate pen because his temper and his mischievous delight in challenging social norms would destroy his literary brand if exposed unfiltered to his public. He wrote to his friend Joseph Twitchell in 1901, "I've written another article; you better hurry down and help Livy squelch it." Clemens chose not to publish some of his own work, like "As Regards Patriotism" and "The United States of Lyncherdom." Even his publishers refused some of his more vitriolic work, such as "King Leopold's Soliloquy." The public's perception of Mark Twain mattered deeply to Clemens. This could be an answer to our first question: *why* did Paine make alterations. In 1926 Paine said to Twain's publisher that they should maintain exclusive rights to Twain's work as long as possible to "preserve" the Mark Twain they had labored so long to maintain.

What types of changes did Albert Bigelow Paine make to Twain's works? The 1923 collection of thirty-five Twain essays, *Europe and Elsewhere*, is a good place to begin seeking answers. Fourteen of the pieces appearing in that volume were published in Clemens's lifetime; Paine usually reprinted these with few alterations. Two notable exceptions are "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" which was revised and retitled by the *North American Review* when first published in 1901, and "Instructions in Art," first appearing in a revised form in the *Metropolitan* magazine in two parts in April and May of 1903.

Paine's most noteworthy change to "Darkness" was to eliminate 146 words near the end about the adoption of khaki uniforms for American soldiers. Part of what Paine removed was also excised by the Anti-Imperialist League when it reprinted the essay in a pamphlet in 1901. According to William Andrews, Paine's decision to remove reference to the American soldiers' uniforms in 1923 might have been out of respect for soldiers returning from World War I.

In altering "Instructions in Art" for *Europe and Elsewhere* from what appeared in the 1903 *Metropolitan*, Paine excised the story of Mark Twain's "Map of the Fortifications of Paris" confounding drunk German soldiers. *Europe and Elsewhere* was published during the height of the American Prohibition, when people were allowed to keep private stills, but beer was completely banned. The humor of the German soldiers story is founded upon beer and drunkenness, so perhaps Paine removed that section out of deference for contemporary American law.

Comparing the twenty-one essays that were first published in *Europe and Elsewhere* to the extant manuscripts at the Mark Twain Papers shows that many of Paine's small alterations were "accidentals"; that is, they regularized punctuation and spelling. A pattern to Paine's alterations emerges as we examine the changes made by publishers in Clemens's lifetime in the context of the national and international events around 1923. While *Europe and Elsewhere* cannot provide us with a comprehensive view of Paine's editing practices, it serves as a foundation for understanding his methods and motivations.

(maedenry@gmail.com)

**Edge, Johanna Gauer**, *Drew University*

"Satire as Subversion: Mark Twain and The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson, a Novel of Passing"

For well over a century, authors have written novels in which African Americans "pass" as white. Some characters pass for love; some do so for economic gain; some do so to avoid lynching; some do so because they wish to be judged as individuals rather than stereotyped; some do so to gain status; and some do so because they are white-skinned, blond-haired, and blue-eyed and do not consider

themselves black. Mark Twain's 1894 satirical novel *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson* is not only an attack on the institution of slavery but also a novel of passing.

All passing novels are subversive. Authors of these novels attack racial stereotypes, discrimination, inequality, and prevailing racial views with pens "warmed-up in hell" (qtd. in Twain, *Pen* x). This paper will demonstrate that adding satire and irony to a novel of passing makes the work doubly subversive, manifesting Twain's contention in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* that "there is no character howsoever good and fine, but it can be destroyed by ridicule" (15). Passing novels explore the meaning of race and the impact of racial issues on American society. They are all, at times, thought-provoking, outrageous, critical, and laugh-producing. They are all, at the same time, deadly serious.

When Twain creates a character who has some black ancestry—but who does not have any of the physical characteristics often associated with Africans—then racial stereotypes and biases against African Americans are shown to be illogical and unfounded paradoxes. His addition of irony to the passing novel heightens his onslaught on racial constructs. By adding outrageousness, he further exposes the folly of whites who claim inherent, God-given superiority and dominion over blacks. By heaping ridicule and contempt on whites who, with unjustified pride, trace their lineage to a First Family of Virginia, he raises the level of attack on the ludicrousness of binary, either/or, "one-drop" rules and on white America's treatment of blacks.

The opening chapter of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* provides an example of Twain's satirical approach to race and slavery. He writes: "The scene of this chronicle is the town of Dawson's Landing.... it was a snug little collection of modest one- and two-story frame dwellings whose whitewashed exteriors were almost concealed from sight by climbing tangles of rose-vines, honeysuckles and morning-glories. Each of these pretty homes had a garden in front" (17). After detailing the town's apparently benign and beautiful character for several more pages, he abruptly informs his readers that "Dawson's Landing was a slaveholding town, with a rich slave-worked grain and pork country back of it" (20). Twain upends expectations and contravenes what he had just written. After the novel's events have unfolded, Twain issues a wonderful indictment of slavery at the beginning of the novel's concluding chapter. With a twinkle in his eye and his tongue in his cheek, the author has Wilson opine on his Columbus Day calendar entry: "It was wonderful to find America, but it would have been more wonderful to miss it" (300).

Major critics have already detailed and categorized materials on interracial topics. Some have limited their examinations to a specific passing theme while others have grouped novels by the reason for which a character passes. Darryl Dickson-Carr, in his 2001 work *African American Satire: The Sacredly Profane Novel*, provides a long-overdue discussion of satire as a genre and its use by black writers. Instead of following these paths, this conference paper will focus on Mark Twain's use of satire in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* to attack slavery and its effects on both the white and black residents of a sleepy Missouri town.

It is hoped that this paper will evoke a greater appreciation for Twain's use of satire in a novel of passing. Americans have grappled with race for centuries and will continue to do for the foreseeable future. As Mark Twain so capably demonstrates in *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*, perhaps we could use a good jolt of iconoclasm and a strong dose of satire to get us on our way.

Twain, Mark. *A Pen Warmed-up in Hell: Mark Twain in Protest*. Ed. Frederick Anderson. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. Print.  
*The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twins*. 1894. Foreword Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Intr. Sherley Anne Williams. Afterword David Lionel Smith. New York: Oxford U P, 1996. Print.

(jedge@drew.edu)

**Ensor, Allison R.**, *University of Tennessee, Knoxville*

"'This Dead Country': Mark Twain and the Stereotyping of Appalachia"

Has any section of the United States been more negatively stereotyped than Southern Appalachia? Movies, radio, television, comic strips, and popular songs have made familiar the image of the ignorant, poverty-stricken, lazy mountaineer—one who would rather have a rifle over his shoulder than shoes on his feet and who speaks in a dialect as out-of-date as his relationship with the outside world.

The responsibility for the creation of this image and its exporting to the nation's reading public is often given to a group of local color writers of the nineteenth century, chief among them Mary Noailles Murfree, who adopted the male pseudonym "Charles Egbert Craddock." Beginning with "The Dancin' Party at Harrison's Cove" in May 1878, Murfree published story after story in the *Atlantic Monthly* and elsewhere; most were set in either the Great Smoky Mountains or the Cumberland Mountains of Tennessee.

The point I want to make is that in many ways Murfree and her fellow local colorists were anticipated by the opening chapter of *The Gilded Age*, the novel written by Mark Twain and his Hartford neighbor Charles Dudley Warner and published in 1873, five years before Murfree's debut in the *Atlantic*.

The novel's first chapter, drawing on the experiences of the Clemens family in Tennessee before their move to Missouri in 1835, opens in the little mountain community of Obedstown (based on Jamestown), to which Si and Nancy Hawkins have come after earlier residences in Kentucky and Virginia.

In the novel Twain returned to the subject matter of his 1870 autobiographical manuscript concerning "the monster tract of land" that his father bought, thus laying upon his heirs "the heavy curse of prospective wealth." Twain had already noted the backwardness of the people, their ignorance of the outside world, and the curious dialect they use to express themselves, points which found full expression in the novel.

Obedstown is a very small community; although a county seat, it has only fifteen widely-scattered houses, one of them a "double log cabin, in a state of decay," occupied by the Hawkins family, with part of the house serving as a store. Its yard has no grass and rubbish is everywhere.

As in so much later Appalachian fiction, laziness is widespread, not only among the people but among dogs and cats as well.

As the narrator says, “Shiftlessness and poverty reigned in the place.” To many of a later time, this would almost serve as a permanent description of Appalachia.

Of course the people of Obedstown speak in dialect, though Hawkins and his wife, as outsiders, do not. As in his 1870 piece, Twain provides a fairly lengthy sample of the kind of speech one might hear.

Communication with the outside world is minimal. Consequently, the people there know almost nothing of the progress being made elsewhere. They think that stories about steamboats are “lies and humbugs,” have never heard of the railroad, and will not be likely to believe in it when they do.

Before long Squire Hawkins decides to leave what he calls “this dead country” lest he “decay with it.” His wife readily agrees: “You are out of your place here,” she tells her husband, “among these groping, dumb creatures.” Such contempt for the mountain people is not heard from Murfree’s characters or from her narrator, who is at times willing to see nobility and heroism as characteristic of the mountaineer.

Twain is unique among those who depicted Appalachia in that he never visited the region at all. His concept of it must have come from his mother’s stories of life in East Tennessee and from his brother Orion’s accounts of his several trips back to the area. In addition, Twain had in 1867 reviewed George Washington Harris’s book of Sut Lovingood stories, all set in East Tennessee. Some of Twain’s contempt for the area must have arisen from his hatred of the burden of the Tennessee Land and his realization that his father’s hopes for the future value of the land were sadly mistaken. As he depicts it, it is indeed—to quote a famous description—a “strange land” inhabited by “peculiar people.” Murfree and those who followed her readily confirmed and added to that picture of Southern Appalachia; Mark Twain anticipated them in the opening chapter of *The Gilded Age*.

(aensor@utk.edu)

**Eutsey, Dwayne**, *Independent Scholar*

“Beyond the Devil’s Race-Track and the Everlasting Sunday:’ John Tuckey, Transcendence, and Mark Twain’s No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*”

The posthumous publication of *The Mysterious Stranger: A Romance* in 1916 by Albert Bigelow Paine and Frederick Duneka has cast a long, dark shadow over a century of scholarship surrounding Mark Twain’s tumultuous final years—a time wracked by personal tragedy and by what Nietzsche described as society’s anxiety-ridden “weightlessness” in the wake of God’s apparent death and the collapse of traditional values by the end of the 19th century (Susan Gillman).

Until the early 1960s, scholars such as Bernard DeVoto (“Symbols of Despair”) and Roger Salomon (“Escape as Nihilism”) used the satanic title character haunting the Paine-Duneka version (with its apparently nihilistic conclusion that “there is no God, no universe, no human race...”) as an important lens through which to interpret Twain’s final decade.

Despite the groundbreaking research of scholars John Tuckey and William Gibson in the latter half of the ‘60s—which established that Paine-Duneka’s version was not Twain’s intended version but a literary misrepresentation of three separate drafts he wrote—the stubborn assumption persists that the devilish figure in what Harold Kolb has called Twain’s “Satan-on-earth story” captures the essence of Twain’s supposedly pessimistic decline late in life.

This notion persists even after scholars like Shalom Kahn, Jason Gary Horn, and others have made the case that Forty-Four reveals something more hopeful about Twain’s worldview at the time. Although Berkove and Csicsila in *Heretical Fictions* acknowledge these more optimistic assessments of Forty-Four, they nonetheless view this character as an aberration in what they consider to be Twain’s otherwise grimly Calvinistic “countertheology.” They assert, in fact, that while the “Satan figures of the earlier texts...(are) depicted as angels from heaven visiting Earth,” Forty-Four is “never identified as, suggested to be, or in any way associated with a divine being.” He is, for them, “a completely secularized portrait” of intellectual enlightenment.

In contrast to these and other interpretations of the enigmatic Forty-Four, my presentation offers a radically positive theological interpretation of this other-worldly stranger and what he may reveal about Twain’s overall worldview late in life.

The core question I will explore: Is Forty-Four a personal demon luring Twain toward nihilistic solipsism and despair, a symbol of secular enlightenment, or a divine avatar offering the hope of spiritual transcendence?

After briefly discussing how laughter in *The Chronicle of Young Satan* distinguishes this text’s darker tone from No. 44, the presentation will draw primarily from notes that John Tuckey compiled over the course of two decades for an unfinished “interpretive study” (tentatively entitled *In the Bloodstream of God: Mark Twain’s Universe*), in which he intended to delve into the deep spiritual undercurrents he discerned in many of Twain’s later writings.

A recurring theme Tuckey develops throughout this voluminous and sprawling collection—housed in Elmira College’s Mark Twain Archives—asserts that Twain’s “print shop version” of the *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts (No. 44) contains “not the symbols of despair but those of enlightenment.”

The form of enlightenment Twain touched on in this text was neither Luciferian nor secular; rather, No. 44—significantly influenced by esoteric Hinduism, among other factors—culminated not in Twain’s literary detonation of the universe but in August’s transcendent glimpse beyond the Devil’s racetrack and the everlasting Sunday of orthodox religion’s heaven into what Tuckey called “the source of consciousness, the Self or Atman, within himself.”

In addition to Tuckey’s notes and Twain’s *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts, I will also draw from my own original research as well as from clinical psychologist Jordan Peterson’s text on the psychology of (and profound need for) mythic narrative, *Maps of Meaning*.  
(deutsey2@gmail.com)



Ezell, Kaine, *Oklahoma Baptist University*

“The Android and the Icon: Mark Twain on *Star Trek: The Next Generation*”

Since the original *Star Trek* aired in 1966, the series has attempted to align its ethos with high literature. Even as the women wore campy costumes and despite the futuristic setting, the series grounded itself in the portrayal of important authors from William Shakespeare to Herman Melville. In 1987, *Star Trek: The Next Generation* focuses more sharply on literary influences, particularly European literature. Episodes would often involve characters on the Enterprise-D dialoging with characters, or perhaps even embodying characters, from Shakespeare, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Alexander Dumas on the Holodeck. Furthermore, the writers clearly adapted stories from European literature into the episodes. While *Star Trek* would often reference or adapt stories from American literature, the show exhibits a clear preference for English literature.

One could argue that this changes in the two part episode “Time’s Arrow,” which was split as the finale of season five with the conclusion at the beginning of season six. The episode involves Data (Brent Spiner) accidentally traveling back in time to 1893 San Francisco after his head is found in a 24th century archeological dig, where he meets Samuel Clemens (Jerry Hardin). The appearance of Clemens as a character in the episode attempts to connect the show as directly to American literature as it had to English literature in seasons past, but does it succeed in this endeavor? While the episode pays homage to Samuel Clemens as an American icon, the episode primarily presents him as a two-dimensional icon, and the privileging of his iconic status over his literary work only serves to reinforce *Star Trek*’s optimistic view of the future.

The presence of Samuel Clemens in “Time’s Arrow” largely seems an avenue for the series to pit Mark Twain’s pessimistic view of man against *Star Trek*’s idealistic vision of the future. When Clemens meets Data, who serves as a symbol for striving after humanity throughout the series, he is automatically skeptical of what Data might be planning. Clemens eventually learns that Data is from the future, and he automatically assumes that Data is playing an analogous role to Hank Morgan from Twain’s *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* (1888). Clemens’s curiosity about Data’s plan leads him to discover that the rest of the Enterprise crew has arrived in the 19th century, which makes him suspect that a future invasion is underway. Seeing himself as the protector of humanity, Clemens shadows the Enterprise crew, which eventually results in his being transported to the 24th century. There he discovers that humanity has progressed beyond the selfishness that defined the world during Clemens’s time. The episode ends with Clemens accepting that humanity is able to evolve after all.

The episode first illustrates a superficial presentation of Clemens through historical inaccuracies in the episode. Mark Twain was most likely residing in France, not on tour in San Francisco, during the episode’s 1893 setting. While one might give leeway for creative license, the episode’s writers merely provide a collage of details from Clemens’s rather than presenting him with some depth. Furthermore, Clemens is depicted as wearing his iconic all-white suit, even though he did not adopt this apparel until 1906. While these inaccuracies may seem slight, they reveal the episode’s neglect of truly engaging in Twain’s ideas, content instead with trading on his status as icon.

Had the episode’s engagement with Clemens’s work and philosophy of humanity been more nuanced, the more superficial physical presentation might be easier to overlook. Instead, the episode makes Clemens’s conversion too simplistic and unbelievable, without any of the skepticism exhibited by Mark Twain in his works, even though reasons for his skepticism are abundant in the episode. In particular, the Enterprise is trying to ensure that an alien race will quit feeding on sick people in the 19th century. The aliens do not appear to be hostile, but are desperate for a food source. Rather than working to solve the aliens’ problem, the Enterprise destroys the portal through which the aliens travel to the 24th century, and ostensibly destroys them in the process. Given Clemens’s early skepticism toward the Enterprise, it seems as though this action might raise a few questions. However, Clemens celebrates his newfound optimism, which is still problematic because many of his most pessimistic works are written after 1893.

While *Star Trek* adapts many classical works of literature in episodes, “Time’s Arrow” inverts this model. Rather than engaging in Mark Twain’s work, they instead misuse his iconic image to reinforce their mythology of the future.

(kaine.ezell@okbu.edu)

Gifra-Adroher, Pere, *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*

“Twain on the Catalan Stage: Notes on Gabriel Timmory’s Adaptation of ‘How I Edited an Agricultural Paper’”

The reception of Mark Twain’s writings in Spain began rather late. Research carried out by professors Villoria and Lanero nearly two decades ago reveals that the first Spanish translation of Twain was a volume entitled *Bosquejos Humorísticos*, published in Barcelona in 1895, which featured eight short texts (Villoria and Lanero, 104). A few other translations followed, mainly of tales and sketches, but it was not until 1903 that the oddly titled *Aventuras de Masín Sawyer* finally became the first novel written by “Marcos Twain” to conquer the bookstores. Published in Madrid, it fostered further translations. A handful of these gradually appeared in the years prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, whereas a new wave enriched the stale literary panorama of Franco’s Spain during the post-war period, disseminating an image of Clemens as a writer of juvenile fiction (Fernández López, 1115). Conversely, the reception of Twain in Catalan, one of the other languages of Spain, began slightly later. The first Catalan translation of Twain, *Les Aventures de Tom Sawyer*, appeared in 1918. It was penned by the poet Josep Carner, who in the same year also published *L’elefant blanc robat*, a volume that included the translation of “The Stolen White Elephant” alongside that of such other stories as “The Great Revolution in Pitcairn”, “The Loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and Rosannah Ethelton” and “The Million Pound Bank Note”. Thanks to these two books, Carner’s pen remains ever since closely connected to Twain’s name in Catalonia, marking the beginning of a long and rich appreciation of Clemens in Catalan letters that still lasts today. (Molist 2006: 4).

Drawing on this long and fruitful response to Twain's output, this paper focuses on a rather neglected episode of comparative literary relations, that is to say, on how Clemens came to be early appreciated in Catalonia. It particularly argues that prior to Carner's famous translation of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* there was another text by Clemens that, though in a roundabout manner, did successfully enter the Catalan literary scene through the stage. I am referring to the essay "How I Edited an Agricultural Paper", which Clemens originally published in *The Galaxy* (1870) and subsequently included in *Sketches New and Old* (1875). The French playwright Gabriel Timmory rewrote it French, converting it into the comedy *Le Cultivateur de Chicago: ou, How I became the editor of an agricultural paper* (1907), which became quite popular piece in Catalonia thanks to Santiago Folch and Pere Rettmeyer. It was titled *L'agricultor de Xicago, o How [sic] I became the Editor of an agricultural paper* (1909).

Timmory, whose real name was René Wahl (1870-1965), was a prolific writer who managed to have his comedy premiered at the Grand Guignol Theatre of Paris in 1906. The text was reprinted on five occasions until 1945 and apart from Catalan was also translated into Ukrainian in 1912. Performed in many other parts of France and Belgium, *Le Cultivateur de Chicago* also reached Lisbon and Madrid. In 1938, in bomb-beaten Madrid, Timmory's adaptation of Twain sketch was staged with musical arrangements by José Castro Escudero that unfortunately have not survived (Altabella Hernández, 41). It was even performed in the America heartland. Frank R. Arnold, a collaborator with the College Service Bureau, explains that even though the play "is a far cry from Paris to Utah" it "was translated and adapted to Utah conditions and makes an admirable American two-act play of agricultural journalism, a farce it is true, but a farce with an idea in it and one which is full of the humor of Mark Twain" (241). Bearing in mind Timmory's success, then, this paper will examine the main characteristics of his play vis-à-vis Twain's sketch, and then it will proceed to analyze the literary and cultural circumstances that contributed to its lasting appeal in Catalonia. *L'agricultor de Xicago* was printed twice, in 1909 and 1933, and it soon became a staple text for amateur theatrical companies. It premiered at the Teatre Principal of Barcelona on April 17, 1909, and diverse performances of it can be traced until the 1950s, a period not too cheerful for the Catalan language (under Franco's dictatorship).

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(pere.gifra@upf.edu)

**Golden, James**, *Mark Twain House and Museum*

"The Public Home: Space and Literary Culture in Nook Farm"

This paper explores the public role of a putatively private space in nineteenth-century urban America—the middle-class, single family home, particularly the distinctive Hartford, Connecticut suburb of Nook Farm. Much of the scholarly work dedicated to undermining the "separate spheres" binary of female/domestic/private vs male/outdoors/public documents the persistence of women in various public spheres, and reexamines the domestic power of men. Specialized concepts of labor have been key to both: men working outside the home, women within it. However, there is an opportunity for scholarship to use Nook Farm's distinct form of labor—writing—to explore the unstable boundaries between public and private within the home. Accordingly, this paper will examine a work culture of "public domesticity" in Nook Farm.

This was key to Mark Twain's literary transformation. Twain's ability to transition from frontier humorist to era-defining author came through his engagement with elite, literary New England. This claim is not intended to revive the older argument about the "domestication" of his genius, but, rather, resituate Twain's development as an author within a distinctive community, which clearly shaped his work.

The Nook Farm literary community elided the public and the private. The families entertained several times a week, yet doors were open and neighbors strolled in unannounced, uninvited, and still welcome. Women were not behind-the-scenes "angels of the household" but civically-minded agents deliberately crafting a fusion of public and private space in homes whose dinner party conversation would later be externalized on a political, public scale in the capital city of a wealthy State. As the men in this neighborhood were usually some combination of authors, lawyers, politicians, editors, and investors, the correctly-curated dinner party could yield substantial professional opportunity. Accordingly, the construction of an intellectually-vibrant home by Nook Farm wives was as much important labor as their husbands' writing or investing.

The paper will pay particular attention to the Charles Dudley Warner and Mark Twain's co-authorship of *The Gilded Age*, situating that composition within a convivial culture of entertainment. The two authors read their drafts aloud for their wives, following dinner and music. This coauthored project was shaped by the culture of entertaining found in Nook Farm. Moreover, semi-public coteries, such as the Monday Evening Club, where Nook Farm men read their essays aloud, provided space for literary engagements and ongoing professional support. These were regulated, formal gatherings, yet met in private homes, not public halls.

Nook Farm's distinct culture gave Twain a combined literary and domestic bedrock which facilitated his greatest era of writing.  
(james.golden@marktwainhouse.org)

**Harrington, Paula**, *Colby College*

"The Innocents Abroad: From Travel Narrative to Proto-fiction"

Scholars have bemoaned the loss of so many of Mark Twain's original Quaker City letters, but in one way the loss was lucky: It left Twain no choice but to reconstruct the events of the trip through a creative process that sometimes fiction-writing. Although many treat *The Innocents Abroad* as travel journalism, and some, like Paine, consider it "nearer to being history," this paper will argue that it is closer to fiction. As Tom Quirk observes, the letters Twain recreated to expand his newspaper correspondence into a book were "more the product of [Twain's] invention than his journalism." Because Twain had to rewrite from memory, and probably made up events to meet the necessary length, his process resembled that of novelists, especially autobiographical and historical ones. He collected memories, did research, ran his stories by others, pirated theirs, and wove the pieces together into a work with well-developed characters, a chronological plot, dialogue, description, and action. While the end result did not exactly constitute a novel, it comprised a remarkable narrative quilt. Simply put, the situation forced Twain in the direction of fiction-making. One could argue he was headed there anyway, and, given the success of "Jumping Frog," that certainly seems true. Still, *The Innocents Abroad* contains most of the elements of a novel and deserves to be read as practice for Twain's later works of fiction.

To advance that argument, this paper will contextualize and detail Twain's construction of *The Innocents Abroad*. Living in Washington, D.C., Clemens got a letter from Elisha Bliss of Harford's American Publishing Company, asking if Twain would be interested in compiling his *Quaker City* letters into a book. Clemens replied he could "weed" his *Alta California* letters into a "volume that would be more acceptable than...any I could now write." He added that "when those letters were written my impressions were fresh, but now they have lost that freshness; they were warm then—they are cold, now," proposing to "strike out certain letters, & write new ones wherewith to supply their places." He also wrote Mary Mason Fairbanks, the fellow passenger and Cleveland journalist who'd become his confidant: "I have a very easy contract... I shall use nearly all my old letters (revamped,) but still many a chapter will be entirely new."

But he discovered two obstacles to producing the book with the ease he'd imagined. First, the *Alta California* editors had copy-righted his letters for their own use. Second, he had less material than he'd thought. Fourteen of his *Quaker City* letters had been lost, so Twain would have to write new ones and rely on accounts of other passenger friends who'd written about the trip. He wrote family and friends asking for copies of his accounts and others'. Then he traveled west to persuade the *Alta California* editors to let his book go forward. There, he wrote some 200,000 words of what became *The Innocents Abroad*, and he needed to write 350 pages in six months. By early July, he'd delivered the manuscript. So Twain did not write most of his account of his first trip abroad while there, as his narrator would have the reader believe, but in two significant American locales: Washington, D.C. and the Western places where he'd become "Mark Twain."

This paper will explore how Twain pulled off this literary feat, taking chapters of *The Innocents Abroad* set in France as the prime example. It will compare his sections on France to "letters" from three fellow passengers: Fairbanks, Julia Newell, and Dr. "Tom" Jackson, arguing Twain used them—as he said himself—to jog his memory but not for tone or narrative. Specifically, it will focus on Jackson's French topics, a comparison that makes clear how many novelistic techniques Twain employed, from creating the character of a dishonest French guide to the use of dialogue to constructing scenes in a French barbershop and at a burlesque bal. It will explore these scenes as proto-fictions, arguing that what scholar Ganzel called "funny anecdotal scenes" do not detract from the French chapters but lie at their heart, exactly because "they suggest 'stories'... from one's travels, rather than the experience of traveling itself."

Looked at that way, this paper will contend, Twain's reconstructed account of his first days in France predicts—as does most of *The Innocents Abroad*—the techniques Twain soon began to use as America's best-known novelist.

(pcharrin@colby.edu)

**Harris, Susan K.**, *Kansas University*

"A Guide for Religious Assault: Twain's 'Itinerary' for Hindu Pilgrimage"

My paper explores the cultural narratives standing behind Twain's satiric guide to Hindu pilgrimage in Chapter 51 of *Following the Equator*, his 1897 narrative about his lecture tour through the British Empire in 1895/6. This chapter uses satire to assault Hindu ritual and belief. I am interested in the chapter not so much for its (for today's readers) political incorrectness (though in the Trump era, this may revert to correctness) as for the assumptions Twain could make about his readers' apprehension of the world, both religious and scientific. My paper will unpack some of the western, and specifically the American, worldviews to which Twain speaks as he savages a religion that he knows his readers already regard as alien and irrational.

I will focus on Chapter 51 because it is structured as a guidebook, a genre with which Twain knew his intended audience was familiar. Most guidebooks move the reader from place to place by sites' proper names: "The Acropolis," or "The Empire State Building," for instance, and they give historical, architectural, or other pertinent data about the site. Chapter 51's "Itinerary" works differently. Twain titles his sites by their functional objectives—"Purification," or "Protections Against Hunger," for example. Proper names appear but with little fanfare; instead Twain focuses on the sites' putative functions, and he does so in terms that he knows will repulse his readers. For instance pilgrimage site #4, which he titles "Fever": "At the Khedar Ghat you will find a long flight of stone steps leading down to the river. Half way down is a tank filled with sewage. Drink as much of it as you want. It is for fever." This directive works in more than one way. Twain's titling strategy and spare, dry word choice emphasize what he sees as the disparity between the sites' religious functions

and their impact in real (i.e., western) terms. But the humor only works because Twain could count on his readers' prior familiarity with germ theory and its ramifications in the public sphere. Although germ theory was less than 50 years old in 1897, it had already inspired massive public health initiatives in both the U.S. and Britain, accompanied by radical shifts in medical practice and urban planning. It had also received wide media coverage. Twain could count on a readership that already knew what germs were, how they carried disease, and what kinds of measures were being taken to combat them, including the development of closed sewers and other forms of public sanitation. Americans, Britons, and other westerners were being encouraged to join the battle for public health. To be conscious of germ theory meant to be progressive, modern—an evolving cultural narrative. The British colonial government was trying to bring this narrative to India through public health programs, but had run into considerable difficulties squaring western scientific assumptions about the nature of reality with Hindu assumptions which—to western eyes—looked reactionary, retrograde-ignorant. Hence Twain's "Itinerary" also supports the British colonial narrative that Indians did not know what was best for them. As a guide to Hindu pilgrimage, the "Itinerary" confirms western convictions that Hindus are a) filthy, b) clueless about modern science, and c) irrational because they reject the scientific evidence the British were trying to teach them. The "rational" conclusion could only be that the British should remain in India and continue their heroic effort to bring Indians into the modern era.

Twain's "Itinerary" for Benares is one of a set of satirical guidebooks he produced throughout his writing life: he cut his authorial teeth on making fun of guides and guidebooks in *Innocents Abroad*, and he never forgot how well it worked for him. Twain may have written that "Travel is fatal to Prejudice," but this section of *Following the Equator* shows that guidebooks can confirm prejudices as well as destroy them. Chapter 51 shows an American writer, immersed in colonial narratives about subject peoples, pandering to an imagined audience composed of Anglo-Americans only too willing to assume that dark-skinned natives of far-off exotic lands are so misguided that they need the Empire to protect them from themselves.

(skh5@ku.edu)

**Hellwig, Harold**, *Idaho State University*

"'Innocence at Home:' Mark Twain's Italian Villa, Stormfield, and the Cultural Influence of Italy on Quarry Farm

Twain's lifelong pursuit of a stable family stems in part from his need to be a part of the literary landscape of the United States, to be accepted not as an outsider but as an insider, but it also evolves partially from his attempts to understand Italian culture. His fiction is as much an outgrowth of that focus on family as it is on the discovery of an Italian landscape within the summery world of Quarry Farm and the recreation of an actual Italian villa and experience in his final home, Stormfield.

Venice, Italy represents a curious blend of the past and the present for Mark Twain. He first traveled to that city in the hope of finding clues to its mystery and its culture, so that he could better understand why it was so central and so spectacular to the American imagination. He soon realizes that imperialism in Venice had run its course; this once glorious city is now a powerless icon of politics. Venice truly is a magnificently ruined city-monument, a collection of tourist sites and museums.

It will take his marriage to Livy to realize another kind of Italian culture, in the landscape of Villa Viviani (1893): "the situation of the villa was perfect...the flowery terrace on which it stood looked down upon sloping olive groves and vineyards...this is the fairest picture on our planet, the most enchanting to look upon, the most satisfying to the eye and the spirit. To see the sun sink down, drowned in his pink and purple and golden floods, and overwhelm Florence with tides of color that make all the sharp lines dim and faint and turn the solid city to a city of dreams, is a sight to stir the coldest nature and make a sympathetic one drunk with ecstasy" (*Autobiography*, Volume 1, 244-245). He also writes: "life at a Florentine villa is an ideal existence. The weather is divine, the outside aspects lovely, the days and nights tranquil and reposeful, the seclusion from the world and its worries as satisfactory as a dream" (*Autobiography*, Volume 1, 249). This elaborate panorama can be compared to Quarry Farm where, as he writes to William Dean Howells on June 14, 1877, "we are housed here on top of the hill, now, where it is always cool, & still, & reposeful & bewitching." Quarry Farm has been on his mind for almost twenty years before Villa Viviani, and he perhaps recognizes how well Italy can be a place of tranquility.

Stormfield burned to the ground in 1923, but photographs show Italianate architectural features, and suggest a mausoleum, an American Taj Mahal. Twain populated that home not with members of his family, but with the young girls of his Angelfish Club, and with other visitors who could remind him of his past. Twain is pleased with the "roomy Italian villa which John Howells has built for me on lofty ground surrounded by wooded hills and valleys, and secluded by generous distances from the other members of the human race" (*Autobiography*, Volume 3, 239).

The looseness of the architectural features at Quarry Farm—and the rambling nature of the landscape—though manicured and sculpted from the scenery around the farm, work together to spell out an Emersonian unity between nature and the civilized home. The vines that eventually grew around the study represent a merger of the nature outside—and parallel with the woods, the Chemung river, and rolling hills—with the inner nature or set of memories that Twain carried with him as he walked slightly uphill daily to that study. Quarry Farm represents the kind of Italian vista that he and his family later enjoyed at the Villa Viviani.

Twain feared that American capitalism and imperialism might veer into a despotic reflection of the history of Venice, but seems fascinated to the end of his life with the Italian culture that he finds in the design of his last home. He understands the significance of Venice, though he keeps his distance from what the city has become, a museum that can still be a "Venice of poetry and romance" if one can have the charm without the decay.

(hellharo@isu.edu)



**Howe, Lawrence**, *Roosevelt University*

“Second Thoughts on ‘Jim’s Investments:’ Revision and Reinterpretation”

Since the first half of Mark Twain’s manuscript of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was discovered, scholars have had the opportunity to complete the history of the novel’s composition. The late Vic Doyno, in particular, pored over every correction, cancellation, and substitution to solve many of the riddles of when and how Twain developed his landmark text. Less attention has been paid to the ways in which the author continued to tinker with his text even after publication. One episode in particular, the episode Twain called “Jim’s Investments” in his platform performances, continued to undergo subtle but significant changes over time.

In this paper, I will look closely at the known changes that Mark Twain made to this episode and suggest their interpretive implications. Editors at the Mark Twain Project reasonably surmise that he thought that revising Jim’s accounts of his investments in livestock, commodities, a bank, and finally a charity would deliver a more effective performance—bigger laughs. That seems likely because as a platform speaker he carefully constructed and revised his performance to maximize the audience’s response. Still, Twain altered the page proofs for the *Century Magazine* excerpts of *HF*, published in January 1885, resulting in a printed variant from the novel published a month earlier in England, and a month later in the US. Further tinkering in 1895-6, during another lecture tour, shows that Twain continued to see this episode as ripe for revision. My interest is not so much in why Twain made these revisions but in what interpretive effects the differing versions promote.

My primary concern is in how these revisions signal divergent ideas about economics, and particularly property ownership and speculative risk as cultural indices. Jim’s accounts of these economic exchanges create a range of impressions about him: they reflect differing levels of economic knowledge, and confusion about his sense of worth as a man and as a slave. Because the accounts of Jim’s investments come to us through Huck’s narration, they are filtered through his own unstable sense of Jim’s status and the processes of circulating value. Finally, these variants on this episode convey Twain’s own shifting representation of Jim both in light of and in contrast to minstrel conventions.

I am still working through the intricacies and implications of this unorthodox literary problem. But in addition to granting the audience a defined focus, and a demonstration of literary possibility, my interpretive exercise will help to counter our conventional notions about finished literary products as stable artifacts. Post-structural theory has emphasized the ways in which the instability of language itself produces a surplus of meaning even in texts that scholars definitively establish as authoritative. Twain’s recursive practice in reworking a text that had been “set” in print shows us his own inclination to second thoughts.

(LHowe@roosevelt.edu)

**Hughes, Jennifer**, *Averett University*

“WTF is Laughter to Mark Twain?”

Because the theme for the conference this year references the words of Satan from *The Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts – that “against the assault of laughter nothing can stand” – I will argue that careful attention to Mark Twain’s references to and discussions of laughter suggest a shifting, uncertain, and insecure vision of what laughter is and what it can do.

We often make authors into who we need them to be, and what we need Mark Twain to be in 2017 is a courageous satirist with a pen “warmed in hell,” dropping hilarity like bombshells upon all things wicked. However, the metaphor of laughter as a weapon is not the only metaphor or ideological approach that Mark Twain’s writings espouse. I will dwell upon references to and discussions of laughter across Mark Twain’s body of work, contextualizing the ideological approaches to laughter that he was embracing, tweaking, or jettisoning. I will bring into the conversation 19th century theories of what laughter could do (ranging from making one fat to making one sane, from evincing sexual voracity to destroying one’s moral sense) in order to contextualize Mark Twain’s unstable depictions of laughter’s possible effect on his readership.

(jahughes@averett.edu)

**Ishihara, Tsuyoshi**, *Waseda University*

“Mark Twain in US School Textbooks, 1910s-1920s”

As is commonly known, readers became familiar with Twain mainly through separate book editions of his works. However, we should remember that millions of Americans were also introduced to his stories in their classrooms, and their impressions of Twain must have been greatly influenced by the ways in which they studied his works in school. Although neither Twain nor his young male protagonists were keen on going to school, Twain and his works have been extremely popular in school curriculums and have repeatedly been included in school textbooks. Twain appeared in at least 264 primary and secondary school US textbooks from the 1870s to the 2000s, and his works were anthologized at least 200 times by them from the 1870s to the 1960s. Although it is impossible today to physically observe the classrooms of the past, textbooks can provide us with valuable information if we are to understand how Twain was taught in the classrooms of the time. The examination of Twain in this highly influential medium of US school textbooks will surely contribute to clarifying the ways in which the American public’s perceptions and understanding of Twain and his output were shaped.

This paper examines the textbooks’ uses of Twain and his literature from the 1910s to the 1920s, the first two decades following his death. First, this paper introduces Twain’s increasing popularity among school textbooks of the time, which is reflected, for example, in the expanding space devoted exclusively to his works in contemporary textbooks. Twain almost for the first time surpassed his rivals, such as, Howells and James, in the amount of space accorded to him in textbooks. In addition, the paper also shows that the textbooks

started mobilizing numerous visual images of Twain at an unprecedented scale in order to solidify Twain's iconic status from the 1910s to the 1920s, when America was experiencing the age of mechanical reproduction in an unprecedented scale.

However, although in this way early 20th-century school textbooks showed great respect toward Twain and his works, this does not mean that he was free from criticism. The paper discusses critics' deep-seated suspicions about the literary quality of Twain's writings, which is sometimes revealed in criticism and neglect of Twain in conservative textbooks. It examines cultural reasons for some of their critical comments to Twain representative works, such as, *Tom Sawyer* as "a glorification of a liar" and "dime-novel adventure" and *The Innocents Abroad* as "blatant and silly Americanism."

The paper then analyzes the conflicting representations of Twain as both fun creator and serious thinker in terms of the canonization of his works from the 1910s to the 1920s. Particularly after his death, Twain was no longer just a well-known humorist. Rather, he was gaining a status as a representative American writer, and early 20th-century textbooks needed to deal with the negative views on his humor that persisted at that time. Then, how did American school textbooks in the 1910s and the 1920s therefore handle Twain's humor when they attempted to legitimize the canonical status of Twain as worth studying? The paper provides answers to the question. The paper demonstrates that, from the 1910s to the early 1920s, the West and the Mississippi predominated in the images of Twain represented in US school textbooks. Then, it examines textbooks' growing fascination with *Huck Finn* in the 1920s, the time when this masterpiece was first excerpted in US school textbooks, and explains the ways in which the novel was used in them. In particular, it considers textbooks' neglect of Jim in their selections from *Huck Finn* and contextualizes it in relation to contemporary textbooks' indifference toward African-American histories and experiences.

The paper also shows that controversial elements in Twain's originals were sometimes avoided by conservative textbooks. It closely examines the editorial changes and bowdlerizations of both humor and colloquial languages that characterize Twain's works. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion of textbooks' emphasis on "democratic" images of Twain that resonated with the patriotic educational discourse of literature textbooks during World War I.

This paper includes an extensive bibliography, appendices listing the textbooks examined in this project and their selections of Twain's works, and tables showing the number of each of Twain's major works anthologized in textbooks in each decade from the 1870s to the 1960s.

(ishiahra@utexas.edu)

**Kassam, Hamada, Zayed University**

"Tom Sawyer 'Had a Dream and It Shot Him'"

This paper, which is mostly speculative in nature, attempts to capture Mark Twain's genius at work while he was penning his greatest works, mainly *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) and *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894). Intended as a sequel to the paper that the principal investigator published in 2016 in *The Mark Twain Annual*, [1] this paper sheds more light on the dialogic fictive relationship between Twain and proslavery southwestern humorist William Thompson (1812-1882). It stakes new claims and provides further textual and circumstantial evidence that collectively uncover Twain's intention to use Tom Sawyer to implicitly denigrate and condemn Thompson for his endless and various literary and political efforts at championing slavery and a secessionist agenda both before and after the Civil War and both on American and foreign soil. Not only does Twain give Thompson's name and Ohioan origin to Tom Sawyer in his 1884 masterpiece and 1894 travel book; he also endows the fifteen-year-old boy with Thompson's obstinacy, idealism, bookish knowledge, rich imagination, Walter Scott romanticism, and obsession with travel, fortune and wealth. Recent research has demonstrated that Thompson was the person who designed the Confederacy flag and made it clear that the flag was "a symbol of white supremacy - not southern heritage." Given all this, numerous actions, adventures and names in the above-mentioned four works, including those of Tom Sawyer and his Band of Robbers, lend themselves to new interpretations. These actions include white washing, the ludicrous formation of the Band of Robbers and its absurd Sunday School enterprise, salve ointment in the Sahara Desert, and sand collecting and exporting from Africa to the USA. Hence, in getting Tom shot in the leg at the climax of his long, "noble" and "romantic" escapade of stealing the free slave Jim, Twain was fictively shooting Thompson for continuing to defend and promote his "singular" dream of establishing the South as a separate nation based on slavery, even after the Civil War.

[1] Kassam, H. (2016, November 1). Tom Sawyer Said "He Was a Stranger from Hicksville, Ohio, and His Name Was William Thompson". *The Mark Twain Annual*. Vol. 14, 127-137.

(Hamada.Kassam@zu.ac.ae)

**Keane, Patrick, Le Moyne College**

"Of Beginnings and Endings: Huck Finn and Tom Eliot"

Defending the much-disputed ending of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, T. S. Eliot insisted, "it is right that the mood at the end of the book should bring us back to that of the beginning," not only of Huck's book, but to the preceding novel. Convinced that "all great works of art" (among which he numbers *Huckleberry Finn*) "mean much more than the author could have been aware of," Eliot argues that "what seems to be the rightness, of reverting at the end of the book to the mood of *Tom Sawyer*, was perhaps unconscious art." Eliot further argues that, since Huck, like the river, has "no beginning and no end," he, too, can "only disappear," a disappearance that (Eliot dubiously adds) "can only be accomplished by bringing forward another performer to obscure the disappearance in a cloud of whimsicalities." But Tom's more-than-whimsical antics require keeping Jim locked up, for Tom, "the best fun he ever had in his life."

Worse yet, Huck, despite his development in the novel and who hasn't a malicious bone in his body, becomes reluctantly complicit in these prolonged and gratuitous machinations.

Even if Jim—infantilized and emasculated in Aunt Sally's calico dress—doesn't seem to mind, we do, or should. What seemed artistically "right" to Eliot—who had his own memorial tablet circumscribed, "In my beginning is my end, in my end is my beginning" (the opening and closing lines of "East Coker")—seems to me a rationalization of the flaw in Twain's masterpiece. The debate about the "evasion" chapters may never be resolved, but for those on Leo Marx's (and my own) side of that debate, it is regrettable, especially given the immense mid-century authority of Eliot as poet-critic and recent recipient of the Nobel Prize—that he should have put his imprimatur on an error. In validating Mark Twain's original sin against his own (or Huck's) book, Eliot paid far too high a critical price in order to have the novel (to quote one of Eliot's favorite poets) "end where it begunne."

(pkeane@twcny.rr.com)

**Kersten, Holger**, *Universität Magdeburg*

"Mark Twain's 'Assault of Laughter' and the Limits of Political Humor"

Among Mark Twain's contemporaries, probably only a few would have characterized the writer as a representative of political humor. The impressions of the supposed childhood idylls by the Mississippi River overshadow much of the satirical humor which became more prominent in the latter part of his literary career. For a great part of his contemporary public it was enough that he was "funny" in a harmless, superficial, and entertaining manner. This popular preference reflected an attitude that understood humor as "warm and all-embracing as the sunshine," a feature of life that was supposed to soften "the ragged inequalities of existence, promoting tolerant views of life."

In one of his most famous quotes, however, Mark Twain proposes a very different understanding of humor and laughter. When "Young Satan" proclaims that "against the assault of Laughter nothing can stand," the text defines the "sense of humor" as a tool to uncover things generally concealed from public view. Among these things are – the context suggests – political, social, and cultural institutions that, because of their moral defects, are in need of correction or abolishment. Once the problem has been revealed, "Laughter" serves as a weapon to demolish and destroy the offending practices or institutions. Implicitly, the position advanced in Twain's text suggests that humor produces not just moments of private enjoyment but, more importantly, it can be used to effect social and political change.

Thus it can be said that, in "Chronicles of Young Satan," Twain presents humor and laughter as weapons in the service of political action and democracy, similar to the way in which Howells, in his review of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, had described Twain's use of humor as a central component of the novel's moral objective, namely to express "a strong, indignant, often infuriate hate of injustice, and [...] love for equality." Twain's humor, Howells contended, fulfilled a political mission: "This kind of humor," he wrote, was employed "in the service of democracy, of humanity," and Mark Twain had succeeded in teaching "an object-lesson in democracy."

At around the turn of the 20th century, Mark Twain had in fact, more than ever, trained his sights on a number of political issues that, in his eyes, required critical assessment. Corruption and fraud in American domestic politics, social questions regarding capital and labor as well as race relations, and American foreign policy in the form of imperialist interventions – Twain observed, spoke and wrote about many of the controversial issues that marred American political life during the period. The result of his political engagement was a series of speeches and essays that spanned several years. Among them was such a powerful piece as "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," a text which provoked a heated public debate. In their endeavor to counter Twain's position, oppositional voices applied the label "humorist" to discredit the author. Reducing him to a "mere" humorist, the *New York Times* attempted to undermine his views by calling his political intervention "the tinkle of the bells on his cap."

As this example shows, his reputation as a popular humorist presented a dilemma for Mark Twain: Although it gave him access to the press and thereby to a large audience, it also had the potential to minimize and invalidate the serious points he wanted to make. To a certain extent, the tactics employed by his critics proved to be successful: In the contentious last years of his life, Twain seems to have doubted the power of humor. Instead of going forward in an effort to illustrate how humor could act as a subversive force, Twain refrained from exposing the nation's frauds, shams, and superstitions because he feared that his opinions regarding religion, politics, and men might prove unpopular among his audience. Many of his writings were never completed, others were suppressed or kept out of sight for posthumous publication. In this way, one might be tempted to suspect that Twain's depiction of humor and laughter as a an irresistible weapon was wishful thinking rather than a strongly-held belief.

Taking its cue from "Young Satan's" remark about humor and laughter as a force against which "nothing can stand," this paper will look at the evidence available in interviews, reviews, and newspaper reports to provide insights into the question to what extent the humor and laughter generated by Mark Twain's writings might have been a corrective force in American society.

(Holger.Kersten@ovgu.de)

**Kubo, Takuya**, *Kanazawa University*

"Men were still monstrosities. . .?' Mark Twain's Views on Disabilities and Their Multifaceted Meanings"

Helen Keller met Mark Twain for the first time in March 1895, when she was just fourteen years old. Twain was able to discern Keller's intelligence, quickness, and benevolence during this short encounter. At the same time, Keller, too, understood Twain's nature.

In her autobiography on her later life, *Midstream*, Keller recalls that he “knew with keen and sure intuition many things” about her and “how it felt to be blind and not to keep up with the swift ones—things that others learned slowly or not at all” (Keller, 1929, 48). Keller also wrote that Twain treated her “not as a freak, but as a handicapped woman seeking a way to circumvent extraordinary difficulties” (Quoted in Phipps, 2003). Keller undoubtedly appreciate what had made Twain a pre-eminent thinker and writer of his time. The significance that he gained in the literary world of his day lay in his very ability to grasp directly, if not theoretically, the quintessential concept of what constituted the human society. However, as far as his acute views on this issue of disabilities is concerned, they were not made only from his intuition, but also from his long observations of the matter. My purpose of this presentation is to consider the importance of disabilities expressed in multifaceted ways.

In considering the manifestations of disabilities in Twain’s texts, one may easily call to mind the images of conjoined twins which also worked as powerful metaphors that figuratively expressed Twain himself. His interest in them, however, had a long-established history before it had matured. Even before he started to use his most famous pseudonym, he had made mention of a “petrified man,” one of whose legs had “evidently been a wooded one during the lifetime of the owner.” We can find another early example of this in “Whereas” (1864), in which he depicted a young man who progressively lost his extremities while he was struggling to create a life with his fiancée. We can even refer to a dog whose hind legs are “sawed off in a circular saw” who wins a battle in a dog fight in “Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog” (1865). The portrayals of disabilities in Twain’s texts must have been noticed, but their meanings have never been properly expounded upon so far.

We may also be able to interpret his magnum opus, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), from this perspective. One may easily notice the fact that the book is filled with frequent accounts of disabilities that lead to important motives which put the story forward. For example, we notice that in the “good haul” Huck and Jim take from a drifting house are “a wooden leg” along with “dirty calico dresses and a sun bonnet.” Following Jim’s idea, Huck dresses himself and slips into the town.

This image of a girl and that of disability later combine with each other to cause a complicated emotion within Jim. When Huck sees Jim “moaning and mourning” over being far away from his family, Huck “somehow” asks him about them. Jim’s story about his daughter, “little ’Lizabeth,” who becomes “plumb deaf en dumb” after she has suffered from “de sk’yarlet fever,” shows Twain’s excellence in expressing a variety of emotions caused by just one episode. Not only Jim’s parental love toward his daughter, but also his recognition of his own powerlessness and the anxieties he is to face are sufficiently expressed through his confession. Jim’s sadness ferments Huck’s indignation against the King and the Duke, particularly when he sees the Duke pretend to be “deef and dumb” trying to deceive the innocent daughters of Peter Wilks. It is not a coincidence that, in the chapter immediately after Jim’s confession, Twain set up a scene where Huck starts to show his spontaneity toward the wider world.

Twain did not recognize that disabilities solely represented sorrow, or desolation. He, on the contrary, had a strong sense of possibility in expressing them. The ideas that Twain held about them were never close to those of the same age. I will also assert the importance of this viewpoint for a more comprehensive understanding of this multifaceted author.

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(takuya@ed.kanazawa-u.ac.jp)

**Kupersmith, Abraham**, *Borough of Manhattan Community College, City University of New York*  
 “The Practical Joke and the Development of Empathy in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*”

*Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* begins and ends with practical jokes involving Tom, Huck and Jim. During the course of Huck’s and Jim’s runaway journey together, Huck plays two additional practical jokes on Jim. Taken together, these four both reflect and facilitate the evolution of the relationship between Huck and Jim, particularly the evolution of Huck’s attitude toward and capacity to empathize with Jim as a fellow human being. In contrast, Tom, who remains within so-called civilized society throughout the book, shows little or no growth in his attitude toward Jim as evidenced by the cruel practical joke he plays on Jim and Huck at the novel’s end.

The practical joke, sometimes considered a subset of the con game, is based on a deception the target of which is belittled or otherwise made to appear foolish. It is a form of humor that primarily serves the perpetrator and the audience. Thus its use at the outset of the novel, with Jim as the target, is consistent with Tom’s and Huck’s perceptions of Jim as an ignorant Black slave.

At the beginning of the novel, as result of social influences, Huck and Tom see Jim as property rather than as a person. Thus they do not hesitate to play a practical joke on him, a joke that reflects their sense of superiority and that is intended to make a fool out of him. Jim’s unanticipated response to the joke is to gain a sense of importance relative to the other slaves. However, Jim’s reaction further reinforces Huck’s opinion of him as a fool, and Huck comments that Jim’s sense of importance has also “ruined him as a servant.”

Once Huck and Jim have escaped their respective oppressors and find each other on Jackson Island, Huck the child comes to rely on Jim the adult, whose folk wisdom and other skills enable them to survive in nature. However, at times Huck continues to be influenced by “civilization’s” perception of Jim as inferior and merely superstitious. Thus, Huck decides to play a practical joke on Jim by placing a dead snake in his bed, in defiance of Jim’s warning. The joke backfires when the snake’s mate bites Jim. Huck, not intending



such a severe outcome, concludes that Jim was right and resolves never to touch a snakeskin again.

Despite Huck's growing empathy and respect for Jim, he reverts back to his earlier attitude with yet a third practical joke. When he discovers that Jim was very worried about him during their separation in a fog, he convinces Jim that the incident never occurred, that Jim dreamed the entire episode. Soon after, Jim discovers evidence that the incident that night was real. As Huck's equal, he lectures Huck about the importance of empathy and mutual respect in friendships. Huck is profoundly affected by Jim's reaction, resolving never to play a joke on Jim again.

The last practical joke is initiated by Tom at the end of the novel. Prior to Tom's arrival on the scene, Jim was captured and sold by the Duke to the owners of Phelps farm. Upon learning of Jim's captivity, Huck's empathy for Jim throws him briefly into a crisis of conscience: whether to abide by the social norms of private property (including slave property) to avoid going to Hell, or instead to become a "sinner" by trying to help Jim escape. He soon decides on the latter and proceeds to the farm, intending to "steal" Jim and help him escape. At the farm, he encounters Tom who knows that Jim was recently freed by his owner. However, Tom keeps this from Huck and Jim, thus playing a practical joke on both of them by letting them believe they need to organize an outlandish escape plan. Since Huck has become Jim's genuine ally, he now must also be deceived about Jim's status and is no longer Tom's partner in perpetrating practical jokes on Jim.

(edithfrank@hotmail.com)

**Lawlor, John**, *Reading Area Community College*  
 "Spinning Custer: A Pennsylvania Editor's Appraisal of Little Big Horn"

Mark Twain's ambivalent and evolving attitudes toward Native Americans have been well-documented. The political, military, and cultural context that contributed to these attitudes, however, needs further exploration. The first of two linked presentations will show how intrusions by the military and miners into the Indian Territory of the Black Hills, South Dakota, led to Native American resistance and counter attack at Little Big Horn, setting the stage for Twain's hostility toward Native Americans.

The presentation analyzes the circumstances of an editorial response to the Battle of Little Big Horn. After George Armstrong Custer's defeat at Little Big Horn, Jesse Hawley, editor of the Reading Eagle, charged in an editorial that the U.S. military had no right to be in the Black Hills. He reasoned that the Native people were entitled to sovereignty over their land by treaty. Without a warrant or legal cause, the government had no right to invade the Black Hills, argued Hawley.

This presentation tests that assertion through analysis of governmental records from Congress, the Interior Department's Office of Indian Affairs, and the U.S. military at the National Archives. Viewpoints of the Sioux, based on records at the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress, support Hawley's position. The key reason for the collision was gold: the 1874 discovery of gold in the Black Hills by an expedition led by Custer generated tremendous pressure from settlers to intrude on Native ground. Efforts by the military, sometimes half-hearted, failed to stem the flow of prospectors; at the same time that soldiers were attempting to locate and dislodge miners, William "Buffalo Bill" Cody was in Boston organizing a mining expedition. The Sioux and their allies, failing to obtain relief, decided in June of 1876 to exert their own treaty enforcement. The editor's charge, while somewhat rare, was accurate and complex.

(jlawlor@comcast.net)

**Lee, Judith Yaross**, *Ohio University*  
 "Assault by Satire: Mark Twain, Henry Stanley, and *King Leopold's Soliloquy*"

Mark Twain's satire on America's international engagement dates to the early years of his career, when his 1866 comic newspaper reports from the Sandwich Islands, now Hawai'i, fueled his success as a writer and platform performer joking from an American perspective about life-and imperialism-in foreign lands. Comic contrasts between Americans and others, and between the U.S. and elsewhere, run continuously through his major works from *Innocents Abroad* (1869) onward, but reached important milestones in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), which imagined American imperialism as an invasion of England, and *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905), which blamed the U.S. for abetting Leopold's atrocities in the Congo. Complicating the story of these two works is Clemens's relationship with the African explorer Henry Morton Stanley. The relationship, not always friendly, ran from the March 1867 performance of the Sandwich Island lecture in St. Louis through Stanley's death in 1904, and cast a long shadow over the composition of both books.

Twain himself linked the *Soliloquy* with *Connecticut Yankee* in an autobiographical dictation for December 5, 1906, a year after the *Soliloquy* came out. In writing the earlier book, he mused,

"I think I was purposing to contrast . . . the English life of the whole of the Middle Ages-with the life of modern Christendom and modern civilization-to the advantage of the latter, of course. That advantage is still claim able, and does creditably and handsomely exist everywhere in Christendom-if we leave out Russia and the royal palace of Belgium. The royal palace of Belgium is still what it has been for fourteen years-the den of a wild beast-King Leopold II-who for money's sake mutilates, murders, and starves, half a million of friendless and helpless poor natives in the Congo State every year . . ." (*Autobiography of Mark Twain*, 2:307)

Correspondence and notebooks in the Mark Twain Papers at UC-Berkeley and the Henry M. Stanley Archives in Tervuren, Belgium,

demonstrate that the relationship between Clemens and Stanley grew particularly close in two periods significant for these satires. As Judith Yaross Lee reported in *Twain's Brand: Humor in Contemporary American Culture* (2012), Stanley's overnight stay at the Clemenses' Hartford house in December of 1886, during his U.S. lecture tour about his adventures mapping the Congo for King Leopold of Belgium, set in motion a series of efforts to secure the rights to Stanley's next exploration book. And having Stanley much on Clemens's mind for the next three years may have influenced the book as Sir Robert of Camelot became Yankee Boss Hank Morgan, a King Arthur's right-hand man in the remaking of sixth-century Britain in the image of nineteenth-century America—a project akin to Stanley's plans for central Africa and replete with tantalizing parallels. Stanley's decision to publish *In Darkest Africa* (1890) with Scribner hurt the relationship somewhat, but all was forgiven when in 1895 Stanley not only helped help Clemens organize his round-the-world tour to repay the Webster & Co. debts, but also feted Clemens at a gala dinner in London that helped restore Sam's self-image. The two men became intimates during the Clemenses' 1889-1900 London sojourn, a period when disturbing news began bubbling up from the Congo and Stanley's health began seriously to fail. By the time Stanley died on May 10, 1904, amid growing worldwide concern over atrocities in the Congo, Clemens mourned him as "a dear and honored friend," and kept news of the death from Livy as too distressing to share. "It is 37 years," Clemens wrote the new widow, Dorothy T. Stanley, the next day, "I have known no other friend & intimate so long, except John Hay." Within five months Clemens would be deep at work on *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, commissioned to benefit the Congo Reform Association. His source materials implicated Stanley in the Congo atrocities from which Leopold profited, but Stanley's name does not appear in Twain's text, which places the blame elsewhere. The silence is significant.

My paper will use archival documentation of the relationship between Clemens and Stanley from 1895 to 1904 as context for Mark Twain's increasingly active role as a satirist of imperialism, culminating in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. In particular, I will show that Clemens's friendship with Stanley brought the problems of imperialism after 1898 close to home and heart in ways that fuel the intensity of the 1905 satire. For instance, as Mark Twain imagines Leopold, the king's contempt for the Yankees who "were the first to salute" the Congo's flag and his delight in being "a shade too clever for the Yankees" evoke Stanley's role in advising the American delegation at the 1884 Berlin Conference that divided up Africa among European imperialist powers. Clemens believed that the U.S. had officially endorsed the Berlin Agreement until disabused of his misunderstanding by John Hay, then the Secretary of State, after the publication of the *Soliloquy*. Learning that the U.S. Senate had not endorsed the Agreement led Clemens to withdraw completely from the Congo reform effort. Materials from Stanley's archives, however, show his growing concerns over the uses and abuses of his geographical discoveries made by Leopold in the Congo, concerns that he may well have shared with Clemens during the winter of 1900, forming a backdrop for both men's likely conclusion that Leopold had exploited Stanley as well as his colonial subjects.

(leej@ohio.edu)

**Leight, David**, Reading Area Community College

"The Show is Genuine': Buffalo Bill Cody and Twain's Native Americans"

Mark Twain's relationship with Native Americans was, to say the least, complicated. The second of two linked presentations shows how Twain's fascination with the aftermath of the Indian Wars and, specifically, the activities of scout-turned-showman Buffalo Bill Cody, led Twain to try but fail to write *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians*.

Twain had a keen interest in Indian affairs, as evidenced from his letters to Presidents, his occasional Native American characters, from Injun Joe to Thunder-Bird, and, notably, the unfinished novel *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians*. That text, which Twain began soon after finishing *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, should have become a legitimate follow-up to what many consider the greatest American novel: James Fenimore Cooper's noble savage should have been as ripe for dismantling as Walter Scott's nobility of the Old South. Yet the manuscript was never finished. The problem has been said to be that Twain's wrote himself into a corner by creating a nightmarish situation for his characters. But Twain did not shy away from nightmares. On the contrary, *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians* should have been a *tour de force* of realism triumphing over romanticism.

The second presentation describes the reasons why that didn't happen. By juxtaposing Twain's representations of Native Americans to the political, military, and cultural conditions of the 1870s through the 1880s, the presentation shows how Twain's viewpoints reify the period's competing ideological understandings of Native Americans. It will show how the dual nature of Buffalo Bill Cody as at once a dime-novel hero and a real-life political operative, a friend of Indians who was most famous for killing them, made him and the Wild West he glorified impossible for Twain to parody. Caught between these competing and evolving ideologies about Native Americans, Twain could not abandon the romance of the West to form a complete, realist novel. As in the first presentation, the second presentation will use documentary evidence about Twain's evolving feelings about Native Americans as shown in letters and images obtained from the Library of Congress, the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, and the University of California, Berkeley.

(dleight@racc.edu)

**Leonard, James Wharton**, Tufts University

"This unsearched marvelous world:' Amateur Science in Mark Twain's 'Dream Tales'"

Mark Twain's relationship to scientific practice and discovery has long been of interest to scholars. As early as 1937, for example, Hyatt Howe Waggoner analyzed the place and influence of thought within Twain's worldview, concluding that "the facts of science stimulated his imagination" (369) and provided him with tools for articulating his views of people (both individual humans and society as a whole) and the natural world. We know as well that Twain's interest in contemporary scientific discoveries permeated at least some of his texts. *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, for example, treated readers to Twain's enjoyment of Francis Galton's *Finger Prints*, which he described to

his publisher as “virgin ground ... absolutely fresh, and mighty curious and interesting to everybody.” This paper looks at Twain’s deployment of scientific practice as just such a phenomenon—“absolutely *fresh* and mighty curious”—whose novelty and immediacy exceeded the then-burgeoning field of professional science and entered the domestic sphere through the actions of amateur scientists, collectors, and theorists. Additionally, this paper considers the implications of hobbyist science within the context of longstanding interpretations by Waggoner and others, that “theories of science confirmed [Twain’s] pessimistic suspicions about life.”

Such theories are well-grounded. Twain himself said in his notebooks that “Idiots argue that nature is kind and fair to us, if we are loyal and obey her laws, and we are responsible for our pains and diseases because we violate the laws—and that all this is judged. Good God! ... It would save those people a world of uncomfortable shuffling if they would recognize one plain fact—a fact which a man willing to see cannot be blind to, namely that there is nothing kindly, nothing beneficent, nothing friendly in Nature toward any creature, except by capricious fits and starts; and that Nature’s attitude toward all life is profoundly vicious, treacherous, and malignant.” Implicit in this claim is that the evolution and subsequent circulation of scientific discoveries and frameworks over time will inevitably integrate Twain’s own pessimism into the larger cultural view of the world.

Much of the science that appears in Twain’s works is articulated through amateurs or hobbyists. The most notable of these is, of course, David “Pudd’nhead” Wilson, whose interest in “every new thing that was born into the world of ideas” manifests in his “fads”—among them the novel science of fingerprinting around which the novel’s plot ultimately resolves. Pudd’nhead’s drive to understand, explore, and classify stems from the amateur’s simple, extra-professional interest in the “world of ideas,” and it’s important to keep in mind that his status as, to use Sherwood Cummings words, a “pure scientist” recalls the non-professional (that is, self-funded) “gentleman scientists” like Newton and Darwin whose work fueled the Age of Enlightenment. The irony of Pudd’nhead’s discoveries is, of course, that his perceived ability to undermine contemporary racial/biological distinctions simply ends up reinforcing the schema it ostensibly disrupted as the novel ends with a reassertion of man-made systems of knowledge designed to subsume multiple forms of factuality into frameworks of power.

But Wilson is not the only amateur scientist in Twain’s work, and my paper proposes to redirect our reading of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* toward two later works: “The Great Dark” and “Three Thousand Years among the Microbes.” Patricia Mandia has observed that these “Dream Tales” deploy “a satire that does not attempt to reform,” instead “emphasiz[ing] that life is empty and meaningless beneath the metaphysical, scientific, and religious systems that man tries to impose on it.” In “The Great Dark,” Mr. Edwards begins his narrative by saying that the family “were experimenting with the microscope. And pretty ignorantly.” As the family is consumed by the microscope slide (and the bizarre world within it), they become victims of a popularization of science-as-fad which invades the space of the home in an effort to expand public participation in the greater scientific project. Similarly, “Three Thousand Years among the Microbes” sees its narrator shrink to the size of a cholera germ. Although this narrator claims that “on earth [he] was a scientist by profession,” his focus seems to have been on mathematics and perhaps paleontology. But after his transformation, he becomes a dabbler/amateur in an imitation of contemporary anthropological methodology that comes to define his text. Even more than *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, whose ending expresses a deep dissatisfaction with humanity’s relationship to the biological, the “Dream Tales” seem to indicate that the public’s increasing immersion in science will increasingly alter its perspective, pushing it toward the pessimistic view “that Nature’s attitude toward all life is profoundly vicious, treacherous, and malignant”—and utterly beyond human control.

(leonjw86@gmail.com)

**Lieberman, Jennifer L.**, *University of North Florida*  
“Mark Twain and the Technological Fallacy”

Many scholars (myself included) have examined technology as a prominent theme in Mark Twain’s body of work. As a writer who also held patents, Twain’s interest in technology has become a part of his legend. Indeed, it has become nearly impossible to discuss *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* without mentioning technology. Introductions to recent editions of the book inevitably describe the Paige Compositor and entreat readers to imagine how Twain might have felt about “technological progress” in light of his frustrations with this venture. Yet the word technology does not appear in this novel or anywhere in his body of work. It was not a word that Twain had at his disposal. The term *technology* was not adopted into the American vernacular until years after Twain’s death.

In this paper, I argue that literary critics who study *technology* in *A Connecticut Yankee*—and in other texts that prominently feature inventions, such as *Tom Sawyer Abroad* or *Colonel Sellers as a Scientist*—have projected an anachronistic coherence onto a variety of images and themes that could not fit so neatly together. Whereas late-twentieth-century writers could blame *technology* for social ills or cite it as evidence for social progress, Twain did not formulate such causal constructions. Even when he affiliated machines or inventions with progressive notions of history, he consistently described these new developments as plural and multifaceted.

In this paper, I argue that this difference in terminology could explain, in part, a discrepancy between historical and present-day readings of *A Connecticut Yankee*. Twain’s peers, including William Dean Howells, considered the novel to be a “glorious gospel of equality.” As late as 1941, *A Connecticut Yankee* was included on the *Journal of Educational Sociology*’s “Reading List for Democracy” with an unambiguously positive description: “Story of a mechanically minded Yankee transported backwards in time to the England of King Arthur’s time, expressing an idea of freedom.” Darker interpretations of the novel gained prominence in the 1960s, as Henry Nash Smith, Sherwood Cummings, and other notables introduced the word *technology* into their criticism, along with its postwar connotations. During those years, *technology* began to elicit fear—not only because of the Cold War threat of nuclear disaster, but also because the word itself had become a scapegoat for diffuse cultural anxieties. As a difficult-to-define singular noun, *technology* could sneak insidiously into the subject of sentences. It could be dangerous or beneficial to humanity.

As *technology* evolved into the singular concept we now know, it also came to appear timeless. Perceiving *technology* as pervasive

and ahistorical, even the most careful critics— including scholars who examined Twain’s use of new terms such as *individualism* and *capitalism*—have projected this term onto the past as if it had always existed. Leo Marx rationalized this tendency to project *technology* onto the past by suggesting that the idea existed before there was an “adequate concept” to denote it: he argues that the word emerged to fill a “semantic void.” Although artifacts that we would now identify as technological existed before that term came into popular use, I disagree with Marx on this point. Twain described inventions in distinctive ways without using the word *technology*. When present-day scholars project this term onto his work, we fail to recognize the suppleness of his strategies for describing mechanical and scientific innovation. I call this act of simplification the *technological fallacy* because it functions much like William K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley’s (1946) *intentional fallacy*, shaping the way we approach literary and cultural history.

This paper combines literary historiography and close reading in order to demonstrate how my core concept—the *technological fallacy*—can be used to develop new and nuanced readings of Twain’s presumably “technological” tales. While this talk reappraises critics’ use of the word *technology*, it does not subvert the significant work that grew out of this scholarly tradition. Instead, it questions why scholars who were acutely attuned to the subtleties of language would project an anachronistic concept onto their readings of this novel—and it urges present-day Twain scholars to attend to the plural and contingent terms the author did use to describe inventions, innovations, and systems.

(j.lieberman@unf.edu)

**MacDonnell, Kevin**, *Independent Scholar and Collector*  
 “Was Huck Quaker?”

There was a knock at his hotel room door. Mark Twain answered it, and “Sociable Jimmy” walked into his life, began chattering, and enchanted his famous listener who soon immortalized him in one of his short sketches, a sketch that rings with one of the African-American voices that many believe influenced the voice of Huck Finn. This paper will not engage in that ongoing debate, but focus instead on the moments before that knock at the door.

In his sketch about Jimmy, Mark Twain makes a point of telling his readers exactly what he was doing just before that first knock: He says he was reading a bestselling book, largely forgotten today, that would have been familiar to most of his readers—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s *New England Tragedies*, a verse-drama about the persecution of Quakers in early America. Why would Mark Twain make his choice of reading material explicit for the readers of his sympathetic sketch about an innocent and loquacious African-American child? What is the significance of *that* book, and can we even be sure he was actually reading *that* book? Mark Twain mailed a copy *that* book to his wife a short time later while still on the road, so it’s obvious he had *that* book with him in his hotel room, and now that his marked copy of *that* book has been found, it can be seen just how much he’d read of *that* book when Jimmy knocked on his door, and which passages caught his eye.

But what would Mark Twain’s reading of Longfellow’s book have to do with Quakerism and Huck Finn? Are the tenets of Quakerism (silence, the inner light, pacifism, no swearing of oaths, anti-slavery) present in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*? Were there many Quakers in Mark Twain’s life, or Quaker books in his library? Did Mark Twain equate the persecution and suffering of Quakers in America with the persecution and suffering of slaves and Native Americans? Did the religious faith of one the models for a character in *Huckleberry Finn* closely parallel Quakerism and did this influence his depiction of that character?

Here are some short answers: The tenets of Quakerism are everywhere in *Huckleberry Finn*, often at critical junctures. There were many more Quakers in Mark Twain’s life than has been generally known and he was familiar with the writings of several Quaker authors. His wife’s family had been active in the Philadelphia branch of the Underground Railroad that was established and managed by Quakers. In a speech Mark Twain gave while he was writing *Huckleberry Finn* he made it clear in no uncertain terms that the persecutions of Quakers, slaves, and Native Americans were indeed equivalent, and that he took this personally. Finally, a major character in *Huckleberry Finn* was indeed modeled on a person Mark Twain admired and spent a good deal of time with, and whose religious beliefs were remarkably similar to Quakerism.

Much has been written about the counter-theology present in *Huckleberry Finn*, and one writer has suggested parallels to Unitarianism. Those theories will not be refuted, nor will a new theory be proposed that Mark Twain was proselytizing on behalf of Quakers when he composed *Huckleberry Finn*. But the historical and documentary evidence that will be presented is unmistakable: There were strong Quaker influences in Mark Twain’s life and readings, and they find expression through a character in his masterpiece. Was that character Huck? Was Huck Quaker?

(info@macdonnellrarebooks.com)

**Maresca, Virginia**, *St. John’s University*

“The Colorless History of that Dull Country Town: Colorblind Racism Then and Now in *Pudd’nhead Wilson*”

Mark Twain’s *Pudd’nhead Wilson* has proved a conundrum for critics who wish to neatly classify its commentary on racial equality. Twain reveals the absurdities behind America’s “one-drop” rule, tackling the quandary of nature versus nurture, but also parodies the tragic mulatto trope, puzzling many by creating a comedy that centers around slavery and miscegenation and ends with a black man being sold further South into a life of slavery. I want to untangle this ambiguity by arguing that Twain’s aim was not to satirize America’s racial laws but those that abide by them and find no irony in them: the good, decent citizens of Dawson’s Landing. I will



argue that Twain's social criticism aligns itself with, or serves as a precursor for, the 20th century concept of colorblind racism currently defined by modern social theorists. I will analyze how the white, and even black, citizens of Dawson's Landing exhibit Bonilla-Silva's four classifications of colorblind racism, better explaining the quandary of race that perplexes readers. The contradictory and detached treatment of race mirrors the racial attitude of the small town; they feel some pity, but ultimately uphold a power system that favors white privilege, maintaining "the colorless history" of their "dull country town," accustomed to the discrimination and cruelty that is built in.

Numerous critics have noted that Twain's story of slavery was intended to criticize an antebellum society that had dealt with the 'problem' of slavery but whose culture intensified the racism developed to justify it. I want to continue this argument by analyzing how this form of benevolent racism has continued today. Twain's characters, themes, and setting all fit into Bonilla-Silva's four central frames of colorblind racism: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. First, I will discuss the stress on legality and science that is abstractly liberal but fails when applied to the colored characters in this story. I will address the issue of naturalization of race relations in the novel, which is revealed through dialogue of the characters and meditation from the narrator himself. Cultural racism comes to forefront when discussing the fate of the real Tom, who is destined to be shunned from both black and white society by the story's close. Finally, the minimization of racism is evident in one phrase that repeats throughout the book, "sold down the river." The South is repeatedly painted as the real evil in this book while readers can see the irony of this demonization. Dawson's Landing, Missouri is not an innocent bystander to slave times. Although they might treat their slaves nicely and do the best they can to keep their slave families together, they are just as guilty, being willing participants in this national horror. Twain's assault reaches all walks of life, from those with Virginian aristocratic lineage to liberal Yankees from New York. Indeed, the relations between American regions and the setting of Missouri become essential to its colorblind frames. Twain was writing to an era that was in racial denial, much like the denial that persists today. Twain's warning to the 20th century can carry over to the 21st, reminding readers that we have not properly dealt with our darkest historical truths and need to deal with our own hypocrisy instead of blaming today's racism on other groups and regions.

(marescav@stjohns.edu)

**McCoy, Max**, *Emporia State University*

"Adventurous Beginnings: The Secret Life of Albert Bigelow Paine"

Albert Bigelow Paine is unavoidable in Twain scholarship, but little of substance has been written about his background. In researching an investigative biography of Paine—a portion of which was published recently by a quarterly magazine—I have discovered details about Paine's life that raise serious concerns about his credibility. The question I asked in the piece is this: How can you trust a biographer who lies about his own life? I am not quite ready to answer that question fully, as my work is not complete. But Paine's unfettered relationship with the truth is troubling, and his influence on Twain and his work deserves re-examination.

In a matter of weeks, Paine went from a casual acquaintance of Sam Clemens to official biographer to neighbor and confidant. His 11-year-old daughter, Louise, was a member of the "Aquarium," a collection of young girls the author called his Angel Fish. After Twain's death in 1910, he became the literary executor of the estate, controlling both published and unpublished works, finishing at least one as he saw fit, and shaping our image of Mark Twain for generations to come.

Paine encouraged a sanitized version of his life to become central to the literary record, while hiding the truth behind a carefully constructed narrative that portrayed himself as a proper Victorian and loving husband. It's a story that has been generally accepted for more than a century, and it has allowed the character of the man who charmed his way into Twain's inner circle to go unchallenged.

But Paine was a genial liar and, possibly, a bigamist.

In New York, Paine presented himself as a proper family man and the victim of an unhappy earlier marriage that ended in divorce. But back in Kansas, his marriage to Minnie Schultz, daughter of a wealthy brewer, was not yet over. The record indicates he abandoned his childless first wife to be with Dora Locey, the mother of his children; that he and Dora hid under his mother's maiden name in New York, that the birth of their second child, Frances, was recorded with that last name, Kirby, in 1898; that the divorce action filed by Minnie in 1896 was never granted; that after her death in 1901, Paine intended to seek half of her estate, as her legal husband; and that if his marriage to Dora had indeed taken place in 1892 or 1893, as claimed, it would have made Paine a bigamist.

The divorce scandal was covered at length in Kansas newspapers, including reports of Minnie's failing health and her trips to New York in hope of reconciliation. The articles do not, however, name Dora or describe Paine's living arrangements in New York. Much of the story is contained in census records, city directories, and documents from the New York City archives. But the most definitive account of the secret life of Albert Bigelow Paine comes from a recently discovered letter from his daughter, Louise.

In the spring of 2016, following years of literary detective work, and with the help of Paine's great-grandchildren, the letter was found in an unprocessed collection of papers in the Mark Twain Papers at the Bancroft Library. It was written in 1943 by Louise to her sisters, Frances and Joy, some years after their parents had died. Louise—now a New York magazine editor—was on assignment in the west. She decided to stop over in Kansas City to interview a couple who had known Albert and Dora in Fort Scott. In the three-page, single-spaced letter to her sisters, Louise related the "adventurous beginnings" of their family—and which provides, for the first time, the best account of Paine's character and the nature of his flight from Kansas.

The letter was central to my piece, "The Man Who Was Twain's Mysterious Stranger," published in the December 2016 issue of *The New Territory*. While part of the Paine marriage mystery has been solved, the larger issues of credibility and influence remain.

(mmccoy2@emporia.edu)

**Melton, Jeffrey** *University of Alabama*

“When Jokes Go Bad; or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb”

In chapter 17 of *Huckleberry Finn*, readers witness a joke gone bad. In a typically adolescent get-to-know-me flurry, Buck Grangerford reports to Huck his adventures with a blue jay and a rabbit and then asks “where Moses was when the candle went out.” Huck’s response is logical: “I said I didn’t know; I hadn’t heard about it before, no way” (135). What follows is a brief but contentious back-and-forth between two frustrated boys—Buck is desperate to complete his joke, and Huck, though befuddled, is committed to hold up his side of the conversation. Buck manages, in the end, to serve up the punchline: “Why, he is in the dark!” to which Huck, still clueless, responds, “Well, if you knowed where he was, what did you ask me for?” Indeed.

I propose to use this failed attempt at humor as a springboard for exploring the complicated and fraught interactions between humorists and audiences as applied, of course, to the laughter encouraged by Mark Twain. Even the most basic joke can fail, so consideration of such failures should put to question the implied power asserted by the phrase “assault of laughter.” When we read, discuss, and teach Mark Twain’s humor, we may do well to be more attentive to the challenges that face audiences and thus the significant limitations of any humorous exchange. When the humor in question carries satirical intentions, the questions about such power are especially salient. The consummating power of any rhetorical assault resides with the audience, which can render any humor feckless by responding with what Michael Billig (2005) has termed “unlaughter.” All readers can share Huck’s confusion when confronted with complicated or nuanced “jokes,” so I hope to encourage a discussion that examines how and why those readers remain forever in the dark, and standing. (jmelton@ua.edu)

**Michelson, Bruce** *University of Illinois*

“Mark Twain in the Po-Mo Twilight”

Beginning with Mark Twain’s sudden ascent to the rank of American Artist right around the year 1950 ~ Gladys Bellamy’s book; Eliot’s and Trilling’s competing songs of High Modernist eulogy, and an aside on why we got them at that moment ~ I’d look into that same brief span of time, the early Fifties, as the kick-off for the next big thing, the ferment that began with the Beats and Salinger and gave us the Sixties and Kurt Vonnegut and Doctorow and eventually Ray Carver and Tess Gallagher and Brautigan and Eggers and Alexie and so on: American Po-Mo. Periodically MT’s work has been evoked and echoed as a kind of forebear or household deity, and that casual homage and claimed kinship kept up for nearly half a century, as Postmodernism turned scholastic and began losing its steam. Robert Coover’s recent *Huck Goes West* strikes me as a convenient ending-point, another sign that the real or imaginary relationship between MT’s work and Po-Mo has run its course. Coover’s book strikes me as an inept hijacking of a Mark Twain character and a tin-eared effort to reproduce his voice, offering many moments where Huck sounds more like Bill and Ted from San Dimas High ~ ‘whoa, most excellent, Dude!’ ~ than like a boy raised 160 years ago on the Missouri shore.

On a larger scale, what’s happening with Po-Mo and Mark Twain’s connection with it? For one thing: the rise of this new politics in America, of a bloody and protracted clash of civilizations, and a financial and ideological assault on college and university humanities programs may be coaxing academe, and its writers on the payroll, to swap po-mo archness for something closer to classic mimesis, an urgent return to varieties of realism to get us through the crisis and to demonstrate our high seriousness and cultural value. Looking at the last few years of Pulitzers, National Book Awards, and Booker Prizes, I think I can see such a shift in evidence. If so, what will be the next iteration of the Mark Twain mythology to help us through that?

(bruce@michigan.edu)

**Nakagaki, Kotaro** *Daito Bunka University*

“Mark Twain’s Tramp as a Cultural Icon of American Road Narratives”

This presentation will examine the transition of the tramp/hobo as a cultural icon in American popular culture, focusing especially on its early period that spanned the 1880s to the 1910s, and how tramp and hobo images developed out of the narratives of Mark Twain (1835–1910). With the rise and spread of large-scale transportation methods, the concept of the hobo, often depicted in the persona of the migrant worker, emerged in the latter nineteenth century. Both tramp and hobo (along with the distinction between them) were in common usage during the period. In *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), considered to be a travelogue, Twain employs the tramp image as a person who travels to many places. At the time the work was published, Twain was already well-established as a writer, and his usage of tramp had connotations both comic and unique. With reference to the current societal concerns noted below regarding labor and cultural issues, this presentation will examine the processing of tramp images observed in works of Twain. Through analyzing Twain’s writings, a mechanism for building images of the anti-hero, as represented by *Huckleberry Finn*, will be constructed. Even though the character should be recognized as a vagabond or a tramp (but not as a hobo), in fact Huck could also be regarded as “the most celebrated hobo hero” in American literature/culture.

The idea of the literary hobo references migratory workers, and analyzing this transition of hobo images should connect with class/labor issues, even to including images of tramps or vagabonds. As hobo images in American popular culture grow more sophisticated, class/labor issues and depictions tend to be eliminated. In examining Twain’s creation process concerning his tramp motif as an early stage of such iconography, how can it be linked to class/labor issues and an American ideal? Through the process of becoming a “national” writer, Twain’s strategy to become popular under establishing nation/state will be shown. In considering this formative period of American popular culture, perspectives of national identities and ideologies could also be suggested.

This presentation will focus on the early stage of the creation and processing of the tramp/hobo character, comparing it with the narratives of Twain. Even defining such terms as hobo, tramp, bum, or vagabond is not easily accomplished; one finds confusion in turn-of-the-twentieth-century narratives as to their use. The term hobo should be associated with labor and migratory workers, and both Twain's characters are regarded as tramps, not hobos. As for Twain, he strategically added the quality of being carefree to the tramp image, and this quality can be linked with current hobo images in American popular culture by erasing depictions of labor or working.

In his travelogue *A Tramp Abroad*, Twain considered himself a tramp to introduce the viewpoints of a kind of vagabond traveler. As historical/cultural background, the word tramp had meant homeless since around 1870, around the same time as the travelogue was published. Twain was then already established as a "national" popular writer and his referral to himself as homeless therefore seems quite awkward; however, given the cultural history of American road narratives, Twain's tramp protagonist can be considered a precursor of the tramp/hobo as an American cultural icon.

As recent cultural/historical studies of the hobo as an American cultural icon indicate, the tramp as a social phenomenon appeared around the 1840s, later leading to the emergence of the hobo. Huck Finn is regarded as what we call poor white. Indeed, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) can be considered a significant American road narrative, potentially reminding us of the precursor to the hobo. Huck Finn, however, is not a migrant worker and does not intend to work, even to survive, but is, instead, a kind of wanderer or tramp.

When considered from both the tramp's and the hobo's viewpoints, even classic American literary works can take on a new meaning. For example, Huck Finn can be seen as a precursor of the tramp/hobo in American cultural history, revealing the dynamism of American culture beyond the multiple layers of class boundaries. The creation process and strategy concerning Twain's tramp character in his travelogue, *A Tramp Abroad* along with his fictional characters including Huck Finn, will be analyzed.

(yoppavalley@gmail.com)

**Ober, K. Patrick**, *Wake Forest Baptist Health*

"Mark Twain & The Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise"

Mark Twain's name was used to promote a number of products and activities (with or without the knowledge and permission of Samuel Clemens). His willing endorsement of the "Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise" is one of the more interesting examples.

Julia B. Rice, a wealthy New Yorker, created the society after she discovered that her opulent new mansion on the Hudson River was not as peaceful as she desired. Much of the racket came from the noisy tugboats on the Hudson. She had the political clout to influence lawmakers to limit the tooting of the horns on the river. Even so, she found that other noxious noises persisted – in particular, the noise of New York City children at play. She knew that it would be difficult to rein in the sounds of noisy children without appearing to be a self-centered rich snob unless her campaign had public appeal.

In December 1906, she wrote to Sam Clemens to explain a plan to launch a society against noise. It was a matter of health. She had determined that "almost ten thousand hospital patients" were suffering from "preventable noise" in the streets (as, notably, were "tens of thousands outside the hospitals"). Clemens promptly agreed to serve on the advisory board, with the understanding that he wouldn't have to do any work. [UCLC 35767, UCLC 35773]

In March 1907, Rice asked Clemens to send her "a few lines" to read at the first board meeting, to benefit "our poor sick." [UCLC 36273] In November 1907, she reported success to Clemens – NYC aldermen had established mandatory "quiet zones" around hospitals.

She next asked Clemens to support a new phase of her campaign, aimed at limiting children's injuries (and noise) during Fourth of July celebrations. [UCLC 36442] He accepted immediately, and Rice replied in gratitude: "We write thank you – the small boy and I." [UCLC 37457] To further support Rice's crusade against "the bedlam frenzies of the Fourth of July," [UCCL 07886] Clemens sent her portions of his earlier speech criticizing the holiday's shortcomings.

"...there will be noise, and noise, and noise, all night long, and there will be more than noise—there will be people crippled, there will be people killed, there will be people who will lose their eyes, and all through that permission which we give to irresponsible boys to play with firearms and firecrackers..." [Autobiographical dictation, 29 August 1907]

Rice continued asking favors of Clemens.

She created the Children's Hospital Branch of the Society for the Suppression of Unnecessary Noise to enroll children in promoting quietness in hospital zones, and asked Clemens to be its president. He agreed in February 1908. [UCCL 07943] Rice thanked Isabel Lyon for helping recruit Clemens. Rice proclaimed "we shall soon have one hundred thousand devoted followers of our dear 'Mark Twain'." [UCLC 37680] To join, each child signed a pledge to be quiet in hospital zones (and to be quiet in general, Mrs. Rice hoped), and received a special button with the inscription "Humanity" to denote involvement in the organization (reminiscent of Clemens's youthful participation in the Cadets of Temperance, when a pledge to avoid smoking and drinking gave Sam the enviable privilege of wearing a red scarf to show off his membership).

Julia Rice had a medical degree, but she never practiced medicine. She provided details about her anti-noise activities to medical journals, including the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* of 1908 [predecessor of the *New England Journal of Medicine*]. The journal praised the impact of her work, noting that unnecessary noise caused the loss of lives. [12March1908; 158: 365-366.]

In 1908, Clemens explained his motivation for joining Julia Rice's campaigns:

“I have joined the ranks of the anti-noise society. I have retired both from the making of after-dinner speeches and the lecture platform. No one can tolerate noise, you know, unless they are noisemakers. It had all worked out well for him, he observed. I am through making a noise and so I now insist on quiet. Mrs. Rice started her crusade at the right time for me.” [NY Times 14Apr1908]

(kpober@wakehealth.edu)

Oggel, Terry, *Virginia Commonwealth University*  
 “Mark Twain’s ‘particular friend,’ Albert Bigelow Paine”

In January 1918, Albert Biglow Paine wrote to Stuart Sherman about the biography of Mark Twain he had published six years earlier. Sherman, a budding Twain scholar at the University of Illinois, had written Paine to praise the biography and ask for details about it. Paine’s reply is revealing both for the light it casts on the biography itself, the first of Paine’s Twain production, and for the way it defines the stream of 50 volumes of Paine’s Twain that followed the biography over the next quarter of a century. Paine wrote:

“I wish to thank you for the further kind words concerning my Mark Twain work. If it conveys the impression of truth then my chief aim has been accomplished. I undertook to tell the story simply, colloquially and faithfully, as one might tell it night after night to a friend.”

To create the “impression of truth” Paine went to great lengths to find materials for the biography: gathering letters from friends and relatives; following Twain’s steps by traveling west to Nevada and California in 1907, then trekking to Europe and the Middle East in 1909, creating photographic records along the way on both voyages. He listened daily as Twain dictated his autobiography; he heard nightly Clemens’s private thoughts and remembrances during countless wee-hours billiards games.

Since *Mark Twain: A Biography* represented the heart of Paine’s relationship with Twain, Paine kept it alive for the next twenty-five years, having it re-appear time and again in the form of reprints and abridged versions that were interspersed among his volumes of Paine’s Twain: final novel, letters, 37-volume collected edition, collections of short pieces, speeches, autobiography, notebook.

Paine followed the main biography-writing principle of the time with his six other biographies, but his *Twain* was exceptional—it was much longer and more detailed than the others, a natural result of having lived for four years in intense closeness with the subject. That principle, calling for biographers to establish close, personal relationships with their subjects, was defined by biography-historians like O’Neill (1935) who named Paine’s *Twain* an exemplar because it finds “the real man and present[s] him as he actually lived.” Fifty years later, Gribben praised its “concrete observations” and Budd declared that Paine understood that biography-writing principle “better than does [his] guild today.”

Since a biography that is true to the subject’s inner life required a deep, personal friendship, the biography was just as essential for Twain. Lonely and depressed in early 1906 and fearful that his popularity was waning, Twain liked Paine better the more he learned about him. Both men had grown up in the Midwest, had had little formal education, had traveled through the South and West, then had come east to careers in writing. Both had three daughters; both had lost a daughter. Before long Twain agreed to move to Connecticut, a quarter mile from Paine, his wife, and their three daughters. Early the next year, in his letter of credential for Paine’s mission to the West, Twain called Paine “my particular friend.” Two years later, Clemens named Paine his literary executor. He also included Clara Clemens, extending posthumously the Clemens-Paine relationship in which both parties had license to speak in behalf of Clemens.

Paine’s relationship with Twain enhanced Paine’s renown, but surely it did nearly as much for Twain. Kennedy has pointed out that the relationship between the mild Paine and the irascible Clemens grew into a partnership that was unlike any other either man had. They were of mutual importance to each other, for “without Paine, Clemens the man and Mark Twain the myth” would not be what we know today. Paine, diplomatically negotiating the Lyon scandal to become a faithful steward of Twain’s trust, exercised his authority in behalf of Twain for the ensuing quarter of a century.

In Bermuda in March 1910, the fatally ill Clemens handed Paine, just arrived to take him home, a joking essay that was his final writing and a testimony to their enduring friendship. “Advice to Paine,” an unpublished manuscript at Berkeley about how to behave in heaven, instructs his friend as to how to carry on: “let bygones be bygones. Send the Lyon-Ashcrofts a fan.”

(toggel@vcu.edu)

Omidshar, Alejandro, *University of Texas at Austin*  
 “Empty Space and You: Cosmic Solipsism in ‘The Mysterious Stranger’”

In “The Mysterious Stranger,” Twain tricks readers with the ostensibly farcical adventures of medieval Austrian boys cavorting with a mischievous angel named Satan, only to close on a horrific note; the narrator is revealed to be an errant thought in an otherwise empty cosmos, whose entire story—and, by extension, that of the universe in which it takes place (read: OUR OWN)—is nothing but a flight of fancy. The question that my paper takes up is radical yet simple: what happens in fiction when deific entities retain their power but eschew the anthropocentric associations of conventional religious thought and practice? Applying such an approach to a canonical author like Mark Twain responds to the wider exigency posed by Joanna Brooks, whose work on American literary-religious genealogies urges scholars to reject “the old teleological, developmental narrative that runs from orthodoxy to secularization and, instead, learn to look for fractal paths of revelatory discontinuities and creative heterodoxies” (449). Twain was a notorious critic of religion, from his



virulent anti-Catholicism to his harsh depictions of Mormonism in *Roughing It* and beyond. “The Mysterious Stranger,” with its odd publication history and stranger subject matter, is often lumped amid Twain’s dark writings without much fanfare. This paper will endeavor to read the story’s unique take on the divine as a possible jumping-off point for scholars interested in Twain’s heretofore-unexplored relations to the posthuman and speculative turns in literary criticism.

The humor, narrative trickery, and resultant self-contradiction of “The Mysterious Stranger” all help to elucidate Twain’s idiosyncratic image of godhood at the formal level: self-deluded solipsism on a cosmic scale, an acerbically satirical perversion of Christian logos. Initially, it is difficult to distinguish between Twain’s writerly omniscience and the metaphysical god-mode of the narrative. Multiple moments directly addressed to readers in the novella helped me think through the problem, exemplified in this scene of Theodor’s early reaction to meeting Satan:

“I should not be able to make any one understand how exciting it all was. *You* know that kind of quiver that trembles around through *you* when *you* are seeing something so strange and enchanting and wonderful that it is just a fearful joy to be alive to look at it; and *you* know how *you* gaze, and *your* lips turn dry and *your* breath comes short, but *you* wouldn’t be anywhere but there, not for the world.” (Twain 61, my emphases)

The narrative ends by affirming of the reality of Theodor’s cosmic solipsism. Yet, the moment cited above is one of many scenes wherein readers are directly addressed by the narrator, whose final self-realization obliterates the validity of this diegetic audience. Who, then, is Theodor addressing? The childlike monotony of this sentence and its ceaseless repetition of “you” render the word almost meaningless. Theodor’s explication of the physiology of the classically sublime encounter is useless because extradiegetic readers familiar with the story know that there is no true division between him, Satan, or his diegetic audience. Theodor’s feeling of sublimity can never affirm his intellect because there is actually nothing outside of his mind for it to redefine and circumscribe. No differentiation is necessary between Twain-as-author and Theodor-as-divine-idiot because the story itself misleads us. Diegetically speaking, the very concept of “you” does not exist! Instead of being another Gothicized paean to nebulous identity and transcendence in the tradition of Poe’s *Eureka* and others, Twain’s story idiosyncratically attacks the very idea of godhood by collapsing the whole of existence into a single, self-deluded being.

(omidsalar@utexas.edu)

**Pascal, John**, *Seton Hall Preparatory School*

“Mark Twain and Talk: The Ore of Artemus Ward’s Assault of Laughter”

Mark Twain is considered the paramount American master storyteller. But earlier literary contributions to the American scene led to his accomplishments. A principal example is Charles Farrar Browne (1834-1867), more known as Artemus Ward, the “preeminent literary comedian in America prior to Twain’s emergence as a serious humorist during the 1870s and 1880s” (Sloane, Twain 29).

Twain’s 1867 sketch “First Interview with Artemus Ward” published in New York’s *Sunday Mercury* and later reprinted in *Sketches, New and Old* (1875) is “a fanciful account of their first” and only meeting in Virginia City in December of 1863 (Rasmussen 931).

Ward’s uniqueness in telling a story from the lecture platform enthralled thousands throughout the United States and in Canada; he was also “the first deadpan comedian to take England by storm” (Austin 19).

The reasons for Ward’s lectures’ commercial success are his innate sense of aesthetic humor was natural and was closely allied with his extraordinary rapport with his lecture audiences (Austin 72). His success as a lecturer included the deliberate uses of “mock gravity, the look of innocent surprise when the audience laughed, the anticlimaxes, pauses, non sequiturs, and wanderings of thought” which delighted his spectators everywhere (Pullen 94). Lastly, though his humor was natural, he altered it for successful appearances on the lecture circuit through deliberate and methodical preparation in delivery; these meticulous lecture techniques were copied directly by Twain.

Ward’s distinctive lecture style directly influenced the lecture style of Twain. Ward’s platform appearances helped Twain become more professionally aware of humor’s literary and commercial value. His lecture methodology presented Twain with “a living example of success within his own capabilities” (Pullen 92). Twain’s own lectures and his comments on his lecturing techniques were clearly patterned on Ward’s, an approach that helped Twain to deliver nearly a thousand lectures and speeches throughout the United States and abroad. Indeed, Twain’s 1895 essay, “How to Tell a Story” gives evidence of his acknowledgement of the influence of Ward’s lecture skills (Twain 667).

In “First Interview with Artemus Ward,” Twain perfectly captures Ward’s deliberately humorous burlesque of the serious lecture in the techniques of deadpan assertions, and intentional purposeless digressions. Twain makes himself the reluctantly inebriated and naïve narrator in trying to answer Ward’s solemn questions concerning the way mineral deposits of silver ore are obtained.

In his Afterword to *The Oxford Mark Twain* edition of *Sketches, New and Old*, Sherwood Cummings notes that this work is “an engaging demonstration[s] of the precariousness of meaning: language, our principal means of communication is liable to slip into gibberish” (Sherwood 5). Yet while Twain’s own unique writing energies skillfully exemplifies Ward’s abilities to humorously confuse his audiences in distinctive but needless verbosity in mining terminology, his story also shows us how important language can be used to assault ourselves in intelligent laughter. What is relevant for students of literature today is that Twain’s and Ward’s humor combined by Twain in this story is universal. It is not trapped by the issues of its time; rather it is timeless in its appeal to our intellect and understanding of the human need for clarity in communication.

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(AlphaControl@mac.com)

**Rasmussen, Kent**, *Independent Scholar*

"The Man That Corrupted Huckleberry~Thereby Making Greed a Driving Force"

Despite the ominous "Notice" prefacing *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the novel's readers have been risking banishment by seeking morals within its pages ever since it first appeared during the mid-1880s. Moreover, they have been succeeding. Whether or not Mark Twain himself consciously intended to convey any moral lessons in his iconic book, such lessons can clearly be found there. Indeed, how could they not be in a story whose basic elements are so obviously tied to profound moral issues? The book's central narrative revolves around a young Missouri boy's flight from oppressive parent figures during the 1840s. One of those figures is a mostly absent father who is viciously abusive when present, the other a loving and generous surrogate mother who smothers the boy with kindness and exasperates him with her efforts to "civilize" him. After the boy escapes from their unwanted attentions, he assists a fugitive slave's efforts to reach freedom, as his conscience tells him what he is doing is morally wrong.

Issues of conscience, parental abuse, family obligations, slavery, racism, property rights, and more all figure prominently in *Huckleberry Finn*, giving the novel exceptional depth. For well over a century, the book has been one of the most widely read and thoroughly scrutinized works in American literature. It has inspired countless analytical studies, many of which have explored moral issues. With so much already written about the novel, one might think nothing new remains to be said. Such, however, is not the case. This talk will examine a moral issue that has received only scant attention although it is a key to other issues. That neglected issue is greed. Along with its close relatives—cravings for riches and selfishness—greed is a central driving force behind the narrative of *Huckleberry Finn* that also plays important roles in Mark Twain's other writings.

(kentasmussen@verizon.net)

**Reigstad, Thomas**, *SUNY Buffalo State*

"Mark Twain and the Coal Question"

In February of 1869, Samuel Clemens sat in on a meeting of the J.J. Langdon Coal Company held in a room at the St. Nicholas Hotel in New York City. He had just gotten engaged to Olivia Langdon, and his future father-in-law invited him to attend the coal meeting. Three days later, Clemens wrote a humorous letter to Olivia exaggerating his thrill at having glimpsed first-hand the cutthroat corporate coal business practices wielded by Jervis Langdon and his cabinet. Clemens also described meeting one of Langdon's top assistants from the Buffalo, NY, branch office—John Da La Fletcher Slee (Clemens sarcastically referred to him as "the notorious Slee").

From that point until the end of his life, Clemens was impacted in a variety of ways by America's booming coal industry, and by the J.J. Langdon Coal Company and its spinoffs.

Six months after the New York City meeting, Clemens joined the *Buffalo Morning Express* as managing editor and co-owner. One of his first acts was to reverse his newspaper's editorial policy toward a local coal monopoly. Prior to Clemens's arrival, the *Express* throughout the summer of 1869 had been consistently sympathetic to a grassroots uproar throughout Western New York objecting to price gouging and hikes controlled by a coal consortium, the Anthracite Coal Association, in which J.J. Langdon Co. played a huge role. Suddenly, an op-ed piece in August by Clemens, "The Monopoly Speaks," defended the coal monopoly (and Slee and his father-in-law to-be). It drew "snarky" attention from rival Buffalo newspapers.

Also, Clemens spent the better part of 1869 ripping Cornelius Vanderbilt, first in a *Packard's Monthly* article in March, and then in a *Buffalo Express* article and several mocking squibs—until he was eventually made aware of the deep and longtime coal-rail partnership between Langdon and Vanderbilt. Clemens's relentless ridicule of Vanderbilt eventually came to a halt, as he seemingly yielded to pressure by the Langdon clan to use his bully pulpit at the *Express* to reflect favorably on their complex coal business connections.

During his residency in Buffalo, Clemens made lifelong friends with Slee and two other trusted Buffalo office employees of J.J. Langdon Co.: Charles M. Underhill and John J. McWilliams. After Jervis Langdon's death, Slee stayed on as a top Langdon Co. officer. Underhill and McWilliams became influential coal dealers in their own rights in Buffalo. Clemens, by virtue of his wife's inheritance, remained steadfastly interested in the Langdon family's management and mismanagement of J.J. Langdon Coal Co. for his entire life, even co-owning the company's valuable coal yard property on Buffalo's waterfront for the last six years of his life. He also struck up a cordial relationship with his wife's first cousin, Andrew Langdon, who became a wealthy coal dealer and high profile citizen of Buffalo.

Inexplicably, Clemens depicted him as a cold-blooded coal executive in “Letter from the Recording Angel,” unpublished until 1946. In this work, apparently written in the late 1880s, the angel calls Langdon “the meanest white man that ever lived on the face of the earth,” for overcharging poor Buffalo families for coal during a particularly frigid winter.

These flip-flops by Clemens—on one hand siding with victimized coal consumers and even low-paid coal miners, while on the other embracing the entrepreneurship of multi-millionaire coal moguls like his father-in-law, reflect his lifelong tug between personal allegiances toward the working class that he was born to and the privileged class that he aspired to. Twain was well aware of the tumultuous organized labor movement and frequent coal strikes that started in the 1870s. In fact, “Letter from the Recording Angel” seems to have been drafted for an early version of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*, a novel which addresses inequities leveled at the working class. And in the early 1900s, Twain criticized Teddy Roosevelt for intervening in the Pennsylvania coal strike.

(REIGSTTJ@buffalostate.edu)

**Richey, Delwin E.,** *Tarleton State University*

“Assault on Laughter: Mark Twain Learning the Lecture Business, 1866-1868”

While considerable scholarship has focused over the decades on Twain’s writings, his assault on laughter really began as a lecturer. Some later 20th century scholars such as Paul Fatout gave extensive attention to Twain’s lectures and today there appears to be a renewed interest in these as indicated by *Chasing the Last Laugh* by Richard Zacks and *Twain’s Brand* by Judith Lee. Indeed, before Samuel Clemens was known as a significant writer, he was known as a speaker and lecturer. Or perhaps, we should say, he was known for his comedic, verbal storytelling. The Mark Twain Project at the University of California at Berkeley provides a list of Mark Twain’s public speeches and readings from 1866 to 1908. He gave at least 566 presentations of which 390 were classified as speeches; 176 were classified as readings. Of note is a lecture he gave on the Sandwich Islands almost 100 times from the West Coast of the United States to London, England. The Sandwich Island trip was the topical basis of his first lecture in San Francisco in 1866.

Having previously researched and written on the “Beginnings of the Great Lecturer,” a study of Twain’s first lecture experience in San Francisco, I became fascinated with a more comprehensive development of Twain’s involvement in the lecture business. What historical and rhetorical forces compelled Twain to turn to the lecture? His initial years of his speaking endeavors appear to have one fundamental purpose—making money. Twain himself remarked from time to time that he really did not like doing lectures, especially after he was married. But like writing, speaking is an art and it was an art that he excelled at in many ways, so much so that he was good enough at it to make a living doing it at various times in his professional life. Because lecturing as a business endeavor utilizes the art of speaking publicly in definite staged ways, it becomes possible to analyze the techniques that were used in the lecturing business in the nineteenth century and in particular by Twain, in crafting the lecturing art. The period of 1866 to 1868 provides the initial foundation of the development of Twain’s lecture business.

(drichey@tarleton.edu)

**Roark, Jarrod,** *The Barstow School*

“Providence of the Pistol”

According to Mark Twain’s narrator in *Roughing It* (1872), when he and his older brother Orion left Missouri for Nevada Territory in July, 1861, the older brother carried a “small-sized Colt’s revolver,” and the younger was armed with a “pitiful little Smith and Wesson’s seven-shooter.” These pistols, though mostly insufficient to protect the brothers against “Indians” and outlaws, offered them a notion of peace on a notoriously dangerous journey west. A year later, after serving as a secretary to his brother, the newly appointed Secretary of Nevada Territory, and failing as a silver miner, Sam Clemens became a writer for the *Territorial Enterprise* in Virginia City, Nevada. Because “the other editors, and all the printers, carried revolvers,” Clemens walked around town with a “universal navy revolver slung” to his belt. During the mid-nineteenth century, the American West, the North, and the South experienced gun violence in duels, feuds, gunfights and shootouts – what Twain often called affrays. Though such events have been mythologized in popular culture, including dime novels of the nineteenth century and film in the twenty and twenty-first centuries, shootouts and duels were common enough that states and territories produced legal responses to gun violence, and individuals and vigilance committees responded with extra-legal violence.

Sometimes Twain popularized gun violence in his own fiction and journalism, and sometimes he was a participant in or a witness to such acts. In the spring of 1864, when Twain worked at the *Territorial Enterprise*, he famously challenged to a duel the owner of a rival newspaper the *Union*, John L. Laird. The two journalists engaged in a published assault and attacked each other’s honor and courage. In a letter to Laird, dated May 21, 1864, Twain closes with a challenge to duel: “if you do not wish yourself posted as a coward, *you will at once accept my peremptory challenge, which I now reiterate*” (SLC to James L. Laird, 21 May 1864, Virginia City, Nev. (UCCL 02774). Although the duel never occurred, Twain was in violation of the law. In November, 1861, Nevada Territory had passed anti-dueling legislation (SLC to Orion Clemens, 26 May 1864, Virginia City, Nev. (UCCL 00082), n. 4.) Thanks, perhaps, to Steve Gillis’s fine shooting with a pistol, whose practice shot removed the head of a sparrow, Twain never proved his rival a coward.

Twain, of course, was unwilling to shoot a man, nor did he want to be shot in a duel with Laird. Twain did not want to aim a pistol at another man in a gunfight, shootout, or affray, as his narrator explains in *Roughing It*: “I had never a occasion to kill anybody, nor ever felt a desire to do so...” And so Twain left the shooting to his characters in *Huckleberry Finn*, Sherburn and the Grangerfords and Shephersons, and to actual desperados. Joseph A. Slade and Captain Ned Blakely, two strong men willing to kill others based on

a personal sense of justice, serve as ready examples that Twain's narrator discusses in detail *Roughing It*. He also mentions many others by name, including Sam Brown, Jack Williams, and Jack McNabb, whom Twain had written about in two San Francisco newspapers in 1863 and 1864. So perhaps Twain celebrated gun violence and considered the pistol a replacement for providence in the West. After all, a man with a gun caused the fall of the sparrow, not God. The innocent and the guilty alike received Twain's journalistic aim, but the pistol and the gun reflected the masculine power that Twain admired and romanticized in his journalism and fiction. But if the pistol, not providence, chose who lived and who died, then perhaps the guilty lived while the innocent died. The pistol, in Twain's writing, discriminated against neither.

(jarrod.roark@barstowschool.org)

**Ryan, Ann**, *Le Moyne College*

"Haunted Houses: Twain, Hawthorne, and the American Gothic"

In *The Fate of Humor*, Jim Cox concludes his chapter on *Pudd'nhead Wilson* with an extended comparison of Roxy's fate to that of Hester Prynne. As Cox deftly illustrates the two characters share remarkably similar stories: both "marked" women, one with the scarlet letter of race, the other with the stain of adultery; both single mothers of wild, aggressive children, and both judged by a community that will not admit its complicity in the tragic fate of these women. Yet if Roxy is a version of Hester Prynne, I think it's also the case that Pudd'nhead Wilson and the "Mark Twain" who narrates his story, reproduce the world of the Custom House, the narrative voice of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and the self he fictionalizes in this preface.

In the beginning of the novel, Pudd'nhead stands before an overly literal group of loafers—not unlike the dull and lazy ships captains who populate the wharf in Salem—and he endures their judgment, "Pears to be a fool..he's a lummux, anyway..he's a labrick—just a Simon-pure labrick..Perfect jackass..and it ain't going too far to say he is a pudd'nhead." Or, as Hawthorne describes his own haunted homecoming, "No aim, that I have ever cherished, would they recognize as laudable; no success of mine—if my life, beyond its domestic scope, had ever been brightened by success—would they deem otherwise than worthless, if not positively disgraceful. 'What is he?' murmurs one gray shadow of my forefathers to the other. 'A writer of story books!...Why the degenerate fellow might as well have been a fiddler.'"

It's no revelation that Pudd'nhead is a nineteenth-century avatar for Clemens himself—another "homely, freckled, sandy-haired fellow," with a "covert twinkle in his eye, a displaced person of sorts no longer at home in the Mississippi Valley of his youth. Yet in imagining Pudd'nhead as the literary offspring of narrative personae Hawthorne constructs in "The Custom House," I hope to explore Twain's identity as a gothic storyteller, and to place him within an American literary history that forces the artist to be a dead man walking.

Just as Hawthorne narrates his own isolation from a culture and a community who can never appreciate him as an artist, or, for that matter, as a man, Pudd'nhead's marginalization echoes a similar alienation for Clemens. Both Hawthorne and "Mark Twain" as Pudd'nhead are written out of the business of manhood as defined and valued by an American culture hostile to the homegrown American artist. In describing his connection to Salem, Hawthorne seems to be imagining a kind of cultural DNA: "This long connection of a family with one spot, as its place of birth and burial, creates a kindred between the human being and the locality, quite independent of any charm in the scenery or moral circumstances that surround him. It is not love, but instinct." This "ashes to ashes, dust to dust" description of Salem might also serve as a description of Clemens' feeling for Hannibal, the South, and—writing as he is from villa in Florence, Italy—for the United States itself. Hawthorne concludes, "my old native town will loom upon me through the haze of memory, a mist brooding over and around it; as if it were no portion of the real earth, but an overgrown village in cloud-land...Henceforth, it ceases to be a reality of my life. I am a citizen of somewhere else."

This is the essence of the American gothic, a longing to erase our origins, to project them into some dream space, and to awaken from our nightmares into what Clemens calls "the splendors of the sun." In *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Clemens imagines a similar erasure, expressed not only in his expatriate status, but also in the final entry of Pudd'nhead Wilson's calendar: "Oct. 12th: the Discovery. It was wonderful to find America. It would have been more wonderful to miss it." At the end of the novel, Pudd'nhead has lost his nickname and been rechristened "David Wilson." It's finally a bad trade, signaling the death of humor, imagination, and play in the novel. However, the only alternative is to remain a marginalized figure like "Mark Twain." To claim that "Mark Twain" is a gothic construction, haunted in some way by the literary legacy of Nathaniel Hawthorne, is to imagine his famed pseudonym as a kind of tombstone: a marker where a person might have stood before his audience, but rather than live in that country, and face the darkness of the history that comes with it, "Mark Twain" chooses to be a citizen of somewhere else.

(RyanAM@alumni.lemoyne.edu)

**Seybold, Matthew**, *Elmira College*

"Chimerica Rising: The Prophetic Political Economy of "Fable of the Yellow Terror"

Twain's unpublished critique of Chinese-American relations at the turn of the century has generated relatively little critical interest. Those few scholars who bother have uniformly treated it as a transparent reflection of the cynicism towards American and Christian imperialism famously associated with the last decade of the author's life. While much of this critical agreement is justified, it entirely



overlooks the inspiration for Twain's fable: the satirical "Fable of the Bees" by Bernard Mandeville. While Mandeville has faded as a subject of literary scholarship, his light burns bright in the history of economic thought due to the formative influence of his fable on the work of Adam Smith. Twain indulged a decades-long fascination with the ascendant discipline of political economy and with Mandeville's legacy specifically. This paper traces that fascination through Twain's public and private writing, arguing that the author had a much more thorough, nuanced, and innovative perspective on political economy than he is generally given credit for.

(mseybold@elmira.edu)

**Scharnhorst, Gary**, *University of New Mexico*

"Leaving Buffalo: Mark Twain in a Moment of Crisis"

When Samuel Clemens listed his house and his interest in the Buffalo Express for sale in March 1871, he faced a moment of crisis in his life and career: an unfriendly competition with his former mentor Bret Harte; his resignation as a featured contributor to the monthly magazine *Galaxy*, which paid him an annual salary of two thousand dollars; a controversy over the publication of a dramatic monologue entitled "Three Aces" signed "Carl Byng" but routinely attributed to Clemens; the appearance of five editions of Clemens's writings issued by the British pirate John Camden Hotten; the failure of his *Burlesque Autobiography*; and the chronic illnesses of his wife Olivia Langdon Clemens and their son Langdon. Despite his previous assertions that he was a permanency in Buffalo, Clemens concluded to pull up stakes at the close of his *annus horribilus* and resettle in Hartford.

(gscharnh@aol.com)

**Sloane, David**, *New Haven University*

"Huck Finn in Cudjo's Cave: J. T. Trowbridge and Mark Twain and the Public Discourse on Race"

When Mark Twain encountered John Townsend Trowbridge at the memorial for their mutual friend Thomas Baily Aldrich on June 30, 1908, in Portsmouth, NH, he blurted out in Townsend's face that he thought Trowbridge had been dead for years. Rude as Twain could be on occasion, the affront suggests that Twain may actually have been discomfited by seeing Trowbridge, but he was not, and a famous picture of the pair was later taken in the broiling hot sun. What connection might there have been between them? Trowbridge's "Darius Green and his Flying Machine," a poem burlesquing Yankee inventiveness, is almost the only one of his works that is still remembered, and "Darius Green" is the only work representing him now, although his poems were substantial enough to be brought together in a prestigious *Poetical Works of John Townsend Trowbridge*. It was also the only work of Trowbridge in *Mark Twain's Library of Humor*. Trowbridge was also on the list of well-known authors Twain compiled for a proposed round-table novelette, "A Murder, a Mystery, and a Marriage." One rather more important and substantial connection, however, might be found by referencing the possible literary influence of Trowbridge on Twain in the 1840-1880 period through his social novels, boy books, and travel books, especially in regard to envisioning racism in action. Twain and Trowbridge were both authors in all those genres and on racial topics, and Trowbridge wrote two inflammatory anti-slavery novels in the period immediately before and during the Civil War. His novels *Neighbor Jackwood* and *Cudjo's Cave* were widely recognized anti-slavery melodramas, and he also created an impressive reportorial travel book laden with local color and observations on the plight of the Negro in the South following the Civil War: *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities, A Journey through the Desolated States...* in 1866 just when Twain was finding his own way into the writing of travel books.

But it may also be that lurking in the back of Twain's mind was a discomfiting feeling that he had leaned a little hard on Trowbridge's *Cudjo's Cave* in constructing his own anti-slavery novel. I doubt that echoes of Trowbridge in Twain's work are intentional, any more than the likenesses between *A Connecticut Yankee* and Max Adeler's *The Fortunate Island* were, but Trowbridge had the misfortune of seeing some of his best things interpolated into works of others, like his phrase about the wolf at the poor man's door, usually attributed to Charlotte Perkins Gilman. *Cudjo's Cave* (1864) is the story of a white minister and two negro escaped slaves in the hills of Tennessee. Cudjo is deformed and almost animalistic while his alter ego, Pomp, is tall and as regal as the African chief he might well have been in Africa. They rescue a Quaker minister who has been brutally tarred and feathered by poor white trash, who are tolerated by better-off and more educated whites. During that rescue, foreshadowings of the construction of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* abound, including a kindly Negro freeman named Jim, a villain who takes not only the position of pap Finn, but also his evil rhetoric, and the references to human kindness and human dignity which underscore in Twain's novel the cruelty of human beings to each other in the punishment of the duke and dauphin. It may well be that we can learn much about the ethical tapestry woven by thoughtful authors in the North while identifying the ethical fault-lines running between the two regions which suffered from the nation's greatest calamity, one author writing in its midst, the other in a time for former slaves that came to be recognized as the "nadir" of Black history in America.

(dsloane@newhaven.edu)

**Steinbrink, Jeff**, *Franklin & Marshall College*

"Mark Twain and Fake News"

This exercise will begin with a performance of actual fake news—real fake news—in order to remind attendees how the species is currently practiced. Then we'll move on to Mark Twain, who during his own career as a journalist would seem to have been perfectly tolerant of stretchers, hoaxes and downright falsehoods in his own reportage. But who also—in his travel writing, for instance—pledged to see the world with honest, open eyes and to say what he saw unflinchingly. Running through the talk, moreover, or under it, will be a

contrast between the clumsy, venal prevaricators of our own times and the example of a noble, gymnastic and consummate liar.

(jeff.steinbrink@fandm.edu)

**Stewart, Robert E.**, *Independent Scholar*

“Did He Walk?”

In the closing days of September, 1862, Sam Clemens determined he would return to the Carson City-Virginia City region of Nevada Territory from an abortive mining venture in Aurora, then widely believed to be in California. In Albert Bigelow Paine’s *Biography of Mark Twain*, published in 1912, and repeated word for word in *A Boy’s Life of Mark Twain*, we are told that in 1862:

“It was the afternoon of a hot, dusty August day when a worn, travel-stained pilgrim drifted laggingly into the office of the Virginia City Enterprise, then in its new building on C Street, and, loosening a heavy roll of blankets from his shoulders, dropped wearily into a chair. He wore a rusty slouch hat, no coat, a faded blue flannel shirt, a Navy revolver; his trousers were hanging on his boot tops. A tangle of reddish-brown hair fell on his shoulders, and a mass of tawny beard, dingy with alkali dust, dropped half-way to his waist.

Aurora lay one hundred and thirty miles from Virginia. He had walked that distance, carrying his heavy load....”

*Territorial Enterprise* editor Rollin M. Daggett was apparently present when Clemens arrived. Thirty-one years later, editor Daggett, who tended toward corpulence during his life, said that in 1862 Clemens walked in looking like he had been “living on whang leather and alkali water ... for several months.” The full statement applies only to Sam’s appearance at the door, and does not address how Sam arrived there. I believe that a strong argument can be made that Sam Clemens made that journey on horseback.

First, we know it was at least a month later than the August date Paine assigns to Clemens’ arrival in the Virginia City office. Secondly, we know the horseback-hiker route was more like seventy miles than “one hundred and thirty.” And it was the *Territorial Enterprise*, not the *Virginia City Enterprise*.

In 1969, William M. Gibson demonstrated how Paine bowdlerized Twain’s unfinished *Mysterious Stranger* to a point that would have infuriated Twain. In 2016, a carefully researched biographical article on Paine by Max McCoy leaves us with an understanding that Paine was not above filling in Paine’s own “facts” relative to Twain’s life.

In his writing, Paine cites no sources for his statements. In 1911, when Paine was in the final writing of the biography, Twain was no longer around to make any corrections or confirmations. That allows us to wonder “Did Sam Clemens in fact make the trip from Aurora to Virginia City, whatever the distance was, on foot?”

The paper trail is not without its shortcomings, but it allows for a strong argument that he returned from his adventure in Aurora on horseback, in company with Frank Fuller of New Hampshire, who was serving at the time as Secretary of Utah Territory. There are only a few documented references to the activity of Fuller and Clemens in the summer of 1862. Fuller would later be instrumental in getting Mark Twain to open a circuit of speaking engagements in the East. That is significant here because the long-term Fuller-Twain friendship appears to have begun in Aurora in September, 1862.

In a reminiscence, Fuller recalls riding to Aurora with “Mark Twain,” and that Twain was already a reporter. His memory is also faulty with reference to who he shared the stagecoach with when journeying from Salt Lake City to Carson City.

But when we examine the journal of a third individual, Col. Samuel Youngs of Aurora, who became Fuller’s resident mining contact in Aurora, the timing suggests Sam Clemens and Frank Fuller rode together, on horseback, from Aurora to Sam Clemens’ date with destiny. It was a less auspicious date for Fuller, who was soon afterward relieved of his presidential appointment, but that tale, like Fuller’s involvement in Twain’s first talk in the East, is a story for another time.

As we explore Col. Youngs’ journal, we find the first mentions of Frank Fuller in September, 1862. First in person, then in October by telegraph and letter. The timing of visit and the shift to messages coincides with the probable dates of Clemens’ return from the Aurora mines. And Fuller’s recollection of traveling with Clemens holds believable elements.

(rstew160@aol.com)

**Sugimura, Atsushi**, *University of Tokyo; University of California, Berkeley*

“I Killed Thirty-Eight Persons:’ Sam Clemens and the Sioux Wars, 1862/1876”

I aim to revisit the autobiographical implications of “The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut” (1876) by paying close attention to Sam Clemens’s use of a racially-inflicted rhetoric of subversion and his subtle but provocative appropriation of the marginalized history of the Indian Wars—the US-Dakota War of 1862 in particular. “Carnival of Crime,” which Clemens later called an “attempt to account for our seeming duality,” is a detailed narrative of the narrator’s fierce struggle with his persecutory Conscience that emerged in the form of an ill-formed dwarf. By rigidly placing Conscience and the narrator in a kind of master-slave relationship, Clemens employs in this story a powerful image of the South’s “peculiar institution” to frame his story, allegorically, as a subversive sort of abolitionist narrative.

What should be noticed along with this is Clemens’s reference to the existence of Native Americans and the administration of Ulysses S. Grant. In the pivotal passage that reveals its identity, the dwarf points out the narrator’s unspeakable guilt over a “peculiarly mean and pitiful act of [his] toward a poor ignorant Indian in the wilds of the Rocky Mountains in the winter of eighteen hundred

and—: a dim reminder of the Sand Creek Massacre of Cheyenne and Arapaho people by Colorado militiamen that was carried out on 29 November 1864. The author's implied criticism of Grant's America also can be detected in the dwarf's brief commentary on a "recent Member of the Cabinet's conscience, that was starving in exile."

In January 1876, just around the period Clemens composed "Carnival of Crime," the tension between the United States and Plains Indians had been running exceedingly high, which soon led to the Great Sioux War of 1876. Given this historical backdrop, it is worth noticing that the narrator relates soon after he murdered the dwarf and turned himself into a "man WITHOUT A CONSCIENCE" as follows: "I killed thirty-eight persons during the first two weeks—all of them on account of ancient grudges." This precise number of the Yankee victims, "thirty-eight," seems to echo the tragic outcome of the US-Dakota War of 1862. On 26 December 1862, thirty-eight convicted Dakota Sioux Indians and mixed-bloods were mass hanged in Mankato, Minnesota by the order of President Abraham Lincoln. According to legal historian Carol Chomsky, the military commission "tried the Sioux for the wrong crimes" and unwar-rantedly victimized them in the largest mass execution in US history. 2

Three weeks after his reading of "Carnival of Crime" at a meeting of the Hartford Monday Evening Club, Clemens requested his publisher Elisha Bliss to send Fanny Kelly's *Narrative of My Captivity among the Sioux Indians* (1871) to the National Soldiers' Home. The opening paragraph of Kelly's book refers to "the horrible massacres in Minnesota in 1862" that resulted in the execution of the thirty-eight Sioux Indians.

"My first American ancestor, gentleman, was an Indian—an early Indian. Your ancestors skinned him alive, and I am an orphan." By asserting his composite identity as a "Connecticut Yankee by adoption," Clemens observed on 22 December 1881 in a speech at the first annual dinner of New England Society of Philadelphia. Clemens's deep interest in the Sioux people and their "ancient grudges" manifests itself in the abandoned manuscript of "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians," in which he attempts to develop the narrative around the "private grudge" of a vengeful American Indian whose mysterious identity is confirmed by the hero Brace Johnson as a Sioux: "Sioux—yes, Sioux, that's plain."

In his last years, Clemens muses on in the manuscript of "Letters from the Earth": "In 1862 the Indians in Minnesota, having been deeply wronged and treacherously treated by the government of the United States, rose against the white settlers and massacred them; massacred all they could lay their hands upon, sparing neither age nor sex." Clemens's Satan there expresses, to some degree, his sympathy with the long-tormented Sioux, seeing that the indigenous people finally "duplicated" the dreadful atrocities of what he calls "conscienceless God" to wreak vengeance upon their oppressor—the United States.

In "Carnival of Crime," American Indianness is tacitly appropriated, as a symbolic site of identification and dislocation, for the sketch's singular autobiographical construction, through which Clemens carefully voiced—and muted—his suppressed anxiety and desire as a self-deracinated white southerner. This will also allow us, I believe, to carefully revisit the autobiographical implication of the baffled revenge plot and tragic death of Indian Joe.

(sgmrats@gmail.com)

**Thompson, G.R.,** *Purdue University*

"Twain's Platypus: Modernism and Metafiction in *The Confidence-Man* and *The Mysterious Stranger*"

Twain's *No. 44*, the longest of the three *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts (1902, 1905, 1908), has striking similarities to what Melville called his "duck-billed beaver" of a book, *The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade* (1857). Although separated by roughly a half-century, these two books stand at the threshold of modernism in their similarly complex considerations of the nature of identity and the concept of the single self, along with metafictional treatments of author/reader identities, especially the idea of the "reader-in-the-text." Both books undermine metaphysics, epistemology, religion, morality, and literary conventions; they both feature odd and extravagant characters, masks and masquerades, elliptical conversations, and a jarring potpourri of genres.

In 1852 a reviewer in the *New York Literary World* wrote that although Melville may have constructed his latest novel *Pierre* "upon some new theory of art," the book will be unfathomable to "ordinary novel readers"—not only for its phantasmagoria of genres, but also for the intrusive theme of the writer struggling with his reader. Five years later in *The Confidence-Man*, Melville's author-narrator several times comments on reader expectations of the "natural" in works of fiction. The "voice" of the narrator-as-author joins the voices of the many riverboat conversations to comment on the paradox that, while reality or nature provides models of inconsistent character, readers demand that a "true-to-life" fiction present comprehensibly consistent characters. The "joke" on the reader is that to write a "true-to-life" book an author must write a book that is untrue-to-life. And the form of a really "true-to-life" book would resemble the duck-billed creature once thought to be an improbable hoax—the platypus.

Twain's platypus narrative, *No. 44*, is told by sixteen-year-old August Feldner, who does not realize until the end that he is telling his own story—that he is himself the "mysterious stranger." Like *The Confidence-Man*, the book calls attention to itself as unnatural—as an artficial literary product. Intended to be a "true-to-life" creation, it is a grotesque fantasy. Like *The Confidence-Man*, *No. 44* has several seemingly extraneous digressions. Although the partially overlapping "Stranger" manuscripts make it clear that Twain struggled with the overall story, it is also clear that *No. 44* is written with intentional incoherencies, lacunae, illogical leaps, and absurdist interpenetrations of fantasy and dream and quotidian reality. The digressions are part of a structural-thematic unity under the surface disorder of the multiform theme motif of doubling: doppelgänger selves (redoubled), two-fold storylines (each with two-fold storylines), and dual universes—represented in the main title of *No. 44*, which doubles itself. The narrative divides roughly in two: the central chapters provide key discourses on universal multiple personality/identity.

August's mysterious double, *No. 44* (a satanic angel), reveals to the narrator that in contrast to our usual concept of a single self, we consist of multiple selves in conflict—including Earthly Selves, Duplicate Selves, and Dream Selves. August is first told that he is

“not one person but two” (Earthly and Dream). Then he is told that he is actually three: he has a Duplicate named Emil Schwartz. But Duplicates “are not real persons; they are “fictions.” Still later he is told he is four selves (adding a mysterious “soul”). August suspects that 44 has been playing jokes on him: he doesn’t know what to believe. Nor, perhaps, by this time, does the reader.

Susan Gilman writes that the book is “structured as an elaborate practical joke on the reader.” She contends that, along with the narrator, “we undergo a decentering experience that throws off balance any stable notions of the real, either literary or psychological or epistemological.” Later, however, she decides that *No. 44* is more stable than other of Twain’s “dream narratives”—for it ends in empty solitude and nothingness. This is not quite right. Although *No. 44* concludes in solipsistic solitude, it does not end in nothingness. There is a greater horror: oblivion denied. There is no release in death for August, who is but a “Thought” wandering “the empty eternities.” The present dream will continue forever. But, 44 says, in a nonexistent future the narrator may dream better dreams, for he has set him “free” from his illusion. Is this another joke? The irony of setting himself free by revealing that he is entrapped in his own dream is self-evident. As 44 fades out of existence, he tells August the dream will go on with “*you* the maker of it” (my italics). It is as if the meta-author of *No. 44* is addressing the reader directly. The reader is the insane co-creator of his absurd world. In reading Twain’s text, a reader imagines it into existence. *You* write the dream again. And *you* are a fiction, playing games with yourself to mitigate existential loneliness and despair.

But there is another twist. Perhaps this solipsistic writing and rewriting of *The Mysterious Stranger* is itself another form of delusion. Given Twain’s parodies of traditional literature, religion, and philosophy, it is easy for an “ordinary reader” to see the ludicrous drama of *No. 44* as applicable to satirized characters—and not see that the final words are aimed directly at him, her, or *you*. You are the Mysterious Stranger, involved in the con-game of the insane writer-god who is also *you*. Twain’s duck-billed narrative would seem to be an ultimate in modern (or postmodern) game-playing—with you yourself the deceiver and the deception—the intended ultimate target of the assault of Twain’s laughter. As Melville writes elsewhere, sometimes “this whole universe” seems a “vast practical joke” on man, “the wit thereof he but dimly suspects, and more than suspects that the joke is at nobody’s expense but his own.”

(INNIKE42@gmail.com)

**Trombley, Laura Skandera**, *The Huntington Library*  
“Mark Twain and Libation”

Mark Twain’s first alcoholic drink was given to him by his mother. He drank throughout his life and depending upon the occasion liquor functioned either as a medicine or a libation. From his time as a reporter in Virginia City to his stellar performance as “The Belle of New York,” Mark Twain drank. A lover of champagne, whiskey, beer and cocktails, he and liquor shared an intimate relationship that appeared in his writings, his letters and his friendships. Twain’s relationship with alcohol will be the subject of my talk, not only as a personal habit and idiosyncrasy but as a reflection of shifting cultural attitudes about alcohol, its uses, abuses, and meanings. My intention is to begin tracing Twain’s relationship to alcohol as it developed in his life and in his fiction. Drinking as a plot device, metaphor, and motif occupied a great place in Twain’s imaginative universe. His first major success in writing, “Jumping Frog,” begins with a man walking into a bar, ordering a drink and told a tall tale from the bartender, Simon Wheeler.

Finally, I will also draw on a variety of cultural and historical sources to place this Twain’s use of alcohol within a broader context. In *Life on the Mississippi*, Twain wrote: “How solemn and beautiful is the thought that the earliest pioneer of civilization, the van-leader of civilization, is never the steamboat, never the railroad, never the newspaper, never the Sabbath-school, never the missionary ~ but always whiskey! Such is the case. Look history over; you will see. The missionary comes after the whiskey.”

This paper takes Twain at his word, and imagines alcohol as a primary organizing force in his life, his writing and in the America he both knew and imagined.

(ltrombley@huntington.org)

**Ward, Julie**, *Virginia Commonwealth University*  
“The Paine That Twain Met”

In January 1906, Albert Bigelow Paine (1861–1937) boldly asked Mark Twain (1835–1910) if he could write Twain’s biography. Editors at the Mark Twain Project record that “after brief preliminaries Clemens turned to him and said, ‘When would you like to begin?’” The question then arises: what did Twain know about Paine that prompted such a quick, positive response?

An exploration of the uncharted publications—and consequently the personal and political characteristics of Paine—can explain Twain’s willingness to work with the man who would go on to become his biographer, literary executor, and “particular friend.” Who was Albert Bigelow Paine in the few years leading up to his meeting Twain in 1906? And what does Twain’s eagerness to work with this man tell us about Twain himself? The successful convergence of these two men was founded on a dual interest in civic responsibility and a similar critical eye towards social constructs of the time. These virtues are found within the literary works of both men.

By 1906, Paine had published many items of particular interest to this inquiry: “Kansas Alms House” (1894), a catalog of children’s stories in various magazines, *The Bread Line* (1900), and a biography of the iconic and vivacious political cartoonist Thomas Nast (1904). The “Kansas Alms House” was published first in the short-lived Kansas quarterly *The Agora*, in July 1894.\* Merely months later, in January 1895, newspapers throughout Kansas reported a state bill approved by Senator Dillard of Kansas which directly addressed the social problems emphatically communicated in Paine’s “Kansas Alms House.” This short essay, which Twain likely did not know about prior to their meeting, demonstrates a strong confluence of interests between Twain and Paine, particularly regarding their sharp tongue for public critique. The similarities in genre and style do not stop there: as a fellow writer, Paine published over a dozen children’s stories



in various magazines such as *St. Nicholas*, *Scribner's*, *Harper's*, *Century*, as well as children's books. Mark Twain scholar John Bird recently discovered a children's story among the Mark Twain Papers; furthermore, Twain's children's story "A Wonderful Pair of Slippers" was published also in *St. Nicholas* (1890), and was published again, by Paine, in *Europe and Elsewhere* (1923).

Additionally, Twain owned a copy of Paine's *The Bread Line* before his 1906 meeting with Paine—a copy that Paine himself had sent to Twain personally with the inscription "...whose 'Innocents' was my first temptation." Similar to "Kansas Alms House," *The Bread Line* offers social critique on poverty, corruption, and the difficult work behind creating a newspaper—a quasi-autobiographical account of Paine's own difficulties.

Lastly, Twain knew indeed of the widely-sold and well-received Nast biography: a lengthy account of the biting wit and style of the political satirist. Twain's willingness to allow Paine's hand in his own biography suggests that Twain was attracted to Paine's working style as established by 1906, when their relationship truly began.

Before long, Twain moved into the Paine family's neighborhood in Redding, Connecticut, building a new home a quarter-mile away from the Paines. This immediate connection, this willful coexistence, and the entrustment of his works to Paine suggests that Twain himself sought a man who balanced his own cantankerous character: a man who also transcended the act of merely writing to the charged task of public truth-speaking.

In 1923, seventeen years after their alliance began and thirteen years after Twain's death, Paine brought out *Europe and Elsewhere*, a collection of thirty-five essays by Twain most of which had not been published before. These pieces address diversity abroad and criticism at home, including equality, patriotism, colonization, religion, and the ethics of war. They mirror the very themes of social and political awareness that had aligned the two men from the beginning, and in so doing these essays confirm Twain's reading of the Paine he had met in 1906.

(wardjn@vcu.edu)

**Williams, Geoffrey**, *University of Rochester*

"How Might Mark Twain Have Tried To Motivate Samuel Clemens to Stop Smoking? Musings of a Self-Determination Theory-Based Health Psychologist"

Mark Twain spent much of his life telling us about human nature, including what motivates us to do the things that we do, and how our motivation and behaviors change. He sought to present common aspects of human experience in his personal writings, in his fictional characters (e.g. Tom Sawyer, and Huckleberry Finn) and in his biography of Joan of Arc. In his autobiography he writes, "The last quarter of a century of my life has been pretty constantly and faithfully devoted to the study of the human race—that is to say, the study of myself, for, in my individual person, I am the entire human race compacted together." (Twain Autobiography – North American Review, ed Michael Kisis, p. 225.). His depictions of the human experience outline patterns of motivation, behavior and their change that mirror a current and empirically tested general theory of human motivation called Self Determination Theory (Deci and Ryan, 2000). If his writings accurately reflect the human condition, the patterns he describes may be used by us today to understand human motivation, behavior and their change.

Samuel Clemens was an avid smoker. Some estimate that he kept a cigar lit nearly all his waking hours and smoked between 30-40 cigars per day. During his lifetime, little was known about the negative health effects of smoking. Indeed he believed for most of his life that smoking was healthful as he wrote to his wife in 1870: "Now there are no arguments that can convince me that moderate smoking is deleterious to me... I have smoked habitually for 26 of my 34 years, & I am the only healthy member our family has.... My health is wholly faultless--& has ever been since I was 8 years old. My physical structure—lungs, kidneys, heart, brain—is without blemish. The life insurance doctor pronounced me free from all disease & remarkably sound" (Lts-4, 21; K. Patrick Ober. *Mark Twain and Medicine* p 107).

In that short quote, Twain provides us with many clues as to how he understood humans to be motivated about health and how he may have approached Samuel Clemens about stopping smoking, if he had wanted to. These same "clues" are very consistent with Self-Determination Theory's (SDT) model for health behavior and its change (Ng, et al., 2012). I will describe the theory and model in more detail later. However, until then suffice it to say that SDT posits that motivation is built around the concepts that humans are naturally, or intrinsically, motivated toward personal growth, and well-being (mental and physical health), and humans have three psychological needs for autonomy (willingness to act), competence (feeling able to achieve a desired goal), and relatedness (positive and warm relationship with others). Twain writes much about these needs in his fictional characters, and in his personal writings. His characters display how these needs are central to how people are motivated. He elegantly demonstrates how autonomous motivation can be enhanced when others support it, and how autonomy and competence can be enhanced in the context of positive relationships with others. Twain also illustrates how autonomy can be undermined, or thwarted, by overly controlling people and by controlling social structures (e.g. church and educational doctrine).

Self-Determination Theory was not described as a theory until around 1970—so Twain could not have known about it. What is also compelling about Twain is that while there is much debate among scholars about whether he was a determinist or a freewill enthusiast, his writings indicate that he was aware of how humans acquire and change health and other behaviors called internalization. It is related to our experience of self-determination (e.g., autonomy), perceived competence and relatedness to others that Self-Determination theorists posit motivate human behaviors. He called this 'training' or 'civilizing'. His writings map closely onto Self-Determination Theory that is used to explain human experience and behavior including stopping smoking. Twain's writings may be useful in teaching health care professionals about human behavior and its change.

(wgeoffrey783@gmail.com)

**Wonham, Harry**, *University of Oregon*  
 “Mark Twain and the Money Supply”

Mark Twain’s fiction is full of scenes in which money pours into circulation, seemingly from out of nowhere: think of Tom Canty showering coins on his “subjects” in the largesse episode in *The Prince and the Pauper* or of Henry Adams discovering the inexplicable 1,000,000 pound banknote. Monetary plenitude and the profusion of new money drives these narratives and produces some of Mark Twain’s most interesting reflections on the psychological effects of wealth. But his fiction is also rife with scenes of fiscal contraction, as when Huck hides a bag of gold in Peter Wilks’s coffin or when Hank Morgan replaces Camelot’s gold coins with shiny new nickels. Here money is removed from circulation, hidden away from consumers and from the marketplace. In this paper, I explore Mark Twain’s twin attitudes toward the flow of money—its proliferation and its disappearance—especially as these flows operate in *A Connecticut Yankee*, his most searching account of economic life and theory. I argue that Hank Morgan’s monetary policy culminates with his invention of the miller-gun, a peculiar monetary tool intended to enhance the Boss’s control of the money supply. Mark Twain was not among the theoretical vanguard who were advocating for banking and monetary reforms at the end of the 19th century, but the novel’s odd conflation of a monetized form of ammunition (lead shot that serves as money) and a weaponized currency (money that serves as lead shot) looks forward to a future in which control of the money supply insulates large capital from the cyclical shocks and devaluations that struck the U.S. economy with devastating regularity prior to the establishment of a federal banking system.

(wonham@uoregon.edu)

**Tracy Wuster**, *University of Texas at Austin*

“...even the most devout men and busy statesmen must have hours of relaxation’: Some Thoughts on Humor, Entertainment, and Pleasure”

In this short presentation, I will argue for the centrality of entertainment in understanding Mark Twain’s humor and its relationship to broader issues of humor studies. I will briefly sketch out two thoughts: first, the status of *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* (1873) as a crucial book for linking Mark Twain and humor studies and, second, the ways that the “savor of lucre”—to borrow a critical term—has limited the way scholars have approached humor in Mark Twain’s works. While some critics in Mark Twain’s time—and into ours—have tried to redeem Mark Twain by pointing to some serious purpose to his humor—an “assault” to his “laughter,” if you will—my presentation will explore the possibility that entertainment and pleasure have values unto themselves separate from, but also as a central part of, any satirical purpose of the humorist.

I will argue that Mark Twain’s position as a humorist has largely been devalued, at least in 20th Century critical discourse, in favor of Mark Twain as satirist or as social philosopher. I will posit that one reason Mark Twain has endured as an author—as opposed to Artemus Ward and the Reverend Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby, for examples—might be due to the persistence of a certain kind of pleasure readers find in his works. And, to go further, that such pleasure and the entertainment it provides are not to be scoffed at or swept under the critical rug but instead embraced and explored.

(wustert@gmail.com)

**Zeenat, Afrin**, *University of Dhaka*

“Class-Consciousness in Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*”

The power to make differences “visible and explicit,” to divide people into groups and to manipulate society into believing in the distinction of those groups based on class is “the political power par excellence” (“Forms of Capital” 23). According to Pierre Bourdieu’s “empirical investigations, these fundamental powers are economic capital (in its different forms), cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital, which is the form that various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (“Forms of Capital” 17). Based on these fundamental powers, and relying on “strategies of condescension” (“Forms of Capital” 16) and “strategies of presentation of self” (“Forms of Capital” 20), nineteenth-century American society was stratified on class lines. Children in general, and orphans in particular were able to identify class affiliations based on the fundamental powers they possessed or lacked. Furthermore, orphans identified their class through relational means, and understood the limits of such class boundaries. Orphans, from working class in particular, often used their class identity to their advantage when necessary. Although society reified and fetishized, and thereby dehumanized,[1] these orphans, they in return rebuffed such attempts, sometimes by internalizing them and using them against society, and at other times by escaping civilization altogether. Looking at Mark Twain’s *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1868) and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1874), this paper combines ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and the French sociologist Bourdieu to establish the centrality of some specific markers that rendered class-consciousness and created division in nineteenth-century America and established the authority of the middle and upper classes over the orphans of the lower classes. This paper attempts an anti-essentialist reading of class relating to the orphans Huck and Tom in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*; however, an essentialist analysis of class identity based on specific social, economic, and cultural capital informs my reading of the orphans’ own understanding of their class.

Class in postbellum America was very carefully defined by the emerging middle-class in a manner in which it projected itself as the upholder of all good virtues while the lower classes were presented as possessing all the vices. Such an understanding becomes especially problematic when it is applied on orphans, but their innate resilience spurs them to improve their social condition and climb the social ladder. Although most orphans tend to view the class demarcations as essential and work towards the goal of acquiring the necessary capital to improve their condition, some, like Huck Finn, reject the social control that is applied on them by refusing to follow

the strict class definitions. After abandoning Widow Douglas's attempts at his 'socialization' in traditional nineteenth-century terms, Huck establishes a relationship with a fugitive slave, cognizant of the import of such an action. In presenting Huck thus, Twain subverts nineteenth-century America's construction and manipulation of different classes. Huck's escape to the wilderness with Jim also flouts the conventions of traditional rite of passage novels that were used to vicariously socialize children. Instead of forging meaningful and productive relationships with people who matter in order to acquire social capital, Twain's portrayal of Huck critiques the strict social norm of growing up in a socially inscribed manner. By doing the obverse, Huck sets himself up as a retrograde exhibiting agency in rewriting his own life and not allowing social formations of class to determine his life. Unlike Huck, the normative Tom Sawyer conforms to society's norms, acquires economic and cultural capital (manifested in his repertoire of chivalric novels), and settles to a very class based livelihood.

[1] In *Vanishing Moments*, Eric Schocket looks at how class was represented in American literature and he contends that class co-opted race, specifically white race. Schocket borrows Frederic Jameson's ideas to explain the formation and representation of class in American Literature, p. 30-31.

(afrinzeenat@gmail.com)

**Zehr, Martin**, *Independent Scholar*  
 "Josh Billings: A Forgotten Link"

Henry Wheeler Shaw, aka Josh Billings, was perhaps second to Mark Twain in popularity among nineteenth century American humorists, although some might argue, with justification, that Charles Farrar Browne (Artemus Ward) or David Ross Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby) are also candidates for that distinction. Billings' importance and influence, however, cannot be denied, and the famous 1869 photograph of Twain, Billings and Nasby suggests a tacit acknowledgement of their mutual acceptance as the popular humorists of their time, successors, perhaps, to Ward himself, whose untimely death, two years prior, left the field to these three, in many ways, his students. All three were indebted to Ward for stylistic elements in their writing and speaking, but Twain, of course, more than his predecessors, was able to shed the categorization of "mere humorist," and, as at least one Twain scholar has argued, deliberately distanced himself from the "Phunney Phellows." Nonetheless, Twain's links to Josh Billings are worth exploring for the clues they provide with respect to the expanding role of public humor in nineteenth century America.

While Twain might have been a Southerner emigrating to the northeast, he and Billings (as well as Ward and Nasby), share a critical attitude toward slavery, racism and the South, an attitude that might have come naturally for the other three but, in Twain's case, represents a transformation of monumental proportions from the "deformed conscience" of his Hannibal youth. Billings, however, was less likely than Twain, or even Nasby and Ward, to enlist his humorous impulses in the service of sardonic political commentary, restricting his writing and speaking to the folk wisdom his audience could sample in his *Allminix*.

Twain's penchant for creating humorous, insightful aphorisms throughout his celebrity career was shared by Billings, whose quotations, like "The squeaky wheel gets the grease" were as well-known to readers of the 1870s as Twain's. In contrast to Twain, Billings tended to confine his literary efforts to short pieces, not long enough to qualify as a "sketch."

Another link between the two is their friendship with the political humorist, Thomas Nast, who singlehandedly, at least in political lore, brought down Boss Tweed and the Tammany Hall political machine with his cartoon renderings of Tweed and his cohorts. Twain's later pronouncement that "against the assault of laughter nothing can stand," from "The Czar's Soliloquy" (1905) is at least a tacit acknowledgement of the accomplishments of Nast, whose biting satirical images were the product of a "pen warmed up in hell" Twain would share. At one time Nast and Twain considered a series of joint appearances. Nast made illustrations for Billings, as well as for Twain's "Autobiography and First Romance" (1871).

Research by the noted Twain scholar Kevin Mac Donnell has uncovered evidence that indicates Sam Clemens's source for his pen-name, Mark Twain, was probably a satiric piece written by Artemus Ward for the humor magazine he edited, *Vanity Fair*, in 1861. It is certainly understandable that Clemens, at the point where he was undoubtedly beginning to believe he could make a career of his writing, would have chosen as his public name a "borrowed" moniker from a celebrity he obviously admired, and imitated. It is also possible that doing so was in the way of habit for him, as the immediate predecessor to "Mark Twain" in Clemens's *Territorial Enterprise* writings was none other than "Josh." Possible, but, unlike the connection to Ward, it is improbable that Clemens had any awareness of Billings in 1863, although Billings' writing career dates from 1858.

In the final analysis, Twain certainly owes a debt to those writers and speakers who preceded him in fame, like Ward, Nasby and Billings, as well as others he read as a youth, e.g., P. Shillaber, whose Mrs. Partington, and her nephew Ike, can be seen in the likes of Tom Sawyer. Twain openly admired the folk humor of Billings, and would include six pieces of Billings in *Mark Twain's Library of Humor* (1888). Twain, however, was quick to abandon the cacography and folksy tenor that characterized their writing, giving free rein to a "pen warmed up in hell" that would easily differentiate him from these writers, even at their sardonic best.

(mdzehr@gmail.com)







(607) 735-1941  
twaincenter@elmira.edu  
[www.marktwainstudies.org](http://www.marktwainstudies.org)