

Elmira 2013

The Seventh International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies



Virginia City Territorial Enterprise typescript (3 February 1863) and photograph (1863) courtesy Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

One Man, Many Legacies

"Yours, dreamily,
MARK TWAIN."

Mark Twain

Observing the Sesquicentennial of the Pen-name

Elmira College Center for Mark Twain Studies

August 1 - 3, 2013



COWLES HALL
KEYNOTE ADDRESS Friday, 8 pm ~
Peter Kaminsky
CHAMPANGE RECEPTION to follow
CLOSING PLENARY Saturday, 4 pm
Robert Hirst and Benjamin Griffin

Mark Twain Exhibit
Open 9 am to 5 pm

Mark Twain Study
Open 9 am to 5 pm

CAMPUS BOOKSTORE
Open
8:30 am to 5 pm
on Thursday and
Friday
11 am to 2 pm on
Saturday

SHUTTLE PICK-UP POINT
To Woodlawn Cemetery ~
Friday and Saturday
To Quarry Farm Picnic ~
Saturday evening

Refreshments available
10:15 am to 10:25 am
2:15 pm to 2:25 pm
3:45 pm to 3:55 pm

Lower level: Tripp Lecture Hall (Panels)
Second floor: Mark Twain Archive
Open 12:30 pm to 1 pm (Th, Fri, Sat)
See Mark Woodhouse to arrange additional visits.

CAMPUS CENTER
First floor:
Tiffany Lounge (Panels)
Conference Book Sale

Second floor:
Dining Hall

EMERSON HALL
Gibson Theatre
Private Screening:
HOLBROOK/TWAIN

MEIER HALL
Registration
Morris Classroom
Fairy Tale Reading

SECURITY OFFICE

28. Olivia Langdon Statue
Mark Twain Statue

George Waters Gallery:
Mark Twain in the West
Mackenzie's (Breakfast)

The Seventh International Conference
on the
State of Mark Twain Studies

One Man, Many Legacies

Wednesday, July 31st

9 am - 9:30 pm	REGISTRATION	Meier Hall Morris Classroom
After 9:30 pm	Please go to the Campus Security Office to pick up your Conference packet and keys.	Tompkins Hall Ground floor

Thursday, August 1st

8 am - 5 pm	REGISTRATION	Meier Hall Morris Classroom
8 am - 8:45 am	Full Hot Breakfast Buffet	Campus Center Mackenzie's Ground floor
9 am - 10:15 am	Choose from two concurrent panels (below and following page).	

Mark Twain: Nature and Landscape

Gary Scharnhorst *University of New Mexico Emeritus* Gannett-Tripp Library
Panel Chair Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level

Conference Welcome

Gary Scharnhorst *Elmira 2013 Conference Co-Chair*

Mark Twain and the Legacy of the Pastoral Dream

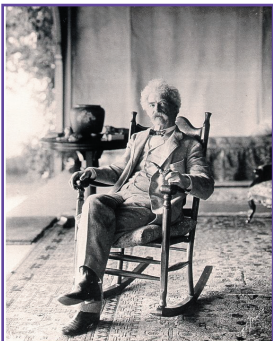
Jeffrey A. Melton *University of Alabama*

Ah, Coyote

Jeff Steinbrink *Franklin and Marshall College*

Nature as Redeemer: Mark Twain and Mary Oliver

Katrina Shilts *Elmira College*



Mark Twain and Pedagogy

Mark Woodhouse *Elmira College*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor

Mark Twain's Common American Readers
Robert McParland *Felician College*



Heteroglossia and Twain's Dialect Humor: How Podcasts can bring Dialect
Texts into the 21st Century
Janice McIntire-Strasburg *Saint Louis University*
Vincent Casaregola *Saint Louis University*

“Honor bright”: Legacies of Mark Twain and the Honor Code
at a Southern University
Sarah Ingle *University of Virginia*

Mark Twain's Moral Imagination: Conscience as the Mysterious Autocrat
Or, Why Moral Philosophers Need Literature
Patrick K. Dooley *St. Bonaventure University*

10:15 am - 10:25 am

Refreshments available.
Coffee, tea, and water.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

10:30 am - 11:45 am

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain: Taking Care of Business

Peter Messent *University of Nottingham*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



Mark Twain and “the knights of the tiller”:
The Influence of the American Labor Movement of the 1880s
Masago Igawa *Tohoku University*

Language & Property in *Connecticut Yankee*; or, What's the Use of “Usufruct”?
Lawrence Howe *Roosevelt University*

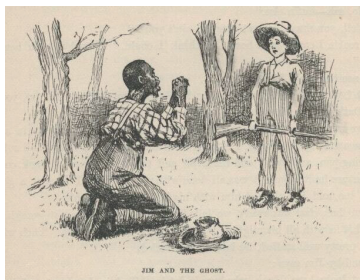
“Drop Sentiment, and Come Down to Business”:
Debt and the Disintegration of ‘Manly’ Character in “Indiantown”
and “Which Was It?”
Susanne Weil *Centralia College*

Mark Twain and Money
Henry Wonham *University of Oregon*

Reading Twain Reading Race

James S. Leonard *The Citadel*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor



The Rebellious Novel in American Fiction:

From Mark Twain to Ralph Ellison to Philip Roth

Andru Lugo *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*

Undoubted Lies and Disbelieved Truths:

Mark Twain and the Post-Race Humor of Percival Everett's *Erasure*

Jennifer Hughes *Young Harris College*

Race, Revenge and the Walking/Waking Dead in *Huckleberry Finn*

Ann Ryan *Le Moyne College*

12 noon - 12:50 pm

Luncheon Buffet

Campus Center
Dining Hall
Upstairs

1 pm - 2:15 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn: Jokes, Race, Evasion

James Caron *University of Hawaii*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor

The N-Word in *Huck Finn*, Further Considered

David Sloane *University of New Haven*

Tricks and Tools: Practical Jokes, the "Evasion," and the Limits of Love

Sharon McCoy *University of Georgia*

Twice-Told Tales: Aunt Sally Phelps and "The Evasion"

Linda Morris *University of California, Davis Emerita*



Mark Twain in the West

Victor Fischer *The Mark Twain Papers*

Campus Center
George Waters Gallery
Ground floor

Join Vic Fischer in the George Waters Gallery for a pre-opening tour of his Exhibition—*Mark Twain in the West*.

2:15 pm - 2:25 pm

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, and water.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

2:30 pm - 3:45 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain: Manhood and Fatherhood

Ann Ryan *Le Moyne College*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor



“Dysfunctioned” Manhood in “Impaired” Bodies:
Mark Twain’s Treatment of Deviations
Takuya Kubo *Kanazawa University*

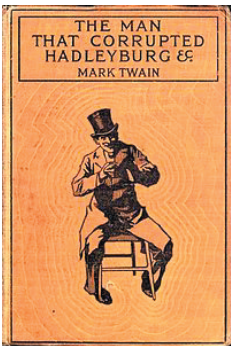
“At the Farm”: A Father’s Precious Memories
John Bird *Winthrop University*

Making Space: Evading Feminine Domestic Authority
in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*
Debra MacComb *University of West Georgia*

**Mark Twain and “The Man that Corrupted
Hadleyburg”**

Mark Woodhouse *Elmira College*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



A Theory “weak as water”: Twain’s Uncertain Conclusions on Moral Training
Chad Rohman *Dominican University*

Devil’s Advocate: Questioning as Moral Imperative in Twain’s
“The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg” and No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*
Madeline Zehnder *Smith College*

The Self-Righteous Hypocrites of Hadleyburg
Lawrence Berkove *University of Michigan Dearborn Emeritus*

3:45 pm - 3:55 pm

Refreshments available.
Coffee, tea, and water.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

4 pm - 5:15 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain: Self, Discovery, and the West

David Sloane *University of New Haven*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor



What Did Sam Clemens See in Carson City?

Kevin Mac Donnell *Independent Scholar*

Reporter/Hoaxer: Mark Twain and the Print Culture of the Mining West

Garrett Ford Morrison *Northwestern University*

Who Were Those Men?

Robert E. Stewart *Independent Scholar*

Traveling with Twain in Search of America's Identity

Loren Ghiglione *Northwestern University*

Mark Twain and Artemus Ward

Peter Messent *University of Nottingham*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



Mark Twain, New York, and the Ascent from Racism

Peter Salwen *Independent Scholar*

Delivery by Stagecoach to Placerville: Spirits and Limberger Cheese!

John R. Pascal *Seton Hall Preparatory School*

“Dear Sir”:

A Post-Structuralist Impression of Charles F. Browne's Influence on Mark Twain

Alex B. Effgen *The Editorial Insitute at Boston University*

5:30 pm - 6:30 pm

Wine Tasting of the Finger Lakes Breweries of the Finger Lakes

Enjoy hors d'oeuvres and the fruits and hops of the region.

Campus Center
MacKenzie's
Ground level

EXHIBITION OPENING

Mark Twain in the West

Victor Fischer

Mark Twain Papers and Project

Campus Center
George Waters Gallery



Samuel Clemens's photographs, letters, notebooks, and newspaper pieces show him as he looked in his late twenties and early thirties; they give his voice and tell his adventures and misadventures (at least those he was willing to tell) in his letters home; and they show him developing a writing style that we have come to recognize as inimitably his. These years in the West, 1861-1866, when he listened to the tales told in the voices of California pioneers from Pike County, Missouri, and elsewhere, provided the basis for stories he told, re-told, and transformed in literary works throughout his career.

Three of the suspected men still
in confinement at Aurora.

Exhibit Hours: Friday 7:45 am - 5 pm
Saturday 7:45 am - 4 pm

6:45 pm

Henry Nash Smith Award Dinner

Campus Center
Dining Hall
Upstairs

Conference Greetings

Barbara Snedecor
Elmira College

Conference Toast ~ New York State Sparkling Wine

Tom Nurmi
Elmira College

DINNER

Fresh Antipasto Salad

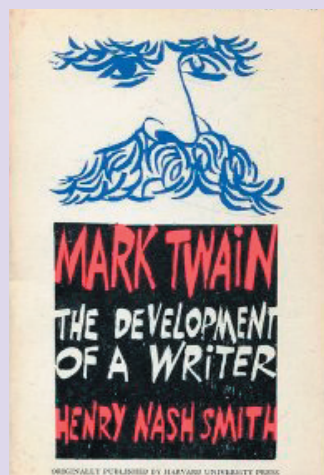
Stuffed Beef Steak with Asiago cheese, Roasted Red Peppers and Spinach

Roasted Red Potatoes

Assorted Artisan Rolls

Selected New York State Finger Lakes Wine

Dessert following HOLBROOK/TWAIN: A Private Screening



7:30 pm

Henry Nash Smith Award Presentation

Barbara Snedecor
Elmira College

7:45 pm

Move to Gibson Theatre

Emerson Hall

6 Thursday

8 pm

HOLBROOK/TWAIN

A Work-in-Progress Preview Screening

Gibson Theatre

Emerson Hall

Introduction

John Bird

Winthrop University



HOLBROOK/TWAIN, a documentary film chronicling Hal Holbrook's six-decade run portraying Mark Twain on stage. Directed by Scott Teems and produced by Laura Smith (the team behind THAT EVENING SUN), HOLBROOK/TWAIN explores the fascinating origins of "Mark Twain Tonight!" and gives us a rare and intimate behind-the-scenes look at a day in the life of this Tony and Emmy Award-winning show. Featuring interviews with actors such as Sean Penn and Martin Sheen, as well as some of our very own conference colleagues, HOLBROOK/TWAIN is at once an exploration of the actor's craft and a revealing study of the relevance of Twain's writings; a document of an extraordinary and unprecedented stage run, and the remarkable endurance and dedication that has kept it alive for so long; and a portrait of an actor, still thriving in his golden days, taking pause to look back upon a life lived on the stage.

(This is a private screening for Conference attendees only, please.)

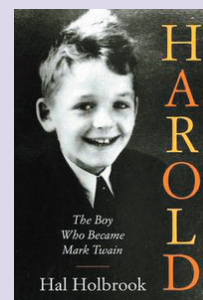
Following film

Dessert Reception Book Sale and Signing

Gibson Theatre

Lobby

Mr. Holbrook will be available to sign copies of
Harold: The Boy Who Became Mark Twain



10 pm - 11:30 pm

Corn Pone Pub
Cash Bar

Campus Center
1855 Room
Ground floor

Thursday 7

Friday, August 2nd

8 am - 8:45 am

Full Hot Breakfast Buffet

Campus Center
Mackenzie's
Ground floor

9 am - 10:15 am

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain: Contemporary Contexts

James S. Leonard *The Citadel*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



Conference Greeting

James S. Leonard *Elmira 2013 Conference Co-Chair*

The Price of Fighting Censorship: Mark Twain Editions Today

Alan Gribben *Auburn University at Montgomery*

We Never Saw It Coming:

The Common Core State Standards, Mark Twain, and the Ensuing Fight

Jocelyn Chadwick *Harvard University*

Marketing the Works of Mark Twain in the 20th Century

Suzanne A. Magnuson *The Bradford Group, LTD.*

Samuel Clemens Writing Mark Twain

Takako Takeda *Nagoya College*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor



The Storage of "National" Narratives: A Hypothesis about
the *Autobiography of Mark Twain*

Ryuzo Hamamoto *Tokushima Bunri University*

Mark Twain's Free Association Type of Talk in the *Autobiography*:

Hearing the Inner Voice for Family

Yuko Yamamoto *Independent Scholar*

Mark Twain's Autobiographical Meaning of Injun Joe

Ryo Waguri *Shujitsu University*

10:15 am - 10:25 am

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, and water.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

10:30 am - 11:45 am

Choose from two concurrent panels, or visit the Mark Twain Archive.

Homes, Houses, and Mark Twain

James Caron *University of Hawaii*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



Mark Twain's Italian Residences: The Villa Viviani and the Villa di Quarto

Tsuyoshi Ishihara *Waseda University*

"Innocence at Home": Stormfield, Quarry Farm, and
Mark Twain's Amanaensis of Time

Harold Hellwig *Idaho State University*

Isabella Beecher Hooker, Dr. Edward Beecher Hooker,
and Mark Twain's Expensive Plumbing Fiasco

K. Patrick Ober *Wake Forest University School of Medicine*
at Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dr. Orville R. Grant and Hannibal: More Puzzles than Fact

Henry H. Sweets III *Executive Director,*
Mark Twain Boyhood Home & Museum

Mark Twain: Disruptions, Sensation, and Subversion

Chad Rohman *Dominican University*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor

Crime and Detection in Mark Twain

Peter Messent *University of Nottingham*

Beneath Mark Twain: Detecting Sensational Residues in Twain's Early Writing

Jarrold Roark *The Barstow School*



The Mark Twain Archive

Mark Woodhouse *Elmira College*
Head of Technical Services,
College Archivist, and Mark Twain Archivist

Gannett-Tripp Library
Upstairs

Mark Woodhouse will share fine examples of items in the Elmira College collection and will discuss the history and growth of the Archive and the ways in which it is used to help foster a greater appreciation of Clemens, his circle of family and friends, and the world they inhabited.

12 noon - 12:50 pm

Luncheon Buffet

Campus Center
Dining Hall
Upstairs

1 pm - 2:15 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels, or visit the Woodlawn Cemetery.

Mark Twain in (at) War

Takako Takeda *Nagoya College*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor



Mark Twain and the American Civil War

Michael C. Eckman *Independent Scholar*

Archetypes as Interpreters of War: From Front Line to Home Front in
“The Private History of a Campaign that Failed” and “The War Prayer”

John H. Davis *Chowan University*

Mark Twain:

Transnational Readings and Receptions

Linda Morris *University of California, Davis Emerita*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



Mark Twain in China: Race, Translation, and the Transnational Setting

Selina Lai *University of Hong Kong*

Mapping the Popular Reception of Twain in India

Seema Sharma *University of Mumbai, India*

Which Was the Orient?:

Mark Twain’s “Which Was the Dream?” and Asian Thoughts

Kazuhiko Tsuji *Kinki University*

Elmira’s Woodlawn Cemetery

Visit the graves of Mark Twain and his family. Shuttles
will depart at 1 pm and 1:30 pm from Seventh Street.
See Campus Map, inside front cover, for shuttle location.

Bus Stop
Above Campus Center

2:30 pm - 3:45 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.



Mark Twain and *Following the Equator*

Sharon McCoy *University of Georgia*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level

Savage or Civilized?: Rethinking Race in *Following the Equator*

Susan K. Harris *University of Kansas*

Surviving a Thunderstroke: Reform and Duality in *Following the Equator*

George Bevington *The Walker School*

Mark Twain and "Governor Davey's Proclamation"

Kerry Driscoll *University of Saint Joseph*



Intertextual Mark Twain

Ann Ryan *Le Moyne College*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor

Cooper and Twain: The Corruption of Truth in Democracies

Abraham Kupersmith

Borough of Manhattan Community College Emeritus

Jokes in the Archive: Twain Reads *A Tale of Two Cities*

Tom Nurmi *Elmira College*

From the River to the Road: Tracing Twain's Influence
in Kerouac's *On the Road*

Raven See *Boston College*

3:45 pm - 3:55 pm

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, and water.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

4 pm - 5:15 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

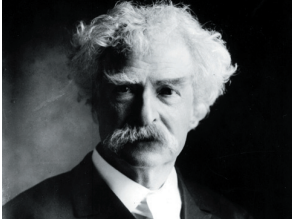
Mark Twain and the Problem of Age

Gary Scharnhorst *University of New Mexico Emeritus*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library

Tripp Lecture Hall

Lower level



On Twain's Late Style: Growing Old in "The Refuge of the Derelicts"

Katsumi Satouchi *Osaka University*

"The greatest and youngest old man in the United States":
Conformity, Contestation, and Resistance in Mark Twain's
Attitude Toward Aging

Holger Kersten *Magdeburg University*

Mark Twain and the Crises of Memory

Bruce Michelson *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

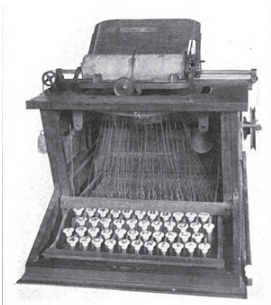
Mark Twain's Style: A Paragraph, A Sentence, A Word

John Bird *Winthrop University*
Panel Chair

Campus Center

Tifft Lounge

Ground



The Fourth World of *Huckleberry Finn*: The Internalization of Jim's Voice,
Perspective, and Ideology in Huck's Evolving Consciousness

Robert Paul Lamb *Purdue University*

The Profane Twain: A Brief Examination of Mark Twain's Literary Cursing

Sarah Fredericks *University of Arizona*

Once by the Mississippi: Some Observations on the Style of Mark Twain

Horst Kruse *University of Munster*

5:45 - 6:25 pm

Cash Bar preceding dinner.

Campus Center

Main Dining Hall

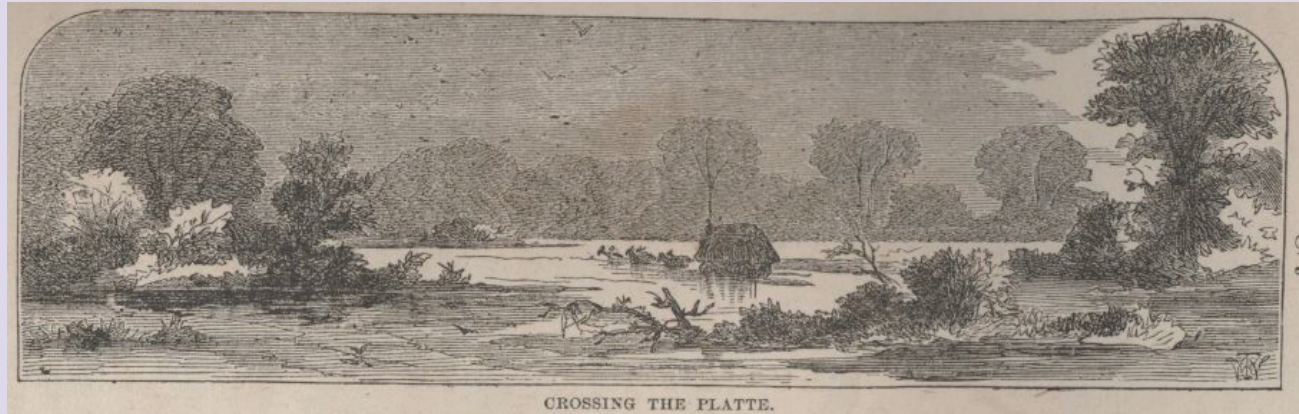
Upstairs

6:30 - 7:45 pm

Mark Twain in the West

Buffet Dinner

Campus Center
Main Dining Hall
Upstairs



DINNER



Stage Coach Salad
Carving Station
Smoked Brisket of Beef with Cowboy Sauces
Saloon Glazed Roasted Ham
Turkey Breast/Wild Berry Glaze

Faux "Rocky Mountain Oysters"
Wagon Wheel Vegetables
Gold Nugget Rice
Cowboy Beans
Prairie Biscuits
Selected Wines



Dessert following Keynote Address



8 pm

Elmira 2013 Keynote

Cowles Hall
Peterson Chapel

Elmira College Presidential Welcome

Ronald Champagne
Elmira College

John S. Tuckey Award Presentation

Linda Morris
University of California Emerita

Keynote Introduction

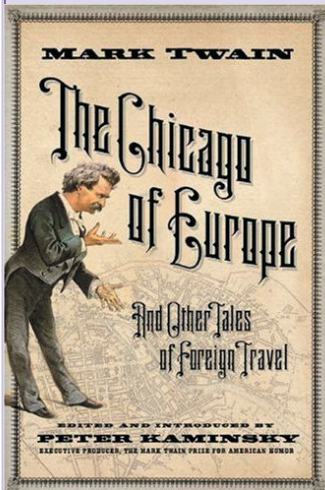
Gary Scharnhorst
University of New Mexico Emeritus

Remarks to a Gathering of Twain Scholars by the Least Qualified Person in the Room

Peter Kaminsky

MARK TWAIN
PRIZE

Mr. Kaminsky is a former managing editor of *National Lampoon* and one of the creators of The Kennedy Center Mark Twain Prize and The Library of Congress Gershwin Prize for Popular Song. The Kennedy Center Mark Twain Prize for American Humor was created in 1998 by The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Mark Krantz, Peter Kaminsky and his brother, Bob Kaminsky, and Cappy McGarr to recognize the art of humorists who have had an impact on American society in ways similar to the distinguished 19th century novelist and essayist best known as Mark Twain. The Mark Twain Prize for American Humor has been awarded to such luminaries as George Carlin, Richard Pryor, Carl Reiner, Whoopi Goldberg, Lily Tomlin, Lorne Michaels, Steve Martin, Billy Crystal, and Ellen DeGeneres.



In addition to his significant involvement in the creation and production of Mark Twain Prize, Peter has also written and produced The Grammy Awards, Farm Aid, The Montreal Comedy Festival, and *Spy Magazine's* "How To Be Famous" starring Jerry Seinfeld. Of special interest to the Mark Twain community is his 2009 collection of Twain's travel writings, *The Chicago of Europe and Other Tales of Foreign Travel*, a delicious assemblage of 68 tales featuring Twain's trademark style—a combination of breezy insouciance and droll barbarism. "Kaminsky's collection," noted Billy Crystal, "shows that Mark Twain is still our foremost American humorist. He should be on at ten p.m."

Mr. Kaminsky, an award-winning journalist and author, has published frequently in the *New York Times*, *Food & Wine*, *Conde Nast Traveler*, and was *Underground Gourmet* for *New York Magazine*. He is the author of a wide variety of books that speak to his diverse interests and passions. Some titles include *Culinary Intelligence: The Art of Eating Healthy (and Really Well)*, *Sweet Magic*, *Pig Perfect: Encounters with Remarkable Swine*, *The Moon Pulled Up an Acre of Bass*, and *Fly Fishing for Dummies*. He has collaborated on numerous cookbooks with Sheila Lukins, Daniel Boulud, Gray Kunz, Francis Mallmann, Michel Richard, and others.

Following Keynote

Champagne Dessert Reception
Book Sale and Signing

Cowles Hall Rotunda
and Portico

Mr. Kaminsky will be available to sign a variety of his books.

9 pm - 11:30 pm

Corn Pone Pub
Cash Bar

Campus Center
1855 Room
Ground floor

14 Friday

Saturday, August 3rd

8 am - 8:45 am

Full Hot Breakfast Buffet

Campus Center
Mackenzie's
Ground floor

9 am - 10:15 am

Choose from two concurrent panels.

The Humor(s) of Mark Twain

Chad Rohman *Dominican University*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor



The Arc of Mark Twain's Satire, or Tom Sawyer the Moral Snag
James E. Caron *University of Hawaii at Manoa*

"Mark Twain": The Humorist
Tracy Wuster *Independent Scholar*

The Use of Humor in the Correspondence of Mark Twain
with 'the Aquarium Club' Members in the Final Years
of the Writer (1905-1910)
Ksenia Romashova *OVGU Magdeburg*

Mark Twain, Culture and Identity

Linda Morris *University of California, Davis Emerita*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level

"Originally of Missouri...Now of the Universe"—Mark Twain and the World
Shelley Fisher Fishkin *Stanford University*



Jean François Alden as another *nom de plume*: Looking at *Personal Recollections* (1895-1896) as a pseudo-translation
Ronald Jenn *University of Lille 3, France*

"They was all Moslems": Islam in Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad*
Allison Ensor *University of Tennessee, Knoxville Emeritus*

Mark Twain and his Irish Connection:
A Multi-ethnic American Cultural Identity
Kotaro Nakagaki *Daito Bunka University*

10:15 am - 10:25 am

Refreshments available.
Coffee, tea, and water.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

10:30 am - 11:45 am

Choose from a Panel, a Memorial Gathering, or a visit to the
Woodlawn Cemetery.

Mark Twain and the Visual

Gannett-Tripp Library

Gary Scharnhorst University of New Mexico Emeritus Tripp Lecture Hall
Panel Chair Lower level

John Harrison Mills: Twain's Illustrator at the *Buffalo Express*
Thomas J. Reigstad SUNY College at Buffalo Emeritus

Miles to Go: *The Prince and the Pauper* in Adaptation
Hugh H. Davis Saint Mary's School

Feat of Clay: Will Vinton's *The Adventures of Mark Twain*
Being the Story of Mark Twain, Halley's Comet and a 1985 Film
Way Ahead of its Time
Mark Dawidziak Independent Scholar

Imagining Boundaries: Visualizing Space in Twain's *Following the Equator*
Debra Cochran Saint Louis University

Memorial Gathering for Makoto Nagawara

Cowles Hall
Parlor

Convened by
Tsuyoshi Ishihara Waseda University
Masago Igawa Tohoku University
Shelley Fisher Fishkin Stanford University

Elmira's Woodlawn Cemetery

Bus stop

Visit the graves of Mark Twain and his family. Shuttles Above Campus Center
will depart from the Campus at 1 pm and 1:30 pm from
Seventh Street. See Campus Map, inside front cover, for shuttle location.

12 noon - 12:50 pm

Luncheon Buffet

Campus Center
Main Dining Hall
Upstairs

1 pm - 2:15 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Colonizing Mark Twain

Joe Csicsila *Eastern Michigan University*

**Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level**

The Twain-Togo Nexus:

Strategic Use of Yellowface in the Literary Journalism of Wallace Irwin

Yoshiko Uzawa *Keio University*

The Yankees and Their Kings:

Mark Twain and Henry Stanley from King Arthur to King Leopold

Judith Yaross Lee *Ohio University*

Marking Twain in France

Paula Harrington *Colby College*

Mark Twain and the Dark

Sharon McCoy *University of Georgia*

**Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Lower level**

Mark Twain, Nietzsche, and Terrible Truths that can Set Us Free

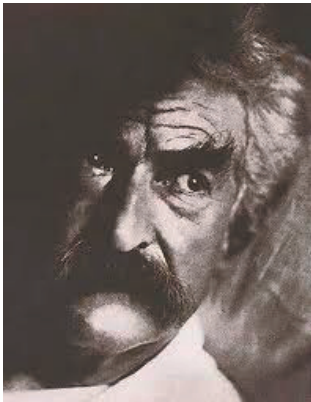
Patrick J. Keane *Le Moyne College*

The Pain Economy: Mark Twain's Masochistic Understanding of Pain

M. Christine Benner Dixon *Drew University*

"What Is It All For?": Theodicy and "Systemless System" in the New Edition of the
Autobiography of Mark Twain

Harold K. Bush *Saint Louis University*



2:15 pm - 2:25 pm

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, and water.

**Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico**

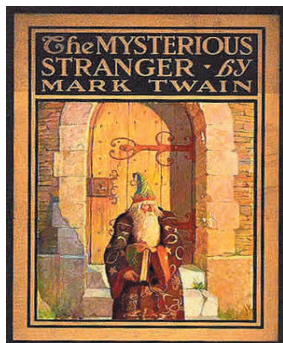
2:30 pm - 3:45 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain: Devil's Advocate

David Sloane *University of New Haven*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground level



Devil-Lore and Avatars: Moncure Conway's Influence on Mark Twain's Religion
Dwayne Eutsey *Independent Scholar*

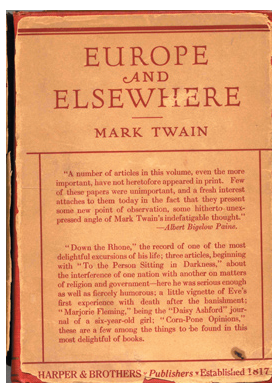
Mark Twain vs. God: The Story of a Relationship
Jeanne Campbell Reesman *University of Texas at San Antonio*

Man, Animal, God and Satan: An Exploration of Evolution, Religion
and Human Nature in Mark Twain's *Mysterious Stranger* Manuscripts
Erika Hamann *Medaille College*

Deep Cuts: Lesser Known Works of Mark Twain

John Bird *Winthrop University*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



Mark Twain's "The Treaty with China": Precursor with a Punch
Martin Zehr *Independent Scholar*

Albert Bigelow Paine and a Proper Mark Twain: *Europe and Elsewhere*
Terry Oggel *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Post-Humanist Creatures and Menippean Satire in Mark Twain's
"3,000 Years among the Microbes"
Alicia Tromp *Université Paris Diderot, France*

3:45 pm - 3:55 pm

Refreshments available.
Coffee, tea, and water.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

4 pm

Closing Plenary

Cowles Hall
Peterson Chapel

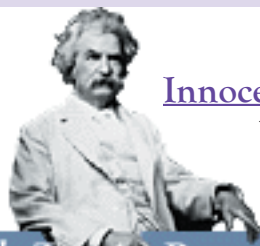
4 pm - 4:10 pm

Presentation of the Mark Twain Circle Awards
The Mark Twain Circle Certificate of Merit
Thomas A. Tenney Service Award
Linda Morris President, Mark Twain Circle

4:10 pm - 5:15 pm

Mark Twain: A Family Sketch (and more)

Benjamin Griffin Editor



Innocents Delayed Is Not Innocence Denied

Robert H. Hirst Editor

The Mark Twain Papers & Project

The editors will report on some forthcoming publications from the Mark Twain Project, including an edition of two private manuscripts, “A Record of Small Foolishnesses” and “A Family Sketch,” as well as two very public projects, “Mark Twain in San Francisco” and *The Innocents Abroad*. The “Family Sketch” manuscript was recently purchased by The Bancroft Library for more than a quarter of a million dollars, but its interest easily exceeds that number. Newspaper letters written from San Francisco were once described by Joe Goodman as the best things Mark Twain ever wrote. And *Innocents* itself needs no introduction, and only a perfunctory explanation for why it has taken us so long to get around to editing Mark Twain’s first big book.

6 pm - 6:45 pm

Board buses to Quarry Farm on East Hill.

7 pm - 9 pm

At Home: Quarry Farm Picnic

Barbequed chicken and pork ribs; beer steamed shrimp; corn on the cob; baked beans; salt potatoes; broccoli, pasta and tossed salads; corn bread and Portuguese rolls; and Mark Twain’s favorite boyhood dessert—gingerbread and ice cream. Beer, wine, lemonade, and iced tea.

Enjoy conversation with friends old and new. Visit the original site of the octagonal study. With Ambassadors as guides, walk through the first floor of Quarry Farm.



Shuttle Service to Quarry Farm:

Parking at Quarry Farm is limited. Please use the Conference Shuttle Bus Service from the Seventh Street pick-up point. **Pick ups will leave the campus at 6 pm and 6:30 pm. See the Campus Map on the inside front cover for the location of the Shuttle Service on Seventh Street. Shuttles will leave the Farm starting at 8 pm.**

Saturday 19

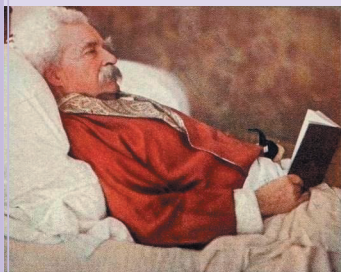
10 pm

A Bedtime Story

Read by

John Bird Winthrop University

Meier Hall
Stephans Lounge Fireplace



Mark Twain told a bedtime story every night to his daughters, making up the stories on the spot. These bedtime stories were Twain creations that have been lost to the ephemera of time. But he liked one story he told Susy and Jean while in Paris, France so much that he wrote up notes, at least for the first half. I discovered the typescript of these notes at the Mark Twain Papers a few years ago, and with permission, I have fleshed out the notes Twain left for "Prince Oleomargarine: A Fairy Tale," then finished the unfinished story.

Join us for a bedtime reading of this story that charmed the Clemens daughters, and must have charmed their father.

Pajamas suggested, but not required. Cocoa and cookies provided.

Sunday, August 4th

7:30 am - 10 am

Continental Breakfast

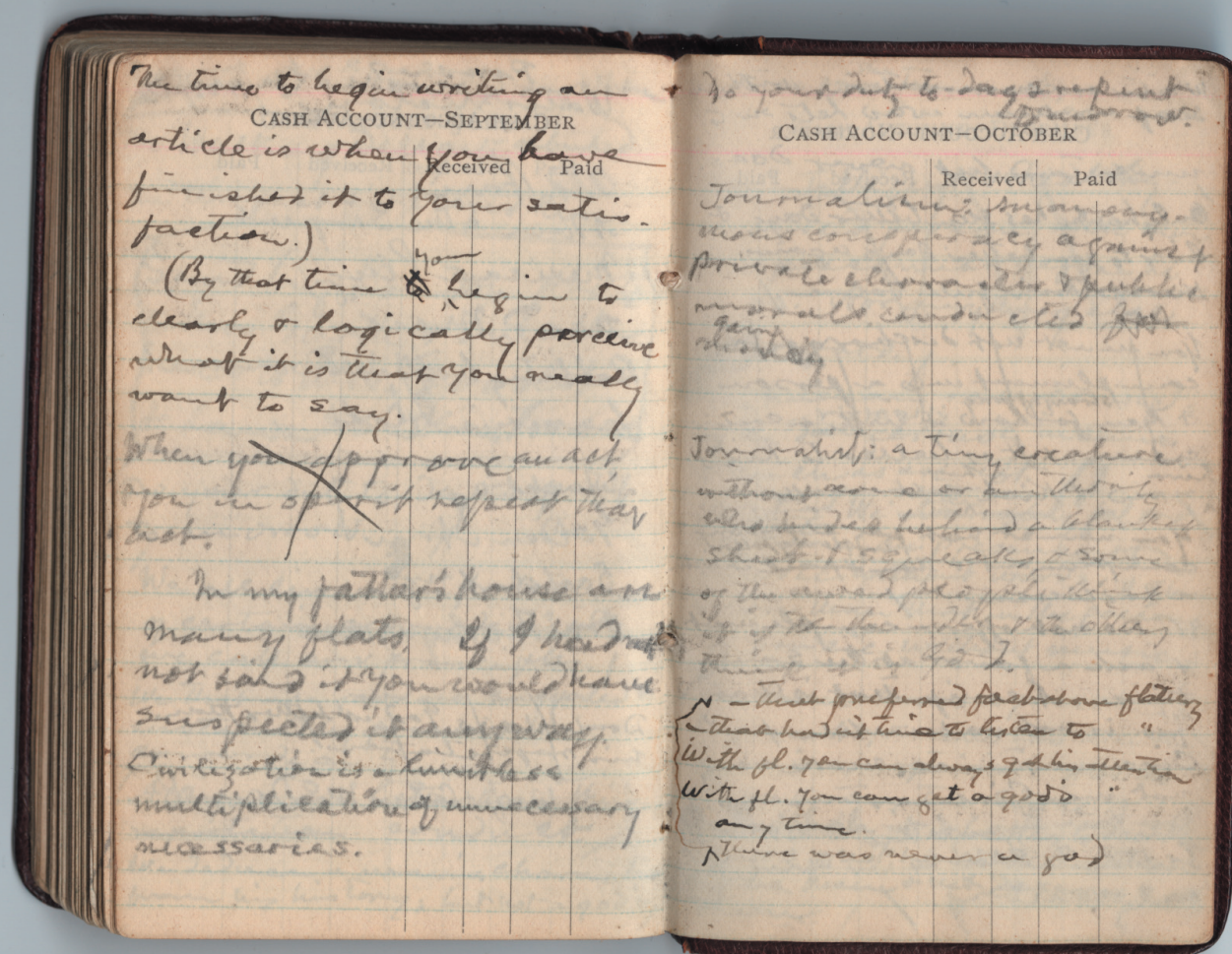
Meier Hall
Stephans Lounge

For those staying in campus housing, please return your Room Keys and Proximity Card Readers at the check-out table in the **Morris Classroom** of Meier Hall.

The Seventh International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies

ABSTRACTS

(In alphabetical order by last name)



Courtesy Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

"The time to begin writing an article is when you have finished it to your satisfaction.)
(By that time you begin to clearly & logically perceive what it is that you really want to say."

Mark Twain

Berkove, Lawrence I. *University of Michigan-Dearborn Emeritus.*

The Self-Righteous Hypocrites of Hadleyburg.

"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," written during Twain's troubled but stimulating 20-month sojourn in Vienna and published in 1899, has been described as "something of a high-water mark for his antipathy for humankind." Most analyses of the story concentrate on the means by which a mysterious stranger who conceived such a violent hatred of the town that, in revenge, he devised a fiendishly effective hoax that would destroy its reputation as an exemplary honest city by exposing its nineteen leading citizens not as individuals of integrity but as lying hypocrites. This approach is accurate as far as it goes, but in focusing on Edward and Mary Richards as the story's obvious protagonists, and on the other eighteen leading citizens as symbols of the town, it blurs and almost effaces a more central target of the story, the town itself. The story, moreover, is a virtual nest of interrelated hoaxes, rather than a single one, and its final effect is to reveal a breathtakingly bleak glimpse of the full extent of God's damnation as encompassing not just Hadleyburg's leading citizens but of all sentient beings in creation.

"Hadleyburg" stems from one of the most pessimistic periods in Twain's life. He wrote the story while in Vienna in 1899, during which time he witnessed (and reported on) the extreme unruliness of the parliament of the Austria-Hungarian empire, and the widespread and deeply entrenched hatreds, prejudices, and rivalries which surfaced therein and soon brought the empire to a ruinous end. It might not have been in itself sufficient to induce Twain's pessimism, but it certainly contributed to Twain's gloomy meditations over the years about the "damned human race" and its Maker, which convinced him that life was a hoax and that there was no basis for optimistic thinking that moral progress was possible, and indeed was evident in the democracy which appeared to be in the ascendant in the United States.

The story additionally makes hoaxing allusions to three well-known writings. First is the temptation of Eve episode in the book of *Genesis*, when the mysterious stranger Stephenson deposits the sack of bogus coins with Mary Richards, who soon spreads the temptation on to her husband. Second is the famous passage in Milton's *Areopagitica* about not respecting a "cloistered virtue" which has not experienced trials. Third is the opening of the Book of *Job*, which the story parodies. In the story, Hadleyburg may be seen as representing Job, beloved of God for his virtue, and the stranger as representing Satan, but with this difference: both Hadleyburg and the mysterious stranger are deceived at the end.

The story conforms to the pattern of Twain's countertheology, identified in the recent book *Heretical Fictions* (2010), which defines Twain's personal religion as a heretical form of frontier Calvinism. According to it, Twain believed that God was evil toward the human race, endowing it with damnable vices and depriving it by predestination of freedom. In the story, even Satan falls short of the evil of God.

(Panel, page 4)

(lberkove@umich.edu)

Bevington, George. *The Walker School.*

Surviving a Thunderstroke: Reform and Duality in *Following the Equator*.

In the aim of "reform," no doubt Mark Twain would agree that man is indeed badly formed, in dire need of reformation, filled with vices, faults, and evil that completely preclude him of nearly any kind of redemption, despite his most concerted attempts at kindness and altruism. Furthermore, the whole concept of "reforming" man is a herculean task, if not impossible altogether, given man's postlapsarian state. In Twain's *Following the Equator*, Samuel Clemens's travelogue appears to attempt to find some indigenous race or community of people in the far-flung locales, who have achieved harmony and peace in living together. However, his voyage turns out to dispel any myth in the altruism of man, reconfirms his deepest suspicions of the inveterate flaws in the human race, and leaves the reader with at least some satisfaction in the punishment of these myriad culprits. But it is also in the midst of the devastating loss of his daughter Susie that he pens *Following the Equator* and Twain's concept of duality takes root and manifests itself throughout the pages.

Within the subtext of *Following the Equator*, Twain's concept of duality appears as each thought wrestles with his anger at the world and his remorse at his daughter Susie's death. The duality of life for Twain before Susie's death vs. the abject bereavement after her death pervades his every thought.

Because many believe that humans are born "good," it follows that some early and prolonged exposure to greed, fear, selfishness, sloth, lust, and all the other villainies of human nature transform their personalities and readjust their priorities. Because of the unceasing onslaught of people's darker sides, and generations of a vicious, badgering attack of human conscience, these more common human characteristics are hard-wired into the brain, mastered over time, and become the norm. Only a vigilant "reforming" by threat of punishment, ostracism, and destruction keep the human species from annihilating itself. In death, all men are equal despite whatever prosperity they enjoyed in life. Luckily, the Parsi saw beyond this and Twain agrees in remarking that the most valuable possession "*each person is born [with] is his last breath.*" The Thugs and the Indian widow in the *suttee* present a vivid contrast to the reform of man and the duality inherent in human nature.

In conclusion and near the end of his journey, Twain's summation of Benares and the "religious Vesuvius" that it is is that an Indian's worst option might be his best: to be reborn as a donkey, free from the millions of Indian gods that have enslaved him, and the dual fates of Indian heaven and Indian hell. If reform is ever realized, it is long in coming, is suspect in its efficacy, and leaves open the possibility of a relapse. Twain understood this, and completes *Following the Equator* with a deep conviction in the duality of the mankind.

(Panel, page 11)

(georgebevington@gmail.com)

Bird, John. *Winthrop University*.

"At the Farm": A Father's Precious Memories.

In the summer of 1884, as they did for a number of memorable summers, the Clemens family stayed at Quarry Farm with Olivia Langdon Clemens's sister, Susan Crane. In late June and early July, Mark Twain paused from his work of readying *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* for publication by the newly-formed Charles Webster and Company to write a series of short anecdotes about his children and their activities, something he did off and on during the three daughters' younger days. The manuscript, which he titled "At the Farm," is only nine pages long, but it captures some precious and funny memories of his daughters. Albert Bigelow Paine used some of the stories, but not all, in his biography of Mark Twain. To my knowledge, the entire manuscript has not been published. I will read from the manuscript, as well as analyze some of the implications of this short but poignant memoir, highlighting what it reveals about the daughters, especially young Jean, nearly four at the time, and perhaps more importantly what it reveals about Samuel Clemens as a father, fully invested in the domestic life of his young family. Bringing "At the Farm" back to Elmira seems a fitting tribute to a place that exerted an important and seminal influence on Mark Twain, the man and the writer

(Panel, page 4)

(birdj@winthrop.edu)

Bush, Harold K. *Saint Louis University*

"What Is It All For?": Theodicy and "Systemless System" in the New Edition of the *Autobiography* of Mark Twain.

Mark Twain famously described his autobiographical vision to his literary mentor: "Howells was here yesterday afternoon, and I told him the whole scheme of this autobiography and it's apparently systemless system—only apparently systemless, for it is not that. It is a deliberate system. . . . It is a system which follows no charge and course and is not going to follow any such course. It is a system which is a complete and purposed jumble—a course which begins nowhere, follows no specified route, and can never reach an end while I am alive" (441).

Mark Twain's theory of what he called a "systemless system" is striking: systemless, and yet it was still a system, and a "deliberate system" at that. Twain's method for autobiographical writing is profoundly affected by his emerging philosophical and religious tendencies: the conception of human life as (possibly) a random system without center, without purpose, and without meaning; a system dominated by evil and suffering, but with no evident meaning or redemption available from that suffering. Twain's *Autobiography* presents searching questions about the nature of God as well as of belief, and thus it engages what theologians call the problem of theodicy: the struggle to come to terms with the problem of pain, or the problem of evil. If God is a good God, and has unlimited power, then why is there so much pain and suffering in the world? Theodicy is the defense of God in the face of radical evil.

But until now, theodicy is a concept that has rarely been linked with Mark Twain. In effect, the *Autobiography* documents Twain's inability to come up with an answer; he failed, like many intellectuals during that same period, to develop a satisfactory theodicy. Twain's embrace of futility and vanity is reflected in the very form and method of his autobiographical plan: Twain's "systemless system" is reflective of how he came to view the "systemlessness" of the universe, a pointlessness that leads beyond a merely modern sensibility into the postmodern. God's alleged control and benevolence were fictions, he came to believe. And yet: something deliberate also seemed to be at work.

This paper considers what the *Autobiography* reveals about Twain's obsession with theodicy, and particularly how Twain's meditations on evil coalesced around his memories of his oldest daughter Susy and her untimely death in 1896. Often Twain narrates scenes of Susy herself wrestling with issues of evil and theodicy, even as a young girl. As Twain has young Susy ask several times, "What is it all for?" (419). It's not at all surprising that many of the reviewers of the *Autobiography* have noted the particular power in those passages where Twain narrates the death of Susy. What is left unstated is how often Twain's anecdotes about Susy transition into questions about God, reflect his growing rage against pain and evil, and illustrate his inability to construct a meaningful theodicy for the problem.

Twain's *Autobiography* contains many of the most convincing depictions of his grief and suffering. But it also documents Twain's confounding inability to discover a workable theodicy in the face of radical evil, leading him to view the universe through an ever more nihilistic lens. Howells perceived in Twain's dictations a soul naked before God and man, yet "truer than sin." And if Susy represented the questioning voice asking "What is it all for?" the *Autobiography* signifies Mark Twain's raging yet futile attempts to provide an answer.

(Panel, page 17)

(bushhk@slu.edu)

Caron, James E. *University of Hawaii at Manoa.*

The Arc of Mark Twain's Satire, or Tom Sawyer the Moral Snag.

Sam Clemens had the soul of a satirist, which is to say, a comic preacher: "Humor must not professedly teach, and it must not professedly preach, but it must do both if it would live forever." Clemens as the satirist Mark Twain writes parables for his "gospel." The parables are about conscience, community vs. status competition, and temperament. The parable, not the novel, organizes four major narrative fictions, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*, and (the 1916 version of) *The Mysterious Stranger*, and the drive toward terse commentary reaches an apex in the aphorisms of Pudd'nhead Wilson's calendar.

Clemens chose the same setting—a country village—for these major fictions: in effect, the symbolic setting for the gospel according to Mark Twain. Mark Twain's country village fictions re-iterate a basic story that progressively distills its moral: civilization is built with violence, moral viciousness, and self-delusion. Clemens returned compulsively to the country village as a stage to display human behavior, often at its worst, as a synecdoche to dramatize society and hint at human nature, the perennial targets of the satirist. With country village as setting, the basic story employs iterations of the Tom Sawyer character, a figure symbolizing the customs of antebellum Southern society.

When Clemens ended his first solo effort as a novelist, he deliberately chose not to present the bad little boy of the tale, Tom Sawyer, as an adult. Clemens may never have written Tom into a grown-up, but if we conceptualize the satiric arc of his Mark Twain persona as a set of variations on a parable with Tom as the central character type, Clemens does tell the story of Tom Sawyer as an adult, and he recounts it in several avatars: e.g. Colonel Grangerford, Colonel Sherburn, and Judge Driscoll as well as false Tom Driscoll.

The story of Tom Sawyer grown up is the story of antebellum Southern society's idealized centerpiece, the Southern gentleman, gone awry. By the time Clemens finishes his repeated examination of Southern society with *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, the charm that Tom Sawyer demonstrates in his book and replicates in Huck's tale, has vanished.

Tom Sawyer and Tom Driscoll epitomize the slave-culture of their villages: spoiled and indulged, entitled and arrogant. They are the first and last satiric laugh against that culture, with its obsession over honor, glory, prestige, status, and genealogy; they are the twins who show how a specific historical version of an ideal gentleman can be read as a satiric indictment first of civilization and then human nature.

We may say that Tom Sawyer could not become another Tom Driscoll, but cultural training establishes a kinship. We may fear and loathe that kinship rather than Tom Sawyer, but I contend that Tom Driscoll represents one possible trajectory for elaborating the fictional life of Tom Sawyer.

(Panel, page 15)

(caron@hawaii.edu)

Chadwick, Jocelyn. *Harvard University.*

We Never Saw It Coming: The Common Core State Standards, Mark Twain, and the Ensuing Fight.

The state of Mark Twain studies remains strong and vibrant at colleges and universities around the world. However, equally strong and vibrant, real and perceived assaults on Mark Twain studies in high schools in the United States have been underway for the last two years and have gained momentum with the approaching implementation of Common Core State Standards (CCSS). Even MLA created a special session this year to address the necessity for the "professoriate" to think earnestly about collaborating with K-12 teachers regarding Common Core and its implications for both public schools and colleges and universities.

This issue concerns us in that we, more than anyone else, should be able to add cogent and informed discourse to public school teachers and to college and university colleagues. Quite interestingly, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has become a point of literal and symbolic contention and misinformation among both supporters and detractors of the Core. For example,

in the the MLA session, a member of the audience provided misinformation about the Core and “Huck Finn” without any correction because most of the audience was quite unfamiliar with CCSS and believed, until that session, they and their courses were totally unaffected.

This paper will introduce/review the rationale and objectives of CCSS and the ensuing debate surrounding *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* within the Core. In addition, this paper will recommend what we whose life’s work centers on Twain studies must do to address the misinformation to students and colleagues. Panelist Michael Holquist stated to the standing-room only crowd, “The professoriate has been shamelessly detached and indifferent in its working with leaders at the secondary level, and the MLA leadership should take a lead.” Both K-12 and postsecondary education are decidedly in states of transformation. Nothing is as it used to be.

As Twain scholars, we should not only be keenly aware of the present debate and its seriousness, but also we should be at the center of the conversations. We dare not forget nor forsake those English/language arts teachers around the country who rely on us to help them retain Mark Twain in their classrooms.

(Panel, page 8)

(jocelynychadwick@yahoo.com)

Cochran, Debra. *Saint Louis University.*

Imagining Boundaries: Visualizing Space in Twain’s *Following the Equator*.

In 1868 *Putnam’s Magazine* called the post-civil war era “nomadic” and noted that “travelling mania” had hit the United States (Tuckerman 531). That mania is evident in the overwhelming number of travel narratives written during the second half of the 19th century; Mark Twain embedded himself in this milieu. With his first travel narrative published in 1869, *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain positioned himself as a surrogate for Americans wanting to “see” what the world offered and remained connected to this genre for almost 30 years with the publication of his last travel book *Following the Equator*. While often overlooked in Twain scholarship and infrequently read, *Equator* remains an active textual presence mainly through the homespun wisdom of Pudd’nhead Wilson that begins each chapter. But Twain’s last travel narrative offers much to ponder as a transitional piece of writing that crosses both real and imagined boundaries in the evolution of Twain’s identity. Twain’s sense of place and space appears to undergo a transformative act in his last world lecture tour; his awareness of shifting global political dynamics leads to a more methodical, anti-imperialist position. Twain’s later writings are often categorized as “dark,” “pessimistic,” or “bitter”—useful terms for summarily dismissing a work. But an attempt will be made in this paper to situate the text as a transitional work—as both a travel narrative and as a testament to the visual revolution at the end of the 19th century.

Authors such as William Stowe consider travel and writing intimately linked as both a creative and interpretative act. Stowe also contemplates travel in terms of ritual—governed by specific transportation networks, must-see sights, and appropriate touristic responses (Stowe 19). If travel really is ritual, as Stowe suggests—where you move into a particular time and space, where demands on your time from work and home disappear—reintegrating back into society proves problematic for Twain in 1897. *Equator* on several levels seems to resist easy categorization with other travel narratives of the period, or even Twain’s own earlier work.

At the close of the 19th century Americans began a complex renegotiation of how to visualize and position themselves and the world around them. And much like today, some cultural critics voiced dire warnings about the proliferation of “meaningless illustrations” and a “growing aversion to reading” (Ward 10). Twain’s *Equator* offers an excellent window into this cultural shift of time and place. Even though 19th century individuals might not have articulated their world in such terms, the rapid transformation of visual media impacted identity and imagination in unprecedented ways. *Equator*, with its eleven different artists and 193 images, highlights the mash-up of visual practices available at the time, and perhaps reflects Twain’s own confusion and struggle with his role as tourist in a shifting global climate. Examining the book as an artifact of the late 19th century illuminates much about Twain, travel, and the tensions percolating in an emerging global community.

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(Panel, page 16)

(dcochra1@slu.edu)

Davis, Hugh H. Saint Mary's School.

Miles to Go: *The Prince and the Pauper* in Adaptation.

In its 130-year history, *The Prince and the Pauper* has held a legacy of being one of Mark Twain's most-popular works, but it has received less critical attention than many other works in the author's canon. Often dismissed as a children's book (and thus treated as a simplistic tale), *The Prince and the Pauper* is a complex novel offering social and historical commentary. The Tudor tale of doppelgängers and confused identity provides Twain with the opportunity to critique notions of justice and class. The bleak portrayal of the world away from the palace is a harsh and stark view of English life, as Twain crafts a dark novel. That dark reputation has been seemingly lost over the years, a likely result of the popular culture presentation of the narrative. Many adaptations of this novel have been produced, and a survey of them reveals an apparent case of diminishing returns, with successive versions connecting less to Twain's original vision, and the plot being reduced to an outline in which lookalikes switch places and discover some variation of the idea that the grass is not truly greener on the other side. Where more serious versions reveal the social themes of the novel, many adaptations replace the potential for mature commentary with a simplistic comedy of errors.

The adaptations of *The Prince and the Pauper* are a mixed bag. The first major film adaptation, Warner Bros. 1937 production, is a serious take on the novel. Other versions have presented a more mature view on the material, but they are outnumbered by the variety of popular adaptations which appropriate the title and assorted plot points without the themes and issues at the book's core. A review of *The Prince and the Pauper* through its pop cultural transformations shows the popularity of the story (it has provided characters as assorted as Mickey Mouse, the Monkees, and Barbie with story fodder) while also showing the filmmakers' tendencies to reshape Twain's narrative. A key element of the novel is the character of Miles Hendon, the soldier of fortune who becomes Prince Edward's protector while the young royal undergoes his journey to the crown and his journey of discovery about the truth for the life of the commoners. These films may jettison or enhance the character. Throughout the adaptations, Hendon's character and presence vary, and the inclusion and use of Hendon often defines the adaptations and their relationship to Mark Twain's original novel.

(Panel, page 16)

(HughHDavis@gmail.com)

Davis, John H. Chowan University.

Archetypes as Interpreters of War: From Front Line to Home Front in "The Private History of a Campaign that Failed" and "The War Prayer."

Most dramatic and poignant in "The Private History of a Campaign That Failed" (1885) is the killing of a stranger; the climactic and most dramatic moment in "The War Prayer" (1905) is the appearance and speech of a stranger. In both, Mark Twain utilizes archetypes to present universal actions and attitudes concerning war. Embellished with comedy, "History" characters portray types—of soldiers, blustery patriots, those shifting politics with circumstances. Less humorous is the archetype in "Prayer" that, although simple, even clichéd, works on several levels, suggesting other archetypes, each contributing to condemnation of war. These perceptions/perspectives are missing from two otherwise successful film versions of "The War Prayer," one as "Epilogue" to "History," the other biographically contextualized with other works. The former (1981) cleverly merges the stories, and the strangers, stressing their anti-war themes but, differing from what Twain wrote, alters both, the later story radically. His death having turned soldiery antics somber, the man the volunteers shoot in "History" becomes the messenger of "Prayer," seemingly delivering lessons personally learned to a new generation and different war. While offering a dramatic link to warfare, this ghostly reappearance grants identity and personality Twain deliberately avoided in both stories, dimming the anonymity he sought in an Everyman representing victims of all wars. If "an epitome of war... must just be the killing of strangers against whom you feel no personal animosity" ("History" 880), the return of someone familiar, believed dead, negates the concept. Rather than coming "from the Throne—bearing a message from Almighty God!" ("Prayer" 653), he becomes a deceased acquaintance—appealing, dramatically effective, but less believable as Godly Messenger and less generally applicable. *Beneath the Laughter* (1979) contains a version closer to Twain's description, but its stranger is not his fuller archetype. This huge messenger, with burning eyes, severe frown, thin mustache, and narrow beard edging his jawbone, wears a long white gown. The "Epilogue" stranger, dressed like a nineteenth-century farmer, is clean-shaven, inoffensive-looking, eyes wide but intent. Both youngish and dark-haired, each is effective for different reasons; neither fits Twain's description. "Epilogue's" messenger is an Everyman in "History" and a ghost in "Prayer" speaking from his horrid experience, the other a bullet-headed, sharp-featured otherworldly being with an Avenging Angel's mien. Twain's stranger is "aged.... his long body clothed in a robe that reached to his feet, his head bare, his white hair descending in a frothy cataract to his shoulders, his seamy face unnaturally pale... even to ghastliness" (653). Among various authoritative images readers envision are ancient rabbi, wizard (like Merlin,

Gandalf, Shazam), Michelangelo's Moses or Creator-God in "Creation of Adam," "the Wise Old Man," the Old Man on the Hill in the B.C. comic strip. Different interpretations of one recurring figure strengthen the anti-war attack. The ghost of a man killed in one war speaking against other wars is effective, as is a threatening angel clarifying follies of prayer in wartime, but more effective is Twain's attacking war and hypocrisy through a single archetype offering multiple perspectives.

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(Panel, page 10)

(jhdavis@chowan.edu)

Dawidziak, Mark. *Independent Scholar.*

Feat of Clay: Will Vinton's *The Adventures of Mark Twain*.

Being the Story of Mark Twain, Halley's Comet and a 1985 Film Way Ahead of its Time.

Mark Twain assured us that, "The man with a new idea is a crank until the idea succeeds." In the mid-1980s, the man with a new idea was Will Vinton, the innovative filmmaker who coined and trademarked the term Claymation.

Vinton was the Oscar-winning director and producer of short stop-motion animated films. That wasn't the new idea. Stop-motion animation had been around almost as long as filmmaking. Stop-motion (or stop-frame) is that painstaking process where models are moved and photographed frame by frame, creating the illusion of movement. The title character in the 1933 version of *King Kong* was a small model brought to life by stop-motion photography.

Vinton's models were fashioned from clay. Hence the term Claymation. His idea was to make a feature-length film using only this technique.

The result was *The Adventures of Mark Twain*, a daring and imaginative 86-minute film that was acclaimed by many critics but baffled most audiences when it hit movie theaters in 1985. A feature-length animated film meant only one thing to audiences of 1985: kid's stuff. Offbeat, whimsical, and sometimes quite dark, *The Adventures of Mark Twain* wasn't quite Mickey Mouse fare. The target audiences for Vinton and his team were teenagers and young adults. But, much to the frustration of the people who worked on it, *The Adventures of Mark Twain* was marketed as a movie for kids.

Predictably, it didn't make much of a splash in 1985.

Drawing on interviews with Vinton, executive producer Hugh Kennedy Tirrell, and other key members of the film-making team, this paper will detail the project's evolution while exploring how it emerged as one of the very few great movies about Twain or inspired by his writings.

This Vinton gem follows an elderly Twain as he pilots a magical airship toward his destined rendezvous with Halley's Comet. Along for the ride are a frog named Homer and three of the writer's most beloved characters: Tom Sawyer, Becky Thatcher and Huckleberry Finn. Along the way, we are treated to a sly Claymation retelling of "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," as well as excerpts from the diaries of Adam and Eve, "The Chronicle of Young Satan," and *Extracts from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven*.

There is much humor, of course. There are messages of hope. There also is much talk of death and dying. And there are sequences that are downright nightmarish.

Ten years after *The Adventures of Mark Twain*, *Toy Story* would make computer-animated films all the rage. Working without computers, Vinton crafted all the characters and sets from clay. The budget was \$1.5 million. Working in the basement of a house in Portland, Oregon, Vinton and his adventurous crew of 17 people took four years to complete the film.

Despite the tight budget, Vinton and Tirrell managed to snare James Whitmore as the voice of Twain, helping to launch this odd airship and a film way ahead of its time.

(Panel, page 16)

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Dixon, M. Christine Benner. *Drew University.*

The Pain Economy: Mark Twain's Masochistic Understanding of Pain.

We don't know what to do with the darkness in Mark Twain. It is a problem to be solved, a discrepancy to be resolved, an inevitable personal fate to be reckoned with. We work to document the source of Twain's depression—citing family deaths, financial embarrassment, and temperament—or we seek evidence that things weren't as bad as they seem. Despite our best efforts, the dark Mark Twain—bitter towards humanity as a whole, his creativity dulled with pain—haunts the study of his work. I

argue, however, that Mark Twain's pain and his creativity are inextricable. Throughout his career, Mark Twain understood morality, justice, and life itself as an economic exchange of pain for pleasure and pleasure bought through suffering. His diatribes against imperialism, greed, and religious fanaticism condemn those who benefit from the pain of others. In the pain economy, these abusers are overdrawn; they have gained in wealth, honor, and comfort while rarely suffering any of the cost themselves. Mark Twain made it his duty to hold them to account.

Twain's pain-based morality has both sinners and saints. Joan of Arc, Helen Keller, Ulysses S. Grant, and others were, for Twain, paragons of virtue because they suffered without recompense. Meek, humble, and physically afflicted, their private pain—along with the exceeding benefit they provided for others—swelled their stores of moral capital. This kind of virtue, however, makes for a difficult subject. Resigned to their pain, Twain's heroes leave little work for the author.

Through writing, Mark Twain performs the beneficial transformation of pain and exacts payment for unearned pleasure. Cajoling his readers into laughter at another's pain, he then turns upon them with a snapper that stings not a little. Understanding the benefit to be gleaned from in the exchange, he mines his own life for painful experiences. Touched by humor's transformative hand, pain will turn a profit for the author.

This transformation of pain to pleasure is the essential work of the masochist. Viewing Twain's writing within a masochistic framework is enlightening. The process of meaning making through pain occurs at the behest of the masochist, under his or her control, rather than at the hands of a Venus-in-Furs-style sadist. Twain contracts himself with his readers, offering to perform the transformation for us, revealing to us the laws of the universe. It is his gift to us, for to engage with pain is to be alive.

The pain economy would serve Twain as the ultimate heuristic, fundamental to his understanding of God, his work, and his fellow man. Twain's calculations of pain and pleasure permeate his work, from the very beginning to the bitter end. Although he never proved himself a savvy businessman in the financial economy, Mark Twain ended up with a wealth of pain that he could not spend fast enough. I argue that, in the end, Twain's investment in pain paid off.

(Panel, page 17)

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Dooley, Patrick K. *St. Bonaventure University.*

**Mark Twain's Moral Imagination: Conscience as the Mysterious Autocrat
Or, Why Moral Philosophers Need Literature.**

As a teacher of ethics I have long been embarrassed by moral philosophers' fecklessness in providing vivid, forceful and believable illustrations of moral dilemmas. Mark Twain to the rescue! From a philosophical point of view perhaps his strong suit is a compelling depiction of a full range of consciences: a well-formed ones, a faulty ones, and especially nagging ones—"an uneasy conscience is a hair in the mouth."

My paper, first of all, explores Twain's masterful account of Huck Finn's wrestle with the excruciating conflict he confronts between obeying his conscience and responding to his heartfelt loyalty to and sympathy for his friend, Jim. Herein I closely examine chapters 16, 31 and 33 of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

Secondly, in light of Huck's decision to protect Jim, "all right, then, I'll go to hell," I analyze Twain's theoretical and systematic discussion of "moral sense" in "What is Man?" In this section of my remarks I compare Huck's resolve to disobey his conscience with Twain's later view of conscience as a "master passion—the hunger for Self-Approval" . . . that mysterious autocrat, lodged in man, which compels the man to content its desires." My focus here is on how much force Twain invest in the word "compel" in his 1906 treatise on conscience.

Finally, in his masterful depiction of what moral philosophers dub "bad faith," Twain has Huck Finn, accuse himself of weakness, "I warn't man enough—hadn't the spunk of a rabbit." What clues does Twain provide for his readers to understand how Finn did the right thing? What empowers and inspires Huck Finn's better self with the resolve to make his famous end-around a misguided conscience?

(Panel, page 2)

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Driscoll, Kerry. *University of Saint Joseph.*

Mark Twain and "Governor Davey's Proclamation."

Following the *Equator*, Mark Twain's 1897 narrative about his 1895-96 world lecture tour, was published simultaneously in London under the title *More Tramps Abroad*. The differences between the American and British editions extend far beyond their respective titles, however: each contains passages omitted in the other; the maxims headlining each chapter occasion-

ally diverge; and *Equator* comprises only sixty-nine chapters whereas *Tramps* has seventy-two. But the most salient difference between the two editions is the illustrations, which number close to two hundred in *Following the Equator* compared with just three in *More Tramps Abroad*.

My paper examines the three illustrations in *More Tramps Abroad* as a triptych, which I read as a meta-commentary on the power—and limitations—of the written word. The first image (in chapter 3 of both editions) is a facsimile of page from the writer's notebook intended to demonstrate the difficulty of formulating a maxim. The second (in Chapter 17 of *FE* and Chapter 19 of *MTA*) is a tracing of Twain's hand used to explain the relative vastness of the Russian and British Empires. The caption he inscribes beneath the image, "British Empire—the whole hand," tacitly equates the creative output of his pen with imperial power. This illustration also functions as a visual pun—depicting Twain's empty hand, extended palm up in a gesture of expectation, waiting to be filled by the generosity of his colonial audiences.

Although these two images are interesting in their own right, it is the third, entitled "The Governor's Proclamation" (in Chapter 27 of both editions), which constitutes my primary focus. This document, produced in Tasmania in 1829-30, is one of the most iconic images in Australian history. Created soon after the imposition of martial law on the island, the image depicts the colonial government's desire to communicate with its preliterate Aboriginal population. By means of four pictorial panels, the Proclamation Board promised a future of harmonious assimilation between natives and whites in which both would receive equal treatment under the law—a vision schizophrenically at odds with the genocidal warfare then being waged against the Aborigines. As Twain somberly notes in *Following the Equator*, by the time of his November 1895 visit to Tasmania, "the extermination was complete: not a native is left" (*FE* 256).

Curiously, the "Governor's Proclamation" illustration is not identical in the two editions. My paper proposes a hypothesis for this discrepancy, grounded in the circumstances of Twain's brief visit to Hobart where he viewed one of the original boards at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery. The museum's curator, Alexander Morton—an American expatriate raised in New Orleans—gave the writer a private tour of the collection. A scrapbook in the museum's archives contains a previously unknown letter from Twain to Morton expressing thanks for his gift of pamphlets and photos—two of which I believe depicted the Board. My analysis of the illustration will then be related to Twain's discussion of the Proclamation Board and placed within the broader context of his changing attitudes about imperial dominion over "savage" races.

(Panel, page 11)

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Eckman, Michael C. *Independent Scholar.*

Mark Twain and the American Civil War.

It is clear that Mark Twain chose not to fight on either side in the American Civil War. Using James McPherson's book, "For Cause & Comrades," this paper considers the various reasons that soldiers fought in the war and why Mark Twain was apparently not convinced by these reasons. Twain's writings are referenced to develop Twain's thoughts on the American Civil War and Twain's view of the reasons that McPherson lists.

Twain had an opportunity to serve in the war in his profession of a river boat pilot. We know that pilots were hired by both governments to work on the Mississippi but Twain states only that the war prevented him from working in his chosen profession.

"The Private History of a Campaign that Failed" cannot be relied upon as an accurate recount of the young Clemens's activity at the beginning of the war. The tone of the story and some of the details provided in the story imply that the "boys" involved were younger than Twain's actual age at that time. Twain also wrote other accounts of his war service that do not agree with the details in "The Private History." There is also at least one other account of the events by a companion of the young Clemens that differs significantly in some parts from "The Private History."

Roughing It contains what we could assume to be the Twain's actual experiences during the war. In the book, Twain does acknowledge the existence of the war if only in the mention of the Sanitary Commission. The war, however, was a factor in his leaving Nevada for San Francisco. *Life on the Mississippi* also contains some of Twain's comments about and stories of the war and its aftermath. Twain's other writings and some specific subjects about which he did not write during and after the war years give additional insight to his thoughts about the war and the causes for which it was fought. Twain's actions during the Civil War and his writing during the war years and after indicate that Twain and the young Clemens did not identify with "cause or comrades" and was not motivated to participate in the war by family or community. In addition, the war and the reconstruction that followed changed both the South and Twain.

In reviewing Twain's words, we need to remember that, for the most part, Twain wrote about the war with the advantage of hindsight, after the period of Reconstruction, and at a time when the Lost Cause theory had been developed.

(Panel, page 10)

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Effgen, Alex B. *The Editorial Institute at Boston University.*

“Dear Sir:” A Post-Structuralist Impression of Charles F. Browne’s Influence on Mark Twain.

On October 3, 1863, the pre-eminent American humorist Artemus Ward (Charles Farrar Browne, born *Brown*, 1834–1867) sailed from New York on the *North Star* towards Panama. His destinations: the San Francisco stage and Salt Lake City for research. Browne intended to mine the West for all it was humorously worth, and did so, but along the way planted the template for comedic success in a young admirer, Samuel Clemens, the recently pseudonymous Mark Twain.

Using the research of our distinguished predecessors and contemporaries this presentation considers the perspectives of American critics through the lens of French criticism. Artemus Ward arrived in Virginia City for the last thirteen days of 1863, and within two weeks introduced Samuel Clemens to the art of comic oratory through the example of actual profit. In 1967, the French literary critic Roland Barthes proclaimed the death of the author in favor of understanding a literary work as a fabric of potentially endless cultural impressions. But how does the birth of a humorist one century earlier accept or reject the tenets of social influence, as represented by the 20th century French?

When Clemens mailed his final draft of “Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog,” in October 1865, he believed his efforts a contribution to Artemus Ward’s first travel book, observing the geography of the West and culture of the Mormons. Analyzing the succeeding revisions to his immediately popular anecdote shows an attempt to distinguish Mark Twain’s voice from the comic identity of Ward.

This paper will also consider the historical evidence, as presented by the interpreters of both Clemens and Browne. The visual record alone presents a symbiotic relationship developing between the two young men of similar background and surrogate nature. Like the recurring twins of Twain’s fiction, often the differences of Clemens and Browne complemented their similarities. The warp of their literary and rhetorical choices must be contextualized by the weft of their individual cultural impressions if they are to be distinguished.

While the potential collaboration of Mark Twain and Artemus Ward never actualized due to Browne’s death three years after their meeting, Mark Twain’s reception in Transatlantic circles both flourished and suffered from Ward’s earlier success. At various points in his career, Samuel Clemens explored his debts to Ward, especially later in life when debt was all Clemens could afford. In the course of his financial bankruptcy during the 1890s, when his pseudonym was his sole asset, Samuel Clemens wrote articles for the periodical market he could then package in anthologies, and republish as authorized texts. Essays like “How to Tell a Story” allow Clemens the chance to revisit the past, and revise transgressions to his influences when necessary.

Mark Twain believed all trivial Americans go to Paris when they die (Notebook #18, February–September 1879). But we *all* must go to Paris to understand the birth of an American icon.

(Panel, page 15)

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

“They was all Moslems”: Islam in Mark Twain’s *Tom Sawyer Abroad*.

If one enters into a search engine the terms “Mark Twain” and “Islam,” the result will almost surely be a group of quotations from *The Innocents Abroad* (1869)—quotations presenting a largely negative view of Islam and its adherents as Twain saw them in the Islamic countries he visited two years before. The intent of this paper is to explore a text from twenty-five years later, one in which Islam appears in a somewhat more favorable light.

In the opening chapter of *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894), Tom Sawyer, seeking further adventures, proposes a crusade to take the Holy Land from the Muslims, going so far as to declare it “our duty” to do so. Huck cannot understand how it can be considered “religious” to take land away from those who own it, though Tom informs him that he should not “try to reason out a thing that’s pure theology by the laws that protects real estate.” Jim asks how they can kill people they do not know, strangers who have done them no harm. Tom reluctantly abandons his scheme.

Later in the novel Tom, Huck, and Jim, having traveled across the Atlantic Ocean by balloon, find themselves journeying across North Africa, encountering in the Sahara Desert several Muslim caravans. The men of one caravan fire at them, but when horsemen attack the caravan, they intervene and Jim restores a stolen baby to its mother.

Another caravan interests the “Erronorts” much more; they follow them for some time and develop a remarkable amount of good feeling toward them. As a sign of their affection they begin calling the caravan members by invented American names, even using nicknames. From their high perch the American visitors experience all the joys and sorrows of the caravan, including a wedding and a funeral. The aerial observers note their religious customs too, with Huck describing their prayer ritual. So moved is Jim that he expresses the hope of seeing them “in another world”—this despite the fact that they are not Christians.

Eventually the travelers reach Egypt, where Huck describes its mosques and even mentions the study of the Koran. He is able to observe and admire the whirling dervishes, though Tom reminds him that “They was all Moslems.” Later a young Muslim offers to accompany the three as a guide to the Islamic cities of Mecca and Medina and even to central Africa. Mark Twain, however, brings the novel to an abrupt conclusion, with Tom, Huck, and Jim returning to Missouri.

Twain’s point can hardly be a plea for readers to be more tolerant of Muslims encountered in the grocery, the bank, or the classroom. The average American of the 1890s would never have met a Muslim or known anyone who had. In contrast with *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain here seems to urge toleration of the world’s Muslims and to suggest that in some respects they are not so different from American Christians, a point Jim makes in the first chapter: “...maybe dey’s jist like yuther people...don’t you reckon dey is?”

(Panel, page 15)

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Eutsey, Dwayne. *Independent Scholar*.

Devil-Lore and Avatars: Moncure Conway’s Influence on Mark Twain’s Religion.

Much has been written about Joseph Twichell, Mark Twain’s close friend and pastor, and justifiably so. As Leah Strong, Steve Courtney, and others have detailed, the liberal-minded Congregationalist minister had a significant impact on the personal, literary, and spiritual dimensions of the humorist’s life.

Often glossed over in Twain studies, however, is another friendship he had with a radical Unitarian minister named Moncure Conway. Apart from noting his role as Twain’s literary representative in England and other passing anecdotes, Conway receives scant attention from most Twain scholars. Twichell’s entry in Rasmussen’s *Mark Twain: A-Z*, for example, is three pages long, where Conway’s is only a paragraph.

This oversight is odd considering that Conway was a leading man of letters in his own time and is recognized even today for his groundbreaking scholarship on comparative religion and Eastern philosophies. Historian John d’Entremont goes so far as to describe him as “the most thoroughgoing white male radical produced by the antebellum South.”

Twain, whose friendship with Conway lasted from 1872 to 1907 when Conway died, shared much in common with the stridently unorthodox minister. Both were abolitionists from slave-owning families in the South; both admired Emerson (who was Conway’s mentor at Harvard), Artemus Ward (at whose funeral Conway officiated) and Thomas Paine (whose exhaustive biography Conway wrote); both suffered the unexpected losses of children; both lived abroad for lengthy periods of time; and both, most importantly, were deeply influenced by the prevailing liberal religious ethos of their day.

My presentation will begin on the evening in December 1875 when Twichell and Conway met in Twain’s home. While the meeting was cordial, Twichell confessed privately in his journal that he “did not find Mr. Conway agreeable. Perhaps though it was on account of my prejudice against him as the representative of religious doctrines which I disapprove.”

Through a brief biography of Conway, I will identify these religious doctrines that Twichell possibly found objectionable (specifically, Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, Orientalism, and Conway’s affiliation with the Free Religious Association). I will then examine the similarities I find between Conway’s theological development and Twain’s own ever-evolving and expanding religious beliefs.

I will also examine a few representative sermons of Conway’s along with some of his publications and draw thematic connections I find between them and *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*.

My specific focus, however, will be on Conway’s interest in Hindu Vedanta and how it may have influenced Twain’s religious views late in life and in *No. 44*. After establishing Conway’s connections with leading proponents of Vedanta (Orientalist Max Muller—whose book on India Twain read—and Swami Vivekananda, who spoke at Conway’s Ethical Society in London during a lecture tour that helped to popularize Vedanta in the West), I will examine Conway’s sermons containing Vedantic notions of divine avatars that I believe may shed new light on our understanding the identity of the enigmatic Forty-Four who left August (and perhaps Twain and many of his readers) so appalled at what he revealed.

(Panel, page 18)

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Fishkin, Shelley Fisher. *Stanford University*.

“Originally of Missouri....Now of the Universe”—Mark Twain and the World.

In 1908, William Dean Howells introduced Twain in a speech as “Mark Twain, originally of Missouri, but then of Hartford, and now ultimately of the solar system, not to say the universe.” How did a child reared in a provincial Western town come to think of himself—and come to be thought of by others—not as a citizen not of Missouri, or Connecticut or even of the

U.S., but of the world? Twain saw more of the world than any other American writer of his era—and the world saw more of him, as well—both in print, and in person. What did Twain learn from his world travels and how did they shape his writing? And what did the world learn from him—both during his lifetime and in the century since his death, a century during which his work has been translated into virtually every language in which books are printed? How did his works come to be embraced with such affection by readers who read them in scores of languages (and often in bizarre translations) on six continents? And what did some of those readers appreciate decades before his countrymen did? These questions will be the focus of my paper.

“Travel is fatal to bigotry, prejudice, and narrow-mindedness and many of our people need it sorely on that account,” Twain wrote in *Innocents Abroad*. “Broad, wholesome, charitable views of men and things cannot be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the earth all one’s lifetime.” This paper will explore how Twain’s travels increasingly enlarged his perspective, his compassion and his empathy. It will probe the ways in which his attitudes towards his own nation changed as a result of his travels, and how his work models for his fellow Americans a vision of global citizenship that Twain came to embrace increasingly himself. It will explore the question of how his travels helped set in motion an intellectual odyssey that ultimately leaned towards a sense of kinship with nonhuman as well as human animals.

This paper will explore what Twain learned from his travels over a nearly forty-year period, ranging from his first travel book, published in 1869, to his last—a book which is never viewed as a travel book, but probably should be: *Extract from Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven* (1907). At a time when the word “planetarity” is increasingly invoked by scholars endeavoring to forge new theories of transnational American Studies, Twain’s highly imaginative fantasy of 20th-century interplanetary travel deserves a new look. How does Twain’s body of writing on travel look different if we view *Captain Stormfield* as the culmination of his achievement in this arena?

After examining the ways in which Twain’s own travels changed his mental map and his work, I will briefly explore how attending to the ways in which his texts travelled can enhance our appreciation of his achievement as a writer. Writers and critics around the world have been writing about Mark Twain for at least 138 years in languages other than English, but this body of work has been largely invisible to U.S.-based critics. I will give one example (among many that I would give if I had more time) of how English-speaking Twain scholars have paid a price for this neglect: I will compare the Twain that Chinese and Russian readers got to know during the Cold War, with the Twain that was celebrated in his own country during this period. What did Chinese and Russian critics understand at mid-century that most U.S. critics began to pay attention to only decades later?

Whether researching my Presidential Address for the 2004 American Studies Association Annual Meeting, entitled “Crossroads of Cultures: The Transnational Turn in American Studies” (published in *American Quarterly* in 2005), or co-founding the *Journal of Transnational American Studies* in 2009 (a global, peer-reviewed, online, open-access journal), I have found my research agenda increasingly centered on transnational American Studies. Far from taking me away from Mark Twain Studies, my interest in transnational American Studies has deepened my appreciation for Mark Twain. This paper will explore what Twain can teach us about becoming global citizens and what transnational research can teach us about Mark Twain.

(Panel, page 15)

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Fredericks, Sarah. *University of Arizona.*

The Profane Twain: A Brief Examination of Mark Twain’s Literary Cursing.

“If I cannot swear in heaven,” Mark Twain once said, “I shall not stay there.” Profanity was a pervasive component of Twain’s life and literary persona. When he sought to distinguish himself from the New England literati, he relied on his rough-and-tumble rebellious identity in which swearing and smoking played a large role. Frequently employing profanity, he seldom gave a speech or met a celebrity without using or alluding to his colorful language, and he was widely acknowledged as a master of the art. Swearing provided both the sonorous aesthetics of poetry and an explosive emotional release, satisfying his ear for the lyrical and soothing his mercurial temperament.

Given Twain’s propensity for profanity, it is not surprising that references to swearing suffuse his writing. In his fiction and travel narratives, several of Twain’s narrators are proficient in cursing or remark admiringly about the profanity of others. The disreputable plebian who forces an unwilling narrator (and amusingly, the audience as well) to hear an absurd and often profane tale is one of his most common literary devices. Also fond of a literary structure in which a rambling tale ended with profanity as the punch line, Twain reveled in the idea of an innocent either speaking or being forced to hear profanity. A few of his sketches revolve around the use and utility of profanity, and where he could construct such witticisms, he was delighted to include puns on profane words. Profanity frequently provided a refreshing humor that few canonical authors of the time were willing to attempt.

If a swear word was needed for the efficacy of a sketch, Twain seemed unafraid to include it, saying that if he chose the “language of the vulgar, the low-flung and sinful,” no editor should strike out such words in an attempt to save him from

the “consequences” of such language. In addition to its humorous qualities, uncouth language allowed Twain to descend from the writer’s moral pedestal and accurately depict both human nature and speech patterns while challenging the pretensions of social and moral posturing common in literature. His most profane speakers were often paradoxically the most “good-hearted,” and Twain seemed to share their unabashed attitude towards swearing.

Yet despite his emblazoned defense of his salty language, Twain constantly grappled with the implications such words might have on his literary reputation, trying to balance his high aspirations and his “low-down” tastes. Longing to be accepted but unable or unwilling to divest himself of the persona that defined both him and his works, he struggled over the use of profanity in his texts, sometimes boldly penning four-letter words, sometimes stringently self-censoring. When choosing to use profanity, he walked a fine line between language that would improve a sketch and language that would offend readers and alienate his adoring public. Swinging from euphemisms and politely dashed-out expletives to stark, repeated, and occasionally vituperative profanity, Twain’s writings reveal the tension between the complex facets of the inner man, the writer, and the public figure.

(Panel, page 12)

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Ghiglione, Loren. *Northwestern University.*

Traveling with Twain in Search of America’s Identity.

If psychologist Erik Erikson had probed Sam Clemens’ brain he might have concluded that Clemens’ life, from seventeen-year-old to septuagenarian, illustrated Erikson’s theory about lifecycle identity, from adolescent to ancient geezer. At age seventeen, the racist/nativist Clemens, having absorbed the backcountry biases of white Missouri, traveled east to New York and dismissed the city’s population as “Niggers, mulattoes, quadroons, Chinese” and other deleterious life forms. Clemens was lightin’ out for New York at an age, in Erickson’s words, when “devoted conformism” alternated with “devoted deviancy”—with a rebellious desire to “test extremes,” to express “delinquent” views, and with a “craving for locomotion” to explore the “promise of finding oneself.”

At the other end of his lifecycle, Clemens jokingly warned, as he approached three score and ten, my age in 2011, that seventy is “the Scriptural statute of limitations.” The end. His comment reminded me of a line from sociologist S. N. Eisenstadt’s study of youth: A youth becomes an adult who “either develops naturally into an old man—or decays into one.”

As a 70-year-old who still taught the young at Northwestern University, I decided in 2011 to drive, with two Northwestern journalism students, on a three-month, 14,063-mile odyssey titled “Traveling with Twain in Search of America’s Identity.”

We followed Mark Twain’s path as a young man in the 1850s and 1860s, east to New York, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., south along the Mississippi to New Orleans, north to Keokuk, Iowa, and then west to the Pacific Coast. We interviewed 125 Americans in 28 states about hot-button identity issues, not only race, which dominated in Twain’s time, but also sexual orientation and immigration, especially attitudes toward Muslims and Mexicans, legal and illegal.

The trip, I hoped, would offer, too, an opportunity to address the issues of the human lifecycle, youth to old age, of not only Mark Twain but also of those of us traveling America, Alyssa Karas, 21, a funny, feisty Pittsburgh native who, Red Bull in hand, volunteered for the tough night drives, and Dan Tham, 20, a gay Vietnamese-American who grew up in Salt Lake City, home to the Mormon Church that helped pass California’s Proposition 8, which eliminated the right of same-sex couples to marry.

My presentation will focus on our—and Twain’s—visits to such Western sites as Angel Island, Salt Lake City, San Francisco and Unionville, Nevada, where we celebrated Tham’s 21st birthday, honoring Twain’s advice in the extreme “to never refuse to take a drink—under any circumstances.”

(Panel, page 5)

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Gribben, Alan. *Auburn University at Montgomery.*

The Price of Fighting Censorship: Mark Twain Editions Today.

A national controversy in 2011 surrounding the NewSouth Edition of Mark Twain’s two best-known novels provided an instructive example of the capability of the print and electronic media to sensationalize and demonize a designated target—in this case a defensible alternative for integrated public schools where racial slurs, even those employed ironically, are no longer tolerated. The media portrayed this optional edition—which explicitly substituted “slave” for the n-word—as the desecration of a national literary monument. That provocative strategy ignited a three-month-long outcry of deliberate falsehoods, impulsive

blogs, and anonymous and vicious emails. The media additionally managed to achieve a rare feat: the uniting of the political left and right, with the right seeing it as knuckling under to political correctness whereas the left viewed the word “slave” as covering up American racism.

What was the reality behind this firestorm? It is indisputable that two of Mark Twain’s most famous literary works are gradually being dropped from the reading lists in many public schools owing to their racially derogatory language. Determined to return these valuable novels to the classrooms, Dr. Alan Gribben prepared editions of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* designed to overcome these de facto bans—but then found himself (rather than the school districts) accused of practicing “censorship.” After *Publishers Weekly* gave advance notice in January 2011 about the forthcoming edition, radio and television talk shows along with newspaper editorials and magazine articles heatedly condemned his effort. Numerous leading Twain editors and scholars, interviewed by the press, joined the chorus of denunciation. Online petitions and telephone calls to the publisher demanded that the book’s publication be halted. Dr. Gribben received nearly 1,200 emails, the majority of them anonymous, insulting, and sometimes vaguely threatening. Most of these uninformed objectors assumed that, once NewSouth Books released this edition, no other version of would ever again be obtainable. However, after a “60 Minutes” program aired on March 20th with its balanced perspective on the problem, the emails to Dr. Gribben became civil in tone. Those “60 Minutes” interviews with African American students in a Minnesota high school had the effect of silencing the most ardent critics.

The media steadfastly ignored the fact that the completed series made available a total of six different formats from which teachers, students, and readers could choose. Two volumes combine Twain’s two novels, either with or without the racial slurs; two other volumes present separate versions of *Tom Sawyer*, with or without the racial epithets; and two separate versions offer *Huckleberry Finn* either with the n-word or with “slave” substituted. All feature identical pagination to facilitate classroom discussions.

(Panel, page 8)

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Hamamoto, Ryuzo. Tokushima Bunri University.

The Storage of “National” Narratives: A Hypothesis about the *Autobiography of Mark Twain*.

The public response to the publication of *Autobiography of Mark Twain* has been greater than anyone could have predicted. In fact, the book placed third on the “Barnes and Noble Top 10 Bestsellers of 2010.” We need to make sure that the public acknowledges this literary piece not as a primary source for Mark Twain studies, but rather as a storing of the nineteenth century’s narratives as recorded in Mark Twain’s memory.

In his later years, Twain was primarily concerned on how to leave a record of his memories because he faced the difficulties of how to verbalize his pre-linguistic memory. Clemens became interested in Thomas Edison’s phonograph and in “3,000 Years Among the Microbes” he envisions a new piece of equipment capable of recording people’s thoughts. As a result, he discovered his “final plan” in autobiographical dictation, which was explained as a narrative stream flowing over the narrator’s consciousness; always loyal to “the law of narrative, which has no law.” In other words, an unconscious chain of memories took the initiative of his oration, and Clemens’s autobiographical and subjective consciousness only need to follow the path of this unconsciousness. This idea is reminiscent of Walter Benjamin’s case study on Marcel Proust’s “memoire involontaire” in *In Search of Lost Time* (1913-27). *Autobiography of Mark Twain* is a mosaic of the verbalization of Clemens’s pre-linguistic memories.

To the contemporary reader, this volume must also be viewed as an entire representation of public memories rather than Mark Twain’s personal biography. Readers can enjoy the text not only by asking themselves questions beginning with “who,” but also by making questions using other interrogatives. For example, “how” did he relate with the historical notables, “what” did Clemens believe in, or “where” did Clemens love to visit, and so on.

It is clear that the different social faces of Clemens are similar to the private and personal experience of each reader. Besides, the side stories and characters, which are varied from the East establishment to the Western mining camps, from prominent figures like Helen Keller, Tchaikovsky, and Lewis Carroll to the nameless figures appearing in Twain’s self-made success story, must be intriguing to every reader.

Thus, *Autobiography of Mark Twain* is a kind of storage that allows readers to find fragments of their own individual roots and to compose their own personal identity by knitting together the fragments of Mark Twain’s memory into an individual tapestry.

(Panel, page 8)

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Hamann, Erika. *Medaille College.*

**Man, Animal, God, and Satan: An Exploration of Evolution, Religion and Human Nature in Mark Twain's
Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts.**

Mark Twain's *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts were the pieces, excerpts and nearly completed versions of a novel on which he was working during the last ten years of his life. He left three versions, all of which portrayed Twain's views on religion, science and the state of man through the eyes of a boy-angel called Satan or No.44, depending on the manuscript. The existing versions, "Eseldorf", "Hannibal", and "Print Shop", though very different in content, have the connecting thread of observing, examining and sometimes mocking the theories of both religion and science and man's place within both institutions. Beneath the mockery however, is the serious notion that God and Satan are not extrinsic to man's existence, but are intrinsic to the very nature of man himself, making man the ultimate creative force. It is not a transcendent god or the random hand of biology that determines humankind's fate, but the creative thought of man himself that establishes human destiny.

In the *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts, Mark Twain observes, analyzes, and often inverts 19th century perceptions. In this unfinished work, Mark Twain explores how Christianity functioned in society, often as a corrupt force far removed from its founding ideals. Through his characters, Twain examines the faults of Christian institutions, exposing the inconsistencies in Christian ideology and the conflicting concepts of both God and Satan. The manuscripts in fact promote a Satan that is more laudable than the Christian god. Twain also inverts the Darwinian concept of ascending human evolution, referring to the animals as the "Higher Animals", demoting man because of his possession of the Moral Sense. It could be argued that whether from a divine hand or the process of evolution, man's awareness of good and evil is what places him low on the morality scale. Lastly, Twain surveys humanity's part in all this. For Twain, man as prime mover is solely responsible for the chaos, corruption and misery rampant in the world.

In *The Mysterious Stranger*, Twain portrays a human history that is in conflict with the Darwinian idea of human biological and social advancement. Social Darwinists depicted humanity as a species that is in a state of continuous advancement. Christianity describes humanity as fallen from a state of grace, which can be regained through piousness and devotion to Christian principles. Twain's portrayal of human history is one in which man's cultural progression is essentially stagnant or backward in comparison to his biology and religion. In this paper, I will examine the *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts as Mark Twain's attempt to reconcile the nature of the divine and of man. I will also explore Twain's seeming refutation of man as the apex of creation. I will speculate on the implications of both religious and scientific thought as being the disturbed dreams born of a confused human mind. In these last works, it may seem that Mark Twain was a misanthrope, expounding a hatred for mankind and all of his conventions. He writes of human society as a progression of brutality hidden under a veneer of civilization. However, the works are an exploration of man's existence and offer Mark Twain's last, best hope for humanity. It is in these manuscripts that Twain writes most freely. I hope to show that Mark Twain's awareness of the religious and scientific thought of his day enhanced his unique, though misunderstood, assessment of the human condition.

(Panel, page 18)

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Harrington, Paula. *Colby College.*

Marking Twain in France.

Mark Twain had an antipathy for the French that began with his first trip to France in 1867 and grew more vituperative over time. So how do the French translate, read, and teach Twain's work? And how does Twain's view of "French" connect to his portrayal of "American"? This paper will explore those questions in a report on a project Paula Harrington conducted as a Fulbright Scholar in Paris from January to June 2013.

It is worth noting that the Franco-American Commission, which collaborates with the Fulbright Commission in the selection of scholars, chose this project, because it demonstrates the cultural interest in Twain within France. Harrington's project also drew interest from professors and scholars of American literature throughout France, who invited her as a guest lecturer to speak about Twain's work and its translation. During her stay, she gave presentations to students, faculty, and administrators at CELSA/Sorbonne School of Journalism, the Center for Francophone and Anglophone Cultural Research at University of Paris XIII, and the universities of Lille, Lyon, and Angers. She interviewed translators, cultural critics, and educators such as Bernard Hoepffner, the foremost French translator of Twain whose recent work includes successful editions of *Huckleberry Finn*, *Tom Sawyer*, and the *Autobiography*, and Daniel Royot, the noted French scholar of American humor and culture. She gathered information from student questionnaires and informal interviews of French people she encountered. She also researched French editions of Twain's work.

Her paper will present some surprising findings and discuss her wide-ranging experiences. It will cover two broad aspects, one scholarly and one popular: translation/curriculum and cultural explorations. The translation/curriculum piece will present data on when French students typically read Twain, what works they most often read, and their overall knowledge and image of Twain. She will explore how works by Twain might be introduced into more French universities and high schools, as well as how Twain's dislike of the French might, ironically, become a catalyst for greater French academic interest. The cultural explorations component will describe popularizations of Twain that have given the French a skewed view of his work, in particular the hugely popular TV show, *Tom Sawyer (L'Amerique)*. Harrington will also discuss her conversations about Twain with bankers, hotel public relations staff, colleagues, friends, and people she met on the street. Finally, she will examine what she discovered as she followed Twain's footsteps in Paris for her blog, *Marking Twain in Paris* (paulacharrington.blogspot.com), and advance the beginnings of an extended analysis of how Twain used "French" stereotypes to construct an "American" identity at a historical moment when the U.S. was stepping onto the world stage as an imperialist and industrialist power.

(Panel, Page 17) (pcharrin@colby.edu)

Harris, Susan K. *University of Kansas.*

Savage or Civilized?: Rethinking Race in *Following the Equator*.

I will discuss Twain's struggle with the concepts "savagery" and "civilization" in the process of writing *Following the Equator*. Mark Twain approached new cultures from the viewpoint of an upper-class Anglo-Saxon, a bias it would have been difficult for him to avoid. Although he read as many authoritative works as he could—before, during, and after his trip around the world—most of his authorities tended to be white legatees of the British Empire, whose writings justified British rule of indigenous peoples even when, as did some of his missionary sources, they protested the genocidal methods frequently used to "civilize" native peoples.

However Clemens did observe, intently and astutely, making copious notes. In the process, he managed to expand his own understanding of what constituted "civilization," and which kinds of people were fit to call themselves "civilized."

In this presentation, I will focus on Twain's use of the words "savage" and "civilization." Over his lifetime, he uses both in a variety of ways, but most often he used "savage" to describe dark-skinned peoples with little perceptible social organization, nasty eating habits, scanty clothing, poor hygiene, and inherent viciousness. Like his contemporaries, he assumed that savage groups were isolated, the flip side of urban, technological, modernity. "Civilized" peoples were everything "savages" were not. Most importantly, civilized peoples were white, and Christian.

This profile breaks down in *Following the Equator*, first when Twain admires art objects produced by "savage" Australian aborigines and New Zealand Maoris; then during his intense study of the complexions, bearing, and clothing of "savage" brown and black bodies, and finally in his attempt to understand India, a culture that challenged him to rethink his authorities and re-examine his assumptions. At first overwhelmed by India's complexities, once Twain's research instincts kicked in he focused on a few issues, in the hopes, I suspect, that if he figured out how one segment of the nation lived, he would understand how the rest of the culture functioned. And so in India he focused on the history of the Thugs (systematic murderers who had terrorized the countryside); religion in its various manifestations; the effects of British rule; and the personalities of his body-servants, who were perhaps his closest contact with a common Indian. His investigations brought him no closer to understanding "India," but he learned a great deal nevertheless. Most importantly, he had to acknowledge that despite his discomfort with many of its practices, India was a great civilization. This shift in his conceptual framework paved the way for his later attacks on "savage" practices employed by his own "civilization": imperialism, vivisection, lynching—and for his increasing enthusiasm for new immigrants to the U.S., who were already beginning to change the definition of "western civilization" as he had known it.

(Panel, page 11)

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Hellwig, Harold. *Idaho State University.*

"Innocence at Home": Stormfield, Quarry Farm, and Mark Twain's *Amanuensis* of Time.

The central focus of home, family, and place can be explored through travel phenomenological structures in order to see how the Clemens family, Quarry Farm, and Stormfield interact.

Quarry Farm provides Twain a way to retrieve his past safely, the sense of the place giving him the safety to write with a successful strategy for nearly twenty years. After the deaths of Susy (1896) and Livy (1904), he makes one last attempt at finding a place that will serve to be a home for him, first called the "Autobiography House," "Innocence at Home," and finally, "Stormfield," the final home in 1908 where Jean dies just four months before his own death in 1910.

Four points are clear. One, the idealized landscape of Quarry Farm, with its separate areas for living, sleeping, playing, and writing, provides a restful and secure place for the simultaneous acts of vacationing and working. While the family enjoys the solitude of the area—without the busyness of Hartford—Twain can also play, though even he calls it work. Two, the study, the tent structure, and Ellerslie Cottage can recall some of the memories of other locations, such as Virginia City or even the Mississippi (with the Chemung River in the distance in Elmira). These memories connect Twain with his past, which allow him to idealize and to isolate these memories as complete fabrications. Three, while these areas are memory-bound, Twain is “free” from the constraints of his business as a lecturer, social icon, and established writer. And four, the family is safe from the outside world, able to indulge in home-based fantasies (the girls have created a play kitchen, for example).

Stormfield burned to the ground in 1923, but photographs show Italianate architectural features, and suggest a kind of mausoleum, an American Taj Mahal. Twain populated that home not with members of his family, but with visitors, with the young girls of his Angelfish Club, and with other visitors who could remind him of his past. The Clemens family never really had a place in this last house.

As Kiskis suggested in the *Cosmopolitan Twain*, travel informs Twain’s writing life at Quarry Farm, and this presentation will continue that conversation about the necessity of travel, the centrality of domestic virtues (what the “family” means) within the core of Twain’s writing, the nostalgia of returning home from the travel that was required to write productively, and the mental landscapes that formed the definition of “home” in two places, Quarry Farm and Stormfield.

(Panel, page 19)

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Howe, Lawrence. *Roosevelt University.*

Language & Property in *Connecticut Yankee*; or, What’s the Use of “Usufruct”?

In *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*, Hank Morgan criticizes Sandy’s storytelling as “too archaic,” lacking the vitality that would come from a richer vocabulary. Commenting on her repetitive description of combatants who “come together at great random,” he complains: “random is a good word, and so is exegesis, for that matter, and so is holocaust, and defalcation and usufruct and a hundred others, but land! A body ought to discriminate” (180). Among this list, only “usufruct” appears again in the text, and only once, during Morgan’s examination of candidates for a commission in the army. Seeking to disqualify a nobleman for his complete lack of understanding of mathematics, he presents the candidate with a word problem about the value of onions, sheep, and a dog owned by various parties, concluding with a demand for an explanation of “earned increment, that is to say, usufruct” (323).

While we might not pay much attention to a single word used twice in a novel of 123,728 words, I contend that Twain’s decision to deploy “usufruct” is no idle bit of wordplay. Rather, this legal term, referring to the right of temporary possession of another’s property in order to obtain advantages from that property, has a functional purpose within this particular narrative, within debates about property and politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and within Twain’s lifelong interest in property of various kinds.

I will show, first, that Morgan’s dismissal of the word reflects contemporaneous politics, stemming from Samuel Tilden’s use of the term, for which he was subsequently ridiculed, and repeatedly by the political cartoonist Thomas Nast, who hung the derisive sobriquet “Old Usufruct” on the 1876 Democratic presidential contender. But as with so many topics that Twain takes up, the matter is not narrowly confined to a satire of the moment. The term has a longer history within American legal philosophy about property, and in his assumption of control over the resources of King Arthur’s kingdom, Morgan represents its currency.

Most importantly, I will show how Morgan’s anachronistic version of Manifest Destiny connects ironically with Twain’s own concern about property rights, especially his own copyrights, which he contended were frequently violated by literary pirates. He went to considerable lengths to thwart publishers who, in his view, claimed his property for their own advantage—in effect, a form of usufruct. *Connecticut Yankee* provides an opportunity to gauge Twain’s thinking about property rights in all forms, rights that he understood as effected by and in language, and thereby subject to the manipulation and slippage that an imperfect system of communication entails. Thus, my analysis will attempt to show the kind of dividend that can be earned from close attention to the language through which Twain signaled his concerns about language and the literary property he created out of language.

(Panel, page 2)

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Hughes, Jennifer. *Young Harris College*.

Undoubted Lies and Disbelieved Truths: Mark Twain and the Post-Race Humor of Percival Everett's *Erasure*.

The satirical, humane, and elegantly-crafted writings of Percival Everett are frequently reviewed with flattering comparisons to Mark Twain, but with the epigraph to his 2001 novel *Erasure*, Everett seems to invite the comparison himself. He quotes Mark Twain's *Following the Equator*—"I could never tell a lie that anybody would doubt, nor a truth that anybody would believe." In this paper, I will explore the legacy from Twain's art that Percival Everett has embraced and developed with tremendous success within what we might call "post-race" humor: a disorienting comic mode that allows the author to confront readers hell-bent upon believing unbelievable falsehoods and trusting egregious lies, particularly the falsehoods and truths of race.

Discussing the myth of race, Percival Everett asserts that "the whole notion that you can write about any one people is not only obscene, it's absurd." Everett's wording—"obscene," "absurd"—suggests that he feels that his artistic response to race relations in the United States must strike the chords of both indignation and laughter, with laughter being most urgent. His work addresses an American culture that celebrates, purchases, and consumes art which pretends to represent such chimera as the black experience—particularly if that experience focuses upon poverty, abuse, and non-standard English. I label Everett's novels "post-race" not to suggest that his writing avoids myths of race, but rather to acknowledge that one of the central features of his art is to mock the myth, and to mock the effort of trying to represent black experiences (or any other group's various experiences) with a single narrative.

In this paper, I argue that *Erasure* addresses the issue of performing identity in the twenty-first century United States by referring to Mark Twain, the consummate myth-maker who creates mind-boggling satirical "vertigo," as Bruce Michelson puts it in *Mark Twain on the Loose*. Tracing how Everett models Twain's satiric craft in *Erasure*, I contend that this model (stemming particularly from his disorienting frame narratives and unapologetic tall tales) helps readers laugh productively as his protagonist struggles not with being black, but with not being "black enough." I will dwell upon Everett's hilarious depictions of the truths and lies of race in *Erasure*, such as the protagonist Thelonious "Monk" Ellison's decision in *Erasure* to sell the his literary travesty *My Pafology* (later to be retitled *Fuck*) for millions of dollars, as well as the devastating fallout of such decisions. Ultimately, I contend that Everett's literary goal is to encourage readers to rethink the righteous consumption of race literature, and to question the dominant cultures obsession with "authenticity" over elegant craft. Mark Twain helps him do just that. (Panel, page 3) (jhughe3@gmail.com)

Igawa, Masago. *Tohoku University*.

Mark Twain and "the knights of the tiller": The Influence of the American Labor Movement of the 1880s.

In chapter fifteen of *Life on the Mississippi* Mark Twain used the unusual phrase "the knights of the tiller" (178) to describe a group of river pilots who, before the Civil War, organized a pilots' union in response to their declining wages. The meaning of the "tiller" in the phrase is not "a plow," but "a lever used to turn a rudder and steer a boat." This is the only time Twain uses the phrase "the knights of the tiller," so why choose this unusual wording? Readers of his time might well have been made uneasy, because they were likely to associate the phrase with the name of the Knights of Labor. By its insertion Twain implies the pilots had some affiliation with that organization. Moreover Twain seemed to suggest that he had an interest in the Knights of Labor. In fact he expressed many of his views on workers, their wages, and labor unions in writings such as "The New Dynasty," *A Connecticut Yankee*, *The American Claimant*, and No. 44, *the Mysterious Stranger*. I would like to follow the influence of the American labor movement of the 1880's upon Twain and his writings.

Even in an earlier form of the piece, "Old Times on the Mississippi" which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Twain was already using both this phrase and the same detailed description of the pilots' difficult situation. This suggests that he had an interest in the Knights of Labor as early as 1875 when they were still a secret society. We also know that he had joined the printers' union and the pilots' union in his early days. *Life on the Mississippi* was published in 1883, when "the Knights of Labor was beginning its meteoric rise" (Foner). And yet he neither modified nor deleted the phrase "the knights of the tiller" in the new version. Therefore the story of the union in *Life on the Mississippi* received considerable notice, and was reprinted in a number of labor journals.

"Although there were labor organizations of various types that dated back to the colonial period, the first widely successful union was the Knights of Labor. The Knights organized nearly three-quarters of a million workers [...] at its peak in 1885-1886" (Warren). It was fortunate for Twain that he, aged fifty, had a golden opportunity to "hear and see" a labor spokesman, who was a member of the Knights of Labor, making a speech at a Senate Committee hearing on copyright legislation held in January, 1886. The labor spokesman made so great an impression on the Senators and Twain himself that Twain read

an article on “The New Dynasty” to the Monday Evening Club on March 22, 1886: “It seemed to me that all the gauds and shows and spectacles of history somehow lost their splendor in this presence” (“Dynasty”).

It is surely a significant moment in American history for Twain to have seen and heard personally the labor spokesman dictating to the Senators. Paul J. Carter, Jr. observed that Twain “fancied that he saw in the Knights of Labor the salvation of oppressed humanity and ultimately, through the spread of the brotherhood of labor, the hope of civilization.” In that light, it is worth paying attention to the fact that he did not abandon expressing his defense of organized labor in his later works, even after the historical Knights of Labor declined and disappeared.

(Panel, page 2)

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Ingle, Sarah. *University of Virginia.*

“Honor bright”: Legacies of Mark Twain and the Honor Code at a Southern University.

Teaching the works of Mark Twain at a Southern university—particularly at one as steeped in tradition as the University of Virginia—makes one mindful of Twain’s continuing relevance and potency as a critic of American culture. I was reminded of this fact a few semesters ago when I taught a first-year composition course on the topic of “Huck Finn and Cultural Controversy.” The novel is certainly no stranger to controversy. Among the many controversies on our classroom agenda were the debates about the novel’s ending and about its representation of African Americans as well as the heated debates about the novel’s use of the word “nigger.” In order to expand the course from a literature class to one that encompassed writing across the curriculum, I also added a number of readings about real-world controversies related to the novel’s prominent themes, including race, class, region, and dialect. However, to my surprise, some of the course’s most challenging and intellectually stimulating conversations emerged from the juxtaposition of Twain’s novel with my routine warnings to my first-year composition students about plagiarism, citations, and the University’s honor code.

Like most teachers at schools with honor codes, I had grown accustomed to using the word “honor” as a convenient tool for reinforcing my admonitions to students to cite their sources and to produce original work. But if custom and repetition had deadened my appreciation for the broader cultural implications of the concept of honor, reading and studying Mark Twain reawakened that appreciation and prompted me to reexamine the meaning of my routine reminders to students to remember the honor code. What does it really mean to remember the honor code, particularly in the American South, and what are we forgetting when we do so?

Drawing on several of Twain’s texts, including *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *The Tragedy of Pudd’nhead Wilson* and “My First Lie and How I Got Out of It,” this essay will explore what Twain has to teach us about the concept of “honor” and its role in American culture. Is the word “honor” too tainted by its historical associations with violence and with hierarchies of class, race, and gender to be used as a synonym for ethical behavior in a twenty-first-century college classroom?

As we study the many legacies of Mark Twain, we must remember that one of his most important legacies is his care for words—his belief that the difference between the right word and “the almost-right word” is as large a matter as the difference between lightning and a lightning bug. As scholars and teachers, we should carry on that legacy by paying careful attention to the words that we use to talk to our students about plagiarism and cheating. Is “honor” the right word to describe the kind of intellectual honesty that we want to instill in our students? As Twain would say, it is a large matter.

(Panel, page 2)

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Ishihara, Tsuyoshi. *Waseda University.*

Mark Twain’s Italian Residences: The Villa Viviani and the Villa di Quarto.

The primary purpose of this project is to preserve and share a variety of visual records of Twain’s most significant foreign residences, the Villa Viviani and the Villa di Quarto in Florence, and compare them with Twain’s detailed autobiographical accounts of these mansions. Although some parts of these medieval mansions have been greatly renovated recently and most of the furniture in them is lost or removed, both houses have very fortunately been well preserved for more than one hundred years since Twain resided in them. Therefore, it seems highly meaningful to share with Twain scholars and enthusiasts gathering in Elmira the outcome of my fieldwork conducted at both mansions.

Twain’s Florentine villas are very significant in understanding his latter-day life. Twain and his family lived in Florence twice, each time renting one of these medieval mansions on the hills overlooking this ancient city. They stayed at the villas for more than a year and a half in total: at the Villa Viviani from September 1892 to June 1893, and at the Villa di Quarto from November 1903 to June 1904. The Villa Viviani was the new “home” Twain finally found after leaving his beloved residence

in Hartford and wandering in Europe for more than a year. There, as had occurred at the Quarry Farm in Elmira, Twain's literary productivity revived. In contrast, the Villa di Quarto is usually understood as the site of some of Twain's saddest days, since his wife Olivia died there. However, his thorough account of the Villa di Quarto in his recently published *Autobiography* evidences not only his reconciliation with the frustrated life he led at the mansion but also his great interest in everything about the place.

Both villas are significant in terms of Twain's writings. For instance, an unusually long account of his time at both residences (around 70,000 words) is found in the *Autobiography*. This autobiographical account, one of the most detailed and meticulous reports Twain wrote about any of his residences, is essential to understanding Twain's philosophy of "home." My project on Twain's Florentine mansions, then, aims to provide contextual materials that will be helpful in understanding several important aspects of his life, thought, and writings.

My presentation is based on my extensive research in Italy, particularly on fieldwork at the villas. In this highly visual presentation, a variety of pictures of the villas in their present states will also be shared with the audience, who will see their exteriors, interiors, gardens, parks, paths, walls, gates, and the landscapes around them that were greatly enjoyed by Twain, his family, and his friends. To imagine their lives there, some related images, such as floor plans and maps, will be introduced as well. A comparison between these visual materials and Twain's accounts of the villas will provide the audience with an opportunity to understand the actual lives of Twain and his family at their Florentine residences more than one hundred years ago.

(Panel, page 9)

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Jenn, Ronald. *University of Lille 3, France.*

Jean François Alden as another nom de plume: Looking at *Personal Recollections* (1895-1896) as a pseudo-translation.

This presentation deals with *Personal Recollections* (PR) in the wake of Linda Morris' gender-based approach but with a translation twist. It dwells on the first months of its serialized publication in 1895, a period of time when the text PR stands out first and foremost as a pseudo-translation and an "unclaimed piece of literary property" but it also sheds light on Mark Twain as both a translator and a cosmopolitan traveler.

PR is the climax of Twain's long-time and paradoxical relationship with France, the French and French language. Because it is presented as a translation, this text can be construed as a continuation of the writer's protracted tug-of-war with French critic and translator Thérèse Bentzon as well as another form of literary experiment carried out on language(s), mainly French and German. The translation angle makes it possible to connect a number of major and minor texts as well as episodes in the life of the writer over a long period of time from "Jumping Frog" to lesser known "At a Dinner for Monsieur Fréchette of Québec" (1882) and his failed attempt at writing the introduction to *The Official Records of the Joan of Arc Trials*.

In PR and its paratext, Twain establishes strong connections with two other pseudo-translations penned by Washington Irving and Nathaniel Hawthorne (*Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, 1824 and "Writings of Aubépine-Rappacini's Daughter," 1844). His nom de plume Jean François Alden is one of the devices used to connect with those authors. In turn, these pseudo-translations, because they blur the limits between languages, can be construed as a strategic device aimed at severing American literature from the British tradition.

(Panel, page 15)

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Keane, Patrick J. *Le Moyne College.*

Mark Twain, Nietzsche, and Terrible Truths that can Set Us Free.

Though George Bernard Shaw included Mark Twain in a "Diabolonian tradition" culminating in the "Nietzschean Superman," what he gave with one hand he abruptly took away with the other: "Mark Twain emitted some Diabolonian sparks, only to succumb to the overwhelming American atmosphere of chivalry, duty, and gentility." The charge was repeated 20 years later by H. L. Mencken, aware that a heterodoxy-hating American public, its "pruderies outraged," could bitterly turn on a dissenter, "even the gaudiest hero, and roll him in the mud." While it may not be true that a beloved and believing Livy tamed her husband, Livy hated Twain's deterministic *What is Man?* and his daughters disapproved of his acerbic "Reflections on Religion," and of his Satanic "Letters from the Earth." Most of these texts, along with the "diabolonian" Mysterious Stranger papers, remained unpublished during Twain's life. The privately-printed *What is Man?* was not released while Livy was alive, and Satan's devastating epistolary account of human folly and divine cruelty, written in 1909, the year before Twain's death, went unpublished until the year of Clara's death, 1962.

This context of familial and potentially public disapproval illuminates Twain's self-alliance with, and guilt-ridden distinction from, the iconoclastic German philosopher who exposed the hollowness of our Christian culture's most cherished "idols." Dictating to his secretary Isabel Lyon, who saw her employer and Nietzsche as kindred spirits, Twain observed in September 1907:

Nietzsche published his book and was at once pronounced crazy by the world—by a world which included tens of thousands of bright, sane men who believed exactly as Nietzsche believed, but concealed the fact, and scoffed at Nietzsche. What a coward every man is!....The human race is a race of cowards; and I am not only marching in that procession but carrying a banner.

Though he accuses himself of cowardice for not publishing his most vehement assaults on Christianity and the Christian God, I will conclude by emphasizing the liberating power of Mark Twain's final, unflinching confrontation of "terrible truths." For example, Twain concurred ("Hurrah for Nietzsche!") with the philosopher's irreverent attack on the punitive Judeo-Christian God's administration of "divine kicks." Many have been able to reconcile the doctrine that we are presided over by a loving deity with the facts on the ground: a long history of "divine kicks" in the form of natural disaster and human suffering. Nietzsche and Twain were not among them. What does not destroy me makes me stronger," says Nietzsche. In the final years of his life, family disasters and his own stringent skepticism led Mark Twain to confront what Isabel Lyon called his "terrible truths," truths providing a "a granite foundation" on which to "stand alone." Fusing the "truth that can set us free" (John 8:32) with the leitmotif (being "set free") of *The Tempest*, Mark Twain, in the finale of *The Mysterious Stranger*, gives us a terrifying truth (what No. 44 reveals to August Fendler in the course of "set[ting] him free") which—like the cosmic solitude and seeming nihilism attending the Nietzschean announcement of the Death of God—nevertheless has the potential to free us from facile optimism and religious delusion.

(Panel, page 17)

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"The greatest and youngest old man in the United States": Conformity, Contestation, and Resistance in Mark Twain's Attitude Toward Aging.

Both in the popular imagination and the academic world, Mark Twain is usually associated with youth rather than old age. Despite this dominant view of Twain as a chronicler of young lives and of youthful aspirations in them, surprisingly much can be discovered about Twain's ideas and convictions regarding the last segment of human life. A focus on this topic area will provide insights into an oft-neglected facet of the writer and into the perception and public presentation of Mark Twain as a cultural icon.

While there are scattered remarks about old age and aging in Twain's earlier writings, serious reflection on the issue began in his forties. Upon the occasion of his fiftieth birthday, in 1885, Twain's age garnered national attention as the literary magazine *The Critic* printed a special feature with texts by friends and fellow writers, most notably "On His Fiftieth Birthday," a poem by the much venerated New England poet Oliver Wendell Holmes. Despite the fact that Twain was pleased, and probably flattered, by the public attention this occasion generated, the surviving documents show that the unavoidable references to the "semi-centennial" and the observation that he was now "half-a-hundred years old" did not leave him indifferent. Twain was not ready to be "old and mellow," especially since he seemed to feel that there was something embarrassing about growing older.

From this time on, occasions to reflect upon encroaching age multiplied for Twain. This paper sets out to chronicle and examine the writer's public statements and private confessions about life at an advanced age. The remarks on age and aging presented here cover a spectrum that ranges from intimate thoughts hidden in private letters, notebooks, and unpublished manuscripts to instances of public rhetoric designed to meet the expectations of Twain's contemporary audience. The interest of exploring this aspect of Twain's intellectual life lies in the fact that, in their totality, his statements reflect, contest, and resist the cultural concepts of "age" that circulated in his time. By concentrating on Twain's reflections on age and aging, the paper also hopes to further add to an understanding of Mark Twain as a complex writer whose thematic scope transcends the limits that are implied in the popular clichés of the author of juvenile fiction and that of the humorist.

(Panel, page 12)

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Once by the Mississippi: Some Observations on the Style of Mark Twain.

Arguably Mark Twain's best piece of prose ever, the opening paragraphs of "Old Times on the Mississippi," the author's description of the landing of a steamboat (first published in *The Atlantic Monthly* for January 1875, reprinted as part of *Life on the Mississippi* in 1883), continue to invite investigation under the heading of "Mark Twain's Style."

Following the steps as suggested in the Call for Papers (proceeding from paragraph to sentence to word), but combining close reading with biographical and historical evidence, we begin with a brief survey of the salient stylistic features of the composite genre scene in their dependence on the author's point of view. In their immediate appeal these features are shown to be the result of a clever blend of the view of innocence and the view of experience (in implicit challenge of John C. Gerber's argument that "the detached and sharply restricted point of view of [Huck Finn] results in Twain's most brilliant stylistic achievement").

In step 2 we arrive at the pivotal sentence of the passage: "The great Mississippi, the majestic, the magnificent Mississippi, rolling its mile-wide tide along, shining in the sun." Easily detachable from its context, the sentence does not partake of the realism and the humor of the genre picture. Sound and rhythm are shown to take precedence in its construction over actual description and the constitution of meaning: "great," "majestic," "magnificent" are curiously abstract terms, while "mile-wide" and "tide" appear outright inadequate; the style, in all, is panegyric rather than realistic.

As (in step 3) we proceed from sentence to word, the author's brief panegyric celebration of the Mississippi emerges as an important contribution to the verbal iconography of American scenery. The word "rolling" in its denotative and its connotative meanings (as much as in its phonetic property) helps to define its proper place of among texts that praise the beauty and the magnitude of America: it takes us back in time to William Cullen Bryant's "The Prairies" (1833) and forward in time to F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925). The word "shining," by analogy, takes us back to John Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity" (1630) and forward to Katherine Lee Bates' "America the Beautiful" (1895). In its inter-textual relatedness with these works Mark Twain's sentence shares in the transition that occurs in all these instances from actual experience to literary text, as well as from simple description of landscape to an emblematic reading of that landscape in terms of national significance. In the period between his boyhood days in Hannibal and his writing about them for the *Atlantic*, Mark Twain had come to understand the paramount importance of the Mississippi river in the history of America as well as in pertinent political rhetoric and the American imagination generally. In using a panegyric style and words with their connotative accretions in terms of national significance his sentence does justice to that realization. Given additional currency as part of *Life on the Mississippi* it has eclipsed all other efforts in praise of the river and become what is probably the most quoted sentence about the Mississippi.

(Panel, page 12)

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"Dysfunctioned" Manhood in "Impaired" Bodies: Mark Twain's Treatment of Deviations.

Mark Twain cultivated his interest in human beings and their struggles so that it developed to become a major part of his life's work. His biggest concern was, however, not in those people who were strong enough to go against the constant vicissitudes of life, nor in those who could not conform to the various social "norms." He was fascinated with those who drifted, or who were forced to deviate from the norms. My purpose in this presentation is to explore this viewpoint in his works and confirm his consistency in observing the pain and instability of those "weak" people.

Twain's deliberate uses of norms and the deviations from them characterize his works. Representations of physical disability in Twain's works have been a significant, yet overlooked, sign of deviations from the norms.

I will emphasize that Twain enunciates his considerable concerns on gender and disability. "Aurelia's Unfortunate Young Man" is among his first important attempts. The detailed examination of this piece forms the core of my presentation. "Aurelia" consists of two apparently-opposing components: a substantial tragedy and an outward comedy. This sketch first appeared in the *Californian* in 1864 as "Whereas," and came to be published later as "Aurelia" in *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County and Other Stories* (1867). Twain made occasional revisions to this piece until he included its final version in *Sketches: New and Old* (1875). This publication history may indicate the importance which Twain attributed to the work.

The anonymous narrator gives advice to 16-year-old Aurelia Maria, who has asked the narrator if she should marry her fiancé, Williamson Breckenridge Caruthers. After they have fixed their engagement, Caruthers starts to meet a series of misfortunes caused in the ordinary course of life. Twain materializes Caruthers' misfortunes in the form of gradual deprivations of physical and functional factors of Caruthers' body. The successive loss of body parts directly brings on Caruthers' loss

of masculinity. The more Caruthers becomes disabled in economical independence and self-supporting life, the farther he has to find himself deviating from the norms to which his society requires men to conform.

Twain's objective way of describing Caruthers' series of physical pain produces simultaneous comical and tragic effects. Critics have interpreted this sketch as "black comedy" with their main focus on Aurelia's implicit suffering caused by Caruthers' explicit infliction. But, Aurelia remains, until she mails a letter to the narrator, an observer of the course that his matters take, and her true intention is no clearer than Caruthers' furtive feeling. Caruthers' silent suffering in her observation indicates the significance of inseparability of gender issues from an inflicted male body. Here is the issue that this presentation will emphasize.

Twain's consciousness of this problem also forms the basis of his creativity, and his perspective on male fragility acknowledged its importance as his literary influence expanded coast-to-coast. Based on these analyses, my presentation will seek to extend a distinct possibility for the broad and direct applicability of this critical scope to Twain's later works.

(Panel, page 4)

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Kupersmith, Abraham. *Borough of Manhattan Community College Emeritus.*

Cooper and Twain: The Corruption of Truth in Democracies.

Anyone familiar with Mark Twain's critical essay "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses" would find it difficult to believe that Cooper and Twain have any beliefs in common. Surprisingly, however, in the works of both writers there is a common political theme. Each writer contends that republican government is subject to corruption and decline because majority rule, the driving force in democracies, is shaped by public opinion. They believe that public opinion is rarely driven by fact, but more often by emotion and rumor, leading most citizens in a republic to be easily manipulated by ambitious demagogues who corrupt the majority. Thus, although both favor republican government over the alternatives, they also share a fear of the tendency of majority will—the first principle of representative government—to corrupt the very democracy it establishes.

Cooper and Twain trace the roots of corruption in a republic to flaws in human nature that make honesty and rational decision-making difficult. For Twain, the need for protection and security causes most people to seek strong authority figures and social approval. Twain calls this the herd instinct, which he develops in nonfiction works such as "The United States of Lyncherdom," "Corn-Pone Opinions," "What Is Man?" and "Christian Science," and in fiction like *The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*, *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, and "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

For Cooper, as well, the most significant factor in the corruption of democracies is the average person's need for belonging and social approval leading people to conform, rather than speak the truth and risk standing alone against majority opinion. In Cooper's political treatise *The American Democrat* (1838), he describes how the democratic form of government generates corruption by reinforcing a culture of consensus that works against expressing independent thought.

Both Cooper and Twain turn to the image of the honest individual to counter the corrupting forces of social illusions in a democracy. In *The American Democrat*, Cooper describes his model of an ideal democratic citizen as "The Anti-Cant" and explains how this person can rescue American democracy. Cooper offers a model for the truth-teller in the rugged individualist Natty Bumppo of *The Last of the Mohicans*, who acts in his own self-interest but also adheres to a personal moral code in his relations with others.

Like Cooper, Twain looks to the democratic outsider to rescue democracy from its corrupting influences. However, Twain's democratic outsider is motivated more by his perception of and concern for society's welfare than pursuit of his own self-interest. In contrast, Cooper's democratic outsider is most concerned with the effect of his perception of reality on his individual well-being.

Although Twain's and Cooper's views of the honest democratic outsider differ in important respects, both concepts have influenced the depictions of the hero in many American novels. Moreover, the split in Cooper's and Twain's images of the democratic outsider has influenced political debate in this country up to the present day.

(Panel, page 11)

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Lai, Selina. *University of Hong Kong.*

Mark Twain in China: Race, Translation, and the Transnational Setting.

Mark Twain has had an intriguing relationship with China that is not as widely known as it should be. Although he never visited the country, he has played a significant role speaking for the Chinese people at home and abroad. His encounter with Chinese immigrant workers in the American west and friendship with the then-US Minister to China, Anson Burlin-

game, gave him important insights into the community. His support for the Chinese Boxers against American and European imperialism over the “Far East” in the last phase of his life further strengthened his connection with China. Just as Twain’s countrymen have long claimed him as the “quintessential American writer,” many others across the Pacific have embraced him as a brave author who spoke up on many occasions on behalf of the Chinese. Rather than being largely viewed as a humorist like in the US, Twain in China is a courageous anti-imperialist and a dear friend; this salient image continues to appear frequently in Chinese scholarship and prefaces of his translated works.

After his death in 1910, Clemens’s Chinese adventures did not stop, for his works continued to travel through China in translation throughout the twentieth century. If Twain were still alive, he would certainly be elated to hear that *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* alone has gone through no less than *ninety* different Chinese translations. Twain’s strong presence in China leads to such questions as, what was the socio-historical context in China and especially in the literary scene that informs all these translations? What insights into Chinese culture and Chinese attitudes towards the U.S. do these works provide? What was the impact that the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1977) had on Twain in China? How effectively have these translations communicated the book’s treatment of issues of race and racism?

In my presentation, I look at various Chinese translations of Pap Finn’s racist tirade against the black Ohio “p’fessor” and the “govment” in chapter six. Although Pap Finn was featured in only two and a half chapters, he has played a significant role in revealing the kind of parental environment in which Huck was brought up, as well as the white supremacist ideas at that time that Twain wanted to undermine. Looking at the translations Pap’s speech from different social and political backgrounds in China allows us to see how American race relations get transposed into other cultural contexts, and whether the critiques of racism embodied in Twain’s work get passed on to readers in China.

(Panel, page 10)

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The Fourth World of *Huckleberry Finn*: The Internalization of Jim’s Voice, Perspective, and Ideology in Huck’s Evolving Consciousness.

Huck Finn is a realist, socially-constructed subject—formed by the worlds of Pap, the Widow, and Tom, but with a unique, innate core capable of moral agency. This paper explores five hitherto unnoticed instances in which Jim evokes Huck’s core, what Twain called his “sound heart,” creating a fourth world—the part of Huck’s consciousness constructed by Jim.

An early example is Jim’s divination that Huck will someday be hanged. When Huck later decides to save Jim Turner from his fellow ruffians aboard the *Walter Scott*, he thinks, “I might come to be a murderer myself” and “how would I like it.” Huck’s empathy partially derives from Jim’s prediction. In Chapter 10, Jim warns Huck that touching a snakeskin brings bad luck. After Huck’s snake prank, Jim shrewdly attributes being bitten to Huck’s handling a snakeskin, providing an explanation that causes Huck to blame all future bad fortune on this: Huck faults the snakebite on touching a snakeskin rather than on his own Sawyer-esque snake prank, and later says missing Cairo and the raft being smashed is “some more work of the rattle-snake skin.” After the fog prank, Jim berates Huck as “trash” for making him feel “ashamed”; Huck reports that this “made me feel so mean.” When Mary Jane admonishes Joanna, “you oughtn’t to say a thing to another person that will make *them* feel ashamed,” Huck, having internalized Jim’s morality, says, “I felt so ornery and low down and mean,” and acts to help the sisters.

In Chapter 14, when Jim views Solomon through the intertext of the slaveowner (he owns everything, does no work, is bellicose, known by the back, and has many wives and children), he introduces a behaviorist theory of why kings/slaveowners act as they do: “It lays in the way Sollermun was raised.” Huck dismisses Jim’s belief but internalizes it, later explaining the actions of the Duke and King to Jim—“It’s the way they’re raised”—forgetting that this was Jim’s idea. Huck subsequently applies Jim’s behaviorist model to himself: “a body that don’t get *started* right when he’s little, ain’t got no show.” He is also befuddled that Tom, who was “well brung up,” could “stoop” to steal Jim out of slavery.

The most important instance occurs in Chapter 16 when Huck paddles off to turn Jim in, and Jim desperately cries out, “you’s de bes’ fren’ Jim’s ever had, en you’s de *only* fren’ ole Jim’s got now.” Months later in Chapter 31, during Huck’s realist scene of deliberation and choice of restraint, when his “sound heart and deformed conscience” collide, he repeats Jim’s exact words right down to the emphasis on “only”—he “said I was the best friend old Jim ever had in the world, and the *only* one he’s got now.” Huck’s now speaking and thinking like Jim, and he justifies his decision to steal Jim by the behaviorist model Jim taught him: “I would take up wickedness again, which was in my line, being brung up to it.”

(Panel, page 12)

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Lee, Judith Yaross. *Ohio University.*

The Yankees and Their Kings: Mark Twain and Henry Stanley from King Arthur to King Leopold.

The relationship between Samuel L. Clemens and African explorer Henry Morton Stanley, which began with Twain's Sandwich Island lecture on March 26, 1867 in St. Louis, grew particularly important after 1886. In December of that year, soon after Twain read the story that became *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889) to an audience at Governor's Island, but before he fully imagined Hank Morgan's conquest of Arthurian Britain, Stanley stayed overnight at the Hartford house on his tour of the U.S. to promote investment in the Congo and sales of his latest book, *The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State* (1885), which told how he mapped and secured its land for King Leopold II of Belgium. Stanley and Clemens stayed more or less in touch through Stanley's death in 1904, as Congo atrocities drew worldwide debate. Thus the men's friendship not only forms a biographical backdrop for both *Connecticut Yankee* and *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905), but also imbues Twain's satirical attacks on Leopold—and U.S. complicity in his crimes—with personal as well as political stakes.

Hank Morgan's name sounds tantalizingly close to "Henry Morton Stanley," like whom Twain's Yankee hero modernizes "this dark land" for his pal the king. Leopold's "defense of his Congo rule" likewise upholds imperialist abuses in a slangy American voice. Hank and Leopold thus represent intriguing variations on the mock-oral speaker as a witness to—and complicit in—imperialism. The apocalyptic ending to *Connecticut Yankee* makes that novel a landmark in the rhetorical history of American humor and empire, with its hints of imperialist corruption at the heart of settler colonialism in the American West, as I argue in *Twain's Brand* (2012). Stanley does not appear in the *Soliloquy*, but he casts a shadow here, too, as he did over the Congo Free State. For instance, Leopold's contempt for the Yankees who "were the first to salute" the Congo's Belgian flag and his delight in being "a shade too clever for the Yankees" point directly to Stanley's role as technical advisor to the American delegation at the 1884 Berlin Conference that divvied up Africa among European imperialist powers and point indirectly to the role of Stanley's speeches, writings, and celebrity in comparing the exploration and economic development in the Congo to American development of the Mississippi River Valley and the American West. Clemens's persistent but false belief that the U.S. had partnered with other nations to establish the Congo Free State, a belief evident in both the *Soliloquy* and his outreach to the State Department, owes much to Stanley's propaganda.

My paper looks closely at Henry M. Stanley's activities and writings to give new biographical and historical context to Mark Twain's late political humor, especially in relation to imperialism. I offer additional support for an imperialist reading of *Connecticut Yankee* while complicating the *Soliloquy's* attack on the Belgian king and imperialism. In addition, I connect an increasingly salient theme in Twain scholarship to transnational American studies more broadly.

(Panel, page 17)

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The Rebellious Novel in American Fiction: From Mark Twain to Ralph Ellison to Philip Roth.

Huck Finn maintains one of the most peculiar places in the cultural landscape of American society and fiction. Ironically, he is popular specifically for rejecting the values of American society, and American society celebrates him for that rejection. Part of the complex relationship between author, novel, and audience includes a subtle yet devastating subversive power. In this way, it is important to note that while the novel is known for its condemnation of slavery, Huck rejects much more than the institution of slavery. He renounces his society's religion, idealism, patriotism, and its brand of community spirit, assessing and critiquing the rhetoric that justifies such beliefs. While hailed for its anti-slavery and anti-racist stance, these other anti-American renunciations are often, though not always, overlooked by the critical conversation. However, Twain's ideological critique of American values has not gone unnoticed by the American literary tradition.

Ralph Ellison, in *Invisible Man*, follows Twain's path. Similar to Huck's trajectory of disillusionment, the unnamed narrator of *Invisible Man* begins his young-adult life bursting with American ideals. Along the journey of his life, however, the invisible man gradually loses faith in his idealism, coming to see it as the cause of tragedies rather than recourse from them. He comes to recognize his dilemma between advocating and rejecting American idealism, for both may have dangerous consequences. He learns, eventually, to harness his "invisibility" and anonymity by disguising himself. Also, similar to Huck's declaration, "All right then, I'll go to hell!," the invisible man decides to place himself at odds with society and its ideals, intimated in part through his stealing energy from Monopolated Light & Power. Ellison reveals that individuals can become empowered in their invisibility, which includes a quiet rejection of social ideologies that threaten to harm them.

Finally, Philip Roth, particularly in *The Human Stain*, picks up the idea of "invisibility" as disguise and uses it to achieve self-fulfillment. Like Huck, who fakes his own death (to avoid living with his father) and disguises himself as a girl, Coleman Silk, an African-American, rejects his family and passes for Jewish for the remainder of his life. By the end of the novel, Silk

has transformed from young idealist to mature invisible man to old reprobate, ending in a life-affirming sexual relationship. Similarly, Huck states, in a disavowal of social responsibility and its imposed morality, that he “never thought no more about reforming” and that he “would take up wickedness again.” Silk and Huck find satisfaction as rebellious reprobates.

These three novels have a subversive power. A common theme is their ideological critique and ultimate rejection of socially sanctioned systems of thought through the experiences of the protagonists. My presentation attempts to highlight the significant ways in which American fiction, at least from Twain to the present, includes a radical critique of the American way of life.

(Panel, page 3)

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Making Space: Evading Feminine Domestic Authority in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.

In his 1993 book *American Manhood*, Antony E. Rotundo discusses the emergence of fraternal orders and men’s clubs in the later 19th century as sites which afforded those individuals otherwise steeped in the vicissitudes of the work-a-day world a place to (re)-establish male affinity in leisure activity. Indeed, “the cut and thrust of clashing wits, sometimes in serious debate but especially in teasing, playful humor” allowed men worn out or dissatisfied with the demands of manhood (re)creation “in the same rough fashion that had typified male interaction since boyhood” (201-02). According to Michael Kimmel, these fraternities and the boyishness they encouraged countered not only the exigencies of the public sphere, but the civilizing demands of the female dominated domestic sphere by creating

a domestic sanctuary outside the home—a place where men might experience fellowship and intimacy without the feminizing influence of women. The fraternal order was the motherless, wifeless, womanless family, the band of brothers. The lodge was also the unfeminized church, devoid of clucking mother hens and effete ministers. (173)

Twain’s configuration of a masculine domestic space—his “caves” variously rendered—embrace, as Kimmel (and, elsewhere, Gregg Camfield) suggests, the “domestic pleasures” of talking, reading, eating, drinking and smoking available in the “motherless, wifeless and womanless” club. However, I contend that Twain’s depiction of such a realm does not reject femininity *per se*, but instead the cultural prescriptions that identified ideal domesticity with principles of order, schedule and decorum under the auspices of female authority. Twain’s “cave-men” enjoy the pleasures of domesticity even as they indulge in the thrill of apparently rejecting it.

Establishing and inhabiting a masculine domestic space thus requires the incipient “cave man” to deploy tactics that undermine feminine authority without wholly denying it. In *Tom Sawyer*’s opening chapters, for instance, Twain represents Tom’s circumvention of Aunt Polly’s attempts to discipline him as a series of swift escapes from both literal and figurative “tight spaces” and into an undefined “beyond.” Twain further disrupts Aunt Polly’s agency when she would mete out physical punishment to maintain domestic order; even when Tom knows the switch or shoe is about to fall, these implements are disconnected from their agent. The gaps thus created render Aunt Polly’s acts as a disciplinarian invisible, clearing a space for the emergence of a masculine ethos of domestic management.

This essay will explore the various means by which Twain’s would-be “cave-men” clear away the more onerous elements of feminine domestic discipline, making space to savor masculine pleasures of the hearth.

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(Panel, page 4)

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Mac Donnell, Kevin. *Independent Scholar.*

What did Sam Clemens See in Carson City?

On January 29, 1863 Sam Clemens took the stage to Carson City, Nevada, saw something there, and became Mark Twain within days. His first piece of writing using his new persona was a letter written from Carson City which appeared in the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* on February 3, 1863, and his first piece of fiction using his new name, *Ye Sentimental Law Student*, appeared there on February 19 (but was dated on Valentine’s Day). Sam Clemens had heard the term “mark twain” many times as a steamboat pilot, but what would have suddenly prompted him to adopt this bit of maritime jargon as his *nom de plume* during a brief visit to Carson City?

One of Twain's western friends claimed the phrase derived from the way the proprietor at John Piper's saloon in Virginia City kept track of Sam's bar tab (marking the bar with two chalk marks for two drinks). Twain denied that assertion, and in letters of January, 1873, June, 1874, May, 1877, in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), and at other times he claimed to have begun using his famous pen name after the death of Capt. Isaiah Sellers, who Sam claimed had written under this name for the New Orleans Picayune. But Sellers died *after* Twain began using the name, and no papers have been found anywhere with articles signed "Mark Twain" before Twain's own use of the name in February, 1863. Sam's Sellers story seems a harmless fiction meant to throw a curious public off the scent. With no alternatives presenting themselves, scholars have settled on the notion that Twain merely adopted the name because he'd heard it on the river, always explaining that it translates as "by the mark, twain!"—the words hollered up to the pilot house by the leadsman holding a knotted sounding rope off the bow of the vessel to indicate that a steamboat was either entering or leaving water that was two fathoms deep (12 feet). This is usually followed by an explanation that water of that depth could mean safe water if a steamboat was moving out of shallower water, but it could also raise an alarm if the vessel was moving out of a deeper channel. Twain used the phrase as riverboat jargon in *The Gilded Age* and *Life on the Mississippi*, and even hatched a hopeless plan to protect his writings by trade-marking the name. Scholars also use his pen name as a spring-board to display their understanding of duality in Twain's writings.

Before settling on "Mark Twain" Sam Clemens had written under the names Josh, Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass, W. Epaminondas Adrastus Perkins, Blab, Rambler, and simply as S. L. C. But why would Sam, after hearing the words "mark twain" for years as a Mississippi steamboat pilot, suddenly decide to use the phrase as a name? What did Sam encounter in Carson City, far removed from the Mississippi River, that would have suggested "mark twain" as a good proper name?

After all the ink spilled over the years on Sam Clemens' pen name, discovering what inspired Sam Clemens to anoint himself Mark Twain might be one of the Holy Grails of Twain studies. I think I know what Sam saw in Carson City and why it made him decide to become Mark Twain.

The story begins with the Google Print Library Project (aka Google Print, Google Book Search, and Google Books) in 2005 or 2006 when I was doing research on an entirely different project ...

(Panel, page 5)

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Magnuson, Suzanne A. *The Bradford Group, LTD.*

Marketing the Works of Mark Twain in the 21st Century.

The popularity and relevance of Mark Twain has not waned in the 21st Century. Twain is still a mass market author, beloved by ordinary readers. But today, with all of his previously published works available as free downloads, the value of a physical copy of a Mark Twain book must be established. When new content, such as that found in scholarly editions, is not the unique selling proposition, other methods must be employed to generate enthusiasm in the general marketplace—namely, the addition of value-added features in the books themselves.

We will compare various non-scholarly Mark Twain editions and detail their value-added features and sales methods along with providing a general overview of how prospective audiences are located by marketers. Channels such as direct mail, the internet and print advertising will be briefly discussed. Market testing, metrics, forecasts, price points and other aspects of the sales process will be outlined to illuminate the challenges faced by sellers of physical books in the modern era. Historical sales methods of Twain's time will be discussed and contrasted with modern methods employed.

Charles Winthrop & Sons, an imprint of The Bradford Press, has undertaken the challenge to provide value in physical books by marketing Mark Twain's works exactly as he wanted them presented to the public. Using his approved texts, illustrations, book covers and materials, we aim to recreate the first editions of Twain's works in their precise state of original publication, including errors, misprints and quirks found only in the earliest uncorrected first state, providing the modern reading public with a book that is the same as if it had been ordered directly from the publisher on the day of first publication. Most people can't hope to acquire an original 19th Century first edition Twain collection because of the expense and rarity, but they can have something produced today that is as beautiful.

This replica edition project will be discussed in detail, including the efforts involved in selecting texts, materials, replicating, printing and re-creating 19th Century editions as closely as possible with modern materials and printing processes. The re-creation process is extremely detailed, exacting and time-consuming with multiple press-checks, proofs and comparisons to the original books needed to ensure accurate reproduction. Specific challenges encountered in this process and their solutions will be outlined.

Marketing public domain works is not an insurmountable challenge, but buyers must be clearly shown the value of a physical copy of each book. Incentives must be offered to entice buyers to part with their hard-earned money. The challenges, tactics and execution of such an endeavor will be clearly laid out in this paper.

(Panel, page 8)

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Tricks and Tools: Practical Jokes, the “Evasion,” and the Limits of Love.

Looking at Twain’s actual relations with African American men while he was writing *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* can elucidate some of the novel’s troubling aspects, particularly the section of the book that many scholars have termed a “flaw” or “failure,” the extended “evasion” sequence. In 1903, Twain publicly claimed over thirty years of friendship with John T. Lewis, an African American farmer, neighbor, and erstwhile tenant of the Crane family at Quarry Farm. Yet in that same text, Twain misidentifies Lewis as a former slave (Letter, 17 July 1903); his affection and regard appear genuine, but so does his fundamental, careless error about his friend, corrected by Livy before publication. Sometime after 1897, Clemens penned “A Family Sketch,” ostensibly a tribute to Susy’s memory, but with more than one-third of its private pages devoted to George Griffin, “servant, in the matter of work, member of the family in the closer ties and larger enthusiasms of play” (7). Both men were close enough to Clemens’s domestic circle that he could not speak more specifically or openly in publications “without impropriety” (8), and he waited until after George’s death to write at length about him, even privately. But, as other scholars have briefly noted, the influence of both men is strongly present in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. While biographical events do not translate directly into literary creation or interpretation, Twain’s complex and apparently contradictory interracial and interclass relationships illuminate the underlying complexity and coherence of the evasion sequence.

Play and a certain “boyish delight in each other’s company” marked Twain’s friendships with men, according to Peter Messent (92). These friendships were characterized less by intimacy and more by “companionship and commitment” or friendly “competition and conviviality” (Messent 22, 34). From the time he was a boy, Clemens was “given to pranks that could border on the mean-spirited” (Powers 14), and that could, on occasion, go almost “fatally awry” (33). Clemens retained his love of pranks and practical jokes throughout his adulthood, but drew the limit at what he thought constituted a betrayal of friendship. William Dean Howells noted that a man “could offer Clemens offences that would anger other men and he did not mind; he would account for them from human nature; but if he thought you had in any way played him false you were anathema and maranatha” (68-69). As Messent also points out, any consideration of Clemens’s friendships across racial lines would have to fully take into account how racial and social contexts affect their limits. Just what are the limits of “play[ing] false” when indulging in practical jokes across racial and social divides?

This question resonates both with Clemens’s personal life and with *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. A distinct shift in power dynamics arises when playing pranks between friends shifts to using a professed friend as a tool in a joke perpetrated on another person. Twain played jokes on those he felt equal to, those with whom he was jockeying for position, or those whom he felt needed a lesson. And when that lesson involved racial attitudes or economic stinginess and class suspicion, Clemens felt no compunction about using his African American friend/servant/family member as a tool in a prank, sometimes oblivious to the dangers his jokes subjected his black friends to, and sometimes shielding them carefully from those dangers. Both Lewis and Griffin actively protected themselves, sometimes playing along, and at other times drawing a firm but polite line. In analyzing the dynamics of the ‘evasion,’ we must give up the idea that Twain would have found the pranks and jokes themselves in any way appalling. But close attention to the dynamics of friendship and power in this extended sequence is fruitful, for while Huck has claimed friendship with Jim, to Tom the black man is merely a tool, muddying “clearly drawn” lines of social class and camaraderie (Twain, *Autobiography* 6, 28), complicating the already complex relations between Tom and Huck as they jockey for position. The boys’ masquerade, Huck’s friendship with Jim, Jim’s role in the ‘evasion,’ and Huck’s growing worry about his own status and safety complicate matters provocatively as Tom expands the target of his increasingly dangerous prank to include the entire white village.

(Panel, page 3)

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Heteroglossia and Twain’s Dialect Humor: How Podcasts can bring Dialect Texts into the 21st Century.

For 21st century students, the dialect humor of Mark Twain and other authors in the Southwest Humor tradition pose a significant problem in both reading and interpretation. The often idiosyncratic spellings that represent the “talk” of the West in *Roughing It*, for example, puzzle students. The use of dialect that was so popular in the 19th and early 20th century falls short for this generation not because the situations, issues and themes are no longer relevant, but because from the page to the reading eye, current students are unfamiliar with orthographic spellings and no longer current slang. They have no frame of reference, and the reading of these texts is more onerous for them than it need be. Podcast and multimedia presentations offer these students help in two ways. They can hear the dialect, and glean sense from sound. It also gives them a context for

she moved to a farm at Gunnison, Mississippi, where she first read Twain's novel. Leftwich liked the novel so much that she decided to share it with others. She recalled attending "chapel programs" weekly at the local high school with her elementary school friends. One day it was her turn to make a presentation for group reading. "I gave *Tom Sawyer*. It was too long for a chapel program. But anyway, I had the type students that could do it, and they loved doing it. And I just really enjoyed that." Something about Mark Twain's book was clearly memorable for these readers. Twain's novel evidently held the attention of Leftwich's group in the Mississippi chapel. We can see that the recollection remained vivid for her many years later. Likewise, for Mabel Bates Back, among all the "books piled everywhere," *Tom Sawyer* stood out in her memory. Twain's stories stand out in our memories too. I think that these brief jottings or recollections from his common readers tell us a little of why he was memorable for them and why he remains memorable for us.

This study is similar to my study on *Charles Dickens's American Readers* (2010). The book is in the Elmira College Gannett-Tripp Library (PR4592.A54 M37 2010) and reviews can be found in *Nineteenth Century Studies*, *Victorian Studies*, and *Reception Studies*, if you would like to learn more about the book and the approaches that I am now applying to a study of Twain's audience.

(Panel, page 2)

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Melton, Jeffrey A. *University of Alabama*.

Mark Twain and the Legacy of the Pastoral Dream.

Mark Twain's romantic eye defined his work and is largely responsible for his legacy as the most beloved American author. Although twentieth-century critical analyses have been inclined to celebrate his realistic social criticism—with good reason and formidable results—his work is also defined by a persistent and productive romantic sensibility. It permeates his work. Travel writing, in particular, demanded a keen awareness of all witnessed environments and an ability to share them with readers, who for the most part would never travel and who depended on his descriptions for their views of the world. In this context, landscape description could not be modest or even restrained. His fiction, likewise, depended on such images as it served to complement and enhance the experiences of characters who struggled with their own pursuits of happiness. In all of his writing, landscape descriptions helped Twain grant readers freedom to explore their own relationship with the natural world and assert vicariously their place within it, or, more accurately for readers in the 21st century, to assert our collective memories of a pastoral ideal.

Twain's style is rarely as familiar to nineteenth century readers as it becomes when he writes landscape description. In many ways he was conventional. This statement is not intended to be condescending; rather, Twain's ability to understand conventions and meet—successfully—audience expectations throughout his career provide evidence of his artistic skill and his overarching artistic aesthetic as a man keen to communicate powerful ideas. He remained largely consistent throughout his career, preferring to present idealized landscapes to readers as if they were breathtaking paintings. This affinity for romantic imagery stands out even more so when contrasted with how skeptical he was when describing actual paintings themselves. His ambivalence for the Old Masters and his distrust for uncritical, glowing responses to them do not transfer into his assessments of landscape. Throughout his career he often produced finely crafted description without irony. Twain's use of such compositional techniques placed him firmly within a romantic school of landscape observation. That skill has too often been sublimated or dismissed, yet it is vital to his legacy as understood by most Americans outside of academia. In short, the death of romanticism is an exaggeration.

Leo Marx, in his seminal *The Machine and the Garden* (1964), notes that the American continent, from the European perspective, always carried an "immense burden of hope" and that the dream of a "new golden age" was supported extensively by European descriptions of the New World. That hope and its varied artistic and literary expressions always combined aesthetics and political vision, and that combination continued in earnest as the United States became a social and political entity. The Jeffersonian pastoral ideal became its most pervasive expression, a landscape to represent at long last a "truly successful 'pursuit of happiness'" (Marx 74). Mark Twain's landscape description throughout his career celebrates this romantic ideal, and it is this characteristic of his work that remains most appealing to modern American readers.

This presentation proposes an examination of Twain's landscape imagination in direct association with his use of dream imagery. It will consider passages from *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, and *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*, as well as his autobiographical writings and letters. The breadth and scope of Twain's pastoral dreams deserve more attention. In so doing, readers can place Mark Twain more centrally in the American environmental consciousness of the nineteenth century and alongside writers like Henry David Thoreau and John Muir. Americans appreciate Twain's realistic social criticism, but they love him for his romantic creations of the American natural landscape. Nobody ever took to a homemade raft to fight for social justice; they do it to this day, however, in order to

immerse themselves into a romantic dream of nature and to celebrate it as their own. It is an idea given form by Mark Twain over and over again. It remains worthy of repetition.

(Panel, page 1)

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Messent, Peter. *University of Nottingham.*

Crime and Detection in Mark Twain.

In this paper I examine Twain's fascination with detective fiction throughout his career, his crucial importance to the on-going history of the genre. I will show Twain's 'Janus-faced' attitude to detective fiction—his moves between burlesque and 'a basically non-ironic use' (Whitley) of the genre. Briefly tracing this two-way move through the series of texts featuring Simon Wheeler and Tom Sawyer, I suggest how—in *Tom Sawyer, Detective* and *Tom Sawyer's Conspiracy*—Twain looked to jump on the Sherlock Holmes bandwagon, highly aware of the possible cash rewards to be found there. I then briefly comment on *A Double-Barreled Detective Story* (1902) where Twain directly features Holmes, but here in burlesque form. I suggest how we might take the final section of this text as a veiled response to the version of America, and especially the American West, in Doyle's *A Study in Scarlet*.

But the real meat of my presentation comes (and no surprise here) with 'The Stolen White Elephant' (1882) and *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). I argue that we see in both texts a focused critique of the assumptions on which narratives of detection are normally based. Whitley gives us a clue to Twain's purpose in writing the 1882 story in speaking of the relationship between the figure of the detective in crime fiction and the omniscient narrator in the realist novel: that '[t]he classic detective story is aligned to [such novels] through its basic trust in a world which can be known empirically if you put all the evidence together.' This is how both C. Auguste Dupin and Sherlock Holmes work. Twain—whose artistic vision was always relativistic—did not share the same confidence. His burlesques of detective fiction (and especially 'The Stolen White Elephant') are, accordingly, peculiarly modern—even postmodern—mocking the desire to make sense of a world that remains, empirically, fundamentally unknowable. Twain, then, uses his comic forms to question the very basis of the detective fiction genre, or, at least, that strand of it that put its trust in logical thought and deductive reasoning, at a very early point in its history.

Twain's most important intervention into the field of detective fiction, though, was in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Critics of crime fiction have been particularly interested in the politics of the genre: the way it can be used for conservative ends, to protect and sustain the dominant social order, but can also work in a more radical and challenging way. I will show how Twain is prescient in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* both in illustrating just how the detective protagonist serves to support and endorse official codes and ideologies and—at one and the same time—in using the genre to mount a searing critique of exactly those hegemonic values. In doing this, and in a variety of other ways, Twain stands as an unsung father figure to the twentieth-century development of the detective fiction genre.

(Panel, page 9)

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Mark Twain and the Crises of Memory.

Our understanding of "memory" has been knocked into hazard, including the basics of what the word should signify, not only to scholars but also to a broader public. The problem is threefold, and signified by the work of three authors: Maurice Halbwachs, whose propositions about 'Collective Memory' were first promulgated in English about thirty years ago; the unsettling postulates and speculations of the neuroscientist Paul Broks, whose *Into the Silent Land* negotiates a possibility that our inner life, including our capacity to remember, is entirely a function of 'meat'—and the Mark Twain who is emerging for us now in the new and complete *Autobiography*, as a final stage in an epic adventure in memory as a literary project, a landmark in the commercial, social, and imaginative enterprise that "Mark Twain" has come to represent.

Though each of these texts calls the others into question, each one can also help us recognize complexities that provide a measure of dignity and weight to each explicit or implicit description or construction of memory. For Halbwachs, collective memory is a dynamic process requiring historical and social context: true remembering, as evocation, and also as evaluation and comprehension, cannot unfold in isolation from community. For Broks, the distressing prospect he encounters in the operating room provokes, and implicitly requires, a profoundly literary response, involving recourse to Kafka, to Robert Lewis Stevenson, to poetry, and Descartes and Socratic self-interrogation. In the case of Mark Twain, the new *Autobiography* helps us understand that his own intense and mercurial project of remembrance was always collective in its intentions. It assumed and required the intervention of others as interlocutors, editors, organizers, and censors; and it resonates with ambitions that

extend back to the beginnings of Clemens's career as an author on the national scene: to create and represent a *vicarious* national past, an American touchstone experience that in a true sense never was—for a new reading public whose own stories were ones of long-distance migration, dislocation, scattering, and a threatened loss of community memories and affiliations. After the Civil War and amid the rapid continental expansion of the United States, imaginative reinvention of American collective memory was at the core of Mark Twain's work as a writer. Moreover, the continuation and completion of the *Autobiography* in his final years, when as a biological human being Sam Clemens was troubled by poor health, family tragedy, alcohol abuse, and attendant psychological and neurological challenges, leads us into an encounter with a difficult question for readers and scholars: when we ascribe this *Autobiography* to Mark Twain or Sam Clemens, what condition of consciousness, brain, or mind, are we to imagine within the telling?

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Twice-Told Tales: Aunt Sally Phelps and "The Evasion."

This paper offers a re-reading of the much-debated "Evasion" chapters of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. In particular, it offers a new perspective on the figure of Aunt Sally Phelps, who has heretofore been dismissed as a stereotypical female character, a "reformer" on a par with Miss Watson, a "stock figure," a woman of "shabby" morality, or a harmless nag. This paper argues that she is none of the above, but rather a character in whom Twain invested considerable energy and affection, a character perhaps more fully understood in the light of Clemens's own mother, Jane Lampton Clemens.

Sam Clemens was himself responsible for saying that his mother was the model for his portrayal of Aunt Polly in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, critics have been quick to repeat that assertion, and I do not contest it. But from what we know about Jane Clemens, it is clear that she was one of the strongest and most humane adult women in Twain's life (Livy excepted). As Ron Powers observes, Mark Twain marveled at the "unstudied and unconscious pathos" of her native speech. When stirred to indignation "she was the most eloquent person I ever heard speak." (*Mark Twain: A Life*, p. 40)

Aunt Polly's reappearance at the end of the novel serves as a reminder that the two "Aunties" are sisters, both kind hearted and remarkably tolerant of the pre-adolescent male shenanigans they confront in Tom and Huck. I argue that Aunt Sally, created well after Aunt Polly, is the more fully drawn and realized character. Huck is mistaken in conflating her with Miss Watson, or even the Widow Douglas, but we should be able to tell the difference.

Further, I argue that Aunt Sally is a worthy match any day for the evasion's mastermind, Tom Sawyer. Like him, she is something of a trickster, and when confronted with the chaos generated by Tom's over-active imagination, she matches his disruptions with a fiery temper: "But Tom, he was so proud and joyful, he just couldn't hold in, and his tongue just went it—she a-chipping in, and spitting fire all along, and both of them going it at once, like a cat-convention...." (AHF, 356)

This paper also looks closely at the role the gossiping neighbors play in the closing chapters of the novel. I argue that the gossipy, vernacular recounting of all the events that took place in Jim's cabin under Tom's direction constitutes a comic re-telling of the tales that have been to this point narrated by Huck. Significantly, the gossip session allows Aunt Sally to establish her own dominance among her neighbors, even wrestling the scene away from the loquacious Old Mrs. Hotchkiss who otherwise talks over all the other neighbors. In the end, the story of the evasion becomes once and for all Aunt Sally's province, as she retells of the chaos that has taken place within her household.

(Panel, page 3)

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Morrison, Garrett Ford. *Northwestern University.*

Reporter/Hoaxer: Mark Twain and the Print Culture of the Mining West.

This paper situates Mark Twain's early work in the regional print culture of San Francisco and its hinterland. It is well known that Twain spent much of the Civil War Era working as a newspaperman in California and Nevada, contributing to the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* and other periodicals on the Pacific slope. While plenty of scholars have described the impact of the Far West on Twain's development as a writer, few have detailed the influence of far-western *print culture* on his emerging style and persona.

In the Mining West (my term for the post-Gold Rush region encompassing San Francisco and its hinterland), there emerged a distinctive set of print-cultural practices. Rather than seeking a national readership, publishers and editors appealed to regional readers and circulated their materials along regional routes. I argue that this model of publication and distribution put special pressure on writers to produce accurate representations of regional geographies and communities.

Nurmi, Tom. *Elmira College*.

Jokes in the Archive: Twain Reads *A Tale of Two Cities*.

This essay examines the marginal notes Twain left in Theodore Crane's copy of *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859). The notes offer insight into Twain's literary "relationship" with Dickens and provide a window on the transatlantic ties between post-bellum America and Victorian England. But the essay also uses this moment of reading-as-writing to explore the nature of the archive itself, the process of literary criticism, and the entangled acts of reading and writing that continue to trouble and seduce readers of nineteenth-century fiction.

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Isabella Beecher Hooker, Dr. Edward Beecher Hooker, & Mark Twain's Expensive Plumbing Fiasco.

Sam Clemens had his disputes with his eccentric neighbor, Isabella Beecher Hooker. "[S]he does derive such a satisfaction from everything her tangled brain conceives & her relentless hand demolishes," he once wrote to Livy.

Sam had a good relationship with her son, Edward, a sincere young man who grew up in the Nook Farm community. "Ned," as he was known, went to medical school in Boston. Clemens provided a "certificate of moral character" required for graduation. In 1878, Ned returned to Hartford to start practice and create a niche for himself.

Sam and Livy Clemens fretted about their children's health since moving into their magnificent Hartford home in 1874, influenced no doubt by Langdon's death 2 years earlier. They panicked when Susie Clemens developed "membranous croup" in January 1875, four months after moving in. A year later, Susie had diphtheria and "escaped death by a hair," according to her father.

Isabella got swept up in the new fad of linking health problems to bad plumbing. "Miasms," toxic emanations from the swamps, had been considered the cause of contagious diseases for twenty-four centuries. Now, new-fangled plumbing with waste pipes and traps harboring stagnant, murky water brought a modern day "miasm" – named "sewer gas" – into the living spaces of a house, to be inhaled by innocent victims.

In 1880, Isabella alerted Ned to the "sewer gas" problem, and proposed changing their plumbing. Ned published health articles in the *Hartford Courant* [taken from the journal *Plumber and Sanitary Engineer*] that emphasized health dangers from "the slow and often imperceptible escape of sewer gas."

In 1881, Clara Clemens became "alarmingly ill...with membranous croup," and Sam Clemens agreed to an expensive reconstruction of household plumbing, overseen by Dr. Hooker. When infant Jean developed scarlet fever in 1882 and diphtheria in 1883, Clemens realized that the expensive plumbing project of 1881 had been for naught, and the \$1500 plumbing bill [\$30,000 in today's dollars] festered in his mind for years.

In 1881, the same year Clemens's plumbing was revised, Col. George E. Waring [the national sewer gas authority] updated in the plumbing at the White House after concerns that "sewer gas" contributed to President Garfield's death. Waring considered the type of extensive renovations at 351 Farmington Avenue as unproven, prohibitively expensive, and unjustifiable. Waring's plumbing revisions at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue had been far simpler and cheaper, as Clemens probably learned from Waring in 1885 or 1886.

Clemens, out his money and his pride, sought revenge by leaking a vitriolic story to the *New York Times* in 1886, blaming the unwarranted plumbing work on "the whim of a too scientific physician" and the greed of "a rapacious plumber." His anger was intense, and his cursing of "sewer gas, doctor, and plumber" was lauded as "an education in the comprehensive possibilities of the English language...."

The history of the eccentric Isabella Hooker's contentious interactions with Sam Clemens, and her profound influence on her son, Dr. Ned Hooker – culminating in the plumbing fiasco of 1881 – will be discussed in detail.

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Oggel, Terry. *Virginia Commonwealth University*.

Albert Bigelow Paine and a Proper Mark Twain: *Europe and Elsewhere*.

In 1923 Albert Bigelow Paine (1861-1937) was well-known as an author of fiction and verse and as the biographer of America's pioneer editorial cartoonist, Thomas Nast. He had also become prominent as the literary executor and official biographer of Mark Twain. That September he brought out a collection of 35 essays by Twain, most of which had not been

published before. Paine gained biographical unity for the volume by having the essays span Twain's career, from 1869 to 1909, and he gained thematic unity by selecting essays that featured Twain's internationalism, especially important in assuring that Twain's global fame remained in the public eye. Paine titled his collection *Europe and Elsewhere*, explaining that Twain's "opinion was eagerly sought on all public questions, especially upon those of international aspect." He also suggested moral depth in the collection by having the "elsewhere" work metaphorically as well as geographically. Twain's allusions to Adam, Eve, Satan and the Fall in essays about the geographical world created the conceptual relationship that Paine synthesized into a rich "elsewhere," as revealed in "The War Prayer," "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," "The United States of Lyncherdom" and several others.

Individual essays in the volume have received attention but the volume in which they appeared has been disregarded. Paine himself gets even less respect, especially since 1963 when the facts about the text of *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916) were revealed. With regret I admit to having been one of those critics, regarding his alterations in the "Lyncherdom" essay. I want now to redress that wrong and credit Paine for his admirable achievements and most of all to acquit him for failing to meet standards of textual editing that didn't even exist yet. Paine's editing sought to make Twain "proper," which is what Twain himself had been doing for years. Take "Lyncherdom" for example. Twain did not publish it because of the strongly negative reaction it would provoke. Hats off to Paine, then, for boldly publishing it, modified but still vitriolic. Paine's practice (urged by Clara Clemens) was common in his time: publish what would favor the author. In this light, Paine's work with Twain's texts was typical, not egregious. His stunning accomplishments in Twain's behalf—biography, letters, speeches, autobiography, notebook—dominated the infancy of Twain studies the first half of the 20th century. They are still used and merit continuing respect. And—all important—it seems certain that he destroyed nothing.

As this relates to *Europe and Elsewhere*, work that I and others have done with several of the manuscripts shows that modern critical texts are needed for almost all 35. Just one bright example: Twain's essay "Shall We?," printed in the *North American Review* as "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," needs extensive work. Till they are edited, however, we will continue as we have for 90 years, to use Paine's texts and be grateful that we have them.

(Panel, page 18)

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

Delivery by Stagecoach to Placerville: Spirits and Limburger Cheese!

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, 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). Some of their works correlate to suggest the way Twain approached humorous material originally used by Ward.

Ward's three stories that Twain borrows for his own show Twain's narrative contraction and expansion abilities: Twain significantly contracts Ward's "Horace Greeley's Ride to Placerville" in *Roughing It*; he expands on Ward's ghost story "Among the Spirits" with a similar plot and the same title in his work *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, And other Sketches*. He greatly develops Ward's lecture on a coffin being transported with Limburger cheese's odor into "The Invalid's Story" in *Merry Tales*.

Ward's "Horace Greeley's Ride to Placerville" tells the *New York Tribune's* editor Horace Greeley's incredibly wild stagecoach ride to Placerville, California with the famous stagecoach driver Hank Monk. Greeley is continually worried about getting to Placerville on time. Monk's legendary reaction of "Keep your seat, Horace!" is ironic as Greeley is almost killed in the dangerously fast excursion (Ward 159). Yet in *Roughing It*, Twain feels that this story has been told too often and reduces Ward's eight-page story to one paragraph. His narrator relates the much-shortened anecdote as told to him by the driver, a Denver man, a cavalry sergeant, a Mormon preacher and, lastly, a "poor wanderer" saved by the company who begins the story, but is stopped by the narrator who feels that too many people have told the story too many times in too many literary venues (Twain, *Roughing It* 130-136).

"Among the Spirits" is Ward's 1865 story title used by Twain in 1867. Both relate how the skeptical narrator is asked to join a séance with the opportunity to talk with dead friends. Twain copies the rapping sound that the medium makes in response from the dead, but he enlarges the story to comment on how other audience members try to talk to the dead, whether the narrator will have the same fate, and the goal of the dead to rise to a perfect existence (Twain, "Spirits" 116-126).

Twain's "The Invalid's Story" is inspired by Ward's 1863 lecture "The Babes in the Wood" that Twain saw (Austin, "Ward" 71). Ward's relating of an escort to a casket containing Limburger cheese is only a short part of his lecture. His straight narrative builds quickly to the understated punch line. Twain's is more developed as a Southwestern yarn, with detailed plot,

setting, named characters, and extensive dialog added in an immediate first person viewpoint. Twain greatly describes the smell's effects as experienced by the narrator and the baggage man. The story's meaning has different interpretations. Twain borrowed Ward's ideas' geneses, developing them much further with his unique writing energies, helping us understand and laugh at ourselves.

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(Panel, page 5)

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Reesman, Jeanne Campbell. *University of Texas at San Antonio*.

Mark Twain vs. God: The Story of a Relationship.

Twain's relationship with God lies at the center of his work, rooted in both his life and his artistry. His obsession with God is plain, but despite a handful of important critical and biographical treatments of Twain and religion, his complex relationship with God Himself still raises important questions. Twain was an atheist, one hears, or he believed in God but only to hate Him, like a frontier Ahab. He "got" bitter, it is said. Twain did believe in God, but he often questions His ethics. Twain's relationship with God was a life-long struggle that generated his best works, fiction and non-fiction, from *The Innocents Abroad* to the cataclysm of *Connecticut Yankee* to the reverential biography *Joan of Arc*, precisely because of his struggle. Twain saw God as a petty, cruel, and capricious trickster, but there is a desire to believe. Twain has been so distorted in popular culture as a stereotype of the kindly humorist of traditional American culture and carefree frontier boyhood—white-washing the fence, as it were. His darkness is hard to see for some, and for others, once they see it that is all they can see. Thus one hears of the "theme" of "freedom" in *Huckleberry Finn* but not that that freedom is an illusion. Twain was one of those writers who in any era asks the right questions, and he sought answers both in faith and in darkness. He struggled to believe in a Christian God but generally did not succeed. Still God appears in characters and narrators in his many works—and sits front row center in the audience, the Judge of all things, but also being judged Himself. I present an overview of Twain vs. God beginning with his biography and family, then move on to Twain's versions of God; his definitions of Religion and the Church; what Lawrence Berkove calls his "Countertheology"; his attitudes toward the Old and New Testaments; his beliefs about Nature and God; his struggles to believe. I survey such works as *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), *Roughing It* (1872), *Tom Sawyer* (1876), *Huckleberry Finn* (1884), *Connecticut Yankee* (1889), *Following the Equator* (1897), *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896), *Christian Science* (1907), *The Mysterious Stranger* (1910, 2004), selected short and non-fiction. Like an Old Testament prophet, Twain told the world a good deal of what it didn't want to hear, especially his direct assault not just on social institutions like the church, but upon God Himself. Twain's opinion of humankind was low. But if humankind were depraved, Twain blamed God for making them the way He did, and he pitied as well as despised them. Twain's righteous anger at God tests the reader in many ways. Encountering Twain will not allow believers to spare themselves discernment about their beliefs, nor will it allow non-believers a simplistic version of a failed God or a simplistic version of Twain. Twain believed in God, but he wanted a better one.

(Panel, page 18)

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Reigstad, Thomas J. SUNY College at Buffalo Emeritus.

John Harrison Mills: Twain's Illustrator at the *Buffalo Express*.

This presentation will describe the personal and professional relationship between Twain and the staff illustrator at the *Buffalo Morning Express*, John Harrison Mills. Mills provided six wood-cut engraved drawings to accompany four of Twain's Saturday feature stories at the *Buffalo Express* in August and September of 1869. Mills, who was a writer as well as an artist, also belonged to a Buffalo literary society that welcomed Twain as a member when he first arrived in Buffalo as a bachelor. After Twain married and moved into a wedding present mansion in Buffalo, Mills visited the house and Twain sat for a portrait by Mills. Mills kept in touch with Twain over the years and published an excerpt of his (apparently now lost) reminiscences of Twain in the *Buffalo Sunday News* a month after Twain died in April of 1910.

I will share insights into their author-artist collaboration at the *Express*. Each of Mills' illustrations for Twain's stories will be displayed and examined for ways in which they highlight key comedic concepts in Twain's stories. The four illustrated stories appeared on the front page of the *Express*. Twain's two-part satirical look at Niagara Falls, "A Day at Niagara" and "English Festivities. And Minor Matters," was accompanied by four Mills drawings. Then, Twain's "Journalism in Tennessee" and "The Wild Man" each featured one of Mills' illustrations. Each drawing had a caption, presumably written by Twain. I will also describe the portrait that Mills painted of Twain, which survives in private hands, and his memorable account of Twain's physical characteristics. The presentation will also mention Mills' recollections of Twain's bachelor life in Buffalo, the interior of Twain's Buffalo mansion and his work habits at the *Express*. Samples of their correspondence long after Twain left Buffalo will also be discussed.

The presentation will give background information on Mills' Civil War heroism and his distinguished later career as a painter of Colorado landscapes. Some of the information will be gleaned from a new book on Mills and recent conversations I have had with his great-great grandson, Ellsworth "Chip" Mills III.

(Panel, page 16)

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Roark, Jarrod. *The Barstow School*.

Beneath Mark Twain: Detecting Sensational Residues in Twain's Early Writing.

By the time Samuel Clemens began writing journalism and crafting what he called the "sensation hoax" for Virginia City's *Territorial Enterprise* in 1862, Americans had been devouring sensational novels, stories, and journalism for two decades by such American writers as George Lippard, George Thompson, Edward Zane Carroll Judson, Sr., better known as "Ned Buntline," Emerson Bennett, and John Rollin Ridge, who sometimes wrote as "Yellow Bird," his translated Cherokee name. These writers, though only a few among many linked to the nineteenth-century Transatlantic genre of sensational fiction, were concerned with social reform in antebellum America, but they gained readership by writing tales about violent crime, punishment, and sex. Lippard and Thompson wrote about violent crime associated with disparate wealth distribution in the Metropolis, whereas Ridge and Bennett, for example, exposed racial and cultural violence in the American West. Indeed, Clemens, often writing as "Mark Twain," wrote about many related topics in his journalism and sensation hoaxes during the 1860s—state and personal justice, gender, class, race—while exploiting sensational literary depictions of violence that entertained readers but also encouraged readers to critique politics and the ethics of individual actions in the West.

Twain's western journalism (and that of his Sagebrush contemporaries) satisfied a similar role as publications like *The Hangman/Prisoners' Friend*, published by Charles W. Spear in the 1840s in Boston, and James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*, published in New York in the 1830s and '40s. According to Isaac Clarke Pray, who wrote Bennett's memoirs, Bennett's "means to attract the public to the *Herald*" included publishing mockeries of politicians and people in power and humorous and violent pieces that might "convulse the people with laughter" and "startle the gaping opposition editors, at breakfast."¹ Such language is reminiscent of Twain's when he wrote the "feats and calamities that we never hesitated about devising when the public needed matters of thrilling interest for breakfast. The seemingly tranquil ENTERPRISE office was a ghastly factory of slaughter, mutilation and general destruction in those days."² Western journalism, like Bennett's *Herald* in the east, responded formally to social issues such as crime and politics. Furthermore, Twain's journalism—like that of Spear, James Gordon Bennett, Emerson Bennett, George Thompson, Ned Buntline, John Rollin Ridge, and George Lippard—gained popularity because it critiqued violence while it instructed and entertained. Though Twain wrote with such methods in the 1860s, Lippard had pioneered such techniques in his books twenty years earlier.

A paragraph written by David S. Reynolds, buried in the middle of his Introduction for the 1995 edition of the George Lippard's *The Quaker City*; or, *The Monks of Monk Hall* (1845), offers a framework of interrogation for placing Twain within a study of sensational literature: Had Lippard's sensational novel influenced Mark Twain's writing? If so, how, and how can we

detect this influence? In that paragraph, Reynolds offers a short response. In this paper, I offer a response that extends beyond Twain's reading of Lippard and advances a larger idea about Twain's interaction with sensational literature. Twain had read Lippard's 1847 fictionalized account of Washington and mentioned Lippard and his book in an 1853 letter to his brother. But Twain also mentioned, satirized, and was influenced by Lippard, Bennett, and other sensational writers. This paper detects the residues of sensationalism in Twain's early writing and presents a literary verdict that places Twain's western writing in the lineage of sensation.

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(Panel, page 9)

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Rohman, Chad. *Dominican University.*

A Theory "weak as water": Twain's Uncertain Conclusions on Moral Training.

Mark Twain's lifelong musings on determinism and training were neither static nor consistent. Despite various works that ostensibly reveal his despairing conclusion that man is a machine, he was ultimately unconvinced by his theory. Although Hank Morgan complains that "We have no thoughts of our own, no opinions of our own; they are transmitted to us, trained into us," Twain would overtly satirize training via transmission in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg." His ever-evolving views on training also appear variously in some of his later-life writings, such as "The United States of Lyncherdom" (1901), "As Regards Patriotism" (1900, 1923), "A Fable" (1906), "The Turning Point of My Life" (1910), "The Dervish and the Offensive Stranger" (1900-01, 1923), Corn-Pone Opinions (1901, 1923, 1973), and in his posthumously published "The Lowest Animal" (1962). His gospel, *What Is Man?* (1906), is his most serious and sustained attempt to examine moral training. Despite the Old Man's bravado, however, *What Is Man?* reveals Twain's fundamental ambivalence on the subject.

(Panel, page 4)

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Romashova, Ksenia. *OVGU Magdeburg.*

The Use of Humor in the Correspondence of Mark Twain with 'the Aquarium Club' Members in the Final Years of the Writer (1905-1910).

To begin, I attempt to define the purpose and use of humor used by Mark Twain in his private correspondence with the members of the "Aquarium Club" (1905-1910). The study of the humor in the private correspondence of the writer with the circle of talented children as observed in the late years of Twain's life offers an intimate, private perspective. More than that, the correspondence of the aging writer shows how he tried to cope with hard times in his late phase of life. On the basis of the letters addressed to his young friends, it can be observed that until the end of 1909 Clemens made attempts to not take his aging seriously and to postpone the unpleasant results of this biotic process. For instance, in one of his letters to Dorothy Sturgis (December 6, 1908), Clemens defined these late years as a period when he "drifted over the 73-year frontier safely" (Cooley 239). This private letter addressed to a young girl who was only 12 years old proved that the writer tried to prevent any tone of frustration or despair in his tone. Furthermore, Mark Twain coped with his moments of despair and frustration with the aid of humor introduced in numerous activities presented in the correspondence—the humorist's constant use of jokes, self-irony, word-plays supported by funny drawings, and picturesque descriptions.

In the second and final section, I discuss some other common features in the correspondence. The writer adored his young pen-friends for their talents, and his humor served as a skillful means for the stimulation of their talents in their communication with the writer. At times, his humorous tone seemed to sound as a sort of teasing or humorous cheering. Twain had a habit of introducing numerous games with words in the letters. He took his intention seriously and considered his young pen-friends as absolutely equal interlocutors. At the same time, he used humor in a most delicate, casual, and rather emotional way. It served for the most friendly and emotionally frank interrelations.

As a conclusion, the study of the use of humor in the correspondence of Mark Twain with his Angelfish provides the impetus for an ongoing debate about the final years of the writer by showing this phase from the perspective of his private exchanges.

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(Panel, page 15)

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Ryan, Ann. *Le Moyne College*.

Race, Revenge and the Walking/Waking Dead in *Huckleberry Finn*.

Sometime before the publication of *Huck Finn* in 1885, Mark Twain chose to eliminate a passage from the text now known as “Jim’s Ghost story.” Few critics have mourned the loss of yet another scene in which Jim is both terrorized and humiliated. Yet, within this passage, Jim is not simply the object of horror, he is also the source of it. Just as his story of flying around the world on a witch’s broom empowers Jim within the slave community, his tale of the waking dead man, allows Jim to orchestrate an experience of terror for a white audience, namely Huck Finn. Twain’s decision to excise the passage reflects his own anxieties, and those of the culture he lives in, about the status of black men in America. If black men in the novel are often portrayed as quivering in fear, they also haunt the imaginative landscape of the white characters they encounter. And, while the white-hooded figure lying in wait for Jim on a dark and stormy night, is a nightmare scenario for African Americans, the fate of that dead white man—soon to be dismembered and disposed of—may also conjure the fears of white Americans as well. Twain’s ambivalence about his own narrative ~ whether it is a story of gothic revenge or a comic burlesque of the same—is equally a reflection of his ambivalence about black men and the wider national narrative being constructed around and about them. In *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Mark Twain deploys the tropes and forms of the literary gothic, from Hamlet to Hawthorne to Poe, often for burlesque effect; yet he also draws on the psychological and cultural functions of the gothic to explore the haunting legacy of slavery—from Nat Turner and Frederick Douglass to Jim Crow and the Klan.

Beginning with Jim’s ghost story and ending with Pap Finn who is, in the final chapter, both dead and resurrected, this paper will follow the ways in which Twain both invites a reading of American racial history while also eliding the truths that make that history gothic. At the end of the novel, Jim has brought into the light the dead corpse he fears earlier in the text, thus, signaling an uneasy closure to his gothic narrative. In this regard, Jim is less marginalized in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* than he is repressed; like the laughing black skeleton at the end of No. 44 or the violence of Tom Driscoll in *Pudd’nhead*, Jim’s fear marks the boundary of his rage—an anger that haunts the subtext of the novel, as much as the world of Mark Twain.

(Panel, page 3)

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Salwen, Peter. *Independent Scholar*.

Mark Twain, New York, and the Ascent from Racism.

That Mark Twain was quite familiar with New York—and vice versa—is no surprise. Sam Clemens and the city of New York were both pretty young and raw when they first met, in 1853; but each grew rapidly in stature and by century’s end the rowdy, semi-barbaric Atlantic seaport had become the world’s metropolis, while the footloose journeyman printer had become its most celebrated and beloved writer. Throughout all those years Twain maintained wide-ranging personal and business connections with the city. He published books there, wrote for its leading periodicals, spoke to overflow audiences in its theaters and meeting halls, participated in its politics and finally made the city his home for most of the last decade of his life, when the New York papers all knew, or so he claimed, “that no large question is ever really settled until I have been consulted.” As Twain himself put it, and then proved by his own example, “Make your mark in New York, and you are a made man.”

This paper explores the long-standing relationship between these two great icons of the Gilded Age, the city and the man. It arose out of an urban walking tour, “Mark Twain’s New York,” which I have conducted on a fairly regular basis for nearly thirty years. The tour itself was inspired by a 1985 writing project, a sesquicentennial *Newsday* article on “Mark Twain, the New Yorker,” and at first it was no more than a loosely organized stroll around a number of Twain-related sites and landmarks in lower Manhattan. But each repetition presented an opportunity for fresh research, and thanks to the dedicated and indefatigable community of Twain scholars there was always some new insight or bit of new information to be added.

The result has been a steadily increasing appreciation of the pivotal role played by New York and New Yorkers in Twain’s life and career, from the Artemus Ward connection (which got the seminal “Jumping Frog” story written and into print) to the *Quaker City* excursion (source of *The Innocents Abroad*) and much more, up to and including what one of our greatest Twain scholars, Louis J. Budd, once described as “perhaps the brightest side of [Twain’s] whole intellectual career . . . his progress away from racism.”

All this eventually compelled me to a somewhat counterintuitive conclusion—though for a New Yorker, a highly gratifying one: that New York, no less than, say, Hannibal or Virginia City, must be numbered among those key environments that helped determine the shape and direction of Mark Twain’s life and career. Of course, Sam Clemens was manifestly a born literary genius and a man of astounding industry and ambition, and it’s hard to believe that he would have failed to “make his mark” whatever his place and circumstances. But it’s also true that his life and career as they actually played out would have been impossible—unimaginable, fact—without his New York connections and experiences.

(Panel, page 5)

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On Twain's Late Style: Growing Old in "The Refuge of the Derelicts."

In this paper, I take a look at Mark Twain's "The Refuge of the Derelicts" (1905-06), a novella-length unfinished story, and delve into his philosophy of life. One of the most underappreciated works of his later years, "The Refuge" is still important because here Twain grapples with the theme of aging. This story starts with George Sterling, a young artist, visiting 80-year-old Admiral Stormfield to seek his patronage. George meets a number of people who are defeated by life and are now under Stormfield's protection; through this experience George gradually opens his eyes to the bitter truth of life. An initiation story with a trenchant twist, "The Refuge" has a plot similar to Twain's other works in this period, such as No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*. However, "The Refuge" is special because many of its characters are as old as Twain himself was at the time.

"The Refuge" can be read as a collection of character sketches of elderly people who have suffered misfortunes rather than as a narrative with a linear storyline. The old people in the story are not completely fictional; for example, one of the characters is based on Orion Clemens, who ended his life after a string of failures. Stormfield's guests, some recognizable from Twain's own life, are not 'old' simply because they have lived long. Twain offers the view that it is one's encounter with misfortune that makes one old. This outlook on life is also noticeable in Twain's earlier writings. In "The Enchanted Sea-Wilderness" (1896), an old sailor recounts his experience of drifting at sea and meeting his alter ego, embodied by a dilapidated old ship. Written shortly after Twain's own financial ruin and the death of his daughter Susie, this unfinished tale is a fable of a man's aging caused by encountering misfortune, and could thus be considered a precursor of "The Refuge."

While emphasizing the idea that encounters with misfortune makes one old, Twain takes a step further to inquire why creatures in this world, supposedly under the protection of 'special providence,' are plagued by misery. As a culmination of this somber meditation, which verges on atheism, "The Refuge" ends with a stunning vision projected onto a screen by a naturalist. The theme of encountering misfortune is transposed into the Darwinian world of fierce survival that involves bees and spiders. Given this climactic juxtaposition of natural science with religion, the eccentric project of making 'Adam's monument,' a frequent topic throughout the story, can be understood as a symbol of the decline of Christian morals at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In his final years, Twain devoted himself to seeing humanity from his own unique standpoint, both cynical and compassionate, and "The Refuge" is no exception. In this story, he ruminates on man's position from the double perspective of science and religion. Growing old in turn-of-the-century America provided Twain as a writer a unique opportunity to observe both the life of man as an individual and the plodding of mankind as one of many species on earth.

(Panel, page 12)

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See, Raven. *Boston College.*

From the River to the Road: Tracing Twain's Influence in Kerouac's *On the Road*.

In this paper, I intend to explore Twain's legacy by looking at the way his work influenced another iconic American writer: Jack Kerouac. Kerouac's early journals are littered with references to Twain's work and throughout much of 1948 his entries include the simple phrase "read Twain." Critic and Beat writer Joyce Johnson's latest book *The Voice is All: The Lonely Victory of Jack Kerouac* traces the development of Kerouac's *On the Road*. She points to 1947 and 1948 as the formative years in which the first versions of this text came to life. Using Johnson's research and Kerouac's journals, my paper explores Twain's influence on Kerouac's now famous American novel. Kerouac consciously sought to place himself in a larger literary tradition and he points to Twain as one of his American literary forefathers: "Read Mark Twain again tonight and I believe I am discovering another hero, an American hero in the mainstream with Whitman and Wolfe" (Kerouac Journal Monday March 15, 1948). In this paper, I place *On the Road* in conversation with *Huckleberry Finn* to explore the way Twain's river influences, and arguably even becomes, Kerouac's road. Both the river and the road offer access to the American landscape and serve as a vehicle for thinking about an American tradition and heritage. Similarly, both have been read as symbols of American Freedom and self-discovery.

In drawing this comparison, I aim to complicate these texts and the icons they have become. Both novels have acquired a kind of fervent following and many readers have become invested in preserving their almost mythological status. In *The Critic's Dream Mark Twain: Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* Michael Kiskis pushed back against Huck's "unquestionably canonical" status and I aim to do a similar service for Kerouac's *Road*. While *On the Road* has not been canonized in the same way as *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, it has been held up as the triumphant bible of the Beat Generation. Many readers and even scholars remain invested in preserving the text as an example of spontaneous writing that captures an adventurous undaunted American spirit. However, as Johnson's work has begun to reveal, Kerouac's scroll was a product of years of practice

and revision and his final product is less a story of American independence and more one of an outsider's malaise. Twain's Huckleberry Finn and Kerouac's Dean Moriarty are celebrated figures as one lights out for the territory and the other goes on the road. In my comparison, I hope to offer a more complex, if not ambivalent, reading of Finn and Moriarty. I connect Finn's abusive and often missing father to the always absent Old Dean Moriarty and pose the question how do these quintessential American stories change if the movement that drives them is not an affirmation of self reliance but a quest for a missing father?

(Panel, page 11)

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Mapping the Popular Reception of Twain in India.

Until the late 1960s British literature formed the mainstay of English literature programs in Indian Universities. Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was one of the first American texts to be introduced in the university curriculum in India. The inclusion was probably influenced by the book's antiracist content, quite in keeping with the mood of political and social reform in independent India. The Indian progressive writers battling the oppressive structures based on caste, class and gender could relate to Twain's self critical view of the limits of egalitarian ideologies. The intensification of communal, casteist, regionalist and other particularistic loyalties in post-independence India, generated interest in works like *Huckleberry Finn* which engage with the complexities and contradictions of a unified nation-state.

Twain is undoubtedly the most popular 19th century American writer in India even today. Not only are his books a staple part of school and university curricula, his works also find a place in popular culture in the form of adaptations for juvenile readers, graphic novels and film versions. His fictional works, notably *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, have been translated in Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and other Indian languages. Scholars of Twain in India have claimed that it is Twain's stand on racism and imperialism that finds a resonance with Indian readership. His critique of Euro-American imperialism and global capitalism, which became much more scathing in his later writings, has ensured his continued importance in academia. However, in the popular sphere in India Twain is seen primarily as a humorist and children's writer. The various adaptations and translations of his works for juvenile readers have mostly ignored the social satire in his writings. The popular adaptations of *Huckleberry Finn* in different Indian languages reduce the book to a tale of boyhood adventures. This paper will focus on a recent (2010) graphic novel in Hindi aimed at young readers. Titled *Huckleberry Finn ke Romanchak Karname*, this book seeks to bridge the gap between academic and popular reception of Twain in India. Brief notes at the end of the novel on the role of river Mississippi in slave trade, the Underground Railroad, the abolitionist movement, incidents from the lives of slaves like Harriet Tubman and Henry Box Brown, etc., encourage the young Hindi readers to approach the text in the context of the 19th century history of slavery and racism in America. This paper will attempt to analyze the graphics, the language and the selection of incidents in this adaptation to chalk out the book's improvement upon previous translations and also the lacunas which still persist. This translation, for example, glosses over Twain's use of various dialects by choosing standard Hindi for all the characters. This paper will further argue that sensitive translations of *Huckleberry Finn* in Indian languages can socialize young readers into a culture of tolerance through awareness of the deep-seated prejudices against Dalits and African Americans as part of the two nation's history.

(Panel, page 10)

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Nature as Redeemer: Mark Twain and Mary Oliver.

Most people do not think of Mark Twain as a nature writer, but his depiction of the natural world and its ability to transform the individual suggests that this reading may not be as far-fetched as it may at first seem. Further, a comparison of Twain with the modern American poet Mary Oliver, who is clearly a nature writer, illustrates that Twain, like Oliver, found solace in nature in both good times and bad. In the works of both authors, nature becomes the redeemer. This is the case in Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and in several of Mary Oliver's poems.

Because of the role the river plays in the novel, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* stands as perhaps the best example in Twain's literary works of nature as redeemer. The river, often recognized as a character in this novel, is a vehicle to freedom for both Huck and Jim. In a sense, both Huck and Jim are slaves to their culture, and the river allows them the freedom to revert to a more natural state, one in which the laws of society appear as they are, or at least as Twain saw them: unnatural.

Mary Oliver has a clear reverence for nature. For her, being in nature is transformative, and she often expresses this transformation in religious terms that extend beyond the orthodox and into the mystical. Like Huck, who rejects the “laws” of institutional religion, Oliver’s personas often reject strict institutionalized definitions and find happiness in the here and now. In “Yellow,” for example, she differentiates between “the heaven we enter/through institutional grace” and the heaven we experience when observing “the yellow finches bathing and singing/in the lowly puddle.” For Oliver, redemption clearly can be found in nature.

Although both authors revel in nature, neither idealizes it. Even the natural world has its dangers. However, beyond that danger is redemption, and nature serves as a model and setting for that redemption. The natural setting allows Huck to find redemption for the sins of his culture. In a similar way, nature serves as a model for redemption in Oliver’s work. In *Thirst* in particular, Oliver reveals how nature, which had always held deep meaning to her, became an even more powerful source of inspiration as it helped her to face the loss of the person dearest to her. The loss makes her appreciate nature all the more.

Also, it is the natural world that both Twain and Oliver turn to when they need respite. It was the nature at Quarry Farm that frequently unlocked Twain’s creativity and allowed him to escape the horrors of the world, and it was the nature of her beloved Blackwater Pond that allowed Mary Oliver to heal after the death of the person closest to her. For the authors as well as for their creations, nature was the redeemer.

(Panel, page 1)

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Sloane, David. *University of New Haven*.

The N-Word in *Huck Finn*, Further Considered.

Over 200 uses of a word considered offensive seems egregious even by Mark Twain’s standards. Yet, Twain scholars pretty uniformly agree that he was sensitive to racial feelings. In this paper I will assess the density of the word in certain places, and the character of Huck Finn, its user, in suggesting that Twain was a more conscious craftsman of his work than we might guess were we to go solely by the macho snap judgment of the chief character in Ernest Hemingway’s “The Snow of Kilimanjaro.”

First, let’s dispose of the excuse that Twain was merely painting a realistic picture of the period. Twain as a humorist was happy to pile all kinds of anachronisms onto his novel. The argument from Realism, in fact, bears more on Huck Finn’s own personality as a red-neck kid with a poisoned conscience. Noticeable in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* is the almost complete absence of the N-word in a book where—occupying the same time period—it might be said to be expected. One use occurs early in the novel. The others are late and stand out in Huck’s own speech and especially in his self-effacing speech about taking hand-outs from a Negro, a fact he would not want generally known. It establishes Huck’s persona as racist.

Looking for the most dense uses of the N-word, the first and most notable is in pap Finn’s infamous “call this a gov’ment” speech. The precedent was set by the model speech in J. T. Trowbridge’s *Cudjo’s Cave* where a drunken character who could easily be pap himself launches a fearful diatribe against free Negroes, calls for their lynching, and falls into a tub on which he is standing. We count 7-9 uses within a page and a half at that point, pounding home the point that racism, drunkenness, inhumanity reaching to psychopathology, and the poor white outsider mar any familial experience that Huck might undergo, as well as denying the values of education and decency in a black person.

Twain then weaves the word itself into the argument over what constitutes humanity. Later, Huck observes that you can’t teach a n--- to argue, after he is defeated by Jim’s logic that a Frenchman should talk like a man. Linked to the discussion of humanity, the whole scene turns logic topsy-turvy, as does the n-word itself turn social logic into perverse judgment rather than reasoned assessment. Another important use of the word comes in the oft-cited sequence in which Aunt Polly asks if anyone was hurt in the imaginary steamboat explosion, to which Huck brilliantly responds, in camouflage he thinks of a normal southern child, “No’m, killed a n---,” to which Polly responds that that is good since sometimes “people” do get hurt. Twain employs the word to place the definition of a human being under review. Twain has now reinforced in our sense as readers that something about the n-word relates to the issue of humanity.

Chapter 42 and the concluding chapter are the final focal points. The doctor, a professional man, recognizes merit and speaks for Jim. But he speaks in the language of racism: “he ain’t a bad n---.” We are treated to an extended speech praising Jim which in fact damns him. To make sure we understand that the racist cliché represents the dominant motivation, the phrase is repeated. This reinforcement is Twain’s insistence that we understand society is unchanged. Huck’s appreciation of the doctor suggests that Huck himself remains aligned with the doctor’s position even though his humanity has shifted in individual application.

Twain’s fictional manipulation of “n---” is integral to the book and so sub-consciously persuasive that it readily explains why scholars bridle at the idea of removing the word. The removal of the word from a text by Alan Gribben, as good a

friend of Twain as he is a scholar, is active, not tacit, recognition that the word retains its power to state the racist bigotry of its users and continues to present a still active and oozing divide in American social experience, and highlights Twain's purposive manipulation of reader psychology.

(Panel, page 3)

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Ah, Coyote.

That town dog was the easy part.

No one has brought the *Roughing It* coyote more celebrity than Henry Nash Smith did fifty years ago in *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer*. Since then, just about everybody who's written about Mark Twain's coyote has argued one version or another of what Smith argued first: that the coyote embodies vernacular values of the American West, a way of life into which the (conventional, eastern) town dog is initiated via a paws-on process that culminates in a clarifying come-down. "The sad-looking coyote is really a triumphant figure," Smith says, and his humiliation of the tenderfoot town dog renders him not only victorious but transcendent. At the moment during his escapade with the town dog when the air cracks and the coyote disappears, Smith claims that this "secret seems actually to release him from the laws of nature."

I agree with Smith that the *Roughing It* coyote's perfect accommodation to his environment makes him a force of nature—and maybe for a moment a force *beyond* nature. But that moment passes almost as quickly as the coyote himself. The book makes clear that in the long run the town dog will win. Has in fact already won.

Roughing It shows that the coyote is about to be overrun by a train traveling a mile a minute. Not even he will outdistance the rushing locomotive, any more than the indigenous vernacular values he embodies will avoid extinction by overexposure to the bullying cultural hegemony of "the states." Those values will not triumph—except momentarily in this book, which will, like the coyote himself, embody them, even as its author acknowledges not only that he himself, now a settled easterner, no longer embodies them but that they are nowhere any longer available for embodying. The historical and psychological moment that *Roughing It* captures passes, quickly: "an interesting episode," the book's author calls it, "a curious episode." If, as Smith says, the narrator's trip west is "a withdrawal from the society of [the States], . . . an act of alienation, a voluntary exile," one consequence of the railroad's arrival in the West is to repatriate or exterminate him and his kind by overtaking them.

Leaving only the coyote to skulk and forage on—and from time to time to cast a baleful eye upon the fiery locomotive as it goes thundering past, its enormous, inexorable power seeming to release it from the laws of nature.

(Panel, page 1)

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Stewart, Robert E. *Independent Scholar*.

Who Were Those Men?

While Samuel Langhorne Clemens was making new friends in the Old West of Nevada Territory, Mark Twain emerged. In this talk I want to introduce you to a few of the people Sam was living and working with at that time.

After Sam and his older brother Orion stepped off a stagecoach in Carson City in late August 1861, Orion took up his post as Territorial Secretary. Sam, a footloose tenderfoot, roamed around the raw western Territory for a year and a month sampling various activities. Then he joined the staff of the *Territorial Enterprise*. Four months after that, Mark Twain made his first appearance in Sam's writing.

Published biographies relative to this brief but critical period in Sam Clemens' life have been based primarily on his letters, and in 21 of the 79 chapters of *Roughing It*. New research techniques provide an opportunity to learn more about Sam Clemens' experiences.

In July 1861, James W. Nye became governor of the new Nevada Territory. Nye said he would only accept the job if his administration could be made up of "border men"—men who lived on the edges of civilization. That experience gave them a unique perspective on life that probably influenced the development of Mark Twain.

After George Turner of Ohio was appointed territorial chief justice, John Kinney accompanied him on the stagecoach trip west. John, who lived 200 miles down the Ohio River from Turner, came along for a look-see at the West. Within three days of his arrival, he joined Sam Clemens in a fifteen-mile mountain hike up to Lake Tahoe.

Gov. Nye's brother, Capt. John Nye, came to California during the Gold Rush. John and his son Thomas joined Gov. Nye in Carson City. Tom was born in Alabama. The Nye family was from upstate New York. The heretofore unreported back-story involves Alabama courts and Tom's personal slave.

Sam Clemens roomed and boarded with members of a group he called “The Brigade.” Led by Capt. Nye, they made a timber claim on the Nevada shore of Lake Tahoe and held a franchise to build a toll road to the lake. It was their dinner table talk that led Sam to propose the Tahoe trip to Johnny, to seek their own timber claim and reap “easy riches.”

Another resident of the 14-man boarding house with Sam Clemens was Clement T. Rice, reporter for the *Silver Age* Newspaper. Later, calling him “The Unreliable,” Mark Twain would skewer Rice regularly in the *Enterprise*. Like all of the people above, each has a fuller story, and each helps us understand the life and times of Sam Clemens in the Territory.

The first article lampooning The Unreliable was printed February 3, 1863. It was signed “Yours, Dreamily, Mark Twain”—which brings us back to the theme for this Seventh Elmira Conference.

(Panel, page 15)

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Sweets, Henry H. III. *Executive Director, Mark Twain Boyhood Home & Museum.*

Dr. Orville R. Grant and Hannibal: More Puzzles than Fact.

In his *Autobiography*, Mark Twain records: “In 1847 we were living in a large white house on the corner of Hill and Main Streets.”¹ In other passages he relates that they were living with Dr. Grant, Mrs. Grant, and Mrs. Grant’s mother, Mrs. Crawford. He then relates stories about Dr. Grant’s injury in a sword fight, Dr. Peake and Mrs. Crawford reminiscing about old times in Virginia, and the mesmerizer story. Based primarily on this account, Hannibal officials in the late 1950s rehabilitated the two story frame structure on the southwest corner of Hill and Main Streets, known as the “Pilaster House” to house “Grant’s Drug Store” on the first floor and living quarters for the Grants on the second floor. It has been advertised as Grant’s Drug Store for 50+ years.

A question from Victor Fisher at the Mark Twain Project for background on Dr. Grant for the next volume of the *Mark Twain’s Autobiography* set us on a quest to research Grant. To my surprise, very little information was available. None of the locally printed materials gave verifiable information about Dr. Grant. He does not appear in either the 1840 nor 1850 census for Hannibal. He never owned the building, so does not appear on tax nor deed records.

This places the Museum with a dilemma, The story perpetuated since the 1950s has little verifiable facts. Our problem is: How do we responsibly represent history and Mark Twain when documentary evidence is sparse? We started further research.

Barbara Schmidt supplied the first clues with searches that found Orville R. Grant coming from Kentucky, receiving a degree from the Louisville Medical Institute, probably being a cousin of U. S. Grant, and his wife’s name.

Hannibal newspapers before October of 1846 were destroyed in fires and only a few issues survive. Thus, documentary evidence is sparse. We will trace investigations which have revealed:

Grant’s medical training, documentary evidence of his being in Hannibal from newspaper notices, Independent Order of Odd Fellows affiliation, wide-spread newspaper reports of his wounds from a duel, and location of an office used by Grant and another doctor for their joint practice.

Remaining puzzles still unresolved include:

Documentary proof Grant lived in the Pilaster House, other than Mark Twain’s recollection;

Did Dr. Grant operate a drug store;

Did Dr. Grant use any of the first floor of the Pilaster House; and,

Determining the time span Dr. Grant was in Hannibal.

This research is vital for the future plans of the Mark Twain Museum as we near restoration of the Pilaster House and preparation of new exhibits. The focus of these exhibits needs a sound footing with historical documentation that can be verified.

¹ *The Autobiography of Mark Twain* edited by Charles Neider, pages 54-58.

(Panel, page 9)

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Tromp, Alicia. *Université Paris Diderot, France.*

Post-Humanist Creatures and Menippean Satire in Mark Twain’s “3,000 Years among the Microbes.”

“Loose and wandering and garrulous” is what the “translator” calls “3,000 Years among the Microbes,” a parodic (anti-)narrative Mark Twain wrote in 1905. In this pseudo-autobiography, the narrator—a certain Huck Bkshp—finds himself metamorphosed into a microbe. Gradually, his human consciousness disintegrates, as he loses touch with his former conceptions of time, aesthetics, history, mathematics, and language. To a certain extent, Twain’s story could be said to anticipate Mod-

ernist writing. Linear time is jumbled by contradictory footnotes; the narrator is thoroughly unreliable, possibly insane; the self no longer provides the autobiographical text with a coherent, rational center. Moreover, in order to lampoon traditional geocentric and anthropocentric perspectives, Twain's narrator draws on exactly those scientific developments that inaugurated Modernist sensibilities.

Yet Twain's novella superimposes an additional layer of satire, which critiques late-nineteenth-century scientific accounts of the human. Through the satire of the satire of anthropocentrism, the text's anchorage is unsettled. Critical readings of Twain's story have focused on the dislocation of the human subject that the first part of the narrative seems to effect, but often ignore the implications of the second half, which is marked by Huck's realization that his body keeps human – rather than microbic–time. From that point onwards, the narrator slowly but surely regains his humanness. His perspective remains deeply anthropocentric, and his satire of contemporary and social ills takes center stage. In order to write this satire, Huck Bkshp draws on a fixed ethical and moral vision of humanity—of what the “human” *should* look like. As theorists of satire have shown, in spite of its disruptive appearances, satire often relies on norms and essentialist accounts of the “human,” targeting that which deviates from both normalcy and normativity. Twain's microbic fantasy thus reflects a constitutive tension that has been running through the history of satire as a literary mode: a vacillation between subversion and normativity, chaos and underlying order.

In Twain's story, this tension manifests itself in the multiplication of various superimposed layers of satire. The text's radical undecidability calls for an exploration of Menippean satire as the genre from which this text borrows its inspiration. According to Bakhtin, Menippean satire is the satire of ideas. It consists of the unbridled, extravagant adventures of an idea as it is put to the test, traveling along in picaresque mode. In particular, it plays with the latest, most fashionable theories. Twain's story is replete with references to Menippean satires, such as Apuleius' *Golden Ass* and *Gulliver's Travels* by Swift. Furthermore, because of its Cynical heritage, Menippean satire centers upon the idea of Truth. Twain's microbic scientists are satirized because they still believe in Truth—a truth mingling alchemy, theology, and scientific positivism.

Reading this lesser-known yet fascinating text in the light of both Modernism and Menippean satire shows how Twain's deep-rooted interest in philosophy was above all inscribed within his fiction. If Twain's text bears the hallmarks of early Modernist experimentation, it does so because it explores—rather than endorses—the dawning century's aesthetic and philosophical upheavals in a deeply satirical, Menippean way.

(Panel, page 18)

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Tsuji, Kazuhiko. *Kinki University*.

Which Was the Orient?: Mark Twain's “Which Was the Dream?” and Asian Thoughts.

In 1897, Mark Twain wrote “Which Was the Dream?”—a story left unfinished and unpublished in his lifetime. In the story, Thomas X., a successful man, loses everything in a fire, but the events seem to be a dream later. This story should belong to Twain's “Dream Writings” manuscripts, in which anyone, including the characters themselves, cannot easily distinguish reality from dreams. This seems to be a unique idea for us living in the post-modern world, however, in the traditional societies of Asia, such a theme is not abnormal.

In his famous and poetic exercitation, “Zhuangzi dreamed he was a butterfly,” Zhuangzi, the ancient Chinese philosopher, confessed he could not understand whether his own world should be classified as a reality or a dream. This important view of Asian life has a great deal of similarity to Twain's thinking in his “Which Was the Dream?” After “Zhuangzi dreamed he was a butterfly,” several legends and stories with similar themes were written in China, and, in such stories, readers cannot readily draw a line between realities and unrealities. In Japan, as well as in China, people have not often clearly distinguished between realities and dreams. We can find these traces in the “Zen” world, and, of course, in the literary world.

Had Mark Twain ever read “Zhuangzi dreamed he was a butterfly”? Did he understand Asian views about life? Biographical studies may not give clear answers to these questions, but Mark Twain had traveled through the oriental worlds in 1895-96, and, building on these experiences, had written and published *Following the Equator* in 1897. In several chapters, Twain showed his amazements, embarrassments, and puzzlements over “the Orient.”

“Which Was the Dream?” is filled with “oriental” fragments. Before the fire accidents and the bankruptcy, Jake, “the colored butler,” is hunted by Tom and his daughters in the library in their amusement. The story should be called an “oriental” discourse owning the features that Edward Said had pointed out in his books. Although Jake is “free, by grace of Alice” (Tom's wife), he is still “hunted” in the American “jungle” as a lion or a tiger of the Third World. One of the colonial structures of the age is surely projected on this sequence.

Many critics have indicated that Mark Twain, the world literary genius, saw through the contradictions and deceptions of slavery and colonialism. Would there be some possibility that he had already anticipated the uncertainty and vagueness of

the post-modern world? In his last decade, his writings contained strange colors which had not been used before. Some people called this period “pessimistic,” but it might be said to be more complicated, abstract, and complex. In my presentation, I will show how Mark Twain tried to comprehend the difficult borders between reality and dreams and pursue what he wanted to depict in his “Which Was the Dream?”

(Panel, page 10)

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Uzawa, Yoshiko. *Keio University.*

The Twain-Togo Nexus: Strategic Use of Yellowface in Literary Journalism of Wallace Irwin.

Hashimura Togo through his funny “letters” was a popular Japanese schoolboy-cum-columnist of his day. Created first in 1907 by the Scotch-Irish writer Wallace Irwin (1875-1959), then a staff writer of the New York weekly *Collier's*, the column featuring the fictitious Japanese servant fascinated millions of Americans in the first half of the twentieth century. The Togo column was rooted squarely in the American popular tradition of racial masquerade. The tradition of blackface and yellowface minstrelsy prepared the reader of the Togo column to simultaneously read it as a double-edged social commentary and enjoy it unproblematically as a humorous entertainment. Even Togo’s hilariously fractured “Japanned” English, the staple of his humorous writings, functioned as a means to remove the smug mask of American (middle-class) values while casting light on the confusion beneath.

Mark Twain was the first person to publicly appreciate the literary merit of yellowface narrative in the Togo columns. Finding in Togo an ideal fool to produce deadpan humor, the father of American literature sent a letter of appreciation to *Collier's* to shower Togo with superlatives: “That boy is the dearest & sweetest & frankest & wisest & funniest & delightfulest & lovablest creation that has been added to our literature for a long time. I think he is permanency & I hope so, too.” *Collier's* published this letter of July 6th 1908 with a caption of “A Letter from Mark Twain” in the issue of August 8th, and those words quoted above made excellent advertisement for the column and the newspaper. Pseudo-Japanese that he was, Togo was to be known thereafter as “Mark Twain’s pet.” Togo’s schoolboy columns eventually gained national popularity in the 1910s and early 1920s. Paramount Pictures released the film *Hashimura Togo* (1917), starring the Japanese Hollywood star Sessue Hayakawa. And major publishing houses produced four books, anthologizing the best of his works serialized in such magazines and syndicated newspapers as *Collier's*, *Good Housekeeping*, *The American Magazine*, *Sunset*, *Life*, and *The New York Times*. As per request, Irwin sent Twain a copy of the first Togo book titled *Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy*, which appears in the Twain’s library catalogue.

Togo is addicted to honorifics, invents unconventional phrases, and makes seemingly meaningless mistakes in grammar and spelling. Fabricated ethnic accent that accentuates the Togo column has been subject to severe criticism especially from Asian American scholars. They considered the persona Hashimura Togo to be just another racist Anglo-American caricature of Asians. Frank Chin and Jeffrey Paul Chan coined the term “racist love” in order to denote the motivation of this column’s yellowface masquerade. However, we argue that the Togo column is a far more complex and ambivalent narrative than previously understood. In this column purportedly written by Togo, everyone speaks with Togo accents regardless of his or her social status. This indiscriminate use of essentially discriminatory language humorously punctures the pomp and pride it portrays, sparing none. This is the aspect of Togo that actual Japanese immigrants, the majority employed as domestic laborers, took earnest interest in, to exploit various possibilities opened up by Togo’s ascent to social visibility.

The hitherto neglected Twain-Togo/Irwin nexus is the focus of this paper. By examining the letters they exchanged, their autobiographical writings, and their works featuring racial otherness, we argue that their worlds significantly overlap. The appeal of a fictitious alien transgressing cultural and linguistic borders must have been irresistible to the globe-wandering author of humorous travel accounts. In Togo, we find a vernacular character that combines the serious social criticism of Ah Song Hi (in “Goldsmith’s Friend Abroad Again”) and the attempted comedy of errors of Ah Sin (in the play Twain co-authored with Bret Harte), a combination Twain might have dreamt of, but did not accomplish. It would be three decades before astute social commentary and slapstick comedy that Twain initiated were united in the vernacular narrator of alleged Asian descent, Hashimura Togo by Wallace Irwin.

(Panel, page 17)

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Unlike Muff Potter in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, Injun Joe speaks almost grammatically with few slang expressions. He uses "ain't," "warn't," and "jug," but they are common usages of expressions in the South.

J. Hurley and Roberta Hagood show the story of Joe Douglass, a native American orphan in Hannibal, who is supposed to be one of the prototypes of Injun Joe. Joe Douglass was a self-made man in this town, since he earned his meager living through carrying "grips and baggage from the steamboats" to the hotel and bought lots in Hannibal which "became known as Douglassville, an area in which Negro people built homes" (Hagood 31).

In Hannibal, some white people taught free African Americans reading and writing English, in spite of a Missouri state law, in 1847, forbidding the teaching of African Americans and mulattoes in reading and writing. Ms. Hagood reports that "this law was not enforced in Hannibal, because the white sympathizers continued to go around to the free Negroes' houses and teach them" (Hagood 37). Perhaps Joe Douglass was among the sympathized since he used almost proper English.

Clemens possibly did not meet Joe Douglass but got some information about him from, undoubtedly, Jane Clemens. Harriet Smith makes it clear through her "Explanatory Notes" to the *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, saying, "Some Hannibal residents thought that he was based on a half-Cherokee man named Joe Douglass, but Douglass himself claimed that he did not arrive in Hannibal until 1862, nine years after Clemens had left" (Clemens 531). Jane kept in touch with the people in Hannibal even after she left Hannibal in 1853 and gave to her son important information and her opinion about Native Americans as well. Samuel made fun of her prejudice through his depiction of several native women in his letters, and in *Tom Sawyer*, he shatters her idea through the character of Injun Joe.

Injun Joe has energy profound enough to narrate his life. He was jailed for a vagrant and horsewhipped, which gives him strong power to bend his indirect revenge on Dr. Robinson and Widow Douglass. If he were to be given an opportunity to tell his autobiographical story, he could do it in good English and get a large audience. Twain's autobiographical plan began from the 1870s, and just then, in writing *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, he found Injun Joe had already become too deep a creature to be included in his autobiographical plan and excluded him.

In his *Autobiography*, Mark Twain pretended to dictate the absolute truth about his life, but in vain. He could not confess almost anything about Native Americans in his *Autobiography*. In his posthumous fiction, "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians," Twain tried to write about their cruel nature, but he couldn't. He also heard of a self-made, admired American native, Joe Douglass, but he did not employ his own story, since it may be a harsh revengeful story. Samuel Clemens could not express these feelings objectively in Twain's *Autobiography*.

(Panel, page 8)

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"Drop Sentiment, and Come Down to Business": Debt and the Disintegration of 'Manly' Character in "Indiantown" and "Which Was It?"

In 2005 Peter Messent sketched how Twain's post-bankruptcy fragment "Which Was the Dream?" reflects anxiety about masculinity and authorship, noting that the "topic . . . has been relatively neglected in Mark Twain Studies" (57). For Twain as a writer deeply involved in both domestic life and publishing work, "the 'male' world of business and the supposedly 'female' realm of sentiment" were linked rather than severed, leaving his "larger sense of male identity" particularly vulnerable to damage through bankruptcy (65). Twain's "reclamation of manhood . . . [with the] 1898 clearance of his bankruptcy debts," plus Henry Huttleston Rogers' redemptive respect, alleviated some of the anxiety expressed in "Which Was the Dream?" (61-62). Yet, as Messent notes, "turn-of-the-century anxieties about American manhood suffuse Clemens's late work" (73). This paper will show how, even after his debts were paid, the next two in this chain of fragmentary "dream" manuscripts—"Indiantown" (1899) and "Which Was It?" (1899-1902)—suggest that Twain's sense of what Gail Bederman calls "manliness" was not healed by his renewed solvency.

In "Indiantown," Twain sketches a thinly fictionalized portrait of his relationship with Livy that suggests genuine anxiety about his own personal power as she, against her will, ended up his preferred creditor and holder of his copyrights. Direct parallels between Twain's portrayal of Susan Gridley as shaper of David Gridley's character, compared with comments in letters and notebooks, suggest that in these years, Twain may have struggled to master resentment of Livy's "sentimental" insistence on paying his creditors in full.

In "Which Was It?," Twain's protagonist George Harrison, reflecting on his father's moral collapse under the pressure of debt, thinks: "There must be something fearfully disintegrating to character in the loss of money. Men suffer other be-reavements and keep up; but when they lose their money, straightaway the structure which we call character, and are so proud

of, and have such placid confidence in, and think is granite, begins to crumble and waste away, and then . . . the granite that has been sand once is sand again!” (195) Abandoning his usual first person narrative, Twain has Harrison tell his own story of moral crumbling in third person, calling this strategy the only way “to frankly tell everything” (183): in this new voice, he represents both sentiment and manliness as façades men use to hide their true, inward selfishness in struggles for economic survival.

Harrison’s guilt and anxiety leaves him bedridden; his father’s misery over debt leads to his death from a “congestive consumption.” Bederman’s comments about “neurasthenia” put Harrison’s (and his father’s) bodily wasting in a new light: this newly discovered disease became a vector through which “challenges from women, workers, and the changing economy not only [to] affect[] men’s sense of identity and authority, [but] even affect[] men’s view of the male body. . . . due to the excessive brain work and nervous strain which professionals and businessmen endured as they struggled for success in an increasingly challenging economy.” (14) Harrison’s failure to act “manly” when faced by bankruptcy leads to physical wasting, then loss of autonomy as he becomes the blackmailed “slave” of his mulatto cousin. Though “Which Was It?” and its cousin fragments are set in the world of his youth, they express Twain’s nervous, fin-de-siecle awareness that gentility, respectability, self-control, and ‘manhood’ could be precarious constructs.

(Panel, page 12)

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Mark Twain and Money.

Critics and biographers have always acknowledged—and usually lamented—that Mark Twain loved money. This paper considers Twain’s lifelong fascination with a certain kind of money: namely, the kind that is neither earned nor inherited, but that materializes through the alchemy of “added value.” The operations of “added value” are on display in the iconic whitewashing scene in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, where Tom captures an impressive profit by ingeniously refiguring manual work as a form of aesthetic play. Aunt Polly gives Tom an apple as a reward for completing the job, along with “an improving lecture upon the added value and flavor a treat took to itself when it came without sin through virtuous effort,” and yet Tom is unquestionably the novel’s expert at manipulating “added value,” as he shows again by trading his booty for the even more potent currency of Sunday School tickets. Tom plots even more brazenly to capture unearned income in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, after Jim comes up with the idea of transporting sand from the Sahara to sell as an industrial commodity in the US. Tom cleverly objects that the profit margin for such a laborious enterprise would be negligible, and so he proposes as an alternative to sell small vials of “genuine” sand from the Sahara as souvenirs back home. As in the whitewashing scene, Tom’s genius for economics lies neither in working harder than the next guy, nor in hoarding inherited resources; rather, his genius lies in recognizing what Aunt Polly calls the “added value” that attaches to experiences or commodities when they migrate from the realm of “work” to that of “play.” An industrial product becomes a souvenir; whitewashing becomes a game; and in both cases Tom captures the added value as unearned income.

In this paper I am interested in tracing what might be called flows of capital and added value—or wealth that begets wealth—within Twain’s creative life. Another suggestive example occurs in *The Prince and the Pauper*, in which Tom Canty dreams of a dwarf who tells him to dig once every week under a stump, where Tom will always find twelve pennies waiting for him. This is a peculiar fantasy for a penniless waif who has already shown the capacity to dream of far greater riches. Where does such money come from? In *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, where Huck and Tom receive “a dollar a day apiece all the year round,” a similar stream of unearned income materializes as a return on invested capital.

Twain wanted to be rich, of course, but more precisely he wanted to enjoy the kind of unearned income that Tom Canty dreams of—money that comes from out of the blue, and that comes regularly. This is not the same thing as compensation for work, which Twain always represents as comically inadequate. Nor should we confuse this dream of unearned income with a yearning for unlimited hereditary wealth. Tom Canty finds just twelve pennies per week; Huck and Tom receive one dollar per day. Twain may have been an incisive critic of “speculation,” especially in *The Gilded Age* and *Roughing It*, but his art is deeply engaged with a logic of speculative economics, a logic that affirms unearned returns on investment and added value as the only meaningful forms of “wealth.” In fact, it might be fair to say that Twain understands literary creativity itself as a kind of unearned income. He famously claimed that when his imagination ran dry, he had only to pigeonhole whatever manuscript he was working on and wait for the tank to fill up again. This image figures the imagination as a well-managed investment account, which generates regular returns of unearned income on its investments of capital.

(Panel, page 2)

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"Mark Twain": The Humorist.

At least during the first two decades of his career, Mark Twain was consistently described as a "humorist." Twain was "the famous humorist," "the well-known humorist," "The Great American Humorist," or simply "the American humorist." Scholars have often taken the meaning of the term "humorist" to be self-evident—a "humorist" was one who produced "humor." This paper will argue that both "humor" and "humorist" are terms that must be situated in their historical context. The ways in which humor is received—both materially (in terms of books, periodicals, and lectures) and theoretically (in terms of the ways in which people interpret humor)—is distinctly connected with the role of the humorist as the producer of humor.

Examining the meaning of "humorist" in the 1860s and 1870s highlights three major themes crucial for understanding both Mark Twain and the meaning of the humorist as a category generally. First, the word "humorist" had a range of meanings that were largely arranged hierarchically from low to high, from clown to canonical, and from the "merely funny" to the powerful edge of satire. In this hierarchy, new humorists were compared to quality humorists, especially to Thackeray, Dickens, Lowell, Holmes, Hawthorne, and Stowe.

Second, Mark Twain came to public and critical notice as a member of a new school of humor—humorists whose distinguishing features were cultural, more than literary or stylistic, and whose success destabilized the hierarchy used to classify American Humor. Twain, along with Artemus Ward, Bret Harte, and others, were classified in relation to ideas of quality and edification, popularity and entertainment—and, in turn, critical evaluations of these humorists changed the very meaning of what it meant to be a humorist and what was meant by "American Humor."

Third, the critical reactions to Mark Twain and other humorists show that the quality humorist as a category was not separate from the category of quality literary author, a distinction that has been central to many critical assessments of Twain. Literary authors were often praised for being "humorists," in a distinct sense of the term. Twain scholars must be careful to examine our own assumptions of what it meant to be a humorist and to see how those assumptions may differ from the historical views in Twain's time.

This paper will trace the definition of the "humorist" as it was used to construct a hierarchy of humor in the middle of the 19th century and the ways in which Twain—along with other humorists—changed how the term was used. Over the course of the 1870s and into the 1880s, some critics (but definitely not all) began to argue that Twain might be able to accomplish the trick of the best quality humorists: to transcend being merely funny.

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Yamamoto, Yuko. *Independent Scholar*.

Mark Twain's Free Association Type of Talk in the *Autobiography*: Hearing the Inner Voice for Family.

The University of California Press published the *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, Volume 1 (2010), Mark Twain's first uncensored complete autobiography. Reading aloud his dictation of 1906 exactly as Twain left it, we might perceive the distinct manner in which he recalled his memoirs. Whenever Twain came across intriguing words and expressions he himself delivered, he spontaneously associated them with other recollections, as if making free association lying on a psychiatrist's sofa. As these associations called him back to the past, he found them fascinating enough to send him off on another story.

It is unlikely that Twain was acquainted with psychoanalytic free association, a technique that was originally devised by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) to rediscover memory, feeling, thought, fear, conflict and selfhood buried deep in mind. Yet Twain explained that by "the power of association to snatch mouldy dead memories out of their graves and make them walk!" (392). Moreover, in fits and starts, Twain revealed that his own utterings brought him unexpected flashbacks of unexpected times, unexpected occasions, and memories of an unexpected self in his earlier days.

Twain's intuitive leaps from one memory to another appear to be an unrelated gathering of incidents, but they can be connected to one another in psychological terms. Twain innocently disclosed in his free-association type of talk what remarks, sentiments, and feelings reminded him of those "dead memories," and this mental linkage to each memory revealed how he looked back at those memories or what they meant to him. In substance Twain's association allows us to, though partially, trace his psychological stream of thought which runs beneath the chain of remembrances he was relating.

The lack of continuity during these autobiographical sessions did not matter as long as Twain himself, or Albert B. Paine and other editors altered the original text here as they saw fit. Scholars and reviewers quoted illustrious anecdotes, cut out of the miscellaneous context, so each extract eventually developed a life of its own in its separation from the whole work. For example, in his autobiographical dictation for 13 January 1906 Twain recalled he had a dream foreshadowing his brother Henry's death the day before he was killed in a steamboat accident. Charles Neider chronologically realigned this account and

impressed us with the fact that the young Clemens was assailed by the traumatic tragedy as he started the piloting business filled with hopeful prospects.

However I would like to reconsider the original text and discuss the psychological connections to those brought to Twain's mind. Then we could find Twain returned to this dream episode after he spent fifty years grieving and convincing himself over and over again that nobody could have prevented Henry's death because it was the Almighty's command, prophesied by way of that dream. The analysis I offer in this paper presents an altered picture of Twain, images which do not reveal themselves when only individual anecdotes are spotlighted.

(Panel, page 8)

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Zehnder, Madeline. *Smith College.*

Devil's Advocate: Questioning as Moral Imperative in Twain's "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" and No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*.

This paper explores how Twain grapples with the human capacity to choose between good and evil, or what he termed humanity's "Moral Sense." I focus my analysis on two late works created during his so-called "dark period": the short story "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" and the unpublished novel No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*. Although these works appear to question and even deny the possibility of moral agency within a destructive world, a closer reading suggests that Twain locates morality within people's ability to engage critically with society. Building off philosopher John Dewey's definition of evil as "the failure of the imagination to reach beyond itself," I argue that Twain views insular thought as a dangerous moral failing. Both "Hadleyburg" and No. 44 feature devil characters who disrupt the complacent life of "moral" towns, yet Twain treats neither figure as the embodiment of pure evil. Instead, he uses these devils and the disruptions they cause to critique the usefulness of dominant religious and societal definitions of morality, revealing the evil that lurks within everyday prejudices. Twain ultimately suggests that corruption springs not from the stranger but from us: to combat evil, he insists, we must confront it within ourselves. In defining questioning as a moral act, I argue that Twain also offers insight into his own struggles to understand morality, as well as the narrative contradictions that have long puzzled critics of "Hadleyburg" and No. 44. I suggest that the inconsistencies of both late works are not artistic flaws, but rather part of Twain's larger aim to encourage thoughtful inquiry and discourage complacency within his readership.

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Mark Twain's "The Treaty With China:" Precursor With A Punch.

"... a good candidate for 'the most under-appreciated work by Mark Twain' would be *The Treaty With China*, which he published in the *New York Tribune* in 1868. This piece, ... an early statement of Twain's opposition to imperialism..., which conveys his vision of how the U.S. ought to behave on the global stage, has not been reprinted since its original publication." Shelley Fisher Fishkin, from a 2010 interview for *The Library of America*.

The above assessment is hardly an exaggeration. Mark Twain's "The Treaty With China," virtually unknown to scholars during the 142 years between its *Tribune* appearance and republication, is a major political statement, underscoring the conclusion that, prior to his emergence as an icon of American literature, he held anti-racist and anti-imperialist views which would permeate the next four decades of his writing. Belying his budding reputation as a "mere humorist," "The Treaty With China" provides unequivocal evidence for the conclusion that the young Twain was capable of utilizing his writing to denounce racial oppression he had witnessed in his western days, while advocating equal treatment on a par with that presumably accorded to recently-freed African-Americans. "The Treaty With China" is an example of serious editorial advocacy, replete with information regarding the history of Chinese-American relations, laced with the wit and sardonic humor which made Twain's polemics simultaneously entertaining, revealing and convincing. After more than a century of undeserved obscurity, it serves as proof that irony, sarcasm, humor, empathy and strong racial and political views were integral components of Twain's literary armamentarium from his earliest writings.

"The Treaty With China," published more than a year prior to his breakthrough work, *The Innocents Abroad*, offers stylistic and substantive clues regarding the literary trajectory of the writer likely known to its readership as either a comic lecturer or the creator of "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." This 7,000-word piece, written at the behest of his friend and mentor, Anson Burlingame, then serving as head of a Chinese Embassy mission to the U.S., is also evidence of Twain's journalistic background, having been completed in the span of a few days, at a time when he was under pressure to complete

the manuscript of *The Innocents Abroad* for Elisha Bliss. Twain undoubtedly was coached by Burlingame regarding the meaning and import of the provisions of the treaty, whose passage was being advocated by Burlingame, but the sentiments expressed by Twain on behalf of his friend's goals are clearly his own, often restatements of those expressed in his western journalistic apprenticeship, when Twain had ample opportunity to witness the predations of his prejudiced countrymen on the Chinese immigrants who washed their laundry, cooked their meals, and handled nitroglycerine in the mines in the pre-dynamite era.

When Sam Clemens wrote his mother from New York, in 1853, referring to Chinese he had encountered as "vermin," he was merely reflecting the Know-Nothing nativism of his Hannibal childhood. The transformation in his racial attitudes in the intervening years, during which he jettisons his prior attitudes toward African-Americans, is also seen in "The Treaty With China," in his complimentary descriptions of Chinese immigrants he has observed firsthand, and in the rhetorical questions he poses to his readers—"Do not they compare favorably with the mass of other immigrants? Will they not make good citizens?" In a more humorous vein, Twain reveals a future when voters will elect "...the people's choice, Donnerwetter, O'Shaughnessy, and Ching-Foo!" The recital of successive immigration populations is no accident, though Twain's earnestness is tempered by, what must have been a strange concept to the 1868 reader, the inclusion of an Asian candidate.

It is not only Twain's changing race consciousness that is revealed in this writing, but the anti-imperialism that would infuse much of his later writing, e.g., "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." When Twain, commenting on a treaty provision, opines that "There is in China a class of foreigners who demand privileges, concessions and immunities, instead of asking for them... a tyrannical class who openly say that the Chinese should be forced to do thus and so...", he is presaging sentiments he will express more emphatically as a vice-president of the Anti-Imperialist Society four decades later.

Twain's assertion that, "Apart from its grave importance, the subject is really as entertaining as any I know of," may be made tongue-in-cheek, but there is no denying that "The Treaty With China" is a strong stylistic and substantive precursor of all his better-known writings.

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NOTES

Quarry Farm Fellowships

The Elmira College Center for Mark Twain Studies offers Fellowships-in-Residence to scholars pursuing research or writing in the field of Mark Twain Studies. The Quarry Farm Fellowship program covers limited travel expenses and provides lodging at Quarry Farm, where Mark Twain resided and wrote over the course of twenty summers throughout the 1870s and 1880s. An honorarium may be negotiated if the Quarry Farm Fellow is willing to share a work-in-progress with a student audience or to participate in the Quarry Farm lecture series. The length of the residency will also be negotiated in an effort to meet the needs of the scholar.

Quarry Farm Fellows have access to a fine collection of secondary scholarly material shelved on the premises including the collections of the late Drs. James Wilson and Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., and the comprehensive Michael J. Kiskis Collection, "More later." In addition, Fellows are welcome to use the Mark Twain Archive located in the Gannett-Tripp Library on Elmira College's nearby campus. The Archive houses an exhaustive assemblage of biography, criticism, and reference sources; microfilm of material related to Elmira from the collections of the Mark Twain Project, the Mark Twain House, Vassar College, and the Huntington Library; and a library of photographs. The Archive also holds the association volumes from Quarry Farm, containing Mark Twain's marginalia, the Antenne Collection of books from Mark Twain's personal library, and the John S. Tuckey Collection of more than two hundred and fifty scholarly titles.

When a Quarry Farm Fellow is in residence, the Center reserves the right to make occasional use of the first floor of the house. The Quarry Farm Fellow is, however, assured of privacy on the second floor where a comfortable study contains the collections of secondary material and a computer with wireless internet access.

Quarry Farm Fellows have access to a fully equipped kitchen and shared laundry. Linens are provided. The pantry and refrigerator will be stocked with supplies upon the Fellow's arrival. On-campus meal plans can be arranged with the College's dining service. An automobile is desirable, as Quarry Farm is located three miles from the Elmira College campus. Immediate family members may accompany Quarry Farm Fellows, but this must be pre-arranged with the Director. A full-time caretaker is on the premises in an apartment adjacent but separate from the main house.

Application is by way of a letter to the Director of the Center. Please specify the nature of the project and indicate at least two sets of preferred dates for the residency. Please include a resume and three letters of reference. Funding for Quarry Farm Fellowships is provided by The Mark Twain Foundation, the Michael J. Kiskis Memorial Fund, and the Friends of the Center. For more information, please contact twaincenter@elmira.edu or bsnedecor@elmira.edu.



Photo by Ann Cady

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