

Elmira 2009

The Sixth International Conference
on the State of Mark Twain Studies



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

“The report of my death
was an exaggeration”

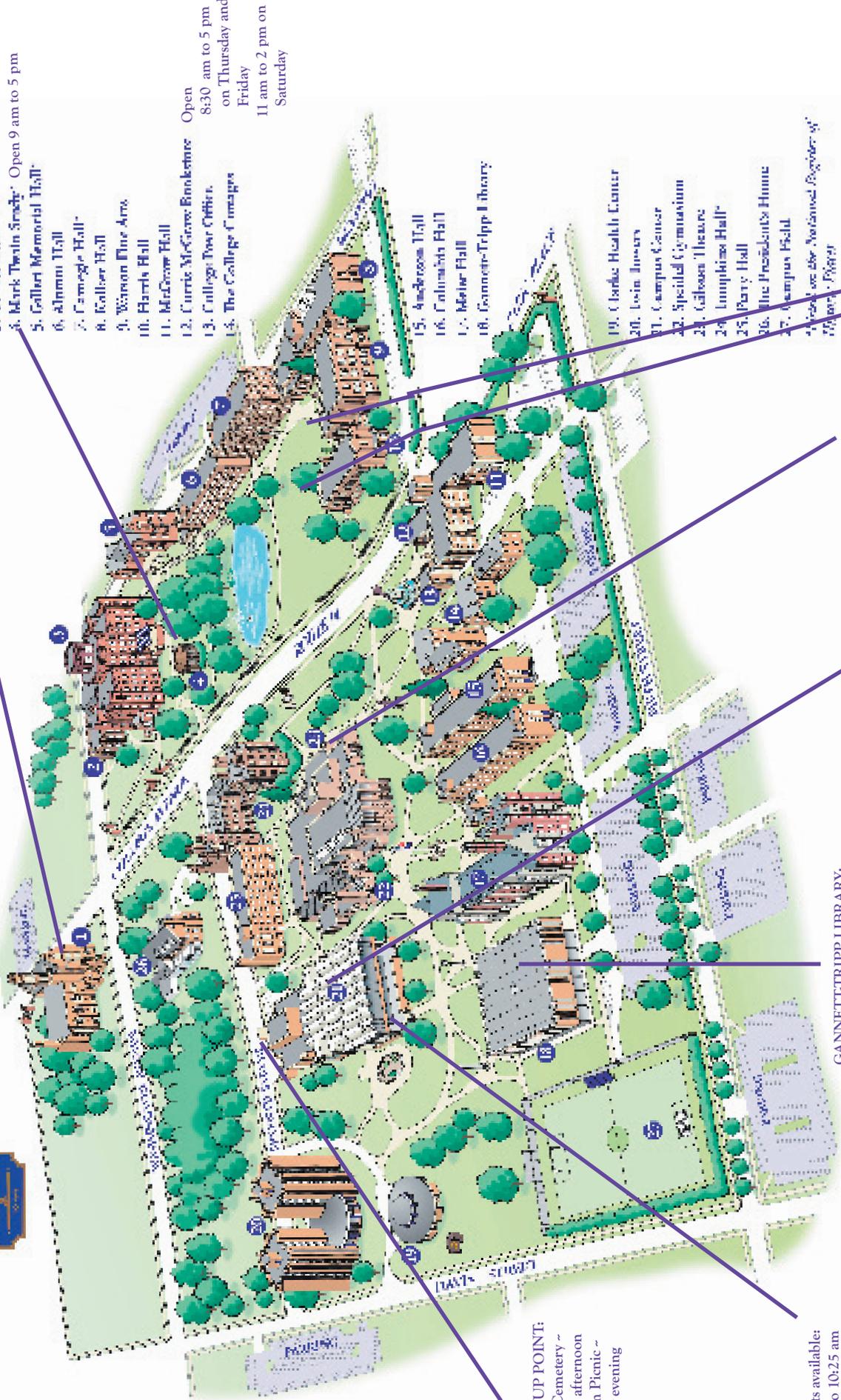
Observing the Centennial of the Death of
Samuel Langhorne Clemens

The Worlds of Mark Twain

Elmira College Center for Mark Twain Studies

August 6 - 8, 2009

Elmira College Campus Map



Mark Twain Exhibit
Open 9 am to 5 pm
1. Danforth Hall
Office of Admissions
2. Pappert Commons
3. Corcoran Hall
4. Mark Twain Study: Open 9 am to 5 pm

5. Gallert Memorial Hall
6. Alumni Hall
7. Carnegie Hall
8. Koller Hall
9. Wagon Fine Arts
10. Harby Hall
11. McGraw Hall

12. Curtis McGraw Bookstore
13. College Tour Office
14. The College Center
15. Anderson Hall
16. Callahan Hall
17. Miller Hall
18. Gannett-Tripp Library

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

19. Clarke Health Center
20. Levin Library
21. Campus Center
22. Special Gymnasium
23. Gibson Theatre
24. Imphize Hall
25. Perry Hall
26. The President's Home
27. Campus Field
28. Olivia Langdon Statue
Mark Twain Statue

EMERSON HALL:
Gibson Theatre
Plenary Session:
Robert H. Hirst
Keynote Address:
Russell Banks
Closing Roundtable

CAMPUS CENTER:
First floor:
Tiff Lounge (Panels)
Buechner Room (Panels)
George Waters Gallery:
Mark Twain in the Comites
Mackenzie's (Breakfast)

GANNETT-TRIPP LIBRARY:
Lower level:
Tripp Lecture Hall (Panels)
Second floor:
Mark Twain Archive
Open 12:30 pm to 1 pm
See Mark Woodhouse
to arrange additional
visits.

SHUTTLE PICKUP POINT:
To Woodlawn Cemetery ~
Saturday afternoon
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

The Sixth International Conference
on the
State of Mark Twain Studies

The Worlds of Mark Twain

Wednesday, August 5th

9 am - 9:30 pm	REGISTRATION	Gannett-Tripp Library
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 6th

8 am - 5 pm	REGISTRATION	Gannett-Tripp Library
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.	

<p><u>Mark Twain Biography</u> Alan Gribben <i>University of Auburn at Montgomery</i> Panel Chair</p>	<p>Gannett-Tripp Library Tripp Lecture Hall Lower level</p>
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<p>Additions and Corrections: Refining the Legacy of the Cranes Gretchen E. Sharlow <i>Elmira College Emerita</i></p> <p>Mark Twain's Cornell: Recalling Samuel Clemens's Ithaca Friends Lance Heidig <i>Independent Scholar; Cornell University</i></p>	
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<p>Mark Twain's Proper Reputation: Livy's Grave Concern Mary Boewe <i>Independent Scholar; Fearington Village, North Carolina</i></p>	
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Mark Twain: Irony, Satire, and Performance

James Leonard *The Citadel*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor



The Satirist Who Clowns: Revisiting Mark Twain's
Performance at the Whittier Birthday Celebration

James E. Caron *University of Hawai'i at Manoa*

Irony and Identity in *The Innocents Abroad*

Basem L. Ra'ad *Al-Quds University*

Mark Twain's Lover's Quarrel with God:

New Questions on Twain, Satire, and American Religion

Tim Esh *Indiana Wesleyan University*

10:15 am - 10:25 am

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, water, soda, and fruit.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

10:30 am - 11:45 am

Choose from three concurrent panels.

Mark Twain and European Authors

Michael J. Kiskis *Elmira College*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Buechner Room
Ground floor



Mark Twain and William Lecky

Kevin Mac Donnell *Independent Scholar; Austin, Texas*

National Character, Literature, and Intercultural Communication ~

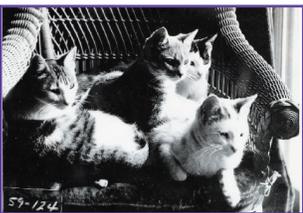
Mark Twain Takes on Paul Bourget, Max O'Rell, and the French

Holger Kersten *Universität Magdeburg*

Mark Twain Miscellaneous

Mark Woodhouse *Elmira College*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



Mark Twain and His Cats

Susan Ikazaki *Independent Scholar; Kansas City, Missouri*

"Music is a good thing": Mark Twain's Use of Hymns in His Fiction

Allison Ensor *University of Tennessee, Knoxville Emeritus*

Twain's Interest in Japan through His Friendship with Edward House
Around the 1870s

Mariko Takashima *Independent Scholar; Chiba, Japan*

Mark Twain, Europe, and Japan

Bruce Michelson *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tiftt Lounge
Ground floor

From Colonial Myopia to Cosmopolitan Clear-sightedness: The Influence of Europe in Correcting Mark Twain’s ‘Visual Disorders’

Reinaldo Silva *Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal*



Representing Alterity in a World of Vorhabe and Translation: Mark Twain’s *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896)

Christopher D. Morris *Norwich University*

Mark Twain and Modern Japan: Southern Honor and Samurai Revenge *Adauchi*

Yuko Yamamoto *Independent Scholar; Hyogo Prefecture, Japan*

12 noon - 1 pm

Luncheon Buffet

Campus Center
Dining Hall
Upstairs

1:15 pm - 2:15 pm

Choose from four Discussion Groups in various settings.

Mark Twain in the Comics: A Slide Talk

M. Thomas Inge *Randolph-Macon College*

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



Mark Twain has always been a major presence in American popular culture, and this is nowhere more evident than in comic art and caricature. During his own lifetime, cartoonists enjoyed satirizing his unruly appearance, and long after his death, comic book artists and graphic novelists continue to produce respectful adaptations of his works. This slide show reflects on Twain’s love affair with comic artists.

Mark Twain and Minstrelsy

Cameron Nickels *James Madison University Emeritus*

Campus Center
Tiftt Lounge
Ground floor



Mark Twain’s fondness for blackface minstrelsy has long troubled scholars, and others, for what it seems to say about Mark Twain and race, particularly what it seems to say about the characterization of Jim in *Huckleberry Finn*. My recent reading about minstrelsy and then reviewing scholarship about Mark Twain on the subject has led me to believe that the methodology is flawed.



Among the Literary Comedians ~ Mark Twain

David E. E. Sloane *University of New Haven*

Campus Center
Buechner Room
Ground floor

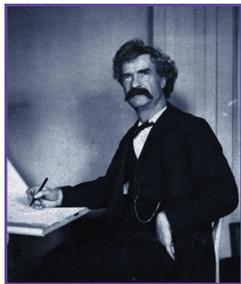
Discussion will follow three brief presentations:

David E. E. Sloane
Edward Piacentino

Literary Comedy, Literary Comedians, and Mark Twain
“The Great Auction Sale of Slaves at Savannah, Georgia”
and Twain’s “A True Story” and “King Leopold’s
Soliloquy”

Janet McIntire

Collaborative Anthologies: Howells’ and Twain’s Library
of Humor



Mark Twain, Letter Writer

Jeffrey Steinbrink *Franklin & Marshall College*

Gannett-Tripp Library
Southeast Corner
Main level

Bring along a Mark Twain letter to read to the group, together with
a bit of commentary about how something in that letter sheds light on
a quality of his writing.

2:15 pm - 2:25 pm

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, water, soda, fruit, and cookies.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

2:30 pm - 3:45 pm

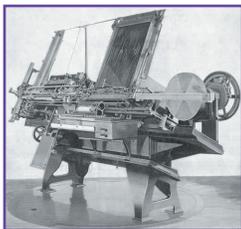
Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain and Technology

Judith Yaross Lee *Ohio University*

Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tift Lounge
Ground floor



A Telephone in Maine, a Heart in San Francisco: Twain, Technology, and the Body

Erich Werner *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Second Life: The Avatar of Mark Twain, or Pirates of the Plebian: What Twain Tells Us
About Texts in the Digital Age

Gregg Camfield *University of California, Merced*

Working on the Railroad: Train Travel in Mark Twain’s Short Stories

John H. Davis *Chowan University*

Mark Twain and Landscape

Lawrence I. Berkove *University of Michigan, Dearborn Emeritus* **Gannett-Tripp Library**
Panel Chair **Tripp Lecture Hall**
Lower level

“Settled in the Belief”: Mark Twain’s Landscapes

Jeffrey Alan Melton *Auburn University at Montgomery*

“The Mississippi was a virgin field”: Mark Twain and Postbellum River Writings, 1865-1875

Thomas Ruys Smith *University of East Anglia; Norwich, United Kingdom*

Mark Twain as Naturalist in *Roughing It*, Naturally

Michael Pratt *Elmira College*



3:45 pm - 3:55 pm

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, water, soda, fruit, and cookies.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

4 pm - 5:15 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain and Skin

Bruce Michelson *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor

“Stripped and striped...like so many zebras”: “Playing Indian” in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*

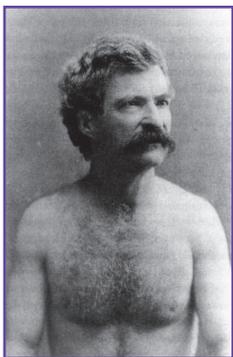
Kerry Driscoll *Saint Joseph College*

The Ties that Bind, the Mask that Blinds: Mother Love, Justice, and Black(face) Womanhood

Sharon D. McCoy *University of Georgia*

Mark Twain on the Intelligences of “Savages” and the “Benefits” of Civilization

Patrick K. Dooley *St. Bonaventure University*



Later Mark Twain

Joseph Csicsila *Eastern Michigan University*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level

Living in the Curious Republic of Gondour

James S. Leonard *The Citadel*

Mark Twain at Indiantown: Region, Nation, and Race in His Later Writings

Katsumi Satouchi *Osaka University*

Fame and Shame in Mark Twain’s “Hadleyburg”

Ryuzo Hamamoto *Independent Scholar; Kyoto, Japan*



6 pm - 6:55 pm

Wine Tasting of the Finger Lakes

Campus Center
MacKenzie's
Ground level

Enjoy the fruits of the region while viewing the accompanying exhibit (see below).



Mark Twain in the Comics

M. Thomas Inge
Randolph-Macon College

Campus Center
George Waters Gallery
Ground level

Enjoy this delightful exhibition featuring comic book renderings of Mark Twain ~ and a claymation figure of Mr. Mark Twain, himself.

Exhibit Hours: Friday 7:45 am - 9 am; 11:45 am - 1:15 pm; 5:30 pm - 6:30 pm
Saturday 7:45 am - 9 am; 11:45 am - 4:15 pm

7 pm

Henry Nash Smith Award Dinner

Campus Center
Dining Hall
Upstairs

Conference Welcome

Barbara Snedecor
Elmira College
Director

Conference Toast ~ New York State Sparkling Wine

Gretchen Sharlow
Elmira College
Director Emerita

DINNER

*Romaine Greens, Roma Tomato with Candied Walnut Salad
Portuguese Style Rolls
Grilled Tenderloin Medallions of Beef with Skewered Buttered Shrimp
Served on Bleu Cheese Grits
Selected New York State Finger Lakes Wine
Black and White Harmony Cheesecake*

Following dinner

Henry Nash Smith Award Presentation

Mark Woodhouse
Mark Twain Archivist
Elmira College

Following the award

Mark Twain's Music Box (Narrative with Live Music)



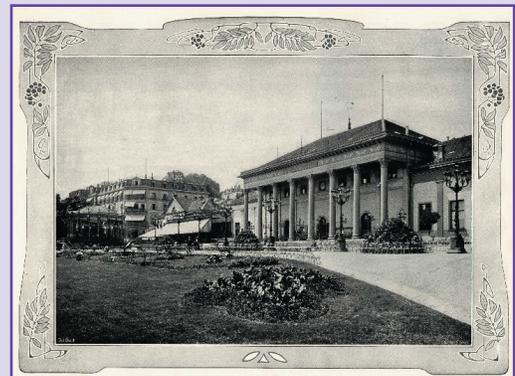
Enjoy the sounds of accomplished professional musicians from the Finger Lakes Region. Tonight's program, created and performed in 2008 to celebrate the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the gift of Quarry Farm to Elmira College by Irene and Jervis Langdon Junior, was part of our *The Trouble Begins at Eight* series. Brought back by popular demand, enjoy the talents of our fine musicians as they perform works by Koennemann, Schubert, and Foster accompanied by explanatory narration.

Special thanks to...

...**Kerry Driscoll**, *Saint Joseph College*, whose scholarly essay, "Mark Twain's Music Box: Livy, Cosmopolitanism and the Commodity Aesthetic," provided the inspiration for this evening's program. Dr. Driscoll's essay details the accurate account of the development of Mark Twain's Music Box. Her essay appears in the University of Missouri Press volume, *Cosmopolitan Twain*, edited by Ann M. Ryan and Joseph B. McCullough.



Baden-Baden Orchestra with Koennemann.



Kurhaus Baden-Baden with the old music pavilion.

...**Kiril Nikolow and Arndt Joosten** of the Baden-Baden Philharmonie for providing the score to *Der Fremersburg* and photos of Baden-Baden.

9 pm - 11:30 pm

Corn Pone Pub
Cash Bar

Campus Center
1855 Room
Ground floor

Friday, August 7th, 2009

8 am - 8:45 am

Full Hot Breakfast Buffet

Campus Center
Mackenzie's
Ground floor

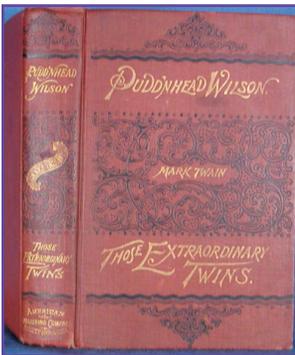
9 am - 10:15 am

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain and *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*

Sharon D. McCoy *University of Georgia*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



The Relationship Between Twain's Model of Human Nature
and the Politics of Race in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*

Abraham Kupersmith *Borough of Manhattan Community College Emeritus*

The Racial Operating Table: Technology and the Human in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*

Benjamin Bascom *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Perils of American Jurisprudence

Bezalel Stern *Independent Scholar; New York City*

"A fiction of law and custom": *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and the Problem of Property

Lawrence Howe *Roosevelt University*

Mark Twain and Religion

Kerry Driscoll *Saint Joseph College*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tift Lounge
Ground floor

The War Prayer: Marking the Twain of the Sacred and the Profane

Paula Harrington *Colby College*

Uncle Silas in *Huckleberry Finn*: "A Mighty Nice Old Man"

Silas K. Ezell *University of Arkansas*

Maturity and Irreverence

Shyam Kapoor *Independent Scholar; Rajasthan, India*

10:15 am - 10:25 am

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, water, soda, and fruit.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

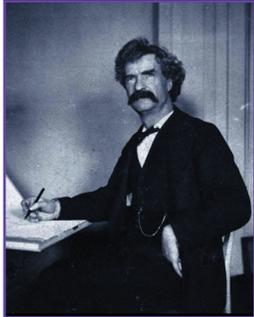
"Faith is believing
what you know
ain't so."
- MARK TWAIN

Choose from three concurrent panels.

Mark Twain and Language

Jeffrey Alan Melton *Auburn University at Montgomery*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Buechner Room
Ground floor



What the Million-Pound Bank-Note Gets: An Interpretation of Henry Adams's Final Statement in "The £1,000,000 Bank-Note"
Katsuhiko Chikugo *Fuji University*

Agrammaticality and Dissidence in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.
Delphine Louis-Dimitrov *The Sorbonne*

Mark Twain as Literary Craftsman
Bruce Michelson *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

Mark Twain and Science

Holger Kersten *Universität Magdeburg*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground floor



Mark Twain's Distaste for the "Scientific Laboratory Method": Controversy or Convention?
Gail Levitt *Independent Scholar; Mississauga, Ontario*

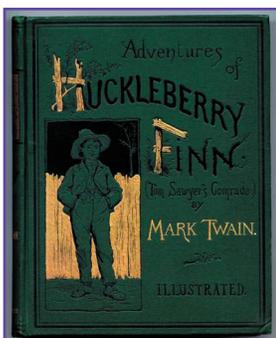
She Knew It, Too: "Dissection by the Doctors!"
Ryo Waguri *Kyoto Koka Women's University*

Mark Twain's "Watermelon Cure"
K. Patrick Ober *Wake Forest University School of Medicine at Winston-Salem, North Carolina*

Mark Twain and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*

Lawrence Howe *Roosevelt University*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level



The Snake Skin Episode: Magic and Memory in *Huckleberry Finn*
Sarah Ingle *University of Virginia*

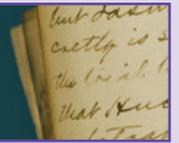
Decisions, Prospects, and Games in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*
Tyler Reeb *Claremont Graduate University*

The Authentic *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*: E.W. Kemble's Illustrations as an Extension on Mark Twain's Text
Beverly David *Western Michigan Emerita*



MARK TWAIN PROJECT ONLINE

Authoritative Texts, Documents, and Historical Research



1:15 pm - 2:15 pm

The *Autobiography of Mark Twain*:
Is a Comprehensive Edition Possible?

Emerson Hall
Gibson Theatre

Robert H. Hirst *University of California, Berkeley*
General Editor *The Mark Twain Papers*

2:15 pm - 2:25 pm

Refreshments available.
Coffee, tea, water, soda, fruit, and cookies.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

2:30 pm - 3:45 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Early Mark Twain

James E. Caron *University of Hawai'i at Manoa*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level

The "Lorio" Letters to the *St. Louis Daily Reveille*: On Mark Twain,
Minstrelsy, Mesmerism, and McDowell's Cave
Gary Scharnhorst *University of New Mexico*

Hannibal Revisited: Place Identity and Mark Twain's Returns Home
Matthew Klauza *Auburn University*

The Origin, Development, and Relevance of Mark Twain's "Seeker After
Knowledge Under Difficulties" Persona
Chad Rohman *Dominican University*



Mark Twain: Empire, Civilization, and Imperialism

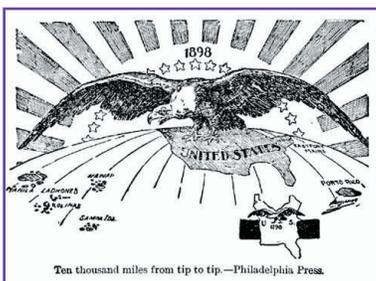
Susan K. Harris *University of Kansas*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tiftt Lounge
Ground floor

Humor and Empire in *Connecticut Yankee*
Judith Yaross Lee *Ohio University*

"Clash of Civilizations" ~ "Contrast of Civilizations":
The Topicality of Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee*
Horst Kruse *University of Münster*

Creating a Safe "Dwelling Place": The Ethos of Mark Twain,
Anti-Imperialist
Benjamin A. Click *St. Mary's College of Maryland*



3:45 pm - 3:55 pm

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, water, soda, fruit, and cookies.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

4 pm - 5:15 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain: Reading and Teaching the 20th Century

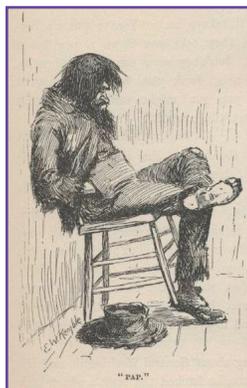
Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level

Linda A. Morris *University of California-Davis*
Emerita
Panel Chair

A Case of the Stretchers: Mark Twain's Impact on the Writing of Willa Cather
Martin Zehr *Independent Scholar; Kansas City, Missouri*

Huck Finn Rides Again: Reverberations of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in William Faulkner's *The Reivers* and Cormac McCarthy's *Suttree*
Leslie Worthington *Gainesville State College*

Mark Twain in American School Textbooks, 1875-1910
Tsuyoshi Ishihara *Waseda University, Japan*



Mark Twain and the Child

Campus Center
Tifft Lounge
Ground level

Laura Skandera Trombley *Pitzer College*
Panel Chair

Thinking Huck, Writing Tom (Canty)
Alan Gribben *Auburn University at Montgomery*

Huckleberry Finn and the Fifth Commandment
Lawrence I. Berkove *University of Michigan-Dearborn Emeritus*

Samuel Clemens and the Children of the Urban Poor: Tom Canty and Edward VI
Michael J. Kiskis *Elmira College*



5:45 - 6:25 pm

Cash Bar preceding dinner.

Campus Center
Main Dining Hall
Upstairs

6:30 - 7:45 pm

Halley's Comet Buffet Banquet

Campus Center
Main Dining Hall
Upstairs



Roasted Prime Rib of Beef, Rack of Lamb

*Potato Encrusted Salmon, Sautéed Seafood with
Angel Hair Pasta with Diablo Sauce or Pesto Alfredo*

Garden Vegetable Station

Fresh Assortment of Seasonal Vegetables and Grains

Assorted Fruits

Selected New York State Finger Lakes Wine



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

Mark Twain, A Biography

8 pm	ELMIRA 2009 KEYNOTE	Emerson Hall Gibson Theatre
	Elmira College Presidential Welcome	Thomas K. Meier Elmira College
	John S. Tuckey Award Presentation	Louis J. Budd Duke University Emeritus
	Making Harmony Out of Disharmony: Mark Twain, Joseph Twichell and Charles Ives	Russell Banks

Russell Banks

Russell Banks grew up in a working-class world that has played a major role in shaping his writing. Through a dozen novels and short story collections that have won him Guggenheim and NEA grants and a St. Lawrence Prize for fiction, Banks has made a life's work of charting the causes and effects of the terrible things "normal" men can and will do.

A prolific writer of fiction, Russell Banks's titles include *The Darling*, *The Sweet Hereafter*, *Cloudsplitter*, *Rule of the Bone*, *Affliction*, *Success Stories*, *Continental Drift*, *Searching for Survivors*, *Trailerpark*, *The Book of Jamaica*, *The New World*, and *Hamilton Stark*. *The Angel on the Roof* is a collection of thirty years of Banks' short fiction. His meditation on American history, entitled *Amérique: Notre Histoire* (translated by Pierre Furlan) was recently published in France. Banks has contributed poems, stories, and essays to *The Boston Globe Magazine*, *Vanity Fair*, *The New York Times Book Review*, *Esquire*, *Harper's* and numerous others. His novel, *The Reserve*, published in 2008, is set in the Adirondacks in 1936-37, at the height of the Great Depression. Other novels, *Affliction* and *The Sweet Hereafter*, were adapted into feature films which received widespread critical acclaim.

Included among the numerous honors and awards Russell Banks has received are the Ingram Merrill Award, the John Dos Passos Award, the Literature Award from the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and the Laure Bataillon Prize for best work of fiction translated into French, for the French edition of *The Darling*. *Continental Drift* and *Cloudsplitter* were Pulitzer Prize finalists; *Affliction* and *Cloudsplitter* were PEN/Faulkner Finalists. Banks was New York State Author (2004-2006) and is the founding President of the North American Network of Cities of Asylum.

"Russell Banks has now become....the most important living white male American on the official literary map, a writer we, as readers and writers, can actually learn from, whose books help and urge us to change." ~ *The Village Voice*



Russell Banks

Photo by Ileana Florescu

9 pm	"Under the Tent" Champagne Dessert Reception and Book Signing for Russell Banks	
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9 pm - 11:30 pm	Corn Pone Pub Cash Bar	Campus Center 1855 Room Ground floor
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Saturday, August 8th, 2009

8 am - 8:45 am

Full Hot Breakfast Buffet

**Campus Center
Mackenzie's
Ground floor**

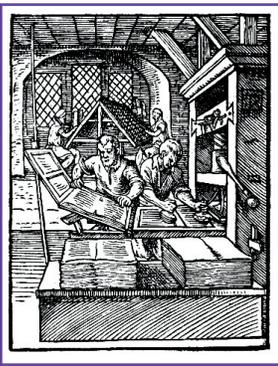
9 am - 10:15 am

Choose from two concurrent panels.

No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*

Michael J. Kiskis *Elmira College*
Panel Chair

**Campus Center
Tift Lounge
Ground floor**



**Waking from this Dream of Separateness: Hinduism and the Ending of
*No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger***

Dwayne Eutsey *Independent Scholar; Easton, Maryland*

**Will a Day Come When People Have Developed Their Humor-Perception?:
“The Chronicle of Young Satan” and Mark Twain’s Views on
the Common People**

Masago Igawa *Tohoku University*

Mark Twain and *No. 44*: Humoring the American Gothic

Ann Ryan *Le Moyne College*

Mark Twain and Contemporaries

Kerry Driscoll *Saint Joseph College*
Panel Chair

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

**Shoot’em-Up at the Marketplace of Ideas: Samuel Colt, Hank Morgan,
and the ‘Explosive Character of Capitalism’ in *A Connecticut Yankee*
in *King Arthur’s Court***

Susanne Weil *Centralia College*

Mark Twain and Robert Ingersoll: The Freethought Connection Revisited

John Bird *Winthrop University*

**“Well, Is He Harris?” Twichell’s and Clemens’ Varying Takes on
the *A Tramp Abroad* Journey**

Steve Courtney *Independent Scholar; Terryville, Connecticut*

10:15 am - 10:25 am

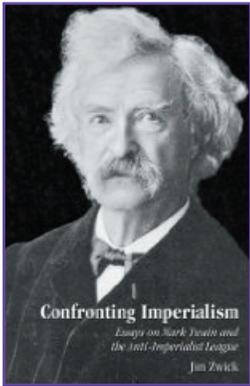
Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, water, soda, and fruit.

**Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico**

10:30 am - 11:30 am

Choose from two concurrent panels.



Mark Twain and Imperialism: A Discussion
Honoring the Memory of Jim Zwick

Shelley Fisher Fishkin *Stanford University*
 Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
 Tripp Lecture Hall
 Lower level

Mark Twain, Empire, and the Post-Christendom Dream
 Harold K. Bush *Saint Louis University*

Mark Twain, Religion, and Imperialism
 Susan K. Harris *University of Kansas*

Mark Twain and Gender

Ann Ryan *Le Moyne College*
 Panel Chair

Campus Center
 Tift Lounge
 Ground level



Twain's Gendered Dialogues: Comic Miscommunication between
 Adult Couples

Linda A. Morris *University of California-Davis Emerita*

Turn Us into Real Men: Mark Twain and His Incomplete Masculine Education
 Takuya Kubo *Kanazawa University*

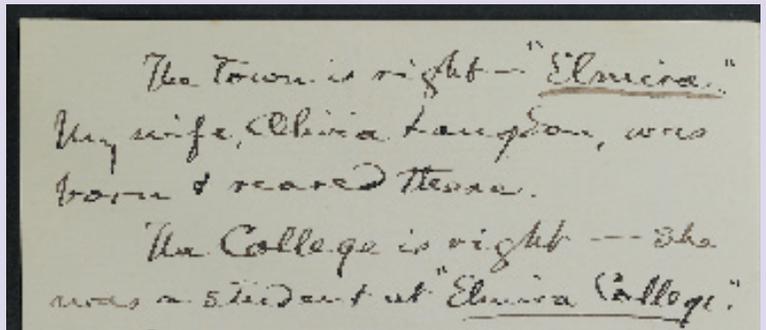
12 noon - 1 p.m.

Luncheon Buffet

Campus Center
 Main Dining Hall
 Upstairs

Olivia Langdon Clemens “was a student at ‘Elmira College.’”

On page two of a three-page letter addressed to German fiction writer Rudolph Lindau, Samuel Clemens compares a short story written by Lindau to events in his own life. Lindau's tale, “The Philosopher's Pendulum,” set in Elmira, presents a fictional account of unrequited love. In his letter, Clemens comments on the uncanny similarities between the characters and events in Lindau's tale with those of his own experiences courting Olivia in Elmira. Clemens states:



(MS: VIU, #08961) The original letter resides at the University of Virginia.

“The town is right - Elmira. My wife, Olivia Langdon, was born & reared there. The College is right - she was a student at Elmira College.”

The letter is undated; however, Lindau is referred to in another account written by Clemens dated 24 April 1901. It is possible that the undated message was written in the same time period.

1:15 pm - 2:15 pm

Choose from three concurrent options.



Virtual Tour of Stormfield

Kevin Mac Donnell

Mac Donnell Rare Books; Austin, Texas

Gannett-Tripp Library

Tripp Lecture Hall

Lower level

Enjoy a stroll through Twain’s last home using floor plans of Stormfield projected on one screen while photographs are projected on to a second screen, including some photographs not published in the original article in the *Mark Twain Journal*, and an astounding revelation about Isabel Lyon’s sleeping arrangements.



Shuttle to Gravesite

See map for Shuttle
Pick-up Point

As we initiate the centennial commemoration of the death of Samuel Langhorne Clemens, consider a visit to Elmira’s Woodlawn Cemetery, the final resting place of Mark Twain and his family.

Shuttles will depart from the Campus at 1:15 pm and 1:35 pm.



Visit the Elmira College Mark Twain Archive

Mark Woodhouse *Elmira College*

Head of Technical Services,

College Archivist, and Mark Twain Archivist

Gannett-Tripp Library

Upstairs

Enjoy a visit with Mark Woodhouse as he shows fine examples of items in the collection and discusses 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.



2:15 pm - 2:25 pm

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, water, soda, fruit, and cookies.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

2:30 pm - 3:45 pm

Choose from two concurrent panels.

Mark Twain and Contemporary Authors

Tom Quirk *University of Missouri-Columbia*
Panel Chair

Campus Center
Tift Lounge
Ground level

“Quite worthy of the company of the best”: William Dean Howells and the Development of Mark Twain’s Literary Reputation

Tracy Wuster *University of Texas, Austin*

Artemus Ward: The Gentle Humorist

John R. Pascal *Seton Hall Preparatory School*

Mark Twain, Minstrelsy, and the “Matter of Miller”

Cameron Nickels *James Madison University Emeritus*

“The Bitter End: Mark Twain, Charles W. Chesnutt, and Paul Laurence Dunbar at the Turn of the Century”

Jennifer Hughes *Emory University*

Mark Twain and Reputation

Joseph Csicsila *Eastern Michigan University*
Panel Chair

Gannett-Tripp Library
Tripp Lecture Hall
Lower level

Twain’s Melbourne Mystery Unmasked

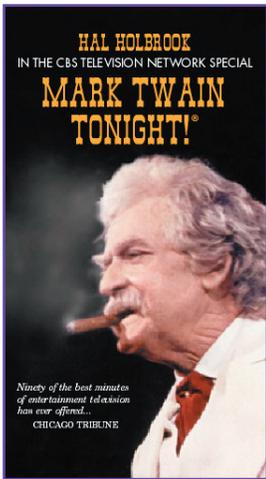
Ron Hohenhaus *Independent Scholar; Brisbane, Australia*

Mark Twain Tonight!, Today and Tomorrow: The Impact and Importance of Hal Holbrook’s One-Man Show

Mark Dawidziak *Independent Scholar; Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio*

Mark Twain: From Caricature to Icon

Alex Brink Effgen *The Editorial Institute at Boston University*



3:45 pm - 3:55 pm

Refreshments available.

Coffee, tea, water, soda, fruit, and cookies.

Campus Center
Southwest Corner Portico

4 pm - 4:10 pm

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

Emerson Hall
Gibson Theatre

4:10 pm - 5:15 pm

Closing Roundtable
Michael J. Kiskis *Elmira College*
Moderator

Emerson Hall
Gibson Theatre

John Bird *Winthrop University*
Louis J. Budd *Duke University Emeritus*
Alan Gribben *Auburn University at Montgomery*
Robert H. Hirst *University of California, Berkeley*
Tom Quirk *University of Missouri-Columbia*
Gary Scharnhorst *University of New Mexico*

6 pm - 6:45 pm

Board buses to Quarry Farm on East Hill.

7 pm - 9 pm

At Home: Quarry Farm Picnic



Photo by Ann Cady '97

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. Cash bar.

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.

Music by Christian Li *Berklee School of Music*

Shuttle Service to Quarry Farm:

Parking at Quarry Farm is severely limited. Please respect Quarry Farm's fragile environment by using the Shuttle Bus Service available from the Seventh Street pickup point. **Pick ups will occur at 6 pm and 6:20 pm.** See the **Campus Map on the inside front cover for the location of the Shuttle Service on Seventh Street.**

9 pm - 11:30 pm

Corn Pone Pub
Cash Bar

Campus Center
1855 Room
Ground floor

Sunday, August 9th, 2009

7:30 am - 10 am

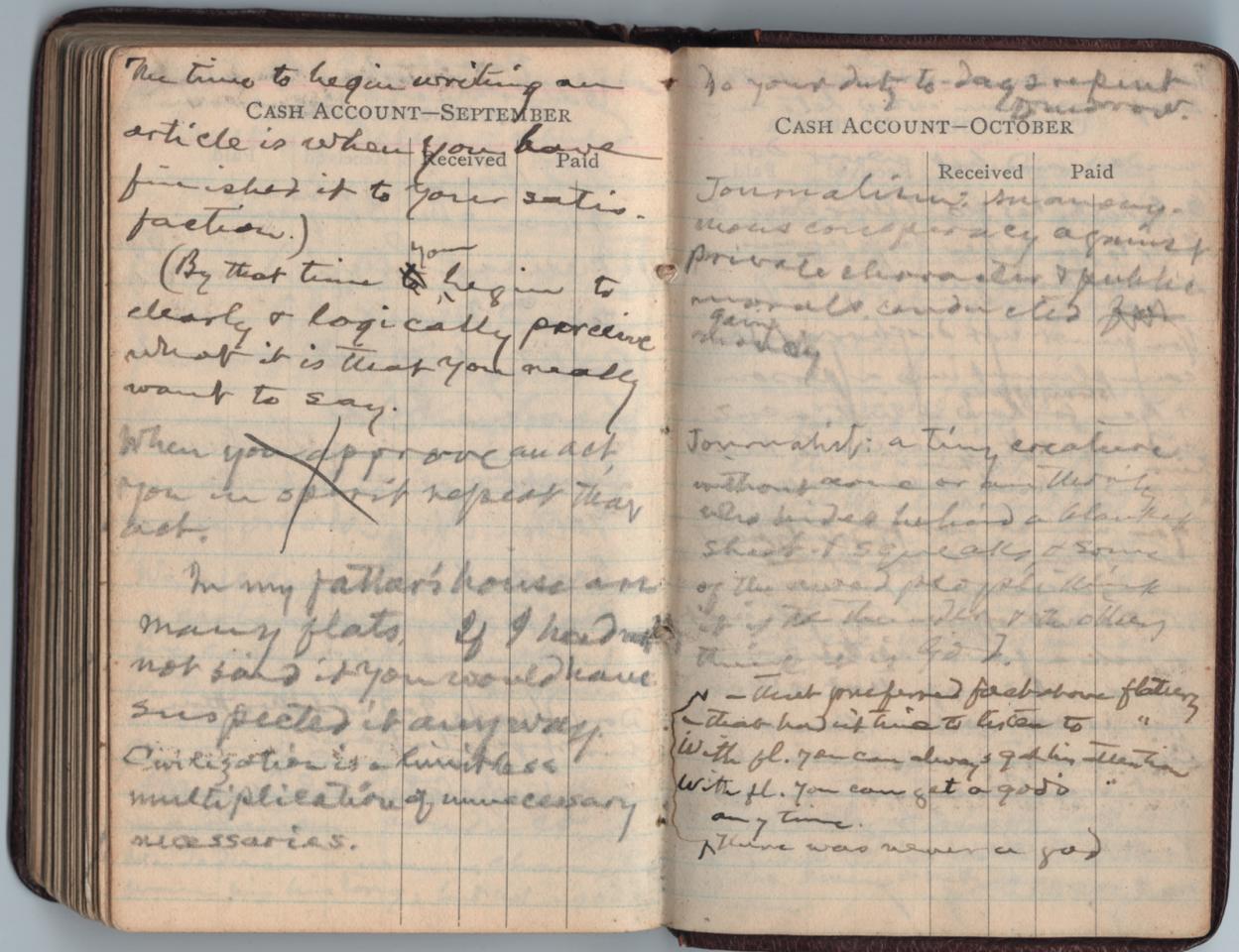
Continental Breakfast

Tompkins Hall Lounge

The Sixth International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies

ABSTRACTS

(In alphabetical order)



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

Bascom, Benjamin. *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.*

The Racial Operating Table: Technology and the Human in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.

In this paper I examine the intersection between racial politics, technology, and modernity in Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). Using the framework of theorists Michel Foucault and Paul Gilroy, I explore the novel's representation of technology as a force capable of restructuring racial identity. I examine how a society's dominant hegemony deploys subject-producing technologies when society's social fabric experiences the changes brought on by modernity. More broadly, this paper interrogates late nineteenth-century American notions of what it means to be human, particularly when mechanical and social technologies supplement the creation of subjectivity.

My analysis examines how technology ~ both its mechanical manifestations and its theoretical presence ~ constructs and determines racial subjectivity. In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Twain endows the optic technology of fingerprinting with race-locating power in that fingerprinting "discovers" Tom's "blackness" and positions him into a life of slavery. This discovery, however, does not locate an essential attribute that signifies racial identity but rather encodes "blackness" onto Tom's very fingerprints. In this sense, technology does not locate an essential signifier that speaks his race, but rather it enables the functioning of a narrative that constructs his body into a racialized discourse.

Indicative of the time period, the novel coincides with a profound shift in how the body was viewed and interpreted: fingerprinting (developed by Francis Galton in 1892) proved that each individual human had a "natal autograph," and mass produced photos proliferated one's visual identity onto a public sphere. These social shifts were noted in several pop-cultural, medical, and scientific magazines, each bespeaking a nearly tangible social anxiety over technology's ability to radically reconstitute human representation. In negotiating the implications of these forces, I argue that they expose modernity's reaction to the shifting racial politics of late nineteenth-century American society. By reading the novel in this historical context, I illustrate that America's post-Gilded Age contends with scientific appropriation through governing and regulating the technologies that rigidly determine or potentially transform human racial identity.

I historicize the novel within the context of these anxieties—both the fear of technology and a shifting view of the human body ~ and argue that the novel participates in the production of such fears. As I do so, I also reevaluate the novel's racial politics. Since the early 1990s many New Historicist approaches have argued convincingly that the novel suggests Mark Twain supported Jim Crow race relations. However, through drawing upon both historical and theoretical discussions surrounding "modern" representations of racial identity, I argue that Mark Twain's representation of the ambiguous hero Tom is actually more radical than currently appreciated. In fact, I argue for a reading that perceives posthumanist impulses in the novel's representation of human subjectivity.

(Panel, page 8)

(bascom.benjamin@gmail.com)

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

***Huckleberry Finn* and the Fifth Commandment.**

The issue of the relevance of the Fifth Commandment ~ Honor your father and mother ~ turns out to be an important indicator of Twain's complicated view of Biblical laws. Huck's relationship with his own father is, at best, one in which no love is lost, and at one point, Huck even is ready to shoot his father. When he learns that his father is dead, he shows no scintilla of regret. Twain so arranges circumstances that no reader is likely to be displeased by Huck's aversion to his father. This raises all kinds of questions of how important the Fifth Commandment is, and how strong its hold on a child should be.

If in the novel Huck represents the extreme of antipathy to one's parent, Buck Grangerford represents the other extreme of unquestioning dutifulness. But although Pap represents an extreme of a dishonorable father, Colonel Grangerford is not his polar opposite. Though the Colonel might be said to be a community aristocrat, his "honor" is deadly. Again, this time by means of an obvious comparison, Twain raises questions about what it means to "honor" one's parents, and how good that injunction is.

Two other parent-child relationships occur in the novel that also cast the Fifth Commandment in an unflattering light. One is that of Charlotte, the daughter of the doomed Grangerfords, and Harney, the son of the victorious Shepherdsons. Eloping against the will of their parents saves them ~ at least temporarily ~ from the bloody feud. The other is the case of the Wilks girls. Because they are orphans, they are so eager for parental replacements and to show their dutiful trust that they make themselves easy victims for impostors. In Twain's novel, the Fifth Commandment is part of what Twain sees as a double trap ~ the authority of the Bible and human temperament ~ that makes him skeptical of the benevolence of God.

(Panel, page 11)

(lberkove@umd.umich.edu)

Bird, John. *Winthrop University*.

Mark Twain and Robert Ingersoll: The Freethought Connection Revisited

At the November 13, 1879 Grand Banquet of the Re-union of the Army of the Tennessee, held at the Palmer House in Chicago, Mark Twain gave one of his most famous speeches, “To the Babies,” a wry tribute to General Grant. Also appearing as a speaker at the banquet was Robert G. Ingersoll, who was known in the 19th century as “The Great Agnostic” and widely hailed as a great orator. Twain was entranced by Ingersoll’s skills as a speaker, writing to his wife Livy the next day, calling the speech “just the supreme combination of English words that was ever put together since the world began.” A few days later, he wrote to Howells, saying, “Bob Ingersoll’s speech will sing through my memory always as the divinest that ever enchanted my ears.” The next month, he wrote to Ingersoll and requested a “perfect copy” of the speech ~ first, to read it to Hartford’s Saturday Morning Club, a club he had organized for young girls, but more importantly for his own scrapbook. Ingersoll sent a copy of the speech, as well as his latest book, *Ghosts and Other Lectures*. Thus began a literary friendship that would last until Ingersoll’s death in 1899, and continue afterwards in influence until Twain’s death a decade later.

Thomas D. Schwartz’s 1976 article in *American Literature*, “Mark Twain and Robert Ingersoll: The Freethought Connection,” ably chronicles Ingersoll’s influence on Twain’s thinking, but only partially: Schwartz confines his analysis to *Ghosts and Other Lectures* and Ingersoll’s 1881 debate on theology with lay theologian Jeremiah Black in *The North American Review*. Schwartz traces influence in *The Prince and the Pauper*, *Adventures in Huckleberry Finn*, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*, *What Is Man?*, and *The Mysterious Stranger*, based on Ingersoll’s ideas in those two sources. As admirable as Schwartz’s article is in establishing the connection between Twain and Ingersoll, by confining his analysis to those two sources, he misses the much broader and deeper influence that Ingersoll’s published writings had on Twain’s theological thought. As Schwartz acknowledges, Twain subscribed until his death to Ingersoll’s magazine of freethought, *The Truth Seeker*, and Twain had been sent a copy of Ingersoll’s complete works in 1900.

In reading from Ingersoll’s collected writings, I have discovered numerous sections that sound amazingly close to Twain’s writings in the last decade of his life. The parallels are startling and reveal an influence that goes far beyond what Schwartz discussed in his 1976 article. In my paper, I will examine those parallel passages, passages that will reveal Twain’s extensive borrowing of Ingersoll’s work and thought. I will also speculate on some of the implications of Twain’s “hidden borrowing,” including a comparison of Ingersoll’s very public airing of his religious skepticism and Twain’s more private explorations. Several recent scholars ~ notably Joe Fulton and Harold Bush~have examined Twain’s religious beliefs and writings, and my analysis will extend that ongoing critical conversation. Rather than merely uncover a somewhat-forgotten influence on Mark Twain, I hope to show something about the way he used another writer’s thoughts and words and the reasons why he left that influence largely unspoken.

(Panel, page 14)

(birdj@winthrop.edu)

Boewe, Mary. *Independent Scholar, Fearington Village, North Carolina*.

Mark Twain’s Proper Reputation: Livy’s Grave Concern.

In 1899, when he walked down the street, Mark Twain was easily recognized: a celebrity widely known for being well-known, for the distinctive hair, the rolling gait, the deliberate drawl. To many, his writings were secondary, yet their uniqueness would guarantee literary permanence. To Olivia Clemens, those writings and that physical presence had become a problem; too colorful and folksy, they diminished a reputation that should be “proper” ~ one befitting Samuel Langhorne Clemens.

In 1899, the first volumes of the Autographed Edition of Twain’s writings appeared. “Mark Twain, A Biographical Sketch” by nephew Samuel E. Moffett would conclude its final volume. Twain wrote publisher Bliss that this sketch was suggested by his wife; as its basis, Mark Twain drafted a 14-page autobiography. From the beginning, Livy was in control, and she made penciled changes in her husband’s manuscript. Here was a perfect example of what Mark Twain meant when he described his wife as “this most genuine of all genuine creatures” who “set herself the task of transforming her husband into a comprehensive, complete and symmetrical humbug.”

Moffett’s sketch first appeared in the October 1899 issue of *McClure’s Magazine*. A footnote explained that so many unauthorized accounts of Mark Twain’s life had been published that the famous author had asked his nephew to write this authentic piece, one noted for “simplicity, directness, dignity, lucidity.” To Moffett, it was “very short and bald.”

Three years later in 1902, Willis J. Abbot, editor of *The Pilgrim*, a Michigan monthly, wrote S. E. Moffett, requesting a Mark Twain article to be “part of a series of character sketches of men who are stimulating the moral and ethical sense of the country.” This new article was an unexpected opportunity for Livy’s husband to be presented with proper dignity. Sam Moffett sent this second manuscript to Livy, who suggested changes: recently, her husband had been called the original Huck-

leberry Finn; lest he be considered a poor white from the South, Moffett must explain that the Clemens family was “of good origin in reduced circumstances.” They had even been slaveholders. Moffett’s alteration: Clemens’s parents had once had “vast” lands, now worth millions to other owners. Sam Clemens himself had always been markedly serious, although the Tom Sawyer side of his character revealed a love of fun. “Mark Twain, Humorist, Man of Letters and Champion of the Right,” by Samuel E. Moffett, came out in the September 1903 issue of *The Pilgrim*. Soon after, the Clemens family sailed for Italy, only to return to America after Livy’s death in June 1904. What Livy feared soon came to pass after her husband died in April 1910: “experts” began predicting just how long Mark Twain and his writings would be known to the reading public. In short, the extent of his literary reputation.

In the June 1910 *Bookman*, for example, Columbia University professor Harry Thurston Peck’s “Mark Twain A Century Hence” filled eleven pages. To Peck, only “The Jumping Frog” and *Innocents Abroad*, Twain’s greatest book, would survive. *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* might be around “for perhaps two decades.” The rest of Clemens’s books would disappear in a century or two. As for Twain’s autobiography, “His best friends have regretted that he ever began to write it. It is to be hoped that his heirs and executors will suppress it.”

Mark Twain had disagreed; he told Howells that “this autobiography of mine would live a couple of thousand years without any effort and would then take a fresh start and live the rest of the time.” To himself, his public persona seemed more important than his writings. Professor Peck agreed: “Mark Twain created just one personage with whom we laugh or wonder or are indignant, and this personage is Mark Twain himself ~ Mark Twain, be it understood, and not Mr. Samuel L. Clemens.”

To Mrs. Samuel L. Clemens, however, that personage was never Mark Twain the celebrity. Throughout their marriage, she had tried to control her impulsive husband to insure his status as a perfect gentleman with a proper literary reputation: Samuel Langhorne Clemens.

(Panel, page 1)

(msboewe@embarqmail.com)

Bush, Harold K. *Saint Louis University*

Mark Twain, Empire, and the Post-Christendom Dream

Twenty-first century Christianity as a national and world phenomenon is in rapid transition, so much so that a number of contemporary theologians and commentators commonly speak of a so-called “post-Christendom” (not to be confused with a post-Christian) world. Literary critics generally fail to note the distinction between the terms/concepts Christianity and “Christendom,” however. In particular, today numerous theorists/theologians distinguish between Christianity and “Christendom,” meaning generally a corrupt mating of the church with the culture and society.

Despite this contemporary criticism directed at an imperialistic Christendom, however, the sustained critique of the American church’s courting of political power, and its exercise of worldly politics, has its roots in the nineteenth century. In America, a post-Christendom critique began most earnestly with the Transcendentalists, especially Emerson, but also can be associated with certain social reformers, including the abolitionists.

I argue in this paper that in America, Mark Twain emerged as among the most vocal and the most compelling critics of the detrimental effects of Christendom (not Christianity) in the New World. Twain’s critique of Imperialism can easily be read from within this important and growing tradition, as simultaneously a critique of American Christendom and of half-baked Christian morality. He was a blast-furnace critic of “the stately matron called CHRISTENDOM . . . with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle, and her mouth full of pious hypocrisies” (Zwick 12-13). And yet, as is so often overlooked in such accounts, I read his anger as signaling a tacit advocacy of a much more radical and “pure” brand of Christian morality in America’s dealings with third world and underdeveloped nations. Careful note must be made of Twain’s use of the term “CHRISTENDOM” as opposed to Christianity, a distinction also made by Frederick Douglass in his peroration at the end of the *Narrative*. Similarly, Twain’s angry screeds denouncing Christendom do not necessitate a dismissal of what Douglass called “the Christianity of Christ” ~ rather, Twain, like Douglass, wishes to demonstrate to a “Christian nation” the “widest possible difference” between their activities overseas and their proclaimed ideals. The distinction suggests anti-imperialism to have been a movement strongly informed by a post-Christendom rhetoric as it emerged at the turn of the new century. I will carry out this reading by drawing upon Twain’s late essays that seem most obviously to work within this growing tradition, including “To the Person sitting in Darkness,” “The Stupendous Procession,” “United States of Lyncherdom,” “Corn-Pone Opinions,” and especially “My First Lie and How I Got Out of It.”

(Panel, page 15)

(bushhk@slu.edu)

Camfield, Gregg. *University of California, Merced.*

Second Life: The Avatar of Mark Twain, or Pirates of the Plebian: What Twain Tells Us About Texts in the Digital Age.

Mark Twain has a huge presence on the web, though saying that is like saying we're surrounded by air. Just about EVERYTHING has a huge presence on the web, and that is one of the astounding things about digital technologies. The information bottlenecks of publishing and of scholarship are gone, and the resulting democratization and chaos create flows of information and misinformation the likes of which we have never experienced. The consequences of this flow open numerous interesting questions, among them the following:

We know that radio crippled text and that television pushed its wheelchair over the cliff. Recent surveys show that the average American adult begins one book a year. Literacy and thus literature as we used to define them have been on life support—much of it offered by the academy—for generations. But the main ingredient of the web is text. And even though the web is the Caribbean for textual piracy, texts in the public domain have an outsized presence. Partly this is vestigial from the Web's birth, when textual initiatives such as the Women Writers Project and Project Gutenberg were efforts to use this low cost medium to preserve a heritage that had been nearly snuffed out by the publishing industry. But the number of sites run by amateurs (in the root sense of the word) devoted to scanning and posting old authors astonishes. Indeed, Gutenberg, loosely following the model of a WIKI rather than of a formal academic enterprise, is now distributing proofreading. What is it about the web that has brought text back to life more robustly than it has ever been? Judging from the kinds of flame wars on discussion forums, the sense people have of "ownership" over beloved authors (or musicians, or actors, or bird species, or stap collections, or just about anything to which people can cathect) seems to be enhanced on the web, which makes deferral to expertise much less common, or, perhaps, encourages anyone to claim expertise.

So what happens to textual accuracy in such an environment? Does the web's claim to be self-correcting hold up? And how can the carefully developed expertise of editing projects, like the Mark Twain Project, develop a business model that can sustain scholarship in this new environment, in which piracy is so easy as to circumvent almost any effort to make money off of copyrighted material. The painstaking work of the Mark Twain Project was always predicated on the idea of the patient accumulation of information, and the permanent publication of best texts in context. The market for such texts was small but stable. Shifts to digital production provide opportunities for low cost revisions when new information becomes available, but provides no stable funding base to support the staff that can incorporate such changes. Will scholarship have to be distributed, too? If so, how can scholars control quality?

These are some of the smaller questions that web texts raise. The bigger questions have to do with what literacy and literature are in this new information environment. Recent theorists of the impact of digital technologies, such as N. Catherine Hayles, suggest that older images of identity and personal privacy are breaking down, that the cyber-world creates a new kind of "posthuman" presence, and that if we are to do literary criticism that has any value for the twenty-first century, we must take this shift in human psychology into account. While I think such theories are more shock and awe than substance, there is no question that Mark Twain on the Web, is not the same as Mark Twain in the classroom. But then, did our protean humorist really belong in such a constraining environment? Perhaps his liberation into the web is exactly what he needed to be able to voice his relevance to yet another generation of consumers.

I propose not so much to answer these questions as to raise them in sharper detail in order to stimulate discussion of Mark Twain's future.

(Panel, page 4)

(gcamfield@ucmerced.edu)

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

The Satirist Who Clowns: Revisiting Mark Twain's Performance at the Whittier Birthday Celebration.

In December 1877, Sam Clemens took part in the celebration of John Greenleaf Whittier's seventieth birthday staged by the publisher of the *Atlantic Monthly*. The story he told as part of the parade of after-dinner encomiums has been stigmatized by William Dean Howells as "that hideous mistake of poor Clemens," and the memory of it for Clemens was apparently so fraught with anxiety and uncertainty about the propriety of telling the tale that Richard Lowry has referred to it as a primal scene of Mark Twain criticism. Indeed, most analyses of the speech and its aftermath investigate the personal stakes for Sam Clemens, and Lowry's comment focuses their psychoanalytical undercurrent. The other focal point for analysis has been what the speech represents for American culture, an emphasis initiated by Bernard DeVoto and then amplified by Henry Nash Smith.

This talk will show that these analytical points are two aspects of the same satiric performance rather than competing

interpretations. I will not ignore the personal side of the inquiry into possible meanings of the Mark Twain Whittier birthday speech, but rather than understand the event as a primal scene that generates a personal story of identity crisis, I will stress cultural processes by insisting on the symbolism inherent in the concept “primal scene.”

To provide context for understanding reactions to the speech, I will also analyze other texts written and performed at about the same time: “The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut” (read before the Hartford Monday Evening Club, January 1876); “The Babies” (an after dinner toast for the Army of the Tennessee’s thirteenth reunion, 1879); “Plymouth Rock and the Pilgrims” (after dinner speech at the meeting of the New England Society of Philadelphia, 1881).

The Whittier birthday speech and reactions to it function as a drama that symbolically enacted tensions in American culture in 1877 and then subsequently generated a particular narrative about American literary history. Providing the narrative’s primal scene, the Whittier Birthday event presents to literary critics and historians a tangle of motivations and meanings for the principal actors in the drama. For Clemens as well as for the honored guests, a personal level existed that was nevertheless charged with cultural meaning: if Whittier and the other honored guests were both individual men and cultural icons, so was Clemens an individual man while his literary alter ego, Mark Twain, also stood iconic before the crowd. For William Dean Howells and Henry Houghton, respectively editor and publisher of the *Atlantic Monthly*, a personal and cultural level also existed, but so too did a commercial aspect. For contemporary editors in Boston and elsewhere, as well as for subsequent generations of literary historians and critics, the event registered and continues to register at the cultural level. Yet, all of these groups represent a complicated layering of audiences for the symbolic drama of the primal scene; thus they inevitably participate in the drama’s recurring cultural performance.

The personal aspect of the event underscores the obvious and yet easily overlooked social interaction among putative equals entailed in a festive dinner, the manners and customs regulating the participants’ behaviors in that interaction. Though the story Mark Twain tells offers a travesty of this personal quality of politeness and dignity, Clemens carefully constructed the text to separate actual men from fictional characters. Nevertheless, some in the multiple audiences, including Howells, misread travesty as personal insult. Howells’s account of this misreading in *My Mark Twain* has decisively shaped all subsequent narratives about the event, which points to the pivotal supporting role of friend and editor Howells played in the symbolic drama while Mark Twain played the lead role of a satiric clown. In this role, Mark Twain enacts symbolic indeterminacy of a kind and on a scale that the settled narrative of Bostonian cultural hegemony could not swallow. The tale Mark Twain performed as a recalled memory triggered this disruption. Operating in the subjunctive mood of “what if?,” the tale imagines an alternative cultural narrative that outraged and scandalized a literary world that thought it still held sway as the country’s cultural pole star. As the clown of the drama, Mark Twain displayed his own foolishness in order to show his audience theirs. The Whittier Birthday speech as symbolic drama, then, emphasizes what was at stake culturally, not just showing a future direction for American literature, but also suggesting the limited role for a satirist in 1877.

(Panel, page 2)

(caron@hawaii.edu)

Chikugo, Katsuhiko. *Fiji University*.

What the Million-Pound Bank-Note Gets: An Interpretation of Henry Adams’s Final Statement in “The £1,000,000 Bank-Note.”

In Mark Twain’s “The £1,000,000 Bank-Note,” Henry Adams’s final statement, “Yes, it’s a million-pounder, as you see; but it never made but one purchase in its life, and then got the article for only about a tenth part of its value,” seems to have one definite meaning. In *Mark Twain A to Z*, for instance, we can find the explanation for the statement: “Though the note is a million-pounder, Adams considers its value only a tenth the worth of what it has bought him” (316). And Peter Messent suggests that “the article” refers to “Portia Langham” and “its value” refers to “Portia’s value” by saying that Portia “holds ten times more value for him than the bank-note” (*Short Works of Mark Twain* 125).

Japanese translations of the story, however, interpret the statement in different ways. For instance, both Eitaro Sayama and Yoshio Katsuura read “the article” as “the protagonist” and “its value” as “the million-pounder’s value.”

Why are the Japanese translations so different from Messent’s interpretation? I believe that the statement offers indeterminate meaning, allowing readers to come up with different interpretations.

The Japanese translators’ interpretation presents two unsolved questions. First, who does the million-pound note get “the article” for? Second, does the note really get “the article” for about one hundred thousand pounds? The probable answer to the first question is Brother B. The answer to the second question is, in a sense, yes, though the question itself is complex. The translators, I guess, considered the million-pound note to be a real “monster,” which bought the protagonist cheap, as they saw that Adams was governed by it. And I think that their interpretation is appropriate. But if the monster really gets “the article” for about one hundred thousand pounds, the selling of “shares in a California mine” (*Mark Twain A to Z* 316) seems to give us a clue as to how it makes the purchase.

In my view, it is probable that “the article” refers to “Henry Adams” and “its value” refers to “Adams’s value.” Adams is bought as Brother B’s potential partner when he is given the note; for Brother B’s letter suggests that the elderly gentleman intends to hire him or give him a position according to his ability, and he successfully shows his capacity to be a capitalist. If he holds ten times more value for the rich old gentleman than the note, there is a strong possibility that narrator Henry Adams is a capitalist who is able to increase Brother B’s fortune as his partner and son-in-law.

Adams is a greedy money worshiper. How on earth can honest people with “a clean reputation” sell the shares worth one million dollars for three million dollars? Besides, he knew that the shares would never sell in London, helping Lloyd Hastings with the papers. The narrator must be a “cold” capitalist, who worships the million-pound note that hangs “in its frame in the sacrest place in” his home. In this sense, “The £1,000,000 Bank-Note” is a story in which Adams becomes a capitalist.

I do not mean to argue that my interpretation is better. Rather, Messent’s is the best from the context; for Adams admits that the million-pound note gave him Portia and but for it he would never have met her. And the Japanese translators’ interpretation is very insightful. Still, I maintain that Adams’s final statement is open to other interpretations; and my interpretation offers three interesting hints about the story. First, though the narrator tells the audience that the million-pound note bought him Portia, he also tells them that he was bought for Portia’s stepfather, whether or not he is conscious of it. Besides, he may have been given to Portia as her husband. Second, if the note really makes a purchase, it can be made when the note is given to Adams or exchanged for him. Third, there is a strong possibility that the narrator is a capitalist who increases or increased Brother B’s fortune as his partner; for he holds ten times more value for his father-in-law than the note.

According to Charles H. Gold, Twain thought that “Webster let [him] down . . . by mismanaging the affairs of the publishing company. Paige dashed his dreams by failing to deliver a finished and manufacturable machine” (“*Hatching Ruin*” 11). Probably, Twain needed competent partners when he wrote the story in 1892. If so, his personal desire is projected onto the character Brother B, who finds a competent partner that is capable of increasing his fortune.

(Panel, page 9)

(chikugo@fuji-u.ac.jp)

Click, Benjamin. *St. Mary’s College of Maryland*.

Creating a Safe Place “Dwelling Place”: The Ethos of Mark Twain, Anti-Imperialist.

“I am not an American, I am the American” prominently (dis)graced the cover of the video packaging of Ken Burns’ film, *Mark Twain* (2002). Attributed to Samuel Clemens and accepted by most (some Twain scholars included) as something that Clemens would have said or written, the quote (oozing self-referential hubris) and its misattribution reveals something quite emblematic of Twain’s towering presence as America’s greatest humorist and arguably its most quoted citizen: the name possesses an ethos ~ an ethos crafted in his literary texts as Mark Twain the humorist and in speeches and public venues as Mark Twain public persona. That invented ethos evolved to a situated and relied upon ethos in his outwardly polemical writings on American imperialism. But, unlike in his autobiographical reportage pieces and fictive work, in these writings direct self-referential promotion of his authority, as a speaker who is at once trustworthy, knowledgeable and honorable, is virtually absent.

Twain’s anti-imperialist stance has been examined wholly or partly by scholars since William M. Gibson’s pioneering article, “Mark Twain and Howells: Anti-Imperialists” (1947) and followed by other works such as Philip Foner’s *Mark Twain: Social Critic* (1958); Louis J. Budd’s *Mark Twain: Social Philosopher* (1962); Hunt Hawkins’s “Mark Twain’s Anti-Imperialism,” (1992); Jim Zwick’s excellent *Mark Twain’s Weapons of Satire: Anti-Imperialist Writing on the Philippine-American War* (1993); and Wesley Britton’s “‘I Come from the Throne’: ‘The War-Prayer,’ The Bible, and Anti-Imperialism” (2006). Popular magazines too recognize the stance: *The Atlantic Monthly*, “Mark Twain on American Imperialism” (1992); and most recently *Time* declared that “he changed the way we view politics,” and selected him as their seventh American who shaped American history, for its “The Making of America” series (2008).

Much of the work on Twain’s anti-imperialism has focused on tracing his vacillating views of American involvement in other countries, the ideological basis for those views, and a growing pessimism that put an end to his anti-imperialist writing. But rhetorical theory, ancient and contemporary, offer yet another way to examine Twain’s anti-imperialist writings. Michael Hyde’s recent edited collection of dedicated essays on *The Ethos of Rhetoric* (2008) offers us a useful distinction that contributes to understanding Twain’s credibility as a writer of anti-imperialist literature, and how and why it works (or in some cases fails to work) in that literature. His phrase “ethos of rhetoric” relates to “the way discourse is used to transform space and time in ‘dwelling places’ where people can deliberate about and collectively understand some matter of interest. Such dwelling places define the grounds, abodes, habitats where a person’s ethics and moral character take form and develop.” In this paper, I examine those dwelling places where Twain’s ethos was initially crafted.

Rhetorically speaking, Twain had been creating such dwelling places since he first wrote for print. Even as a 16 year old assuming the persona of old brother Orion's Dog-Be-Deviled Citizen in order to chastise a local writing for a rival paper counts towards defining the dwelling place for his character to form and develop. Of course, early efforts seemed mere amusement, without clear deliberate intent or rhetorical power (in the classical sense). But rhetorician Steven Mailloux clarifies rhetorical power as "the specific way discourse achieves its effects on audiences within and without its conventional boundaries," and in *Rhetorical Power* (1985) he deftly illustrates how *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* "as ideological performance recharts the social map of the 'Negro Problem' and dismantles the racist hierarchies of a society's collective conscience." Obviously, Twain had done similar rhetorical work before and after Huck Finn and outside of conventional boundaries. Thus, by 1900, his ethos as "America's" author in hand, Mark Twain had already defined his rhetorical "dwelling place," and felt prepared to suffer any consequences of speaking out in a conventional way against American Imperialism. Still he questioned his judgment and published "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" only after receiving the approval of both his wife and his literary advisor, W.D. Howells. His ultimate determination to speak out reveals the strength of his ethos, and Twain realized this strength. He writes to Twitchell on January 29, 1901: "I'm not expecting anything but kicks for scoffing, and am expecting a diminution of my bread and butter by it, but if Livy will let me, I will have my say."

In this paper, I examine Twain's deft sense of his own ethos as seen in his personal and unpublished writing as well as his ability to craft a humorist's ethos ~ one who is at once biting funny and utterly responsible.

(Panel, page 10)

(baclick@smcm.edu)

Courtney, Steve. *Independent Scholar; Terryville, Connecticut.*

"Well, Is He Harris?" Twichell's and Clemens' Varying Takes on the A Tramp Abroad Journey.

In July 1883, at the flood of the Reverend Joseph Hopkins Twichell's long friendship with Samuel Clemens, the minister told the author of a story he had heard from a Hartford businessman. Jeremiah M. Allen of the Hartford Steam Boiler Insurance Company had visited ex-president Rutherford B. Hayes, and the conversation turned to Mark Twain. President Hayes asked of Twichell: "Well, is he Harris?"

He was referring, of course, to Clemens' comic companion Harris on the journey described in *A Tramp Abroad* (1880). Harris is Clemens' "agent" in the tale, portrayed in the book as quiet and amusing but without great substance or impact on the narrative other than as a foil, Bud Costello to Clemens' Lou Abbott. It's generally known, however, that Twichell was involved a good deal more than that in the creation of this uneven but rich travel book. To listen to Clemens himself ~ not always a reliable reporter ~ Twichell was the muse for the trip: "I find that you, who were with me only a month and a half of the 14, are in *actual presence* (not imaginary) in 440 of the 531 pages the book contains!" Twichell basked in his role: "I have felt a considerable modesty about the book, because it is so much mine." Harris himself is pictured in the book as a somewhat taller figure than Clemens, a cartoon figure with pince nez glasses, both by its paid illustrators and, in one instance, by Twichell himself.

The comparative notebooks of Twichell and Twain on the trip elucidate the role of the two men and their varying responses to their companionable closeness, the foreign scene, their treks along Alpine trails and the transmuting of their experience into literature. The letters Twichell wrote home to his wife Harmony also cast light on Twichell's attitudes, and seem to confirm his role as muse. "He says that my coming has waked his thoughts, and put him in the way of work," says Twichell. Their route wends through the Black Forest, where Clemens famously pursued a floating piece of wood down a stream with boyish glee, and which occasioned the kind of the vivid descriptive writing that was soon to render so much of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* memorable. In fact, the trip is sometimes seen as an incubator for Clemens' *chef d'oeuvre*. The Mississippi tale is presaged in Clemens and Twichell's boat trip down the Neckar ~ for Clemens, this became a raft trip in *A Tramp Abroad*; for Twichell, the rowboat that in fact carried the two men on part of their journey reminded him of youth and his rowing days at Yale.

Arrived in the Alps, the writer and the minister described other incidents in their respective styles: the loss of Twichell's opera glasses over a precipice; the near-death of a little girl who skidded to the verge of a crashing brook; and a long side-tramp Twichell took through the high passes while Clemens was laid up with gout. Twichell described what must have been a liberation of sorts, the freedom to walk 25 and 35 miles a day, while his walks with Clemens had never exceeded 10. Clemens turned Twichell's side-trip into an odd, almost avant-grade effort at language play in *A Tramp Abroad*.

Finally, that book contains a treasure ~ a detailed recounting by Clemens, of a conversation that the two men shared on part of their walk, providing the closest thing we have to a tape recording of the conversation bred by the peculiar companionship that the two men enjoyed. The subject matter included grammar, skeletons, dentistry, printing, the Mississippi, the Civil War. As they walked, both men recounted (in Clemens' words) not only what they knew but also "the glad, free

boundless realm of the things we were not certain about.” And from there they moved on to stories of their respective youths, reveling in their intense friendship. It was one of those pedestrian conversations that marked the high point of that friendship and of a key moment in Clemens’ creative career. Of the *Tramp Abroad* journey Twichell wrote: “There couldn’t be another of that specie anyhow. That was the only one there was.”

(Panel, page 14)

(sdcourtney@hotmail.com)

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David, Beverly. *Western Michigan Emerita.*

The Authentic *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*: E. W. Kemble's Illustrations as an Extension on Mark Twain's Text.

"When a narrative is profusely enhanced by visual experience, which both extends and complicates the imaginative experience fostered by the verbal text, then the reading process cannot be linear. . . . The compounded reading experience evolves not merely from the numbers or nuisance of these images but also from something deeper, our knowledge that Mark Twain indeed intended to write an *illustrated* book." *The Printer's Devil* (134).

Mark Twain scholars enter dangerous territory when they attempt to reevaluate, reinterpret, or put a different slant on *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Twain wanted Huck Finn illustrated; he sought out and chose the illustrator, he reviewed and gave final approval to the illustrations. Pictures and print in *Huckleberry Finn* are inseparable. Therefore, when reading an unillustrated edition of the novel, the text is taken "out of context." The book must be studied as a whole entity.

The same vigilant scrutiny that scholars have brought to bear on Twain's text should also be used to study the illustrations in his many works. A scholarly study of how illustration influences an author's text requires a dual commitment, knowledge of artistic traditions and knowledge of literary traditions. These practices: style, theme, characterization, allusion, allegory, satire and irony, are often similar even though they are created in two different media.

A knowledgeable analysis of the combination of the visual and the verbal in a work adds another layer ~ and for *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* gives guidance through the many layers ~ to a reader's comprehension and enjoyment of the story. Careful scrutiny can identify the many variations between an author's narrative intent and the artist's interpretation of that intent.

For *Huckleberry Finn*, Kemble's illustrations were commissioned by Mark Twain to augment or explain his text. An illustrated *Huck*, therefore, contains three stories: (1) the story told by the narrative or the words (2) the story told by Kemble's pictures (3) the story told by the combination of the two.

Reading the first edition, or any fully illustrated edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, becomes a totally different experience from reading the text alone. When studying a text without pictures the reader is forced to imagine, conjure up many of the specifics of the various characters and situations. Because Mark Twain wrote *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the first person, many times only sketchy clues are given the reader. Knowing that illustration will accompany his text, Twain allowed Huck's narration to have a certain incompleteness. For example, to truly understand Huck's character the reader needs more than the lad can give himself: Is Huck an adolescent or a teenager? Is his ethnic background "Irish.?" Continuing with this idea, can a character's clothing control a reader's interpretation of their character? Are scenes illustrated to give information or disinformation to the reader? Do the pictorial chapter headings alert the reader to action in the chapter? Do the captions/legends supply additional information to the story? Edward Windsor Kemble, the illustrator, took on the job of supplying many of these particulars. With this added information, Huck's story and takes on a very different construct.

A Powerpoint presentation of illustrations and text will demonstrate how the melding of these ideas "extend and complicate the reader's experience."

(Panel, page 9)

(BeverlyRDavid@aol.com)

Davis, John. H. *Chowan University.*

Working on the Railroad: Train Travel in Mark Twain's Short Stories.

More familiarly associated with travel by water and, via *Roughing It*, with the stage coach, Mark Twain found uses for railroads in his fiction, a mode of transportation he frequently professed to dislike intensely (Qt. Webb and Bush 278; Note #20, 280). Ironically, to accept his first job as a riverboat pilot, he rode a train (Sattelmeyer 930), for which ~ despite a description of a railway as "a ravenous destroyer of towns, unless those towns are put at the end of it and a sea beyond, so that you can't go further and find another terminus" (Letter to *Alta California*) ~ he apparently noted other metaphorical possibilities. A trip downriver may become a metaphor for a journey through, or a discovery of, life. Twain sets America's most famous such journey on a raft, not a riverboat; in that novel, riverboats are wrecked or they wreck the raft. The domination of national travel by rivers and riverboats was ending even as Samuel Clemens began his career as pilot on the mightiest American river (Camfield). The democratic character, the diversity of life, of the steamboat, as exemplified in the opening of "The Big Bear of Arkansas," he knew well, but that vociferous gregariousness of riverboat parlor contrasting the complementary rhythms of water and steam speed must give way to the less open, more sedate conversations of passenger cars accompanied by wheels zooming over rails under manmade power, a shift from nature aided by human efforts to reliance upon solely human con-

trivance. “The romance of boating is gone, now... the steamboatman is no longer a god... [The youth’s] pride is apparently railways...,” he acknowledged in 1882 (*Notebooks & Journals* 489), but in *Roughing It* (1872), he said of rail travel “over the very ground” he traveled by the stage coach: “I can scarcely comprehend the new state of things” (46).

Usually interested in technology, Twain uses railroads to represent it in such works as *Connecticut Yankee*, but also observable are peculiarities and paradoxes of train travel rendering it suitable as a framing device and appropriate for specific stories and absurd situations. Some of his most absurd situations occur in stories set on trains: “Cannibalism in the Cars,” “The Invalid’s Story,” “The Stolen White Elephant,” and the three McWilliams stories. Each is a frame story in which a passenger relates a tale to the reader or to a fellow passenger. The story typically ends when the teller leaves the train. As with life, people enter and exit. As the cars make up the train, life is a series of episodes that compose one long story. Each story is a separate incident, set apart in a railcar. Passengers are pulled along, or jostled backward and forward, by forces (train engine) over which they have little control. A train passenger can look and walk in one direction while going another, stay in one place and yet move ahead, travel for miles standing or sitting still and yet moving several miles per hour, apt metaphors for stories that do not follow expected directions. In “Cannibalism in the Cars,” a breakdown of civilization in a civilized way is partly represented by the breakdown of a train, symbol of civilization. In the McWilliams stories, each story is told in a train car, progressively relating growth and development of a middle-class couple coping with the problems and frustrations of married life, the separate stories and cars fitting together to underline that progression. The frame made by the baggage car resembles that of “The Invalid’s Story”: Frame is the box (car) within which is a story (a box/”coffin”/crate). Somewhat of an exception from the other stories, “The Stolen White Elephant” is an illustration of this metaphoric absurdity extended beyond the rails. Typically, the train frame works thematically as it emphasizes the story frame.

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(Panel, page 4)

(JHDavis@Chowan.edu)

Dawidziak, Mark. *Independent Scholar*.

Mark Twain Tonight!, Today and Tomorrow: The Impact and Importance of Hal Holbrook’s One-Man Show.

Although there are no known recordings of Mark Twain’s voice and only a few seconds of Mark Twain on film, many Americans believe they know precisely how the writer talked and walked. That’s because Hal Holbrook gave him a best-guess voice, along with an approximation of his shuffling gait and lecture-platform mannerisms. Holbrook put together his remarkable *Mark Twain Tonight!* when many people who knew Twain ~ including his daughter, Clara, Isabel Lyon, James “Bim” Pond, and Dorothy Quick ~ were still alive and eager to offer guidance. This paper will discuss the importance of Holbrook’s one-man show on Twain scholarship, on Twain’s stature as an American icon, and on the theater. It will chart the evolution of the show and Holbrook’s characterization, examining how the performance has developed over the years ~ how the production constantly has changed to mirror the times. It also will explore the impact of *Mark Twain Tonight!* on Twain scholarship, by inspiring budding Twainiacs to study the author and by helping to keep Twain alive as a presence on the American scene. After all, who knows how Nathaniel Hawthorne or Herman Melville sounded? Would the average American even recognize a picture of these two literary giants? Twain, no believer in the hereafter, certainly did more than his share to insure a long literary afterlife, but, then again, neither Hawthorne nor Melville had a Hal Holbrook keeping them alive.

Much of this paper will be drawn from more than twenty hours of interviews conducted with Holbrook over the last twenty years. Illustrating key points about the show’s structure and development will be excerpts from the 1967 CBS airing of *Mark Twain Tonight!* Holbrook had been bringing Twain to life for twenty years when an estimated 30 million viewers tuned

in to see *Mark Twain Tonight!* on March 6, 1967. The two had been regular traveling companions, taking many roads to arrive at this electrifying moment in television history.

The Cleveland native was a mere 22 when he first stepped into Twain's white suit at a 1947 show staged in the suicide ward of the Chillicothe Veterans' Hospital in Ohio. The actor was a smooth-featured 29 when he started regular tours of *Mark Twain Tonight!*, playing the 70-year-old Twain in nightclubs and at schools. He was 34 when his one-man show became one of the most celebrated events of the 1959 New York theater season. He was 41 when his 1966 Broadway revival won him a Tony award. And he was 42 when CBS aired this version so well remembered by so many. But the CBS airing of *Mark Twain Tonight!* doesn't get you to even the halfway point of this ongoing journey with Twain. Hal Holbrook, who turned 84 on February 17, has been touring as Mark Twain since 1954. The 2,000th performance of *Mark Twain Tonight!* was in January 2004. You may go back to the Greeks and not find the equal of this feat in theater history. Here is an actor who has lived with one role for fifty-five years in an ever-changing stage show. And Holbrook never quite performs the same show twice. Always aware of the need to keep this granddaddy of one-man shows fresh and relevant, he regularly reshapes and reevaluates *Mark Twain Tonight!* Holbrook estimates that he has "gone through" at least fifteen hours of Twain material since 1954.

Mark Twain once observed that there was "no surer way to find out whether you like people or hate them than to travel with them." Holbrook certainly has had ample opportunity to put this maxim to the maximum test. "The truth is that he's been wonderful company," Holbrook said. "It would be an understatement to say I like him. But, you know, I think I would end up in a mental institution if I couldn't do this Mark Twain show. I get so angry about what's going on in the world, I can barely contain myself. And this show gives you the freedom to get out on stage and say exactly what you're feeling ~ exactly what needs to be said. It's tremendously cathartic."

The paper also will solicit the views of Mark Twain scholars (including Robert Hirst, Shelley Fisher Fishkin, John Bird, Harold Bush, and R. Kent Rasmussen), actors, and theater historians on the importance of *Mark Twain Tonight!*

"I like to make people think, and that's what Mark Twain did," Holbrook said. "He forces you to think. That's the greatest gift he's ever given me, and I love sharing that gift with audiences. It's my job, and it's a job that becomes more precious to me, not only because of the pride I get out of doing something decent with my life, but because of the sheer pleasure and inspiration I get from working with this man's ideas and thoughts and literature. He's been great company."

(Panel, page 17)

(hlgrouch@sbcglobal.net)

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

Mark Twain on the Intelligence of "Savages" and the "Benefits" of Civilization.

"There are many humorous things in the world; among them the white man's notion that he is less savage than the other savage." (Pudd'head Wilson's New Calendar)

The presentation I herein offer is the third installment of my brief forays into Mark Twain scholarship; it continues the trajectory of my first two essays that dwelt with his commentary on the presumptions of white societies. Twain was a keen student and critic of America's outreach and proselytizing impulses especially when they crossed the line into expansionism, imperialism and jingoism. In earlier essays I commented on Twain's assessment of missionaries (for the Fifth International Elmira Conference) and on his Anti-Imperialist League activities (for an American Literature Association meeting, later published in 2006 special issue of *Mark Twain Studies* devoted to his "The War Prayer"). This essay discusses his examination of the problematic "benefits" of civilization and his recognition of the attributes of "savages" that outstrip their subjugators. I will focus on the Sandwich Islands sections of his first travel book, *Roughing It* and his travels in Australia and New Zealand in his last travelogue, *Following the Equator*.

While his comments on Hawaii natives are mostly humorous, his estimates of the superior qualities of the Aborigines and the Maori are couched in serious and somber tones. With regard to the former, he enjoys describing the natives' reaction to work and wearing clothes, and with regard to the latter, he suggests that an under appreciation of the intelligence of "savages" must have come from "race-aversion that put upon them a good deal of the low-rate intellectual reputation which they bear and have borne this long time in the world's estimate of them." In rebuttal he describes the Aborigines invention of and skill with the boomerang, he praises the ease with which they adapt to the hostile and dangerous outback and he marvels at their skill as trackers which "evinces a craft, a penetration, and luminous sagacity, and a minuteness and accuracy of observation in the matter of detective-work not found in nearly so remarkable a degree in any other people, white or colored."

Accordingly my essay examines Twain's instructive and entertaining commentary on numerous instances of natives' accomplishments, leading up to my conclusion that the long-lasting and significant contributions of these two travel books are: in his first travel book, the attention he gives to "the misplaced persecutions of civilization" and in his last, his perceptive notice of how racism blocked white society from appreciating that these are "marvelously interesting creatures."

(Panel, page 5)

(pdooley@sbu.edu)

“Stripped and striped...like so many zebras”: “Playing Indian” in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.

In the youthful imagination of Tom Sawyer, not all escape fantasies are created equal; some are inherently more glamorous and exotic ~ and hence, more deeply satisfying ~ than others. After being spurned by Becky Thatcher in Chapter 8, for example, he contemplates several alternatives to the dull, rule-bound world of St. Petersburg:

What if he turned his back, now, and disappeared mysteriously? What if he went away, into unknown countries beyond the seas ~ and never came back anymore! How would she feel then! The idea of being a clown recurred to him now, only to fill him with disgust. For frivolity, and jokes, and spotted tights were an offense, when they intruded upon a spirit that was exalted into the vague august realm of the romantic. No, he would be a soldier, and return, after long years, all war-worn and illustrious. No ~ better still, he would join the Indians, and hunt buffaloes and go on the warpath in the mountain ranges and the trackless great plains of the Far West, and away in the future come back a great chief, bristling with feathers, hideous with paint, and prance into Sunday-school, some drowsy summer morning, with a blood-curdling war-whoop, and sear the eyeballs of all his companions with unappeasable envy. But no, there was something gaudier than this. He would be a pirate! That was it! Now his future lay plain before him, and glowing with unimaginable splendor....At the zenith of his fame, how he would suddenly appear at the old village and stalk into church all brown and weather-beaten, in his black velvet doublet and trunks, his great jack-boots, his crimson sash, his belt bristling with horse-pistols, his crime-rusted cutlass at his side...Yes, it was settled; his career was determined. He would run away from home and enter upon it. (51)

Twain arranges the flamboyant “career” options that Tom considers into a distinct hierarchy of preference (clown, soldier, Indian scout, and pirate) based on two key criteria ~ costume and image. For in large measure, the allure of Tom’s fantasies depends on the prospect of a triumphant return home. What he ultimately seeks is not permanent separation or physical distance from his community, but a transformation in status ~ to become the object of extravagant popular admiration and awe.

Five chapters later, however, when Tom, christening himself “The Black Avenger of the Spanish Main” enacts this fantasy, setting off for Jackson’s Island in the company of “Huck Finn the Red-Handed” and “Joe Harper the Terror of the Seas,” the appeal of piracy proves finite and superficial. Both Joe and Huck soon tire of the game, and lobby to return to St. Petersburg; hoping to avert mutiny, Tom proposes that they “be Indians for a change” ~ thereby inverting the hierarchy originally outlined in Chapter 8:

They were attracted by this idea; so it was not long before they were stripped, and striped from head to heel with black mud, like so many zebras ~ all of them chiefs, of course ~ and then they went tearing through the woods to attack an English settlement. (91)

Twain’s description of the manner in which the three boys “play Indian” will be the primary focus of my paper. Specifically, the passage at the end of Chapter 16 ~ as indicated in the facsimile of author’s holographic manuscript published in 1982 by University Publications of America ~ is a late interpolation into the text, inspired, I believe, by an 1874 *Harper’s Weekly* essay on “Indian Warfare,” featuring William De La Montagne Cary’s engraving, “The Scalp Dance” (see image). Several details of this image (the painted geometrical pattern on the warriors’ legs and their animalistic “tails”) bear a close resemblance to the writer’s representation of the boys’ “savage” appearance and behavior.

Tom, Huck, and Joe’s enactment of this collective fantasy involves a more radical transgression of cultural boundaries than pretending to be pirates; they do not merely imagine themselves as romantic outlaws but primitive racial others. In so doing, they experience ~ albeit briefly ~ ultimate freedom; for, as Dakota historian Philip J. Deloria argues in his 1998 study *Playing Indian*, “Aboriginal liberty was not freedom within a system. Rather it rejected every restraint ~ politics, society, language, meaning itself” (184). These ersatz Indians “attack” an English settlement, the social foundation of Anglo-American civilization on the continent, then “separate into three hostile tribes...and kill and scalp each other by thousands. It was a gory day. Consequently it was an extremely satisfying one” (91). As night falls, the boys smoke a “pipe of peace,” discovering to their great delight that inhaling tobacco no longer makes them ill; Twain thus concludes: “And so they spent a jubilant evening. They were prouder and happier in their new acquirement than they would have been in the scalping and skinning of the Six Nations” (92). And yet, according to Philip Deloria, the “powerful, liberating frivolity” of playing Indian, from the paradigmatic moment of the Boston Tea Party up through its contemporary manifestations in youth counterculture, is necessarily a “temporary fantasy,” in which “the player inevitably returns to the everyday world” (184). Is it simply a coincidence then, that the scene I have described from Chapter 16 of Twain’s novel immediately precedes the dramatic return of Tom, Huck, and Joe to St. Petersburg on the occasion of their funeral?

My larger purpose in analyzing the phenomenon of “playing Indian” ~ the imaginary conjoining of civilization and savagery, which Deloria believes constitutes a “national fantasy” of American identity (185) ~ is to explore the cultural significance of Tom’s fantasy in relation to Injun Joe, the “real” Indian who figures so prominently and menacingly in the novel. Joe

himself crosses racial boundaries after escaping from the courtroom where he is on trial for the murder of Muff Potter, returning to St. Petersburg in the guise of a mysterious "Spaniard." He also vehemently rejects the restraints of civilization, giving free rein to his murderous impulses, greed, and desire for revenge. While Twain presents "playing Indian" as an innocuous activity, being native is altogether abhorrent; he thus denies Joe a place in Anglo-American society, consigning him instead to die alone in the darkness of McDougal's cave.

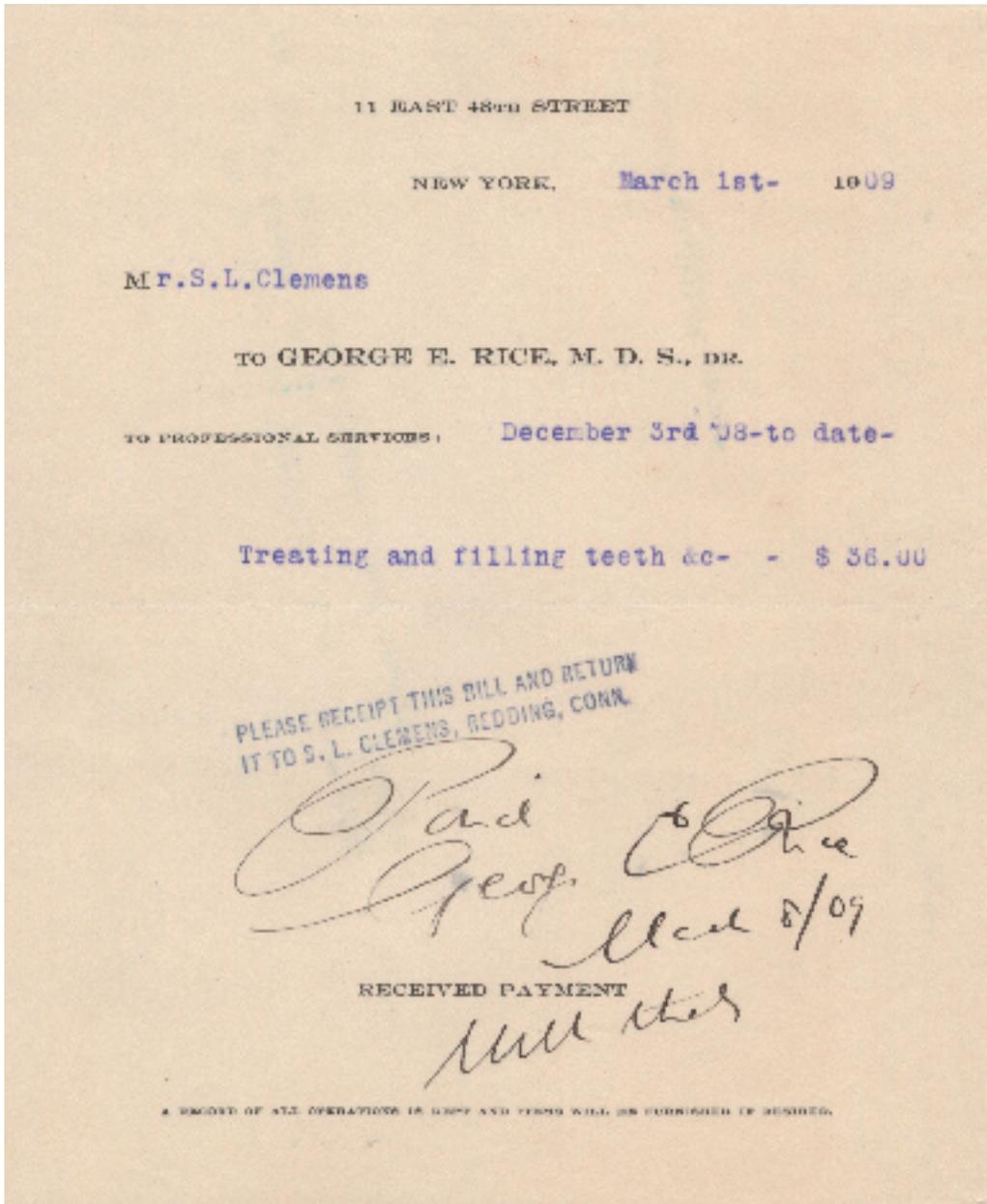
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(Panel, page 5)

(kdriscoll@sjc.edu)



Dental Bill - March 1, 1909 (Courtesy of the Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

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

Mark Twain: From Caricature to Icon.

Close your eyes and picture Mark Twain. What do you see? Typically, a white suit, a shock of white hair, whiskers, and a cigar. We share a collective impression of Mark Twain. We know what Twain is, and we know what Twain is not, but why do we know what we know?

The decades following the Civil War gave rise to many technological innovations and new social attitudes. The desire for more visual media (stimulated by the growth of journalism as big business) promoted advances in the wood engraving and lithography of the 1860s and 1870s towards the superior photoengraving and halftone processes of the 1880s and 1890s. Coincidentally, Mark Twain began his career as a humorist and lecturer, rose to prominent author and finally an international celebrity ~ an icon ~ whose refined quips, deliberate mannerisms, manicured lineaments, and specific accoutrements were fixed by popular fascination. No medium better captured Twain's evolving public appearance than the field of illustration ~ incorporating more of Twain's character through exaggeration and allegory than the precision of photography (another growing industry) would allow.

"Mark Twain: From Caricature to Icon" explores Twain's iconography, examining the aspects that seemed the most relevant to Twain's portrait both chronologically and synoptically. Considering the aspects each artist chose in their impression of their subject, then contextualizing each image relevant to historical, technological, or biographical incident, exposes a noticeable shift in artistic representation. The exaggerated humorist gives way to more noble, philosophical, and realistic portraits: the court jester becomes Arthurian knight, the buffoon canonized.

Using contemporary accounts of Twain's description, many found in Gary Scharnhorst's *Mark Twain: The Complete Interviews* (2006), I've discerned several categories under which Twain was recognized. The first ~ Twain's literary attributes ~ explains the general and specific devices used to identify Twain with authorship and his earlier work: primarily *The Innocents Abroad* and "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog." Considering Twain in performance, several nineteenth-century illustrators identified a common behavioral trait not adopted by Hal Holbrook in "Mark Twain Tonight": hand to chin, a scrutinizing look, and a stooped posture leaning towards the audience. The greatest exaggeration of this behavior appears in a cartoon from the *New York Daily Graphic* of 21 September 1874. In it, Twain's literary attribute of the frog becomes his body, naturally bent and ending in delineated points reminiscent of the tails of a full evening suit. Two amphibious fingers stroke Twain's human chin as he squats before the Park Theatre and his successful production of "The Gilded Age," starring John T. Raymond.

Reckoning Twain's physical characteristics, Susy Clemens's description of him in 1885 identifies the most significant: "Papa's appearance has been described many times, but very incorrectly. He has beautiful gray hair, not any too thick or any too long, but just right; a Roman nose, which greatly improves the beauty of his features; kind blue eyes and a small mustache. He has a wonderfully shaped head and profile...in short, he is an extraordinarily fine looking man. All his features are perfect, except that he hasn't extraordinary teeth."

For Twain's daughter, his hair was neither thick nor long, his mustache was small. But illustrators did not represent these attributes in moderation, nor did they remain controlled as Twain grew older, life imitating art. I then compare Twain's caricatures with journalists' descriptions from the 1880s until the turn of the century, when features like Twain's hair cease to be newsworthy ~ omitted for redundancy.

Material extensions to Twain's personality, such as his use of tobacco and later his white suit, are explained within the moments of their graphic introduction, and developed by later example. In the sample of 150 illustrations collected for this iconographic survey, spanning the decades between 1870 and 1910, over half of the images were drawn in the last ten years of Twain's life. This overwhelming attention to Twain's later image is supported by Scharnhorst's collection of 258 interviews. One-hundred-twenty-eight of them are from 17 June 1900 to May 1910. The public eye fixed Twain's age at its most venerable and newsworthy, when he began to voice his opinion on every aspect and intrigue concerning the "damned human race."

(Panel, page 17)

(abeffgen@bu.edu)

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

"Music is a good thing": Mark Twain's Use of Hymns in His Fiction.

Mark Twain referred at one time or another to many different kinds of music, ranging from the African American spiritual to Wagnerian opera, and it is not difficult to say which of those he preferred. Another musical form well-known to him from early childhood was the Protestant hymn. By my count he refers to at least twenty-five hymns, some of them still familiar to churchgoers, while others are distinctly dated and seldom heard today.

Clemens's acquaintance with hymns began in the Hannibal Sunday school and church and was continued in the various churches he attended across the years. Apparently the most influential hymn book for him was Henry Ward Beecher's *Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes* (1855), published twelve years before the journey to Europe and the Holy Land that formed the basis for *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). Beecher did not accompany the group as had been planned, but his hymn book did, as it was used in the many religious services held on board the Quaker City. A substantial number of the hymns cited and quoted in Twain's writings can be found in the *Plymouth Collection*.

Hymns are prominent in a number of the religious services that Twain describes. In the church service Tom attends in the fifth chapter of *Tom Sawyer*, the opening hymn is "Am I a Soldier of the Cross." Twain quotes two lines, printing them in such a way as to represent the artificial way in which they were "lined out" by the minister, his voice steadily rising in pitch followed by a sudden downward plunge at the end. Twain does not fail to poke fun at those who so much admire this peculiar style.

We now know that Twain once planned to use the same hymn in the camp meeting scene in chapter 20 of *Huckleberry Finn*. After copying out the very lines quoted in *Tom Sawyer*, Twain canceled them and substituted lines from the hymn's first stanza. Ultimately he omitted any reference to a specific hymn while retaining Huck's pleasure in hearing the "rousing" way in which it was sung.

A different kind of service is described in chapter 17 of *Tom Sawyer* when Tom, Huck, and Joe Harper, supposedly drowned, make a surprise appearance at their own funeral. Disregarding what has actually happened, the minister excitedly calls for the singing of the Doxology, which then "swelled up with a triumphant burst" that "shook the rafters." The enthusiastic singing serves for some as the one consolation for having been tricked by the boys.

The Doxology is also sung at a notable moment in *Huckleberry Finn*. In chapter 25, after the King's phony speech "full of tears and flapdoodle," someone begins singing the Doxology and the people join in "with all their might." Even Huck praises the warm feeling it provides and concludes that "Music is a good thing," remarking that he never knew it to "sound so fresh and bully."

Notably contrasting with these scenes from the antebellum midwest is the scene in "The War Prayer" (1905). Here a more urban, more sophisticated congregation has assembled for a kind of send-off to soldiers about to go off to fight a popular war. At first glance the hymn they sing with "glowing eyes and beating hearts," "God the All-Terrible," seems appropriate to the militant spirit of the time. The tone seems similar to that of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," which Twain had parodied a few years earlier. But an examination of the hymn's text suggests a possible ironic purpose. The text actually calls on God to grant pardon and peace, with successive stanzas ending "Give to us peace in our time, O Lord"~ the furthest thing from the minds of the congregation.

(Panel, page 2)

(aensor@utk.edu)

Esh, Tim. *Indiana Wesleyan University*.

Mark Twain's Lover's Quarrel with God: New Questions on Twain, Satire, and American Religion.

That Mark Twain had strong feelings on American religion is no secret, but the aims and philosophy behind those feelings as they shaped his literature has always been subject to scholarly and popular debate. Recent works by Joe B. Fulton and Harold K. Bush have investigated Twain's literary forms and lifelong relationships, respectively, pointing out an overarching affinity between the writer and the religious culture of his day. Such works reveal several questions that merit further study: Was Twain an insider or an outsider to American Protestantism, and how did Twain uniquely write satire as a means of shaping theology and religious practices in America?

In this paper, I explore how Twain plays both insider and outsider religious roles throughout his literary career as son of Jane Clemens, husband to Livy, friend to Joseph Twichell, public performer, and literary persona. While playing these varying roles, Twain, arguably, reshapes the genre of satire to speak to the specific problems regarding practices and beliefs in American Protestantism of his milieu. When encountering Huck's rejection of Miss Watson's religion of rules in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* or Satan's mockery of practical theology in *Letters from the Earth*, we might best characterize Twain's satire of religion as an assault on anthropocentric idiosyncrasies rather than a vitriolic attack on God himself. Through humor and subtly, his satire shifts the onus onto the reader to moderate or even reject illogical forms of Christianity. The reader's return to Christian orthodoxy may not have been Twain's primary goal, however. In works such as *Innocents Abroad*, Twain's pleasure in identifying the incongruencies within a community with which he was personally well-acquainted may have been sufficient reason for his penning these satiric scenes. His critique and technique provide ample study for understanding the intersection of religion and satire in an age of tabernacle evangelism, wildcat religions, and social-gospel movements. In this context, the hilarity in Twain's work, which grows more authoritative and aggressive with maturity, provides a different type of "conscience" for American Protestantism.

(Panel, page 2)

(tim.esh@indwes.edu)

Eutsey, Dwayne. *Independent Scholar; Easton, Maryland.*

Waking from this Dream of Separateness: Hinduism and the Ending of No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*.

In recent years, scholars such as Harold Bush, William Phipps, and Joe Fulton have reconsidered Mark Twain's religious views from a decidedly Christian perspective. In his 2007 *Mark Twain and the Spiritual Crisis of His Age*, for example, Bush posits that Twain's religious ethos "was marked by an intellectual, orthodox Christianity" that intrinsically shaped the humorist's life and writings. In taking this approach, Bush echoes Phipps, Fulton, and others who rightly assert that Twain's "spiritual side has been perhaps the most overlooked" aspect in Twain studies.

The effort to explore this neglected dimension of Twain is a welcome counterbalance to the prevailing critical view of him as a mocking skeptic or embittered atheist. However, in attempting to define Twain within the parameters of Christian orthodoxy, proponents of this view often gloss over the apparent nihilism permeating Twain's later, more theologically challenging works. For instance, although Fulton's insightful interpretation of *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* places this complicated work within the Jewish-Christian prophetic tradition, it does not address what appears to be the non-existence of God at the novel's conclusion.

In my presentation I assert that Twain's "remarkable breakthrough into emptiness" at the end of *No. 44* (as John Tuckey called it) does not reflect his dark resignation to nihilism. Rather, it reveals Twain's complex and ongoing attempt to come to terms with a Deity he was never quite able to reject. It is my contention that Hindu notions of an impersonal yet divine Ultimate Reality (Brahman), not orthodox Christianity's belief in a personal God, is what helped him find solace in "the substance of the Supreme Deity," as he called it in *Following the Equator*.

Ironically, it was liberal Protestantism's openness to other world faiths that helped Twain find such solace. By placing him beyond Christian orthodoxy and within the broader progressive theological spectrum of his era ~ shaped by evangelical liberals like Horace Bushnell as well as unorthodox seekers like Ralph Waldo Emerson ~ I believe it is possible to see Twain's complicated religious beliefs late in life (even the supposedly bleak ones expressed in *No. 44*) in a more positive, even transcendent light. Because Eastern religion, particularly Hinduism, was a significant influence on aspects of Victorian progressive theology, I will discuss the positive influence it had on Twain's religious views late in life in general and on the ending of *No. 44* in particular. I propose a two-part approach to my presentation.

First, with regard to early influences, much has been written recently about Twain's close friendship with Rev. Joseph Twichell (a Bushnell protégé) and how it underscores Christian orthodoxy's influence on Twain's religious views. In this part of my presentation, I will examine Twain's friendship with Moncure Conway (a Unitarian minister, Emerson protégé, and scholar of "Oriental religions"), and explore what it says about Twain's own unorthodox views, especially as they relate to Eastern religion. To help illustrate Twain's inclination toward Eastern thought throughout his life, I will also briefly address other interests in his life similar to core Hindu beliefs (e.g., Transcendentalism, Freemasonry, the *Rubaiyat*).

Second, with regard to late influences, this section will provide evidence for what I see as Hinduism's positive influence on Twain's turbulent later years. Drawing from Tuckey's unpublished notes housed at Elmira College, my analysis will also focus primarily on *Following the Equator* and *No. 44*, both of which were written during a time of intense grief in Twain's life. This section will trace how Twain's encounter with Hinduism in India may have provided him with the theological framework necessary for transcending (or for at least enduring) his trauma.

Specifically, I plan to address the general interest in Hindu thought in Victorian culture after Swami Vivekananda's appearance at the Parliament of World Religions in 1893 (Vivekananda also spoke at Conway's Ethical Society in London); Twain's direct encounters with Hinduism (e.g., the "living god" Sri 108 in *Following the Equator*) and what influence they may have had on *No. 44*; and finally, the thematic similarities between *No. 44*'s increasingly cryptic final chapters and key insights from sacred Hindu writings known as the *Upanishads*.

(Panel, page 14)

(deutsey@hotmail.com)

Ezell, Silas. *University of Arkansas.*

Uncle Silas in *Huckleberry Finn*: "A Mighty Nice Old Man."

It would be appropriate to say that Mark Twain had an ambivalent view of religion, yet it has become fashionable to portray him as a man who loathed all forms of piety. For example, critics often focus on Twain's negative portrayals of religion in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* like those of the Grangerfords, Miss Watson, gullible parishioners, or the church's endorsement of slavery. As a result, many largely overlook, or even ignore, the positive portrayals, particularly Twain's characterization of "Uncle" Silas Phelps. Though his appearances are few and brief, Twain establishes Uncle Silas as a positive example of religion for Huck, contrasting Twain's negative portrayal of other religious characters like the Grangerfords, Miss Watson and

even the Widow Douglass. Through close reading and historical analysis, I intend to argue that Twain's positive portrayal of the religious Uncle Silas reflects Twain's individual views of religion as he wrote the notoriously problematic last section of *Huckleberry Finn*, religious views that were influenced by three very important people in Twain's life, both in childhood and as an adult: John Quarles, Olivia Langdon Clemens, and Joseph Twichell.

Throughout the novel, Twain has ample opportunity to criticize Uncle Silas because Phelps is both a slave owner, yet he refrains from doing so. Though Twain does take opportunities to needle Uncle Silas for his absent-mindedness, the contempt that Huck holds for the religion of the Widow Douglas and Miss Watson is absent from his remarks about Silas Phelps. Instead of criticizing Silas Phelps for his hypocritical occupations, Twain and Huck admire Silas Phelps because of his gentle disposition toward everyone, including his slaves. Indeed, if Twain meant to criticize slave owners, he certainly could have portrayed Uncle Silas more negatively. Conversely, Twain does not demean or criticize Phelps for his ownership of slaves, and Twain is not known for being subtle when he chooses a target.

Instead, Uncle Silas treats his slaves with dignity and even prays with Jim, who is his prisoner. Twain also carefully removes Uncle Silas from the discussion of those who want to hang Jim after he escapes. In addition, Twain creates a character who rejects money for his preaching. In many of his other novels, Twain equates religion with greed, believing that money and spirituality do not mix. That Uncle Silas does not accept a salary for his preaching is certainly a positive characteristic according to Twain's other works. Phelps also combines religion with education, as there is also a school on Phelps Farm ~ Twain often criticized religion because it encourages spirituality without knowledge. Finally, Silas Phelps embodies one of Twain's most cherished attributes of genuine spirituality: Uncle Silas coexists with nature. Phelps Farm provides Huck a reprieve from the frenetic pace of the larger towns and gives him a chance to center himself spiritually. All of the aforementioned characteristics reflect Mark Twain's view of genuine religion as expressed in his fiction, essays, and personal letters.

As Twain shaped the character of Uncle Silas, three people vital to his life might have inspired him to include such a positive portrayal of religion: John Quarles, Olivia Clemens, and Reverend Joseph Twichell. Twain confessed that Phelps Farm, where Huck meets Uncle Silas, was inspired by his childhood excursions on Quarles Farm, which was owned by Twain's uncle, John Quarles. Quarles's independent-minded beliefs also gave Twain a welcome reprieve from Twain's more austere mother and father. Furthermore, Quarles encouraged Twain to question the precepts of the Presbyterian Church, which Twain does frequently in his writings. In essence, Quarles did for Twain what Phelps does for Huck: provide an environment of freedom for a soul who wants to question the dogma of established religion. Olivia Clemens, Twain's wife, had a piety that greatly inspired him, particularly while they lived together in Hartford, where Twain wrote many of his most successful novels. Finally, Twain's close friendship with Twichell was shaped by the latter's religious beliefs, especially as Twain was writing *Huckleberry Finn*. In addition, like Uncle Silas, Twichell was a minister of the church at which Twain made many contributions of both his wealth and his time. Thus, Quarles, Clemens, and Twichell all influenced Twain's worldview, and all share similarities with Silas Phelps.

Ultimately, *Huckleberry Finn* does not reflect his war on religion, or he would have characterized Uncle Silas more negatively; instead, it reflects Twain's simultaneous ambivalence and curiosity toward religion, understanding that it has both positive and negative characteristics. In *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain uses Uncle Silas Phelps to embody the positive characteristics of spirituality to balance the negative portrayals of religious people earlier in the novel.

(Panel, page 8)

(ezells@uark.edu)

Gribben, Alan. *Auburn University at Montgomery.*

Thinking Huck, Writing Tom (Canty).

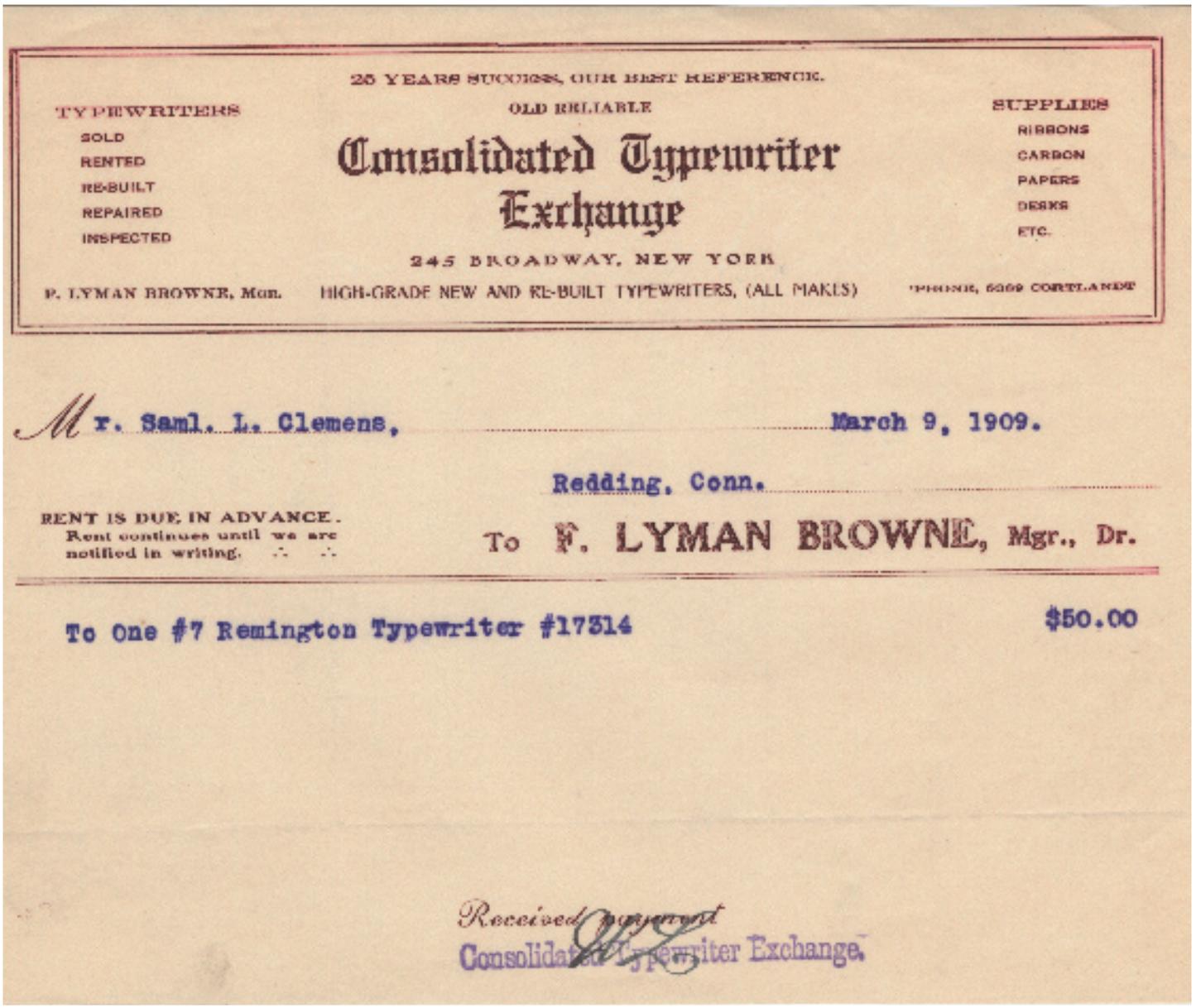
Numerous male authors in the last three decades of the 1800s were drawn to the autobiographical subgenre known as the "Boy Book." It is worth noting that the best-known practitioner in this field, Mark Twain, left behind a third "Boy Book" besides *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and the work that eclipsed anything else written in that century about boys, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). A novel now seldom taught or read, *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882), was initially viewed as another "Boy Book" ingeniously moved backward in time to demonstrate the truism that boys are the same in every age.

Both *Prince and the Pauper* and *Huckleberry Finn* take up the arrogance of European royalty and nobility and feature a crucial pairing of boys who exchange identities. In *Prince and the Pauper* the desperate little king gradually becomes more like Huckleberry Finn (though far less resourceful) and Tom Canty begins to resemble Tom Sawyer, basking in the pomp and luxuries of his royal palace and learning how to benefit from his monarchical role and his fawning servants. Like *Huckleberry Finn*, this novel, too, is very much about the potent powers of literacy.

Twain relied on distinctly similar elements in both of his latter two "Boy Books" ~ abusive fathers, fraudulent claimants to a throne, sympathetic but marginalized surrogate father figures (Miles Hendon and Jim), an eventful journey in the company of con men and thieves, and a neat restoration of identities and social stations at the end.

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(agribben@aum.edu)



Typewriter Bill - March 9, 1909 (Courtesy of the Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

Hamamoto, Ryuzo. *Independent Scholar; Kyoto, Japan.*
Fame and Shame in Mark Twain's "Hadleyburg."

In this proposal I focus on the antimony of fame/shame in order to clarify the theme of "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg." The Richardses death, at the end of the story, is a tragedy caused by vanity and shame, not by greed or the love of money. To show the importance of shame in this story, I will introduce an idea from Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946). Her argument will reveal that shame is an emotion subject to community members' standards, and, drawing upon her ideas, I will reveal that piety (i.e., love of God) is no longer a governing value in Hadleyburg. Finally, I will show that the phrase, "You are far from being a bad man" can be interpreted as a message that equips the townspeople to live in a godless world where free will is the rule.

Most readers of "Hadleyburg" understand that it investigates such antinomies as stranger/citizen and honesty/hypocrisy. But Twain's story investigates a more important contradiction, namely, the contradiction between money and faith. This antithesis is a fundamental dilemma for human beings. We find it even in scripture: "No man can serve two masters" (Matthew 6:24). In keeping with this, the most discussed theme in "Hadleyburg"- at least since 1950, when Gladys C. Bellamy published her research about its inconsistency with determinism - has been moralism.

Although the contradiction of money/faith has been cited frequently as a main theme in previous studies, another contradiction of fame/shame has for the most part escaped notice. In the poker-game metaphor that figures prominently in the story, the stranger's "pair card" signifies a trap composed of a dilemma involving greed and desire for fame. The Richardses defeat their opponent with a "straight flush" and keep their appearance up in the town's fame. This indicates that discarding the "money card" for a while is indispensable if we are to catch the whole vision of this story's development. The hunger for fame must be considered as a primary theme.

A person who has a passion for fame is said to be afraid not so much of guilt as of the shame that attaches to public exposure. In *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, the anthropologist Benedict sorts the principle codes of human society into two main types: "guilt culture" and "shame culture." She explains that "shame" cultures "rely on external sanctions for good behavior, not, as true guilt cultures do, on an internalized conviction of sin. Shame is a reaction to other people's criticism." (223) Her study is significant for the way it highlights community standards as a major sanction and factor in "shame" culture, as opposed to the sanctions of God in "guilt" cultures.

God is scarcely in a transcendent position in "Hadleyburg." When the Richardses receive the money, they never think of God; their real anxiety has to do with the opinion of the community and with their own fame. The old couple becomes weak because they fear their real face might be revealed to the public. On this view, moralism and determinism are no longer the main themes in "Hadleyburg." The economy of fame and shame in "Hadleyburg" highlights the transition from the absolute power of God to the worldly power of community.

In the midst of the turmoil in the town hall, Twain has the audience repeat a phrase of absolution: "You are far from being a bad man." By removing this phrase from the context of the stranger's intentions, the audience manipulates it as a by-word to forgive the eighteen town members' greed. The real temptation is for the members to throw off the fame/shame "card" to which the Richardses adhered, and to abide with their honest emotion. The members are forgiven their vanity as they disgrace themselves before the audience. Therefore, the essence of corruption is best seen in the loss of metaphysical values. In compensation for the absence of God, people do display their free will, as they approach a horizon beyond good and evil. In short, I will show that the dichotomy between fame and shame is essential to our understanding of "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

(Panel, page 5)

(dae0102@mail3.doshisha.ac.jp)

Harrington, Paula. *Colby College*.

The War Prayer: Marking the Twain of the Sacred and the Profane.

In the reassessment of Twain's later writing underway in recent years, scholars and biographers have pointed to a shift toward the political that sustained him in the end. "In allowing his curiosity to be drawn toward that ultimate sphere, the human mind and its mysteries, he forestalled creative death," Ron Powers writes. "[H]is interests in the new political currents roiling the world...fueled his return to purposeful work through the remainder of his life." Yet, ironically, this shift toward the political had a spiritual flip side. Not only the works Twain wrote but also those he read attest to his interest in political/spiritual duality. The turn of the century found him reading *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, with its power-mad antihero, and William James's *Principles of Psychology*, with its theory of consciousness. Meanwhile, he mused about his "spiritualized self" and turned the Young Satan into a fictional commentator on human sociopolitical failures. He ruminated on his "Waking Self" and "Dream Self" yet joined the Anti-Imperialist crusade, contributing political speeches and essays. With personal losses mounting and his own death on the horizon, Samuel Clemens decided to take the measure of these dual sides of humanity ~ the political/profane and the spiritual/sacred—through the work of his world-famous double. Figuratively speaking, he returned to his younger days on steamboats, crying "mark twain" to ensure the water was deep enough to float the ship ~ but now the ship was his spirit and the words he shouted plumbed his politics. Among Twain's later works, no better example exists of this political/spiritual duality than *The War Prayer*, his polemic against the U.S./Philippine war. This paper will put the story in the context of Twain's abiding later concerns while reading it as an expression of the final in a series of problematic binary oppositions ~ to use Susan Gillman's term "dark twins" ~ including race, class, and gender that preoccupied Twain throughout his career: the political, profane side and the spiritual, sacred side that divide human nature itself.

To do so, I will begin by looking briefly at the flurry of renewed interest in *The War Prayer* that occurred in reaction to the Iraq War, from an animated film narrated by Peter Coyote and Lawrence Ferlinghetti (now on YouTube and possible to view at a conference meeting) to a special issue of *Mark Twain Studies* published by the Japan Mark Twain Society to editorials in newspapers to online chats. Universally, these versions and interpretations presented the story as an antiwar work of political prescience and enduring relevance.

While concurring, my paper will go beyond the historical with a close reading of *The War Prayer* as an expression of Twain's final duality: the profane "self" and spiritual "other" sides of our natures. Thus, it will focus on the interplay of two word pictures. The first depicts war fervor, from drums to flags to firecrackers, culminating in a church service where the congregation worships war through prayer. The second, painted by an "aged stranger" sent by God to enumerate the "many unmentioned results of victory," describes the shredded bodies of enemy dead, the shrieks of their wounded, and the widows and children left to live "in their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst." Ironically and typically, Twain flips expectations here: the religious side that might be expected to show concern for others instead embraces war and "self"-ishness, while the "lunatic" speaks with true spirituality of concern for others, even the enemy. Through this flipping of binary oppositions ~ the allegedly spiritual (prayer of war) becomes the political and the allegedly political (reality of war) becomes the spiritual. Much as Twain swapped babies in *Puddin'head Wilson* to reveal the "fiction" of race, or rich and poor in *The Prince and the Pauper* to show the illusion of class, he reverses the holy and the profane in *The War Prayer* to illuminate the perversity of human nature.

This paper will end on a pedagogical note, commenting on my use of *The War Prayer* as a critical touchstone for a course I taught at Colby College, "Memoirs of the Iraq War," which examines it from military and civilian perspectives alike. (Panel, Page 8) (pcharrin@colby.edu)

Harris, Susan K. *University of Kansas.*

Mark Twain, Religion, and Imperialism.

In 1898 Mark Twain wrote to his publisher that "I come across no end of people who simply can not see the Cuban situation as America sees it ~ people who cannot believe that any conduct can justify one nation interfering with the domestic affairs of another."¹ One year later, he had changed his mind, telling reporters that "I have thought some more, since then, and I have read carefully the Treaty of Paris, and I have seen that we do not intend to free, but to subjugate the people of the Philippines. We have gone there to conquer, not to redeem. ... And so, I am an anti-imperialist" (Zwick, 5).

What made Twain change his mind? In 1898, both Cuba and the Philippines were Spanish colonies in rebellion against the mother country; in 1899 both had been liberated, with the help of American troops. Why had Twain suddenly decided that the U.S. should not be in the imperialist game?

The answer lies in his use of the word "redeem." The word "redeem" suggests an exchange, and is most often understood in religious terms, as when a sinner will redeem himself by doing good works ~ i.e. exchanging one kind of deed for another. When Americans first used the word "redeem" in regard to the Philippines they meant that Americans would help the Filipinos exchange their old colonial identities for new republican ones. At first, Twain recalled, he thought it would be a great idea to "put a miniature of the American constitution afloat in the Pacific, start a brand new republic to take its place among the free nations of the world. It seemed to me a great task to which we had addressed ourselves." Like his character Hank Morgan, he had been taken by the notion that it might be possible to replicate American culture in the Philippines, a project that he imagined as offering the U.S. a chance to demonstrate its own moral superiority by elevating the Filipinos. But it very quickly became evident that that was not the trajectory spelled out in the Treaty of Paris. Twain could tell the difference between redemption and subjection, and he detected that the U.S. was engaged in the latter. Hence, as he reported, he changed his mind, putting himself in opposition to U.S. imperial designs.

But why should Mark Twain have thought the U.S. had a duty ~ or even the resources ~ to redeem other countries in the first place?

My presentation will suggest that Mark Twain's anti-imperialism was rooted in his deep faith in American ideals. Unlike many scholars, who see Twain's anti-imperialism as going against the American grain, I suggest that Twain's response in fact typifies 19th-century Americans' understanding of who they were and how the country that represented them should be conducting itself on the global level. That Mark Twain could ever believe that it would be "a good thing" for the U.S. to "put a miniature of the American constitution afloat in the Pacific," suggests that he joined his countrymen in assuming that America had a special mission to replicate itself around the world.

It is this faith that links Twain to his compatriots; no matter which side of the Philippine and China questions individual Americans took, they all believed that the United States, by reason of its history, had the obligation to be the moral redeemer of the rest of the world. The frequency with which the phrase "a Christian nation" was repeated in debates about whether or not the U.S. should annex the Philippines suggests that all believed that the U.S.'s moral stature derived from its Protestant roots. Patriotism, as Twain fulminated, was a religion ~ he understood that most 19th-century Americans believed that the political entity "America" was born from the Reformation. But what Mark Twain doesn't say in his protest writing is that he shared that faith.

I will also suggest that the country's plunge into imperialism may be a factor in Twain's progressive misanthropy. Most scholars who have examined Twain's last decade have seen his bursts of bitter anger either as pathological or as responses to family tragedy. I suggest that it was also a response to the political scene: as the U.S. plunged into a career on the world stage, not only annexing the islands to whom they had promised independence, but also helping the Europeans crush the Boxers in China, Twain's anger mirrored that of many of his compatriots. His sense of loss, then, is not merely a response to death and loss on the personal front, but also to the apparent deterioration of his country, as the nation in which he had invested his faith proved itself merely another player in vast imperialist card game that he dubbed the "Blessings-of-Civilization Trust."

¹Mark Twain to Chatto & Windus, 6 May, 1898. Mark Twain Papers, University of California, Berkeley.
(Panel, page 15)

(skh5@ku.edu)

Heidig, Lance. *Independent Scholar, Cornell University.*

Mark Twain's Cornell: Recalling Samuel Clemens's Ithaca Friends.

Mark Twain's Autobiography and his published notebooks and journals contain a number of references and anecdotes about Cornell University and the many friends and acquaintances he had there. While we know a great deal about Clemens's 20 summers spent in Elmira, less has been said about his Ithaca connections.

Samuel Clemens would have never blamed Henry Williams Sage for his unfortunate business decisions or his financial difficulties, but Mark Twain proudly recalled how he became a business man on Sage's advice:

"Mr. Clemens, you've got as clear a business head on your shoulders as I have come in contact with for years. What are you an author for? You ought to be a business man." [*Autobiography*, Vol. 2, p. 138.]

Twain knew better, mostly. But as he continued, "I would not have had that superstition dissipated for anything. It supplied a long-felt want."

Henry W. Sage was a successful businessman in Ithaca and "an old and warm friend and former business partner" of Clemens's father-in-law, Jervis Langdon. He was also a great philanthropist and one of the founding fathers of Cornell University. Through his generosity, Sage College, a separate dormitory for women was built in 1874, making Cornell one of the first coeducational schools in the country following Elmira College's efforts to provide women with a higher education. Sage also donated a chapel and a library building to the school (today's Sage Chapel and Uris Library). As a Chairman of the Board of Trustees, he guided the early growth and development of the university.

Sage was part of a small coterie of Cornellians associated with Clemens, who corresponded with several Cornell professors, read and commented on published lectures by its faculty members, including Goldwin Smith, and sailed to Europe in 1878 with Bayard Taylor, an emeritus professor who was on his way to Germany as a U.S. ambassador. Dean Sage, son of Henry and also a generous Cornell donor, was a long time friend and financial advisor to Clemens.

Andrew Dickson White, Cornell's co-founder and first president, and Willard Fiske, Cornell's first university librarian, were not merely known by Clemens, they were fondly remembered by him in his *Autobiography*. Twain wrote of reading White's own autobiography ("I find the book charming, particularly where he talks about me."), and both men have provided their accounts of an April 29, 1885 Cornell Alumni Dinner at *Morelli's* restaurant in New York at which Clemens, White, and then governor of New York, Alonzo Cornell ~ son of the university's other co-founder Ezra Cornell ~ all spoke on the theme: "The Politician." (A nine page manuscript entitled "The Politician, &c." in the *Mark Twain Papers* is presumed to be a draft of this speech.)

Willard Fiske, perhaps the most cherished of these Cornell friends, first met Clemens in Hartford, when he worked there briefly as a journalist before going to Ithaca. He and the Clemens family were later neighbors in Florence in 1892. Fiske was credited with helping the family find and secure the Villa Viviani, their happiest home in Italy. Their correspondence contains at least 39 letters, and the Cornell University Library has several calling cards signed by Twain and his wife to Fiske. Twain wrote of him:

"He was as dear and sweet a soul as I have ever known. His was a character which won friends for him, and whoso became his friend remained so, ever afterward." [*Autobiography*, Vol. 2, p. 344.]

This description appears in *Mr. Clemens's version of the Fiske-Cornell episode* [*Autobiography*, Vol. 2, pp. 340-349.], Twain's anecdote about Cornell's Great Will Case, an acrimonious lawsuit that lasted nearly a decade and divided the Sages from White and Fiske. Twain's version of the story features the Elmira lawyer (and mayor and later New York State governor and US Senator), David B. Hill, and his assistant, "Bacon," who won the case in the U.S. Supreme Court for Fiske over Cornell. Twain noted that Fiske was able to afford a much nicer villa in Florence after winning this decision. Fiske also began building his famous Dante collection with his new wealth, a collection that he would later bequeath to Cornell.

Mark Twain's legacy at Cornell resides with the Langdon family. His nephew, Jervis Langdon, Cornell Class of 1897, and his niece, Ida Langdon, who earned both undergraduate and graduate degrees at Cornell, were devoted to the university. Jervis served as President of the Cornellian Council and later as a Cornell trustee. Ida, who taught at Elmira College, donated her papers and collection of Twain memorabilia to Cornell. She and her nephew, Jervis Langdon, Jr. ~ another Cornellian ~ also gave family heirloom apparel to the Cornell Costume and Textile Collection in the 1930s.

We know that only two working models of Clemens's grand investment, the Paige Compositor, were ever built. One copy was given to Columbia University, which later donated it to a scrap metal drive during World War I. The only surviving model is at the Mark Twain House & Museum in Hartford. That machine was at the Cornell University Museum from 1894 to 1897.

(Panel, page 1)

(ljh5@cornell.edu)

Hohenhaus, Ron. *Independent Scholar; Brisbane, Australia.*
Twain's Melbourne Mystery Unmasked.

In *Following the Equator (FTE)* Twain reiterated a curiosity that had been puzzling him for nearly two decades. "For many years I had had a mystery in stock. Melbourne, and only Melbourne, could unriddle it for me," he wrote.¹ Now, after more than a century, Twain's Melbourne riddle has a new twist ~ and perhaps the kernel of a solution. After all, the riddle only originated because someone in Australia was alleged to have been impersonating the emerging star of American literature. And that someone, according to Twain, had been both respectable and successful.²

Some of Twain's American imposters have been identified. But the answer to his Melbourne riddle has continued to defy any attempt at explanation. Frustratingly, Twain provided an answer to the riddle in *FTE* but the explanation is almost certainly salted with the author's unique blend of fact and fiction ~ leaving many questions unanswered. Ironically one of the keys to unlocking the puzzle has been in the public domain for more than a century. Some sixteen years before *FTE* was published, a letter was reproduced in the *New York Times*, outlining Twain's comments regarding an Australian rascal who had the grace to die in Twain's name:

During the present year I have received letters from three gentlemen in Australia who had in past times known people who had known me 'in Australia'; but I have never been in any part of Australia in my life.³

Drawing mainly from nineteenth century newspaper archives, new research has identified a man whose psychological and personal profile make him a "person of interest" for any new investigation of Twain's Melbourne enigma. Our suspect's professional training, personal charm and "above-average intelligence" provided all the skills a brazen man would need to imitate the famous American writer and humorist.⁴ Not only was the accused ideally equipped to impersonate Twain, but there is also circumstantial evidence to link the same rascal with some of Twain's friends. The chance discovery of a direct and tantalizing connection between an obscure graveyard plot in Melbourne and two of Twain's closest friends adds to the compelling case that Twain did indeed have a successful Australian imposter.

Indeed, Twain's supposedly fictional description of the imposter's demise in *FTE* is eerily similar to the very real (and controversial) death of an American actor who died in Melbourne in 1879. Examined in its entirety, the life and death of our long-forgotten star ~ who had performed extensively in Australia and New Zealand ("all around over the country") ~ begins to assume a new significance. But there is more to this story than the unfortunate, coincidental death of a struggling American actor far from home. Twain's rise to popularity in Australasia began from his time at the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*.⁵ In a move that would have delighted any opportunist, at least one Australian colony was "reliably" informed in 1873 (by local press) of an impending visit by the "world-renowned writer and humorist, Mr Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain."⁶

Admittedly, finding irrefutable evidence of the imposter's guilt after more than 130 years will not be easy. But if the substance of the hypothesis is true, many questions arise from this seemingly simple historical oversight. For example, did Twain know more about the imposter than he ever revealed publicly?⁷ Did the imposter know Twain better than anyone has ever suspected? Could the imposter's life in America lead us to discovering new insights into Twain? To support these and other pan-Pacific explorations, I intend to cite documentary evidence in the form of newspaper records from America, Australia and New Zealand ~ as well as census records, photographs of the key suspects, and the works of several leading scholars.

Works Cited

¹Mark Twain, *Following the Equator*, American Publishing Company, Hartford, 1897, pp. 159-160.

²Authoritative Contradiction", *The New York Times*, 8 December 1881.

³Ibid.

⁴The Biographer, *The Australasian*, 19 July 1879, p. 71.

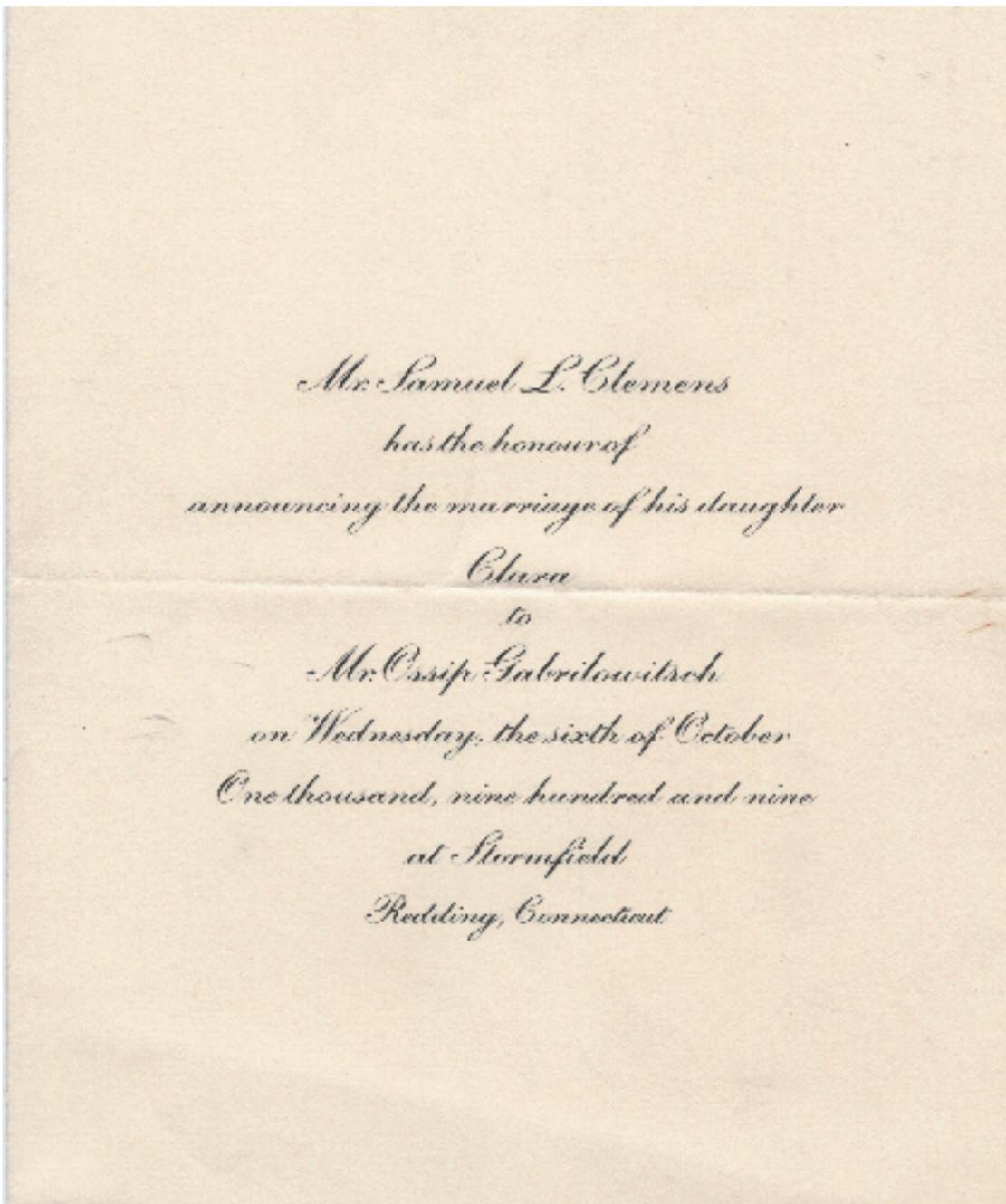
⁵Ronald N. Hohenhaus, "The 'Petrified Man' Returns: An Early Mark Twain Hoax Makes An Unexpected Appearance In Australasia", *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, Dec 2009, pp. 37-58.

⁶The report proclaimed: "It is affirmed that the world-renowned writer and humorist, Mr Samuel Clemons, better known as 'Mark Twain' has intimated his intention of making a 'very fast flying visit to Australia' on the resumption of the mail service between California and these colonies. He is at present in London, engaged as a special correspondent, and writing a series of sketches for the New York papers." (*Brisbane Courier*, 26 November 1873, p. 3.)

⁷On 24 July 1881 (facsimile kindly supplied by the Mark Twain Project/Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), Twain wrote to Reginald Cholmondeley about learning of the imposter's death. Twain opined: "It is odd that a letter containing the news of my own death should give me pleasure & a lively sense of relief – yet these were the effects produced by this one: pleasure in the recognition of the fact that I still possess a friendship which I so greatly value, & sense of relief in the conviction that a fraud who has been passing under my name during some years in New South Wales and neighboring regions is at last disposed of & out the way ... I was beginning to get tired of him & his performances." Given that the imposter was almost certainly murdered, Twain's use of the words "disposed of" is at best unfortunate and makes the case even more intriguing.

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(rhohen@uq.edu.au)



Wedding Invitation: Clara to Mr. Ossip Gabrilowitsch ~ October 6, 1909. (Courtesy of the Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

Howe, Lawrence. *Roosevelt University.*

“A fiction of law and custom”: *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and the Problem of Property

In this paper ~ a portion of a longer project on the problem of property in Twain’s life and work ~ I focus on the problem of chattel property and literary property in *Pudd’nhead Wilson*. My interest here lies in the ways in which Twain’s fiction critically examines human relationships as property relationships established in vernacular language and law, and how in *PW* he projects his personal concerns about the security of his own property in the problematic narrative resolution.

Although *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* offers considerable insight into the travesty of slavery, Twain’s return to the topic in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* suggests that he remained perplexed by the consequences of slavery in social and legal practices. Jim’s demonstration with the dollar bill in his critique of Solomon’s wisdom anticipates David Wilson’s ill-fated joke and the challenge of the Italian twins’ double-body in the conjoined twins farce that gave rise to *PW*, just as Roxy’s exchange of the infants recalls the exchange of identities in *The Prince and the Pauper*. The final resolution of the erroneous identities, in which the real Chambers is sold down the river to compensate for an alleged oversight in the inventory of the Percy Driscoll estate, is an ironic ending because it accomplishes what Roxy had tried to avoid. But Twain makes this ending still more legally perverse by failing to recognize that Judge Driscoll, much earlier in the narrative, had acquired Chambers from his brother Percy to avoid the family embarrassment of selling Chambers down the river. While this resolution, first and foremost, implicitly critiques David Wilson’s ostensible humanitarianism as a “free-thinker,” my research on the problem of property links this transfer of Chambers to Judge Driscoll to Twain’s own contemporaneous transfer of his copyrights of his work to Livy in order to spare the Clemens family further embarrassment in the midst of their bankruptcy settlement.

In addition to the financial implications of the need for this transfer, his concern with the threats that his bankruptcy posed to his continued ownership of his copyrights sheds light on his explanation of how *Pudd’nhead Wilson* grew from “Those Extraordinary Twins.” His complaint that Roxy, Tom, and David Wilson had risen up in the original story, “taking things almost entirely into their own hands and working the whole tale as a private venture of their own ~ a tale which they had nothing at all to do with, by rights” (311-12), signals the tension he experiences in the process of composing narratives in which he controls the lives of characters who are his literary property. That Roxy rises up to reject her status as property within the slave system no doubt reminds Twain of his ownership of characters who, while not people, represent people within the worlds that he frequently struggled to control, within which he wove plots that dealt directly with the issue of people being owned as property.

My analysis will reflect on how this growing awareness of the ownership implications in the literary process yields at least two effects in his later work. One effect is his prevalent references to copyright concerns and to plagiarism itself, such as in “A Private History of the Jumping Frog Tale,” published in the same year as *PW*. The other effect is a darker philosophical resonance such as emerges in a narrative like “No 44,” in which the “mysterious stranger” shows an inhuman indifference to the lives of those he interferes with, reflecting on an author’s godlike control over the characters he claims as his property.

(Panel, page 8)

(freihowe@sbcglobal.net)

Hughes, Jennifer. *Young Harris College.*

The Bitter End: Mark Twain, Charles W. Chesnutt, and Paul Laurence Dunbar at the Turn of the Century.

Within works ranging from *Huckleberry Finn* to the manuscripts of *The Mysterious Stranger*, Mark Twain included critiques of antebellum humor and its legacies. From Huck’s discomfort with itinerant performers to Satan’s disdain for the comic tastes of “the multitude,” we can see Mark Twain taking increasingly violent stabs at American popular culture as it developed through the 1830s, 40s, and 50s, when larger numbers of people had access to mass printings and inexpensive entertainments. With the antebellum era’s near-democratic access to a huge quantity of comic production, it became possible to imagine individuals coalescing into a laughing mass public, a throng of lusty consumers, a multitude with its own sense of humor. In his late literary efforts, however, Mark Twain pointedly questions whether this humor of numbers was good, in the long term, for individual citizens or for the nation. Though hesitant to condemn popular humor entirely, the Mark Twain of the 1890s critiques the era of his youth and offers a reassessment of his early writing and its naïve nostalgia for the “innocent” excitement of popular culture.

This paper situates Mark Twain alongside two turn-of-the-century African American humorists ~ Charles Waddell Chesnutt and Paul Laurence Dunbar ~ who each struggled to re-imagine the potential meanings of laughter after the Civil War. I argue that these three authors, although still writing risibly, blend post-bellum skepticism towards popular and mass culture with “bitter” narrative techniques.¹ They do so in an attempt to highlight the era’s tumultuous, shifting relations to

citizenship and race. From the other side of war and failed Reconstruction, post-Jacksonian ebullience for democratic masses no longer looked irresistible. Much of the antebellum era's celebratory laughter now rang hollow, and often oppressive. Chesnutt and Dunbar join Mark Twain in calling attention to a powerful relationship between American history and laughter by censoring old forms of humor, by actively condemning mobs and crowds in their works and, finally, by crafting endings which exemplify the uncertainty of the nation's racial politics. As the twentieth century loomed, Chesnutt turned away from his humorous frame narratives (as exemplified by "The Goophered Grapevine") to write a historical romance that retells the story of the Wilmington riots. Dunbar renounced the comic dialect poetry that clinched his popularity with mixed audiences to pen a novel that satirizes reconciliation narratives in which black populations are left unreconciled. Twain eschewed nostalgia and began drafting the "book that laughs" at the "whole paltry scheme." In considering these three post-bellum humorists together, we can see how their strikingly similar techniques reflected upon the past, albeit bitterly, in order to propose a better future. Their turn-of-the-century novels re-imagine the possibilities ~ but still more the responsibilities ~ of being a humorist in the new century.

¹I am referencing William Dean Howells's assessment of Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition* as "bitter, bitter." See Howells, "A Psychological Counter-Current in Recent Fiction," *North American Review*, 173 (1901), 872-88.

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(jhughe3@gmail.com)

Igawa, Masago. *Tohoku University*.

Will a Day Come When People Will Have Developed Their Humor-Perception?: "The Chronicle of Young Satan" and Mark Twain's Views on the Common People.

Since John S. Tuckey's *Mark Twain and Little Satan: The Writing of "The Mysterious Stranger"* (1963) and William M. Gibson's *Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* (1969) corrected "an editorial fraud" (Gibson) of *The Mysterious Stranger, A Romance* (1916) perpetrated by Albert B. Paine and Frederick A. Duneka, critics and scholars have discussed Twain's "Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts" and the later years of his life. The publication of No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger* (1982) in the Mark Twain Library seems to have "settled the scholarly question" (Kahn). Yet "problems of further analysis and evaluation of course remain" (Kahn). A Centennial Symposium on "The Mysterious Stranger" was held at Elmira College in October, 2008. "The Chronicle of Young Satan" is a text that still offers opportunities for further review and analysis.

In the summer of 1970, I was a graduate student in Nara, Japan majoring in American Literature. At the time, Yoshio Nakano's Japanese translation of the Paine edition was renowned in the country. Therefore, I was shocked when I read Gibson's Introduction to the first paperbound edition of his book published in 1970. Nonetheless, "The Chronicle of Young Satan" has fascinated me since I first read the original version from the Mark Twain Papers in the Gibson edition. Comparing with the Twain's text, Paine "cut and bowdlerized" the original in far more than one hundred places. These changes could be categorized into seven groups. Some of them are discussed by Gibson, but some are not, and others are not enough. Among those others is young Satan's opinion about common people and their silliness, which would deserve considering when we discuss No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*, Mark Twain's views on history, and the later years of his life.

The angel called Satan in "The Chronicle" laughs at "the pitiful world" (Twain, *Notebook*) of the human race through the dialogues with the narrator, who is a village boy of Eseldorf, Austria in 1702. One day Satan introduces the "effective weapon—laughter"(165)* into their dialogues in connection with the common people. According to young Satan, common people generate silliness from their ignorance and suffer defeats from their cowardice. Nevertheless, he does recognize that they are kind-hearted by nature and capable of critical conversations. Sometimes they act without consideration of authority, which is a brave act on their part. Therefore, if people could develop their humor-perception, and the satiric and subversive power of laughter could become a counter-power against "the colossal humbug" (166), says Satan. It is no wonder that Satan tells the narrator, "The progress of your race was not satisfactory. It is to have another chance, now" (134), which echoes the voice of Forty-Four: "Dream other dreams, and better!" (404) in No.44, *The Mysterious Stranger*. It appears to me that Mark Twain created a cynical young Satan, who represented himself, with a sense of hope. In this paper, I will investigate young Satan's implied sense of hope and how Twain attempted to unravel it, which would provide a helpful understanding of No.44, *The Mysterious Stranger*. (igawa@intcul.tohoku.ac.jp)

* Parenthesized numbers are page numbers from William M. Gibson's *Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

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(igawa@intcul.tohoku.ac.jp)

Ikazaki, Susan. *Independent Scholar; Kansas City, Missouri.*
Mark Twain and His Cats.

Unlike most 19th century pet owners, Mark Twain's literary status has ensured an abundance of biographical data, including personal history which celebrates the presence of cats in the Clemens family's domestic life. Their cherished household role was consistent with the growth of petkeeping in 19th century America, a trend encouraged by such ideals as the Victorian ethic of kindness toward others. This contrasted sharply with Twain's literary usage of animals, including cats, to expose as shallow the Victorian conventions of gentility, self-cultivation and moral development. This paper will compare the role of cats and other pets in the Clemens's domestic life to Twain's portrayal of animals as characters in a literary universe hostile to the affectations of Victorian culture.

Many sources confirm Twain's enormous personal affection for cats throughout his life, starting with his own account of strays nurtured by his mother. He attributed his first written story "Jim Wolf and the Cats," to a humorous childhood incident involving tomcats. As an adult, Twain indulged his passion for feline creatures in the Hartford, Elmira and Redding residences. Letters and notebooks attest to the intimate contact between household cats and family members in daily living quarters. The privilege of naming the family cats, one way to distinguish them from working animals, was conferred upon "Papa" because he excelled at inventing them.

The Clemens's petkeeping occurred during a historical period in which the role of domestic animals as economic producers was eroded by their status as domestic pets in American households. As companions, beloved children or family members, pets served to foster emotional closeness, as well to further the didactic purpose of socializing children. Animal characters began to appear frequently in popular magazines, juvenile literature and advertisements to entertain as well as to champion typical Victorian ideals such as self-discipline and charity towards others.

When Twain, acceding to the wishes of his animal-loving daughter Jean, produced "A Dog's Tale," sympathetic to the animal welfare movement, the result was sentimental and melodramatic. His approach came from engaging the reader in a metaphorical struggle between genteel civilized society and boisterous, frontier pragmatism, and arriving by indirection at an unexpected reversal of fortune ~ not from Victorian literary ideals. Among his devices was the use of animals as characters, sometimes as a source of comic inspiration, sometimes as fully-realized characters invested with human sensibilities.

Although cats were not prominent characters in his writings, Twain's elevated respect for them was based upon their fierce independence and resistance to human control. According to Twain, 'a cat ain't anybody's slave or serf or servant.... There's always somebody a king has to obey ~ a trollop, or a priest, or a ring, or a nation, or a deity or what not ~ but it ain't so with a cat.' Twain's anecdotes, aphorisms and stories contain multiple references to cats. Lucretia Smith exploded with, "Oh, confound my cats," upon discovering that she had been nursing the wrong soldier for three weeks. And, by the time he wrote "The Damned Human Race," Twain was sufficiently disillusioned with human nature to conclude that the traditional animal hierarchy was skewed, that humans should drop to the bottom and that cats and other so-called lower animals should replace them at the top of the scale.

(Panel, page 2)

(Susan.Ikazaki@courts.mo.gov)

Ingle, Sarah. *University of Virginia.*

The Snake Skin Episode: Magic and Memory in *Huckleberry Finn*.

My paper will take a close look at the magic rituals and omens in the early chapters of Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* to explore the relationship between conjuring and selective memory. As Jonathan Arac has pointed out, today's cultural project of turning *Huckleberry Finn* into an "American classic" depends on widespread misremembering of the book's ending. Arac interprets such failures of memory as products of the novel's hyper-canonization, which tends to transform the text into an instrument for liberal white America's self-congratulations about racial harmony. By paying careful attention to the interrelated themes of memory and magic ritual, I hope to show what the novel itself can contribute to debates about the selective amnesia it often inspires. Although Twain had no way of knowing exactly how his book would be remembered or misremembered in the years to come, he did have good reason, writing after the abandonment of Reconstruction, to worry about the selective amnesia that enabled the reconciliation of North and South to proceed at the expense of African Americans. By focusing on the novel's treatment of bad luck omens and conjure rituals, and particularly on the snake skin episode in Chapter 10, I will show how *Huckleberry Finn* sheds light on the process of ritualized forgetting that Arac identifies as one of the biggest obstacles to an honest and ethical appreciation of Twain's book.

What I refer to as "the snake skin episode" starts when Huck finds a snake skin on Jackson's Island and brings it back to Jim, who warns him that touching a snake skin brings bad luck. Then, several days later, Huck kills a rattlesnake and puts its

body on Jim's blanket. By nightfall, Huck claims to have forgotten about the snake until Jim lies down and is bitten by its mate. Although Huck blames himself for Jim's injury, he does not fault himself for bad intentions or reckless actions but merely for "being such a fool as to not remember that wherever you leave a dead snake its mate always comes there and curls around it." Huck's claims of forgetfulness function both as self-indictment and self-justification, blaming his memory instead of his actions for the bad consequences that ensue. Ultimately, Jim and Huck attribute Jim's rattlesnake bite to the bad luck Huck had incurred from handling the first snake skin days earlier. By blaming the jinx of the snake skin for his lapse in memory and thus for the negative consequences of his practical joke, Huck uses it as a surrogate for a fault he does not wish to acknowledge. The snake skin episode marks the formation of the bond between Huck and Jim because it is the moment when the two characters first begin to regard their good and bad fortunes as mutual. However, the incident also adds a shadow of violence to the inception of Huck's and Jim's relationship in ways that anticipate Huck's participation in Tom Sawyer's cruel practical joke in the novel's final chapters.

Huck's prank, which uses the body of a dead snake to raise a living one, evokes the conjure tales that were gaining widespread popularity in the decades following Reconstruction. From Jim's use of a hair-ball to tell Huck's fortune to Huck's metaphorical "conjuring" of the rattlesnake, magic is central to defining the relationship between the novel's central characters. Huck and Jim's magic rituals, which they use to keep mistakes from haunting them, underscore the social function of forgetting—a more subtle but, in many ways, more effective ritual of exorcism than the elaborate dance that Huck performs to ward off bad luck when he accidentally kills a spider. Yet because the novel's rituals manage only to defer memory, not to bury it, Huckleberry Finn whispers a warning to post-Reconstruction America: like Huck's guilt over his rattlesnake prank, which returns to haunt him again and again in various forms, the long-term consequences of slavery do not go away simply because the nation chooses to ignore them. Conjuring serves as a symbol for the novel's structural and thematic preoccupation with memories that come back to haunt Twain's characters and his readers.

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(sei5j@virginia.edu)

Ishihara, Tsuyoshi. *Waseda University*.

Mark Twain in American School Textbooks, 1875-1910.

Although neither Mark Twain nor the young male protagonists were keen on going to school, Twain and his works have been popular subjects in classrooms and have often appeared in school textbooks for many years. Even before he was acknowledged as one of the leading American writers at the end of the nineteenth century, some of his works had already been included in literary anthologies, mainly for primary and secondary school students. As is common knowledge, people encountered Twain and his works mainly through newspapers, magazines, and his books and lectures. However, at the same time, we should remember that millions of people were introduced to his stories in their classrooms and their impressions of Twain must have been greatly influenced by their readings of his stories in the textbooks. Although textbooks have played a significant role in spreading his legacy and influence, no scholar has comprehensively discussed the employment of Twain and his works in American school textbooks, in particular, at the primary and secondary school levels. While we have already had Joseph Csicsila's insightful discussion about the use of Twain in various American literature anthologies, the textbooks he discussed were mainly used at the college level and published after the 1920s. Rather than replicating Csicsila's discussions, this paper will mainly introduce and discuss the primary and secondary school-level literature textbooks and graded readers published during Twain's lifetime. The discussion in this paper is based on my extensive research mainly conducted at the Library of Congress, which helped me locate approximately 250 literature textbooks and graded readers (published from 1875 to 2000) which feature Twain and his works. According to my knowledge, most of the textbooks that I found have never been analyzed by Twain scholars.

This paper consists of three sections. First, the paper will analyze the earliest appearances of Twain and his works in primary and secondary school textbooks, particularly the graded readers published from the mid-1870s to the mid '90s. Which of Twain's work was first introduced in school textbooks, and why was it selected? What were the reasons for which the textbooks' editors repeatedly selected the same works by Twain? Did the editors' selections reflect the contemporary perceptions of Twain and his literature, and if so, how could their selections be different from those in later textbooks? How did the bestselling *McGuffey Readers* introduce Twain's literature? What was McGuffey's view on *Huck Finn*, which had been published just a few years before the publication of this bestselling reader? This paper will attempt to answer these significant questions by focusing on the contemporary views on Twain's literature.

Second, the paper will mainly discuss some overviews on Twain's literature that appeared in secondary school textbooks and show how the views on Twain in textbooks changed over more than thirty years during his lifetime. By the end of the nineteenth century, Twain had already achieved the status of one of the best-known American writers, and after the

mid-1890s, it became commonplace for the textbooks to refer to Twain as a famous contemporary American writer. Although Twain was sometimes introduced as a mere humorist without much literary merit, some textbooks highlighted the great insights found in his literature. The paper will compare these conflicting views on Twain and discuss their relationship with the rise of his reputation as a serious writer at the turn of the century.

Finally, the paper will focus on the use of Twain's works in secondary school textbooks published from the mid-1890s to 1910, the year of his death. Then, it will discuss the reasons behind the repeated use of his early humorous writings and the complete neglect of his later works, which presented a highly critical view of the world. In particular, the paper will analyze the exercises for students and compare the use of Twain with that of other American writers in those times, to reveal the textbooks' educational goals, which were fundamentally different from those of today, in studying Twain's literature.

(Panel, page 11)

(ishihara@waseda.jp)

Kapoor, Shyam. *Independent Scholar; Rajasthan, India.*
Maturity and Irreverence.

Two lifelong preoccupations of Mark Twain as a writer, which he did not abandon even during the period of despair, were: his revulsion against injustice and man's cruelty to man ~ racism was only one part of it ~ and his impatience with hypocrisy and cant, particularly of the governing classes. His irreverence towards man-made institutions and acquired attitudes of racism and casteism is manifestation of these two preoccupations. What prevents him from turning into a misanthrope is his humor as also his compassion for the oppressed. These emanated from a humanistic framework. In *Following the Equator*, the last of his travel books, and in many respects the most representative, the two are given extended treatment. One reason could be that he now had a wider perspective and could place man's savagery in a global context. Let us take an example from *Following the Equator* in which he puts his experience in Bombay and back home in America in a common frame of reference. An official in a Bombay hotel gave one of the natives a blow on the jaws for a minor offence. The native took it meekly without showing any resentment. This seemingly simple incident took him to his childhood days and reminded him of "the forgotten fact that this was the usual way of explaining one's desire to a slave." The method seemed natural to him in those days, he "being born to it unaware that elsewhere there were other methods, but I was able to remember that those unresented cuffings made me sorry for the victim and ashamed for the punishment" (217-218). His father was a refined and kind-hearted gentleman, but he would also cuff harmless slave boy, Lewis for trifling blunders and awkwardness. The most disturbing incident that he could recall was that of a man who threw an iron-ore at a slave for doing something awkwardly. It hit the slave in his skull and he never spoke again.

His keen observation and understanding of the social structure in different parts of the world ~ he understood the intricate working of the caste system in India and the fate of indentured labor in Australia ~ made him critical of the savagery people practiced everywhere; Australians vis-à-vis aboriginal, Rhodes and the rulers against the South Africans and the Indians against the shudras (untouchables). He was surprised how meekly Indians submitted to the machinations of the British ~ the stultified caste-structure could be one reason for it. He is very critical of the white race which arrogated to itself the right to treat other races as though they were non-human. The following maxim shows his anger against the so-called superiority of the white race. "There are many humorous things in the world among them the white man's notion that he is less savage than the savages" (213).

In the later phase of his life he was less dismissive of other people's opinion, although he doesn't compromise on the inhumanity of the ruling classes. For that reason, he made a distinction between private opinion and its public expression. He said as much when he was asked by Elinor Glyn to give his opinion on her novel (*Autobiography*). This is also reflected in his treatment of irreverent attitude towards other people's object of reverence: There are two kinds of irreverent acts: one caused by the insensitiveness of the people: the other represented by those who are indiscriminate perpetrators of irreverence, like the Indian crow he talks of in *Following the Equator*. In one of the maxims in the same book he writes, "true irreverence is disrespect for other man's God" (319). He admits that it is difficult to show reverence to other people's God as deep down in us we are all irreverent. Mark Twain's irreverence lies in between and has a human face. One can rise above the trap of irreverence if one pays respect without compulsion to the political and religious attitudes of another person whose beliefs are not one's own.

Unmindfully, people despise and defile all objects of reverence beyond their list of sacred things. And yet they are shocked when other people react to our holy things the same way (*Equator* 324). He gives three examples of such irreverent behaviour at places where great people are buried and people come to pay respects to them ~ Mount Vernon, Westminster Abbey and the Taj Mahal ~ "To the mohammedan millions of India the Taj is a holy place. To them it is what Mount Vernon is to Americans, and what Westminster Abbey is to the English. Yet tourists indulge in partying and dancing there." In India

Twain meets one of the saints, Shri 108 Saraswati, who is said to have reached a “state of purification.” The cycle of birth and rebirth which ultimately leads to perfection and Nirvana appears wooly to him. There is seeming irrationality in its process, but it is not irreverence.

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(sdkapoor@gmail.com)

Kersten, Holger. *Universitat Magdeburg.*

National Character, Literature, and Intercultural Communication ~ Mark Twain Takes on Paul Bourget, Max O'Rell, and the French

A significant portion of Mark Twain's writing was inspired by travel. His trips to and sojourns in the American West and Midwest (*RI, LoM*), Europe (*IA, ATA*), and the English-speaking world (*FE*) all provided him with the factual knowledge, personal impressions, and literary inspiration required for the production of the travel accounts which were an important pillar of his literary career and a reliable source of his income.

The time Sam Clemens had spent as a traveler and a resident abroad had supplied him with a vast store of facts and impressions about foreign countries and its people. Passages in his notebooks, his letters and his books reveal that in his encounters with members of other nations and cultures he had learned to accommodate himself to foreign habits and customs and that they had also stimulated him into reflecting his own position as an American.

Shortly before his numerous trips across the oceans were about to end, Clemens became engaged in an intercultural dialogue which tested the limits of his patience and tolerance with regard to foreign evaluations of life in America: In the fall of 1894, Clemens, found himself once again on French soil. There he took notice of a book by the title of *Outre Mer*. The book's author was Paul Bourget who had become prominent by writing novels of psychological analysis and by discussing notable problems of the day. He had also just become a member of the famous French Academy in May 1894. The book which captured Clemens's attention was the result of an eight-month trip that Bourget had made to the USA in the fall of 1893. It originated from a series of newspaper articles which had been commissioned by James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*, who had invited Bourget to travel the United States and to contribute travel sketches to the newspaper. As Bourget explained in his dedication, the result was intended to provide a close-up of the New World which, he claimed, French and European readers did not know well enough.

Clemens's response to Bourget's project was scathing: In his contribution to the January 1895 issue of the *North American Review*, entitled “What Paul Bourget Thinks of Us,” Clemens offered a lengthy critique of Bourget's endeavor to combine his observations in the USA with an interpretation of their significance for an understanding of the United States. At the same time, he questioned whether it was at all possible to make any comments about a “national spirit”: In Clemens's view there was nothing that “can rationally be generalized as ‘American’.” Obviously angered by what he regarded as misconceptions of an unqualified travel writer, Clemens went beyond the limits of a traditional book review and took the opportunity to publicly vent his long-standing aversion against the French nation and its morals.

Clemens's savage response to Bourget's book did not remain unanswered. Using the pages of *North American Review*, the French writer Paul Blouet published a sharp rebuttal of Clemens's position. Beginning in the early 1880s, O'Rell had made a name for himself as an observer of English and American customs from a French perspective. His characteristic writing style, his pungent topics, and his winning presence on the lecture platform had made him one of the best paid public speakers of his time. In direct response to Clemens's remarks, O'Rell took the American to task for his vitriolic attack on Paul Bourget. O'Rell's article “Mark Twain and Paul Bourget,” published in the March issue of the *North American Review*, enlarged the literary debate about national images, prejudice, and issues of intercultural communication. Clemens was sufficiently aggravated to respond by writing another corrosive article on the subject but failed to get it published until he included it in one of his essay collections. With two prominent men involved in such a delicate issue, however, the press kept the debate before the public eye and added further fuel to the controversy.

Locating its subject in a crucial period of America's struggle for self-definition and a major crisis in Sam Clemens's personal life, this paper will document the quarrel between prominent representatives of America and France, discuss the underlying notions of national identity, and examine the strategies of mutual intercultural perception. It will thus shed further light on French perceptions of American culture in the late-19th century, on Clemens's literary ideas, and on his attitudes regarding the virtues of America and other countries.

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(Holger.Kersten@gse-w.uni-magdeburg.de)

Kiskis, Michael J. *Elmira College*.

Samuel Clemens and the Children of the Urban Poor: Tom Canty and Edward VI.

Unable to put aside the issues generated in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Samuel Clemens recapitulates Huck's tale in the guise of Tom Canty's and Edward VI's escapades in *The Prince and the Pauper*. By the time he began to tackle the tale of the young pauper and the soon to be king, Clemens was steeped in the issues of at risk children and the challenge to a society (or a city) with few resources (and even less moral will) to address the problem. That knowledge had a hand in *Huckleberry Finn*'s back story, a story that while set in rural Missouri has a distinctly urban sensibility when laying out the plight of the throw-away child. When shifting to the story of the inverted twins, Clemens was prepared to mark the squalor of urban slums by creating the neighborhood of Offal Court, and he moved the story's setting from the banks of the Mississippi to 16th Century London, a move that was made by way of 1853 and 1870s New York.

As a young itinerant printer, Samuel Clemens made his first extended journey east from Hannibal to New York hoping to find work and experience. He found a city whose streets teemed with a human tide, a vast percentage of whom were recently arrived and scrounging in the streets until they could find safe and comfortable quarters and the means to find a decent meal. Clemens was by this time acquainted with the face of rural poverty, but he was unprepared for the reality of urban life, the throng of humanity, and the situation of the poor. Urban experience is noisier, dirtier, and more dangerous because of the host of unanticipated and uncontrolled litter of humanity. Over the next two decades Clemens would see an increasing share of urban squalor, whether in San Francisco or, again, in New York, or in the streets of European and Middle Eastern cities; however, this virgin experience left a first impression that would haunt Clemens and the shift in setting from *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* to *Prince and the Pauper*.

Clemens' familiarity with New York extended to the reality of its grinding poverty. By the late 1870s, Clemens was becoming more aware of the stress of immigration and the urban poor, and he infuses his writing with class worries. That awareness can be seen in the opening pages of *Prince and the Pauper*: "London was fifteen hundred years old, and was a great town ~ for that day. It had a hundred thousand inhabitants ~ some think double as many. The streets were very narrow, and crooked, and dirty, especially the part when Tom Canty lived, which was not far from London Bridge....The house which Tom's father lived in was up a foul little pocket called Offal Court, out of Pudding Lane. It was small, decayed, and rickety, but it was packed full of wretchedly poor families" (P&P 49). A decade later, Jacob Riis would describe the tenements of New York and underscore the ubiquitous poverty and degradation.

Clemens' 1880 tale describes and is shaped by a society that prizes the rich and disparages and disenfranchises the poor. The rich and heirs to power are always welcome; the poor and wretched are cast out to live on the margins, to live on their wits and (at times) good fortune. Clemens' novel explores the distinction between wealth and poverty, between silk and patches. His tale helps to explain Tom's befuddled notions about family and comfort and, more importantly, to begin the lessons that shape Edward VI. Those lessons are invariably domestic and highlight (most often) mothers and children. Both Huck and Edward are fascinated with the maternal impulse and what might happen should that impulse be directed rightly and with affection.

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(mkiskis@elmira.edu)

Klauza, Matt. *Auburn University*.

Hannibal Revisited: Place Identity and Mark Twain's Returns Home.

Recent scholarship in environmental psychology has recognized the importance of place and home in shaping the individual's self-concept. This paper considers place identity to explore Mark Twain's relationship to his childhood home of Hannibal. My work joins the company of scholars who have addressed Twain's sense of place. I address the role of departure and return in his literary constructions of place, specifically the literary manifestations of a "homecoming" when his returns force him to confront simultaneously a changed place and feelings of dislocation. In light of Twain's regionalist identity, I argue that the literary effects of a place may stretch beyond its physical borders to include both time away from that place and the act of travel to and from there.

This paper addresses the effects of Twain's travel from ~ and subsequent returns to ~ Hannibal, and the ways this experience surfaces in several of his key works. These works may illustrate Twain's attempt to define small-town Missouri against the multiple settings of which he became a part, and ~ as an extension ~ work to define Twain himself, as an individual "of" many places.

Place studies of Twain have grown in recent years, yet many of these studies address his roots in Hannibal only as a starting point for measuring his progress since he left there. However, I believe his hometown functions as something more

than ground zero in his life and work. Over the course of his life, Twain attempted to negotiate the multiple cultures to which he belonged. He was, as Jeffrey Melton describes, “the quintessential American on the move.” However, Hannibal maintains its own presence. Henry Nash Smith first coined the phrase “The Matter of Hannibal” to refer to a near-constant presence of childhood episodes and feelings that “occupied the deepest level of his memories.” Lawrence I. Berkove later precisely defined the Matter as “the experiences and information he acquired as a result of growing up in his home town.”

As Larzer Ziff has pointed out, Hannibal became a constant for Clemens around which his identity formed and from which he attempted to understand internal progress and development as an individual. At the same time, this static, internalized view of Hannibal functioned as a gauge for external progress. However, from adolescence on, his time spent in various places blurs our ability to identify Hannibal as the sole locale of identity. For example, recent work by Ann M. Ryan and Joseph B. McCullough, et al., has addressed the issue of Twain as a “citizen of urban landscapes,” much different than small-town Hannibal. The author’s identity as it is tied to Hannibal becomes complicated further when he returned to a “home” that was changed and radically different than the one he remembered.

After his departure in adolescence, Clemens returned to Hannibal nine times.¹ Such returns home, I argue, disrupted his (often nostalgic) views of home ~ and by extension his self-concept. Each of these homecomings forces a reconstruction of his identity to allow for the changes he and Hannibal have undergone. Memories from boyhood that stuck with him seem to resurge in his fiction written in the years surrounding these returns. My work, as an investigation into his increasing awareness of place and his reconsiderations of his own identity, explores how these challenges to identity surface in his written representations of small-town, Mississippi riverside life.

Taking into consideration the extent to which place can impact an individual’s self-perception, this study has the potential to impact our understanding of Twain’s work as well as his views of his origins. My goal is to demonstrate how his views of Hannibal function in shaping his identity and how his returns “home” challenge and alter his sense of place. My work illustrates the ways in which literature can be studied to investigate how it recreates and simultaneously shapes this sense of place. What is more, it can reflect the author’s changing views of home and the subsequent adaptations in his literary representations of that place, as he navigates both the changing world and his changing self.

¹Twain returned to Hannibal in 1855, 1858, twice in 1861, 1867, 1882, 1885, 1890, and 1902.

(Panel, page 10)

(klauzmd@auburn.edu)



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Kruse, Horst. *University of Munster.*

“Clash of Civilizations” ~ “Contrast of Civilizations”:

The Topicality of Mark Twain’s *A Connecticut Yankee*

The late Samuel P. Huntington’s theory of “The Clash of Civilizations” (*Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993; *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 1996) calls to mind the term “a contrast of civilizations” which has been used in Mark Twain criticism to characterize the aim of his novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* of 1889. While “contrast” was a word chosen by the author himself to allay apprehensions regarding his possible irreverence towards the world of the time-hallowed Arthurian legends that he intended to place in juxtaposition to the world of his own day, Mark Twain does, in fact, portray a veritable “clash of civilizations” such as envisioned and analyzed by Huntington.

Huntington’s basic thesis is that with the disappearance of ideological conflicts in the post-Cold War period the world is returning to a state of affairs characterized by predominantly *cultural* conflicts and that “the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations” (1993). A surprising number of the events and details drawn up by Huntington to substantiate his assertion that “Islam has bloody borders,” and that developments could lead to a bloody clash between the Islamic and Western civilizations, find their fictive counterpart in Mark Twain’s novel. While the clash described in *A Connecticut Yankee* does take place entirely within Western civilization, it is not actually an intracivilizational conflict. In fact, when viewed in terms of the basic convictions and principles that motivate the Yankee and the world that he represents as opposed to the chivalry of England and the world of the Middle Ages that they epitomize, the clash typifies as much that between Western civilization and the Islamic civilization with its “bloody borders.”

While the Yankee’s ideals (championship of human rights, belief in republicanism, and support of capitalist free market economy, along with strict separation of church and state) continue to be core values of Western civilization, the ideals of Medieval England (Established Roman Catholic Church; absolute monarchy, ruled by divine right and without any parliamentary control; inherited aristocracy), on an abstract level, define the perception of Islamic civilization. A specific list of ostensible correspondences (the Established Church finds its counterpart in the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism, Catholic domination of legal procedures finds its counterpart in the sharia, the Church’s opposition to the Yankee’s civilizing efforts is analogous to the Islamic world’s total and passionate rejection of Western universalism, the Battle of the Sand-Belt corresponds to the 9/11 terrorist attacks) compels the present-day reader to acknowledge the disturbing topicality of Mark Twain’s narrative of 120 years ago and see the author as “our contemporary.”

While Mark Twain set out to provide what Howells found to be an “object-lesson in democracy,” the story gradually developed into a fable demonstrating the failure of progress in technological as well as political and moral terms. *A Connecticut Yankee* thus may be said to have become a cautionary tale, supporting Huntington’s view that the West needs “to develop a more profound understanding of the basic religious and philosophical assumptions underlying other civilizations and the ways in which people in those civilizations see their interests” (1993). Many instances show that the Yankee’s various mistakes and shortcomings can indeed be studied with profit in the context of current global politics. They testify to the author’s ability to construct fables of continuing relevance.

(Panel, page 10)

(hhkruse@uni-muenster.de)

Kubo, Takuyo. *Kanazawa University.*

Turn Us into Real Men: Mark Twain and His Incomplete Masculine Education.

Mark Twain is an experimentalist in “masculine education,” who seeks to coax ideal masculinities out of the boys who are expected to be the community gentlemen. But the disciples of Twainian masculine education usually display their disadvantages which personify the issues of his contemporary America. Twain experiments with the idea of education separating the defects inside his disciples and allowing them to transgress class, race, and even gender boundaries. It results, however, in tragedy. They can hardly escape the charge of failure: the disciple takes his own sense of justice and eventually chooses to be a community dropout, or literally perishes. Ironically, Twain’s attitude toward education may go against what he repeatedly declares in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* (1889) or *The Tragedy of Pudd’nhead Wilson* (1894): “Training is everything.”

Between these two novels lies *The American Claimant* (1892), his other laboratory for curious masculine education. Although this novel has been considered the least serious, is most rarely read, and has been almost completely ignored, it has enormous potential from the viewpoint of masculinity studies. My purpose of this presentation is to cast new light on to this novel through an analysis of Twain’s treatment of masculinities. I also aim to explore the applicability of the viewpoint for the consideration of the relevance of the investigation of American masculinities and the interpretation of Twain’s works.

The novel highlights the contrast between American postbellum masculinities and those of British tradition. Berkeley, son of the Earl of Rossmore in England, decides to go to America in order to “deliver the reversion of the earldom” into the hands of Mulberry Lathers, the American Claimant. He takes this occasion to make his way up to obtaining American manhood. “Soft-spirited” as he seems to his father, Berkeley has such attributes as “candor, kindness, honesty, sincerity, simplicity, modesty,” which should avail him much in educating himself again in the 19th century America, where hard work and courage are said to have been essential elements in the strenuous lives that men were required to lead.

“One-armed Pete” stands at opposite poles to Berkeley. As his appellative suggests, he lacks his right arm. According to the illustration in its first edition, it looks like he is boasting about his own masculinity that his appearance represents. He is, in his cowboy outfit, standing with his chest thrown out and a cigar in his mouth. Added to that is the alleged fact that he has robbed a bank. Involvement in crimes serves to exaggerate his masculinity, whose association to crimes has frequently been indicated. If it were in the Civil War that he lost his right arm, its absence acts as a proof of his battlefield bravery and manhood. But in postbellum America, the opposite is in fact the truth. It works as an identifying mark of his incapability to undertake economic activities, which in turn denies his actual masculinity.

The fusion of these two different masculinities is the author’s contrivance in the text. One-armed Pete discloses his cowardice and loses his life at the scene of the fire, where Berkeley loses almost all of his belongings, but his life is spared. He dons Pete’s outfit, and declares himself a new man, Howard Tracy. Here, their masculine identities integrate themselves into one in quite an impetuous way: Berkeley, wearing his adopted cowboy attire, whose image immediately invokes typical American manhood, ventures forth on a journey to understand American contemporary masculinity.

The object of Twainian masculine education is, originally, quite modest: to turn boys into respected men who fulfill their obligation for their own communities. Twain’s disciples are distinctive in that they all seem to have some sort of fatal flaw which shows itself when they endeavor to become respected gentlemen of their community. In Tracy’s case as well, though he is no longer a boy, we can see the similarities. In order to be a member of the community, he only has to get a job and join a Union, which turns out to be terribly difficult because of his Britishness. Though they say freedom and equality must be guaranteed, they are highly exclusive. When he gets involved in a fight with one of the men and wins, he is a hero, but when he is found penniless after that, he immediately earns irremediable infamy. He turns out to be another disciple of Twainian masculine education toyed with by the postbellum concepts of American masculinity.

(Panel, page 15)

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

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

**The Relationship Between Twain’s Model of Human Nature and the Politics of Race
in *Pudd’nhead Wilson*.**

In *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, Mark Twain takes a highly sophisticated approach to the politics of race, one having its roots in his view of human nature, which he had begun to formulate twenty years before publishing it in his “book of psychology,” *What Is Man?* The formulation in *What Is Man?* presents a model of human psychology based on an interactive system consisting of three mental components: temperament, internalized training and reason. Twain defines temperament ~ an inherited, biologically based component of this model ~ as the individual’s unique emotional predisposition affecting his response to the social influences and random circumstances of his life experience. The modification of temperament, according to Twain, takes place largely through the agency of social training in the form of implicit and explicit social demands that are internalized by the individual.

Twain’s model stresses the importance of social training and random circumstance in shaping the foundation of consciousness in an individual psyche. Through a series of identifications, a person comes to accept a code of ideals and values from the society in which he resides. However, it is his underlying temperament that determines the extent to which his behavior will be consistent with those ideals. Moreover, his temperament will affect the extent to which he will experience feelings of guilt or other emotional distress about any failure to adhere to society’s standards. Twain views the personality component of reason as playing a relatively minor role in psychological functioning; he sees reason as limited to man’s capacity for rational, scientific thought and objective problem solving.

Perhaps most relevant to the issue of race in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* is Twain’s assertion in *What Is Man?* that socially defined moral standards may be (and frequently are) arbitrary and designed to preserve the privileged status of a particular social group with little connection to any genuine morality. In *What is Man?* Twain defines genuine morality as behavioral guidelines which benefit the wider community, not merely the individual or particular social group. However, he sees the process of acquiring and internalizing social values as essentially power-based. That is, the dependent child internalizes parental (and other) social values as part of a process of ensuring his connection to the parent, on whom he relies for nurturance and protection.

Similarly, the citizen who depends upon physical protection from government and spiritual comfort from church is inclined to internalize the values associated with a narrowly defined ideology of patriotism or theology.

Twain centers the plot of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* around a psychological experiment set within the context of a slave-owning social and political ideology. He takes two infants of different temperaments – one the child of a slave and the other of slave-owners – and switches their environments. He then traces the development of their separate personalities as the result of the interaction of temperament and training. While the infants have vastly different temperaments, there is virtually no “racial” difference between them. To the infant originally born into slavery Twain assigns a selfish, cowardly temperament, one only rendered more destructive by the self-serving social training he receives as the young master. However, Twain contrasts his temperament with that of his loving, responsible mother, making it clear that temperament is in no way connected with either individual’s “racial” make-up. The other infant, born with a loving temperament but deprived of the education and self-serving destructive privileges of his biological family’s status, grows into a humble man; he is never comfortable with his actual social position when that is restored at the end of the novel.

In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Twain avoids the racist trap of creating a “racial temperament.” Instead, he demonstrates how temperament is an individual characteristic without any implications for one’s “racial” make-up. Moreover, by making his two main Black characters respectively only one sixteenth and one thirty-second Black, it is clear that Twain views racial identity as a social construct, not a biological one. Race as a social category is an essential part of the political underpinning of the society depicted in the novel; it justifies slavery, providing free labor for the upper-class, dominant Whites, while giving poorer Whites, who may not be able to afford slaves, a sense of consolation that they are not at the lowest rung of the social ladder and thereby making them more amenable to accepting the status quo. Thus, the novel makes it very clear that this social construct, race, affects both individual and group psychological functioning with significant consequences for the lives of members of both the dominant and oppressed groups.

(Panel, page 8)

(abrahamkupersmith@verizon.net)

Lee, Judith Yaross. *Ohio University*.

Humor and Empire in *Connecticut Yankee*.

For many nineteenth-century reviewers and twentieth-century critics, Twain’s significance as a comic writer stemmed from his Americanness, especially the democratic and frontier values implied by his characters’ languages and interactions. These values reflected a nationalist comic tradition that began in the late eighteenth century as writers delighted in invidious contrasts between British and American cultures, touting the moral superiority of the former colony and its home-grown political system through comic characters, plots, and styles that flouted America’s cruder language, more diverse population, and general lack of cosmopolitan polish. As I showed in “The International Twain and American Nationalist Humor: Vernacular Humor as a Post-Colonial Rhetoric” (2008), the link between humor and empire in this literary counterpart to American exceptionalism fed the Southwestern and western vernacular traditions on which Mark Twain built his career. Humor and empire have a particularly strong link in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* (1889), providing new reasons to examine its humor and its place in Twain’s canon, because the nationalist implications of the comic conventions that structure the novel – the Anglo-American contrast and vernacular narration – ultimately conflict with its plot and themes.

Americans found the British-American cultural contrast funny in all its variations because American claims to superiority flew incongruously and defensively in the face of accepted norms. The same joke underlay vernacular narration, which gave literary legitimacy to colloquial and unlettered voices. Twain transferred the values of the comic British-American contrast to the clashes between easterners and westerners, characters of high and low status, and genteel and vulgar speakers across the dialect humor of his works prior to *Connecticut Yankee*, most notably “Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog” (1865), “A True Story” (1874), *1601* (comp. 1876), and *Huckleberry Finn* (1884). Yet the impossibility of Hank Morgan’s successful colonization of the sixth century by the nineteenth in *Connecticut Yankee* means that the same vernacular comic narration that identifies Hank as a quintessentially American hero, “a Yankee of the Yankees,” and the same post-colonial plot that celebrates his triumph over British backwardness join together to make him a despot. And because Twain could not rewrite European history and had to account for the bullet hole in Sir Sagamore’s armor, these nationalist comic conventions set the stage for the novel’s apocalyptic ending. The close of Hank’s story thus marks not only the failure of an American imperial adventure, but also the collapse of vernacular humor’s post-colonial ideals. That is, the link between humor and empire in *Connecticut Yankee* exposes both the fraud of defining U.S. democratic virtue by contrast with British monarchical corruption and the defensiveness of mocking the very idea of the U.S. as an imperial power as a tall tale or wild fantasy in order to deny the imperialism of Manifest Destiny. In this context, *Connecticut Yankee* represents a turning point in Twain’s writing, not simply because Hank Morgan’s egalitarian rhetoric clashes with his imperialist enterprise, but because Twain’s humor defines imperialism as the

fulfillment of American destiny. In other words, the same comic rhetoric that valorizes the Yankee and ridicules Arthurian Britain ~ Hank's colloquial narration and tall talk, and sharp British-American linguistic and cultural contrasts ~ ultimately critiques American values and the Yankee himself.

My paper examines relations between humor and empire in this pivotal text in Twain's canon, the last of his major works in vernacular style and a novel whose critical contradictions coexist with continued appeal to readers and scholars alike. At heart is the question of Twain's attitude toward the Yankee and what he calls "my beautiful civilization." In "American Literature as a Post-Colonial Phenomenon" (1992), Lawrence Buell pointed to the reversal of American and British superiority in *Connecticut Yankee* as evidence that "the American postcolonial moment was over, or at least evanescent" from a cultural standpoint, and certainly the plot by which Hank Morgan remakes sixth-century England in the American mold suggests Twain's willingness to imagine America's international hegemony at the very time, as Buell reminds us, that "what is now called American imperialism" began its political rise (Buell 435). Yet the novel's comic tone and reliance on post-colonial comic conventions complicate Twain's representation of American imperial endeavors. Indeed, James Caron has recently shown in "The Blessings of Civilization: Mark Twain's Anti-Imperialism and the Annexation of the Hawai'ian Islands" (2008) that Twain's ostensible sympathy for American capitalist colonization of Hawai'i stems from misreadings of ironic remarks about the benefits to American business of the population decline resulting from tuberculosis and other gifts from white missionaries and businessmen. Caron demonstrates how consistently Twain scorned imperialism using the same sarcastic locutions in his Sandwich Island Lectures of the late 1860s and his explicitly anti-imperialist essay of 1901, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." This consistency, along with details in *Connecticut Yankee* that map nineteenth century America onto Arthurian Britain, such as calling Arthur's subjects "white Indians" (Driscoll) suggests that Twain struggled during the composition of the novel with ways in which the boosterism of the British-American contrast and vernacular humor denied the imperialist transgressions associated with Manifest Destiny ~ and gives Hank's tale an ironic inflection akin to the burlesque of the evasion sequence in Huckleberry Finn. Such a reading would explain why *Connecticut Yankee's* vernacular hero embodies the American braggart at his most enthusiastically aggressive while the plot's apocalyptic ending anticipates Twain's later articulation of imperialist industrialization and so-called betterment of the natives through the "Blessings of Civilization." In any event, *Connecticut Yankee's* links between humor and empire show Twain, at an earlier period than commonly thought, reframing American imperialism both at home and abroad.

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(Panel, page 10)

(leej@ohio.edu)

Leonard, James S. *The Citadel*.

Living in the Curious Republic of Gondour.

As compared to such book-length explorations of ideal political systems as Plato's *Republic*, Thomas More's 1516 *Utopia*, and Edward Bellamy's 1888 *Looking Backward*, Mark Twain's utopian sketch "The Curious Republic of Gondour" is decidedly slight. It's short, occupying less than three pages when it was published in the October 1875 *Atlantic Monthly*. And it was published anonymously. In fact, it was not published under Twain's name during his lifetime. The title for Twain's sketch, besides its suggestion of irony by the word "curious," may also intend to suggest the city of Gondar in Ethiopia, thus placing it at an exotic distance from 1875 Connecticut. The name of the republic may also partake of a blending of the French "gondoler," meaning "to warp" and the English (or French) "grandeur."

So what would a Mark-Twain-style earthly paradise be like? Twain was, of course a committed realist, and no dreamy-eyed visionary imagining a world where right reason and deeply felt philanthropy would capture the hearts of humanity. His issues were down-to earth and rooted in the political realities of the 1870s. Twain had celebrated Ulysses S. Grant's two terms as a Republican president, terming Grant's 1872 reelection a victory "for civilization and progress." And he was, at the time of the publication of "The Curious Republic of Gondour," preparing to support Rutherford B. Hayes' run as the Republican candidate for that office in the following year, 1876. Twain was, we might say, a Republican among Republicans through his

Hartford associations, his affiliations with the Langdon family (as well as his own brother Orion), and his friendship with William Dean Howells; so it is not surprising that many of the features to be found in his ideally constituted republic of Gondour ~ for example, suffrage for women ~ matched well with the beliefs of his Republican associates.

The sketch begins with an unidentified narrator telling us of his introduction to the curious land identified in the title. The first thing that comes to his attention, once he has “learned to speak the language a little,” is the method of electing public officials: “the nation had at first tried universal suffrage pure and simple, but had thrown that form aside because the result was not satisfactory. It had seemed to deliver all power into the hands of the ignorant and non-tax-paying classes; and of a necessity the responsible offices were filled from these classes also.” The solution to this problem is found, “not in the destruction of universal suffrage, but in the enlargement of it.” In this “enlargement,” each citizen of the republic, “howsoever poor or ignorant,” retains the vote to which the constitution entitles him; however, one vote is added for “a good common-school education,” two more for a high-school education, and five beyond that for a university education. A second route of “enlargement” is by wealth. Possession of assets worth three thousand “sacos,” the republic’s unit of currency, adds one vote, and for each additional 50,000 sacos in assets an additional vote is given. The right to vote is also extended to women.

A primary focus of this paper is to examine not only the sketch’s proposals but also the rhetoric in which those proposals and their justifications are couched ~ leading to a consideration of their relation to Twain’s professed Republicanism (at least during the 1870s) both in terms of the political issues and events of the day and in terms of the assertions and scenarios advanced in Twain’s writings and speeches. Particular attention is given to the seeming conflict between, on one hand, Twain’s frequent harping on the evils of political corruption and, on the other, his apparent approval in “The Curious Republic” of the Gondourian politicians’ successful evasion of both constitutional intent and the will of the people in covertly establishing the new system of franchise ~ which one might see as a literary forerunner to the machinations by which Rutherford B. Hayes in the election of the following year allegedly sold out the Republican Party’s Reconstruction principles for his own (and his party’s) political gain. Also of interest will be the sketch’s relation to the ideal republics of Plato and More.

(Panel, page 5)

(leonardj@citadel.edu)

Levitt, Gail. *Independent Scholar; Mississauga, Ontario.*

Mark Twain’s Distaste for the “Scientific Laboratory Method”: Controversy or Convention?

One of the most revolutionary and controversial inventions of the nineteenth century that sparked extensive public debate from 1880 to 1910 concerned the “scientific laboratory method.” Mark Twain was one of more than 100 authors and celebrities, including Sir Henry Irving, Madame Sarah Grand, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Jerome K. Jerome, George Elliott, and Thomas Hardy that contributed to the burgeoning collection of propaganda literature against the unrestricted use of live animals for the “scientific laboratory method” at medical schools and research laboratories. More than one century later, it is difficult for readers to appreciate how the “scientific laboratory method” had become an incendiary topic in newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets during the last forty years of Mark Twain’s life.

The “scientific laboratory method” was first practiced in Germany beginning in the 1830s for the purpose of medical education in the evolving fields of physiology and pathology, and became established as a routine scientific procedure by 1910. This method combined microscopy, vivisection, chemical investigation, weighing, and measuring in an artificial and highly controlled test environment unlike the traditional hospital morgue. Since the “scientific laboratory method” involved a variety of controlled experiments designed to study the effects on an animal’s physiology while its nervous system was still functioning, vivisection, the nineteenth century term for animal experimentation, was an essential element of the process.

The public debate about the increasing use of the “scientific laboratory method” peaked between 1880 and 1910. At this time, the population was polarized and entrenched into two separate camps involving people’s attitudes towards the scientific practice of vivisection as a progressive method. On one hand, the vivisectionists maintained that the “scientific laboratory method” was an essential practice involving a minimal amount of animal pain worth the sacrifice to achieve scientific and medical progress for the future benefit of mankind. Increasing public awareness of the medical field’s incorporation of the “scientific laboratory method” as a standard practice in medical training and research gave enormous impetus to the anti-vivisectionists’ cause. The anti-vivisectionists opposed the “scientific laboratory method” as an inhumane scientific procedure and denied the claims of the medical establishment that objections to animal experimentation were anti-science and anti-progress.

On March 26, 1899, on his last day in Vienna, Mark Twain penned an anti-vivisection letter to share his in-depth knowledge of this modern scientific methodology and express his distaste for it. Twain’s letter was subsequently reprinted, in part or in full, six times from 1900 to 1907. First, the London Anti-Vivisection Society originally published Mark Twain’s letter in pamphlet form in 1900 under the title of *The Pains of Lowly Life* and thereupon designated Mark Twain as an honorary

member of their organization. During the same year, the American Anti-Vivisection Society reprinted excerpts of *The Pains of Lowly Life* in their *Journal of Zoophily*. The National Anti-Vivisection Society reprinted a segment of the letter in its journal, *The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*, May 1, 1900 issue, and then again in the February 1907 issue. Also, the New England Anti-Vivisection Society and the New York Anti-Vivisection Society each published Twain's anti-vivisection letter in pamphlet form in 1905.

Most twenty-first century readers, including Twain scholars, have never seen this rare archival material to learn first-hand exactly how Mark Twain perceived the "scientific laboratory method." An in-depth analysis of *The Pains of Lowly Life* based on Mark Twain's translation of "scientific" information from actual German physiological journals and evidence from a contemporary expert, Dr. Stephen Smith, will evaluate how Mark Twain's scientific accuracies and inaccuracies about this modern method of scientific and medical investigation served to "educate" his readers. This paper will showcase Mark Twain's contribution to the great debate about the "scientific laboratory method" and its related topics of controversy: the physiological effects of the paralyzing drug curare; the questionable use or absence of required anesthetics; and the need for legislative reforms regulating its practice.

Ultimately, Mark Twain's letter will be shown to be a cultural gem revealing scientific practices about the "scientific laboratory method" that captured the attention and imagination of readers, authors, and scientists alike during a critical period in the history of modern science.

(Panel, page 9)

(glevitt@levittcommunications.com)

Louis-Dimitrov, Delphine. *Université Paris III - Sorbonne Nouvelle.*

Agrammaticality and Dissidence in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

This paper focuses on agrammaticality in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* both as a linguistic principle constitutive of its narrative style and its humor, and as an instrument of historical criticism that emphasizes the loss of the nation's political origins. In connection with the study of linguistic subversion, this paper aims at analyzing the underlying presence of the historical stratum of the Revolutionary period in the novel, beneath the context of reference ~ the decades preceding the Civil War ~ and the context of publication ~ the 1880s. The surfacing of this stratum in the narrative and the way it comes into contact with nineteenth-century American history may be perceived as one of the main strategies whereby historical criticism is achieved in the novel.

My paper consequently stands at the crossroads of textual analysis and historicism and points at the inextricable connection of the two approaches as far as *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is concerned. Agrammaticality indeed sets political dissidence at the core of Huckleberry Finn's language. As Benedict Anderson has shown in *Imagined Communities*, nations are "cultural artefacts" that rely on imaginative representations of themselves, and literature is part of the imaginative process whereby national identity may be constructed as well as investigated.

The agrammatical use of language in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* will be analyzed through the swearing of the narrator and his misuse of the very notions that were central to the reflections on the political identity of the new nation in the revolutionary period, especially among the Founding Fathers. In Bakhtinian terms, the subversion of the syntactic as well as semantic order of language is part of a "carnavalesque" process that consists in turning grammar and dictionary upside down, thus debunking those terms that stand highest not only on the linguistic scale but also in the political discourse of the revolutionary period. Besides, agrammaticality will also be taken in a figurative sense, in relation to the questioning of a system of political values perceived as the syntax of democracy.

While thus appropriating the concepts on which the nation was originally built, the novel subverts the rationalistic conception of language that stood at the core of the republican experience in the revolutionary period. Indeed, as John Howe underlines in *Language and Political Meaning in Revolutionary America*, language at the time of the Revolution was perceived as a fundamental element in the construction of American democracy. The rationalistic conception of language underlying the projects of linguistic reform implied its normalization and unification as a way of achieving universality, stability and clarity of meaning, and as a way of containing the republican experience within strictly defined boundaries. Language was thus considered as a key instrument in the political construction of the nation and as the condition of the preservation of its principles.

Set against that cultural background, Huckleberry Finn's improper use of language, together with the disparity of idioms in the novel, may be part of a dissident view of history, if not of a political subversion the aim of which could be to emphasize the gap that separates nineteenth-century America from the original principles of the nation. However at odds with the rationalistic and universalistic principles that underlie the construction of the nation, the misuse of language and the linguistic disparity produced by the multiplicity of dialects are yet constitutive of the narrative's own ability to construct meaning.

(Panel, page 9)

(delphine.louis@gmail.com)

Mac Donnell, Kevin. *Independent Scholar; Austin, Texas.*

Mark Twain and William Lecky.

The influence of William Lecky's *History of European Morals* on the thought and writings of Mark Twain has provoked commentary by Twain scholars for nearly a century. Albert Bigelow Paine, Walter Blair, Roger B. Salomon, Howard G. Baetzhold, Joe B. Fulton, Harold K. Bush, Tom Quirk, Alan Gribben, and a host of others have written on the subject, often at length. Although Twain's annotations in his copy of Lecky's book have been quoted in part (most extensively ~ but inaccurately ~ in issues of "The Twainian" in 1955 and 1962) they have never been available in complete form, nor have they been examined in the context of their exact placement in Lecky's original text. This has been a major impediment to the advancement of Twain studies. The objective of this paper is to develop both a textual and typographic apparatus that will make Twain's annotations widely available to Twain scholars .

Mark Twain's heavily annotated copy of William Lecky's *History of European Morals* (1874) is currently being prepared for a facsimile edition that will reproduce Twain's annotations in context with an exact facsimile of Lecky's original text, reproducing Twain's notes as they appear in Lecky's original text, with Twain's notes reproduced in typographic facsimile to indicate the approximate date of each annotation. Twain's copy of Lecky contains 78 annotations on 68 pages, totaling 929 words, with an additional 191 pages heavily marked with underlinings and marginal markings. Theodore Crane's copy of this same book (preserved at Elmira) has a small number of annotations by Twain which will also be reproduced in the same way. First, because Twain read and reread his copy of Lecky several times between 1874 and 1906, using different writing instruments each time, it is critical to establish as accurately as possible when Twain made specific annotations. Second, because Twain's annotative "conversation" with Lecky's text can only be appreciated by viewing Twain's remarks as they actually appear in Lecky's text, the type-facsimiles will be placed exactly as Twain's annotations originally appear in Twain's own copy of Lecky. The fragility of the original two-volume set prevents making a useful photographic reproduction, so a textual apparatus and a typographic apparatus had to be devised that would accurately reproduce Twain's annotations. Samples pages displaying these apparatus will be presented and critical responses invited. During the course of the presentation many previously unpublished annotations will be revealed.

Once a reliable textual and typographic apparatus have been established, it will be possible to produce a full facsimile of all of Twain's annotations for the first time, in context with Lecky's text, and with their approximate dates of composition known. Scholars have long noted the influence of Lecky's work on Twain's composition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, *What Is Man?*, and *The Mysterious Stranger*, as well as many themes (slavery, religion, determinism, ethics, morality, history, etc.) in Twain's shorter works. With Lecky's annotations fully and accurately available for the first time, the list of works influenced by Twain's reading of Lecky will surely grow, and the nature of Lecky's influence on previously noted works will be both expanded and revised.

(Panel, page 2)

(info@macdonnellrarebooks.com)

McCoy, Sharon D. *University of Georgia.*

The Ties that Bind, the Mask that Blinds: Mother Love, Justice, and Black(face) Womanhood

Two pivotal scenes in *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson* are marked by their explicit use of blackface makeup: the first, when Roxana escapes and returns to face the son who sold her down the river, and the second, when Tom dons burnt cork in order to steal the money to buy his mother back. In this story of shifting racial identity, it is significant that Twain chooses to invoke blackface minstrelsy at these key points, and this paper seeks to unpack some of that significance.

While the narration gives the reader a portrait of Roxy that is complex, troubled, ambiguous and ambivalent, the white characters see Roxana only from within two stereotypes from the blackface stage, the *saucy wench* and the *mammy figure*. The wench character is witty and attractive, but hers is a low form of wit. She is uneducated, often a scold, and not very bright. She "scores" off men verbally, but leaves them feeling their superiority over her. The mammy figure is full of an embracing surrogate-mother-love, always putting her white charges before her own ~ dedicated, loyal and devoted, but like the wench, not very bright. When Roxana escapes from the southern plantation and returns home, she does so in her own guise. Spotting her former owner in the city, though, she not only blacks up her light skin and covers her brown hair, but she dons the clothes of a man and carries a concealed knife. The male disguise is not disquieting, however, for the narration has shown us that Roxana possesses attributes not associated with the stereotypes of womanhood: calculation, critical thinking, conscience, and the ability to drive a hard bargain. And these attributes are not undercut by the stereotypes associated with the blackface male character because, unlike the characters in the novel, we see behind the mask, recognizing the complex human being beneath it.

Significantly, when Tom decides to rob the Judge in order to get the money, he chooses a disguise similar to Roxana's, but he is explicitly depicted hiding his light skin with the burnt-cork mask of the minstrel stage. Though he has known since early in the novel that he is secretly legally "black" and a "slave," it is only here that Tom dons the blackface mask and its stereotypes. In a nice inversion of Roxy's gender-switching disguise, his earlier thefts had been committed in a woman's dress and veil, but at this point, he, too, desires the danger and threat that underlie the *male* blackface mask. Ironically, though, it is Tom's upbringing as a privileged white slave-owner that melds the mask and his inner character into one: he is self-centered, impervious to feeling, impulsive, casually murderous and foolishly careless.

When at the climactic murder trial Wilson dramatically proclaims that the children "were changed in the cradle . . . and the person who did it is in this house!" (297), the courtroom rises in a single body, seeking the culprit. Knowing what we know about Roxana's culpability, we fully expect her to be tried and convicted next to her son, but oddly, the moment passes. Even though Roxy flings herself to her knees when Tom is identified as the murderer, crying out, "De Lord have mercy on me, po' misable sinner dat I is!" (299) ~ no one pays attention, not the least attention. Ironically, it is their belief in the truth of the blackface mask that prevents the townspeople from seeing Roxy's guilt. They are more ready to believe her incapable of recognizing her own child than to believe that she meant to switch the babies. Rather than a jail sentence, hanging, or sale down the river for a terrible crime against society, Roxy is given a pension by the very man she condemned to a life of slavery 23 years before. But precisely because we know the depth of her culpability, precisely because we see the tortured woman behind the mask, we don't want her punished. And the real "tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson" is that in spite of his faith in the individuality of fingerprints, in the personal imprint of her skin, he still cannot see Roxana. All he ~ and the law ~ can see is the mask.

(Panel, page 5)

(sdmcco@uga.edu)

Melton, Jeffrey Alan. *Auburn University at Montgomery.*

"Settled in the Belief": Mark Twain's Landscapes.

Few American writers demonstrated a keener sensitivity to the complex and often tumultuous cultural landscapes of his time than Mark Twain. For generations, readers have appreciated Twain's treatment of the racial, economic, political, and religious issues that defined the nation. Hardly any critics, however, have considered how his perceptions of the natural landscape may have influenced him. In other words, how did the lay of the land shape his work?

Most readers would easily agree that the Mississippi River is the most prominent geographic feature to inform Twain's best work. Nevertheless, examining how he reacted on the page to river landscapes may suggest that his imagination did not necessarily derive from the river itself any more than it did from other broader influences in American culture at large. Certainly, Twain built much of his relationship with the natural world from the intimate interaction with the Mississippi River of his youth, but his experiences far away from home and his absorption of the intrinsic environmental values of nineteenth-century America also shaped him as a writer.

If Mark Twain began his writing career amidst a shifting sensibility in literary circles, a move toward realism, he nonetheless lived in a culture still largely enamored of an idyllic landscape pervasively infused with wonder and beauty not so different from generations of forebears. This public sense of the sublime in the American natural landscape was a perspective that he would not challenge.

Central to the development of Mark Twain's landscape imagination were his travels abroad, primarily to Europe wherein he encountered a museum culture for the first time. In the preface to *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain promised to describe the Old World realistically as the reader would see it, free of the heavy influence of myriad travelers who had gone before. When it came to landscape description, however, Twain—again and again—saw with the eyes of an American romantic.

In the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, a device for tourists became all the rage. Named for the famed seventeenth-century French painter, Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), the Claude glass was a hand-held frame of varying sizes and adornments. Tourists would travel to a beautiful spot, hold the Claude glass in their outstretched arms and view the scene as a painting, as if the natural scenery had been neatly ordered, sized, and hung on a wall in the Uffizi or in the Louvre. This physical artifact made tangible the implicit connection between landscape and art appreciation. They have always been intertwined for tourists. By using the Claude glass, tourists could effectively focus their attention on a precise portion of any given landscape, choosing which elements to enjoy, which elements to exclude. It was a compelling way to interact with nature as an artist or art aficionado and it granted an interactive quality to the experience. Many tourists assumed that without the tool the landscape experience could prove too disorganized and too alien.

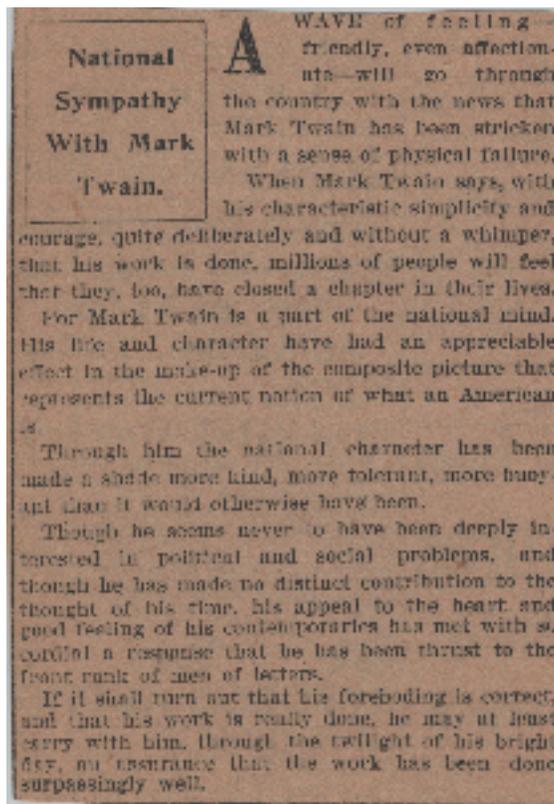
It is difficult for modern tourists to recognize the conventions, not because they are dated, but because they are by now so firmly ingrained. A tourist with a camera in hand rather than a Claude glass will most often adopt these omnipresent framing techniques when taking snapshots. He or she may assume that the choices are instinctual; they are probably not. Claude's

approach to landscape was followed and fine-tuned by countless painters and travel writers alike, mainly because it worked. Mark Twain was one of them.

This proposed essay will examine Mark Twain's landscape descriptions and consider how they fit within a romantic tradition. The primary focus will be on his responses to European scenery as captured in *The Innocents Abroad* and *A Tramp Abroad*. He remained largely consistent throughout his career, preferring to present idealized landscapes to readers as if they were breathtaking paintings. This stylistic choice stands out even more so when contrasted with how skeptical he was when describing actual paintings themselves. The essay will also present such descriptions as a way to recognize an underappreciated facet of Twain's narrative skill and to expand our understanding of his love of landscape well beyond the banks of the Mississippi River.

(Panel, page 5)

(jmelton@aum.edu)



December, 1909 news report. (Courtesy of the Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

Michelson, Bruce. *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*.
Mark Twain as a Literary Craftsman.

With *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist* (1950), Gladys Bellamy laid groundwork for conversations that have brought us benefit as scholars and critics ~ and also a share of difficulty, especially now, as upheavals in information technology and the understanding of consciousness are undermining terms like “author” and “artist,” as ways of signifying literary agency and cultural importance.

We have a trove of distinguished work that contemplates Mark Twain as an artist: structural complexity and elegance; profound themes and prophetic gestures; astute insights into politics and culture; personal ordeals immanent in specific texts ~ ample justification, in other words, for understanding Mark Twain as an artist of extraordinary accomplishment and high seriousness. Nonetheless, the connotations and the fundamental meaning of “artist,” are now facing challenges beyond anything that Walter Benjamin, pondering the cultural and epistemological implications of “mechanical reproduction” as a rising cultural force, could have imagined in the early years of the last century. In a wonderland of digital replication and simulation, we see the fusion of the putative “artist” or creative genius with technological accoutrement, and also with a globalizing atelier of technocratic intervention, labor, and play.

In such a moment, who can we say is really creating what, and with what measure of autonomous “artistic” genius and skill? Authenticity, originality, the artist as an individual talent ~ conventional assumptions about what credentials make for a genuine artist are being knocked into hazard. At the recent death of Andrew Wyeth, for example, a wave of retrospectives tried to engage several conflicting perceptions at once ~ his prowess as a painter in many media; his luck and transgressions in self-promotion; his influential patrons and his market savvy; the advantages and burdens of his pedigree; his allies and enemies in art-critic circles. All of this can muddle any address to the question of whether or not Andrew Wyeth was, is, an artist of lasting consequence.

My own speculations are connected to recent work by Richard Sennett, whose book *The Craftsman* (which he describes as one volume of a three-part reconsideration of cultural values) proposes that we have not only failed, as a culture, to ascribe sufficient importance to proficiency in “craft,” but also that we have misunderstood and undervalued processes by which proficiency is attained. In line with recent re-descriptions of consciousness and identity by cognitive sciences such as Antonio Damasio, Sennett, affirms a connection between physical activity and the imagination: the dynamics by which complex, precise actions must be subsumed into a smooth, integrated, unconscious process. Sennett also makes a case for protracted and selfless imitation as fundamental to acquiring skills of a craftsman, the necessity of mastering processes that from some perspectives resemble counterfeiting –even in a time when unbounded freedom of expression gets more airplay than learning a specific trade. According to Sennett, culturally enforced distinctions and hierarchies of value related to “craft” and “art” should be less complacent than they currently are; moreover, insufficient attention is paid to the movement from the physical and mechanical to the aesthetic, from the generic to the unique, from the bounded to the imaginatively free.

Samuel Clemens began his professional life mastering and practicing skills that were as much physical and technical as intellectual, and more imitative than creative. His years as a steamboat pilot were a protracted lesson in precise observation and special skills with a physical component; throughout his life, Clemens was an admirer of established and evolving crafts. To explore influence and presence of “craftsmanship” in Mark Twain’s literary achievement, I discuss three of his texts ~ two famous sketches, and one selection from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* ~ to suggest the presence and influence of the craftsman, and also the impact of learning processes that Sennett proposes: physicality and unconscious or subconscious proficiency; the legacy of mechanical imitation; the dynamic tension between, on one hand, respect for conventions and rules; and on the other, the kind of imaginative freedom that accrues to, and exemplifies, only the true master of the craft.

(Panel, page 9)

(brucem@uiuc.edu)

Morris, Christopher D. *Norwich University.*

Representing Alterity in a World of Vorhabe and Translation: Mark Twain’s

Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc (1896).

Twain’s *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* is something of an embarrassment to his critics, because he called it “the best of all my books” while they sometimes repress or deplore it as an aberrational paean to innocence in the aging writer’s trajectory from skepticism to pessimism. But such a consensus holds only for hermeneutic approaches, which more or less identify the author’s views with those of his fifteenth-century narrator, Louis de Conte, whose account is apparently a hagiography. A deconstructive approach can consider the novel as questioning that critical assumption in an “allegory of reading,” which sees in de Conte’s narrative a demonstration of the impossibility of representing in writing what Derrida calls the *tout autre*. In this way the novel anticipates the bleak solipsism of Number 44’s chilling benediction to August Feldner at the end of *The Mysterious Stranger*. The “truly other” in this novel is the interiority of Joan of Arc, figured in her Voices, which function analogously to the “encrypted secret” in Derrida’s thought. Every hermeneutic effort to determine their significance, dramatized in her interrogation, results only in a new “prosthesis of origin” ~ Devil or God ~ reflected in the opposite verdicts of the Trial and Rehabilitation.

The novel sets forth two reasons for this failure of representation. First, interiority is depicted as opaque: de Conte exhibits Vorhabe, Heidegger’s neologism for Dasein’s ineradicable orientation toward Being. His rush to interpret, unsupported generalizations, and contradictions mark his writing as an *apologia* that conceals a conscious or unconscious betrayal of Joan. Thus de Conte and Joan, like the Church and Joan, remain incomprehensible to each other. Second, the novel’s frame foregrounds historical narrative as possible only in a world of translation. Twain’s interest in foreign languages and translation serves to contextualize this theme; the novel’s dramatization occurs mainly in the figure of Jean François Alden, the nineteenth-century translator whose Vorhabe is evident in his front matter and footnotes. His prefatory note and epigraph from Kossuth make self-undermining claims for Joan’s “uniqueness” that echo de Conte’s; these are exposed by the novel’s irony with regard to religious and nationalist discourses. Other details of Alden’s translation exemplify Derrida’s analogy between the *tout autre* and the “untranslatable.”

The link between Twain's world and Joan's is accomplished by the dating of the manuscript in 1492, nine years after the actual death of de Conte. His concluding praise of patriotism, which Twain's critics end up uneasily attributing to him, the author of "The War Prayer," places *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* instead in the ironic Twainian genre that includes "A Burlesque Autobiography and First Romance," *The Prince and the Pauper*, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, and *The Mysterious Stranger*. In these works the foundationless claims for selfhood and state power asserted in the middle ages are shown to anticipate their fully corrupt flowering in modernity. The blindness of de Conte and Alden to these constructs and to the unrepresentability of Joan's "secret" reflects Western illusions early and late, of meaning.

If Joan is a cipher filled in by groundless interpretation, two other views of her are possible: first, that she is mad; second, that she does indeed embody some transcendent "selfless otherness" ~ though not of the sort that de Conte, Alden, or Twain's critics have imagined. The first view emerges from parallels between her and Benoist, the threatening psychotic in Domremy whom she pacifies before setting forth on her Voice-inspired campaigns. The second view emerges from the ironies of the final scenes between Joan and de Conte. According to this interpretation, Joan may have suspected de Conte's betrayal, condemned it, and ~ after all ~ forgiven it. This understanding of Joan changes her into a channel for some "alternative reality" separate from the world of Vorhabe and translation everyone else is condemned to inhabit. Of course, the existence of any such reason-defying form of forgiveness is purely speculative, though it bears some affinities with Derrida's hypothesis of an "unconditional" forgiveness necessary to the positing of *différance*.

(Panel, page 3)

(cmorris@norwich.edu)

Morris, Linda A. *University of California, Davis Emerita.*

Twain's Gendered Dialogues: Comic Miscommunication Between Adult Couples.

As Twain scholars well know, there are few adult heterosexual couples represented in his work. Those that do appear come relatively late in his career, and seldom in his major works. To see how Twain represents communication between adult couples, we have to turn primarily to his shorter fiction, where we are well rewarded for our trouble. There we find couples who frequently speak at cross purposes, who misunderstand and misinterpret each other, and who frequently deliberately provoke each other. The linguistic play that is represented between couples is a source of mirth, not for the characters themselves, but for the reader, who is allowed to enter into the parlor (or the Garden) and overhear the private conversations between the couples.

In this paper I will look at five texts: *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, *Extracts from Adam's Diary*, *Eve's Diary*, "The \$30,000 Bequest," and "Hellfire Hotchkiss." The earliest of these works is *A Connecticut Yankee*, which features long, comic exchanges between Hank Morgan and Sandy, with linguistic traits attributed to gender wildly exacerbated by the cultural divide that separates Hank from Sandy, and from all the other characters featured in the novel. All the misunderstandings between the two are represented from Hank's point of view, making Sandy's way of communicating the primary target of the humor ~ but not exclusively. Hank's slangy way of expressing himself contributes, as well, to the way they speak past each other. Once the novel takes one of its many unexpected turns and we learn that Hank and Sandy have married and have a child, the comic exaggeration is at an end and is replaced by sentimentality.

No sentimentality intrudes upon the communication between Sarah and James Carpenter, whose chapter-long dialogue opens the story "Hellfire Hotchkiss" as they debate over the future of their son, Oscar "Thug" Carpenter. The father, James, is deliberately provocative and sardonic, making cynical statements that he knows will outrage his wife, while Sarah is gullible and guileless, defending her son's lack of direction, and dreaming about an improbable future for him. The extended conversation is carried out entirely in dialogue, with no third person narrative intervention. James deliberately misconstrues his wife's words, twisting them to make a point or to make her arguments seem even more foolish than they are, and she, for her part, seems incapable of knowing when she is being taunted. The result is escalating linguistic play, with no resolution whatsoever.

"The \$30,000 Bequest" centers on one couple who are led to believe they are about to inherit \$30,000 from a disaffected uncle. In this story, Twain mischievously reverses the expected role for man and wife, with the wife (called Aleck) investing their inheritance (imaginatively) repeatedly until she has turned it into a multi-million dollar fortune, while her husband (Sally) dreams about ways to spend their new-found wealth. The central interest of the "\$30,000 Bequest" is the power the hoped-for fortune holds over the couple, but along the way we are treated to some amusing bickering between the two.

From my perspective, the most subtle and charming exchanges among all of the adult couples take place in the implied dialogues between Adam and Eve; this will be the major focus of the paper. To get the full effect of the delightful miscommunication that occurs between these two forbears, one must read the stories in the order they were written: i.e., Adam's diary first, then Eve's. The full charm and humor come through not because of any direct dialogue that occurs, but when the reader holds

in his or her mind what first one character has written, then how the other in turn reports the same incident. For example, in Adam's first diary entry he writes, "We? Where did I get that word? I remember now—the new creature uses it." (3) Eve writes "He seemed pleased to have me around, and I used the sociable 'we' a good deal, because it seemed to flatter him to be included." (27) Adam complains that Eve names everything she encounters before he "can protest." Eve writes that she has taken on all the work of naming things, "and this has been a great relief to him, for he has no gift in that line, and is evidently very grateful. He can't think of a rational name to save him, but I do not let him see that I am aware of his defect."

And the playfulness goes on.

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(lamorris@ucdavis.edu)

Nickels, Cameron. *James Madison University Emeritus.*

Mark Twain, Minstrelsy, and the "Matter of Miller."

The program at Concert Hall in Madison Square Garden, 26th and 27th, 1894 was "Author's Readings, "featuring James Whitcomb Riley, Douglass Sherely (The Kentucky Story Teller) and Mark Twain. The second night, Twain, scheduled to read from *A Tramp Abroad* and "A reminiscence," at some point spotted Polk Miller in the audience of two thousand and urged him to come down and "wind up the ball." "Give them one piece, but as the hour is late you must not respond with an encore." Miller, he assured the audience, "is thoroughly competent to entertain you with this sketches of the old-time Negro, and I not only commend him to your intelligent notice but personally endorse him. The stories I have heard him tell are the best I have ever heard." Miller complied with "Lucinda," but "so great was the applause," newspapers reported, "that he could not get out of giving the audience more," winding up with his "irresistible 'Prodigal Son' story."

Polk Miller? Born in 1844 on his father's plantation in Virginia, Miller fought in the Civil War and headed for Richmond when it ended. There he became a successful druggist with his own store, serving both people and pets, ultimately producing a line of medications for the latter named for his favorite hound, Sargeant. In 1892 he began performing as a "Reader of Dialect Stories from Southern Plantation Life on the 'Old Issue Darkey,'" according to a Wilmington, Delaware, program dated December 5, 1893. Two months later, he was in New York to perform at the request of the Southern Society, the St. Nicholas Society, and other venues. Mark Twain must have heard him at this time, say at the University Club on February 24th, when Miller told stories and sang, accompanying himself on the banjo. Quoted in many newspapers, Twain's accolade of the 27th gave Miller's fledgling career a nice boost.

Sometime in 1899, Miller took a radically different direction with the formation of the Old South Quartette, four African-American singers. Twain saw them perform, because when the visiting Prince Henry of Prussia missed their performance at Carnegie Hall, Twain lamented that the royal eminence had "missed the only thing the country can furnish that is originally and utterly American. Possibly it can furnish something that is more enjoyable, but I must doubt it till I forget that pair of musical earthquakes, 'The Watermillion' and 'Old Dan Tucker.'" In 1909 Miller and his quartette made seven recordings for the Edison company, one of them "The Watermillion." As these recordings have been reissued, we can ~ and today we will ~ listen to Polk Miller's performance that Mark Twain called "a musical earthquake." [Play "The Watermillion."]

A unique and enjoyable opportunity, this, but the "matter of Miller" raises new considerations about the matter of Mark Twain and race. I am still working out the implications, needless to say, but for this proposal will sketch some of the "facts" to deal with. Polk Miller did not appear in blackface, and he did not affect the "exaggerated, conventional way of exhibiting him," as one review put it. His performance, in other words, was not in the tradition of the stage minstrel show. He called his program of stories, songs, and dialect recitations a "recital," and his venues were the Chautauqua circuits and benefits for churches and civic clubs North and South. His publicity material stressed the authenticity of his material and how it was performed, another evocation of the ideology of the "Lost Cause," the post-bellum strain of the ante-bellum Scott "disease" that Mark Twain diagnosed so well.

How to account for his enthusiasm for the "authenticity" of a white man performing African-American stories and songs with African-Americans? And we must wrestle too with his unqualified enjoyment of those "musical earthquakes": "The Watermillion" is a "coon song," a highly popular genre at the time; "Old Dan Tucker," a hit minstrel song composed in 1843 by Dan Emmet, who sixteen years later wrote an even more popular song about a black man stranded in the North who longs to be "in de land ob cotton."

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(cameronnickels@yahoo.com)

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

Mark Twain's "Watermelon Cure."

Mark Twain never came to grips with his daughter Susie's death from meningitis in 1896, which he blamed on the doctors who "could only have done damage, which is their main trade." As he told Joe Twichell: "I have neither reverence nor respect for the physician's trade...of all the quackeries, the physician's is the grotesque and the silliest." In "Two Little Tales," published in 1901, Twain wrote his most intense criticism of the medical care of the era. In the inner tale ("How the Chimney-Sweep Got the Ear of the Emperor") of this story-within-a-story, an Emperor is dying and his doctors are making him sicker. The Emperor asks whether his doctors are "healers, or merely assassins?" In the "Chimney-Sweep" story, Twain not only ventilated his frustration at contemporary medical practices, but he invented a parallel universe in which he corrected the injustices of Susie's illness ~ he cured the patient and put the doctors to their death.

The Emperor was cured by a simple treatment recommended by a simple chimney-sweep ~ a slice of ripe watermelon. Why did Twain choose watermelon? It may have been a simple literary invention; after all, Twain himself told us that "the true Southern watermelon is a boon apart...chief of this world's luxuries, king by the grace of God over all the fruits of the earth. When one has tasted it, he knows what the angels eat."

As appealing as this possibility might seem, the "watermelon-cure" was not a literary invention of Mark Twain. In truth, the treatment had been used for years with success by the Clemens family, according to Twain's *Autobiography*: "Annually, during many years, Mrs. Clemens was promptly cured of desperate attacks of that deadly disease, dysentery, by the pleasant method of substituting a slice of ripe, fresh water-melon for the powerful and poisonous drugs used ~ frequently ineffectually ~ by the physician." Ten months before he wrote the "Chimney-Sweep" story, Twain advised his friend Poultney Bigelow that "he must find a ripe watermelon or die" from his severe debilitating chronic diarrhea.

If Twain didn't invent the "watermelon-cure," where did it come from?

Various "fruit cures" were popular throughout the nineteenth century. The best known of the fruit cures was the "grape cure" in which patients consumed large quantities of grapes daily for up to six months, typically at a European spa, while otherwise restricting their intake of food (Twain wrote about "grape cure" in "At the Appetite Cure," published in *Cosmopolitan* in 1898).

In 1875, Dr. T. L. Nichols proposed that raisins or a "strawberry cure" were as good as grapes. In a discussion of fruit cures in *The Chautauquan*, Dr. Felix Oswald suggested the choice of fruit be based on local availability ~ strawberries in Texas, raspberries in Michigan and Pennsylvania, and watermelon in the Southern states: "it would be a good plan to establish a watermelon cure in such places as Macon, Georgia."

Earlier, in 1869, Dr. S. G. Weber described in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* the case of a man who could invariably cure his diarrhea by eating "the best and largest watermelon he can find." Under the heading of "The Watermelon Cure," three different medical journals reported in 1886 that a Professor Manassein recommended the watermelon as a cheap but effective therapy in the treatment of chronic diarrhea.

We do not know where Twain discovered the "watermelon-cure," or whether he discussed it with his family's doctors. Physicians of that time generally discouraged consumption of watermelon, suspecting it to be a likely cause of dysentery. A possible linkage between Twain and the "watermelon-cure" is suggested by an article in *The Medical Brief* that mentions "a physician in Hartford, Conn." who became a strong proponent of watermelon for severe dysentery after a patient disobeyed the doctor's prohibition of watermelon and experienced a dramatic recovery.

After seeing the "watermelon-cure" benefit Livy and Bigelow, Twain blamed the medical profession's "prejudice against the water-melon" for the high death rates from dysentery in Civil War military camps. In the "Chimney-Sweep Story," Twain transformed the Civil War soldiers into the Emperor's soldiers so that Jimmy the chimney-sweep could fire one more salvo at the doctors' ignorance on his behalf: "There's plenty of watermelons, and not one of all those soldiers ought to have died."

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(kpober@wfubmc.edu)

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

Artemus Ward: The Gentle Humorist.

It is generally accepted that during his lifetime, Mark Twain was considered the preeminent American master storyteller and lecturer of humor. The tsunami that is Twain's literary achievement can easily overwhelm the earlier vast movement of the American literary scene that led to its creation. The "underwater earthquake" of this movement is Charles Farrar Browne, but his more famous pseudonym is Artemus Ward.

While there were earlier as well as contemporary humorous writers, Artemus Ward was regarded by William Dean Howells as “the humorist who first gave the world a taste of the humor that characterizes the whole American people” (Pullen 26). In fact, New Jersey’s own American novelist and short story writer Albert Payson Terhune commemorates Ward as “the man ‘who taught Americans to laugh’” (Nock 9). Indeed, in 1862, President Lincoln laughed heartily while he read to his Cabinet passages from Ward’s first book. Ward’s uniqueness in telling a story from the lecture platform enthralled thousands throughout the United States and in Canada; he was also “the first deadpan comedian to take England by storm” (Austin, Ward 19).

Despite these views, today Ward’s literary reputation is largely forgotten. Yet he was distinctive and influential in the American tradition of his day and is deserving of study. This thesis will analyze the construction of his literary reputation by showing that what made Ward so popular in his time was that his literary humor was rhetorically gentle. This is seen through his numerous fictitious letters to the *Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer*, *Vanity Fair* and reprinted largely throughout the country. The success of his humorous letters was displayed in a character that exuded confidence without conceit, and whose observations of contemporary issues contained neither sarcasm nor malice. He did not allow himself to be emotionally caught up in his humor. His satiric wit was enjoyed by all of its targets. Furthermore, Ward parlayed the success of his nationally published letters into a commercially successful career as the first comedic lecturer to tour the nation.

In his time, Ward achieved a fascinating dichotomy with his genial humor. His letters to the Plain Dealer showed a very confident, middle-aged, pot-bellied P.T. Barnum-like character of a traveling tent show of unusual animals and wax figures, and who used humorous misspellings then in vogue to “comment” on a variety of topics. However, his lectures, billed as “Artemus Ward Speaks a Piece,” startled audiences that saw instead the real Charles Ferrar Browne, a gaunt young man of twenty-seven who dressed quite distinctively and spoke very formally in a humorous stream of consciousness with a seriousness of expression (Pullen 46).

A full appreciation of Ward’s humor requires this thesis to be divided into three parts, with Parts II and III being the bulk. Part I will be extremely brief, though necessary in the construction of his literary reputation in his short life of thirty-three years, solely as it developed and influenced his humor. This part’s focus will be on historically pertinent references to the native American humor as it affected his humor during his lifetime.

During his lifetime, Ward wrote *Artemus Ward, His Book* (1862) and *Artemus Ward; His Travels* (1865). His executors published three works posthumously: *Artemus Ward in London, and Other Papers* (1867), *Artemus Ward’s Panorama*. (As exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, London) (1869), and *The Complete Works of Artemus Ward*, (1898). Part II will critically analyze his literary reputation in selected letters from these works and will historicize his rhetorically gentle humor that “commented” on such topics as politics, reform movements, the Civil War, and some of our various human foibles.

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

(Panel, page 17)

(Jpascal@shp.org or AlphaControl@mac.com)

Pratt, Michael. *Elmira College*

Mark Twain as Naturalist in *Roughing It*, Naturally.

Mark Twain in his book *Roughing It* chronicles his overland trip through America’s western frontier and his experiences and adventures in Nevada, California, and Hawaii. Like *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), *Following the Equator* (1897), and *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), *Roughing It* (1872) is ostensibly a travel book. Even a cursory reading, however, reveals that *Roughing It* is much more than a narrative of his journey and life out west. Over one half of the chapters comprising the book at least mention some aspect of the natural world. In nineteen chapters Twain writes extensively about specific western flora and fauna, about the geography out west, and about the natural forces and phenomena that have shaped America’s last frontier. These “nature chapters” generally convey accurate though often idiosyncratic information based on Twain’s direct observation of the natural world or on what he learns about the American west from those who call it home. Thus, *Roughing It* is as much a journal of a naturalist seeking to know more of the natural world as it is a memoir of a traveler pursuing adventure and fortune.

The genre of American literature commonly referred to as Nature Writing can be viewed as having three dimensions, which help to characterize a particular writing about the nature world (Lyon, 2001). Lyon’s taxonomy identifies the following

dimensions: 1.) Natural history information (facts of nature) that objectively describes the nature world and is ultimately based on direct observation (e.g., field guides and handbooks); 2.) A personalized, subjective version of natural history that focuses direct observations of nature with one's reaction to being out in nature (e.g., natural history essays and books about nature); 3.) Philosophical interpretations of nature that to peel back the facts of natural history to discover a deeper, broader understanding of the natural world and our place in it (e.g., essays and books about the complex interrelationships among the countless facets of nature and between humankind and nature itself).¹

When applying this taxonomic scheme to Twain's nature writing in *Roughing It*, one finds all three dimensions present individually or in combination to varying degrees. For example, the chapter-long portrait of the coyote is not only factually accurate but also poignant, for it expresses pathos and a grudging admiration of a varmint's struggle to survive. He also delves deeper by contrasting the coyote, bred naturally by its struggle to survive, with the dog, bred by humans to be our loyal best friend. This multi-dimensional quality characterizes his narratives about the flora (e. g., sage brush, greasewood, western trees) and fauna (e.g., the buffalo, tarantula, mosquito) that inhabit the western landscape. His nature writing also turns frequently to geography ~ the lay of the land and its naturally attractive (or unattractive) and emotive vistas. Thus, he describes and reflects upon mountains and mountain ranges, lakes, rivers, the Pacific Ocean, islands, deserts, the prairie, and forests. Similarly, the uncaring, seemingly fickle forces of nature and the innumerable phenomena they spawn (heat, cold, rain, snow, wind, floods, drought, earthquakes, land slides, volcanic eruptions, and mineral deposits) furnish yet more subjects for a naturalist to expound upon.

Twain seasons his narratives of nature with one or more of the following: humor (often self-deprecating and comical), satire, irony, hyperbole, pathos, sublimity, beauty, harsh realities, and even mystery. For example, belly laughs come easily imaging a bunkhouse full of stalwart western men panic and clumsily seek safety when their "pet" tarantulas escape, and again when Twain and his cohorts desperately try to start a fire during a blizzard. His portrayal of Lake Tahoe borders on the poetic and evokes a Bierstadt painting of an idyllic, awe-inspiring mountain range that captures an Eden-like scene. In contrast, the chapter about Lake Mono reads like a ecological report about an alkali lake in dry mountain valley ~ a place as desolate, inhospitable as Hell in Dante's *Inferno*. In one passage, Twain even employs aspects of natural world metaphorically for dramatic effect. Eschewing the cold dots and dashes of mid-19th century communication technology and having just "witnessed" the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the sun parts thick foreboding clouds and delivers the momentous news by illuminating "Old Glory" waving triumphantly atop Mt. Davidson for all in Virginia City to see.

In addition to the aforementioned passages, my presentation will consider in detail several other excerpts from *Roughing It* that illustrate and characterize various aspects of Mark Twain's nature writing. During the presentation, relevant photographic images provide a visual reference and context to support an analysis of each excerpt.

¹Lyon, T. J. *This Incomparable Land: A Guide to American Nature Writing*. Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2001.

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(mpratt@elmira.edu)

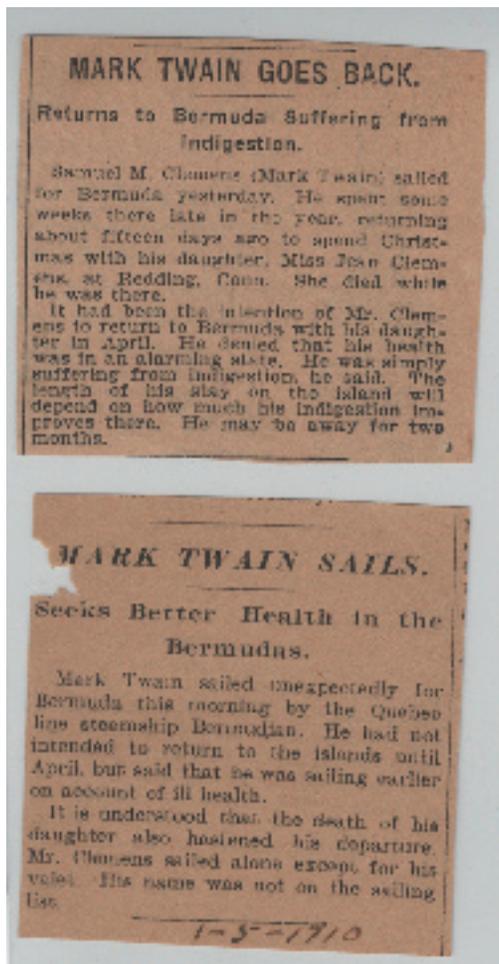
Ra'ad, Basem. *Al-Quds University.*

Irony and Identity in Twain's *The Innocents Abroad*.

The Innocents Abroad, or *The New Pilgrim's Progress*, cannot be understood only as a travel account but needs to be interpreted as a complex literary work. Key to this is the narrative voice, which employs various forms of irony. The simpler forms are distinguished from a special type that is neglected in critical commentary: namely, self-irony, and in some instances the creation of the narrative persona as a national ego. In this case, it becomes ironic that one indispensable prerequisite of irony (namely, that the implied audience has the required repertoire) is not present for an audience immersed in the system that is the target. As a result, the ironic purpose becomes victim to misunderstanding or literal exploitation. This does not only mean that the irony is often difficult but also that most readers either cannot or do not want to share in its implied knowledge. To solve the problematic narrative perspective, the apparently contradictory sentiments and complex layers of irony, this paper concentrates on comparing the early chapters (particularly the departure scene in Chapter 3) with the sections on the "Holy Land" (especially Ch. 45), as well as on finding clues from Twain's other works (*Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, essays, lectures), works by other writers who were compelled to use some similar strategies, and available critical theory. What can be called the extermination passage in Chapter 45 and the emphasis on the Joshua character are impossible to interpret satisfactorily if the total ironic structure is not resolved. As a satiric work that mostly targets tourism and sacred geography, it is an inverted pilgrimage (or an anti-pilgrimage, as its subtitle implies), and so it is more essentially a comment on United States national identity. It needs to be elucidated not only for its emphasis on the "Holy Land" as a model for the U.S. national myth but also its subversive narration and its deconstruction of the supremacist ego.

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(basem48@yahoo.com)



Bermuda accounts, January 5, 1910 news reports. (Courtesy of the Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

Reeb, Tyler. Claremont Graduate University.

Decisions, Prospects, and Games in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

During the last three years, Tyler has developed a mode of literary interpretation that uses decision, prospect, and game theory to explicate strategic realities in fictional works. Late last year, the 2009 *Mark Twain Annual* agreed to publish his essay, “Decisions, Prospects and Games in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.” In that essay, Tyler uses game, prospect, and decision theory to identify structures of violence in Twain’s celebrated text, while also laying bare the book’s underlying humanity.

Just as Edgar Allen Poe’s “The Purloined Letter” anticipates game theoretical approaches in showing that “the way to win is to extend chains of reasoning of the form ‘He thinks that I think that he thinks that I think...’ one step further than your opponent,” and, in Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Final Problem*, Sherlock Holmes and Professor Moriarty play the equivalent of a Matching Pennies game, so too does a close examination of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, and Twain’s other works, which reveal many instances where decision, prospect, and game theory concepts can be applied in profound ways. But mention decision, prospect, and game theory during a cocktail conversation and images of complex math modeling may spring forth in the minds of those who are unfamiliar with theorems that have found seemingly ubiquitous applicability in disciplines spanning the sciences and humanities over the last 50 years. In 2004, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, declared game theory “the most prominent unifying theory of social science.”

Inroads have also been made in literary analysis using decision, prospect, and game theory. Beyond the countless instances where economists, mathematicians, sociologists, and philosophers have cited literary examples (or created their own narratives) to provide context for their theorems, there are formal contributions to literary scholarship that use game theory and related fields to offer compelling new literary interpretations. In 1980, The MIT Press published Steven J. Brams’s *Biblical Games: A Strategic Analysis of Stories in the Old Testament*; the book’s use of game trees and outcome and payoff matrices gave biblical and literary scholars a new method of analyzing and interpreting the scriptures. Brams’s innovative book set the stage for contemporary scholars like Peter Swirski, who in his recent book, *Of Literature and Knowledge* and in his earlier book *Between*

Literature and Science, uses matrix analyses and ordinal rankings to identify new insights about the literature of writers like Poe and Stanislaw Lem.

Twain was, of course, not a game theorist, (At the time of his death in 1910, game theory was not even an established field.) but he was an unquestionably astute social observer who used his savage wit to characterize the comic and tragic decisions and consequences that humans face within society, particularly the Slavery-era south. Using a decision, prospect and game theory-based interpretation of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* makes it possible to explicate the text's underlying causality and the role that reciprocity plays in how Huck and Jim arrive at their decisions.

Tyler's analysis of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* begins with decision trees and related prospect theory assessments of the role that risk plays in Huck and Jim's decisions to flee to Jackson's Island. Once Huck and Jim begin their voyage down the Mississippi River, the analysis moves into the game theory arena to examine the role that reciprocity plays in Huck and Jim's most crucial decisions. The analysis arrives at two other noteworthy conclusions, one literary the other philosophical. On the literary front, the analysis supports a compelling counter perspective to Ernest Hemingway's influential contention that the novel really ends in chapter XXXI and that the remaining twelve chapters are "just cheating." On the philosophical front, the analysis examines new conceptions of rationality, self-interest, competition, and cooperation within the contexts of evolutionary and behavioral game theory.

(Panel, page 9)

(tyler.reeb@cgu.edu)

Rohman, Chad. *Dominican University*.

The Origin, Development, and Relevance of Mark Twain's "Seeker After Knowledge Under Difficulties" Persona.

One of Twain's favorite and most persistent rhetorical strategies, first named in the 1852 sketch he titled, "Historical Exhibition ~ A No.1 Ruse," and written under the pen name, Epaminondas Adrastus Blab, is the "seeker after knowledge under difficulties" persona, a narrative mode of inquiry that, in varying guises, is ubiquitous in Twain's oeuvre, and one that evolved rather complexly as "Blab" became Mark Twain. Scholars like Branch, Hirst, Doyno, Knoper, and Everett Emerson have shown that Blab's "Historical Exhibition" clearly prefigures and anticipates later thematic movements and rhetorical strategies in Twain's fiction, for example, the confidence games played by the Duke and the Dauphin and the "sell" of the Royal Nonesuch in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. What this paper hopes to add to these scholars' valuable insights is to further show the intellectual permutations of the seeker after knowledge under difficulties persona, to further show how this persona acts as one of the author's foundational modes of inquiry, to suggest that it is distinct from his other well-known early comic poses (e.g., the Simpleton and the Tenderfoot), and to show its importance to Twain's own personal efforts at truth-seeking. Through the Seeker persona, Twain earnestly investigates truth, knowing, and the effects (good and bad) of self-knowledge, concepts he regularly and seriously interrogated throughout his life and writings. Further, Twain uses the Seeker persona to challenge some of his Age's most pressing intellectual and cultural tensions, fundamental personal and social conflicts that the Seeker exposes with great force and effect in works like "A True Story." Finally, in later works like the *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts, "The Great Dark," and "What Is Man?" Twain makes truth-seeking personal and philosophically complex.

(Panel, page 10)

(crohman@dom.edu)

Ryan, Ann. *Le Moyne College*.

Mark Twain and No. 44: Humoring the American Gothic.

Mark Twain's *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* is a haunted text. In this chaotic narrative, shadows of earlier works appear and disappear ~ *Tom Sawyer*, *Life on the Mississippi*, *Puddn'head Wilson*, while it also narrates in some fragmentary way Twain's own losses: it is the story of grieving parents, abandoned spouses, and lost faith. Yet in this unstable text, Twain is not simply engaged in an act of personal and literary catharsis; he is also invoking the broader legacy of the American gothic. August Feldner is both William Wilson, wandering through a house haunted by doubles and other selves, and Young Goodman Brown, making deals with a devil who is more honest and insightful than the hero. *No. 44*'s final exposure of August recalls the tragicomic fate of Ichabod Crane; while his postmodern rendering of history—nothing but games, costumes, and masks ~ echos Emily Dickinson's giddy post-mortem flirtations. At the beginning of a new century and at the end of his life, Twain returns to the gothic landscapes of earlier American fears to test the power of his humor to mediate them.

In the mad laughter of their villains or the mysterious smiles of their heroes, Poe and Hawthorne invert the Emersonian sublime: rather than being "glad to the brink of fear," they are horrified to point of laughter. Mark Twain ~ like these

literary forefathers ~ cultivates the imaginative link between humor and horror. However, unlike Poe and Hawthorne, Mark Twain ~ in works such as *Huckleberry Finn*, *Connecticut Yankee*, and even *The Gilded Age* ~ translates the rage and horror which inspires the gothic into sustained social and political satire. In these novels, Twain's sense of humor has a redemptive potential; in its punishing response to American culture, it suggests the ability to effect change. Twain's humor, to use the language of his autobiography, "signifies."

All this changes in No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*. Although there are moments in the narrative, as well as in the preceding versions of it, when Twain seems to be directing his energies toward his favorite targets ~ the stupidity of religious belief, the privilege of wealth, the hypocrisy of the clergy, the madness of God ~ in the end he forsakes his satiric project in favor of post-modern pleasure and play. At the conclusion of No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*, Twain declares that there is "no God, no universe, no human race, no heaven, no hell." In this sweeping nihilistic gesture Twain abandons not only these ontological structures, but his sense of humor as well.

(Panel, page 14)

(ryanam@lemoyne.edu)

Satouchi, Katsumi. *Osaka University*.

Mark Twain at Indiantown: Region, Nation, and Race in His Later Writings.

In this paper, I try to view Mark Twain's later works from a fresh perspective by mainly focusing on "Indiantown," a short sketch he wrote in 1899. Critics have long regarded this work as an unfinished fragment of little importance because it lacks a cogent story line; indeed, it is a series of portraits of representative citizens living in a small Southern town in the ante-bellum era. Moreover, "Indiantown" has been overshadowed by a much longer and more convoluted work, *Which Was It?* (1899–1906), a novel-length narrative with the same setting. However, "Indiantown" is no less important than its longer and more well-known version. A careful examination of "Indiantown" not only gives us more insights into *Which Was It?* but also sheds new light on what interested and haunted Twain at the turn of the century.

I begin my discussion by pointing out the possibility that "Indiantown," together with its revised version, might be the very last work of the so-called 'Mississippi writings,' which is usually considered to have ended with *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). Next, I focus on the portraiture of George Harrison, who is one of the town's respectable citizens and becomes the protagonist of *Which Was It?* After this, I proceed to the characterization of David Gridley, another citizen who seems to have been modeled after the author himself. This reexamination of the character sketches reveals Twain's sophisticated representation of the national history, and not just of his own life history. This perspective will also help us to answer the simple but fairly puzzling question, namely, why this small Southern town, which has absolutely no native inhabitants, is named Indiantown.

(Panel, page 5)

(satwain@aol.com)

Scharnhorst, Gary. *University of New Mexico*.

The "Lorio" Letters to the *St. Louis Daily Reveille*:

On Mark Twain, Minstrelsy, Mesmerism, and McDowell's Cave.

The Hannibal, Missouri, correspondent of the *St. Louis Reveille*, in a trio of brief letters published over the signature "Lorio" between April and July 1847, touches on several events in Samuel Clemens' adolescence. For the record, moreover, "Lorio" was almost certainly Orion Clemens, Sam's older brother by a decade, who had become the family breadwinner at the age of twenty-one upon the death of their father in March 1847.

On November 30, 1906, Clemens reminisced about the "first Negro musical show I ever saw. It must have been in the early forties. In our village of Hannibal we had not heard of it (Negro Minstrelsy) before, and it burst upon us as a glad and stunning surprise." He wrote in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* that the "first of all the Negro minstrel shows" to come to St. Petersburg "made a sensation." The first minstrel show to perform in Hannibal was almost certainly one mentioned by "Lorio" in his letter to the *St. Louis Reveille* dated April 27, 1847. As "Lorio" reported, "The small boys of our city were thrown into a high state of excitement this morning by the sudden appearance among us of the 'Sable Brothers,' and the subsequent pasting up, on all the corners, of big handbills, with big type in them," announcing their performances. The Sable Brothers, featuring the minstrel pioneer W. S. Cleveland, were the only minstrel troupe Clemens is known to have seen while growing up in Hannibal.

In his autobiographical dictation for December 1, 1906, Clemens reminisced about the "exciting" visit of a "mesmerizer" to the village of Hannibal over fifty-five years before. He thought the year was 1850. "As to that I am not sure," he allowed, "but I know the month ~ it was May." The date of the mesmerizer's visit may now be more firmly established by a "Lorio" letter:

it occurred in May 1847. As “Lorio” reported to the *Reveille* on May 20 of that year, “two gentlemen” arrived in Hannibal “a few days ago,” one to lecture on mesmerism and the other to practice it on townspeople selected from the audience. Clemens was only eleven years old at the time. His age is significant because of the role he played as the subject of the mesmerist and his ridicule of mesmerism or hypnotism in his later works. As he explained in his autobiographical dictation, he believed that he had been “fourteen or fifteen years old ~ the age at which a boy is willing to endure all things, suffer all things, short of death by fire.” In fact, he was three years younger than he remembered. As the subject of the mesmerist, Clemens simply acted out of impulse, and the mesmerist went along with the ruse, claiming he was ordering the child around telepathically. When his engagement closed “there was but one person in the village who did not believe in mesmerism, and I was the one,” he reminisced. He was to remain “an implacable and unpersuadable disbeliever in mesmerism and hypnotism for close upon fifty years.” In both *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, mesmerism is nothing more than pseudo-science and a confidence game. Ironically, when Clemens confessed to his mother thirty-five years later that he had merely pretended to be hypnotized, she refused to believe “that I had invented my visions myself; she said it was folly: that I was only a child at the time and could not have done it.”

Virtually everything published in the nineteenth century about McDowell’s Cave, two miles below Hannibal and named for the St. Louis physician who owned it, was gleaned from three sources: chapter 29 of *Tom Sawyer*, chapter 55 of *Life on the Mississippi*, and Clemens’ autobiographical dictation. A final “Lorio” letter to the *St. Louis Reveille* on July 28, 1847, antedating *Tom Sawyer* by nearly thirty years and Mark Twain’s autobiography by sixty, however, corrects some of the legends that accreted around the cave. For example, the claim that Dr. McDowell stored ammunition there in the event of an invasion by the Union army proves to be slightly inaccurate: he cached weapons there a generation before the Civil War not against an invasion by Yankees but in case of an invasion by Mexican soldiers during the Mexican-American War.

(Panel, page 10)

(gscharn@unm.edu)

Sharlow, Gretchen. *Elmira College Emeritus.*

Additions and Corrections: Refining the Legacy of the Cranes.

Mark Twain’s sister-in-law and brother-in-law, Susan Langdon Crane and Theodore Crane, are two of the most unappreciated players in the chronicles of Mark Twain biography. While there are a number of important references to the Cranes in the 1912 authorized biography by Albert Bigelow Paine, what follows is near invisibility, especially for Theodore, lasting well into the late 20th century. When the Cranes or their home, Quarry Farm, are mentioned by early Twain scholars, the information is scant or inaccurate.

There are only three references to the Cranes in Justin Kaplan’s 1966 Pulitzer Prize winning biography, *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain*. Laura Skandera Trombley’s *Mark Twain in the Company of Women* (1994) is the first to give details of Susan’s life, also acknowledging her as a life-long trusted member of the Clemens family. Most recently, Ron Powers’ 2005 biography, *Mark Twain: A Life*, correctly recognizes Theodore as a “great friend [to Mark Twain] and a quietly important one.” Still, both of these fine biographies contain errors concerning Quarry Farm.

Many of the inaccuracies, particularly those relating to Quarry Farm, are because of misinformation and misunderstanding about the fact that Susan was the adopted daughter of Jervis and Olivia Lewis Langdon. The misinformation began as early as August 1870, with an erroneous report published in both the *Elmira Saturday Evening Review* and the *Buffalo Express* entitled, “The Late Jervis Langdon. The Facts of His Biography ~ His Business Operations ~ How His Fortune Was Acquired and How He Left It.” The report is a thorough account of just what the title states, except for one outstanding error in a sentence regarding the dispersal of Jervis Langdon’s estate. It reads “... the residue of the estate, real and personal property, is to be divided equally between his two children” (Olivia and Charles). The statement is wrong. The phrase “two children” is not in the Langdon Will. This early article with its mistake may be the catalyst causing years of misunderstanding about Susan’s place in the Langdon family, and the belief that she did not receive an equal share of the money in her father’s estate, because she was adopted.

The details about Susan’s biological family were discovered in 1990. The facts about her parents, their deaths, her adoption as a young child, and her life-long communication with one of her siblings present a picture of an honorable family with ties to the early Langdon family through the Congregational Church in nearby Spencer, New York.

The Cranes’ obscurity in the early biographies is due in large part to what Justin Kaplan referred to as “Clemens’ domestic idyl, which he celebrated publicly but kept closed to all but the intimates...” The Cranes were members of the home circle, the “domestic idyl.” Significantly, Quarry Farm remained in the Langdon family as a private home until the 1982 gift of the property to Elmira College. Like the “Sleeping Beauty,” the story of the Cranes and Quarry Farm was protected, hidden away, carefully guarded, and eventually obscured.

Twain scholars have long endorsed the Clemens' family letters as manuscripts, providing true pictures of the real people, without posturing or masks. The letters written by Susan and Theodore Crane to the Clemens family provide valuable insights into the dynamics of this close family circle. Several previously unpublished letters provided in this paper will further enrich Mark Twain's biography.

Theodore Crane died on July 3, 1889 at the age of 58. With his death ended a twenty-year period that has become known as "the halcyon years." Theodore's stroke and ten-month painful struggle affected not only Mark Twain's schedule for completing *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, but also his decision to have the Yankee die from natural causes rather than from suicide.

Susan Crane was widowed at age 53. She lived to be 88, outliving her husband by thirty-five years, her sister by twenty years, and Samuel Clemens by fourteen years. From the time that Samuel Clemens entered her family, until her death in 1924, she continued to provide ardent support to the Clemens family, then later to its legacy.

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(gsharlow@stny.rr.com)

Silva, Reinaldo. *Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal.*

From Colonial Myopia to Cosmopolitan Clear-sightedness: The Influence of Europe Correcting Mark Twain's 'Visual Disorders.'

In *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, Matthew Frye Jacobson has noted how in America the eye that has witnessed European immigrants arriving on its shores was not always a mere physical organ but a means of perception conditioned by the tradition in which its possessor was reared. Mark Twain is a case in point since he was shaped by this reality and started out as a writer with a colonial mindset. Through the years, and as he became a more seasoned writer, he evolved into a more open-minded man towards Otherness. From the early accounts of his travels to Europe and the Holy Land in *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) to *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), Twain's 'visual disorders' were gradually corrected through exposure to European refinement, culture, art, different languages and people.

This paper will look into the complications of Clemens's encounters with otherness, or the realities of the places where this "blindness" is supposedly in evidence, especially in technologically backward countries such as Portugal in the mid-nineteenth century ~ and elsewhere ~ as described in *The Innocents Abroad*. For Twain, any society lagging behind technologically and economically was subject to the customary "colonial gaze" that Homi Bhabha has noted. Twain's perceptions on Otherness and race, however, did not remain static; instead, they changed while the years he lived in Europe turned into decades and he was more and more exposed to European cosmopolitanism ~ especially in London and Vienna. This essay aims at examining this changing process, that is, how his views shifted from one extreme to the other, gradually erasing his myopic view of Otherness and his colonial mindset

(Panel, page 3)

(reinaldosilva@ua.pt)

Smith, Thomas Ruys. *University of East Anglia, Norwich, United Kingdom.*

"The Mississippi was a virgin field": Mark Twain and Postbellum River Writings, 1865-1875.

Interviewed during his 1895-6 lecture tour about his role as the "prophet of the Mississippi," Mark Twain did not hesitate to assert his claim to the river's imaginative copyright: "I was the only one who wrote about old times on the Mississippi. Wherever else I have been some better have been there before and will come after, but the Mississippi was a virgin field." In the intervening years, this adoption of the dual mantles of prophet and pioneer has largely been taken at face value. The relationship between Twain and the river remains proverbial, and at times the two can seem virtually synonymous. As Philo and Leslie Read put it in 1940, "The whole age of the charming, intriguing, villainous, romantic, old-time Mississippi River is summarised in one name: Mark Twain." But as appealing as it might be, this reading of Twain's imaginative relationship with the Mississippi River is only partial. Indeed, it risks allowing Twain to ossify into none other than Sergeant Fathom, his youthful satire of steamboat pilot and river authority Isaiah Sellers: a figure who has "an exhaustless fund of funny sayings; and [...] an ever-flowing stream, without beginning, or middle, or end, of astonishing reminiscences of the ancient Mississippi."

This paper, then, seeks to interrogate the aura of exceptionalism surrounding Twain's Mississippi and read his earliest river writings back into the postbellum literary context from which they emerged. For despite Twain's assertion to the contrary, the Mississippi was not "a virgin field" when he came to write about it ~ and this was something that he himself made eminently clear at other moments. This is most notable in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), throughout which Twain is highly engaged with the river accounts of those who had gone before him. In his genetic study of that work, Horst Kruse has presented

the most thorough account of those literary interactions ~ in particular, Twain's fascination with the European travel accounts of the river that proliferated in the antebellum years. In an undated letter to James Osgood that Kruse dates to the middle of 1882, Twain requested, "I wish you would set a cheap expert to work to collect local histories of Mississippi towns & a lot of other books relating to the river for me." Widespread reading in the antebellum literature of the river was, therefore, a vital part of Twain's imaginative claim to the river. Research was as necessary as experience in his evocation of the Mississippi.

In this paper, the process that Kruse started in relation to *Life on the Mississippi* will be developed. Twain's relationship to antebellum river writings may have been documented, but what remains elusive is a sense of his connection to the river writings of his contemporaries, and the ways in which the river still remained a prominent, inter-textual presence in the postbellum period. For when Twain was embarking on his earliest significant Mississippi writings in *The Gilded Age* (1873) and "Old Times on the Mississippi" (1875), there was no shortage of competing accounts of the river. These include but are not limited to: John Disturnell's tourist's guide to the Upper Mississippi and John Dillon's account of the river for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, both published in 1866; a *Harper's Weekly* pictorial profile of the river in 1867; James Noyes' account of the river's natural history and culture for *Putnam's Monthly* in 1868; George Ward Nichols' account of a journey "Down the Mississippi" for *Harper's New Monthly* in 1870; Ralph Olmstead Keeler's journey along the Mississippi for Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *Every Saturday* in 1871; Edward Eggleston's evocation of the river in *The End of the World* (1872); the river's appearances in *Picturesque America* (1872-4); Edward King's influential account of the Mississippi in his "Great South" series for *Scribner's Monthly* in 1873 and 1874; and John O'Connor's account of old times on the Mississippi in his gambling memoir, *Wanderings of a Vagabond*, published in 1873.

The purpose of this paper is not to argue that Twain was necessarily acquainted with each of these texts (though in some cases that seems highly likely); rather, it will contradict the idea that the Mississippi was a "virgin field" in the post-war period before Twain commenced his river writings. It will begin the task of reconstructing the context in which Twain came to write about the Mississippi, examining the work of the wide variety of his contemporaries who also engaged with the river; and it will explore their diverse connections to Twain and his work, questioning, finally, what made Twain's vision of the Mississippi definitive.

(Panel, page 5)

(thomas.smith@uea.ac.uk)

Stern, Bezalel. *Independent Scholar*; *New York, New York.*

Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Perils of American Jurisprudence.

Pudd'nhead Wilson is a strange, conflicting novel. The novel at once chronicles a triumphal legal success as well as the ultimate failure of the legal system in the macro sense of the term. In this paper, I will analyze the final trial of the book ~ which is also the novel's defining moment. The trial scene of the novel is the one in which all of the book's major characters are transformed: Tom Driscoll, the upper class white man, becomes Chambers, the black slave; Chambers, in turn, becomes Tom Driscoll; and "Pudd'nhead" Wilson, the village idiot, becomes David Wilson, the town hero. All of these fundamental alterations are accomplished within the confines of the courtroom. Twain, in making the legal system and its trappings the core of his novel, and the lynchpin around which his book's world turns, is making a fundamental argument concerning the workings, morality, and usefulness of the American legal system. This paper will attempt to show what that argument is.

I believe that Twain is consciously focusing on the trial at the conclusion of the novel as a critique of American law. In Twain's introduction to the novel, "A Whisper to the Reader," he somewhat satirically focuses his attention ~ and thereby focuses ours ~ on the trial scenes of the novel: "A person who is ignorant of legal matters is always liable to make mistakes when he tries to photograph a court scene with his pen; and so I was not willing to let the law chapters in this book go to press without first subjecting them to rigid and exhausting revision and correction." The methods of the author's "exhausting revision and correction" of the "legal matters" mentioned is subsequently shown to be wholly inadequate: "they [the legal chapters] were rewritten under the immediate eye of William Hicks, who studied law part of a while in southwest Missouri thirty-five years ago and then came of here to Florence...He was a little rusty on his law."

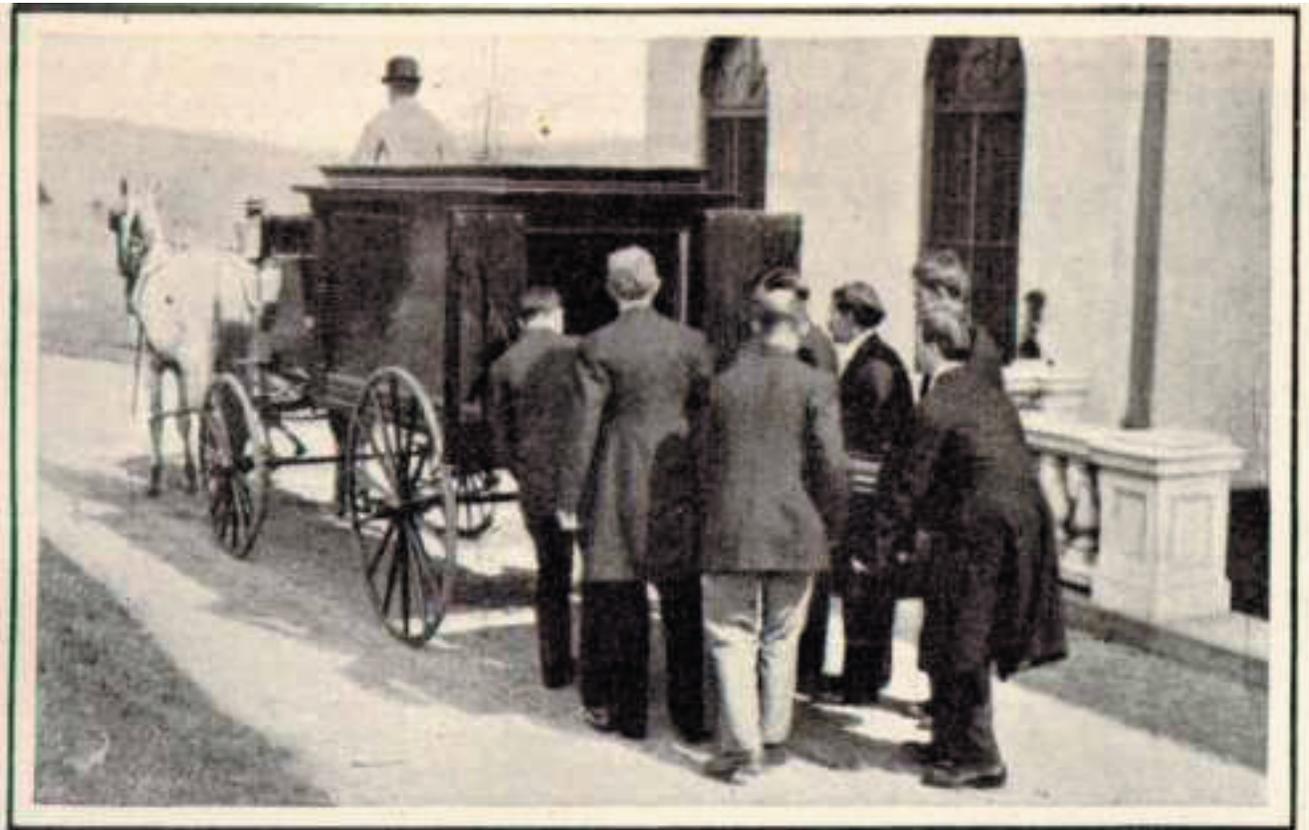
This introduction works in a similar manner as Twain's introduction to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. There, Twain writes: "Persons attempting to find a motive in this narrative will be prosecuted, persons attempting to find a moral in it will be banished, persons attempting to find a plot in it will be shot." In *Huckleberry Finn*, arguably Twain's masterpiece, there is much to learn: there is clearly a motive, a plot, and a moral. By supposedly deemphasizing these aspects of the text, Twain is in fact reemphasizing them. By telling the reader not to look for a moral, the reader is reminded that such things as morals are to be found in stories. By highlighting the absence of motive, the reader is ~ consciously or no ~ made more aware that motive can and will be found in the text.

In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Twain gives his 'expert lawyer' the country bumpkin name "Hicks," makes him an expatriate who therefore has no close contact with the American legal system, and has him study the law only haphazardly in a rural backwater before ceasing to practice (if he ever practiced at all) for over three decades. Twain here, as in *Huckleberry Finn*, is deemphasizing then, his knowledge of and interest in the law, thereby rhetorically highlighting the value and importance of the law to the text itself, to the story Twain wants to tell, and to the message he wants to impart through that story. By telling the reader that he knows nothing of the law, Twain rhetorically emphasizes and underlines the centrality of the legal devices used in his text.

Understanding Twain's argument, then, necessitates an analysis of the trial that is the core of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. This paper will thus involve a close reading of that trial, and an analysis of the trial's historical and literary antecedents. What the trial at *Pudd'nhead Wilson*'s center stands for, and what it represents regarding Twain's views of both the American and the distinctly Southern legal systems, will be the focus of this paper.

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(bezalel@gmail.com)



Mark Twain's body being removed from his home at Redding for burial in New York

Takashima, Mariko. *Independent Scholar; Chiba, Japan.*

"Twain's Interest in Japan through His Friendship with Edward House Around the 1870s."

Twain's interest in Japan first becomes apparent in public in his reports for the *San Francisco Daily Alta California* in 1867. It was when his first platform lecture on the Sandwich Islands in New York City coincided with the premiere of Maguire and Risley's Imperial Japanese Jugglers and Acrobats. They were the first Japanese entertainers abroad on their way to the Paris "Universal Exposition" after the announcement of an end to the ban on oversea travel, study, and trade by the Bakufu, the Edo Government of Japan. Interestingly enough, it was around the same time when Twain became friends with Edward Howard House (1836-1901), who also shared an appreciation for the Japanese Troupe.

House provided Twain with a direct link to Japan, as he had been working there since 1870, as a foreign correspondent for the New York *Tribune*, and became an English teacher at Daigaku Nanko, forerunner of the University of Tokyo. In answering House's request for publishing a book on Japan, Twain introduced Elisha Bliss, Twain's subscription book publisher, to him. We can assume that Twain got interested in Japanese culture through such books as Mitford's *Old Tales of Japan* and Humbert's *Le Japon Illustré* which House had mentioned in his 1873 letter to Bliss. However, other than the *Alta* letters, there is very little mention of Japan or Japanese either in Twain's articles or letter reports despite the fact that Twain had two of House's Japanese students stay at his Hartford house that year.

As for his literary works, though only an assumption, the influence of Humbert's *Le Japon Illustré* could be inferred in some of the illustrations in *A Tramp Abroad* (1880). In addition, Mark Twain's interest in Japan is evident in his personal correspondence with David Gray in Buffalo, a mutual friend of Twain and House, Elisah Bliss, and Susan L. Warner, wife of Charles Dudley Warner. The most interesting one among this correspondence is his 1880 Christmas letter to Susan, where Twain's drawing of the Sphinx "thrown a Japanese cast" was enclosed.

The title of the enclosed drawing in random French is "(Study from Still Life) ~ Le Repos en Egypte. par S.L.C." In his explanation from the letter, it is a caricatured Sphinx with a face of a male Japanese in traditional Japanese armour "Yoroi," and a man Twain called "Brer Joseph" sitting on the Sphinx appears to be Rev. Joseph Twichell. On the right side of the drawing, Twain himself is lying by a mule. Why did he draw such a humorous and unusual Sphinx, and send it to Susan? Is there a hidden message? Obviously Twain must have had a particular reason in sending it to Susan, whose husband is his Hartford neighbor, co-author of *The Gilded Age* (1873) and editor of the Hartford *Courant*, and who like Twichell, sometimes watched over the two Japanese boys' high school life in Hartford.

In his 1880 Christmas Eve letter to William Dean Howells in passing Twain wrote of Twichell that their private talk with General Grant in New York a few days before, on the matter of continuing the Chinese Educational Mission, had been quite successful. Twain had become intimate with Grant since meeting him with Howells and House in Boston and inviting him to a Hartford Republican rally in October in 1880.

The remaining correspondence between Twichell and Twain makes no mention of Japan or Japanese, but some does between Twichell and House. Twichell, who had kept in touch with House's two Japanese students even after their graduation from Hartford Public High School, received several copies of the *Tokio Times* from House in Japan, its editor and publisher. In the October 1877 issue of the *Tokio Times*, House reprinted Clara Louise Kellogg's *Scribner's Monthly* article "Some Japanese Melodies," where the music of the performances of the Japanese Troupe in New York ten years before was discussed. In fact, in 1879, in the *Tokio Times* House featured General Grant's visit to Japan, and in May, 1880, he reprinted some sections of Twichell's article "The United States and China ~ The Situation." As his closest friend in Hartford, Twain could have got some information on House or Japan, from Twichell.

In my presentation, by examining Twain's, House's, and House's adopted Japanese daughter Koto's correspondence, I will discuss how Twain's interest in Japan developed through their friendship as well as solve the riddle of Twain's Sphinx. (Panel, page 2) (t-mariko@r4.dion.ne.jp)

Waguri, Ryo. *Kyoto Koka Women's University*.

She Knew It, Too: "Dissection By The Doctors!"

Mark Twain's father, John Marshall Clemens died in 1847 and his body was possibly cut open by doctors, perhaps by Orville Grant and Hugh Meredith. It was dissection for medical purpose, not for autopsy. Samuel Clemens confessed it to Olivia Langdon before their marriage.

His body was dissected, since he was a very poor freethinker. If he had been a rich Christian, his body would have been buried undisturbed in Hannibal's Baptist cemetery. Since he had fallen into poverty, the operation may have been part of a deal that allowed his family to continue living in the upper part of Dr. Grant's house. Dr. Grant might have dissected the body for the financial support of the Clemenses. In the late nineteenth century the increasing number of medical schools made human bodies in short supply, and many bodies of the poor and non-Christian people, especially those of African Americans and Native Americans, were secretly purchased for scientific purpose. His body must have been dissected because of his financial condition and for his rational belief of freethinking, not for any purported sexual disease. The doctors wanted to dissect the body for their medical studies, and perhaps Jane Clemens reluctantly offered it to them.

Olivia Langdon came to know the fact, at latest, by May 17th, 1869, when Samuel Clemens wrote a letter to her, which tells of his fear of illness, death, and "dissection by the doctors!"² In this letter Clemens wrote about the dissection out of the blue, and this sudden mention leads us to assume that Clemens had confessed it to Olivia Langdon before this letter. Furthermore, through Sam's using "the doctors," not "doctors," she was able to identify who the doctors were. Olivia and Sam came to an understanding that John Clemens's body was dissected by the identifiable doctors since he was a very poor freethinker.

Olivia's knowledge of the dissection led her to delete Jim's "Ghost" story from Chapter Nine of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, and to obscure Injun Joe's identity as a resurrectionist in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. All of Twain's family liked reading cruel and breath-taking episodes in Twain's writings, and Twain attempted to write about dissection, for example, the dissecting rooms in *The Gilded Age*, the trader of human bodies in "The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut" (1876), and the grave-robbing Dr. Robinson in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. But he never gave a full description of dissection, partly because of Olivia Clemens's "edition" and partly because of the anguish that the dissection of his father's body for money caused Twain.

Twain tried repeatedly sublimating the memory of his father's death into literature, but it was all in vain. Twain could never cut himself away from his childhood memories. In the years after his wife's death, Twain returned to his boyhood days in the stories like No. 44, *The Mysterious Stranger*, "Villagers of 1840-3," and "Jane Lampton Clemens." As one example of trying to confront the pain of his earlier memories, in the "Villagers of 1840-3" Twain made only an obscure confession in a segment called "The autopsy."² His boyhood memories, especially painful ones, obsessed him all his life.

Twain harbored the haunting fear of his own dissection from his young manhood through his last days, and his fear became one of the reasons why he continued to be a respected Christian. His obsession with money making, may in part be attributed to the fact that his father's body was dissected because of his poverty and belief. Whether this was true or not, Mark Twain believed so, and Olivia Clemens understood his fear. rwaguir@mbk.ocn.ne.jp

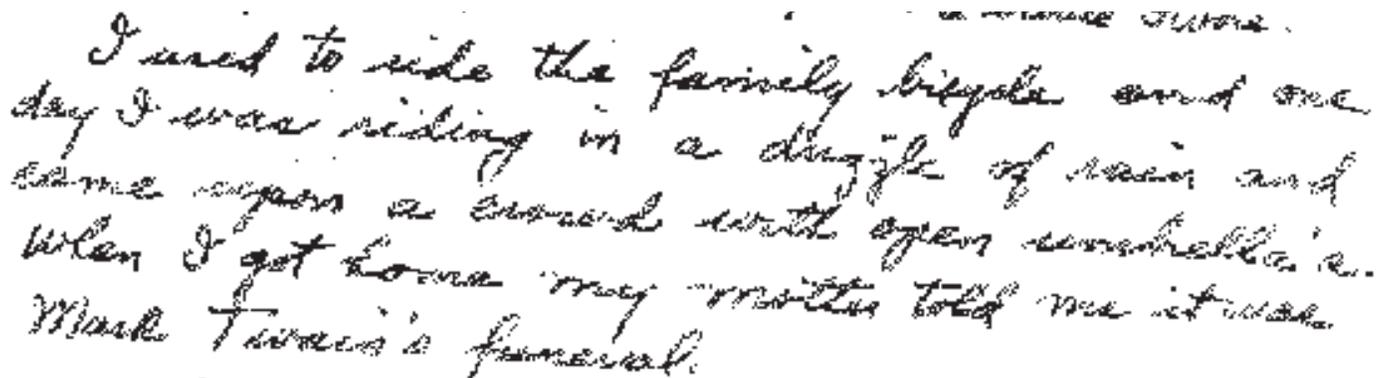
Indians.

¹To Olivia L. Langdon, 17 and 18 May 1869, in *Mark Twain's Letters*, Volume 3: 1869. Victor Fischer, and Michael B. Frank eds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, p. 239.

²"Mark Twain," *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among Indians and Other Unfinished Stories*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

(Panel, page 9)

(rwaguri@mbk.ocn.ne.jp)



I used to ride the family bicycle and one day I was riding in a drizzle of rain and came upon a crowd with open umbrellas. When I got home my mother told me it was Mark Twain's funeral.

From the memoirs of Gertrude Geisser Poppleton (1893-1986), an Elmira resident, who, as a seventeen-year-old girl, witnessed the funeral of Mark Twain. (Courtesy of her daughter, Suzanne Hollowell.)

Weil, Susanne. Centralia College.

Shoot'Em-Up at the Marketplace of Ideas: Samuel Colt, Hank Morgan, and the "Explosive Character of Capitalism" in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*.

Playing the utopian fiction game with an 1880s audience, Twain could expect readers to see the parallels between his Colt Armory foreman and the Armory's original owner, Hartford's most famous entrepreneurial son. This paper explores the significance of those parallels, focusing on Colt's business practices and, particularly, his relationship to his workforce. Of course, Colt is far from the only figure on whom Twain drew for his Yankee: others have noted the impact of Grant, Tesla, Edison, and Barnum, and elsewhere I have detailed the influence of Carnegie and Twain's own business (mis)adventures. Given all this, Hank seems Twain's deliberately constructed 19th century *ubermensch*. Yet examining how the Colt material, in particular, captures the "explosive" conflict which economic historians Heilbroner and Singer find implicit in capitalism may

help explain how Twain could let Hank betray his dream of a peaceful revolution. My interpretation of how the Colt material affects the *Yankee* draws different conclusions than Diana Curtis' 2006 analysis: I will argue that, at least in 1889, Twain did not view Hank ironically, despite the narrative's many contradictory statements of values and the carnage that appalls modern readers. Rather, he saw his Yankee as a tragic hero from an era in which progress was virtually a religion and entrepreneurial success its holy grail.

(Panel, page 14)

(sespewild@aol.com)

Werner, Erich. *University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill.*

A Telephone in Maine, a Heart in San Francisco: Twain, Technology, and the Body.

Mark Twain was an infamous technophile, a gadget-lover who claimed that his telephone was the first installed in a private residence anywhere in the world ~ and who also nearly bankrupted himself investing in the Paige Compositor. Twain's almost childlike enthusiasm for technology is evident in his fiction, particularly his "telephone" stories: "A Telephonic Conversation," (1880) and "The Loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and Rosannah Ethelton" (1878).

As many scholars have noted, in his fiction Twain expresses profound excitement about the new experiences made possible by technology, and particularly "the transfer of the human essence ~ character and spirit ~ over long distances" (Camfield). I would add that the telephone stories also examine the complex (and sometimes problematic) interface of technology and the human body, exploring how technology changes how bodies work, how bodies interact with one another ~ and even what meanings bodies take on.

My readings of these stories, and of *A Connecticut Yankee*, suggest that relationships between technology and the body provide a promising avenue for future Twain scholarship, and may even grant his work a new relevance, as the continuing acceleration of technology and particularly biotechnology compels us to revisit the very issues Twain explored more than a century ago.

(Panel, page 4)

(werner@unc.edu)

Worthington, Leslie. *Gainesville State College.*

Huck Finn Rides Again: Reverberations of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in William Faulkner's *The Reivers* and Cormac McCarthy's *Suttree*.

In a eulogy for his friend, William Dean Howells called Mark Twain "the Lincoln of our literature" (84). In addition to exalting Twain to hero status, Howells's statement also implies that Twain set American literature free. Twain was indeed a writer who brought about change, and his influence did not end with his death in 1910. This influence, especially on American writers, carried on through the twentieth century and continues into the twenty-first. Shelley Fisher Fishkin says, "Mark Twain indelibly shaped our view of who and what the United States is as a nation and who and what we might become. He helped to define the rhythms of our prose and the contours of our moral map" (7). William Faulkner dubbed Twain "the father of American literature" (qtd. in Jelliffe 88).

This presentation examines the intertextual significance of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* to the work of two of his many heirs, William Faulkner and Cormac McCarthy. McCarthy's novel *Suttree* furthers what Leland S. Person calls The Huck Finn Tradition, but McCarthy also transforms what he has absorbed from Twain. Faulkner's *The Reivers* can be seen as a link in the literary chain of influence between Twain and McCarthy. Many parallels between *Huck Finn* and *Suttree* are obvious, but these are made more interesting and coherent with *The Reivers* as the evolutionary missing link.

According to Jerome Charyn, Cormac McCarthy's *Suttree* gives us a sense of river life that reads "like a doomed *Huckleberry Finn*." The river has lost its kind edge. It's now "the slow voice of ruin" (14). In vital ways, McCarthy's novel seems superimposed upon Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Robert L. Jarrett calls *Suttree* "a tour de force of psychological complexity, a modern Huck Finn" (viii). Huck has grown into Sut, and the homogenized rural and small town world along the Mississippi River in *Huckleberry Finn* has given way to the reality of McAnally Flats. McCarthy propels Twain's story a hundred years ahead. Despite Bloom's assertion that "Huck of course is never going to be an adult" (*Modern Critical Interpretations* 3), Huck becomes Sut. And Jim becomes Ab Jones, Tom becomes Gene Harrogate, the Widow Douglas and Miss Watson become Sut's father and family, the Grangerfords become the Reeses, the Duke and Earl become Joyce and Margie, and the Mississippi River becomes the Tennessee River. The world of the 1840s transitions to that of the 1950s, and a reader can consider American prototypes, the "Huck mythology" (Bloom, *Modern Critical Interpretations* 3), in this modern age.

Placing Faulkner as a link in the chain of direct influence can stabilize intertextual connections between Twain and McCarthy. Richard B. Woodward says McCarthy does not "dispute" his "debt" to William Faulkner. Mark Royden Winchell

speculates that McCarthy in Suttree was “trying his damndest to write like Faulkner...” (305). Undoubtedly, Faulkner admired Twain. “In my opinion,” he said “Mark Twain was the first truly American writer, and all of us since are his heirs, we are descended from him” (qtd. in Jelliffe 88), and Faulkner scholars have not failed to point out connections they find between the works of the two authors.

During Faulkner’s twenty-year discussion with editors and publishers, he referred to *The Reivers* as “the Huck Finn novel” (135). Faulkner has practically invited readers to make the connection between the two works, and many have, some in print, most notably William Rossky in “*The Reivers and Huckleberry Finn: Faulkner and Twain.*” Rossky says even “a rather casual examination reveals a number of specific, and perhaps at first sight specious yet ultimately significant, parallels between *Huckleberry Finn* and *The Reivers*” (374). For Bloom, *The Reivers* “explicitly presents itself as a revision of Twain’s masterpiece” (*Mark Twain’s Adventures of Huckleberry Finn: Bloom Notes* 6).

Twain’s reverberations in Faulkner’s and McCarthy’s fiction are persistent and pervasive. However, although they have been noted by many scholars, usually they have not been pursued much beyond brief mention. In this presentation, I hope to investigate this intriguing chain of literary influence.

(Panel, page 11)

(lworthington@gsc.edu)

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

“Quite worthy of the company of the best”: William Dean Howells and the Development of Mark Twain’s Literary Reputation.

In the December 1869, William Dean Howells wrote an unsigned review of Mark Twain’s *The Innocents Abroad* in the *Atlantic Monthly*, a key location of literary discourse, which moved Mark Twain out of the position of a mere popular humorist into a new realm of literary discussion. Howells’s review ended with a statement that nicely foreshadowed the question of Twain’s literary status: “Under his *nom de plume* of Mark Twain, Mr. Clements (sic) is well known to the very large world of newspaper-readers; and this book ought to secure him something better than the uncertain standing of a popular favorite. It is no business of ours to fix his rank among the humorists California has given us, but we think he is, in an entirely different way from all the others, quite worthy of the company of the best” (766). The review had two major consequences: first, it led to the lifelong friendship between the two men, and second, it made the question of Twain’s literary reputation a subject of critical discussion.

This paper traces the development of Mark Twain’s literary-critical reputation in the *Atlantic Monthly* from this first review in 1869 to Howells’s major critical evaluation of Twain, in the *Century* magazine, in 1882. During these years, Mark Twain went from California humorist to “the most popular humorist who ever lived,” largely through the critical writings of William Dean Howells. The eventual acceptance of Twain into the canon of American literary respectability was most dramatically achieved, this paper will argue, through Howells’s redefinition of Twain from a regional newspaper humorist to a representative of a true American humor. Howells’s criticism envisioned two possibilities for American humor—the merely popular that was only of the moment and the artists that would be of permanent value. By arguing for Twain’s inclusion in the second group, Howells helped place Twain in both a specific vision of American literature and argued for the inclusion of Twain’s humor in a version of literary realism.

A number of scholars have argued for the key importance of understanding the magazine cultures of the post-Civil War era. In these “culture of letters,” to use Richard Brodhead’s phrase, the production, distribution, and reception of a certain literary activities were promoted as normative ideals of “literature.” The *Atlantic Monthly* was the major post-war site of a specific New England-based culture that established certain forms of literary activity and certain cultural values. For some, the presence of Twain in these magazines was a concession to the market forces of publishing and popularity. For Howells, however, Twain’s humor represented something important about the possibilities of humor as a positive intellectual force in American culture. By redefining the meanings of Twain’s humor, Howells helped to reshape his image and redefine the critical discussion surrounding his work.

While Twain scholars have long understood the importance of teasing out the different forms of humor Twain used in his writing, similar attention has not been paid to the way critics defined Twain’s humor, creating cultural definitions that circulated widely and affected the ways that readers understood Mark Twain as a cultural figure. This paper will analyze Howells’s writings on Mark Twain as a way of furthering our understanding of the connections between these key literary figures.

(Panel, page 17)

(wustert@gmail.com)

Yamamoto, Yuko. *Independent Scholar; Hyogo Prefecture, Japan.*

Mark Twain and Modern Japan: Southern Honor and Samurai Revenge *Adauchi*.

In Japan's feudal past, *adauchi* was the samurai rite of revenge. In the Edo period (1603-1867), the government and manor lords approved and even encouraged *adauchi*, or revenge against a murderer who had killed one's elder relative. The samurai upheld his family honor through revenge by duel, risking his life. Feudal Japanese enthusiastically praised the avengers. *Adauchi* was featured in commercial news-sheets with admiration, and dramatized in stories and plays, which enjoyed great popularity. Mark Twain also dramatized certain revenge murders for honor, which actually happened in the old South. Unlike the feudal Japanese, Twain showed a rather negative response to this kind of retaliation. This paper will compare and contrast Twain's treatment of ritual revenge in his works with how it is portrayed in modern Japanese Literature.

Twain described in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* how American Southerners had been cursed with a long-established custom of retaliating for injuries and insults: antebellum gentlemen challenging offenders in attempts to maintain their honor. Under the honor culture, as Twain himself witnessed, Southerners adored Walter Scott and his historical romances like *Rob Roy* and *Ivanhoe*, and introduced the aristocratic practice of the duel from the Europe.

Apparently under the sway of the Southern honor culture, Laura Hawkins shoots George Selby in *The Gilded Age*, Injun Joe takes revenge on Dr. Robinson in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, and Roxana seeks vengeance on her white masters in *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*. All avengers, Laura, Injun Joe, and Roxana are not entitled to Southern honor revenge because of their sex or race, even if they fight fairly against their offenders. Desperate to recover their dignity through the archaic and futile means of vengeance, the oppressed avengers end in misery.

It is noteworthy that Laura, Injun Joe, and Roxana sacrifice themselves for vain revenge, in the age of reason and strict legal justice. After all, the law prohibits violent revenge as evil and uncivilized. In *The Gilded Age*, *Tom Sawyer*, and *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Twain highlights detailed court scenes, where defendants are explicitly tried under the rational logic of law. Yet the courts cannot rationalize nor settle the uncontrollable passion and fate that drive the Southern belle, the Native American, and the female slave to tragic revenge. Through the feudalistic avengers, Twain displayed the irrationality and the absurdity that Americans could not escape, despite their rigid preoccupation with law and practicality.

Adauchi revenge, however tragic, was honored, until after the Edo period, when feudalism ended and Japan introduced constitutional law in 1889, modeled after modern Western law. By the time the samurai class's honorable custom of *adauchi* had spread even to the common people. It is a historical fact that anyone, including women, children, and even beggars, could and did partake in *adauchi* duels. But suddenly Japanese were placed in similar situation with the American old South: even though newly enacted laws following Western precedent prohibited revenge killing for honor, feudal *adauchi* culture persisted. Subsequently Japanese writers began reevaluating avengers in the context of a westernized legal justice, and modernizing *adauchi* literature.

Mark Twain's works are helpful to bring new light on the modernized *adauchi* literature. Nowadays, modern Japanese have accepted pragmatism and the westernized legal justice, and find *adauchi* avengers unreasonable and cruel. Nonetheless, *adauchi* is still popular as a motif in novels and movies in Japan. Twain discovered inescapable irrationality and absurdity in the tragic avengers, when people seemingly acquiesced to the rational rule under law codes. We learn from Twain's works that Japanese also have tried to bury emotional and absurd nature under a rigid legal system, but failed. Modern Japanese writers justify pragmatism and a modernized legal justice, whereas they project their inconsistent attachment to human frailty and absurdity into *adauchi* avengers.

(Panel, page 3)

(yukouy@yahoo.co.jp)

Zehr, Martin. *Independent Scholar; Kansas City, Missouri.*

A Case of the Stretchers: Mark Twain's Impact on the Writing of Willa Cather

The influence of Mark Twain on the writing of Willa Cather has been noted by writers such as Eudora Welty and Twain scholars like Tom Quirk. Shared elements of their personal histories, moreover, reinforce the notion of both as representative "Western" writers and, at first glance, the assumption that Twain's writings comprised a significant influence on Cather does not appear to be far-fetched. The comparison, however, is strained and barely survives sustained scrutiny. Their respective views of the American West, politics, racial issues and the "art" of literature would hardly have been conducive to a collegial relationship, had they been contemporaries.

In her later years, Cather would take pains to assert her admiration for Twain's work, but the endorsement is suspect, based on Cather's own statements regarding Twain and the lack of stylistic or subject matter elements in her own writing which would support the hypothesis of a literary link. Even Cather's own praise for Twain is suspect, appearing to be motivated by

factors other than genuine admiration for his work.

The themes of tradition and the honoring of custom, in the context of a world inevitably changing for the worse, are a common focus in the works of Cather, notable examples including *Death Comes for the Archbishop* and *Shadows on the Rock*. Tradition is also the focus of Twain's efforts, except that it is most often a target, to be sighted, undermined, and, when possible, destroyed, as in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. Twain, who openly despised the work of Walter Scott, even to the extent of blaming him for the Civil War, would have wondered at the reverence with which Scott's works were read by Cather. The linking of both authors, finally, in any convenient category, must be regarded as an exercise in irrational literary exuberance, or, in the vernacular, dependent on "stretchers."

(Panel, page 11)

(mdzehr@att.net)

END NOTE

“The report of my death was an exaggeration”

Several variations exist of what Mark Twain said or is supposed to have said in this, his most famous aphorism.

Robert Hirst, General Editor of the Mark Twain Project at the University of California, Berkeley, provides the following explanatory commentary on the evolution of Twain's famous phrase:

“There isn't any question, really, that what [Twain] originally said to Frank Marshall White, reporter for the *New York Journal* was:

James Ross Clemens, a cousin of mine was seriously ill two or three weeks ago, in London, but is well now. The report of my death was an exaggeration.

“That text survives in his holograph, presumably the piece of paper he actually handed to White. And White's telegram to the *New York Journal*, published on 2 June 1897, reproduced that text almost verbatim:

James Ross Clemens, of St. Louis, a cousin of mine, was seriously ill two or three weeks ago in London, but is well now. The report of my illness grew out of his illness. The report of my death was an exaggeration.

“Clemens also made a nearly verbatim record of what he said in his notebook for 2 June 1897 (quoted in *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers*, note 3, p.282).

“The confusion arises, however, because when Clemens recollected this incident in an Autobiographical Dictation of 3 April 1906 (published badly in *Mark Twain in Eruption*, pp. 252-53), he recalled that he told White to “Say the report is exaggerated.” And when revising this typed dictation for publication in the *North American Review*, he inserted the word “greatly” before “exaggerated.” It's obvious to me why he did this: it made the famous line stand by itself much more clearly than the original could. The actual words written/said at the time require the build-up of the sentence about James Ross Clemens. The quotation takes longer to get to the point, and it also embodies Clemens's genuine talent for understatement.

“When Paine talked about this he added his own corruption to the text: “Just say the report of my death has been grossly exaggerated” (MTB, 2:1039). I don't think there's any reason to rely on Paine's version, although it's possible that he was reporting yet another version articulated by Clemens.”

Please enjoy the accompanying image of the original typescript page, from the *Autobiography* manuscript in the Mark Twain Papers, on which Mark Twain has revised his famous saying by inserting the word “greatly.” It was published that way in the *North American Review*, 21 September 1906, vol. 183, p. 460.

The 2009 Planning Committee chose Mark Twain's original wording because it is self-intelligible as it stands.

- Dr. J. Ross Clemens, now of St. Louis -

the one. It was another Clemens, a cousin of mine, who
 was due to die but presently escaped, by some chicanery
 or other characteristic of the tribe of Clemens. The
 London representatives of the American papers began to
 flock in, with American cables in their hands, to in-
 quire into my condition. There was nothing the matter
 with me, and each in his turn was astonished, and ~~was~~
^{Disappointed,}
~~to find~~ to find me reading and smoking in my study
 and worth next to nothing as a text for transatlantic
 news. One of these men was a gentle and kindly and grave
 and sympathetic Irishman, who hid his ~~grief~~^{sorrow} the
 best he could, and tried to look glad, and told me that
 his paper, the Evening Sun, had cabled him that it was
 reported in New York that I was dead. What should he
 cable in reply? I said--

"Say the report is ^{greatly} exaggerated."

He never smiled; but went solemnly away and sent
 the cable in those ~~words~~ words. The remark hit the
 world pleasantly, and to this day it keeps turning up,
 now and then, in the newspapers when people have occa-
 sion to discount exaggerations.

The next man was also an Irishman. He had his New

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.. 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 internet access.

Quarry Farm Fellows have access to a fully equipped kitchen and laundry. Linens are provided. The pantry and refrigerator will be stocked with a few basic 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 connected to 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 two sets of preferred dates for the residency. Please include a resume and two letters of reference. For more information, please contact twaincenter@elmira.edu.



Photo by Ann Cady '97

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