

ELMIRA 2022

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE STATE OF MARK TWAIN STUDIES

Thursday, August 4 to Saturday, August 6, 2022

*What is the most rigorous
law of our being? Growth.*

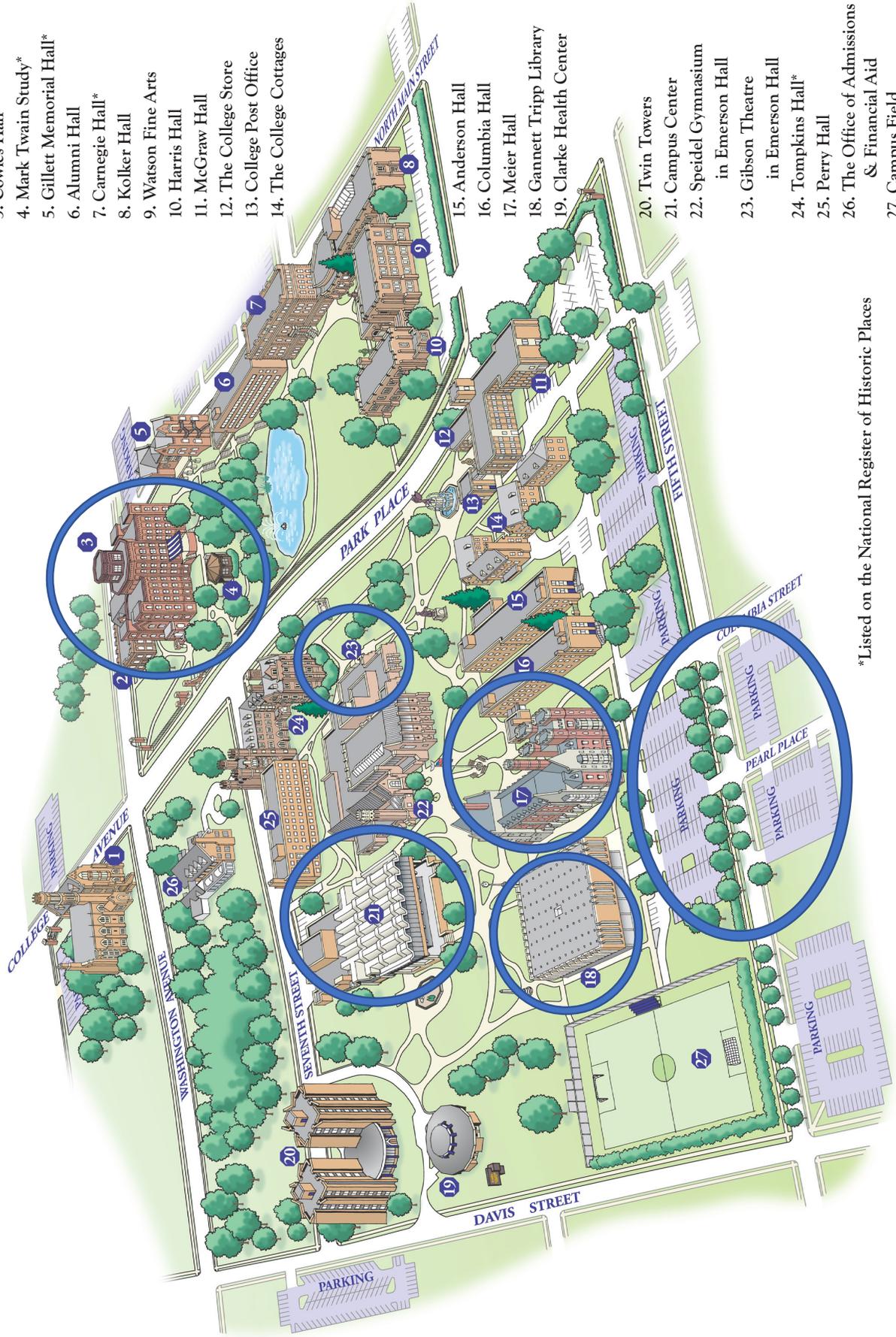
*Wm. Tracy Clemens
Sam'l Clemens
Mark Twain*

July '77.

An important focus of the quadrennial conference will be the scholarly discussion of how the field of Mark Twain studies might grow and change in response to changing conditions in the academy and in the world.



1. Hamilton Hall*
2. Fasset Commons*
3. Cowles Hall*
4. Mark Twain Study*
5. Gillett Memorial Hall*
6. Alumni Hall
7. Carnegie Hall*
8. Kolker Hall
9. Watson Fine Arts
10. Harris Hall
11. McGraw Hall
12. The College Store
13. College Post Office
14. The College Cottages



15. Anderson Hall
16. Columbia Hall
17. Meier Hall
18. Gannett Tripp Library
19. Clarke Health Center
20. Twin Towers
21. Campus Center
22. Speidel Gymnasium
in Emerson Hall
23. Gibson Theatre
in Emerson Hall
24. Tompkins Hall*
25. Perry Hall
26. The Office of Admissions
& Financial Aid
27. Campus Field

*Listed on the National Register of Historic Places



Elmira 2022: The Ninth International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies

Conference Planning Committee

Conference Co-Chairs

Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Stanford University*

Tracy Wuster, *University of Texas at Austin*

John Bird, *Winthrop University*

Jocelyn Chadwick, *Harvard University*

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

Susan K. Harris, *University of Kansas*

Tsuyoshi Ishihara, *University of Tokyo*

Ronald Jenn, *University of Lille*

Holger Kersten, *Martin Luther University*

Selina Lai-Henderson, *Duke Kunshan University*

Judith Yaross Lee, *Ohio University*

Joseph Lemak, *Elmira College*

James S. Leonard, *The Citadel*

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

Matt Seybold, *Elmira College*

Seema Sharma, *University of Mumbai*

Special Thanks

The Mark Twain Foundation

The Renée B. Fisher Foundation

Mark Twain Circle of America

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Center for Mark Twain Studies Staff

Joseph Lemak, *Director*

Charlie Mitchell, *Professor of American Studies*

Matt Seybold, *Associate Professor of American*

Literature and Mark Twain Studies

Steve Webb, *Quarry Farm Caretaker*

Program Artwork

The artwork on this year's program cover was designed by Elmira College's Jan Kather, Professor of Media Arts. Professor Kather was a member of the CMTS staff under Dr. Herb Wiseby, CMTS' first director.



WELCOME TO ELMIRA COLLEGE AND ELMIRA 2022!

Dear Mark Twain Studies Scholars,

On behalf of the Center for Mark Twain Studies and Elmira College, it is my pleasure to welcome you to The Ninth International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies!

The conference theme is “Growth” and I cannot think of a more appropriate one. As you all know, we had to postpone this event for one year due to situations beyond our control, and even now we face daily challenges as we change and grow in this mid-21st century world. Even though our famous author wrote some of his texts more than a 150 years ago, Mark Twain Studies continues to adapt to our ever changing contemporary world. The papers, presentations, and discussions that will take place over the next three days reflect the depth and variety of research associated with Mark Twain Studies. No other American author has inspired such a diverse range of meaningful scholarship and creative work. I hope this conference reflects not only the breadth and quality of the current field, but also its resilience, adaptability, and ever-growing potential.

I want to personally thank you for attending Elmira 2022. I am aware of the unusual challenges it took to come to Elmira, the home of the Langdons, Quarry Farm, and the Clemens family’s final resting place. Thank you. I am confident our event will be filled with inspiring papers, stimulating conversations, and lots of friendship, both old and new!

-Joseph Lemak, Director for the Center for Mark Twain Studies

Welcome, Twainiacs,

Quite a lot has happened since we last gathered, either here in Elmira or anywhere else. In the spirit of the theme Shelley and Tracy have chosen for this year’s conference, I would like to focus on what has happened at the Center for Mark Twain Studies during the past five years. Namely, growth.

Often spurred by our strategic planning, but also frequently forced by unexpected events, we have seen our mission and our programming continuously expand since 2017. On the ground in Elmira, we have added a Summer lecture series at the Park Church, and turned both the Quarry Farm Fall Symposium and the Summer Teachers Institute into annual affairs. It’s hard to believe, but we have hosted more Symposia since 2018 than in the entire history of CMTS prior to that point.

Simultaneously, our digital programming has grown exponentially. When we last met in 2017, MarkTwainStudies.org was less than a year old. While we immediately recognized the platform had great potential, none of us imagined how it would evolve. It is now the hub for thousands of essays, lectures, interviews, teaching aids, testimonials, documentaries, and more. We are proud to host digital editions of David Fears’s *Mark Twain Day By Day*, Charles Neider’s *Mark Twain & The Russians*, Frank Kelsey & Laura O’Connor’s *Drinking With Twain*, and Frederick Douglass’s “The Lessons of Emancipation To The New Generation.”

Before the end of 2022, there will be more than one million visitors to the site, streaming more than 500 hours from our YouTube channel and many more from our audio archive, and downloading over 100,000 episodes of *The American Vandal* Podcast, which has charted in the Books category on Apple Podcasts in fifteen countries, rising as high as #2. CMTS digital productions have been cited by *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian*, *HBO*, *MSNBC*, *Vox*, *Reuters*, *The Associated Press*, and many more.

Twain scholars remain the core audience for MarkTwainStudies.org content, while also playing a crucial role as authors, speakers, and editors. Thank you for your contributions and we look forward to many more collaborative projects which contribute to the ongoing growth of Twain Studies!

-Matt Seybold, CMTS Scholar-in-Residence

SCHEDULE AT A GLANCE

Wednesday, August 3

8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m. Registration Meier Hall, Morris Classroom

Thursday, August 4

8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m. Registration Meier Hall, Morris Classroom
8:00 a.m. - 8:50 a.m. Full Breakfast Campus Center, Dining Hall
9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m. Session One *See Page 6 for Locations*
10:30 a.m. - 11:50 a.m. Session Two *See Pages 6 and 7 for Locations*
12:00 p.m. - 12:50 p.m. Luncheon Buffet Campus Center, Dining Hall
1:00 p.m. - 2:20 p.m. Session Three Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater
2:30 p.m. - 3:50 p.m. Session Four *See Pages 7 and 8 for Locations*
4:00 p.m. - 5:20 p.m. Session Five *See Page 8 for Locations*
5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m. Happy Hour Campus Center Portico
6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. CMTS Awards Dinner Campus Center, Dining Hall
8:15 p.m. - 9:15 p.m. "All The Twains Meet" Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater
9:30 p.m. - 12:00 a.m. Cash Bar Meier Hall, Basel Lounge

Friday, August 5

8:00 a.m. - 8:50 p.m. Full Breakfast Campus Center, Dining Hall
9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m. Session Six *See Page 10 for Locations*
10:30 a.m. - 11:50 a.m. Session Seven Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater
12:00 p.m. - 12:50 p.m. Luncheon Buffet Campus Center, Dining Hall
1:00 p.m. - 2:20 p.m. Session Eight *See Page 11 for Locations*
2:30 p.m. - 3:50 p.m. Session Nine *See Page 12 for Locations*
4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. Session Ten Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater
5:30 p.m. - 6:45 p.m. Happy Hour Campus Center Portico
5:45 p.m. - 6:45 p.m. The Mark Twain Players Campus Center, Tiff Lounge
7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. Dinner Campus Center, Dining Hall
8:15 p.m. - 9:15 p.m. Keynote Speaker: Jimmy Santiago Baca Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater
9:30 p.m. - 12:00 a.m. Cash Bar Meier Hall, Basel Lounge

Saturday, August 6

8:00 a.m. - 8:50 a.m. Full Breakfast Campus Center, Dining Hall
9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m. Session Eleven Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater
10:30 a.m. - 11:50 a.m. Session Twelve *See Page 14 for Locations*
12:00 p.m. - 12:50 p.m. Luncheon Buffet Campus Center, Dining Hall
1:00 p.m. - 2:20 p.m. Session Thirteen *See Page 15 for Locations*
2:30 p.m. - 3:50 p.m. Session Fourteen *See Page 14 and 15 for Locations*
4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Session Fifteen Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater
6:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m. Quarry Farm Picnic Quarry Farm

Sunday, August 7

8.00 a.m. - 12:00p.m. Meier Hall Checkout Meier Hall, Morris Classroom

Wednesday, August 3

8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m. Registration *Meier Hall - Morris Classroom*

Thursday, August 4

8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. Registration *Meier Hall - Morris Classroom*

8:00 a.m. - 8:45 a.m. Full Breakfast *Campus Center - Dining Room*

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m. SESSION ONE

Paper Session: La Familia Clemens: Susy, Jean, Nina

Campus Center, Tifft Lounge

Terry Oggel, Panel Chair

“Susy Clemens: The Final Years (1890-1896)”

Linda A. Morris

“For the Sake of Growth and Change: My Inconsistent Look at the Life of Jean Clemens”

Philip Bauer

Nina Gabrilowitsch: Actress, Writer, Photographer”

Alan Rankin

Flash Session: “The Changing Landscapes of Author Societies and Other Academic Organizations”

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

David E.E. Sloane, Panel Chair

Ben Click

Tsuyoshi Ishihara

Judith Yaross Lee

Bruce Michelson (organizer)

Jeanne Campbell Reesman

Tracy Wuster

10:30 a.m. - 11:50 a.m. SESSION TWO

Paper Session: Mark Twain and God

Campus Center, Tifft Lounge

Jeanne Campbell Reesman, Panel Chair

“‘Nothing Remains the Same’: Mark Twain’s Ever-Evolving Religious Views”

Dwayne Eutsey

“Avatar of God: Mark Twain versus the Moral Sense and the Implications for the Contemporary World”

George Cabanas

“Death and the Afterlife in ‘Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven’”

Seth Murray

Flash Session: “Mark Twain Studies: Surviving Change, Embracing the Future”

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

Linda A. Morris, Panel Chair

Erin Bartram

Susan K. Harris (organizer)

Myrial A. Holbrook

James W. Leonard

Matt Seybold

Mika Turim-Nygren

12:00 p.m. - 12:50 p.m. Luncheon Buffet *Campus Center, Dining Room*

1:00 p.m. - 2:20 p.m. **SESSION THREE**

Paper Session: Changing Constructions of Mark Twain from the 1950s to the 1980s

Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater

Jeffrey Melton, Panel Chair

“Time for Change: Mark Twain in US School Textbooks, 1950s–1960s”

Tsuyoshi Ishihara

“How Hal Holbrook’s Understanding of Mark Twain Grew and Changed Over Time: The First Decade”

Shelley Fisher Fishkin

“*Big River*, Lighting Out for the Tonys”

Mark Dawidziak

2:30 p.m. - 3:50 p.m. **SESSION FOUR**

Paper Session: New Interventions in Twain Biography

Campus Center, Tift Lounge

Joseph Lemak, Panel Chair

“‘Mr. Stanley, I presume’: Mark Twain’s 1872 Visit to England and His Growth as a Writer”

Judith Yaross Lee

“Of Time and Quantum Mechanics in *Roughing It*”

Jeff Steinbrink

“Evidence for a New Becky Thatcher”

Katherine Frost

Paper Session: No Longer Unknown: Reconsidering Twain's Neglected Works

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

James Caron, Panel Chair

“Twain's Philosophical Aphorisms for the Damned Human Race: Maxims Toward a Deterministic Philosophy”

Ben Click

“Her adored moral half-breed’: Mark Twain's Refracted *Autobiography* and His ‘Playing Indian’”

Atsushi Sugimura

“Mark Twain on *Christian Science*”

David Bianculli

4:00 p.m. - 5:20 p.m.

SESSION FIVE

Paper Session: The Living, Breathing, Talking, Playing, Lying Mark Twain

Campus Center, Tiff Lounge

Tsuyoshi Ishihara, Panel Chair

“Talking is the thing’: Mark Twain's Bold Experiment in Empowering Women's Voices”

Kerry Driscoll

“Mark Twain Lying in Bed”

James Caron

“*Huckleberry Finn*'s ‘Effect of Indigeneity’: Native Erasure in Law and Literature”

Mika Turim-Nygren

Paper Session: Mark Twain Reading/Reading Mark Twain

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

Larry Howe, Panel Chair

“Reading the Postbellum in Twain's ‘Whittier Birthday Speech’”

Robert Arbour

“Absolutely fresh’: Revising Francis Galton in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*”

James W. Leonard

“Mark Twain, Comically Adapted: The Role of Comic Books and Graphic Novels in Twain's Legacy”

Myrial Holbrook

5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

Happy Hour

Campus Center Portico



Finger Lakes Distilling, a local craft distillery, is proud to participate in Elmira 2022. FLD is a New York State Farm Distillery, which means they are a small operation making a handcrafted product. They use locally grown fruits and grains to make high quality, handcrafted spirits.

Because of their size, they are able to devote all of their attention to everything they make; they don't take any shortcuts. Their flavored vodkas and liqueurs are made in the traditional manner, by soaking real fruits in the spirit. They don't add extracts or synthetic flavoring to speed up the process. Their whiskies rest in oak barrels for as long as they need to, until they mature into the rich aged spirit they offer with pride.

Conference attendees are invited to sample and purchase selections offered by Finger Lakes Distilling during the Friday evening Happy Hour.

5:45 p.m. - 6:45 p.m.

The Mark Twain Players

Campus Center, Tift Lounge

Performance of "The Invalid's Story," followed by
Dennis Eddings, "Poe, Twain, and Limburger Cheese" Revisited

6:45 p.m.

CMTS AWARDS DINNER

Campus Center - Dining Room

Conference Greeting
Joseph Lemak

Dinner

7:30 p.m.

Jervis Langdon, Jr. Awards Presentation
Henry Nash Smith Award Presentation
Joseph Lemak

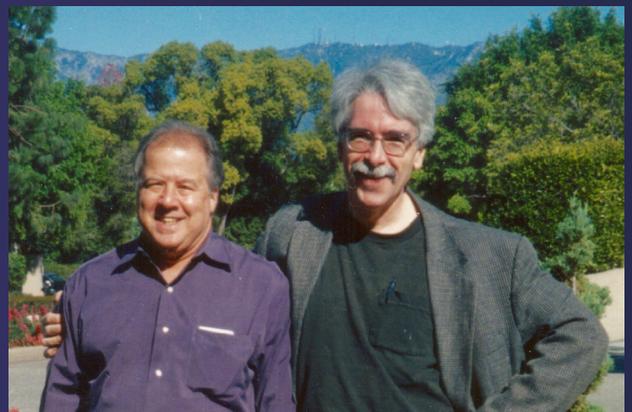
8:15 p.m.

"All The Twains Meet: The Film and TV Portrayal of Mark Twain"

Gibson Theater

David Bianculli and Mark Dawidziak

Tracing the portrayals of Mark Twain on film and television is a subject that can be analyzed chronologically, comprehensively, and respectfully. David Bianculli and Mark Dawidziak intend to do none of that. These two longtime television critics and Twain enthusiasts, armed with still photos and video clips, will provide a lighthearted and opinionated (and at times combative) tour of the various depictions through the decades of Samuel Clemens the author, the world traveler, the public speaker, the beloved humorist, and family man. The tour begins with his own 1909 Edison film appearance and concludes with such unexpected 21st century Mark Twain thespians as Val Kilmer, William Shatner, and Vanilla Ice.



Between stops, your Twain conductors will offer lots of observations and critiques – some serious, other frivolous (extra points will be awarded to those who can discern the difference). Which of Twain’s books inspired the most literary adaptations and which were the source for most of the stories featuring him as a character? Hint: they’re not the same works. While the great adaptations of Twain novels are few and far between, are there any great dramas about Twain himself? To find the answer to these and other questions, you must travel from the Ponderosa and Death Valley to the deck of the starship Enterprise and to the science-fiction realms imagined by Philip Jose Farmer for *Riverworld*.

While the daffier depictions of Mark Twain will earn well-deserved snickers for their absurdity and inaccuracy, other portrayals are rightly regarded as the best of the best. These tend to fall into one of two categories: the playful, youthful adventures of a young Sam Clemens, and the sad drama of his tragic later years. And bridging the two poles of the spectrum, brilliantly encompassing both comedy and drama, was Hal Holbrook’s portrayal of the author in the 1967 CBS version of his one-man stage triumph, *Mark Twain Tonight!* Of the fifty portrayals of Mark Twain covered in this overview, we save the best for last . . . because Hal Holbrook clearly is the best.

9:15 p.m. - 12:00 a.m. Cash Bar *Meier Hall - Basel Lounge*

Friday, August 5

8:00 a.m. - 8:45 a.m. Full Breakfast *Campus Center - Dining Room*

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m. SESSION SIX

Flash Session: Has Our Understanding of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* Grown and Changed?

Campus Center, Tift Lounge

Joseph Csicsila, Panel Chair

John Bird

Hugh Davis

Kerry Driscoll

Linda Morris

Paper Session: The Shifting Global Reception of Mark Twain

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

Judith Yaross Lee, Panel Chair

The Early Reception of Mark Twain in German-Language Newspapers and Periodicals:

New Material from Digital Resources”

Holger Kersten

“Mark Twain as Literary Anthropologist: *Letters from the Earth* and Cultural Relativism”

Kotaro Nakagaki

“*Huckleberry Finn*’s Hemispheric Tempest”

Timothy Donahue

10:30 a.m. - 11:50 a.m. SESSION SEVEN

Flash Session: Grief, Memory, and Mark Twain

Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater

Susan K. Harris, Panel Chair

Joseph Csicsila (organizer)

Paula Harrington

Jennifer Hughes

Jeanne Campbell Reesman

Chad Rohman

Tracy Wuster (organizer)

12:00 p.m. - 12:50 p.m. Luncheon Buffet *Campus Center, Dining Room*

1:00 p.m. - 2:20 p.m. SESSION EIGHT

Paper Session: The Ever-Evolving Mark Twain: New and Neglected Works

Campus Center, Tiff Lounge

John Bird, Panel Chair

“The Pursuit of Disappointment: Growth of Status and Growth of Delusion in
“The \$30,000 Bequest”

John Davis

“Mark Twain’s Failures as His ‘Neglected Texts’”

Takuya Kubo

“[H]e realized the shabbiness of his own self: Reading Children in Poverty in Twain’s
Adaptation Network”

Maggie E. Morris Davis

Paper Session: Global Contexts and the Changing Mark Twain

Paula Harrington, Panel Chair

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

“Why I Still Teach Twain in a Twenty-first Century Indian Classroom”

Seema Sharma

“Studying Mark Twain’s *The Diaries of Adam and Eve* from a Ghanaian Context”

Faith Ben-Daniels

“Russifying Tom, Huck, and Jim: Soviet Film Adaptations of Mark Twain’s Mississippi Novels”

Cassio de Oliveira

2:30 p.m. - 3:50 p.m. SESSION NINE

Flash Session: The Mark Twain Sites and Their Futures

Campus Center, Tiffit Lounge

Holger Kersten, Panel Chair

Kerry Driscoll, Mark Twain Papers and Project

Joseph Lemak, Center for Mark Twain Studies

James Lundgren and Henry Sweets, Mark Twain Boyhood Home and Museum

Pieter Roos, Mark Twain House and Museum

Paper Session: Global Perspectives on Mark Twain

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

Matt Seybold, Panel Chair

“Travel Is Fatal to Prejudice: The Rise of Mark Twain as a Social Critic and Fictive Abolitionist”

Hamada Kassam

“Perceptions of Mark Twain in the Arab World through Translation”

Asma Ahmad Asiri

“The Growth and Change of the Global Huck/Rosetta Project (2017-2021)”

Ronald Jenn

4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. SESSION TEN

Paper Session: New Perspectives on Teaching Twain Today

Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater

Tracy Wuster, Panel Chair

“Teaching Mark Twain Today: Updates from the CMTS Mark Twain Summer Teachers Institute”

Matt Seybold

“Like setting down on a bag of powder and touching it off just to see where you’ll go to’:
Reflections on 40 Years of Teaching Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*”

John Bird

5:30 p.m. - 6:45 p.m. Happy Hour *Campus Center Portico*

Sponsored by The Mark Twain Circle of America

7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. DINNER *Campus Center - Dining Room*



8:15 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.

ELMIRA 2022 KEYNOTE

Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater

Mark Twain Circle Awards Presentation
Harry Wonham

Keynote Speaker
Jimmy Santiago Baca

9:15 p.m. - 12:00 a.m.

Cash Bar

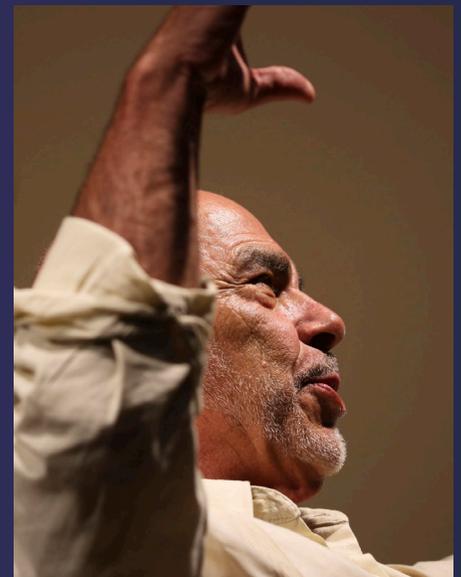
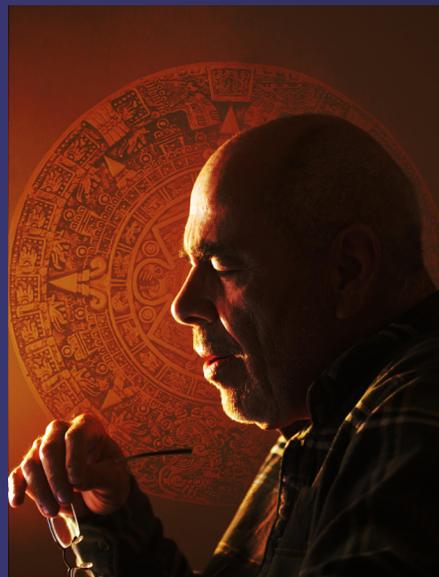
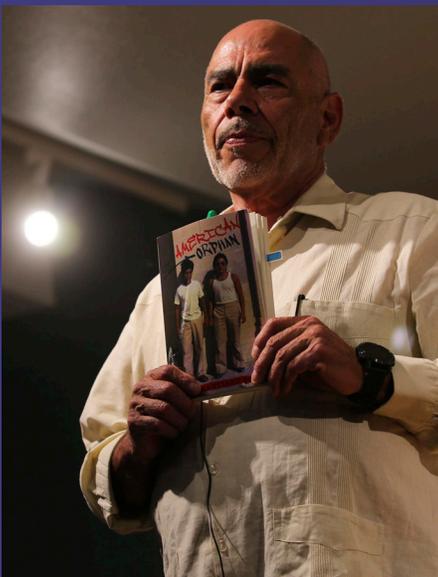
Meier Hall - Basel Lounge

Jimmy Santiago Baca is an award-winning American poet and writer of Chicano descent. While serving a five-year sentence in a maximum security prison, he learned to read and began to turn his life around, eventually emerging as a prolific artist of the spoken and written word.

Immigrants in Our Own Land, Baca's first major collection, was published in 1979. This early collection included "I Am Offering This Poem," a poem later reprinted in 1990's *Immigrants in Our Own Land and Selected Early Poems* and anthologized in *The Seagull Book of Poems*. In 1987, his semi-autobiographical minor epic in verse, *Martin & Meditations on the South Valley*, received the American Book Award for poetry, bringing Baca international acclaim and, in 1989, the Hispanic Heritage Award in Literature. He is a winner of the prestigious International Award for his memoir, "A Place to Stand," the story of which is now also a documentary by the same title.

"A Sense of Twain"

I read Twain when I was older, taken by his folksy articulation and how in the simplest words he brought the deepest feelings to the surface-- feelings of characters who were sometimes silent, kept to themselves, who showed more of who they were in their spicy humor and hard-earned wisdom. I was attracted by his using words to give a sense of place, a sense of person, a sense of soul and to this day I emulate him in my writing or at least keep him in the back of mind, for he taught me you don't have to be all configured and entangled in language to get across a deep meaning and passionate purpose-- it can get done in a few words, given as it is, by the river, the trees, by one's suffering, and one's dreams.



Photos of Jimmy Santiago Baca courtesy of Lonnie J. Anderson

Saturday, August 6

8:00 a.m. - 8:45 a.m. Full Breakfast *Campus Center, Dining Room*

9:00 a.m. - 10:20 a.m. SESSION ELEVEN

Flash Session: How Might Mark Twain Fit into An Anti-Racist Pedagogy?

Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater

Ben Click, Panel Chair

Shelley Fisher Fishkin (organizer)

Selina Lai-Henderson

Terry Oggel

Seema Sharma

David E.E. Sloane

10:30 a.m. - 11:50 a.m. SESSION TWELVE

Paper Session: Changing Views of Twain and Imperialism

Campus Center, Tiffi Lounge

Susan K. Harris, Panel Chair

“The Political Theatre in Mark Twain’s Illustrated Travel Works”

Harold Hellwig

“The [Real] American Game”: Twain’s Thoughts on Soft Imperialism in Cuba”

Rosie Click

“Only dead men can tell the truth in this world’: The Growth of Mark Twain’s Anger”

M.M. Dawley

Paper Session: New Understandings of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

Kerry Driscoll, Panel Chair

“Property and Freedom on the Mississippi”

Larry Howe

“Transbellum Perspectives in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*”

Kumi Ikoma

“From Spinnin’ Yarns to Spinnin’ Records: Mark Twain’s Phonographic Prescience”

Andrew Touma,

12:00 p.m. - 12:50 p.m. Luncheon Buffet *Campus Center, Dining Room*

1:00 p.m. - 2:20 p.m.

SESSION THIRTEEN

Paper Session: Changing Perspectives on *Pudd'nhead Wilson*

Campus Center, Tift Lounge

Nathaniel Williams, Panel Chair

“Two Stories Tangled Together’: The Double Brain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*”

Thomas W. Howard

“Mark Twain’s *Pudd'nhead Wilson*: The Tragedy of Nineteenth-Century American Race Law”

Terry Oggel

“Otherkin: The Emptying, Consolidation, and Protection of Whiteness in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*”

Elizabeth Upshur

Flash Session: How Do We Teach the Language of *Huckleberry Finn* Now?

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

Matt Seybold, Panel Chair

M.M. Dawley

Darryl Dickson-Carr

Larry Howe (organizer)

Michelle Robinson

Ann Ryan

2:30 p.m. - 3:50 p.m.

SESSION FOURTEEN

Paper Session: Mark Twain, Philosophy, and Morality

Campus Center - Tift Lounge

Chad Rohman, Panel Chair

“Huck Finn, Morality, and Racism”

Alan Goldman

“The Devil and Mark Twain”

Elizabeth Cantalamessa

“Disgust, Contempt, and Animal Cruelty in Twain’s Later Writings”

Aleksandra Hernandez

Paper Session: Lit out for the Territory: New Approaches to *Huck* and His Sequels

Library, Tripp Lecture Hall

Bruce Michelson, Panel Chair

“Growing to Dislike Tom Sawyer: Sam Clemens’ Journey”

Nathaniel Williams

“Important Insights Extracted from the Direct Sequel to *Huckleberry Finn* & Their Impact Upon Mark Twain Studies”

Robert Slotta

“Jim at Huck’s Circus: Twain Stretches History and Reconsiders Race”

David Carlyon

4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

SESSION FIFTEEN

Emerson Hall, Gibson Theater

CMTS John S. Tuckey Award Presentation

Matt Seybold

Paper Session: Reconsidering Twain’s Relevance Today

Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Panel Chair

“Mark Twain’s Ten Lessons for a Workable Democracy: Or, Keeping the Republic”

Donald Bliss

“Predictive Satire: *Huckleberry Finn* and 21st Century Hucksters”

David Bordelon

“‘Treachery on Both Sides’: Mark Twain’s Lessons to Modern America on White Victimhood”

Virginia Maresca

“Darnella Frazier’s Smartphone & Mark Twain’s Notepad: The Vigilante Origins of American Police”

Matt Seybold

6:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.

QUARRY FARM PICNIC

Not only is the preservation of Quarry Farm paramount, but parking is limited. Please use the shuttle bus service located in the Meier Hall parking lot. Pick-up will start leaving the campus at 6:15 p.m. and will run continuously until 9:15p.m. See the campus map on the inside front cover for the location of the shuttle service.

Enjoy conversation with friends old and new. Visit the original site of the octagonal Study. With the Mark Twain ambassadors as your guides, walk through the first floor of Quarry Farm.

9:30 p.m. - 12:00 a.m.

Cash Bar

Meier Hall - Basel Lounge

Sunday, August 7

8:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. Meier Hall Checkout *Meier Hall, Morris Classroom*

8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. Farewell Breakfast *Campus Center, Dining Hall*

Conference attendees lodging in Meier Hall must depart by 12:00pm. Participants in the “From Seminar Paper to Publishable Article: A Workshop for Graduate Students and Recent PhDs” will remain in their same rooms.

For people who are still in Elmira on the afternoon of Sunday, August 7, you are invited to attend a Mark Twain-inspired musical performance at The Park Church. Founded in 1846 by a group of abolitionists, The Park Church maintains its strong social justice presence in Elmira. Founding congregants, including the Langdons, were close friends and family members to Mark Twain. It is known for its striking architectural features and fervent pastor, Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, who opened his study as Elmira’s first public library in 1876. Today it is a vibrant, progressive United Church of Christ congregation – open and affirming, welcoming all people to worship and participate in its communal life regardless of ethnic origin, race, class, age, ability, gender, or sexual orientation.

Jack Waddell

presents

Mark Twain's America with Deborah Dutcher

Sunday, August 7, 2022 - 3:00PM

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ABSTRACTS

(in alphabetical order)

INDIVIDUAL PAPERS

Robert Arbour (rarbour@shc.edu)

“Reading the Postbellum in Twain’s ‘Whittier Birthday Speech.’”
(Session Five)

No matter how outrageous a gaffe it actually was, Mark Twain’s 1877 Whittier birthday speech has long been considered the harbinger of a shift in American letters, pivoting with its parodic send-up of the Fireside Poets away from an older generation of authors, a genteel literary tradition based in the east, and a cultural vein of popular sentimental poetry. Whether Twain’s performance provoked ire because his western ruffians “carnivalize and thus parodically rewrite” polite fireside poetry in a demonstration of “the unruly, even darkly chaotic, nature of American culture,” as James Caron argues, or because Clemens presents the Fireside Poets “not only as easterners who had wandered west, but also as effete holdovers from an era that was fortunately vanishing,” as Joan Shelley Rubin contends, the speech and the subsequent condemnation of it both implied that the universality of fireside poetics had worn thin by the late 1870s.

It is this issue of timing that I would like to examine in my talk. Turning to the ways that Twain has his western roughs read poetry—which excerpts they choose, which mistakes they make, which circumstances surround their orations—I aim to suggest that Twain and this notorious speech are more responsible for our periodizing of nineteenth-century American literature than scholars have acknowledged. Much as *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* does with the mourning and consolation verse of Emmeline Grangerford, the Whittier birthday speech locates the disintegration of fireside sentimentality in the American Civil War itself, as Twain tacitly invites listeners, readers, and fellow authors in the 1870s and 1880s to share in a canonical memory of a realist literary tradition that rose up immediately upon the close of the war. This memory, however inaccurate, of a clean post-bellum break that Twain’s work conjures up is premised not simply on the obsolescence of genteel literary forms but on new practices for reading poetry in the United States, reading practices reflected in both the western impersonators that Twain describes and the same American newspapers which would issue critiques of the Whittier birthday speech. The speech and its reception, in late nineteenth-century periodicals and in literary scholarship, shed light on the roles that reading methods and literary mythologizing have played in the construction of the neatly delineated postbellum period in American literature.

Asma Ahmad Asiri (aasa22@sussex.ac.uk)

“Perceptions of Mark Twain in the Arab World through Translation”
(Session Nine)

There are several Arabic translations of Twain’s fiction which were produced in the 20th and 21st century around the Arab world. In my dissertation project, I am analyzing all the Arabic translations of Twain’s two best-known works, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. The earliest Arabic versions of these two works are the ones translated by Maher Nassim in 1956 and 1958, and published under the supervision of the Egyptian Ministry of Education. The latest Arabic versions of them are the ones translated by Jihad Alshabini in

2018, published in Lebanon by Dar Alrafidain and in Kuwait by Takween. As one may notice, these translations were published in two different periods: the mid of 20th century and the early 21st century in different Arab regions, i.e., in Egypt, Lebanon and Kuwait.

This paper, then, will explore the considerable differences between these Arabic versions, and even between the original works and the translated ones. For instance, Twain famously introduced his book by stating, “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.” However, Twain was introduced to the Arab readers in the earliest Arabic version of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Twain, 1958, p. 4) as a reformer author, with Nassim stating that, “all Twain’s works attempt to make the society better, and to take out its mistakes and faults.” The translator of this version made significant changes, additions and omissions to the original text. Thus, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was perceived at that time as an educational story which can be taught to young people in schools.

Nassim, the translator, and Abdulrahman, the editor, suggested that Twain treated the social problems with humour which did not merely aim at entertaining people but at social reforming. Moreover, Nassim and Abdulrahman indicated that the Egyptian Ministry of Education has chosen this work to be translated because it depicts human life accurately. They believed that it aims at improving one’s self and motivation, and giving the priority to his/her goodness despite all other temptations.

On the other hand, the translator of the latest Arabic version of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (2018) has dealt with the text as a historical document. The publisher of this version states that Twain was writing about his childhood during slavery. The publisher explained that this was what happened to the African Americans who were brought from the western Africa as slaves. The publisher indicates that Mark Twain did not challenge slavery directly, but he wrote about it in a satirical style. The publisher concluded that such a work clarifies the dominance of literature which supports the rights and freedom.

By exploring the differences between Twain’s texts and these translations, and the differences among the translations, my presentation will explore some of the different views of Twain’s works in the Arab world through translation. I investigate how translation of Twain’s works have been affected by social and cultural norms, editorial and publishing policies, and imagined desires of their target readers. Thus, I will examine the factors affecting the process of translation of Twain’s work in the light of the biographical details of the translators such as their educational background and professions as well as the preface and translators’ comments, if available. I assume that a study of this type has not been attempted before.

Philip Bauer (pbauer6@bex.net)

“For the Sake of Growth and Change: My Inconsistent Look at the Life of Jean Clemens”
(Session One)

I will briefly tell how I got started studying Twain while helping out in a middle school language arts class which was reading *Tom Sawyer*. I will conclude that I felt a definite connection when I discovered that Andrew Carnegie had sent Twain a keg of wine from a winery on South Bass Island which is four miles out in Lake Erie from where I live. And secondly, when I found out that I frequently drive by a Chinese restaurant in Norwalk OH where Twain lectured in 1869..... Of course, he didn’t speak in the Chinese restaurant. That is what is there now at street level. Twain spoke in a community room on the third floor, which was torn down after being heavily damaged in a windstorm many years ago. Just the same, I felt a connection with Twain.

My wife and I have always had animals: dogs, cats, horses, and a donkey. So as I studied Twain, the animals led me to Jean. As I searched online and read Twain biographies by various authors, I discovered she was mis-charac-

terized by many, who referred to her as an invalid, sickly, institutionalized for years, etc. I will cite several of these references without mentioning the authors' names. But for all these "dark" shadows, there must be a bright object. Here's the bright side of Jean: charming, caring, intellectually brilliant, and athletic. I will give examples.

Jean was born in 1880. Suzy was eight and Clara was six. Mention of family dynamics. Sam and Livy doted on the newest daughter. I will read a brief story of Sam and four-year-old Jean taking a walk following cows at Quarry Farm; and also read parts of letters from Livy to Sam and Sam to Jean when she was 13 years old. I will suggest that such affection was gone from their letters after Jean began her epileptic seizures. But I am continuing to research this proposition.

I will skip to the time after Livy's death to talk about Jean's illness and how she dealt with it and how her father dealt with it. I will present a brief discussion of their time in Dublin NH where she was active most days, hiking, riding, and socializing. And her time at Katonah, where she again was active, hiking, sledding, skiing, playing tennis and squash. She was supposed to be avoiding excitement !!

I will talk about her months at Stormfield including a story written by an author, Coley Taylor, who remembered Jean from when he was a boy in Redding. I will note that Jean had many personality traits of Twain's mother (Jean's namesake) and Olivia. I will reference Twain's "Death of Jean" and close with a poignant, posthumous one-sentence answer from her.

Faith Ben-Daniels (faithbd41@gmail.com)

"Studying Mark Twain's *The Diaries of Adam and Eve* from a Ghanaian Context"
(Session Eight)

This presentation focuses on the nuances encountered by university students in Ghana during the study of *The Diaries of Adam and Eve* by Mark Twain as part of their texts under the course, World Literature. The study of Twain's work begins with an enactment of the text by students every academic year, which is then followed by a series of lectures where the text is discussed. This practice was begun by Professor Martin Owusu, who introduced the text and began teaching it as far back as the late 90s and even adapted a local version with musical performances for stage. Since then, *The Diaries of Adam and Eve* has thrived at the University of Ghana's School of Performing Arts and at my university (AAMUSTED), due to the fact that students identify with its universal subject matters such as misogyny, human fellowship, marriage, among others. Through discussions on marriage as well as other forms of human relationships, drawn out of students' immediate environment as well as their wider exposure, they are able to draw a connection to Twain's work by pointing out how the accounts of Adam and Eve reflect the traditional positioning of men and women in the Ghanaian society. It is important to state that students come from diverse background within the Ghanaian or African society where male dominance is loud in almost every aspect of life. This presentation will also highlight the relevance of the study of Mark Twain, among Ghanaian students, by drawing attention to Mark Twain's position and contribution to a crucible of literary ideas, development and historical contexts. Mark Twain serves as a central focus for the comparison between the old and the new in the discussion of human attitudes when it comes to misogyny. In order to keep such names on international curricula, there is the need to see the same being done by faculty for writers outside their geographical spaces.

David Bianculli (davidbianculli@icloud.com)

"Mark Twain on *Christian Science*"
(Session Four)

Many, though not all, scholars have tended to minimize Twain's vitriolic attack on the Christian Science religion, and in particular its founder, Mary Baker Eddy, in his 1907 book *Christian Science*. The book is a cobbled-together

hybrid of chunks of writing produced over different years, some originally published in different places. But that can be said of several Twain books, including *Life on the Mississippi* – and to me, *Christian Science*, with its different sections composed at different times, captures the author, Samuel L. Clemens, in different moods, aiming at different targets.

Sometimes, he's having fun with language and ridiculing what he considers unforgivably bad prose, as he had about a decade earlier with the hilariously scathing 1895 essay "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses." Other times, he's gently lampooning the basic tenets of the Christian Science religion itself. And in the final part of the book, written years after the other portions, Twain rails angrily about what he perceives as the deceptions and failings of Mary Baker Eddy herself. Those chapters are so venomous, so unremittingly personal, that they run counter to the objective, dispassionate observations and musings usually found under the name of Mark Twain.

Sam Clemens married Olivia Langdon, whom he called "Livy," in 1870, the year after the publication of his first book, *The Innocents Abroad*. She was 24. Eight years earlier, when she was 16, Livy had slipped on the ice and become an invalid, suffering partial paralysis and remaining bedridden for two years. She was cured, in terms even Twain wrote of as "miraculous," when a faith-healer visited young Livy, prayed with her, and exhorted her to sit up in bed, then take a few steps.

Livy had fallen, and fallen ill, in 1862, and remained bedridden until being "cured" in 1864. Two years later, in 1866, Mary Baker Eddy suffered a similar injury: She fell on the ice and sustained severe internal injuries. Yet though she was attended by traditional doctors and given morphine and other drugs to treat her pain, Eddy was convinced that it was her faith and prayer, rather than medicine and bedrest, that returned her to health. Her keystone work, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, was published in 1875, and the official creation of the Church of Christ, Scientist, followed in 1879.

Jump forward a couple of decades, and those early coincidences and parallels resound with newer, and louder, echoes. In 1896, Sam and Livy's daughter Jean is diagnosed with epilepsy, while another daughter, Susy, falls ill with meningitis. She resists traditional medical care at first, partly because she is in the care of family members with Christian Science beliefs, and dies that year, at age 24. Livy and Sam Clemens continue to pursue both traditional and nontraditional treatments for Jean's epilepsy, including Christian Science, but ailing health continues to plague the family, and Sam Clemens has to bear and witness one tragedy after another. In 1904, his wife Lily dies. In 1909, his daughter Jean dies, at age 29, after having a seizure while bathing on Christmas Eve. The surviving daughter, Clara, lives much longer -- until 1962, at age 88. And later in her life, just to add to the story, she adopts the Christian Science religion.

Twain's first salvo was written in the late 1890s as a two-part attack: one part comic burlesque, followed by a more philosophical examination and dissection of the Christian Scientist principles. In 1899, *Cosmopolitan* published only the first, humorous part of Twain's writings. The second half, the musings on the religion itself, didn't see print, this time in the *North American Review*, until 1902. *Christian Science*, the book, wouldn't see print until 1907.

The early chapters of *Christian Science* are amusing, and sometimes even generous and accepting, on the subject of what were called "mind cures." The later chapters, when Twain returns to the subject, are more scathing, less forgiving – and, yes, less witty. But they are neither less passionate nor less persuasive. It was partly in reaction to Twain's 1907 publication of *Christian Science* that, in the following year, a newspaper was launched that was designed, in part, to answer and counter the claims put forth in Twain's book, and by similar attacks on Christian Science and on Mary Baker Eddy. She was still alive, at 87, when the first edition of *The Christian Science Monitor* rolled off the presses in 1908.

John Bird (birdj@winthrop.edu)

“Like setting down on a kag of powder and touching it off just to see where you’ll go to’: Reflections on 40 Years of Teaching Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*”

(Session Ten)

Late in Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Huck decides, for the first time during his journey, that he must tell the truth. He makes this memorable simile, saying that telling the truth is “like setting down on a kag of powder and touching it off just to see where you’ll go to.” Given the controversial nature and history of Twain’s novel, teaching it, in secondary school or college, can seem just as dangerous. I will recount my 40-year history of teaching the novel, in both settings, including my mistakes, my remedies, and my advice for fellow teachers. I will also discuss a major change in my pedagogy that was born during an early Elmira conference, when I noted the differing ways Mark Twain scholars read Huck’s and other characters’ voices, the result being my presentation “Performing the Dialect in *Huckleberry Finn*,” which changed not only the way I teach the novel, but also has had an effect on secondary school teachers across the country through several NEH summer seminars I was involved in at the Mark Twain House and Museum in Hartford.

Huckleberry Finn has always been a dangerous text, often banned, often attacked, but nevertheless often taught, despite the perils. The danger has even increased in recent times, when calls for banning the teaching of Critical Race Theory will no doubt further the controversy. I think my experiences over the span of five decades will prove beneficial to others who voluntarily choose to sit down on this “kag of powder.”

Donald Bliss (donaldbliss@gmail.com)

“Mark Twain’s Ten Lessons for a Workable Democracy: Or, Keeping the Republic”

(Session Fifteen)

As a journalist, author, lecturer, and public commentator, Mark Twain used his global celebrity platform to apply a common-sense critique of American democracy. Through various media—from humor to novels to newspaper interviews—he spoke caustically and eloquently about the threats to our unique and unprecedented system of government, and he did so during that period of American history for which he coined the term *The Gilded Age*.

Twain’s first novel, written with *Hartford Courant* editor Charles Dudley Warner, was a roman à clef about the influence of money and lobbyists in Congress, greed and speculation in financial markets, the flaws in our criminal justice system, and Americans’ obsession with getting rich. *The Gilded Age, A Tale of Today* gave its name to the era (1870-1930) it describes and, according to many contemporary commentators, from Paul Krugman to George Will, to name just two, may well describe the era in which we live today. Commemorating the 100th anniversary of its publication, Pulitzer Prize-winning political historian Garry Wills wrote a *New York Times* essay: “Mark Twain has been gone 100 years, but his political wisdom endures.” As a history lesson, it is “Our Best Political Novel,” which “grows with every reading.” As Twain once wrote: “history repeats itself: whatever has been the rule in history may be depended upon to remain the rule.”

Given recent media, congressional, and public attention focused on contemporary threats to democracy—a dysfunctional Congress, voter suppression, partisan politics, the cultural divide, the role of the media, rising income inequality, and emerging international threats and aggression—this might be an opportune time to revisit the Mark Twain of the Gilded Age. There is no shortage of commentary, books, and articles on the challenges to American democracy today and recommendations on how to fix them. But as long as folks continue to quote Mark Twain to support their positions, it is worth a closer look at the common-sense wisdom of America’s home-grown political philosopher from another age, but an era from which we can learn from history if we are not to repeat it—as the philosopher George Santayana warns we are otherwise condemned to do.

Employing Mark Twain's own words, my paper will suggest a series of topics on which Twain has rendered advice that seems most relevant in addressing today's challenges to American democracy—including the importance of a well-informed and actively engaged electorate; an understanding of patriotism as loyalty to country when it is right, not loyalty to party, persons, or institutions; responsiveness of government to the will of the people, not moneyed lobbyists, partisan politics, or personal ambition; a free press as the palladium of freedom; the dangers of government overreach, unaccountable bureaucracy, and fiscal irresponsibility; and the need to right the wrongs of racial and gender discrimination, maintain the separation of Church and State, separate the justice system from politics, and promote a dynamic free economy. The reader can decide for himself or herself what message, and more importantly, what action should be taken on Twain's advice.

Mark Twain grew increasingly concerned about the survival of the American experiment as he witnessed the corrupting influence of money in politics and free markets, political partisanship, false patriotism, and voter apathy. He greatly feared that the abusive exercise of unconstrained power would inevitably lead back to autocracy or monarchy. He liked to quote another iconic American, Ben Franklin, though sometimes sarcastically. One Franklin quote, increasingly invoked today, seems apt. When asked by a lady whether we had created a Republic or a Monarchy, Franklin replied, "a Republic, if you can keep it."

In his passion to "keep the Republic" during the Gilded Age, Twain had a lot to say. But success would depend on each and every American citizen and was not guaranteed. In words that ring true today, he wrote, "It cannot be well or safe to let the present political conditions continue indefinitely. They can be improved, and American citizenship should rise up from its disheartenment and see that it is done."

David Bordelon (dbordelon@ocean.edu)

"Predictive Satire: *Huckleberry Finn* and 21st Century Hucksters"
(Session Fifteen)

America is in the midst of yet another cultural purge. Politicians and "concerned parents" are on the lookout for that scourge of today's youth: books. The fear is that the words and images they contain will contaminate "innocent" minds. A perennial fixture of the banned bookshelf, Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has earned its stripes as a dangerous book – though perhaps not for the reasons it is often placed there. Famously "banned in Boston" for its moral turpitude, its current placement among the banned is occasioned by its racial epithets.

I agree that *Huckleberry Finn* is a dangerous book. Its crime? Relevance. Consider Shelley Fisher Fishkin's observation that "it would be difficult to find an issue on the horizon today that Twain did not touch on somewhere in his work." Yet it is doubtful that Fisher Fishkin imagined, in 1998 when her words appeared, that such issues could include an insurrection to overturn an election led by a president who refused to admit defeat.

But Twain's view of the American horizon in *Huckleberry Finn* is clear eyed and prescient. Indeed, the novel's satire of a country which embraced racism, the easy lie and the scalawags and con-men who perpetuate it, a turn toward victimization, and a visceral attachment to false narratives is predictive, a sepia-toned portrait of current socio-political maladies. And just as Twain engaged with the world he lived in, writing essays and allegories about the social injustices of his time, Twain scholars should engage with their world. This growth beyond the confines of academia is particularly essential amid questions about the importance – or relevance – of the Humanities. Rita Felski, in *The Limits of Critique*, challenges this dismissal, affirming that "past texts have things to say on questions that matter to us." This paper bridges the divide between the Humanities and interests of the general public, bringing cultural criticism to bear on "questions that matter," and looks to the textual past to map our present disfunction. Moving freely between disciplines, it demonstrates how the insights of cognitive psychology, public opinion, history, and sociology can give new voice to a canonical text and have it speak to and reflect on the social issues of today. With *Huckleberry Finn* as a literary guide, the paper examines the connections between Jim Crow

America and today, as the cultural disruptions of the late nineteenth-century recur, and the forces of social change collide with the walls of fear, anxiety and the conservative ideology that both feeds and is sustained by them.

George Cabanas (gc79@students.uwf.edu)

“Avatar of God: Mark Twain Versus the Moral Sense and The Implications for the Contemporary World”

(Session Two)

Mark Twain’s *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* deserves reexamination as an aggressively polemic text. In my presentation, I will use the final and most complete manuscript, commonly referred to as the “print shop” version, published by the University of California Press (1969), to talk about how Twain transforms himself from writer into an earthbound representative of the deity with whom he had great tension, but also a long history of dialogue. Indeed, Twain’s story manifests in the twilight of his writing career as the final available epistle describing this complex relationship. I will argue that in the story Twain becomes the begotten son who is desperately trying to lead the lost sheep back to their divine origin. Twain’s well-published observations about humanity and the influence of Vedantic teachings lead me to a hypothesis more complex than the overt nihilism and pessimism often ascribed to the work.

Scholars such as Dwayne Eutsey and Jeanne Campbell have contributed much to the discourse concerning Twain’s religious rhetoric and what his relationship with the Christian God might have been in the context of an external deity. Where I enter the conversation is the relationship between Twain and God in the context of *meta-consciousness*. That is, I will show how Twain applies transcendental notions of knowledge to speak, as if on behalf of God, to those who have corrupted universal truths and created a faulty *thought*. In a way, *The Mysterious Stranger* could be referred to as the Book of Twain, or even Twain’s Gospel, to extend the Biblical metaphor.

My starting point is the circumstances forming the context of *The Mysterious Stranger*. Specifically, I will consider Twain’s own deep guilt for the loss of Olivia, his daughter, and his financial insecurity and how these personal crises applied to his rebuttal to the moral sense and its repressive impact on humanity. How did Twain’s personal circumstances, in addition to his interest in duality, drive his creativity towards the construct of life as *thought* and distance himself from the moral sense to escape suffering? More importantly, how can we interpret our current events—and even criticism of contemporary art, literature, and culture—through the “teachings” of this Twainian epistle?

The social and ideological circumstances that conflicted Twain in his time are not unlike the contemporary American environment where idealistic concepts that define national identity are being reevaluated. The implication of this hypothesis is that Twain, as an avatar, returns to our modern world with as much relevancy and force as he commanded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rethinking *The Mysterious Stranger* as a theological, yet polemic, text has far-reaching impact in our own time.

Elizabeth Cantalamessa (ecantalamessa86@gmail.com)

“The Devil and Mark Twain”

(Session Fourteen)

The devil plays a significant role in some of Mark Twain’s posthumous works such as *The Mysterious Stranger*, and *Letters from the Earth*. In these works Twain’s devil often targets human moral hypocrisy by emphasizing the tendency for humans to refer to themselves with ethically-significant vocabulary, such as Christian, kind, or honest, that diverges from their actual practices and actions. However, Twain denies that humans are able to genuinely evaluate themselves as prejudiced, because he believes that morality is nothing more than the desire for self-contentment. In this talk I argue that Twain employs the figure of the devil as a tool for targeting moral hypocrisy

that causes his audiences to adopt a different perspective on their existing moral commitments, rather than giving them explicit reasons for judging themselves as hypocritical. Twain's devil is similar to genealogical inquiry, which offers an alternative history for moral concepts to encourage audiences to adopt a different perspective on their existing commitments, rather than targeting those commitments directly.

David Carlyon (carlyon123@me.com)

“Jim at Huck's Circus: Twain Stretches History and Reconsiders Race”

(Session Fourteen)

I propose that we have been too serious, and not serious enough, in engaging the circus episode in chapter 22 of *Huckleberry Finn*. Too serious because the episode regularly gets read with reverence, as if it's a verbal daguerreotype, an enduring gift from Mark Twain that apparently allows us to experience what circus was *really* like before the Civil War. And yet not serious enough because the traditional approach to that episode takes Twain's depiction at face value, regarding it as virtual history. But he wasn't writing about antebellum circus of the novel's time; he was crafting a picture to appeal to Gilded Age tastes.

American circus through its first century had been robust fare for savvy adults, the country's most democratically shared experience, extolled by Melville, Whitman, and Dickinson, with rowdy crowds fond of its sex, violence, and politics. Then the Gilded Age flipped the script, sentimentally celebrating circus as a children's delight. The children's delight. Twain employed that new narrative here, which helps explain why Huck briefly turns childish at the circus and why the author momentarily lavished the same glowing language on circus that he otherwise reserved for the river. Perhaps to subtly eulogize what he originally enjoyed, Twain scattered rowdy elements of antebellum circus, including its sex and violence, in adjacent episodes. Together, the antebellum facts and Gilded Age fancy suggest circus influence on the structure and theme of Twain's masterwork.

Scholarship has missed that historical shift. It has also missed the century's racialization of circus. African-Americans constituted a major presence in circus audiences and as writers touting its mature pleasures. Meanwhile, white writers ignored them before the Civil War and then, in the backlash to emancipation, added Black people to the picture as childishly fond of circus—unable to govern themselves, much less a country. I argue that this racist trope answers a question that's apparently not been asked before: why is Jim tied on the raft while Huck attends the circus? Readers accustomed to the Gilded Age narrative expected a circus story to include children, and if the story included a Black character, he'd have to be there too. Binding Jim assured readers there was a good reason he didn't appear at Huck's circus. The shadow of race over American literature that Toni Morrison details in *Playing in the Dark* applies here too. Considering the racialization of circus, I propose that absent Jim was also present at the circus, a shadow of all those feckless Black people in white stories of circus.

Finally, I argue that Twain pivoted on the circus episode, dead center in the book, and in the process crafted a structure that echoed the century's racist history. The early chapters, upriver, reflect antebellum white assumptions Twain had shared, of enslavement as normal and good. The Duke and Dauphin section echoes Reconstruction, with Jim officially free yet constricted. Finally, that disconcerting ending recreates the disconcerting situation after racism killed Reconstruction: of official equality beleaguered by laws and customs that reproduced slavery's severity.

James Caron (caron@hawaii.edu)

“Mark Twain Lying in Bed”

(Session Five)

1906 was a big year for Sam Clemens because the first installments of his autobiography were published, a project that had only early that year had been revived after years of sporadic effort. 1906 is also notable for the many photos of Clemens taken while he was in bed. The bed photos raise a number of interesting questions about celebrity and literary reputation, and they also suggest a conflict of motivations: staged publicity stunt and authentic gesture. The autobiography is a monumental effort at self-representation. The photos taken in the same year function as a supplement to that effort, one that is and is not self-representation. Even if we claim that a particular photo or set of photos are meant to create publicity for the autobiography, they are always mediated by another eye, another point of view that is not Mr. Clemens. The focus for my talk will be on photos taken of Clemens in bed as well caricatures in newspapers that depict Mark Twain at work, sometimes in bed. How does such representation fit with the autobiographical task? What do the newspaper images of jester and satirist tell us about the various forms of comic energy that Mark Twain demonstrates?

Ben Click (baclick@smcm.edu)

“Twain’s Philosophical Aphorisms for the Damned Human Race: Maxims Toward a Deterministic Philosophy”

(Session Four)

In *Mark Twain’s Literary Resources* (2019), Alan Gribben claims “Clemens’s [the person] acquaintance with philosophy has been treated only by speculative commentary, and really deserves additional research” (43). That kind of research is a tall order, but, as the purpose of this paper suggests, a place to start lies in examining the persona Twain’s deliberate use of maxims as chapter epigraphs in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* (1894) and *Following the Equator* (1897). These maxims function as both *rhetorical modes of persuasion* and *philosophical aphorisms* reflecting growth in Clemens’s philosophical thinking that found expression in Twain’s later explicitly deterministic, philosophical writings. Like David Wilson in creating his “whimsical almanac, for his amusement,” Twain’s maxims serve as a “little dab of ostensible philosophy, usually in ironic form.” Unlike Wilson, Twain understood and employed them for their rhetorical power and philosophical clarity that led to a more fully formed philosophy articulated in “What is Man?” (1906) and “The Turning Point of My Life” (1910).

Twain had always embedded maxims in his published writings. As “a great and wise philosopher, like the author of this book,” states, “Work consists of whatever a body is obliged to do. Play consists of whatever a body is not obliged to do” (*The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* 1876). “Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry, and narrow-mindedness, and many of our people need it sorely on these accounts . . .” (*Innocents Abroad* 1869). He penned them in notebooks and letters: “Concerning the difference between man and the jackass: some observers hold that there isn’t any. But this wrongs the jackass” (Notebook 1898). In a 1905 letter to Joseph Twitchell: “When a man is a pessimist before 48 he knows too much; if he is an optimist after it, he knows too little.” Twain also used them when autographed photos and inscribed his books for friends and family.

However, not all quotes from Twain, including some from *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and *Following the Equator*, can be considered maxims or philosophical aphorisms in the truest sense of their rhetorical and philosophical power. Some are merely clever turns of phrase or parts of larger quoted passages excised from their coherent whole. But rhetorically speaking, the maxim stands alone; it is a statement separated from the rest of a larger argument and not about a particular subject. For Aristotle, such statements about specific subjects are enthymemes (truncated syllogisms) for they supply the reason or the explanation. For example, Euripides offers the maxim “There is no man among us all that is free.” Add the reason, “For all are slaves of money or of chance,” and you have an

enthymeme. Twain/Wilson offers, “One of the most striking differences between a cat and a lie is that a cat has nine lives.” Add the reason or explanation: “For lies have more than nine lives,” and you have an enthymeme. Philosophically speaking, maxims are analogous to discreet philosophical aphorisms; short statements that often define a philosophy and its author. Descartes: “I think therefore I am.” Nietzsche: “God is dead.” The aphoristic style is a legitimate philosophical mode of expression. In fact, Nietzsche published all three parts of *Human, All Too Human: A Book of Free Spirits* in 1886 in the aphoristic style, the second part titled, *Assorted Opinions and Maxims*. As a mode of philosophical discourse, the philosophical aphorism causes “an enormous explosion of thought . . . it unsettles your mind, it causes wonderment, and it’s that quantum of indeterminacy, that quantum of instability, that gives the aphorism its power,” according to Dr. Andrew Hui in his book, *A Theory of the Aphorism: From Confucius to Twitter* (2020). Twain tacitly understood that power; certainly, he utilized it in producing his brand of humor.

In my conference presentation, I will define maxims as both rhetorical modes of expression and philosophical aphorisms, illustrate how Twain harnessed them to express his later philosophical thought, and trace his writing in genres (tales, fables, and dialogues) better suited for expressing his philosophical views. In addition, I will show the philosophical ideas that influenced his writings—ideas he no doubt encountered through reading and in his decade of living in various European locations and traveling the world during the 1890s when *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and *Following the Equator* were written and published.

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“The [Real] American Game”: Twain’s Thoughts on Soft Imperialism in Cuba (Session Twelve)

Upon returning from Europe at the turn of the 20th century, Mark Twain quickly became involved in anti-imperialist activities, spurred on by the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. Many of his impassioned speeches and writings dealt with US military action in the Philippines, which Twain considered an affront to freedom. However, he wrote much less about Cuba after the war, considering it “freed” and praising the US government for ensuring that freedom. Often, he expressed regret that the US did not maintain the same policy towards the Philippines. His most famous example appears in “To the Person Sitting in Darkness,” where Twain describes the “American Game” as a fight for true freedom, played by the US in Cuba, in contrast to the greedy, imperialist “European Game,” which the US was playing in the Philippines. At the same time, Twain questioned whether the US had abandoned their playbook in Cuba. In his 1902 essay “As Regards Patriotism,” Twain points out “training made us nobly anxious to free Cuba; training made us give her a noble promise, training has enabled us to take it back.” Already acknowledging the US failure to honor the promise of Cuban freedom, Twain critiqued US overreach without naming it imperialism.

I argue that Twain’s ambiguous position on Cuba resulted from his grappling with competing ideas about US exceptionalism, paternalism, and the rights of sovereign postcolonial nations. Although Twain (at first) praised the US approach in Cuba, the conditions of their freedom included tight US control of their politics, economy, and foreign relations. Between US military occupations from 1898-1902 and 1906-1909 and the restrictions of the Platt Amendment, US policies drastically limited Cuban political and economic sovereignty for decades after the war. Although the US government did not claim Cuba as a territory, these incursions certainly qualify as soft imperialism. Soft imperialism refers to control of a country or territory without direct military intervention, either through economic sanctions or monopoly, treaties, or other political declarations. Although this type of imperial impulse was often less visible, keen observers of US foreign policy such as Twain saw through such attempts to justify intervention.

I will explore documents produced by both Twain and the Anti-Imperialist League, which Twain was heavily involved in after returning from Europe. The League staunchly opposed the restrictions on Cuban freedom, but Twain did not take this up as a main platform, instead focusing on the Philippines. It was one thing to convince Americans to free the Philippines from brutal imperial rule; it would be quite another to ask them to abandon the “democratizing” project the US was undertaking in Cuba. I will also analyze Twain’s later fiction, which was often heavily philosophical, for his attitudes on imperialism in Cuba. That format may have allowed him more latitude to work through the nuances of imperialism and parse through the various forms it could take.

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“The Pursuit of Disappointment: Growth of Status and Growth of Delusion in *The \$30,000 Bequest*”
(Session Eight)

Among phrases now practically synonyms are “the pursuit of happiness” and “The American Dream,” both associated with personal growth. The common references for the first term are to Thomas Jefferson’s replacing the third item in John Locke’s “life, liberty, and property” and its subsequent acceptance by courts and others as “everything from the right to privacy to the right to pursue one’s chosen occupation, and as the ‘constitutional right to pursue any lawful business or activity... that might yield the highest enjoyment, increase one’s prosperity, or allow the development of one’s faculties’”; however, it generally seizes imaginations as a “glittering generality’... too general or too individualized to have any practical, substantive meaning... [which adds] a sense of undefined idealism to the... unalienable rights the Declaration contains” (Conklin 197, 199). The concept merged with the notion of “The American Dream” long before historian James Truslow Adams coined that phrase in 1931 (Ruland & Bradbury 4; Adams 404). He defines it as “that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement... of a social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized... for what they are, regardless of... circumstances of birth or position” (404). The Pursuit of Happiness is to culminate in The American Dream as the expected fulfillment of this idealism. Americans typically relate the terms and themselves to the ambiguous term “Middle Class” (Cao). For centuries, that seeming step between poor and prosperous did not exist, so its emergence became both dream and possible elevation, potential positive growth, especially in America, envisioned as a place to move upward.

Early to late in his career, Mark Twain, who Robert Weir says “epitomized middle-class attitudes” (199), wrote stories of people reaching beyond that status but not finding it satisfactory. Exemplifying those attitudes is the married middle-class couple in his novelette *The \$30,000 Bequest* (1904). Although described as “the best” and “the last substantial fiction completed and published during his lifetime” (Lee 11; Hill 78; Briden 732), it has not received the attention given to similarly themed “The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg” (1899) and “The £1,000,000 Bank-Note” (1893). James Wilson has observed, “Since the pursuit of riches is an integral part of our national myth, the story questions certain fundamental values of American life...” (262). In it, Twain confronts and contradicts these cherished American ethos--the pursuit, the dream, and the middle-class--set in another revered concept, the small town. The small town is mythically linked to the pursuit of happiness “as the repository of traditional American values and virtues... where established values would survive and also thrive” (Webb 36, 39), a place of positive possibilities; to the American dream as representing “what Americans thought they were, what they sometimes pretended (to themselves as well as others) they wanted to be” (Hilfer), a place with fewer hindrances to becoming what and whom one desired; and to the middle-class as “an abstract symbol of all things good, pure, and right about [American] society” with “the church and its Sunday school squarely at its center” (Bush 232), a place demonstrating the beliefs and “the social power of middle-class society” (Camfield 392). Louis Budd says, “... it was the middle-class norm that shaped ‘The \$30,000 Bequest’...” (203). If, as Anthony Hilfer avers, “The basic civilization of America was middle class...,” the values and virtues and power were also, as were its flaws. The couple in the story, whose pursuit of happiness is both literal (a promise in a letter) and figurative (visions of the promise), represent all of these related aspects as the figurative prospect grows exponentially into its literal attainment in

their minds, so that the abrupt loss of the former is more devastating than the loss of the latter.

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“Big River, Lighting Out for the Tonys”

(Session Three)

“All of us contain Music & Truth,” Mark Twain observed, “but most of us can’t get it out.” That certainly has been the case with the many film and television adaptations of Twain’s most celebrated and controversial novel, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. While some of these versions have been marginally less misguided than others, they all seem out of tune and falsehearted when compared to Twain’s book. They fail to bring out the music and truth of that book. This hasn’t been due to any lack of effort on Hollywood’s part. The film industry has been taking regular swings at *Huckleberry Finn* for more than one-hundred years, beginning with a silent version in 1920. Huck has been played on the big screen by the likes of Lewis Sargent, Junior Durkin, Mickey Rooney, Eddie Hodges, Jeff East, and Elijah Wood. Television has been offering its take on Twain’s novel since 1950s, with Huck Finns ranging from Charles Taylor on CBS in 1955 to Ron Howard on ABC in 1975 to Patrick Day on PBS in 1986. That PBS version was praised for being the most faithful rendering of the book, and while many individual notes did ring true, it, too, fell flat in trying to sustain the music.

But the year before the PBS miniseries aired, a version of *Huckleberry Finn* did magnificently capture the book’s music and truth. It wasn’t a movie, though, and it wasn’t a television production. Truth is, it was a musical, and, because it was a musical, it found the key ways to succeed where all of those previous adaptations had stumbled so badly. With music and lyrics by eleven-time Grammy-winning singer-songwriter Roger Miller, *Big River* opened at Broadway’s Eugene O’Neill Theatre on April 25, 1985. It would win seven Tony awards, including best musical. The others went to Miller for original score, William Hauptman for book of musical, Ron Richardson, who played Jim, for featured actor in a musical, Des McAnuff for direction of a musical, Heidi Landesman for scenic design, and Richard Riddell for lighting design.

In addition to Richardson, this production featured twenty-two-year old Daniel H. Jenkins as Huck, John Goodman (*Raising Arizona*, *The Big Lebowski*) as Pap Finn, Rene Auberjonois (*Odo on Star Trek: Deep Space Nine*) as the Duke, and Bob Gunton, (the Warden in *The Shawshank Redemption*) as the King.

A country music star from Oklahoma, Roger Miller may have seemed an odd choice for this Twainian assignment. “I never even thought about the theater,” he said during a 1985 newspaper interview. “Never had even considered it. Had always made fun of it, if anything. You know how old boys will do. But I got in there and found if a guy wants to do a good day’s work, that’s a good place to do it. And the payoff is good. Because when people go to the theater, they go to listen, and that’s the kind of audience I’ve always been searching for. One that will listen.”

Known in Nashville for his antic sense of humor and maverick ways, Miller also found kindred spirits in Twain and Huck Finn. He read the book and realized he knew them both, from the inside. “The story just leaped out at me,” he said. “Because I grew up in a Huck Finn situation in western Oklahoma; I just didn’t have a river. It seemed all the things that were needed for this story were the same music and harmonies I’d heard all my life. So I just wrote, and I never wrote so much heart and soul as I did doing this.”

Reading Twain, he said, “It was the everyday language I grew up with. And I could smell that river.”

Known for such country hits as “King of the Road,” “Dang Me,” “England Swings,” and “Kansas City Star,” Miller found that music was the ideal way to truthfully and powerfully express the book’s many moods and introspective interludes. This is precisely what gave the film and TV versions so much trouble. The biggest dramatic moments occur in Huck’s mind, and that’s tough to portray on the screen. Song, however, is the perfect vehicle for expressing thoughts and emotions. It’s why Jenkins could proclaim in song that he was, as the title says, “I, Huckleberry, Me,” and we believed him. In the music was the truth.

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“[H]e realized the shabbiness of his own self’: Reading Children in Poverty in Twain’s Adaptation Network”
(Session Eight)

When first reading Phillip and Erin Stead’s 2017 *The Purloining of Prince Oleomargarine*, an adaptation of the archival notes Twain scholar John Bird discovered in 2011 for a children’s story, I was struck by their controversial decision to depict the destitute child, Johnny, as Black, a decision that others have noted was without support in the source text.

What happens when, I wondered, we read their 2017 children’s book as part of the larger cultural network of adaptations of Twain’s work? As adaptation networks are comprised of a “broad inventory of narrative moments, reference points, and iconography that comes to be associated with a particular work through successive acts of adaption” (Newell), if we read Erin Stead’s illustrations alongside illustrations of other poor Twainian children, most notably Huckleberry Finn, what can we learn about how our shifting understandings of poverty have informed the ways we return—again and again—to exploring the poor child in Twain’s work? This line of inquiry builds, of course, from Andrew Levy’s insistence in his 2015 *Huck Finn’s America* that childhood studies can inform different returns to Twain.

While much has been written about illustrations of Twain’s Jim, it is less so for illustrations of Huck. There are a small handful of articles focused on E. W. Kemble’s illustrations of the 1885 novel (and Kemble’s own narrative of his creative process) and consistent mention of Norman Rockwell’s 1930s commissioned illustrations. How Huck was visually represented, however, remains a footnote at best in broader scholarly conversations that range from Alan Gribben’s work reading Twain against boy books of the period (most recently in the *Mark Twain Journal* in

2017), to Shelley Fisher Fishkin's provocative question in her 1993 *Was Huck Black?* about Twain's source material for the character.

Reading Erin Stead's Johnny within the larger adaptation network of illustrations of children in poverty in Twain's work, I'm interested in the conversations that emerge when also considering childhood studies scholarship that traces the rapidly solidifying class structures of childhood that emerged across the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Beginning with the illustrations from the 1885 and 1902 editions of the novel, I'll track across the 20th century significant revisions to (and static details of) visual representations of Huck, including a 1925 board game produced by Stoll and Edwards, Co., Rockwell's 1930s commissioned illustrations, panels from Clare Dwiggin's 1940s comic strip "Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn," trade book covers from across the second half of the twentieth century, and recent graphic novel adaptations.

By focusing on illustrations of poor children, I'm foregrounding "the body as," to borrow from Gavin Jones's *American Hungers*, "the site that bears the marks, the damage, of being poor," as adaptation scholar Kate Newell reminds us that "illustrations teach readers how to read them and, in turn, how to read the prose text." What does it mean, this paper will ask us to consider, for illustrations of children in poverty to be sites of cultural negotiation? What, if anything, has changed over time? And, how might such an entry point impact our return to Twain's—and the Steads'—text?

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"Only dead men can tell the truth in this world': The Growth of Mark Twain's Anger"

(Session Twelve)

As the writer known as Mark Twain neared the end of his life and career, the changing circumstances of the nation caused his criticism to sharpen and move from somewhat covert to brutally overt. The ways in which American nationalism and false piety were becoming ever more entwined seemed to have led to an increased infusion of anger within his satire. In the last decade of his life, his satire grew sharper with "The War Prayer" (published posthumously, since "only dead men can tell the truth in this world," and "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." The latter, originally an essay published in the *North American Review* in February 1901 satirizing imperialism, religion, and the myth of American innocence, was published just a month after the writer had been appointed the vice-president of the Anti-Imperialist League of New York. His disappointment, to put it mildly, at the American involvement in the Philippines and China has been well documented, but in these pieces Mark Twain attacks the Christian missionary zeal that is used as a cover for capitalism and imperialism abroad. Through his scathing response to Reverend William Scott Ament, the essay instantiates his growth, with some of his most scathing and direct criticism of the missionary project and its connections with imperialist capitalism. With his latest works, Mark Twain suggests that if only Americans were able to unlearn their inherited mythologies, they might be able to avoid the most atrocious outcroppings of patriotism and Christianity.

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"Russifying Tom, Huck, and Jim: Soviet Film Adaptations of Mark Twain's Mississippi Novels"

(Session Eight)

When the Bolshevik Revolution took place in 1917, Mark Twain was already well on his way to becoming a household name in Russia: his works—especially *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*—had been translated and published multiple times, and readers synecdochally associated Twain with a distinctively American brand of humor. While one might assume that interest in Twain would wane as the Bolsheviks consolidated power (since his works seemed neither explicitly anti-American nor explicitly anti-capitalist), the opposite in fact took place: Twain became one of the best-selling authors in

translation in the Soviet period (among American writers, he was second only to Jack London, whose popularity was aided by his communist sympathies).

In what is a case study of the Soviet predilection for adapting officially sanctioned world literature masterpieces to the screen, Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* were turned several times into films and were also adapted to television. The film adaptations show how the Soviet Union's goals relied, ironically, on the appropriation and reinterpretation of the cultural legacy of the capitalist world. They reflect Soviet cultural authorities' emphasis on Twain as a critic of American Gilded Age capitalism and imperialism, based on a heavy-handed extrapolation from his notorious denunciations of the Spanish-American War and the atrocities in Belgian Congo. On the one hand, the films reflect this stance in the consistently critical lens through which they depict most of Twain's characters and American society as a whole. On the other hand, the films also reveal Twain's status among Soviet readers as a canonical American author. Notwithstanding the Soviet state bureaucracies' centralized ideological control over cultural institutions including cinema studios, films in the Soviet Union were ultimately made with the (primarily local) consumer market in mind. While this was a captive consumer market, it also possessed its own expectations and tastes, which could differ in significant ways from official ideology. Behind the ostensible critique of America contained in these films, at heart they also aim to entertain their viewers, Soviet-style.

Drawing on the conference's themes of change and growth, I argue that examining the changes that Twain's texts underwent in the process of translation and adaptation to the Soviet screen can add a valuable perspective to the study of Mark Twain's life, works, and reception abroad; in the process, this can also help expand the scope and purview of the field of Mark Twain Studies. My talk will focus on two films in particular: *Tom Sawyer*, a 1936 production by the Soviet Ukrainian film studio that blends plot elements from both *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*; and *Hopelessly Lost* (1973), an adaptation of *Huckleberry Finn* made in the Moscow Film Studios (the USSR's foremost studio) by director Georgiy Daneliya, a specialist in tragicomedies. I will show how the films reflect stereotypes and misconceptions about America, often depicting Twain's St. Petersburg and the communities along the Mississippi River as places entirely populated by corrupt, ultra-religious, uncultured, and gun-loving simpletons; conversely, I also demonstrate that the films (especially the more finely executed *Hopelessly Lost*) highlight the grimmer dimensions of Twain's novels, primarily by expanding upon the theme of racial injustice. In this context, I will focus in particular on the depiction of the character of the runaway slave Jim in both films: from the joyful and singing character in the 1936 *Tom Sawyer*, played by Wayland Rudd, a Russian-speaking Black American émigré, to the passive and melancholy travel companion to Huck in *Hopelessly Lost*, played by Felix Imokuede, a Nigerian college student whom the producers had discovered at a Moscow university for students from the Global South. I argue that the films reflect the shifting aspirations and yearnings of Soviet cultural producers: from the more purely entertaining and educational concerns of the 1936 production (which draws heavily on parallels between the American South and Russia's own imperial-era experience of serfdom) to a commitment to the cultural vanguard of the anti-imperialist world during the Cold War.

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"*Huckleberry Finn's* Hemispheric Tempest"

(Session Six)

My paper brings a hemispheric frame to images of U.S. Reconstruction in Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). I argue that the novel's close casts the institutions of Radical Reconstruction as a response to a modern world-system structured by racial hierarchies that began to emerge in 1492.

Several of Twain's later novels indicate quite directly that he saw the modernity he inhabited as having been shaped by the arrival of Europeans in this hemisphere. The epigraph to the last chapter of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894), for instance, observes of "The Discovery" that "It was wonderful to find America, but it would have been more

wonderful to miss it.” In moments like these, Twain anticipates the concerns of theorists of coloniality from Latin American and Caribbean studies. That is, like Aníbal Quijano and Sylvia Wynter, Mark Twain finds modernity to be structured by hierarchies of race and colonialism that emerged with the early modern European conquest of the Americas.

My presentation traces such a line of thinking back ten years earlier, to echoes of Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (c. 1611) in *Huckleberry Finn*. Analyses of the novel’s Shakespearean sources more commonly focus on *Hamlet* (c. 1599), given the burlesque of “To be or not to be” in chapter 21. But Twain’s engagement with *The Tempest* likewise deserves attention, not least because the play offers Shakespeare’s most sustained critical engagement with New World colonialism. That play was indeed so much on Twain’s mind in the years of *Huckleberry Finn*’s composition that he casually quoted Prospero’s “Our revels now are ended” speech in an 1876 letter to William Dean Howells.

The most profound echo of *The Tempest* in *Huckleberry Finn* comes in Chapter the Last. There, at the moment the plot concludes, Twain chooses not to detail the fate of Jim. To be sure, readers of Twain’s fiction would later glimpse Jim’s future in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894). But *Huckleberry Finn* itself leaves out Jim’s future following his liberation, even as the futures of Huck and Tom are sketched. When Twain narrates the moment of a non-white character’s liberation without defining the future that follows, he reproduces quite precisely Shakespeare’s handling of Caliban in *The Tempest*’s final act.

Discerning this echo of *The Tempest* at the end of *Huckleberry Finn* lets us more fully apprehend how that late part of the novel grapples with Reconstruction. My reading of this moment builds on work by Stacey Margolis and others who argue that the novel’s closing pages advocate for collective forms of redress for slavery, such as were offered by such Radical Reconstruction institutions as the Freedman’s Bureau. When we recognize the Caliban-esque qualities of Jim’s fate, as Mark Twain portrays it, we’re able to see also how Twain presents a colonial and hemispheric framework for that advocacy. By linking Jim’s past mistreatment and undetermined future to those of Caliban, Shakespeare’s paradigmatic colonial subject, Twain connects U.S. slavery to the sixteenth birth of colonial modernity. The novel’s advocacy of collective, institutional redress for formerly enslaved people and their ancestors thereby emerges as a response to the racialized structures of colonialism that shaped Twain’s and Shakespeare’s moments and continue to inflect our own.

In keeping with the conference’s call to “think about growth and change in the context of our study of Mark Twain,” I suggest that we considerably expand the temporal and geographic scope of what we take as the context for Twain’s writing. Twain’s treatment of Reconstruction in *Huckleberry Finn* might productively be treated as a response to a global and colonial modernity that both antedates and postdates the nineteenth century and that binds the U.S. to the world beyond our borders. Indeed, taking Twain as a theorist of what we could call a long 1492 could bring into focus the way his writing speaks urgently and powerfully to the world we live in.

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“‘Talking is the thing’: Mark Twain’s Bold Experiment in Empowering Women’s Voices”
(Session Five)

This paper explores a little-known aspect of Samuel Clemens’ involvement with the Saturday Morning Club of Hartford, founded in 1876 for unmarried Hartford women aged 17 to 20. The organization was modeled on the Saturday Morning Club of Boston, established in 1871 by Julia Ward Howe with the express mission of promoting “culture and social intercourse” among an elite group of the city’s upper-class young women.

Mrs. Howe’s bylaws for the Boston Club (and subsequently adopted by its Hartford namesake) specified a pattern of weekly meetings from October through May, alternating between lectures by guest speakers and discussions,

attendance at which was strictly limited to the female members themselves. As a member of the Boston group recalled in 1932, the lectures were “but the sugar plums; [its]real vital life [was] in the discussions” (20). That, at least, was the goal; in reality, however, the group’s discussion sessions were marked by timidity, reticence, and on one particularly awful occasion, “dead silence” (20). The Club’s minutes indicate that the gatherings grew “unprofitable” due to a general “lack of interest.” In desperation, the officers revised the group’s bylaws to mandate that all members must participate in at least one discussion per year or face expulsion.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Hartford Club experienced a similar problem. In the first five years of its existence, discussion sessions were tightly scripted. Topics were determined months in advance by a Committee, and each member had five minutes to read a paper on that subject. Failure to write and present a paper would incur a fine of 50 cents. Predictably, the sessions were dull, and soon became an object of dread rather than enthusiastic anticipation. Realizing that a drastic change was needed, the Hartford women sought advice—from none other than Mark Twain, one of the group’s most avid supporters. He somehow managed to convince them to allow him to attend the discussion meetings—in effect becoming “one of the girls,” claiming “they waived sex in my case, because they preferred solid wisdom to perfunctory technicalities” (23 Feb 1882 to Mary C. Noyes, MTP)—and immediately understood what needed to change. In order to foster an open exchange of ideas, essays had to be abandoned in favor of extemporaneous dialogue.

Although no evidence exists of exactly how this change transpired, the eighth session of the 1881 discussion series lists the topic “Conscience as Superior to Logic in Matters of Morals,” followed by the notation, “Opened by Mr. Clemens” (emphasis added). As the writer explained in an 1882 letter to Mary Noyes, a senior at the Buffalo Female Seminary:

At first we girls did as you are doing now; crammed for a subject & brought in brief essays upon it. But that grew tiresome & rather interestless...So we don’t read essays any more—we talk. Talking is the thing. To be able to talk with vigor & facility is worth heaps; yes, & we found it desperately uphill work, too...We were so scared, that if we had an opinion we couldn’t get it out...[Now] we have one brief essay—the rest of the time is given to offhand discussion of it. Our first attempt was a failure. The young lady chose the strong side of her question & wrote an essay that didn’t leave much to be said. And nothing was said...nowadays we make the essay weak; untenable; it takes the feeble side out of the question, & leaves the strong side the assaulting forces. You ought to see us girls on the warpath, once, with such an objective as that. Ah, it is excellent practice.

The Club’s discussion programs throughout the 1880s and 90s reveal that they follow the format introduced by Clemens—with each topic “Opened” by one member, and the rest of time devoted to free-form dialogue. In this way, the writer’s innovation cultivated the members’ confidence and critical thinking skills, emboldening them to take chances by speaking extemporaneously on the “subject of the day,” and in so doing, to discover—and exercise—their authentic, individual voices.

Among the uncatalogued manuscript fragments at the Mark Twain Papers, I have located a piece called “Liberty” (circa 1881), which I believe Clemens used to model this change in the Club’s discussion format. My paper will focus in large part on this text.

Dennis Eddings (ajbe1@comcast.net)

“Poe, Twain, and Limburger Cheese” Revisited
(Thursday Happy Hour)

My paper’s title comes from Steven E. Kemper’s 1981 article arguing that Mark Twain’s “The Invalid’s Story” is an “elaborate spoof on Poe” using “A Descent Into the Maelström” to parody Poe’s “fictional themes and techniques.” After a brief summary of Kemper’s main points I note what I see as a few major flaws in his argument, not to discredit the basic point that Poe influenced “The Invalid’s Story,” but rather to lead to my suggestion that that influence should be attributed to “The Oblong Box” rather than “Descent.” After a brief summary of “The Oblong Box,” necessitated by what I assume to be pretty much total unfamiliarity with this rarely discussed tale, I examine the similarity of details between the two tales that point to influence: both contain (obviously) oblong boxes; both narrators misconstrue the contents of said boxes; both feature an unpleasant aroma. I then discuss what really matters--how Mark Twain turns Poe’s details upside down for satiric purpose, and in doing so does to Poe what Poe so frequently enjoyed doing unto others. I conclude the paper by arguing for yet another type of influence beyond plot incidents, suggesting that both “The Oblong Box” and “The Invalid’s Story” are tall tales and, to wrap things up, that the same is true of “A Descent Into the Maelström,” thus validating Kemper’s basic assertion that “Descent” did have an influence on “The Invalid’s Story.”

Dwayne Eutsey (deutsey2@gmail.com)

“Nothing remains the same’: Mark Twain’s Ever-Evolving Religious Views”
(Session Two)

In 1887, Mark Twain observed in a letter to William Dean Howells that nothing, including our experience with the Bible, remains the same. He wrote, “People pretend that the Bible means the same to them at 50 that it did at all former milestones in their journey.”

Although he made this observation in relation to his shifting political views of Carlyle’s *French Revolution*, it also reflects the essence of Twain’s complex and ever-expanding religious views. In time, beliefs that once loomed large in his “memory and imagination” inevitably shrank to their “correct dimensions”. Acknowledging that “the disillusioning corrected angle is loss—for a moment,” he also recognizes the compensations of losing old illusions and expanding one’s perspective to glimpse larger and more enduring truths: “You tilt the tube skyward and bring planets and comets and corona flames a hundred and fifty thousand miles high into the field.”

Just as Twain’s sympathies moved from the French Revolution’s more liberal Girondin faction toward Marat and the radical Sansculottes, I contend his religious views also expanded over time from variations of liberal Christianity to radical Free Religion. While this faith journey often entailed momentary disillusioning loss, it also had its positive theological compensations, even in the “dark” writings from Twain’s final decade.

Many scholars, such as Allison Ensor in *Mark Twain and the Bible*, emphasize the disillusioning aspects of Twain’s journey and “the powerful hold which the fundamentalism of his early environment had on his imagination.” Others, however, focus on its rewarding compensations. As John S. Tuckey asserted in notes for his unfinished interpretive study of Twain, “Certainly Mark Twain was no more consistently hopeless in the later years than he was consistent about most other things. And he had his exuberances and enthusiasm right on through.”

Building upon Tuckey’s view, this presentation traces the exuberances and enthusiasm underlying Twain’s ever-evolving religious quest. Beginning with his formative years in Hannibal—where he encountered a blend of

orthodox and heterodox religion combined with earthy frontier skepticism—I will present an overview of changing circumstances in his life that altered his religious thinking and writing:

1. His move to the Western Frontier during the Civil War and friendships he had there with several progressive Christian clergy (literary impact: *Innocents Abroad*);
2. His courtship of Olivia Langdon in Elmira and the influence of Horace Bushnell's proteges, Thomas Beecher and Joseph Twichell (literary impact: *Huckleberry Finn*);
3. His attempts to make sense of profound personal losses late in life through esoteric Hindu philosophy introduced to him by Moncure Conway, Nikolai Tesla, and others (literary impact: *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*).

Shelley Fisher Fishkin (sfishkin@stanford.edu)

“How Hal Holbrook’s Understanding of Mark Twain Grew and Changed Over Time: The First Decade”

(Session Three)

The first piece by Mark Twain that Hal Holbrook ever performed—a piece he presented as part of a variety show he did with his wife in 1948 in college and subsequently took on tour to high schools throughout the Southwest—was a reliable recipe for laughter. Over the next decade, however, Holbrook would uncover many unexpected dimensions of the writer whose comic sketch had forced even sullen adolescents in Texas to dissolve in giggles.

In addition to the humor, it was the importance of the social critique—sometimes explicit, sometimes beneath the surface—that increasingly drew him to the writer he would bring to life for more than the next half century.

Drawing on Holbrook’s published books, show journals, marginalia he wrote in books he owned, and interviews the author conducted with him between 2017 and 2020, this paper will explore the evolution of his understanding of who Mark Twain was and why he mattered. It will include excerpts from a book-length study of the subject by the author that is a work in progress. The evolution of Holbrook’s understanding of Twain will be sketched through a series of key stops on that journey, from the first book by Twain he ever bought—in *Hannibal* in 1950--to an interview the author conducted with him just after one of his final performances of “Mark Twain Tonight!” in 2017. Due to limits of time the principal focus of the paper to be presented will be the first decade of Holbrook’s encounter with Twain—a time when his learning curve was especially steep. The paper will discuss

- the impact of three events in 1954 that preceded his first solo Twain performance—a chance meeting with a woman who had known Twain and his family in Vienna; the Army-McCarthy hearings; and a performance Holbrook saw by the mordant comic Mort Sahl at San Francisco’s *hungry i* night club;
- what he learned from books he purchased in New York’s Argosy Book Store between 1953 and 1958 and filled with underlining, brackets, stars, and excited comments in the margins;
- what he learned about Twain and race by performing in a segregated church school in Arkansas in 1958.

An astute reader, as well as a brilliant actor, Holbrook engaged in an intensive, ongoing study of Mark Twain from the early 1950s through the rest of his life. He was constantly amazed at Mark Twain’s uncanny ability to address whatever issues were most salient for the nation at any given moment. And his audiences, in turn, continued to be stunned by the topicality of an author they knew had died in 1910. The book will chart the ways in which “Mark Twain Tonight!” intervened in the cultural conversation in the United States in profound ways on issues that were central to Mark Twain’s life and work, and which have remained key challenges for our nation and the world: racism, jingoism, greed, and corruption.

While the focus of this paper is how Holbrook educated himself about Mark Twain during the first decade of his engagement with the writer, the book and paper will gesture, as well, to how he, in turn, educated us – how his performances helped shape multiple generations’ understanding of perhaps the most important writer America has produced. Holbrook’s lifelong project of understanding both what Mark Twain had been trying to say and

what his words could mean to his countrymen in the long 20th century brought Twain alive for millions of people in the US and around the world. His journey helped guide our journeys as Mark Twain scholars—a topic that Mark Dawidziak and Kevin MacDonnell have eloquently explored.

It has been a remarkable privilege and pleasure to have had unprecedented access to Hal Holbrook's library, journals, and papers, and to be able to conduct many hours of interviews with him—and it has been one of the greatest joys of my life to have had the extraordinary gift of his friendship for over thirty years. This paper is one small first installment on the great debt I owe him.

Katherine Frost (kthrnfrost@gmail.com)

“Evidence for a New Becky Thatcher”

(Session Four)

The papers of Confederate spy Lizzie Mildred Powell, along with a close reading of the holograph manuscript of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, strongly suggest that Lizzie was the model for Becky Thatcher. Lizzie grew up in Hannibal alongside Sam Clemens and attended Hannibal's schools. As a devout member of the Disciples of Christ, she likely was a student at the school of John Dabney Dawson, the Disciples of Christ cleric on whom Schoolmaster Dobbins was based. Yet, Twain's writings contain no mention of Lizzie – or of her eight siblings – save for the steamboat “Susan Powell,” in *Huckleberry Finn*. This paper offers evidence that Lizzie was the model for Becky Thatcher in *Tom Sawyer* and makes the case for additional research into Twain's literature and life.

Current scholarship identifies Sam Clemens's Hill Street neighbor, Laura Hawkins, as the sweetheart upon whom Becky Thatcher was based. And certainly, Twain affirmed that Laura was his *first* sweetheart, when she was five and he was seven. What Twain could not be persuaded to say, however, was that he had based Becky Thatcher on Laura Hawkins. Consider these revealing words by Twain's executor and authorized biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine: “if [Twain] never at any time stated in writing that Becky and Laura were identical, it was doubtless because he saw no reason for making such a statement.” Despite Paine's assertion that Laura and Becky were one and the same, the man was at a loss to come up with evidence to support his thesis.

Crossed-out passages in the holograph version of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, along with the final manuscript itself, reveal that Becky Thatcher was a member of Hannibal's First Christian Church (aka Disciples of Christ), lived on Market Street, was the “new girl” in town, was a student at Dobbins's school, and was a close friend of the family of Sam's bosom companion Will Bowen. “A Boy's Manuscript,” precursor to *Tom Sawyer*, expands Becky's biography when Becky, on arriving in Hannibal, announces to Billy Rogers that she will be “nine, ten months and a half from now.” Given these facts, how does this information square with the biography of scholarship's current candidate for Becky Thatcher? It doesn't. Laura Hawkins was a member of the Presbyterian Church and attended only Presbyterian schools, lived on Hill Street, moved to Hannibal at the age of two and across the street from Sam Clemens at the age of four, enjoyed no special relationship with the Bowen family, and never went near the classroom of John Dabney Dawson. Happily for those who enjoy literary mysteries, the Becky parameters fit Confederate spy Lizzie Powell to a T.

Alan Goldman (ahgold@wm.edu)

“Huck Finn, Morality, and Racism”

(Session Fourteen)

In masterly ironic passages in Huck Finn's own words, Twain describes a pattern of behavior whose centrality is clear from its recurring at an interval of two-hundred pages: Huck's refusal to reveal the whereabouts of Jim despite believing that he is thereby committing a serious wrong for which he will go to hell. Hume triumphs over Kant here (both probably unread by Twain), since if Huck could engage in Kantian reasoning, he would certainly

fail to universalize the concealing of stolen property (as he conceives the situation). It is Huck's sympathy and empathy for Jim that results in the morally right but wrongly conceived behavior, showing the source of morality for Hume and Twain. But Hume somewhat foreshadows Kant in requiring that empathy be generalized from its originally biased origin to an equal concern for all humans that can be captured in universal rules, and Huck does not generalize his sympathy to all slaves. Equally seriously, his feeling even for Jim evaporates in a later different context under the influence of Tom Sawyer, showing the persistence of racism in contexts in which it is widespread among peers. That Huck remains so morally flawed despite his close relationship with Jim reflected in near heroic behavior shows how difficult it is to eradicate racism through reasoning or even particular inter racial relationships.

Harold Hellwig (haroldhellwig@isu.edu)

“The Political Theatre in Mark Twain's Illustrated Travel Works”

(Session Twelve)

Travel texts often contain disguised political arguments, particularly the expressions of time, identity, nostalgia, and memory. Some of these arguments are in the illustrations accompanying the narrative. I will focus on the perspectives provided by illustrations in Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*, which frame the fragility of the global British Empire and an expansionist American culture. And, as a counterpart to that early travel text, I will discuss his last excursion, *Following the Equator*, in terms of the limits of colonialism as depicted by the illustrations accompanying his words. The illustrations for both travel works capture the sense of Twain's satiric dismissal of cultures as he evaluates them, and perform the conceptual mapping of the phenomenological tasks of the traveler.

Aleksandra Hernandez (aleksandra.hernandez@miami.edu)

“Disgust, Contempt, and Animal Cruelty in Twain's Later Writings”

(Session Fourteen)

Disgust is experienced as a visceral recoil from objects offensive to the senses. Grounded in our fears of contamination and defilement, the emotion, although frequently recruited to marginalize groups of people on the basis of race, gender, and sexual orientation (Nussbaum), can be provoked as a means to legitimately exclude moral transgressors from moral communities. Research into the moral psychology of contempt likewise suggests that while contempt is triggered by feelings of superiority over its target, the emotion can manifest as a legitimate attitude toward the violation of norms (Mason; Bell; Brogaard). This paper is concerned with the question of whether disgust and contempt can be recruited not merely to enforce social norms, but also to change them. By focusing on Mark Twain's publicly avowed condemnations of animal cruelty and the public's tolerance, and in some cases tacit endorsement, of the inhumane treatment of animals in his later writings, I will argue that Twain intended to incite in his readers a disgust and contempt for animal cruelists for the purpose of generating norms and bringing about laws that promote ethical interspecies relations.

Myrial Adel Holbrook (myrialh@stanford.edu)

“Mark Twain, Comically Adapted: The Role of Comic Books and Graphic Novels in Twain's Legacy”

(Session Five)

Like Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Mark Twain's oeuvre, including his masterpiece, *Huck Finn*, has proven notoriously difficult to adapt to audiovisual forms such as drama, film, and television. One of the great challenges in adapting the works of Twain and Cervantes to other forms lies in the fact that both rely heavily on what we might call *extradiegetic narration*. Both authors are preoccupied with how one goes about the business of writing, often ren-

dering the diegetic almost incidental to the practice of narrating. Thus the act of narration often becomes more important than the related events themselves. Such a meta-awareness of writing as writing poses a stumbling block for many adaptations because one can only incorporate so much of the narration into a usually primarily diegetic and highly time-constrained script for a television episode, film, or play. And yet, such self-conscious narration might also be reckoned a strength for other forms—in this case, comic books and graphic novels.

I propose to examine a few adaptations of Twain's works in the form of comic books and graphic novels. I recently came across a collection of Spanish comic books published in the 1970s under the imprint "*Joyas Literarias Juveniles*" (Treasured Books for Children), which to my mind showcases the extensive realm of possibility for exploring Twainian adaptations as works of art in themselves as well as pedagogical tools. The series includes adaptations of *Roughing It*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, *Tom Sawyer, Detective*, *Huck Finn*, *Connecticut Yankee*, *The Prince and the Pauper*, and *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. The comic book and graphic novel (distinguished by comics usually by length, as well as narrative complexity and a sense of completeness) allow for the incorporation of greater visual material in comparison to the original text, while still giving the reader ample textual cues in a way that film, for instance, cannot. In comics there is space for the kind of preeminent extradiegetic narration that Twain as author necessitates. This Spanish series in particular highlights the adaptive potential of comic books in considering the place of Twain for contemporary audiences, especially children. Often, the artistic choices in the rendering of the comic books explores potentially overlooked aspects of the original text, re-interpreting scenes in such a way as to invite pluralistic discussions. More recently, for American audiences, there have been longer graphic novel adaptations of Twain's works, including the Saddleback Illustrated Classics series of the early 2000s, which I would also examine.

I'd like to suggest the comic book and graphic novel as one potential pedagogical tool that might supplement teaching of Twain, especially for younger audiences, non-native English speakers, and casual readers. I propose to bring my reading of a few specific examples of both kinds of adaptation to bear in order to stimulate discussion about adaptations of Twain and pedagogical approaches more broadly.

In my research, I plan to incorporate some key critical approaches to comic books and graphic novels as forms, particularly those coming from the field of children's literature. In children's literature, there is a unique methodological approach in considering texts like picture books, comic books, and graphic novels, all of which rely more or less equally on both text and visuals. Crucial to this approach is the cognitive finding that in reading hybrid textual-visual works, the eye goes first to the picture, then to the text, then again to the picture, exercising a dynamic, dialectic "reading" of the materials at hand. I will also integrate work like that of comics expert Joe Sutliff Sanders into my presentation, bringing my particular attention to Twain adaptations into conversation with the larger phenomena of contemporary comics consumption.

In recent decades, comic books and graphic novels have skyrocketed in popularity among children and young adults (not to mention adults)—as just one example, we might consider the massive and ever-expanding reach of the Marvel series, both at home and abroad. The old stereotype of students watching a movie adaptation in lieu of reading the book persists (and certainly, in my experience with undergraduate and high school students, is often a widespread trend), but comic books and graphic novels might well provide a point of entry for reluctant and/or younger readers. Ideally, comic book and graphic novel adaptations could serve as supplement, not wholesale replacement, for reading texts in the original. In any case, their condensed and accessible nature offers a range of pedagogical possibilities for different audiences. These adaptations might open a small window onto challenging works for first-time readers and old literary hands alike.

Thomas W. Howard (thomas.howard@wustl.edu)

“Two stories tangled together’: The Double Brain, *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*”
(Session Thirteen)

It is well known that Mark Twain incorporates revolutionary scientific discoveries in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* (1894). Most prominently, the trial scene of the text includes descriptions of emerging fingerprint science, which Twain drew from Francis Galton’s discoveries published only two years prior. Similarly, Twain’s interest throughout the 1880s and 1890s in emerging psychological research is well documented; he was a founding member of the American Society for Psychical Research, and he wrote about the phenomenon of “mental telegraphy” from his own experiences. Twain was also coincidentally in Florence, Italy, at the same time as William James, the famous American psychologist and writer of *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), during the summer of 1894 while Twain was drafting *Pudd’nhead Wilson*. These facts suggest a reexamination of the scientific background of this text, which I claim go beyond Galton’s fingerprinting. In my paper, I argue that in the double narratives of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*, Twain incorporates imagery of the split hemispheres of the human brain, drawing on physiological and psychological research from the nineteenth century.

The physical appearance of the brain features prominently in the early chapters of James’s psychological textbook as well as similar works like William Benjamin Carpenter’s *Principles of Mental Physiology* (1874). While most of the empirical research emphasized the functions of the brain, its connection to the nervous system, and its role in sensation, the divided hemispheres also drew considerable interest. One of the more radical perspectives comes from Arthur Ladbroke Wigan’s *The Duality of the Mind* (1844). Wigan claims that the human brain contains two distinct minds that are perpetually in conflict. In most humans, Wigan argues, the two minds share control of the body, alternating between the hemispheres to accomplish shared goals; however, the two minds can also fall into pathological states of competition that present as signs of madness.

In my paper, I compare the conflicting duality of the two hemispheres of the brain with the conjoined twins in Twain’s text: Angelo is like the more passive right hemisphere, whereas Luigi is the more dominant left hemisphere. Yet, I do not perform a reductive allegorical reading of brain physiology with the characters; instead, I explore how this doubleness pervades the entire text, such as through the nearly identical infants Tom and Chambers as well as through Tom’s later crossdressing gambit to elude arrest. I also point to the composition of the tales themselves, suggesting that their conjoined publication and interdependence similarly models the duality of the brain. The more polished, “serious” drama of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* contrasts with the more passive, dependent comedy of *Those Extraordinary Twins*—the latter, for example, frequently alludes to scenes from *Pudd’nhead Wilson* simply to complete its own narrative. Drawing on more recent neuroscience, I argue that Twain’s texts resemble the complex interaction between the hemispheres, and they even encourage a particular type of reading that remains, in psychiatrist Iain McGilchrist’s words, “forever in motion.” Twain’s unique composition, and his decision to publish the two tales together as one, creates a narrative that engages with the “betweenness” that exist in the dual structure of the brain, allowing for a more creative reading.

Larry Howe (LHowe@roosevelt.edu)

“Property and Freedom on the Mississippi”
(Session Twelve)

Mark Twain gave a memorable thumbnail description of *Huckleberry Finn* as a story in which “a sound heart and a deformed conscience come into collision, and the conscience suffers defeat.” This enticing idea frames the conflict

over slavery and the consequences of racism in the US in moral and sentimental terms. This framing has been influential in discussions of race from the beginning and shows the tendency of our culture to view such contests as a matter of winning “hearts and minds.” The prevailing explanation of how Sam Clemens, who had been raised in a slaveholding family, became aware of the injustice of slavery and as Mark Twain would write one of the most important indictments of the peculiar institution and its persistent consequences of injustice is often couched similarly. The answer is that he met, fell in love with, and married Olivia Langdon, the daughter of a progressive family with active connections to abolition. In other words, she won his heart and his mind followed.

There is much to support the validity of this explanation. However, the disputes over both slavery and racial injustice post-Reconstruction were also debates about the rights of property ownership. The moral interpretation of the humanity of the enslaved excludes consideration of any claim to own another human being. Nonetheless, the complexity and contradictions in the discourses of property rights are central to the assumption of a racial hierarchy on which the foundation of the antebellum southern economy very much relied. Moreover, after Reconstruction, barriers to Black property ownership persistently fostered inequity that mirrored the racial hierarchy.

In this paper, I will argue that Mark Twain understood the problematic economic basis of America’s race problem. I will begin with some of the historical background of race and property in the Missouri of Sam Clemens’s youth, and then turn to Mark Twain’s recounting of the legend of the notorious outlaw John Murel in *Life on the Mississippi*. Specifically, I will analyze how Mark Twain describes Murel’s exploitation of property law, parlaying the “business” of negro stealing into a totally corrupt and economy destabilizing enterprise, and I will show its relevance to how Mark Twain framed narrative developments in *Huckleberry Finn* with respect to Jim’s enslavement, freedom and rights to property.

Although Jim claims his freedom, the southward direction of their journey requires that Huck pretend to assert his ownership of Jim as property. Although this ruse temporarily allays the suspicions of the king and the duke, they ultimately disregard Huck’s claim to property right, signaling Mark Twain’s recognition of the vulnerability of fugitive property that he observed in the Murel legend. Even before the crisis that leads to the novel’s controversial conclusion, the king and the duke defraud the Wilks family in a Murel-like scheme, commandeering the probate of Peter Wilks’s estate and selling off their slaves for their own financial gain. Huck acts to thwart them. And when he confides to Mary Jane Wilks that he plans to expose the two frauds and return her family’s slaves, he withholds details that he admits are necessary to protect a “person” (HF 240) whose identity he cannot reveal.

Although critical attention has focused on Huck’s “I’ll go to hell” speech, the importance of his deliberate reference to Jim as a “person,” deserves fuller critical consideration within the context of the 14th amendment’s explicit language:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. (emphasis added)

In sum, I will argue that *Huckleberry Finn* operates as a satire on the troubled property law of the antebellum period and the definitive assertions of the Reconstruction amendments that intervened between the novel’s setting and the period of composition.

“Transbellum Perspectives in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*”
(Session Twelve)

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn is set in the antebellum south, but it was written in the postbellum south. A number of scholars have discussed that Mark Twain’s criticism is shown from the postbellum viewpoint especially after chapter thirty-one, in which Tom reappears in a heroic rescue scheme on behalf of Jim, despite knowing that the slave was already set free. Thus, Mark Twain has often been taken up by critics as the postbellum writer par excellence. However, this reading presupposes a neatly divided, linear timeline between the antebellum and postbellum periods. In *Nineteenth-Century American Literature and the Long Civil War*, Cody Marrs suggests that Twain needs to be viewed as one of the “transbellum” writers, whose “careers extend from the ‘antebellum’ period, across the Civil War, and into the ‘postbellum’ era, thereby bridging the very epochs into which American literary history tends to be segmented.” One might wonder, then, how his transbellum career translates into his works. If one applies Marr’s concept to his works, *Huck Finn* in particular, what kind of new reading opens up to readers? My presentation will examine how the chapters before thirty-one of *Huck Finn* can be interpreted not merely as a depiction of the antebellum South, but also as a commentary on postbellum America. I will especially look at how Jim and Huck’s views on “kings” in chapters fourteen and eighteen can be taken as their differing views on American society. Although there has been scarce criticism of their dialogues in these chapters, they reveal a transbellum insight by suggesting the problems of racial inequality and social hierarchy that remained in postbellum America. In this sense, the *entire* novel indicates racial and class issues that are unresolved even after the Civil War.

Alone with Huck on a river island in chapter fourteen, Jim expresses his critical view about monarchy. When Huck tells him about the Dauphin, Jim exclaims: “Dat’s good! But he’ll be pooty lonesome—dey ain’ no kings here, is dey, Huck?” This passage not only foreshadows the episode of the con artist, but implies his view that there are no kings in America—a paradox that the runaway slave is proud of the American republic built upon chattel slavery. Jim’s claim might recall Frederick Douglass running away from the antebellum South in pursuit of abolitionism and human equality. As for criticism, there has been various comments about Jim’s character, such as Leland Krauth’s analysis of Jim as an affectionate father, Forest G. Robinson’s remark on his resort to all varieties of deception in order to survive among the whites, and Shelly Fisher Fishkin and Jocelyn Chadwick’s claim that Jim’s intelligence and strong character underlies his verbal performance. Significant as their arguments are, few scholars examine Jim’s commitment to American ideal.

Furthermore, although Fishkin rightly points out that the African American voice plays a central role in the protagonist’s talk, she does not fully examine Huck’s depressed view of America’s hierarchical society. Just before encountering the con artists, he had witnessed the feud between the Grangerfords and the Shepherdsons. The protagonist designates Colonel Grangerford as a “gentleman,” differentiating him from poor whites like Huck himself. The existence of the “aristocrats,” as well as poor whites, demonstrates a hierarchy within the whites based upon class difference. Therefore, when he says he wishes “we could hear of a country that’s out of kings” in chapter eighteen, he is not just talking about monarchy in its literal sense, but about the persistence of class hierarchy, which did not go away even after race-based slavery was abolished. Huck’s pessimistic view comes from this recognition.

In this way, Jim embodies American ideals for equality and justice, whereas Huck shows hesitancy and reluctance in believing in them. For the poor white boy, there has been the persistence of class hierarchy both before and after the Civil War. Thus, in spite of the stark contrast between Huck’s pessimistic and Jim’s optimistic view of America, their dialogue indicates enduring problems of the American society. Thus, by shedding light on *Huck Finn* in terms of the transbellum perspective, I will not merely show Huck and Jim’s different views on “kings,” but also the unresolved issues at the heart of America across the Civil War.

“Time for Change: Mark Twain in US School Textbooks, 1950s–1960s”

(Session Three)

As is commonly known, readers became familiar with Mark Twain mainly through separate book editions of his works. However, we should remember that millions of Americans were also introduced to his stories in their classrooms, and their impressions of Twain must have been greatly influenced by the ways in which they studied his works in school. Although neither Twain nor his young male protagonists were keen on going to school, Twain and his works have been extremely popular in school curricula and have repeatedly been included in school textbooks. Twain had appeared in at least 350 primary and secondary school US textbooks by the end of the twentieth century. Although it is impossible today to physically observe the classrooms of the past, textbooks can provide us with valuable information if we hope to understand how Twain was taught in the classrooms of the time. The examination of Twain in this highly influential medium of US school textbooks will surely contribute to clarifying the ways in which the American public’s perceptions and understanding of Twain and his output were shaped.

This paper discusses the use of Twain and his works in American secondary school-level literature textbooks in the 1950s and 1960s. Even though Twain was undeniably an author of 19th-century American classics, he continued to be one of the favorite choices for textbooks in the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, his popularity among the textbooks of the time surpassed that of previous decades. Sometimes, Twain was the only 19th-century prose writer to be provided with an independent chapter. Even if other writers were also given separate spaces, Twain often enjoyed the highest number of pages among all writers. In fact, Twain even exceeded Shakespeare in the amount of space provided in one representative high school English textbook in the late 1960s.

Referring to the establishment of Twain’s canonical status from the late 1940s to the 1960s, this paper demonstrates the ways in which Twain’s popularity expanded among textbooks in spite of contemporary textbooks’ increasing tendency to choose modern literature rather than 19th-century classics. This paper also shows, however, that his popularity within textbooks did not always lead to positive outcomes. For instance, it suggests that his celebrity status prompted exaggerated and unreliable descriptions of his life and works among some of the textbooks.

The theme of “change” is another important topic of this paper. Particularly in the 1960s, textbooks modified Twain’s treatment in various ways. For example, they began anthologizing his later works of social satire and criticism, such as *No.44*, *The Mysterious Stranger*, “The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg,” and “The War Prayer,” which had long been largely neglected by textbooks. Although Twain’s frontier and Mississippi writings continued to be popular choices, the elements of violence and destruction in these writings were sometimes avoided and even treated critically by textbooks. This paper analyzes these changes, connecting them with cultural discourses of counterculture in the 1960s such as environmentalism and anti-war activism.

The shift in the textbooks’ treatment of *Huck Finn* is also a significant topic of this paper. While the majority of textbooks in the 1950s and the 1960s continued to censor elements of racism against African Americans and slavery in the novel, some texts in the 1960s began placing these issues at the heart of their discussions of *Huck Finn*. This paper examines these changes in terms of these issues, including the canonization of *Huck Finn*, the development of Twain scholarship, and heightening interest in the study of racial inequality in contemporary America.

This paper ends with a detailed examination of Perry Miller’s voluminous textbook, *Major Writers of America* (1966), which includes a chapter on Mark Twain edited by Henry Nash Smith. Smith’s selection and discussion of Twain’s works far surpassed all other textbook treatments of Twain in its depth, comprehensiveness, balance, and objectivity. In the end, this paper suggests that Smith’s fair and in-depth discussion of Twain in conjunction with this textbook’s meticulously prepared teaching manual are highly indicative of the future development of the teaching and study of Mark Twain after the 1960s.

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“The Growth and Change of the Global Huck/Rosetta Project (2017-2021)”
(Session Nine)

Amid efforts to develop new ways of consolidating our understanding of global translations of Twain’s greatest novel, and exploring potential directions for the future, building on the scholarship of the past, the Global Huck project was first presented during the Eighth International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies in 2017, as part of “The Place of Mark Twain in Digital Humanities” workshop. It involved identifying global editions of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and having scholars contribute comments about the cultural work that each translation does in specific cultural contexts.

Bringing together scholars from Natural Language Processing, Translation studies, and American Studies, The Global Huck/Rosetta Project is two-pronged with a Digital Humanities side and a Cultural Studies one.

On the Digital Humanities level it explores technical ways of gathering data on one translated literary text. From this viewpoint, *Huckleberry Finn*, is a good case in point to Information Science experts: it deals with transnational and universal topics such as slavery, freedom, childhood, racism, and coming of age; this focus, combined with the astounding number of translations available (into 65 languages, sometimes multiple times over a century and a half) make *Huckleberry Finn* an ideal text to use as a prototype in an investigation of the global circulation of literary texts. That’s how, in 2019, Global Huck morphed into the Rosetta Project, helped by the France-Stanford Fund, that looked more specifically at versions from a number of low-resourced languages. The project first relied on crowdsourcing as well as inclusive, interactive and collaborative user-based approaches for data and information collection. Natural Language Processing methods are then used to generate multilingual knowledge and language resources (corpora, thesauri, dictionaries). The Digital Humanities approach enables Information Science experts to retrieve digital versions and align them, first by chapter, then line by line (as has been done for the Basque version). The Digital Humanities approach does not require intimate knowledge of the text and Twain scholarship by Information Technology experts to be conducted.

On the Cultural Studies level, which regroups American Studies and Translations Studies scholars, Global Huck explores the social, cultural, and political agendas of translators and publishers, and looks at how the cultural demands of readers shaped the book’s translation. Complementary to the Digital Humanities approach, it fosters fine-grained analysis of what actually happened within the translated texts as the Special Forum “Global Huck: Mapping the Cultural Work of Translations of Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*” in *Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 12(2)” illustrates. Taken together, the essays gesture to a fascinating array of perspectives on racial and class divides that break through the monolingual and nation-bound silos that usually constrain literary studies.

“The Growth and Change of the Global Huck/Rosetta Project (2017-2021)” presents an overview of what has been achieved within the framework of Global Huck: talks at conferences, journal articles, journal special issues, gathered primary and secondary sources. It presents the interactive map that was created and which is currently supported by Huma-Num, a very large research infrastructure for facilitating the digitization of research in the humanities and social sciences funded by the European Commission. (<https://rosetta.huma-num.fr/worldmap/index.html>) Through this map, users and scholars have the opportunity to gain insight into the global circulation of the novel.

It also presents the scholarship on translations of *Huck Finn* worldwide. The scholarship covers languages spoken on five continents although the greater part originates from Asia and Europe. Some studies stem from languages with but few speakers on the world stage such as Czech, Slovenian or Tatar, while others encompass large segments of the world population, whether because they tend to be international like Arabic, French or Spanish, or because

they have a large population of speakers and therefore wide readerships at home, such as Chinese, German, Hindi, Indonesian, Persian, and Vietnamese. Added up, these populations amount to a large portion of the world and those studies offer a vantage point into the readers' experience of *Huckleberry Finn*, globally.

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“Travel is fatal to prejudice’: The Rise of Mark Twain as a Social Critic and Fictive Abolitionist”

(Session Nine)

This paper focuses on Mark Twain's growth and changing attitude about slavery and racism in the USA in the 1880s and 1890s, following a few decades of national and international travels. My paper builds on Professor Shelley Fisher Fishkin's absorbing keynote presentation “Mark Twain's Historical View at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” which was delivered at the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar in 1999. In her paper, Fishkin explains and exemplifies how Twain's domestic and global travels—which Twain chronicled in *Roughing It* (1872), *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) and *Following the Equator* (1897)—brought him in direct contact with different customs, cultures and all stripes of humanity. This, Fishkin adds, consequently prompted Twain to reflect on his own Southern past and nation's history in different ways and engage significant contemporary social and political issues in some new directions. My paper is also partly based on two other articles I published in the *Mark Twain Annual* and The Center for Mark Twain Studies, titled “Tom Sawyer Said ‘He Was a Stranger from Hicksville, Ohio, and His Name Was William Thompson’” (2016) and “Tom Sawyer Had a Dream and It Shot Him” (2018). These two articles highlight a fictive dialogic relationship between Mark Twain and proslavery Southern writer and frontier humorist William Thompson, who fervently promoted and defended proslavery and secessionist agenda on American and foreign soil both before and after the Civil War. In fact, Thompson, whose name is given twice to Tom Sawyer in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) and *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894), was the person who designed the Confederate flag and sent his fictive Georgia hero, Major Joseph Jones, on trips across the Abolitionist North, Canada, and Europe to promote and condone slavery.

Not only did Twain's travels teach him valuable lessons about humanity and made him fully realize the great evils of African and white slavery in his home culture; they also provoked him to be openly and harshly critical of social and political issues between 1897 and 1907. This public outspokenness was preceded by a long and implicit fictive war Twain launched against the peculiar institution and southern apologists who, like Thompson, continued to romanticize life in the Old South and defend the Lost Cause nationally and internationally in the postbellum era. Given all this, Twain's often neglected 1894 book, *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, becomes significant and meaningful as it presents the resolution of Twain's implicit fictive war against Thompson. This war starts through occasional serious anti-slavery statements in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883); it escalates and climaxes in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* when Tom Sawyer locks and tortures the free enslaved Jim in the cabin and gets shot in the leg; it resolves when Jim is rewarded for his patience and established as an American hero in Africa where Twain celebrates his humanity on different occasions—mainly when Jim is placed on the head of the Sphinx with an American flag to plant. It is also important that Huck Finn, who narrates the story, always bands together with Jim in countering and finally comprehending and exposing Tom Sawyer's obstinacy, idealism, and bookish knowledge which Bill Thompson—as Huck calls Tom Sawyer at the beginning of this novel—has mostly drawn from Sir Walter Scott, *The Arabian Nights*, and books about gangs and prisons. Huck and Jim returning home from Africa are very much like their creator going back home after learning a significant lesson: travel is fatal to prejudice.

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“The Early Reception of Mark Twain in German-Language Newspapers and Periodicals: New Material from Digital Resources”

(Session Six)

While the idea of Mark Twain as a prototypical “American” writer is a widespread cliché, Mark Twain scholars have long been aware that the author’s fame quickly crossed national borders and expanded almost across the entire globe. Robert Rodney’s *Mark Twain International* (1982) has laid out in vivid detail the worldwide popularity of Mark Twain’s writings by collecting information about the vast number of translations that appeared in fifty-five countries and seventy-two languages (xxii).

However, international readers did not only learn about Mark Twain by way of his translated writings alone. Once the work of a new literary voice appears in translation, it is only natural that publishers, editors, reviewers, and literary critics engage with these texts. In this way, additional information and insights began to circulate in the host countries about the work by the man who developed into America’s most celebrated humorist. Given their own specific literary and cultural traditions, these professional readers and commentators offered fresh perspectives on the characteristic features, the strengths and weaknesses, of the products of Mark Twain’s imagination. Due to the fact that this kind of feedback rarely, if ever, found its way back to the United States, an understanding of Mark Twain’s international appeal remains incomplete.

In the introduction to her 2010 *Mark Twain Anthology* which collects responses to Twain’s art from a wide range of writers, Shelley Fisher Fishkin points out that “writers have been responding to Mark Twain in languages other than English for at least 138 years” (xxv) and that their readings and interpretations may help Americans of all stripes “understand the contexts in which Twain was read around the world” (xxvi). In a programmatic essay from 2016, Fishkin develops this thought further and argues in favor of paying more attention to the critical response Twain’s work has received outside of the United States. Exploring such voices from abroad “can help us [Americans] understand both Twain’s achievement as a writer and his impact on world literature” (110). Since international readers were paying attention to the cultural context in which Twain’s work emerged and developed, one could also imagine that foreign commentators, with their comparative perspectives, might shed a new light on the perception of American literature, American humor, and perhaps other features of the self-image of a country that was struggling to find its place in a cultural hierarchy dominated by European ideals.

Before this background, this paper presents a collection of early reactions to Mark Twain’s writings taken from German-language periodicals. Building on the earlier studies by Hemminghaus (1939) and Kinch (1989), this paper will present material from an ongoing research project designed to supplement the current state of research by drawing on a variety of new digital resources. Working before the advent of the internet with the tools of traditional literary scholarship, Hemminghaus and Kinch limited their research almost exclusively to printed books and scholarly periodicals. Reviews, comments, and critical appraisals published in daily and weekly newspapers remained outside of their field of vision. The fact that a number of German university libraries have recently put some of their historical collections online, now opens up new opportunities to fill the gaps in the existing record. With the digitized material now made available by the German Digital Library, the Bavarian State Library, the State and University Libraries in Bremen, Dresden, and Berlin, as well as the Austrian National Library, a variety of new information and insights emerges not only about translations of Twain’s sketches, novels, travel books and their critical reception, but also with regard to certain details of Twain’s life, most notably his sojourns in German-speaking locations such as Berlin and Vienna.

Since the scope of the material that can be unearthed from these digital resources exceeds the time available for this presentation, this paper will concentrate on the early critical response to Mark Twain’s work printed in German-language periodicals. By adding so far unknown voices to the chorus of early examinations of Mark Twain’s literary endeavors, the paper will provide insights into the ways in which his work was evaluated by German-speaking commentators both as an “American” product and with regard to its relationship to established national (or European) standards.

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"Mark Twain's Failures as His 'Neglected Texts'"

(Session Eight)

If it is true that the victors write history, and if, on a personal level, it is the privilege of the victors to leave their "autobiographies" for posterity, then we need to consider Mark Twain, who wrote that profound autobiography, as one of the "successes" in American history. However, Twain was a writer who did not emotionally identify himself with the "successful" side. One may also expect that the "losers," or "failures," continue to participate in "creating" history, and Twain was always concerned with those "weak" creators of the American chronicles.

The phenomena of men striving for social "success" and fearing more than anything else to become "failures" seem to be universal in today's capitalist societies. However, it was in 19th century America that the unprecedented development of capitalism redefined those terms. In particular, "failure" had simply meant "the lost capital of a bankruptcy" (Sandage 4) but extended its meaning to "the lost chances of a wasted life" (*ibid.*). Twain was a keen observer of this country in this time of social change, and no other writer reminds us that American society at this time was obsessed with the concept of "success" as he did, and no other writer has had such a close relationship with various "failures" as he did. This presentation aims to (re)consider the aspects of the benefit and detriment that those "failures" provided him, focusing on his notion of genealogy.

Twain was a writer influenced by many "failures" in his work. He himself was on the brink of failure many times as a Civil War soldier, speculator, investor, inventor, and businessman. Literature was the only profession that enabled Twain to turn all the failures he had seen and experienced into "the most valuable capital" (DeVoto 775). In addition to his own experiences, Twain was probably able to understand the feelings of failures because he had closely observed, partly through the numerous letters they exchanged, the life of his brother Orion Clemens for many years. In 1880 Twain prompted Orion to write an autobiography with such depressing titles as "The Autobiography of a Coward" or "Confessions of a Life that was a Failure." This new autobiographical attempt, which could have helped Orion out of his predicaments, was eventually abandoned without any apparent reasons explained. One can hypothesize that Orion's autobiography probably horrified Twain because he found in Orion's manuscript what Twain did not want to see in his life. I argue that Twain especially recognized that not only Orion but also he belonged to the lineage of "failures."

As Fanning explicitly explains in his book, it is possible to see Twain's malicious intentions in this series of events, while much about what went on in Twain's mind remains uncertain. Twain wrote in a notebook he used between August 1890 and July 1891, "Only 'birth' makes noble. So it follows indisputably that if Adam was noble, <we> all are; & if he wasn't, none are" (*Notebooks and Journals*. Vol. III. 606). One can interpret this as a general statement about human beings, and it is possible to regard it as a remark about himself.

Twain destroyed Orion's autobiography project, but he kept many of Orion's letters. Orion's numerous letters to Twain have the aspect of his "autobiography" as a whole. Twain may have realized that "failures" could not write frankly about their lives, hopes, sorrows, pains, and joys except in letters, and he used the various events they represent as fascinating elements to his readers. However, many of them are still "Neglected Texts." In examining Twain and his works, we can find that he frequently refers to the "bloodline" of his characters, which we tend to relate to the racial issues of the time. Since Twain's ideas about race underwent significant changes as his thinking matured and society changed, we cannot easily simplify them in any phase. This presentation also explores this aspect to understand Mark Twain's complexity, which shows human contradictions, sometimes ahead of the time, occasionally obedient to society's ideas.

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"Mr. Stanley, I presume': Mark Twain's 1872 Visit to England and His Growth as a Writer"

(Session Four)

Samuel Clemens had three reasons for visiting England in the fall of 1872. He sought to cement relations with his British publisher, George Routledge & Sons, for the authorized copyright-earning UK editions of *Roughing It* and *Innocents Abroad*. He wanted to challenge John Hotten's unauthorized publication of his work. And he aimed to soak up English life in preparation for a forthcoming book humorously presenting his American take on local customs. Before departing New York City on the *Scotia* on August 21, he had not intended to reconnect with Henry Morton Stanley, who'd arrived in London on August 1 following his successful mission to locate and bring relief to the missionary explorer Dr. David Livingstone. But as he reached England Clemens dutifully forwarded and endorsed the offer he'd received shortly before departure from James Redpath inviting to Stanley to lecture in the US at his earliest opportunity. The friendship with Stanley that began during this visit would nonetheless have impact on the rest of Mark Twain's career.

By the time the two men met up in London in mid-September 1872, Mark Twain had already commented twice on Stanley's remarkable news of finding Livingstone in Ujiji, on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, in central Africa, in October or November 1871 (each cited different dates, though the report did not reach the US public until May 2, 1872).[1] In line with his early *modus operandi*, Mark Twain offered comic commentary on the news in his July 20 sketch in the *Hartford Courant*, "The Secret of Dr. Livingstone's Voluntary Exile" (1872).[2] The sketch draws its epigraph from Stanley's blockbuster July 15 report to the *New York Herald* of his first conversations with Livingstone ("I found myself playing the part of a newspaper--I had five years of news to give him") to imagine why the doctor would choose to stay in Africa despite his years of "sufferings in mind, body and estate." [3] A similar comic impulse animated Clemens's after-dinner remarks to the Whitefriars on Friday, September 6, in which he claimed to have found Livingstone himself and let Stanley take the credit. I am still investigating whether Stanley also attended the event, which Clemens misremembered in a 1907 memoir for the Savage Club, but there he delivered jokes that settled a few scores with the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) on Stanley's behalf. A real friendship developed between them, however, after they spent time alone together mid-month in Stanley's flat on Duchess Street, around the corner from Sam's room at the Langham Hotel. Clemens reported to Livy, "we have been intimate & I have been of assistance to him & he has been of assistance to me." [4] Sam's affections soured, however, after Stanley responded ungenerously at the October 21st RGS banquet in his honor, and the men apparently had no further contact until late in 1886, when regular contact resumed beginning with Stanley's visit to Hartford

during his American lecture tour about his successful explorations of the Congo region in service of King Leopold. In the interim, novels and other fiction starting with *The Gilded Age* (1873) largely displaced the satiric sketches springing from current events. The 1872 plans for book with a comic American take on British customs remained on hold until after Stanley's 1886 visit to Hartford, when details from 1872 began surfacing in the manuscript that became *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). The 1872 relationship had the opposite effect on Twain's anti-imperialist satire *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905), never mentioning his friend while condemning atrocities in the Congo colony that Stanley helped to establish. "I have lost a dear & honored friend—," he grieved on May 11, 1904, the day after Stanley's death; "How far he stretches across my life! . . . It is 37 years. I have known no other friend & intimate so long, except John Hay." [5]

My presentation draws from published and archival records of both Stanley's and Clemens's activities in England during the fall of 1872, filling in the biographical and historical background for their intimate friendship during the period when both men were Yankees suddenly thrust into Queen Victoria's England.

- [1] "Livingstone Safe: Herald Special Report from London. The Great African Explorer Found and at Zanzibar," *New York Herald*, 2 May 1872, 7.
- [2] Mark Twain, "The Secret of Dr. Livingstone's Continued Voluntary Exile," *Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, & Essays*, ed. Louis J. Budd (New York: Library of America, 1992) 1: 541–42. Originally published 20 July 1872, *Hartford Courant*.
- [3] Henry Morton Stanley, "Livingstone: Stanley's Letters to the Herald Describing the Finding of the Great Traveler," *New York Herald*, 15 July 1872, 5.
- [4] Samuel L. Clemens, "Letter to Olivia Langdon Clemens, 25 October 1872," Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Samuel L. Clemens, "Mark Twain's 1872 English Journals (MTDP 00358)," Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- [5] Samuel L. Clemens, "Letter to Dorothy T. Stanley," ALS, UCCL 06833, Mark Twain Papers (Berkeley: Bancroft Library, University of California, 1904).

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"Absolutely fresh': Revising Francis Galton in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*" (Session Five)

If Mark Twain was an avid reader, his interest in cutting-edge scientific developments surely made up no small portion of his study. His ability to stay on top of current trends led to stories about telephones ("The Loves of Alonzo Fitz Clarence and Rosannah Ethelton"), bacteria ("Three Thousand Years among the Microbes"), and microscopy ("The Great Dark), and that fascination even led him to imagine something very much like the internet in his 1904 short story "From the *London Times* of 1904." In a less immediately technological sense, *Pudd'nhead Wilson's* titular character, who the narration says "interested himself in every new thing that was born into the universe of ideas," embodies the same fascination with "modern marvels" that animated Twain's life. We know that Twain's writing of that novel coincided with his reading Francis Galton's 1892 treatise *Finger Prints*, which, Twain told his publisher in a letter, was "virgin ground, . . . absolutely *fresh*, and mighty curious and interesting to everybody." A later communication confirms that he had attempted to limit his license regarding the science, keeping himself "within the bounds of [Galton's] ascertained facts." *Pudd'nhead*, then, is a novel stemming directly from Twain's wide-ranging reading, which foregrounds a character of similar habits. And yet a closer examination of Galton's project shows that his research on fingerprints was closely linked to his career-long aim to affirm societal progress through selective breeding, a model he termed "eugenics" in 1883. Specifically, Galton connected his research on fingerprints to his hope of finding a definitive way to identify an individual's race—a possibility, he writes, for which he "had great expectations, that have been falsified." *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, of course, satirizes this impulse by using fingerprints to identify individuals whose fingerprints do act as reliable identifiers, but whose racial positioning is ultimately constructed rather than biological. Interestingly, the novel's emphasis on

“twinning” links directly to a paper Francis Galton published in 1875 titled “The History of Twins.” Ironically, this paper, part of Galton’s explorations in behavioral genetics, concluded that nature, rather than nurture, was likely the source of human ability. Thus, *Pudd’nhead Wilson* can be correctly considered a text inspired by Twain’s love of reading. And yet, it is ultimately a text where neither author nor protagonist quite “gets the point.” Twain may stick to Galton’s “ascertained facts,” but his interpretation of those facts engenders revision rather than reproduction, and, in doing so, sharpens our abilities to read the intersection of science and society.

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“‘Treachery on both sides’: Mark Twain’s Lessons to Modern America on White Victimhood”

(Session Fifteen)

The violent insurrection at the Capitol building captured people’s attention around the world as the news media scrambled to understand the driving force behind these actions. Reporting on the subject centered around the same theme: white victimhood. *The Atlantic* columnist David A. Graham covered how Marco Rubio’s public statements painted the news media as the true villain and the rioters as the victims in his article entitled “The Insurrectionists Would Like You to Know That They’re the Real Victims.” Yahoo!news reporter Caitlin Dickinson entitled her article: “Capitol rioters see Ashli Babbitt as a martyr — and themselves as innocent patriots.” These headlines reveal a pattern all too familiar to critical race scholars, particularly those who specialize in critical whiteness studies. It is not surprising that his followers would see themselves as victims; Trump centered his campaign and presidency on white victimhood, relying on “demagoguery defined by a reliance on victimized, White, toxic masculinity.”[1] These rioters see themselves as innocent victims fighting against a corrupt system. Although many deny being racist, they express a color-blind ideology that minimizes the role of racism in the world today, embracing an institutional system that enables color-blind policies to perpetuate racial injustice. They see themselves as victims of reverse discrimination, scared the changing American demographics might challenge white supremacy and the privileges it confers. What, or who, can Americans turn to to understand this new, complex representation of racism? I believe the best writer to turn to is no other than Mark Twain.

Over a century ago, Mark Twain not only spoke to this a genteel, innocent representation of racism that is the current outward presentation of white supremacy, but he also embodies the growth and change that Americans need to make to confront this form of systemic racism. Twain begins his life as a Southern/Western young man who jokes to his mother that in “Eastern States, niggers are considerably better than white people,” yet his later life experiences transform him into one of the most vocal critics of white supremacy. The way he depicts frames of racial victimization and denial makes him one of the earliest critical whiteness scholars, which explains why he is the perfect social commentator to help modern scholars unpack how to address this form of racism that inverts the true nature of racial dynamics in America. In this paper, I will demonstrate how Twain’s critique of the innocence/blame paradigm and victimhood anticipates a modern color-blind ideology that tries to minimize the violence inflicted on minority communities and exaggerate white suffering, creating a moral veil that allows whites to escape accountability for the continued presence of racism in America. Twain’s ironic narration derides a society that minimizes the abuse it witnesses to argue a “both sides” narrative of racial conflict that absolves Americans of any culpability. He brilliantly illustrates how the United States is able to cover its own hypocrisy, hiding beneath a layer of false victimhood that continues to propagate Americans as the underdog, the true arbiters of liberty, all while committing the very moral crimes they claim to abhor. By unpacking Twain’s representations of victimhood in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* and *Following the Equator*, I will argue that he reveals the mindset of those that minimize the barbarity of imperialism, providing a scathing critique not only to the European countries that carved up Africa but an American government that follows suit. His critique outlines the modern frames of color blindness, drawing attention to the racism entrenched in the West’s most sacred institutions. He criticizes religious and civilizing missions, explaining how imperialists can balance their sense of morality and use ideas of victimhood to ease their conscience, normalizing a white dominance and arguing that there is “treachery on both sides” to justify building and white supremacist empire that extends from America to the entire globe.

[1] Johnson, Paul Elliott. "The Art of Masculine Victimhood: Donald Trump's Demagoguery." *Women's Studies in Communication*, 40:3, 2017, pp. 229-250. doi: 10.1080/07491409.2017.1346533

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"Susy Clemens: The Final Years (1890-1896)"
(Session One)

This paper will focus on the final years of Susy Clemens's life, from the time she began serious study to be admitted to Bryn Mawr at the age of 18 to her unexpected death at age 24 of spinal meningitis. In part this topic is in response to the suggested theme for the conference: growth. This is true for several reasons. For one, much is known and has been frequently rehearsed about Sam's celebration of Susy's young life, about his delight in her writing "Papa," and his own writing of "A Family Sketch" in response to her death. But much less is known about her young adult years when Susy was for a time living apart from her parents. It was also a time when Susy began actively seeking growth on her own through Mental Science and more generally Spiritualism, a subject that became increasingly controversial with regards to her tragic death. As I will clarify, Sam and Livy went from being pleased that Susy was embracing various aspects of Mental Science through the influence of her long-time "governess," Lily Foote, to in effect blaming Mental Science and spiritualism for her death from meningitis.

This is a rich time in Susy's life, all things considered. She began serious independent study with a tutor to prepare to take advanced entrance exams for Bryn Mawr in Math, Algebra, Physical geography, German grammar and translation, and Latin grammar. She entered Bryn Mawr in the fall of 1890, and while the initial family letters suggest that she was homesick and not adjusting well, she settled in fairly quickly and was cast in the lead soprano role of Phyllis in an operatic presentation of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Iolanthe." More tellingly, she fell in love with an older student, Louise Brownell, who invited her to room with her the following year, and although that friendship ultimately appears to have faded in intensity, it lasted until the end of her life. Because Susy and Louise were physically separated for much of the time in question, a significant number of letters exist to this day from Susy to Louise, though none remain from Louise to Susy. The Clemens family appeared not to have kept them. The extant letters are at times passionate, intensely personal, and often revealing of a fragile and vulnerable side of Susy. This paper will explore the range of these letters and what they reveal about Susy in her early 20s. Unfortunately, they do not reveal why Susy ultimately left Bryn Mawr abruptly in April of 1891. What does become clear, however, as one reads through other family letters and statements, is that it was most likely the family who decided to withdraw Susy from Bryn Mawr, not she herself choosing to withdraw. In turn, how hasty was the Clemens family decision to leave Hartford and move to Europe in 1891? While we cannot know for certain, it appears that Livy and Sam wanted Susy out of Bryn Mawr, (what Sam called "that deadly college,") which may well have precipitated their decision to leave for Europe.

This paper will address as well the extraordinary decision the family reached to allow Susy (and Jean) to remain in Elmira with Aunt Susan when Sam, Livy, and Clara began their extensive world tour to help bring the Clemens family out of debt through Sam's speaking tours in Australia, New Zealand, India, and So. Africa. One explanation has it that Susy decided she did not want to go along and so was allowed to remain behind, while some family friends found it difficult to imagine Livy being willing to allow Susy to be apart from her. However, it came about, it represented a major change in the family dynamic, and a crucial time in Susy's growth. In addition to staying in Elmira, she traveled and stayed with family friends in New York, Orange, N.J., and Hartford, where she contracted meningitis, for which there was no cure.

This paper will explore these various sides of Susy's "growing up" as well as suggest how this process—cut short by her premature death—should not be over-shadowed by the way she was idealized posthumously.

Seth Murray (smurr14@ur.rochester.edu)

“Death and the Afterlife in *Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven*”
(Session Two)

One of Mark Twain’s metaphysically peculiar late narratives, *Extracts from Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven* (1909), has the strange significance of being one of his last writings on a subject that he had been chewing on for nearly four decades, since the end of the American Civil War. I will situate Twain’s *Extract* within the fertile and lively discourse on death and the afterlife taking place in the country at the end of the nineteenth century and argue for the work’s value as a significant part of Mark Twain’s oeuvre.

As Victor Doyno notes, *Extract* can be understood as part of a literary trend in the post-war United States of fictions dealing with life after death. Doyno connects it specifically to popular bestsellers such as Elizabeth Stuart Phelps’s *The Gates Ajar* (1868). My presentation examines the discourse of the afterlife in American thought that may have influenced Twain’s *Extract* by reading it through the lens of Benjamin Ide Wheeler’s *Dionysos and Immortality* (1899), which reprinted his contribution to Harvard’s Ingersoll Lectures on Human Immortality.

Wheeler was a lesser-known presenter of the lecture series. Started in 1893 with the stipulations that they not be given by any professor as part of students’ “usual routine of instruction,” and that the lecturer not be “restricted to any one denomination or profession,” Ingersoll Lectures have been delivered by such luminaries as William James, Alfred North Whitehead, Paul Tillich, Toni Morrison, and Marilynne Robinson.

A philologist by trade, Wheeler used his lecture to trace the development of the imagined afterlife in Greek antiquity. In early narratives, such as Homer’s *Iliad*, the afterlife is vaguely gestured to as a space for the repackaging of souls, but it is not imagined with much detail. Over the next few centuries this vision changes drastically. From Homer to Sophocles and then Plato one sees an increasing complexity and a much greater material specificity in the imagination of the afterlife. Wheeler attributes this to the Eleusinian mysteries and the cult of Dionysos, which he postulates involved rituals that provoked a vast expansion of the vocabulary of the hereafter. Wheeler insists that this process was integral for the later Christian imagination of the afterlife and remains with us to this day.

I maintain that the process elucidated by Wheeler is essentially a literary one and can be brought to bear on a work of fiction like Twain’s *Extract* by reading it through the frame of what Mikhail Bakhtin calls the evolution of the chronotope. The chronotope of a narrative refers to how the logic of time and space is accounted for in it. Bakhtin charts the development of the modern novel as a result of a “thickening” chronotope. In earlier romances, for instance, a thousand-mile voyage could be accomplished in a day, whereas in a modern novel the logic of that voyage, the supplies necessary to undertake it and the day-to-day complications of travel would be carefully rendered, lending the text greater verisimilitude. This, essentially, is the same process that Wheeler describes as happening with our imagination of the afterlife, and I argue that Twain’s *Extract* is participating in that chronotopic process. Understanding the *Extract* in this context sheds light on the heightened imagination of the afterlife in the fin-de-siecle United States, a discourse of death long ignored and obviously made relevant again by the troubling last few years of our own century.

I connect this analysis of Mark Twain and the afterlife to relatively recent works on his religious imagination, such as Harold Bush’s 2007 book on the spiritual crisis of Twain’s age and to Jason Gary Horn’s study of the relationship between Twain and William James. I also situate it within the larger historical context of religious life in America in that period provided by T. Jackson Lears. In the process, my presentation addresses the conference’s interests in “what previously neglected texts by Twain speak to us today and deserve to be reconsidered” and “how might we look at Mark Twain and his era in new ways.”

“Mark Twain as a Literary Anthropologist: *Letters from Earth* and Cultural Relativism”
(Session Six)

If we look at the history of cultural anthropology, we can see that it overlapped with Mark Twain's writing career during its early stages. As one of the founders of cultural anthropology, Edward Tylor (1832-1917) published *Primitive Culture* (1871) and *Anthropology* (1881). Tylor focused on the idea of animism from the perspective of comparative religious culture. Additionally, his thoughts on anthropology are based on cultural evolutionism as a post-Darwinian evolution theory. Meanwhile, Twain's writings included novels, sketches, travelogues, autobiographical works and so on and be it fiction or nonfiction, Twain introduced ethnographic methods into his writings such as folklore, oral history, and fieldwork just before the discipline of cultural anthropology was established. In the academic history of cultural anthropology, Mark Twain can be seen as the precursor of cultural relativism, which was advocated by Frantz Boaz (1858-1942), who is considered the father of the modern discipline, instead of his contemporary anthropologist, Edward Tylor. Indeed, the writings of Twain are used as teaching materials in anthropology classrooms to date. This presentation will analyze the works of Twain in search of the intersection between literature and cultural anthropology.

In Twain's early travelogue *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), his inclination for a kind of “reflective observation” was clearly shown. His literary techniques can be seen as an act of rebellion against Eurocentrism. Going back further, Twain wrote reportages from the Sandwich islands under the reign of Kamehameha IV as a correspondent of the *Sacramento Union*. In 1866, he stayed in Oahu, Maui, Kilauea, and Hawaii for about 4 months during which he sent in a total of 25 reports. As a fledging humorist in his younger days, Twain regarded the local's lives as uncivilized and depicted their lives comically. As a humoristic lecturer, “The Sandwich Islands” was his favorite topic for a long time. It is, thus, worth noting that Mark Twain started his literary career writing about other cultures.

His literary skill for collecting folktales and introducing eye dialect helped him develop the pseudo autobiography, *Roughing It* (1872). These techniques were also applied into his fictional work, namely *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). His literary motif about inter-cultural conflict was also present in another fictional work, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). This work depicts the transformation of the worldview of protagonist Hank Morgan from ethnocentrism to cultural relativism. His final travelogue, *Following the Equator* (1897) was also based on his world lecture tour around former English colonies such as Australia and India.

The works of Mark Twain can be seen as him establishing the idea of American national narratives. His major works (both fiction and nonfiction) feature the search for an American identity. His later works deepened the skepticism toward America-centrism and anthropocentrism, as well as a Christ-centric view of the world. In the fin de siècle of the 19th century, cultural anthropology was rising as a new academic field. Against this cultural backdrop, thoughts of social Darwinism created a literary trend. Similarly, the early stages of cultural anthropology also shared this same tendency. Compared to the contemporary trends of cultural anthropology, Twain's attitudes toward other cultures shared some similarities with the modern discipline of Franz Boaz (Boasian anthropology) which opposed the evolutionary perspective.

Even in the latter half of the 20th century, critical reflection on the methods and attitudes of cultural anthropology led to the development and diversification of new anthropological branches such as Clifford Geertz's “interpretive anthropology” and James Clifford's interdisciplinary approach that connects anthropology with literature and history.

I will reexamine the process of Mark Twain's growing ideas of culture and national identity while considering the history of cultural anthropology until the era of Geertz and Clifford, specifically through the lens of his posthumous work, *Letters from the Earth*, written in 1909. The sci-fi setting, the alien point-of-view, and the way

living on Earth was depicted as fake reportage reminds us of Twain's early journalistic work *Letters from Hawaii* which was written in 1866. By tracing the evolution of Twain's literary career via his motif of meeting with other cultures, his concept of culture as an overlap between socio-cultural backgrounds and the history of cultural anthropology will be analyzed. A possibility of reading the works of Twain as world literature and applied literature will also be explored.

Terry Oggel (toggel@vcu.edu)

“Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*: The Tragedy of Nineteenth-Century American Race Law”
(Session Thirteen)

In 1893, Mark Twain was in Florence, Italy. For a year he had been toying with a story about conjoined twins. As he later explained, “I had seen a picture of a youthful Italian ‘freak’—[...] a combination consisting of two heads and four arms joined to a single body and a single pair or legs[...].” The potential for irony and for humor, albeit lame, attracted Twain. He titled his story *Those Extraordinary Twins*.

Then Twain's English publisher sent him a copy of *Finger Prints* (1892) by Francis Galton. Twain instantly wrote back: “The Finger Prints have just arrived, & I don't know how you could have done me a greater favor. I shall devour it.” Study it carefully he did. Twain had already been the first author to write about fingerprints—in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883)—but Galton's examination of fingerprints was far advanced and its details spurred Twain's imagination to use this new forensic science in his fiction. Learning from what Galton had discovered, in his rewrite of his story, now titled *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894), the characters' fingerprints are unique and they last a lifetime. Galton even did Twain the favor of discussing twins, concluding that “it would be totally impossible to fail to distinguish between the finger prints of twins, who in other respects appeared exactly alike.” Twain's farce about extraordinary twins grew into a complex tragedy about American race law. In his “Whisper to the Reader” he suggested a connection with a literary Florentine ancestor. Using bitter irony and humor far from lame, he brought Dante's inferno up-to-date in an assault on American race law.

Meanwhile, back in America a landmark race law case was being argued. The controversy began in 1892 when Homer Plessy, a Black man, was arrested for breaking a new Louisiana law forbidding Blacks from occupying the same railroad car as whites. Arguments on both sides focused on the 14th Amendment to the Constitution which stated that “No state[...] shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States[...].” Plessy maintained that not being allowed to use the same car as whites abridged his rights as a citizen. The majority in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) held that Plessy's rights had not been abridged. Separate did not amount to a loss of citizen privileges or lack of equality.

The lone dissenter, John Marshall Harlan, in angry terms mocked his colleagues' weak judgment. The majority had hung its logic on “physical differences,” on skin-color. Legislation, the majority maintained, “is powerless[...] to abolish distinctions based on physical differences,” and thus, separation “does not discriminate against either race.” Harlan was appalled by the disingenuousness of such a rationale. That argument “does not meet the difficulty,” he asserted. He then made clear the true objective behind the majority's logic. It was, “under the guise of giving equal accommodation for whites and blacks, to compel the latter to keep to themselves while traveling in railroad passenger coaches.” “Our constitution is color-blind” he proclaimed. “The destinies of the two races, in this country are indissolubly linked together.” The majority's “thin disguise of ‘equal’ accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, or atone for the wrong done this day.”

As Albert Bigelow Paine has recorded, a fortune-teller once told Twain that he was missing his calling: you should be “a lawyer—that's where your talents lie.” Twain listened, though he found his own way. He seems to have known nothing about the Plessy case as he rewrote his story, yet his depiction of race law in the hands of lawyer Wilson resounds like the pockmarked majority opinion Harlan condemned. Juxtaposed, these two texts, legal and literary,

almost teach themselves. Students leap to apply the indefensible logic of the majority to the simplistic misuse of fingerprints to “solve” a case that epitomizes ingrained white racism. Kim Roam’s “Mark Twain: Doctoring the Laws” (1983) helps demonstrate the satirical depiction of law as prosecuted by Wilson. After 23 years in Dawson’s Landing, he has tragically become a pudd’nhead himself, characteristic of Twain’s career-long portrayal of law used to maintain racial injustice. This time he goes further than ever by employing cutting-edge forensic evidence to do so.

Alan Rankin (alanrankin23@yahoo.com)

“Nina Gabrilowitsch: Actress, Writer, Photographer”

(Session One)

One of the drawbacks of an artistic genius that burns as brightly as Mark Twain’s is that it tends to outshine the creative sparks of those around him. It’s an issue that affects the offspring of great talents to this day, and it certainly affected Twain’s granddaughter, Nina Gabrilowitsch. Her brief creative career is often overlooked: Early in her life, she acted on the stage in both collegiate and professional dramatic companies. She was also a skilled (if unpublished) writer, and a dedicated amateur photographer.

“Nina Gabrilowitsch: Actress, Writer, Photographer” is the first study focused solely on her body of work and her *growth* as an artist. As with my previous research on Nina, it looks beyond the standard portrayal of Twain’s sole grandchild as the tragic victim of alcoholism and mental illness. While that period of her life will not be glossed over, this presentation focuses on the 1920s and 1930s, when Nina was generally happy, stable, and creative.

This study was inspired by the discovery of a handful of photographs from that era, showcasing Nina’s little-known stage career. These photos were found at auctions online by Twain scholar Taylor Roberts, who has generously agreed to share them for this presentation. They reveal a Nina who is fully in her element, and, for once, out of the shadow of her famous family.

Accompanying these images will be background information on Nina’s various dramatic companies. Barnard’s Wigs and Cues dramatic society performed in New York City; the Detroit Theater Arts group worked in her adopted hometown; and the El Capitan Players put her on stage in Los Angeles and elsewhere on the West Coast. Excerpts from reviews of these performances in contemporary newspapers will also be included.

Nina did not shy away from associations with Mark Twain in connection with her work. The presentation will include a mention of Nina’s brief attempt at a movie career; the never-filmed project was an adaptation of “The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg.” She often adopted the name “Nina Clemens” when performing on stage. Discussion of the plays in her repertoire, which included *The Women* and Bernard Shaw’s *Androcles and the Lion*, will complete a thorough study of Nina’s work on the stage.

As its title suggests, the presentation will also include some of the finest surviving examples of her writing and photography, fields in which Nina was an enthusiastic amateur. The writing will mostly be drawn from her diaries, her main outlet for written work. But she did write for school publications, which may indeed be the only published work of Mark Twain’s granddaughter during her lifetime. Mention will also be made of her autobiographical work-in-progress, *A Life Alone*, the manuscript of which was lost after her death.

The presentation will conclude with a look at Nina’s photographic work. While she never pursued a career in photography, she was a talented shutterbug from an early age. This is well-documented in her photo albums, preserved (and shared) by the Mark Twain House and Museum. Her surviving photographs display the practiced ease with which she used the technology of her era. Mark Twain may have loved the concept of photography, but Nina picked up the camera and made it her own.

My previous research on Nina's life revealed a young woman worthy of note, who was completely obscured by the sad, dissipated figure she became later in life. This presentation goes further, showing her as a person who - however briefly - found a voice and a creative path all her own, distinct from those of her famous family members. And it will invite the audience to speculate about the creative work Nina might have achieved, if her later life had been different.

Matt Seybold (mseybold@elmira.edu)

“Darnella Frazier’s Smartphone & Mark Twain’s Notepad: The Vigilante Origins of American Police”
(Session Fifteen)

“Let us abolish policemen who carry revolvers and clubs,” Mark Twain said, no doubt relishing a pregnant pause - as there was, by his own account, nothing more effective - before adding, “and put in a squad of poets armed to the teeth with poems on spring and love.”

Twain was, ostensibly, toasting Republican Governor of New York, Benjamin Odell, who in the first year of his first term has succeeded in pressing through a controversial bill which reorganized the command of municipal police forces and, according to its critics, was designed to facilitate increased voter suppression in urban neighborhoods that were Democratic strongholds.

Looking out from the dais across the ballroom of the Lotus Club, Twain would have seen nothing but the faces of New York's Republican establishment. In attendance were congressmen, wealthy donors, and the recently-inaugurated Vice President, Theodore Roosevelt, who had first imagined the bill when he presided over the NYC Board of Police Commissioners. The club was also replete with state legislators, enjoying their eighth consecutive session of GOP control over both houses. And, on this occasion, they were joined by commissioners, superintendents, precinct captains, and other officers from the NYPD.

Whoever invited Twain, the most sought-after toastmaster of the day, clearly had not done their research. In truth, there was likely nobody in the room, save Twain himself, who could remember what Twain had written 34 years earlier, on the day he was released from an NYPD holding cell: “I am glad I got into the Station House, because it will teach me to never so far forget all moral principle as to compliment a police force again.”

These words would be published in the *San Francisco Alta California* in June of 1867. More even than they were a provocation of the NYPD, who he accused of arresting him on false pretenses, they were Twain's parting shot at the San Francisco Police, with whom he had long been feuding. It was in San Francisco that Twain learned his deep distrust of the emergent American myth which characterized police as personifications of justice and peace, in spite of their monopoly on violence. It was also where he came to recognize the relationship between the police and a free press as inherently an oppositional one.

My paper will focus on how Twain, in the earliest stages of his celebrity, used his access to the presses and other bully pulpits of the wildcat era to lead a reform movement against the violent, vigilante SFPD, who only a decade earlier had staged a bloody coup d'état over the duly-elected municipal government. This oft-overlooked event in Twain's career reveals much about the origins of modern U.S. police forces, the racialization of policing, and the crucial role mass media has always played in “witnessing,” as Alissa Richardson theorizes it in *Bearing Witness While Black* (Oxford UP, 2020).

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“Why I Still Teach Twain in a Twenty-first Century Indian Classroom”
(Session Eight)

When I proposed to include Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the first year undergraduate English Literature program at my college in Mumbai, India, I was met by several quizzical looks. The year was 2017 and much had changed in the preceding decades, in the curriculum and pedagogy of English Literature programs in Indian universities. From a curriculum dominated by Euro-American canon, there was a radical shift in the 1980's with vociferous appeals by academicians in India for greater diversity by including postcolonial voices from the non-western world. Further, and rightly so, there was a demand to include Indian writing in English, and translation from other Indian languages. Voices of underrepresented groups - women, *Dalits* (low castes), *Adivasis* (tribals), and people of alternate sexualities - found a long-deserved place in the curricula of colleges and universities in India. In this climate opting to teach a Nineteenth-century White, American, Christian, male author seemed a rather outdated move. Mark Twain's reputation in India as a humorous writer popular with children, had my students looking at me with suspicion that I had underrated their intellect. And this is exactly what made my teaching of Twain both challenging and interesting, as the students and I journeyed together to examine Twain's writings, fiction and nonfiction, through a transnational lens. My paper traces this path of discovery that not only does Twain's voice reverberate with the present U.S. concerns but that also current students in Indian classrooms have much to learn from his writings on race, imperialism, social justice and empathy.

Robert Slotta (marktwain2010@gmail.com)

“Important Insights Extracted from the Direct Sequel to *Huckleberry Finn* & Their Impact”
(Session Fourteen)

There is a very important Mark Twain story that has never been properly recognized and deserves a great deal more scholarly attention today because new information, handwritten by Mark Twain himself in 1884, reveals a completely different scenario than what we have been led to believe from the likes of A.B. Paine, Bernard DeVoto, and Walter Blair.

Known as *Huck Finn & Tom Sawyer Among the Indians* (henceforth referred to as *Indians*), this was the first and only true sequel to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Both stories turn out to be much more intertwined than previously thought. There are many important revelations and insights into *Huck* and its sequel that sprout from the new analysis of the original working notes made for *Indians*. One strange insight is that *Indians* actually controlled the time setting of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

Mark Twain abruptly stopped writing *Indians*, suppressed it from the public, and yet had it specially printed and preserved for discovery after his death. A careful study of the situation reveals that Mark Twain promised his wife Livy that he would not write another word of the highly controversial story, so long as it was carefully preserved for future generations to study after their deaths.

Mark Twain also promised not to tell anybody about the story, which included his hand-picked biographer, Albert B. Paine. Mark Twain hoped Paine would have been able to recognize the sequel to *Huck* when he ran across it after his death. After all, it picks up right where *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* left off. Huck, Tom, and Jim light out for the Indian Territory as foreshadowed in *Huck Finn*. And, since he also left his handwritten master plans of this sequel for Paine, all of the essential pieces of the puzzle were there to reveal the true *Huckleberry Finn* tale as originally envisioned.

However, Paine made a botch of things. Paine was in way over-his-head as literary executor of Mark Twain's estate and also having the monumental task of writing the official Mark Twain biography. Rather than properly studying Mark Twain and his writings, Paine composed the biography with one eye on the clock (to get it published as quickly as possible), and the other eye on Mark Twain's daughter Clara, who had to be appeased when it came to portraying a certain brand image of her father.

As a result, soon after Mark Twain died, Paine sold Twain's master plans to *Indians* without even knowing it! They were handwritten on the pages of *Our Wild Indians* by Col. Richard Irving Dodge (Mark Twain's primary sourcebook about life among the Indians). Paine placed that book at auction without even reading Mark Twain's hundreds of handwritten notes that were inside. Paine then proceeded to read the printed version of *Indians*, and then attack it as well as Twain's writing skills in his biography. Most of Paine's facts and conclusions were purely inaccurate to the core, starting with the notion that *Indians* was written in 1889, and further claiming that, "... at the end of chapter IX Huck and Tom had got themselves into a predicament from which it seemed impossible to extricate them, and the plot was suspended for further inspiration, which apparently never came." (*Mark Twain: A Biography*, 1912, vol. 2, page 899)

Mark Twain changed the setting of *Huck Finn* by a full decade after he wrote it. After submitting the original manuscript of *Huckleberry Finn* to his publisher, Charles Webster, he wrote to him on July 6th, 1884, "Send to me, right away, a book by Lieut. Col. Dodge, USA, called '25 years on the Frontier' --- or some such title --- I don't remember just what.... Send what you can find. I mean to take Huck Finn out there."

Eleven days later he had *Our Wild Indians* by Lieut. Col. Dodge, USA, in his hands, and wrote Webster, "The book you sent is the right one... Don't need any more Injun books." Mark Twain immediately began brainstorming Huck's Indian adventures as he read it, & wrote notes on its pages as ideas sprang into his mind. By page 68 he determined the time setting of Huck's sequel was going to be 50 years ago (from 1884) & wrote "our time" along the left blank margin.

A week later he recalled that *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was set precisely 40 years ago (in the mid 1840's). So on July 24th he ordered Webster to "... alter the title-page so as to say, 'Time, forty to fifty years ago' instead of 'Time, forty years ago.' ---- If the printing isn't begun, you can make the alteration, of course - so do it." The change was made for the explicit purpose of having the settings of both stories match for the sake of historical realism.

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"Of Time and Quantum Mechanics in *Roughing It*"

(Session Four)

Despite what he says, Jay Gatsby doesn't so much want to repeat the past as to obliterate it—or a part of it, anyway—and to enable a kind of temporal do-over that will allow him and Daisy Buchanan—or, now, once again, Daisy Fay—to resume the relationship they were cultivating when his poverty and the Great War intervened. He believes less in time-travel than in time-unravel, with Daisy as both the means and the object of his ambition to reset the clock. The change he seeks is a restoration: he wants Daisy's unwavering love for him to cause history to run backwards, and then to resume and correct it at the point where things began to go sideways.

In *Roughing It* Mark Twain turns out to have a different ambition regarding time. He doesn't want to go back to a golden moment and start again from there. He wants to seal that golden moment away forever in an irretrievable past that is as absolutely out of reach as it may be exhilarating to remember. F. Scott Fitzgerald—or is it Nick Carraway?—tells us that no matter how much we beat on against time's current, we are borne back ceaselessly into the past. Twain releases no analogous pronouncement at the end of *Roughing It*, but makes it clear that we are much more likely to be borne, or driven, into a future in which the past is rightly understood to be both inaccessible and irrelevant. Change for him is the essence of nostalgia: we're best at recalling the golden moments of our past when the consequences of time passing have made them otherwise impossible to relive.

For all its paradoxes and conundra, quantum mechanics is surprisingly old-school about time, allowing it, and maybe it alone, for the most part to function as a "smooth" constant in a dynamic, fidgety reality that maintains, for instance, that Schrodinger's cat is both alive and dead until we look into the box where we put it. Quantum physics

insists that apparently contradictory states (alive/dead, up/down) coexist simultaneously until they are fixed, one way or the other, by observation. Fitzgerald and Twain, and probably the rest of us, see time as a linear constant, too, but both tease us with characters who want to fuss with that linearity in ways that even quantum physicists won't, and *Roughing It* in particular argues that that linearity is uni-directional. As Twain himself said, "I do not live backwards."

Especially in the waning days of his bachelorhood, when he was writing the early chapters of *Roughing It*, Sam Clemens was not about to live backwards, or to write a book seemed to want to. He was anxious to secure and maintain the approval of the Langdon family and—astoundingly as far as he was concerned—to marry Olivia Langdon. This was not the moment to be caught yearning for a Gatsby-like return to the "wild sense of freedom [of] those fine overland mornings" that *Roughing It* celebrates.

How Mark Twain resolves this ambivalence is the central question this talk sets out to explore, with Fitzgerald and Gatsby along as occasional points of reference and with a rudimentary dabbling in quantum mechanics enabling us to understand how contemporary physics sheds unusual light on states of change and stasis. Moreover, there's a fundamental duality in the quantum world, where opposites are held together in suspension until they are observed, that Clemens/Twain, in his fascination with twinning, doubling and impersonation, seems to have anticipated and might have found congenial.

The changes and choices we associate with *Roughing It* follow from and reflect Twain's own quantum state at the time of writing it. Was he the Wild Humorist of the Pacific Slope or a candidate for gentility fit to take his place in the Langdon household? Do his experiences in the book describe the transformation of a hapless innocent or does he remain a tenderfoot, only now with a better hat? Is the American West a transformative Eden or a violent maw that devours young men and their dreams?

At the outset of *Roughing It*, in its "Prefatory," Mark Twain says that the object of the book "is rather to help the resting reader while away an idle hour than afflict him with metaphysics, or goad him with science." I regret that the object of this talk would seem to be just about the opposite.

Atsushi Sugimura (asugimura@yamanashi-eiwa.ac.jp)

"Her adored moral half-breed": Mark Twain's Refracted *Autobiography* and His 'Playing Indian'" (Session Four)

Sam Clemens explores in "Indiantown," an unfinished semi-autobiographical fragment written around 1899, the combined themes of divided identity, courtship disguise, and crippled authorial intent within the context of his relationship with his wife Olivia. Interestingly, no Native presence is suggested in "Indiantown" except a passage in which David Gridley, Clemens's alter ego, gives vent to his frustration with his wife's constant bowdlerism: "Sometimes he wrote literature for the eastern press—fierce and bloody Indian tales—and again she edited. He complained that he sent his Indians out on the war-path and she ambushed them and sent them to Sunday school." The image of ferocious Indians is thus appropriated for the expression of Clemens's perceived sense of baffled authorial control, constituting a symbolic site of removal, substitution, and castration. Slight indication of the trope of Indianness can be discerned in Clemens's wording of the "heavenly war-paint," with which David practices a "deception" on his fiancé during the courtship, and the suggestive moniker Clemens gave to his victimized alter ego: "her adored moral half-breed."

Unlike David Gridley, Clemens never let Olivia bowdlerize "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" (1884), the most "fierce and bloody" of Indian tales he ever composed. In her groundbreaking *Mark Twain among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples* (2018), Kerry Driscoll confirms Peggy Mill's "association with Livy," identifying in Clemens's idolized portrayals of the heroine "many of the selfsame traits he ascribed to Livy in his

1870 letter to Will Bowen.” By musing on the suggested gangrape of Peggy, Helen L. Harris observed in 1975: “The Indian was inextricably associated with the worst of all male atrocities, committed upon victims who could have been his wife or daughters.” It is worth noting that Brace Johnson, Peggy’s fiancé, confirms the tribal identity of the Indians soon after their raid on the Mills family: “Sioux—yes, Sioux, that’s plain.” He also affirms to Tom and Huck that Man-afraid-of-his-Mother-in-law, a mysterious barefaced Indian who is “in disgrace” with his fellow tribal members, slaughtered Peggy’s father on account of “nothing but a little private grudge.” It should be remembered that Clemens’s own mother-in-law shares her name with her daughter Olivia.

In *Letters from the Earth* (c. 1909), Clemens reflects on cases of interracial rape committed during the US-Dakota War of 1862. At the Mark Twain and Native Americans Panel of the Elmira 2017, Atsushi Sugimura reexamined Clemens’s suppressed anxiety and desire as a self-deracinated southerner, scrutinizing the underlying historical link between the narrator’s vengeful murder of 38 inhabitants of Connecticut that is perpetrated “on account of ancient grudges” in “The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut” (1876) and the mass execution of 38 Sioux Indians carried out on 26 December 1862 in Mankato, Minnesota, in the wake of the US-Dakota War. Sugimura also isolated in the sketch a subtle “abolitionist” connection between the narrator’s “gentle tormentor” Aunt Mary and Olivia: the narrator’s conscience has long been troubled by Aunt Mary’s repeated requests for abandoning the “hateful slavery of tobacco.” (The paper is available on the CMTS website.)

This paper also aims to suggest a new way to revisit Injun Joe’s planned “‘revenge’ job” on Widow Douglas in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) with reference to the forms of mutilations reported as Indian customs in De B. Randolph Keim’s *Sheridan’s Troopers on the Borders* (1870), a book Clemens mentions in his vitriolic “The Noble Red Man” (1870). In *Injun Joe’s Ghost* (2004), Harry J. Brown contextualizes Joe’s “spectacular self-destruction” within the dime-novel tradition of half-breed outlaws being driven by “double-edged hatred, pointed with equal force toward the half-breed himself and his enemies.” “Sometimes, like a composite photograph,” Clemens observes in an 1895 interview on *Tom Sawyer*, “an author’s presentation of a character may possibly be from the blending of more than two or more real characters in his recollection.” In “Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins” (1869), he chronicles conjoined twins’ conflicting Civil War experiences and their courtship rivalry over a lady who is “painfully sensitive to the smell of tobacco.” “[W]hen Livy is well I smoke only those 2 hours on Sunday.” He wrote to Joseph H. Twichell on 19 December 1870 about his resuming of his pet vice: “I’m ‘boss’ of the habit, now, & shall never let it boss me any more. Originally, I quit solely on Livy’s account . . .” He wrote in 1902 that Tom Sawyer is “ostentatiously smart & inventive & always boss.” If we put the surnames of the alleged original tormentors of Injun Joe together like a “composite photograph,” we will get *robinsondouglas*. Within it we can discern a familiar name: *our boss Langdon*.

Andrew Touma (touma88@stanford.edu)

“From Spinnin’ Yarns to Spinnin’ Records: Mark Twain’s Phonographic Prescience” (Session Twelve)

This paper sheds new light on Mark Twain’s dialect writing by approaching it as a voice-recording technology. It examines the growing pains that attend man’s technological efforts to capture and play back the human voice alongside the growing pains of Twain’s most iconic character, Huckleberry Finn. In writing about Dadaist painting and literature as a harbinger of film, Walter Benjamin explains that: “It has always been one of the primary tasks of art to create a demand whose hour of full satisfaction has not yet come. The history of every art form has critical periods in which the particular form strains after effects which can be easily achieved only with a changed technical standard- that is to say, in a new art form” [1]. As a culmination of nineteenth-century literary efforts in dialect writing and vernacular voice, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* strains after an audio realism that won’t become possible until Thomas Edison’s phonograph transforms sound recording. Put another way, Mark Twain’s aspirations in *Huckleberry Finn* are unconsciously phonographic. Though he aims for verisimilitude, his innovative voice-recording technology ultimately stifles this endeavor. The same phonetic spelling and punctuation that

make his realistic dialects possible hinder their immediacy and transparency by thickening the story's textuality and demanding a more rigorous engagement of the reader's eye. But Twain's phonographic prescience also extends beyond mere voice recording. Huck Finn himself can be read as a prefiguration of the juvenile voice consumer that will turn to phonographs, radios, and rhythm and blues records in the next century. His frustration with reading and his enchantment with the soundscape outside his bedroom window and what Toni Morrison describes as Jim's "highly vocal affection"[2] uncover a latent demand for private phonographic moments that won't be possible until the advent of records and transistor radios in the next century.

[1] Benjamin, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of its Mechanical Reproducibility and Other Writings*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2008. Page 38.

[2] Morrison, Toni. "This Amazing, Troubling Book." *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Thomas Cooley, W.W. Norton, 1999. Page 388.

Mika Turim-Nygren (mika.etn@gmail.com)

"Huckleberry Finn's 'Effect of indigeneity': Native Erasure in Law and Literature"

(Session Five)

"The colossal national question," as Mark Twain informed a British journalist in 1889, "is whether our people are going to continue to imbibe foreign ideas... from foreign writers," or whether American authors could produce a "national literature" capable of "spreading national sentiments, national thought, and national morals" instead. For his part, Twain boasted, he "did not speak English at all—[he] only spoke American." As a self-proclaimed "native novelist," Twain deliberately set out to capture all the "alterations in our pronunciation" that distinguished "writers of the American language" from the old conventional "English forms."

Nowhere is this effort at capturing American speech more apparent than in *Huckleberry Finn*, the novel that would forever set the standard for what it means to sound American on the page. Yet Twain could only succeed in making Huck sound "native" – i.e., not British – by transforming the language of the colonizer into a distinctively homegrown American idiom. Twain's lifelong friend and editor, William Dean Howells, best articulated this problem when he proclaimed that "native writers," "native in the vernacular," could only create a literature "native to the soil" by generating an "effect of indigeneity" within a tradition of "English literature" that did "not originate indigenously."

We can see precisely this "effect of indigeneity" at work in Huck's earliest appearance on the page in *Life on the Mississippi*, where Huck learns how to boast, bluster, and bluff from white river raftsmen as they "ripped out pretty savage" around their "wigwam," "whooping and jawing like Injuns." Because Huck's story centers this white "whooping" while simultaneously silencing the "war-whooping savages" of the Mississippi basin, it demonstrates the extent to which Native erasure serves as the precondition for the invention of the native belonging – in American literature as well as in American law. Just as the Birthright Citizenship Clause of 1868 made a point of "excluding Indians not taxed," guaranteeing that Native Americans could not claim the rights of native soil, Huck's version of "speaking American" makes a point of excluding actual Native peoples who might have otherwise asserted their own claim to speak for the land.

While critics have long recognized certain racial implications of Huck's voice, such as the way his accent gets juxtaposed against Jim's denser dialect in a way that plays Black suffering for laughs, they have failed to acknowledge what it means that Huck's language also displaces Native speech, giving voice to the logic of settler colonialism in far clearer terms than anything the law was able to manage. Taking up Kerry Driscoll's landmark work on Twain's relation to "nineteenth-century America's other major racial issue," then, I argue that Twain's participation in the project of Native erasure — from the fictional annihilation of "Injun Joe" to the attempted annihilation of the Oglala Lakota — forms the unacknowledged precursor to what Ernest Hemingway called the foundation of "all modern American literature."

“Otherkin: The Emptying, Consolidation, and Protection of Whiteness in *Puddin’head Wilson*”
(Session Thirteen)

The idea of changelings is loaded and resonant in Western literature, as it stems from Western folklore where a changeling is the result of a fairy child being substituted for a human child. There is always something off, eerie, and dangerous even, with the changeling: it is often considered cruel in temperament, it is occasionally violent, and it has an insatiable appetite that can easily destroy its host family. The changeling leeches off the resources, time, and affections of its host family, until its true parentage is acknowledged, at which time the changeling may be tested, displaced, and potentially banished back to the fairy realm. This orchestrates a return for the true human child that was held hostage to return to its parents, but each changeling child is marked as a result of this brood parasite upbringing.

In this paper we will interrogate how *Puddin’Head Wilson* functions as a modern-day changeling story, set against the detailed, rich, and evocative backdrop of the American South and its One Drop Rule. This underpinning of racial purity which delineates other races of people as subhuman and Other closely mirrors the strict binary of human and fairy Other in folklore. It is through this lens that we hope to interweave and complicate this story in a new and exciting way.

We will investigate the arcs and behaviors of each changeling child so that we might view and understand these two parts of the whole picture. What does Twain intend by revamping this familiar fable into such a sensational and racially charged story? The comparison of the Black race to fairy Other is allegorical in scope, yet immediately prescient in the narratives of biracial and light skinned Black people passing for white people in order to gain access to a segregated world. Whiteness, then, is a transitory receptacle; it may be emptied as one exits it through intermarriage, it may be filled by enough (re) intermarrying, but in order to maintain the status quo it must always be protected.

This generalization is what Twain takes satirical umbrage with, pointing out that through these changelings Whiteness is a mask and a learned veneer that separates Tom and Chambers in their respective seats in the church, with Tom usurping Chambers’ position in the grand pew and Chambers himself being relegated to the back, the lower, the dangerous and physically damned role of the enslaved.

The closing reversal and reinstatement of our characters similarly maps across the finales of the changeling myth, where the audience is supposed to be gratified by the return of order, the human back with its human family, and the fairy child returned to the fairy realm and its parents. We are assured that the horror is over and all is as it should be. That allegorical narrative is quaint and familiar, but Twain complicates this by asserting that after this act of subterfuge this reversal is the cruelest of punishments for both Tom and Chambers.

Will Chambers, who, like a human child who has eaten for years in the fairy realm, now make a full return to his rightful place, name, and position in White Society? Should he want to since he has grown up as a spectator to Whiteness, seen its foibles, and understands how Whiteness will demand the strictest of allegiances? What does failure to do so—or success—look like for Chambers in that head space?

And will Tom, whose desire and belief that he is White weighed against his growing mental anguish at being, and always having been, Other—despite the fairness of his skin and eyes that allowed him to be perceived and accepted as White all this time—ever make peace with his own enslaved Black body?

“Growing to Dislike Tom Sawyer: Sam Clemens’ Journey”
(Session Fourteen)

Even when Sam Clemens desperately needed Tom Sawyer—relying on the character’s popularity to create additional, potentially lucrative sequels as his fortune waned—he seems to have had trouble bringing himself to actually *like* the character. Instead, the short novels and unfinished works featuring Tom after *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) find Twain using him as an example Americans’ worst impulses. Tom’s willingness to risk Jim’s life and safety at the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is the most famous example of Tom’s self-aggrandizing romanticism, but recent studies of the later, unpublished *Tom Sawyer’s Conspiracy* (circa 1898) by Alex Beringer (2016) and James Caron (2018) have reached similar conclusions. Twain’s growing dislike of the character reached its zenith in 1907 when he disparaged then-President Theodore Roosevelt, a man he loathed, by calling him a “Tom Sawyer... always showing off.” Perhaps the rest of the early twentieth-century U.S. grew to see Tom as everything charming about the all-American boy, but Twain clearly did not.

This paper considers the two published works that came a decade after *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*—*Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894) and *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (1896)—and examines their place in Twain’s long-term, growing distaste for his character. Both novels, like the unpublished *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians* (drafted 1884), feature Huck Finn as the narrator. Twain’s letters from the era show that he saw Tom as the companion more than the protagonist and initially struggled with whether to make Huck or Tom the title character. In the finished version of both tales, Tom seizes control of tremendously complex adult situations—an out-of-control airship in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* and a murder trail in *Tom Sawyer, Detective*. These less-than-plausible situations trouble Huck Finn. While he admires Tom’s ability to manipulate grown-ups, he also calls attention to Tom’s constant appeal for “effect” as Tom blends half-truths and facts to impress people. Huck’s concepts of both heroism and “proof” shift during these novels. Moments such as the “indemnity” scene in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* and Uncle Silas’s initial confession in *Tom Sawyer, Detective* show Huck projecting guilt onto Tom that Tom does not seem to actually feel. Tom succeeds in flying the airship in the first novel and exonerating his uncle in the second, but Huck’s wavering faith in Tom’s false confidence suggests that Twain lost patience with Tom some time before.

FLASH PRESENTATION PANELS

(in alphabetical order by organizer)

“Grief, Memory, and Mark Twain” – in memory of Hal Bush

(Session Seven)

Joseph Csicsila (jcsicsila@emich.edu) and Tracy Wuster (wustert@utexas.edu), Organizers
Susan K. Harris, Panel Chair ((skh5@ku.edu)

The loss of Twain scholar Hal Bush in 2021 after an accidental fall in his home leaves a deep impression on the field. Hal’s own work was shaped by grief and loss, especially in his 2016 book *Continuing Bonds with the Dead: Parental Grief and Nineteenth-Century American Authors*. This flash session will provide a time to consider ideas of grief, loss, and memory. At a time of widespread personal and societal trauma caused by a global pandemic, the historical echoes of a Gilded Age shaped by grief and remembrance following the Civil War are imperative for us—as scholars and as human beings—to address.

“How Might Mark Twain Fit into an Anti-racist Pedagogy?”

(Session Eleven)

Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Organizer (sfishkin@stanford.edu)
Ben Click, Panel Chair (baclick@smcm.edu)

What role can works by Mark Twain play in the context of an anti-racist pedagogy in our classrooms? Presenters will explore this question in the context of high school and university classes in “American Literature” and “Translation Studies” in the U.S., China, France, and India, as well as in U.S. classes on “American Literature and Social Justice,” “The American West,” and “Writing about Race: Literature and Law in Nineteenth-century America.” Presenters will discuss anti-racist perspectives in a broad range of Twain’s works including “Goldsmith’s Friend Abroad Again,” “Disgraceful Persecution of a Boy;” *Roughing It*, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *The Tragedy of Pudd’nhead Wilson*, *Following the Equator*, “My First Lie and How I Got Out of It,” “To the Person Sitting in Darkness,” “King Leopold’s Soliloquy” and other texts. They will address the role these works can play in prompting students to think about racism in both U.S. and global contexts. They will explore the cultural work that these texts are doing in classrooms today and, potentially, in the future. The panelists look forward to audience members sharing their perspectives on this topic, as well.

“Mark Twain Studies: Surviving Change, Embracing the Future”

(Session Two)

Susan K. Harris, Organizer (skh5@ku.edu)
Linda A. Morris, Panel Chair (lamorris@ucdavis.edu)

Interest in Mark Twain is in danger of extinction, especially among younger academics. As both a long-standing member and once president of the Mark Twain Circle of America, I have watched academic interests in Twain dwindle steadily over the last quarter century. Shifts from authorial to thematic approaches to literary study, rising awareness of the power of racial language to damage young readers’ self-esteem, the new hierarchies instituted by corporate universities, and more than a century of new writers between Twain’s time and now are markers in a quickly evolving academic landscape. Meanwhile, Twain continues to be popular among general readers; enthusiasm for him, and his writings, is mostly found on the web—a phenomena that most academics have not considered seriously.

“Mark Twain: Surviving Change, Embracing the Future” will feature scholars who will speak to strategies for keeping Twain Studies alive. The panelists, who span the spectrum from graduate student to full professor, will address Twain’s relevance for new thematic approaches and his place in the U.S. racial landscape, and they will suggest ways to convince colleagues to teach and write about his life and works. This session aims to engage the audience in the discussion. Our goal is to emerge from the session with a list of strategies going forward.

“How Do We Teach The Language of *Huckleberry Finn* Now?”

(Session Thirteen)

Larry Howe, Organizer (LHowe@roosevelt.edu)

Matt Seybold, Panel Chair (mseybold@elmira.edu)

In 2011, New South Books released editions of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* that made substitutions for the words “Injun” and “nigger.” Alan Gribben who oversaw these editions explained that the project was an answer to a call from teachers, many in the South, who expressed a desire to teach Mark Twain’s works but could not do so with the texts’ original language. Controversy followed almost immediately. All of the major network news outlets carried the story, and notable Twain scholars and contemporary authors weighed in, objecting unanimously to the alteration of the original texts. Among those criticizing the editions, David Bradley was perhaps most outraged, insisting that the word “nigger” had historical importance as well as crucial interpretive value to the text. This was hardly the end to the controversy of the text’s use of the charged racial epithet.

Lately, the objections are coming from students, often students of color. An AFP news report from June 26, 2020 describes two recent cases of faculty at St. Johns University in New York and Duquesne University being dismissed after students protested the utterance of the N-word while reading a passage in literature classes. Wendy Kaminer, a lawyer and former board member of the ACLU, notes “the distinction between quoting a racial slur and using a racial slur has been completely erased . . . I think that’s quite problematic.”

This report matches my own experience in recent years. I had often taught *Huckleberry Finn*, as well as other texts of American literature that included the same or similar troubled language, without student protest. I have always been careful to prepare the class for what we were attempting to achieve and why. I preface classroom discussions of these texts by highlighting what Randall Kennedy points out about the language controversy in his *Nigger: The Strange History of a Troublesome Word* (2003), and I explain the distinction that language philosophers make between use and mention. Pointing out that the speech of fictional characters is entirely different from our own in the course of discussing a text or reading a passage had always been a productive way to establish some common understanding before we analyze the text.

Beginning about four years ago, I observed that some students were no longer willing to accept the ground rules that had previously governed class discussion, resulting in complaints from students who objected to the utterance of the N-word even within the historical and philological parameters I’d set out. Indeed, a few asserted an unshakable conclusion that Mark Twain was a racist and that his books are as well. This has made the teaching of his work, especially *Huckleberry Finn*, much more difficult and significantly less effective.

I would not adopt the New South editions because bowdlerized texts, I believe, shirk responsibility; I also think that substituting “N-word” or a silent omission when reading a passage is similarly troubling. I remain perplexed about how to show respect for students and to engage with the importance of the text. A roundtable on the topic of how to teach *Huckleberry Finn* in this changed environment would be illuminating to me, and I suspect others. I don’t have any answers; in fact, I’m somewhat discouraged by what has transpired. While I acknowledge that my own whiteness and position as a professor does not grant me the authority to dictate the terms of how a class will treat this language, I am concerned that erasing the language from the discussion leads to an impoverished experience of literature and diminish its importance in addressing difficult topics. I would be very interested in hearing what others have to say about their experiences and their strategies for dealing with what I perceive to be a changing climate in the classroom.

“The Changing Landscapes of Author Societies and Other Academic Organizations”

(Session One)

Bruce Michelson, Organizer (brucem@illinois.edu)

David E.E. Sloane, Panel Chair (dsloane@newhaven.edu)

John Bird, Panel Chair (birdj@winthrop.edu)

R.Kent Rasmussen, Organizer (kentasmussen@verizon.net)

Amid an erosion of faith in the cultural and pedagogical value of “classic” texts and authors, at least two challenges to our trade are worth identifying, as a possible step towards clarifying and bolstering response. For good or ill, there is the erasure, perhaps irretrievable, of restrictions with regard to records of a writer’s public and private utterance and conduct; and a concurrent decay of inhibitions with regard to use and interpretation of those resources. For contemporary authors, it’s nearly all “out there;” in a sense the microphone is always “hot,” and anyone looking or listening in can do whatever they want with what they can so easily find. In what we must persist in calling publishing and print, a decline in the mediation, professional review, and other forms of potentially-salutary delay is also matched by erasure of restrictions with regard to response. Chosen carefully or recklessly, a writer’s words can now whoosh past literary agents, editors, copy-editors and designers, and all other old-school interventions, and upload into cyberspace on a one-way trajectory. And critique, accolade, and denunciation fly out just as quickly: the competent, the malignant, and the inane, all in a Marabar Cave of noise. All of this, combined with the current zeal for judging living or long dead writers by political and moral standards specific to our own moment and peer groups, darkens a chance that any author with more than minimal public exposure will elude such troubles for long.

On the other side: one genuine asset with regard to sustaining Mark Twain as a “major author” is that Mark Twain’s own life has for decades been equated by a world public, and certainly by many of us, as a compelling narrative in itself. The life of this author is compelling – and in some measure, also exonerating – because it constitutes a case for personal identity as dynamic, for an American self as protean, yet in some dimensions also continuous. The expanse and variety in the public career and the private life, the inconsistencies and instabilities in the professed allegiances and values: as Mark Twain scholars make their case for the continuing relevance of this body of work and historical record, we are also, sometimes explicitly, affirming personal identity as a site of growth and change, arguing that what makes human beings interesting is indeed growth -- evidenced in the published work, the public and private conduct, and the long skein of Mark Twain’s voice.

“Has Our Understanding of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* Grown and Changed?”

(Session Six)

Salem Press recently published the latest volume in their Critical Insights series, focused on the *Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Edited by R. Kent Rasmussen, the volume is the first collection of entirely original essays ever to be published about the novel. The book’s 16 chapters, written by noted Mark Twain scholars, covers a variety of topics, including its place in Twain’s canon, analysis of its sequels, its illustrators, film versions, and critical issues such as environmentalism, feminism, racism and Native Americans, boyhood, and pedagogy. The four panelists are all contributors, who will briefly discuss their chapters, then engage in conversation among themselves and with the audience in what we hope will be a lively discussion. As Kent Rasmussen writes in his introduction, “The present volume brings more than a few fresh perspectives and novel approaches to the novel, perhaps they will help change how the novel is regarded.” We hope our session can continue in that effort.

NEW YORK STATE AND ELMIRA COLLEGE CORONAVIRUS GUIDELINES

- All Elmira College employees and all Elmira College students (commuter and residential) must be fully vaccinated. At this time, all students and employees are strongly encouraged to receive a booster as soon as eligible.
- On September 6, 2021 New York Governor Kathy Hochul announced that the coronavirus has been designated a “highly contagious communicable disease that presents risk of harm to the public health.” This designation requires NYS employers to enact the NYS HERO Act, meaning NYS employers, including Elmira College, must implement workplace safety plans to help prevent infection. This plan applies to all employees.
- On Thursday, February 10, 2022, New York State updated the HERO Act to remove the requirement for indoor face coverings. *Per this new guidance, indoor face coverings on campus are recommended, but not required under the Policy. New York State and the State Department of Health continue to strongly recommend face coverings in all public indoor settings as an added layer of protection, even when not required.*
- At this time, and following current CDC guidance, wearing a mask outdoors is optional for everyone, but strongly encouraged when in crowded outdoor settings and for outdoor activities where you may have close contact with others who are not fully vaccinated.
- A reminder that people are considered fully vaccinated two weeks after their second dose in a 2-dose series, such as the Pfizer or Moderna vaccines, or two weeks after a single-dose vaccine, such as Johnson & Johnson’s Janssen vaccine.
- Conference attendees are encouraged to provide their own face coverings, however any person who needs a mask/face covering will be provided one upon request. CMTS will have face coverings readily available for anyone who is in need.
- All conference attendees and Elmira College employees are encouraged to seek medical attention/screening if exhibiting any COVID-like symptoms, and should remain in their room or at home, as appropriate, if they are not feeling well. Conference attendees experiencing any symptoms suspected to be COVID-19 related need to consult the Clarke Health Center and/or their personal physician.
- Outdoor dining options are available for those who require it. Furthermore, the Campus Center Dining Area is spacious. Please feel free to spread out.

ODDS & ENDS

Archives - The Elmira College Mark Twain Archives will be open during the conference by appointment only. Attendees should have a legitimate research inquiry. If you need to schedule an appointment, contact Director Joseph Lemak at jlemak@elmira.edu.

Books (New Author) - The Mark Twain Circle is organizing a book display of recent scholarship in Mark Twain Studies. “Display-Only” copies of recent Twain-related publications will be available for examination in a cooperative book display during conference hours. The display is located in the Gannett-Tripp Library.

Books (For Purchase) A wide variety of new and gently used books focusing on Mark Twain Studies are available for sale in the Gannett-Tripp Library (all paperbacks \$5; hardcovers \$10). Mark Twain Studies reference sets are also available at a special discounted price. All proceeds from the Mark Twain Book Program go directly to the acquisition of new titles for the research library at Quarry Farm.

Campus Safety - The Office of Campus Safety is available 24 hours per day, 7 days per week and 365 days per year. The team includes an EMT and all staff are licensed through the State of New York. The Office of Campus Safety maintains a close relationship with local authorities and is an active member of the New York State Finger Lakes Higher Education Emergency Management Consortium. The Campus Safety Office is located in the Cory House (710 Park Place, Elmira, New York). The Office of Campus Safety can be reached at (607) 735-1777, or electronically at security@elmira.edu.

Conference T-Shirts - Queen City Basement Designs, an Elmira-based design and screen-printing business, have designed a custom t-shirts design specifically made for the Elmira 2022 conference. Attendees can purchase T-shirts at the Gannett-Tripp library. All proceeds go directly to the Center for Mark Twain Studies.

Coronavirus Guidelines - The Elmira 2022 Conference is strictly following the guidelines mandated by New York State and Elmira College. Conference attendees can find a general outline of these guidelines on page 67 of this program.

Food, Special Requests - If you have any special food requests, please contact Director Joseph Lemak (jlemak@elmira.edu) as soon as possible. Every effort will be made to accommodate your requests.

Information Technology - If you have any problems, please or stop by the IT Help Desk in the basement of the Gannett-Tripp Library, next to the Tripp Lecture Hall. Hours of operation are from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. The IT Help Desk can be reached at (607) 735-1915.

Linens and Towels - Fresh linens, towels, and pillows will be included in all Meier Hall campus lodging.

Mark Twain Exhibit - The Exhibit display in Cowles Hall focuses on Mark Twain’s legacy in Elmira, as well as the author’s and the Langdon family’s special relationship with Elmira College. Follow the directional arrows in the Cowles Hall Rotunda that point to the Exhibit Room. The Exhibit is open Thursday, August 4 and Friday, August 5 from 10:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Mark Twain Study - The iconic Study, once located at Quarry Farm, now next to Cowles Hall, will be open and staffed by a Mark Twain Ambassador on Thursday, August 3 and Friday, August 4 from 10:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Parking - Conference attendees should park in the Meier Hall parking lot, adjacent to Meier Hall. Please consult the Elmira College map, located at the beginning of this program.

PowerPoint, Google, and Keynote Slides - Each lecture space will have the capability of supporting PowerPoint and Google Slide presentations. All presenters wishing to show images should arrive 15 minutes before their session and install their presentation in order to avoid any technical problems. Please note that Keynote presentations will not be accessible. Make sure to convert all Keynote presentations to PowerPoint before your arrival to the conference.

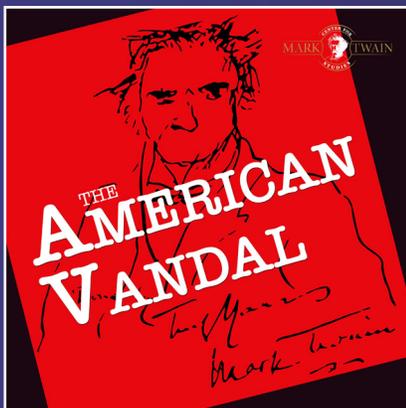
Quarry Farm Shuttle - Conference attendees wishing to attend the Saturday evening Quarry Farm picnic are strongly encourage to take the shuttle located in the Meier Hall parking lot. Not only is the preservation of Quarry Farm paramount, but parking is limited. Pick-up will start leaving the campus at 6:15 p.m. and will run continuously until 9:15p.m. See the campus map on the inside front cover of this program for the location of the shuttle service.

Registration Check-In - Registration check-in will be 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. on Wednesday, August 3 and 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on Thursday, August 4. The check-in table is located in the Morris Classroom in Meier Hall. During check-in each conference attendee will receive a name tag and a conference program. For attendees staying in conference housing, attendees will receive a room key for their Meier Hall room. Conference attendees arriving outside the designated registration hours can pick up their room keys at the Office of Safety, located in the Cory House (710 Park Place, Elmira, New York).

Registration Check-Out - For those attendees lodging in Meier Hall, please return your room keys at the check out table in the Morris Classroom of Meier Hall by 12:00 p.m. on Sunday, August 7.

Wi-Fi Access - Follow these easy steps:

1. Go to your internet connection and select "EC_Wifi_Guest".
2. Open a browser and choose "Guest that need temporary Internet Access."
3. Fill out the Guest Self Registration information: Name, email, phone number, person visiting, reason.
4. Select "Request Guest Access" when done.
5. Username and Password will be auto filled. Click Login.
6. Once completed if your device doesn't auto connect, please restart your device. If you have any problems, please call (607) 735-1915 or stop by the IT Help Desk in the basement of the Gannett-Tripp Library and the staff will gladly assist you. Operating hours are Monday to Friday from 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

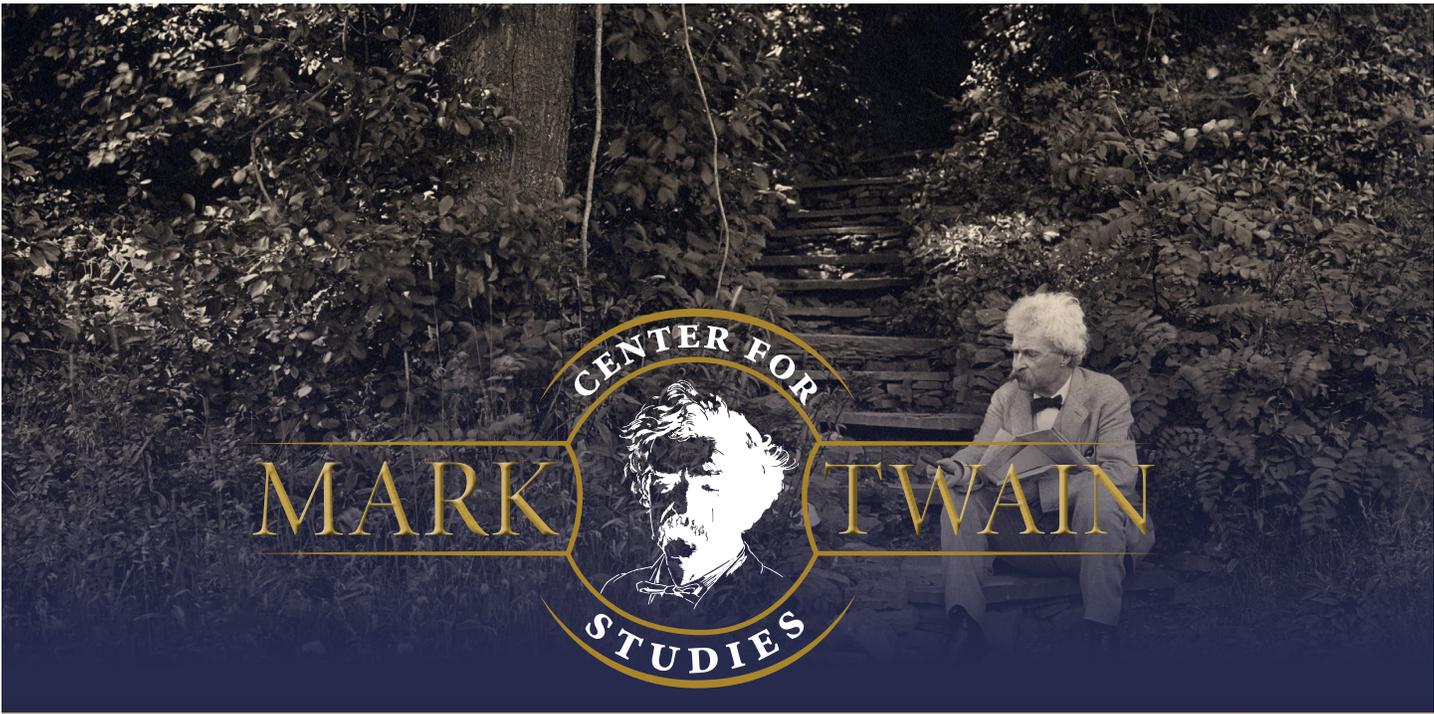


The American Vandal is a CMTS podcast dedicated to all things related to Mark Twain and Mark Twain Studies.

The podcast is hosted, written, and engineered by Matt Seybold, CMTS scholar-in-residence.

You can find episodes on Apple, Spotify, Stitcher, Google, TuneIn, and ListenNotes, as well as listen directly from this website.

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QUARRY FARM FELLOWSHIPS

NOW ACCEPTING APPLICATIONS

Quarry Farm Fellowships are open to any scholar working in any field related to Mark Twain Studies at any career stage. This is a unique opportunity to work on academic or creative projects at Quarry Farm, Mark Twain's summer retreat where he penned *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and other iconic works.

Ten Quarry Farm Fellowships will be offered in 2023:

- Three one-month residencies, including housing at Quarry Farm and a \$1500 honorarium for each residency
- Six two-week residencies, including housing at Quarry Farm and a \$1000 honorarium for each residency
- At least one month-long and two two-week fellowships will be reserved for graduate students, contingent faculty, and faculty three or fewer years removed from completion of their Ph.D.
- At least one fellowship will be reserved for writers, artists, and architects working on creative projects

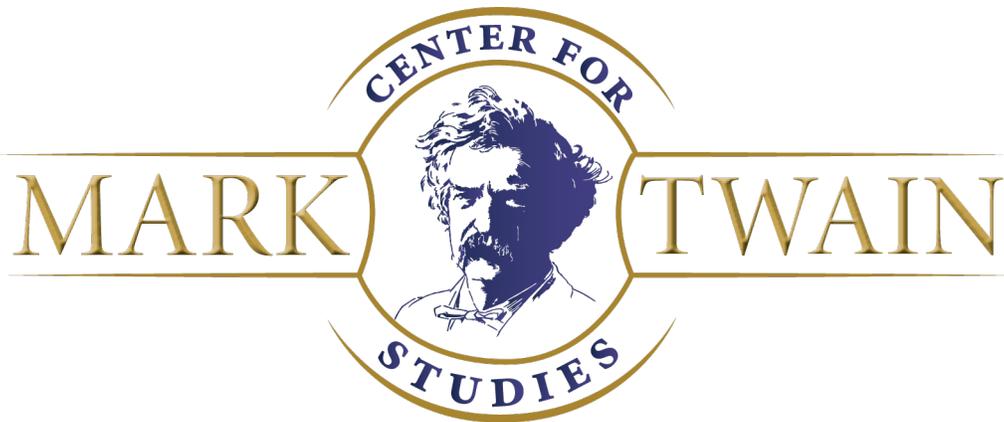


Applications are due November 30, 2022. Visit MarkTwainStudies.org for more information.

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