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THE ROUTLEDGE
ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
MARK TWAIN

Edited by
J.R. LeMASTER AND JAMES D. WILSON

*The Routledge Encyclopedia of
Mark Twain*

Garland Reference Library of the Humanities
(Vol. 1249)

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The Routledge Encyclopedia of Mark Twain

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In memory of E. Hudson Long
(1908–1990)
and James D. Wilson
(1946–1996)

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Preface

The Mark Twain Encyclopedia is a reference guide designed for anyone interested in Samuel L. Clemens. The approximately 740 entries, arranged alphabetically, are in fact a collection of articles, ranging significantly in length and covering a variety of topics pertaining to this major American author's life, intellectual milieu, literary career, and achievements. Because so much of Mark Twain's writing (travel narratives, essays, letters, sketches, autobiography, journalism, and fiction) reflects Samuel Clemens's personal experience, particular attention has been given to the delicate interstices between art and life, that is, between imaginative reconstructions and their factual sources of inspiration. Each entry is accompanied by selective bibliography to guide readers to sources that provide more detailed information.

The Mark Twain Encyclopedia is designed to offer the general reader convenient access to basic and reliable biographical information: the author's childhood in Missouri and apprenticeship as riverboat pilot; his early career as journalist in Nevada and California; his world travels; his friendships with or relationships to patriarchs and matriarchs of genteel culture; his reading and education; his family life; his career as businessman—in short, the names, dates, places, and events germane to an understanding of Clemens's life and career. Biography, however, is but one aspect of the encyclopedia. Mark Twain's novels and travel narratives, and most of his short stories, sketches, burlesques, and essays receive individual attention in articles that provide a general introduction to the primary work, that identify major critical approaches and points of scholarly controversy, and that furnish a list of suggested supplementary readings. Significant characters, places, and landmarks—especially those that appear in the major fiction or recur in several works—are treated in shorter entries that identify the item and comment succinctly on its importance. Longer and more general articles treat recurring themes or concepts that loom large in Mark Twain studies: for example, Mark Twain's humor; his use of language; his attitudes on race, war, religion, politics, imperialism, art, science; point of view; imagery; sources; and influences. Some entries break new ground and suggest areas where additional research or investigation is needed. Others synthesize information to provide convenient access to material treated in a variety of disparate sources. Hence *The Mark Twain Encyclopedia* serves the general reader or student as a handy, accessible source of basic information and a launching point for more sustained investigation. At the same time, it serves the more advanced re-

searcher or teacher as a succinct, reliable guide to a wide array of subjects and a review of the current status of Mark Twain scholarship.

In a volume of this scope, proportioning and arranging material to make information readily accessible and usable poses editorial challenges. We have arranged entries alphabetically. The process of assigning titles to entries and determining how to alphabetize them requires a compromise between an editor's penchant for consistency and symmetry on the one hand and a reader's expectations concerning clarity and ease of access on the other. Primary works are alphabetized by the first word in the title, articles excluded: e.g., *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*; *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, A; "Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg, The." Public figures are listed by surname, regardless of gender. Fictional characters, too, are also listed by surname, except when the reader would likely be more familiar with the given name: e.g., Finn, Huckleberry; Sawyer, Sid; Douglas, Widow; but Angelo and Luigi (Cappello); Jim; Joan of Arc. When there is an entry on an individual who commonly employed a pseudonym, the editors had to decide by which name that individual is more commonly known: e.g., Ward, Artemus; but Clemens, Samuel Langhorne. A similar and more perplexing dilemma is posed by primary works with alternative titles. In his lifetime, Clemens frequently republished his stories, sketches, and novels in different formats and often provided new titles for the same or slightly revised work; after his death, editors excerpted portions of longer works and supplied titles, or they assigned titles to posthumously published manuscripts, frequently fragmentary and untitled. As editors, we simply listed these works by their commonly known titles: e.g., "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" and "The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" are listed as "Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, The"; *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson* as *Pudd'nhead Wilson*; the various manuscripts that compose *The Mysterious Stranger* are all discussed in a single entry, *Mysterious Stranger, The*—although the entry distinguishes among them. Because of the intrinsic difficulties posed by an alphabetical arrangement, the reader should make extensive use of the "see also" references provided with most entries—which specifically direct the reader to other, related, entries—and the index, which provides a listing of all entries that contain a significant discussion of the subject. Virtually all individual entries contain selective bibliographies that direct the reader to those sources deemed most pertinent to further research.

We are grateful to our advisory editors for their suggestions and support in planning this project. Each reviewed our list of proposed topics, called our attention to subjects that should be included in a project of this scope, gave suggestions about organizing the volume, and recommended appropriate scholars to write on particular subjects. Their work, coupled with the enthusiastic, insightful, and meticulous effort of some 180 individual contributors have made this encyclopedia truly a communal endeavor. The diversity of critical approaches reflects the diversity in contemporary American literary scholarship. The editors prize this diversity and have therefore consciously avoided imposing or sanctioning any particular methodology or approach over another; in fact, many controversial subjects and major pri-

mary texts receive attention from several different scholars who approach their subjects from widely divergent points of view. We have edited entries to achieve consistency of format, to tighten and improve cogency, to verify accuracy of factual details, and to avoid needless duplication of information provided in related entries. At the same time, we have tried not to interfere with the voices (styles) or distinctive approaches of our individual contributors. Each entry is signed and expresses the judgments and opinions of its author. As general editors, however, we are responsible for any factual errors, and we hope that readers of this encyclopedia will call our attention to such errors so that they may be rectified in subsequent editions.

Despite the size of this volume, and the number of people involved in its production, we are going to press on schedule; we are able to do so because of the conscientious efforts and generous support of the many individuals who have rendered valuable assistance during the course of this project. Our contributors, of course, made the encyclopedia possible. We are grateful to them not only for their excellent work but for their cooperation in meeting deadlines, fulfilling commitments, and making revisions when necessary. We wish to acknowledge the dedicated work of our research assistants—Geraldine Behnke, Trevor J. Morgan, Lisa Calhoun, Patricia Hicks, and Christie Graves Hamric—who contributed in various capacities throughout the duration of the project. We are grateful to our chairs, James Barcus and Doris Meriwether, whose tangible support and encouragement greatly facilitated our work, and to Baylor University and the University of Southwestern Louisiana for the released time, grant support, computer space and equipment, secretarial and research assistance that made possible the timely completion of our tasks. We are grateful to Gary Kuris and his staff at Garland Publishing for their initial faith in the project and the valuable assistance they have provided at every stage. And lastly, we are grateful to our colleagues and families, who persevered while we devoted our time and energy to compiling a reference book on Mark Twain.

J.R. LeMaster and James D. Wilson

Chronology

1835	Samuel Langhorne Clemens born 30 November at Florida, Missouri.			Orleans, intending to go to South America. Instead, met Horace Bixby, who agreed to teach him the river.
1839	Clemens family moved to Hannibal, Missouri.			
1847	Father, John Marshall Clemens, died of pneumonia 24 March at age forty-eight; four surviving children.	1858–1859		Learned the river as a “cub” and piloted freighters. Brother Henry killed in a steamboat explosion near Memphis in June 1858. Received his pilot license 9 April 1859.
1849–1851	Apprentice to Joseph P. Ament, printer; set type for the Hannibal <i>Courier</i> .	1859		“Sergeant Fathom” published in New Orleans <i>Crescent</i> (May).
1850–1852	Brother, Orion, returned to Hannibal in September 1850 to start a Whig newspaper, the <i>Western Union</i> . In spring of 1851, Orion purchased the <i>Weekly Dollar Journal</i> and combined it with his own paper to form the <i>Western Union and Hannibal Journal</i> , which became the <i>Journal</i> in February 1852. Sam worked with Orion as “Assistant Editor.”	1861		“Quintus Curtius Snodgrass” letters (authorship disputed) published in New Orleans <i>Crescent</i> (21 January–30 March).
		1861		Outbreak of the Civil War ended career as riverboat pilot. After the short “Campaign That Failed” stint in the Confederate Army in June, accompanied Orion on a twenty-one day stagecoach journey to Carson City, Nevada, in late July and early August.
1852	Sketch, “The Dandy Frightening the Squatter,” in May issue of the <i>Carpet-Bag</i> .	1862		“Josh” letters published in Virginia City <i>Territorial Enterprise</i> (February–July).
1853	Sam left Hannibal for St. Louis in June. Spent August in New York and visited Philadelphia during the winter. Corresponded for the Muscatine (Iowa) <i>Journal</i> .			Joined staff of the <i>Territorial Enterprise</i> in August; remained there until May 1864. During November and December, reported on the Second Territorial Legislature of Nevada from Carson City for the <i>Enterprise</i> .
1854	Visited Washington, D.C., in February. Spent the summer with his mother and Orion in Muscatine, Iowa, where he worked on the <i>Journal</i> .			“The Petrified Man” hoax printed in <i>Territorial Enterprise</i> (5 October); rpt. San Francisco <i>Daily Evening Bulletin</i> (15 October).
1855	Winter and spring in St. Louis. Joined Orion in Keokuk, Iowa, in the summer, where he worked on the <i>Daily Post</i> until fall 1856.	1863		2 February, in a dispatch to the <i>Enterprise</i> from Carson City, first assumed the name “Mark Twain.” In early summer, made his first visit to San Francisco, in company of newspaperman Clement T. Rice (the Unreliable). Met Artemus Ward at Virginia City in December.
1856–1857	Left Keokuk for St. Louis in the fall of 1856. Began Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass letters for the Keokuk <i>Daily Post</i> on 18 October. Moved from St. Louis to Cincinnati, where he lived during the winter and reportedly met the Scotsman named Macfarlane. In April 1857, boarded the <i>Paul Jones</i> for New			“The Empire City Massacre,” <i>Territorial Enterprise</i> (28 October).

- 1864 In January, elected "Governor" of the Third House by fellow newspapermen at Carson City. In May, became involved in a controversy with a rival editor resulting in a proposed duel, in violation of Nevada law. Left for San Francisco, where he worked through the fall as a reporter for the *Morning Call*. Became friends with Bret Harte, Charles Henry Webb, and other members of the San Francisco literary community; contributed burlesques and sketches to the *Golden Era* and the *Californian*.
- "Those Blasted Children," New York *Sunday Mercury* (21 February); rpt. in San Francisco's *Golden Era* (27 March).
- 1864–1865 His investigative reporting of municipal corruption led to Twain's hasty departure from San Francisco to the Tuolumne Hills in the Mother Lode country, 4 December 1864. Stayed with Jim Gillis at Jackass Hill and at nearby Angel's Camp; heard Ben Coontell the "Jumping Frog" story. Returned to San Francisco, 25 February 1865. Wrote his version of Coon's story, "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog."
- 1865 "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog," New York *Saturday Press* (18 November).
- 1866 7 March, sailed for the Sandwich Islands to write a series of travel letters for the Sacramento *Union*. Remained in Hawaii until early July; wrote special dispatch on the burning of the clipper ship *Hornet* at sea, 25 June. Embarked on the lecture circuit, 2 October, talking on the Sandwich Islands at the San Francisco Academy of Music.
- 1866–1867 Left San Francisco in December 1866, sailing for New York via the Isthmus of Panama. Wrote travel letters for the *Alta California*, which were subsequently collected and known as *Mark Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown*. Arrived in New York January 1867, continuing the *Alta* correspondence with a series of letters recording his impressions of life in New York. March and April, visited St. Louis, Hannibal, and Keokuk. Lectured successfully at Cooper Union in New York on 6 May.
- The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County and Other Sketches*. New York: C.H. Webb (May 1867).
- 8 June 1867, sailed on the *Quaker City* for Europe and the Holy Land as a correspondent for the *Alta California*; letters would subsequently become *The Innocents Abroad*. Returned to New York, 19 November. Served briefly as private secretary to Nevada Senator William M. Stewart in Washington, D.C. First met Olivia Langdon, 27 December.
- 1868 2 or 3 January, first date with Olivia, to hear Charles Dickens read. Journeyed to California to secure publishing rights to his *Alta* correspondence in March. Lectured in San Francisco during spring and summer before leaving for New York on 6 July. In August, made his first visit to the Langdon family home in Elmira, New York. Conducted strenuous lecture tour of the Midwest in November and December.
- 1869 4 February, became engaged to marry Olivia. In August, purchased a partnership in the Buffalo (New York) *Express* with a \$25,000 loan from Olivia's father, Jervis Langdon.
- The Innocents Abroad*. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing (July).
- Under management of James Redpath, engaged in strenuous lecture tour from November 1869 through January 1870.
- 1870 2 February, married Olivia Langdon, in Elmira, New York. Settled in Buffalo, New York. In March began writing sketches for the *Galaxy*; continued to do so until April 1871.
- Made hasty trip to Washington in early July, where he was photographed by Matthew Brady and met General Ulysses S. Grant.
- 6 August, father-in-law, Jervis Langdon, died.
- 7 November, first child and only son, Langdon Clemens, born prematurely in Buffalo.
- 1871 *Mark Twain's (Burlesque) Autobiography and First Romance*. New York: Sheldon (February).
- Spring and summer, Clemens family vacationed at Quarry Farm, in Elmira, which became their favorite summer retreat. In October, liquidated his interest in the Buffalo *Express* and moved to Hartford, Connecticut, where the family rented a house at Nook Farm. Began a lecture tour (November 1871–February 1872) to pay debts caused by sacrifice of Buffalo interests.
- 1872 *Roughing It*. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing (February).
- 19 March, daughter Olivia Susan (Susy) born.

- 2 June, Langdon Clemens died of pneumonia.
- In August, family sailed for England where on 9 November Twain was honored at Lord Mayor's dinner in London.
- 1873 Summer spent in England and Europe with family; lectured throughout Britain in November and December.
- The Gilded Age* (with Charles Dudley Warner). Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing (December).
- 1874 January, sailed home from England.
- 8 June, daughter Clara born.
- Mark Twain's Sketches, Number One*. New York: American News.
- Dramatized version of *The Gilded Age* opened in New York (September).
- 1875 "Old Times on the Mississippi" appeared serially in *Atlantic Monthly* (January-June and August).
- Mark Twain's Sketches, New and Old*. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing (July).
- 1876 *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing (December).
- 1877 April, production of the play *Ah Sin!* in collaboration with Bret Harte; opened in Washington 7 May.
- 16 May, sailed for Bermuda with Reverend Joseph Twichell.
- A True Story and the Recent Carnival of Crime*. Boston: James R. Osgood (September).
- 17 December, made Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech in Boston.
- 1878-1879 *Punch, Brothers, Punch! and Other Sketches*. New York: Slote, Woodman (March 1878).
- Lived abroad in Germany and Italy. August 1878, made walking tour with Twichell through the Black Forest.
- 1880 *A Tramp Abroad*. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing (March).
- 1601, or Conversation as It Was by the Social Fireside in the Time of the Tudors*. Cleveland edition (June); West Point edition (1882).
- 26 July, daughter Jean born.
- 1881 November, visited Canada for a fortnight.
- 1882 *The Prince and the Pauper*. Boston: James R. Osgood (January).
- April-May, made trip down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, where he met George Washington Cable and Joel Chandler Harris. Returned up river with Horace Bixby.
- The Stolen White Elephant, Etc.* Boston: James R. Osgood (June).
- 1883 May, brief visit to Canada.
- Life on the Mississippi*. Boston: James R. Osgood (May).
- 1884 Summer, campaigned for Grover Cleveland. November, began lecture tour with G.W. Cable, which lasted until February 1885.
- 1885 *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. New York: Charles L. Webster (February).
- Fall, published *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant*.
- 1888 Master of Arts degree from Yale University (honorary).
- 1889 *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. New York: Charles L. Webster (December).
- 1890 Summer, engrossed in Paige typesetting machine. Susy entered Bryn Mawr in the fall.
- 27 October, mother, Jane Lampton Clemens, died.
- 1891 June, family closed Hartford home and went to Europe.
- 1892 Winter of 1891-1892 in Berlin, Germany.
- Merry Tales*. New York: Charles L. Webster (March).
- The American Claimant*. New York: Charles L. Webster (May).
- 1893 *The £1,000,000 Bank-Note and Other New Stories*. New York: Charles L. Webster (February).
- Spring, family in Italy. Twain made trips to the United States to stave off failure of the Paige typesetting machine.
- 1894 18 April, Charles L. Webster and Company executed assignment papers, carrying Clemens into bankruptcy with it.
- Summer, family remained in France; Twain visited the United States in July and August. Returned to France to be with family until May 1895.
- The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Comedy Those Extraordinary Twins*. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing (November).

- 1895 Returned to the United States in May; spent early summer at Quarry Farm. In mid-July, began the lecture tour to Australia, New Zealand, India, and South Africa that produced *Following the Equator*.
- 1896 *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*. New York: Harper (May).
18 August, daughter Susy died of meningitis.
Tom Sawyer Abroad, Tom Sawyer, Detective, and Other Stories. New York: Harper (November).
Winter in London.
- 1897 *How to Tell a Story and Other Essays*. New York: Harper (March).
Following the Equator. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing (November).
- 1898 Last debts paid in full during the winter.
- 1900 *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg and Other Stories and Essays*. New York: Harper (June).
English as She Is Taught. Boston: Mutual Book (October).
Autumn, returned to the United States to a national welcome. Took a house at 14 West Tenth Street, New York.
- 1901 *To the Person Sitting in Darkness*. New York: Anti-Imperialist League (February).
Summer on Saranac Lake, New York; fall cruise to Nova Scotia on H.H. Rogers's yacht, the *Kanawha*.
October, moved to Riverdale-on-the-Hudson, New York.
- 1902 Sailed with H.H. Rogers on the *Kanawha* through the Caribbean (13 March–9 April).
A Double-Barreled Detective Story. New York: Harper (April).
June, traveled to Missouri; visited Hannibal for the last time; University of Missouri conferred Litt.D. degree (honorary).
Summer at York Harbor, Maine; daughter Jean suffered two epileptic seizures; Olivia suffered a major nervous collapse on 12 August, and another in November.
November, returned to Riverdale.
- 1903 *My Debut as a Literary Person and Other Essays and Stories*. New York: American Publishing (April).
October, family settled in Italy for Olivia's health; lived in Florence at the Villa Quarto, then at the Villa Collarini.
- 1904 *Extracts from Adam's Diary*. New York: Harper (April).
5 June, Olivia Langdon Clemens died in Italy, near Florence.
Family returned to New York City, taking residence at 21 Fifth Avenue.
A Dog's Tale. New York: Harper (September).
- 1905 Summer in Dublin, New Hampshire; returned to New York 21 October.
King Leopold's Soliloquy. Boston: R.P. Warren (September).
- 1906 *The \$30,000 Bequest and Other Stories*. New York: Harper.
Summer in Dublin, New Hampshire.
What Is Man? published anonymously at the De Vinne Press (August).
Eve's Diary. New York: Harper.
- 1907 January, made trip to Bermuda with Joseph Twichell.
Christian Science. New York: Harper (February).
16–21 March, brief trip to Bermuda.
8 June, sailed to England; Oxford University conferred Litt.D. degree (honorary).
Summer in Tuxedo Park, New York.
A Horse's Tale. New York: Harper (October).
- 1908 18 June, moved into "Stormfield" home in Redding, Connecticut.
- 1909 25 January–6 February, 27 February–11 April, vacations in Bermuda.
Is Shakespeare Dead? New York: Harper (April).
Extract from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven. New York: Harper.
August, suffered "sunstroke" at funeral of Samuel Moffett.
6 October, Clara married Ossip Gabrilowitsch.
18 November–20 December in Bermuda with Albert Bigelow Paine; returned to Redding for Christmas.
24 December, daughter Jean died.
- 1910 January, returned to Bermuda; returned with Paine to the United States on 12 April.
21 April, Samuel L. Clemens died; buried at Elmira, New York.

Posthumous Publications

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|------|--|------|--|
| 1910 | <i>Mark Twain's Speeches.</i> New York: Harper. | 1948 | Methodist UP (Twain authorship disputed). |
| 1916 | <i>The Mysterious Stranger.</i> New York: Harper. | | <i>Mark Twain in Three Moods.</i> Ed. Dixon Wecter. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. |
| 1917 | <i>Mark Twain's Letters.</i> Ed. Albert B. Paine. 2 vols. New York: Harper. | 1949 | <i>The Love Letters of Mark Twain.</i> Ed. Dixon Wecter. New York: Harper. |
| | <i>"What Is Man?" and Other Essays.</i> New York: Harper. | | <i>Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks.</i> Ed. Dixon Wecter. San Marino: Huntington Library. |
| 1919 | <i>The Curious Republic of Gondour and Other Whimsical Sketches.</i> New York: Boni and Liveright. | 1952 | <i>Report from Paradise.</i> Ed. Dixon Wecter. New York: Harper. |
| 1923 | <i>Europe and Elsewhere.</i> New York: Harper. | 1957 | <i>Mark Twain of the "Enterprise": Newspaper Articles and Other Documents, 1862-1864.</i> Ed. Henry Nash Smith and Frederick Anderson. Berkeley: U of California P. |
| 1924 | <i>Mark Twain's Autobiography.</i> Ed. Albert B. Paine. 2 vols. New York: Harper. | | <i>Mark Twain: San Francisco Correspondent. Selections from His Letters to the "Territorial Enterprise": 1865-1866.</i> Ed. Henry Nash Smith and Frederick Anderson. San Francisco: Book Club of California. |
| 1926 | <i>Sketches of the Sixties</i> (with Bret Harte). San Francisco: J. Howell. | | <i>Traveling with the Innocents Abroad.</i> Ed. Daniel M. McKeithan. Norman: U of Oklahoma P. |
| 1928 | <i>The Adventures of Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass.</i> Ed. Charles Honce. Chicago: Pascal Covici. | 1958 | <i>The Autobiography of Mark Twain.</i> Ed. Charles Neider. New York: Harper. |
| 1935 | <i>Mark Twain's Notebooks.</i> Ed. Albert B. Paine. New York: Harper. | 1959 | <i>Mark Twain and the Government.</i> Comp. Sven Peterson. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton. |
| | <i>Slovenly Peter (Der Struwwelpeter).</i> Trans. Mark Twain. New York: Limited Editions Club. | 1960 | <i>Mark Twain-Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells, 1872-1910.</i> Ed. Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP. |
| 1938 | <i>Mark Twain's Letters from the Sandwich Islands.</i> Ed. G. Ezra Dane. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford UP. | | <i>"Ah Sin," A Dramatic Work by Mark Twain and Bret Harte</i> (with Bret Harte). Ed. Frederick Anderson. San Francisco: Book Club of California. |
| | <i>The Washoe Giant in San Francisco.</i> Ed. Franklin Walker. San Francisco: George Fields. | 1961 | <i>Contributions to "The Galaxy" 1868-1871.</i> Ed. Bruce McElderry. Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints. |
| 1939 | <i>Letters from Honolulu.</i> Ed. Thomas Nickerson. Honolulu: Thomas Nickerson. | | <i>Life as I Find It.</i> Ed. Charles Neider. Garden City, N.Y.: Hanover House. |
| 1940 | <i>Mark Twain in Eruption.</i> Ed. Bernard DeVoto. New York: Harper. | | <i>Mark Twain's Letters to Mary.</i> Ed. Lewis Leary. New York: Columbia UP. |
| | <i>Mark Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown.</i> Ed. Franklin Walker and G. Ezra Dane. New York: Knopf. | | <i>The Pattern for Mark Twain's "Roughing It": Letters from Nevada by Samuel and Orion Clemens, 1861-1862.</i> Ed. Franklin R. Rogers. Berkeley: U of California P. |
| 1941 | <i>Mark Twain's Letters to Will Bowen.</i> Ed. Theodore Hornberger. Austin: U of Texas P. | | <i>Letters from the Earth.</i> Ed. Bernard DeVoto. New York: Harper & Row. |
| | <i>Republican Letters.</i> Ed. Cyril Clemens. Webster Groves, Mo.: International Mark Twain Society. | 1962 | <i>Mark Twain on the Damned Human Race.</i> Ed. Janet Smith. New York: Hill and Wang. |
| 1942 | <i>Mark Twain's Letters in the Muscatine Journal.</i> Ed. Edgar M. Branch. Chicago: Mark Twain Association of America. | | |
| 1943 | <i>Washington in 1868.</i> Ed. Cyril Clemens. Webster Groves, Mo.: International Mark Twain Society. | | |
| 1946 | <i>The Letters of Quintus Curtius Snodgrass.</i> Ed. Ernest E. Leisy. Dallas: Southern | | |

- 1963 *Simon Wheeler, Detective*. Ed. Franklin R. Rogers. New York: New York Public Library.
- 1966 *The Birds and Beasts of Mark Twain*. Ed. Minnie M. Brashear and Robert M. Rodney. Norman: U of Oklahoma P.
- 1967 *Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers, 1867-1894*. Ed. Hamlin Hill. Berkeley: U of California P.
- Mark Twain's Satires & Burlesques*. Ed. Franklin R. Rogers. Berkeley: U of California P.
- Mark Twain's "Which Was the Dream?" and Other Symbolic Writings of the Later Years*. Ed. John S. Tuckey. Berkeley: U of California P.
- 1969 *Clemens of the "Call": Mark Twain in San Francisco*. Ed. Edgar M. Branch. Berkeley: U of California P.
- Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers, 1893-1909*. Ed. Lewis Leary. Berkeley: U of California P.
- Mark Twain's Hannibal, Huck & Tom*. Ed. Walter Blair. Berkeley: U of California P.
- Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*. Ed. William M. Gibson. Berkeley: U of California P.
- 1970 *Mark Twain's Quarrel with Heaven: "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven" and Other Sketches*. Ed. Ray B. Browne. New Haven, Conn.: College and UP.
- 1972 *Mark Twain's Fables of Man*. Ed. John S. Tuckey. Berkeley: U of California P.
- A Pen Warmed-Up in Hell*. Ed. Frederick Anderson. New York: Harper & Row.
- 1973 *"What Is Man?" and Other Philosophical Writings*. Ed. Paul Baender. Berkeley: U of California P.
- 1975 *Mark Twain's Notebooks & Journals, Volume I (1855-1873)*. Ed. Frederick Anderson, Michael B. Frank, and Kenneth M. Sanderson. Berkeley: U of California P.
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MARY ANN WIMSATT

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HERBERT A. WISBEY, JR.

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*The Routledge Encyclopedia of
Mark Twain*

A

Abolition

Samuel Clemens's attitude toward slavery by the time the Civil War began in 1861, when Clemens was twenty-five, was one of an unexamined acceptance of an institution that had been part of the society he was born and raised in. During the war, however, he rethought his position, and his satirizing Copperheads as a political reporter for the *San Francisco Call* in 1864 indicates at least a political revision. His moving to New York in 1867 continued his indoctrination. Here he mingled with post-abolitionists, wrote for the *Tribune* with its abolitionist history, and shortly thereafter began a lifelong friendship with William Dean Howells (1837–1920), son of an abolitionist. His uniquely ambivalent experience qualified him to write some of the most probing reconsiderations of slavery and abolition in literature, especially in *Huckleberry Finn* (1885) and *A Connecticut Yankee* (1889).

From the vantage point of his earlier Hartford years (1874–1882), Mark Twain looked back on his boyhood and young manhood,

when he had taken slavery for granted, as ruled by “ignorance, intolerance, . . . and a pathetic unconsciousness of it all.” He became, in Howells's word, “desouthernized,” an assessment supported by Twain's enthusiastic participation in the reunion celebrated in 1879 by veterans of General U.S. Grant's Army of the Tennessee. At a deeper level, however, he was nourished by an aspect of his boyhood in a slave state. During his long summers on his uncle John Quarles's farm, near Florida, Missouri, young Sam played with and made “comrades” of the farm's slave children and went to middle-aged slave “Uncle Dan'l” for affection and advice. He had the privilege in his formative years of knowing without restraint persons of another race and class, an experience not always afforded in the North. His move north had introduced him to abolitionist principles; in exchange he had something to say about bridging the gulf between peoples of different races and classes through human understanding. Indeed, the discovery of the hu-

manness of other peoples is a major theme of his writing in this period, from "A True Story" (1874) through the first sixteen chapters of *Huckleberry Finn* (written in 1876), and *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882).

Twain's trip into the post-Reconstruction South in 1882 upset the balance that his north-south views had settled into. He found to his surprise that Southerners were still rehearsing the Civil War; and civil-rights activist George Washington Cable informed him that Southerners were bent on restoring "the old South with merely the substitution of negro tenantry for negro slaves." Twain must also have realized that fact while he had been rehearsing abolitionist principles with a complacent willingness to let the South manage its own social problems. His response to his discoveries was troubled and complex and changed the course of his thinking and writing. The northern chauvinism he had expressed in response to the reunion of Grant's veterans was replaced, in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), with indignation over Grant's "invasion" of the South and his siege of Vicksburg. At the same time, he railed at Southerners for their "Walter Scottism"—their glorying in rank and privilege. A deeper conflict was on the one hand that he regarded slavery as "a bald, grotesque and unwarrantable usurpation" and on the other that he had known good people who kept slaves. There was the case of his two "uncles." He admired and loved both his Uncle John and Uncle Dan'l. He presented the paradox in *Huckleberry Finn* (1885), where the slaveholding Wilks girls are the gentlest and most sympathetic of creatures and where Uncle Silas and Aunt Sally are "as kind as they could be" to Jim, the runaway slave they have captured and imprisoned. The paradox of benevolence and slavery continued to trouble him until in *A Connecticut Yankee* (1889) he pushed it to a logical extreme (a favorite ploy) to achieve a kind of resolution: "Kindhearted people" complacently witness the beating of a young slave woman. The Boss winces as the whip descends, but he chooses not to interfere, nor will he summarily abolish slavery,

though it is in his power to do so. When people are ready, slavery will be abolished "by command of the nation." Having seen the imperfect results of abolition in his own country, Twain, like Huck before him, did not want to be mistaken for an abolitionist.

Sherwood Cummings

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See also: Adventures of Huckleberry Finn;
Racial Attitudes; Slavery

"About All Kinds of Ships" (1893)

The short story was first published in *The £1,000,000 Bank-Note* in 1893 by Charles L. Webster and Company of New York. "About All Kinds of Ships" is ostensibly a typical Twain effort, consistent with his previous writings in relying upon humor and a tall tale for its effect. The authorial persona recounts his recent transatlantic voyage on a modern luxury liner and notes the many changes that have occurred in maritime travel since his first ocean journey a generation earlier. After marveling at the various conveniences of the newer vessels, Twain then imaginatively recalls, for the sake of contrast, the voyages of two historical personages—Noah and Christopher Columbus—before ending the work with a patented tall tale about stasis.

Beneath the facade of humor, however, the story suggests much more. With a mixed, lifelike tone of gentle sarcasm and genuine reflection, the author concludes that just as nautical technology improves, the romance once offered by the sea decreases. (This con-

cept echoes the reflection on reading the river in *Life on the Mississippi* [1883].) Moreover, Twain suggests by way of analogy that as humanity itself continues to evolve, the poetic element decreases proportionally, a price that is, for him perhaps, too dear. Even in this minor and occasional piece, Twain manages fluently to combine humor and philosophy.

Timothy J. Lambrecht

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See also: *Life on the Mississippi*

"Adam's Soliloquy"

(1923)

Written in late February 1905, "Adam's Soliloquy" remained unpublished until Albert Bigelow Paine included it in *Europe and Elsewhere* (1923). In this piece Mark Twain transported Adam (in spirit, though visible to human beings) to contemporary New York City.

Deeply impressed by a dinosaur skeleton in the Museum of Natural History, Adam recalls a recent conversation in which an embarrassed Noah, explaining how the several huge species had been left off the ark, blamed the "carelessness" of his "youthful" sons (then in their early 100s), who had also inadvertently allowed a number of "nuisance" creatures aboard—flies, mosquitoes, snakes, cholera germs, rats, and the like.

Noah's further discourse upon why other useful animals were lost while none of the pests perished finally leads Adam to comment that though people initially were awed at meeting so renowned a being, the patriarch's garrulity and argumentativeness inevitably made them wish that "something had happened to the ark."

A second section, set in adjoining Central Park, finds Adam musing upon the vast expansion of population since the early days and enjoying the idea that all are his relatives.

Observing a young mother and her baby, he is charmed by the fact that her expression exactly repeats that worn by Eve when gazing at her first child some 300,000 years earlier. Further conversation involves the young woman's attempts to discover who Adam really is, by-play about how frightening it would be to meet the original Adam, and his assurances that one should not fear to meet a relative.

"Adam's Soliloquy" reflects Mark Twain's longtime interest in our earliest ancestors, which he had expressed more fully in "Extracts from Adam's Diary" (1893) and in the "Autobiography of Eve" (written in the early 1900s) and originally intended to include in "That Day in Eden," and "Eve Speaks," pieces that Paine also published in *Europe and Elsewhere*. In the summer of 1905, also, Twain would write Eve's story anew in "Eve's Diary."

The treatment of Noah adds an additional fragmentary portrait of the pre-Deluge patriarch to those in "About All Kinds of Ships" (1893), "Extract from Shem's Diary," and "Extracts from Methuselah's Diary" (both first published in part in *Letters from the Earth*, 1962). Moreover, Noah's explanation of how harmful creatures like flies, cholera germs, etc., came to be preserved reveals in an ironically humorous way a concern that elsewhere—especially in the 1906 autobiographical dictations published as "Reflections on Religion" (*Hudson Review* 16 [Autumn 1963]: 329–352) and in "Letters from the Earth" (1909)—would take the form of serious railing at a God who would bestow diseases and other calamities on mankind.

Howard G. Baetzhold

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See also: "Extracts from Adam's Diary";
God; Religion

"Adventure in Remote Seas, An"

(1967)

Although not published until 1967, the fragmentary "An Adventure in Remote Seas" (Mark Twain Papers 59)—one of several unpublished narratives of disastrous sea journeys first published in *Mark Twain's Which Was the Dream?*—was probably composed 24 May 1898 or 4 June 1898 (Tuckey 14). Twain first sketched out a marooned crew's "life in the interior of an iceberg" (MTNJ 3:54) in 1883, but his working notes date from 1897 (Tuckey 87).

The two chapters of George Parker's narrative follow a sealing expedition in 1878 from Australia to an island in the Antarctic Sea, where total success proves totally disastrous. With seal hunting as easy as "murdering children" (92), Parker expects to earn \$1,000 from the voyage, but the skins seem worthless compared to the 120 tons of Spanish gold discovered in the island's abandoned house. The men lose track of their ship while sorting through this fortune, however, and are apparently doomed.

"An Adventure in Remote Seas" reiterates Twain's most familiar themes—problems caused by sudden wealth (as in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" [1899]), confusion over dreamlike reality (as in *Connecticut Yankee* [1889]), and the voyage of personal growth (*Huckleberry Finn* [1885]). It also exemplifies the despair running throughout his late work, though stranded ships symbolized despair as early as the *Smyrniote* incident in *Roughing It* (1872). The story is problematic as a narrative, despite the suggestiveness of a captain named Hardy and a crew representing the world in microcosm because the disaster implied by the existing chapters precludes the narrator's survival.

Judith Yaross Lee

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See also: "Great Dark, The"; "Which Was the Dream?"

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn

(1885)

First published under the title *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in England (December 1884), *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is Mark Twain's masterpiece. His tale of an outcast boy and a runaway slave, rafting down the Mississippi, has floated into the world's imagination, selling an estimated 20 million copies in more than fifty languages. Though controversial in Twain's time and our own, *Huckleberry Finn* seems likely to remain on that short list of fictional works whose narrative interest and stylistic power will enlighten, entertain, and disturb readers indefinitely.

Published in America in 1885, when Twain was forty-nine, the novel stands at the chronological center and artistic apogee of his career. The author's early works were largely journalistic reports, even if dramatized and humorized, of recent events. As he matured from reporter to travel writer to novelist, Twain reached further and further back into his life and deeper into his imagination for his subjects, moving from *Innocents Abroad* (1869, based on his 1867 Quaker City trip to Europe and the Holy Land) to *Roughing It* (1872, recounting his earlier western experiences of 1861–1867) to "Old Times on the Mississippi" (1875, concerning his four years as steamboat pilot that preceded the trip west) to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876, which unlocked memories of his childhood in Hannibal in the 1840s).

Sensing a new opportunity as he finished *Tom Sawyer* in 1875, Twain wrote to W.D.

Howells that "by and by I shall take a boy of twelve and run him on through life (in the first person) but not Tom Sawyer—he would not be a good character for it." During the summer of the following year at Quarry Farm in Elmira—"as quiet and peaceful as a South-sea island"—Twain wrote 400 manuscript pages, about fourteen chapters, of what he called "Huck Finn's Autobiography," in which Huck is placed at the center of the narrative, telling the story from his perspective and in his own words. This stunning change in point of view, reflecting what Twain had learned from his lecturing career and from his recent success in creating a naive young narrator in "Old Times on the Mississippi," can be seen in contrasting the last chapter of *Tom Sawyer* and the first chapter of *Huckleberry Finn*.

Huck's first-person narration removes the sometimes sentimental and always superior omniscient narrator; it provides a continually ironic and humorous structure, since the reader's comprehension reaches beyond Huck's; and it demonstrates Mark Twain's solution to the problem of the vernacular that had vexed a generation of American writers. Attempting to introduce democratically common characters and to loosen up book talk with what Wordsworth called the "language really used by men," American authors such as George Washington Harris stumbled into phonetic and orthographic swamps: "I tell yu she wer a tarin gal enyhow. Luved kissin, wrastlin, an' biled cabbige, an' hated tite clothes, hot weather, an' suckit-riders." Mark Twain solved this problem by creating a symbolic vernacular that has the heft of spoken language—run-on rhythms and repetitions, simple connections, occasional lapses of grammar, colloquialisms, and home-grown metaphors and neologisms—while observing enough of the conventions of written English to make it readable.

Initially, Mark Twain seemed not to recognize the power of his new novel, and he wrote to Howells that "I like it only tolerably well, as far as I have got, and may possibly pigeonhole or burn the MS when it is done."

Twain pigeonholed the manuscript repeatedly over the next seven years, working on sections "by fits and starts" until the summer of 1883, when, in two months at Quarry Farm, he revised the earlier sections and wrote the final twenty-one chapters, this time telling Howells that "I haven't piled up MS so in years . . . and I shall like it, whether anybody else does or not." The book that Mark Twain liked was issued in America in February 1885 by his newly established publishing company, ghost-directed by his nephew-in-law Charles Webster, who reported sales of 42,000 copies in the first month.

The novel's episodic adventures, held together by the steady current of the river highway, fall into three sections. The first, roughly a quarter of the text, continues the spirit and action of *Tom Sawyer* with a description of Huck's "cramped-up" life at the Widow Douglas's, a midnight meeting of Tom's robber gang, and a raid on a Sunday school picnic. The changed point of view, however, invests these burlesques with a new vividness and freshness, since they are given in Huck's language and governed by his naively insightful point of view:

Then Miss Watson she took me in the closet and prayed, but nothing come of it. She told me to pray every day, and whatever I asked for I would get it. But it warn't so. I tried it. Once I got a fish-line, but no hooks. It warn't any good to me without hooks.

With the introduction of Pap, who nearly murders Huck in an alcoholic rage, and the slave Jim, who fears being sold down the river, the novel moves out to deeper waters. Fleeing father and owner, civilization and slavery, Huck and Jim push off together on a raft for the extraordinary middle chapters of the novel that constitute Mark Twain's finest achievement. Drifting down the river and by the towns that Twain had known as a pilot and that he had revisited in 1882, the runaways plan to sell their raft at Cairo, Illinois, and take a steamboat "way up the Ohio [river] amongst the free States, and then be out of trouble." This

plan fails when they unknowingly pass Cairo in a fog, for Mark Twain, after “fooling over [the book] for seven years,” had finally discovered a narrative structure that would allow him to express the ideas that came to dominate his intellectual maturity. Sending his outcasts southward intensified the novel’s ironies and expanded the targets of Twain’s satire. Trapped on the raft by the King and the Duke, as the invading pair of con artists style themselves, Huck and Jim float ever deeper into slavery, and Twain abandons his burlesque of romanticism and pirate books in order to attack pretentious backwoods aristocrats, boorish town loafers, fickle and cowardly mobs, and unconsciously and uncaringly inhumane slaveholders—an attack that is set off by fleeting moments of calm and beauty on the raft and by the compassionate companionship of a white boy and a black man. The “shackly” one-horse towns along the river that Huck and Jim visit—Pokeville, Bricksville, Pikesville—doze in indolence that periodically explodes into brutality and murder. Their residents are fools whose stupidity and greed make them fair game, deserving victims, of the confidence men who prey on them.

The concluding quarter of the book, anchored ashore at the Phelps plantation where Jim is held captive as a runaway slave, returns Tom Sawyer to the plot along with the tomfoolery that the novel began with. Tom knows but conceals the fact that Jim has been set free by his owner, and he concocts an elaborate plan—bristling with unnecessary saws, rope ladders, prison journals, secret messages, disguises, and a coat of arms—to release Jim from captivity. These final chapters constitute an amusing parody of *The Count of Monte Cristo*, *The Man in the Iron Mask*, and similar works, but Mark Twain seems to have traded in his satiric cannon for a popgun. For some readers, the ending is a lessening of the understanding wrung out of the experiences in the middle section of the novel. Tom’s games here are of a different order than those of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, for this time he is playing with a human being; his vicious concealment of

the black man’s free status and his wish to “leave Jim to our children” align him with slaveholders and confidence men.

The richness of Twain’s picaresque, episodic tale derives in part from its complexities and apparent contradictions. At moments the novel is an idyll of carefree pleasures and natural rhythms that adults like to attribute to childhood, an idyll that has made rafting down the Mississippi part of our national past, though few Americans have ever done it. But these moments are quickly, inevitably punctured by rapacity, cruelty, and death. The story—“a dream full of danger,” as Edmund Wilson described Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales*—is littered with thirty-four corpses, not including a dozen deaths that flow from Huck’s imagination of disaster. Mark Twain’s most powerful evocations of a serene landscape (“and next you’ve got the full day, and everything smiling in the sun, and the song-birds just going it!”) and his most exuberant satire (“the old gentleman . . . never charged nothing for his preaching, and it was worth it, too”) are presented simultaneously with his grimmest portraits of human behavior (“The boys jumped for the river—both of them hurt—and as they swum down the current the men run along the bank shooting at them and singing out, ‘Kill them, kill them!’ It made me so sick I most fell out of the tree”). In what is Mark Twain’s most humorous, most serious book, stability exists alongside anarchy, the conventional lies next to the nihilistic, and opposites often nest complexly inside one another. The Widow Douglas gives Huck lessons in virtue, which he rejects (“I couldn’t see no advantage about it”), and then proceeds to follow. Society preaches the righteousness of slaveholding and promises hell to abolitionists, doctrines that Huck accepts in fact and rejects in action. Powerless, pushed about by conniving individuals and loutish groups, Huck and Jim counter Mark Twain’s deeply pessimistic picture of Mississippi valley society by offering the possibility of release through humor and redemption through humanity. Though winning the reader, they lose

the story, for Jim, in spite of his freedom, faces an unchanged racist world that still holds his wife and children in bondage; and Huck has no place to go but Indian territory.

Yet, diverse and even contradictory as these elements are, and subversive as the novel is to standard generic expectations, the work is held together by its remarkable harmonies: Huck's integration with the rhythms of nature; the consistently maintained point of view of a fourteen-year-old boy and the deadpan humor it consistently generates; Huck's steady moral vision; the authenticity of the valley setting and the river lore that Mark Twain acquired in his boyhood and steamboating days; and the balanced mixture of insight, criticism, and comedy in the sharpest satiric vignettes in American literature, all filtered through Huck's brilliantly metaphorical yet persuasively homely language. Virtually every aspect of mid-nineteenth-century Mississippi valley culture comes under Mark Twain's fire.

At the height of his powers of invention in the 1880s, Mark Twain was also in a stable middle position between the grab-bag humor of his youth and the invective irony of his old age, between his earlier conventional beliefs and his later fulminations against "the damned human race." Located precisely in the middle of a fifty-year career filled with brilliant yet flawed works, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is as close as its author ever came to a complete, balanced, and unified long work of fiction.

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn has been lavishly praised in the twentieth century as "one of the world's great books and one of the central documents of American culture" (Lionel Trilling), as the book that "all modern American literature comes from" (Hemingway), whose author is "all of our grandfather" (Faulkner), "one of those rare writers who have brought their language up to date, and in so doing, 'purified the dialect of the tribe'" (T.S. Eliot). But from the beginning the novel has been under attack. The Concord Library Committee stumbled into immortality by calling it "the veriest trash. . . . It [is] rough, coarse, and inelegant, dealing with a series of

experiences not elevating." Other nineteenth-century reviewers were less apoplectic, but, complaining of its "irreverence," they often dismissed the book as "mere humor." As twentieth-century readers responded increasingly to what they saw as the book's moral integrity, they began to regard the ending as anticlimactic or even subversive to the lessons of justice and equality exemplified in the middle chapters. Later critics were less disturbed by the absurdity of the ending, which, in their view, is an apt symbol of modern notions of reality. And since the novel was written by a wealthy white male who believed in as well as criticized his generation's drive for technological power and material success and whose humor did not spare minority groups, or anyone else, it comes as no surprise that *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has taken its lumps recently in the hands of new historicists, cultural materialists, literary pluralists, feminists, and African-Americanists.

Each criticism of the novel needs to be seen in its context. The Concord Library Committee had both a theory of art (it should uplift) and a theory of written language (it should be genteel) that later generations have found inadequate. Those nineteenth-century readers who dismissed the book as not serious enough did not have the advantage of Freud's *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, published in 1905, and they lived in a culture, unlike our own, in which irreverence was not fashionable. The variety of twentieth-century interpretations suggests not so much the fractiousness of critics as the capaciousness of Mark Twain's novel, along with his complicated desire both to believe in and to explode notions of rational and ethical human behavior. And those contemporary critics who see Twain as fatally tempted by nineteenth-century sentimentality, boosterism, and progressivism need to remember that every great artist both is and is not a child of his or her times. It is precisely Twain's amphibian status as insider and outsider that creates the foundation of his humor and the platform from which he can satirize his society even while embedded in it.

Yet of all the criticism directed against *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the most recent—that the book and its author are racist—is the most damaging, and it is likely to endure as long as black Americans have cause to feel insecure or uncomfortable about their cultural status. In terms of the nineteenth century, the charge is unhistorical, and Samuel Clemens's respect, affection, and concern for African-Americans are well documented. In the same year that the novel was published—a year that saw a 50 percent increase in the lynchings of black Americans, which Twain excoriated in “The United States of Lyncherdom” (1923)—the author began to pay the expenses of Warner T. McGuinn, one of the first black students to be accepted at the Yale School of Law, writing to the school's dean that:

I do not believe I would very cheerfully help a white student who would ask a benevolence of a stranger, but I do not feel so about the other color. We have ground the manhood out of them and the shame is ours, not theirs; and we should pay for it.

The moral argument that Mark Twain embedded in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was recognized immediately by Joel Chandler Harris: “There is not in our fictive literature a more wholesome book than *Huckleberry Finn*. . . . We are taught [by it] the lesson of honesty, justice and mercy.” Huck comes to understand the humanity of his raftmate. He identifies with Jim's cause in chapter 11 (“They're after us!”), apologizes to him in chapter 15 (“I didn't do him no more mean tricks, and I wouldn't done that one if I'd a knowed it would make him feel that way”), lies to protect him from slave hunters in chapter 16 (“He's white”), risks the damnation of the religion of his time for not informing on Jim in chapter 31 (“All right, then, I'll go to hell”), and attempts, unsuccessfully, to pry Jim loose from Tom's shenanigans in chapter 35 (“Confound it, it's foolish”). Huck never rejects slavery, and he continues to voice the racism of his society, but as Mark Twain wrote in his notebook, Huck's “sound heart” defeats his “diseased conscience.”

Times, however, have changed, and our current definitions of racism are more searching, more subtle. Many black readers, offended by the satire at Jim's expense (“Jim was most ruined, for a servant, because he got so stuck up on account of having seen the devil and been rode by witches”) are not persuaded by the argument that everyone in the novel is satirized—slaves, poor whites, the “high toned and well born,” preachers, the Widow Douglas, Huck himself. These readers wince at the use of the term “Nigger” as well as the passages in which Jim is shown to be superstitious, fearful, and foolish, finding him, as Ralph Ellison put it, “a white man's inadequate portrait of a slave.” E.W. Kemble's portraits are judged inadequate as well, and his illustrations of a wide-eyed, thick-lipped Jim seem to derive from nineteenth-century minstrel shows. So do some of Twain's jokes:

Huck: “What did you speculate in, Jim?”

Jim: “Well, fust I tackled stock.”

Huck: “What kind of stock?”

Jim: “Why livestock . . . I put ten dollars in a cow.”

The joke was the golden apple for which Mark Twain would always turn aside, and he sometimes sacrifices the long-term demands of his narrative, and Jim's dignity, for the short run opportunities of humor. A novel requires consistency and accumulation. Part of its pleasure derives from the predictability, the inevitability, of the patterns of character and action that govern the miniature world created by the author. Humor, on the other hand, is based on quick splashes rather than long rolling rhythms. It is unpredictable, subversive, amoral, distorting. As a humorist, Twain often pushes his material out to extremes—in Jim's case, extremes of ignorance and superstition—to sharpen the contrasts on which humor thrives. Although he aligns much of his comedy with his plot, it occasionally undercuts the novel's generally sympathetic presentation of Jim.

A final criticism of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* derives from the recent debates about the literary canon, which themselves are a

product of increasing multiculturalism in the United States. This once subversive book has become approved by the authorities, enshrined in reading lists, and entrenched in school curricula. The sections that offend have been dismissed by white teachers and professors who insist that black readers—in spite of their extensive experience with cultural ironies—do not understand the irony. Insensitive teaching and the introduction of the novel too early in school have compounded the problem. A mother's challenge against the book in the town of State College, Pennsylvania, resulted when a ninth-grade teacher, using *Huckleberry Finn* for exercises in oral reading, insisted that the only black youngster in her class—despite his protest—take the part of Jim.

A nineteenth-century liberal, Mark Twain would approve of the increased sensitivity of the twentieth century to racial injustice: it is a change that he helped to bring about. But yesterday's liberalism often looks like today's conservatism, and it seems wise not to insist that every student, especially every young and black student, read the book as an inevitable part of the American school curriculum.

Curiously, it is the wealth and diversity of the criticism of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the debates and the passions that it has and will continue to inspire, that provide a persuasive index to its future. Every generation seems to discover a new problem with the book, but every generation continues to read it. Like all great works of art, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has the power to revise and unsettle as well as to define and stabilize. It is a mirror of the reader's dreams and fears, of what we find comic, what we find admirable, and what we find disturbing in human culture—in Huck Finn's time, in Mark Twain's time, and in our own.

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See also: Douglas, Widow; Duke and the Dauphin, The; Finn, Huckleberry; Grangerfords, The; Jim; Picaresque; Point of View; Racial Attitudes; Sherburn, Colonel; Vernacular; Watson, Miss

"Adventures of Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass, The" (1856–1857)

These three travel letters, written to the Keokuk *Saturday Post* and the Keokuk *Daily Post* by one Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass as he travels from St. Louis to Cincinnati, are reputed to be the first pieces Twain was commissioned to write for pay. Although late in life Twain maintained that he could not re-

member writing the letters or being paid for them, Thomas Rees, son of the *Post's* editor at the time, claimed Twain was paid five dollars per letter. Twain wrote these letters after leaving his brother's employ at the Ben Franklin Book and Job Office to travel to the Amazon. He never made it to the Amazon because he finally got the opportunity to fulfill his dream of becoming a river pilot.

The letters are characterized by heavy dialect, many misspelled words, misused words, and stock situations. Twain utilizes stock incidents as Snodgrass, an unschooled, unsophisticated man, relates his first encounters with the marvels of city life and train travel. The first letter, published 1 November 1856 and bearing a dateline of 18 October 1856 from St. Louis, recounts Snodgrass's foray to the theater. The second letter, dateline 14 November 1856 from Cincinnati (and published 9 November 1856 in the *Daily Post* and 6 December in the *Saturday Post*), describes Snodgrass's train ride from St. Louis to Cincinnati. The last letter, dateline 14 March 1857 from Cincinnati and published 10 April 1857, relates how the innocent and unsuspecting Snodgrass was duped by a city lady who left him with her unwanted child.

The influence of William Tappan Thompson (*Major Jones's Sketches of Travel* [1847]) and other humorists of the time on the content and style of these letters is apparent; the heavy dialect and precarious circumstances in which the unpolished rural personality finds himself are familiar devices of the time. These letters do, however, show the early stages of Twain's effective use of dialect to delineate character.

Another series of ten letters from Quintus Curtius Snodgrass to his friend Charles Augustus Brown, published in the New Orleans *Crescent* in January, February, and March 1861, is sometimes attributed to Twain. Although arguments have been made for both sides of the issue, the evidence for authorship is not conclusive.

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See also: Snodgrass, Thomas Jefferson

Adventures of Tom Sawyer, The (1876)

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (TS) is one of the few books enjoyed by readers of every age. With sales now over 5 million copies, the novel ranks second in popularity among Twain's works, being surpassed only by *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). Characteristically, Mark Twain wrote the book in fits and starts. He apparently began it in early January 1873 but soon put it aside to collaborate with Charles Dudley Warner on *The Gilded Age* (1873). Then he picked it up again in the spring and summer of 1874 and wrote, as he said, until his tank ran dry. As Paul Baender has pointed out, paper, ink, pen point, and manner of inscription suggest that the first stop occurred at the end of chapter 4 and the second near the end of chapter 18. Twain finished the story in the spring and early summer of 1875.

With more than usual care, he went back over the first draft and made several hundred changes, principally to sharpen the transitions and make the language more connotative. In addition, he juggled material so that Tom would more consistently grow from a childish scamp to a responsible youth. This done, he had a secretarial copy made of the holograph manuscript and sent it for reactions to his close

friend William Dean Howells, editor of the *Atlantic*. The holograph manuscript he sent to his editor, Elisha Bliss of the American Publishing Company in Hartford, Connecticut, so that Bliss could get True Williams started on the illustrations. To Twain's great delight Howells liked the story immensely and returned it with only thirty-one comments penciled in the margins. Acting on these comments, Twain changed certain "off-key" expressions and shortened the sham battle in chapter 3 as well as the episode in chapter 20 in which Tom discovers Becky Thatcher looking at an illustration of a nude figure in the headmaster's anatomy book. Also, he cut the final chapter completely. When the holograph manuscript came back from Bliss, he transferred to it—though rather carelessly—the alterations he had made in the secretarial copy. Then he sent the holograph manuscript back to Bliss, and the secretarial copy to Chatto and Windus in London. Not delaying for illustrations, Chatto and Windus brought out the first English edition on 9 July 1876. From proof sheets of this edition the Belford Brothers in Toronto printed cheap pirated editions with which they flooded the American as well as the Canadian market before the authorized American edition appeared on 8 December. Because of the delay for which Bliss, the engravers, and Twain were all responsible, the appearance of the authorized American edition was not especially newsworthy. The book was not widely reviewed, and sales were slow until the appearance of *Huckleberry Finn* in 1885 brought *TS* fresh attention.

Encouraged by the success of his play titled *Colonel Sellers*, Mark Twain tried to find collaborators to help him dramatize *TS* as early as 1875. Finding none, he dramatized it himself almost ten years later. The copyright for it is dated 1 February 1884. For many good reasons he was unable to find a producer. The play, for example, does not have the structural unity of the novel, the compactness of character, nor the atmosphere. Almost perversely it concentrates on some of the episodes but not necessarily on the most dramatic ones. Finally

convinced that he could not dramatize the book, Twain sold the dramatic rights to it in 1885. The play is printed with a detailed introduction and notes by Walter Blair in *Mark Twain's Hannibal, Huck & Tom*.

TS is the most autobiographical of Mark Twain's novels. Physically, St. Petersburg, where the events take place, is Hannibal, Missouri, the town where Sam Clemens spent most of his boyhood. The Mississippi River, Bear Creek, the buildings, the cemetery, and the cave are all as the young Sam knew them. Cardiff Hill is a literary replica of Holliday's Hill and Jackson's Island of Glasscock's Island, since washed away. Although they are altered for humorous and dramatic reasons, the major characters, too, can be traced to Hannibal sources. Tom, Twain later said, is a composite of himself and two companions. Aunt Polly is in part his mother, though more sentimental and ineffective than Mrs. Clemens ever was. Sid is Clemens's younger brother Henry turned into a prissy tattletale. The character of Becky is based on Laura Hawkins, who lived across the street, and Huck on a generous and likable ragamuffin named Tom Blankenship. Twain downgraded Injun Joe from a town loafer to a villain. Despite these autobiographical elements, however, a surprising amount of material reflects Twain's reading. The relation between Tom and Huck, for example, echoes the relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605–1615), one of Twain's favorite books. Similarly, the relation between Aunt Polly and Tom reflects the relation between Mrs. Partington and her son Ike in B.P. Shillaber's *Mrs. Partington* sketches. Other major sources from Twain's reading include Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* (1849) and *Tale of Two Cities* (1859), Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *Story of a Bad Boy* (1869), and Edgar Allan Poe's "The Gold Bug." In addition, Twain drew upon pieces he himself had written. He had burlesqued Sunday school stories, for example, in "The Story of the Bad Little Boy Who Didn't Come to Grief" (1865) and "The Story of the Good Little Boy Who Did Not

Prosper" (1870). He had tried to observe events through the eyes of a boy in sections of *The Gilded Age* and of "Old Times on the Mississippi" (1875). His most extensive "rehearsal" for *TS*, however, was a fragment that A.B. Paine, Twain's literary executor, called "Boy's Manuscript." Written about 1868, it tells in diary form the schoolroom antics of a Billy Rogers and of Billy's absurd love affair with an Amy Lawrence. The diary was going nowhere and Twain was wise to stop it, but it proved to be a rich source of material for *TS*.

Despite its off-again, on-again composition, *TS* is Mark Twain's best constructed novel. The structure results from the interweaving of four oppositions (plot seems too imposing a term), each opposition typical of those in a type of fiction popular in the 1870s. The four are as follows: (1) Tom vs. the adult community, a takeoff on the juvenile fiction of the time. Surfacing especially in the first five chapters and then intermittently throughout the book, this opposition results in a genial satire of the juvenile fiction that glorified the Good Boy and piled contumely on the Bad Boy. Twain achieves his satirical effect by making Tom guilty of most of the transgressions of the typical Bad Boy (lying, stealing, smoking, running away from home, and associating with a boy who lacks a Christian upbringing) and yet reaps the rewards customarily reserved for the Good Boy (riches, popular esteem, and the affection of the Good Girl). (2) Tom vs. Becky, a burlesque of romantic fiction. Following the pattern of adult love stories—boy meets girl, boy loses girl, boy gets girl—the puppy antics of Tom and Becky irresistibly call attention to the similarly puppy activities of older lovers. (3) Tom vs. Huck, an adaptation of contemporary local color fiction that depended on talk in the vernacular in part for its effect. This is the strand in *TS* that led directly to *Huckleberry Finn*. (4) Tom vs. Injun Joe, a borrowing from paperback thrillers emphasizing robbery, murder, revenge, treasure hunting, and imminent danger to the hero and heroine. With unusual structural skill, Twain interweaves these oppositions so that

none is forgotten once it is introduced. In the last pages he provides a roundup that resolves all oppositions: Tom becomes one with the community, Tom and Becky adore each other, Tom persuades Huck to join his gang, and Tom triumphs over Injun Joe.

Twain gives his novel further cohesion by having Tom the center of all activity. Other characters are important only in their relation to Tom. Even Huck, as appealing as he is, serves primarily as a foil to show how far Tom is from being a real social rebel—just as Sid and Willie Mufferson serve to show how far he is from being a model boy. At relatively regular intervals Twain pulls Tom and other characters together in a big scene: Tom in Sunday school, for example, Tom at the school graduation services, Tom testifying at the trial of Injun Joe, Tom and his companions attending their own funeral, Tom producing the treasure. In short, *TS* is tightly enough constructed to transcend such palpable weaknesses as the uncertainty of the boys' ages, the vagueness of family relationships, the extraordinary length of the Missouri summer, and the disappearance of Lawyer Thatcher.

As in almost all of Mark Twain's works, the style in *TS* results from the point of view. It is a shifting style because the point of view slides from that of the middle-aged writer to that of the approximately twelve-year-old boy. As the middle-aged author, Twain writes in the conventional, stilted, "literary" manner that characterizes other novels of the period. But when he adopts Tom's point of view, his language immediately freshens. The boy forces him to do what he does best: report concrete happenings in simple pictorial language. In style, therefore, *TS* represents a transition between the mannered discourse in *The Gilded Age* and the vernacular in *Huckleberry Finn*. *TS* gave Mark Twain the character of Huck Finn, and Huck gave him the style that revolutionized American fiction.

Mark Twain once called *TS* "a hymn put into prose to give it a worldly air." For many this definition is sufficient. The story of St. Petersburg, or St. Peter's town, is the story of

a heavenly place where, despite anxieties and crimes, a boy can live out his dreams. Yet a closer reading reveals evidences of Twain's growing pessimism. The adult world is far from heavenly. There may be much prating about goodness, and individuals such as Aunt Polly can on occasion be loving and compassionate, but the adults as a group are fickle, vain, materialistic, and bored. Their basic desires are really for economic prosperity and a reputation for respectability. The most unsettling fact in the story is that Tom is surely going to turn out to be just like his elders. At the outset of the book there is nothing he envies so much as Huck Finn's freedom from adult restraints. Yet at the end he is trying to force Huck to accept these very restraints by letting the Widow Douglas adopt him. Tom, in short, has not matured during the course of the narrative but has simply become more like St. Petersburg adults, who are themselves immature. Still, such realization is only the dark underside of the book. Most readers, especially young ones, are amply satisfied with the bright side, the captivating myth of the little town of long ago on the bank of the Great River.

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See also: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*; "Boy's Manuscript"; Heroism; Point of View; Sawyer, Tom; Thatcher, Becky

"Advice for Good Little Boys" (1865)

and

"Advice for Good Little Girls" (1865)

Mark Twain's burlesque advice columns, "Advice for Good Little Boys" and "Advice for Good Little Girls," were first published, either together or in close succession, in 1865, in a nonsectarian family journal, the San Francisco based *Youths' Companion*. The burlesque form of the two pieces suggests the influence of the literary humorists that Twain came into contact with in Nevada and in California. The satirical content offers an early expression of Twain's impatience with the sentimentality in which the genteel culture of the nineteenth century enshrined childhood. It is probably fair to say that these two sketches are germs of *Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *Huckleberry Finn* (1885).

The two sketches do not mirror one another. "Advice for Good Little Girls" is almost half again as long as "Advice for Good Little Boys," and the two pieces do not address parallel subjects. They are based, however, on the same notion of child behavior: that children are naturally mischievous and

that particularly trying circumstances make it impossible for a child to keep those mischievous impulses under control. Citing a handful of realistic instances in a child's life, Twain humorously counsels satisfying forms of response. His recommendations range from engaging in minor forms of naughtiness to adopting one or another form of hypocrisy. Twain's use of slang—rather uneven and awkward in these early pieces—and the exaggerated responses to provocation that he sketches out make clear that these pieces are offered as jokes, as burlesques of the kind of moralistic advice a child might find in the Sunday school literature of the day. At the same time, Twain does have a serious point to make. The good child of his titles is neither the child who would be advised nor the child who has been advised; to Twain, a good child is a mischievous child.

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See also: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*;
Adventures of Tom Sawyer, The;
 Burlesque; Childhood

"AGE—A Rubáiyát"

(1983)

In the autumn of 1898 Mark Twain conceived an irresistible desire to write a burlesque of a poem he much admired, Edward FitzGerald's immensely adulated translation, *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* (1859). Twain composed five quatrains in Notebook 40 in October 1898, titling them "AGE—A Rubáiyát," then wrote variations of four of these stanzas plus forty-one others on small, numbered leaves of paper. These forty-five

verses combine comical laments about the indignities and frailties of old age with a withering assault on the injustices of humankind's fate. In places the speaker openly compliments and invites death, the "Best Friend of Man" (quatrain 23). Some lines are notably successful at mimicking FitzGerald's poem and reversing his meaning, as when the speaker asks a draught of "kindly Absinth, with its wimpling Sheen/Of dusky half-lights," to "let me drown/The haunting Pathos of the Might-Have-Been" (quatrain 5), or when he urges those who will note his death to "be glad for Me . . . and think/I've found the Voices lost, beyond the Pall" (quatrain 20). Overall, however, the effort often resembles travesty rather than the clever spoof Twain intended.

Certain verses referring to fornication are bawdy beyond the jokes in Twain's *1601 Conversation* (privately printed, 1880), such as where the speaker warms to the topic of "Lechery" (quatrain 40) in terms resembling Twain's lewd "Some Thoughts on the Science of Onanism" (privately printed, 1952, 1964) and "The Mammoth Cod" (privately printed, 1920, 1937, 1976). Two separate, additional quatrains deploring male sexual impotence ("Behold—the Penis mightier than the Sword,/ . . . dreams unmoved of ancient conquests scored") survive in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

On 13 November 1898 Twain wrote from Vienna to propose that Andrew Chatto privately publish a limited edition of the poem, retitled "Omar's Old Age." "Come—is it a wild and vicious scheme?" he asked Chatto. The plan did not proceed, and Twain later extracted twenty verses for inclusion in a sketch titled "My Boyhood Dreams" that appeared in the January 1900 issue of *McClure's Magazine*. The entire sheaf of stanzas became part of biographer Albert Bigelow Paine's personal collection and was eventually published in 1983.

As a commentary on Twain's morose state of mind in 1898, and as a powerfully suggestive indication of his qualms about sexual im-

potence and old age in general, the burlesque possesses an interest beyond its demonstration of Twain's abilities to copy the style and content of one of the most influential literary works of his day.

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See also: FitzGerald, Edward; "My Boyhood Dreams"; Scatology

Ah Sin: The Heathen Chinee (written 1876)

Ah Sin: The Heathen Chinee was written jointly by Mark Twain and Bret Harte in the fall of 1876. On 30 December a contract for production was signed by Twain, Harte, and Charles Parsloe, who played the character Ah Sin. Twain advanced \$1,000 toward the production. *Ah Sin* opened 7 May 1877 at the National Theatre in Washington, D.C., for one week. On 31 July the play opened at Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre in New York. The New York run closed 31 August, and after four weeks on tour, the play was withdrawn and no further productions were mounted.

The idea for the play originated with the critical success of the Chinese character Hop Sing in Harte's *Two Men of Sandy Bar*, which Twain had seen in New York during September 1876. Ah Sin is the name of a similar character in Harte's "Plain Language from Truthful James." The project provided an opportunity for the friends to exploit their western experiences for a public hungry for such material. Harte spent two weeks with Twain in late November and early December working on the play.

The collaborative process Harte and Twain followed was sporadic and uneven. Harte, moody and curt, reflected the formal and stilted

pattern of nineteenth-century theater. Twain, relaxed and casual, consistently revised Harte's work toward more realistic, even burlesque renderings. As a result of this process, the play is often chaotic and the plot incoherent. The characters, except for Ah Sin, are thin and lack clear motivation. However, the most significant dramatic problem derives from an inconsistent mood. Neither Harte nor Twain could decide whether the play should be a tragedy or a melodrama, a comedy or a farce. The inability of Twain and Harte to reconcile their differences precluded proper revisions of the script and led Twain to seize control of the production, excluding Harte. The play failed, and the friendship between the two suffered an irreparable break.

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See also: Dramatist, Mark Twain as; Harte, Francis Bret

"Aix, the Paradise of the Rheumatics" (1891)

"Aix, The Paradise of the Rheumatics" was first published on 8 November 1891 as one of six letters Mark Twain wrote for the New York *Sun* appearing in installments through 3 April 1892. All but one, "Playing Courier," are ostensibly factual accounts about travel. Burdened by financial problems brought on

by the Paige typesetter and his publishing company, Twain traveled to Europe in 1891 in the hope of gathering material for a new travel book as well as to find relief for the rheumatism in his right arm and respite from his difficulties. One of his first stops was at the famous French health resort of Aix-les-Bains, followed by visits to Bayreuth and Marienbad, among other places. Although these pieces—broad mixtures of philosophical reflection, journalistic travel detail, and social commentary laced with satire and humor—were never incorporated or reshaped into a single work, they nevertheless remain significant revelations of Twain's social thought and moods during this period. "Aix, the Paradise of the Rheumatics" is one of the most important of his travel pieces because, in part, it clearly reflects some of the social, theological, and political themes Twain had grappled with in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889).

The opening paragraphs immediately plunge us into Twain's satiric reflections about the "rabble of nobilities" who come to the resort, including, possibly, "His Satanic Majesty of Russia" (Czar Alexander III), whose "terrible form casts a shadow across the universe like a planet in eclipse. There will be but one absorbing spectacle in this world when we stencil him and start him out." Twain then turns his attention to the geological and historical record of the area in which he sees, in typical Protestant historiographical fashion, the course of civilization represented by the "three symbols" of a Roman arch, a Catholic church, and a telegraph office—"The era of War, the era of Theology, the era of Business." His commentary on those "symbols" embodies a major insight into the way Twain perceived the nature of historical change as it is determined by theological conceptions. Thus, change occurs because of "changes in the Deity—or in men's conception of the Deity. . . ." The "old" God of the "Presbyterians and the rest" has given way to a God of business running his universe in deistic fashion by applying laws necessary to the "successful management of a complex and prodigious es-

tablishment," on an earth now a "mere cork adrift in waters of a shoreless Atlantic," a crucial metaphor for understanding *A Connecticut Yankee* and later, darker works of the 1890s. And yet Twain's basically affirmative response to the new technological-business God ("Mighty has been the advance of the nations and the liberalization of thought") is tempered by the thought that recent Presbyterian synods have again "embarrassed" God by reaffirming the the dogma of infant damnation, a dogma that always enraged Twain. Such reflections tell us much about Twain's tensions and ambivalences as he sought to affirm a modern "liberalized" world while yet recognizing the *residua* of reactionary social theological values that ultimately could not be effaced from the course of "progress."

His philosophical "preamble" over, Twain then returns to his topical matter, a description of the baths, the grounds, the gamblers, the "course" of treatment, all presented with Twain's characteristic stance of skeptical humor, incisive detail and anecdote, information about the wide range of "types" who have come to the baths for their own purposes: ". . . all the nations were there, clothed richly and speaking all the languages. Some of the women were painted and were evidently shaky as to character." Predictably, there is at Aix "a good many liars this year." But Twain's arm does indeed improve—along with every other "important ailment known to medical science"—and so he concludes with a final description of the different excursions available outside of Aix. At Lake Annecy Twain finds a town that is a "revelation," a veritable "dream of the Middle Ages," thus turning Hank Morgan's journey into the past into an experiential fact. He is transported back to a cultivated, picturesque "Eden," his primary image always for peace and serenity. And at the old abbey of Tallories, now an inn, Twain again experiences the romance and bliss of the Middle Ages. The God of business seems distant and forgotten now—as he escapes from the "rush and boom and fret and fever of the nineteenth century" into the "mystery of re-

mote antiquity" where he can imagine a "wandering knight with his tin breeches on" visiting the monks there. Twain ends by remarking that he "could have stayed there a few years and got a solid rest." It seems clear that in this piece Twain is less concerned with his task as a reporter of a famous resort than he is with pondering on those theological and historical issues that engaged his mind and imagination and with finding, as he does, in his contemporary world, "relics" of a blissful Edenic and medieval world impervious to the demystifying satire he occasionally subjected them to in other works.

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See also: Aix-les-Bains, France; *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, A; Medievalism; Religion

Aix-les-Bains, France

This village, located eight miles north of Chambéry, is noted for its hot springs and the ruins of a Roman triumphal arch and a temple to Diana.

During the summer of 1891 Twain traveled through Europe, stopping at Aix-les-Bains on the way from Geneva to Bayreuth to rest and enjoy the baths. While there, he began to write accounts of his European journeys for English and American newspapers. In No-

vember of that year Twain published an article on "Aix, the Paradise of the Rheumatics" in the *Illustrated London News*. Besides describing the town and his experiences while staying there, Twain comments on the historical progression of man's beliefs about God represented by the juxtaposition of Aix of the ancient (the Roman ruins) with the modern (the telegraph office) and the timeless (the hot springs).

Charles Franklyn Beach

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See also: "Aix, the Paradise of the Rheumatics"

Alcott, Louisa May (1832-1888)

Writing under her own name and a variety of pseudonyms, (L.M.A., A.M. Berhard, Flora Fairfield, A.M.D. of Amos Bronson, Abba May Alcott), Louisa May Alcott began publishing during the 1850s; throughout her life she produced poetry, tales, essays, fiction, and thrillers. Best known, then and now, are *Little Women* (1868), *Little Men* (1871), and *Jo's Boys* (1886), stories that trace the life of Jo March, central protagonist among the family of women introduced in *Little Women*. *Little Women* was and has continued to be an immensely popular book among women, largely because its protagonist struggles against her culture's gender assumptions and demands. *Little Men* and *Jo's Boys* espouse professional careers for women in addition to marriage, as does *Work: A Story of Experience* (1873).

Mark Twain signed a poem published in the *Buffalo Express* in 1869 "Some of the Little Women" and received a bill for a copy of *Little Women* from a Hartford bookseller in 1889. Coleman O. Parsons suggests that an

episode in "The Chronicle of Young Satan" (written 1897–1900), one of the *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts, may have been stimulated by a similar episode in *Little Men*. Though little direct mention is made of Alcott in Twain's letters or works, it would be surprising if a household of four women, three of them children, did not contain copies of at least the "Little" series. And since one of Twain's great pleasures was reading to his family, it is well within the realm of permissible conjecture to suppose that he read several of Alcott's works.

Susan K. Harris

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See also: Women

Aldrich, Thomas Bailey (1836–1907)

In his own time Thomas Bailey Aldrich was a widely respected man of letters. He filled every aspect of that role: he was a poet, a short-story writer, a novelist, an essayist; he held several editorial positions, the most important of which was that of editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* from 1881 to 1890; and he was a witty and companionable addition to Boston-centered literary life who also maintained lifelong friendships with a number of writers, including Mark Twain. Achieving national recognition with his sentimental poem on the death of a child, "The Ballad of Babie Bell" (1855), Aldrich continued writing poetry throughout his life. Like many nineteenth-century writers, he valued his poetry above his other literary achievements; to modern readers, however, the poetry with its gentle

handling of romantic themes seems rather pallid. He was a scrupulous and hard-working editor; but he was also extremely conservative: he took over the *Atlantic* when William Dean Howells left and edited it competently but without the imaginative generosity that had enabled Howells to be receptive to new kinds of writing. He claims our attention today for two works that were admired during his own time as well: an epistolary romance, "Marjorie Daw" (1873), typical of many of his short stories for its light touch and trick ending; and *The Story of a Bad Boy* (1869), a book that Howells praised in his *Atlantic* review as a realistic account of boyhood that must be considered as a central inspiration for Twain's boy books and for the others that followed in the nineteenth century.

The Story of a Bad Boy is a slightly fictionalized account of Aldrich's own boyhood in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. It is narrated in the first person by a speaker whose language is that of an adult but whose point of view conflates both adult and child perspectives. The book opens and closes with a patently contrived fictional frame, while the story consists of mostly humorous sketches that recount a series of events in the life of Tom Bailey. Many of these events are common to all childhoods (or boyhoods) and became the staples of later boy books: the mischievous pranks that cement boyhood friendships, the fight with the school bully, the first love. But Aldrich's book seems to have had a more specific influence on Twain. He had apparently written "Boy's Manuscript" (ca. 1868), the sketch that anticipates *Tom Sawyer* (1876), when he read *The Story of a Bad Boy*. He professed indifference to the book, but as Alan Gribben has argued, there are so many suggestive parallels between Twain's book and Aldrich's that he could hardly have been indifferent (Gribben 1985:153–159, 161–163, 166). With Twain's own book beginning to take shape, Aldrich's book was not quite the catalyst Gribben claims (Gribben accepts the now discredited date of 1870 for "Boy's Manuscript"), but it nevertheless must have had a

profound effect on Twain in suggesting ways to expand his boy story beyond the romance with which he began.

Marcia Jacobson

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See also: *Adventures of Tom Sawyer, The*; *Atlantic Monthly*; *Boy Books*

Allen, Helen

An Angel Fish and member of Mark Twain's Aquarium Club, Helen Allen was the daughter of William H. Allen, U.S. consul in Bermuda in the early twentieth century. Samuel Clemens spent much of the last six months of his life in Bermuda, arriving there with his biographer Albert B. Paine in November 1909. He made a brief return to New York for the Christmas holidays, where tragedy once again struck the Clemens household: daughter Jean drowned in her bath during an epileptic seizure on the morning of Christmas Eve 1909. Clemens returned to Bermuda in early January 1910 and lived in the Allen household until illness forced his return to New York on 12 April. He died at age seventy-four on 20 April 1910.

Infirm, having outlived his wife and three of his four children, the lonely and disconsolate Clemens took refuge in the Allen house-

hold. According to Hamlin Hill, Clemens became obsessed with Helen, who, like most of the Angel Fish, reminded him of his daughter Susy. Helen sat with Clemens, took his dictations, and suffered his sentimental effusions about purity and innocence. Now fifteen years old, however, Helen had begun to focus her interests on young men her own age, and Clemens grew jealous; he did not receive from Helen the adulation and rapt attention he expected from an Angel Fish.

Clemens's relationship with Helen Allen during those last four months in Bermuda has become a matter of scholarly interest and speculation. In *Mark Twain: God's Fool* (1973) Hamlin Hill intimates that Clemens took liberties with the young girl and that her parents, concerned about actual or potential improprieties, summoned Paine to remove Clemens from their household (259-261). The evidence, though speculative, is intriguing and disturbing. There is a cryptic note from an Albert Lee referring to something "terrible . . . unprintable" that happened in Bermuda, and both Paine and Clara Clemens were highly sensitive and secretive about the whole matter of Clemens and his adolescent female admirers. Paine sequestered the Helen Allen manuscripts and noted on Mark Twain's final notebook that it was not to be sold or offered for public perusal for fifty years after Clemens's death.

Yet the Helen Allen manuscripts do survive, and they are now available in John Cooley's edition of the Angel Fish correspondence (1991). Cooley is more reticent than Hill in discussing the matter of Helen Allen: "With the possible exception of Clemens's final visit with the Allen family, restraint and discretion seem to have characterized his relationship with the angelfish" (281). He speculates that Clemens saw himself as Helen's "older friend and protector," the guardian of her innocence and points to Clemens's last written words to Helen: "be cautious, watchful, wary" and avoid becoming "besmirched" (281).

James D. Wilson

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See also: Angel Fish and Aquarium Club;
Bermuda; Childhood; Innocence

Ament, Joseph

Born in Tennessee around 1824, Joseph Ament worked as a printer and editor of the *Missouri Courier* in Palmyra, Missouri. In his *Autobiography* (1924), Clemens writes that he started working as Ament's apprentice immediately after John Marshall Clemens, his father, died in 1847. However, his memory had to be faulty, for Ament did not transfer his shop to Hannibal, Missouri, until June 1848. In November 1852 Ament sold the *Courier*; in April 1853 he returned to Palmyra.

Clemens recalls that Ament was extremely stingy. As an apprentice, Clemens was to receive no wages but room and board and two suits a year. According to Clemens, one of the suits "always failed to materialize," the other fit him poorly, and the Aments provided the apprentices scant rations. After leaving Ament's employ, Clemens called his former employer a "diminutive chunk of human meat."

In spite of Clemens's strong criticism of Ament, the man seems to have been generous and brave in some ways, particularly as shown by his rescuing burnable items from Orion Clemens's print shop when it was on fire. Samuel Clemens's apprenticeship to Ament enabled Clemens not to burden his family with financial problems shortly after his father's death. It also provided him with an early opportunity to learn the printing business.

Richard Tuerk

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See also: Hannibal, Missouri; Journalism;
Newspapers

American Bible Society

In one of twenty-six letters for the San Francisco *Alta California*, written before his trip on the *Quaker City*, Mark Twain described a visit to the American Bible Society in the Bible House in New York City. In letter twenty, "For Christians to Read," dated 20 May 1867 and found in *Mark Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown*, Twain wittily blended factual information and personal observations. After listing numerous languages in which the Bibles were translated, giving statistics concerning the number of Bibles printed, speculating on the potential profits of the business, and describing the variety of Bibles in the library, he suggested that he should send the library a copy of his book "so as to make a little variety."

Reverend Franklin S. Rising, a friend of Twain's and a prototype for the minister in *Roughing It* (1872), worked in the Bible House as secretary of the Church Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church.

Sandra Gravitt

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See also: Bible; *Mark Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown*; San Francisco *Alta California*

American Board of Foreign Missions (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions)

Founded in 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was the predominant missionary organization of the century. It had sponsored missionaries in China for seventy years already when, in the summer of 1900, several board missionaries and hundreds of Chinese Christian converts were executed by Boxer rebels in areas outside Peking. In that fall, after the rebellion, one of the board's missionaries, Reverend William S. Ament, and an assistant, Reverend E.G. Tewksbury, escorted by an American cavalry troop searched the countryside for Boxers, collecting indemnities for slain converts, burning peasants' houses, and even asking the soldiers to shoot "suspected Boxers" on the spot. Ament's actions were reported in the New York *Sun* in November and again on Christmas Eve, 1900, in which account Ament was said to have extracted indemnities thirteen times the amount lost. Provoked by Ament's reported conduct as well as by similar American actions elsewhere in the world, Clemens wrote his most important anti-imperialist work, published in February 1901 as "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." It began with a lengthy quotation about Ament from the Christmas Eve *Sun* article. As Clemens anticipated, his satirical essay prompted widespread controversy in America and abroad, both in print and in private correspondence to him. Dr. Judson Smith, corresponding secretary of the board, defended Ament in letters to the New York *Herald* and *Tribune* later in February, questioning the accuracy of the *Sun* dispatch and calling for an apology from Clemens. In a

letter in the *Tribune* Clemens replied to Smith by saying that Ament had indicted himself. Not satisfied, Smith repeated his demand for an apology, and in March the New York *Sun* printed an interview with Ament in which he claimed that the indemnity had been only one and a third, not thirteen times, the loss. Clemens's "apology" to Smith and Ament appeared in April as "To My Missionary Critics," using Ament's "clarification" as further evidence of the board's ruthlessness and hypocrisy. This time the reaction was overwhelmingly in Clemens's favor. Ament returned to America in May and continued to give interviews in which he condemned himself until Smith silenced him. Though Smith himself tried a final time to defend the board's missionaries in a May essay, "The Missionaries and Their Critics," it was clear that the board's defense of looting and extortion had fallen apart under the power of Clemens's withering satire.

L. Terry Oggel

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See also: Missionaries; Religion; "To My Missionary Critics"; "To the Person Sitting in Darkness"

American Claimant, The (1892)

In need of money for expenses connected with the Paige typesetting machine and his family's forthcoming trip to Europe, Mark Twain wrote *The American Claimant* in only seventy-one days, from late February to early May 1891. Syndicated in the New York *Sun* and other newspapers (3 January–30 March 1892) and in *The Idler* (London) from February 1892 to June 1893, it was published in book form by Clemens's own firm, Charles L. Webster and Company, in April 1892 and later the same year by Chatto and Windus in England.

The novel's main character, Colonel Sellers, had appeared earlier in *The Gilded Age* (1873), in *Colonel Sellers* (1874), a play based on that novel, in which his first name was changed from Beriah to Mulberry, and in *Colonel Sellers as a Scientist*, another play, which Twain and William Dean Howells completed in 1883.

For the basic complication of the new book, Mark Twain expanded upon a theme that had long fascinated him—his own family's possible claim, through his mother Jane Lampton, to the earldom of Durham (Rossmore in the novel). The family legend was substantially that outlined in the story—that the eldest Lambton son (and a brother) had immigrated to America during the eighteenth century (presumably changing the spelling of the name to Lampton), whereupon a younger brother took possession of the family lands and subsequent title. Thereafter, from time to time, one of the descendants in America pronounced himself the "rightful heir" and sought (vainly) to establish his claim. In Clemens's own day the claimant was a Jesse M. Leathers (mentioned briefly in the novel as Simon Lathers, whose death makes Colonel Sellers the "rightful heir"). And there is evidence that Clemens was intrigued by the idea that he himself might have a claim to the earldom.

That concept and the treatment of the Colonel's many inventions Twain had already employed to some extent in *Colonel Sellers as a Scientist*, which was performed several times

in 1887 as *The American Claimant, or Mulberry Sellers Ten Years Later*. Whereas the play was fundamentally farcical, in the novel the scenes involving the Colonel's inventions and other schemes, though still highly fantastic, are better motivated and integrated into the whole. For the book, also, Mark Twain greatly expanded the role of the current heir to the earldom into a second major theme and the chief vehicle for Clemens's own current political and social ideas.

In that expansion young Viscount Berkeley, inspired by the democratic ideas propounded by a British radical, renounces his claim to the earldom of Rossmore in favor of the American claimant to the title. He travels to the United States to investigate the matter and to observe the workings of democracy at first hand. Believed lost in a hotel fire, Berkeley assumes the name Howard Tracy, seeks work, and after many rebuffs finally is employed to fill in the painted backgrounds of chromo portraits. Totally disillusioned by the violations of democratic principles that he encounters, and the Darwinian "struggle for existence" that he sees in the boardinghouse, he finally decides to heed the advice of his friend Barrow that since he cannot reform the whole aristocratic system, he might just as well enjoy the advantages of his status. Meanwhile he has met Sellers and falls in love with the Colonel's daughter, Sally. Berkeley's father, the present earl, comes to America, is much taken with Sally, and consents to the marriage. At the conclusion, when the family sets off for a visit to England, the Colonel is missing. Off on another grand scheme—to furnish climates to order by control of sun-spots—he concludes the letter explaining his absence with a promise that, with all its hyperbole, embodies not only the genial exuberance, but also the endearing quality of his nature. If successful, he says, he will send them a message: "I will waft a vast sun-spot across the disk like drifting smoke, and you will know it for my love-sign, and will say, 'Mulberry Sellers throws us a kiss across the universe.'"

Hastily and crudely fabricated as it was, *The American Claimant* has generally been regarded as one of Mark Twain's poorer productions. He did manage to convert some of the pointless humor of the play version into meaningful satire and to retain some of Colonel Sellers' original qualities as a good-hearted and lovable visionary, but the projects of the Colonel—his cursing phonograph and his schemes for materialization of the dead, for instance—remain too absurd for any willing suspension of disbelief, though one might conceivably feel sympathy with his desire to materialize departed great statesmen of all ages and countries so as to "furnish this country with a Congress that knows enough to come in out of the rain." The love story is overly sentimental and generally trite, though Sally Sellers does display more "passion" than most of Mark Twain's other female characters.

Nevertheless, the novel represents a significant stage in the development of Clemens's own disillusionment with the idea of progress and the possibilities of democratic reform that had originally inspired *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). The presentation of young Berkeley's disillusionment with democracy and decision to retain his aristocratic privilege, and the views expressed by his boardinghouse friend, Barrow, may be seen as evidence of a deepened conviction of what Mark Twain ultimately implied in *A Connecticut Yankee*—that the flaws in human nature itself made attempts at reform of people and institutions largely futile. Thus, with all its faults, consideration of this often neglected work is necessary for a full picture of the development of its author's political, social, and philosophical ideas.

Howard G. Baetzhold

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See also: *Colonel Sellers*; *Colonel Sellers as a Scientist*; *Gilded Age, The*; *Sellers, Colonel*

American Publishing Company, The

Perhaps the foremost subscription publishing company in the last third of the nineteenth century, the American Publishing Company printed the first six of Mark Twain's major works—*The Innocents Abroad* (1869), *Roughing It* (1872), *The Gilded Age* (1873), *Sketches, New and Old* (1875), *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), and *A Tramp Abroad* (1880)—and the final two subscription volumes, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) and *Following the Equator* (1897). Originally run by Elisha Bliss and then under the control of his two sons, Francis E. and Walter Bliss, the company had branch offices throughout the country to market histories, Civil War commentaries, biblical interpretations, and other factual material until it decided, in 1867, to publish a work of fiction and humor, *The Innocents Abroad*. Encouraged by that volume's success, the American Publishing Company issued volumes by Bret Harte, Dan De Quille, and Marietta Holley. As subscription-book audiences disappeared in the late nineteenth century to urbanization and trade bookstores, the American Publishing Company turned to expensive deluxe editions of authors, including Mark Twain.

Hamlin Hill

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See also: Bliss, Elisha; Subscription Publication

Anderson, Frederick

(1926-1979)

Frederick Anderson was the fifth editor of the Mark Twain Papers. After completing his B.A. at Stanford University in 1948 and his B.L.S. at the University of California at Berkeley in 1950, he became a member of the staff of the Charles F. Doe Library on the Berkeley campus and was subsequently named assistant to Henry Nash Smith, then editor of the Mark Twain Papers. He succeeded Smith in 1964 and held the post until his death.

Anderson was an associate editor and co-editor of several major works: *Mark Twain of the "Enterprise"* (1957), *Mark Twain-Howells Letters* (1960), and three volumes of *Mark Twain's Notebooks & Journals* (1975-1979). Among his other publications were two widely used collections: *Mark Twain: The Critical Heritage* (1971), which gathered contemporary criticism of Mark Twain, and *A Pen Warmed-Up in Hell* (1972), a selection of Mark Twain's most outspoken social criticism.

It was as a general editor, however, that Anderson made his most significant contributions to Mark Twain studies. He expanded and systematized the Mark Twain Papers series of scholarly editions of unpublished literary works, notebooks, and letters, which had been conceived under his predecessor. He provided similar direction for the Works of Mark Twain, the companion series of scholarly editions of previously published works, originally begun at the University of Iowa. These continuing series, both published by

the University of California Press, are the primary elements of the editorial program now known as the Mark Twain Project.

Michael B. Frank

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See also: Mark Twain Papers; Mark Twain Project; Smith, Henry Nash

Angel's Camp, California

Several of Twain's most famous stories have their origin in his visit, between December

1864 and February 1865, to the cabin of Jim Gillis on Jackass Hill, in Tuolumne County. Twain went there with his good friend, Steve Gillis, who had gotten into trouble with the police over his part in a brawl and decided to leave San Francisco for a while. While they stayed with Steve's brother, Jim, Twain learned how to prospect for pocket mines of gold, but the only treasure he really found was the people he met in the area. From them he picked up both distinctive ways of telling stories and several stories in particular.

The most famous of these tales was "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" (1865). Twain first heard this story from Ben Coon, who lived in Angel's Camp, Calaveras County, a few miles away from Gillis's cabin. Twain was struck with Coon's narration of it, and when he returned to San Francisco at the end of February, Twain committed the story to writing. It was first published in the *Saturday Press* of New York in November 1865. The story became an instant success. Twain revised it into what is now known as "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," and it became his springboard to fame.

The sentimental "The Californian's Tale" (1893) originated at Angel's Camp, as did "The King's Camelopard or the Royal Nonesuch" episode from chapters 22 and 23 of *Huckleberry Finn* (1885), much cleaned up from the bawdy original. "Jim Blaine and His Grandfather's Ram" and "Dick Baker and His Cat," both incorporated into *Roughing It* (1872), and "Jim Baker's Blue Jay Yarn," incorporated into *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), are three more stories that came to Twain's attention either at Angel's Camp or at Jackass Hill. These last three may be rooted in American folklore, but Twain's telling of them, far from being a reversion to a primitive oral tradition, is rather a refinement of the oral style into sophisticated literary art.

Laurence I. Berkove

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See also: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*;
"Celebrated Jumping Frog of
Calaveras County, The"; Gillis,
Steve; *Roughing It*; *Tramp Abroad*, A

"Angel's Camp Constable" (1981)

Composed around September or early October 1865, and remaining unpublished among family papers at Vassar College, this draft of a character sketch or episode seems docketed rather than worthy of the title "Angel's Camp Constable." In 1981 it was finally published in *The Works of Mark Twain: Early Tales & Sketches*. It reads like a failed attempt at establishing the artful relationship between narrator-sophisticate and yarn-spinning native eventually perfected in the jumping frog story's final version. Here the first-person narrator obeys the injunction not to laugh as Simon Wheeler unfolds directly, without wandering, a couple of incidents demonstrating his hero, Constable Bilgewater, in action, quelling "insurrections" or "riots," which we are repeatedly assured amount to no more than mere fistfights.

Other than the early use of the names, the sketch's significance lies in showing how Mark Twain tried to capture the style of storytellers at Angel's Camp, especially that of old Ben Coon, who told the frog story, now stressing the style rather than the frame of such yarns. It also shows evolution of the gallery of "pet heroes" who will reappear in the frog story. In these respects, the sketch provides a window into Mark Twain's workshop as he crafts

the seemingly artless art of his first famous tale.

P.M. Zall

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See also: Angel's Camp, California; "Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, The"; Wheeler, Simon

Angel Fish and Aquarium Club

In 1906, at the age of seventy-two, Samuel Clemens began collecting surrogate granddaughters. He expressed this activity in his autobiographical dictations: "as for me, I collect pets: young girls—girls from ten to sixteen years old; girls who are pretty and sweet and naive and innocent. . . ." Clemens was so successful that within a year his collection numbered a dozen young women. In the spring of 1908 he began calling them his Angel Fish and inducting them into the Aquarium Club, an organization he devised to formalize his hobby and to keep the girls in frequent contact. Clemens's correspondence with his angelfish includes approximately 300 known letters, dating from December 1905 to the time of his death in 1910.

Clemens's last years were often dominated by loneliness, illness, and depression, caused in part by the death of his wife Olivia in 1904, limited contact with his surviving daughters, Clara and Jean, and the decline in his health and literary powers. By 1907 Clemens counterbalanced his unhappiness with a number of pleasant diversions that included billiards and card games, a continuous whirl of social engagements, and the friendship of "young girls." His Angel Fish letters were nearly always optimistic, loving, and playful. As Clemens himself expressed it, by 1908 the Aquarium Club

had become his "life's chief delight." He extracted numerous visits from the Angel Fish to his rented homes on Fifth Avenue and in Tuxedo Park, New York, and later to his permanent home, Stormfield, in Redding, Connecticut. The Angel Fish attended concerts and plays with him, took walks, and played games, including billiards, canasta, and charades. At the peak of Aquarium Club activity, Clemens received and sent several letters a week to his "fish" and hoped to have at least one Angel Fish visiting every weekend. With the possible exception of Bermuda Angel Fish Helen Allen, Clemens's relationship with the young women was characterized by propriety and discretion, for he was, as he said on many occasions, a protector and defender of schoolgirl innocence.

It is only when the affection, youthfulness, and playfulness of these letters is placed in the literary and autobiographical contexts of Clemens's last decade, a period that produced *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916) and *What Is Man?* (1906) and was clouded by his fatalism and barely contained rage at the "swindle of life," that the Angel Fish period can be fully appreciated—as counterpoint to the prevailing mood of Samuel Clemens's last decade.

John Cooley

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See also: Allen, Helen; Childhood; Innocence

Angelo and Luigi (Cappello)

The Cappellos are the Italian twin brothers who are the central focus of "Those Extraordinary Twins" (1894) ("TET") and who

continue to figure prominently, though largely as catalysts to the main action, in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). The latter has its roots in the former. Mark Twain began writing "TET" intending it to be a "howling farce," only to set it aside to complete "Tom Sawyer Abroad" (1894); when he returned to the manuscript in early 1893, he confessed to Fred Hall that he did so with "a little different plan" (*Letters* 319). He thoroughly recast the characters of David Wilson, Tom Driscoll, and Roxana and began to think of the novel as the story not of the twins but of those three characters who had fired his imagination. By 30 July 1893 he had virtually completed his revision, or transformation, again writing to Hall: "I have pulled the twins apart & made two individuals of them; I have sunk them out of sight, they are mere flitting shadows, now, & of no importance. . . . The whole story is centered on the murder and the trial" (*Letters* 354–355). It is this text, now entitled *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, that began to appear serially in *Century Magazine* in December 1893. When the American Publishing Company published the book form of *PW* in 1894, however, it included with it the excised and abandoned farce of "TET," "refuse matter" Mark Twain had sold to the company for \$1,500 (Berger 173–178).

Angelo and Luigi thus derive from the Siamese freak in the earlier farce, a conglomeration of two heads and four arms joined to a single trunk. The brothers are reminiscent of Chang and Eng, the twins who have separate bodies but are joined by a fleshly ligature in Mark Twain's essay "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" (1869). In that earlier essay farce results because one twin's allegiance is to the Union, the other's to the Confederacy. The more immediate inspiration for the characters of Angelo and Luigi Cappello comes from the celebrated Italian Siamese twins, Giacomo and Giovanni Tocci, who shared one body but who had distinct and often contradictory personalities and character traits (Gillman 60–61). In all cases, the intriguing questions posed involve identity: do the twins have collective or individual status, and to what

extent can they be held individually responsible for their collective actions? The separation of Angelo and Luigi into discrete, fraternal twins in *PW* has caused critical difficulties because there seems to be a careless carry-over of traits from the Siamese twins that are inappropriate for separate ones, and because their role in the novel seems extraneous, even diversionary. Yet, in fact, the twins assume a similar role in each story, one crucial to the theme of the novel in which, the author claims, they had become "mere flitting shadows." As Gillman points out, the questions they raise pertaining to moral and legal responsibility become all the more pertinent "when applied to a racial context": the twins serve as an analogue of one of the novel's central implications, "that slavery is not simply an abhorrent social institution, but a metaphor for the individual's relationship to himself, to his intimates, and to his society" (Gillman 69). In addition to serving as an analogue for the serious issues the novel raises pertaining to identity, moral responsibility, and social interrelationships, however, the twins also reinforce a complementary theological point germane to an understanding of *PW*.

In "TET" the linked brothers are contrary in personality yet mutually dependent; neither could exist without his opposite. Curiously, the darker of the two (Luigi) reveals to Aunt Patty that in spite of their present Siamese bond, he and his brother are not twins at all: he is six months older than Angelo. Though biologically impossible, Luigi's claim is rich in theological implication. Like Mark Twain's Siamese twins, the biblical Adam (human) is an inextricable cohesion of light and dark forces—the angelic (Angelo) and the satanic or Luciferian (Luigi). Yet Adam was not so at his creation. Prior to his decision to eat the forbidden fruit—the Fall—he had no awareness of evil, though he did have the capacity to reason, to make a choice (to eat the fruit or to obey God). The choice may have been rational or irrational, have had favorable or disastrous consequences, but it was not evil. It is only as Adam assumes the Moral Sense with

his choice in the Garden of Eden to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil that the forces of evil in the universe, which pre-date and are separate from Adam, are assimilated. Once fused, however, the angelic (Angelo) and the demonic (Luigi) are co-dependent and inseparable. So too the twins in "TET," initially separate, become inextricably linked, sharing a single pair of legs that each controls for alternate twenty-four hour intervals. When the twins are on trial for kicking Tom Driscoll, diffused responsibility becomes the issue. Because the jury cannot distinguish which twin had control of the legs at the time, both are freed (later, of course, both are hanged): "Our verdict is that justice has been defeated by the dispensation of God" ("TET" 153). Given our dual yet inextricably yoked natures, we as humans are neither entirely innocent nor guilty. If neither side of our divided nature has control over the other, then freedom is a fiction and moral responsibility a theological quagmire resolved not by justice but by God's "dispensation"—the salvation or damnation granted, the Calvinist believed, arbitrarily.

The twins in *PW* are ostensibly separate and have radically different traits: Angelo is fundamentally a good man, moral in his behavior, sympathetic and strong in his religious faith; Luigi is evil in thought and deed, resolute in his denial of God. The initial information we receive—that they are foreign, the connotations of the names Angelo and Luigi, the light and dark complexions, their good and bad dispositions—serves quickly to establish their dichotomous natures. Yet they retain the inextricable interdependence of the original Siamese pair. "We were," Luigi tells Aunt Patsy, "their [his parents] only child" (*PW* 27). Though critics generally attribute this puzzling statement to Twain's carelessness in converting the Siamese twins into separate fraternal ones, the singular "child" in this context may well refer to two natures mutually interdependent or two forces fused into one existence. Later Luigi explains to Wilson that in slaying the thief who attacked his brother

he acted from self-interest: "I saved my own life, you see" (*PW* 52). Tom Driscoll derisively calls the twins a "human philopena"—"let this human philopena snip you out a speech" (*PW* 56)—a change from the analogy to a pair of scissors Tom makes in "TET." Assuming philopena to mean a single nut with two kernels, critics again claim an inconsistent analogy (and mixed metaphor) due to careless editing. The Latin roots of philopena, however, give theological richness to the analogy absent in the original scissors metaphor: "philo" means love, specifically agape love; "poena" means penalty, as in a forfeit. The union of the two in the image of a single nut with two kernels suggests the Miltonic duality of soul, a flawed entity redeemed by love. The word "snip," apparently more appropriate to the initial scissors metaphor, remains pertinent in this enriched context since it means to separate, discriminate—precisely the function of a moral conscience.

Dawson's Landing, however, lacks a moral conscience—the ability to see the world in metaphysical terms, to discern good and evil, let alone to understand that because of their inextricable mutually dependent nature they are present in the hearts of all of us and hence we are all twins. Thus they are blind to the moral implications of Wilson's ironic joke about killing his half of the dog; they know, of course, that if you kill one half of a dog you kill the other half as well, but they never realize that in perpetuating the moral atrocity of chattel slavery they are killing one half of the social body and hence dooming the other half to certain death as well. Angelo and Luigi are the personified moral conscience come to visit Dawson's Landing, and they serve a role similar to that of the ironic stranger in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1899); they "snip" at the character of the town, precipitating the incidents leading to the trial that exposes Tom as an imposter and murderer. They offer the opportunity for self-examination and moral awareness. Yet the upheavals they engender bring no significant changes in the characters' natures or outlooks. Tom's

punishment for his crimes underscores the amoral nature of Dawson's Landing, Mark Twain's "waste land." Originally sentenced to life imprisonment, Tom is spared because of his value as a slave; instead, he is sold down river as partial payment on the Driscoll estate. With their perverse materialistic logic, the townspeople reason that if Tom were white and free, he should be punished; but to lock up a valuable slave would mean material loss for the owners. Under a capitalistic ethos value is determined not by metaphysical categories of good and evil but by financial ones of profit and loss. Good becomes goods: "As soon as the Governor understood the case, he pardoned Tom at once, and the creditors sold him down the river" (*PW* 115).

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See also: Law; Miscegenation; *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, *The Tragedy of*; "Those Extraordinary Twins, The Comedy"

Animals

Mark Twain's lifelong fascination with animals—including his identification with them and his ability to personalize and give them characters quite as richly comic as his humans—makes his animals masterworks of a great comic imagination. Far more than do pets, novelties, or sources of transportation, his birds, dogs, horses, frogs, camels, and insects receive the three-dimensionality—feelings, potential for relationships, even capacity for generating occasional tragic effects—usually assigned humans. Twain inherited from his fellow mid-nineteenth-century humorists of the antebellum deep South—the southwest humorists—a superb set of techniques for picturing the humanized animal, mixed with a curious, contradictory set of traditions as to attitudes in picturing comic animals interacting with the people about them. Twain—the master of the group as well as the most forward-looking—combined, edited, and reshaped the tradition that he inherited. His innovations resulted in Twain's wonderfully comic animal portraiture, funny without being cruel, that leads the reader's imagination to see man in the animal, the animal in man at once, until the creature is suspended between human and beast, resulting in a comic composite that delights as it comments on both parts of the combination.

One group of largely sophisticated, upper-class writers who felt strongly the social divisions of the deep South caste system (poor whites and the landowning elite were not at all the same) used images of animals and figures of speech featuring animals to ridicule the redneck's and backwoodsman's simplicity and to show their cruelty. A second group saw the closeness of man and animal on the frontier as an appealing bond; these writers personified their animals respectfully, affectionately, picturing hunts as conflicts of equals. Twain draws techniques from both groups, but in attitude he shows the style of the animal-admiring humorists. In terms of identifying with the animals, the sources vary from the disdainfulness of Augustus Baldwin Longstreet's gentleman narrator to Thomas

Thorpe's hero-hunter-narrator feeling genuine love and awe for his quarry in "The Big Bear of Arkansas" (1841), a parallel to Twain's total identification with the Indian crow from the late travel sketches. The crow is the ultimate expression of an empathy with animals so complete that it has led a number of modern critics to assert that Twain wrote of animals as if he were one of them.

Some key techniques Twain adopted from other humorists appear in Longstreet's "The Horse-Swap" (1835), where the author pictures Little Bullet, a wretched, earless backwoods nag, as a misarrangement of a horse's parts: "His height was about twelve hands, but, as his shape partook somewhat of that of the giraffe, his haunches stood much lower." Twain will similarly rearrange his animals' parts. Also, Longstreet animates individual features of Little Bullet independently; witness this: "From the root [his tail] dropped into a graceful festoon; then rose in an handsome curve; then resumed its first direction. . . . The whole had a careless and bewitching inclination to the right." "The Horse-Swap" also shows a key Twain technique, the collusion of a man-and-animal team seeking to dupe another such team in a risky swap. Knowing his role, Bullet seems eager to strut, when a rider is found: "Here Bullet bristled up, and looked as if he had been hunting for Bob all day long. . . ." By the time the swap is made, the horse and the flamboyant, boasting frontiersman who owns him, "the *Yellow Blossom*," have struck the reader as wonderfully funny, and appealing, but at the close of the swap we learn that Bullet's sprightly motions result from his having a hideous infected sore under his saddle. Worse, the horse for which Bullet is being swapped turns out to be both deaf and blind. The disgusted gentleman narrator can only mutter his offense at the cruelty of the hicks, leaving the reader with scorn of the inhumanity of the frontiersmen. Surely, Longstreet suggests, such folks can in no sense be permitted to run the country!

Twain escaped an involvement with the gentleman politics and attitudes of the Con-

federacy serious enough to mar his art. He writes in "Private History of a Campaign That Failed" (1885) of his brief service, then desertion of a southern guerilla band. While discarding the other comedian's politics, Twain takes from Longstreet his favored techniques of animal depiction, using them with genius. In attitude, however, Twain identified with the work of the animal-admiring humorists, such as Alexander McNutt and Thomas Thorpe. His bond with the creatures, like Thorpe's, went deeper than the attraction of a humorist to a rich source of material; his animal sketches show the kinship Twain the pagan felt for the truer life beneath the human level. They show his admiration for the natural logic guiding the uncomplicated lives spared awareness of man's damnable—to Twain—awareness of "the Moral Sense." In his relations with the beasts, he certainly felt something akin to the emotions of Jim Doggett, the master bear hunter of "Big Bear of Arkansas," as Jim trailed the near mythical big bear, whom he finally found after years of unsuccessful hunts. "Wasn't he a beauty!" Jim cries, as he recalls the big bear, lumbering uphill, unconcernedly flinging Jim's dogs aside; "I loved him like a brother!"

How the inherited techniques and Twain's additions blended appears in Twain's coyote portrait, from *Roughing It* (1872). The best of Longstreet appears in the humanizing of the coyote—he's canine and lamentable human drifter at once. He even suffers civil war between his parts: ". . . even while his exposed teeth are pretending a threat, the rest of his face is apologizing for it." Like Longstreet, Twain uses interanimal comparisons. These especially struck him on his travels, as in the Syrian camel from *Roughing It*: ". . . down on his knees, flat on his breast to receive his load, he looks something like a goose swimming; . . . upright he looks like an ostrich with an extra set of legs."

The man-beast collaboration, a cruel betrayal in "Horse-Swap," is very different in "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" (1865). Old Simon Wheeler is the

reverse of Longstreet's narrator, and the relationship of hick and eastern sophisticate is topsy-turvy. Simon relates the tale of Jim Smiley and his animal partners in a story that defines bonds with all the intensity of human love. Andrew Jackson, the bull pup, never fails his owner in their jointly setting up the betting crowd, and when Smiley fails in his part of the scheme, arranging the match with a dog minus hind legs, the comedy takes on a touch of genuine tragedy. We have been drawn in by Wheeler's reverent characterization of the heroic animal, and this element of pathos applied to a frontier bulldog gives it uniqueness. When Andrew dies of a broken heart, we can only resent the betrayal and mourn a brilliant career cut off in its prime, even while we delight in the idea of perceiving the dog in this way. The dog gets the comic wholeness Longstreet's animals deserve, but are denied.

Twain's bird portraits, and encounters of men and birds, reflect another influence, the lore that child Sam Clemens heard from the old black raconteur Uncle Dan'l on memorable nights in his cabin in Hannibal, as described in his *Autobiography* (1924); this is the same material that Joel Chandler Harris was to make immortal in the narrations of Uncle Remus. Twain, like Harris's narrator, extended his self-image, his life and thoughts, into that part of animal life with which he identified most closely. The raucous bird—journalist, debater, lecturer of the air—must be called Twain's totem, the animal with whom he shares a spirit, as the timid but ingenious and finally victorious rabbit was the slave's totem.

Twain's bird characters regularly project a delight in comic word play and insult, a Tom Sawyer quality that is a key part of Uncle Remus's birds as well. In "Jim Baker's Blue Jay Yarn" (1880), for example, birds reflect western "boom times" frontier society just as Harris's humanized creatures re-create the slave's plantation surroundings and reflect the dialogue there. Twain prided himself on his virtuosity at the profanity, bragging, posturing, exaggerating, and lying that constituted dialogue in the "flush times" of Virginia City,

Nevada, when Twain worked there as a cub reporter. The horde of profane, witty blue jays getting off as many leather-headed opinions as any crowd of humans reflects the comic editorial battles and verbal pyrotechnics shown at the drunken symposiums with which Twain, and co-workers such as Dan De Quille and Artemus Ward, entertained journalist friends on the *Territorial Enterprise*.

The version of Twain's bird totem that shows his most complete identification with any creature, however, is the "Bird of Birds—the Indian Crow." Met on his desperate and overlong final lecture tour, by which he attempted to pay back creditors after he had misinvested his wealth in a typesetting machine that failed, Twain acknowledges his worst traits as those of the bird: "The hardest lot that wears feathers," the crow is similar to our blackbird, but it is superficial. Like the artist describing him, he is "just a rowdy, and is always noisy when awake—always chaffing, scolding, scoffing, laughing, ripping, and cursing." Twain's bird *alter ego* reflects the frontier boor within the would-be eastern gentleman who felt he shocked the New England literary elite when he lampooned Holmes and Emerson in an after-dinner speech. Like his creator, the bird sees all and has an opinion on it, which he voices, "particularly if it is none of his business." The bird's view is always savage, "violent and profane—the presence of ladies does not affect him." The bird suggests its connection to the author who let the Gas Company have it for, ". . . your chuckle-headed Goddamned fashion of shutting your Goddamned gas off without giving any notice to your Goddamned parishoners."

The bird, as he and his friends sit on Twain's Bombay balcony and discuss the lecturer unabashedly, gives Twain hope. The bird is an invention, but the inventor is no longer bungling nature but a divinely inspired artist, an Eastern god who has distilled the bird's comic nature through repeated incarnations: "He has been reincarnated more times than Shiva." To Twain, the bird's progress from incarnation to incarnation, villainy to villainy, is not

the expected degradation, but perpetual cheerfulness. "His life is one long thundering ecstasy of happiness, and he will go to his death untroubled, knowing that he will soon turn up again as an author or something." The bird seems a part of the Twain who in one of his darkest hours told himself: "Will I ever be happy again? I will, and soon, for I know my temperament."

Thus, the animals are Twain's self-projections, his friends, some of his key sources of comic inspiration, his reminders to himself to bear up under difficulty, and his delight. Utilizing his inherited traditions from southwest humor and slave literature, plus gatherings from his travels, all underpinned by his own compelling identification with the animals, and willingness to see every animal in human context—human in animal—Twain generates a rich and comic cast of animal characters. He creates for the reader a potent bond between our species and those flying, crawling, swimming, and running about us in the world.

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See also: "Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, The"; "Jim Baker's Blue Jay Yarn"; *Southwestern Humor*; Thorpe, Thomas Bangs

"Answers to Correspondents" (1865)

Mark Twain's "Answers to Correspondents" began on 6 June 1865 and continued in six weekly columns in the *Californian*. In 1867 a composite of "Answers to Correspondents" was published in *The Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*.

Twain developed the correspondents' column into a literary form by writing burlesques of conventional advice columns. Rather than relying on the numerous submissions from readers, Twain developed fictional characters and attitudes. In a burlesque communication from "Melton Mowbray, *Dutch Flat*" Twain evaluated a Byron poem as good Dutch Flat poetry. The "absurd squib" was taken in good faith by some Pacific coast editors, and Twain found himself plagued with another misunderstood hoax reminiscent of "A Bloody Massacre near Carson" (1863). Twain's correspondents' column is most significant for the introduction of the character Simon Wheeler, who would remain in the author's literary imagination throughout his career. Wheeler sends in a poem ostensibly written by a gambling parson from Arkansas titled "He Done His Level Best." The poem served as a prelude to Emmeline Grangerford's "Ode to Stephen Dowling Bots" in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885).

Mark Twain used the correspondents' column as a forum for self-conscious criticism of the literary journal. Although he made some cautious political criticism in the fourth column, most of the material was aimed at contemporary journalistic practices. He burlesqued literary critics, etiquette columns, and San Francisco theatrical criticism.

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See also: Burlesque; Criticism; Journalism

Anthony, Susan B.

(1820–1906)

The second of eight children born to Daniel and Lucy (Read) Anthony, Susan B. Anthony was reared in the Quaker belief that allowed women as well as men to speak in meetings. Her reform activity included temperance, anti-slavery, and her area of greatest personal success, women's suffrage. She joined the Daughters of Temperance in 1848. When denied permission to speak at an 1853 Albany Sons of Temperance rally, she realized the magnitude of social imbalance to be addressed. She was frequently attacked, viciously, in the press. After campaigning tirelessly nationwide for Negro suffrage, she was disheartened to see the Fourteenth Amendment exclude women. In 1869 she helped form the National Woman Suffrage Association, holding the office of president until 1900.

The Beecher family are among the friends Anthony and Twain had in common after he moved his family to Nook Farm, a center for reformist activity. Satiric comments about Anthony appeared in the *Buffalo Express* while under Twain's leadership. His later views on suffrage were more supportive, as evidenced by several speeches and platform appearances he made for the cause. Both Anthony and Twain believed that women voters would bring higher moral standards to politics.

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See also: Nook Farm; Social Reform;
Women's Rights

Aphorisms

A shrewd observer of life and human nature and a provocative commentator on what he

called "the damned human race," Mark Twain recorded in humorous and ironical aphorisms his American experience at home and abroad. His observations of perverse yet compassionate human thought and action produced a variety of terse and cleverly worded statements that not only are scattered throughout his writings but also are used as aphorisms in chapter headings in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) and *Following the Equator* (1897). Twain identifies them respectively as *Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar* and as "The Pudd'nhead Maxims" designed to lure young people toward "high moral altitudes." Selections of Twain's typical humor, wisdom, and aphorisms in *Mark Twain at Your Fingertips* (1948) and *The Art, Humor, and Humanity of Mark Twain* (1959) make many of the scattered statements accessible to the reader.

These aphorisms draw on the conventions of western humor that Twain perfected in his writing and lecturing as well as on a tendency in American speech that is derived from Protestant proverbs. They allow Twain to record his pointed observations, his opinions, and "truths" on types of individuals and society not only with a burlesque humor but also with a satiric depth and stylistic distinction that readers do not expect. Usually, they are expressed in one sentence, sometimes two, so that his philosophizing on people's foibles or on his own disappointments, disillusionments, and despair of humanity is enlightened by his familiar formula for telling a story: an elaboration of situation, a pause, and snapper at the end. The semicolon in a compound sentence and the period between two sentences provide the pause between the pointed observation or "truth" and the snapper with an unexpected, even contradictory, turn or twist.

As the aphorisms with their varied tone and subject matter occur in all of Twain's writings, they reflect his dual personality and world view. His humorous and ironical quips reveal a transition from his earlier more optimistic view of life as in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889) to his later expressions of despair in *What Is Man?* (1906). Often

resembling the sardonic humor of Ambrose Bierce's definitions in *The Devil's Dictionary* (1906), Twain's aphorisms show more distance between the writer and the object of his satire, hence becoming less urgent in their attack. Close attention to Twain's and Bierce's expression of their skepticism about the prevailing ethos of American life and its direction helps to preserve a sense of the American past that consisted of both optimistic and pessimistic views of its future.

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See also: Bierce, Ambrose

Arnold, Matthew (1822-1888)

Son of Thomas Arnold, famous headmaster of Rugby, Matthew Arnold, after a rather undistinguished career at Oxford, first became known as a poet, publishing some six volumes of verse from 1849 to 1867 and catching in memorable phrases some of the social and religious turmoil of an era in which he saw himself "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born." Beginning in the early 1860s he turned more and more to literary, social, and religious criticism, most notably in *Essays in Criticism* (1865; *Second Series*, 1888), *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), *Literature and Dogma* (1873), and *Discourses in America* (1885), which included "Literature and

Science," "Numbers, or The Majority and the Remnant," and "Emerson." His scores of lectures and essays, published in some twenty-two volumes during his lifetime, sought to raise the intellectual and cultural levels of a society that he once characterized as "an upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, and a lower class brutalized." In literary criticism, an essential guide to "culture," his lofty goal was to propagate "the best that is known and thought in the world" and to create "a current of true and fresh ideas."

Writing for Arnold was primarily a spare-time occupation, for he led an extremely busy professional life. In 1851, the year of his marriage to Frances Lucy Wightman, he became an inspector of schools and held that demanding position for the next thirty-five years. His extremely productive life ended suddenly on 15 April 1888 as the result of a heart attack, only two weeks after his essay "Civilization in the United States" appeared in the April issue of *Nineteenth Century*.

That essay was to bring vigorous reactions from Mark Twain—after the editor of *Forum*, Loretta Metcalf, requested a rebuttal of Arnold's criticisms. Clemens earlier may have resented Arnold's comments in "A Word About America" (1882), especially since the critic had specifically mentioned Mark Twain as an exemplar of the rowdy American humor that he found most distasteful. But there is no real evidence to support that conclusion. And when Arnold presented his "Numbers" lecture in Hartford on 15 November 1883 during his American lecture tour (1883-1884), Clemens and he reportedly enjoyed each other's company both at a reception the night before the lecture and the next afternoon when the Clemenses themselves entertained Arnold and his wife and daughter at a tea. Remarking upon the occasion that evening, Joseph Twichell noted in his journal that the Arnolds had made a very favorable impression and that the critic himself seemed more sympathetic and gentler than his works might lead people to think.

Some rumblings of animosity toward Arnold's opinions did surface in the spring of 1887, following the appearance of his review of General Grant's *Memoirs* (1885–1886) in the *Nineteenth Century* for January and February. Though the review was largely complimentary, Clemens was ruffled by Arnold's criticisms of Grant's grammar and literary style—"an English without charm and without high breeding"—and no doubt also by comments on American boasting, now that the criticism seemed implicitly aimed at Grant. That April Clemens treated the Army and Navy Club of Connecticut to a speech on "General Grant's Grammar," in which he drew upon H.H. Breen's *Modern English Literature: Its Blemishes and Defects* (1857) for "proof" that the general's grammatical faults were no more frequent nor serious than those of many acknowledged literary masters, added an example of awkward construction from Arnold's own review, and concluded with a paean to the soldier-author, who "all untaught by the silken phrase-makers, linked words together with an art surpassing the art of the schoolmen."

Though some have argued otherwise, Arnold's criticisms had only minor influence on the shift to more serious satire that occurred in *A Connecticut Yankee* (1889) in the summer of 1887. But Clemens's reactions to "Civilization in the United States" did provide additional fuel the following year.

In that article Arnold had cited numerous flaws in American "culture," many of which he had mentioned in earlier essays—the unfortunate propensity for boasting, an avidity for "news," the vulgarity and brashness of American journalism, a cultural scene seriously lacking in "interest," an unfortunate "addiction to the 'funny man,'" a need for self-criticism and an excessive sensitivity toward criticism from others, and a particular insensitivity reflected in the ugliness of many place-names.

During the following few months, in reply to Arnold's charges, Twain drafted a half-dozen essays, mostly unfinished, but totaling some 100 manuscript pages. At one point that June he even considered turning the material into a

book to be called "English Criticism on America. Letters to an English Friend." For some reason, however, possibly because he ultimately decided that a public attack on the so recently dead Arnold would be inappropriate, he never fulfilled Metcalf's request for the *Forum* article.

In these essays and also in his acceptance of an honorary master's degree from Yale that June, Mark Twain took vigorous exception to Arnold's definition of "civilization" and, above all, his insistence on "a spirit of reverence" as the quintessential element of any truly civilized society. As might be expected, he objected especially strongly to Arnold's charge that America's deplorable lack of that reverence was fostered not only by an irresponsible press but by its "addiction to the 'funny man.'" The Yale degree, he said, was a tribute to all humorists and a timely response to "the late Matthew Arnold's sharp rebuke to the guild of American 'funny men' in his latest literary delicacy." It would remind the world that the humorist's real purpose—"the deriding of shams, the exposure of pretentious falsities, the laughing of stupid superstitions out of existence"—made him "the natural enemy of royalties, nobilities, privileges, and all kindred swindles, and the natural friend of human rights and human liberties." And when he resumed work on *A Connecticut Yankee* shortly thereafter, he began with a direct slap at the foolish "reverence" that characterized British subservience to rank and caste.

Twain would repeat his objections to Arnold's pronouncements several times in works of the next few years. In April 1890 the speech "On Foreign Critics" indirectly refuted Arnold's charges by enumerating the many contributions to freedom provided by the "irreverent" American press. In addition, specifically citing the critic's description of American society as organized chiefly for the benefit of the masses, he argued that such a society was greatly superior to a "civilization" largely restricted to a small "cultivated" upper class.

Again in chapter 10 of *The American Claimant* (1892), Twain drew on the earlier essays for an episode in which Lord Berkeley [Howard Tracy], at a meeting of the Mechanics Club, listens to a speech by an editor of the *Daily Democrat*, who argued that in stressing the importance of "reverence" and charging the American newspaper with killing the "discipline of respect," Arnold had overlooked the fact that the chief virtue of American journalism was "its frank and cheerful irreverence."

In another direction Arnold's essay review of Edward Dowden's *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1886) in the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1888 (collected in *Essays in Criticism, Second Series* the same year) inspired two additional critiques. In both of them, Twain took exception to the favorable assessment of the poet's character and deplored Shelley's treatment of his wife, Harriet. In the first, still unpublished, Mark Twain refuted with bitter irony Arnold's final portrait of Shelley as generous, refined, gracious, and considerate. For the second, published as "In Defense of Harriet Shelley" in the *North American Review* (July, August, September 1894), his target was Dowden's biography itself.

Arnold's works thus provided important stimuli for a number of Mark Twain's works. Apparently liking the critic as a person, Twain obviously detested his insistence on "high seriousness" in literature and "reverence" in society. Yet, though their methods were at almost opposite poles, Twain, through his humorous deriding of "shams," sought, like Arnold, to improve the human condition.

Howard G. Baetzhold

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See also: *American Claimant, The; Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, A; Criticism; England; "General Grant's Grammar"; "In Defense of Harriet Shelley"*

"Around the World" Letters (1869-1870)

From 16 October 1869 to 5 March 1870, while Mark Twain was co-owner and co-editor of the *Buffalo Express*, a series comprised of ten "Around the World" travel letters appeared in the *Express*. These items have not been reprinted; however, thanks to the efforts of Martin B. Fried, who had photocopies made from the microfilm of Twain's writings in the *Buffalo Express*, this material is available through the Rare Book Room of the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library or The Mark Twain Papers (University of California, Berkeley).

Twain's intention in publishing these letters was quite novel; he planned to remain at home in Buffalo while gathering material and inspiration by proxy from the correspondence of Professor Darius R. Ford of Elmira College, the actual around-the-world traveler who was accompanied by Charles Langdon (Olivia's brother). Writing in the first person, Twain

was to elaborate and embellish these travel accounts with his characteristic humor, thereby giving the letters his own unique literary flavor in the manner of *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). The reality of the situation, however, varied significantly from the initial plan. While awaiting Ford's correspondence, Twain most likely was the exclusive writer of letters numbered 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, dealing with California and Nevada; these are based on Twain's own earlier travels and experiences in the American West. Examples of Twain's use of southwestern humor are evidenced. These pieces were revised later and used in his 1872 publication, *Roughing It* (consult "Introduction," "Textual Notes," and "Collation" in the 1972 University of California edition of *RI* for additional information). Letter 2, a wholly fictitious sketch about Twain's adventures in Haiti, humorously contrasts the American and Haitian coinage system; Letter 8, "Dining with a Cannibal," is an outlandish account of a cannibal who believes he has eaten a Frenchman, only later to discover that he actually had eaten his own brother. The intended collaborative effort between Ford and Twain failed miserably. The latter complained to the Langdons on 26 March 1870 that in six months Ford had written only two letters—probably number 9, "The Pacific," and number 10, "Japan"—which were signed D.R.F. in the *Express*. Although many of the pieces as they appeared in the *Express* are ephemeral, less than memorable, and largely fragmentary and disjointed in nature, it is interesting to examine initially worked materials for *RI* and Twain's journalistic style during this period.

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No. 8: "Dining with a Cannibal" (29 January 1870); Letter No. 9: "The Pacific" (12 February 1870); and Letter No. 10: "Japan" (5 March 1870—signed D.R.F.). *Buffalo Express*; not reprinted.

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See also: Journalism; Travel Writings

Art

More attention has been paid to the art of Mark Twain than to Mark Twain's attitude toward art. Yet, it is impossible to appreciate the former fully without understanding the latter. Though Twain never articulated a theory of aesthetics, and though he enjoyed disparaging cultivated art critics as well as uncultivated amateurs who aped their views, he was deeply interested in painting and other arts. Deprived of formal art instruction, he made sincere efforts in his adult years to educate himself in the subject. Though he was always somewhat insecure about his ability to critique works of art, especially those deemed classics, he nonetheless was often moved to express his views on art and artists.

Attempts by Edward Wagenknecht, Gladys Bellamy, and Sydney Krause to provide a full

and accurate assessment of Twain's attitude toward art, or his aesthetic sense, have had to overcome two obstacles: Twain's comments on art are scattered throughout his voluminous writings; and when making those comments, he was usually wearing the mask of the naive fool or of the crusty grumbler, employing such rhetorical devices as understatement and exaggeration. Moreover, Twain was not always consistent in what he admired or detested in a work of art. In general, however, his taste in the fine arts was governed by the same basic principles that governed his taste in literature: put simply, he admired art that could appeal to common people, that was a sincere expression of the artist's vision and emotions, that was logical in its context, and that conveyed a sense of human values; he scorned the esoteric, sensational, idealized, and slavishly imitative.

The starting point for any discussion of Twain's taste in art is *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). During his 1867–1868 grand tour of the Old World, Twain visited and recorded his impressions of the most treasured works of art and architecture of Western culture; *The Innocents Abroad* is thus the richest source of his opinions on art. Many of those opinions, especially in reference to the “Old Masters,” have become notorious. As Brander Matthews once wrote (in regard to Twain's well-known disdain for romantic writers like Sir Walter Scott), Twain's most obvious limitation as a literary critic was implacable application of the literary standards of his age to the literature of an earlier one. That limitation is equally obvious in his harsh assessments of the Old Masters. Unable or unwilling to judge their paintings by medieval or Renaissance criteria, he applied nineteenth-century standards. He faulted painters such as Botticelli and Raphael, for example, for their preoccupation with religious themes and figures, for their failure to depict their contemporary times, and for their idealized representations of humans. On the rare occasions when he was charmed by a painting's color and expression, his pleasure gave way to his contempt of the Old Masters'

“cringing spirit” and their “nauseous adulation” of their aristocratic patrons. As such comments suggest, Twain's aesthetic judgments were inextricably connected to his social and political values.

The Innocents Abroad is not without praise for classical art. Twain was enchanted, for example, by the cathedrals of Notre Dame and Milan, comparing the latter to a poem written in marble; he found Versailles a veritable Garden of Eden; and the ruins of Athens overwhelmed him with a sense of history. The majority of his critiques in *The Innocents Abroad*, however, are negative.

During the six months prior to writing the letters that would become *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain had composed a smaller group of letters describing his journey from San Francisco to New York, and several of them provide insights into his developing sense of aesthetics. (Originally published in the *Alta California* during 1866–1867, the letters were reprinted as *Mark Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown* in 1940.) Reporting, from behind his fool's mask, on his visit to New York's Academy of Design, he claims that ignorance is preferable to knowledge when it comes to art, since cultured art critics seem to be able to detect only blemishes in the works they critique. He drops the mask, however, when he insists that a picture should be able to convey its message to the uncultivated observer, and when he condemns the architects of the Academy building for trying to reproduce the romance and charm of antiquity instead of the vibrant rush and clamor of the modern metropolis. Alexander Turner Stewart committed a similar breach of taste in Twain's view by attempting to reproduce an Old World marble palace amidst the elegant brownstones lining Fifth Avenue; the result, Twain snipes, was a pretentious monstrosity that resembled a mausoleum. In a letter on Albert Bierstadt's painting of Yosemite Valley, Twain demands that a painted (and, by implication, a verbal) portrait must be as accurate as possible; Bierstadt's representation of Yosemite, he complains, is too “gorgeous.” The moral, some might say prudish, element

in Twain's aesthetic standards is clearly projected in his reviews of the *Black Crook*, a melodrama whose bevy of scantily clad young women made it America's first great "girlie" show. Twain indicts the show for being an outrage to modesty and a threat to public morals.

If the *Black Crook* and similar productions were, in Twain's view, the most degraded form of human performance, Negro spirituals were among the most noble. Though he developed an appreciation for Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, and Schubert, and for *Tannhäuser* and several other operas, he was as little taken by classical music as by classical painting or sculpture. The music created by African-Americans, however, stirred him to his depths. Expressing the heartfelt emotions of those who created them and capable of moving the untutored listener, the spirituals epitomized elegant beauty to Twain.

In later life Twain became somewhat more tolerant of the Old Masters, but not of art critics. His "Instructions in Art" (1903), a madcap account (with illustrations) of his own ventures in sketching, parodies jargon-laden, ostentatious art criticism.

The one creator that never seems to have disappointed or repelled Twain was nature. His novels and nonfiction writings regularly reveal his deep sensitivity toward natural beauty. His last home, Stormfield, was designed to merge into the tranquil settings of pines and cedars; its rooms had no pictures on the walls, Twain explained, because no artist could ever equal the beauty of the surrounding landscape. Twain enjoyed the work of many artists, but nature, as he wrote in *The Innocents Abroad*, was to him the "monarch of all the old masters."

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See also: Criticism; *Innocents Abroad*, The; Music

Arthur, King

Historians disagree as to whether King Arthur was in fact a Celt leader who fought against the Saxons in the fifth or sixth century, but he does emerge in British and Continental romances and chronicles of later centuries as a pseudo-historical figure whose round table at Camelot became the starting place for exploits of other knights, such as Galahad, Gawain, and Lancelot. Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* (printed by Thomas Caxton in 1485) represents a conflation of stories from various sources and became the quasi-authoritative text that established the important conventions of the Arthurian legend. Malory's book was one of Mark Twain's favorites, and it provided most of the information about King Arthur for *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), although Twain adapted it to his own thematic purposes. Early in CY, Hank Morgan is as contemptuous of King Arthur as he is of aristocracy in general—an ignorant, even cruel, privileged class whose status has nothing to do with real worth. As Hank and King Arthur travel together disguised, however, the Yankee sees a more human dimension to the king for the first time. When the king, heed-

less of his own well-being, stays to give comfort to those in the smallpox hut, Hank says, "He was great now, sublimely great." And when the slave driver cannot break the king's spirit with repeated beatings, it proves to Hank that Arthur was "a good deal more than a king; he was a man." The king even vows to end slavery, but Twain does not follow up on that promise after Arthur and Hank are rescued. The book ends rather quickly after the rescue, in fact, and in a long passage taken from Malory, King Arthur dies in mortal combat with Modred.

Cameron C. Nickels

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See also: *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, A; Malory, Sir Thomas

"As Concerns Interpreting the Deity"

(written 1905)

In this short work Twain uses his arsenal of familiar weapons to attack the notion of interpretation. Twain marshals his awkward drawing ability, his use of "scholarly" sources, his complex tonal variation, and his contrasts of diction to destroy pretentious, authoritative "interpretations" of God's involvement in the world. The reader will enjoy comparing this short, emphatic essay with, for example, the problematical interpretations of the Greeley letter in *Roughing It* (1872) and the Colosseum newsletter and the hotel advertisement in *Innocents Abroad* (1869).

Using examples to develop the point, the text contains a childish, eight-part parodic hieroglyphic, with its own scratched-over cancellation. Four proposed "interpretations" or translations qualify one another. They each agree upon the final element, "upon pain of death," but disagree completely about the beginning and middle of the "interpretation."

This juxtaposition serves as a mutual qualification, a reciprocal contradiction. Humans will attribute meanings, true or untrue. Whatever is unknowable or unprovable about the Deity will be confidently deciphered and interpreted.

Twain juxtaposes these dreadful drawings with quotations in "interpretations," authoritative explications. The essay pivots upon the contrast between the difficulty of interpreting ancient human communications (part 1) and the apparent ease and certainty of interpreting divine communications (part 2). Accordingly, Twain adopts a great variety of tones: the mock reverential, the sarcastic, the cynical, and a pompously authoritarian voice.

Much of the essay revolves around contrasts. Twain will use a long, additive, convoluted sentence to contrast with an emphatic four-word sentence. Similarly, Twain seems to enjoy using elevated polysyllabic diction that is undercut by common vocabulary of fashion ("Entrails have gone out, now") or of business ("It was dreamed by Caesar Augustus's mother, and interpreted at the usual rates"). The resulting incongruities create humor about human fallibility—inability to understand the obvious combined with certainty about the unknowable.

Twain uses a two-part structure, offering remarks about the hieroglyphics and about augury for interpretation of entrails (divination) to lead into an extended criticism of Christian religious interpreters who can, with assurance, with an unintended mockery of ordinary cause and effect reasoning, confidently interpret punishments from God.

The two-part structure, with examples from different eras, creates a synecdoche for human history: things have not improved; human folly is a constant. A sensitive reader may shudder at the merciless quality of religious vengeance, or chuckle at some animal imagery, but the essay's main value remains in its tonal variety and in the sarcastic argument about the folly of human attempts at interpretations of a Deity. Twain's tonal variations retain a satiric sting, as a duncelike speaker says about one interpreter, "Sometimes I am

half persuaded he was only a guesser, and not a good one."

It must be mentioned that the California text is the only reliable text. Paine omitted Twain's powerful final example, and this omission and others render all earlier texts valueless.

Victor Doyno

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See also: Human Nature; Humor; Religion

"As Regards Patriotism"

(1923)

Written about 1900 but published posthumously in 1923, "As Regards Patriotism" distinguishes between two kinds of patriotism. One is the product of individual reason and conscience. The other is the patriotism of the majority, which is acquired "at the public trough." Though the Anglo-American tradition of liberty of conscience makes the former possible, politicians and the press lead most people in the opposite direction. Both types of patriotism result from "training." People in a democratic society are, in fact, trained to fear "independence in political thought." They can also be trained, however, to "manufacture their own patriotism," to forge in their minds and hearts, and to test with their conscience, a private and independent patriotism, as opposed to that which is held "by command."

Jarrell A. O'Kelley

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See also: Determinism; Politics

Ashcroft, Ralph

(d. 1947)

As the treasurer of the American branch of the Plasmon Company, Ralph Ashcroft, a dapper Liverpooldian, first crossed Clemens's path in 1903. Sympathetic to the Clemens faction in elaborate legal maneuvers, Ashcroft became increasingly involved with Clemens's other legal affairs. He accompanied Clemens to England as a sort of personal secretary in 1907 for the Oxford degree ceremonies; in 1908 he became an officer of the Mark Twain Company, the idea for which he claimed first occurred to him several years earlier.

On 14 November 1908 Clemens signed a comprehensive transfer of all his business matters to Ashcroft and Isabel Lyon. The two business managers married in early 1909, in what Lyon was later to call "part of a deal whereby she would thus legitimize her standing in the household." After Clemens became convinced that the Ashcrofts were guilty of various crimes, he revoked all of their responsibilities, wrote the "Ashcroft-Lyon Manuscript" to protect Clara Clemens from their revenge, and convinced himself that he had been the victim of their duplicity. The couple moved to Montreal in 1913 and separated in the 1920s. Ashcroft remarried in 1927 and died in Canada in 1947.

Hamlin Hill

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See also: "Ashcroft-Lyon Manuscript"; Lyon, Isabel; Plasmon

"Ashcroft-Lyon Manuscript"

(written 1909)

This is the title of a manuscript that Mark Twain composed between 2 May 1909 and 21 October 1909. Written in the form of a letter to William Dean Howells, it was intended both as a segment in the final method of writing autobiography and also as a docu-

ment to insure that Ralph Ashcroft and Isabel Lyon would not continue to badger Clara Clemens after her father's death. As Clara said, "He wrote out a full description of their entire story of dishonesty which I was to publish if there was no other way to keep them quiet."

The manuscript begins with a chronological account of Clemens's grievances against the Ashcrofts but loses its coherent order when its author, in recurring bursts of vindictiveness, remembers additional allegations against his deposed business manager and social secretary. Altogether, Mark Twain wrote 429 pages of manuscript, which he supplemented with newspaper clippings, bookkeeping accounts, a statement by Jean, and similar exhibits of the case he was making.

The charges—including that Miss Lyon drank too much Scotch, made pincushions, and was attempting to marry Clemens—degenerate into a discussion of the claims by both Perry and Cook of discovering the North Pole. It is useful for indicating how significantly Mark Twain had lost control over his materials, had been unable to maintain his comic distance from his subject, and had degenerated into petty vindictiveness in the last months of his life.

Hamlin Hill

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See also: Ashcroft, Ralph; Autobiography; Lyon, Isabel

Athens, Greece

During the 1867 *Quaker City* excursion, the ship's visit to Athens proved to be anticlimactic and disappointing for the majority of the passengers. However, a daring escapade enacted by Twain and three other tourists provided Twain with a wonderful experience, which in turn became one of the more charming episodes in *The Innocents Abroad* (1869).

The *Quaker City* left Italy at a time when a cholera epidemic was raging throughout the country; and when the *Quaker City* approached Athens, the health officer denied the passengers clearance to visit the city. Instead, the passengers were confined to a miserable quarantine aboard the *Quaker City*, which had dropped anchor outside of the harbor. However, Twain, along with three other passengers, stole out in a boat at nightfall and landed in Athens. The four men climbed the hill of the Acropolis and coaxed four guards at the gates of the ancient fortress to allow them entrance. Once inside the Greek ruins, Twain and the others gained a breathtaking view of Athens and the surrounding countryside by moonlight. On the way back to the boat, the four men became encouraged by their success and slipped into boisterous behavior, but fortunately they made it back to the *Quaker City* unmolested.

Trevor J. Morgan

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See also: *Innocents Abroad*, *The*

Atlantic Monthly

Devoted to literature, art, and politics, the magazine the *Atlantic Monthly* was founded in 1857 in Boston by a group of prominent New Englanders. The first issue included (anonymous) contributions by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes (who named the magazine), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell (the first editor), Harriet Beecher Stowe, and John Greenleaf Whittier. Purchased in 1859 by Ticknor and Fields, publisher of most of these

writers, the *Atlantic* became not only the organ of the New England establishment but also the national standard of literary excellence.

James T. Fields, who became editor in 1861, hired William Dean Howells as his assistant in 1866. Upon succeeding Fields as editor, Howells expanded the range of the *Atlantic* by adding new departments and soliciting work from writers outside New England. Among them was Mark Twain, who met Howells in 1869 at the magazine's offices (124 Tremont Street) after the latter had published his favorable notice of *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). Howells continued to review Mark Twain's books and to print his work in the *Atlantic* until his resignation in 1881.

Twain's first appearances in the *Atlantic* were "A True Story" (November 1874) and "Old Times on the Mississippi" (January to July 1875); ten other pieces followed, the last of which was "Mrs. McWilliams and the Lightning" (September 1880). On Howells's invitation, Twain attended the *Atlantic's* birthday dinner for Whittier on 17 December 1877. His speech, a burlesque of Emerson, Holmes, and Longfellow, was perceived by Howells as lese majesty. Mark Twain, who was also mortified, had no deep affinities to the *Atlantic* circle, but he continued to regard Howells as his close friend and literary adviser.

John W. Crowley

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See also: Howells, William Dean; Whittier
 Birthday Dinner Speech

Auctions

The dispersal of Twain's belongings began before his death in 1910. As the Clemens family

moved from one home to another in their endless travels, they left behind or gave away to neighbors and servants pieces of furniture, books, and manuscripts. The founding of the Mark Twain Library at Redding, Connecticut, in 1908 resulted in a donation of 1,751 books directly from Twain, and records indicate that Clara Clemens may have donated as many as 2,500 books after her father's death.

Concerned with copyright protection of his writings, Twain formed the Mark Twain Company, which resulted in the preservation of many of his manuscripts and personal papers, now housed at the University of California at Berkeley. The bulk of the estate passed to his daughter Clara.

In February 1911, at Clara's wishes, the first formal sale of Twain's estate took place, and some 500 lots of books and manuscripts were sold, together with 56 lots at the end of the sale that included bric-a-brac in the form of pottery vases, brass and irons, bronze statues, a wooden cigar holder, and various framed etchings and paintings. Prices were modest, and an anticipated second sale was never held.

Meanwhile, Twain's Hartford home had been sold in 1903 to a family that completely redecorated the interior, removing most of the original Tiffany fixtures. The furniture was removed and sold at auction. By 1929 the home had served as a school, an apartment, and a storage warehouse. In that year it was purchased for preservation as a museum, and the work of locating lost fixtures, furniture, and even windows has continued ever since. Considering the neglect and the passing of time, an astonishing number of relics have been recovered. The great Scottish mantel from the library was found in a nearby Redding barn, and descendants of the 1903 auction buyers have generously returned important pieces of furniture over the years.

In 1937 the Twain letters and manuscripts from the estate of his official biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine, were sold, and in 1951 Clara held a poorly managed sale of her belongings at her home in Los Angeles, where more than 350 lots of books and furniture were sold

amidst a circuslike atmosphere, mostly at bargain prices. One of Mark Twain's desks sold at that sale surfaced in the 1970s and has finally found its way into a private Twain collection. From time to time, monogram silverware from the Twain estate appears in the market, as do other relics of dubious origins. Clara sold or gave away relics from time to time, and since her death in 1962, other relics, including articles of her clothing, have entered the market, all finding eager buyers.

Books from Twain's library have surfaced steadily over the years, mostly from the 1911 and 1951 sales, but many originate with the Mark Twain Library in Redding, which disposed of many volumes in the 1940s and early 1950s before their importance was recognized. Today, more than 800 volumes from Twain's library are located in public and private collections.

Kevin Mac Donnell

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See also: Manuscript Collections; Rare Books

“Aurelia’s Unfortunate Young Man”

(1864)

“Aurelia’s Unfortunate Young Man” was first published as “Whereas” in the 22 October 1864 issue of the *Californian*, edited at the time by Bret Harte. Subsequent editions of this story were much abridged and used the longer, more descriptive title. The original version begins with the narrator’s description of “Love’s Bakery,” a place according to the narrator in which hearts, not bread, are kneaded. This introduces Aurelia’s story where love is threatened by her fiancé’s physical afflictions. Beginning with scars from small pox, Williamson Breckinridge Caruthers subsequently loses a leg, an arm (to a Fourth of July cannon), then the other (to a carding machine), the use of an eye, his other leg, and finally his scalp. Having postponed and rescheduled their wedding after each of these unfortunate losses, Aurelia is writing to the story’s narrator for advice. Even though she still loves Caruthers, for obvious reasons her parents are now against their marrying. The narrator’s advice is for Aurelia to equip Caruthers with wooden appendages, a glass eye, and a wig and to give him a ninety-day test period to see if he breaks his neck. If he does not, she should marry him. Neither the narrator nor Aurelia ever shows real sympathy for Caruthers, and both see Caruthers’s misfortunes only in terms of the difficulties they present for her.

Obviously satirizing contemporary portrayals of romantic love and the irrational devotion common in sentimental romances, Twain created an entertaining black comedy that is also a parody of the popular newspaper advice columns of that time. Twain’s editor, Charles Henry Webb, is probably responsible for condensing the story and renaming it. Twain himself kept rewriting and reprinting it until the last revision appeared in *Sketches, New and Old* (1875).

For several reasons the sketch is important in its various versions. When it first appeared

in the *Californian*, Twain was in a period in which he could devote himself to his writing, and for two months he published daily pieces on a variety of subjects, fictional and factual. Everett Emerson asserts that "Aurelia's Unfortunate Young Man" is "one of Twain's freshest and most original" sketches and deserves more attention as an example of Twain's "comic artistry." For Franklin R. Rogers this sketch shows a "new consciousness in [Twain's] use of language." In particular he notes Twain's use of rhythmic, alliterative sentences. In discussing Twain's use of comedy, John C. Gerber notes Twain's complicated use of the pose of moralist. "Aurelia's Unfortunate Young Man" provides an example of using this pose to ridicule moralism itself.

Nancy Chinn

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See also: *Californian*; Comic Poses; Condensed Novels

Austen, Jane

(1775-1817)

Satirist and social critic, Jane Austen wrote English novels of manners in the nineteenth century. Her major works include *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), *Mansfield Park* (1814), *Emma* (1816), *Northanger Abbey*, and *Persuasion* (1818). Austen, who

never married, lived and wrote in the midst of an active and affectionate family.

Mark Twain did not write an essay on Jane Austen but did comment on her work in letters and journals. These comments reveal a surprising degree of hostility toward her writing. The earliest reference is in a December 1895 entry in a journal kept on board the *Mararoa* while sailing in the Indian Ocean. He calls Austen (and Goldsmith) "[t]horoughly artificial." A few months later he finds the ship's library good because it does not contain any Austen novels: "That one omission alone would make a fairly good library out of a library that hadn't a book in it." This is the source for Twain's chapter in *Following the Equator* (1897) on Austen's lack of literary merit. In his biography Paine quotes Twain saying that on reading *Pride and Prejudice* or *Sense and Sensibility*, "I feel like a barkeeper entering the kingdom of heaven." And in a letter to a close friend, Twain reveals his most strident response to Austen: "Every time I read *Pride and Prejudice* I want to dig her up and beat her over the skull with her own shin-bone." "Every time I read" is as significant as his response because his distaste did not keep him from going back to "Austin's" novels. (Twain persistently misspells her name.) Twain, like Austen, began writing burlesques and moved to forms combining burlesque and original fiction before writing independent works. Austen joined other major authors Twain detested such as Scott, Eliot, Cooper, James, and Poe.

Critics have not agreed on or completely explained the reasons for Twain's hostility. In 1920 Van Wyck Brooks interpreted Twain's dislike as "an act of revenge on Howells, who also wrote novels." Brander Matthews is probably closer to the truth when he states that Austen's artistic vision was too restricted for Twain and his distaste was a response to her "placid and complacent acceptance of a semi-feudal social organization, stratified like a chocolate layer-cake, with petty human fossils in its lower formations." In "Transatlantic Configurations: Mark Twain and Jane

Austen," Richard Poirer suggests that "Austen's satire has behind it a confidence that English society gives everyone a chance, as the society in *Huckleberry Finn* does not, to find a place that can be called 'natural.'" Analyzing Twain's comments on the characters in *Sense and Sensibility*, Alan Gribben finds that Twain's "critical standard required the creation of at least one character with whom he might identify and sympathize." Clearly, Twain was never able to bridge the gap between his American world of adventure and Austen's restrained interiors.

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See also: Condensed Novels; Criticism

Australia

As the title of a recent study suggests, the place of Australia in Twain's writing is best contemplated under the broader appellation of Australasia. That is what he called it, more or less interchangeably with its modern name,

along with neighboring New Zealand, during his fifteen-week visit there in 1895, and what is depicted in the record of that visit came to fill most of the first half of his final travel book, known to Americans as *Following the Equator* (1897) and to English and Australasian audiences as *More Tramps Abroad* (1897).

One is surprised that Twain, one of the most prolific literary travelers in our history, did not get to Australia sooner. With the colorful circumstances of its settlement by a bona fide criminal class, not to mention the legendary fauna that would have made such lively additions to the Mark Twain bestiary, the place seems literally invented for his writing imagination. More is the surprise, therefore, at how pedestrian he managed to make it seem once he finally got there. A chief reason for this—well known from biography and correspondence—was that the travel and the travel writing were both being done on salary as part of a desperate post-bankruptcy lecture tour. Still, to Twain's credit and that of his hosts, it should be said that the Australasian sojourn, if short on the exotica of Ceylon and India that followed, seems to have been rather more genial than the season in hell he generally made the trip out to be. This did little, however, to cure the ordinariness in the resultant writing. Twain, in fact, in regard to both Australia and New Zealand, turns out to be pretty much the kind of travel writer the author of *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) or *Roughing It* (1872) would have warned us about. He writes about harbors, climate, agriculture, transportation, and principal cities, often resorting to the kinds of chamber of commerce observations that would themselves have earlier been the meat of self-satire. Memphis and Little Rock become crude bench marks for the climates of corresponding southern latitudes and Nevada for dust storms; Sydney and Melbourne look "English with American trimmings." In reverse emphasis, their inhabitants are described as essentially American Englishmen.

As to the possibilities for cross-cultural observation, such commonplaces of perspective seem to have taken the edge off Twain's eye.

In a phrase, familiarity seems to have bred familiarity. The Twain writing here, of course, is at the height of his anti-imperial fulmination. Hence, on behalf of aboriginal peoples, there are ritual laments against depredations conducted in the name of "the white man's notion that he is less savage than the savages." As to comedy, one must settle for a specious anecdote about Cecil Rhodes, the natural curiosity of a railroad that changes gauges on the New South Wales-Victoria frontier, and a parting sally against Julia A. Moore, the Sweet Singer of Michigan. Even animal jokes are in short supply, with the author seizing occasion to claim only, "I myself am the last marsupial." In so doing, he was attempting humor about his own empty pockets and large penury. As to the work of his writing, however, it seems to signal a sense of himself as a truly endangered species, the traveling humorist for whom, increasingly, nothing in the world seemed curious enough to be funny.

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See also: *Following the Equator*, New Zealand; Travel Writings

Austria (Austria-Hungary)

Samuel L. Clemens sojourned in the dual monarchy then customarily but unofficially called Austria-Hungary with his wife, their daughters, and their housekeeper, Katy Leary, on three separate occasions during the 1890s. The Clemenses divided most of August 1891 between two spas, Marianske Lazne (Marienbad) and Frantiskovy Lazne (Franzensbad), in the Austrian crown land of Bohemia, since 1918 part of Czechoslovakia. His experiences there provided Mark Twain

material for a satirical travel article, "Marienbad—A Health Factory," he contributed to the New York *Sun* and McClure's Syndicate (reprinted in *Europe and Elsewhere* 1923). Clemens's second visit in Austria was a brief stopover in Innsbruck, 21–24 June 1893, en route from Florence to Berlin.

On 19 September 1897 the Clemens family set out by train from Weggis, Switzerland, where they spent the previous two months, and after stopping three days in Innsbruck and four in Salzburg, they reached the Austrian capital, Vienna, on 27 September. Next day they engaged an eight-room suite at the Hotel Metropole, where they remained until 20 May 1898. From then until the following 14 October they rented a furnished villa (then Paulhof, now Sonnenhof at Karlsgasse 3) in rural Kaltenleutgeben, a hydrotherapy resort twelve miles southwest of Vienna. When they returned to the city that autumn, the family took a spacious apartment in the Hotel Krantz (now Ambassador) where they remained until departing on 26 May 1899 for Prague, where they spent a long weekend en route to England.

Other places in the Habsburg empire visited by Clemens include Bad Ischl and Hallstatt in the Salzkammergut, where the family vacationed from 16 to 27 August 1898, and Budapest, where they spent 23–29 March 1899 as guests of "Otthon," the Hungarian press club. While there, Twain delivered a banquet speech to "Otthon" (although not the one called "German for Hungarians" assigned to this occasion in Paine's collection, *Mark Twain's Speeches*), gave a public reading, and made a phonographic recording that has since been lost.

Clara Clemens's desire to study piano with the renowned piano teacher Theodor Leschetizky (1830–1915) and later to take voice lessons from the Wagnerian contralto Marianne Brandt (1842–1921) was the reason for her family's long residence in Vienna and its environs. As a result, Clemens himself was thrust into the vortex of Viennese musical circles, becoming personally acquainted there with

such composers and concert virtuosi as Johann Strauss the Younger (1825–1899), Hans Richter (1843–1916), Gustav Mahler (1860–1911), Karl Goldmark (1830–1915), Antonin Dvorak (1841–1904), Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962), Alfred Grünfeld (1852–1924), and Ossip Gabrilowitsch (1878–1936), who married Clara Clemens in 1909.

By 1897 Twain was probably America's most famous public figure and celebrity-mad Vienna lionized him. He was taken up in the social circles of the eccentric dowager Furstin (Princess) Pauline Metternich (1836–1921), which included among others Graf (Countess) Misa Wydenbruck-Esterházy, Graf (Countess) Emily De Lowszowska (who dedicated her "erotic" novel to him), and Erzherzogin (Archduchess) Maria Theresa, stepmother of Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914), the heir to the Habsburg crowns whose murder at Sarajevo (28 June 1914) touched off World War I. Twain was also feted in Vienna's large diplomatic community, especially by American envoy Charlemagne Tower (1848–1923) and his British counterpart, Sir Horace Rumbold. As a result, he gave several public readings for charities sponsored by his aristocratic hosts, at the first of which, on 1 February 1898 in the Bösendorfer Saal, Dr. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) was a member of the audience. Twain also made platform appearances at pacifist rallies organized in support of the first Hague Conference (May–June 1899) by Freifrau (Baroness) Bertha Kinsky von Suttner (1843–1914), founder and guiding spirit of the Oesterreichische Friedensfreunde (Austrian Friends of Peace).

Upon arriving in Vienna, Twain was besieged by interviewers from many of the city's forty-five newspapers, and he thereupon formed a wide acquaintanceship among local journalists. The popular dialect humorist of *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, Eduard Poetzl (1851–1914), became his closest friend in Vienna. Other journalist friends there included the novelist Bettina Wirth (1849–1917), translator of Bret Harte and Vienna correspondent for the London *Daily News*, and Ferdinand

Gross (1840–1904), editor of *Fremden-Blatt* who was also president of "Concordia," the liberal Austrian press club. Gross invited Twain to address the club at a *Festkneipe* (festive drinking party) on 31 October 1897. His brief speech in German, "Die Schrecken der deutschen Sprache" ("The Horrors of the German Language," not to be confused with the earlier and lengthier "Awful German Language" in *A Tramp Abroad* [1880]), delivered before an illustrious gathering, was one of the high points of his twenty-month Viennese sojourn.

Siegmund Schlesinger (1832–1916), a well-known Viennese playwright-journalist and one of Twain's first interviewers, prevailed upon him in January 1898 to collaborate in writing two comedies—*Die Goldgräberin* (The Lady Goldminer), to be set in the Klondike, and *Der Gegenkandidat, oder die Frauen Politiker* (The Opposition Candidate, or Women Politicians), on the topic of women's suffrage—purportedly for performance at the k.k. Hofburgtheater (Imperial-Royal Court Theatre) with Katerina von Schratt, the emperor's mistress, in leading roles. The collaboration, in which Twain was to supply plot situations and characters while Schlesinger wrote the German dialogue, dragged on throughout the next sixteen months without resulting in a stageworthy piece, and the manuscripts have been lost.

At the same time (January–March 1898) Twain undertook to translate two theatrical hits of the 1897–1898 Vienna season—a naturalistic "social problem" drama, *Bartel Turaser*, by Philipp Langmann (1862–1920) and a farce, *Im Fegefeuer* (In Purgatory), by Ernst Gettke (1870–1914) and Alexander Engel (1868–1930)—for the New York or London stages without finding a producer willing to risk them. The manuscripts of Twain's translations are also apparently not extant. In early April 1898 he commenced but was discouraged from completing a translation of Theodor Herzl's drama, *Das Neue Ghetto* (The New Ghetto), the premiere of which he had attended (with Sigmund Freud) on 5 January 1898. An origi-

nal farce of his own, *Is He Dead?*, adapted from his earlier story about the painter Francois Millet ("Is He Living or Is He Dead?" [1893]), completed in three weeks in late January–early February 1898, was similarly unsuccessful in finding a producer, although its unpublished manuscript survives in the Mark Twain Papers at Berkeley.

As these abortive efforts suggest, Twain's lifelong fascination with the theater and his ambitions as a dramatist were greatly stimulated in Vienna, where he attended theatrical as well as operatic performances with unusual frequency and became acquainted with such prominent theatrical personalities as the actors Alexander Girardi and Adolf von Sonnenthal and impresarios as Baron Alfred von Berger, Dr. Max Burckhardt, and Dr. Paul Schlenther. One play in the Hofburgtheater repertory, Adolf von Wilbrandt's *Der Meister von Palmyra*, a ponderous five-act *dramatische Dichtung* (poetic drama), impressed him enormously. He saw it repeatedly and made it the subject of "About Play-Acting," a serious article of dramatic criticism published in *The Forum* magazine (October 1898) and collected in *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg & Other Stories and Sketches* (1900). This play has been cited by many scholars as a major source of themes and ideas Twain expressed in "The Chronicle of Young Satan" (1969), on which he was working at that time.

The Austro-Hungarian empire was deep in a constitutional crisis when Clemens arrived in Vienna, and during his first two months there he witnessed anarchic upheavals in the Reichsrat (parliament) that eventuated in the fall of the moderate regime of Count Kasimir Badeni (1846–1909), the most violent public demonstrations and riots in the realm since 1848 and the effective end of Austrian political liberalism. These events became the subject of "Stirring Times in Austria," one of Twain's best pieces of political reportage, published in *Harper's Monthly* in February 1898 and in his collected works. A caustic sequel to this, titled "Government By Article 14," remains in manuscript in the Mark

Twain Papers.

In the heated partisan debates that erupted when Badeni tried to win support among the young Czech deputies for renewing the *Ausgleich* (the arrangement whereby Austria and Hungary had been confederated under a single monarch since 1867) by granting the Czech language equal status with German in the Bohemian judicial system, the prime minister was challenged by and fought a duel with the leader of the opposition. The incident prompted Twain's polemical essay, "Dueling," posthumously published in *Europe and Elsewhere*.

On 10 September 1898 the Austrian empress was assassinated in Geneva, Switzerland, by an Italian anarchist. Clemens was outraged at what seemed, on the one hand, a senseless murder and, on the other, a harbinger of the coming disintegration of European order that Karl Kraus called in his epic drama "The Last Days of Mankind." On 17 September he took his family from Kaltenleutgeben to a balcony of the Hotel Krantz to view the procession accompanying the empress's bier to the Habsburg crypt in the Capuchin Church, one of the most extravagant displays of funereal pomp ever seen in the history of European royalty. He described the ceremonial in elaborate detail in a piece of vivid reportage, "The Memorable Assassination," posthumously published with *What Is Man?* (1917).

On 16 March 1898 Clemens met a gifted young Polish schoolteacher, Jan Szczepanik (pron. "Shte-pan-ick," 1872–1926), who had invented a machine called a *Raster* for electrically transfiguring photographic images into perforations on jacquard loom cards used in weaving carpets and other textiles, and a primitive form of closed-circuit television called *Femseher*. This "Austrian Edison," as Twain dubbed the inventor, had been established in a laboratory in Vienna by Ludwig Kleinberg, an entrepreneur who was then selling foreign rights to Szczepanik's patents. Sensing a chance for a bonanza for the owner of the American rights to the *Raster*, Clemens took a two-month option on both inventions for an offer of \$1.5

million and then tried strenuously to persuade his New York financial adviser, Henry Huttleston Rogers, to provide the money to conclude the contract. Ultimately, Rogers vetoed the investment, since there was insufficient growth in industrial weaving in the United States to recoup more than the payment for the rights.

Although disappointed in his efforts, Twain nevertheless put his experiences with Szczepanik to good literary use in a sketch about the absurd bureaucratic ruse whereby the inventor had avoided military conscription, "The Austrian Edison Keeping School Again," and a satirical short piece of science fiction, "From the 'London Times' of 1904," making imaginative use of Szczepanik and his *Fernseher* to "solve" a presumed murder and to lampoon perverse "French justice" in the second trial of Captain Alfred Dreyfus.

The Dreyfus Affair and the anti-Semitic turn rioting took in several Austrian cities after Count Badeni's dismissal provided Twain an overt rationale for the polemical essay he completed in late July 1898, "Concerning the Jews," published in *Harper's Monthly* in October 1899 and included in his collected works. In reality, attacks upon him in Vienna's anti-Semitic opposition press for his close association with Jewish journalists and philo-Semites of Vienna's dominant liberal press (e.g., *Neue Freie Presse*, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, et al.) were what prompted him to organize and express his views about the Jews and anti-Jewish prejudices and persecutions in an essay that, despite being factually flawed and perhaps somewhat myopic, is one of his best organized and most cogently argued. Such attacks on "the Jew Mark Twain" increased in scurrility and frequency in *Reichspost* and other newspapers during his Vienna sojourn and were joined in April 1899 by the celebrated Viennese satirist Karl Kraus (1874–1936) in the third number of Kraus's influential magazine, *Die Fackel*.

The Clemenses' frantic but vain search for effective treatments for their youngest daughter Jean's increasingly frequent epileptic seizures while in the city brought the writer into

contact with many illustrious members of Vienna's medical profession. Among the eminent physicians Clemens consulted were the neuropathologist Heinrich Obersteiner (1847–1922), the psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), senior colleagues at the University of Vienna of Sigmund Freud, whom he may also have consulted, the pioneering pediatrician Alexander von Huettenbrenner (1842–1905), and the founder of Austrian hydrotherapy, Wilhelm Winternitz (1834–1917), to whose rigorous "cold water cures" Olivia Clemens and her daughters submitted themselves throughout the summer of 1898 without much apparent benefit.

Opportunities for frequent social contact and conversation with these and other leaders in scientific, literary, and artistic circles at that intellectually charged "golden moment" of the Viennese *fin de siècle* when much of what the present century has called "modern" was being created there stimulated his mind and art to an extraordinary degree. In sum, Vienna acted upon Twain as a tonic, shaking him from the despondency and torpor into which he had fallen after his series of personal misfortunes in the 1890s, reawakening dormant interests, and stimulating new ideas or new variants of old ones. Twain's development and expression during the final phase of his long, richly varied career cannot be understood except against the background of his Viennese experiences.

Twain accomplished more writing during his twenty months in Vienna and Kaltenleutgeben than in almost any other comparable period of his career. Among the most significant literary products of this sojourn are his Socratic dialogue, *What Is Man?* (1906), the first part of his book, *Christian Science* (1907), the "Early Days" section of his *Autobiography* (1924), and above all his most powerful short story, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1899), and two of the three "Mysterious Stranger" manuscripts ("The Chronicle of Young Satan" and "Schoolhouse Hill" [1969]).

Altogether more than thirty works issued whole or in part from his pen during this period. Several, such as "My Platonic Sweetheart," "Wapping Alice," the fragmentary "Which Was the Dream?," "The Great Dark," and "Mysterious Stranger" sequence, have been posthumously published. Other completed pieces, such as "Government By Article 14" (a sequel to "Stirring Times in Austria"), "American Representation in Austria" (a lampoon on the United States ambassador, Addison C. Harris), and the farce, *Is He Dead?*, remain in manuscript in the Mark Twain Papers at Berkeley along with a fragmentary humorous sketch, "Kaltenleutgeben," about a loquacious housemaid at Villa Paulhof Twain nicknamed Wuthering Heights, and two essay fragments, "In Defense of Royalty and Nobility" and "The New War Scare."

On 25 May 1899, the day before his departure from Vienna, Clemens was invited to a short private audience with Franz Joseph I (1830–1916) of Habsburg-Lorraine, Emperor of Austria, Apostolic King of Hungary, etc., at the Hofburg. At a press conference with Viennese reporters after the audience, he made flattering remarks about both the monarch and the city, saying that he had been made to feel "at home" in Vienna and that anyone who lived there a couple of years would never "completely go away." Although the writer never physically returned to the Danube city, these words proved metaphorically prophetic.

Carl Dolmetsch

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See also: Dramatist, Mark Twain as; Europe; Freud, Sigmund; German Language; Jews; Music

Autobiographical Dictations (1885–1909)

Mark Twain's autobiographical dictations include the Grant dictations (1885), the dicta-

tions begun in Florence, Italy (1904), and the final dictations composed between January 1906 and 1909. Typescripts are in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

The Grant dictations are Twain's record of his relationship with Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885). They describe their first meeting, Twain's arrangements as publisher of Grant's *Memoirs* (1885), and Grant's method of dictating. The Florence dictations focus on life at Villa Quarto, comparisons between Florence in 1904 and the family's 1892 experience in Italy, and remembrances of friends and books. Olivia Clemens's death in June 1904 ended the dictating. The final dictations began as a way for Albert Bigelow Paine to collect materials for a biography. Twain believed that the rambling conversation would generate memories and that the informal setting and congenial audience would prompt him to speak openly. He spins yarns of Hannibal, the Mississippi, his careers as miner, reporter, lecturer, and his success as a writer—many are seasoned with opinions on politics, government, business, family life, and literature. Twain completed 252 dictations between 1906 and 1909: 134 in 1906, 70 in 1907, 34 in 1908, and 14 in 1909. They total some half million words.

Twain used dictations for sections of "Chapters from My Autobiography" (*North American Review*, 1906–1907). Paine used them as his primary source for *Mark Twain: A Biography* (1912); he used the Grant and Florence dictations for *Mark Twain's Autobiography* (1924). Bernard DeVoto and Charles Neider shaped editions of Twain's autobiography from the dictations. All of the autobiographical dictations have not yet been published. The amount and scope of the material is daunting (Twain wove newspaper clippings, letters, and full manuscripts into the dictations); the editorial problems are myriad.

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See also: Autobiography; "Chapters from My Autobiography"

Autobiography (1870–1909)

Mark Twain composed his autobiography over a forty-year period from 1870 to 1910. He experimented with a variety of methods and forms: from autobiographical sketches to childhood memories, from commentary on contemporary events to reflections on his life experiences to carefully sculpted eulogies for family and friends. He shaped these fragments when he prepared "Chapters from My Autobiography" for the *North American Review* in 1906 and 1907. However, since his death in 1910, several editors have returned to the autobiographical manuscripts and have given their own design to Twain's autobiography: Albert Bigelow Paine published *Mark Twain's Autobiography* (1924), Bernard DeVoto presented *Mark Twain in Eruption* (1940), Charles Neider edited *The Autobiography of Mark Twain* (1959), and Michael J. Kiskis collected the *North American Review* chapters for a single edition (1990). About a third of Twain's autobiographical manuscripts remain unpublished. The manuscripts are part of the Mark Twain Project based at the University of California at Berkeley.

Autobiography and first-person narrative are intimately related. Twain's mastery of first-person narrative underlies the critical and popular success of his novels *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), and *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896), and his travel books include *The Innocents Abroad* (1869),

Roughing It (1872), *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), and *Following the Equator* (1897). It is easy to see how closely his first-person narratives are related to autobiography: at one time Twain himself proposed that a reader need only set the books in sequence to form an autobiography. That view still persists for many readers who interpret *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as an autobiographical trilogy. The problem is that Twain often uses reality to spark fiction—as in *Life on the Mississippi* when he deliberately adjusts life to sharpen the image of the cub pilot. In the end Twain's first-person narratives are his link to the storytelling tradition of the Southwest, a tradition energized by the tall tale, as well as his link to the oral tradition of slave kitchens and childhood ghost stories. All of this influenced Twain's approach to autobiography.

Twain did not begin to write autobiography with any plan to publish a separate volume. His early, rather tentative explorations are related to his fiction: "The Tennessee Land" (1870) and "Early Years in Florida, Missouri" (1877), for example, were written when Twain was occupied with reclaiming his Mississippi experience for *The Gilded Age* (1873), "Old Times on the Mississippi" (1875), *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, and the early sections of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

With the Grant dictations in 1885, Twain began to compose autobiography intentionally to preserve events from his adult life in the East: it would not be used to enhance his fiction. The anecdotes focusing on Grant, Twain's activity on the general's behalf, and the growth of their mutually satisfying relationship thrust Twain in a new direction. He saved these experiences because of their inherent worth. They were important highlights of Twain's career as a publisher and examples of his status as a public figure.

The separation between fiction and autobiography grew clearer as Twain continued his experiments. After some years he returned to autobiography in a series of character sketches that were prompted by Jane Lampton

Clemens's death in 1890 and the variety of disasters connected to the Paige typesetter. Twain wrote about the influence of these events on his life. While he reached toward autobiography to explore his relationships and to record his reactions, his emphasis was not on self—on Twain—but on the other. He was gradually moving from using memory as fodder for fiction to using personal relationships as the bases for occasional sketches.

Twain's move to self-reflection was prompted by the trauma and resulting pressure of bankruptcy compounded by the shock of his daughter Susy's death from spinal meningitis in 1896. While in Europe during 1897–1899, Twain turned to autobiography with "Early Days," a mix of commentary on his experiences in Europe as well as a reflection on his past. In effect, Twain was now using the autobiography not as a way to stimulate fiction or as a repository for anecdotes about particular friends but as a balm for his wounded spirit. "Early Days" becomes the centerpiece of Twain's autobiographical compositions because of its series of reminiscences of Quarles Farm and of Twain's childhood in the midst of peace and plenty. Long portions recover singular childhood experiences: Twain's carefully drawn images and precise use of language transport him back to the farm and to innocence and joy; he overloads paragraphs with explicit descriptions of the farm, of the idyllic life that revolved around the kitchen and the table; he conjures up feelings of safety; he moves gracefully between an idyllic past and a troubled present. The idyll carries the day, and Twain resurrects a sense of peace and well-being not available in the empty present. For the first time, Twain uses autobiography to find peace and to reintegrate himself with the world. Just as the Grant dictations moved Twain to use autobiography as a record of his experience and relationship, "Early Days" allowed him to use autobiography to reclaim the best of times and to compose a eulogy for his past. And that eulogy allowed him to face the present more energetically.

Eulogies become even more prominent

when Twain again returned to autobiography in Florence in 1904. The Florence dictations mark the beginning of Twain's final attempt to combine recollections and commentary as autobiography, an attempt he continued in the final series of dictations that began in 1906. Throughout the dictations Twain holds court as past events and people parade by. In Florence he focuses on place as he describes the Villa Quarto, and he explores the relationship of place to time by introducing entries from his notebooks composed during the family's earlier visit to Italy during the 1890s. As his interest in the juxtaposition falters, he moves on to compose memories of friends as well as of early writings. The Florence experiments came to an end with Olivia's death in June 1904.

During these years of experiment Twain thought little of offering a full autobiography to the public. Even when Albert Bigelow Paine entered the picture and the two began their series of conversations known as the final autobiographical dictations, Twain thought of the project as a source for the biography that Paine would produce. His thoughts of an autobiography did not take shape until well after they had begun their sessions. The prospect became clear when George Harvey, editor of the *North American Review*, approached Twain with a proposal to publish installments of the autobiography. That proposal led to the twenty-five installments titled "Chapters from My Autobiography."

Twain's interest in the autobiography was highest during the early months of the dictations, but his fire for the project dimmed as time passed: little work was done after 1907; 1909 saw only a handful of dictating sessions. The swing in Twain's interest is not surprising given his long practice of "pigeonholing" manuscripts when he had reached an impasse: when the "well" ran dry, he would set aside the work and wait for his tank to fill up again. No tale, however, was put aside as frequently as his autobiography. And no tale caused as much frustration as he tried to find the best way to tell his story. As he became less enam-

ored of dictating, Twain returned to the pen in a search for a new and more effective autobiographical method. He attempted to write letters to friends—letters in which he believed he could be even more frank than in the dictations. The “Ashcroft-Lyon Manuscript” was the first and last attempt with the letter format: the text quickly degenerated into an outlet for frustrations and feelings of betrayal.

Ultimately, Twain seems to have decided to leave the manuscripts and commentaries to his editors. In his mind his autobiography came to a halt with still another tragic death: that of his youngest daughter, Jean, who was found dead on the morning of Christmas Eve 1909. In a pattern reminiscent of Twain’s actions after the deaths of Susy, Jane Lampton Clemens, Olivia Clemens, and Henry Huttleston Rogers, he took up the pen to find solace. In the days immediately after Jean’s death he penned “The Death of Jean,” which was published in *Harper’s* in 1910. He told Paine the piece was the final chapter of his autobiography. He did not begin another.

There has been relatively little critical work done relating to the autobiography. Part of the difficulty stems from the chaotic collection of manuscripts that is identified as the autobiography. Critics have devoted time to molding these materials into acceptable narrative shapes or have paid attention to self-contained pieces within the manuscripts, both to make the range of materials more accessible to critical analysis and to preserve Twain’s reputation as a fine teller of focused tales. The wealth of material has supported Twain’s own statements that the autobiography will never be completed; the nonchronological and association-driven sequence of Twain’s thoughts have made it difficult to see the manuscripts as a single, clear, integrated, coherent tale. There is also the problem of truth: Twain was well aware of his weakness for a good story, and he was quite willing to adjust the record to enhance the tale.

The excerpts in Paine’s, DeVoto’s, and Neider’s highly edited volumes offer a pecu-

liar picture of Twain: Paine’s Twain is the literary experimenter and self-conscious satirist, DeVoto’s is the social and political commentator, Neider’s is the narrative genius. Each editor has provided the frame within which Twain’s portrait hangs. In the end, however, Twain himself left a coherent tale. He also left a tale loaded with truth. The most coherent of Twain’s autobiographies is the one he himself planned and shaped and published in the *North American Review*—“Chapters from My Autobiography.” From its opening statement of the problems inherent in autobiography to its closing tall tale and comment on truth, the whole vibrates with the clear and unmistakable and unifying voice of Mark Twain. His voice gives this tale its coherence; his constancy gives it its truth.

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See also: Autobiographical Dictations;
"Chapters from My Autobiography"; *North American Review*

"Autobiography of a Damned Fool"

(1967)

This title was supplied by Albert B. Paine. Having begun composition in March 1877, Twain referred to it only as "Orion's autobiography." It was published in 1967 along with a sequence of material linked together by Twain's attempts to work his brother's quicksilver temperament into a fictional character, among them "Affeland" and "Hellfire Hotchkiss" (*Satires & Burlesques* 134–174). He tried to interest others in taking up the subject. Howells declined, and when Orion himself attempted one in 1880, it was not what Twain wanted after all.

The working notes for the Hannibal version of the *Mysterious Stranger* show a character named Oliver Hotchkiss, whose weathervane-type mind causes him continually to shift religions and opinions. This characteristic was drawn from the real-life Orion's basic nature, which Twain analyzed in an early notebook entry (1:28). By making the main character, Bolivar, an eighteen-year-old printer's apprentice, "Autobiography of a Damned Fool" could represent Twain's search for a way to continue *Tom Sawyer* (1876) (Hill 123). On the other hand, it is possible that the material from "Autobiography" was used to expand the framework of *Huckleberry Finn* (1885) with a burlesque of temperance literature (*Mark Twain's Burlesque Patterns* 128). Though he put the manuscript of "Autobiography" away in 1877 unable to finish it after only two months, it influenced his major writings.

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See also: Clemens, Orion; "Hellfire Hotchkiss"

"Awful German Language, The"

(1880)

An Appendix (D) to *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), "The Awful German Language" is Mark Twain's summary of his frustrations with learning the German language. It ends with eight humorous suggestions for reform of the language, with the objection that if German is not changed, "it ought to be gently and reverently set aside among the dead languages, for only the dead have time to learn it."

This burlesque supports Mark Twain's complaint in his notebook that in early times "some sufferer had to sit up with a toothache, and he put in the time inventing the German language."

The main problems with the language, as Mark Twain illustrates them in "The Awful German Language," are confusing cases, parenthetical expressions (especially those found in a German newspaper), separable verbs, declension of adjectives, and the confusing genders of nouns in which "a fish is *he*, his scales are *she*, but a fishwife is neither." This last point forms the impetus for Mark Twain's hilarious anecdote "Tale of the Fishwife and Its Sad Fate."

Mark Twain had a playful interest in great, long compounded German words. He uses one of these, *Freundschaftsbezeugungenstättverordnetenversammlungenfamilieneigen-thümlichkeiten*, in the piece that ends "The

Awful German Language," "A Fourth of July Oration in the German Tongue, Delivered at a Banquet of the Anglo-American Club of Students by the Author of this Book." His main humorous device in this closing part is to intermix English and German indiscriminately. ("Sie müssen so freundlich sein, und verzeih mich die interlarding von ein oder zwei Englischer Worte, hie und da, denn ich finde dass die deutsche is not a very copious language, and so when you've really got anything to say, you've got to draw on a language that can stand the strain.")

Mark Twain reworked similar material in a speech to the Vienna Press Club (1897) titled "Die Schrecken der Deutschen Sprache"—which literally translated into "English" as "The Horrors of the German Language"—and he used "The Awful German Language" in lecture appearances into the twentieth century.

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See also: German Language

Azores

On 21 June 1867, the steamship *Quaker City* arrived in the waters off Corvo, in the Azores group. A few hours later the passengers disembarked at Horta, and the next two days brought Mark Twain his first immediate experience of European life. Mark Twain's adventures in the Azores, as chronicled in chapters 5 and 6 of *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), are not fondly described: much of the space is given over to complaint about the laziness, greed, technological stasis, and Roman Catholicism of the native Portuguese population. Twain does muster some enthusiasm, however, for the roads and stonework in the towns of Horta and Fayal and for careening around the countryside on exuberant donkeys.

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See also: Europe; *Innocents Abroad*, *The*