

Mark Twain Studies

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Special Topic

Mark Twain, Our Contemporary

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Editor's Column

These years post-9.11 have seen the escalation of war not only between the U.S. and the Middle East, but also between the White House and Hollywood. What strikes me as most ironic is the war between President George W. Bush and the documentary filmmaker Michael Moore, for both of them equally represent the American spirit of populism in our media-saturated reality. Back in the 1960s, JFK was considered the most movie star-like president, but in the 1980s Ronald Reagan replaced him, being quite literally an ex-movie-star become president. In this way, the late Cold War era — that critical period of “Star Wars” fantasies in politics and film — aided and abetted the populist conspiracy between Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles. The early 21st century, moreover, came to see their critical differences as those within populism and not as the difference between politics and art. Even now, as President George W. Bush continues to invent a number of political hoaxes about the Iraq War, the director Moore consistently fires back with his counter-hoaxes at the President himself, as in recent masterpieces such as *Bowling for Columbine* (2002) and *Fahrenheit 911* (2003), both winners of prestigious film awards. The “war” being waged here actually has turned out to be a homeopathic one between two of the most populist and anti-intellectual of hoaxers.

Carefully observing this paradigm shift from the Star Wars to the Hoax Wars, we very naturally conjure up the literary figure of Mark Twain, the Gilded Age authority on the art of the hoax and the fin-de-siècle prophet of postmodern fabulations. In order to understand the essence of today's North America, rereading Twain is indispensable. Now launching the first issue of *Mark Twain Studies* from The Japan Mark Twain Society, I sincerely hope that this new international journal will radically explore the global range of literary history and contribute to the transpacific exchange of literary criticism.

Japan itself has gone through a unique history of Twain reception. For example, in postwar Japan, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has been compared invariably with Lucy M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables*, which Twain loved so much. Both Huck and Anne are representative “North American” orphans caught up in the Oedipal complex. They each try to overcome the father figure by creating pseudo-kinship ties with others.

Moreover, just as Huck inspired the frontier spirit of Japanese boys who would reconstruct their own nation, so did Anne fascinate the independent spirit of Japanese girls who developed themselves in proto-feminist (if not quite anti-patriarchal) ways. In speculating upon the popularity of this hero and heroine, we must take into account the influence of Muraoka Hanako, born in 1893, educated at a famous Canadian Methodist mission school, and the translator of *Huckleberry Finn* and *Anne* in editions still easily available from Shincho Paperbacks (the Japanese equivalent of Penguin). Muraoka once stated that the Japanese literary tradition had been deformed by its lack of healthy domestic fiction, implying that the modern domestic novel serves as a blueprint for the modern nation. Here we might note that *Huckleberry Finn* is a story set in the antebellum South written by a postbellum humorist who survived the Civil War and felt nostalgia for “the good old days.” *Huckleberry Finn* is undoubtedly a “postwar” novel reconstructing its prewar days, one whose vitality gives us prescriptions for modernizing the family and the nation. It is here that we find the popularity of the South for the postwar Japanese audience, especially for those readers who came of age in the late 1940s and the 1950s. Feeling the deepest sympathy for antebellum America as described by Twain, postwar Japan came to survive many hardships and to achieve its own successful Reconstruction. This is how Huck Finn has gradually come to be naturalized in Japan, not only as the all-American hero but also as a type of universal hero.

However, we should also acknowledge that when the economic high-growth period took over from the postwar reconstruction, it was the long and winding Vietnam War that gave Japanese writers clues to reinterpreting Twain. In *The English Book and its Marginalia* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), Nakai Asako gives the example of Kaiko Takeshi's nonfiction novel *Kagayakeru Yami* (Into a Black Sun). When he is in Vietnam from 1964 to 1965 as a temporary correspondent for the Japanese journal *Weekly Asahi*, Kaiko's persona narrator in the novel quite unexpectedly discovers a copy of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* in the war-torn Vietnamese forest. This unusual discovery leads the narrator to imagine Twain's novel to be really a neo-imperialistic ploy to spread the light of civilization. Similarly, subsequent wars — especially the post-9.11 ones — have led us to reconsider the significance of canonical texts such as *Moby-Dick* and *A Connecticut Yankee* in the light of our own times. While the period of postwar

reconstruction helped the Japanese people sympathize with the character of Huck Finn, that of economic high growth at the critical point of the Vietnam War invited us to turn from Huck to privilege instead the narrative of Hank Morgan. Even the most banal and neutral act of reading is affected by the historical context of its encounter, and this is perhaps especially true of Twain's texts.

I recall that my first Mark Twain paper centered on *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*. Even now I vividly remember the seminar on "Childhood and American Literature" taught by Professor Walter Slatoff in the fall of 1985 at Cornell University. Though the other students very quickly decided their respective topics for their oral presentations, I was at a loss for what to do. But then, efficient as ever, Professor Slatoff assigned me to report on *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*. At that point, I was not sure if I would like the novel. Nevertheless, I perused William M. Gibson's edited text of *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* very closely and before long I found myself overwhelmed by Satan's logic of innocence, a logic which pervades most of Twain's masterpieces: "No brute ever does a cruel thing — that is the monopoly of the snob with the Moral Sense. When a brute inflicts pain he does it innocently; it is not wrong; for him there is no such thing as wrong ("The Chronicle of Young Satan," Chap. 3). Furthermore, we cannot read this passage without recalling the following one from *A Connecticut Yankee*: "I have noticed my conscience for many years, and I know it is more trouble and bother to me than anything else I started with" (Chap. 18). Occasionally glancing behind me as I wrote my paper, I took in a huge shantytown built there on campus in the mid-1980s. I had become increasingly fascinated by Twain's post-humanist ideas, mainly because the context in which I conducted research on his work coincided with the rise of the anti-apartheid movement that made me aware of what was going on in South Africa. The demonstrators included students and professors, all attacking the inhumane policies of apartheid that perpetuated white domination and dispossessed black people of their inalienable rights.

Reading *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* in this political context made me speculate on the deep paradox of innocence in Mark Twain on the global level. Since then I have paid attention not only to Twain's early "realist" novels but also to his later "fantastic" romances. Certainly, Twain's realistic novels helped create the all-American Hero in Huck Finn and promulgate the populist idea of American anti-intellectualism; yet, by the same

token, we should not forget that Twain's fantastic romances served also as an antidote to the modern American cultural context constructed in his early masterpieces. It is my hope that this new journal will be instrumental not simply in producing a diversity of readings but also in rediscovering such differences within Mark Twain, in his time and our own.

*

In order to celebrate the publication of the first issue, the editorial committee planned this special feature on "Mark Twain, Our Contemporary" inspired by Jan Cott's magnum opus *Shakespeare, Our Contemporary* (1965). We are very pleased to have been able to receive a variety of stimulating essays from major scholars, critics, and writers such as: Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Michael Kiskis, Fred Hobson, Larry McCaffery, and Kim Stanley Robinson. This special feature will undoubtedly reveal you the future direction of Twain studies.

What is more, the five articles published here invite us all to explore the frontiers of Mark Twain studies. In particular, Arima Yoko's article, "Twain's Move toward Fantasy: A Study of His Writings, 1905-1906," appears here fresh from the 2003 symposium on "Mark Twain and Fantasy" held in Nagoya. As we note in the summary of the symposium in "Professional Notes," Arima radically deconstructs the image of Twain by redefining him as a romancer, not as a realist.

Ogushi Hisayo's article, "Romanticizing Slavery: Dangerous Crossings in Child, Twain, and Chase-Riboud," is a New Historicist take on Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. By comparing the novel not only with Lydia Maria Child's *A Romance of the Republic* but also with Barbara Chase-Riboud's *The President's Daughter*, she succeeds in revealing the hidden agenda of post-Republican American history.

Nakagaki Kotaro's article, "Searching for the Ideal Girl: Mark Twain's Lost America," reinvestigates Twain's gender politics by closely rereading his later short stories, "My Platonic Sweetheart" (1905) in particular. In doing so, this essay gives us greater insight into Twain's friendships with the girls in the Angelfish Club. There, Twain found the wish expressed in his dream world had been realized in real life, which enabled him to cross the borders between dream and reality.

Mitsuishi Yoko's article, "The Recurrent Trope of the Indivisible Body: Mark Twain's Postmodern View of Identity and the Body," attempts to clarify the way Twain's

philosophy, first spelled out in *Huckleberry Finn*, gets developed into more idiosyncratic ideas of identity and body later in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*. Thinking twice about the debate between Huck and Jim, Mitsuishi reminds us just how modern Twain's ideas really were.

Mary Knighton's article, "'Was Huck *Burak(k)u*?': Reading and Teaching Twain in Asian Pacific World Literature," adopts a comparative literary approach, reading Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* against Oe Kenzaburo's *Shiiku* ("Prize Stock"). In support of "reading for the conflicts" in order to gauge the relevance — and the continuing power — of literature in today's diverse classrooms, Knighton traces intersections of race and imperialism in Twain and Oe. Against the backdrop of Asian Pacific routes of cultural and historical convergence, she questions the role played by tutelage and mimicry in Japanese and American representations of blackness, arguing that they are inextricable from domestic patterns of discrimination against minorities (particularly against *hisabetsu burakumin* and African Americans).

Last but not least, we would like to express appreciation for Ishihara Tsuyoshi's fully annotated bibliography of Japanese Twain Studies. It is thanks to his efforts that this first issue is truly international and totally transpacific.

TATSUMI Takayuki

Keio University

"The Most Rigorous Law of Our Being": Mark Twain, Growth, and Change

Shelley Fisher FISHKIN
Stanford University

I congratulate The Japan Mark Twain Society on its decision to launch the journal *Mark Twain Studies*. It is a pleasure and a privilege to contribute to your first issue, and offer some informal responses to the intriguing questions that you raise.

What impresses me most about Mark Twain? His literary genius aside, I would have to say that it is his remarkable capacity for growth and change — his willingness to expand his awareness, reject his previous limitations, and push himself (and us) to new plateaus of understanding. In a paper he read in Hartford in 1887, he asked, "What is the most rigorous law of our being? Growth. . . . We change — and must change, constantly, and keep on changing as long as we live." A child of slave-holders who went on to become a profound critic of racism, and an early fan of imperialism who later became a leader of the Anti-Imperialist League and an outspoken foe of United States and other Western powers' arrogance, Mark Twain was not afraid to admit he had been wrong, or to reject values he had once accepted. Twain thought long and hard about how these transformations happened — or failed to happen — and shared his insights with us in a rich body of fiction and nonfiction as thought-provoking today as it was when he wrote it.

He was his own harshest critic, confessing to more failings than his worst enemies would dare ascribe to him. He once called himself "...a callow fool, a self-sufficient ass, a mere human tumble-bug, stern in air, heaving at his bit of dung and imagining that he is re-modeling the world and is entirely capable of doing it right. Ignorance, intolerance, egotism, self-assertion, opaque perception, dense and pitiful chuckle-headedness — and an almost

pathetic unconsciousness of it all. That is what I was at 20.”

But by the time he came into his own as an author, Mark Twain was as aware of what he aspired to achieve as a mature writer as he had been about what he had failed to achieve as a human being when he was twenty. Thanking President Timothy Dwight of Yale when that university awarded him an honorary degree in 1888, Twain called the humorist’s trade (one he embraced as his own) “a worthy calling” — asserting that “with all its lightness and frivolity it has one serious purpose... the deriding of shams, the exposure of pretentious falsities, the laughter of stupid superstitions out of existence.” Whoever is “by instinct engaged in this sort of warfare is the natural enemy of royalties, nobilities, privileges and all kindred swindles, and the natural friend of human rights and human liberties.”

Perhaps it is because the planet is still rife with “shams,” “pretentious falsities,” and “kindred swindles” that Twain’s humor and satire seem so current and sharp, so much a part of our world today, rather than antiquarian relics of his. I often think of the corrosively beneficent effect of a concept Twain coined in an essay that starts off funny but soon reels into an acidic critique of duplicity and bad faith in both the highest reaches of power and in the most banal stretches of the ordinary everyday. I refer to his concept of “the lie of silent assertion” that he limns in his brilliant 1899 essay, “My First Lie and How I Got Out of It.” It is a piece about the hierarchy of lies in this world. At the bottom is a baby who cries as if he’s being stuck by a diaper pin when he isn’t being stuck at all — simply because he wants the attention. At the top is a society that pretends that there is nothing going on that intelligent men need concern themselves about — that the status quo is fine, nothing wrong there — when, in fact, something is very wrong (such as the racism that allowed slavery to endure, or the anti-Semitism that made the Dreyfus trial in France possible). The essay is a portrait of the complacency with which people paper over their society’s moral failings.

Twain often strikes us as more a creature of our own time than of his. An uncanny intuition led him to recognize the potential of technology to transform our lives in the twentieth century in ways that could be both exhilarating and terrifying. It led him to recognize racism as an intractable problem in American life, and to ponder the underside of the materialism that fueled the American Dream. It allowed him to understand the nostalgia for a “simpler” past that increased as that past receded — and it allowed him to see through that nostalgia to a past that was just as conflicted and complex as the present.

A satirist so subtle his meanings were often missed, and a polemicist so direct his messages were sometimes pointedly ignored, Twain didn’t have all the answers, not by a long shot. But he earnestly struggled with the right questions — and they are questions we are still struggling with today.

Twain challenges us, as scholars, to engage him on his own terms — to appreciate the humor and the wit, but to never lose sight of the serious purpose behind it. On the surface, he may appear to be the most lucid and simple of writers, an author whose prose never obfuscates, who speaks directly, who delights and enthralls. But as every Twain scholar knows, surfaces deceive. Reefs and sand bars lurk below the seemingly limpid surface of his prose. We can float like the passenger taking in the pretty pictures, or we can navigate the river’s depths with the pilot’s attention to the parts that make up the whole.

There is no “right” way to approach him. There are many routes to insight and understanding as long as we avoid the kind of rigidity and smug complacency that Twain himself was so good at criticizing. Why not let what Twain called “the most rigorous law of our being” guide our scholarship? For as scholars, too, we grow and change, “and keep on changing as long as we live.” Let’s learn from the subject of our study and embrace that change and growth, stalking serendipity in the archive, and following where it leads us.

My Samuel Clemens

Michael J. KISKIS

Elmira College

Over the past six months I have been invited to talk about Samuel Clemens to very different audiences: from my own class of third and fourth-year students here at Elmira College to a general audience of Twain enthusiasts for a formal lecture at Quarry Farm; from a talk on behalf of Elmira's Women's Studies program to a community group affiliated with the American Association of University Women; from a radio audience on a National Public Radio program out of Chicago, Illinois, to a local television audience requesting a brief comment on Mark Twain and race as part of a series marking Black History Month. That diversity of audiences and their eagerness to hear about Mark Twain speaks to the abiding interest in the writings and life of Samuel Clemens. For those of us familiar with Clemens, such disparate audiences are not surprising. There is a deep interest still in all things Twain. At least half a dozen books each year focus on him; scores of articles dig more deeply into his life and times; conference papers continue to offer new approaches. All of this argues that there is more at work here than simple academic interest.

But why?

We are drawn to thinkers who confess they are perplexed by the range and the variety of human accomplishment and human failure, by the wide spectrum of human courage and human cowardice. Clemens was, and is, one of those thinkers. His works are filled always not with the certainty of fact but with the anxiety that comes from an awareness of frailty and fear. He writes, in short, to try to make his way out of the myriad darknesses that shade human experience. And he takes us along for boon companions as he interrogates what it means to be alive.

Obviously, this approach is a bit different from the conventional notion of Clemens as an unchanging beacon of sense in a world of hurt and injustice. It has taken me some years to learn to appreciate Clemens not for any answers he

might offer (answers that are by their nature tentative, contingent, and mutable) but for the quality of the questions he asks and the process of inquiry that he so honestly pursues. Case in point: I first read Clemens in a course when I was just beginning my doctoral studies. The course was organized around the question of whether Clemens was, in fact, a failed artist (there is a clear line back to the work of Van Wyck Brooks in that question, something that I learned later and have since found rather suspicious). We read the major novels and a considerable batch of short writings. The agenda was also to reinforce the place of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* within Clemens' canon and to examine that book as exceptional within the span of nineteenth-century American fiction. More than twenty years later, I still return to *Huck Finn*, though my reading of it has changed markedly and my patience with those who hold the book as a kind of secular scripture is quickly disappearing.

Clemens' books lend themselves to reinterpretation because he is so deft at asking questions about human relationships. Nineteenth-century readers saw *Huck Finn* as a tale awash in the worries of the times and the child narrator as an unspoiled commentator on the vicissitudes of the social contract. Mid-twentieth century readers saw the book as a clear endorsement of American exceptionalism and praised the novel for its clearly captured idea of American self-reliance. Late twentieth-century readers were drawn to the issue of race and the challenges of using the story of the white child and black runaway slave as common ground from which it might be possible to address a legacy of inequality and ornery prejudice. In short, Clemens' genius has allowed generations of readers and critics to use the book as a benchmark against which to judge the success or failure of their own humanity.

Clemens' voice is now being heard in a slightly different pitch and within a more diverse choir. Contemporary readers can hear Clemens' bass among his literary sisters as *Huck Finn* is linked to the nineteenth-century tradition of domesticity. Issues of family and the need to belong, in contrast to the rather smug male claim of the need to escape from female

“sivilization,” have become more resonant. And the sufferings and the needs of the abused child take these days a greater share of our attention. Huck attracts new attention because we have become more attuned to the trauma of the street child, to the hopelessness sparked by the legacy of growing up without affection and stability and comfort. That we have shifted our sights is evidence that Clemens was not out to find answers but rather out to make readers think. His is a very modern approach to the reading process: It is an approach that requires readers not to mine his works for some deeply hidden meaning but instead to probe the role of compassion and human affection in our lives and, by extension, in our social understandings and policies. In the end, Clemens is our contemporary because he challenges us to think and be aware, and because he pushes us to think about a world on the brink of losing its possibilities for such compassion and affection.

If we treat Clemens as an icon, we set ourselves up for simplistic assumptions about the way we should use his writings to understand or affect our world. We then treat him as a savior for racial tolerance, ignoring that he was as profoundly conflicted as we are. We treat him as the giver of answers, imposing our demand for clear answers on fictions deliberately weighted with ambivalence and ambiguity. We treat him and his work as monothematic, though they were plagued by contrast and afflicted with opposition and variety in thoughts and actions. If instead we were to consider his humanity, a humanity marked by worry about the frail world in which he and, more importantly, his children lived, he comes alive for us. He was not Saint Mark. Clemens still speaks to us personally about the trauma and the humor of human life. We know his voice — it is as familiar as an old friend’s on the other end of the telephone. It is Sam. And we are pleased to hear from him again.

The Influence of Mark Twain

Fred HOBSON

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The impact of Mark Twain was hardly limited to his own time. Although he was very well known in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the author of such classics as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, his influence since his death in 1910 has in fact been greater than it was during his lifetime. Ernest Hemingway is famous for his statement that (and I paraphrase) all modern American literature begins with a single book, *Huckleberry Finn*, and that statement was based largely on Hemingway's estimate of Twain's use of the American language. Mark Twain indeed led the democratic movement in American literature of the nineteenth century. He broke with the idea that literature had to be written in "literary English," a concept to which earlier writers, even bold ones such as Herman Melville, had largely adhered. But Twain, in *Huck Finn*, dared to tell his story in what might be called the speech of the people, the common people — specifically, the voice of an uneducated poor white boy in the American hinterlands — and that meant that his narrator used anything but the King's English. Huck's speech was as colloquial, ungrammatical, and colorful as only American frontier speech could be.

Twain, indeed, simplified American literary English, and this is largely what Hemingway had in mind in his famous remark. Hemingway himself wanted to simplify American speech, to make it as tangible and concrete as possible, to break with the high Victorian prose of English novelists as well as Anglo-Americans such as Henry James. But Twain's influence is seen in other ways as well. Not only did later American writers admire — and follow — what Mark Twain did with language, but so many of those writers had Twain's

central character Huck Finn in mind (whether consciously or not) when they created their own memorable characters. One thinks of the coming-of-age young men in Hemingway's own fiction, among them Nick Adams of the *In Our Time* stories and Jake Barnes of *The Sun Also Rises*; of several of the boys in Sherwood Anderson's short stories; of Saul Bellow's Augie March; and especially of J. D. Salinger's notable mid-century protagonist Holden Caulfield, who, like Huck, protests against "phoniness" and conventional morality. Or one thinks of figures — many of them, in fact, female rather than male — in late twentieth-century southern fiction, and one finds Huck exerts his influence as well in contemporary southern autobiography. Rick Bragg's portrait of himself in *All Over But the Shoutin'* — complete with the Pap Finn prototypical abusive, alcoholic father — is but one such figure.

Many of these twentieth-century protagonists — one thinks of Hemingway's, in particular — are older than the twelve or thirteen-year-old Huck, and they may have more knowledge of the world, but they approach the world with the same basic decency and the same scorn for false gods without. They are *realists* in the same manner Huck is, and they often have the same trouble with conventional religion Huck had. One thinks of Hemingway's Jake in *The Sun Also Rises* entering the cathedral and trying to pray: "I went inside. It was dim and dark and the pillars went high up, and there were people praying, and it smelt of incense, and there were some wonderful big windows. I knelt and started to pray and prayed for everybody I thought of . . . separately for the ones I liked, and lumping all the rest, then I prayed for myself again, and while I was praying for myself I found I was getting sleepy, so I prayed that the bull-fights would be good, and that it would be a fine fiesta, and that we would get some good fishing." And so forth: the kind of prayer Huck would have prayed, and nearly in Huck's childlike words.

I think finally of one other twentieth-century American writer, H. L. Mencken, who was profoundly influenced by Mark Twain. Mencken was not a fiction writer but was rather the most prominent and influential social critic in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. Mencken saw himself, in numerous ways, as a latter-day Mark Twain. *Huck Finn* was not only the book that had most profoundly moved him as a boy, but it remained his favorite book for most of the rest of his life: he returned to it nearly every year. And Mencken saw his role in twentieth-century American life as being identical to Mark Twain's in nineteenth-century America: exposing sham, seeing through hypocrites, embracing *realism*. He himself was fascinated with the American language — and worked over several decades to compile a multi-volume work on the subject. And when Mencken came to write his own childhood memoir, *Happy Days*, Mark Twain was his model. It was as if he were writing *Huck Finn* — or, more nearly, *Tom Sawyer* — though set not in the American hinterlands but in the streets of his native Baltimore. He was writing a book of boyhood that was more than a book of boyhood, which is exactly what Mark Twain had done in his childhood classics.

Twain's memorable characters — Huck, Tom, Pap Finn, the slave Jim, the King, the Duke, and one could go on and on — are as real to us as any real-life Americans of their time. His Mississippi River is the mythic center of the United States. His greatest fictions anticipated the central American problem of the twentieth century: racial injustice. He was the most representatively *American* writer we have had. No wonder he reigns, in the words of William Dean Howells, as “the Lincoln of our Literature.”

10 Reasons to Read Mark Twain Today

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1. Because, as Ernest Hemingway once put it, “All of American literature begins with a book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn*.”
2. Because Mark Twain is the funniest of all American writers.
3. Because Mark Twain is, along with William S. Burroughs, Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., and Robert Coover, America’s greatest satirist.
4. Because Twain was an extremely *innovative* writer whose experiments in point of view and treatment of voice were revolutionary (*Huckleberry Finn*, for example, is the first and best novel I am aware of to be told entirely from the perspective — and in the voice — of such a young child).
5. Because Twain was the first American writer to compose novels on a typewriter; so that like Nietzsche (another early author to use the typewriter), Twain was among the first artists to recognize just how profoundly typewriters would transform the composition process.
6. Because Twain’s novel, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*, is the greatest American science fiction novel of the 19th century (certainly far greater from a literary

standpoint than, for example, Edward Bellamy's enormously popular and influential utopian novel, *Looking Backward*).

7. Because *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson* is probably the greatest American work employing the "changeling" motif — at least until that great film, *Start the Revolution without Me* (starring Donald Sutherland and Gene Wilder) — appeared in the early 1970s.
8. Because Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger*, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," and *Letters from the Earth* — bleakly despairing treatments of human foibles, follies, and venality that he wrote late in life — are among the darkest, and most darkly *humorous*, works of pre-WWII American literature; and, hence, they anticipate the sorts of "black humor" that would characterize so much of the first phase of postmodern experimentalism during the 1960s and early 1970s.
9. Because Huck Finn's decision at the end of *Huckleberry Finn* to "light out for the territories" rather than accept the fruits of civilization remains the most perfect expression of the "open road" motif to appear until Bruce Springsteen's *Born to Run* was released in 1975.
10. Because Twain's and Whitman's transformations of American idioms into poetry began a process that has continued throughout the past 100 years in the works of William Carlos Williams, Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs, William Gibson, Bruce Springsteen, and many others.

I Started with Huck Finn

Kim Stanley ROBINSON

Novelist

The first book I read that really struck me was *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. I was in second grade, thus seven years old. My mother had allowed me to buy a copy of the book at a drug store for twenty-five cents. It was part of a series of boys' books, and had a very colorful cover depicting Huck and Jim on the raft, joyously eyeing a fish Huck had caught and was pulling out of the river. In later years I assumed this was an abridged edition, but I still own that copy, and checking several years ago I found it is actually unabridged, with all the violence and horror of Pap and the feud included. I'm not sure how all that struck me at seven, but maybe it was part of my feeling that the book had enlarged the world, that it was big and scary as well as funny, and death was part of it.

The book was so vivid to me I felt I had lived it. I grew up in orange groves, and immediately after reading it I went out into them pretending to be Huck. I dressed like Huck on the book's cover, and made my friends dress like Tom Sawyer and their companions, and we played games as if we were in Hannibal, Missouri, in 1840. It was my first real love of literature, and an early indication of how strongly literature was going to affect my life. I had experienced how novels expand your experience and your inner world. I also knew, because of Jim, that racism was wrong and all humans were fundamentally just like me.

After that childhood experience I was off into the world of other books, and seldom thought about Twain again, until as an adult I discovered with great pleasure *Life on the Mississippi*, *Roughing It*, *The*

Innocents Abroad, and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. I also reread *Huck Finn* several times. What struck me in my adult encounters with Twain was that he was not only consistently and naturally funny, but also that he could shift from his comic mode to serious matters instantly, and be completely convincing at all registers.

I agree with those who feel the last third of *Huck Finn*, when Tom Sawyer arrives, is a great falling off. Twain could not figure out how to write an ending to Huck and Jim's trip that was true to the real world of their time. In fact, the greatest work of Twain scholarship I know is the rewriting of Twain's novel by John Seeley, *The TRUE Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1987), for its suggestion of a possible ending that was, although clearly modernist and existential, somehow more true and beautiful: It ends before Tom's final appearance in Twain's original novel, with Huck one night on the river alone on the raft, having failed to free Jim. The last line is: "In fact, I didn't much care if the goddamned sun never come up again." This re-vision was a kind of gift to Twain, I felt, as it supplied an ending that was both true to Huck's time and powerful as a novel ending in its own right. When I wrote my first novel, *The Wild Shore* (1995), I named the hero Henry Fletcher to indicate that the story is another kind of re-write of *Huck Finn*, a futuristic homage to Twain's work. The first scenes are similar in ways, and there is a Tom Sawyer figure, too. I am always pleased when people say that *The Wild Shore* is like science fiction's *Huck Finn*. Recently, I have had the pleasure of reading several

of Twain's novels aloud to my sons as part of their bedtime reading. I was surprised by the enduring power of imagination in both *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *The Prince and the Pauper*; the first is surely one of Twain's best novels. And it was a deep joy to read aloud *Huck Finn* to my own boy, establishing a connection to my own childhood from its future that resonated very deeply. I suppose these books will live forever in that sense.

The question has been raised for this new journal of *Mark Twain Studies*: "How is Twain our contemporary?" For me, this is a crucial question. Near the end of his career Twain watched the United States embark on an imperialist, colonialist war against the Philippines, and his anger at this betrayal of American democratic values was huge. He wrote against that war and against all imperialist tendencies in the McKinley administration with fury and with his usual cutting satire. He set the example of how American writers should now react to the Bush administration and their horrible actions throughout the world today.

To me, Twain joins Lincoln, Melville, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Dickinson, and Muir among the great voices of 19th-century America, as one of those who made the best parts of America come into being.

Twain's Move toward Fantasy: A Study of His Writings, 1905–1906

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In 1904 and 1905, Twain rather abruptly injected the philosophical or religious concept of the “soul” into two of his major works, namely, *No.44, The Mysterious Stranger* (1902-1908) and *What is Man?* (1906). Considering how much he respected Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894), Charles Darwin (1809-1882), Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), and T. H. Huxley (1825–1895), and that he admired rational and scientific ways of thinking, it is rather astonishing that he began to use the term “soul” instead of “mind.” After all, the latter is arguably a more scientific term to explain the human psyche, one that he used at least until the very beginning of the 1900s. Indeed, the philosophical change in his view of the “soul” happened suddenly. He used the term “soul” in the “A Difficult Question” section of *What is Man?* and in several places after Chapter 19 of *No.44*. After adding new parts that included “soul” to what he had written before, he completed these works but in both cases he had considerable difficulty in maintaining consistency. As recent scholars have asserted, Twain began in his final years to write fantastic works set in impossible other worlds. Quite likely his acceptance of a philosophical version of the soul had much to do with his fictional move toward fantasy. Yet, one must ask, what could have prompted this sudden and seemingly unavoidable shift in Twain's writing?

In the famous “dream-ending” of *No.44* written in 1904, the reader discovers No.44 informing August of man's immortality. Namely, he reveals to August that man is the only existent thought in a shoreless space, destined to wander forever among the empty eternities (Tuckey 62-64). We should recall that this very year Twain's beloved wife Olivia passed away, and the next year Twain decided to burn 30,000 words of the book, a block of the story following Chapter 19. Changes Twain made to *No. 44* in 1905 were likely influenced by Olivia's death, and may well explain Twain's coming to believe rather suddenly in man's immortal life — that is, in the soul.

With his beloved wife gone, Twain may have become preoccupied with a desire for the afterlife. In such a desperate state that he could not live without believing in immortal life or heaven, Twain lost himself in writing about it. Soon after Olivia's death, and throughout the short period of time between 1905 and 1906, the amount of the work he engaged in was astounding. Twain worked ceaselessly and with great concentration on multiple projects despite his waning strength. In April 1905, he started to work on "The Refuge of the Derelicts." Between May 20 and June 23, after settling at Dublin, New Hampshire, he wrote "Three Thousand Years Among the Microbes" and completed all of the manuscripts that now exist. In June he continued working on the manuscript of *No.44* and wrote all but one chapter. By July 12, he had written "Eve's Diary" and revised the earlier "Adam's Diary." During the remainder of his stay at Dublin, which lasted into October, he wrote "Interpreting the Deity" and "A Horse's Tale," and did some work on *What Is Man?*, adding the section called "A Difficult Question." Some time after mid-1905 and probably during the early months of 1906, he re-read a manuscript he wrote thirty years ago, "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven," and wrote a brief introductory note followed by two new beginning chapters. He also provided two new final chapters, "Captain Stormfield Resumes," which also contained the section called "A Journey to the Asterisk," and "From Captain Stormfield's Reminiscences."¹ Meanwhile in June 1906, he spent his days in autobiographical dictation, and worked on the latter portions of "The Refuge of the Derelicts," the short novel begun the year before (*FM* 12-14, *BAMT* 135).

Let it suffice merely to stress that quite a few of Twain's writings written during this period take up the issue of heaven. To start with, *No.44* is a young stranger who appears to have come from some august empire of the celestial world. In "Three Thousand Years Among the Microbes" as well, the world to which Huck finds himself transferred is a microcosmic version of the human world, one that is tiny only because relative to the boundless expanse of the universe. Here, Huck, who used to be a scientist in the human world, cannot help but dwell on the relationship between man and God. "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven," as its title makes self-evident, is yet another story about Twain's idealized heaven.

If we can say that Twain came to take seriously the idea of heaven, we might also suppose that it had more than a little to do with the unfathomable misery and desolation

he experienced in his final years. Living a wretched, isolated life without solace for his grief, even a man of as exceptional and skeptical an intelligence as Twain perhaps found no other way to cope but to indulge in an imaginative heaven. Even more than his writing on his daughter Suzy's death, his response in Chapter 71 of his *Autobiography* to Olivia's death is heartbreaking. By this time, for the first time in his life, he must have come to think of fantasy as a means to approach his more unearthly desires, despite his habitual skepticism and reason. As Rosemary Jackson in *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* proposes, fantasy is fundamentally a literature of desire. Driven first of all by his desire for an idealized heaven, Twain soon began to depict a more variegated fantasy world.

Once we accept that Twain immersed himself in writing out fantasies of heaven, it comes as less of a surprise that the identity of the main protagonist in *No.44* or in "The Chronicle of Young Satan" (1897) would be a celestial being who pays a short visit to the earth out of curiosity. Such an idea can be traced back to the *Alta California* letters, out of which *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) developed, wherein Jesus returns to the earth as a playful boy (Michelson 108-9). However, full fictionalization of this idea had to wait thirty years until a playful boy whose name was changed to the peculiar "No.44, New Series 864,962" visits the earth in *No.44's* "The Chronicle of Young Satan." Perhaps the death of Twain's beloved daughter Suzy the preceding year (seven years before Olivia's death), brought to life the first ideas of heaven in Twain's mind. Satan reappears in Chapter 6 of "Stormfield" (written in 1905) as well as in *Letters from the Earth* (1909). In both cases, Satan comes to the earth from his curious home in heaven to observe and report on the situation of human beings who had been created as an experiment long ago, one that had been completely forgotten by God.²

What kind of a celestial world then, did Twain intend the "home" of these protagonists to be? The main characteristics of his heaven can be garnered from the works mentioned above, *No.44*, "The Chronicle of Young Satan," and "Stormfield." In parodying the sentimental and immensely popular Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's *The Gates Ajar* (1868) as a "mean little ten-cent heaven about the size of Rhode Island," for example, Twain emphasized the immensity of the universe he was beginning to conceive as his imagined heaven. In Chapter 5 of "Stormfield," Stormfield's friend Sandy McWilliams amazes the captain by introducing him to the vast distances of heaven as measured in the concept

of the light year. Since there are no Christian sects in heaven nearer than 5,000 light years from the camp of the next sect, that means heaven is the most lonesome of places. Inevitably, people have to travel among the stars just to find some company. Learning that light travels 186,000 miles a second, the captain finds that the immensity of heaven is really his imagination. He asks, “Why, Sandy, what have they made heaven so large, for?” And Sandy answers, “So’s to have room in the future. The redeemed will still be coming for billions and billions and billions and billions of years, but there’ll always be room, you see. This heaven ain’t built on any ‘Gates Ajar’ proportions” (*BAMT* 181).

Moreover, Twain’s heaven is far from the peaceful and idyllic “good place” Miss Watson describes to Huck in *Huckleberry Finn*. To start with, the inhabitants are not only white Christians but also include many races living in myriad worlds. Even the young stranger’s name, “No.44, New Series 864,962,” implies the diversity and large numbers of people living there.³ Moreover, all the inhabitants have a tremendously interesting time, having extraordinary adventures and making incredible discoveries every day, besides having plenty of work of the kind they like to do; consequently, these people lead the busiest and best of lives. Living in such an amazing environment, every inhabitant comes to possess a supernaturally creative power similar to that of No.44. Stormfield discovers after arriving in heaven that if he wants to be young, all he has to do is just wish for it. Creation is not God’s prerogative alone; indeed, even the creation of human beings had not always been God’s work, but had once been tried by Slattery, one of Satan’s connections (*BAMT* 183). In Twain’s heaven, there are many kinds of people with varieties of creative power.

Even a cursory examination of Twain’s heaven reveals his obvious parody of the Christian heaven. He parodies popular and pious representations of the Christian heaven by depicting it as unimaginably infinite based on scientific data; by making each inhabitant’s harp, wreath, halo, and hymnbook mere possessions often discarded in piles in the road; and finally, by including Satan, a fallen angel, among its population. We may recall at this point Huck who, when told by Miss Watson that all one has to do in heaven is to go around all day with a harp and sing, immediately loses interest in going there. Stormfield, on the other hand, when told that heaven is the busiest of places, exclaims, “It’s the sensiblest heaven I ever heard of” (159). For Twain — who considered tedium and

monotony to be the worst thing for people, deteriorating their intellects and making their minds dull — this widest and busiest of heavens punctuated with tremendous discoveries and wonders was truly ideal. Such a heaven was not one of Christian invention, but rather, Twain's own.

However, one notable characteristic does not seem appropriate for Twain's ideal heaven. Contrary to what one might expect, Twain's heaven is an absolute monarchy. In Chapter 4 of "Stormfield," Sandy tells us, "There are viceroys, princes, governors, sub-governors, sub-sub-governors, and a hundred orders of nobility, grading along down from grand-ducal archangels, stage by stage till the general level is struck"(169). Sandy and the captain are not "worthy to polish sandals" for the almighty high nobility. The ranks of the patriarchs and prophets are so high that Abraham's footprint has been cordoned off so people can flock to see it from all over heaven forever and ever. This kind of heaven is clearly incompatible with the democratic principles Twain advocated in his life and works. William Dean Howells, for instance, appreciated Twain precisely because he was "to the full the humorist, as we know him; but he is very much more, and his strong, indignant, often infuriate hate of injustice, and his love of equality, burn hot through the manifold adventures and experiences of the tale" (Howells 145). One has to wonder why Twain did not bother to alter the conventional celestial hierarchy in addition to parodying the Christian and popular sentimental heaven.

What Twain aimed to do, perhaps, was to bring about laughter by exaggerating the incomparable contrast between God and human beings, deploying a staple technique of satire. As early as 1870, in his letter to his fiancée Olivia Langdon, Twain had already mentioned how insignificant human beings were, with their "pigmy little world," implying that God could not think much of such insignificant beings (*Love Letter* 133-34). In many of his later works, he depicts either directly or indirectly the ruthlessness of God and the absurdity of trivial human beings whom God neglects just as man in his turn neglects microbes. In some works such as "The Chronicle of Young Satan," as well as in *No. 44*, this neglect on the part of God is scathingly attacked. In "Three Thousand Years Among the Microbes," microbe Huck is in earnest when he persistently asks a clergyman in the microbial world whether all of God's creatures are included in His merciful scheme of salvation. The matter of whether the humblest disease germs and microbes go to heaven

never loses its interest with Huck because he can imagine how a microbe can be on a par with man. Twain satirizes this pursuit of the truth, however, in having his frivolous fellow microbes make fun of Huck's earnest demeanor, outlining his form. In "Stormfield," the gap between the nobility and the common man is one Twain exploits as material for humor. Although Stormfield had harbored hopes of becoming acquainted with the grandees one day, once he realizes the impossibility, he expresses indifference and easily lets it drop, saying, "It don't matter, and I am plenty happy enough anyway" (169).

If God is the most remote of celestial nobility, such that even the people in heaven cannot get a glimpse of Him, it is not just hard to believe that He thinks much of other celestial inhabitants but simply impossible to imagine in the case of mere human beings. Under these conditions, God is not necessarily malicious and His neglect not always contemptuous; on the contrary, His view of "insignificant" human beings eagerly waiting for His answers to everything becomes Twain's material for humor. For instance, the confusion that results from time differences between earth and heaven leads to comical misunderstandings. As a result of the vast differences between celestial and human time, a thousand years of earthly time is only a day of heavenly time. As Sandy explains to the captain, even if the awful oppression of a nation had been going on eight or nine hundred years before Providence interfered, considering the difference between heavenly time and real time, one would have to say that Providence actually responded very promptly, no matter how disappointed people may have become in the meantime. If people pray for rain and Providence reflects a minute when the prayer comes up, by the time the answer reaches the earth it is already a year late as a result of such minor procrastination. Prayers are always answered, but people, not knowing the truth about earthly and heavenly time differences, stick to their beliefs that prayers are never answered (*BAMT* 186).

It is worth noting here that Twain, who had cursed God during the 1890s when he suffered numerous adversities, came to depict God's neglect with such tolerant humor in "Stormfield." Compared with No.44's explanation that man is destined after his death to an everlasting forlorn wandering among the empty eternities, the narration of Stormfield's wandering in the "empty eternities" is almost euphoric in tone. For instance, Stormfield had begun to get anxious after whizzing through space for about thirty years since he had heard his friends talking mournfully on his deathbed that he was booked for hell, and the

captain was sure it was true. However, he need not have worried: After a 30-year flight at the speed of light, during which time he had had an exciting race with an enormous comet that made him look like “a gnat closing up on the continent of America,” Stormfield safely arrived in heaven at last (148).

This kind of change from wandering about in an austere, lonely universe to taking instead a euphoric trip through the heavens is perhaps attributable to Twain's enduring fantasies about comets, fantasies that became stronger in his final years. In several passages, he depicts a comet either as a means of transportation in heaven or something into which man is transformed. Stormfield himself becomes like a comet after his death. Indulging himself in his fantastic heaven, Twain may have come to cherish the exhilarating idea that he could be saved from a horrible endless wandering by catching one of those comets or becoming one himself. Here we might recall just how much Twain longed for the arrival of Halley's comet on his deathbed.

However, there may be several other reasons why more cheerful fantasies of heaven appear in Twain's late works. We should take a closer look at the sea change that took place in Twain's way of thinking about realities, for example. Twain did not take the idea of another world in Heaven seriously until Olivia's death, just as Huck in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* when told by Miss Watson to pray every day and whatever he asked for he would get, soon gives up on it because there seems to be nothing in prayer. Gradually Twain became more generous, accepting illusions in his work. This change in his way of thinking is well reflected in the thinking of the microbial scientist Huck in “Three Thousand Years Among the Microbes.” Catherine, Huck's “dear little thing,” tells him that when she read a book called “Science and Wealth, With Key to the Fixtures” she completely believed what was written in it, and a change began to take place until finally she turned into a spirit.⁴ In response to her obvious delusion, Huck does not immediately chastise or refute her notion, advising her to put the “foolish and manifest fraud” out of her head; instead, he becomes more careful, considering it unsafe to sit in judgment upon another's illusion. What is more, he comes to recognize that if a man does not believe in or know something for sure, it is never taken as reality, yet, if he believes in or thinks he knows something, it becomes reality even if it is a mere illusion. Similarly, a desperate and lonely Twain came to believe in a fantasy of heaven, an idea that he had once ridiculed,

and which consequently became one of his realities.

In *The Encyclopedia of Fantasy*, John Clute defines a fantasy text as “a self-coherent narrative. When set in this world, it tells a story which is impossible in the world as we perceive it; when set in an otherworld, that otherworld will be impossible, though stories set there may be possible in its terms (338). We may safely affirm Twain’s heaven is this impossible “otherworld.” Even though he started to write fantasies largely driven by his desire to seek refuge from the memories of personal disasters, once he started writing them out, he must have come to find delight in creating his own reality, indulging himself in a literary freedom unprecedented for him. That his final works are interspersed with extraordinary and divergent themes so different from any that he had written before makes this self-evident. Surely, his late discovery of other worlds marked a significant fictional move in his literary career. Twain not only regained somewhat his former buoyancy but also began to make his own literary contributions to the genre of fantasy.

If we reconsider Twain’s fantasies of heaven according to scholars’ defining characteristics of fantasy, there are still other reasons why a more optimistic view of heaven can be seen in his later works. J.R.R. Tolkien, author of *The Lord of the Rings* (1954-5), once speculated about the kinds of changes fantasy might bring about in a person; in Tolkien’s view, such a man might feel the need to penetrate his illusion that the world has become trite or stale, an illusion produced by boredom, habit, false sophistication, and loss of faith. As Brian Attebery accurately clarifies, “To dispel it, it is necessary to see things in new ways, but rather than making familiar objects seem disconcerting or alien, [Tolkien] thought fantasy could restore them to the vividness with which we first saw them” (Attebery 16). Tolkien called this “recovery,” which means a process of re-gaining. By regaining or achieving a clear view, just as when windows are cleaned, things can again be seen clearly, Tolkien thought, and one “may be freed from the drab blur of triteness or familiarity — from possessiveness.” By means of fantasy (even though Tolkien conceded that fantasy was not the only means), one can penetrate illusion (Tolkien 57-59). Perhaps we can say that this “recovery” describes what Twain underwent by means of fantasy in his final years.

The model for both Stormfields in “The Refuge of the Derelicts” and “Captain Stormfield’s Visit to Heaven” was Captain Ned Wakeman, one of the most colorful and

energetic people Twain had ever met. Twain first met him on a steamer in 1866, and Wakeman's character and rich imagination greatly influenced numerous works by Twain. Surely it is no coincidence that this forceful personality appears relatively often in his later works, in particular. Twain must have called upon this lively personality to help him regain the vivid view of the world that once had come so easily to him.

After Twain underwent his "recovery," he was able to see the human race from a completely new angle, not as merely insignificant, dull, and absurd. The work that may best reflect Twain's sentiments about the human race around 1905 is "The Refuge of the Derelicts" (1905-6). In this work, the narrator is a young artist, George Sterling, whose curious dream is to build a monument to Adam. Staying at old Admiral Stormfield's home, which serves as a haven for human derelicts — "old and battered and broken that wander the ocean of life lonely and forlorn" (FM 186) — George gets acquainted with each of the derelicts and gradually comes to find the human race to be "pleasant, charming, engrossing" (FM 206). In June of 1905 during his stay at Dublin, New Hampshire, Twain unearthed an old sack of forgotten letters and came to cherish similar sentiments. In his dictation on 18 June he said:

I was never expecting to become industrious enough to overhaul that sack and examine its contents, but now that I am doing this autobiography the joys and sorrows of everybody, high and low, rich and poor, famous and obscure, are dear to me. I can take their heart affairs into my heart as I never could before. (FM 15)

During this period Twain wrote "Eve's Diary" (1905), believed to be a tribute to Olivia who had died just the year before, but the fact that he also revised the earlier "Adam's Diary" (1893-1905) probably indicates similar sympathetic sentiments for the human race in common with those expressed by George. After George discovers that even the derelicts of the human race can be remarkably interesting, he feels somehow enlivened and refreshed. Twain too might have felt this same way. George's feelings may mirror Twain's own:

Every day the feeling of the day before is renewed to me — the feeling of having been in a half-trance all my life before — numb, sluggish-blooded, sluggish-minded — a feeling which is followed at once by a brisk sense of being out of that syncope and awake! awake and alive; alive to my finger-ends. (FM 15)

Imaginative free play in an impossible otherworld helped reinvigorate Twain to a large extent, I argue here; yet, I must also insist that his fantasy was not made up of mere estranged illusions. One cannot say that he discarded his inclination to think rationally even in his later years. Some parts of “Dream Writings,” most of which he wrote during the 1890s, for example, were realistic depictions of Twain’s own experience. While it is true that he depicted things that are impossible in our world and scientifically beyond proof, they remain “emotionally and psychologically, if not scientifically, valid” (Attebery 109). And as far as his celestial writings are concerned, the concept of the soul was conceived not in a Christian sense, as we have seen, but rather used to represent the mysteries of the mind that escape our conventional logic and scientific reasoning.⁵

Critics agree that fantasy has connections with even our most mundane realities. In *Strategies of Fantasy*, Attebery cites C.N. Manlove’s definition of fantasy, which explains that it as “a fiction evoking wonder and containing a substantial and irreducible element of supernatural or impossible worlds, beings or objects with which the mortal characters in the story or the readers become on at least partly familiar terms” (1). Attebery agrees with Manlove’s concept of wonder as a key to fantasy’s appeal, and expands it so that it “may best be understood as an alternative formulation of the idea of estrangement,” which has come into English-language critical discourse from two sources, namely, “defamiliarization” and “alienation” (Attebery 16). Author Paul Auster said almost the same thing more concisely in response to an interview in Japan in 1998. He cited the words of Peter Brook, an English stage director: “Without everyday familiarities people are not moved, without estrangement they don’t wonder.” Auster further stated that even a story depicted from a strange point of view, in which reality is mingled with dreams, takes root in its own sense of reality.⁶

Throughout his life, Twain ceaselessly sought for discoveries, novelties, gaities, and

all those things that arouse wonder. Desperately hating monotony and its tendency to dull the mind, Twain “recovered” from the despair of his later years by resorting to fantasy and exercising his imagination in new ways. In doing so, he never failed to delineate both reality and the wonders he conjured out of it in his writings.

Abbreviations

BAMT *Bible According to Mark Twain*

FM *Mark Twain's Fables of Man*

Notes

¹ The introductory note and Chapters 1 and 2 were first published in *Report From Paradise* edited by Dixon Wecter, but Chapters 5 and 6 were not published until 1970, when they were included in *Mark Twain's Quarrel with Heaven*, edited by Ray B. Browne.

² Twain seems to have felt a curious affection for Satan. Admiral Stormfield, touched by the idea of Satan's being a failure in life, may serve as Twain's mouthpiece when he exclaims, “Well, he's out of luck — like so many — like so many — and a body has to pity him, you can't help it” (*FM* 195).

³ William M. Gibson concludes that “the number and name ‘44’ indicates simply that ‘Satan's original host have large families,’ as the author says in his working notes for ‘Schoolhouse Hill’” (*BAMT* 473).

⁴ Obviously, “Science and Wealth, With Key to the Fixtures” corresponds to Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures* (1875).

⁵ For further discussion on this concept of mind, see my *A New Perspective on Mark Twain: Dream and Fantasy in his Later Years*.

⁶ My translation is from the Japanese column “*Tsukuru Angle*” in the *Nikkei* of 8 November 1998: “*nichijō no shinmitsukan ga nakereba kandōshinaishi, sogaikan ga nakereba odorokanai.*”

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Romanticizing Slavery: Dangerous Crossings in Child, Twain, and Chase-Riboud

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In Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894), a slave woman in antebellum America stands with her newborn baby in her arms before the unwatched cradle of her master's son. She thinks that her heart will break if her baby, who is as white as the master's child, is sold as a slave to the deep South. Bemoaning fate, she asks "What has my po' baby done, dat he couldn't have no luck?" (13). Then, reaching a sudden decision, the mother switches her "colored" baby with the white infant. Thus begins Twain's novel of what happens when a legally black child gets raised as white, while the white boy grows up a slave.

Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* addresses topics as varied as slavery, race, law, and scientific criminal investigation, and to this day exercises an influence on American criticism and literature. Under the critical reign of New Historicism in the 1980s and 1990s, for example, this novel was reread in its historical context in such collections as *Mark Twain's Pudd'nhead Wilson: Race, Conflict, and Culture* (1990) edited by Susan Gilman and Forrest G. Robinson. A century after *Pudd'nhead Wilson*'s publication, Barbara Chase-Riboud wrote a revision of Twain's novel retold from an African-American woman's point of view. Her historical fiction, *The President's Daughter* (1994), centers on the daughter of Thomas Jefferson and his slave mistress, Sally Hemings. In this postmodern romance, whose title is reminiscent of William Wells Brown's *Clotel, or the President's Daughter* (1853), Chase-Riboud exquisitely appropriates Twainian scenes of "passing" for her version of the scandal of Thomas Jefferson. DNA evidence from Jefferson family descendants both black and white in the 1990s proved that the third president of the United States and one of its Founding Fathers had fathered slave children

despite his public repudiation of interracial relationships.

Chase-Riboud leads her readers to expect a story based on *Clotel*, often hailed as the first African American novel, and indeed even embeds in her own alternate historical fiction, *The President's Daughter*, an episode where Harriet reads her fictional biography by Brown with “an eerie feeling of jubilation” (327). But Chase-Riboud is not only interested in the African American literary canon; interestingly enough, she also chooses three epigraphs for her novel that reveal her challenge to white male literary canonical works’ treatment of miscegenation in the nineteenth-century. In these epigraphs, she quotes from James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and Mark Twain’s *Pudd’nhead Wilson*.¹

The differences between Mark Twain, a white male writer, and Barbara Chase-Riboud, an African-American female writer, are apparent at the level of race and gender. It is not surprising that Chase-Riboud uses her imaginative power to subvert dominant canonical or white male perspectives, even tackling head on the hypocrisy of the “respectable” slave-owning President of the United States and his mixed-raced children. Twain and Chase-Riboud’s relationship becomes more complicated, however, when Lydia Maria Child, who played an active role in the nineteenth-century anti-slavery movement, is brought into the mix. Child’s literary career started in 1823 with the novel *Hobomok*, which featured an interracial relationship between an Indian man and a white woman. Child stressed the significance of racial issues in both fiction and nonfiction throughout her life. After the Civil War, Child published *A Romance of the Republic* (1868), in which child-switching by a slave woman raises serious questions about skin color and identification just as in Twain’s *Pudd’nhead Wilson*. Child’s romance was published twenty-seven years before Twain’s *Pudd’nhead Wilson*.

The late nineteenth-century works of Child and Twain, and Chase-Riboud’s novel a century later, each foreground racial miscegenation in their fictions, thus asserting the centrality of these intertwined problems in American literary history regardless of authorial differences in race and gender. Examining together these three very different writers, I pursue their connections and distinctions in order to reevaluate Romance as an apt forum for addressing racial problems. Indeed, reading these texts together may afford us the unique opportunity to appreciate the genre of Romance from a multiculturalist point

of view.

The Evolution of American Romance

Child's *A Romance of the Republic*, Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, and Chase-Riboud's *The President's Daughter* all deal with the mixing of races through the medium of Romance. Reviewing the critical history of Romance highlights the complex implications of racial transgression when Romance serves as its medium, demonstrating a reciprocal relationship between theme and literary form. In other words, writing Romance with its emphasis on strong imagination while also elucidating the truth of the human heart allows authors to cross socially constructed and instituted borders.

Romance has been an established genre of American literature at least since Nathaniel Hawthorne contrasted "Romance" and "Novel" in his famous preface to *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851). Requiring Romance to be, in effect, "art for art's sake," Hawthorne allowed writers of the genre a wide range of imagination, stipulating only that they not "swerve aside from the truth of the human heart"(1). If a Romance writer commits the "literary crime" of sacrificing reality to his own creativity and taste, he should not be discounted, says Hawthorne, for if he had not done so, his writing could not be called "Romance"(1). Expanding upon this idea in the preface to *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), Hawthorne repeatedly identified Romance as a neutral territory of imagination and reality, arguing that Romance works are "not to be put exactly side by side with nature," and that the writer "is allowed a license with regard to every-day Probability" (2).

The question arises then as to what gives American Romance the capacity to describe the ambiguities of binary oppositions — reality and imagination, natural and supernatural, present and past, or white and black. The literary rhetoric of Hawthorne derives to some degree from his contemporary political context, upon which the concept of compromise exercised great influence. Sacvan Bercovitch identifies compromise as the predominant rhetorical instrument of American political ideology in the 1850s, one that necessarily affected the literary imagination. Illustrating the political context from which this rhetoric arose, Bercovitch delineates the political ambiguities that triggered the Compromise Resolutions to the Fugitive Slave Act and their role in transforming political conflict into

consensus via compromise (55).² Just as with literary history in Bercovitch's reading, the rhetoric of compromise affected literature too. In a sense, we can say the ambiguous literary ground of Romance negotiates a compromise between imagination and reality in Hawthorne's, and other Romance writers,' works.

The 1850s also witnessed increasing controversy among both scientists and Christians with Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859). Darwin's polemic actually reinforced the discourse of miscegenation, arguing in the chapter "Natural Selection" for "the general law of good being derived from the intercrossing of distinct individuals of the same species" (49). In his later chapter on "Hybridism," Darwin indicates his strong doubts regarding the commonly held idea that interbreeding between different species results in sterile offspring (136). In this way, the Darwinian theory of natural selection investigates the role of hybridity as part of the emerging discourse of evolution in the 1850s.

Hybridity and its social influence had already been discussed by Thomas Jefferson in *Notes on the States of Virginia* (1781). In Query IV on America's natural environment, Jefferson challenges French naturalist George Louis de Buffon, who insisted on the inferiority of Native Americans in conjunction with his analysis that animals in America were smaller and less various in species than those in Europe. Jefferson, while paying the appropriate respect to Buffon, nonetheless defends the natural superiority of Native Americans with illustrations of interracial marriage between white men and Indian women (58). Jefferson's paradoxical comments in Query XIV on the necessity of segregation together with the emancipation of slaves, however, illuminates the difficulty of interracial harmony between whites and blacks, and also implies fear of racial miscegenation (138-39). That black-white racial mixture was already commonplace remained the open secret in not only Jefferson's *Notes* but also in much of American society.

The discourse of miscegenation prevailed throughout America politically, scientifically, and socially. Compromise, ambiguity, and miscegenation — all of which can be associated with hybridity — gained such currency that Hawthorne inevitably foregrounded these concepts in his theory of Romance, as did later critics of his work such as Richard Chase, Daniel Hoffman, and others.

The tradition of Hawthornian Romance was further explicated by Chase in *The American Novel and Its Tradition* (1957). Declaring Romance to be the quintessence of American literature, Chase argues that the American Romance — which, in his view, includes the works of the American Renaissance — is different from European Romance. For Chase, American Romance works are “literary hybrids unique only in their peculiar but widely differing amalgamation of novelistic and romance elements” (14). Following Hawthorne’s theory that Romance is based on both imagination and “the truth of the human heart,” Chase demonstrates that Romance comprises a fusion of reality and imagination in which American writers have been able to convey inner reality through literary fantasy, offering as examples Herman Melville, Henry James, and Mark Twain, besides Hawthorne himself.³ Romance, furthermore, does not require the “sincerity of the novel” (24) for Chase, although its improbable or impossible events have allegorical and symbolic meaning that speak to our subconscious. The identifying quality of American Romance for Chase, in sum, is a literary hybridity in which probability and improbability are amalgamated. We should not ignore that Chase’s operative terms for the peculiarly American Romance traditio — “hybridity” and “amalgamation” — were also terms used to indicate racial mixture.

Daniel Hoffman develops the theory of Romance further in his *Form and Fable in American Fiction* (1961), arguing that American Renaissance writers employed allegory not in the service of religion like their ancestors, but rather as an aesthetic expression of skepticism towards the very “Truth” from which received allegorical forms arose (4-5). Hoffman ultimately identifies the nature of Romance as “the discovery of identity and of meaning” (358), for which purpose American Romance writers weave stories combining reality and the supernatural (358). Hoffman emphasizes the presence of a supernatural element in American Romance, embodied in literary materials such as myth and folklore, because the supernatural is the origin of the American writer’s power of imagination. The amalgamation of the “real” and the “marvelous” signals, for Hoffman as well as for Chase, an indispensable and privileged theme in American Romance.

Romancing Race — Passing in *A Romance of the Republic*

Romance involves hybridity not only of literary forms including myth, folklore and superstition, but also of reality and imagination. Hybridity furthermore offers a compelling reason to revisit Lydia Maria Child's *A Romance of the Republic*, whose interracial "happy union" romance (Perry 173) has been long forgotten in American literature. Child's fiction illuminates the ongoing theoretical linkages between "union" and "hybridity" that critics such as Lynne Pearce identify, redefining romance as the genre best suited to illustrate the process of "romantic union" between two different races. Romance is inherently tolerant in its content, because it is a literary hybrid accepting of imagination, even imagination of the wildest kind.

As *Hobomok* and her subsequent writings reflect, Child was concerned with the issue of interracial relationships throughout her literary career. After writing *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (1833), Child was roundly criticized for calling so openly for an end to prohibitions against interracial marriage: her friends avoided her on the street; subscriptions declined for *Juvenile Miscellany*, a magazine Child edited; her honorary privileges at the Boston Athenaeum were repealed; and Boston literary society persecuted her (even Catherine Maria Sedgwick, the author of *Hope Leslie*, apparently cooled her relationship with Child) (Baer 67). In *An Appeal*, Child appreciates the risks of speaking out even as she measures the necessity of doing so:

[A]n unjust law exists in this Commonwealth, by which marriages between persons of different color is pronounced illegal. I am perfectly aware of the gross ridicule to which I may subject myself by alluding to this particular; but I have lived too long, and observed too much, to be disturbed by the world's mockery. [. . .] I know two or three instances where women of the laboring class have been united to reputable industrious colored men. (187)

This radical statement was effective in marking Child as the abolitionist she was, but she paid heavily for it. Child became, in effect, a blacklisted writer (Karcher, Introduction of *Appeal* xlv).

Despite her predicament, however, Child maintained her commitment to the

abolitionist movement, and continued writing about interracial relationships in sentimental stories such as “The Lone Indian” (1832), “Indian Wife” (1832),⁴ “Chocorua’s Curse” (1830), and “The Quadroons” (1842)⁵, and in the novel, *Romance of the Republic*. Thus contaminated by her fictional themes of miscegenation, Child’s literary reputation had to overcome barriers. Her work evoked fears of the contamination of blood. In Toshio Yagi’s insightful analysis, fear of interracial marriage is rooted in the communal American fantasy active since at least the colonial era that dark blood signifies confusion and disorder. The fear of dark blood also represents sexual vulnerability and exploitation, themes which haunt sentimental fiction. These fears have long rendered obscure those writers who dared to depict such racial issues. Child too was long lost to literary history until she was “discovered” again by feminist critics such as Carolyn L. Karcher, Nina Baym, and Karen Sanchez-Eppler in the mid-1980s when multiculturalism and feminism both gained critical currency.

The nineteenth-century relationship between sentimental fiction and feminist -abolitionist movements was not accidental. White female reformers linked the plights of women and slaves, both of whom were considered exploited in the patriarchal institutions of marriage and slavery. Sentimental fiction of the time depicted horrible situations of social and sexual oppression that its characters endured in order to make the reader shed cathartic and uplifting tears. Sentimental fiction also introduced racial problems stemming from slavery, usually with the “tragic” figure of the mulatto or with mothers sexually exploited as female slaves.

Let us turn now to a romance richly informed by Child’s views on the issue of race, *A Romance of the Republic*. The story opens with a description of a wealthy, New Orleans merchant family. The father, Mr. Royal, lives happily with his two daughters, Rosa and Flora, but after his death, the daughters are revealed to be octoroons. Mr. Royal’s deceased wife, it turns out, had been a quadroon slave whom Mr. Royal never freed after purchasing her from a Spanish merchant. Attempting to save the beautiful sisters from slavery, a white planter named Gerald Fitzgerald proposes marriage to Rosa, and helps her and her sister flee New Orleans to his secret cottage. There Rosa and Flora begin a life in which they “pass” as whites because of their fair skin. They enjoy a period of calm during which Rosa’s baby is born, but soon a terrible secret is revealed: Rosa finds out that her marriage

to Fitzgerald is illegitimate and, what is worse, that he is already married to a lawful wife, Lily. Terrified that Fitzgerald is going to sell her and her baby, and filled with despair and insanity, Rosa switches her slave child with Fitzgerald's legitimate child — Lily's son — just as Roxy does in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.

The contrast between the lives led by the two children Rosa had switched as babies are rich with the ironic discourse of race. The "white" slave holder's son, Gerald, grows into a pro-slavery rich young man, while the "slave" with fair skin, George, falls in love with a slave girl. Unaware of his actual origins, Gerald receives an outstanding education in which he excels, and he is beloved by his grandfather, an anti-abolitionist Southern slave owner. One day Gerald's grandfather discusses with him a matter of some runaway slaves:

"[. . .] You see, Gerald, it is every way for my interest to make sure of returning those [fugitive] negroes; and your interest is somewhat connected with mine, seeing that the small pittance saved from the wreck of your father's property is quite insufficient to plenty your rather expensive wants."

"I think I have been reminded of that often enough, sir, to be in no danger of forgetting it," retorted the youth, reddening as he spoke. . . . "How much trouble these niggers give us!" thought he, as he adjusted his embroidered cravat, and took his fresh kid gloves from box [en route to his meeting with the captain of a slave ship] (311-12)

Gerald plays his role as a southern pro-slavery gentleman to perfection, not knowing his legal race.

Yet after learning the shocking truth from Rosa, who had become well known in society as the beautiful wife of Mr. King, Gerald decides not only to continue living as a *white* but also to fight against the Confederates as a member of the Union Army.

I write to you [Mr. King] that they are forming a regiment here to march to the defense of Washington, and I have joined it. Lily-mother was unwilling at first. But a fine set of fellows are joining, — all first-class young gentleman. (403)

Though he sides with the Union, Gerald denies his racial origins and lives his whole life performing his identity as a white man, aware all the while that he is legally black.⁶

Like Gerald, George too ends up playing the role he was assigned — in his case, the role of slave — though for different reasons. George becomes a fugitive looking for the “land of freedom” (309) and accidentally encounters Rosa, who offers him security and financial support. Unlike Gerald, however, he never learns of his real origins because Rosa takes her husband’s advice not to tell George the truth. In other words, George has to remain black, ignorant of his real origins.

I think Rosa is right about taking charge of Henriet [George’s wife] and educating her. It seems to me the worst thing you could do for her and her husband would be to let them know that they have a claim to riches. Sudden wealth is apt to turn the heads of much older people than they are; and having been brought up as slaves, their danger would be greatly increased. (414)

Defining race by blood makes little sense in Rosa and George’s America. People “brought up as slaves” are best served by an education appropriate to their status in order to be treated better in white society. George is offered no choice but to continue to be black. Rosa and Flora, despite being legally “colored,” continue to pass as whites in upper-class white society. The multiple racial transgressions of “passing” and interracial marriage in this Romance implicitly critique the essentialism underlying racial discrimination against African-Americans. In Child’s *Romance*, the truth of biological origins does not necessarily help characters; rather, the way they are raised and how they perform their learned identities are more important for helping them lead successful lives.

Child’s stated purpose in writing *A Romance of the Republic* was to “take more hold of the public mind” (*Selected Letters* 482) — to heighten the American public’s awareness of social problems — but her imagination’s provocative portrayals of passing and crossings, carries the romance far beyond her original intentions. The world Child created in the Romance points towards her vision of an ideal America — a nation with complete liberty and moral rectitude — and this vision is stimulated by hybridity; indeed, as one of her characters says, “most romantic stories in the country have grown out of the institution of slavery” (157). As if trying to prove this maxim-like assertion, Child loads her romance

with numerous improbable, even if not impossible, events that introduce disorder rather than order into the story: These events include the adultery of Fitzgerald; the insanity of Rosa; the danger of incest; and the oppression of the legal heir. In romancing the institution of slavery with chaos, Child creates in *A Romance of the Republic* a masterpiece of Romance.

Child's achievement in *A Romance* was anticipated in an earlier story she wrote that appeared in *Juvenile Miscellany*, "Mary French and Susan Easton" (1834). This story concerns a white girl named Mary who is kidnapped by an unnamed peddler, stained black, and sold into slavery. At the end of the story, Mary's tears wash the stain from her face, saving her from slavery, while her black friend, Susan, must remain on the plantation as a slave. Karen Sanchez-Eppler critiques the implicit racial hierarchy revealed in Child's story; that is, dramatically contrasted, the fates of Mary and Susan suggest that "rubbing off blackness" is the only solution to racial prejudice (31). Yet Sanchez-Eppler neglects a more important aspect of the story, namely, Child's rhetorical use of Mary's pseudo-blackness. It is noteworthy that Mary "becomes" black as a result of the white kidnapper's actions; in itself this plot device makes the rhetorical argument that racial identity can be easily constructed or removed. Mary's blackness is not natural, and whether or not she maintains an identity as black of her own free will, her racial disguise anticipates the "passing" stories developed in *A Romance of the Republic*. What Child's *A Romance* offers is the subversive and appealing mutability of races.

Minstrel America — "Imitation Niggers" in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*

Hybrid romance traces its cultural roots back to the tradition of the minstrel show, one of the most popular entertainments in nineteenth-century America. This tradition of white vaudevillians singing and dancing in "blackface" was popularized by a troupe called the Virginia Minstrels, who started presenting an "Ethiopian Concert" in 1840s. The simple stage of the original minstrel show gradually grew into a great spectacle of full orchestras and gaudy settings by the 1870s, and the stereotypical image of the "happy darkie" was reinforced by the performances of white actors masquerading as blacks.

According to Eric Lott, these whites enacted the roles of blacks "not only to 'befriend'

a racial Other but to introject or internalize its imagined special capacities and attributes”; that is, this was one way that African-Americans could become “a part of white’s self” (Lott 477). This was reinforced for whites by the failure of black performers in minstrel shows to alter the stereotypes held by whites; indeed, a complex theatrical form evolved in which black people imitated white pseudo-blackness by appearing with “blackface” makeup over their genuinely black faces. As a result, even more complex and deeply entrenched white stereotypes of black people became subsequently reproduced and integrated into the performances of whites (Douglas 77). Minstrel actors thus did not have to be either white or black, so long as white audiences could readily identify a performer’s assumed race according to its predictable representative attributes. The success of the minstrel show demonstrates that, in social terms, white can be colored, while itself race becomes equivalent to a role performed in a play. This does not necessarily mean, however, that such performances always displace racial identity.

While the theme of race as role-playing is an important part of Child’s *A Romance of the Republic*, this theme is developed with an eye to the limits of passing and personal identification in Mark Twain’s *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, a work which can also be read as a hybrid Romance. In this novel, Twain employs “a tragic octoroon,” a stock character of sentimental fiction, to assert his belief in determinism over free will and also depict the same fictionality of race that Child’s works do.

In *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, the octoroon servant, Roxy, is responsible for the care of both her master’s baby Tom, and her own son Chambers, both of whom are so similar that only Roxy can tell them apart. After overhearing the master threatening to sell another slave to a plantation in the deep South, Roxy becomes terrified that she will be separated from Chambers; she therefore exchanges him with Tom. Subsequently,

Tom [ex-Chambers] got all the petting, Chambers [ex Tom, a rightful heir] got none. Tom got all the delicacies, Chambers got mush and milk, and clabber without sugar. In consequence, Tom was a sickly child and Chambers wasn’t. Tom was “fractious,” as Roxy called it, and overbearing; Chambers was meek and docile. (28)

In describing the influence of such social conditioning on Tom and Chambers, Eric

Sundquist argues that Twain shows how the category of “nigger,” not to mention other social hierarchies, is created by “imitating, training, and practicing” (Sundquist 231). Reconsidering legal and racial status from the Reconstruction era leading up to *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Eric Sundquist also contends that racial imitation existed within a context of tautologies of law and nature, justifying the confusing legal status of African Americans no matter their skin color (240-41). The ambiguity of legal racial status based on contemporary rulings promoted the notion that race was not an essential attribute, but rather one acquired and learned in society.

Tom and Chambers unknowingly act out their assigned roles, and only by these roles can the two be differentiated, since their appearance does not distinguish them. In light of this, the cry of “imitation nigger,” which Roxy shouts at Chambers in a moment of anger and Chamber’s response, “Bofe of us is imitation white,” ironically makes the fundamental point that both of them “play minstrel roles as ‘imitation niggers’” (Sundquist 229). The category of race hereby reveals its fictitiousness, a representation produced and defined by external factors.

In order to expose the artificiality of race, Nancy Bentley explains that the category of mixed race did not even exist, legally speaking, in the nineteenth century; there were only two kinds of people: whites and others (504). Of course, the mixed-race category was acknowledged socially, but “white” slaves such as Rosa, Flora, and Roxy, as well as mulattos and octoroons, were all legally “black.” Such hybrid children were thus compelled either to learn and assume the attributes of an officially recognized race — white or other — or to remain nobody. Even after assuming one or the other race, their existence remained circumscribed by the “racial fiction of American constitutional law and social custom” (Sundquist 229).

Rosa and Flora in *A Romance of the Republic*, successfully pass for white without being doubted; however, the effects of passing on their personal identities and characteristics goes unexplored. While Child’s work does not investigate the problem of identity construction and its social effects, Twain caricaturizes the category of race as one culturally defined in his depictions of Tom and Chambers. When Tom and Chambers are babies, only Roxy can tell them apart:

“How do you tell them apart, Roxy, when they haven’t any clothes on?”

Roxy laughed a laugh proportioned to her size, and said: “Oh, I kin tell ‘em ‘part, Misto Wilson, but I bet Marse Percy couldn’t, not to save his life.”

(emphasis in the original 9)

However, as the boys grow older, their differences become more marked as their adopted categories of race take hold, with Tom conforming to the category of white and Chambers that of “nigger.” The language, attitude, and behavior of the two are contrasted conclusively in the following exchange, for example. Tom, when rescued by Chambers just as he is about to drown to death, gets infuriated at some white boys who insult Tom by calling Chambers “Tom Driscoll’s Nigger-pappy” (21).

“Knock their heads off, Chambers! Knock their heads off! What do you stand there with your hands in your pockets for?”

Chambers expostulated, and said — “But Marse Tom, dey’s too many of ‘em — dey’s —”

“Do you hear me?”

“Please, Marse Tom, don’t make me! Dey’s so many of ‘em dat —” (21)

Tom commands; Chambers obeys. Tom’s pride is thoroughly wounded not only by the suggestion that Tom owes his life to a slave but also the disparagement by others that implies a biological relationship with the black Chambers. Ironically enough, each can cross strict racial borders regardless of his racial origins, merely by imitating the necessary racial category and thereby assuming his appropriate “place” and teaching others theirs. Tom demonstrates this by arrogantly teaching his biological mother Roxy “her place” when “she had ventured a caress or a fondling epithet in his quarter”(21).

Much like Gerald in Child’s *A Romance of the Republic*, Tom in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* thus unknowingly disguises himself as white. However, as if this were not transgressive enough, Tom eventually graduates to gender-crossing as well: finding himself in need of money to pay huge debts of honor, Tom dons women’s clothes to disguise himself for the burglary of a neighbor’s house. In preparing for his crime, Tom readies “a suit of girl’s clothes [. . .] in a bundle as a disguise for his raid,” and this, surprisingly, is none other

than “a suit of his mother’s clothing” (46).⁷ Tom’s gender transgression is thus more narrowly specified as maternal in orientation, suggesting Tom’s impulse to become the one who defines him racially and controls his destiny.

Diverse aspects of identity, including race, gender, and maternity, are thus absorbed via representations of the Other. Twain’s story appears to take up ideas of the collapse of a mythical essential human identity in the last decade of the nineteenth-century, as well as the replacement of this myth with a vision of the variety and malleability of identity (Knoper 89). In view of this collapse, the question arises as to how Tom can be defined beyond categories such as gender and race — the question of what makes Tom himself. For Twain, science ultimately places a limit on the excessive diffusion of identity. It is Tom’s fingerprints — collected to prove Tom guilty of murdering his uncle Judge Driscoll — that exposes Tom as not only a criminal but also an African American. The use of fingerprints in criminal investigations, pioneered in 1888 by Francis Galton, made a great impression on Twain, and by means of this plot device Twain makes clear that his intention in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* was not to denounce racial discrimination or the social construction of race; on the contrary, Twain seems to support racial separation on the basis of physical evidence — that is, fingerprints, a feature which no one can change — and thus tacitly to support an essentialist view of race.

Chronologically, Twain succeeded Child, but both dramatized racial fictionality by complicating the switched-child plot with issues of passing or racial disguising. Child’s *A Romance of the Republic* was published in 1867, and it is not inconceivable that Twain read it; if so, Twain may have appropriated the switched-child plot from Child, in effect stealing her textual offspring. If so, in proceeding from Child, a sentimental Romancer, to Twain, a realist writer, Romance may be said to have pursued its own Darwinian evolution into hybrid Romance. Hybrid Romance continues to evolve, exploring new dimensions of racial mutability and passing, as well as the problems of class and identity in works such as Barbara Chase-Riboud’s *The President’s Daughter* (1994), a radical revision of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* to which we now turn our attention.

Beyond Hybrid Romance — A Lost Child in *The President's Daughter*

Thomas Jefferson, an author of the Declaration of Independence, is now a hot topic in the field of American cultural studies. New Historicism has empowered critics to reconsider even political documents such as the Declaration of Independence with literary tools,⁸ and the development of such criticism has enabled one fiction writer to defy the long-standing taboo against addressing the rumored relationship between Jefferson and his slave mistress Sally Hemings. Chase-Riboud wrote her first novel, *Sally Hemings*, featuring Jefferson's creole slave mistress in 1977, though this novel was soon out of print and remained so until its sequel, *The President's Daughter*, featuring Harriet, a daughter of Sally and Jefferson, appeared in 1994.

Thanks to changing public attitudes and the evolution of criticism, racial transgression has become a topic fiction treated increasingly in recent years, but Chase-Riboud remembers a different social climate in the 1970's, which she describes in her memoir as follows:

Fifteen years ago, when I first published *Sally Hemings*, many factors differed greatly from what they are today. [. . .] Black studies were in their infancy in American universities and the name Sally Hemings was totally unknown to the general public. Everyone involved with publishing *Sally Hemings*, including the author, underestimated the emotion and controversy that would swirl about a novel that gave flesh, blood, and sinew to a long-held and much discussed conviction that Thomas Jefferson had a slave family by the half-sister of his dead wife. (345)

Chase-Riboud's memoir reflects the critical climate of the seventies, which was not conducive to any challenge to the American myth of the Founding Fathers. Recent critical trends, in contrast, encourage the search for new significance in the historical context of American romance. Moreover, the article on the result of DNA testing that appeared in *Nature* in 1998 settled the long-lasting controversy on "the first U.S. presidency sex scandal" (Lander 13). For nineteenth-century writers such as Child and Twain, as well as for a postmodern writer such as Chase-Riboud, critical tools have become available for engaging the discourses of multiculturalism and heterogeneity.

Chase-Riboud's *The President's Daughter* is replete with the theme of passing: The protagonist, Harriet Hemings, is the illegitimate daughter of the third president of the United States and "white enough to pass for white" (33). Harriet leaves the Virginia plantation of Monticello, where she has been a slave, for Philadelphia, where she begins her life anew as a twenty-one-year-old white "lady." Harriet reflects upon her new identity:

I noticed white people's eyes no longer slid off me as if I were invisible at worst, a bale of cotton at best. They neither focused their eyes over my shoulder nor glazed them over in nonrecognition of my humanity. They now looked me square in the eye, curious, friendly, appraising, teasing. Miss Harriet, a young lady. Little Miss. (52)

Harriet's successful passing for white is just the first of numerous transgressions; in order to become white she must furthermore imitate white aristocracy and heterosexuality (Tatsumi, *Nyuu Amerikanizumu* 278). As Harriet's story develops, her racial passing invariably leads to transgressions of not only slavery but also sexuality. The relationship between Harriet and her life-long friend Charlotte, for example, is much more lesbian than sororal:

Charlotte's face was pressed close to mine [Harriet's], and her breath fanned the tendrils of my hair. She flung her arms over mine, and still panting, rested her head on my chest. (59)

Harriet marries Thorn Wellington, a pharmacist, in order to pass as heterosexual, and continues her lesbian relationship with Charlotte in secret, asserting that "sexual love between women of our class was one of our best-kept secrets" (272). While black female characters are often sexualized by white male desire — sensationalized as miscegenation — in sentimental fiction of the nineteenth-century, what Chase-Riboud offers instead is sexual bonding between women whose female desires can be safely expressed and protected.

Besides passing for white and heterosexual, Harriet's most significant deception is

passing as an orphan to conceal her past as a slave: “[n]ot only had I forgotten myself, I had forgotten my mother, my father; I played the orphan perfectly” (73). Much as Roxy makes Chamber play the role of “imitation nigger,” and Tom “imitation white,” Harriet adopts the role of what might be termed “imitation orphan,” for she has to create a new past to hide her real origins. Thus disguised, Harriet is free to pursue her unconventional family relationship with Charlotte, unhindered by the cast of the traditional family scenario with heterosexual roles of father, mother, and children. A final form of passing also appears briefly in this romance; according to the story, women were not allowed in the law library of University of Pennsylvania at the beginning of the nineteenth century, so Harriet has to disguise herself as a man to enter (87).

Ultimately, Harriet’s transgressions become permanent. Disclosure through fingerprints — the device that unmask Tom in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* — is seen to threaten Harriet as the only way to prove her true identity as a slave:

“And yet it [a fingerprint] is the only true identity fixed by God?” [said Harriet].
 “Nature,” said Thance, confused yet moved.

“God has created us separate, with a separate, unique destiny, and then given us proof of it — given us proof of our own uniqueness of soul, our own God-given peculiarity, right here in our hands.” (79)

Just as the fingerprints that identify Chambers and Tom corrupt Roxy’s design, Harriet’s fingerprints threaten to betray all the life history she has so desperately made up. However, this menace is eliminated, rather ironically, when Harriet slips and falls in Thorn’s laboratory, burns her fingertips on chemicals spilled on the floor, and finds her fingerprints erased: “[i]n shocked disbelief, I realized that I no longer had fingerprints!” (279). Harriet’s “unique destiny” and “uniqueness of soul” (279) disappear, since the only physical evidence that can identify her as an individual is erased. Thereafter, Harriet always feels as if she is “acting out a fictional scene in a novel” (104); everything — including her parentage, color, gender, sexuality, race, and even freedom turns out to be illusion. Chase-Riboud thus expands the possibilities of transgression into a terrain where

illusion and reality crisscross like the scars on Harriet's palm. Harriet's fingerprints are gone; fingerprints themselves are no longer the final arbiter of her racial identification. It is ironic that four years after Chase-Riboud's *The President's Daughter* was published, DNA testing verified that Jefferson fathered at least one of Heming's children. Advanced technologies such as DNA testing appear to narrow the possibilities today for such transgressions as Harriet's, but in the future they too may fail to hold back newly versatile postmodern artificers, perhaps finally going the way of the fingerprint in *The President's Daughter*.

An African-American woman writer, Chase-Riboud rereads and rewrites Mark Twain, a white male writer's construction of race, family, and identity. Viewing *Pudd'nhead Wilson* through the lens of *The President's Daughter* shows us a complex revision of the transgressive sexuality, orphanhood, and racial heterogeneity in Twain's text. Where Twain ultimately retreated from his portrayal of racial fictionality, betraying an essential identity attested to by fingerprints, Chase-Riboud advanced her portrayal of the fictionality of identity by wiping away fingerprints through the agency of science. Chase-Riboud removes the last traces of her protagonist's essential identity — race, gender, sexuality, family structure, and even the U.S. Constitution — revealing all as fictional. Ceaselessly transgressed, reality is depicted as heterogeneous and ever more chaotic, the very basic conditions out of which the American Romance arose.

Having considered the history of transgressive romance through Twain and Chase-Riboud, let us return briefly to Lydia Maria Child's *A Romance of the Republic*. Though this novel deals only with racial passing, and thus seems less complex than the works of Twain and Chase-Riboud, *A Romance* gains significance in view of Child's own identity as a transgressor.

As Carolyn Karcher and other critics have pointed out, Child supported her husband through her writing, and it was not her Romances that brought in substantial income but pioneering books on home economy and child education such as *The Frugal Housewife*, *The Girls's Own Book*, or *The Mother's Book*. Thus, Child played her roles as good wife and wise mother in her works — and played these roles outstandingly — and while she was indeed a good wife to her husband, she never became a mother in her own life. She

writes, “I do wish I could be a mother,” in a letter to her mother-in-law on June 23, 1831 (*Selected Letters* 17), but her wish was never fulfilled.⁹ Never a mother, Child played the role of “imitation mother” through her fiction. In fact, Child shared with her readers her view that maternity was not essential to women’s nature but rather merely one of many “roles” we perform with purpose. In the preface to a new edition of *The Mother’s Book* published in 1844, Child writes that “Childless myself, I can only plead my strong love for children, and my habitual observation of all that concerns them” (qtd. in Karcher, *The First Woman* 138). Child’s actual transgression as a writer clearly reveals the essence of American Romance in that Child’s *A Romance of the Republic* not only represents an ordinary abolitionist ideology but also reveals the lived realities of women’s lives, fertile with hybridity and transgression rather than sterile with stereotypes and normative demands.

The evolution of hybrid romance from Child to Chase-Riboud via Twain reveals the endless variety of transgressions characteristic of “the life of illusion” (Chase-Riboud 183) that we all live. The motif of racial transgression expands in significance as it shifts back and forth among political and literary texts and contexts, and it is this proliferating hybridity which opens the way for the revision of American Romance. In the genealogy of a heterogeneous literature that links Lydia Maria Child, Mark Twain, and Barbara Chase-Riboud, hybrid Romance inevitably eclipses reality, ever expanding its territory.

Notes

¹ Chase-Riboud gives a quotation from Cooper that describes the complexion of Cora, a dark heroine, which “appeared charged with the color of rich blood”; and two quotations from Twain: “By the fiction created by herself . . . deceptions intended solely for others gradually grew into self-deceptions as well; the little counterfeit rift of separation between imitation-slave and imitation-master widened and widened, and became an abyss, and very real one — and one side of it, stood Roxy, the dupe of her own deceptions, and on the other stood her child — her accepted and recognized master” and “Make upon the window the fingerprints that will hang you.”

² In viewing the middle of the nineteenth century as an age of compromise, Bercovitch

offers an important perspective for any reconsideration of the history of romance. According to Bercovitch, the national consensus at which the American Revolution aimed was endangered by slavery, and this made compromise mandatory. The Fugitive Slave Act approved in 1850 was a symbol of this compromising. When the California territory joined the Union, a major argument developed between abolitionists and anti-abolitionists concerning the status of the territory as a slave state or a free state. Congress desperately worked out a solution known as the Compromise of 1850, in which it was agreed that California would enter the Union as a free state, but that slaveholders in California would enjoy the protection of the Fugitive Slave Act, which provides for intensive manhunts for fugitive slaves, even in free states. By this compromise, slaveholders could thus return fugitives to slavery even if the slaves were manumitted in the North (Franklin 176-77). Compromise thus emerged as a political ideology with the resolution of the problem of California, and this highly political decision strongly influenced intellectual culture.

³ Chase tries to establish an American literary tradition distinct from the British tradition examined by F. R. Leavis's *Great Tradition* (1955). In his first chapter, "The Broken Circuit," Chase explains that the American writer "seems less interested in redemption than in the melodrama of the eternal struggle of good and evil, less interested in incarnation and reconciliation than in alienation and disorder" (11). He continues, saying that this aesthetic imbues American romances, in contrast to European romance, with elements such as "harmony, reconciliation, catharsis and transfiguration" (2). It is noteworthy that Chase, trying to establish a national literary history, evaluates Romance as an American genre characterized by chaos and contradiction inclusive of various differences within, which gives us a clue to reading American literature of not only the 1950s but also the postmodern era.

⁴ This story was later revised to be "Legend of the Falls of St. Anthony" (1842).

⁵ An African-American writer, William Wells Brown produced one of the first American fictions published by a black, *Clotel, or the President's Daughter* in 1853. Brown appropriated the middle part of Child's "The Quadroons" for his eighth chapter, with an acknowledgement at the end of the story. However, Brown deleted this passage from subsequent editions. Apparently he did not want his work to be a hybrid production of his own efforts and Child's.

⁶ According to Nancy Bentley, mulattos were not recognized legally. That is, the law recognized whether one was white or black, and those with black ancestors were categorized as black no matter how white they appeared to be (504).

⁷ My discussion of mother-dressing is indebted to Mari Kotani's "Boso no Sekushuariti" ("Dressing Motherhood"), in which Kotani eloquently examines how maternity developed in social and historical significance to reach its current configuration of social conventions. Kotani explains how gay couples often pattern their relationships after mother-child relationships, rather than father and child relationships. Finally, Kotani demonstrates the possibility of maternity as a virtual attribute which everybody — regardless of sex, gender and age — can incorporate within his/her identity.

⁸ Michiko Shimokobe addresses *The President's Daughter* in "Tomasu Jefason Sairyo: Konketsu to Nashonariti," ("Reusable Jefferson: Mixed Blood and Nationality"), arguing that the relationship between race and "the construction of American-ness" was indispensable for American nation building (346).

⁹ Milton Meltzer and Patricia G. Holland state that economic problems made it impossible for the Childs to have children until the 1860s (*Selected Letters* 17). Karcher develops her own interesting analysis in *The First Woman in the Republic* to the effect that David Child has a sexual dysfunction, a trait incorporated into a character in *Philothea* (234).

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Searching for the Ideal Girl: Mark Twain's Lost America

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Mark Twain's views on, and representations of, women have long been subjects of literary research, but in the 1990s the rising tide of influence from feminism and gender studies triggered drastic changes in Mark Twain studies. Feminist scholar Myra Jehlen, a pioneer in this field, revitalized gender studies on Twain with her essay on *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), entitled "Gender" (1990). In this essay, Jehlen demonstrated that even a young *male* character such as Huck Finn, created by Twain, a *male* writer, could serve as an illuminating subject of gender study.

Jehlen's interpretation of the scene in which Huck disguises himself as a girl and meets Mrs. Loftus is revealing for its interrogation of gender. In this scene, Huck dons feminine attire and visits Mrs. Loftus in order to see how the town has reacted to his flight with Jim. Noting that Mrs. Loftus is a stranger recently moved to town from elsewhere, Jehlen points out that it is unnecessary for Huck to disguise himself for her, much less as a girl. In any case, Mrs. Loftus has no trouble figuring out that the girl in front of her is actually a boy:

And don't go about women in that old calico. You do a girl tolerable poor, but you might fool men, maybe. Bless you, child, when you set out to thread a needle, don't hold the thread still and fetch the needle up to it; hold the needle still and poke the thread at it — that's the way a woman most always does; but a man always does t'other way... Why, I spotted you for a boy when you was threading the needle; and I contrived the other things just to make certain. (HF 74-75)

In calling attention to Mrs. Loftus's tutelage of Huck, Jehlen argues that femininity itself

is a kind of performance. After all, in advising Huck how to be a better girl, Mrs. Loftus implies that femininity is comprised of socially and culturally constructed roles and functions. The ramifications of Jehlen's reading of this scene are that anyone, regardless of biological sex, can disguise him or herself as a girl just so long as one knows the social and cultural codes and roles that define femininity. Of course, contemporary gender studies has for some time now recognized gender identity as a social construct, the result less of nature than of nurture. What Jehlen did that was groundbreaking was to use Twain's literary text to show how a canonical work by a male writer can demonstrate the social construction of gender with male as well as female characters. Jehlen's analysis of *Huckleberry Finn* opened a new frontier in the academic study of Mark Twain, and indeed a number of significant gender studies of Mark Twain's works appeared in the 1990s.¹

After the death of Twain's daughter Clara Clemens (1874-1962), a number of late Twain manuscripts that she had refused to publish finally became available to scholars, contributing to new gender studies on Twain. Traditionally, such studies of Twain relied on stock female characters such as Becky Thatcher (*The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, 1876) or Mary Jane (*Huck Finn*) in arguing that the author depicted female characters, both girls and women, in stereotypical or idealized ways in his works. The posthumously published manuscripts from Twain's late career challenged this understanding, presenting a variety of female characters who transgress the codes of "the genteel tradition" that held sway in Twain's time. In general, the female characters in these later works reflect social desires and anxieties regarding both traditional, innocent girls, and also the new, more active women who aimed to become themselves the "New Woman" at the turn of the century. These characters are as active, lively — and, in some cases, even as sensual — as male characters; furthermore, in these manuscripts Twain portrays instances of gender roles being switched.

In order to explore Twain's complex and, in some respects, bewildered attitudes toward women, I examine transitions in his images of women that reflect the changing social conditions at the turn of the century. Moreover, I question gender issues by considering idealized girls both in his real life and in his fictional worlds. Through his fictional searching for ideal girls, Twain reveals a longing for the "Old America" of his childhood, while his images of innocent girls appear to reflect his nostalgia for a

pre-industrial, pastoral America. I therefore ultimately aim to expose the function of girl characters in Twain's later works, revealing how, for Twain, "Old America" in the deepest sense really means "young" America.

Gender Issues in the Works of Mark Twain

In 2001, an anthology of works by Twain that bear on gender issues was published, edited and with an introduction by John Cooley.² Entitled *How Nancy Jackson Married Kate Wilson and Other Tales of Rebellious Girls & Daring Young Women*, this anthology includes both early works such as "Medieval Romance" (1870), with its vivid depictions of tomboyish young ladies, as well as later works that were only published posthumously. The development of Twain's attitudes towards women is certainly evident in the contrast between these earlier and later works' portrayals of female characters.

The period during which Twain applied his journalistic eye to the portrayal of varied female characters was one in which a range of social values was overturned. As America passed through the postbellum period en route to the end of the nineteenth century, the rise of industrialization in particular fostered drastic societal changes, including changes in women's ways of life. Notably, the demands on women to perform household chores gradually lessened, increasing their free time. Moreover, the development of higher education for women provided them with new opportunities. Twain's short stories and sketches reflect these changes. Contrary to traditionally virtuous lady characters such as Becky Thatcher or Mary Jane — the typical female subjects of traditional Mark Twain studies — daring girls and young women are conspicuous in Twain's later works. The female characters in *How Nancy Jackson*, for example, conduct themselves well outside of the codes of "the genteel tradition" of Twain's time, engaging in transvestitism and even same-sex marriage. I would argue that Twain's depictions of women pursuing such activities, not to mention the attitudes these depictions represent, should be understood more in the context of the age in which Twain wrote rather than as exceptional to it.

Let us consider the range of female characters in the later, posthumous Twain

works that appear in *How Nancy Jackson*. The short story “Hellfire Hotchkiss” (1897) is noteworthy — particularly in view of Jehlen’s essay focused on Huck’s disguise as a girl — because it is a story about switched gender roles. In this story, Twain writes about a boy and a girl who have been raised with their genders reversed:

“There’s considerable difference betwixt them two — Thug and her. Pudd’nhead Wilson says Hellfire Hotchkiss is the only genuwyne male man in this town and Thug Carpenter’s the only genuwyne female girl, if you leave out sex and just consider the business facts” (“Hellfire Hotchkiss,” *HNJ* 56)

In his later years, Twain employed the motif of gender-switching frequently. Twain’s use of this motif must be understood in the context of his broader inquiry into the essence of social construction in other representative works, such as *The Prince and the Pauper* (1881), *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* (1889), and *The Tragedy of Pudd’nhead Wilson* (1894), in which characters adopt the viewpoints of Others — in terms not only of gender but also class and race — through role-switching. *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, for example, explores racial issues through the device of white and light-skinned black babies being switched at birth. In the case of gender-switching, representations of characters adopting the viewpoint of the Other reinforce the concept of gender as a social construction. Posthumously published works shed further light on the function and varieties of gender-switching in Twain.

“How Nancy Jackson Married Kate Wilson” (1902), for instance, introduces the issue of transvestitism. In this short story, a woman named Nancy Jackson is seen committing a murder, and the witness later threatens to expose her evil act unless Nancy disguises herself as a male for the rest of her life. Submitting to this blackmail, Nancy relocates, changes her name to Robert, and begins living as a man. However, another woman named Kate — who has dated many of the young men in town — takes a romantic interest in Nancy as “Robert.” Unable to disclose her secret, “Robert” is perplexed by Kate’s approach and rebuffs her. This irritates Kate and hurts her pride, thereby making her even more intrigued by “him.” Kate redoubles her efforts to marry “Robert” in revenge for the slighting, and ultimately succeeds. Another short story, “Wapping Alice” (1897), similarly

explores transvestitism. In contrast to "How Nancy Jackson," however, "Wapping Alice" represents the marriage of a pair of men, rather than women, and ultimately the man who is disguised as a woman is unmasked.

Twain wrote these stories of gender-switching marriages as comical farces with slapstick elements. While situations similar to those portrayed in these stories have served as comic material in numerous novels, films, and dramas before and since Twain's time, the author's own popular audience would not have appreciated this vein of humor. The very idea of same-sex marriage thoroughly transgressed the social and cultural norms of the day and, despite Twain's best efforts, his publishers refused to publish "Wapping Alice" because it dealt with homosexual marriage and transvestitism. Indeed, homosexuality and transvestitism were repressed and necessarily covert in Twain's time, as demonstrated by the infamous trial of Oscar Wilde in Great Britain, which resulted in the banning of books dealing with these topics. Since the manuscript of "How Nancy Jackson Married Kate Wilson" was not even discovered until 1986, the study of gender issues relating to homosexuality and transvestitism in Twain has only recently begun.

Gender issues in Mark Twain's literary corpus can now be understood in light of the author's later works' treatment of gender as a social construct, too, and this re-evaluation is appropriate considering Twain's well-known skepticism toward society's conventional beliefs. Ever since the early work that first brought him fame, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), Twain consistently explored social issues from different angles. In his later years, Twain even questioned the superiority of humans over animals. Even though Twain originally conceived of his gender-switching stories as farces or burlesques, his exploration of gender issues in these works nonetheless represents a significant inquiry into social constructivism. That is to say, Twain must have recognized gender to be a social construct in his contemporary moment in history, and even though his characterizations of female characters sometimes deviated from his personal ideals, his journalistic intuition enabled him to grasp both his own and his contemporaries' fears and confusion on gender issues. Twain's unconscious anxieties were manifested in modern society's parallel to Twain's fictional women, the so-called "New Woman" who appeared at the turn of the century. That Twain even bothered to view gender issues from multiple perspectives and role in his fiction raises intriguing questions about any single normative vision of virtuous

females held by either Twain or “the genteel” in American society.

Twain’s Fear of a Female-Dominated Society

Elizabeth Ammons argues that at the turn of the twentieth century, a “New Woman” appeared whose way of life differed from that of the women of previous generations. This New Woman’s way of life emerged in reaction to then-prevalent Victorian strictures on the economic, sexual, emotional, and political lives of “respectable” women in the United States.³ New Women obtained higher educations and sought positions of social authority in a society that had previously been wholly male-dominated.

At the time, of course, there emerged a strong reaction against trends toward greater freedom and mobility for women; many men saw the New Woman as a challenge to their authority and to traditional values, perhaps unconsciously fearing that women would rob them of their places in society. This male fear of the New Woman was characteristic of the age, and has intriguing parallels with nativism, the contemporary fear and exclusionism regarding foreigners and immigrants in the United States.

Mark Twain’s female characters are largely marked by predictability and implausibility, which critics have attributed to Twain’s wife Olivia Langdon (1845-1904), a representative woman and mother of the genteel tradition. Twain adored and idealized Olivia, and many scholars believe that his regard for her led Twain to avoid potentially objectionable depictions of women in his writing. Like his wife, Twain’s female characters too are frequently objects of adoration by men, especially as conventional wives and mothers. Yet, in Twain’s real life, his wife Olivia’s influence also seems to have accounted for his supporting the women’s suffrage movement. His own views on women’s rights, as well as changing gender roles in society, appears strikingly ambivalent when we consider his fictional treatment of gender together with his personal life.

One might recall how Twain repeatedly attacked the new religion of Christian Science and its female founder, Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910); these attacks may reflect as much Twain’s own fear and antagonism toward the New Woman as his contempt for Christian Science.⁴ That is, insofar as the careers of New Women were restricted

to the fields of education, charity, and religion, Mary Baker Eddy may be considered a representative New Woman for Twain. Since Twain admired his wife and the three daughters whose lives he shared and to whom he dedicated many of his works, he may well have feared the appearance of such New Women as a threat to the ideals of virtue they represented in American society. Indeed, one of Twain's attacks on Mary Baker Eddy bears further mention here. His posthumous work, "The Secret History of Eddypus, the World-Empire" (1901-02) relates the narrative of a dystopian, female-controlled society. The story is set in the year 2901, a time when the entire world (except for China) is dominated by Christian Science. For Twain, the Christian Science-controlled society that emerges is a female dystopia.

Depictions of Sensuality in Twain's Dream Writings

The female characters in Twain's major works are often criticized, and deservedly so, for being devoid of sexuality, but it is likely that Twain wanted to adhere to the strict social norms and customs of his genteel readership. Within this tradition, sensual description and even mere sexual connotation were not allowed in literary writing. Yet Twain did produce work with provocative depictions of sensuality, even if they remained largely unknown because they were not published during his lifetime, and many not for some time after his death. Without close attention, these scenes of heightened sensuality might even be overlooked since often they are depicted as aspects of a dream world rather than in Twain's trademark mode of realism.

Let us therefore turn now from the traditional focus on Mark Twain as a realistic writer to his posthumously published dream writings. In his later years, Twain devoted himself to studying and analyzing the literary device of dreams. In dreams Twain was best able to escape the restraints of the real world, and allow his imagination free rein. Twain's use of a dream motif in *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* (1897-1908), the most important work of his later years, is of particular interest here. This work depicts the supernatural power of Satan, who has the ability to move beyond time and space, as well as to view the entire history of mankind in a few minutes. The sensual depictions

that appear in the dream world of this narrative, so unique among Twain's works, are especially noteworthy.

In the following passage from "No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger" (1902-08), for example, a man dreams that he passes through his lover's body. In the dream portrayed in this narrative, the "dream-self" of characters does not have a substantial body of its own and cannot make physical contact, but they can experience sensual feelings. For Twain, sensual imagery such as this was possible only in dream sequences:

As she drew near I stepped directly in her way; and as she passed through me the contact invaded my blood as with a delicious fire! She stopped, with a startled look, the rich blood rose in her face, her breadth came quick and short through her parted lips. (*MSM* 336)

For Twain, characters in dreams can experience sensuality more acutely than they can in the real world. Dreams thus offer characters relief from the rules and norms of the real world and the rigid, fixed values it imposes. Dream scenes performed a similar function for Twain himself as a writer, freeing him to depict sensuality even as he was otherwise bound by the codes of the genteel tradition. Only in Twain's dream writings, moreover, do women characters actively express their sexual desires:

My passion rose and overpowered me and I floated to her like a breath and put my arms about her and drew her to my breast and put my lips to hers, unrebuked, and drew intoxication from them! She closed her eyes, and with a sigh which seemed born of measureless content, she said dreamily, "I love you so — and have so longed for you!"

Her body trembled with each kiss received and repaid.... (*MSM* 338)

This "erotic" depiction of a daring woman's aroused reaction to a man challenges traditional fixed ideas of Twain's female characters as asexual or static. However, the posthumous publication of *The Mysterious Stranger* indicates that Twain himself was afraid to disclose such frank expressions of sexuality. Only in dream narratives withheld

from publication did Twain allow himself the freedom to write about desire as he wished.

The depictions of sensuality in Twain's dream writings suggest that the author made use of them to express not only fantasy in literary terms but also his own unconscious sexual desires. Twain's dream narratives contain not only erotic depictions of sensual women but also visions of traditional, innocent girls, complicating our understanding of Twain's representations of women and of his own desires. For example, the dream narrative of "My Platonic Sweetheart" (1905) centers on a male narrator who meets his everlasting love. The narrator, who may be Twain himself, naturally ages as the years pass but his beloved remains fifteen, the age at which he first met her. Although depictions of sensuality like those in *The Mysterious Stranger* occur in "My Platonic Sweetheart" too, the stated emphasis is on the platonic rather than the erotic. According to the narrator, while the affection he shares with his beloved is one more intimate than that between brother and sister, it is also different from that shared by lovers:

The affection which I felt for her and which she manifestly felt for me was a quite simple fact; but the quality of it was another matter. It was not the affection of brother and sister — it was closer than that, more clinging, more endearing, more reverent; and it was not the love of sweethearts, for there was no fire in it. ("My Platonic Sweetheart" 285)

In "My Platonic Sweetheart," as in some other dream writings, Twain thus projects his ideal female as an eternally youthful and innocent girl.

This "platonic" ideal perhaps represents a significant aim in Twain's career over the course of which he finally depicted a wide variety of female characters. That is to say, at one time, Twain's writings reflected his anxieties concerning the appearance of the New Woman but, later, he expressed his hidden and ambivalent desires for women and girls through his dream writings. Taken together, Twain's depictions of female characters are inconsistent, but they constitute nonetheless a vivid portrait of his era's — and his own — confusion about the changing roles of women in society and their expressions of sexuality.

Searching for the Ideal Girl

After embodying his vision of the eternal girl in the imagined world of “My Platonic Sweetheart,” Twain found a way to pursue this vision in the real world. Late in his life, Twain established a social and literary circle of girls he called “angelfish” as members of the “Aquarium Club.” Twain took great pleasure and pride in the Club, describing it as follows:

As for me, I collect pets: young girls — girls from ten to sixteen years old; girls who are pretty and sweet and naïve and innocent — dear young creatures to whom life is a perfect joy and to whom it has brought no wounds, no bitterness, and few tears. My collection consists of gems of the first water. (*Mark Twain’s Aquarium*, February 12, 1908, xvii)

Twain corresponded with young girls in the Angelfish Club throughout his seventies, indeed, continuing until just before his death. More than a dozen girls belonged to the club, and numerous photographs and accounts of Twain playing billiards, swimming, and otherwise enjoying the company of these girls have survived. Until her own death in 1962, however, Twain’s daughter Clara kept these materials hidden because she viewed the club as scandalous and feared damage to her father’s reputation.

Since Clara Clemens’s death, however, much of Twain’s correspondence with members of the Angelfish Club has come to light, affording a new perspective on the life of the great writer. During Twain’s association with the Club, his beloved wife died and his daughters too either died or moved away; but rather than supporting the conventional view of Twain’s later years — that they were barren artistically and overshadowed by the pessimism that followed Twain’s bankruptcy and loss of his wife and daughters — Twain’s friendships with these little girls suggest an alternative evaluation of Twain’s life at this time. Through his correspondence with the Angelfish Club, Twain regained his energy and feeling of youth, and while many of his writings from this period were not published at the time, they reveal that Twain continued to write and record his thoughts without pause.

Everlasting youth was the most important aspect of the feminine ideal that Twain expresses in “My Platonic Sweetheart”; consequently, it is noteworthy that the members of the Angelfish Club were required to graduate and leave the club when they became twenty. The girls who belonged to the club were thus always of about the same young age, and in this regard embodied for Twain the eternal youth that he idealized in ways not so different from the narrator in “My Platonic Sweetheart.”

With his own daughters, Twain always played the role of stern father; his daughter Clara described an episode in which her father scolded her for attracting the attention of unknown men, even when she was already in her thirties.⁵ Twain similarly disliked seeing his Angelfish Club girls grow up, and particularly regretted their love affairs and boyfriends. In short, he wished that his Angelfish Club girls would stay young forever, as the following letter to one of its members demonstrates:

8 April 1906

You are the sweetest grandchild I've got, Marjorie dear, & the best. ...So you are 16 to-day you dear little rascal! Oh, come, this won't do — you mustn't move along so fast; at this rate you will soon be a young lady, & next you will be getting married. (*MTA* 24-25)⁶

In her response to Twain's letter, this particular Angelfish Club girl showed keen insight into Twain's desires, writing, “No matter how old I am in years, I shall always be your young little Marjorie as long as you wish it” (*MTA* 29). Marjorie thus played her role as pseudo-daughter just as Twain wished her to do.

Twain's desire for his girls to be eternally young is represented in “My Platonic Sweetheart,” where it emerges as intimately related to the narrator's own longing for youth. In the dream world, the beloved remains always the same age: “I saw her a week ago, just for a moment. Fifteen, as usual, and I seventeen, instead of going on sixty-three, as I was when I went to sleep” (295). It is only in dreams that the narrator's sweetheart exists, but it is also only in dreams that the narrator himself remains forever a boy. Twain's obsession with eternal youth is further reflected in an aphorism of his which brings to mind the dream world of “My Platonic Sweetheart”: “Life would be infinitely happier

if we could only be born at the age of 80 and gradually approach 18” (Phelps 965). Of course, it is in dreams that the older Twain can once again meet the friends, wife, and daughters he has lost, and this too lies behind his interest in crossing the border between reality and dreams, as the following passage from his autobiography reflects: “How good and kind they were and how lovable their lives! In fancy I could see them all again...” (*The Autobiography of Mark Twain* 375-76). Ultimately, Twain preferred the world of dreams to that of waking life:

For everything in a dream is more deep and strong and sharp and real than is ever its pale imitation in the unreal life which is ours when we go about awake and clothed with our artificial selves in this vague and dull-tinted artificial world. (“My Platonic Sweetheart” 295)

Yet in his friendships with the girls in the Angelfish Club, the wish Twain expressed in the dream world of “My Platonic Sweetheart” was realized in his real life, and it amounted to far more for him than “imitation in the unreal life.” Through the medium of the Angelfish Club, Twain crossed the border between dream and reality.

Lost America, Regained Youth

Clara Clemens reasonably feared that close friendships with the Angelfish Club girls reflected a sexual desire for young girls on her father’s part. Yet we must recall the important stress Twain placed on the platonic element in relationships with the members of the club. Only by maintaining the platonic nature of his interest in the girls could Twain preserve the sweet dream that the club fulfilled for him. What was the dream exactly?

We might say that Twain’s search for the eternal, innocent girl is related to his nostalgia for the pastoral America of his youth. In both his autobiography and autobiographical works such as the Mississippi writings (the *Tom Sawyer* series), Twain frequently recreated scenes of pastoral American life being destroyed by the rise of industrialization during his lifetime. The innocence of the eternal girls in Twain’s

“platonic” vision thus overlaps nostalgically with the “innocence” of antebellum America before industrialization. His longing for the innocence of the past — his sense of an “old present and young past” — is also related to the attractions he sees in crossing the borders of waking life and dreams. For Twain, the pastoral antebellum American past is young because it is associated in his recollections with his own youth, while the present of Twain’s writings at the turn of the century is that of his old age. Twain’s ideal of feminine innocence was thus deeply informed by his ideal of a pastoral America; in his images of young girls, Twain thus recreated visions of a lost America. At the same time, Twain’s visions of the innocence of young America may in turn be understood to be symbolized by his ideal of eternally innocent girls.

Twain recreated the past through autobiography, in the writing of which, in a sense, he met with old friends and lost family members, reconstituting bygone days. Twain enjoyed sharing time again with these people whom he reanimated in the process of writing about them in his autobiography. Twain was himself reanimated, both spiritually and creatively, by the process of exercising his imagination in autobiographical writing. Yet when he stopped writing, his youthful spirit and vitality subsided, and he recognized that the lost past could never be regained in the real world. Twain’s autobiography and dream writings, and even the Angelfish Club he established to surround himself with young girls, were thus an escape from the disappointments of reality. In short, Twain strove in his writing to recreate his past — the past of pre-industrial America — and he virtually lived in the past he thus recreated.

Thus, it is significant that Twain’s ideal, innocent girl never appears as the heroine in Twain’s earlier works, where female protagonists are exemplified by the likes of Becky Thatcher in *Tom Sawyer*. Only in the dream world or in autobiography could Twain meet his beloved, deceased daughter, Susy Clemens (1872-96), for example. In his later years, Twain set out to model a heroine on Susy, but he proved unable to locate the narrative of this ideal heroine in a contemporary, turn-of-the-century setting; instead, he cast her in his *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*, which appeared in 1896, the year of Susy’s death. In another late work set in biblical times, “Eve’s Diary” (1905), Twain’s recently deceased wife Olivia can be recognized in the protagonist. That Twain chose such legendary figures as Joan of Arc and Eve to represent the beloved women of his

past suggests that he could not portray his heroines in a contemporary American setting. For Twain, America was losing or had already lost her innocence; his ideal, innocent girl could no longer live in such a place, in that new reality. Twain's platonic interest in the innocence of the America of his youth may therefore be understood to have engendered the peculiar fantasies in which he recreated the past.

Abbreviations

HF	<i>Adventures of Huckleberry Finn</i>
TS	<i>The Adventures of Tom Sawyer</i>
MSM	<i>Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts</i>
MTA	<i>Mark Twain's Aquarium</i>
HNJ	<i>How Nancy Jackson Married Kate Wilson</i>

Notes

¹ Important studies of gender in Twain's work and life from the 1990s include Peter Stonely's *Mark Twain and the Feminine Aesthetic* (1992), Shelley Fisher Fishkin's "Mark Twain and Women" (1993), Laura E. Skandera-Tronbley's *Mark Twain and the Company of Women* (1994), and J. D. Stahl's *Mark Twain: Culture and Gender* (1994). Susan K. Harris outlines gender issues raised by Twain in "Mark Twain and Gender" (2002).

² John Cooley also edited Twain's correspondence with members of his "Angelfish Club" in *Mark Twain's Aquarium* (1991), the definitive study of the circle of girls that the author gathered around himself in his later years. Prior to the appearance of *Mark Twain's Aquarium*, intriguing letters and other correspondence between Twain and individual members of the Angelfish Club had come to light, such as those collected in Dorothy Quick's *Enchantment: A Little Girl's Friendship with Mark Twain* (1961). However, the actual circumstances of the Angelfish Club were not closely examined prior to the publication of Cooley's *Aquarium*. Cooley furthermore offered new perspectives on female characters in Twain based on his close study of the Angelfish Club in "Mark Twain, Rebellious Girls, and Daring Young Women."

³ Elizabeth Ammons provides the basis for the discussion offered here of the "New

Woman" in *Conflicting Stories* (1991). The classic study on women in this era is Carol Smith-Rosenberg's *Disorderly Conduct* (1985).

⁴ For more on the relationship between Eddy and Twain, see Cynthia D. Shrager, "Mark Twain and Mary Baker Eddy" (1998).

⁵ Cooley describes additional episodes illuminating the father-daughter relationships of Clara, Susy, and Twain in the introduction to "Mark Twain, Rebellious Girls, and Daring Young Women."

⁶ This letter was from Twain to Gertrude Natkin, one of the Angelfish Club girls, whom Twain nicknamed "Marjorie," his own pet name for her.

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The Recurrent Trope of the Indivisible Body: Mark Twain's Postmodern View of Identity and the Body

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I

In writing such works as “What Is Man?” in his later years, Mark Twain revealed his larger philosophical interest in human affairs. Even though he was less a systematic theorist than a humorist, Twain's philosophical thinking provided his novels with a piercing insight that transformed his humor into something more than a joke. In this essay I consider selected humorous remarks and episodes that reference the indivisible body in Twain's novels in order to show how his persistent interest in the body was ahead of his time, even approaching postmodern understandings of the body as social construct. Twain's ideological exploration into fundamental questions of the human condition serves as a platform for the critical reassessment of Twain's later works, many of which were left unfinished or are yet to be mined for their inspired ideas.

In *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894), David Wilson's enigmatic remark about a troublesome barking dog earns him his disgraceful nickname because of its apparent meaninglessness: “I wish I owned half of that dog... Because I would kill my half” (24). Twain's assigning such a remark to the eponymous character (who also happens to be a lawyer) becomes increasingly significant when we note Twain's interest in the trope of the indivisible body in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884/5) and also in *Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894). The three conceptions of “half,” “to own,” and “body” in Wilson's remark, while otherwise unremarkable, take on more weight in novels that represent slavery.

George E. Marcus, in an essay that focuses on the “half a dog” story, considers Twain's “treatment of race” in both *Huck Finn* and *Pudd'nhead Wilson* to be rather “half-committed” (199), claiming that race appears “as a kind of allegorical vehicle for

probing” something else (198). Marcus sees *Pudd’nhead Wilson*’s reference to race “as a story through which another more profound story of self can be told” (198). He discusses such topics as “the concept of self” (191), “the coherence of the self and personal identity” (191), “the nature of consciousness and subjectivity” (192), and “the masked complexities of consciousness and self” (198) in order to argue that the novel is Mark Twain’s critique of “notions of the unified self” (204). In Marcus’s view, the “unified self” is the “culturally hegemonic” American ideology of “autonomous” and essential “individualism” (195). I share Marcus’s view that Twain’s representation of slavery in the two novels reveals more his philosophical thinking about the human race in general than his social interest in the racial problems of his age. The two novels and also *Those Extraordinary Twins*, a novel originally part of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* but later separated from it, also reflect this interest on Twain’s part, leading to his more obviously philosophical focus on the human race in his later years, from such subversive viewpoints as Satan and even a microbe.

While Marcus in his analysis of *Pudd’nhead Wilson* takes up the concept of the self from Wilson’s joking remark and discusses Twain as a cultural critic, I focus on Twain’s philosophical interest in the body and trace his persistent interest in the trope of the indivisible body over the course of three novels: *Huck Finn*, *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*. Marcus’s criticism of “Twain’s restraint from going beyond” the dualistic thinking of his time “even when he saw beyond them” (209) is in sharp contrast with my own contention that Twain recognized the body as a social construct well ahead of his time.¹

II

In Chapter XIV, Huck and Jim discuss a Frenchman’s foreign language. In order to convince Jim that a Frenchman speaks a different language than they do, Huck gives examples of a cat and a cow, saying that just as these animals talk differently from them so does a Frenchman: “Well, then, why ain’t it natural and right for a *Frenchman* to talk different from us?” But Jim refutes Huck’s argument: “Is a cat a man, Huck? Is a Frenchman a man? *Well*, den! Dad blame it, why doan he *talk* like a man?” (102-03). Jim’s argument is comical but also surprisingly convincing.

In Huck's argument, differences among people are equated with those between animals and human beings. If we were to substitute "African" for "Frenchman" and "chattel" for "a cat and a cow" Huck's comments could be seen to reflect the view that the difference between white and black people is as natural as the difference between humans and chattel. Jim's argument, on the other hand, emphasizes the oneness of all people. In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, the humaneness of Judge Driscoll's character is described ironically by using an analogy similar to Huck's above: "He was a fairly humane man toward slaves and other animals; he was an exceedingly humane man toward the erring of his own race"(66). The reader cannot accept Jim's argument in *Huck Finn* because he refuses to accept the fact that a Frenchman is a man even if he talks differently from an American; nonetheless, Jim's unique perspective serves as a counterargument to the presumption that the difference between "slaves" and one's "own race" is as natural as that between animals and "real" men (that is, human beings).

Critic Carmen Subryan is offended by Twain's representation of Jim in this scene:

Unable to answer Jim's logic, Huck dismisses it: "I see it warn't no use wasting words—you can't learn a nigger to argue. So I quit" (Chap.14). Huck's statement, despite the irony of Jim's actually having bested him in the argument, is damaging because it portrays Jim as a fool and, at least superficially, supports a broader misconception of black people as incapable of reason (and thus not fully human). (97)

Subryan recognizes the effect of Jim's rebuttal on Huck, but in the end is more impressed by Huck's behavior in response to Jim's comment. Yet, if we take Jim not as a representative of "black people," as Subryan does, but rather as a representative of a more subversive view that humorously threatens the conventional thinking and values of those like Huck, it might then be possible to take Huck's final comment as merely a weak attempt to dismiss Jim's valid point out of hand by asserting racial superiority. In the end, Jim's view is one that refuses to accept that some men can be in the category of animals, instead seeing all men without exception in the same category of human race.

In order to make clear how Twain's philosophical thinking is working behind

such apparently humorous remarks and episodes, I wish to emphasize the multi-voiced structure of *Huck Finn*. In this novel no one voice is authoritative and it is possible to hear even unspoken exchanges that arise through the interaction of voices. In “*Pudd’nhead Wilson Revisited*” (1990), James M. Cox refers to the contradictory views about slavery at work in *Huck Finn*: “Huck’s narrative — written and not spoken — plays upon a secret agreement between writer and reader, the agreement that the white boy’s relation of his friendship with and aid to a runaway slave, illegal and disapproved in his own society, will be utterly legal and righteously approved in his own society of Huck’s readers” (6). Cox finds “a secret agreement” between the writer and the reader, one which, while unspoken, nonetheless enables a “double vision” toward slavery in which wrong/right and illegal/legal can coexist in the experience of reading the text.

However, this “secret agreement” is not the last word on the text, either. Because if we were to read *Huck Finn* from simply a slavery-as-wrong-and-illegal perspective, we would miss, for example, the seriousness of “the spiritual struggle of Huck Finn in deciding to help the Negro Jim to his freedom, even though he should be forever despised as a negro thief in his native town, and perhaps eternally lost through the blackness of his sin,” as William Dean Howells once commented (149). For example, how should the reader regard Aunt Sally, a good-natured character, who, hearing a Negro was killed in the steamboat accident, says: “Well, it’s lucky; because sometimes people do get hurt” (281). The reader cannot simply denounce the kindly Aunt Sally as an evil racist nor wholly sympathize with her shocking, however “unconscious,” choice of words. In *Huck Finn* we as readers must seek the multi-leveled structure of the truth in complex representations of the human condition, tracing out the truth somewhere in the interplay between three different viewpoints on slavery: the subversive one of Jim, a slave; the moderate view of Huck, a social outcast; and that of Tom, a conventional and authoritative Southerner. I read *Huck Finn* as a kind of “fable of man” for Twain, and see race in the novel represented not by a social reformer but by a philosopher. Consequently, I regard the novel’s main characters more as viewpoints than as characters plausible as real people in their own right, which eliminates some of the problems of Jim’s necessary characterization as a “real” black man.

Twain consistently makes use of Jim’s refusal to differentiate between people, as we

see above in *Huck Finn*, and as we can see also in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1892). Frederick Woodard and Donnarae MacCann are justified in casting aspersions on the representation of Jim in that novel when they say, "Yet in the next published work about Huck, Tom, and Jim — *Tom Sawyer Abroad* — nothing is left of Jim but the clown (147). However, Jim's representation as a minstrel figure in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* may be said to signify something else again when we consider his language and comments intertextually to discover a more consistent "character" to his viewpoint.

In Chapter 3 of *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, when Tom explains about the time difference between St. Louis, Missouri, and Tom and Jim's current location in the balloon high up in the sky, Jim refuses to accept it: "Marse Tom, who put de people out yonder in St Louis? De Lord done it. Who put de people here whah we is? De Lord done it. Ain' dey bofe His chillen? 'Cose dey is. *Well*, den! Is He gwyne to 'scriminate 'twix' 'em?" (273). In his argument Jim's use of the word "discriminate" does not simply mean "to make distinctions" but also refers to racial practices precisely because he is a black slave for whom the term is more loaded. Tom's answer finally expresses what was only implied in the logic used by Jim in the debate over the Frenchman's language in *Huck Finn*. Tom says, "There ain't no discriminating about it. When He makes you and some more of His children black, and makes the rest of us white, what do you call that?" (273). Quite literally, the humor here lies in Tom's so-called superior logical thinking, from which emerges his claim that racial difference is analogous to time differences. But if we grant Jim the upper hand here and deny Tom his "natural" superiority, we see Jim's perspective better reflects Twain's concern when he wrote *Huck Finn*, which was not so much how to represent slavery, a historical institution, as his concern for the ideological crisis that threatened egalitarian idealism and thereby justified any social inequality. Jim, like Twain, was hesitant to grant easily and clearly any "essential" differences between people, not even at the levels of nationality or race.

The Solomon passage in Chapter XIV of *Huck Finn*, which comes just before the conversation about the Frenchman's language, continues Jim's argument in a similar way as the above. Although Jim misinterprets Solomon's intention about how to identify the natural mother of the child in this scene, his viewpoint is most interesting for its literal significance. It continues to show his sensitive awareness as a slave of any concept that

presupposes differences between people. Jim here speaks about “dat chile dat [Solomon] ’uz gwyne to chop in two”:

“Dah’s de stump, dah — dat’s one er de women; heah’s you — dat’s de yuther one; I’s Sollermun; en dish-yer dollar bill’s de chile. Bofe un you claims it. What does I do? Does I shin aroun’ mongs’ de neighbors en fine out which un you de bill *do* b’long to, en han’ it over to de right one, all safe en soun’, de way dat anybody dat had any gumption would? No — I take en whack de bill in *two*, en give half un it to you, en de yuther half to de yuther woman. Dat’s de way Sollermun was gwyne to do wid de chile. Now I want to ast you: what’s de use er dat half a bill? — can’t buy noth’n wid it. En what use is a half a chile?” (100)

Jim’s reasoning cautions us that, if we believe in egalitarian principles, the whole cannot be divided into halves or shared equally by the two owners. As Jim illustrates, neither a dollar bill nor a child can be divided into two parts.² Of course the sum of a dollar can be divided into fifty cents each, and a child can belong to both parents; however, when embodied in a dollar bill or in the physical being of a child, the body must be intact as a whole, or else its meaning is completely lost. There is no equal division possible, just the whole or nothing. The situation that Jim illustrates here reappears in *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and *Those Extraordinary Twins*, showing Twain’s growing interest in philosophical conceptions of the body. However, in *Huck Finn* this situation appears to be related to the crisis of equality under the influence of Social Darwinism. Not simply a trope of the indivisible body but also one of the indivisible whole, Jim’s egalitarian language was rather common among authors of Twain’s time, often used to delineate situations in which cutting the whole into halves and also sharing equally is impossible.³

Darwinian theory suggests that nature provides more people than is needed for the survival of the species, which can be said to justify the sacrifice of the useless excess of humanity for the benefit of the superior few. In his argument about Solomon, Jim says:

“You take a man dat’s got on’y one er two chillen; is dat man gwyne to be wasful o’chillen? No, he ain’t; he can’t ‘ford it. *He* know how to value ‘em. But you take a

man dat's got 'bout five million chillen runnin' roun' de house, en it's diffunt. *He* as soon chop a chile in two as a cat. Dey's plenty mo'." (101)

Twain uses Jim as a mouthpiece here to warn against concepts that belittle the value of life based on the logic that there is always plenty more where that came from. In "The Chronicle of Young Satan," we might recall that Satan too makes little of life, saying, "we can make more" immediately after killing all the people he just created in an earthquake and storm he himself causes (52). Satan even directly commits "murder" when he crushes the life out of the little quarreling workmen he has created (49). Though the reasoning behind Satan's acts is ambiguous, it may symbolize the concept of natural selection: When applied to human beings, natural selection leads to contempt for individual life and even justifies differentiating among individuals for specific valuable traits. If all life cannot survive, choices are inevitable. In this way Twain warns against such concepts by introducing the trope of the indivisible whole. This trope shows Twain's alarm at the idea that egalitarian principles could be scientifically or popularly renounced as irrelevant merely because of a mistaken belief that taking the part at the expense of the whole is inevitable or expedient. Such a mentality reveals human egoism above all.

Critic Robert Sattelmeyer emphasizes the importance of Jim's opinion of Solomon: "Jim's anger, unusual for him, is well founded, for he knows from experience what it means to be wasteful of children, living as he does in a society where black children, like the legions of Solomon's progeny, were of no particular value except as chattel. Conversely, Jim knows how to value children...." (362). Though Jim appears too ignorant to understand the point of Solomon's judgment, and his opinion as offered is admittedly minstrel-like in its dialects and attitudes, if we focus our attention solely on this ideological aspect, we miss the ways in which Jim's humanitarianism is historically viable for an African American character.

The trope of the indivisible whole, though in somewhat altered form, also appears in Twain's "The War-Prayer" (1904-5). The war cannot be regarded as something whole per se, but it does present a situation where people cannot enjoy egalitarian principles because victory for both sides is impossible and only either one or the other can win. In this short story Twain introduces an old man who enters a church and finds the people there praying

for victory in wartime. The old man points out that their prayer means a wish for death and misery to people on the opposite side of the war. In this way Twain uses the binary opposition of victor and loser to denounce war as a fundamentally blind and selfish act conceived in zero-sum terms by means of splitting a whole into halves.

III

In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Wilson's strange remark about a dog incorporates the two elements discussed above from *Huck Finn* and *Tom Sawyer Abroad*: It describes a situation in which division is impossible (Jim's Solomon example) and refers to wholeness or the body as a whole (Jim's reference to the dollar bill and the child). Twain obviously continued to explore both these philosophical concepts further in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, but his interest focused on the body. Wilson's joke may appear virtually meaningless, but it expresses a key concept that drove Twain to write this novel. As Twain explains in the beginning of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, he began to write it as a story about twins, but it soon became quite another tale. The trope of the indivisible body appears here in the figure of the conjoined twins — signifying both subject matter and fictional structure — to connect two otherwise very different stories: the “farce,” *Those Extraordinary Twins*, and the “tragedy,” *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.

The trope of the indivisible body in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is certainly related to slavery. In *Huck Finn* it works to signify indivisible wholeness, appealing to the crisis in equality that slavery posed in the historical context of Social Darwinism. In *Pudd'nhead Wilson* the trope raises questions about the identity of the mulatto body in slave-holding society in the post-Reconstruction era, when the United States began to institutionalize the “separate but equal” principle for the races.

In *The Prince and the Pauper*, wearing the right clothes settles the boys' identities; in the slaveholding town of Dawson's Landing, however, the matter of identity is more complex. The exchange of clothes is the first action taken in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, but when the secret of the switched babies is revealed at the end with the aid of fingerprint technology, it still fails to give the reader cathartic satisfaction. Identity defined merely as appearance or style in clothes is easy to change. In *The Prince and the Pauper*, identity

was still regarded as something stable despite changing clothes, while in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, once clothes are switched, the appearance of the body underneath them becomes destabilized since the identity of slaves was not decided by skin color alone but also by invisible "black" blood. The simple method of identification in *The Prince and the Pauper* where appearance = identity is replaced by the more complex one of the white body of a "black" mulatto slave in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.

Eric J. Sundquist contends that Twain's choice of a white mulatto for this novel has to be considered in the context of the 1892 legal controversy over Homer Adolph Plessy. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) was the court case that established the "separate but equal" principle of Jim Crow laws that would prevail throughout the first half of the twentieth century. As Twain's narrator explains in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, a mulatto's racial identity is determined by "a fiction of law and custom," rather than by real bodies or even blood:

To all intents and purposes Roxy was as white as anybody, but the one sixteenth of her which was black outvoted the other fifteen parts and made her a negro. She was a slave, and saleable as such. Her child was thirty-one parts white, and he, too, was a slave and, by a fiction of law and custom, a negro. (32-3)

Roxana looked white, but was not regarded as white, even though her blood meant she was more white than black. Neither blood nor skin color as defining traits of her body determines Roxana's racial identity. As the narrator's words, "a fiction of law and custom," indicate, Twain recognizes that the racial identity of a mulatto is wholly a social construction.

Chris Shilling explains our contemporary social constructionist view of the body that replaced more "naturalistic" views in the latter half of the 1960's in this way: "Social constructionist views are united in their opposition to the notion that the body can be analysed adequately purely as a biological phenomenon. They also share an approach which holds that instead of being the foundation of society, the character and meanings attributed to the body, and the boundaries which exist between the bodies of different groups of people, are social products"(62). In Jim's argument against Solomon's decision, the view of the body in the figures of the child and the dollar bill is "naturalistic." The

image of the body's solid wholeness is the fundamental premise on which the rhetoric works. In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, however, Twain expounds a social constructionist view of the body rather more often than a naturalistic view. We can apply Shilling's explanation of the social constructionist view of the body to this novel, for "the character and meanings attributed to the body" of Roxana as a slave are determined by an unreasonable law, and "the boundaries which exist between the bodies of different groups of people," such as black and white people, are certainly quite arbitrary. Twain's body in *Huck Finn* is more a conventional one, but with *Pudd'nhead Wilson* he obviously begins to explore the complex politics of the body, moving from a critique of the bizarre calculus of racial blood to approach aspects of identity politics some one hundred years in his future.

Wilson's dog joke, which at first appears merely comical and absurd, not unlike Jim's remark about the child and the dollar bill in *Huck Finn*, may in fact serve as a critique of Twain's contemporary society in implying "the one drop rule." This rule determined who was Negro based on the amount of their black blood — only "one drop" was necessary — with no regard for skin color. Obviously, the body of a mostly white man who had both white and black blood would be impossible to divide under any reasonable law. In this way, we can see that Wilson's ambiguous remark subtly and effectively critiques a society ruled by such unreasonable laws as "the one drop rule." At the end of the novel, Twain writes: "Everybody granted that if 'Tom' were white and free it would be unquestionably right to punish him — it would be no loss to anybody; but to shut up a valuable slave for life — that was quite another matter" (303). Wilson's dog joke at the start of the novel, then, might be rewritten in light of the novel's ending: "I wish I owned the white half of the man... Because I would rightfully punish my half." The logic of "partiality" that governs the one-drop rule can be said to provide the humorous edge to Wilson's dog joke while here in Twain's concluding joke, it gets the last laugh by dividing Tom into two parts, one part slave and one part white criminal.

After Tom finds out about his black blood, his life becomes one of "passing." And passing, as a means of crossing boundaries both racial and sexual, dramatically exposes the ways in which identity is determined or assigned. As Valerie Rohy explains:

In matters of race as well as sexuality, passing both invokes and unravels the logic

of primary and secondary, authenticity and inauthenticity, candor and duplicity, by placing in question the priority of what is claimed as 'true' identity. The discourse of racial passing reveals the arbitrary foundation of the categories 'black' and 'white,' just as passing across gender and sexuality places in question the meaning of 'masculine' and 'feminine,' 'straight' and 'gay.' Racial passing is thus subject to an epistemological ambiguity; from the beginning the discourse of passing contains an implicit critique of 'identity' precisely because what constitutes 'the beginning' of identity remains in question. (227)

Twain recognizes the factors that reveal the arbitrariness of racial identity when he writes in detail about what goes on in Tom's mind and attitude once he knows his "true" racial identity. At first, Tom's perspective on the moral landscape reverses. Even though he himself is the same, now that the dominant society's view of him has changed, it affects his self-identity, too: "For days he wandered in lonely places, thinking, thinking, thinking — *trying to get his bearings. It was new work*" (emphasis mine, 123). Now he has to redefine himself and find out how to behave according to his new identity as a slave-disguised-as-white; he has to perform and masquerade his white identity self-consciously. On the other hand, this racial identity affects Tom's life-long sense of white identity in that he himself begins to feel he is a Negro and involuntarily behaves according to such social norms, exactly as though he himself believed in his own internal essential identity as a Negro.

This initial change in his behavior occurs when he becomes afraid and humiliated, and it is attributed to the "nigger in him," but it disappears after a while when "Tom" soon becomes his old self again, apparently without any effort:

For as much as a week after this, Tom imagined that his character had undergone a pretty radical change. *But that was because he did not know himself.* In several ways *his opinions were totally changed, and would never go back to what they were before, but the main structure of his character was not changed and could not be changed...* He dropped gradually back into his old frivolous and easy-going ways and conditions of feeling and manner of speech, and no familiar of his could have

detected anything in him that differentiated him from the weak and careless Tom of other days. (emphasis mine; Chapter X: 125, 126)

In this second identity shift that Tom undergoes, the narrator's explanations emphasized in the above passage show Twain's belief in the stable self or constant personality of Tom, no matter what happens to him. Citing the same passage, George E. Marcus points out the limits of Twain's critique of the unified self, saying "Twain seems to be positing a return to a truer, deeper character which is Tom's essence — one that has little to do with the social construction of selves through identities like race, class, and ethnicity" (203-4). On the contrary, however, I contend that Tom's unified self serves all the more effectively as a radical critique of the social identification of the mulatto body; after all, if "Tom" goes back to his old self, what is that "old self" that he finds his way back to so easily? What was that identity of his in the beginning? Is he a Negro or a white? If he was simply what society took him for and formed of him according to his lived social norms, then he should have been white. Or, was he a Negro unbeknownst to the people around him, and even himself? In that case, his identity as a Negro would not have been any different from his being white. The questions opened up by this episode serve as "an implicit critique of 'identity'" because, as Valerie Rohy argues, "what constitutes 'the beginning' of identity remains in question."

It is also true, as Marcus argues, that Twain did not fully explore the social construction of Tom's self. He does not delineate how Tom becomes a murderer troubled by the arbitrary definition of his racial self. Twain simply explains that Tom's cowardice or evil nature is derived from his Negro blood, or in the other version of the text, as Shelley Fisher Fishkin has pointed out, from his white blood (122-23). Twain remains somewhat conventional in his inconsistency in applying social constructionist views in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. However, his persistent interest in the body as a vehicle for arguing the concept of wholeness against parts produces *Those Extraordinary Twins* in which he presents the problems of identity and body in the story of Siamese twins. Focusing again on the trope of the indivisible body, Twain conceptualizes in this novel one body shared by two different personalities. In *Huck Finn* the trope was not necessarily related to the body but rather to wholeness, and when the trope appears again in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, it becomes

a metaphor for the mulatto body. Finally the trope materializes and appears as an actual human body in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.

In this novel Twain even gives up fingerprints and blood, biological determinants grounded in the body, as constitutive elements in a person's identification. It is impossible to identify the twins separately by their biological features, such as blood or their shared legs: Angelo does not drink a drop of liquor, for example, yet he gets drunk when Luigi does, and when Luigi appears to run it is really Angelo who runs away. When Rowena finally refuses Angelo's love, it is because his drunken behavior disgusts her, even though it is really only Luigi who drinks. The shared body of the twins, which has nothing to do with the identity or desires of each individual twin, raises questions about the relationship between the body and self-identity, a debate that, according to Shilling, is "one of the most important and contentious to have stimulated writings on the body" (182). The twins' body also poses questions of the nature of bodily boundaries, because theirs are indistinguishable. Today, of course, bodily contours are considered a social construct well under social regulation and control. As Mary Douglas remarks, "the body is a model that can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious" (115). Technologies have made the human body partly machine, and "the options associated with virtual reality and cyber-technologies promise us the potential of exploring and even occupying bodies which differ substantially according to time and place" (Shilling 189). In everyday life, we are familiar with serious cases in which bodily boundaries are experienced in confusing and destructive ways, including versions of gender identity disorder, anorexia nervosa, or multiple personalities.

Twain's humorous representation of the body in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is very radical. The twins' body, reflecting no identity or desires in and of itself, and with no definitive boundaries or contours in time and space, has some things in common with Judith Butler's notion of the gendered body. Butler, a radical constructivist, renounces even the "ontological status" of the body, as Samira Kawash explicates:

The matter of the body... is not a neutral, autonomous site or surface but, as Butler puts it, "a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter." "Matter," the reality effect of embodied

social identities, is created through time as “a sedimented effect of a reiterative or ritual practice.” (Kawash 212).⁴

Butler’s theory has been useful in disability studies, where her gender-inflected terms are substituted for disability-centered language, for example, “able-bodied” replaces “heterosexual” and “disabled” replaces “gay/lesbian.” In *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature*, Rosemarie Garland Thompson writes: “Both the female and the disabled bodies are cast as deviant and inferior; both are excluded from full participation in public as well as economic life; both are defined in opposition to a norm that is assumed to possess natural physical superiority” (19). This critique of the prevalent politics of the body from the perspective of the minority, be it in the area of gender, race or ability, reveals how norms relating to the body have been socially constructed. Twain’s interest in this issue — not to mention the choice he made to use the body of Siamese twins — enabled him to approach a rather radical notion of the body.

Why did Mark Twain become interested in such sophisticated questions of identity and body in the late nineteenth century? Siobhan B. Somerville refers to two important court cases: *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, and in 1892, “the highly publicized trial of Alice Mitchell, who had murdered her female lover Freda Ward,” which “focused public attention on the meanings of sexual attachments between women”(2). She argues that:

The formation of notions of heterosexuality and homosexuality emerged in the United States through (and not merely parallel to) a discourse saturated with assumptions about the racialization of bodies. These assumptions and the heightened surveillance of bodies in a racially segregated culture demanded a specific kind of logic, which, as I will argue, gave coherence to the new concepts of homo- and heterosexuality”(4).

Somerville’s study locates racial and sexual discourses at the nexus of the modern concept of the gendered body, which helps us understand how Mark Twain in the nineteenth century also used the body to argue philosophical concepts of parts and wholes. We might

say that he nearly attained a postmodern conceptualization of the body in his humorous depiction of the Siamese twins. The changing landscapes in which the trope of the indivisible body persistently appears in the three novels considered throughout this study show how Twain continued a serious philosophical quest for the subversive possibilities of a humanist view of the body, often behind the humor and apparent focus of his attention, the race problem.

Notes

¹ Marcus also considers Twain's ideological interest would have produced a postmodern tale: "The twin plus mistaken identities assemble the elements of a postmodern tale — Twain has these instincts — but beyond the assembling nothing is done..." (209).

² In Chapter VIII of *Huckleberry Finn* Jim says, "I's rich now...I owns myself, en I's wuth eight hund'd dollars. I wisht I had de money." Here Jim considers his body to be separated from himself as a subject. This duality is also pointed out by Samira Kawash in her interpretation of the body of a fugitive slave: "... As property, this removal is simultaneously theft: the fugitive steals himself, subject and object of an action that aims at the removal of this very duality. Both the agent and the object of this theft inhabit the same body..." (55).

³ One example of the trope is a coat brought forth by Dostoyevsky in *Crime and Punishment* (1866). In section 5 of Part Two, Mr. Luzhin says:

"Love thy neighbour as thyself," and I did, what was the result of it?The result of it was that I tore my coat in half to share it with my neighbour, and both of us were left half naked. As the Russian proverb has it, "If you run after two hares, you won't catch one." But science tells us, "Love yourself before everyone else, for everything in the world is based on self-interest. If you love only yourself, you'll transact your business as it ought to be transacted, and your coat will remain whole. (167)

In situations in which sharing is impossible and the only choice is between the whole and

nothing at all, human selfishness is exposed. In this passage Luzhin refers to “science” as the justification for self-interest. Darwinism as an element of scientific thought influenced both *Huckleberry Finn* and *Crime and Punishment*. Raskolnikov, hearing Luzhin’s argument, makes this comment: “Well, if the principles you’ve just been advocating are pushed to their logical conclusion, you’ll soon be justifying murder” (170).

Another example of the trope of the indivisible whole is Ambrose Bierce’s ship in the definition of “friendship” in *Devil’s Dictionary* (1911). It also presents the unique condition where equal division is impossible: “A ship big enough to carry two in fair weather, but only one in foul” (58). Bierce’s use of the trope as a small ship exposes human selfishness in their severe struggle for survival.

⁴ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 9, 10.

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“Was Huck *Burak(k)u*?”: Reading and Teaching Twain in Asian Pacific World Literature

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Perhaps there is no greater test of contemporary value than the way a text stands up to the challenges of today’s students. In my classrooms in California, Guam, and Japan these past few years, Mark Twain’s work has met that challenge. For instance, including Twain in my freshman course taught at Berkeley in 2001, “Empires of Modernism,” surprised students who knew well the author of Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn stories; they had not known Samuel Clemens to be a contemporary of Joseph Conrad much less active in organizations advocating anti-imperialism in African and Asia Pacific regions. They had been taught their “Mark Twain” in such a way that they never imagined he might once have been at the heart of U.S. debates on the “darkness” of colonialism and capitalist expansion. Twain’s “King Leopold’s Soliloquy” (1905) and Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1899) read together created a provocative dialogue, one furthered by bringing to the discussion Kipling’s “The White Man’s Burden” (1899) and the socio-political contexts of its various parodies and revisions.¹ Mark Twain’s political writings had the class questioning civilization and progress, and thinking more deeply about frontier theses and manifest destinies precisely because it was “Mark Twain,” frontier adventurer and world explorer, who authorized them to do so. Our academic exercises in literature and history took on considerably more somber, even divisive, meaning after Tuesday, 9/11: suddenly the relevance of our readings to our own historical moment became uncannily magnified. Many students found themselves learning a new vocabulary from old texts for discussing contemporary issues of war, imperialism, and religious conflict. Twainian satire provided a rhetorical mode appealing to students who wanted to express youthful idealism or sincere grief without discarding either critical thinking or cool-headed skepticism.

And then there was the year before: I had taught AP English at a high school

on Guam where we read Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) as a canonical work. In that class, I urged my majority Asian Pacific Islander students to confront contemporary debates and censorship of the novel, aware that in a majority non-white class the representations of race and slavery in Twain’s novel would be tackled head on. Students engaged Twain’s story in the terms they knew best, those of their own Asian Pacific context and Guam’s history as a U.S. territory gained from the Spanish-American war, regained from Japanese Occupation, and presently still in status limbo (despite the UN’s advocating self-determination, as well as the abolition of territorial status under the 1962 Special Committee on Decolonization and the 1990-2000 International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism renewed in 2001). For these students, Huck’s resistance to “sivilizin” influences, as well as his final decision to “light out for the Territory,” already held transnational and postcolonial meanings. Believing I was faced with the task of making Twain “relevant” in classes such as these, I discovered Twain’s oft-untaught works did all the work for me. “To the Person Sitting in Darkness,” for example, bridged the gap between my students’ (mis)apprehensions regarding Twain in his times and for ours, and answered my own questions of how Twain brought his West to meet the East.

In this 1901 essay, Twain sympathizes with Chinese “patriots” and scathingly criticizes Christian European missionaries as mere mercenaries in the 1900 Boxer Rebellion; then, unexpectedly, he advances an argument focused on the United States and its betrayal of Filipino “patriots” such as Dr. Jose Rizal, Apolinario Mabini, Andres Bonifacio, and Emilio Aguinaldo fighting against Spanish colonial rule. Already well known to my Filipino and Chamorro students in Guam, the “Irreconcilables” including Aguinaldo (whom Twain mentions by name in his essay) were Filipino intellectuals and independence leaders who were exiled to Guam as prisoners of war.² In a striking passage, Twain’s essay brings together America’s shameful recent past of slavery with its contemporary moment of hypocrisy and imperialism in order to warn his country of taking a step back towards a feudalistic, European past instead of forward to strive for truly democratic American ideals. Twain writes of the colonized “Person Sitting in Darkness” who remains unpersuaded by the “enlightening” new deities the U.S. “Master” wants to sell him:

Now then, that will convince the Person. You will see. It will restore the Business. Also, it will elect the Master of the Game to the vacant place in the Trinity of our national gods; and there on their high thrones the Three will sit, age after age, in the people's sight, each bearing the Emblem of his service: Washington, the Sword of the Liberator; Lincoln, the Slave's Broken Chains; the Master, the Chains Repaired.³

For Twain, U.S. President McKinley had become a new “Master” and reforged the chains broken by his predecessors, thereby turning back real democratic progress in taking up “the Game” of expansionist trade and imperialism, lying and cheating for “Business” profit under the guise of Christian missionary values. Here we see Twain exposing the “backwardness” of imperial progress even as he links the misguided rationales of slavery (both King George III's and the U.S.'s own “peculiar institution”) with colonial and occupation policies. These “late Twain” writings are not mere anomalies in Twain's corpus, merely the works of a disillusioned and increasingly despairing old man, but rather they cast significant, meditative shadows on the writers' previous works; indeed, contemporary readers and writers all over the world now turn to Twain as much for active scholarship on his late and still emerging uncensored, re-edited literary works as for the new shape they lend to his overall corpus.⁴

Now in Osaka teaching American Studies courses in English to undergraduates (overwhelmingly male and Japanese) who are often indifferent — or else simply, and alarmingly, *unable* — to discuss either domestic or international matters of race and ethnicity in historical or social context, I find myself again turning to Twain in his transnational context for hints. In his 1994 Nobel acceptance speech, Oe Kenzaburo mentioned that Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* inspired him as a writer, and it has oft been noted that it is the moment when Huck Finn refuses to give up the runaway slave Jim and instead go to Hell — what Twain himself called the conflict between “a sound heart and a deformed conscience” — that particularly resonated for Oe.⁵ A prominent post-WWII writer in Japan, Oe himself has been alternately criticized and lauded as the voice and

conscience of his generation and, more recently, of Japan to the world. That generation was the postwar world of Japan emerging from the shadows of the defeat it embraced, as historian John Dower memorably puts it, one expected to reject its own traditions in favor of American-style democracy and freedom.⁶ This Twainian conflict at the heart of Japan’s modernity, then, is not only about the individual heart struggling against a deformed national or social conscience but also about issues of race and imperialism difficult to decouple from Japan’s relationship with the U.S., in particular. One hundred years after America exerted imperialistic pressure on Japan to open its borders to international trade and U.S. interests in Asia when Commodore Matthew Perry sailed into Tokyo Bay in 1853-4 with his military “black ships,” the U.S. after World War II established its military bases all over Japan to pressure and shape Japan’s demilitarization, its markets, and its democratization in a relationship dependent on U.S. militarization and protection. This arrangement was mutually beneficial to economic growth and trade expansion (especially during the Korean and Vietnam wars in Asia), and established Japan as the U.S.’s key Asian geopolitical partner with a seat at the world summit table. Scholar Naoki Sakai has detailed the “modernization theory” of Japan’s postwar tutelary role in democratizing Asia, in effect, the U.S. plan for Japan to wield an Americanized Asian influence over its neighbors.⁷ It is not my intent here to ignore Japan’s own imperialism, wartime atrocities, and national hubris by focusing more on U.S. hegemony and power over Japan; rather, I seek to emphasize how Japan’s tutelage in modernity, including some ideas about imperialism and race, was, and remains, very American, even as that modern history has served to obscure “traditional” Japanese prejudices and oppressive practices at home.

What could be more ironic than Commodore Perry returning to celebrate and enforce Japan’s opening of its borders to the U.S. in 1854 in a gunship named the *Powhatan*? Named after the great Algonquian Indian chief whose people had been befriended and later “removed” in the U.S.’s genocidal policies towards Native Americans, his name was memorialized along with the myth of his daughter Pocahontas to deploy the “noble savage” image for national edification, aptly symbolizing conquest and appropriation. And what about that other masking display of real race relations, Perry’s having created a minstrel troupe among his crew in order to entertain Japanese leaders?

Cultural anthropologist John G. Russell points out both these facts in his book *Nihonjin no Kokujinkan* (Japanese Views of Black People), contending that modern Japan has perpetuated racist representations of blacks based on ideas gleaned from the West ever since the first “southern barbarians” (*nanbanjin*) first appeared, the Portuguese and Spanish who brought slaves with them to Nagasaki and other ports in the sixteenth century.⁸ Prominent black intellectuals Marcus Garvey, Langston Hughes, and W.E.B. Du Bois attempted to establish ties of solidarity with early twentieth-century Japanese figures but links mostly crumbled as Japan’s “fifteen-year war” escalated and its wartime propaganda hyped racist caricatures of all Americans.⁹ From the postwar Occupation until today racist stereotypes in Japan have increasingly focused on African Americans, especially soldiers, as Russell and others taking up his research¹⁰ have shown. Turning to modern literature to argue the pervasiveness of racist stereotypes of blacks in modern Japanese culture, Russell considers writers such as Endo Shusaku, Murakami Ryu, Yamada Eimi — and Oe Kenzaburo. Which brings us back to Oe and Twain. When Oe begins in his early work to express the conflicts of his country’s modern times, perhaps it should not surprise us that he does so in a tale about a poor country boy and his relationship with a captive black American serviceman.

Oe’s Akutagawa Prize-winning novella, “Prize Stock” (*Shiiku*, 1958), appeared six years after the U.S.-led Allied Occupation ended and on the eve of violent U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (*Ampo*) protests. It is the story of an African American pilot who survives his plane crash only to be taken prisoner by poor Japanese villagers. A young boy, unnamed aside from the derogatory nickname of “Frog” given him and the other village children by the town “Clerk,” narrates the story. Responsible for guarding the black captive, the boy becomes physically and emotionally close to him over the idyllic summer in which they live together. In the eyes of the boy, the black “catch” is simultaneously a dirty and a magnificent strange animal. Repeatedly described through a peculiarly articulate if limited narration that focalizes events through the first-person perspective of the supposedly ill-educated boy, the black man is “kept like an animal” (*kau, doubutsu mitai ni; doubutsu no yo ni* 95, 113), and described as a “beast” or “like a beast” (*kedamono, kedamono no yo ni, kedamono douzen da* 95-96, 116), or “like

livestock” (*kachiku no yo ni*, 110, 117). Numerous characters, even some children, refer to him as “nigger” (*kurombo*). Physically, he is said to have “thick rubbery lips” and “smell like an animal” — among other derogatory, stereotypical images, as Russell points out; what Russell fails to note, however, is that the Japanese who capture the black soldier and control his destiny are also depicted as debased, weak, dirty animals, yet never praiseworthy like their “prize stock.”¹¹

In the end, the boy’s perspective is liminal, not quite like the other children’s or the adults’, as the above citations suggest. The boy’s growing fondness for, and humanizing view of, the captive as a “black soldier” (*kokujin heishi*) mediates others’ racist and ignorant conceptions of him by using similes such as “like an animal.” The boy’s affection for the “black soldier” gradually grows, to culminate in a graphic scene where he, his little brother, the soldier, and his father join to kill, skin, and cure weasels. After sharing this act together, the boy thinks: “At such times my brother and the black soldier and my father and I were united, as if in a single family, around my father’s weasel-curing technique” (Nathan 150-1). Throughout the story, the boy often reveals his self-consciousness of his, and his village’s, debased animality and inferiority, especially when around the townspeople; however, caring for and “raising” the black soldier extends to him and his family a sense of humanity, as if the lower status of the black man elevated their own social status at the same time that his significance to the town as an enemy combatant made them, for once, significant too. Moreover, the black soldier turns out to be a grateful and clever pet, one who appears to accept not only their superior relationship over him but also to recognize their proper “civilized” place above him. His admiration for the boy’s father’s “weasel-curing technique” is just such an admission of their advanced skills and superiority, in the boy’s view.

At times, Oe’s story is reminiscent of Tom and Huck’s cruel, if “innocent,” game of keeping Jim captive at the end of *Huckleberry Finn*; at others, it recalls Twain’s minstrel-like caricatures of Jim. The boy narrator in Oe’s novella is the black man’s best friend in the village and yet he participates in the “innocent” children’s games that function to further dehumanize the black captive. In one scene so disturbing for its sexual and racial explicitness that it did not appear in the first English translation and remained

toned down in the second, the laughing, innocent children try to get the black man to mate with a sheep.¹² Indeed, even the title of Oe's work proved to be a translation problem, perhaps because the story's emphasis and theme of native Japanese (not just foreigner) as non-human have been heretofore insufficiently considered by critics: Oe's original title *Shiiku* literally means the "cultivation and breeding of animals," suggesting not only the villagers' treatment of the black captive but also, I would argue, the *bildungsroman* of "raising" the boy narrator to manhood in this particular village.¹³

The story's turning point comes at summer's end when Clerk, the liaison figure between the town and the village, demands that the black soldier be turned over to authorities. Afraid of what this means, the boy runs to warn his "catch"; once before him, however, the boy finds he does not know what or how to communicate. But the black pilot guesses what is wrong. Seizing the boy, he takes him hostage in his cellar and threatens to kill him. In the long night of his stay with the black pilot, the boy's feelings change from love for his pet "catch" to angry feelings of betrayal, feelings complicated by humiliation and nausea for having been reduced for all to see as no more than an animal himself, like a weasel trapped and facing meaningless death. The next day the father breaks into the cellar and with his ax rushes the black man grasping his son, killing the soldier and crushing his son's hand in the process. Two days afterward the ill boy awakes from his feverish sleep, his arm swollen beyond recognition. When asked, he tells another boy that the terrible smell of what may be gangrene coming from his hand is not his own, but "that nigger's stink," an attempt to distinguish himself from the black man by way of racist epithets even as he reveals that their bodies have become mixed in the figure of the wound.

We might say that the boy's growth to manhood is exposed in this way as a personal wound, one linked to his blind adoption of adult views after this formative experience. Such racist views are the legacy of his contact with the "outside world" signified by the black American, corrupting him into a child-size mimicking of the adults' international and interracial "war." Here *Huckleberry Finn* comes to mind, particularly in the way that little Buck Grangerford (who is, in a sense, Huck's double in both age and name) unthinkingly inherits his family's hatred of the Shepherdsons and feeds the Shepherdson/Grangerford blood feud. Seeing "a Shepherdson" as marked by class and

blood with inferiority and hatefulness, Buck and his family are forced to recognize, then violently disavow, that originless discrimination when Sophie Shepherdson and Harney Grangerford defy their families to run off together, the marriage crisis so common in racial melodrama. The families seek to stop the marriage in a violent gunfight, and Buck is killed in the name of a “domestic war” whose founding hatreds defined him. In some ways like Buck, Oe’s boy narrator blindly adopts his father’s prejudices and his nation’s war, carrying on the vicious cycle of hatreds; however, in other ways, he is less like Buck than curiously situated in the doubled space of Huck/Buck, a point to which I will return momentarily.

Although Oe’s boy narrator claims to have grown up in the last pages of the story, the narrative traces a full circle from its opening at the burial pit where the village dead are cremated and ends there as well, suggesting that there has been more continuity than change. It is as if a dangerous innocence persists in the novella, rather than an innocence that gets altered by enlightened experience. This notion of dangerous innocence can be seen in the novella’s opening and closing insistence on play, as the story begins with the boy narrator and his brother rummaging in the burial pit’s ashes to find human bones for playthings and ends with the cremation of the black pilot there just as the adult Clerk joins in the childish game of sledding down a hill on a broken tail piece of the pilot’s plane only himself to crash and die suddenly. Adults participate in dangerous children’s games, we see, throwing into question both the boy’s growth out of innocence into manhood and adults’ superiority over children’s ways of knowing. In short, seemingly inflicted on him by his own father as the dramatic conclusion to a conflict initiated by the town “authorities” who represent the Law, the boy’s wound at the end of this story is, rather, repetitively self-inflicting, one that festers rather than heals.

Racial mixing in the figure of the festering wound implies multiple layers of representational mimicry: Huck Finn and Jim transposed onto a Japanese country boy and his beloved black “catch”; a Japanese writer creating a strikingly stereotyped African American character through the eyes of a poor Japanese village boy who has never seen a foreigner; adults playing at being children and children playing at being adults; human beings trying to rise above animals but constantly treated as animals. These layers of

cross-cultural and international representations are complicated further when we consider them in more domestic terms; that is, what does it mean that the “town” (in quotation marks throughout Oe’s text) treats the villagers as lower than dirty animals who must exist only outside their civilized boundaries? Here, again Twain is instructive. My students often appreciate Tom’s envy of Huck’s “freedom” and the humor of Twain’s treatment of women such as Annt Sally trying to “sivilize” Huck Finn yet they sometimes strangely overlook the fact that Huck is a poor country boy abused by an alcoholic and treacherous father, a boy whose complex bond with Jim stems from class as much as race relations. Despite these ties, of course, it is precisely Jim’s lower caste status as slave that allows Huck on many occasions to shore up his racial privilege to be more mobile and certainly more “civilized” and therefore more “human” than Jim. In “Prize Stock,” the boy’s bond with the black American is as complex.

The boy is a member of a remote unnamed village that Oe at rare moments refers to indirectly (if repeatedly) with the term *buraku*,¹⁴ which can mean simply a country village as does the most-often used term *mura*, or then again can designate the historically segregated villages of the former Japanese outcaste class, *burakumin*. Below the traditional samurai-farmer-artisan-merchant social hierarchy, *burakumin* were consolidated in the Edo Period into a class of ethnic Japanese treated as if they were non-Japanese and forced to live in designated *buraku* villages.¹⁵ For centuries designated by derogatory terms such as *hinin*, literally “non-human” or *eta*, meaning “polluted,” the resulting *burakumin* peoples have been discriminated against based not on race (they are ethnically Japanese and speak Japanese) but primarily due to their “unclean” occupations in a class-based manner. In “Prize Stock,” the human cremation pit that begins and ends Oe’s story, suggesting the village’s task of handling dead bodies; the skinning and tanning of animals — historically cows and horses — but in *Shiiku* weasels’ skins later taken to the town; the hunting and capture of wild dogs (*yamainugari*) as mentioned in the opening of the novella; and finally, as the title and story indicates, the raising and slaughter of livestock as well as the guarding of prisoners and criminals: all were the traditional work of Japan’s *burakumin* outcastes.¹⁶ Indeed, once we recall that Oe’s story is all about human animals and the “pecking order” among them, which brings to mind the derogatory short-hand

term of *yottsu*, or “four of them” (meaning “four legged” animal), used to indicate *burakumin* people, we begin to grasp a new significance in the novella’s exploration of war, discrimination, inter- and intra-racial encounters, and their effects.

Even though in the Meiji Period in 1871, discrimination against outcasts was made illegal and they were deemed “new citizens” (*shinheimin*), it marked less a progressive move to abolish discrimination than the creation of a newly problematic category of discrimination. Japan’s subsequent colonization efforts in Taiwan and Korea, whose populations were also called “new citizens” to distinguish them from Japanese, made this clear. Increasingly 20th-century activism resulted in the term *burakumin*, and oversaw improved socio-economic conditions for many as they lost their monopolies on certain occupations and were able to pass or relocate in some cases outside of designated *buraku* communities. Yet despite these “improvements” that had negative impacts too on the lives of *buraku* people, discrimination continued but in more furtive ways, as families and companies sought out detective agencies and secretly distributed *buraku* village registry lists in order to avoid marrying or hiring people from these communities. One can easily imagine that just as American blacks sympathized with, and even admired, the “colored race” of Japanese for defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese war and later standing up to white America, that the *buraku* people too might well have wondered how their domestic situation as Japan’s segregated and “special” black race compared to that of an American colored person in the Jim Crow U.S.

However, it is less my contention that Oe intended in “Prize Stock” to write about *burakumin* than to draw attention to the resonant conventions this story shares with *burakumin* literature, particularly those works by non-*burakumin* writers that Edward Fowler in an important essay has described so thoroughly and so well. In Particular, Fowler notes the tendency to depict the arrival of outsiders, whose senses are bombarded by the animal-like smells and conditions, to *buraku* quarters. Indeed, to my mind, this story enacts a sort of “passing” in its critical reception, its “racial” markers going largely unremarked by critics, with even racist stereotyping of the African American pilot quickly glossed over, as if forgivable due to the villagers’ backward country ways. This critical “passing” is paradoxically apt; that is, *burakumin* are, of course, racially indistinguishable

from non-*burakumin* Japanese so readings to date of the novel as “Japanese” are correct. More correct than they know, I argue, because once we consider Japanese domestic discrimination against *burakumin* as part of Oe’s story of ignorance and racial wounding, we can better see how a long-running domestic feud without origins or basis that has been rendered as “invisible” as an open secret and without voice here gets ventriloquized or circumlocutiously represented via a black Other. When the irrepressibly talkative Huck witnesses the Shepherdson/Grangerford feud and covers up Buck’s dead face, his sudden silence creates a lacuna for an untold story: “I ain’t agoing to tell *all* that happened — it would make me sick again if I was to do that. I wished I hadn’t ever come ashore that night, to see such things. I ain’t ever going to get shut of them — lots of times I dream about them.... I cried a little when I was covering up Buck’s face, for he was mighty good to me.” Huck’s silence eloquently voices the domestic blood feuds that remain outside the bounds of respectable, genteel discussions in countries the world over, the increasingly unspoken class-based distinctions that give liberal democratic society’s elite their privileges and power; simultaneously, however, it recognizes in Buck’s face a special kinship. Perhaps we can say that Oe’s boy narrator becomes a doubled Huck/Buck by the end of the novella, voicing the still untold stories of Japan’s domestic discriminations, rendering visible its own “invisible minority,” the *burakumin*, through the mask of the black American pilot.¹⁷

In his brief appraisal of *Shiiku*, respected literary scholar and critic Eto Jun praised it for being the first of Oe’s works to reach maturity, demonstrating its author’s growth to literary manhood. He justifies his claim, saying Oe’s work is great “because it is a story in which a black soldier falls from the sky and forms a pastoral bond with a young boy who takes care of him like he was an ox, until suddenly the soldier become captive, his beloved ‘ox,’ is felled at the same time as the boy’s hand is crushed” (268). Eto finds the combination of cruel reality mixed with the beauty of the pastoral friendship between a boy and an animal truly powerful and exemplary as fiction. One cannot help but recall here all those laudatory reviews of *Huck Finn* as a simple pastoral tale of a great friendship between innocent Huck and the lovable if inferior slave Jim. But Eto goes on, suggesting that the historical background of the story is also significant for what it says about Oe’s

growth as a writer:

This literary work plays inside itself a fugue, so to speak, of the internal growth of ‘the war’ and the protagonist, both brought into accord in one fell swoop by the father’s hatchet. Logically speaking, the hatchet that crushes ‘my’ fingers and butchers the black soldier is a symbol of the will that severs the writer from his infantilism” (269).¹⁸

Leaving aside Eto’s main point — that Oe’s coming into his own as a writer parallels the boy in the story reaching manhood by getting wounded in the “war” brought home to him — I would instead point to Eto’s very casual use of the term *ushi* (ox, or cattle) to insist upon the boy’s pastoral ties to his beloved pet. After all, it seems a natural term to use considering the animal-like descriptions of the soldier, and yet when we note that the term is never used in the story it begins to appear as if Oe almost avoided it. In short, it is the simultaneous suggestion and then elision of the term that would mark the boy and the village most *stereotypically* in connection to *burakumin* — whose “unclean” occupations included the care and slaughter of cattle, as well as tanning of leather — that acts to form an unspoken or unconscious space in the fiction, one that shapes the humiliation and figurative language of human animals already so prevalent in Oe’s work.¹⁹

In a sense, Oe’s representing his own country’s outcastes in dialogue with America’s in “Prize Stock” is the creation of a transnational frame that adopts but then radically transplants and transforms Twain’s story that takes place on an American regional level between a poor country boy and an African American man. Both however rely on a sensitive boy’s point of view, one not yet devoid of innocence even as he faces the dangerous “darkness” of his progress to manhood, questioning how far down the river to sell his conscience along the way. When Oe speaks as the conscience of his generation in such works as “Prize Stock,” it strikes me that it is as a conscience forged in a matrix of distortions wrought as much by Japan’s own “pet” domestic discriminations as one influenced by those imposed by America. This matrix is one of conflict and negotiation, a still open wound festering between Japan and the U.S.: the myth of the perfect national

body (the imperial *kokutai*) that preserves a homogeneous “Japanese” identity and abjects difference from it hereby clashes and then mixes with U.S. cultural and political interventions that compel Japanese complicity in a mutually assured growth towards democracy and modernity, all the while rejecting any “mature” or independent divergences from U.S. paternal guidance.

And yet, I think Oe’s textual conscience attempts, and succeeds in, sounding out the individual heart, one’s own responsibility and agency both despite and within such a distorted world, precisely because he leaves us as readers with a wound rather than simple innocence to ponder at the end of his novel. And actually, this wound is foreshadowed earlier in the story when, on his way with his father to the “town” to report the pilot’s capture, the boy glances at the black soldier’s holding cell below his family’s home: “I stole a look at the cellar skylight yawning blackly open like a wound and I was gripped by terrific fear. The black soldier’s arm reaches through the skylight and extends to seize me” (Nathan 128). In a fantasy of a black wound (*kuroguro to kizu no yo ni*, 97) overlapping with the image of a place for receiving light, the boy’s fear of that place of darkness and what it holds foreshadows the last pages when the pilot seizes the boy. At the same time, the revelation of what that darkness holds implies a coming enlightenment or growth for the boy. Even more accurately, perhaps we can say that the boy’s fantasy here reveals a wound that pre-exists his physical wounding by his father and the death of the black soldier: the boy’s fear and sense of humiliated impotence is the wound of his excluded and despised social class, a humiliation he expresses time and again as an infection, a disease that is contagious between adults and children (106, 115).

Oe’s Japanese *buraku* / *burakku* / black Huck Finn²⁰ and minstrelized black captive pilot deromanticizes Twain’s Huck and Jim in order to insist on the pain of individual responsibility and complicity in Japan’s inhumane treatment of its own people; moreover, the black pilot as Twain’s Jim, appropriated and then murdered in Oe’s version, also unmasks a peculiar dark mimicry in Japan, one that exposes the deeply disturbing, even blinding “innocence” of shared racial or national identifications caught up in larger forces of representational Othering, war, and racism. New questions arise: If the black American pilot is a scapegoat, whose sins does he bear away in his sacrificial murder? If

the boy protagonist suffers a castrating wound, what new illusion of plentitude must now mask his loss? If Japan has to date consolidated its homogeneous identity at the expense of its minority groups, what happens when *burakumin* and Others take the center and look both inward and outward from Japan’s place in the world to locate and represent themselves? Will those be sutured-over representations of themselves *as Japanese* or will their identities emerge from some other location?

Oe’s festering wound describes a modern world — particularly that of Japan’s domestic differential relations in dialogue with the “infantilizing” one of U.S.-Japan relations — made up of modern subjectivities, one which the early Oe had viewed existentially but which Twain much earlier had described in terms of the state’s “lies of silent assertion.”²¹ With this turn of phrase, Twain virtually defines “hegemony” in Gramscian²² terms, noting the power of the state and its leaders to function as the truth, with little need of representations thanks to an effective manipulation of the invisible, silent ideology in which we as individuals recognize ourselves, our coherent humanity, our national belonging, and therefore to which we consent; that is, we “innocent” individuals become complicit in the unspoken lies of the state because those very “pet” fictions make up a large part of who we think we are, and going against them would threaten our own identities. Sounding out the individual voice raised against such great communal and mendacious silences, Mark Twain and Oe Kenzaburo try to discern, then write out of, that darkness in which we sit, dangerously innocent and often blind to our mingled — repetitively wounding — histories in world literature.

Notes

¹ Many key Twain texts and other primary documents, cartoons, and essays related to the Philippine-American War and imperialism in Africa are collected on Jim Zwick’s website, invaluable for researchers living overseas or on small islands in the Pacific where library collections may be meager. See <http://www.boondocksnet.com/twaintexts.html>.

² For fascinating discussions of Philippine-American political and cultural ties and conflicts, as well as Philippine-Japanese relationships, see Rafael. See Shaw and Francia, eds., for essays on the Philippine-American War, U.S. imperialism in Asia, and Guam.

³ Mark Twain, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." On Zwick's website and in his work, *Mark Twain's Weapons of Satire: Anti-Imperialist Writings on the Philippine-American War*.

⁴ It has long been recognized that Twain biographer Albert Bigelow Payne, editor of the first authorized editions of Twain's collected works, censored and edited Twain's life and work to a degree unacceptable to contemporary scholars and readers; however, for his own contemporaries, including the Clemens family, such editing was not particularly out of the ordinary. The "authoritative" version of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was published by the Twain Project at UC Berkeley first in 2001 based on the amazing 1990 discovery in a Los Angeles attic of some 663 missing manuscript pages. Another fascinating story of revised editing of Twain's work is L. Terry Oggel's critical text of "The United States of Lyncherdom," which provides insight into Twain's views of slavery. Besides Oggel's *Prospects* article, at BoondocksNet.com Jim Zwick's interview with Oggel on the restoration of this text explores the problems of Payne's willful censoring of Twain's political satires, among other writings, revealing how recoveries of original Twain texts continue to shape contemporary reading experiences of Twain in new ways.

⁵ In Twain's notebook #35, and reprinted in the 2003 University of California edition of *Huck Finn*. See also the seminal essay that analyzes the defeat of conscience by Henry Nash Smith, "A Sound Heart and a Deformed Conscience." Also see Oe Kenzaburo's essay "Huckleberry Finn and the Problem of the Hero."

⁶ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1999.

⁷ Sakai, Naoki, "Modernity and Its Critique: The Problem of Universalism and Particularism." See also Harry Harootunian's essay "America's Japan / Japan's America."

⁸ Russell, 46-55.

⁹ See George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, especially Chapter 9, "Frantic to Join...the Japanese Army": Beyond the Black-White Binary."

¹⁰ For a fascinating account of being black and the reception of blackness in Japan while trying to make sense of its popular culture valorization of African Americans, see Joe Wood's "The Yellow Negro." As his title suggests, Wood argues that contemporary Japan's love affair with black American culture is similar to 1950s white America's,

a disturbing blend of both blackface minstrelsy and what Norman Mailer in his 1957 essay called “The White Negro.” In the latter, Mailer argued that the Beats recognized white culture needed the revitalization of its more primitive and repressed aspects that black culture, never quite so “civilized,” offered. See also Sayoko Okada Yamashita’s “Ethnographic Report of an African American Student in Japan.”

¹¹ Russell, 58-71.

¹² The story has appeared in two collections under different titles and by different translators. The first story was entitled “*The Catch*” translated by John Bester while the second appeared as “Prize Stock” in *Teach Us to Outgrow Our Madness: Four Short Novels*, translated by John Nathan. The scene appears near the end of the novel, and in the Japanese original quite explicitly describes the black pilot as attempting to mount the sheep with the help of a boy called Harelip holding down the animal; he fails, which sends the children into hysterical laughter.

¹³ Translated first as “The Catch” and then as “Prize Stock,” both titles emphasize the black captive pilot over the villagers; moreover, the original Japanese title bluntly indicates the animality of the characters in terms of their basic physical and sexual needs, making the translation of the passage with the captive and the sheep even more crucial. It is no accident that this scene takes place at the turning point in the story, not only in the plot’s action but also in the boy’s emerging view of himself as a function of his “adult” racist reappraisal of the black man.

¹⁴ Frequently in the text the head of the village is called the *burakuchō*, particularly in discussions with the representative Clerk from the town or on official business, as if the official title of the town leader (rather than the usual *soncho*) is more appropriate and respectful because this is an officially designated *buraku* village. That the boy and the narration most often use *mura* merely suggests, I would argue, that the boy uses the non-discriminatory language that he prefers, language that would not separate his village from any other village in Japan. Indeed, that the village is not made more explicitly *buraku* by emphasizing cattle rather than weasels, for example, merely emphasizes that the boy and his village are not, in essence, unlike other Japanese people or their villages and neither do they want to be treated as different.

¹⁵ The Buraku Liberation League prefers the term *hisabetsu buraku*, literally

“discriminated against buraku,” as part of its ongoing activist campaign to bring the plight of its people to popular consciousness as opposed to its current repressed and polite denial by the population at large. It is estimated that there are today a recognized one million *burakumin* in Japan but up to three million when passing and assimilation are taken into account, and some 6,000 or more *buraku* villages. Regarding *burakumin*, in English see Ian Neary’s “Burakumin in Contemporary Japan.” Neary details the modern political organization, social movements, and differences in meaning between *douwa* and *hisabetsu buraku*. For a *burakumin* writer’s work, see Eve Zimmerman’s translations of Nakagami Kenji’s fiction in *The Cape, and Other Stories from the Japanese Ghetto*. In Japanese, the monthly magazine *Buraku Kaiho* (Buraku Liberation) has a special expanded issue devoted to introducing and updating readers on the struggles of the *buraku* people in today’s Japan: *Buraku Kaiho / Jinken Nyumon 2004*. Michiko Niikuni Wilson analyzes Oe’s career and texts in detail, arguing that his work often treats marginalized people in Japanese society (American blacks, resident Koreans, Hiroshima *hibakusha*, and Okinawans, for example). Moreover, in her analysis of *The Silent Cry*, she notes that Oe brings together 1860 and 1960 as parallel moments in Japan’s modernity much as I suggest here that “Prize Stock” links Perry’s minstrel show and the U.S. Occupation legacies. See Tomotsune for an intriguing essay on *buraku* writer Nakagami Kenji, in which he argues that the pre-war and postwar identity politics of *burakumin* are different, with the latter revealing what Tomotsune calls “differentialist racism”: in short, Nakagami’s postwar vision of *buraku* identity is one that reinforces Japanese traditional national identity, even the emperor system itself, in insisting on its difference only within Japan and not from Japan/ese.

In Oshima Nagisa’s famous 1961 film version of Oe’s novella, the cremation pit does not open and close the story and coffins are used; the town is replaced by Tokyo so that the hierarchies within Japanese social structures are reduced to country and city; the adults control the narrative rather than the children; and besides the elimination of animal names for the Japanese characters, the words *mura* and *soncho* are used instead of *burakucho*.

¹⁶ I am indebted to Osaka’s Liberty and Human Rights Museum (*Osaka jinken hakubutsukan*) for its thorough historical exhibits and informative handouts on not only

hisabetsu burakumin but also other minority groups in Japan.

¹⁷ Japanese racist figuring of *burakumin* as having ugly black skin and smelling bad make for easy comparison to U.S. discrimination against American blacks in white society. Kenneth Strong in the “Introduction” to *The Broken Commandment* cites from De Vos and Wagatsuma’s *The Invisible Race* to point out that *eta* were deemed only 1/7 human (xi); needless to say, this evokes the 3/5 personhood status ascribed to African American slaves in the U.S. Constitution.

¹⁸ All translations are my own here.

¹⁹ Non-*burakumin* writer Shimazaki Toson’s famous novel, *The Broken Commandment* (*Hakai*), has a notable scene that describes the killing of the bull that killed the *burakumin* protagonist’s father. It is hit in the head with an ax in a manner strikingly similar to the murder of the pilot in Oe’s story, which highlights the intriguing aspects of Eto Jun’s review of the novel as well.

²⁰ See Millie Creighton for analysis of color symbolism and racial hierarchies within Japan relying on the research of DeVos, Wagatsuma, Donoghue, and Thorton. Of particular significance is her discussion of the “blackness” associated with *hisabetsu burakumin* scapegoated as a site of defilement, or *kegare* (pollution), to preserve whiteness and purity for superior classes, including the emperor and mainstream Japanese (226-232).

²¹ Mark Twain, “My First Lie and How I Got Out of It.” On Jim Zwick’s website at <http://www.boondocksnet.com/twaintexts/myfirstlie.html>. 1995-2004. Accessed February 15, 2004. Originally in Mark Twain, *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg and Other Stories and Sketches*, 1900.

²² The definitions of “hegemony” Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci gives in *The Prison Notebooks* stress the reciprocal and balancing relationship between force and consent by rulers over their people, arguing that traditional models of domination by force have been replaced by more effective means: intellectuals and cultural leaders and institutions in civil society play an important role in representing the state ideology as “common sense” to the oppressed who then cannot help but find their own best options in the status quo, thereby “consenting” to their own subordination.

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The Japan Mark Twain Society: Its History and Activities

From 1876 until the present day, Mark Twain has continued to capture the Japanese imagination. Looking back at the postwar years, I recall how in those days we simply enjoyed reading this good old local humorist. Yet, recent currents in contemporary literary criticism have encouraged us to revolutionize Twain's image, even giving rise to heated controversy over the reCanonization of this representative man of the Gilded Age. This productive reconstruction of American literary history in the late 20th century very naturally led Japanese scholars to conceive The Japan Mark Twain Society in October 1996. Including myself, four of Japan's foremost authorities on Twain — Professors Matsuyama Nobunao, Nasu Yorimasa, Kamei Shunsuke and Nagawara Makoto, the Society's first president, joined forces to establish The Japan Mark Twain Society on March 15, 1997 at Doshisha University in Kyoto. At that time we sponsored a symposium on *The Prince and the Pauper* and featured Professor Matsumura Masaie's lecture on Twain's transatlantic connections. We have since held our annual meetings every autumn: The first one featured Professor Watanabe Toshio's special lecture on Twain in the 21st century (October 13, 1997 at Toyo University, Tokyo); the second, Professor Katsuura Yoshio's lecture on his scholarly encounters with Twain (October 16, 1998 at Astair Plaza in Hiroshima); the third annual meeting focused on the years prior to Twain's literary debut, moderated by Professor Ichikawa Hiroaki (October 8, 1999 at Kitakyushu University); the fourth annual meeting highlighted a symposium on Sexuality, Gender, Feminism, moderated by Professor Oi Koji (October 13, 2000 at Doshisha University). For information about subsequent symposia, please see the "Professional Notes" section in this issue.

It is the Society's second president, Professor Kamei Shunsuke, who made possible the publication of our own academic journal through negotiations with Mr. Hara Nobuo of Nan'undo publishers. Since 2002, we have annually published the Japanese numbers of *The Journal of Mark Twain Studies*, dedicated in turn to "Mark Twain and Technology," "Mark Twain and Detective Stories," and "Mark Twain and Fantasy." These three issues paved the way for the first English issue you are perusing right now. We hope that *Mark Twain Studies* will contribute much to international Twain scholarship, continuing to reveal the hidden agendas of this all-American hero not only in the context of his own Gilded Age, but also in today's Globalized one.

NASU Yorimasa

President of The Japan Mark Twain Society

The 5th Annual Meeting of The Japan Mark Twain Society
Special Symposium: “Mark Twain and Technology”

**Time and Place: Morioka City Hall (Morioka, Iwate Prefecture) on
October 13, 2001**

Moderator: GOTO Kazuhiko (Rikkyo University)

Panelists: ORISHIMA Masashi (Tokyo Metropolitan University)

TATSUMI Takayuki (Keio University)

TOMITA Naohisa (Miyagi University of Education)

Mark Twain lived through one of the most dramatic technological phases in all of American history. Twain seemed to dive without inhibition into this maelstrom of advancements in modern technology, making great investments — passionate investments, at best, but extravagant and even demoniac, at worst — in new inventions. The symposium “Mark Twain and Technology” was an opportunity for re-reading Twain’s texts and analyzing his ambivalent attitudes toward technology’s apparently limitless possibilities. It appears that this attitude oscillated between expectation and anxiety, hope and fear. Participants in the symposium pursued shifts in Twain’s understanding of technology, from his initial naïve beliefs in it to his final bitterness resulting largely from the investment failure in James W. Paige’s typesetting machine, a decision that caused Twain financial disaster.

Many critics have maintained that the shift in tone in Twain’s literary works written around the turn of the century reflects his frustrated attempts to produce a technological “miracle.” However, Goto Kazuhiko, the panel organizer, suggested that Twain’s literary efforts at this time were not only influenced by the contemporary intellectual climate but also necessarily shaped by his development as a writer who constantly felt the psychological need to update and revalidate his trademark mask of innocence. Twain’s increasing frustration with his literary efforts, however, precipitated his deluded and desperate embrace of technology’s apparent omnipotence.

In closely re-reading various Twain works ranging from *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* to *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*, Orishima Masashi showed that Twain's impulsive attraction to technology reveals the intricate interdependence between Samuel L. Clemens and his persona "Mark Twain." According to Orishima, the novelistic persona "Mark Twain" was a product of the man Clemens who created his persona out of psychological need and a precarious self-identity. Twain made up new illusory identities one after another in order to fabricate the identity of "Mark Twain," a desperate balancing act that even the plasticity of this persona barely enabled him to achieve.

Tatsumi Takayuki contextualized Twain's propensity at the turn of the century to absorb for his literary imagination numerous historic advancements in technology, particularly in the field of telecommunications. Tatsumi, focusing on "From the 'London Times' of 1904" among Twain's works of science fiction, discussed how the "teleelectroscope," a futuristic invention featured in the story, reflects Twain's own interests and those of his times in the exploration of the human self. The quality and possibilities for the kinds of technology imagined by Twain anticipate present-day globalized Internet communications, not to mention such postmodern concepts as "cyberspace" and "virtual reality."

Tomita Naohisa pointed out that a Twain short story published in 1870, "A Curious Dream," includes a scene that closely resembles the procession of the dead in Chapter 33 of *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*. Stressing the fact that "A Curious Dream" was made into a motion picture in 1907, the year before Twain wrote the *No.44* chapter, Tomita argued that various supernatural "effects" produced by certain Twain characters — most notably Hank Morgan and of course *No. 44* — may well derive from their author's fascination with cinematographic experiments of his day.

The 6th Annual Meeting of The Japan Mark Twain Society

Special Symposium: “Mark Twain and Detective Stories”

Time and Place: Toyo University (Tokyo) on October 12, 2002

Moderator: GOTO Kazuhiko (Rikkyo University)

Panelists: HIRAISHI Takaki (Tokyo University)

**KOIKE Shigeru (Professor Emeritus of Tokyo Women’s
Christian University)**

TSUJI Kazuhiko (Fukui University)

Mark Twain, a self-appointed “literary entertainer,” made frequent use of the detective in such works as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *Pudd’nhead Wilson*, and *A Double-Barreled Detective Story*. He is known to have admired Edgar Allan Poe’s Chevalier C. August Dupin, be irresistibly intrigued by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes, and show interest in Allan Pinkerton, a notorious real-life detective who was also a hero in Twain’s semi-autobiographical adventure stories. Why was Twain so fascinated with the literary possibilities of the detective story? The symposium, “Mark Twain and Detective Stories,” attempted to explore the ways in which this enterprising writer incorporated the detective story into his literary repertoire and expanded the scope of his literature.

Goto Kazuhiko introduced the panel discussion by pointing out that, without exception, the Twainian detective is exploited as a figure of comedy or even as the object of sarcasm. Goto emphasized that while the protagonists in *The Double-Barreled Detective Story* and “Simon Wheeler, Detective” outdo the real detectives in detection skills and earnestness, both young men are under extended psychological pressure from their fathers. In Goto’s view, this offers a hint to Twain’s ambivalence toward the detective; that is, the detective reflects Twain’s anxiety about his own fragile identity, stemming from his troubled relationship with his father, John M. Clemens.

Hiraishi Takaki, himself the author of a series of detective novels, discussed Twain’s

sustained attraction toward switched identities and then elaborated in detail their final exposure and restitution in his novels. Hiraishi claimed that the use of the fingerprint as the absolute method of identification in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* creates formalistic and thematic inconsistencies in this detective novel, perhaps because Twain's own psychological needs were more invested in the irremediable confusion of identity than in its resolution into any single one.

Koike Shigeru, editor of the complete Sherlock Holmes series in Japanese translation, argued for Twain's ambivalent — perhaps even nihilistic — attitude toward the use of fingerprints as a scientific device of identification. This attitude can be found in Twain's first literary use of the device — *the* first ever, as a matter of fact — in "A Dying Man's Confession," a famous episode in *Life on the Mississippi*. After enumerating later uses of fingerprints by British detective story writers such as Doyle and R. Austin Freeman, Koike arrived at the conclusion that this device in Twain reveals a deep-rooted doubt — more explicit in Twain than in any of his followers -- that "scientific usefulness" might lead to trouble. That trouble might look like our current global plight, Koike conjectured, one where more science means more might, and more might means more violence or policing in the name of "justice."

Tsuji Kazuhiko took up the short story, "A Murder, A Mystery, and A Marriage," written just after the completion of Twain's first novel, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* but not published in book form until 2001. Tsuji discussed how Mark Twain's "detective stories," beginning with this lesser known work, were experiments in a newly invented genre, itself a kind of new literary "technology." Pursuing the development of Twain's detective stories through *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and "Tom Sawyer's Conspiracy," Tsuji made frequent reference to the cultural and political context of this ever-inventive author. Twain's increasing taste for the new detective genre together with his voracious curiosity about technological inventions, according to Tsuji, compelled him to introduce new gadgets into his detective story plots whenever possible.

The 7th Annual Meeting of The Japan Mark Twain Society
Special Symposium: “Mark Twain and Fantasy”

**Time and Place: Ouka Gakuen University Information Center (Nagoya,
Aichi Prefecture) on October 10, 2003**

Moderator: TATSUMI Takayuki (Keio University)

Panelists: ARIMA Yoko (Josai International University)

**SHIMURA Masao (Professor Emeritus of Tokyo University
of Foreign Studies)**

KOTANI Mari (literary critic)

The idea for this symposium was first conceived amidst the controversy waged in the summer of 2002 between Arima Yoko and Goto Kazuhiko in the pages of *Tosho Shimbun* (Book Review Press, June 21 & July 19, 2002). Arima's first book, *Mark Twain Shinkenkyu: Yume to Ban'nen no Fantaji* ([A New Perspective on Mark Twain: Dream and Fantasy in his Later Years]. Tokyo: Sairyusha, 2002), has greatly revitalized the field in examining Twain's late supernatural fantasies and incipient postmodern fabulations such as *No.44, The Mysterious Stranger*, *Three Thousand Years among the Microbes*, and other works. Her ambitious interpretations argue that Twain's creativity was not exhausted in his later solitary years, as many scholars contend, but on the contrary were re-energized. In contrast, Goto's own first book, *Meiso no Hate no Tom Sawyer: Shosetsuka Mark Twain no Kiseki* ([Tom Sawyer in Metamorphosis: Mark Twain the Novelist]. Tokyo: Shohakusha, 2000), consistently focuses upon Twain's canonical realistic novels such as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. He warns against a critical tendency towards occultism and mysticism in reading Twain, preferring himself the concrete and physical to the metaphysical, the realistic to the fantastic. Goto theorizes that an excessively relaxed or uncritical reception of Twain's supernaturalism may symptomatize the failure of literary criticism itself. Is Mark Twain a fantasist or a realist? This controversy does not seem to have reached any definitive conclusion even now.

Consequently, symposium moderator Tatsumi Takayuki decided to feature Arima

Yoko and her work at this symposium, inviting as panelists Shimura Masao, the author of *Shinpi-shugi to Amerika Bungaku* ([Mysticism in American Literature]. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1998) and Kotani Mari, the author of *Fantaji no Boken* ([Adventures of Fantasy]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1998). Before the symposium's close, Arima had a chance to defend and update her redefinition of Twain as a fantasist by discussing those late works mostly published after Olivia Clemens's death, such as "The Refugee of the Derelicts," *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*, "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven," and so forth. For more details, read the English version of her symposium presentation included in this issue.

Shimura Masao took this opportunity to situate Twain in interpretations of American literary history itself. According to him, American literature has unwittingly developed a few distinctive genealogies: the logocentric tradition ranging from Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry James to Ernest Hemingway and John Barth; and the anti-logocentric tradition ranging from Herman Melville and Mark Twain to William Faulkner and Thomas Pynchon. Reconsidering Twain as an anti-Aristotelian, Shimura made a fascinating analogy between the life of Twain and that of a Japanese female mystic, Deguchi Nao, born in 1836 near Kyoto, the originator of a cult called "Ohmoto-kyo." Both Twain and Deguchi suffered family disasters that contributed in no little part to their creating their respective alternative worlds around the turn of the century.

Kotani Mari began her presentation by questioning the critical heritage of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. Since King Arthur was an imaginary character, it is impossible to call Hank Morgan's adventure "time travel" per se, Kotani argued; rather, this novel belongs to what she referred to as "alternate history," a subgenre of fantasy. From this perspective, Kotani explored Twain's medievalism, especially noting the similarity between his Hartford home built in the 1870s and William Morris's Red House built in the 1860s in a quasi-Gothic style. Given that Twain paid a couple of visits to England in the early 1870s, he may well have known something about the pre-Raphaelite tastes so evident in Red House. In conclusion, Kotani speculated on Twain's possible impact upon H.G. Wells, whose masterpiece *The Time Machine* revolutionized modern literary history.

Abstracts

Articles Published in *Journal of Mark Twain Studies* (Japanese Number)
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Journal of Mark Twain Studies Vol.1 (2002)

Special Topic: Mark Twain and Technology

Their Other Life: The Lucid Dreaming of Mark Twain and Jack London

ARIMA Yoko

Jack London's rather short writing career, which started in the 1890's and abruptly ended in 1916, coincided with Mark Twain's later years. Despite their differences in age, the two writers shared a variety of interesting characteristics. One of the most intriguing was their tendency to experience unusually vivid dreams, dreams in which images are highly graphic and accompanied by the dreamer's conscious realization of being in the dream state. Such conscious "lucid dreaming" has been studied by Dr. Stephen LaBerge of Stanford University since the 1980s.

Even though Twain and London were both professed realists and materialists, they clearly believed in the dream life as an alternative to reality; indeed, they made it the fertile ground of many of their creative works. The two writers' unwavering belief in such phenomena evolved from concerns shared with their contemporaries; that is, the nineteenth century saw a rebirth of interest in psychic phenomena, as well as a widespread interest in spiritualism and mesmerism, which was, in part, a reaction to the predominance of deterministic ideas. Aware that academics often scoff at such phenomena, Twain and London found ways to express the dream life — "their other life" — in their art.

The Influence of Mark Twain's Vienna Experience on *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*

NAKAGAKI Kotaro

At the turn of the century, an era of imperialism and nationalism in much of the world, Mark Twain conducted a round-the-world lecture tour. Although Twain limited his travels primarily to British colonies, he twice traveled to Vienna during this period, first in 1897 and again in 1898. While there, Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, attended one of Twain's lectures. However, Twain visited Vienna not only to lecture but also out of concern for his daughters. Vienna was a center of medical research, and there Twain sought medical advice regarding his sickly daughter, Jean. Twain had lost his dearest daughter, Susy, in 1896, and also sought in Vienna to gain knowledge of Spiritualism, which he hoped would afford him contact with Susy's soul. Of course, Vienna was also a cultural arts center, and Twain sought a private music teacher for his daughter Clara, who intended to become a musician.

Twain was in Vienna at the height of anti-Semitism, as evidenced by the Dreyfus Affair of 1894 in France. Reflecting on the origins of such discrimination, Twain wrote the essay "Concerning the Jews" (1899) while in Vienna, and furthermore undertook his final major work, *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*.

This essay examines the influence of Twain's Vienna experience on *The Mysterious Stranger*. Through his encounter with anti-Semitism, Mark Twain gained insight into the perspective of the outsider. Finally, however, as an outsider himself, Twain gained a new perspective on problems of discrimination in the United States. Consequently, in *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*, Satan escapes from time and space before Columbus's so-called "discovery" of America.

The Dialectics of Nature and Technology: Reconsidering Leo Marx's View of America and Twain

SATOUCHI Katsumi

In this paper I reappraise the works of Leo Marx, one of the leading scholars of Mark Twain after World War II, in light of recent revisionist trends in American literary and

cultural studies. From literary criticism in the early 1950s, Marx soon turned to American cultural history, which led to his landmark study, *The Machine in the Garden* (1964). In this work, Marx modified his previous views on Twain in order to adapt them to the book's theoretical scheme. Marx appears to give but scant attention to Twain but, in fact, Twain's inclusion in *The Machine in the Garden* is significant: Marx's lifelong interest in the conflict between technology and nature stems from a dialectical view of "pilot" and "passenger," terms with deep resonance in Twain scholarship.

Ironically, the present generation of scholars severely criticizes Marx for this binary way of thinking. They focus on Marx's connection with Lionel Trilling, who had expressed a conservative stance through his own dialectical theory of culture. Beginning with this assumption, and calling on Raymond Williams's idea of "human agency," Russell Reising and Jonathan Arac recently challenged Marx's influential reading of *Huckleberry Finn*. Although their arguments are often persuasive, I argue that their "New Americanist" approach itself needs some revision. Trilling's rejection of leftist social criticism in favor of individual psychology should not be dismissed merely for reasons of his political conversion. Moreover, both Reising and Arac overlook important aspects of the political and cultural context of the 1960s in which *The Machine in the Garden* was written.

In reading Marx's interpretation of *Huckleberry Finn*, I consider *The Machine in the Garden* as a product of its own time. Moreover, since Marx limited his analysis to the narrative background of *Huckleberry Finn*, I contend it is necessary to apply his theory of technology and the pastoral to Twain's historical moment of writing the novel. Reexamining Marx's works from these perspectives will help us gain a better understanding of Mark Twain.

The Deluges of the Mississippi and the Novelist's Imagination: *Life on the Mississippi* and Modern Technology

SUGIYAMA Naoto

Life on the Mississippi falls into the genre of travel writing. In it, Mark Twain records the transformations that had taken place along the river basin during Twain's two-decade absence from his old haunts. Gone was the time when the pilots boasted

and exercised individual feats. As Twain traveled down the river, he found evidence of increasing modernization and urbanization. Twain did not have a negative attitude towards progress or advanced technologies, even if he was rather indifferent to the development of the railroads that symbolized the arrival of the New South. As a storyteller, however, Twain did not welcome the advance of all modern trends; consequently, he showed his secret revolt against them in such fictional episodes as Karl Ritter's failed revenge and Jack Hunt's "amendment." These episodes seem to superficially interfere with the unity of his travel work as a whole, but they nonetheless reveal the author's 19th century novelistic imagination. Just as the river overflows its banks unpredictably, so too does the novelist's imagination resist containment by modern technologies.

Twin Nightmares: Mark Twain and Information Technology

TSUJI Kazuhiko

In his personal life, Mark Twain showed a continual fascination with technology's machines. He was one of the first users of the fountain pen, the central gas furnace, and the telephone. His writing was shaped by his voracious reading in technological research and by his feelings toward machines and the progress they represented. He was especially captivated by instantaneous communications; in "Mental Telegraphy," for instance, he imagined something called a "phrenophone," which could communicate thoughts instantaneously. In "From the 'London Times' of 1904," published in 1898, another futuristic invention, a visual telephone called the "teleelectroscope," was used to disprove a murder.

In this essay, I discuss Twain's visionary imagination concerning the field of information technology, and conclude that he anticipated our present-day technotronic society in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, and other works. In all likelihood, Twain was concerned that instantaneous communication would result in ontological anxiety and other kinds of individual or societal chaos. Today we may well consider his visionary ideas as significant milestones in the human imagination of technology, while the history of the Internet and nuclear weapons also teaches us just how well his vision hit the mark.

Journal of Mark Twain Studies Vol.2 (2003)

Special Topic: Mark Twain and Detective Stories

Mark Twain's Scientific Quest for Mystery

ASAHI Yukiko

U.S. cultural trends in the 19th century increasingly were shaped by the dominance of the scientific spirit. Edgar Allan Poe and Arthur Conan Doyle made use of scientific methods in their detective fiction. In *A Study in Scarlet*, Doyle says that the method of deriving a conclusion from a series of events or clues is generally practiced, but that analytical reasoning, in which consequences are traced to causes, is not used by most people in their daily lives. Mark Twain too produced powerful detective stories at a time when detective fiction was popular.

This paper considers the aspects of detective fiction that interested Twain and influenced his later writings. As William Dean Howells pointed out, the scientific mind in Mark Twain's literature is an important key to his work. In the first section, I discuss several kinds of detective works that preceded Twain's, including those related to Poe, dime novels, Allan Pinkerton, and Conan Doyle. Then, in section II, I reinterpret "The Stolen White Elephant" in the context of its social background, and then discuss *Pudd'nhead Wilson* as a detective novel based on the scientific method of Charles Peirce. Finally, I refer to *What Is Man?* as a work in quest of a scientific method.

Mystery, Crisis and Detectives: "A Study of Traces" by Poe and Twain

HAYASHI Koji

My intention in this essay is to locate the mysteries of Edgar Allan Poe and Mark Twain in the nineteenth-century genre of detective fiction. Although my argument is hardly a complete analysis of both writers' detective stories, its personal and rather impressionistic approach to the problem of mystery itself is meant to contribute to the discussion of "American" mystery from Poe to Ellery Queen. American studies of "traces," in my view, should be separated from those in Europe.

Both Poe and Twain tried to create mystery in new and convincing ways with their

depictions of terror or fear. Both were faced with personal identity crises that affected their pursuit of justice. Poe created Dupin for his detective stories, and in so doing, realized an ideal of art in civilization. Twain, on the other hand, skeptical about the scientific abilities and function of the detective, expressed the tension between American myth and history in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894).

They both tried to problematize American history and to create mystery based on the poetics of crisis, which, in turn, would influence American twentieth-century detective fiction. In this sense, Poe and Twain are distinct from the author of Sherlock Holmes, a Victorian patriot; indeed, they are much closer to Umberto Eco.

Ken Burns's Mark Twain: *E Pluribus Unum* and Mark Twain's Images in America

ISHIHARA Tsuyoshi

The leading documentary filmmaker, Ken Burns, recently directed a four-hour documentary film on Mark Twain. This documentary, *Mark Twain*, was broadcast nationwide in January 2002 on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) television network. It is estimated that more than 12 million people in America watched this documentary. Undoubtedly, this was one of the largest media events on Mark Twain in decades. This essay is an attempt to understand this influential documentary on Twain in terms of the recent transformation of Mark Twain's images in America. In particular, it will examine the relationship between Ken Burns's idealistic vision of America, *E Pluribus Unum*, and his image of Mark Twain in this documentary.

In this essay, first I give an overview of Burns's other documentaries and show the significance of his vision of America, focusing on *E Pluribus Unum* as a metaphor that unites the various subjects in his documentaries. Secondly, I introduce the emergence of multicultural images of Twain in America; in particular, my focus is on recent studies that discuss the impact of African-Americans on both Twain's life and literature. Next, in examining the influence of such recent multicultural Mark Twain images on Burns's *Mark Twain*, I argue that this documentary overcomes a widely shared one-dimensional public image of Mark Twain as a nostalgic symbol of good old small-town America.

In conclusion, I pay close attention to Burns's silence on the attack on *Huck Finn* by African-Americans in his documentary, suggesting it reveals Burns's idealistic vision of Twain as a personification of *E Pluribus Unum* in America.

“Man's Sole Impulse”: Mark Twain's Sense of Ethics in *What is Man?*

SUZUKI Takashi

Many critics have dismissed Mark Twain's *What is Man?*, usually for reasons that include accusations of pessimism or determinism; lack of coherence; ambiguity of argument; or failure to provide helpful guidance for us in our lives. However, I argue that we should pay more attention to Twain's sense of ethics in *What is Man?*, especially the important and timeless themes of morality that he takes up and with which many philosophers to date have struggled. In this essay, I focus on the ethical problems that Twain presents in *What is Man?*, and offer counter-arguments to those who fail to appreciate the moral dimension of this work.

In focusing on his sense of ethics, it becomes clear that Twain does show a consistent and rational guiding principle for living our lives, one which looks like egotistical hedonism on the surface but that is actually quite moral and original. He tells us that, first of all, we must accept *the truth* that we cannot help behaving according to “the impulse to satisfy our own spirit,” and therefore we have to bring the pleasure of cause into line with the pleasure of effect *in order to behave morally without hypocrisy*. His argument is very clear and his sense of ethics can be a guide that helps us live morally.

A Double-Barrelled Detecting in Twain and Poe

TSUJIMOTO Yoko

Edgar Allan Poe is well known as the father of the detective story, and I would like to propose in this essay that Mark Twain is the writer who best succeeded in taking up Poe's legacy of detective fiction. I do not mean that Twain wrote analytical detective stories, but rather that Poe and Twain share the same tendency to both construct, and deconstruct, detective stories.

First, I examine Twain's five detective works in order to show that although Twain

was able to write a proper detective story, he ended up writing a parody in which the detective is slighted and caricatured. His detective succeeds in solving the mystery, but the story concludes by implying that reality is more significant than crime-solving or the letter of the law.

In the case of detective stories by Poe, Dupin is characterized as a man of dual phases: the creative and the analytical. Dupin is able to unravel each mystery because he possesses an innate impulse indistinguishable from that of the criminal mind. After the Dupin trilogy, Poe went on to write a parody in which the detective finally commits the murder himself, repeating the action of the criminal, and thereby undermining the framework of the detective story.

***Journal of Mark Twain Studies* Vol.3 (2004)**

Special Topic: Mark Twain and Fantasy

The Secret of Pudd'nhead Wilson's Success: Hank Morgan and the Two David Wilsons

CHIKUGO Katsuhiko

In *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, Hank Morgan tries to reform the feudal society of Arthurian England, realizing that slaves and enslaved people groan under oppression. He is also ambitious of becoming President of the new Republic. However, he fails to achieve hegemony in England because of an insurrection. It turns out his policy is too imperialistic.

Hank's failure in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* leads to David Wilson's divided self a few years later in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. As Michael Rogin points out, there are two Wilsons in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*: Pudd'nhead, the character, and Pudd'nhead, the author of Wilson's calendar. Pudd'nhead, the author, and Hank Morgan both know black people's sorrows, but Pudd'nhead, the character, becomes mayor of Dawson's Landing and advocates on behalf of racial segregation. He does not repeat Hank's failure; he succeeds in life by following social conventions and swimming with the tide.

The Development of the Supernatural in Henry James's Stories

MIZUNO Naoyuki

This paper analyzes the development of the supernatural in Henry James's stories. In the 1860s, James began to write supernatural stories, deviating from realism. The first story was "The Romance of Certain Old Clothes," in which James rigorously followed the conventions of the Gothic tradition. In his second supernatural story, "De Grey: A Romance," James introduced the so-called "vampire theme," which resulted in a more multi-layered work. In "The Last of the Valerii," James further developed the "vampire theme" by borrowing the story of Prosper Mérimée. In this story we find erotic connotations behind the supernatural occurrences.

With the exception of "The Ghostly Rental," James did not write any supernatural stories for about 15 years after "The Last of the Valerii." One reason for this may be that James, after his unsuccessful attempts at long, realistic novels such as *The Bostonians*, *The Princess Casamassima*, and *The Tragic Muse*, tried his hand at drama. In spite of James's relative failure at drama, his experience resulted in subsequent works that were more sophisticated as well as original. "Sir Edmund Orme" was the first successful supernatural story that James wrote in the 1890s. This work, like "The Turn of the Screw" which was also written in this period, has a frame story that subtly influences the manuscript contained within. The "I" narrator in the manuscript explains how he uses the presence of the ghost to successfully propose to the lady whose mother is haunted. A self-conscious narrator who enjoys telling the story of past events is one feature of James's supernatural stories in this period. James himself was pleased with his technique in "Sir Edmund Orme," especially that of avoiding "a low directness."

Mark Twain as a Fantasy Writer

SHIBUYA Akira

Despite being a great champion of realism, Mark Twain also published works of fantasy, including the historical romances "The Prince and the Pauper: A Tale for Young People of All Ages" (1882), *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), and *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896). Even his most popular work, the juvenile

fiction *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), embraces elements of fantasy: witnessing a murder case, living on Jackson's Island, treasure-hunting, and getting lost in a cave. This novel is full of romantic adventures that ordinary American boys in the antebellum period could not have enjoyed. In Mark Twain's fantasies, anything can happen at any time, even without witches or fairies. In his later years, Twain produced a number of science fiction and fantasy works such as *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* (1916/1969). The supernatural phenomena Twain depicts in this novel challenge the discursive framework of the Bible. While Mark Twain's fantasy basically aims to criticize human weakness and ugliness, it also exposes how we readers desire even the most unrealistic of fantasies to be true of our reality.

Mark Twain's Confrontation with "Sivilization": Pap Finn as God of the White Race in the World of the Microbes

TAKIOKA Hiroko

Focusing on Twain's writings after the 1870s, particularly "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes," this essay examines how Twain confronted a "sivilization" that justified slavery and conceived of a God supportive of self-righteous white people.

In *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain criticized the God of the American South that approved of slavery based on aristocratic ideals and feudalism. In his subsequent work, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, he attacked the idea of the "divine right of kings," which justified monarchies and medieval European aristocracy. In Twain's view, such thinking was little different from that which made slavery possible. During and after his lecture tour of 1895-96, Twain increasingly argued that the colonialism of the British Empire and the imperialism of America were similar to slavery. The world of his time was again about to justify systems of slavery, thanks to the arrogant faith of white people in their God and in themselves as the "chosen ones."

Twain caricatured these unjust systems of oppression in "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes." In this story, Twain rather heretically depicts the God of the white race as a Pap Finn character and conceited white people as trivial, harmful microbes.

Bibliography

Scholarly Books, Dissertations, and English-Language Essays on Mark Twain by Scholars in Japan: 2000-2003

Compiled by ISHIHARA Tsuyoshi

This bibliography includes scholarly books, dissertations, and essays on Mark Twain published in Japan. It also contains works published overseas by Japanese scholars. The books and doctoral dissertations cited here are either in English or in Japanese. The essays listed are written exclusively in English. All abstracts in this bibliography were provided directly by the authors; otherwise, only the bibliographical information is given. I am very grateful to Nakagaki Kotaro for his assistance in compiling this bibliography. I also wish to thank the scholars who contributed their abstracts.

Books

ARIMA, Yoko. *Mark Twain Shin-Kenkyu: Yume to Ban'nen no Fantaji* [A New Perspective on Mark Twain: Dream and Fantasy in his Later Years.] Tokyo: Sairyusha, 2002.

The mysteries of the human mind had haunted Mark Twain ever since he first realized that he had plagiarized, unconsciously, Oliver Wendell Holmes's dedication in a book of poems. Despite his lifelong philosophical rejection of religious interpretations, five or six years before his death, Twain rather abruptly began using the philosophical or religious concept of the "soul" in two of his major works, namely, *No.44, The Mysterious Stranger*, and *What is Man?* This study explores the psychological inclinations and explorations that Twain cherished in private (as known from posthumously published works) and analyzes their influence upon his writings. Inevitably, this essay also takes into account his struggle to find a new literary form; in order to delineate the gloomy and chaotic aspects of the subjective

human mind, realism no longer served Twain's purposes.

GOTO, Kazuhiko. *Meiso no Hate no Tom Sawyer: Shosetsuka Mark Twain no Kiseki* [Tom Sawyer in Metamorphosis: Mark Twain the Novelist.] Tokyo: Shohakusha, 2000.

This book follows Clemens's literary career after *Tom Sawyer*, that is, after the shift in his writing mode from "reportage" to novels. Focused primarily on structural fluctuations in his novels, this study traces Twain's divided efforts at both maintaining his trademark persona of American innocence and also reliving his own past as a reconstructed Southerner.

TSUJI, Kazuhiko. *Sonogo no Huckleberry Finn: Mark Twain to 19-Seiki America Shakai* [Beyond *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*: Mark Twain and Nineteenth-Century American Society]. Hiroshima: Keisuisha, 2001.

Mark Twain's novel, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, is well known not only to American literary critics, but also to people all over the world. Many readers of *Huckleberry Finn*, however, do not realize that Twain wrote a series of novels after the publication of *Huckleberry Finn*. He tried to write sequels more than a few times, but he did not succeed in completing most of them. The following five sequels, together with *Huckleberry Finn*, are analyzed from both social and biographical standpoints: "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians," *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, *Tom Sawyer, Detective*, "Tom Sawyer's Conspiracy," and "Schoolhouse Hill."

Dissertations

ISHIHARA, Tsuyoshi. "Mark Twain in Japan: Mark Twain's Literature and 20th-Century Japanese Juvenile Literature and Popular Culture." Diss. U of

Texas at Austin, 2003.

This dissertation examines Japanese versions of Mark Twain's literature that have been overlooked by scholars, but have had a significant impact on the formation of the public image of Mark Twain and his works in Japan. It discusses the ways in which both traditional and contemporary Japanese culture transformed Twain's originals and shaped Japanese versions of Mark Twain and his literature. Utilizing the case of Mark Twain in Japan as a vehicle to explore the complexity of American cultural influences on other countries, this dissertation challenges a simplistic one-way model of "cultural imperialism."

OMIYA, Takeshi. "Mark Twain and Europe — Travel in Time and Space, The Influence of European Writers and Darwinism." Diss. Hiroshima U, 2000.

The present study focuses on the relationship between Mark Twain and several European writers, arguing that Twain, who is considered often to be a purely American writer, was greatly influenced by European culture through his experiences in Europe, his friendship with European writers, and knowledge of their works. I emphasize that the European writers' works and Darwin's philosophy became a cultural source for Twain's works, and that without them his works would not have been created.

TAKIOKA, Hiroko. "Mark Twain's Outlook on the Universe: Traveling through Time and Space." Diss. Shirayuri College, 2002.

In his later writings, Twain's growing indignation toward the conceited values of men who approve human rights violations, including slavery, colonialism, and imperialism, is amply evident. Twain's attitude also is revealed through his protagonists' travels through time and space. Twain, possessed of a strong faith in modern American civilization, did not end up a nihilist in his later years, however,

as is generally believed; rather, he finally discovered that the soul and the creative imagination have the potential to sweep away the strains of his time and produce regeneration in the world. This vitality of his inner self was cultivated in the midst of America's great nature.

TSUJI, Kazuhiko. "Phelps Nojo no Kanata ni: *Huckleberry Finn* Zokuhen-gun to 19-Seiki America Shakai [Beyond the Phelps Farm: the Sequel of *Huckleberry Finn* and Nineteenth-Century American Society]." Diss. Hiroshima U, 2000.

Mark Twain's novel, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, is well known not only to American literary critics, but also to people all over the world. Many readers of *Huckleberry Finn*, however, do not realize that Twain wrote a series of novels after the publication of *Huckleberry Finn*. He tried to write sequels more than a few times, but he did not succeed in completing most of them. The following five sequels, together with *Huckleberry Finn*, are analyzed from both social and biographical standpoints: "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians," *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, *Tom Sawyer, Detective*, "Tom Sawyer's Conspiracy," and "Schoolhouse Hill."

Waguri, Ryo. "Mark Twain and Strangers." Diss. Konan U, 2003.

Mark Twain was once a stranger: His experience as a stranger was based on his wanderings and travels during his bachelor years, which allowed him to see the world from the viewpoint as well as understand the alienated feelings of a stranger. In *The Innocents Abroad*, the narrator makes himself appear an uneducated and prejudiced American traveler in European countries. In *Following the Equator*, Twain presents himself in his persona with a face dappled in black and white. Mark Twain readers find in his major novels several kinds of strangers: Strangers who go into isolated places, and revolutionize conventional life there, including the

“strangers” Huckleberry Finn, Tom Canty, Edward, and Hank Morgan. Mark Twain was attracted to such strangers throughout his literary life. Strangers are attractive and, at times, turn a critical eye on established social standards; however, they do not have enough power to persuade weak and common people (such as Sandy and August) of their ideas. When Mark Twain came to this conclusion, he stopped writing about strangers, having discovered the fatal weakness of strangers.

Essays

CHECKETTS, Randy K. “The High & Low/Rise & Fall Cycle in Mark Twain’s View of Western Monarchy.” *The Journal of Economics Department, Akita University of Economics and Law* 35 (2002): 1-10.

—. “HENRY VIII: A Look at History, Mark Twain, and *Huckleberry Finn*.” *The Journal of Economics Department, Akita University of Economics and Law* 32 (2000): 1-13.

FISHKIN, Shelley Fisher. “Mark Twain’s Historical View at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.” *Proceedings of the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar*, July 29-July 31, 1999. Ed. Hiroshi YONEYAMA. Kyoto: Center for American Studies, Ritsumeikan U, Kyoto (2000): 123-39.

During a roughly ten-year period, from 1897 to 1907, Mark Twain’s observations of current affairs prompted him to reflect on the past in new ways; those reflections, in turn, helped push his engagement with contemporary issues in some new directions. Twain’s travels in India and his encounter with current events in France helped spark new insights into the historical past that had framed Twain’s early years; the result was some of Twain’s most trenchant observations about the Slave South. At the same time, the insights Twain developed into the psychological and social dynamics of his childhood world helped hone his awareness of the psychological

and social dynamics of the world in which he lived as an adult. For if thinking about imperialism and anti-Semitism helped clarify his thinking about abusive relations under Slavery, thinking about the usurpations of Slavery sharpened his insight into the true nature of ethnocentrism and racism in all their myriad forms — including the one most visibly at hand at the turn-of-the-century, imperialism.

GOTO, Kazuhiko. “Mark Twain’s Sense of an Ending: A View on His Attitude toward Writing at the Turn of the Century.” *Proceedings of the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar*, July 29-July 31, 1999. Ed. Hiroshi YONEYAMA. Kyoto: Center for American Studies, Ritsumeikan U, Kyoto (2000): 157-66.

This paper tries to show how Twain’s varied literary experiments at the turn of the century, particularly as exemplified in his unfinished works as well as in his autobiographical dictations, correspond with his sense of an ending for the divided life he lived as Samuel Clemens and “Mark Twain.”

GOTO, Shoji. “Huck Finn and America in Kenzaburo Oe.” *Postmodernity and Cross-Culturalism*. Ed. Yoshinobu HAKUTANI. London: Associated UP (2002): 31-42.

In this essay, Goto makes subtle comments on the various connections between *Huck Finn* and Oe’s novels. In particular Goto demonstrates that Oe shares Twain’s “historicist imagination,” which connects the social injustices of his contemporary society and those of the past. Goto suggests that just as Twain’s “historicist imagination” inspired his anti-racist views in *Huck Finn*, Oe’s various historicist novels also challenge the social injustices of contemporary Japan. Goto concludes that, “[through Oe] *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has indeed had a hand in the recovery of historicity in postmodern Japanese literature.”

IGAWA, Masago. "The Outrage of Young Satan: Mark Twain's Views on the Imperial Age." *Proceedings of the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar*, July 29-July 31, 1999. Ed. Hiroshi YONEYAMA. Kyoto: Center for American Studies, Ritsumeikan U, Kyoto (2000): 175-82.

In "The Chronicle of Young Satan," Mark Twain expresses bitter feelings against imperialistic trends at the end of the nineteenth century. However, this paper demonstrates that, despite Satan's cynical and unfeeling diatribes, the story has affirmative elements as well. Igawa tries to show the literary power of Twain's "sense of hope," rather than his so-called pessimism.

MAEOKI, Toshitaka. "From the Recent Education and Research: Mark Twain's Transformation from a Humorist to a Pessimist: Told by *The Mysterious Stranger* (2)." *Bulletin of Hiroshima Kokusai Gakuin University* 34 (2001): 103-11.

—. "Mark Twain's Transformation from a Humorist to a Pessimist: What Made Him Lose Faith in the Dignity of Man and the Value of Human Life? (1)." *Bulletin of Hiroshima Kokusai Gakuin University* 33 (2000): 97-101.

MITSUISHI, Yoko. "Comment on Kazuhiko Goto, 'Mark Twain's Sense of an Ending.'" *Proceedings of the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar*, July 29-July 31, 1999. Ed. Hiroshi Yoneyama. Kyoto: Center for American Studies, Ritsumeikan U, Kyoto (2000): 167-72.

Professor Goto's paper is instructive and intriguing in his focus on Twain's failure to find an ending to the bulk of stories that he left unfinished, including, in a way,

his own autobiography. While Goto emphasized Twain's "inability to finish a long literary work," I am more impressed by Twain's ceaseless search for new kinds of expression, which produced, for example, "the radically experimental *Autobiography*" rather than one typical of the Western literary tradition.

MURAYAMA, Kiyohiko. "Comment on Shelley Fisher Fishkin, 'Mark Twain's Historical View at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.'" *Proceedings of the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar*, July 29-July 31, 1999. Ed. Hiroshi YONEYAMA. Kyoto: Center for American Studies, Ritsumeikan U, Kyoto (2000): 143-50.

This is a response to Shelley Fisher Fishkin's Keynote Paper read at the Literature Section of the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar. While I appreciate Fishkin's view of Mark Twain as a conscientious writer who changed to become an anti-imperialist at the turn of the century, her argument underscores all the more for me the necessity of scrutinizing Twain's persistent duality (duality as both humanitarian reformer and pessimistic determinist, embracing values of the South or West, as well as the North or East), exemplified by Theodore Dreiser's critical essay, aptly entitled, "Mark the Double Twain."

NAGAWARA, Makoto. "The 'Cadaver Episode' in the Random House *Huckleberry Finn*: An Alternative Reading." *Huck Finn: The Complete Buffalo & Erie County Public Library Manuscript — Teaching and Research Digital Edition*. Ed. Robert J. BERTHOLF & Victor DOYNO. CD-ROM. Buffalo & Erie County Public Library (2003). (First presented at Elmira 2001: The 4th International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies.)

This paper offers an interpretation of the above-named episode, which differs in

view from the one given by Victor Doyno in “The Textual Addendum” of the Random House 1996 edition of *Huckleberry Finn*. It attempts to read in the newly discovered “cadaver episode” a one-upmanship game between Huck and Jim, a playful tit for tat that nevertheless suggests an insidious racial tension between the two characters.

NAKAHIRA, Naomi. “*A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* as Mark Twain’s ‘Tall Tale.’” *Tabard* 16. The Society of English Literature, Kobe Women’s University (2001): 37-55.

The performance of the tall tale has a social function: the audience proves whether the performer-storyteller is a cultural insider or not by their reactions (Brown, Wonham). In *Connecticut Yankee*, Twain makes use of this function to develop the plot, depicting the multiple reactions of the audience. The outsider Hank Morgan, for instance, reacts differently from the 6th-century people around him to the tall tale narrated by Sir Kay, but he later proves his membership in the kingdom by reacting adequately to Sandy’s absurd story. For Twain, the tall tale is not only content material, but also a main structuring device in his fiction.

PERISSE, Bernard R. “Violence and Sensibility in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *Pudd’nhead Wilson*.” *Journal of the College of Industrial Technology* 36, Nihon University (2003): 19-25.

SUTO, Ayako. “Calms, Storms and Nights: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884).” *Tsuda Inquiry* 24 (2003): 143-55.

Huck Finn’s storm scenes not only disclose hypocritical, greedy and violent communities, but also such extraordinarily dynamic and sublimely beautiful scenes — condensed in a flash of lightning — that they go beyond the writer’s authorial

territory, implying another world, another kind of “[t]erritory ahead of the rest.” At night, this world becomes terrifying, with implications of death. Nevertheless, this is a world of dead calms and silence, a heart-piercingly beautiful, if temporary, buffer zone that heralds Huck’s final decision to go to the world of absolute silence, “the Territory.”

TAKASHIMA, Mariko. “Mark Twain, Edward House and Japan.” *The Bulletin of the Faculty of Representational Studies* 2, Wako University (2001): 179-190. (First presented at Elmira 2001: The 4th International Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies.)

Mark Twain’s interest in Japan grew as a result of his friendship with Edward H. House, whose review of Twain’s lecture on the Sandwich Islands marked Twain’s debut as a writer. From his first visit to Japan in 1870 until his death, House was an advocate on behalf of Japan and women’s rights. He was known also as a distinguished correspondent, college teacher of English, publisher, editor of *Tokio Times*, and musician. In House’s *Yone Santo*, modeled on his adopted Japanese daughter Koto, he criticized missionaries. Both House’s and Koto’s influences upon Twain’s works and his family are discussed in this paper.

TAKIOKA, Hiroko. “Mark Twain’s ‘Tall Tale State of Mind’ in His Later Years.” *Studies in Language and Literature* 1, The Shirayuri Research Center for Language and Literature (2001): 14-26.

This article points out that the “tall-tale state of mind” prominent in Twain’s early works is even more brilliantly evident in his later writings, those generally criticized as dark and hopeless. The personifications of this frame of mind are the delightful yarn spinners, No.44 and microbe Huck. From their macro and microcosmic viewpoints, they make striking remarks intended to “vandalize” the

self-centered beliefs of the human race. Twain regarded egocentric humans as a root cause of conflict in the world, so wished to expose mankind as relatively meaningless and small in the infinite universe. Twain invites readers to these tall stories as “listening insiders” to share his views and his ardent hopes for a better world.

UEDA, Osamu. “A Modification of the Idea of Implied Reader — With Some Examples from Mark Twain’s *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.” *Fukuoka Jogakuin University Bulletin, Human Relations* 1 (2000): 1-8.

WAGURI, Ryo. “Comment on Masago Igawa, ‘The Outrage of Young Satan’: or Mark Twain’s Mature Face in *Following the Equator*.” *Proceedings of the Kyoto American Studies Summer Seminar*, July 29-July 31, 1999. Ed. Hiroshi YONEYAMA. Kyoto: Center for American Studies, Ritsumeikan U, Kyoto (2000): 183-87.

—. “Following the Equator: Mark Twain’s Mature Face.” *Studies in English & American Literature* 19, Koka Women’s University (2000): 51-65.

Yamanaka, Margaret. “Mark Twain’s Last Travelogue — Twain and Australia.” *Nagara Academia, Bulletin of Graduate School Gifu Women’s University* 3 (2000): 53-78.

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