HUCK, TOM, AND NO. 44: THE TRIPARTITE TWAIN

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Larry L. Crippen, B.A.
Denton, Texas
December, 1994
HUCK, TOM, AND NO. 44: THE TRIPARTITE TWAIN

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Larry L. Crippen, B.A.

Denton, Texas

December, 1994

In this study, I show that three major areas of Mark Twain's personality—conscience, ego, and nonconformist instincts—are represented, in part, respectively by three of his literary creations: Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, and No. 44. The origins of Twain's personality which possibly gave rise to his troubled conscience, need for attention, and rebellious spirit are examined. Also, Huck as Twain's social and personal conscience is explored, and similarities between Twain's and Tom's complex egos are demonstrated. No. 44 is featured as symbolic of Twain's iconoclastic, misanthropic, and solipsistic instincts, and the influence of Twain's later personal misfortunes on his creation of No. 44 is explored. In conclusion, I demonstrate the importance of Twain's creative escape and mediating ego in the coping of his personality with reality.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. THE TRIPARTITE TWAIN:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIS PERSONALITY AND ITS ORIGINS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. CASES OF CONSCIENCE: MARK TWAIN, HUCKLEBERRY</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINN AND OTHER YOUTHFUL PROTAGONISTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE MATTER OF EGO: MARK TWAIN AND</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIS &quot;TOM SAWYERS&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. NO. 44: ALIEN SYMBOL OF MARK TWAIN'S</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONCONFORMIST INSTINCTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. PERSONAL MISFORTUNE AND TWAIN'S NONCONFORMIST INSTINCTS IN NO. 44 AND</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER CHARACTERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

THE TRIPARTITE TWAIN: HIS PERSONALITY AND ITS ORIGINS

In the midst of her family and friends, one might have overheard Olivia Clemens scream, "Oh, Youth!" It is probable that she was not disciplining her children. Most likely, she was chastising her husband, Mark Twain, for some humorous, childlike antics. "Youth" was a fitting nickname for him, as one of his closest friends, William Dean Howells, wrote: "He was a youth to the end of his days, the heart of a boy with the head of a sage; the heart of a good boy, or a bad boy, but always a wilful boy, and wilfulest to show himself out at every time for just the boy he was" (4).

It is ironic, as well as difficult, to believe that an author whom many remember as an old, white-haired, cigar-puffing, wisecracking curmudgeon can be intimately explored by comparing him to some of the young boys that populate his literature. That exploration is possible, however, especially when the characters Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, and No. 44 are considered representative elements of Twain's personality. Twain was quite fond of his days as a young boy in Hannibal, Missouri, and it appears that the best way he could express a critical view of the world, in his fiction, was through the eyes of relatively innocent youths. Although my study of Twain's personality will focus mainly on Twain and his young psychological counterparts Huck, Tom, and No. 44—with a brief look at a few other parallel youthful characters--I will also include comments on Pudd'nhead Wilson and Hank Morgan. These two older characters seem to extend the character of Tom Sawyer into adulthood.
Sigmund Freud's fundamental division of human personality into the id, ego, and superego is useful as an initial model in the categorization and exploration of Mark Twain's mind. Huck as superego (conscience), Tom as ego (negotiator), and No. 44 as id (nonconformist instincts) can also be utilized as characterizations of these three components of Twain's personality. In this paper, future reference to nonconformist instincts (id) shall refer to that part of the personality that Freudian scholar Calvin Hall says "does not possess values, ethics, or morality" (20). In Twain's case, nonconformist instincts shall include his rejection of much of mankind's religious dogma, mores, and social ideals. The ego may be considered to be that component of the personality that carries on "commerce with the external world in the interest of the total personality and its far-flung needs" (Hall 22). Regarding Twain, his interaction with people, his struggles with writing and finances, as well as his efforts to maintain some sort of mental equilibrium, all intimately involve his ego. And "conscience" shall be used to represent the complete superego which "is the moral or judicial branch of personality" (Hall 25).

Regarding Mark Twain's personality, Louis Budd points out that "[in] composite, Twain emerge[s] as more complex than any character his fiction . . . managed to create" (6). In comparing Twain to his characters more specifically, Andrew Hoffman comments that "Huck cannot speak alone as Twain's complete fictional self; he needs to be paired with Tom Sawyer, as we find Twain having done in so many manuscripts, to give us a rounded view of the author's living mind . . ." (32). According to Dixon Wecter, near the end of Twain's life—when his skepticism intensified—he tried to travel back to the times of his Hannibal boyhood through writing about Huck and Tom. As his creativity faded, he found "this avenue of escape more and more difficult . . ." Although he did not give up his attempt to remove this impasse, "in his despair he turn[s] increasingly against a modern
world he never made, in bitterness and disillusion" (265). Thus, another facet of Twain's personality burst its way through his psyche and implanted itself on the page—the misanthropic, nihilistic, and angry Twain—as No. 44 is given birth in his fiction.

Strongly self-possessed and suspicious of much conventional moral thought, Twain was influenced by a strong personal and social conscience. Though aggressive and ambitious, he was humbled by his love for his family. A highly articulate and independent nineteenth-century voice, he managed—subtly, as well as blatantly—to make his views known. Hank Morgan, in referring to himself in Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, unknowingly sheds great light on his creator's personality when he comments,

> And as for me, all that I think about in this plodding sad pilgrimage, this pathetic drift between the eternities, is to look out and humbly live a pure and high and blameless life, and save that one microscopic atom in me that is truly me: the rest may land in Sheol... for all I care. (90)

Although he experienced much sadness and anger, Twain led a rich and full life and left an impressive literary legacy. His journey toward the full development of his unique personality was an interesting one.

In the dialogue between the old man and the young man in Twain's "What is Man?" the young man asks if "consciences can be trained[.]" After replying in the affirmative, the old man agrees with the young man that "parents, teachers, the pulpit, and books" help train the conscience. The old man also adds that "a million unnoticed influences—for good or bad: influences which work without rest during every waking moment of a man's life, from cradle to grave—" contribute to its formation ("What Is
Man?" and Other Essays 21-22). Of course, no one can list all of the influences on the
development of Twain's conscience; however, some of the possible ones can be explored.

It is fitting to reiterate here that conscience has been defined by Hall as "the moral or judicial branch of personality" (25). Twain's father, John Marshall Clemens, certainly provided an example of judiciousness in his capacity as justice of the peace in Hannibal, Missouri, during Twain's impressionable youth (Wecter 103). Wecter characterizes John Clemens as "[a]lmost fanatic in his scruples touching honesty" (14). According to Twain in Following the Equator, his father "laid his hand upon... [him] in punishment only twice in his life. . . ." The punishment was for a "lie," probably an extreme social sin requiring swift punishment in the view of the father (2: 28-29). Margaret Sanborn remarks that Twain's father "haunted... [him] all of his life, and repeatedly he described his father in random notes, and in sketches, articles, stories, and novels, as if under a compulsion to write him out of his system." He is disguised by various pseudonyms, "most often as a judge" (64). Whether Twain liked it or not, his father had a great impact on the development of his moral conscience. Upon his father's death, when Twain was eleven years old, his mother, Jane Lampton Clemens, added more weight to a growing conscience when she asked him to "promise... to be a better boy," and "not to break... [her] heart" (Paine 1: 75). Albert B. Paine notes that upon observing the "grief" and guilt spawned by the recent death of his father, she asked for this pledge after leading him into the room housing his dead father (1: 74). The time came again for Twain to make a promise to his mother. At the age of seventeen, when he was about to leave home, she asked him to swear on a "Bible" that he "will not throw a card or drink a drop of liquor while... [he] is gone" (Wecter 262). The stage for future battles with a religious conscience, inwardly and on paper, is set.
Twain’s mother had a compassionate side also: "She loved animals, rebuked cartmen who beat their horses, refused to trap rats, or kill flies, and adopted waifs and strays on sight" (Wecter 127). A great portion of Twain’s humanitarian conscience can likely be traced to the influence of his mother. However, Twain writes that his mother, "kind-hearted and compassionate as she was, . . . was not conscious that slavery was a bald, grotesque and unwarrantable usurpation." An occurrence during his Hannibal youth was probably of great influence regarding his attitude toward the treatment of blacks. Twain records, "I vividly remember seeing a dozen black men and women chained to one another, once, and lying in a group on the pavement, awaiting shipment to the Southern slave market. Those were the saddest faces I have ever seen" (Mark Twain’s Autobiography 124). His compassionate understanding of nineteenth-century American blacks is reflected in Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and Pudd’nhead Wilson. In respect to religion, Twain’s mother eventually sent him to day and evening religious services "as punishment, knowing how much he despises it." The move is focused on improving his behavior. Young Twain, however, possessed "his father’s free-thinking outlook which rejected religious dogma in favor of rational inquiry . . ." (Sanborn 59). Free thinker that Twain became, he carried burdens of guilt.

Regarding Twain’s guilty conscience, his daughter Clara Clemens commented, "Self-condemnation was the natural turn for his mind to take, yet often he accused himself of having inflicted pain or trouble when the true cause was far removed from himself" (6-7). When Twain reached the age of "six and a half," his "brother Benjamin" died. Margaret Sanborn contends that "[f]or reasons that will never be known, . . . [Twain] considered himself responsible for Ben’s death" (61). In "Villagers of 1840-3," Twain characterizes Ben’s death as "the case of memorable treachery" (39).
Twain's family were extremely traumatic events to him and remained indelible. Forrest G. Robinson writes that when Twain's brother Henry was killed in a steamboat accident on the Pennsylvania, Twain felt responsible. Because of a letter Twain wrote to his sister-in-law in which he expresses a wish to have taken the place of his brother in the accident, Robinson feels that Twain is overreacting to feelings of guilt. Due to problems of sibling rivalry, Twain may have, on some level, wished for Ben's death. Since there is no evidence to conclude that Twain was directly involved in his brother's death (169-71), Robinson concludes "that the guilt is the result of a prior and unconscious fratricidal wish" (170). Nevertheless, whether he should have shared any of the responsibility or not, one can see a pattern of guilt developing in young Mark Twain. In later years, he expressed guilt for the death of others, also. Regarding his son Langdon's death, William Dean Howells writes that Twain says he "killed him" (12). Justin Kaplan writes that, following his daughter Susy's death, Twain went through "daily and nightly rituals of self-accusation" (336). In 1904, in referring to his departed wife Olivia, Twain writes: "I looked for the last time upon that dear face—and I was full of remorse for things done and said in the 34 years of married life that hurt Livy's heart" (Notebook 387).

Twain was aware of the force of his nagging conscience. He recalled the guilt he felt when a tramp was burned to death in a jail cell fire during his youth, presumably set with the matches he gave him:

[M]ine was a trained Presbyterian conscience and knew but the one duty—to hunt and harry its slave upon all pretexts and on all occasions, particularly when there was no sense nor reason in it. The tramp—who was to blame—suffered ten minutes; I, who was not to blame, suffered three months. (Mark Twain's Autobiography 131)
Twain's social conscience seemed to grow slowly. While a teenage boy in New York City (1853), a letter he wrote home to his mother—describing the children he encountered along a New York street—seems to exemplify his early prejudices:

I think I could count two hundred brats. Niggers, mulattoes, quadroons, Chinese, and some the Lord no doubt originally intended to be white, but the dirt on whose faces leaves one uncertain as to the fact, block up the little, narrow street; and to wade through this mass of human vermin, would raise the ire of the most patient person that ever lived. ("To Jane Clemens" 10)

A few years later (1856), Twain began a conversational friendship with a man named Macfarlane who lived in the same Cincinnati boarding house. As evidenced by Twain's later writings, such as Mark Twain on the Damned Human Race and The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts, it is likely that Macfarlane greatly influenced Twain's social consciousness. Twain writes of Macfarlane's view of man:

He said that man's heart was the only bad heart in the animal kingdom; that man was the only animal capable of feeling malice, envy, vindictiveness, revengefulness, hatred, [and] selfishness, ... [and] the sole animal that robs, persecutes, oppresses, and kills members of his own immediate tribe, the sole animal that steals and enslaves the members of any tribe. (Mark Twain's Autobiography 146-47)

Twain's days as a steamboat pilot on the Mississippi, brief stint as a Confederate soldier, jobs as a newspaper reporter, and journeys abroad not only added to his repertoire of experiences for his books and stories, they also contributed to the expansion of his social awareness. Philip S. Foner points out evidence of Twain's humanitarian growth.
Referring to an article written for the New York Tribune in 1868, Foner says Twain's belief in "citizenship for Chinese-Americans . . . [is] part of a general process of change in his thinking on the whole subject of citizenship for minority groups." Twain said that while, "the idea of making Negroes citizens of the United States was startling and disagreeable to me, . . . I have become reconciled to it, and the ice being broken and the principle established, I am ready now for all comers" (qtd. in Foner 250). Foner points out that "next to slavery, Twain attribute[s] the evils of Southern society to the [influence of] Sir Walter" Scott's novels in the sense of the development of pompous aristocratic attitudes (261). Foner adds that the black "characters in Twain's novels and stories," in contrast to "Southern aristocrats," "stand out as true heroes and heroines of the South" (262). Indeed, the fine development of Twain's social conscience was reflected in his work, as Lucas writes of Twain's first travel book, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869):

> It set all later travelers wondering if many incidents that, in the days before it, they would have passed over as too trivial or too much off the track, might not, after all, be worth recording; it made them more human, more catholic in their interests, more embracive in their outlook. The result was a general increase of alertness . . . (x)

Twain's social conscience reflected a more cynical bent in later years. In *Following the Equator* he wrote, "There is a Moral Sense, and there is an Immoral Sense. History shows us that the Moral Sense enables us to perceive morality and how to avoid it, and that the Immoral Sense enables us to perceive immorality and how to enjoy it" (1: 162).

Mark Twain possessed a romantic ego. He sought the stimulation of romance from childhood through adulthood. In 1870, in a letter to his childhood friend Will Bowen, he writes,
Heavens what eternities have swung their hoary cycles about us since those days were new[,] ... since we used to undress & play Robin Hood in our shirt-tails, with lath swords, in the woods on Halliday's Hill on those long summer days[,] ... & wondered what was curtained away in the great world beyond[,] ... [and] since Laura Hawkins was my sweetheart--

Hold: That rouses me out of my dream, & brings me violently back...

For behold I have at this moment the only sweetheart I ever loved ... & for four whole days she has been Mrs. Samuel L. Clemens! (18-20)

Twain remained romantically dedicated to his wife throughout their long marriage, and his romantic reminiscences of boyhood are expressed in much of his literature. Perhaps, in a quest for survival—driven by the obscurity and poverty of his youth—Twain's ego was also attention-seeking.

Twain writes that in the spring of 1850, a traveling hypnotist visited Hannibal, Missouri. Young Twain volunteered as a subject several times, but failed to succumb. However, a fellow employee, Urban Hicks, became a successful subject and gained notoriety on stage. Envious, Twain eventually took to the stage and faked being hypnotized. He put on quite a show, including "the invention of visions without any suggestion whatever." Twain writes, "After that ... proud night, that triumphant night, I was the only subject" (Autobiography of Mark Twain 54). Budd comments that Twain's ability to gain attention is reminiscent of circus promoter P. T. Barnum. As with Barnum, the public played along with his publicity schemes. Twain managed to make "his herohood ... a self-feeding process that rose from notoriety to images so vitally attractive that they have swept over the ordinary barrier of taste between generations." For decades following his passing, his image was so popular that advertising professionals continued
utilizing Twain's image "without wasting space to identify it" (25). W. D. Howells writes of his first meeting with Twain that Twain was attired in "a sealskin coat, with the fur out, in the satisfaction of a caprice, or the love of strong effect. . . ." Howells further comments that Twain "had always a relish for personal effect, which expressed itself in the white suit of complete serge which he wore in his last years. . . ." (4). Although many persons gain notoriety through naturally idiosyncratic behavior, some of Twain's outlandish actions seemed conscious and intentional like the mannerisms and phrases of his rehearsed speeches. Although a highly visible and resourceful writer and book promoter, most of Twain's investments failed to pay off. The "Mark Twain Scrapbook" that he invented in 1872 would be, according to Budd, "his most profitable business venture during his lifetime; the patent was worth updating as late as 1892" (63).

Regarding Twain's publishing endeavors—according to Samuel Webster, son of the head of Twain's publishing house, Charles L. Webster—Twain blamed the financial demise of his publishing business on Charles, "who had retired six years before the failure occurred." Samuel Webster writes that money was drained from the publishing company to invest in Twain's failed "Paige Type-setting machine." Webster adds that, "when, in a panic year, the publishing house, which had supported . . . [Twain's] family, his charities, and the typesetter, could no longer stand the drain, . . . [Twain] held it responsible for the sins of the world—his own and the typesetter's" (Foreward vii). Thus, Twain attempts to maintain a heroic image. He was a master manipulator of the press, as Budd writes:

Capitalizing on his training as a journalist, an ability to stay in the swing of and even dominate most situations, acute sensitivity to his listeners' reactions, and a lightning adaptiveness, he exerted much influence on the
drift of the exchange and the write up of his responses or digressions.

(162)

Even though Twain declared bankruptcy in his late years, he rebounded. With the earnings from the publication of *Following the Equator* in 1897—in combination with a world “tour and other” revenues—Twain managed to extricate himself from bankruptcy by the first of the next year (Emerson 209). Indeed, though his life was filled with setbacks, he possessed a coping ego; as Van Wyck Brooks writes, “he continued to be active and buoyant to the end…” (12). Regarding Twain’s dealing with life, Budd comments that in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* “to all ages Twain, more seductively than ever before, intimated that the secret of coping was play” (71). Many of his harsh life experiences, nonetheless, molded lasting rebellious instincts.

Mark Twain worked for his older brother Orion in his print shop, Wecter reports, between "the beginning of 1851" to "near the end of May 1853." The posture he developed with regard to Orion, he kept all of his life. As Wecter affirms, Twain lived his life, for the most part, an independent soul:

An individualist, and in many ways constitutionally a rebel, … [Twain] never took kindly to male dominion or authority. … Probably the sternness of John Marshall Clemens had entered so deep and early into his soul, that he bridled unconsciously at every surrogate image of it—whether Orion as elder brother and employer, the overbearing pilot Brown of the steamboat *Pennsylvania*, or the endless succession of publishers with whom he battled during forty years. (225-26)

Sanborn points out that Twain would seek the advice of "several male mentors" about writing or financial matters, "but he had chosen those men himself, asked for their advice,
then taken it voluntarily" (80). Although Twain had a strong social conscience, his trust for his fellow man was limited. He expresses in a maxim in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, "If you pick up a starving dog and make him prosperous, he will not bite you. This is the principal difference between a dog and a man" (80). However, despite his mistrust, Twain was compassionate and strongly anti-imperialist. On December 30, 1900, in a letter to the New York Herald ushering in the new personified "century," he vents his opposition to imperialism in the guise of "civilization":

I bring you the stately matron named Christendom, returning bedraggled, besmirched, and dishonored from pirate raids in Kiaochow, Manchuria, South Africa and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle, and her mouth full of pious hypocrisies. Give her soap and a towel, but hide the looking glass. (qtd. in Kaplan 362-63)

Twain's "pessimism" about life can be found as early as 1876, according to Gladys C. Bellamy. In a letter to Mrs A. W. Fairbanks regarding a baby, he writes, that "there are people who would try to save a baby's life and plenty of people who cry when a baby dies. . . . All of us cry, but some are conscious of a deeper feeling of content. . . . I am, at any rate. . . ." (qtd. in Bellamy 61). Bellamy also adds that Twain's young son, Langdon, "had already died when he wrote this letter" (62). Surely, the deaths of other loved ones contributed to his bitterness. Some of Twain's other angry and rebellious attitudes centered around Christianity. E. Hudson Long and J. R. LeMaster contend, however, that even though his father's agnostic beliefs may have steered Twain away from a Christian God, he did manage to instill his belief in "Christian ethics" in him. What Twain came to reject were "the superstitions and dogmas that may accompany any religion" (177). Twain believed that "there is . . . a great Master Mind, but it cares nothing for our happiness or
our unhappiness” (Paine 4: 1353). Twain's writing, which gnaws at society's religious and social institutions, gained him longed for wealth, fame, and respectability. Along with his rewards for negative criticisms of society arose the contradiction of his "desire to be an accepted, even adulated, member of the society and the desire to repudiate its conventions and live as an alienated outlaw” (Harris 97). In a sense, however, Twain managed to accomplish this contradictory goal. He became a wealthy, internationally famous writer, and--for those who understand the great depth of social criticism embedded in his fiction and prose—he was an outlaw rejecting society's norms. Guided by a desire for truth in his journey through life and angered by what he learned from it, Mark Twain's resourceful, intellectual imagination strove a lifetime for transcendent solutions.

Keeping Freud's basic tripartite concept of human personality (superego, ego, and id) in mind as a primary model, I have discussed in this chapter some of the biographical origins of Twain's personality. Twain's early experiences with death, confrontations with Christianity, interactions with his parents, and observations of his culture played an integral part in the development of his personal and social conscience (superego). A romantic spirit and a strong drive for attention and survival were shown to have fostered a manipulative and resilient ego in Twain. And, some of the possible causes for Twain's rebellious, nonconformist instincts (id)--his anger toward his father and brother, anger at God and religious authorities, and his mistrust of mankind--were discussed. In the chapters that follow, I shall utilize the youthful characters Huck, Tom and No. 44—and some extended Twainian character representatives—to form a literary base upon which a more focused exploration of Twain's personality can be undertaken.
NOTE

CHAPTER II

CASES OF CONSCIENCE: MARK TWAIN, HUCKLEBERRY FINN AND OTHER YOUTHFUL PROTAGONISTS

Conscience was often an unwelcome visitor in the life of Mark Twain, as it is in the fictional lives of Huckleberry Finn and other youthful protagonists in Twain's work. To Twain "an uneasy conscience is a hair in the mouth" (Notebook 392). Huck Finn also maintains a negative viewpoint regarding conscience: "If I had a yaller dog that didn't know no more than a person's conscience does, I would pison him. It takes up more room than all the rest of a person's insides, and yet ain't no good, nohow" (Twain, HE 185). Conscience was of obvious concern to Twain since he wrote about it so often; in his fiction, Huckleberry Finn most exemplifies Twain's exploration of conscience.

Henry Nash Smith contends that the "exploration of Huck's psyche... is the ultimate achievement of" Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. Huck Finn is a rather unique, independent, and introspective boy. Hamlin Hill and Walter Blair write,

Huck's pragmatic common sense--in conflict with Tom's [Sawyer] romanticism, with Widow Douglas's rosy idealism, and with Miss Watson's stern authoritarianism--suggests his character, his methods of combatting force, and his desire to test by practical application the impressive but thin veneer of the culture in which he is living. . . . (17)

Janet Holmgren McKay believes that, "in Huck Finn, Twain created a character with a boy's innocence and a social outcast's honesty" (63). Twain may have created in Huck an
almost ideal personality for a social observer. As an observer, it seems ironic that in the novel his purported life is usually a lie, yet his observations—knowingly and unknowingly—travel in the direction of truth. The false persona he must often maintain also casts him more into the position of objective observer since he is not a pure component of the social realities he invades. Harris thinks that in Twain's first-person child narratives like *Huckleberry Finn* the boy who tells his own story has left the moral confines of the town and found the spiritual freedom of the natural world. This child has a special kind of experience: a brief, intuited moment when he recognizes that his kinship to the organic world is spiritually more important than his ties to the human community. (98)

Huck seems to make one of these connections to the "organic world" in Chapter 12 of *Huckleberry Finn*. Huck paints a tranquil scene of contentment for himself and Jim as they travel down the river: "It was kind of solemn, drifting down the big still river, laying on our backs looking up at the stars, and we didn't ever feel like talking loud, and it warn't often that we laughed, only a little kind of low chuckle." Separated from society, there is no need for loud, boastful talk or forced laughter. Not only does the weather seem to cooperate, but Huck adds, "nothing ever happened to us at all, that night, nor the next, nor the next" (Twain, *HF* 62). Twain also experienced a secure and peaceful feeling on a raft. On a trip through Germany in *A Tramp Abroad*—several years before *Huckleberry Finn* was completed—Twain enjoyed a rafting journey. It was a therapeutic cruise:

The motion of a raft is the needful motion; it is gentle, and gliding, and smooth, and noiseless; it calms down all feverish activities, it soothes to sleep all nervous hurry and impatience; under its restful influence all the
troubles and vexations and sorrows that harass the mind vanish away, and
existence becomes a dream, a charm, a deep and tranquil ecstasy. How it
contrasts with hot and perspiring pedestrianism. . . . (107)

Like Twain, Huck and Jim experience tranquility when they are apart from society.
Perhaps, on an unconscious level, this isolated and peaceful bonding with Jim—and other
experiences like it—influences Huck's decisions regarding Jim's freedom. It may as well
have influenced his future search for solutions for a peaceful life within society or outside
of it.

When Huck writes a letter to Miss Watson, turning in his black friend Jim, he
initially feels he is making the right moral decision: "I felt good and all washed clean of sin
for the first time I had ever felt so in my life. . . ." Then, he begins reflecting on his trip
down the river with Jim: "But somehow I couldn't seem to strike no places to harden me
against him, but only the other kind" (Twain, HF 172). His self-damning oath, "All right,
then, I'll go to hell," preceding his destruction of the letter, indicates the seriousness with
which he takes this moral decision (HF 173). Gregg Camfield points out two "schools of
thought" in regard to Huck's action. He writes, "one school" feels that "Huck the
empiricist has tested his culture's mores by experience and found them wanting." The
other believes that "Huck is a Romantic, whose innately good heart perceives a
transcendental morality from which his culture has tried, in vain, to alienate him." This
second view seems closer to the real Huck, that is, if you consider his cultural conscience
a static condition, and the actions prompted by his "heart" to be kind, impulsive actions.
For example, even though he may have assimilated some of the criminal ideas of the
culture of the king and duke, and others, Huck's immediate compassion for people
transcends his choosing this option. In Chapter 26 of Huckleberry Finn, Huck plans to foil
the scheme of the king and the duke to steal the money of Mary Jane Wilks and her
sisters: "I says to myself, this is another one that I'm letting him rob her of her money. . . .
I felt so ornery and low down and mean, that I says to myself, My mind's made up; I'll hive
that money for them or bust" (144). Camfield also tends to believe the second view is
closer to Twain's view of Huck's saving behavior toward Jim. He points out Twain's view
regarding "a parallel passage, . . . in which Huck's lie about smallpox on the raft saves Jim
from capture." Twain's comment is taken from his "1895 world lecture tour":

[T]hat in a crucial moral emergency a sound heart is a safer guide than an
ill-trained conscience. I sh'd support this doctrine with a chapter from a
book of mine where a sound heart & a deformed conscience come into
collision & conscience suffers defeat. (qtd. in Camfield 169)¹

Camfield thinks Huck's close association with Jim on the river "soften[s] Huck's heart
toward Jim, leading him to act against his 'conscience,' that is, against learned precepts,
and toward heart. . ." (173). However, regarding Huck's belief that he is actually doing
the wrong thing by freeing Jim—that he is violating the code of his culture—something may
have been occurring internally that was out of the reach of Huck's conscious realization.
Quite simply, Huck's mind may have formed a new conscience which had incorporated a
special consideration for Jim that keeps him from turning Jim in—thus transcending any
role that his heart (an impulsive emotion) or his "wickedness" might play (HF 173). Not
only is the reader allowed to observe the operation of Huck's personal
conscience—exemplified by the difficulties in his personal relationship with Jim—but also,
his actions can be considered in the light of social conscience. Huck's personal
compassion for Jim probably reflects how he would treat others who need his aid in the
future. His fidelity in regard to the Wilks sisters may be indicative of an honesty which
begins to far surpass the distorted moral lessons taught to him by his father. Huck, the uneducated, dirty urchin, is capable of making moral decisions which make the status quo of some of America's nineteenth-century inhabitants appear impure. Robert A. Wiggins contends that when Huck "does what he feels to be right instead of shifting responsibility to a choice rationalized by morally irresponsible codes of behavior, Huck gains the dignity and nobility of which mankind is capable" (67). Wiggins also comments that in Huckleberry Finn "Twain's . . . moral theme . . . is one of freedom and escape. . . ." He believes Twain "asks how the individual can remain free in a restrictive society and answers that he is compelled to flee; morally he does right by doing wrong" (63).

Van Wyck Brooks has shown that Huck's problem of conscience can be linked to Twain's: Brooks believes that Twain's mother, who "perceived the scent of the devil in . . . creative impulse[s]," influenced Twain to maintain a conventionality in his life which inhibited the expression of his more serious artistic sense (53). Twain's radical, solipsistic views became more pronounced in his later literature, as in The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts which, because of his fear of their causing financial loss, had to be published posthumously. Brooks thinks there is a similar conflict in Huck: "one between conscience and the law, on one side, and sympathy on the other." In the case of Huck, "'sympathy,' that is, "individual freedom," wins (53). Brooks believes Twain overcomes the conflict of conformity versus individualism "in the book. . . . In actual life he . . . surrender[s]" (54).

Other similarities exist in regard to problems of conscience between Mark Twain and Huckleberry Finn. Both character and author shared frequent unpleasant visitations by the specter of death. Harold Lowther Beaver comments that Huck, "like Twain, . . . is haunted by death" (72). In a short period, Huck is visited by the dead body (Pap Finn) discovered in the houseboat, the likely deaths of the crooks on the Walter Scott, and Buck
Grangerford's death. Twain may have felt a need to attack his haunting conscience—a conscience often plagued by deaths—in literature. Indeed, Beaver points out that

In 'The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut'...

[Twain] wrote: 'At last, and forever, my Conscience was dead!... Nothing in all the world could persuade me to have a conscience again.' One month later he began *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. (72)

And, through Huck, Twain attempted to reject cultural conscience. There were also similarities between the two in reaction to their fathers, who were important components in the formation of their consciences. According to Jay Martin, both Twain and Huck seem to wish that their fathers were dead: "[E]ach time Huck is forced to tell about himself, he tells the same tale—of the death of his father. The same distressing feelings and the guilt arising over them burned in Twain's conscience" (61). Martin draws an interesting parallel between Twain's Uncle Dan'l and father, and, Pap Finn and Jim. Uncle Dan'l was a favorite uncle who told the young Twain "ghost tales" before he went to bed. Twain's father was a cold man who merely shook "hands" with him before bed (59).

Martin contends,

In testing Jim's strength as one would a hostile father, Huck virtually kills him, and he shows his superiority by tricking and humiliating him. Meanwhile, Pap is killed. . . . The father is split into two; the hostile, threatening father is killed, while the affectionate, protecting father is tested and accepted. One reason Twain [temporarily] dropped the book at this point was that his ambivalent attitudes toward his own father had been objectified. . . . (62)
It seems to me that Twain's writing about his father in a symbolic way is not only a literary catharsis for Twain in the sense of trying to erase the painful lingering image of a stern, unemotional father, but he may also be seen as attempting to put to death any feelings of guilt in his conscience that are associated with his father.

Huck possessed a sort of dual social consciousness representing Twain and the common people. DeVoto writes that Huck represents the "folk-mind . . . [of] mid-America in the period of the frontier and immediately following." DeVoto adds that "Huck . . . is also Mark Twain's surrogate, he is charged with transmitting what that dark, sensitive, and complex consciousness felt about America and the human race" (99). For example, Huck's common perception and Twain's subtle viewpoint are expressed regarding Jim's equality when Huck comments on Jim's loneliness for his family: "I do believe he cared just as much for his people as white folks does for theirs. It don't seem natural, but I reckon it's so" (HF 129). Twain also expresses the ridiculousness of feuding and violence through Huck when Huck quizzes Buck Grangerford about the Grangerford's feud with the Shepherdsons:

"What was the trouble about, Buck?—land?"

"I reckon maybe—I don't know."

"Well, who done the shooting?—was it a Grangerford or a Shepherdson?"

"Laws, how do I know? it was so long ago."

"Don't anybody know?"

"Oh, yes, pa knows, I reckon, and some of the other old folks; but they don't know, now, what the row was about in the first place." (HF 94)
And, with Huck as his sounding board, Twain writes about the cruelty and decadence of nineteenth-century small town America, using a small Arkansas town as an example:

"There couldn't anything wake them up all over, and make them happy all over, like a dog-fight—unless it might be putting turpentine on a stray dog and setting fire to him...."

To Twain, it may have seemed like the rotting houses of towns like these were like some of the citizens—no longer housing a compassionate, human spirit. As Huck comments, "On the river front some of the houses was sticking out over the bank, and they was bowed and bent, and about ready to tumble in. The people had moved out of them" (HF 118). Even though Twain is able to express himself through Huck, Martin believes Huck is who Twain wants "to be[: an only child, without parents, without brothers. [Huck]... is free[d] from a guilt ridden conscience and the influences of a Christian civilization in general" (70-71).

In *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, Huck Finn gradually evolves from a secondary to an important character. Robert Regan comments that, in the beginning, "Huck seems... destined to serve as an uncomplicated foil for Tom..." Huck eventually becomes "a center of attention" (127). For example, in *Tom Sawyer*, after Tom and Huck mutually agree to keep silent about the innocence of Muff Potter, Tom breaks their vow and testifies in court (Twain 224). Even though Tom's act is admirable in the sense of freeing the innocent Muff, he has violated the moral agreement which Huck's moral conscience prevents him from violating. Peck points out that "Twain emphasizes the development of Tom's increasing sense of village morality... by contrasting his actions to those of Huck Finn..." Huck seems to accept his decision "and the inviolability of his pact with Tom" while "Tom... suffers pangs of conscience for his failure to speak out against the [real] criminal" (229). Huck's personal conscience is also a significant part of
Tom Sawyer in the rescue of the widow Douglas from "the 'revenge' job." When he overhears the perpetrators near the widow's home, he is frightened, and "his thought... [is] to fly. Then he remember[s] the widow Douglas had been kind to him more than once, and maybe these men were going to murder her" (Twain, TS 266). He runs to find help (TS 268).

Other youthful characters in Twain's fiction individually embody certain aspects of the personality of Huck Finn, especially his strong conscience. These characters include the compassionate Tom Canty of The Prince and the Pauper, the conscience-driven Joan of Arc in Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, and the sensitive August Feldner of "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger."

In The Prince and the Pauper Tom Canty can be said to resemble Huckleberry Finn in several ways. First, like Huck, Tom possesses a strong conscience. Indeed, Lin Salamo comments,

The Prince and the Pauper is related not only chronologically but also thematically to Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. It began to take literary shape in 1877, just two years after the completion of Tom Sawyer, and it was in part written concurrently with Huckleberry Finn. All three books feature child-heroes... [who] learn in the course of many experiences to judge soundly and compassionately. (18)

Regarding Huckleberry Finn and The Prince and the Pauper, Robert J. Coard comments that "almost any reader of the two Twain novels could add to the number of shared plot similarities, character likenesses, and whimsicalities" (443). For example, among other similarities, Coard mentions the fact that both Huck Finn and Tom Canty have abusive fathers. He also notes that there is a confusion of identities between the two main
characters in each novel, and that "throughout the latter parts of *Huckleberry Finn*, written after *The Prince and the Pauper*, Twain seemingly strains to set up a climactic scene that will be the equivalent of the historical novel's razzle-dazzle, Tom Sawyerish finale. . . ." (442). But most importantly, Tom Canty's personality closely resembles Huck's, especially in regard to his conscience and his compassionate behavior equivalent to Huck's regard for Jim. Even though Tom enjoys being a king, "he remain[s] kind and gentle, and a sturdy and determined champion of all that were oppressed, and he made tireless war upon unjust laws. . . ." (Twain, PP 205). The similarity between Tom's and Huck's strong consciences also becomes apparent when, from time to time, concerns over the welfare of Edward Tudor "was . . . an unwelcome specter" and "made Tom feel guilty and ashamed" (PP 206). And, Tom's conscience also condemns him when he rejects his mother. Canty's self-glorifying spell of his impersonation of Edward Tudor is suddenly broken by feelings of guilt. When a worshipful crowd shouts to Tom, "Long live Edward of England!," it is drowned out by "another sound . . . in his accusing conscience--a voice which kept repeating those shameful words, 'I don't know you, woman!'" (PP 305).

Mark Twain's Joan of Arc in *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* is a character similar to Huck Finn in that she is a self-sacrificing person with a strong conscience. Thomas D. Zlatic writes that Joan possesses "the soundness of heart of Huck Finn. . . ." (303). Referring to Joan of Arc, William Searle recalls Twain's writing in *Joan of Arc* that "[w]here she had taken her stand and planted her foot, there she would abide; hell itself could not move her from that place" (qtd. in Searle 51).² In comparing Huck to Joan, Searle points out that Twain believes "moral rebels have sometimes been willing to defy [sure] damnation. . . ." (51). Huck seems just as willing to go to hell as Joan willingly accepts being branded a heretic. Huck and Joan are two of the few characters that Twain
seems to sanctify in his literature; Huck's sanctification is ethical and Joan's seems deific. Regan writes that "Huck Finn and Joan of Arc provide examples of the religious or quasi-religious role the hero may be constrained to play in a world so sick that redemption, not leadership, is demanded of its children..." (15). In his own way, Huck is dedicated enough to risk being a martyr: "I...[will] go to work and steal Jim out of slavery again..." (Twain, HE 173). Young Joan is also prone to martyrdom. She is chosen to redeem France:

"God has chosen the meanest of His creatures for this work; and by His command, and in His protection, and by His strength, not mine, I am to lead His armies, and win back France, and set the crown upon the head of His servant that is Dauphin and shall be King." (emphasis supplied)

(Twain, Joan 57)

Similarly, there is a remarkable resemblance of personality and conscience between Huck Finn and the character August Feldner of "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger." Like Huck, August possesses low self-esteem, a sensitive social conscience, and (Twain's conception of) a righteously directed moral flexibility. As Susan K. Harris observes, August "is the sensitive character who shrinks from the other[s']... inexplicable nastiness." Harris also feels that August's "distinction lies in his consciousness of his human failings rather than in his freedom from them" (32), and that his compassion "for the outcast [No. 44] suggests how deeply he feels like one himself" (33). The highly, socially conscious Huck is repulsed by the violence and dishonesty he confronts along the river—the murder of Boggs, the feuding Grangerfords and Shepherdsons, and the swindling escapades of the king and the duke. Huck is undoubtedly aware of his troubled past and by chapter 31 says he "never thought no more about reforming" (Twain, HF..."
part of Huck's compassion for Jim likely stems from his own feelings of being an outsider, which spurs him toward independence. In similar fashion, as Delaney observes,

August finds himself drawn from his companions in the print shop toward an increasing isolation. Indeed, one of the most basic patterns in all of the Mysterious Stranger manuscripts is this movement away from identification with the community and toward complete independence of the self. (57)

August's withdrawal and possible acceptance of No. 44's anti-Christian views is much like Huck's acceptance of a hellish fate. As Delaney points out,

When the stranger's denial of the afterlife—*There is no other*—evokes in the narrator not the despair of an orthodox Christian but a 'blessed and hopeful feeling that the incredible words might be true,' we see that the boy had already accepted the essential truth of the stranger's teachings. The boy's 'gush of thankfulness' implies tacit agreement with Satan's [No. 44's] views that the Moral Sense is degrading, that religious beliefs are inanities, and that death would be preferable to mortal life. (60)

Huck and No. 44 are characters who strive to transcend a conforming, mundane existence—as did the author who invented them.

In their respective stories, Tom Canty, Joan of Arc, and August Feldner maintain a presence of conscience similar to that of Huck's in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* In much of Twain's fiction, Huck, and characters similar to him, appear to be the center point of Twain's personal and social conscience. Mark Twain developed a conscience strongly influenced by family members and others in the small town environments in which he grew up. So does Huckleberry Finn. Both author and character found a pathway to
growth—the Mississippi. Their escape from small-mindedness into a more comprehensive social consciousness is symbolized in the moral lessons encountered on its broad shores.
NOTES


Mark Twain possessed similar components of personality to those of his creation Tom Sawyer, the romantic, resourceful, and attention-seeking boy. The side of Twain most like his young creation was as romantic adventurer, skilled manipulator, and seeker of the spotlight. Tom, in the final analysis, however, is a conformist. Twain, only appeared to be so.

In the concluding chapter of The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, Tom tries to convince Huckleberry Finn to return to the protection of his guardian, the Widow Douglas, and conform to her ways: "Everybody does that way, Huck" (322). Tom, aware that Huck wants to become a "robber" in his "gang," tries to make living with the Widow Douglas a prerequisite. Tom tells Huck that he can't be in the gang unless he's "respectable." Thus, in comparing a "robber" to Huck's previous gang position as a pirate, Tom adds: "A robber is more high-toned that what a pirate is--as a general thing. In most countries they're awful high up in the nobility--dukes and such" (325). Huck, who idolizes Tom, finally yields. In addition to revealing Tom's manipulativeness here, Twain is also demonstrating Tom's knowledge of human conformity by using the public acceptance of exploitation by nobility as an example. It is apparent that Tom is aware that appearances can supersede morality in society. Indeed, Twain wrote, "It has always been a peculiarity of the human race that it keeps two sets of morals in stock--the private and real, and the public and artificial" (Eruption 382).
In *Tom Sawyer*, Tom appears to be St. Petersburg's chief charmer-in-residence. Lyall Powers writes:

Tom is the working out of the idea of the good bad boy[;]... he plays the right games, ... acceptably breaks the rules like a regular guy, and reaps his merited reward—the Judge's daughter and a nest egg of $6,000.00. So he can safely be trusted to fulfill our nostalgic wishes because as his dreamy play hardens into reality his acts of pseudo-rebellion mature into strict respectability. (322)

Although Tom is a romantic individual—in love with the theatrics of history, with Becky Thatcher, and with his own melodrama—he is "in revolt against nothing," as James Cox points out (140). Cox adds that Tom "has no sustained desire to escape." Tom likes to continually manipulate the "village" into participating in his "dream." In the end, the realization "the dream invariably comes to is play—a play which converts all serious projects in the town to pleasure and at the same time subverts all the adult rituals by revealing that actually they are nothing but dull play to begin with" (140-41). Tom's mock resurrection from death by drowning in *Tom Sawyer* is a good example of his manipulation of townspeople in the sense of converting harsh reality to a pleasurable experience—a dull funeral becomes a celebration. Tom, playing "pirate" on Jackson's Island with friends, is aware that the people from his town think that he, Huck Finn, and Joe Harper are victims of drowning. For effect, Tom delays their return in a "scheme to return home with his brother pirates and attend their own funerals" (*TS* 178). As the congregation joyously sings a hymn welcoming the return of Tom and his friends, Tom is highly pleased to be the center of attention (*TS* 177). Tom's manipulative behavior verges on the Machiavellian. However, as Albert E. Stone, Jr. points out, "in spite of outrageous
conduct, he does nothing positively evil for which he can be held morally responsible" (62). But Tom's deep insight into human nature far exceeds that of many others around him. After convincing several boys to give him things for the privilege of taking over his job of whitewashing a fence, he becomes aware of "a great law of human action, without knowing it—namely, that in order to make a man or a boy covet a thing, it is only necessary to make the thing difficult to attain" (TS 33).

Tom Sawyer is motivated by a need for attention and acceptance. As Robert Regan has shown, throughout the novel Tom vies for the acceptance of "the father-figure . . . [of] Judge Thatcher." There are several similarities between Judge Thatcher and Mark Twain's father, "including the title 'Judge. . . ." (114). However, Regan adds that Judge Thatcher "is what Judge Clemens could never be, approachable and warm." Fatherless, Tom chooses Judge Thatcher as a "father-figure" from whom he must earn "love" and acceptance. Regan writes that "when all of the evidence of Tom's manhood, his courage, his selflessness, his intelligence, has been laid before Judge Thatcher, he does more than praise the boy, he virtually adopts him" (115). Not only is Judge Thatcher a father-figure to Tom, he is society in microcosm—the society Tom desperately wishes to impress. He is also the father Twain was unsuccessful in impressing during his youth.

In *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain has created for himself an excellent literary arena for contrasting Tom's personality to Huck's. Tom is the practical side of Twain; he is the same component of Twain's personality that must cope with everyday reality—bankers, publishers, employees, and even bankruptcy. In contrast, Huck, although seemingly awkward and homespun, represents the more cerebral side of Twain in the novel—a self-educated, sensitive awareness. Regarding the conclusion of *Huckleberry Finn*, Henry N. Smith points out that Huck and Jim's troublesome journey is "stripped of
its tragic implications . . ." (133) because "Huck's and Jim's journey down the river could not be imagined as leading to freedom for either of them" (132). Huck and Jim both know how to be true individuals; however, they experience great difficulty in socialization.

Huck and Jim find it hard to function in a world that has often denied them access to their dreams. Smith feels that the emphasis on Tom's point of view is "the logical one to adopt because his intensely conventional sense of values made him impervious to the moral significance of the journey on the raft" (133). Tom is the uninhibited expediter, while Huck's encounters with life invite bouts with his conscience. John S. Whitley writes, "Tom has always been the leader, the initiator of the action, and Huck is relieved to have the burden of his responsibility lightened" (68). However, in criticism of Tom, Whitley adds that "Tom is a 'flat' character; he cannot surprise us. Huck is 'round' because he has learned and changed; even if . . . he cannot find the courage to repudiate Tom's games" (72). Tom represents the superficial part of Twain, much like the Twain who created a public image of candor yet did not have the fortitude to reveal some of his most controversial views. On the other hand, Huck is as courageous as Twain when the author stood against the hypocrisy, racism, and imperialism practiced in an expanding nineteenth-century America. In similar criticism, Whitley comments that Tom's purposeful silence about Jim's freedom in the end of the novel shows his "heroism . . . to be as bogus as the culture of the Southwest which supports his fantasies." Contrariwise, he sees "Huck . . . [as] a mythic, timeless American hero, making that ever-current, endlessly hopeful and desperate move West" (74). Tom is the Twain whose shrewd quips at the speaker's platform draws applause, money, and laughter for the popular author. Huck is the Twain alone in his study, carefully constructing Huckleberry Finn over a period of several years—subtly couching radical ideas into backwoods dialogue. Powers feels "Huck


... represents the wild... side of Tom Sawyer..." (314). It is a side of himself that Tom
fears because of his commitment to "civilization and respectability." Powers writes that
"amidst all the romance and make-believe of Tom's play there is something dreadfully real
about Huck... While Tom plays at rebellion against social mores, Huck is the rebel
succeeded..." (315).

In *Tom Sawyer, Detective*, another book featuring Tom and Huck, Tom—again, as
his dominant and ostentatious personality seems to require—takes an heroic, lead role.
John C. Gerber views Tom "as a youthful imitation of the immensely popular Sherlock
Holmes, with Huck as a counterpart of Dr. Watson" (xii). When Tom exposes the
disguised Jubiter Dunlap in the courtroom episode of the story, the spectators yell
excitedly for Tom to continue. Tom is the center of attention again, "which made him feel
uncommon bully, for it was nuts for Tom Sawyer to be a public character thataway, and a
hero, as he calls it" (*TSD* 172). Also in the concluding chapter of the story, Tom
comments on the human habit of the absentminded sketching of figures on or near one's
face when in deep thought. This may have symbolic significance in regard to Tom's
aggressive, high self-esteem in comparison to Huck's lack of confidence. The figures
sketched by Tom, Huck and Jubiter Dunlap may be symbols of subconscious thought.
Tom says, "When I'm restless, or worried, or thinking hard, I draw capital V's on my
cheek or on my under lip or under my chin, and never anything but capital V's...." Huck
then thinks to himself, "That was odd. That is just what I do; only I make an O" (*TSD*
169). If Tom's "V's" consistently stand for "Victor" and Huck's "O's" continually stand for
"odd," it is possible that Tom and Huck are revealing something about themselves. Tom
consistently strives to be a victor in Twain's stories, and Huck continually thinks of himself
as odd. Some credence may be lent to this idea by the fact that Jubiter Dunlap—a
character who, in a sense, is resurrected from the grave when he is exposed by
Tom—unconsciously "draw[s] a cross on his cheek . . ." (TSD 174).

Other characters in Twain's fiction seem to represent aspects of Tom Sawyer's
personality. There are some similarities between Tom and Prince Edward Tudor in The
Prince and the Pauper. Walter Blair points out that Miles Hendon "humors . . . [Edward]
by waiting on him and by pretending to believe that honors the boy bestows upon him are
real--'a most odd and strange position, truly, . . . for one so matter-of-fact as I." Blair
believes this facilitation of fantasy "suggests Hendon is to the king what Huck has been to
Tom . . ." (192). In a sense, Edward's appearance of fantastism places Edward in the
position of Tom in the classic relationship of Tom and Huck. Blair also draws a parallel
between Tom and Edward in commenting that "as Tom Sawyer envies restraint-free
Huck, the prince envies restraint-free Tom Canty" (191). Edward also demonstrates
behavior similar to Tom Sawyer when he tries to rescue Miles Hendon from the pillory.
Young Edward "confront[s] the officer in charge, crying, 'For shame! This is my
servant—set him free! I am the—'" Hendon interrupts "Oh, peace! . . . thou'lt destroy
thyself. Mind him not, officer, he is mad" (Twain, PP 198). Since no one believes
Edward is really a king, it is almost as if Edward is acting out an imagined, heroic drama
similar to ones acted out by Tom Sawyer. Tom Sawyer's and Edward Tudor's egos may
grow to comparable immensity when confronted with problems.

In Twain's literature, the youthful Tom Sawyer lives on in older characters—like
the egotistical, attention-seeking "Tom" who seemed trapped in the ego of the adult Mark
Twain. Tom Sawyer and Hank Morgan of A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court
share similar personality traits. Andrew Jay Hoffman, in reference to Hank Morgan says
that "Tom Sawyer has escaped from Huckleberry Finn and landed as an adult in King
Arthur's realm, having learned nothing in between" (109). Hank's self-absorption parallels Tom's. Regarding Hank, Hoffman comments, "his ego, his affection for his own abstractions from reality, deter him from... [empathetic] understanding which is the fundamental greatness of the hero" (110). Hank Morgan's manipulative character is reminiscent of Twain and Tom. Twain, in particular, had a relish for modern invention which equaled Hank's and may be relevant in regard to their interest in social manipulation. Twain's almost inexhaustive investment in his failed typesetter may, on some subconscious level, have indicated an intense desire to exercise a symbolic dominion over what was printed. If the typesetter had been as successful as he had dreamed, Twain might have been considered—or perhaps have considered himself—the king of the printed word. In a related viewpoint, Whitley sees Hank as "a Barnum-like figure whose 'modern' improvements in Camelot are mostly tricks to gain control of the world, to make it conform to his private ethic, as Tom had done in St. Petersburg" (74). The legacy of Tom the show-off has been passed on to Hank, as Cox relates:

Tom simply has to shine if he can, and he utilizes every resource at his command to do so. In this respect he is a forerunner of Hank Morgan, whose chief character trait is his inveterate love of the effect.... They nourish the tactics of the grand entrance, the great surprise, the splendid disclosure. (137)

In Connecticut Yankee, one of Hank Morgan's great effects occurs when he blows up Merlin's tower: "I made about three passes in the air, and then there was an awful crash and that old tower leaped into the sky in chunks, along with a vast volcanic fountain of fire turned night to noonday, and showed a thousand acres of human beings groveling...." (CY 39). Hank further comments regarding the spectacular episode that "to be vested with
enormous authority is a fine thing; but to have the on-looking world consent to it is a
finer" (CY 40). Like Tom, Hank is addicted to attention.

Although there is a difference in ages and general demeanor, some interesting
similarities also exist between Tom Sawyer and Pudd'nhead Wilson's David Wilson. Both
Tom and David are intense investigators and effective courtroom speakers. In comparing
Tom Sawyer, Detective to Pudd'nhead Wilson, Robert Rowlette writes that "the entire
story marches as steadily towards . . . [the] climactic [courtroom] scene as does the action
in Pudd'nhead Wilson which culminates in Wilson's triumph" (53). In the courtroom scene
in The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, Daniel M. McKeithan recalls that "Tom Sawyer came
forward to testify that he had seen Injun Joe kill Dr. Robinson. Pudd'nhead Wilson proved
by fingerprints that Tom Driscoll killed the Judge, thus playing the role of courtroom hero
as Tom Sawyer had done" (40). Both Tom and David must win the approval of their
village through dazzling, heroic acts. The townspeople of each courtroom are wowed by
Tom and David's intentional effects. In Tom Sawyer, Detective, the courtroom crowd "all
busted out in a howl, and you never see the like of that excitement since the day you was
born" (171). In the final courtroom scene in Pudd'nhead Wilson, "the house was thrilled
as with an electric shock . . ." (112).

In the preface to Tom Sawyer Mark Twain writes, "Huck Finn is drawn from life;
Tom Sawyer also, but not from an individual—he is a combination of the characteristics of
three boys whom I knew, and therefore belongs to the composite order of architecture"
(v). Theodore Hornberger believes "there is some doubt about the identification of the
three boys who helped to form the character of Tom Sawyer, but one of them was
unquestionably Will Bowen . . ." (Letters to Will Bowen 3). Dixon Wecter writes that "the
real Will [was] romantic, sentimental, and mischievous . . ." (140), which sounds very
much like the young Mark Twain. In fact, in looking back on Mark Twain’s life one can find many reasons to believe that Tom Sawyer represents a major facet of his personality.

Like Tom Sawyer, as a boy, Mark Twain dreamed of a romantic life:

When a circus came and went, it left us all burning to become clowns; the first Negro minstrel show that came to our section left us all suffering to try that kind of life; now and then we had a hope that if we lived and were good, God would permit us to become pirates. These ambitions faded out, each in its turn; but the ambition to be a steamboatman always remained.

(Mississippi 37)

Indeed, Twain worked his way up to the position of pilot on a steamboat. Mark Twain was also a roving teenage printer who contributed humorous verses, squibs, and letters to country newspapers; . . . a Confederate soldier; a Nevada silver miner; a Far Western journalist; a widely traveled newspaper correspondent; and finally, a popular lecturer and famed bestselling author who became engaged to a beautiful and wealthy girl. (Sanborn xv)

Mark Twain anticipated Tom Sawyer’s dreams of fame and fortune and carried them into adulthood. Even though called by the life of adventure, Twain’s romantic yearnings for his boyhood never left him, as is evident in his fiction and in his later life. More than half a century later, he recalled his Uncle John Quarles farm home:

I can see all its buildings, all its details: the family room of the house, with the trundle-bed in one corner and the spinning-wheel in another—a wheel whose rising and falling wail, heard from a distance, was the mournfullest of all sounds to me, and made me homesick and low-spirited, and filled my
atmosphere with the wandering spirits of the dead. . . . (qtd. in Paine, *Biography* 33-34)

Twain's home town was also a romantic point of reference to him, as Wecter writes that "Hannibal forever remained his symbol of security in days when disasters and frustrations were closing in upon him" (64). In July of 1875 Twain wrote to his friend, William Dean Howells,

> I have finished the story [Tom Sawyer] & didn't take the chap beyond boyhood . . . . If I went on, now, & took him into manhood, he would just be like all the one-horse men in literature & the reader would conceive a hearty contempt for him. (Twain, "To Howells" 91)

Even though he later took Tom to adulthood through other characters, perhaps unconsciously, Twain did not wish to lose the romance of the boyhood years Tom represented to him—a boyhood of freedom, uncorrupted by the acceptance of the harsh realities of adulthood.

As does Tom, Twain liked to be the center of attention. At the age of fifteen, he became a Cadet of Temperance. Twain writes that "it consisted in a pledge to refrain, during membership, from the use of tobacco; I mean it consisted partly in that pledge and partly in a red merino sash, but the red merino sash was the main part." Young Twain and other members proudly wore their sashes in parades through Hannibal (Twain, *Autobiography* 43). For similar reasons, Tom Sawyer enters a Sunday school contest to win a Bible. Twain writes, "It is possible that Tom's mental stomach had never really hungered for one of those prizes, but unquestionably his entire being had for many a day longed for the glory and the eclat that came with it" (TS 50). Twain, a public speaker of worldwide fame, relished being in the public eye. In 1884, he told an interviewer for the
Baltimore American: "I love the platform, and I would like to live on it but I cannot be traveling about all the time" (quoted in Fatout, 20). And, of course, there were those famous white suits Mark Twain wore. Louis Budd writes that "though . . . [their] personal effect is imagined today as debonair, it was then much more often seen as calculated, close to theatrical." (207). Budd also comments that Twain "had made his life a public spectacle, indeed a melodrama. An editor who worked with him for decades diagnosed 'in Mark Twain's case the evident compulsion, however genially complied with, of the openly dramatized personality'" (qtd. in Budd 16).

When Twain was in his mid-teens, he was deeply impressed with the words of a "delightful young black man—a slave—who daily preached sermons from the top of his master's woodpile. . . ." Twain recalls the young black man saying, "You tell me whar a man gits his corn pone, en I'll tell you what his 'pinions is" ("Corn-pone" 583). Twain eventually began behaving like the shrewd Tom Sawyer. Politically astute, Twain knew what he could get away with in his literature without injuring its saleability. He often tried to manipulate opinion through the guise of his characters. In Huckleberry Finn, Twain airs his strongly negative view of lynch mobs through the character of Colonel Sherburn who speaks to a mob:

"The idea of you lynching anybody! It's amusing. The idea of you thinking you had pluck enough to lynch a man! . . .

"Do I know you? I know you clear through. I was born and raised in the South, and I've lived in the North; so I know the average all around. The average man's a coward." (122)

In 1901, Twain wanted to begin "a subscription book-history of lynching in America" (Kaplan 364) which attacked the cowardice of mob action. Ironically, Twain agreed to
drop the idea because he said "it would kill sales in the South" (Kaplan 365). Also, when Twain's daughter objected to the publication of "War Prayer" because she thought "it would be regarded as sacrilege," Twain capitulated. Regarding the piece, he told Dan Beard, "I have told the truth in that, and only dead men can tell the truth in this world" (Biography 3:1234). However, in February of 1901, Twain stepped fearlessly into the controversial political arena by publishing "To the Person Sitting in Darkness"--a condemnation of the imperialist's mistreatment of "the Chinese, the Boer, the African, [and] the Filipino" (Foner 348). Philip S. Foner says the essay "brought Mark Twain much abuse, but it won countless supporters for the anti-imperialist cause" (360).

Indeed, Twain's aggressive, manipulative, opinionated, and ostentatious instincts began to rise to the surface as he matured. When Twain had to deal in business matters, he was quite aggressive and not afraid to utilize the people in his employ. As Samuel Charles Webster writes, "[Twain] wasn't exactly a Milquetoast, and he had pride in his craft" (Twain, Business 197-98). Thus, when it appeared that someone was using his name to sell material not authored by him, he fired off a letter to the head of his publishing house, Charles Webster:

I want Messrs. Alexander & Green [lawyers] to go for these people at once & lively, on some charge or other. They are using my name to sell stuff which I never wrote. I would not be the author of that witless stuff (Bad Boy's Diary) for a million dollars.

I want them salted well for saying I am author of Bad Boy's Diary, too.

(Twain, "To Charles" 197)

Like Tom Sawyer grandstanding for effect, Mark Twain once showed up in his striking white outfit in "the nation's Capitol to lobby..." (Budd 207). In Washington to promote
"copyright reform," Budd says that Twain "had been fully conscious of creating a hubbub . . ." (207). Twain had the ability to grab and hold the attention of an audience. Paul Fatout writes that "superbly equipped by nature and by attention to manner and devices, . . . [Twain] fascinated listeners, who did not know that what seemed to be spontaneity was an illusion created by painstaking workmanship" (xxiv). Twain's behavior on stage was designed beforehand to manipulate the feelings of his audience, as he wrote that his speeches contained

fictitious hesitancies for the right word, fictitious unconscious pauses,
fictitious unconscious side remarks, fictitious unconscious embarrassments,
[and] fictitious unconscious emphasis placed upon the wrong word with a
deep intention back of it. . . . (Eruption 224)

Twain, like Tom, knew the right buttons to push for a response on the human machine.

Mark Twain's huge, highly adaptable ego was the living, adult version of that of an imaginative, fictional boy from the small Midwest town of St. Petersburg. Mark Twain—the adventure writer, the stage performer, the steamboat pilot, the renowned journalist, the silver miner, the Confederate soldier, and the world traveler was Tom Sawyer, regretfully older, transcended from the pages of fiction into a more seemingly hostile world.
NOTES


2 Baltimore American 29 Nov. 1884.

CHAPTER IV

NO. 44: ALIEN SYMBOL OF MARK TWAIN'S NONCONFORMIST INSTINCTS

The ideas that Mark Twain meditated upon in his later years and those discussed by many of his characters were not likely the typical topics of conversation among members of nineteenth-century society. No. 44 tells August in "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger," "I am sure I can say with truth that I have no prejudices against the human race or other bugs..." (Twain 319). In Twain's essay, "What Is Man?," the young man scolds the old man, saying, "[Y]ou have no right to put...[man] on a level with the rat." The old man replies, "I don't—morally. That would not be fair to the rat. The rat is well above him, there" ("What Is Man?" and Other Philosophical 189).

The "No. 44" manuscript and the "What Is Man?" essay were both published posthumously. In 1895, Mark Twain wrote in his notebook:

It is the strangest thing that the world is not full of books that scoff at the pitiful world, and the useless universe and violent, contemptible human race—books that laugh at the whole paltry scheme and deride it... Why don't I write such a book? Because I have a family. There is no other reason. (Notebook 256)

Twain had been concealing other nonconformist thoughts before 1895. In a preface to "What Is Man?" in 1905 he wrote,

The studies for these papers were begun twenty-five or twenty-seven years ago...
Every thought in them has been thought (and accepted as unassailable truth) by millions upon millions of men—and concealed, kept private. Why did they not speak out? Because they dreaded (and could not bear) the disapproval of the people around them. Why have not I published? The same reason has restrained me, I think. I can find no other. ("What is Man?" and Other Philosophical 124)

Although he appears to be a young boy, No. 44 is a unique character that extends Twain's opportunities of literary expression since the character is not human. No. 44 characterizes a limitless awareness in the story. He tells August, "the difference between a human being and me is as the difference between a drop of water and the sea, a rushlight and the sun, the difference between the infinitely trivial and the infinitely sublime!" ("No.44" 319). Robert E. Lowrey writes that "44 appears to be a supernatural guide for the young August Feldner, helping him to become more aware of himself and of the inconsistencies and inhumanities of his society" (101). He is likely the reader's guide also—a didactic, literary hero expressing some of Twain's universal, philosophical observations—especially, views inspired by Twain's nonconformist instincts.

No. 44 is the expresser of Twain's utmost view of man's near worthlessness. In referring to the human mind, No. 44 tells August, "It doesn't hold anything; one cannot pour the starred and shoreless expanses of the universe into a jug!" ("No. 44" 332). Reminiscent of "What Is Man?," No. 44 tells August that "a man originates nothing in his head, he merely observes exterior things, and combines them in his head—puts several observed things together and draws a conclusion. His mind is merely a machine, that is all..." ("No. 44" 332-33). Twain's sense of humor can be detected in No. 44's negative view of man when the young alien comments that he believes that "being human accounts
for a good many insanities... upwards of a thousand a day was his estimate" ("No. 44" 364). In an effort to solve the problem of keeping two of the characters in "No. 44" from marrying, No. 44 "blandly propose[s]" that they both be killed. His disregard for the human race is further made evident when he also adds, "We don't need those people, you know. No one needs them, so far as I can see. There's plenty of them around, you can get as many as you want" ("No. 44" 357). Twain's placement of animals on a higher plane than man is also demonstrated in the story. In order to solve a problem, No. 44 turns the "lady's-maid" into a cat ("No. 44" 359). Twain believed "Of all God's creatures there is only one that cannot be made the slave of the lash. That one is the cat. If man could be crossed with the cat it would improve man, but it would deteriorate the cat" (Notebook 236-37). Indeed, the maid believes she shall be better off: "I would rather be a cat than a servant—a slave, that has to smile, and look cheerful, and pretend to be happy, when you are scolded for every little thing..." ("No 44" 360).

Twain's ambivalent attitude toward Christianity is also imparted through the transfigured maid. She asks No. 44, "Christians go—I know where they go; some to the one place some to the other; but I think cats—where do you think cats go?" No. 44 answers, "Nowhere. After they die." The maid replies, "Leave me as I am, then; don't change me back" ("No. 44" 361). Margaret Sanborn writes that Twain "remained a skeptic in religious matters after...[an] agonizing effort to become a Christian..." (447). Susan K. Harris believes "for Twain the significance of 44 lies both in his immortality and in his amorality, because both signal freedom from the human condition. Forty-four is neither subject to death nor possessed of the moral sense..." (36). Like Twain, No. 44 is "indifferent to religion" ("No. 44" 298). He also criticizes man's ambivalence and hypocrisy regarding religion: "[Man] is always pretending that the eternal
bliss of heaven is such a priceless boon! Yes, and always keeping out of heaven just as
long as he can! At bottom, you see, he is far from being certain about heaven" ("No. 44"
34). No. 44 believes God is only a dream and questions how a divine being could have
existed who was

"a God who could make good children as easily as bad, yet preferred to
make bad ones; who could have made every one of them happy, yet never
made a single happy one; . . . who mouths justice, and invented
hell—mouths mercy, and invented hell[,] . . . who created man without
invitation, then tries to shuffle the responsibility for man's acts upon man,
instead of honorably placing it where it belongs, upon himself; and finally,
with altogether divine obtuseness, invites this poor abused slave to worship
him! . . ." ("No. 44" 404-05)

Much earlier in the story than the preceding attack on God, August is intensely curious
about No. 44. August asks, "Who was he? what was he? where was he from? I wished I
knew. Could he be converted? could he be saved? Ah, if only this could happen, and I be
in some humble way a helper toward it!" ("No. 44" 320). Perhaps these questions are
evidence that Twain may have been asking himself these questions—at least on a
subconscious level—during the late period in his life when the story was written.

In "No. 44," Twain discusses the concept of a tripartite self which includes some
of the principles of the Freudian tripartite self. To facilitate, in part, Twain's exploration
of the human personality and its potential, he enlisted No. 44 to explain the first two selves
of the tripartite self:

"One is your Workday-Self, and 'tends to business, the other is your
Dream-Self, and has no responsibilities, and cares only for romance and
excursions and adventure. It sleeps when your other self is awake; when your other self sleeps, your Dream-Self has full control, and does as it pleases." (315)

The "Workday-Self" bears some resemblance to the Freudian ego, and the "Dream-Self" possesses some of the qualities of the id. Later in the story, as Sholom J. Kahn writes, "chiefly because of the implications of Forty-four's gift of invisibility to August, . . . [Twain] needed to introduce a third factor. . . " (137)—"the Soul" ("No. 44" 342).

Implicit in August's invisibility are superior qualities: immortality, indestructibility, and separation from the physical world. Invisible, August comments that his "immortal spirit alone remained. Freed from the encumbering flesh, it was able to exhibit forces, passions and emotions of a quite tremendously effective character" ("No. 44" 343).

Since his childhood, Twain harbored a need to distance himself from what he conceived of as the commonplace, prejudiced, and bigoted ideas of the common man. He also wished to exorcise nagging demons of guilt. He sought flight and mental solace in childhood play, western American adventure, river piloting, and foreign travel. However, his best evasion of the mundane and psychically tormenting transpired on paper. Harris believes that

In most of Twain's fiction, . . . the narrators use their power over the written word to evade human history rather than to rewrite it. For all his philosophical pretensions, Twain's emotional quest was to escape anxiety, guilt, and loneliness rather than to explain them. . . . [His narrators'] . . . images yield a landscape of repose both for the narrators and for the author who has created them, a landscape at once removed from human time and preserved in it through the power of the written word. (157)
However, this "landscape of repose" (Harris 157) and "freed[om] from the encumbering flesh" ("No. 44" 343) are also gifts to the reader from Twain. Twain, as the nonconformist No. 44,—through his metaphysical lectures—was attempting to elevate the reader to a more worthwhile plane of existence. No. 44 tells August, "I, your poor servant have revealed you to yourself and set you free. Dream other dreams, and better! . . . ("No. 44" 404). Twain may have felt that since conventional thought has had so many tragic consequences for mankind, trampling over it could only have resulted in a better world. As Lowrey sees it, "Based on his revised concept of the multiple selves, Mark Twain is able to reveal a way for the individual of superior temperament to extricate himself from the deterministic morass of the dull, plodding destiny of most man-machines" (107). Conversely, however, Robert A. Wiggins writes that:

The only solution . . . [Twain] could find was the negation of reality. Life is only a dream, reality only an illusion. It is not a satisfactory solution, of course, but rather a recognition that he could not cope with the problem, for to say that a problem does not exist is not to solve it. (114)

One must consider, however, that "No. 44" is a work of fiction, and, as such, its problems may be solved in any manner that Twain chooses. In the story, Twain's final solution may seem fantastic, yet it is symbolic—symbolic of the real world concept of solipsistic philosophy.

Twain's No. 44 has what may be a numerically symbolic biographical history, as well as other biographic origins. Carroll R. Schoenewolf contends that "the character 44 is . . . Twain doubled twice." Schoenewolf recalls that in a "January 7, 1897, notebook entry," Twain mentions his "dream self." This other self was capable of enlarged powers[,] includ[ing] x-ray vision, the ability to fly, and immortality—all powers that 44
has. But 44 also expresses the same cynical opinions about the human race that the
waking Twain did. If Twain in a letter [he wrote] would call a human double
'Double-Twain,' which is four, he well might call a literary double of his own dual self
'Forty-four.' (50)1 No. 44's biographical origin comprises a broad spectrum of Twain's
life experiences. No. 44 exhibits the qualities of a rebellious boy, as well as the sagacity of
a mature philosopher. Coleman O. Parson believes that from Twain's personal experiences
"the shaping influences on The Mysterious Stranger were probably . . . Twain's
Presbyterian upbringing, boyhood friendships and experience, horror of fire, remorse,
conversations with Macfarlane, [and] suffering and loss in maturity . . .". Parson, like
other scholars, also emphasizes the importance of escape in Twain's life. Parson thinks
"the greatest influence was the heredity or experience which gave Samuel Clemens a sense
of guilt and a desire to escape from it . . ." (73). There seems to have been a religious
literary influence in Twain's life which helped spark the idea of No. 44 in his mind. Albert
E. Stone, Jr., writes that "one of the earliest inspirations apparently occurred in the
summer of 1867." In a library in New York, Twain discovered "an old copy of the
Apocryphal New Testament in an edition of 1621" (233). Twain was enchanted with the
story of Jesus who, as a boy, performs outlandish miracles. And later, Stone adds, Twain
sidestepped the problem of blasphemy by transforming

young Jesus into 'little Satan, Jr. [No. 44],' but in essentials--a divine boy
introduced into the life of an actual village--we have the eventual
outline of The Mysterious Stranger. God . . . become[s] a Bad Boy. (234)

While some people may frequently vent the pressure of their mental reservoir of
negative feelings directly on others, the steam from Twain's boiling, psychic cauldron often
ran his creative machinery. Parson thinks the "guilt, resentment, suffering imaginary and
real built up in... [Twain] an intolerable tension." There were outlets for this strain: "exploding in humor, satire, or crusading fervor; ... reasoning his way out of the moral issue by determinism; [or] ... evading all issues by losing himself in time, space, or dreams" (68). An example of Twain's venting his wrath through satire on one of his major irritants—the clergy—occurs in "No. 44" when No. 44 miraculously escapes the pronouncement of death by fire by Father Adolf. No. 44 departs the scene with the sarcastic comment to August, "Come, August, let us breakfast and leave these animals to gape and stare while Adolf explains to them the unexplainable—a job just in his line" (329). Twain's use of determinism to escape making a moral decision is effected when No. 44 turns down August's pleas to tell Father Adolf that a woman that is to be burned at the stake is innocent:

"You will save her? You will get the word to the priest, and when he knows who she is he will set her free and we will restore her to her family, God be praised!"

"No," answered 44.

"No? Why?"

"She was appointed from the beginning of time to die at the stake this day." ("No. 44" 325)

And at the end of the story, Twain, through No. 44, evades the issue of answering any more questions about the complex nature of the universe by simply vanishing ("No. 44" 405).

Twain also possessed a natural inclination for creating his own path in his exploration of the universe. In his essay "Is Shakespeare Dead?," he wrote that at the age of seven he wanted to write a biography of Satan. Twain recalls,
I began to ask questions, but my [Sunday school] class-teacher, Mr. Barclay, . . . was reluctant about answering them, it seemed to me. I was anxious to be praised for turning my thoughts to serious subjects when there wasn't another boy in the village who could be hired to do such a thing. (307)

Gladys C. Bellamy contends that "studying the record, it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that The Mysterious Stranger must some day have been written, substantially as he wrote it, with or without his personal calamities" (352): Recalling Twain's outlook on the world, "even in his happiest years," and recalling his continual interest in "Satan"—the prototype for No. 44 in "The Chronicle of Young Satan"—Bellamy thinks "it . . . inevitable that he would write The Mysterious Stranger. In the writing of Huckleberry Finn, he had already experimented with beauty tinged with strangeness and horror" (353). Even in his first major travel book, Twain contrasted beauty with horror—the horror of poverty. In The Innocents Abroad, he criticizes a Jesuit Church in Venice:

All about that church wretchedness and poverty abound. At its door a dozen hats and bonnets were doffed to us, as many heads were humbly bowed, and as many hands extended, appealing for pennies—appealing with foreign words we could not understand, but appealing mutely, with sad eyes, and sunken cheeks, and ragged raiment, that no words were needed to translate. Then we passed within the great doors, and it seemed that the riches of the world were before us! (265)

Twain's exploration down the unbeaten path could be intensely personal and cerebral. His mind was a vast, imaginative microcosm of the universe. Harris comments
on the contents of a letter Twain wrote to his wife, Livy, about a conversation with his friend, Reverend Joseph Twichell, in 1868. Twain wrote that Twichell basically said that we didn’t always think in words—that our . . . most brilliant thoughts were far beyond our capacity to frame into words . . . —that often a radiant thought-vision lit up our plodding brains with its weird beauty, and vanished instantly to the heaven it surely came from. . . . (qtd. in Harris 147)

Harris thinks these “thought-visions” became part of Mark Twain’s artistic goal to manifest his most lyrical ideas through language." Twain’s interest in utilizing these “thought-visions” became associated with other images of freedom from human limitations.” Eventually they combined "with his preferred images to become avenues along which the spirit of the waking-artist could travel to reach his interior space, a universe promising the peace that his exterior world could not render" (147). Twain, through No. 44, seems to have vicariously reached this interior space of high level thought. Twain's preoccupation with this innovative thought process seems exemplified in "No. 44" when No. 44 explains to August,

"You see, for your race there is such a thing as time—you cut it up and measure it; to your race there is a past, a present and a future—out of one and the same thing you make three; and to your race there is also such a thing as distance—and hang it, you measure that, too! . . . Let me see: if I could only . . . if I . . . oh, no, it is of no use—there is no such thing as enlightening that kind of mind!" (331)

Twain’s psychic travel through time to periods of personal interest is evident in many of the novels that preceded The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts, such as the boyhood times
of Adventures Of Huckleberry Finn and The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, and the era of
the Middle Ages as expressed in The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc and A
Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court. Twain's concern with time and inner travel
was ever present. In Following the Equator he recalls the horrid murder of a black slave:

It is curious—the space-annihilating power of thought. For just one second,
all that goes to make the me in me was in a Missourian village, on the other
side of the globe, vividly seeing again these forgotten pictures of fifty years
ago, and wholly unconscious of all things but those; and in the next second
I was back in Bombay . . . . Back to boyhood—fifty years; back to age
again, another fifty; and a flight equal to the circumference of the globe—all
in two seconds by the watch! (2: 29-30)

In "No. 44" No. 44 says, "I love shows and spectacles, and stunning dramatics,
and I love to astonish people, and show off, and be and do all the gaudy things a boy loves
to be and do. . . ." (386). Like No. 44, Twain was rebellious and enjoyed upsetting
normality through shocking, nonconformist behavior. Hamlin Hill writes that Twain
enjoyed upsetting Harper publisher Frederick Duneka's religious sensibilities when he was
Twain's guest in 1905. According to Isabel Lyon, "Mr. Duneka shriveled up over the first
part of Forty-Four because there is that evil priest Father Adolph in it" (qtd. in Hill 111).3

Even though rebellious, No. 44 possesses some compassion for the human race: "I have
often visited this world—often. It shows that I felt an interest in this [human] race; it is
proof, proof absolute, that I felt an interest in it" ("No. 44" 320). Twain had a concerned
interest for the race, and his compassionate ideas—unconventional for the
nineteenth-century—are prolific, although often subtle in his literature. Philip S. Foner
comments that in Huckleberry Finn and Pudd'nhead Wilson, Twain "showed that the
Negro slave, though brutalized, was as human and as lovable and as admirable as any man" (402). In other works like *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* and *The Prince and the Pauper*, he used the technique of historical fiction to demonstrate the superiority of democracy to monarchy, republicanism to aristocracy, reason to superstition, and organized labor to servile workers dependent upon their employers' whims. (Foner 403)

There is some similarity between Twain's and No. 44's often callous disregard for mankind yet abiding concern for personal friends. Bellamy writes that "there was a constant war between... [Twain's] opinion of humanity in the abstract and his opinion of many individuals whom he knew and loved." Twain could empathize with "erring individuals; but the volcanic lava of rage rose within him when he contemplated humanity-at-large" (60). No. 44 is very close to the narrator, August Feldner, in "No. 44"; nevertheless, No. 44 comments at one point in the story, "Human beings aren't of any particular consequence; there's plenty more, plenty" (358).

Regarding the ending of "No. 44," some of Twain's and No. 44's underlying beliefs parallel each other. A letter Twain wrote to Joe Twichell in 1904, shortly after his wife Olivia had died, demonstrates these similar views:

(A part of each day—or night) as they have been looking to me the past 7 years: as being NON-EXISTENT. That is, that there is nothing. That there is no God and no universe; that there is only empty space, and in it a lost and homeless and wandering and companionless and indestructible Thought. And that I am that thought. And God, and the Universe, and Time, and Life, and Death, and Joy and Sorrow and Pain only a grotesque
and brutal dream, evolved from the frantic imagination of that insane Thought. (qtd. in Gibson 30)

Total honesty, one of Mark Twain's nonconformist instincts, was a major impetus for much of his thought and action since childhood. During his youth, a personal conflict between Christianity and honesty developed. One day, he confessed to his mother that there was turmoil churning inside him:

I was reluctant to reveal to her the change that had come over me, for it would grieve me to distress her kind heart, but at last I confessed, with many tears, that I had ceased to be a Christian. She was brokenhearted and asked me why.

I said it was because I had found that I was a Christian for revenue only and I could not bear the thought of that, it was so ignoble. (Autobiography 33)

His interest in honesty seems later reflected by his attacks upon hypocrisy. In "No. 44," the community of Eseldorf is characterized by the paradox of the Christianity it professes by words but violates by deeds" (Wright 93). For example, several of the people in August's castle residence seemed to worship magic. When it appeared that a magician had performed an astounding feat of magic, August, as well as the people with him, "went on their knees to the magician." Even though August knelt also, he "was amazed at such degraded idolatry..." ("No. 44" 246). Twain's view about the high degree of sincerity and honesty required to be a real Christian seems reflected by the extremely frank No. 44 in a conversation with August. August begins the dialogue by asking No. 44,

"I do wish you would become a Christian; won't you try?"

He shook his head, and said—
"I should be too lonesome."

"Lonesome? How?"

"I should be the only one." ("No. 44" 302)

Henry N. Smith writes that in Huckleberry Finn "the satire of the towns along the banks [of the Mississippi] insists again and again that the dominant culture is decadent and perverted. Traditional values have gone to seed" (117). The primarily misanthropic No. 44 is the alien Twain in youthful form—much the result of the insightful observations he made during his Hannibal boyhood which are later filtered through a matured yet misanthropic mind.
NOTES


3 Isabel Van Kleek Lyon, "Diary," Mark Twain Papers, 12 July 1905.

4 Mark Twain, "To Joe Twichell," 28 July 1904, Manuscript at Yale University, Typescript in Mark Twain Papers.
The content of Mark Twain's literary work in the later part of his life seems to have been influenced by personal misfortune. This adversity especially fanned the flames of his nonconformist instincts. In this chapter, I shall primarily focus on the later years of Twain's literary career and the effects that negative experiences during this period may have had on it—particularly in regard to No. 44. Around 1894, Mark Twain's investment hope, the Paige typesetting machine, "failed altogether and carried Mark Twain down with it, just at the time when his publishing firm went bankrupt" (DeVoto 107). Everett Emerson writes that when Twain realized the typesetting machine was not going to rescue him financially, "the trauma heavily stamped itself on him, and from the experience, augmented by further disasters, he would repeatedly write, or attempt to write, a story of a man whose happy life was completely destroyed" (204). Twain's commercial debacle marked the beginning of a troublesome time for Mark Twain—financially, literarily, and emotionally.

In 1895, Twain embarked on a lecture tour around the world to garner enough funds to pay off his creditors. In a letter dated February 3, 1895, he wrote to his friend and financial advisor, Henry H. Rogers, "I expect to sail in the New York the 23d of this present month [for rest]. . . . Also to consult with you about another project, which is—(take a breath and stand by for a surge)—to go around the world on a lecture trip" (Leary 126). Twain, almost prophetically adds, "If I go on that trip I may possibly get
a book of travel out of it; and books of travel are good sellers in the subscription trade" (Leary 127). Twain's *Following the Equator*, a book about his trip around the world, was published in November, 1897. With the proceeds from book sales and other revenue, Twain was able to "pay off his creditors dollar for dollar" (DeVoto 107). Unfortunately, in England, after ending the speaking tour, he was informed by wire that his closest daughter, Susy, had died because of meningitis. Several years later Twain recalled, "It is one of the mysteries of our nature that a man, all unprepared can receive a thunder-stroke like that and live." The announcement of Susy's loss had lasting impact on him, as he added,

The intellect is stunned by the shock and but gropingly gathers the meaning of the words. The power to realize their full import is mercifully wanting. The mind has a dumb sense of vast loss— that is all. It will take mind and memory months and possibly years to gather together the details and thus learn and know the whole extent of the loss. (*Autobiography* 323)

The effect of Susy's death was great on Twain. DeVoto comments that in the various notes for Twain's autobiography, "Scattering memoranda cover many years, but most of them deal either with the dead child Susy or with the Hannibal of his boyhood" (115).

Susy's death also weighed heavily on Twain's wife Olivia. Twain gave Olivia the job of editing *Following the Equator*; however, previous to the editing and following it she "felt utterly purposeless." She "was clearly declining into full invalidism. She had lost her interest in books, refused to see anyone, and sat solitary day after day wondering how it had all happened" (Kaplan 338). Justin Kaplan characterizes their home at this time as a "house of mourning, which Clemens and Livy intended to keep so until they themselves were dead, the holidays and anniversaries passed and were marked only in sorrow" (338).
Twain's sorrow was poured into his writing. One of his earlier cathartic pieces was "In My Bitterness," likely written in 1897 in Susy's memory (Fables 129). In the essay, referring to "He" as God, Twain writes,

There . . . is something which I have noticed before: He never does a kindness. . . . He gives you a wife and children whom you adore, only that through the spectacle of the wanton shames and miseries which He will inflict upon them He may tear the palpitating heart out of your breast and slap you in the face with it. Ah yes, you are at peace, my pride, my joy, my solace. . . . You are out of His reach forever; and I too; He can never hurt me any more. (Fables 131-32)

Influenced by recent personal calamities, Twain began attempting an exoneration of personal guilt through writing. William R. Macnaughton writes that during the time Twain was overseas "between 1897 and 1900 and trying to resurrect himself as a writer and as a man, he was assailed by multiple confusions. . . ." (240). One of the more interesting questions Macnaughton says Twain was asking himself was, "What was the truest perspective on his past and on life in general?" (241). However, Twain, still reeling inside from psychic blows, lacked a perspective of objectivity. He seems to have held two contradictory thoughts in his mind at once: man is responsible for committing acts of cruelty on his fellow man because he is aware that these acts are evil, and man is not responsible for his acts because he is a finite machine. DeVoto points out that Twain's essay "What Is Man?"--written during this period--is "a plea for pardon. In describing man's helplessness, it pleads that man cannot be blamed." For all the calamities Twain feels guilty for, the essay seems to be Twain's plaintive scream: "Do not blame me, for it was not my fault" (116). It should be noted that Twain's "Chronicle [of Young
Satan]"—one of the forerunners to Twain's dream-centered "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger"—was begun "about a year after the death of his beloved daughter Susy" (Gibson 28). In "Chronicle," Satan was referred to as Philip Traum. As *traum* is the German word for *dream*, it is quite possible that Twain had a dream ending in mind for the "Chronicle" version. If Twain had utilized a dream ending that was similar to "No. 44," his reasoning may have been expressing the thought that "if life is a dream, then I am not responsible for Susy's death or anything else." Like "What Is Man?," Twain's beginning of The Mysterious Stranger series is a foreshadowing of other scapegoat literature that followed. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" was also being written during the same period. It is not necessarily a condemnation of the human behavior in the story, but may merely be a moralistic tale. Pascal Covici, Jr., writes that the story has for its theme not the corrupting of a town but the awakening of the town to a sense of its innate depravity. It is a story not of a man at all, but of a hoax, or a succession of hoaxes, by means of which human corruption is laid bare. (203)

The story is similar to "What Is Man?" in the sense that it is merely exposing man's evil, and not necessarily holding him responsible for it. Covici adds that "The revelations engineered by the devil-stranger come to the reader as characters are forced, by the nature of the hoax in which they are involved, to look at themselves" (203). This introspective guidance is reminiscent of No. 44's relationship with August in "No. 44." Twain's dark view of a society beyond any benign control of man is also reflected in "The Great Dark," which is included in The Letters from the Earth collection. James Grove writes that in this unfinished story "the [kidnapped] children are found and this... episode ends happily. But Twain's plans for the later, longer search show that he wanted the narrative to end in
catastrophe"—several children would die. Grove believes "this dream narrative was to become a vehicle for embodying Twain's most pessimistic view of human fate" (386). Grove adds that finishing the story was probably too "tortuous [a] task" for Twain in that it probably reminded him so of his late daughter Susy (387).

At the start of the twentieth-century, another unfortunate circumstance began to haunt Twain—his daughter Jean's epilepsy. Hamlin Hill reports that

Although the epilepsy was a closely guarded family secret, it literally controlled the plans of the Clemenses for 1900. Desperately homesick though they were, they remained abroad because the Kellgren [Osteopathic] treatment [for Jean] was the only one that seemed to work. . . . (7)

On April 25, 1900, Twain wrote a letter to his sister Pamela that reflected his increasing cynicism:

I cannot think why God, in a moment of idle and unintelligent fooling, invented this bastard human race; and why, after inventing it, he chose to make each individual of it a nest of disgusting and unnecessary diseases, a tub of rotten offal. (qtd. in Hill 9)

Twain's intensity of anger at God seems paralleled by his misanthropy at the time, even though he always reserved a special place in his heart for those he cared about. Twain continued "Chronicle of Young Satan" during 1900, and Macnaughton thinks there was much resemblance between Mark Twain and the young Satan character at the time, especially in Satan's ambivalent relationship with mankind. In comparing the Satan character to Twain, Macnaughton writes,
. On the one hand, there is his professed indifference to humanity—that of the elephant for the ant, he tells the narrator—and on the other, there is the overwhelming evidence of his concern: his willingness to help the boys and the people they worry about, and in particular the tone of anger and outrage that pervades practically every one of his lengthy comments about civilization. (138-39)

Back in the United States in 1901, Twain became a little more candid about some of his political feelings. His essay "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" was published. It expressed, "from the title onward, the hypocrisy of the imperialists' steely enthusiasm for bestowing Christianity on the pagan" (Budd 177). Budd also comments that in 1901 Twain tried "to duplicate his [controversial] New Year's greeting to the twentieth century" with "The Stupendous Procession." However, Twain nixed publication because he felt it might have been too fiery to release. "Indeed," Budd writes, "the pattern developing was for him [Twain] to write bitterly sarcastic pieces on current topics[and] consign them to his growing collection of unusable manuscripts..." (40). For a time, Twain may have been seeking more immediate gratification of his anger based impulses by writing material that did not require the time and depth of thought that his fiction did. Macnaughton even thinks that when Twain came back to the United States, his concentration on polemical writing that was "above all timely, concrete, and treatable in succinct forms blunted his ability to create fiction that was timeless, patterned and long" (241).

Beginning around 1902, a new problem began to tax what mental composure Twain had managed to maintain. Between 1902 and 1904 (the year of his wife's death), Olivia Clemens' declining health was often on Twain's mind (Macnaughton 182). Thus, learning about the mental control of illness during this period and writing about it in his
book *Christian Science* likely comforted him (191). Indeed, Twain later wrote to his daughter Jean about the benefits of Christian Science:

> The very best part of the Christian Science philosophy is . . . driving one's mind away from its own concerns and riveting it upon something else—and closely watching it and *keeping* it there. You can do this—we all can—and it brings healing to the spirit and is inestimably valuable. (qtd. in Harnsberger 232)

The preceding letter to Jean, written in 1907, probably reflects some of his own attempts at healing himself during the time of his wife's illness. However, considering the pessimistic aspects of Twain's view of man and God, he apparently did not always follow his own advice. Twain did write some other pieces during this period of his wife's sickness. In 1903, he worked on "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger," "A Dog's Tale," and his autobiography; he also dwelled on the problems of relocating his wife to Italy to help improve her deteriorating condition (Macnaughton 194). In the fall of 1903, Twain wrote "The $30,000 Bequest" which might be, in some aspects, a subtle confession of past sins—perhaps for cathartic reasons. Everett Emerson writes that this story about the effects of greed on a married couple—Mr. and Mrs. Foster—seems "partly autobiographical" for Twain. Emerson thinks that

> Mr. Foster's bad temper, rashness, and eventual dishonesty [is] not much restrained by Mrs. Foster's intense interest in speculation. Here, at least by implication, the author [Twain] assumed responsibility for the disaster that had resulted from his preoccupation during the late 1880's with wealth. But he also suggests that he was provoked by circumstances and encouraged by his wife. (245)
On June 5, 1904, Olivia Clemens passed away in an Italian villa. The emotional impact on Twain was great. He wrote the same night of her passing, "She has been dead two hours. It is impossible. The words have no meaning. But they are true; I know it, without realizing it. She was my life, and she is gone; she was my riches, and I am a pauper" (Autobiography 343). Olivia had been a strong, cohesive force in the Clemens family. Resa Willis writes, "One of . . . [Twain's] pet names for her was 'my little gravity . . . ." When Olivia was taken from her family, "each drew into himself or herself with grief" (10). With Olivia's companionship, leadership, and editorial advice withdrawn, Hill comments that

the value of her vigilant and iron-willed control over her husband is nowhere more dramatically shown than in the last six years of his life when, without her, he wandered aimlessly, wrote fragmentarily, and offended almost all his friends and loved ones. (90)

Twain managed to regain some control over his writing and his life with the aid of his secretary, Isabel Lyon. She was an affable companion, and Kaplan writes that Miss Lyon "had . . . taken over some of Livy's role as editor" (372). Kaplan also mentions that in the summer of 1905, Twain "was working sporadically on The Mysterious Stranger, Three Thousand Years Among the Microbes, a revision of 'Adam's Diary,' and . . . 'A Horses Tale.'" Kaplan also adds that "One of the constants running through this gamut of quality was the editorial voice of Isabel Lyon" (373). However, Miss Lyon's reactions were usually of such a saccharine nature, that many flaws in his writing were likely overlooked. Hill believes that Miss Lyon's continual, emotional displays of positive approval of all of Twain's work "were neither wholesome nor stimulating for the writer . . ." (111). Miss Lyon's presence did not totally alleviate Twain's depression over his
personal losses. For example, regarding "A Horses Tale," it is obvious that Twain was still being affected by the death of Susy Clemens. He wrote to publisher F. A. Duneka in 1906 that while writing the story he was "dead to everything else." He also added, "the heroine is my daughter, Susy, whom we lost. It was not intentional--it was a good while before I found it out" ("Duneka" 779).

By reviewing Mark Twain's work, one can sense when he seemed to have been eating from the lotus plant most ravenously. According to William M. Gibson, Mark Twain began working on The Mysterious Stranger manuscripts after his "arrival in Vienna in late September 1897..." (5). The pageant chapter, "chapter 33, was written last, in 1908." Nevertheless, Gibson adds that "The 'Conclusion of the book,'... is his own notation at the head of the dream-ending--the six manuscript pages [were] written in the spring of 1904... (11). This concluding chapter, written around the time Olivia was ill and dying, is indicative of Twain's attempt to escape from guilt and grief. Regarding life, No. 44 tells August, "It is all a Dream. . . . And You are but a Thought--a vagrant Thought, a useless Thought, a homeless Thought, wandering forlorn among the empty eternities!" ("No.44" 405). Twain's concept of reality as a dream in "No. 44" is his supreme argument of personal exoneration. In response to Twain's position, DeVoto comments,

If nothing exists but a homeless thought wandering forlorn among the empty eternities, then his smaller agony and his personal guilt were also a dream. If everything was a dream, then clearly the accused prisoner [Twain] might be discharged. (129-30)

Twain was strongly drawn to the phenomena of dreams during the especially troubled times of his last years. In Mark Twain's "Which Was the Dream?" and Other Symbolic
Writings of the Later Years, John S. Tuckey edited eleven of Twain's stories. Some of the most well-known among the stories were "Which Was the Dream?," "The Great Dark," "Which Was It?," and "Three Thousand Years Among the Microbes," which he wrote between 1897 and 1905 (1). Tuckey writes that the main story line in these stories is that of a man who has been long favored by luck while pursuing a dream of success that has seemed about to turn into reality. Sudden reverses occur and he experiences a nightmarish time of failure. He clutches at what might be a saving thought: perhaps he is indeed living in a nightmare from which he will awaken to his former felicity. But there is also the possibility that what seems a disaster may be the actuality of his life. (1-2)

Twain's preoccupation with dreams and their relationship to life is obvious from what he wrote during this phase of his life. In January of 1897, only a few months after Susy's death, Twain wrote in his Notebook, "Now, as I take it, my other self, my dream self, is merely my ordinary body and mind freed from clogging flesh..." (350). Twain had discovered his escape hatch—or, at least, pressure release—from harsh reality. He developed the idea of dream escape over a period of years and, finally, through No. 44 he vicariously appointed himself the literary high priest of the concept in the story. Whether Twain came upon the idea of Satan and No. 44 through subconscious influence, conscious thought, or both, is a moot point. The important result is that the characterization was a perfect literary escape for Twain's personal situation. No. 44 is much like Twain's "Satan" in "Chronicles," and this similarity gains Twain, through No. 44, a substitutionary mystical invulnerability to human affliction. DeVoto points out that Satan is an angel and angels are exempt from loss and pain and all mortal suffering, they are exempt from guilt and conscience and self-condemnation
also, and temptation has no meaning for them and they have no moral sense, and neither humiliation nor death nor the suffering of anyone affects them in the least. (126-27)

This literary epiphany during Twain's last years may have been necessary for his survival. Relative to Twain's mental adjustments for his psychological well-being, Susan K. Harris comments on the literary symbolism of Twain's battle with self-esteem and sanity:

Mark Twain's personae . . . question their own sanity when they find themselves the only ones in the crowd to perceive as they do. While they frequently resolve their social problems by tricking people into doing what they want, they resolve their spiritual ones by generating images that represent peace and contentment to them, allowing them to forget their alienation by feeling that they are at one with nature. . . . (160)

Huck Finn certainly felt out of tune with society, tricked others into getting what he wanted, and often fled to the river for peace and contentment. Somewhat similarly, No. 44 knew he was not on the same mental wavelength as humans, overcame his social problems by fooling people and manipulated the universe to his liking. In so many words, No. 44 even confesses insanity in that he tells August that he is part of an insane dream: "Strange, indeed, that you should not have suspected that your universe and its contents were only dreams, visions, fictions! Strange, because they are so frankly and hysterically insane—like all dreams. . ." ("No. 44" 404). Even a reader who was unaware of Twain's predicament during the time he wrote the preceding lines might surmise that the author was preoccupied with sanity and futility.
The literary quality of Mark Twain's work varied over the years. For example, the depth of social criticism in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* exceeds that which may be found in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Macnaughton comments that "Impatient readers with rigorous critical standards must often be frustrated with Mark Twain, because his work before 1897 was deplorably bad almost as frequently as it was remarkably good." Macnaughton contends that the manuscripts from 1897 onward are "not atypical" of that trend (242). In fact, Mark Twain's intellectual and artistic capabilities did not—as one might infer from reading some critics—disintegrate upon the death of his daughter Susy in 1896. His personal anguish did, indeed, affect his objectivity. However, underneath all the acerbic prose, Twain's unique, imaginative thought processes can be detected by many of us who are familiar with his work. The king of nineteenth-century American social criticism had not been beaten senseless by personal tragedy—his literary pulse lingered. His fictional works, although often unfinished were, indeed, primarily darker; however, their content demonstrated his usual deft hand at subtle humor and irony. His social consciousness, although fraught with suspicions about his fellow man, appears even to have been sparked by personal calamity because of his increased emphasis on universal problems in his writing. His criticism of the evil ways of human beings is quite plausible, however, considering humankind's bloody recent and ancient history. Twain even posits an excellent argument in "No. 44" about God's contradictory relationship with humankind (404-05)—and criticizes the divinity in other late works, as well; nevertheless, he may have merely discovered a scapegoat for feelings of guilt and anger in an unseen entity.

Twain's nonconformist instincts, an integral component of his exceptional writing talent and insight, often lay in wait to pounce upon commonly perceived reality.
Unfortunately, sometimes reality would pounce upon Twain; then No. 44 and other characters would have to be summoned by Twain's imagination to soothe his pain by giving vent to his objections.
NOTES

1 Mark Twain, letter to Pamela Moffett, 25 April 1900, Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, U of California, Berkeley.

2 Mark Twain, unpublished letter to Jean Clemens, 17 January 1907, Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company, co-trustees of the Estate of Samuel L. Clemens.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

An examination of Mark Twain and his literature may lead one to an enigmatic conclusion. Twain seemed to be shouting from the apex of cynicism when he wrote,

Oh, this human life, this earthly life, this weary life! It is so groveling, and so mean; its ambitions are so paltry, its prides so trivial, its vanities so childish; and the glories that it values and applauds—lord, how empty!

("No. 44" 369)

Nevertheless, Twain may not have had as despairing an attitude as he often conveyed in his writings. Lowrey comments that "for Mark Twain, . . . [it is] through art [that] one may restructure the chaos of the visible world. . . ." Lowrey believes Twain's "view of American society remains problematical but his confidence in the possibilities of man's creative imagination seems to be as promising as the hope concealed inside the rim of Pandora's jar" (110). Demonstrating his view of the importance of the imagination, Twain wrote, "Don't part with your illusions. When they are gone you may still exist but you have ceased to live" (Following 2: 266). In similarity to all human beings, there existed no perfect thread of continuity in Twain's lifetime of thoughts and actions. I have attempted to get a closer look at the author and his work by utilizing Freud's basic structure of human personality—superego (conscience), ego (interaction with external reality), and id (nonconformist instincts)—as a general model with which to categorize and explain Twain's corresponding components of personality. I have also represented those components through some of his fictional characters. It occurs to me that a relevant way
in which to describe an author who often seemed to live best through his fiction may be to reveal that author through fiction. In an effort to create a balanced portrait of Mark Twain in this concluding chapter, I shall include a fictional account, as well as a nonfictional literary and biographical assessment. The fictional portion of this portrait of Twain is not consistently chronological; my primary intent is to put various major occurrences in his life into a unified perspective.

At the beginning of this fictional biography, Twain is a young man standing on the dock of a steamboat landing in Hannibal, Missouri. It is the middle of the nineteenth-century, and he is waiting to leave home for the first time. His mother and father are with him. He has no luggage—only a notebook and a pencil. This young man needs nothing else for survival as he is a naturally gifted writer and possesses a keen understanding of survival. Young Twain eagerly returns a parting hug and kiss from his tearful mother and reluctantly accepts the Bible she has given him. His father gives him a stern glance, a firm handshake, and quickly turns and walks away. The stern, honest, and agnostic father and the loving, religious mother will be images indelibly imprinted in Twain's conscience.

The young Twain, displaying a far-away idealistic look in his eyes, climbs aboard a small raft he has constructed himself. He has named the raft Truth. He allowed no one to help him in its construction because he trusts only in his own perceptions. This perceptive confidence remains with him throughout his lifetime. Waving tearfully to the mother who has instilled in him a deep and lasting respect for women, he embarks. His destination is a place he has only read about in books—Utopia.

Twain feels very secure on the Truth but becomes lonely for companionship. This natural loneliness—probably a reluctance to be alone with his thoughts, unless he is
writing—will become more pronounced later in his life when he seeks out companions for late-night pool games and adolescent girls for friendship. As luck would seem to have it, he spies his brother Henry offshore and waves for him to join his adventure. Henry plunges into the turbulent river Twain has named Life, but never rises to the surface again. Twain dives in to save him, but it is of no use; his brother is dead. As Twain swims back toward the raft, his guilt becomes so great over his brother's demise that he contemplates drowning himself. He manages to recover temporarily from his painful thoughts by writing an elegy for his brother in his notebook. However, feelings of guilt over the death of Henry, as well as all of those close to him, remain with him for his entire life—no matter what relief writing brings.

As Twain continues to cruise down the river, he spies a youth, about his own age, running frantically along the bank. Figuring that the nervous lad is running because of some youthful folly, Twain—somewhat a young rebel himself—empathizes with the boy and takes him aboard. His new passenger's name is Huckleberry—a name right out of nature. Twain begins to notice that Huckleberry's name is quite apropos, as the boy's coarse speech, dress, and general behavior appear more naturally than socially cultivated. Indeed, Huckleberry is running from society as his conscience is unable to withstand its cruel mores. Huckleberry pleads for a hiding place, so Twain—quite capable of granting any imaginative, fictional wish—adopts him as his conscience. Huckleberry never leaves the protective confines of Twain's psyche during Twain's life; he only grows in unison with Twain's sagacity.

Since Huckleberry is no longer a physical entity, Twain begins feeling lonely again. He soon comes across another similarly aged youth who is tramping through the woods and invites him aboard the raft. For some odd reason this new acquaintance, Tom
Sawyer, is flashily dressed like a traveling salesman from St. Louis. Twain explains his lonely situation to Tom, and finally—after some expert haggling on Tom's part—agrees to pay Tom to keep him company. Eventually, Twain, just a poor boy from Hannibal, becomes so impressed with Tom's fancy attire and self-confessed reputation for acquiring wealth that he offers him the position of personal business manager. After intense negotiation for an astronomical future commission, Tom agrees to become Twain's ego. In the future, although Twain always remains a soldier for the common person, wealth always seems to remain tied up with his personal concept of self-esteem.

For several decades Twain cruises along the Life river on his raft, Truth, headed for Utopia. Along the way, he acquires much insight about the world, which he imparts to his readers. He also marries, has several children, becomes a successful writer (dropping off his manuscripts and picking up residuals at steamboat landings on the way), and acquires a great deal of wealth. With his accumulated wealth he turns his simple raft into a luxurious barge. His entire family is quite happy. Unfortunately, as determinism would have it, one day during a storm all of his wealth is washed overboard. His favorite daughter is also washed off the barge and drowns. Mysteriously, in Twain's perception, the luxurious barge Truth becomes a simple, ugly raft. Twain is despondent over his daughter's death and loss of wealth, and desperately, to no avail, tries to find solace in writing.

Before long, the worst possible thing happens—his wife drowns. Twain is heartbroken. He is angry. The raft, Truth, has now become such a horribly, ugly thing to his view that he can barely manage to look at it. At this point, a mysterious stranger, suddenly appears in front of Twain on the raft. Twain asks the stranger where he comes from. The stranger first informs Twain that he is no ordinary stranger but No. 44 (New
Series 864,962). He also tells him that he has been with him since his first rage, but it took great personal tragedy to finally bring him to the fore. As Twain decides to abort his trip to Utopia and disembarks from the Truth with No. 44, he tells 44 that he is very distraught over the recent deaths of his wife and daughter. No. 44 merely chuckles. He tells Twain it was nothing but a dream. Twain eagerly picks up his notebook and writes, "It is all a Dream" ("No. 44" 405). Twain does not really know for sure if this is true, but it seems to relieve his anguish for a time. One thing he does know for sure at this point in his life is that he can no longer return to the raft. His days of innocent youth are too far upstream to make it back safely now, and the Truth has become too horrid to look back on—even if everything was only a dream.

In evaluating similar cycles in Mark Twain's life, one may come to the conclusion that any endeavor of great duration that Twain is involved in will inevitably end in escape. For example, his progression from youth to successful writer might be chronologized: poverty, death, anger, guilt, creativity, escape. Whether Twain was escaping the guilt over the deaths in his family or his fear of poverty, or both, his writing allowed him a means of escape. A similar pattern emerges in his later life: bankruptcy, death, anger, guilt, creativity, escape. Twain escapes bankruptcy through creativity. He later attempts to escape the pain and guilt over the deaths of his daughter Susy and his wife Olivia through creativity. This cycle can be generally embodied into a cyclical model relevant to the Freudian components of Twain's personality. Twain's guilt-ridden conscience spurs anger in his id against himself and the external world. His ego negotiates a settlement between conscience and id by implementing a solution—creativity. This creative solution is intrinsically the harmonious function of Freud's tripartite concept of human personality. However, one should take into consideration that human solutions, in the end, do not
always turn out to be the wisest ones, especially when one is evaluating a personality as mercurial as Mark Twain's. For example, I agree with Patricia M. Mandia who contends that "Twain's argument that life is unreal is not convincing, even though he would have liked to believe that the final years of his life were nothing more than a bad dream" (127). If nothing is real and everything is a dream, then why does Twain expend the energy to write thousands of words trying to instruct the public at large about the cruelties and contradictions inherent in our universe?

As proposed in this thesis, Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, No. 44, and similar Twainian characters do, in a sustained, collective sense, seem to represent the major components of Twain's tripartite personality. These characters, however, were created over the span of a long and prolific life and represent the components of Twain's personality in the varying degrees of intensity in which they reflect his also varying situational influences. If scholars were to focus on the angry and often unfinished rhetoric of his last years, they may find his work suspect in intent, greatly influenced by his nonconformist instincts and possibly being written to quell his inner turmoil. Further evidence of his changing attitude is demonstrated when Huck opts to go to hell in Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. The target of criticism in that book, then, seems to be man's cultural thought, not primarily God as it is in "No. 44." Superficially, one could also observe in Twain a variety of responses to individual influences. In illustration, one could cite the operation of Twain's guilt in the continual self-blame during his life for various deaths, his literary prolificness in attempts of purgation, and his outbursts of temper which may have been related to self-accusation. A vast array of intense emotion was forever brewing under the surface of this well-read, well-traveled, yet frontier-bred sage.
A popular mode of looking at Twain's personality has been through the duality found in his work. Susan Gillman points out

the fascination with alternate selves in his writing: the paired and disguised characters, the mistaken, switched, and assumed identities. . . . Gender and genetic twins seem especially to proliferate: lookalikes (The Prince and the Pauper), putative half-brothers (Pudd'nhead Wilson), Siamese twins (Those Extraordinary Twins), and characters such as Huck and Tom Driscoll who through imposture become twin selves of both genders. The writer also doubles himself through autobiographical projections within the fictions and by his pseudonym. (1)

Gladys Bellamy, on the other hand, contends that there are four basic principles upon which Twain's mind is built: "moralism, determinism, pessimism and patheticism."

Bellamy believes "patheticism and moralism" and "determinism and pessimism" are not conflicting aspects of Twain's personality. She contends that "when the contradictory patterns of determinism and moralism are forced together, the results are disastrous to his work" (64). Bellamy thinks one cannot instruct society on how to improve its condition, while at the same time saying it is doomed to fail any moral endeavor. What Gillman's and others' concepts of Twain's dualistic personality—as well as Bellamy's four point view—fail to include is the negotiating component inherent in Twain's or any other person's tripartite mental make-up—ego. Twain managed—although, at times, not very wisely or perfectly—to cope in his daily life and to function as an excellent writer. Known for rewriting his work time upon time again, it would seem that at least on a conscious level Twain's ego attempted to negotiate the truth from the diverse viewpoints within himself. Moreover, critics like Van Wyck Brooks who believe Twain's "bitterness . . . was a result
of "a certain miscarriage in his creative life" (26), may have failed to appreciate Twain's literary self-confidence. During his last years, Twain once told a parting Italian reporter, "I am the king of the buffoons; I am a dangerous person" (qtd. in Budd, "Talent" 94). Twain even admitted to having a favorite book among his writings. Regarding Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, he once told Albert Bigelow Paine, "It is my favorite among the books I have written" (Paine, Introduction xv).

There are also those critics who doubt Twain's conscious artistry. Gamaliel Bradford writes,

[O]ne cannot think of him [Twain] as a professional writer. Rather, there is something of the bard about him, of the old, epic, popular singer, who gathered up in himself, almost unconsciously, the life and spirit of a whole nation and poured it forth, more as a voice, an instrument, than as a deliberate artist. (214)

Indeed, E. Hudson Long and J. R. LeMaster write that Twain believed "that a tale must tell itself, growing naturally from within until the ideal narrative, informal like actual life or talk, flows along, perhaps digressive yet ever fresh and vigorous" (155). However, the idea that Mark Twain's work is entirely the result of some sort of oracular stream-of-consciousness is an idea which would have likely been best utilized in his fiction. In actuality, the author of the book Huckleberry Finn, from which Ernest Hemingway said "all modern American literature comes from" (22), wrote "the novel haltingly and slowly" (Blair 2). Walter Blair writes that Twain, finishing Huckleberry Finn in 1883, "had started it . . . more than seven years before, had written about four hundred pages, and had wavered between burning and pigeonholing them. Luckily he put them aside" (2). Thus, apparently Twain's greatest masterpiece was neither composed in a concentrated period in
some type of mystical, automatic writing, nor was it written in a frantic fever of
inspiration. Twain's frequent use of vernacular and youthful narrators may have blinded
some critics to Twain's careful, deliberate crafting; nonetheless, he did not stumble into
imparting profound social insights through simplistic writing and blind luck. In the final
analysis, his ego was able to deal with the influential promptings from his conscience and
id, mold them into a literary form (e.g., the various scenes in *Huckleberry Finn*), and
create a balanced work of art. Even a seemingly negative piece of writing like the ending
of "No. 44"—which includes No. 44's suggestion to August to "Dream other dreams, and
better!" (404)—can be linked to positive behavior in Twain. John S. Tuckey points out
how Twain once acted "the role of [advising] mysterious stranger" to one of his young,
female pen-pals and companions, Dorothy Quick. Referring to the power that is within
each individual, Twain told her "that he knew his powers—and he would see to it that she
knew hers... One of the things he told her was, 'No matter what happens, you must
write,' an injunction that eventually led to the writing of her book about Mark Twain"
(qtd. in Tuckey 81).2

Trends in scholarly opinion on Mark Twain continue to form; however, they grow
in a polarized fashion. Sara deSaussure Davis in 1984 wrote,

> It is ironic that simultaneously academia is producing, on the one hand,
worshipers, who help solidify a stereotype of Twain by ignoring or
stripping away vital details of his life and work like excrescences that
needn't count, and on the other hand an abundance of riches by way of
publication of Twain's notebooks and journals, new and authoritative
editions of his works, [and] new biographical studies on heretofore
less-studied aspects of his life. (xix)
The new biographical studies referred to by Davis may be gaining momentum over the Twainian idolaters. In 1991 Guy Cardwell wrote,

> the historical Samuel Clemens of his eastern and European years who is now emerging is more the Romantic solitary than the Neoclassic communitarian; more the bourgeois man of affairs, driven by neurotically vulgar ambitions for status and money, than the pilot, miner, reporter, and convivially equalitarian friend of vagabondish companions. . . . (227)

However, in defense of Twain—at least in regard to one of his major contributions—one should include Philip S. Foner, who writes that "Mark Twain was our greatest social critic. As such he speaks to us with an immediacy that surmounts the barriers of time" (405). Twain's extensive, experiential knowledge of the American people, inherently profound insight, and exceptional literary talent are qualities that lend credence to Foner's claim. The study of this man who never quit traveling seems like an endless exploration in itself. As Andrew Jay Hoffman contends, "there is plenty of time ahead . . . to keep reading Twain and telling others what we see there, in the hope that they will see it too. And perhaps then, they will themselves have a new vision. . . ." (192).

For seventy-five years social consciousness, guilt, and nonconformist instincts grew and swirled around the ego of a unique and gifted man who was trying to find himself and the truth. These dizzying influences made contradictions seem only inevitable. For example, the Twain who wanted humankind to be free to enjoy life claimed he wished he would have died as a young boy. He recalls that after escaping death through drowning a few times during his youth,

> I was drowned seven times after that before I learned to swim—once in Bear Creek and six times in the Mississippi. I do not now know who the
people were who interfered with the intentions of a Providence wiser than themselves but I hold a grudge against them yet. (Autobiography 72)

Also, although he could have been writing, Twain wasted countless hours on promoting his popularity and on fruitless investments and inventions. During his last years, in a final realization of his wasted time, he wrote, "Obscurity and a competence—that is the life that is best worth living" (Notebook 398). This contradictory man left a contradictory and emotionally stimulating canon. It seems only fitting that the Twain who many say was an atheist, "in his last days, after heartbreak had come thick upon him, Mark at Stormfield . . . [would] sing, with moving pathos in his fine tenor voice . . ." (Wecter 190):

Some-times I'm up Some-times I'm down, Oh, yes, Lord;

Some-times I'm almos' to de groun'__ Oh, yes, Lord . . .

Al-tho' you see me goin' 'long so, Oh yes, Lord:

I have my tri-als here be-low, __ Oh, yes, Lord.

Oh! No-bod-y knows de troub-le I see, No-bod-y knows but Jes-us;__

No-bod-y knows de troub-le I see, Glory, hal-le-lu-jah! ("Nobody," ii, 34-36)

On November 30, 1835, Halley's Comet brought with it a unique, enigmatic genius—a sort of mysterious stranger. He lived in America for a while, bringing it a painful yet needed portrait of itself. No one is completely sure about everything he believed, only that he accepted nothing at face value. He had arrived with the name Samuel Langhorne Clemens, later changing it to Mark Twain, Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, No. 44 and other suitable pseudonyms. When he left with Halley's Comet on April 21, 1910, he was still that confounding stranger. However, America had come to know itself a little better.
NOTES


WORKS CITED


Harris, Susan K. *Mark Twain's Escape from Time: A Study of Patterns and Images.*


Leary, Lewis, ed. *Mark Twain's Correspondence with Henry Huttleston Rogers.*


McKeithan, Daniel M. *Court Trials in Mark Twain and Other Essays.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958.


---.  *The Innocents Abroad*.  The Writings of Mark Twain 1.  New York: Gabriel Wells, 1922.


