Double-faced Maps:
The Georacial Imagination in Mark Twain's Works

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Errata

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Introduction

How did Samuel Langhorne Clemens (known as Mark Twain; 1835-1910), the son of a slaveholder in Hannibal, Missouri, face the emotional turmoil over the racial others as a writer in postbellum America? This thesis reexamines this oft-repeated question by focusing on the meaning of geography in his writings: more specifically, how Twain technically or unconsciously utilized the geographical imagination (evoked by the fictional settings of novels or exotic foreign soils in travelogues) in representing racial others and reconciling his own identity as a literary celebrity. Numbers of scholars and critics have discussed the issue of race in Twain's works or the writer's racial attitudes for decades. Shelley Fisher Fishkin's monumental work *Was Huck Black?: Mark Twain and African-American Voices* (1993) provided a deep insight into African-Americans' influence on Twain's works. There also has been much debate over Mark Twain's relation to other ethnic groups such as Chinese immigrants, Native Americans, and other nonwhite people overseas. Hsuan Hsu's *Sitting in Darkness: Mark Twain, Asia, and Comparative Racialization* (2015) and Kerry Driscoll's *Mark Twain among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples* (2018) are major examples. Nevertheless, the problems of race in Mark Twain's works have not been fully discussed. Reexamining Twain's racial issues from a new perspective allows us to gain a further understanding of his emotional conflict over his identity as a literary celebrity, especially how such a private matter was deeply related to the national agony of nineteenth-century America. To be more specific, I argue that Twain's journeys both inside and outside the United States crucially influenced his identity formation and racial attitude, giving him the eyes to

look upon the nation's sin during and after the age of expansion.[1]

In recent decades, American studies have seen various attempts to expand the geographic boundary of the subject or to resist the spatialization of its disciplinary practices. A number of terms have been coined to present new frameworks for thinking, such as "transnational," "trans-Atlantic/Pacific," "Black Atlantic," "Hemispheric," "Archipelagic," "insular theory," "planetarity," "deep time," and so on.[2] Each approach aims to decenter the United States or white Euro-America, shedding light on the ignored and the forgotten, recovering the voices and the humanity of the oppressed. However this study will pursue this decentering in Twain's works through a rather classical approach—the biographical approach, trusting that a better understanding of Twain's works will be gained through a better understanding of Mark Twain himself, who had the eyes and opportunities to relativize the United States after the age of expansion. To be more precise, Mark Twain realized both the moral necessity of relativizing the Amerocentric view and the difficulty of doing so. What makes him unique is that he looked upon both the United States and himself in their agony over the conflict with racial others from an objective viewpoint, sometimes earnestly and sometimes almost self-mockingly.

As for Twain's geographical imagination, some previous studies have

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[1] By the term "the age of expansion" of the United States I basically refer to the period from the Missouri Compromise in 1820 to the start of the Civil War in 1861 in a narrow sense. However, the United States' expansionism remained or even gained much support after the Civil War, extending its scope beyond the seas. Thus the age of expansion or expansionism is loosely connected to the age of imperialism in the United States. Given this assumption, I use the term "expansion" to refer to the US territorial aggrandizement after the Civil War in certain cases.

[2] To name some of them: Gilroy, *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), Huang, *Transpacific Imaginations: History, Literature Counterpoetics* (2008), Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (2011) Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire* (2005), Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (2003) Dimock, *Through Other Continents American Literature across Deep Time* (2009).

discussed his travel books or his relationship with a specific region or country.[3] However, there is room for argument regarding the relationship between Twain's journeys and their influence on his identity formation, and how he utilized the images of each place he featured in his works. In discussing the race issues in Mark Twain studies, we must also take into account his biographical background and ideological conversion. Samuel Clemens, who was brought up in a slaveholding community in Missouri, regarded slavery as a rightful social system and became a Confederate volunteer soldier during the Civil War. But soon he dropped out of the volunteer corps, headed for the Nevada Territory with his brother Orion, succeeded as a newspaper reporter, and gained fame as Mark Twain, "the wild humorist of the Pacific Slope" (quoted in Budd 55), which enabled him to enter the Eastern literary circle.[4] At this time, he married Olivia Iona Louise Langdon, the daughter of the distinguished businessman and the ardent abolitionist, Jervis Langdon. In this transition period, Twain gradually changed his views on slavery and the Southern cause and even began writing the narrative of the white child's resolution to shelter a fugitive slave in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885). Though he was not technically a Southerner in the strict sense of the word, his spiritual bond to the slaveholding community where he had spent his childhood was to disturb his conscience, his reputation as the Western humorist brought him success as a writer, and his status in the Eastern literary circle caused him emotional turmoil over his own

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[3] Examples include: Melton, *Mark Twain, Travel Books, and Tourism: The Tide of a Great Popular Movement* (2002); Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China* (2015), Baetzhold, *Mark Twain and John Bull: The British Connection* (1970); Ishihara, *Mark Twain in Japan the Cultural Reception of an American Icon* (2005).

[4] Twain's "escape" journey to the West and his ideological conversion during and after the Civil War will be discussed in Chapters 1, 3, and 4. Also see Pettit 26-30 and 35, Dempsey 259, 272, Fulton, *The Reconstruction of Mark Twain* 99-125, Fanning 57, Lorch 465, Cox 196, Kaplan 11, Gerber, "Mark Twain's 'Private Campaign,'" 42 and Quirk 3.

past. In this sense, interregional movement in his lifetime and his inner conflicts about racial others were closely intertwined with each other.

In addition to Twain's biographical background, we cannot overlook the inseparable relationship between the United States' territorial expansion and the oppression of racial others in the nineteenth century. The United States has acquired, held, and extended its territory by swallowing up the land or labor of Native Americans, African Americans, Mexicans, Chinese immigrants, and other people of color in overseas territories such as the Hawaiian Islands. The nineteenth-century saw the development of the United States that usurped the land of Native Americans, promoted westward movement, and finally embarked on a series of conquests abroad: from the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Texas Annexation in 1845, the acquisition of territory after the Mexican War in 1848, the disappearance of the frontier in 1890, to the annexation of Hawaii and occupation of the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War in 1898. In this regard, considering the United States' national conflict over racial others, it is crucial to focus on the geographic imagination, which cannot be summarized in the word "regionalism."

As Gary Okihiro astutely indicates, "[g]eographies are neither predetermined nor fixed," and "spaces, when marked by humans, carry socially assigned meanings" (*Common Ground* 27). For example, the term "the West" might have signified "the Americas, the lands beyond the Appalachian Mountains, the Midwest, the Far West, North America, Europe and sometimes even Japan" "at different times and from various standpoints in U.S. history" (27). At the same time, the term "the West" "was associated with vacancy, virginity, genesis, fertility, timelessness, fidelity, homogeneity, wellness, regeneration, agriculture, and plenty — in sum, an Americanism pure and undefiled" and he concludes, "[s]paces, thus, are freighted

with significances that we ascribe to them" (27). Such significances of geographies are often utilized to draw a line in a blank space that arbitrarily distinguishes one's domain (self) from "others." In this sense, geography or maps are nothing but ideological devices to maintain the racial hierarchy. Walter Mignolo also asserts:

> A few decades before the emergence of an unknown (from the perspective of European observers) continent and unknown people inhabiting it, geographical boundaries coincided with the boundaries of humanity. . . . In a matter of two or three decades, however, both boundaries (of the world and of humanity) began to be transformed radically. The outlandish creatures once inhabiting the unknown corners of the world were replaced by savages (or cannibals) inhabiting the New World. (35)

Throughout the nineteenth century, the logic of the geographical boundary and the stratification of racial/ethnic groups had been active, underpinning the Unites States' transformation from republic to "empire."[5] As Moon-Kie Jung writes, "[t]he hierarchical differentiation of space and the hierarchical differentiation of people, both immanent and foundational to empire-state formation, are plainly related" (9). To use the words of Patrick Wolf, the leading advocate of Settler Colonialism, "race and place are inextricable" (16). In American literary history, minority ethnic groups "tended to get treated as part of some territorial district, as with Indians in romances of the forest or frontier, slaves in antebellum plantation fiction, and Irving's New York Dutch" as Lawrence Buell argues (219), and Twain's works are no exception.

The course of Mark Twain's journey overlapped the United States' route to

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[5] For the transformation of United States from a "republic" to an "empire," see Oi.

"empire." After the Civil War, America experienced the bewildering societal changes from the emancipation of slaves, the mass influx of immigrants, and rapid industrialization, which Twain describes in his works. In June 1853, Samuel Clemens left his hometown of Hannibal, Missouri to New York, saying to his mother that he was just going to St. Louis. For Young Clemens, his first solitary journey was an event that overturned his long-held sense of value. He wrote to his mother that he was puzzled to see free blacks and other people in color take leisurely strides in the town:

> 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 that 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. (Clemens, "Letter to Jane Lampton Clemens 31 Aug 1853," par. 3)

At that point, he was nothing but one of a multitude of young single men who flowed into New York from the provinces, who were attracted by the rapidly-growing city but still unable to discard the old values from their hometown. Nevertheless, his restless career eventually imposed a different sense of value upon him and in particular a different racial attitude. After his first journey as a carpetbag apprentice moving from place to place (from New York to Philadelphia, Washington D.C. and Cincinnati), he never stayed in one place for a long time. He became a steamboat pilot in New Orleans in 1857 and spent most of his time on the Mississippi River until the Civil War broke out. After the war, he went on a number of trips as a newspaper writer and a lecturer. While these travels always gave young Twain a glimpse of the unknown world, the visit to his hometown of Hannibal in 1882 (the record of which was to be published as the memoir *Life on The Mississippi* in 1883), and his lecture tour around

the British Empire in 1895 (which was to be recorded in the travelogue *Following the Equator*, published in 1897) summoned up the memories of the days before the Civil War. In *Following the Equator*, Twain was shocked to see a German master beat a native servant without explanation, which reminded him of the treatment of slaves in his hometown: "I had not seen the like of this for fifty years. It carried me back to my boyhood, and flashed upon me the forgotten fact that this was the usual way of explaining one's desires to a slave" (351). Travels best represent the interplay of space and time and how it affects one's sense of value—in this case, the racial attitude.[6]

Though almost all his works (except miscellaneous newspaper columns and sketches) were written during and after the Civil War, they arguably mirror not only contemporary sociopolitical issues but also his personal memory of the past and the pending national problem from the antebellum era: slavery. As Cody Marrs insightfully indicates using the term "transbellum," "the war manifests not as a discrete instance of overturning but as a rupture with a stunning array of trajectories, genealogies, and afterlives" (3). Though Twain is classified as a postbellum writer, his works undeniably dredge the memory of antebellum America. Defining Twain's series of works such as *Huckleberry Finn*, *Puddnhead Wilson*, *A Connecticut Yankee*, and *The Prince and the Pauper* as "historical romances," John Carlos Rowe points out that Twain "employ[s] historical distance to suggest how little the contemporary

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[6] Susan Gilman suggests that Twain records the west's exploitation of the colonies and considers it in relation to the slavery in the South in *Following the Equator*, "a global version of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*" ("Mark Twain's Travels in the Racial Occult" 205) : "*Following the Equator* (1897), the travel book based on Twain's 1895–6 around-the-world lecture tour . . . announces its connection to the U.S. racial context of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* with the maxims from 'Pudd'nhead Wilson's New Calendar' that head each chapter" (201). In the case of *Following the Equator*, however, "the black-white binary that defines the U.S. racial system and the master narrative of U.S. race relations gives way to the complexities of race and nation in the colonial context" (201).

reader's society has progressed from the serfdom of either medieval England or antebellum America" (163). And thus he "suggests that apparent — and often very dramatic — social changes merely have reinstated rigid social and class hierarchies; hints and foreshadowings of how such social transformations will effectively repeat the past quite often are incorporated in the dramatic action of the historical romance" (163). Rowe's insights lead me to argue how Twain employed not only "historical distance" but also the slipperiness and significances of geographies and spaces in reconciling his emotional turmoil over race issues and his own past.

To examine the significances of geographies in Twain's writings, this thesis analyzes both his biographical background and his fictional/non-fictional works set in various places from a small town by the Mississippi River to the Sandwich Islands, superimposing the process of the US westward expansion on Mark Twain's career as a writer. Accordingly, I will discuss the antebellum slaveholding community in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894), the Western frontier in the unfinished "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" written in 1884, the fictional pseudo-Oriental world in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894), and the Sandwich Islands as a new virgin land in the Pacific in *Letters from Hawaii* (1866) and the unfinished "Sandwich Islands Novel" manuscript. Twain, who has often been called a Southern writer, was always conscious about the conflict between the North and the South over the issue of slavery. Moreover, throughout his career as a writer, he encountered Native Americans and Chinese immigrants in the West, and Native Hawaiians in the Sandwich Islands, as if following in the footsteps of the US expansionism. In discussing Twain and race issues, this study takes up different racial/ethnic groups in his writings instead of focusing on his relationship with a specific ethnic group: African Americans, Chinese

immigrants, Native Americans, and Native Hawaiians. This allows us to investigate Twain's racial attitudes from many different angles.

Both fictional and non-fictional settings of Twain's works reflect the author's mind. Twain constructed the multi-layered spaces for each of his writings by delineating his past experiences and the changes he realized when he revisited the place, sometimes adding imaginary elements or suppressing something. In *The War on Words* (2010), Michael T. Gilmore suggests that while Twain dared to deal with the issues of African Americans in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, he exercised self-censorship in order to avoid displeasing his contemporary readers, which produces "the atmosphere of surveillance" in the narrative world (226): "A muteness, the silence of external repression and internalized policing, suffuses the text structurally as well as thematically . . . " (231). The boy protagonist and the narrator of the work, Huck tries to protect himself and the fugitive slave Jim by shutting his mouth or telling clever lies (227). Southerners including Samuel Clemens well appreciated the "language's potency" which led the rise of abolitionism and paved the way to the Civil War: ". . . Southerners felt that discourse had destroyed their way of life, and they were resolved to combat it in any way possible, from outright acts of violence to stories, biographies, and histories espousing their point of view" (235). At the same time, Twain feared that the "language's potency" might expose his hidden self: "The sensibility and beliefs of the artist, in Twain's case a writer *and* a performer, can, like the identity of a murderer or a thief, be 'read out' from his handiwork or utterances" (237). Forrest G. Robinson also indicates that while he was swayed by apprehension about the revelation of his inner self through his writings, Twain always had a "potent autobiographical impulse" to "come to terms with his remembered experience of life" (1). For him, fictional works should have been safety zones where he could tell his

dramatized past experiences without constraint: “Fiction was ‘safe,’ he assumed, because it wasn’t ‘true’; evasion therefore had no part to play in it” (37). Thus “Clemens revealed in his fiction a great deal of what he regarded as the dark truth of himself” (37).[7] Yasuhiro Takeuchi shares Robinson’s insight that Twain needed to “conceal his ‘history’ of volcanic inner life” (2), except that Takeuchi finds the source of Twain’s guilt in his traumatic memory of his father’s death, not in the issue of race slavery. Based on these previous studies and focusing on Twain’s sense of guilt over race slavery and other race issues, I aim to dissect how the geographical imagination, the geographical settings of fictional works, the topographical description of foreign soils, or the adoption of foreignness in fictional works set on domestic soil, obscure or paradoxically reveal Twain’s emotional turmoil.

The Mississippi River symbolizes this secretive nature of Mark Twain as a writer. In Chapter 9 of *Life on the Mississippi*, Twain divulges that the river has hidden faces that are discernible only for trained steamboat pilots. Even “a peculiar sort of faint dimple” on the surface of the river could be “an italicized passage” or “a legend of the largest capitals, with a string of shouting exclamation points at the end of it” for a pilot, suggesting “that a wreck or a rock was buried there that could tear the life out of the strongest vessel that ever floated” (118). And he likens the surface of the river to a book to be read: “In truth, the passenger who could not read this book saw nothing but all manner of pretty pictures in it painted by the sun and shaded by

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[7] Owing to Twain’s efforts, most Americans who have only read some of his fictional writings believe that Mark Twain is a “safe” national writer who portrayed the good old days in America. Recalling her bitter experience at the Yunnan University in China, where she was attacked by an American official from the US embassy in Beijing for her lecture on Twain’s anti-war writing, “The War-Prayer” (1905), Shelley Fisher Fishkin notes: “When the official had paid for my flight to attend the conference that Yunnan University had invited me to keynote, he knew I was a Mark Twain scholar, and probably figured I was ‘safe.’ What could be more American than a talk about Mark Twain ?” (10).

the clouds, whereas to the trained eye these were not pictures at all, but the grimmest and most dead-earnest of reading-matter" (118). As a pilot who had trained eyes to uncover the signs of potential danger underwater, he well understood that what seemed to be "pretty pictures" could carry something "hideous" in concealment.

Indeed, the Mississippi River, where Huck Finn, the protagonist of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, finds temporary peace, is no exception. In order to flee from Pap Finn, Huck induces his brutal father and other townspeople to think that he was killed and sunken in the Mississippi. This reminds us of the horrible episode of the cunning and cruel trick of slave traders in *Life on the Mississippi*:

> They would tell a negro that if he would run away from his master, and allow them to sell him, he should receive a portion of the money paid for him, and that upon his return to them a second time they would send him to a free State, where he would be safe. . . .sometimes they would be sold in this manner three or four times, until they had realized three or four thousand dollars by them; but as, after this, there was fear of detection, the usual custom was to get rid of the only witness that could be produced against them, which was the negro himself, by murdering him, and throwing his body into the Mississippi. (314)

Under the surface of the Mississippi River, one could find that not only "a wreck or a rock was buried there" but also the dead bodies of black slaves, the indisputable evidence of the sin of the peculiar institution. Though Twain never mentions the fact in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the river had an essential function as a transportation network for the domestic slave trade. He created the fictional settings of his works, intentionally or unintentionally concealing uncomfortable facts for him

or dramatizing his memory. Thus Mark Twain, who had the eyes to see through the surface of the water, drew double-faced maps. By scrutinizing the written and the unwritten in Twain's works and the author's tactics for retelling the past, this thesis reconsiders the representation of others in postbellum America.

In order to discuss Twain's geographical imagination and representation of others in his works, we cannot overlook the influence of his identity problem on his writings. Twain's art of narration served as a suit of armor or a smokescreen for the writer torn between two different personas, that is, Mark Twain as "the wild humorist of the Pacific Slope" (quoted in Budd 55) and Samuel Clemens as the son of a slaveholder and the ex-Confederate volunteer soldier. Consequently, Chapter 1 examines his curious friendship or business relationship with the great showman Phineas Taylor Barnum (1810-1891), and their attempts to reconstruct their own past experiences. Since the late 1860s on, Twain referred to Barnum himself and his peculiar episodes as a showman in his short stories and novels. At the same time, the letters exchanged between the two from the 1870s to the 1880s evince that Twain's talent as a writer could be beneficial for Barnum in advertising his entertainment business. What connected these two cultural celebrities in nineteenth-century America was not only their remarkable talent for attracting the public, but also their shared experience of ideological conversion. Both Twain, the ex-Confederate sympathizer, and Barnum, who started his career as a slaveholding swindler, struggled to reconcile their own disadvantageous pasts through their autobiographical narratives. Barnum's exhibition of Joice Heth, the supposedly 161-year-old black nursing mammy of George Washington, best represents Barnum's tactics of amending his own personal history. Twain's short piece "General Washington's Negro Body-Servant" (1868) shows that he understood the showman's scheme. Through the examination of

Twain's autobiographical sketch, "The Private History of a Campaign that Failed" (1885), and the oft-cited "half-dog" joke in *The Tragedy of Puddn'head Wilson and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894), I will demonstrate that Twain embraced Barnum's art of narration, i.e. the rhetoric of retelling the past, and utilized them in his own writings.

Chapter 2 also takes up *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*, which is composed of two parts, a novella *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and a short story "Those Extraordinary Twins," both of which are set in Dawson's Landing, the slave society along the Mississippi River. The former is a tragic story of a mulatto man, Tom Driscoll, who has been brought up as a white man, whereas the latter is a comedy of Italian conjoined twins Angelo and Luigi who raise a series of troubles in the sleepy town. This chapter discloses the "shadowy connections to Asia" (Hsu 106) in the Southern slaveholding community by focusing on one of the models for the Italian Twins, Chang and Eng, the original Siamese Twins. Previous research has valued *Pudd'nhead Wilson* higher than "Those Extraordinary Twins," because of its sensational plot of swapping a slave's baby for a white master's son, and the conjoined twins in "Those Extraordinary Twins" have been regarded as the mere symbol of the binary opposition of white and black, North and South with an emphasis on their conjoined bodies. Nevertheless, the model of the Italian twins, Chang and Eng, sons of a Chinese father and a half-Siamese, half-Chinese mother, suggests that the novel connotes the racial conflict between whites and other non-whites, that is, Chinese immigrants. The varied career of Chang and Eng, forerunners of a larger stream of Chinese immigrants to come, undermines the ideas of the binary opposition of East and West, possessors and possessions, whites and non-whites. This chapter investigates how Twain adapted the biographical background of Chang and

Eng in his early short piece “Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins” (1869) and discusses how the motif of the Siamese Twins unifies these amputated stories, *Pudd’nhead Wilson* and “Those Extraordinary Twins.”

Chapter 3 reconsiders the racial and geographical ambiguities in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. The virtual orphanage of Huck Finn makes his origin untraceable and ambiguous, and thus gives him a potentially multiracial identity. Previous researches or adaptations have examined the broad range of possibilities of interpretation on Huck’s racial identity: African-American, Irish, and Native American. In addition to Huck’s indeterminate origin, the geographical setting of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* also has an ambiguous, multilayered aspect. Modeled on Twain’s hometown in the border state of Missouri, the fictional slaveholding community of St. Petersburg contains geographical ambiguities. The novel in which Huck and the fugitive slave Jim go southward on the Mississippi River in order to flee from a brutal father and the evils of slavery is unquestionably a story about the antebellum South. At the same time, the novel also serves as a Western adventure story, as Twain write in the preface of The Adventures of Tom Sawyer” that St. Petersburg is set in “the West” (xvii). Moreover, Mark Twain himself had many faces as a writer. Though Twain succeeded as a humorist in the Western territory and was recognized as a “typical writer of the West” (quoted in Budd 372), William Dean Howells recalls Twain as “the most desouthernized Southerner I ever knew” (30). This chapter considers how these racial/geographical ambiguities in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and the versatile nature of Mark Twain himself overlap with each other, and how these ambiguities enable Twain to reconcile his emotional turmoil over the past.

At the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Huck Finn declares that he

intends to “light out for the Territory ahead of the rest, because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me, and I can’t stand it” (366). In order to find out whether he gets to the Territory or not, Chapter 4 deals with sequels to the monumental work, “Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians” and *Tom Sawyer Abroad,* which are set in the Western wilderness and the fictional Oriental world. “Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians” was written around 1884 as the exact sequel to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, but Twain never finished writing it. Huck, Tom, and Jim successfully head for the Indian Territory and encounter Native Americans as they wished, only to face the harsh reality of the Western wilderness and realize that there is no refuge from the “sivilization” in the West. As if he were trying to regenerate the mythic Western frontier world, Twain composed *Tom Sawyer Abroad* in which Huck, Tom, and Jim fly across the Atlantic Ocean in a balloon and tour North Africa and the Holy Land. In examining this outrageous adventure story, I will elaborate on how Twain’s fictional Orient—which I call the pseudo-Orient—brings out the deceitfulness of the imperialist discourse and even discloses the author’s warring emotions over racial others in the wake of US expansionism.

Long before the age of American imperialism, Mark Twain was involved with the United States’ attempt at overseas expansion. Chapter 5 picks up on his reports from the Sandwich Islands as a correspondent in 1866, which were to be posthumously published as *Letters from Hawaii* in 1966. This travelogue played an important role in the dawn of the age of American imperialism in that it offered information about the culture, economy, and political situation of the Sandwich Islands to the United States, which was considering the possibility of annexing the kingdom in the Pacific. For Twain, it was the first experience of encountering racial others outside the United States, and thus *Letters from Hawaii* reflects his uneasiness

about and yearning for contact with Native Hawaiians in the Pacific. Interestingly, in 1884, Twain tried to write a novel on Bill Ragsdale, a half-white, half-Native-Hawaiian interpreter who died of Hansen's disease, which was never finished. Though we cannot know the ending of the narrative, the fact that Twain could not complete this work reveals what appears to be his conflicted feelings about his experience on the islands. This chapter inspects Twain's writings on the Sandwich Islands, including the lectures held around 1870 and his retrospection in *Following the Equator* (1897), and reconstructs the "Sandwich Islands Novel" as an unfinished romance. I then compare the "Sandwich Islands Novel" to two other romances, a short piece "Dining with a Cannibal" (1870) and the incomplete "The Man with Negro Blood" (c. 1884), clarifying the changes in his attitude toward the racial others both inside and outside the nation in the dawn of US imperialism.

Detailed discussions in each chapter will clarify how the geographical imagination and representation of others are mutually related in Mark Twain's works and how his emotional turmoil over the issues of race or his racial attitude changed or remained unchanged, reflecting the spirit of the time or his journeys inside and outside the nation. This study will clarify that Twain intentionally utilized the regional stereotypes or significances of geographies and spaces in producing himself as a literary celebrity and relieving personal/national agony.

Chapter 1

Retelling the Past:

Mark Twain and P. T. Barnum's Art of Retrospective Narration

Mark Twain and Phineas Taylor Barnum (1810-1891) had a friendship in the 1870s that was mutually beneficial, in that they used each other's creative talent. Twain alluded to Barnum himself and true episodes of the showman's life in his short stories and novels beginning in the late 1860s. He also embraced Barnum's art of narration and utilized them in his own writing. Moreover, Twain's ability as a writer attracted Barnum, and he asked Twain to assist him in advertising his entertainment business by writing on related subjects.

Twain and Barnum not only recognized each other's talent but also shared a bitter experience of ideological conversion. They were once a Confederate sympathizer and a slaveholding swindler, respectively, and then tried to come to terms with their own troublesome pasts through their autobiographical narratives. "America" was a newly established community, and the Euro-American literary tradition began with autobiographical narratives in which narrators showed who they were, that is, their past life, to the community. Examples of this genre include Indian captivity narratives and Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* (1791). This art of self-reflective narration gained importance right around the time of the Civil War, when the country was divided into two socially and ideologically. Barnum skillfully got on in the world with his art of self-promotion, and Twain often gained inspiration from Barnum's unique, inventive strategies as a showman.

Some researchers have cast a spotlight on the Twain-Barnum relationship. Adam Hoffman notes that Twain applied "Barnum's philosophy of self-promotion"

(182) in writing his second travel book, *Roughing It* (1872).[1] Timothy J. Lustig remarks that Jumbo the elephant, who was brought to the United States by Barnum in 1882, prompted Twain to compose "The Stolen White Elephant" (1882). Hamlin Hill, David Sloane, and Mark Storey also suggest that Barnum influenced *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). However, no studies have focused on their shared experience of ideological conversion, which urged Twain to adopt Barnum's art of retelling the past. This chapter takes up Barnum's exhibition of Joice Heth, the supposedly 161-year-old black nursing mammy of George Washington, as an example of Barnum's tactics of revising his own personal history. I reveal that Twain mimicked the showman's art of promotion in "General Washington's Negro Body-Servant" (1868). I also examine how Barnum and Twain inspired and benefited from each other, referring to the letters exchanged between the two. The last sections of this chapter will zero in on Twain's ideological conversion and his autobiographical sketch, "The Private History of a Campaign that Failed" (1885), and the "half-dog" joke in *The Tragedy of Puddn'head Wilson and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894), an example that demonstrates the subtly paralleled but significantly divergent nuances of Twain's and Barnum's attempts to reconstruct their own past experiences. A close reexamination of this oft-cited joke will clarify both the similarities and the differences in the two men's struggles against "inconvenient" pasts.

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[1] According to Hoffman, Twain "transformed the material into the burlesque humour we are now familiar with, by applying P.T. Barnum's philosophy of self-promotion" (182).

1. The Showman's Design: Fabricating a Memory

Though Barnum is best known as a showman, he was also a writer, and he enthusiastically wrote about his life, either dramatizing or hushing up events as suited his message. Barnum often concealed the sources of his renowned exhibitions and insisted that they were his original creations in his autobiographies, *The Life of P. T. Barnum* (1855) and *Struggles and Triumphs* (1869). He obsessively revised his second autobiography and published its third version in 1883. Barnum's revision continued until 1889, two years before his death (Harris 207). Updating his autobiography, he not only added his latest work in a supplement but also expurgated some passages that had become troublesome for him (Werner 102, 106, 177). It was highly important for him to clean up his life by revising his own autobiographies. When he published *The Struggles and Triumphs* in 1869, he even bought up the printed version of *The Life of P. T. Barnum* and disposed of them (Browne vii).

Barnum had no patent on fabricating autobiographies. Until the 1870s, popular works of autobiographies in the United States, including Barnum's works, often aimed to describe the ideal image of their subjects rather than individuals' internal growth (Harris 208). Such convention also allowed, consequently, many American autobiographers to exploit their "true stories" for self-advertisement. What is remarkable about Barnum's case is, advertising his exhibition and advertising himself were intricately connected. The showman related his exhibits with meticulous care as he tried to build an ideal public image of himself.

The exhibition of Joice Heth, a 161-year-old former nursemaid of George Washington, is an excellent example of Barnum's art of self-promotion. When Samuel Clemens, who later took the pseudonym Mark Twain, was born in Florida, Missouri, in 1835, the twenty-five-year-old Barnum had just started his career as an

impresario. He purchased Joice Heth, an old black woman who had been put on display as Washington's nursemaid by R. W. Lindsay, a Kentuckian showman (Barnum, *Life* 1888, 37). Barnum succeeded in making Heth and himself tremendously famous. People besieged Barnum's exhibit at Niblo's Garden, New York, to get a look at Heth, who talked about her memories of little George.

Barnum put sensational rumors about Joice Heth into currency to attract spectators (Harris 23). Heth's origin became the subject of controversy in accordance with his design, and some people even insisted that Heth was an elaborate automaton. After Heth's death on February 19, 1839, Barnum arranged a public autopsy on her, which clarified that she could not have been over eighty years old. Barnum and his business partner, Levy Lyman, spread further rumors and stirred controversy. Sometimes they insisted that Heth was alive and doing well in Connecticut; on other occasions, they said that her body was treated with a preservative and sent to Europe. Barnum and Lyman even admitted that they had made up the whole story of Heth, but soon went back on the confession and asserted that they were also deceived by the former owner of the curiosity (Saxton, *P.T. Barnum* 71-73).

A lesser-known autobiographical narrative of Barnum's, "Adventures of an Adventurer, Being Some Passages in the Life of Barnaby Diddleum," is a good example of Barnum's advertising tactics and a proof of his past as a slaveholder. Serialized in the *New York Atlas* in 1841, "Adventures" describes how Barnaby Diddleum, alias Phineas Taylor Barnum, a novice swindler, succeeded in the entertainment business with the Joice Heth exhibition. The protagonist declares that Joice Heth is his property, that is, his slave, when he purchases her: "A bargain was immediately struck and aunt Joyce [sic] became *the property of Barnaby Diddleum*, and, as will be seen in the sequel, contributed very extensively to the principal

adventures of an adventurer" (22; emphasis added). Barnum was a slave owner who had purchased a black woman.[2] And, he frankly narrates how he made up a story about Joice Heth:

> My good genius hovered over her, and showed countless wealth to be made out of her. But how? Her great age was a great thing, . . . but how old soever she may be, an old woman, and very few persons care to behold a parcel of dried bones, covered with shriveled skin, which living anatomy has no *reminiscences*. *Reminiscence*, ah! That's the word—that's the idea. It is *association* that draw in the gaping and admiring crowd, and cause them to pour their cash into the longing hands of Barnaby Diddleum. . . . Joyce [sic] should be no other than the nurse of the glorious George Washington. (26; emphasis added)

The young showman made a substantial profit by using a commodity in which he had invested, and he openly boasted about his success. Barnum artfully *associated* Heth's shriveled body with Washington's *reminiscence*, which all Americans shared, and falsified an episode of "national memory."

As Barnum gained fame and a high social status as a successful showman, however, he tried to hide his past impropriety. After the European tour from 1844 to 1847 had made him famous across the Atlantic, Barnum aimed at the management of a "legitimate theater" to offer entertainment that was moral and appropriate even for women and children. He employed a theater manager in 1849 and presented

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[2] Barnum opposed the abolition of slavery at least until 1850 (Harris 185). His exhibition was based on the general understanding that it is right to possess and utilize "inferior" others, such as blacks, and people with disabilities or special abilities, that is, "freaks." Barnum aroused the thrilling confusion of racial boundaries in his entertainment business, such as in his minstrel show and the magical seaweeds that were supposed to be efficacious for whitening black skin color (Lott 76-77).

melodramas instead of a freak show, such as a happy-ending version of *The Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1853 (Harris 104-06). He even tried to recast his past by rewriting his autobiography. In *The Life of P.T. Barnum*, which was published ten years after the Joice Heth frenzy, Barnum narrates as if he truly believes that she was a real former nursemaid of Washington. He claims that Lindsay showed him a bill of sale of "one negro woman, named Joice Heth, aged fifty-four years," issued on February 5, 1727, with the name of "William Washington" (*Life* 1855, 149).

The political situation and abolitionist movements before and during the Civil War also affected the way Barnum talked about his past exhibitions (Reiss 183). Barnum recalls that he came to harbor doubts about the righteousness of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, and finally converted from Democrat to Republican (*Struggles* 609-10). When Barnum was elected as a Connecticut state legislator in 1865, he supported the 14th Amendment and delivered an address attacking the state law that made it a condition that voters be white (Root 187). Though he could not convince the audience, his change of attitude about slavery was obvious to everyone. At this point, his past as a slaveholding swindler became inconvenient for him. In his second autobiography, *Struggles and Triumphs* (1869), Barnum drastically reduces the description of his debut as a showman with the Joice Heth exhibition from twenty pages to four pages. He never mentions in the book the fact that he spread rumors about Heth to attract audiences. Barnum paid keen attention to how he described the exhibition, modifying and erasing the description of Heth.

By exhibiting Heth as a 161-year-old nursemaid of George Washington, Barnum trumped up a false chapter of national memory that enabled him to become the greatest showman. In "Adventures of an Adventurer," the protagonist describes in detail how he thought up a provocative connection for Heth: "Who shall it be? What

great statesman or warrior, whose name is immortal, whose fame has been trumpeted, whose *memory* is beloved his countrymen, shall I attach to her?" (Barnum, *Reader* 26; emphasis added). It was the former owner Lindsay who fabricated Heth as a 161-year-old nursemaid of George Washington, but Barnum developed the false episode of national memory into a social phenomenon with his art of swindling. Soon after the abolitionist movement and the Civil War, however, he was forced to modify his account. Once the Joice Heth exhibition became inconvenient for him, Barnum amended his past as a slaveholder by retelling the memory of Heth.

2. George Washington's Other Slave

More than thirty years after the Joice Heth sensation, Twain wrote a short story titled "General Washington's Negro Body-Servant." Though he did not mention Barnum's name, Twain was obviously inspired by the Heth exhibition and its aftermath in writing this brief tale. Twain knew very well about the exhibition that took the world by storm in his birth year. In January 1868, he referred to Joice Heth in his speech at the Washington Correspondents' Club. Besides, Twain was familiar with Barnum himself and his business. In the previous year, he had criticized Barnum's American Museum in a column in the San Francisco newspaper *Alta California* (qtd. in Twain, *Travels with Mr. Brown* 116-18). He also wrote a short comic essay "Barnum's First Speech in Congress" in the *New York Evening Express* on March 5, 1867.[3]

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[3] This short piece is a prediction "by spiritual telegraph" of what the rhetoric of the speech might be if P.T. Barnum, who was the famous showman and the state legislator of Connecticut at that time, was successful in the election. The detailed list of items from Barnum's American Museum in the essay shows that Twain was familiar to the showman's business:

> Simply because I have got the most superb collection of curiosities in the world—the grandest museum ever conceived of by man—

"General Washington's Negro Body-Servant" is a hoax about the aftermath of the death of a black man, George, who was considered to be a former body-servant of George Washington. According to Twain, "the notable features of his biography began with the first time he died" ("General" 249). That is, when a man who was supposed to be the first president's body-servant passed away, the report of his death adorned the pages of newspapers because of his unique work experience. Oddly, after the first report of his death, eulogies for the very same person appeared in other regional papers every few years, and grand funerals took place.

The essence of this comic story is the late George's *unbelievably* good memory: Twain narrates that "the longer he[George] lived the stronger and longer his memory grew" (251). When the *Boston Gazette* first reported George's death in 1809, he "remembered all the prominent incidents" (249):

> containing the dwarf elephant, Jenny Lind, and the only living giraffe on this continent, . . .because I have got these things, and because admission is only thirty cents, children and servants half-price, open from sunrise till 10 P.M., peanuts and all the other luxuries of the season to be purchased in any part of the house, . . .because I have got these things, shall I revel in luxurious indolence when my voice should sound a warning to the nation? No! Because the Wonderful spotted Human Phenomenon, the Leopard Child from the wilds of Africa, is mine, shall I exult in my happiness and be silent when my county's life is threatened? No! Because the Double Hump-backed Bactrian Camel takes his oats in my menagerie, shall I surfeit with bliss and lift not up my voice to save the people? No! —Because among my possessions are dead loads of Royal Bengal Tigers, White Himalaya Mountain Bears, so interesting to Christian families from being mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures, Silver striped Hyenas, Lions, Tigers, Leopards, Wolves, Sacred Cattle from the sacred hills of New Jersey. . .and so forth, and so forth, and so forth, shall I gloat over my blessings in silence, and leave Columbia to Perish? No! . . .Rouse ye, my people. (210-11)

Barnum was reelected as a Connecticut legislator in 1866, and ran for the Diet in the next year. Twain brilliantly won the heart of the readers by adopting the events of the day, that is, the famous showman's election campaign. For Twain, Barnum was a suitable target of lampoon. His fame as an imposter worked against him, and Barnum got beaten at the polls.

> George, the favorite body-servant of the lamented Washington, died in Richmond, Va., last Tuesday, at the ripe age of 95 years. His intellect was unimpaired, and his memory tenacious, up to within a few minutes of his decease. He was present at the second installation of Washington as a President, and also at his funeral, and distinctly remembered all the prominent incidents connected with those noted events. (249)

The death of Washington's ex-body-servant was once forgotten after the first report. However, a regional paper in Philadelphia reported that the first president's ex-servant George died at the age of 95 at Macon, Georgia in 1825. George, who was supposed to be dead, appeared at ceremonies on the Independence Day in 1830, 1834, 1836, and the third report of his death was published in a newspaper in St. Louis in 1840. He kept showing up at the Independence Day ceremonies all around the country, and a regional paper in California also reported his death in 1855. After a series of fake obituaries, the last death report appeared in a Michigan newspaper in July 1864. According to the article, George could remember the first and second presidential inaugurations and the death of Washington, major battles of the Revolutionary War, the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence, the Boston Tea Party, and the landing of the Pilgrims (251). Although all the obituaries state that George died at the age of 95, the last one reports that he remembered the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620, which means that he had to be over 260 years old. Twain sarcastically comments: "He held his age better than any celebrity that has figured in history; and the longer he lived the stronger and longer his memory grew. If he lives to die again, he will directly recollect the discovery of America" (251). And then he concludes the story saying that he is sure that George "had gone from us reliably and irrevocably," and "publish his biography with confidence, and respectfully offer it to

a mourning nation"(251). But Twain notes that the papers in Arkansas reported George's obituary again in the postscript.

Previous studies have tended to underappreciate "General Washington's Negro Body-Servant" as just one variation of Twain's series of short stories influenced by Barnum, written from the late 1860s to 1870s. However, the account of this hoax can be seen as proof that Twain not only won the hearts of readers by referring to the famous showman's exhibition, but also grasped the showman's art of self-promotion: Twain understood that Barnum intentionally spread the confusion to gain fame. The story of George, Washington's former servant is a retold version of the frenzied uproar of the Joice Heth exhibition, her fake longevity, and the chaotic aftermath of her death. Anonymous reporters repeatedly fabricate the death of George, the black servant, to sell their newspapers, and the authenticity of his existence itself remains uncertain, just like Heth's: writers who had the power to narrate their own stories deprived George and Heth of their identities and exploited them. Twain even ridicules Barnum's attempt to falsify an episode of national memory by saying that, "If he[George] lives to die again, he will directly recollect the discovery of America" (251). Twain keenly comprehended that Barnum enlisted the name of George Washington to appeal to antebellum American audiences who longed for shared national history.

3. Queer Letters, Strange Partnership

Twain acutely understood Barnum's appropriation of the fake chapter of national memory and wrote a comic piece, revealing its deceitfulness. For Twain, Barnum was a suitable target of lampoon. Twain was amused at Barnum's "art of

deception" and took advantage of it.[4] Barnum also did not accept simply being used as a target of satire by a young writer. From the early 1870s, Twain and Barnum built a peculiar symbiotic relationship.

The showman and the writer's relationship can be traced through their letters. Twain received his first letter from Barnum in 1870. On their mutual friend Joel Benton's advice, Barnum asked Twain to write "a characteristic letter on the show business" for his advertising pamphlet *Barnum's Advanced Courier*:

> It struck me that perhaps you would at your leisure write me a characteristic letter on the show business (or any other subject) which I could publish on my *Courier* & for which I will pay the money or reciprocate in any way you may suggest in the columns of my paper——either in advertising or noticing your *Innocents* or whatever else desired. (qtd. in Saxton, *Selected Letters* 164)

Twain was an emerging writer who had just earned his nation-wide fame with *Innocents Abroad* in 1869. This letter shows how Barnum was an able businessman: Barnum was shrewd enough to make a request to a mere young writer Twain with great respect. At the same time, he was confident enough to offer to advertise Twain's work on his publication in return for a contribution. Barnum did not mind asking Twain, the very person who had satirized him in short stories and columns, for a contribution to help him increase his fame. Unfortunately, Twain's reply to Barnum's

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[4] James M. Cook defines the mode of early nineteenth-century American entertainment as "artful deception": he argues that Barnum was linked "to a major development in American cultural history: the massive expansion of commercial entertainment that was beginning to take shape on and around lower Broadway. It also connected Barnum to a particular mode of popular culture that would pervade this urban entertainment district (and others around the country like it) throughout the nineteenth century: what might be described, collectively, as *artful deception*" (3; italics original).

offer is not extant. In the next year, Twain moved to Hartford, Connecticut, in the vicinity of Bridgeport, where Barnum resided. Eventually, the writer and the showman met at Horace Greeley's house in 1872 and formed a close relationship. Twain often visited Barnum's summer house Waldemere with his wife and daughters.

Barnum repeatedly asked Twain to write works on his entertainment business. Twain published "A Curious Pleasure Excursion," a hoax about Barnum's new space-trip business, in the *New York Herald* in 1874, and Barnum sent a letter thanking him "for taking me[him] into partnership" (Saxton, *Selected Letters* 182).[5] Barnum also refers to the short story in a letter written on January 19, 1875: "Your *comet* article in the *Herald* last year, wherein you had me for an *active* partner, of course added much to my notoriety at home and abroad" (189; italics original). Barnum then asked Twain to see his "traveling hippodrome" and write a story about it. Twain declined this request: "I couldn't write the article, anyway, for any price, because it is *out of my line*; & you know, better than any other man, that success in life depends strictly upon one's *sticking to his line*" ("Letter to P.T. Barnum, 3 Feb 1875," par.2; emphasis added).

Twain and Barnum recognized each other's talent and were mutually inspired. A remarkable example of their intendedly-reciprocal but often failed interactions can be found in their correspondence about what they called "queer letters": a substantial collection of begging letters sent to Barnum by swindlers from all over the United States. Some of them tried to sell their dubious curiosities, and others just asked for a job or money. Barnum touches on "this begging-letter business" in *Struggles and Triumphs*: ". . . not less than two-thirds of all the letters I receive are earnest petitions

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[5] Twain also mentions a showman named "Varnum" in the short story "Some Learned Fables for Good Old Boys and Girls" (1874).

for pecuniary aid . . . Many of these letters ask money as a free gift, and some of them demand assistance . . . In some of these letters, the amusement afforded by the orthography and grammar was almost a compensation for the annoyance and impudence of the requests" (778).

These "queer letters" were highly attractive to Twain. They could provide good material for his comic stories. He asked Barnum to give him the letters, and Barnum transferred many of them to Twain. A reference to "curious begging letters" first appears in Barnum's letter to Twain written on July 31, 1874: "I have destroyed *bushels* of curious begging letters. Hereafter they shall all be saved for you" (Saxton, *Selected Letters* 183; italics original). Barnum writes to Twain on August 13 that he has saved "quite a stock of queer letters" (184). If Twain wrote a story based on the queer letters, it would be a great advertisement for Barnum's business. Therefore, the showman diligently transferred the letters to the writer. Barnum wrote twenty letters to Twain from November 27, 1874, to November 29, 1876, and refers to "queer letters" in thirteen of them. Sometimes, he asks Twain to drop in at his place to receive the letters, and at other times he mentions that they are enclosed.[6]

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[6] Most of the Barnum's letters to Twain can be found in the Mark Twain Papers at the University of California, Berkeley. Some of them are in *Selected Letters of P. T. Barnum*, edited by A. H. Saxton, and the Mark Twain Project Online, available at www.marktwainproject.org. Unfortunately, only two queer letters are extant today, as far as my research through the Mark Twain Papers shows. One is from Helon Buck in New York, written on March 4, 1876: "I have been 13 years preparing a book which I clame[sic] to carry more points that any book except the Bible which will go through the whole world, which I wish to lay before You it seemingly should be printed for the sale at Philadelphia centennial . . ."(1). The other is a job-seeking letter full of mistakes from M. L. Badger in Massachusetts, written on November 26, 1876: "I want to travel with a show of some kinde[sic] or enter a Theater. . . If I cannot get a place to lerne[sic] to act on the stage or to ride in a bircus[sic] I am not afraid to ride a Horse of eney kinde[sic]"(1-2). We can get a glimpse of varieties of "queer letters" from Twain's letter to Barnum: "It is an admirable lot of letters. Headless mice, four-legged hens, human-handed sacred bulls, 'professional' Gypsies, ditto 'Sacasians,' deformed human beings anxious to trade on their horrors, school-teachers who can't spell,—it is a perfect feast of queer literature! Again I beseech you, don't burn a single specimen, but remember that all are wanted & possess value in the eyes of your friend" ("Letter to P. T. Barnum, 19 Feb 1875"; par.1).

Nevertheless, Barnum's effort at transferring the queer letters to Twain and asking him to write a story about his business came to naught. Twain never completed such a story. He also refused to help advertise Barnum's business. In a letter written on January 10, 1878, Barnum eagerly asks Twain to assist with his advertising:

> This is a *begging letter*! *Awful*!! I know your minutes and words are gold&diamonds, but I really *want* 5 or 10 minutes and as many lines over your fist, &I'll surely do as much for you or some other good fellow. . . . In my next season's traveling announcements I want a few words from distinguished gentlemen, . . .Now my dear boy, I come to you for a character! I *hope* it is not in vein. (Saxton, *Selected Letters* 204; italics original)

However, Twain rejected Barnum's request. Four days later, Barnum disappointedly replied to Twain: "All right, Mark. It's only a matter of taste anyhow—&I am *content*" (205; italics original). After this, they became less communicative with each other.

Thus, Twain refused to comply with Barnum's wishes and finally lost touch with the showman during the 1880s. Twain avoided descending to a mere publicist for the showman and carefully employed Barnum and his exhibitions in his fictional works on his own terms. Twain knew that "success in life depends *strictly* upon one's sticking to his line" (emphasis added). Still, he occasionally alluded to Barnum himself or proper names related to him in some of his works, such as "The Stolen White Elephant" and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*.[7] The two

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[7] "The Stolen White Elephant" (1882) was published in the same year that Barnum purchased the elephant Jumbo from the London Zoo. Twain also touches upon Barnum and his elephant in *Following the Equator* (1897). In *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), Twain mentions Bridgeport, where Barnum lived (22). When Barnum was in poor health in January 1890, Twain contacted him to

probably met one last time, at the Murray Hill Hotel in New York City at the end of March 1890. This was the end of the interaction between the great showman and the popular writer (Fears 545): Barnum passed away on April 7, 1891.

4. The Campaign Against General Grant

Twain never kept his promise to Barnum to write a story based on the "queer letters" and declined Barnum's request to help advertise his entertainment business, saying that it was "out of my line." Yet, he had properly learned Barnum's tactics of retelling the past and wrote an autobiographical sketch titled "The Private History of a Campaign that Failed."

Twain, like Barnum, also underwent an ideological conversion around the time of the Civil War. Mark Twain was born Samuel Clemens, the son of a slaveholder in Missouri, and he regarded slavery as a standard social system (Twain, *Autobiography* 213). Upon the outbreak of the Civil War, he joined the pro-Confederate "Marion Rangers," which was made up of some of the local youths in his hometown, Hannibal. [8] Although to support slavery did not necessarily mean to support secession, he may have had a vague sense of mission to protect the "slave culture" in his hometown (Dempsey 259, 272). A few weeks after joining, however, young Clemens dropped out of the Rangers and left for the Nevada territory with his brother Orion. Clemens retained the outlook that he had in his hometown after he arrived in the West. It was in 1862 when the battle situation turned to the Union

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express his sympathy and Barnum sent his latest work *Dollars and Sense; or, How to Get on* as a return gift.

[8] At that time, Missouri was in complete chaos: the state government of Missouri took the Union's side, but pro-Confederate governor Claiborne Fox Jackson organized the Missouri State Guard to resist the invasion by the Union Army. The Rangers was one of the units of the Missouri State Guard.

Army's advantage that Clemens eventually started writing pro-Union articles as a writer for The *Territorial Enterprise* in Virginia City (Pettit 26-30).[9] Twain also changed his attitude toward slavery, and two decades later, he wrote *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), an accusation of the absurdity of society based on slavery.

The ideological conversion that Twain underwent, like an old wound, kept bothering him. From this turmoil, Twain wrote "The Private History of a Campaign that Failed" twenty years after the end of the Civil War. Just as Barnum modified his inconvenient past by revising his autobiography, Twain also tried to come to terms with his past self as a slaveholder's son and Confederate sympathizer by writing this autobiographical story. It appeared in *The Century* magazine as a piece in their "Battles and Leaders" series, which focused on the heroes of the Civil War.[10] The narrator (young Samuel Clemens) emphasizes that he and the Marion Rangers went to war not for their loyalty to the Southern Confederacy but because of their adventurous spirits:

> By the advice of an innocent connected with the organization, we called ourselves the Marion Rangers. . . . The young fellow who proposed this title was perhaps a fair sample of the kind of stuff we were made of. He was young, ignorant, good-natured, well-meaning, trivial, full of romance, and given to reading chivalric novels and singing forlorn love ditties. ("Private History" 12)

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[9] According to Pettit, though Twain changed his loyalties, he still supported slavery and maintained a discriminatory attitude toward people of color at that time (35). Fulton argues that Twain converted to radical republicanism when President A. Johnson was impeached in 1868. See Fulton, *The Reconstruction of Mark Twain* 99-125.

[10] For details and circumstances of "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" series in *Century*, see Blight 173-81.

Twain dares to say that the campaign was "simply a holiday" for them: "As far as he [Ed Stephens] concerned, this military expedition of ours was simply a holiday. I should say that about half of us looked upon it in the same way; not consciously, but unconsciously" (14).

It is notable that, in 1885, Twain and Barnum held out helping hands almost simultaneously to the national hero Ulysses S. Grant. When U. S. Grant, the former president and Northern general, faced financial ruin, Barnum made an offer "to give bonds of half a million dollars" in exchange for exhibiting "to the people of the United States 'the unique and valuable trophies' which had been presented to him by all the nations he had visited in his tour" (Croffut 293). In an enlarged edition of the autobiography *The Life of P.T. Barnum*, published in 1888, Barnum records the contents of the letter he wrote to the general on January 12, 1885. In the letter, Barnum offers "an honorable manner" to overcome the economic deadlock, which is suitable to General Grant whom "[t]he whole world honors and respects" (343). Then he continues to assure success: "I trust you will in the honorable manner proposed, gratify the public and thus inculcate the lesson of honesty, perseverance and *true patriotism* so admirably illustrated your career" (343; emphasis added). Barnum was well aware of the influence of General Grant, and that to manage the exhibition of General Grant's souvenirs would bring him not only profits but also the public image of a patriot.[11] Barnum attempted to use the national symbol for self-advertisement, as if replaying the case of Joice Heth and George Washington.

Barnum's plan was not realized, in the end. U. S. Grant decided to publish his memoir to resolve his poverty and made an early attempt to sign a grossly

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[11] Barnum once exhibited General Grant's hat from the Civil War years at the American Museum, which was burnt down in the fire in 1868 (Werner 303).

disadvantageous contact with *The Century*. Getting wind of this, Twain himself approached the retired general with better terms and won both friendship and the contract. General Grant's biography *The Personal Memoirs* was published shortly after his death on July 22, 1885.[12]

Twain wrote "The Private History of a Campaign that Failed" while working on the publication of Grant's *Personal Memoir*. "The Private History" was originally based on his humorous speech "My Military History" delivered in Hartford in 1877. However, he completely changed the mood of the work after going through the proofreading of General Grant's *Personal Memoir* and his death. By the time he finished writing it in November 1885, he had added a fictional ending to the story, such that the narrator kills a civilian by mistake. As Justin Kaplan notes, "In the intervening eight or nine months its character changed radically: a comic adventure became a dark and troubled reading of his experience of war" (274). What Twain felt in revising the short story is not clear, but what the public thought about this unpleasant ending can be surmised: Twain, the former Confederate soldier, confesses to his sin and renders help to the general, the nation's savior, as compensation for his past. Indeed, Twain emphasizes the resentment he felt when he knew that Grant was in a difficult situation: "it was a shameful thing that the man who had saved this country and its government from destruction should still be in a position where so small a sum---trivial an amount---as $1,000, could be looked upon as a godsend"(*Autobiography vol.1* 81). He was apparently conscious of the importance of General Grant as a national hero.

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[12] For the friendship between Twain and Grant, see Perry.

Within Twain, however, there coexisted respect for and a slight antipathy toward General Grant, who aroused in Twain a sense of inferiority over his past as a Ranger. Justin Kaplan suggests that Twain imagined confronting Grant and beating him on the battlefield (275). [13] Indeed, Twain had briefly titled the autobiographical story "My Campaign against Grant." By managing the publication of Grant's *Memoir* and saving the general from a financial crisis, Twain tried to sweep away his mixed feelings about the general and his own regrettable past.

For Twain, recollecting his war experience was crucial in coming to terms with his past as a pro-slavery Missourian. It is notable that "The Private History of Campaign that Failed" was published nine months after *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Although there has been heated controversy over the sincerity of the message in this monumental work, Twain reveals the evilness of slavery through the eyes of Huck. To use Fred Hobson's words, *Huck Finn* is the "first and most eloquent of white racial conversion narratives," even though Huck himself does not "fully realizes that he *is* converted" (6; italics original). In fact, the time Twain tackled *Huck Finn*, from 1876 to 1884 with hiatuses, coincides with the period he re-envisioned his war experience: from "My Military History" in 1877 to "The Private History of Campaign that Failed" in 1885 (Peck 4-11).

As Barnum related the Joice Heth exhibition to the national memory of General George Washington, Twain successfully connected his past as a Confederate sympathizer to the memory of a Northern general, and made a profit from it. Both Barnum and Twain were former pro-slavery apologists who experienced ideological

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[13] By proofreading Grant's memoir and learning about the general's movements during the Civil War, Twain came to realize that they might have come across each other in the field just after he withdrew from the Marion Rangers. The murdered civilian in the short story could be General Grant, for Twain knew by reading his memoir that he was temporarily in ordinary clothes while on his march (Kaplan 275).

conversion following the rise of their social statuses and the trend of their times. The two men's change of mind was not fake, but they had to come to terms with their own troubling pasts, both internally and socially. The reason that Twain employed the motif of Barnum and his exhibitions as well from the 1880s on may lie here; Barnum disguised not only his curiosities but also his past, and Twain followed in Barnum's footsteps.

Nevertheless, Twain did not naively adopt Barnum's tactics. As a showman, Barnum elaborated his past and even put it on display by selling his autobiographies at the American Museum and his own circus. Unlike Barnum, Twain kept failing to write about his past life until he finally figured out how to create his autobiography by dictation in 1904. His self-consciousness and uneasiness about his past always haunted him.

5. Can a Half-Killed Dog Survive?

Twain's troubled notion of his past ultimately appears as the "half a dog" joke in his problematic novel *Puddn'head Wilson*, the tragedy of an interracial changeling. In the novel, a black slave woman, Roxy, exchanges her master's son with her own baby. Her baby, Chambers, whose father is Colonel Cecil Burleigh Essex, a prominent figure in the community, is so fair skinned that no one except Roxy can distinguish him from Tom, a legitimate son of Driscoll family. Two decades later, a lawyer, David Wilson, who has been branded as a "puddn'head," discloses the secret of the changeling.

At the beginning of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Wilson, who had just moved from the North to Dawson's Landing, a small slaveholding community by the Mississippi River, sees a barking dog and jokes, "I wish I owned half of that dog, . . . [then] I

would kill my half" (24). No villager understands his humor, and he obtains the title "pudd'nhead." Previous researchers have often interpreted the joke in the context of the race conflict in antebellum America or Twain's troubled notion of identity.[14] According to Harold Aspitz, however, many Twain scholars failed to pay attention to the fact that the prototype of the joke was found in an episode in Barnum's *Life of P. T. Barnum* (10-11). Before succeeding as a showman, Barnum ran a grocery shop in Bethel, Connecticut. No wonder that young Barnum enhanced his art of narration at the storefront, where customers loitered, jesting and gossiping. One of them was Hackariah "Hack" Bailey, who "imported the first elephant that was ever brought to this country, and made a fortune by exhibiting it" (Barnum, *Life* 1855, 112). Bailey sold one half of the elephant to his partner, "who agreed to exhibit the elephant and account to Hack for one half of the receipts" (113). But, the partner never paid Bailey his portion. At last Bailey became furious and threatened the partner to shoot the elephant: "'now you may do what you please with your half of that elephant, but I am fully determined *to shoot my half!*'"(114-15; italics original). Twain was fascinated by Barnum's first autobiography and read it thoroughly (Paine 410), so no doubt he knew of the "half an elephant" episode and re-created it in *Puddn'head Wilson*.[15]

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[14] James Cox expounds on the ironic twinship between Wilson and Tom: the former gains fame by exposing the changeling, and the latter is ruined socially by the same act (233-36). George E. Marcus and John Bird note Twain's obsession with double identity (Marcus 190-210, Bird 157-59). Myra Jehlen, Joe B. Fulton, and Evan Carton explain that Twain expresses the impossibility of dividing whites (humans) and black slaves (property) with the nonsense joke (Jehlen 120; Fulton, *Mark Twain's Ethical Realism* 127; Carton 170-71). Susan Gillman reads Twain's bitter sarcasm in his description of the social system in which one drop of black blood marks the fate of a man, as either a person or a piece of property (79-80). Hsuan Hsu suggests that this joke is based on the biblical story of King Solomon (Twain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* edited by Hsu, 239-40).

[15] Albert Bigelow Paine mentions that "When the Life of P. T. Barnum, Written by Himself, appeared, . . . he [Twain] sat up nights to absorb it, and woke early and lighted the lamp to follow the career of the great showman" (410).

In *Pudd'head Wilson*, to kill half of a dog means, symbolically, to negate the sin of slavery—that is, white men's *improper* treatment of slave women in the past, which leads Roxy to exchange babies. The concealment of the past is a necessary evil to support the social order of the slaveholding community, which the villagers tacitly take part in. In fact, no villagers, including the narrator, refer to the fact that Tom's real father is Colonel Cecil Burleigh Essex. One plausible reason why the villagers cannot get young Wilson's "half a dog" joke lies here. As O'Connell points out, Wilson's remark can be appreciated as a joke "only if 'killing half' is not actually possible" (113), but the villagers recognize, if not fully but at least unconsciously, that it is theoretically "possible" in the context of the community's institution of race slavery. Wilson touches, unwittingly, the unspoken sore spot of the slaveholding community and arouses the villagers' collective sense of "anxiety," which prompts them to stay away from Wilson, disparagingly, "as from something uncanny" (*Pudd'nhead Wilson* 24).

Wilson finally reveals the secret of the changeling using his longtime collection of villagers' fingerprints, including the near-twin babies. The lawyer succeeds in clarifying past events by interpreting "visible traces of the past in the present" (Gilman 96). He redeemed his honor by raising the oppressed past, disrupting the harmony of the slaveholding community. Tom Driscoll (born Chambers) is sentenced to life imprisonment for murder but sold down the river as a slave in the end, for he is the property of the successor to Driscoll's fortune. The revelation does no good for his counterpart, the true son of the Driscoll family. To make a fresh start as a white gentleman is impossible for Chambers (born Tom Driscoll), who was brought up as a slave. Not only Roxy but also the Driscoll family virtually lose their son, and get a "white negro" instead. The repressed past recurs to the present,

demanding atonement. To kill half a dog is fatal to the other half, and so it is to "kill" the past itself. To kill the past—to negate the violence against slave women by white men—is also fatal to the present. Three decades after the Emancipation Proclamation, Twain pronounced that no one can escape the shadow of slavery, the national sin.

Unlike the tragic characters in the novel, Twain and Barnum successfully retold their pasts, re-appropriating the national memory of General Washington and General Grant, apotheoses of the glory of the United States. With their art of retelling, the showman and the author attempted to "kill" their past selves while keeping their present selves alive. Nevertheless, there is a significant difference between the two. Barnum fabricated his autobiographies and sold them as exhibitions. For Barnum, his autobiographies were well-crafted "curiosities," presenting an ideal image of the great showman to the public. In contrast, Twain regarded autobiographies as an expression of his inner life. Twain appreciated Barnum's art of self-promotion and adapted it, but he also found it difficult to distinguish his public self and private self clearly and sell the former. Twain was haunted by the past, consumed with anxiety and always under pressure to reconstruct self-images that would palliate his troublesome past. Though Twain applied Barnum's tactics and successfully retold his past, making use of national memory, he well understood that the national memory itself was deceptive, bloodstained, and far from glorious. Unlike Barnum, Twain was not an able businessperson shrewd enough to overlook that awareness. Twain was a writer, a thinker, and a kind of philosopher, especially in his later years. The "half a dog" joke by "Pudd'nhead" Wilson, who has the vision to see through the past, is an aphorism for Twain himself and for postbellum America.

Chapter 2

From the Mekong to the Mississippi: The Chinese-Siamese Twins in *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*

Each chapter of *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894) has one or two epigraphs from "Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar," fictional aphorisms and maxims written by Twain. One of them is a bitter critique of the birth of the nation: "July 4. Statistics show that we lose more fools on this day than in all the other days of the year put together. This proves, by the number left in stock, that one Fourth of July per year is now inadequate, the country has grown so" (221). This mysterious aphorism mirrors the continuing national agony in two phases of nineteenth-century America: the antebellum slavocracy, when the story is set, and the racial turmoil in the post–Reconstruction era, when Twain wrote the narrative.

Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins consists of two parts: the novella *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and the comedic short story "Those Extraordinary Twins." The former is a tragic story of a mulatto man, Tom Driscoll, who has been brought up as a white man, whereas the latter is a comedy in which Italian conjoined twins Angelo and Luigi cause a disturbance in Dawson's Landing, the slave community along the Mississippi River. As Twain confesses in the preface to "Those Extraordinary Twins," he had difficulty in writing the novel *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, for it "changed itself from a farce to a tragedy while I was going along with it . . . what was great deal worse was, it was not one story, but two stories tangled together" (310). Finally he found a way out and "pulled one of the stories out by the roots, and left the

other one—a kind of literary Caesarean operation" (310). Though these two stories thus have a common setting and plot, researchers have more highly appreciated *Pudd'nhead Wilson* than "Those Extraordinary Twins," focusing on its problematic plot of swapping a slave's baby for a white master's son.

In many of the previous studies, the Siamese twins in "Those Extraordinary Twins" have been regarded as a mere symbol of the binary opposition of white and black and North and South. Susan Gilman notes that *Puddn'head Wilson* and "Those Extraordinary Twins" are based on a shared awareness of such issues as "the anomalous connections between bond and bondage in the relationships of Siamese twins and of blacks and whites under slavery" (54). Cynthia Wu suggests that the twins' conjoined bodies raise a question about the North and South's "moral responsibility" for slavery and "the interconnectedness of the Northern and Southern economies": "Although the Northern states had, one by one, abolished slavery in the late 1700s and early 1800s, industrial growth in Northern urban centers after emancipation was connected to slave economies that persisted in the South" (88-89). However, what the twins represent is not limited to the racial conflict between white and black people.

In *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*, the white community in Dawson's Landing is disturbed by the arrival of foreigners, the Italian twins. The twins are the embodiment of foreignness or alienness, eroding the peace of the sleepy town. Furthermore, as Hsuan Hsu notes, "[t]hough Twain only mentions China once in *Pudd'nhead* and *Twins* (when Angelo reports that he and Luigi have traveled in India, China, and Japan), the foreign presences in Dawson's Landing—fingerprints

and the Italian twins—bear shadowy connections to Asia" (Hsu 106).[1] Indeed, one of the models of the Italian twins, Chang and Eng, the original Siamese Twins, were the sons of a Chinese father and a half-Siamese, half-Chinese mother, and were referred to as "Chinese twins" by their neighbors in Siam. Hsu focuses on the Chinese origin of Chang and Eng and reinterprets the work "in expanded context of antimodern, anticorporate, and nativist movements that converged on the issue of Chinese Exclusion" (87) in postbellum America. However, how Twain adapted the biographical facts of Chang and Eng and their Chinese origin for his problematical work needs more consideration.

As Robert G. Lee explicates, "Chinese who settled California from the west were anomalous" for white Americans, for "they broke the chain of westward historical progress." The influx of Chinese immigrants changed the meaning of East and West in white Americans' minds: "China could no longer be imagined simply as a distant destination to which Americans ventured to seek their fortunes in trade. . . . The presence of Asian immigrant workers in the West meant that California could no longer be seen as a stop in a one-way trade between America and Asia" (31). The story of Chang and Eng, precursors of Chinese immigrants, exposes the lacuna that eludes the ideas of binary opposition of East and West. Moreover, the rise of the Chinese-Siamese twins also blurs boundaries between possessors and possessions, whites and non-whites, evoking "intolerable ambiguity."[2]

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[1] Both fingerprints and palmistry play an important role in *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins* as means of identification. The origins of the use of fingerprints for identification can be traced back to both China and Bengal (Hsu 106). The twins pay a visit to Wilson, whose hobby is palmistry, and say that they "have seen something of palmistry in our wanderings" in "the Orient" (*PWTT* 136). Then Wilson correctly guesses that Luigi has killed a man in India, with a knife that "was given to Luigi by a great Indian prince, the Gaikowar of Baroda, and it had been in his family two or three centuries. . . ."(143).

[2] Elizabeth Grosz proposes the idea of "intolerable ambiguity," which freaks evoke in their performance: "the freak is an *ambiguous* being whose existence

This chapter reexamines the biographical background of Chang and Eng and Twain's early short piece on them, "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" (1869), and reconsiders how the motif of the Siamese Twins connects these amputated stories, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and "Those Extraordinary Twins."

1. Chang and Eng, the Self-Made Men

The conjoined twins named Angelo and Luigi Capello in "Those Extraordinary Twins" are modeled after two pairs of real conjoined twins. One is the Italian twins Giacomo and Giovanni Batista Tocci, who toured the United States in 1891, and whose popularity led Twain to write the narrative.[3] The other is Chang and Eng Bunker, the original "Siamese Twins," who came to the United States in 1829.

Chang and Eng were born in Siam in 1811. Their parents were of Chinese origin, and the twins were called "the Chinese twins" by their neighbors (Tchen 134-

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imperils categories and oppositions dominant in social life. Freaks are those human beings who exist outside and in defiance of the structure of binary oppositions that govern our basic concepts and modes of self-definition" (57; italics original).

[3] Focusing on the twins' Italian nationality, Eric J. Sundquist suggests that Twain portrays in the novel not only the evil of slavery in antebellum South but also the racial discrimination experienced by African Americans and new immigrants in the Reconstruction era:

> [T]he fact that Angelo and Luigi are Italian is far from insignificant. In anti-immigrationist thought of the 1880s and 1890s Italians were widely thought, on the basis of their "color," their reputed criminal activities, and their comparatively low standard of living, to be among the most degraded of immigrants, and their willingness to mix with blacks brought froth excited nativist charges that new immigrants would further "mongrelize" America's racial stock. (67)

In addition, in *Imagining Italians* (2003), Joseph P. Cosco suggests that the twins symbolize northern and southern Italy: "As representatives of both the old and the new immigration, the twins incorporate two other dualities: the cleavages between northern and southern Italy and the clash between the idealized Italian and the one thought to be degraded" (158-59). The golden-haired and blue-eyed Angelo suggests romanticized northern Italy, while the black-haired and dark-complexioned Luigi, who has killed a man, stands for southern Italy, which produced the bulk of immigrants to the United States. Based on this previous research that examines the proximity of Italian immigrants and freed blacks in the post–Reconstruction discourse, and the typical plot of sensational novels about tragic mulattoes, Naoko Sugiyama discusses the possibility that the Italian twins are two black men passing themselves off as whites.

35). After their father's death during a cholera epidemic in 1822, the twins supported the family by raising ducks and selling eggs. The turning point in their lives came in the summer of 1824. Robert Hunter, a Scottish merchant based in Bangkok, "discovered" the twins while they were bathing in the Mekong River. Soon the shrewd merchant planned to take the twins on a tour as a curiosity, but he found it difficult to obtain the approval of the Siamese king, who owned everything in the country—including the people. Finally, Hunter secured the king's permission to take the twins out of the country with the help of Captain Abel Coffin, who had connections with the king.

The twins signed a contract with Hunter and Coffin in April 1829, when they were seventeen years old. Chang and Eng's mother received 500 dollars from Hunter and Coffin, and the twins agreed "to engage ourselves with our own free will . . . and consent to go with Capt. Abel Coffin to America and Europe and remain with him wherever he chooses until the expiration of the time agreed upon between Capt. Coffin and the Govt. of our country" (qtd. in Huang 32-33). This contract was to cause an unpleasant feeling in the twins' mind that they might have been sold as slaves by their own mother. After a 138-day voyage aboard the *Sachem*, the party arrived at Boston Harbor on August 16, and the twins were examined by physicians, who were excited at the opportunity to inspect their conjoined bodies. After these painful experiences, Chang and Eng started their career in stage performances, managed by Coffin and his partner, James Webster Hale.

Chang and Eng qualified as curiosities not only because of their conjoined bodies but also because of their ethnicity. They were, in Yunte Huan's words, "racial freaks" (82). After the Age of Discovery, the rise of ethnology, archaeology, phrenology, physiognomy, and other (pseudo-)scientific disciplines helped to

construct a racial hierarchy that justified European empire building (Tchen 151-52). Such "scientists" regarded "primitive" ethnic groups as "missing links" in human evolution. Then "the borderline between physical anomaly and the racial other became blurred," and racial others' bodies could be objects of curious observation, regardless of whether they bore any signs of disability or not (Huan 82).

At the beginning of the twins' performing career, managers announced the twins as the "Siamese Youths," not "Chinese." After their arrival in the United States, however, reports on their parentage and their Chinese physical characteristics (Orser 14-15) appeared. In October 1829, an article titled "The Siamese Brothers" by an anonymous writer was published in *Boston Medical Surgical Journal*, introducing Chang and Eng to US readers for the first time. The writer notes the twins' "healthy and happy appearance," then focusing on their exotic figures, not their unusual bodies: "They are nearly of the ordinary stature, have heads uncommonly large, and foreheads higher, but less broad, than those of young men generally at their age. Their complexion, features, and countenance, are altogether Chinese, and accord with tolerable exactness" (459). Doctors' observations and past cases of conjoined twins follows.

To emphasize their exoticness, in the early days of their career, Chang and Eng appeared in Chinese outfits, sporting queues (Tchen 110). Illustrations on pamphlets and advertising bills also underscored their "exoticness, Chineseness, or otherness" (Orser 22).[4] In this regard, Chang and Eng were typical Chinese curiosities of the

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[4] Cynthia Wu delineates how the leaflet prepared for their performance in Boston in 1829 emphasized the twins' exoticness:

> An image of the young Chang and Eng presents them clad in pantaloons and tunics with ornate brocade. Their complexions are swarthy, even dark, and their slanted eyes and bulbous foreheads make them appear inextricably foreign. They stand barefoot against a backdrop that suggests a comfortable coexistence with what is

kind that was popular in the United States in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[5] From the eighteenth century on, Chinese culture had been admired as part of the romantic Orient. According to Wu, "'China,' in the Anglo-American imagination, was associated with luxury and opulence" before the influx of Chinese laborers after 1849. Chang and Eng on stage in the 1830s were thus "contextualized in a way that referenced the international flow of goods and capital that supported the consumption habits of the Anglo-American owning classes" (Wu 83).[6]

Because of their ethnicity and deformity, Chang and Eng were branded as "extraordinary" and "monsters" and barred from civil society. Unlike other "freaks" who appeared on stage, however, they eventually managed to assimilate into civil society. As a first step, they "ceased to be under any arrangement with Captain Coffin" in 1832 (Wallace and Wallace 139). They made Harris, their then-manager, write a long letter to Mrs. Coffin in care of Capt. William Davis, in which they accused the Coffins of mistreating them and declared their independence.[7]

After parting ways with the Coffins, the twins began to make their own

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> presumed their natural habitat. Lush tropical vegetation graces the foreground. Behind them are palm trees and huts. Farther in the distance is domed architecture evocative of North Africa and West Asia, collapsing multiple Orients into one another." (24-25)

[5] The New York Clipper *Empress of China* put in Canton Harbor and opened the Old China Trade in 1774, and Peale's museum in Philadelphia started the exhibition of a Chinese collection in the same year. In 1799, the East India Marine Society opened its museum in Salem, Massachusetts to display curiosities from their Pacific trade. Public interest in Chinese rarities kept growing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and Nathan Dun, a trader, founded the Chinese Museum in conjunction with Peale's Philadelphia Museum in 1838. Though Chang and Eng undoubtedly produced a great sensation, they had no patent on the title of the Chinese living curiosity. A "Chinese Lady," Ah Fong Moy, was first displayed at P. T. Barnum's American Museum in 1834. She was exhibited at several museums before returning to China in 1837 (Lee 28-30).

[6] On the reception of Chang and Eng and other Chinese curiosities in the United States, see Krystyn R. Moon, *Yellowface.* Also see Okihiro, *Common Ground* 73 and Tchen 110-13.

[7] According to Huang, Chang and Eng first appended their English signatures with the label "Siamese Twins" in the letter to Capt. Coffin (137).

choices and manage their own affairs. They wore tuxedoes instead of Chinese clothes and had their hair cut in the Western style, as is clear from contemporary leaflets: "In an illustration from their 1836 brochure they are drawn as handsome men. . . . They look directly at the viewer, confidently poised to meet all visitors" (Tchen 140).[8] Chang and Eng also tried to publish a new pamphlet to make clear to the public that they were no longer "slaves" under the Coffins' supervision (Tchen 141).[9] Their new pamphlet finally appeared in 1836, with an image of themselves in Western-style suits. Though the former pamphlet emphasized that the twins were from a poorer class in Sham and their mother had sold them, the twins denied these claims and emphasized their exceptional status in Siam as Chinese descendants. Thus, "they positioned themselves at a level similar to the privileged white bourgeois against a racially ambiguous proletariat" (Orser 73). The latter part of the pamphlet depicts Chang and Eng sightseeing, visiting museums and cathedrals, while on tour in Europe. Orser astutely suggests that "[i]n their dress, in their speech, and in their access to markers of class, the twins were beginning to position themselves as *deserving of a certain American identity*" (74; emphasis added).[10]

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[8] Also see Orser 61.

[9] Regarding the nuanced similarities and differences between African slaves and Asian coolies in the global system of labor, especially in the United States, see Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams*, 37-53. Okihiro expounds that "[t]he African slave and Asian coolie were kinsmen and kinswomen in that world created by European masters" (42).

[10] In *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (1988), Robert Bogdan classifies modes of presenting freaks into two types: "the exotic mode" and "the aggrandized mode." According to Bogdan, "[i]n the exotic mode, showmen presented the exhibit so as to appeal to people's interest in the culturally strange, the primitive, the bestial, the exotic" (105), whereas "[w]ith the aggrandized mode the presentation emphasized how, with the exception of the particular physical, mental, or behavioral condition, the freak was an upstanding, high-status person with talents of a conventional and socially prestigious nature" (108). As an example of the cases in which "the mode of representation changed to fit the changing characteristics of the person or the society," Bogdan alludes to Chang and Eng's case (115-16). On the freak show in nineteenth-century America, also see Rachel Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.*

Nevertheless, just behaving as American men on public display was not enough for them. Chang and Eng decided to wash their hands of the stage performance business in 1839, when they were twenty-eight years old. The twins had more than 10,000 dollars in savings after their ten-year toil on stage and purchased a piece of land in Traphill, Wilkesboro in North Carolina. They ran a general store, making good use of their experience of selling eggs in their home country. They also amended their homestead and land as plantation owners.[11]

For the twins, who had deeply resented being treated as "slaves" under the Coffins' supervision, to acquire the status of "citizen" was a burning ambition. Chang and Eng finally obtained the United States citizenship in October 1839, ten years after their arrival. The reason that they were granted citizenship despite the 1790 congregational act that limited naturalization to "free white persons" remains unintelligible. The twins submitted a statement in which they swore that they had lived in the United States since 1829 and behaved like men of good moral character, and they had the intention to become citizens of the United States, renouncing their allegiance to the king of Siam, which the Superior Court of North Carolina accepted. Huang suggests that there were "loopholes . . . to allow a small number of 'Orientals' to become citizens" in the 1830s, before nativist sentiments and hatred toward Asians began to surface (200): "In the early nineteenth century, the near-invisibility of the Chinese as a racial group ironically had worked in their favor at times, as in the case of the naturalization of the Siamese Twins" (Huang 201).[12]

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[11] In 1860, Eng owned 300 acres of land, worth $1,100. His estate was valued at $6,000, including sixteen slaves. Chang owned 550 acres of land, which was worth $6,000, and his estate was valued at $12,000 (Orser 151).

[12] Huang also notes that the twins "might also have benefited from the fact that they were world-class 'celebrities,' which would open many doors for them in a small place like Traphill" (202). See also Orser 81-82, 100-101.

With their citizenship, their income from their land and their general store, a residence of good taste, and their fame as the Siamese Twins, Chang and Eng were "honorary whites" in the community (Huang 207). However, they still felt the need to show their eligibility to be flawless, respectable men—in other words, to get married and settle down, as ordinary young men. To build a household meant to show and prove their masculinity, refuting the image of Asians as "feminine races."[13] The two young gentlemen got acquainted with David Yates, a descendant of Irish immigrants and "a prosperous farmer who had a handsome white house and cabins for his fifteen slaves on a hill overlooking the valley of Mulberry Creek and 1,200 acres of land six miles outside Wilkesboro" (Wallace and Wallace 187). Naturally, the twins started courting his daughters, Sarah and Adelaide. Most people expected that their courtship would not bear fruit, but they were proven wrong.[14] The twins married Adelaide and Sallie Yates in 1843.[15]

Marriage and sex between whites and people of color had been prohibited since colonial times. Virginia was the first English colony in North America to pass an anti-miscegenation law in 1691; Maryland followed in 1692. In 1715, North Carolina

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[13] According to Okihiro, "Asians embody the geographies of the East and nonwhiteness, and the gendering that delineates 'woman.' The Asian body . . . reveals that there are within the American imaginary masculine races and feminine races, and normative genders and deviant genders" (*Common Ground* xiii). For white contemporaries, Chang and Eng's deformed, Asian bodies should have been nothing more than the embodiment of the feminized Asia.

[14] Huang suggests that Chang and Eng's art of conversation, polished in their stage performances and adventurous episodes while touring both inside and outside the country may have been attractive for the sisters, who had never been out of their community (209-10).

[15] Chinese-Irish marriages were far more common in New York, where a lot of male Chinese workers resided (Lee 75-78; Tchen 75-79, 159-63); in the rural South, this seemed problematic. As Noel Ignatiev suggests, the boundary between Irish and black people was blurred: "In the early years, Irish were frequently referred to as 'niggers turned inside out'; the Negroes, for their part, were sometimes called 'smoked Irish,' an appellation they must have found no more flattering than it was intended to be" (41). Therefore, the Yates' marriage to Chang and Eng obscures multiple differences between ethnicities—in this case, Irish and Chinese—and black people.

passed a law that forbade blacks and Native Americans to marry whites. Though there was no precedent of a marriage between whites and Asians in North Carolina, there was no "juridical noise" on the twins' marriage (Wu, *Reconnected* 23-24). As stated above, the twins were regarded as honorary whites; even after category "C" for Chinese and other Asians was introduced in the US census, the twins were recorded as whites.[16] They may have exploited a loophole to marry white women in the same way as they obtained the US citizenship. After the twins' weddings in April 1843, the two extraordinary newly-married couples were accepted by the residents of Traphill, where Chang and Eng set up their plantation (Wallace and Wallace 183, 184, 195-203; Okihiro, *Common Ground* 74).[17] Eventually, they started to introduce themselves as "Bunker" (Hunter 75; Wallace and Wallace 185). In this way, they blended into the community and succeeded in living in "whiteface." The two couples had twenty-two children between them.

2. Chang and Eng as a Metaphor

Twain published his first work modeled on Chang and Eng, "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins," in *Packard's Monthly* in August 1869.[18] The work consists of three elements: the inconvenience caused by differences of taste and religious belief, details of their courtship of the Yates sisters, and an episode during the Civil War. Each part of the narrative reflects contemporary public interest in the Siamese twins.

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[16] On the shifting racial classification of Asians and the Chinese in states' censuses and legal documents, see Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams* 51-53.

[17] Also see Hunter, Pingree. Orser casts doubt on Wallace and Wallace's view, arguing that there are no records of a conflict over the unusual marriage (96, 97).

[18] Twain wrote about this work to Olivia L. Langdon, his future wife, on 14 May 1869: "I wrote an article last night on the 'Private Habits of the Siamese Twins,' & I put a lot of obscure jokes in it on purpose to tangle my little sweetheart. I am not going to explain them, either, you little rascal, because you threw that sarcasm at me. 'So there, now'" (*Mark Twain's Letters* 228). This short piece was republished in *Sketches, New and Old* under the title "The Siamese Twins" in 1875.

After Chang and Eng arrived in the United States in 1829, they featured in a host of publications. The first book-length portrayal of the twins was British writer Edward Bulwer Lytton's *The Siamese Twins: A Satirical Tale of the Times with Other Poems*, which was published in 1831, soon after the twins' performance in England (Huang 102-07). Their conjoined bodies were widely regarded as a symbol of an inseparable bond. As early as during the 1832 presidential campaign, "the Siamese Twins" had become "a metaphor for the freakish or anything deemed inseparable" (Huang 157).

In "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins," Twain makes a mockery of the twins' inseparability, alluding to the numerous troubles caused by the differences of their religious belief and taste: "Eng is a Baptist, but Chang is a Roman Catholic; still, to please his brother, Chang consented to be baptized at the same time that Eng was, on condition that it should not 'count'" (209). "Chang belongs to the Good Templars, and is a hardworking, enthusiastic supporter of all temperance reforms. But, to his bitter distress, every now and then Eng gets drunk, and, of course, that makes Chang drunk too" (211). According to their biography, the real Chang and Eng were not devout believers of any faith, so they were not troubled by each other's creed. However, Chang's excessive drinking did cause a rift between them (Wallace and Wallace 211, 221). In addition to their habits, their marriages to Adelaide and Sallie Yates in 1843 occasioned reports in the national newspapers, and their possible progeny also became the focus of public attention.[19] Twain did not fail to mock the story of their courtship of the two sisters: "By and by Eng fell in love with his sister-in-law's sister, and married her, and since that day they have all lived together, night and day, in an exceeding sociability which is touching and beautiful to behold, and is

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[19] Indeed, the twins always toured with several of their children in the 1850s and the 1860s to satisfy people's curiosity about their married lives (Lee 32).

a scathing rebuke to our boasted civilization" (211).

During the Civil War, Chang and Eng became a symbol of a united America, or of the intensifying conflict over the "house divided." An article printed in *Alta* in 1864 posed the question of "what General Sherman would do if one [of the twins] were disloyal and had to be sent South, while the other remained loyal" (qtd. in Gilman, *Dark Twins* 57).[20] At the same time, there was a joke about their political arguments: What would become of them if Chang supported the Union and Eng supported the Confederates? Twain describes the trouble the twins face during the Civil War in "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins"[21]:

> During the War they were strong partisans, and both fought gallantly all through the great struggle---Eng on the Union side and Chang on the Confederate. They took each other prisoners at Seven Oaks, but the proofs of capture were so evenly balanced in favor of each, that a general army court had to be assembled to determine which one was properly the captor, and which the captive. (209)

Such jests and satires on the twins' conjoined bodies circulated even after the Civil War. An example is the comic anecdote that appeared in *Downieville (California) Mountain Messenger* in 1866: "The real trouble was, that from long habit they took opposite sides and adhered to them, declaring that they would not give them up except

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[20] See Allison Pingree, "America's 'United Siamese Brothers'" 92-103. Also see Cynthia Wu, "The Siamese Twins in Late-Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Conflict and Reconciliation" 29-55.

[21] It is notable that Chang and Eng's sons fought in the Civil War. On April 1, 1863, "Christopher Wren Bunker, Chang's second oldest child and first son, enlisted in a Confederate cavalry battalion" (Wallace and Wallace 277). Then, on April 12, "Stephen Decatur Bunker, Eng's third child and oldest son, came of the age and enlisted in the Southern cause on July 2, 1864. Altogether, Christopher and Stephen had fought on the same side for only one month when Christopher's role as an active participant in the war came to an abrupt end" (277). It is not widely known that some Asian Americans, and among them, the Siamese twins' sons, fought in the Civil War.

with life itself. . . . Whether the Chang part was for the North, or the Eng part for the South, or *vice versa*, is not yet made public" (qtd. in Gilman, *Dark Twins* 57). It is quite possible that Twain, who was a journalist and fond of novel things, wrote "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" in response to the continued public interest in Chang and Eng in 1869, four years after the end of the Civil War.

Twain made the twins the subject of "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" because they were a topical cultural icon. Though the Civil War anecdote is not described in "Those Extraordinary Twins" since the story takes place in antebellum America, various troubles that the twins experience are depicted in "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins." The obsession with the Siamese twins lingered on Twain's mind for decades. On February 28, 1889, when storyteller James Riley and humorist Edgar "Bill" Nye gave a storytelling session at Tremont Temple in Boston, Twain introduced them as Chang and Eng for fun. Twain even impersonated one of the Siamese twins at a New Year's Eve dinner party on December 31, 1906. A number of Mark Twain scholars have debated on why he adopted the motif of the Siamese twins again in "Those Extraordinary Twins," and what this means. Previous research has suggested that the Siamese twins reflect Twain's interest in identity during his later years, or that they symbolize the distorted relationship between North and South in the post–Reconstruction era.[22] These interpretations are significant; however, most researchers have failed to fully appreciate Chang and Eng's cultural and political context as Chinese-Siamese and their art of assimilation into civil society in the guise of white gentlemen. These two aspects are crucial in interpreting *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*, as well as Twain's obsession with the Siamese Twins.

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[22] Gilman, *Dark Twins: Imposture and Identity in Mark Twain's America* 44-52. See also Sundquist, "Mark Twain and Homer Plessy" 46-85.

3. Yellowface, Whiteface

Although Chang and Eng once succeeded in integrating with the community as plantation owners, they could no longer stay behind their "white" masks after the 1850s: "While much of the publicity surrounding the twins in the 1840s and early 1850s highlighted the ways these 'Asiatics [had] transformed to good American citizens' . . . developments in the 1850s served to reemphasize Chang's and Eng's foreignness" (Orser 106). This was caused by the increasing number of Chinese immigrants, especially in California. Chang and Eng had managed to obtain the US citizenship and marry white women in the 1840s, when Chinese people were rarely seen in the United States. They were regarded as curious strangers who tried hard to conform to the middle-class whites' way of life, not as racial others who threatened white society. After a decade, however, Chinese immigrants came to compete with poor whites and blacks as a cheap and plentiful workforce.[23] By the 1860s, Chinese people were no longer mere curious foreigners but troublesome racial others or "aliens" who could become a menace to white society.[24]

For early nineteenth-century white Americans, it was difficult to pin down the Chinese as rigidly categorized racial others. It was after 1870 that category "C" entered the US census. Chang and Eng were occasionally called "niggers" at the

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[23] The number of Chinese immigrants had been low until 1851 but suddenly increased in 1852, from 2,716 to 20,026. That year, the nativist sentiment rose in California, with the Chinese as the main targets (Aarim-Heriot 35, 36).

[24] According to Robert G. Lee, "'Foreign' refers to that which is outside or distant, while 'alien' describes things that are immediate and present yet have a foreign nature or allegiance" (3). Lee further discusses how the perception of Chinese people in the US changed. Early Chinese immigrants who settled mainly on the East Coast "were viewed primarily as curiosities embodying the exotic difference of the Orient. The arrival of thousands of Chinese settlers in California, however, undermined the definition of Oriental difference, which relied on distance. This construction of racial difference as distant and exotic was displaced (but not completely replaced) by a construction of racial difference as present and threatening" (28).

beginning of their career. When they took time off work at Lynnfield, Massachusetts in July 1831, after having toured New England, a group of the townspeople followed the twins, who enjoyed fishing and hunting, "to observe their motions, and some of the men or the boys were probably obtrusive and impertinent," according to an article by an anonymous writer in *Salem Gazette* on August 5, 1831 (qtd. in Huang 112). They even insulted the twins, calling them "damned niggers" (Huang 114). The twins lost their temper and shot at their harassers, only to be fined two hundred dollars for assault and disturbance of the peace.[25] This episode clearly shows that before the influx of Chinese immigrants, when there was no derogatory term other than "nigger" to insult Asian racial others, Chang and Eng who had yet to gain their status as "honorary whites," were categorized as blacks. A few decades later, once the increasing numbers of Chinese immigrants came to be seen as a threat to the social equilibrium from the early 1850s on, they began to be "Negroized" again in order to be legally marginalized as "marked" racial others (Orser 131; Aarim-Heriot 30-42).

Since they were introduced to the Euro-American world, the twins' conjoined bodies had been regarded as a symbol of the ambiguity of individuality. If they shared physical functions, then could one say that they were two different persons? Such doubt led to the philosophical questioning of individual existence. When Chang and Eng gained a status that had been open only to white men and started families with white women, they even blurred the racial boundary: "They were ambivalence embodied, themselves a cultural hybrid that puzzled observers, their families an example of the promises and perils of amalgamation" (Orser 133). For Euro-American citizens, the boundary between whites and non-whites should have been

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[25] Also see Orser 56-63.

safeguarded, since it was what guaranteed white men's exclusive access to citizenship. Nevertheless, Chang and Eng revealed the inconvenient ambiguity of racial hierarchy that justified white men's nation-building. As Okihiro astutely notes, Chang and Eng were "free and propertied men, who were nonwhite; they embody manliness as successful husbands and fathers, who were Asian; and, similarly, they were both successful heterosexuals, who were deviant" (*Common Ground* 75).

As Chang and Eng's Chineseness and transgressive nature began to attract much attention, the motif of the Siamese twins gained a life of its own. By 1860, Siamese twins were widely identified with the minstrel show.[26] Minstrelsy, especially yellowface minstrelsy, "was a powerful vehicle for constructing the Chinaman as a polluting racial Other in the popular imagination," as shown by the popularity of the minstrel character John Chinaman from the 1850s (Lee 32). A number of companies made "Siamese twins" part of their comedy routines, involving white performers in Chinese costumes with queues (Lee 32). While Chang and Eng dressed up as white gentlemen, many white on-stage performers acted as yellow-face Siamese twins. Thus, the twins, who, according to white supremacists, had already violated the norm by disguising as white gentlemen, doubly blurred the racial boundary by being mocked by white performers. If, as Eric Lott suggests, the pleasure of minstrelsy came from the fantasy of racial transgression (149-50), Chang and Eng, who evaded the law by obtaining the US citizenship and broke the taboo of miscegenation, made the fantasy into reality. Coincidentally, in December 1860, they visited San Francisco

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[26] Minstrelsy began in the early nineteenth century as a form of entertainment performed by white people in blackface. By the mid-nineteenth century, its repertoire and racial cast expanded to include "Chinese, Irish, Japanese, Native American, and other ethnic minority characters" (Huang 270). For the performance history of yellowface, see Moon. For previous research on blackface minstrelsy see Lott, Roediger, Saxton, and Toll.

with two of Eng's sons, Patrick and Montgomery, the fruits of their married life.[27] At that time, Chang and Eng were no longer "honorary whites": "on this trip, newspapers used the color 'yellow' to describe the twins and their children for the first time in America" (Orser 145).

Twain was well aware of the growing tension between Chinese immigrants and the white society in the 1860s. In 1868, the year before "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" was published, the United States and China concluded the Burlingame Treaty, which established some basic principles aimed at easing immigration restrictions. Anson Burlingame, who had been acting as envoy since 1862, affixed his seal to the treaty. In 1866, Twain became acquainted with him in the Sandwich Islands, where he was staying as a special correspondent for the *Sacrament Union*. Burlingame's liberal attitude toward the Chinese left such a deep impression on him that on the day after the conclusion of the treaty, he wrote an article titled "The Treaty with China" for the *New-York Tribune*:

> It affords me infinite satisfaction to call particular attention to this Consul clause, and think of the howl that will go up from the cooks, the railroad graders, and the cobble-stone artists of California, when they read it. They can never beat and bang and set the dogs on the Chinamen any more. These pastimes are lost to them forever. ("The Treaty with China" 2)

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[27] For the twins and their children's stay in San Francisco in 1860, see Orser 141-46. After the Civil War, Chang and Eng faced financial difficulties, which forced them to return to the stage, this time with their children. The following is a quotation from a written record by their neighbor: "The slaves which had formed a considerable part of their estate and especially of Eng were freed and their investments were all lost. . . . So the brothers at this late period in life found themselves so much reduced in property that they were under the necessity of again going into the laborious business of public exhibition. In the fall of the year 1865 they engaged to travel again" (qtd. in Wallace and Wallace 289).

Twain delightedly announced that Americans could no longer abuse the Chinese. During the Civil War, he moved to California, where many Chinese immigrants lived, and he witnessed their persecution by whites. In print, the young journalist criticized the oppression of Chinese immigrants both directly and indirectly.[28]

Twain's travelogue *Roughing it*, written between 1870 and 1871 and published in 1872, details his experience in the West from 1861 to 1869, including his encounter with the Chinese people. As stated above, Twain seemed to have a favorable impression of them: "They are almost entirely harmless anyhow, for they seldom think of resenting the vilest insults or the cruelest injuries. They are quiet, peaceable, tractable, free from drunkenness, and they are as industrious as the day is long" (391). Then he mentions the discriminatory practices against them, against which he feels righteous indignation: "Any white man can swear a Chinaman's life away in the courts, but no Chinaman can testify against a white man" (391). Twain does not fail to refer to the foreign mining tax, which "is usually inflicted on no foreigners but Chinamen" (393). He criticizes the inequality in the "land of the free" (391) in acid language:

> They [the Chinese] are a kindly disposed, well-meaning race, and are respected and well treated by the upper classes, all over the Pacific coast. No Californian *gentleman or lady* ever abuses or oppresses a Chinaman, under any circumstances, an explanation that seems to be

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[28] In his autobiography, Twain recalls writing an article on the persecution of Chinese immigrants when he was a journalist in California. The article was not published, for the newspaper's readers were mainly Irish workers—the very people responsible for the persecution (*Autobiography* 211). Besides, Twain published five installments about Chinese immigrants on the *Galaxy Magazin*e: "Disgraceful Persecution of a Boy" (May 1870), "John Chinaman in New York" (September 1870), and the unfinished "Goldsmith's Friend Abroad Again" (October 1870, November 1870, and January 1871). He also made the lives of Chinese immigrants the subject matter of the drama "Ah Sin: The Heathen Chinee" (1877).

> much needed in the East. Only the scum of the population do it—they and their children; they, and, naturally and consistently, the policemen and politicians, likewise, for these are the dust-licking pimps and slaves of the scum, there as well as elsewhere in America (397; italics original).

Twain's sympathy toward the Chinese is noteworthy, given that he often casually expresses disgust against people of color other than blacks, such as Native Americans, during this period (Fiedler 123).

Chinese people were nonetheless mysterious strangers to Twain. His remarks involve a subconscious contempt for "inferior race," likening them to "herding" animals:

> There are seventy thousand (and possibly one hundred thousand) Chinamen on the Pacific coast. There were about a thousand in Virginia. *They were penned into a "Chinese quarter"*—a thing which they do not particularly object to, as they are fond of *herding* together. (391-92; emphasis added)

For Twain, Chinese immigrants are strangers from the country across the Pacific Sea, where "the *swarming* population" suffered from lack of food (393; emphasis added). It is true that he denounced the discriminatory treatment of Chinese immigrants out of a sense of righteous indignation and admitted their good qualities of industriousness, gentleness, patience, literacy and numeracy. However, it is undeniable that while praising specific characteristics of Chinese immigrants and developing a heartfelt sympathy for them, Twain condescended to them like the majority of white people.

What differentiates Twain from his contemporary whites is his appreciation of the Chinese as "imitative" people:

> The house servants, cooks, etc., in California and Nevada, were chiefly Chinamen. . . . Chinamen make good house servants. . . . They do not need to be taught a thing twice, as a general thing. *They are imitative.* If a Chinaman were to see his master break up a centre table, in a passion, and kindle a fire with it, that Chinaman would be likely to resort to the furniture for fuel forever afterward. (392; emphasis added)

Of course, Twain did not merely make fools of Chinese workers.[29] Instead, he found the slipperiness of racial boundaries in such scenarios: if the Chinaman could precisely imitate the white master's behavior, then how could one affirm that there was no possibility that the Chinamen would take the place of white men? He grasped the subversive nature of such imitativeness. In "Of Mimicry and Men," Homi K Bhabha elucidates the subversive nature of imitating in the power structure of colonizers and the colonized, which "reverses 'in part' the colonial appropriation by now producing a partial vision of the colonizer's presence"(126), and "liberates marginal elements and shatters the unity of man's being through which he extends his sovereignty"(126-27). Such subversiveness can be seen in the imitative nature of Chinese immigrants which attracted Twain's attention.

While Twain criticized the legally marginalized status of the Chinese immigrants in the 1860s, he insinuated that the "mimetic nature" of the Chinese immigrants entailed the possibility of racial transgression, that is, the "whitening" of

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[29] Before the onset of the "Yellow Peril" frenzy, opponents of Chinese immigration warned against the Chinese people imitating Western inventions and taking over whites' jobs. In *The Story of California from the Earliest Days to the Present* (1913), Henry Kittredge Norton notes Chinese people's "passion for work" and ability for imitation: "They lack inventiveness and initiative but have an enormous capacity for imitation. With proper instruction their industrial adaptability is very great. They learn what they are shown with almost incredible facility, and soon become adept" (284).

the "yellows." What I emphasize here is not that Twain did not necessarily abhor or was terrorized by such transgression. Rather, he appreciated such imitativeness as Chinese immigrants' strategy to survive in the white-centered society. Chang and Eng were the very persons who had succeeded in "whitening" themselves and assimilated as "honorary whites." Chang and Eng, the Siamese Twins, once put on a show as Chinese curiosities or "racial freaks" and then acquired the guises of "American gentlemen," finally seated themselves as Southern plantation owners. They literally played "whiteface" at a time when white minstrel actors disguised themselves as the famous Siamese Twins in yellowface. What is remarkable is that Twain clearly understood the minstrel mechanism in Chang and Eng's lives when he wrote the farce in 1869 as Huang indicates that the beginning of "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" "resembles closely the standard opening of a minstrel routine called a 'stump speech,' which always starts with a personal pitch to gain the audience's confidence" (274).

It is not a mere coincidence that Twain, who paid much attention to the treatment of Chinese immigrants, published the short piece "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" the year following the conclusion of the Burlingame Treaty, for the twins were forerunners of the Chinese who successfully assimilated into white society, behind their white masks. Nevertheless, the freedom that the Burlingame Treaty had secured for Chinese immigrants was subsequently whittled away by the Page Act of 1875, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and the Geary Act of 1892. Written in 1894, "Those Extraordinary Twins," the farce of the conjoined twins set in the fictional slave community, throws the boundary issues into stark relief, revealing the strain imposed by the failure of Reconstruction.

4. White Slaves

A biographical fact of Chang and Eng that Twain ignores in both "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" and "Those Extraordinary Twins" even though it was common knowledge at the time is that the twins were slaveowners. After they purchased the land in Traphill in 1839, Chang and Eng borrowed slaves from their neighbors to do odd jobs. In the spring of 1845, they purchased a farm in nearby Surry County and became slave masters. By 1848, they owned a total of eighteen slaves. As Orser notes, "[t]he decision to retire from touring in 1839 and settle down in rural western North Carolina as gentleman farmers and slaveholders can be seen as strategies to assert white manhood for themselves" (124). Owning slaves was of great significance to Chang and Eng: since they were introduced to England and the United States, they had been dogged by the rumor that their mother had sold them as slaves, which upset them greatly.[30]

It is not known how the twins treated their slaves—whether they were affectionate masters or not. As Huang notes, "What is unquestionably clear is that the twins by this time had adopted the mindset, in all its permutations, of the oppressor class, the whites who owned slaves" (238). The twins wrote to their discoverer Hunter about their new life, saying that "our neighbors *are all on an equality*, and none are very rich" (qtd. in Hunter 80; emphasis added). While making an insinuating remark about their exploitation by Hunter, Chang and Eng dared say that they were equal to

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[30] When they traveled to Virginia in 1832, the twins and their manager Charles Harris made a plea to the state's General Assembly to be exempted from an exhibition tax. Then "[o]ne member got up, stating that if the House considered themselves doing anything to favor the twins by [lifting] the tax, they [would] be mistaken for it would only do good to some fellow in one of the Eastern States who had bought them of their Mother," as Harris wrote in his letter (qtd. in Orser 37). A few days later, a newspaper in Norfolk reported that the twins' mother had sold them to Hunter and Coffin. According to Harris, "[t]hese two incidents have had a very unpleasant effect on Chang-Eng . . . as they feel themselves aggrieved in being made . . . liable to be spoken of as 'slaves' bought and sold" (qtd. in Orser 40).

white plantation owners in the neighborhood. A reporter from *The Southerner* points out "the unusualness of the twins with their slant eyes giving orders to their black slaves" (qtd. in Wallace and Wallace 217). As previously stated, this may not have been so problematic in the 1840s, when the twins were regarded as mere strangers with deformed bodies who were trying to assimilate into the Southern white community. Nevertheless, once their Chineseness was highlighted again in the late 1850s, their status as owners of a Southern plantation and slaves despite the color of their dark skin could potentially shake the foundations of slavocracy. In addition, the scene of Chang and Eng with their conjoined bodies making slaves work made an uncomfortable impression on people around them, including black slaves themselves. As the Wallaces suggest, "[f]or their part, the Bunkers' slaves must have found it odd to have Oriental masters, not to mention masters who were anatomically joined together" (217). Leslie Fiedler explains the origin of this uneasiness: "They [Chang and Eng] became, in short, as none of their freakish counterparts had ever quite done before, their own masters, and what is more, the master of others. Like their neighbors, that is to say, they owned slaves, men and women presumably 'normal,' though undoubtedly black" (Fiedler, *Freaks* 214). Because of their extraordinary body, the twins had once been put on show and treated like possessions. Since that time, the fact that they could act just like normal people despite their "monstrous" bodies had made their audiences uncomfortable: "Their exotic and abnormal appearance was shocking enough, and letting the twins act like a 'normal' human being further intensified the sense of the uncanny: The monster is just like us, and yet so different" (Huan 54). By owning black slaves with "normal" bodies as plantation owners, the twins blurred the boundary between what is normal and abnormal. Twain's silence over the twin's transformation from exotic stage performers to

Southern slave owners paradoxically reveals his concern over the transgression, which unites the two severed narratives, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and "Those Extraordinary Twins."

Like Chang and Eng, the Italian conjoined twins Angelo and Luigi toured as members of a freak show before they visited Dawson's Landing in "Those Extraordinary Twins." Angelo tells the story of their life to their landlady, Aunt Patsy, and her daughter, Rowena. He narrates how they scraped a living after the downfall of their family: "Angelo goes on and tells how his parents the Count and Countess had to fly from Florence for political reasons, and died poor in Berlin bereft of their great property by confiscation; and how he and Luigi had to travel with a freak-show during two years and suffer semi-starvation" (*PWTT* 345). The twins could be performers because of their strange body. However, their body was nothing but "normal" for themselves. Twain describes Angelo's true feelings right after their narrative. For Angelo, "all other men were monsters, deformities" (351). "Men were still monstrosities to him, still deformities, and in his sober moments he had no desire to be like them, but their strange and unsocial and uncanny construction was no longer offensive to him" (351-52). Angelo's statement reveals Twain's insight: whether something is normal or not wholly depends on one's subjective viewpoint.

Twain's stance is crucial to considering the description of Angelo and Luigi's early life in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Despite the portrayal of the twins as "normal" in the narrative, Angelo and Luigi are put on exhibition. In the same way as in "Those Extraordinary Twins," Angelo relates their experience using the word "slavery": "We were seized for the debts occasioned by their [the parents'] illness and their funerals, and placed among the attractions of a cheap museum in Berlin to earn the liquidation money. It took us two years to get out of that slavery" (79). Some critics consider this

contradiction as Twain's mistake.[31] Given the issue of possession in Chang and Eng's lives, however, it is not a mere contradiction but an evocation of the fears of the majority—in this case, the white majority, who ought to be "normal"—that they could be exposed to public view as examples of abnormality. This is Twain's harsh criticism of the post–Reconstruction era, which discriminated against, oppressed, and excluded the racial/ethnic other, such as freed slaves and the increasing immigrants.

The Italian twins in Dawson's Landing are "aliens," that is, "objects or persons whose presence disrupts the narrative structure of the community," just like Chang and Eng (Lee 3), blurring the line between possessors and possessions. This warped structure of slavocracy leads to the tragic fate of Tom in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Exposed as a black slave by David Wilson, Tom, who is a murderer, is sold to the Deep South at the end of the narrative. He has been brought up as a son and heir of the Driscolls, one of the First Families of Virginia (FFV). However, now Tom is treated as property, not a man who has to atone for an offense:

> Everybody granted that if "Tom" were white and free it would be unquestionably right to punish him—it would be no loss to anybody; but to shut up a valuable slave for life—that was quite another matter. As soon as the Governor understood the case, he pardoned Tom at once, and creditors sold him down the river. (303)

The fear of ambiguity reverberates through the narrative. In the world of *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins*, the distinction between possessor and possession can also be violated.

With the concept of "race," supporters of slavocracy constructed the

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[31] See Parker 136.

justification of depriving others of their freedom, turning human beings into property. Barbara Jeanne Fields expounds that "[r]ace explained why some people could rightly be denied what others took for granted: namely, liberty, supposedly a self-evident gift of nature's God" when the Atlantic slave trade was in full flourish. Slavery contradicts the notion of egalitarianism in the seventeenth-century Enlightenment. "Euro-Americans resolved the contradiction between slavery and liberty by defining Afro-Americans as a race" (114).

John Locke argues that in the "natural state," every individual has the right to the life, health, liberty, and property. Written under the influence of Locke, the United States Declaration of Independence advocates that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." However, black slaves (as well as all women) were excluded; "all men" meant "all white male people." As shown by the historical fact that Thomas Jefferson, the drafter, was a slaveholding plantation owner, the Declaration of Independence—the moral foundation of the United States—contained a cardinal contradiction. Twain's sarcastic reference to the Fourth of July in *Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar* is nothing but his criticism of Euro-American society, which upheld this contradiction after the Civil War and kept oppressing the racial others in the post–Reconstruction era. Thomas Jefferson, who died on the Fourth of July 1826, is one of the "fools" that the country lost on Independence Day.

Chang and Eng, who performed as "racial freaks," slipped through loopholes in the law and enjoyed life as American gentlemen. They obtained the US citizenship, married white women, and possessed black slaves as plantation owners. They realized their American dream, which was supposed to be impossible for people other than white male citizens. Ever since they reclaimed their rights for their own labor, the

twins played whiteface and bypassed the paradox of the Declaration of Independence. Their trickster-like elusiveness appealed to Twain, who was haunted by the discrepancy between his past self and the present one.

In conclusion, the cultural and political background of the Siamese twins has not been given due importance in previous research even though it provides insight into *Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twin*s. First, their Chinese origin reflects the immigration problem in the post–Reconstruction era. The work has been interpreted in the context of binary opposition between black and white, North and South; however, the motif of the Siamese twins and their cultural/political context show that Twain's racial consciousness transcends such dichotomies. Chang and Eng's transformation from freaks into planters sheds light on fears of ambiguity—the blurred lines between white and non-white, normality and abnormality, possessors and possessions—underlying the entire work. Thus, this two-part work, which has often been treated separately, is in fact inseparable—just like the Siamese Twins.

Chapter 3

The Tug of War between the West and the South: Two Orphans in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*

In 1993, Shelley F. Fishkin dissected the African American influence on the voice of Huck Finn, the protagonist of Mark Twain's monumental work *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, asking, "Was Huck Black?" This question opened the broad range of possibilities of interpretation on Huck's racial identity for following literary critics and fictional writers who have creatively misread or willfully revised Fishkin's design. Since we cannot actually *see* the skin color (the premier but often deceitful racial signifier of characters in literary works), their voice could be a stronger marker of race. The hybrid background of the voice of Huck, "the juvenile pariah of the village" (*Tom Sawyer* 47) whose origin is untraceable, thus invites us to examine his potentially multiracial identity. Alongside Huck's multivocal origin, the geographical setting of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* also has an ambiguous, multilayered nature. In antebellum America, the distinction between the North and the South, the East and the West, or the West and the South was still fluid and chaotic. As the frontier line moved westward, the region once called "the West" became incorporated into "the East."' At the same time, if "the South" was defined as the area supporting the slavocracy, southern slaveholding society swelled along with the westward expansion, integrating the former western frontier into "the South." To make matters more complicated, the geographical and ideological distinctions were closely entangled with each other before and after the Civil War.[1] Located in the border state

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[1] Regarding the definition of the terms "the West" and "the South," see Turner

of Missouri, which supported the Northern Union while maintaining the slavocracy, Hannibal (Samuel Clemens aka Mark Twain's hometown) was in a particularly awkward situation. Reflecting this geopolitical background, the narrative of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is set in St. Petersburg, a fictional slaveholding community in Missouri, and contains geographical ambiguities. The story is unquestionably about the South: Huck and the fugitive slave Jim go southward on the Mississippi River in order to escape from a brutal father and the evils of slavery, respectively. However, Twain declares that St. Petersburg is set in "the West" in the preface of *The Adventures of Tom Sawye*r: "The odd superstitions touched upon were all prevalent among children and slaves in the West at the period of this story—that is to say, thirty or forty years ago" (*Tom Sawyer* xvii).[2] *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is Huck's adventure story located in the West and also Jim's slave narrative: in this sense, the novel is the narrative of both "the West" and "the South" at the same time.[3] Moreover, Mark Twain himself had such an ambiguous character that one might ask

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and Cash. To use Frederic J. Turner's words, the West is "the region whose social conditions result from the application of older institutions and ideas to the transforming influences of free land"(205): "Gradually this society loses its primitive conditions, and assimilates itself to the type of the older social conditions of the west; but it bears within it enduring and distinguishing survivals of its frontier experience"(205). W. J. Cash shrewdly observes that while there were variety of sub-regions with different characteristics inside the area called "the South," they shared "a powerful and uneasy sense of the essential rightness of the nineteenth century's position of slavery" (73). After the defeat in the Civil War, "the conflict with the Yankee" over slavery "really created the concept of the South as something more than a matter of geography, as an object of patriotism, in the minds of the Southerners" (77). Based on these two seminal works, I use the terms "the West" and "the South" (and "the East" and "the North" as their antitheses) as sociopolitical as well as geographical terms whose referents can fluctuate with the historical transitions.

[2] In explaining the setting of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain also uses the word "West" in *Life on the Mississippi*: "The book is a story which details some passages in the life of an ignorant village boy, Huck Finn, son of the town drunkard of my time out west, there" (*Life on the Mississippi* 42).

[3] In *My Jim* (2005), Nancy Rawles rewrites *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* from the viewpoint of Jim's wife, on the assumption that Twain "wanted to make his story primarily about Jim, but didn't feel he could get away with it" (180). For the slave narrative aspect of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, see Beaver, MacKethan.

whether he was a Western writer or a Southern writer. Since Twain found fame as an humorist when he worked for a newspaper in Nevada and California he was referred to as a "typical writer of the West" in a review of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894), the tragedy of race and slavery set in the Antebellum slaveholding community by the Mississippi River (qtd. in Budd 372). At the same time, William Dean Howells qualifies Twain as "the most desouthernized Southerner I ever knew" (30), appreciating the writer's contemplation on the Southern peculiar institution. My point is that these three different levels of racial/geographical ambiguities in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and in Mark Twain himself can be explained with reference to the author's elusive attitude toward his own past.

Huckleberry Finn is not an exact image of Mark Twain himself, but he arguably incorporates his past self (or his "ideal" past self) into the character of the rootless boy. Twain's fictional writings (mainly a series of novels based on his boyhood in Hannibal such as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*) have a biographical aspect. Justin Kaplan explains the inseparable bond between Mark Twain's fictional works and his biographical backgrounds, his "usable past imaginatively transformed into literature":

> He was always his own biographer, and the books he wrote about these years[his early years along the Mississippi] are incomparably the best possible accounts, even if they may not always be the truest (and it is possible to argue that Clemens' omissions and reshapings in themselves suggest a kind of truth). But the central drama of his mature literary life was his discovery in his early and middle thirties—a classic watershed age for self-redefinition—as he explored the literary and psychological options of a new, created identity called

Mark Twain. (*Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain* 11)

To some extent, Twain "recreates" himself in his boy protagonists in these novels. More specifically, if Tom, the "good-bad-boy" (Fiedler, *Love and Death* 270) is the embodiment of the "official" personality of the writer Mark Twain, Huck Finn, the "pariah" is related to the uncomfortable aspects of his past as a "Southerner."[4] Twain sought to reshape his past by producing his fictional second self, Huck Finn, and the way he developed the character of Huck, including his potential racial versatility, reveals his desire to flee from a kind of yoke which bound him to the Southern-ness.

This chapter considers how racial/geographical ambiguities in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and the elusive nature of Mark Twain himself overlap each other. I first examine Huck's multi-racial associations and his strategic use of his own racial elasticity in a moral crisis. I then suggest how Samuel Clemens tactically utilized his elastic persona, Mark Twain the Western/Southern writer, to reconcile his emotional turmoil over the past. Finally, I focus on the geographical versatility in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in response to the question of whether the work is a story of "the South" or "the West." The shadows of the racial others and sectional identity of the author are classic subjects in Mark Twain studies. However, the possible logical relationship between these two discrete themes has tended to be offhandedly regarded

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[4] According to Gerber "In each major episode of *Huckleberry Finn*, Huck gets into a series of scrapes of increasing complexity and annoyance until finally when matters reach a climax and he can't stand it any longer, he 'lights out.' In the 'Private History' Huck becomes Twain but the formula remains the same" ("Mark Twain's 'Private Campaign'" 42). Tom Quirk also implies that ". . . the fiction of *Huckleberry Finn* also spilled over into his purportedly autobiographical writing" such as *Life on the Mississippi* and "The Private History of the Campaign that Failed": "For Twain, Huck Finn seems to have represented not the boy he had been but the boy he wished he had been," and "during the seven-year generation of the novel . . . Huck became the hero of his own life in a way that Twain personally admired and, in the end, fictitiously attributed to his own history. Although the author finished *Huckleberry Finn* in the autumn of 1883, the book was not finished with him until he published *The Private History of the Campaign that Failed* in December 1885" (43).

as self-evident in discussing *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. I therefore aim to dissect the elusive entanglement between race and geography in this monumental work and its relationship to the author's dodging attitude to his own past in the notorious "evasion chapters."

1. Huck the Ambiguous

Twain clarifies that the model of Huck Finn is Tom Blankenship, an inhabitant of Hannibal and a son of Woodson and Mahala Blankenship: "I have replied that 'Huckleberry Finn' was Tom Blankenship. As this inquirer evidently knew the Hannibal of the'40s, he will easily recall Tom Blankenship. Tom's father was at one time Town Drunkard, an exceedingly well-defined and unofficial office of those days" (*Autobiography vol.1* 397, 608-09). According to the 1850 census, his father Woodson, supposedly born in 1799, was a worker from South Carolina. Previous studies have shown that in writing *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain drew inspiration from Tom's brother Benson who sheltered a runaway slave on a small island near to the river shore (*Huck Finn* 396). Pap Finn had another real-life model, Jimmy Finn, who was an alcoholic vagabond in Twain's hometown (*Huck Finn* 387).

While the lineage of the boy who was the model of Huck is traceable up to a point, the fictional Huck himself is wholly cut off from both social and consanguineous relationships. In *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, Huck is "the juvenile pariah of the village," "son of the town drunkard," who is "cordially hated and dreaded by all the mothers of the town, because he was idle, and lawless, and vulgar and bad—and because all their children admired him so, and delighted in his forbidden society, and wished they dared to be like him" (*Tom Sawyer* 47-48). Unlike Tom Blankenship, Huck has no sibling, and his dead mother's presence is diminished

(her name is not even mentioned). Huck briefly mentions that "they used to fight all the time. I remember, mighty well" (179) in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Pap also makes a brief mention of his wife in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, saying, "Your mother couldn't read, and she couldn't write, nuther, before she died" (24).[5] Huck's virtual orphan status makes him further socially alienated. In Chapter 2 of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Huck plays gangsters with Tom and other boys in the neighborhood, making a rule that the family of a member who betrays a secret must be killed. Then other boys complain that Huck has no family, as his mother has passed away and his father is missing, so the rule has no effect on Huck. They insist that Huck should be removed from the gang.

As if subconsciously tries to regain his lost kinship, Huck tells a series of lies during the escape journey on the river, fabricating his fictional family members who are always afflicted or dead. In Chapter 9, Huck visits Mrs. Judith Loftus in a girl's guise to find out how things stand in St. Petersburg after the feigned death of Huck and the escape of Jim. At first, Huck explains to Mrs. Loftus that he is running an errand for his sick mother (68), but she soon sees through his disguise. He then tells another lie that his parents are dead (72). In Chapter 16, in order to protect Jim, Huck also lies to bounty hunters searching for a runaway slave, telling them that there are

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[5] For the absence of Huck's mother, see Regina Stein and Robert Lidston, and Mark Altschuler. Regarding the role of Pap Finn, see Harry G. Segal, Edward J. Piacentino, Axel Nissen, and Alex Pitofsky. Gregory Marshall, Maureen T. Kravec, and Robert Shulman discuss the meaning of blood relationship and family in the narrative. John Clinch published a novel *Finn* whose protagonist is Pap Finn, on the assumption that Huck Finn's mother is an abducted ex-slave. Clinch "blame[s] Twain himself, who raised the question of her identity in the first place" for the shocking "revelation that Huck's mother is black" (285): "Twain gave us one more notably absent character in *Huck*: the boy's mother. She's mentioned only once, when Pap describes her during that scene at the Widow's, and we know her only as illiterate and dead. That's it. And yet Huck is so real, and Pap is so real, that we wonder in spite of ourselves what kind of woman she might have been" (278).

families on the raft suffering from smallpox (125).[6] Huck glibly fabricates his fictional family kinship, but he cannot change his alienated situation. Upon Huck's arrival at Phelps farm in Chapter 32, Aunt Sally mistakes Huck for Tom Sawyer and says, "You don't look as much like your mother as I reckoned you would" (277). It is unconcealable that Huck is a misfit, detached from social and familial ties.

At the same time, Huck's alienated status makes room for a nuanced interpretation of his racial background. Fishkin indicates, in her book *Was Huck Black?*, that Huck's speech contains some features of African American dialects, and one of the models of Huck might have been a black boy of Twain's acquaintance, Jimmy, who was described in Twain's short essay "Sociable Jimmy" in *The New York Times* in November 1874. With the broad interpretation of Fishkin's argument, the possibility of Huck's being a racial other has been taken up for discussion by other contemporary critics and fiction writers. One can simply assume from his family name, Finn, that Huck's origin on the paternal side could be Scottish or Irish. Prompted by Fishkin's work, Noel Ignatiev asks another question, "Was Huck Irish?": "The evidence is suggestive, in the first place the surname Twain gave him, Irish if ever there was. Beyond the name there are the facts of Huck's life: son of the town drunk, Huck has run away from Widow Douglas, Miss Watson, his father, and the entire community of St. Petersburg. . . . It is a very 'Irish' story" (68). Dawson takes it a step further and concludes that "Twain stigmatized the Finns as Irish-Americans and made what would be perceived as Huck's racial legacy a means of identifying him

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[6] Andrews points out that this smallpox episode has a strong resemblance to the description of James W.C. Pennington's *Fugitive Blacksmith; or Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, New York, Formerly a Slave in the State of Mary Land, United States* (1849) and suggests that Twain could have consulted slave narratives, including Pennington's, in writing *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

with the black" (14). According to Dawson, "the process of moral growth that ends in his coming to appreciate his common humanity with Jim has its beginning in society's and Twain's at least subconscious belief in the two fugitives sharing negative hereditary racial similarities" (14). Susan Kalter points out the defect in previous studies which try to seek the origin of Huck with his family name as a clue, that is, they inadvertently neglect his maternal lineage. Based on the frequency of interracial marriage in Missouri in the 1840s, she suggests his mother, who had "either the fortune or misfortune not to survive into Huck's adolescence" could have been a Native American, asking "was Huck Métis?" (49). As Kalter admits, it is hard to prove that Huck was a child of mixed parentage with a white father and a native mother (50). However, what is essential is the fact that Twain "structure[d] his[Huck's] life so as to suggest that he might be" a racial other (49).

Huck, who lives in the periphery of the slavocratic society (as a white, juvenile vagrant with uncertain birth and parentage) has a multi-racial association. This does not necessarily mean that Huck has a multi-racial identity. Huck's intense aversion to the idea of helping Jim on the run indicates that Huck certainly identities as white despite his marginal status. Previous researches inspired by Fishkin (1993) have sought to apply a specific racial identity other than white to Huck. In other words, all of them have tried to give additional racial connotations to the boy. However, I would argue that Huck's racial versatility comes from his rootlessness, or deficiency of white identity, which makes it impossible for him to amount to anything. And it was this deficient whiteness of Huck that allows him to decide to shelter Jim, giving him a racially transgressive nature.[7]

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[7] Just as Dawson argues that the stigma of being Irish enables Huck to strengthen his interracial solidarity with Jim, Jenifer Elmore and C. Dale Girardi suggest that Pap's cruel treatment of Huck leads to his union with Jim and his flight from

Moreover, Huck strategically utilizes his elastic identity, which he acquired through his birth-given background. In Chapter 24, completely dumbfounded by the King and the Dukes who shamelessly swindle good citizens, Huck says, "If I ever struck anything like it, I'm a nigger. It was enough to make a body ashamed of the human race" (210). With this remark, Coulomb suggests that "by identifying himself as black (even off-handedly), Huck sought to renounce his connection to them [the King and the Duke]. Being black was better than being white, to Huck, if being white meant being an immoral con man" (109). Of course, Huck's remark "I'm a nigger" is open to alternative interpretation: it can be a variation of the colloquial expression "I'm damned": Still, it would be plausible to consider that this remark of Huck is something more than a mere dialectic expression, as there is no similar expression in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.[8] Huck tries to change his racial identities conceptually in order to avoid moral dilemmas. Dismantling the concept of racial identity as an unalterable attribute determined by genetic, consanguineous relationships, Twain redefines it as more of a figurative mask which could be deftly swapped.

2. Twain's Identity Disguise

Prior to the writing of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain himself had already taken steps to dispel his emotional turmoil by incorporating himself into racial others.[9] Since the early stage of his career as a writer, Twain had professed himself to

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slavocratic society.

[8] Previous research reveals that Twain paid special attention to the use of the term "nigger." David Sloane concludes that Twain's usage of the n-word is not an accidental exposure of his discriminatory attitude toward African American people but "part of a coherent plan to show racism as so integral and pervasive as to be inescapable" (82). Also see Fulton, *Mark Twain's Ethical Realism* 56-57.

[9] Twain started writing *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as early as 1876 and

be a Native American descendant in a rhetorical sense. In 1862, he wrote a column for the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise* on a newly-formed organization of Nevada pioneers who had arrived in the West before the mining rush of May 1860, the "Pi-Utes." By using the name of a Native American tribe, the Paiute, the men aimed to establish their self-image as pioneers in the western wilderness who had turned their back on eastern society. Twain shows affection for the organization by announcing himself, the newcomer to the West, as a "half-breed" Native American: "I extend the fraternity the right hand of a poor but honest half-breed" (*Early Tales and Sketches* 170). In doing so, "Twain used . . . the ethnic connotations to foster the image of an independent and fearless man who lived far from the comforts of civilized life" (Coulomb 102). Coulomb goes further, saying "We might also ask 'Was Mark Indian?' since his use of contemporary conceptions of Native Americans was central to his emergence as Mark Twain" (102). Indeed, in his pseudo-autobiographical sketch "Mark Twain's Burlesque Autobiography" (1871), Twain claims that one of his ancestors was a native American hunter "PAH-GO-TO-WAH-WAH-PUKKETEKEEWIS" (Mighty-Hunter-with-a-Hog-Eye) Twain (203). Upon his 1870 marriage to Olivia Langdon who belonged to a respectable family in the East, Twain was forced to be more conscious of his character as a western ruffian, and he even tried to differentiate himself from other literary men in the East. To use Werner Sollors's words, Twain's early attempts in simulating a Native American identity can be defined as a variety of "Ethnic Transvestism."

However, the mask of a Native American was not merely a device for giving a western flavor to the character of Mark Twain. On December 22, 1881, Twain

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finished it in 1883 with hiatuses. Most of the latter part of the novel (Chapters 12 to 14 and Chapters 22 to 43) were written from June to August in 1883.

delivered a speech “Plymouth Rock and the Pilgrims,” at the first annual dinner of Philadelphia's New England Society. In this speech Twain insisted that not only Indians, but also other minority people who suffered persecution by the Pilgrims (such as the Quakers, Roger Williams, Salem witches, and the first slaves brought into New England out of Africa) were his ancestors: “My first American ancestor, gentlemen, was an Indian—an early Indian. Your ancestors skinned him alive, and I am an orphan. . . . I stand here, lone and forlorn, without an ancestor. They skinned him! I do not object to that, if they needed his fur; but alive, gentlemen—alive! They skinned him alive—and before company!” (782). He continues: “Well, I repeat, those Pilgrims were a hard lot. They took good care of themselves, but they abolished everybody else's ancestors” (782). Thus he clearly distinguishes himself, as a westerner, from New Englanders. He then mentions the history of persecution in New England, condemning the Pilgrims. Through the form of a joke (or more precisely, with the premise that it is just a joke), Twain both denounces and entertains the descendants of the Pilgrims in his audience.

It is noteworthy that his speech deviates from the history of New England *per se* in alluding to the introduction of the first African slaves into North America and its aftermath. Twain says that “The first slave brought into New England out of Africa by your progenitors was an ancestor of mine—for I am of a mixed breed, an infinitely shaded and exquisite Mongrel” (783) and explains that the color of his skin is white owing to “the patient art of eight generation” (783), intimating the existence of black people with fair complexions. Then he describes the slavocracy in the antebellum South and the border states:

> Well, in my own time, I had acquired a lot of my kin—my purchase, and swapping around, and one way and another—and was getting

> along very well. Then, with the inborn perversity of your lineage, you got up a war, and took them all away from me. And so, again am I bereft, again am I forlorn; no drop of my blood flows in the veins of any living being who is marketable. (783-84)

In a jocular vein, Twain discusses a grotesque aspect of the history of the United States; that is, the slavocracy in which people purchased, sold and owned blood-related black brothers and sisters. He then condemns the New Englanders for depriving him of his "kin" by "getting up the war" and emancipating slaves, leaving him a "forlorn" orphan. This strange logic invites Twain to insist that he is the victim of the New Englander's inhuman behavior. This does not mean that he is naively trying to justify his participation in the slavocracy by victimizing himself. Rather, Twain obscures the locus of moral responsibility, half self-mockingly and half self-deprecatingly. Twain's enthusiasm for racial masking, especially blackface and minstrel shows, has been repeatedly discussed.[10] One could assume that Twain's motive for "Ethnic Transvestism" is to expose the arbitrariness of the racial boundary in a kind of a trickster-like manner. However, I argue that, while employing such trickster-like gestures, Twain also tried to reconcile conflicting emotions which came from his origins as the son of a slaveholder in Missouri. As stated above, Huck rhetorically switches his own racial identity to sooth the prick of conscience when he sees the unpleasant tricks of the King and the Duke. As early as in 1881, prior to the third phase of writing in 1883 when he worked on the scene in question, Twain himself had already disguised his racial identity in order to dispel emotional turmoil.

Twain qualifies himself as "a border-ruffian from the State of Missouri" and "a

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[10] For Mark Twain and blackface minstrelsy, see Lott "Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain," Wonham, McCoy, "Cultural Critique in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*" and "'The Trouble Begins at Eight'."

Connecticut Yankee by adoption" in "Plymouth Rock and the Pilgrims": "In me, you have Missouri morals, Connecticut culture; this, gentlemen, is the combination which makes the perfect man. But where are my ancestors? Whom shall I celebrate? Where shall I find the raw material?" (782). Brought up in a slaveholding society by the Mississippi River, young Samuel Clemens regarded slavery as an ordinary social system. When we talk about the process of the breakup between the North and the South which led the country to the Civil War, we cannot simply consider an individual's place of origin in relation to their beliefs about race slavery or moral sense about the oppression of racial others. Still, for a Southerner (or one who regarded him or herself as a Southerner) protection of the Southern spirit and culture was practically synonymous with the defense of slavocracy. The border state of Missouri was in an awkward situation during the Civil War, supporting the northern Union while maintaining slavery. Many guerrilla forces were organized, one of which young Clemens joined for a few weeks. After that, he moved to the West with his brother Orion, changed his policy, and became a Unionist. He even married Olivia Langdon, whose father was a famous abolitionist and a wealthy businessman, and succeeded in Eastern literary circles. Thus Twain became an orphan and "a Connecticut Yankee by adoption" who abandoned his home in Missouri ("Plymouth Rock and the Pilgrims" 782). When he realized the evils of slavery which he had once accepted without any question, the memory of his hometown was to cause a lingering unpleasant feeling, along with nostalgia, for the rest of his life.

By playing a Native American, Twain intentionally emphasized his Western-ness in order to negate his Southern-ness. Having been brought up in the Southern spiritual climate, trained in the Western territory, and established his position in the Eastern literary world, Mark Twain has a multi-regional background. This hybridity is

undoubtedly what makes him "Mark Twain," but it also triggered his mental suffering over his own past. By equipping himself with a strategic racial versatility in his writings and speeches, he aimed to relieve such emotional turmoil caused by his regional hybridity. Thus, in the fictional world of Mark Twain, regional attributes and racial attributes are put together, or, cunningly switched with each other, to mitigate his emotional disturbance.

3. "Lone and Forlorn" Orphans

In "Plymouth Rock and the Pilgrims," Twain insists that his first ancestor on the American continent was an Indian, but the Pilgrims annihilated his ancestors leaving him "lone and forlorn" (782). Though the writing of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* had been suspended for a few years (from June 1880 to June 1883) at the time Twain delivered this speech, we cannot overlook the fact that both Twain himself and his protagonist Huck are identified as orphans who are deprived of consanguineous relationships.

In *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the Duke uses the word "forlorn" when he makes up his false personal history, underlining his unfortunate circumstances in which he has been alienated from his blood relatives and ancestors: "I am the lineal descendant of that infant—I am the rightful duke of Bridgewater; and here am I, forlorn, torn from my high estate, hunted of men, despised by the cold world, ragged, worn, heart-broken, and degraded to the companionship of felons on a raft!"(162). This is the only part where the words "forlorn" and "lone" are used to express one's solitary situation.[11] Instead, Huck often manifests his states of mind with the word

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[11] Except for the remark of a slave at the Phelps Farm who fears the witches' tricks: "Dad fetch it, I jis' wisht I could git my han's on one er dem witches jis' wunst—on'y jis' wunst—it's all I'd ast. But mos'ly I wisht dey'd lemme 'lone, I

"lonesome" when he feels that he cannot integrate himself into the community. In Chapter 1, Huck finds it difficult to live according to Miss Watson's instruction and become depressed:

> Miss Watson she kept pecking at me and it got tiresome and lonesome. By and by they fetched the niggers in and had prayers, and then everybody was off to bed. I went up to my room with a piece of candle and put it on the table. Then I set down in a chair by the window and tried to think of something cheerful, but it warn't no use. I felt so lonesome I most wished I was dead. (4)

Even when he strolls in the town with Tom at night, the feeling of loneliness strikes Huck: "Then we got out, and I was in a sweat to get away; but nothing would do Tom but he must crawl to where Jim was, on his hands and knees, and play something on him. I waited, and it seemed a good while, everything was so still and lonesome" (7). Huck also feels lonesomeness when he is physically isolated from the community because of Pap's abuse: "He[Pap] got to going away so much, too, and locking me in. Once he locked me in and was gone three days. It was dreadful lonesome" (31). He is aware of how to reconcile with such a feeling of "lonesomeness":

> When it was dark I set by my camp fire smoking, and feeling pretty satisfied; but by and by it got sort of lonesome, and so I went and set on the bank and listened to the currents washing along, and counted the stars and drift-logs and rafts that come down, and then went to bed; there ain't no better way to put in time when you are lonesome; you can't stay so, you soon get over it.(48)

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does" (310).

Nevertheless, the best way to dissipate the lonesome feeling is to unite with someone in the same condition. Encountering with Jim in Jackson's Island, Huck says "I was ever so glad to see Jim. I warn't lonesome now" (51). After this, the word "lonesome" is mainly used not to express the state of mind of Huck, but to describe physical situations of objects such as a wrecked ship on the river (80) or an isolated place (147).

In the latter part of the novel, Huck feels lonesomeness only when he is separated from Jim at the foggy night on the river (101), and on the way to the Phelps Farm where Jim is captured:

> I got there it was all still and Sunday-like, and hot and sunshiny—the hands was gone to the fields; and there was the kind of faint dronings of bugs and flies in the air that makes it seem so lonesome and like everybody's dead and gone; and if a breeze fans along and quivers the leaves, it makes you feel mournful, because you feel like it's spirits whispering—spirits that's been dead ever so many years—and you always think they're talking about you. As a general thing, it makes a body wish he was dead, too, and done with it all" (276).

In the latter scene, Huck's feeling of isolation comes not only from the separation from Jim but also from his awareness that he will never be accepted into the slave-holding community due to his resolve to assist the runaway slave in Chapter 31. Though he does not know the death of Pap at this point, Huck realizes that he is a "lone and forlorn," morally-depraved orphan.[12] Some previous researches have

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[12] For the moral issues in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, see Forrest G. Robinson, *In Bad Faith*. With the term "bad faith," Robinson astutely elucidates the mechanism of Huck's moral conflict as "the reciprocal deception of self and other in the denial of departures from public ideals of the true and the just" (2). As Katsumi Satouchi expounds, there is the intertwined relationship between the moral problem

already focused on "lonesomeness" in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, ascribing Huck's feeling of loneliness to his socially-alienated situation or the boy's unstable psychological situation.[13] I go a step further here, arguing that Huck's social alienation which causes his emotional instability is, specifically, derived from his virtual orphanage, in that he is not endowed with any immutable consanguineous ties or societal status.

Twain lets Huck enjoy the evanescent benefit of such a virtual orphanage. Echoing Robert A. Ferguson, Philip K. Koch, and Hannah Arendt's remarks, Yoshiaki Furui elucidates the difference between solitude and loneliness: that is, while the former is the empowering state of being alone in which one could be psychologically and organically united with someone or oneself , the latter is the negative state of feeling alone which one might experience even when one is surrounded by other people (Furui 3-4). Huck's lonesome feeling can thus be defined as loneliness. In exceptional circumstances, such as when he is with Jim on the raft, Huck enjoys the positive aspect of lonesomeness:

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and the race problem in Twain's works. He argues that the unfinished late novel *Which Was It?* (written 1899), also set in a sleepy antebellum southern town by the Mississippi River, is a rewritten version of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. He further says that "in both novels, Twain deals with the two levels of entanglements—the personal emotional entanglement and the social entanglement over the race problem—at the same time" (translation mine; 396). Such an overlap of different levels of entanglements, moral and race, are apparent in Twain's use of the term "moral half breed." According to Satouchi, Twain employs the term "moral half-breed" to modify David Gridley, a character in a plotless sketch "Indian Town," which was posthumously published in 1967 (169). David Gridley, a man who has a double personality and was born in the West but disciplined by his wife from the East, Susan, is evidently modeled on Mark Twain himself. Twain reused this abandoned character as George Harrison, the protagonist of the unfinished and problematic work, *Which Was It?*

[13] See Joel Belson, Levi A. Olan and Campbell A. Tatham. Paul Schacht astounds that "the mood he calls 'lonesomeness' is in fact—as I have tried to show—a reaction to the natural world, perhaps at bottom to the fact of death as it manifests itself in Nature" (198), and "With Jim, Huck can bask in the very mood that makes him, when alone, almost wish for death" (199) based on the fact that Twain uses the term "lonesome" or "loneliness" to describe the sublimity of the Mississippi River itself in *Life on the Mississippi*.

> A little smoke couldn't be noticed, now, so we would take some fish off of the lines, and cook up a hot breakfast. And afterwards we would watch the lonesomeness of the river, and kind of lazy along, and by and by lazy off to sleep. Wake up, by and by, and look to see what done it, and maybe see a steamboat, coughing along up stream, so far off towards the other side you couldn't tell nothing about her only whether she was stern-wheel or side-wheel; then for about an hour there wouldn't be nothing to hear nor nothing to see—just solid lonesomeness. Next you'd see a raft sliding by, away off yonder, and maybe a galoot on it chopping, because they're most always doing it on a raft; you'd see the axe flash, and come down—you don't hear nothing; you see that axe go up again, and by the time it's above the man's head, then you hear the *k'chunk!*—it had took all that time to come over the water. Soon as it was night, out we shoved; when we got her out to about the middle, we let her[the raft] alone, and let her float wherever the current wanted her to**;** then we lit the pipes and dangled our legs in the water and talked about all kinds of things—we was always naked, day and night, whenever the mosquitoes would let us . . . (157; emphasis added)

As stated, Huck has what I call a multi-racial association, which refuses to be yoked to any social/ethnic affiliation. Conversely, this "virtual orphanage" enables Huck to establish solidarity with Jim, transcending both the social norm of the slaveholding community and the racial boundary, even if such unity is ephemeral and lasts for only a moment on the river. And in such a moment, Huck enjoys being swept downstream on the raft, no matter what awaits him from there on.

4. Crooked Circles

The current of the river also causes geographical distortions in the fictional world of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. It is an analogy for the narrative of Huck, who ostensibly belongs to Southern slaveholding society but finally sets out for the Western wilderness. It also reflects Jim's slave narrative, in which he goes down the river to escape from Southern slavery. Huck and Jim plan to go down the Mississippi River to Cairo and then get on a steamboat heading to the free state of Ohio: "We judged that three nights more would fetch us to Cairo, at the bottom of Illinois, where the Ohio River comes in, and that was what we was after. We would sell the raft and get on a steamboat and go way up the Ohio amongst the free States, and then be out of trouble" (99). The only transportation available for Huck and Jim is a raft and a canoe, so they have no choice except to go down the river. However, going down the river to the Deep South was equivalent to going into hell for a slave in antebellum America. Jim's choice to go south seems so awkward and "against the current" that the King and Duke are easily convinced by Huck's insistence that Jim is not a runaway slave. Pretending to be innocent, Huck casually asks them, "Goodness sakes, would a runaway nigger run *south*?" (167).

Why does Jim make the dangerous trip *down* the river? It would be easier for Jim to go *across* the river to the Illinois side by raft and seek a temporary hiding place. James Tackach argues that Jim's decision is not a silly, groundless one; rather, Jim might have known that Illinois was not a desirable destination due to the high degree of anti-abolitionism there. On the contrary, Ohio was historically a friendly place for fugitive slaves (221). If Jim successfully reached Ohio via Cairo, he would have access to supporters of fugitive slaves and the branch office of the famous

Underground Railroad. Thus we can rationalize Jim's seemingly absurd flight to the south. Nevertheless, for Twain, going Southward meant looking back the past which is deeply associated with the sin of slavery or to his childhood growing up in a slaveholding society. Thus, Jim's flight to the South paradoxically reflects Twain's own flight from Southern-ness, which explains geographical errors in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.[14] Michael G. Miller follows the itinerary of Huck and Jim's journey with reference to the timeline of the novel, the actual geographical features of the basin of the Mississippi River, and its flow velocity. He finds that Twain accurately depicts the flow of the river and its environment, based on his knowledge and experience as a river-boat pilot, in the first half of the novel. After Chapter 19, however, Twain seldom refers to the geographical features along the river or the passage of the time in the narrative, and the fictional world of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* starts to deviate from the geographical reality of the Mississippi River. For example, Bricksville, Pikesville, and the Phelps Farm which Huck visits in the latter part of the novel should have been located not in Arkansas as Twain states, but further down South in Louisiana or Mississippi (Miller 203-7). Sherwood Cummings focuses on the change of the location of the Phelps Farm, modeled on Twain's uncle John Quarles' farm in Missouri suggesting that the geographical inconsistency in the novel mirrors Twain's desire for "evasion" of the problem of the South and its slavocracy: "In *Huckleberry Finn* Mark Twain moved his uncle's farm 'eleven hundred mile' downriver from Missouri to southern Louisiana, declined to adapt it to its new environment, and in his autobiographical reminiscences diverted

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[14] See Goto. After the publication of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain wrote various novels set in small towns by the Mississippi River, several of which were unfinished or posthumous. Katsumi Satouchi suggests that the geographical setting of the small town "continued to move southward in Twain's literary imagination with the advance of his age" (translation mine; 465).

our attention from both those facts by claiming that he had moved the farm ‘all of six hundred miles’ to Arkansas.”(447-48).

Such a desire for evasion of Twain causes not only the geographical inconsistency of the narrative settings but also the distortion of the narrative structure itself. Obviously, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has a circular structure. At the beginning of the narrative, Huck tells the readers that he could not stand life with Widow Douglas, who tried to “sivilize” him, and ran away from her house: “The Widow Douglas, she took me for her son, and allowed she would sivilize me; but it was rough living was in all her ways; and so when I couldn’t stand it no longer, I lit out” (17). One can immediately see that here Huck uses the same wording as the famous ending of the novel: “But I reckon I got light out for the Territory ahead of the rest, because Aunt Sally she’s going to adopt me and sivilize me and I can’t stand it” (366). After the adventure, Huck refuses to live with Aunt Sally and sets out for the Western territory. However, the use of the same wording in the beginning and the ending of the narrative suggests that Huck never finds sanctuary and is destined to keep escaping. In this sense, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* operates in a never-ending loop. This structure of going nowhere reflects Twain’s hesitation to face the problem of race, which made him nullify Huck’s resolve to “go to hell” (271) in the evasion chapters.

Obstructed by the southward current, however, Huck’s attempt to shy away from facing reality ends in failure, and he inevitably jumps inside what he tries to escape. This failure of evasion, or breaks in the circular structure of the narrative, are figuratively described in the foggy night scene in Chapter 15, in which Huck and Jim become separated from each other. This episode is significant in that it decides the development of the narrative, contributing to the abandonment of Jim’s initial plan to

head for Ohio via Cairo. One night, when Huck moves into the canoe, their raft is swept downstream with Jim on board. There is a dense fog on the river and the two lose sight of each other. Huck searches for Jim, with the help of his voice and other sounds, in vain:

> Thinks I, it won't do to paddle; first I know I'll run into the bank or a towhead or something; I got to set still and float, and yet it's mighty fidgety business to have to hold your hands still at such a time. I whooped and listened. Away down there somewheres I hears a small whoop, and up comes my spirits. I went tearing after it, listening sharp to hear it again. The next time it come I see I warn't heading for it, but heading away to the right of it. And the next time I was heading away to the left of it—and not gaining on it much either, for I was flying around, this way and that and t'other, but it was going straight ahead all the time.
>
> I did wish the fool would think to beat a tin pan, and beat it all the time, but he never did, and it was the still places between the whoops that was making the trouble for me. Well, I fought along, and directly I hears the whoop behind me. I was tangled good now. That was somebody else's whoop, or else I was turned around. (99-100; emphasis added)

Huck feels anxiety because while his canoe keeps turning around and going nowhere, Jim is being swept down the river on the raft, straight to the Deep South. Indeed, after Huck and Jim are successfully reunited, they resume going down the river looking for Cairo, and finally find out that they have passed the town at the foggy night, without knowing:

> We passed another town before daylight, and I was going out again; but it was high ground, so I didn't go. No high ground about Cairo, Jim said. I had forgot it. We laid up for the day on a towhead tolerable close to the left-hand bank. I begun to suspicion something. So did Jim. I says: "Maybe we went by Cairo in the fog that night" . . . When it was daylight, here was the clear Ohio water inshore, sure enough,
>
> and outside was the old regular Muddy! So it was all up with Cairo. (129)

A repetitive circular patterning of the events in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* could be considered an evasive gesture on the part of Twain, just like his switching of racial and regional attributes. However, the circular structure of the narrative is distorted, preventing Huck from completing his flight. If to go down the river to the South symbolically means not to go forward into the future but to go back to the past in Twain's literary imagination, Huck and Jim's journey on the raft contains inconsistencies that they physically move forward but metaphorically look backward at the same time. Their journey is inherently unnatural in that Huck and Jim go to the South to escape from the slavocracy, rather than head for the North. These inconsistencies cause the critical distortion of the circular structure of the narrative.

Twain repeatedly and rhetorically disguised himself as racial others in order to shun the emotional turmoil resulting from his regional hybridity. At the same time, he also understood that he could no more go against the current of his own consciousness, looking back on the past, than one could go upstream the river from the South to the North by raft. Previous research has disagreed as to whether the evasion chapters are satire or evasion. Some criticize Twain, arguing that he recoils

from getting to grips with the crux of the race problem, while others claim that he satirizes the unfair treatment of ex-slaves in the post-reconstruction era (when the Southern states virtually reinstated slavery by depriving African American people of their civil rights).[15] I argue that Twain's attempt to free the manumitted individual is not merely a satiric social criticism or a mere evasive gesture because of his self-restraint as a writer. Instead, Twain self-mockingly depicts his irresistible impulse toward the fruitless retreat. Though he could not help but flee from what he did not want to face, he also knew that any attempt at flight was in vain. In "Plymouth Rock and the Pilgrims," he admits that the actual offenders in the crime of human slavery mainly came from the South and the border states, thus including himself. No matter how he tried to cover up his past by switching his racial and regional attributes, he could not morally justify his participation in the slavocracy. Indeed, his attempts at rhetorical identity switching assume a tone of humor, as one can see in "Plymouth Rock and the Pilgrims," where he displays the trickster-like power of oratory to both entertain and condemn the descendants of the Pilgrims simultaneously. However, what Twain truly mocks here is his irresistible impulse toward unfruitful evasion, and this sense of futility adds a tinge of gloomy resignation to his humor.

The ambiguity of the South and the West in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* also distorts the circular structure of the narrative. Initially, the typical image of the South where white planters enjoyed the mock-aristocratic life by utilizing slave labor can only be applied to the Old South, which declined over time. Along with the expansion of Southern slaveholding society due to the Westward movement, the former Western frontier was integrated into "the South." Thus the West was

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[15] See Leonard, James S., Thomas A. Tenney and Thadious Davis. *Satire Or Evasion? Black Perspectives on Huckleberry Finn*. Duke UP, 1991. Also see Shmitz 61, Gollin 6, Cox 173, 179-80.

incorporated into the South. Furthermore, in this process of Western expansion, the United States faced a problem: when the US government newly incorporated a former territory as a state, should the new state be a slave state or a free state? This tension between the free states and the slave states paved the way for the Civil War, and it follows that Huck, who "lights out for the territory," is plunged into the very convolution of conflicts he longs to avoid.[16] Anne Norton argues that the West is "an amalgam of qualities variously attributed to North and South" because of its nature of "absorbing all" (203). Hoping to be freed from the shackles of society, Huck is absorbed into the Western territory at the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. The boy protagonist figuratively reconstructs the path of Samuel Clemens, who seceded from the Confederate volunteer army and started his own career in the West in 1861. Nevertheless, Huck's route of escape in the 1840s is engulfed in the Westward current of expansionism which triggered the Civil War. Thus his flight is also impeded by the distortion of the circular structure, the outcome of the ambiguity of the West and the South.

Unlike the journey of the Pilgrims, who headed for the New World with an unswerving faith, Twain's alter-ego Huck's attempt at "lighting out" is somewhat purposeless; a defensive desertion from the past. Looking backward is an anachronistic act. Yet *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is not merely the consequence of an anachronistic attitude. If the Southward current of the river signifies the concept of linear time, or the expansionists' view of history as progress which supported the

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[16] As Zwick concisely explains, "annexation of territory was viewed within the context of the debate about slavery" during the period of political uncertainty before the Civil War: " No anti-imperialist organization was formed to oppose the Mexican War or the annexation of territory that resulted from it because it was seen primarily as a war for the extension of slavery and opposition was channeled through abolitionist organizations" ("Mark Twain and Imperialism" 228).

Westward movement, Twain sought to counter such a rushing stream by setting out the antithesis to it; the cyclical time base in the narrative. Furthermore, developing "creative analocism," he constructed a fictional world where the positional relationship of the North and the South is arbitrarily distorted, and the difference between the West and the South is deliberately blurred.[17] Both Huck's versatile identity and the distorted geography in the narrative are products of Twain's passive evasion from his own participation in Southern slaveholding society. Twain also understood, at the time of the writing of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, that to turn his back to the past was just as impossible as to change the current of the river from Southward to Northward. Thus, at the hands of Mark Twain, the two orphans, Huck Finn in the 1840s and Samuel Clemens in 1861, travel endlessly in a distorted circle along the Mississippi River in Twain's literary imagination, where reality and fiction merge.

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[17] The term "creative analocism" was coined by Takayuki Tatsumi in *New Americanist Poetics* (275).

Chapter 4

Beyond the Territory:

Revisiting "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" and *Tom Sawyer Abroad*

At the end of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), the protagonist Huck declares to the readers that he intends to "light out for the Territory ahead of the rest, because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me, and I can't stand it" (366). The term "Territory" indicates the western wilderness that has not attained statehood—it is still the undeveloped "virgin" land where Native Americans live their lives. "Territory" is the very place Tom and Huck plan to make an expedition to: "And then Tom he talked along and talked along, and says, le's all three slide out of here one of these nights and get an outfit, and go for howling adventures amongst the Injuns, over in the Territory, for a couple of weeks or two" (365). Twain tried to tell the story of what happened to Huck, who "light[s] out for the Territory ahead of the rest" (366), but his attempts were unsuccessful.[1]

Whether they get to the Territory or not can be found in sequels of the novel. Twain wrote a series of novels—*Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894) and *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (1896)—and two unfinished works, "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" and "Tom Sawyer's Conspiracy," as sequels to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*[2] This chapter focuses on the two of these novels, "Huck Finn and

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[1] Robert Coover's *Huck Out West* (2017) shows the possible aftermath of Twain's monumental work: Huck and Tom confront harsh violence in the West in the Civil War years, which Twain never described (or could not describe).

[2] As for "Tom Sawyer's Conspiracy," Twain worked on the narrative from 1897 to 1902, only to leave it incomplete.

Tom Sawyer among the Indians" and *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, which are set not in the slaveholding community by the Mississippi River but in the western wilderness and the fictional Oriental world, respectively. Huck's next adventure to the Territory, "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" (written around 1884), could have been a direct sequel to *Huckleberry Finn*, but it was left unfinished. Unable to provide a picture of the western wilderness as a safe haven from "sivilized" society, Twain lets Huck, Tom, and Jim fly across the Atlantic Ocean in a balloon and tour North Africa in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. This novel was first serialized in the late 1893 and early 1894 issues of *St. Nicholas Magazine: An Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks*. This extravagant adventure story has been regarded as a low-quality work that was hastily written to relieve the author's financial hardships.[3] In the past two decades, however, there has been a tendency to reevaluate this sequel to the masterpiece (Giles 242–62, Martin 67–81, Tsuji 93–121, Wonham 125–28). Based on these researches, I suggest that the setting for this outrageous adventure story is, in a sense, a fictional Orient in which Twain sought to regenerate the mythic western frontier world. Edward Said employs the term "imaginative geography" to demonstrate how imperialists perceive and grasp the land of Others in his 1978 pathbreaking work *Orientalism* (54-55). Twain's fictional Orient, which I call the pseudo-Orient, however, unveils the deceitfulness of the imperialist discourse and even divulges the author's warring emotions over racial Others.

The last chapters of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, called the "evasion" episodes, have been criticized for being indecisive about the problem of slavery. The

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[3] Thomas M. Inge gives a detailed account of the publishing history of *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (4–9). For harsh commentaries and criticisms of *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, see Hutchinson 219, Lyn 245, and Emerson 180. Bernard DeVoto is an exception, who praises it as "the very best of Mark's work, frequently on a level with *Huckleberry Finn* itself" (31–32).

seriousness of Huck's moving decision to shelter the fugitive slave Jim is spoiled by the appearance of Tom and his prank to liberate the already manumitted man. The author's evasiveness and the unpleasant aftertaste the novel leaves can be understood—if not dispelled—through an analysis of these two sequels. This chapter aims to clarify that Huck's search for refuge from "sivilization" in the West fails in the unfinished "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among the Indians," as does the parallel search of Samuel Clemens, alias Mark Twain. Furthermore, I would argue that Twain reconstructs the American West as a pseudo-Orient in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* in the wake of the US expansionism to question the comfort of this pseudo-refuge. He turns the imperialist discourse "upside down" (Giles 208), and he even tries to reconcile his personal (and the national) past via the fallacy and fictionality of the pseudo-Oriental world.

1. Sam and Huck Out West

As is briefly mentioned in previous chapters, Twain himself escaped to the West in his youth, just as Huck lights out for the Territory. The parallels between Twain's real and Huck's fictional passage should be appreciated.[4] During the Civil War, Twain, or young Samuel Clemens, was a volunteer soldier in the Confederate Army, but he dropped out after two weeks. After that, he went to the West with his brother Orion, who was appointed Secretary to the new government of the Territory of Nevada in the summer of 1861. Philip A. Fanning indicates that for young Clemens, this removal to the West was nothing but a release from "the grave issues dividing the

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[4] According to Walter Blair, the location of the sequel "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among the Indians" is "part of the Oregon Trail from western Missouri to the Platte River and along the Platte to its north fork," and young Clemens "followed the same route on his way to Nevada Territory" in 1861 (83).

nation" and the "passage to a place where those questions would seem less urgent than they did in Missouri" (57). In fact, at the beginning of *Roughing It* (1872), Twain portrays the sense of liberation he felt on heading for the new world: "There was a freshness and breeziness, too, and an exhilarating sense of emancipation from all sorts of cares and responsibilities, that almost made us feel that the years we had spent in the close, hot city, toiling and slaving, had been wasted and thrown away" (6). Though it became the central topic of conversation, the Civil War was neither a pressing problem nor an immediate danger in the West.

Turning his back on the war does not necessarily mean that young Clemens changed his ideological attitude.[5] As Arthur Pettit suggests, Clemens stuck up for the Confederate States at first, and then declared his support for the Union States in 1862; he started writing articles which encouraged the Union Army at last.[6] After his ideological conversion, Clemens began using the pseudonym Mark Twain in a travelogue "A Letter from Carson City" in *Enterprise* in 1863. Based on the absence of reference to the Civil War in *Roughing It*, James Cox astutely interprets young Clemens's rebirth as a western writer: "The discovery of 'Mark Twain' in the Nevada Territory in 1863, while it had been Samuel Clemens's discovery of his genius, had quite literally been a way of escaping the Civil War past which lay behind him in

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[5] According to Fred W. Loach, Clemens, the ex-Confederate soldier, did not change his policy at this time: "It is obvious that Sam did not join Orion out of remorse, or to save Orion political embarrassment, or because he was hot for adventure. He went west because Orion urged him to go and because the venture held promise of employment" (Lorch 465).

[6] Arthur Pettit clarifies Clemens's change of mind in the Western Territory in detail: "In Nevada, Clemens did not modify his Southern convictions as once. Though there were more Northerners than Southerners in the territory, the Southern minority was loud and well organized. Clemens's permanent place of residence, Virginia City in Humboldt County, was named by Southerners and was a stronghold of secessionist sentiment. . . . Then, quite suddenly in the early part of 1862, Clemens began to realign himself. Clearly unhinged by the rapid growth of Union sentiment in the territory, he first hedged about his Southern convictions, then threw them away altogether" (26–27).

Missouri" (Cox 196). Owing to the mythical power of the western wilderness, southerner Samuel Clemens was literally reborn as western writer Mark Twain and could even dismiss the emotional turmoil he felt as the son of a slaveholder and an ex-confederate supporter, at least for a while. As Frederick Jackson Turner contends in *The Frontier in American History*, Samuel Clemens made a fresh start as humor writer Mark Twain, as did the rest of Americans going west (3).[7]

If Mark Twain's works have an autobiographical aspect, Huck, who escapes to that same territory expecting to find asylum from "sivilization" after being tormented by the absurdity of slavocratic society, serves as an alter ego for young Clemens.[8] In this regard, it is safe to say that "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians," which is narrated by Huck, reflects Twain's emotional conflict over his own identity and the race problem in postbellum America, taking over the race issue from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. At the beginning of the narrative, Tom, Huck, and Jim, who is no longer a slave, stay with Tom's Aunt Sally and Uncle Silas. Tom is tired of the life of the little plantation in Arkansas and "got pisoned with a notion of going amongst the Injuns" (*Indians* 33). Just then, Aunt Polly takes them to spend one or two months at her relative's hemp farm near the west border. Tom soon gets bored with the hemp farm and persuades Huck and Jim to go on an adventure with him to see Native Americans. After slipping out of the farm, Tom, Huck, and Jim encounter the Mills family—Mr. and Mrs. Mills; their sons Buck, Bill, and Sam; a seventeen-year-old daughter Peggy; and her seven-year-old sister Flaxy. They spend time

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[7] Of course, we have to note that young Clemens' primary motive for going west was moneymaking; Turner's thesis also mythologizes perpetual westward motion that entails the exploitation of Native Americans as a "fresh start" or "perennial rebirth" (3)—as if economic motives were not underwriting such movements and emotions.

[8] See Justin Kaplan 11, Gerber "Mark Twain's 'Private Campaign' " 42, and Quirk 3.

together, and the boys learn the skills necessary for western life: lassoing, horseback riding, and firing. Moreover, the boys and the Mills get acquainted with several Native Americans and form a friendship. But one day, the Natives attack their camp, tomahawk and scalp Mr. and Mrs. Mills and their son, and kidnap Peggy, Flaxy, and Jim. Only Tom and Huck are left whole. One consolation is that Tom and Huck successfully come across Peggy's fiancé, Brace Williams, who has been brought up among the Native Americans and "knowed all about Injuns" (42). The boys and Brace start to pursue captors and captures, but their pursuit is impeded by repeated disasters: Tom and Huck getting lost in the fog, an encounter with the gang, a flood, and so forth. Finally, Twain put down his pen without revealing the fates of the characters in trouble.

Though he did experience a stay in the Western Territory, Twain heavily relied on reference materials in writing his narrative set in the West. For Twain, "the West," which once gave him a chance to make a fresh start, could not be a source of inspiration. After finishing writing *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the summer of 1884, Twain started to collect books on the West, including dime novels and travelogues. Exciting adventures in the western wilderness were one of the most favored subjects in the popular fiction publishers Erastus and Irwin Beadle released in 1860 as *Beadle's Dime Novels*. According to Pfitzer, the western motif became a standard item not only in cheap novels but also in other entertainments, such as the Wild West Show:

> Indeed, by the 1880s, the western "motif" had become so conventionalized that it began to parody itself in melodramatic comic operas like Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and in hundreds of quickly written western dime-novels in which "endless repetitions" of plot,

> themes and stock characters contributed to a perversion of form and function. (43)

It is quite natural that Mark Twain, who gained fame as a western humorist, attempted to write a novel on the West, employing his famous boy protagonists, Huck and Tom. Nevertheless, his memories of the West had already been too hazy to compose a lively fictional account in 1884, twelve years after the publication of *Roughing It* and twenty-three years after his move to the Nevada Territory. Inevitably, he had to fill in his fading memory of the West with other materials, especially Richard Irving Dodge's *The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants*, *Being a Description of the Plains*, *Game*, *Indians*, *&c. of the Great North American Desert* (1877) and *Our Wild Indians*: *Thirty-Three Years' Personal Experience among the Red Men of the Great West* (1883) (Blair 85).

Based on Twain's undue dependence on reference materials, Walter Blair asserts that "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" is a failure (89). Although "much of the impact of *Huckleberry Finn* comes from the boy's unconscious revelation . . . no such revelations can run through the Indian narrative, since Huck's creator never hits upon a theme which such an unconscious revelation can develop" (89).[9] I would suggest, however, that the reason why Twain did not add an ending to the story is not merely a technical one. If Twain's works have an autobiographical aspect, or more precisely, if Twain sought to virtually retell his uncomfortable past through his creative activity, as argued in previous chapters, it

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[9] Blair goes further to enumerate the defects of the unfinished novel: "For the most part, however, compared with Huck's best passages, the style is flat and undistinguished. One reason, one suspects, is that the events invented for this narrative were not so truly felt as events in narratives based upon Twain's own experiences. A second reason, surely, is that, instead of consistently utilizing Huck's peculiar qualities as a first-person narrator, the author uses them only occasionally" (Blair 89).

follows that the description of the fictional West and the sudden end of the narrative mirror the emotional turmoil of the writer. As stated, the West is the very place which allowed the young Samuel Clemens to start again as Mark Twain, just as it is the destination of Huck when he lights out at the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Yet Twain should also have understood at the time of writing that the mythic power of the western frontier was about to disappear. Twain's memory of the West dimmed, and the area called "frontier" was itself diminishing, though there was still about a decade until its "closing." One may condemn "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" as a frivolous piece of fiction without Twain's experiential knowledge. Still, the fictional West written in the 1880s is itself worth investigating in considering how the author sublimated (or, failed to sublimate) his own "regenerative" experience in the 1860s.

2. Shifting Images of Native Americans

Despite his criticism of slavery and compassionate attitude toward racial Others in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain has consistently expressed deep disgust against Native Americans in his writing throughout the decades (Fiedler 123). It is noteworthy that Huck and Tom's longing and loathing for the Native Americans uncovers their sentiment about the western wilderness. I would suggest that Twain utilizes the shifting images of Native Americans as a mirror that reflects Huck's disillusionment about the Western Territory.[10] In the course of the narrative, Twain

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[10] Twain's expressions of Indianphobia are too numerous to mention. His anti-Native American sentiment may have come from the generations before him. His maternal great-grandmother, Jane Montgomery, suffered an attack by a band of Native Americans in Kentucky when she was twenty years old in 1781, and her father and brothers were killed by them. It is highly possible that young Samuel Clemens's view of Native Americans was molded by this blood-smeared family lore. It is not a mere

follows Tom's yearning for and disillusionment with Native Americans. At first, Tom insists that they are "the noblest human beings," though he has not met Native Americans: "Injuns ornery! It's the most ignorant idea that ever—why, Jim, they are the noblest human beings that's ever been in the world" (35). His image of the "noble savage" is based on James Fenimore Cooper's novels, and when Tom, Huck, and Jim finally encounter Native Americans, Tom is utterly fascinated by them: "Tom he was just wild over the Injuns, and said there warn't no white man so noble" (43). However, Tom's fascination is to be tarnished in no time; the Mills family and the three men are attacked by Native Americans. Some are killed, some are abducted, and

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coincidence that the heroine of "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among the Indians" has the name of one of her daughters—Peggy. On March 20 in 1862, young Clemens wrote his impressions on the Native Americans he encountered in Nevada Territory to his mother, Jane Lampton Clemens:

> But if you want a full and correct account of these lovely Indians—not gleaned from Cooper's novels, Madam, but the result of personal observation—a strictly reliable account, which you could bet on with as much confidence as you could on four aces, you will find that on that subject I am a Fund of useful information to which the whole duty of man isn't a circumstance. For instance: imagine this warrior Hoop-de-doodle-do, head chief of the Washoes. He is five feet seven inches high; has a very broad face, whose coat of red paint is getting spotty and dim in consequence of accumulating dirt and grease; his hair is black and straight, and dangles about his shoulders; his battered stove-pipe hat is trimmed all over with bits of gaudy ribbon and tarnished artificial flowers, and he wears it sometimes over his eyes, with an exceedingly gallus air, and sometimes on the back of his head. . . . (Clemens par.5; emphasis added)

Twain also demonstrates how "book Injuns and real Injuns is different" in a short piece "The Noble Red Man," first published in *The Galaxy* in 1870. There is plenty of vitriol in his words: "He is little, and scrawny, and black, and dirty; and, judged by even the most charitable of our canons of human excellence, is thoroughly pitiful and contemptible" (443), "There is nothing figurative, or moonshiny, or sentimental about his language," "He is ignoble—base and treacherous, and hateful in every way" (444), "Such is the genuine Noble Aborigine. I did not get him from books, but from personal observation" (445). As a matter of fact, Twain had few chances to mingle with Native Americans in his life. It is worthwhile to note that he kept loathing Native Americans despite the fact. In *Roughing It* (1872), he discloses the "false" image of Native Americans again: "I had been over-estimating the Red Man while viewing him through the mellow moonshine of romance" (149). In addition to in "The Noble Red Man," he declares his abomination against Native Americans in *Roughing It* (1861), "The Esquimau Maiden's Romance" (1893), "To the Persons Sitting in Darkness," and "Letters from the Earth." For further information, see Harris, McNutt, and Driscoll's *Mark Twain among the Indians*.

only Tom and Huck are left untouched. At this point, Tom bitterly admits that his image of Native Americans is a fictional one:

> "Tom, where did you learn about Injuns—how noble they was, and all that?" He [Tom] give me a look that showed me I had hit him hard, very hard, and so I wished I hadn't said the words. He turned away his head, and after about a minute he said "Cooper's novels," and didn't say anything more, and I didn't said anything more, and so that changed the subject. (50)

Unlike Tom, Brace, who was brought up among Native Americans, does not cherish the illusion about them at all. Instead, unlike Natty Bampoo in *Leather Stocking Tales*, Brace "hated them [Injuns] like snakes, and always said he wouldn't trust one any how or any where, in peace time or war time or any other time" (44). Moreover, Huck dares to say: "When he [Brace] talked about Injuns, he talked the same as if he was talking about animals; he didn't seem to have much idea that they was men" (61). Finally, the narrative breaks off in the middle of Chapter 9; Tom has realized that "book Injuns and real Injuns is different" (79) by this time.

When Twain wrote "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians," the questions of the westward movement and the Indian policy were actively discussed again. The representation of cruel Indians in the novel can be interpreted as a reflection of such a political background. Besides, Twain's intention was to satirize the contemporary melodramas by portraying unromanticized images of Native Americans. Contrary to Twain's image of brutal Indians, Native Americans are valued as noble savages in early nineteenth-century American novels such as Lydia Maria Child's *Hobomok* (1824), Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), and Catharine

Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* (1827).[11] It is partly because of the political and geographical background surrounding the indigenous people: at that time, political oppression forced Native Americans to leave their homelands as they were pushed out west. Although the conflict between whites and Native Americans still raged in the West, Native Americans were almost entirely out of the sight of whites in the East, especially after President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act in 1830, which caused the Trail of Tears in 1838.[12]Along with these events, the tragic fate of Native Americans became a popular subject matter for novels on the Eastern coast, even though the threat of Native Americans had not disappeared in the western wilderness.[13] Brace's antagonism toward the Indians with whom he lived for a long time deviates from the typical narrative structure, and Tom's awareness that "book Injuns and real Injuns is different" (79) displays Twain's sarcastic outlook on romantic melodramas.

Twain's sarcasm also targets a mechanism of romanticization itself, which has contributed to establishing the myth of the western frontier. In 1884, he was well aware of the limits of the western frontier and its mythical power. As shown above,

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[11] For the transition of the image of Native Americans, see Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization* and Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian.*

[12] As is well-known, it was important for white settlers to evacuate Native Americans from what is called "the virgin land." Patrick Wolfe, the leading authority on the theory of settler colonialism, argues the difference between the treatment of African Americans and that of Native Americans in US history. According to Wolfe, while the increase of the African American population was recommended due to the fact that while "a relationship premised on the exploitation of enslaved labor requires the continual reproduction of its human providers," "a relationship premised on the evacuation of Native people's territory requires that the peoples who originally occupied it should never be allowed back" (3).

[13] Concerning the difference between the existence and the image of Native Americans in the West and the East, Debra Rosenthal states: "Western settlers, in contrast, still attacked by Indians who resisted their colonizing efforts, were less apt to accept the myth of Cooper's noble savage. Indeed, the name 'Cooper' and 'Cooper's Indians' became pejorative code words for easterners' romanticized and sentimental views of Indians" (42).

the western wilderness was the new world for the young Samuel Clemens, where he could forget his uncomfortable past as a son of a slaveholder and an ex-Confederate volunteer soldier, and, precisely for that reason, Twain had Huck light out for the Western Territory at the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. As young Clemens escaped from the chaos of the Civil War and his conflict as a Southern slave owner's son, he emancipates Huck from the "sivilization" which underpinned the evil of slaveholding society. Nevertheless, Twain also knew that the mythical new world was not perpetual. The eleventh US census (conducted in 1890) announced that the frontier region in which the population density was less than two persons per square mile no longer existed, and the Wounded Knee Massacre took place in December of the same year, which was the last conflict between the US government and Native Americans. The frontier, as a place where "civilization" and "savageness" meet, disappeared with the last official resistance of the Native Americans. The premonition of the loss of this refuge casts a dark shadow over the fate of Huck in "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians." He discovers that the barren wilderness is far from the safe haven he expected, and the West has none of the liveliness that Turner suggests. After the attack by Native Americans, Huck narrates how dismal and sterile the place looks: "It was the biggest, wildest, levelest world—and all dead; dead and still; not a sound. The lonesomest place that ever was; enough to break a body's heart, just to listen to the awful stillness of it" ("Indians" 49).[14]

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[14] In "The Californian's Tale" (1906), Twain also uses the word "lonesome" to qualify the dreariness of the West: "It was a lonesome land! Not a sound in all those peaceful expanses of grass and woods but the drowsy hum of insects; no glimpse of man or beast; nothing to keep up your spirits and make you glad to be alive" (104). The short story was first published in *The Book of the Author's Club: Liber Scriptorum* in 1893 and republished in the anthology *The $30.000 Bequest and Other Storie*s in 1906.

Although Twain gives names to Native Americans in "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" (Blue Fox and Hog Face), they are no more than a mere object of the boy's curiosity; he uses them to reveal their stereotypical barbarity. Roy Harvey Pearce notes that "the Indian became important for the English mind, not for what he was in and of himself, but rather for what he showed civilized men they were not and must not be" (5). That is, the idea of "savagery" was invented by the whites who needed an antithesis to Western civilization to both identify themselves and justify the annihilation of the native people during the era of conquest. Ever since the image of Native Americans in white peoples' minds—whether the image of Noble Savages advocated in Romantic literature or the image of coldhearted savages in dime novels—has nullified their real identity, they have been utilized as mere rhetoric in molding the national selfhood. In other words, Native Americans were not only butchered and deprived of their land but their existence itself was also usurped as a mere rhetorical device. Twain also utilizes the stereotypical image of the barbarous Indian to destroy the illusion of the myth of the western frontier dramatically.

The peril of Peggy's chastity is a conventional method of showing the disturbing aspects of life in the West.[15] Brace, her fiancé, has told Peggy to kill herself with a little dirk-knife if she is caught by Native Americans to save her purity. When Tom and Huck describe the tragic incident, Brace is utterly crushed but also thankful to think that Peggy's virginity will be retained through the use of the dirk. But Huck, who does not understand why Brace would wish for her death, sees Peggy lend her precious item to one of the natives. His ominous feeling proves right, and

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[15] Twain deals with the prospect of the rape of a white settler's wife by Native Americans again in the short story "The Californian's Tale" (1893). At the end of "Letters from the Earth," he gives a more deliberate description of Native Americans' atrocities against a white family in the Minnesota Massacre of 1862 at the end of posthumous "Letters from the Earth," written from 1904 to 1909.

Huck finds the dirk on the ground. He conceals it and is unable to tell Brace this cruel fact. Despite his effort to patch things up for the moment, they finally discover conclusive pieces of evidence in Chapter 9. Huck runs across a ragged and bloodstained piece of Peggy's dress, and, in the same instant, Brace spots a white woman's shoe prints and four stakes driven into the ground and guesses her "hard luck" (78). Huck feels certain that the shoe prints are Peggy's. Afraid of Brace's grief, however, he hides the piece of the dress as well, and the narrative breaks off. Whether Peggy is safe or not is unclear. All the traces suggest her harsh fate, if not decisively. Debra Rosenthal gives a reason why Twain was unable to finish the narrative here. On the assumption that the narrative is, or should have been, a comic satire on the romanticized image of Native Americans, Rosenthal concludes that Twain "could not extricate himself from the formal genre problem of mixing humor and rape" and left the narrative unfinished at last: "Since rape is no laughing matter, the miscegenation theme in 'Among the Indians' influences its genre contours; rape and miscegenation tilt the genre of 'Among the Indians' from comedy to melodrama" (50).[16] Nevertheless, if this narrative aimed to depict the aftermath of Huck's westward movement and its deadlock, Twain had already achieved his aim by the time he laid his pen down. It was not impossible for Twain to finish the work: instead, he chose not to finish it.

3. Lost in the Wilderness

The ex-fugitive slave, Jim, who once played an essential role in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by confronting Huck with the moral issue of slaveholding society,

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[16] Other research ascribes the abrupt end of the narrative to the difficulty Twain might have had in portraying the harsh fate of Peggy: see Kime 330–31 and Blair 91.

is unnaturally ignored in this unfinished story, especially after the attack by Native Americans. As for Jim's safety, Brace tells the boys that "I know why they didn't kill the nigger, and why they haven't killed him yet, and ain't going to, nor hurt him" (56), and no one worries about the free black man anymore. Previous research has not paid much attention to the fate of Jim, and Blair's assumption that this episode itself is also borrowed from Dodge's *The Plains of the Great West* (89) does not fully explain the awkward absence of Jim. To solve this question, I focus on Huck's brief comment on Jim's vulnerability in antebellum America. At the beginning of "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians," Huck explains why Jim, who was auspiciously manumitted in the previous work, acts together with the boys, not with his own dear family: "Jim went too, because there was white men around our little town that was plenty mean and ornery enough to steal Jim's papers from him and sell him down the river again; but they couldn't come that if he stayed with us" ("Indians" 34).

In the evasion chapters of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Jim, who had already been emancipated by Miss Watson, is captured as a fugitive slave and forced to attempt an escape from Phelps Farm in order to satisfy Tom's mischievous spirit. Previous research has interpreted this absurd attempt at freeing the manumitted man as Twain's severe sarcasm on the unfair treatment of African Americans in the post-Reconstruction era.[17]As Saidiya Hartman acutely demonstrates, the Reconstruction failed, and "emancipation appears not less the grand event of liberation than a point of transition between modes of servitude and racial subjection" (6). In the post-Reconstruction era, institutionalized racial discrimination against African Americans grew intense in the South. Freedmen were "legally" deprived of their rights by Black

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[17] See Shmitz 61, Gollin 6, and Cox 173, 179–80.

codes and other cunning social restrictions, only to find themselves subject to quasi-slavery. Jim's freedom, which was finally achieved at the end of the previous work, is soon endangered at the beginning of "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians." He is eventually deprived of it again at the hands of Native Americans. Consequently, "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" picks up the thread of Twain's emotional turmoil over race and moral issues that began in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. The lost-paradisiacal western wilderness and the absence of Jim in "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" reflect Twain's continuous agony over the race problem, which follows him even after he lights out for the Territory.

The death-like images of the wilderness lead into the episode of the nameless stray. When Huck and Brace search for Tom, who is lost in the fog, they come upon a moribund victim, tormented both physically and mentally. Brace continues to search for Tom, while Huck finds himself forced to stay at the camp with the scary man, who is "just skin and bones and rags" (66). According to previous research, Twain might have been inspired by Dodge's writings (Blair 87–88). Dodge narrates that when he was once in Texas, he went hunting with "the acting post surgeon, an enthusiastic sportsman, but a very nervous excitable man" and got lost in fog: "After we had been out a few hours a heavy fog settled down upon us, completely shutting out the sun and all landmarks. . . .We were wandering objectless in a circle. . . . We had nothing to eat, and had found no water. He could not sleep, and by morning was almost insane" (Dodge 48–49). While Dodge simply recalls the incident, Twain dramatizes it into Huck's exceedingly shocking contact with the grimness of the wilderness.

The stray man was tormented by his long wandering both mentally and physically. Somewhat intimidated, Huck describes the man's terrible condition at length:

> He laid there with his eyes shut, breathing kind of heavy, and muttering and mumbling. He was just skin and bones and rags, that's all he was. His hands was all scratched up and bloody, and his feet the same and all swelled up and wore out, and a sight to look at. His face—well, I never see anything so horrible. It was baked with the sun, and was splotchy and purple, and the skin was flaked loose and curled, like old wall paper that's rotted on a damp wall. His lips was cracked and dry, and didn't cover his teeth, so he grinned very disagreeable, like a steel-trap. I judged he had walked till his feet give out on him, and then crawled around them deserts on his hands and knees, for his knees hadn't any flesh or skin on them. (66)

The man's mind is distracted—he suddenly gets wild and cries "Lost, my God, lost!" at intervals (66). The only evidence that he was once a rational person is a gold locket: "He had a little gold locket on a gold chain around his neck, and he would take that out and gaze and gaze at it . . . It had a most starchy young woman in it, dressed up regardless, and two little children in her arms, painted on ivory, like some the widow Douglass had of her old anzesters in Scotland" (67). The gold locket could well be interpreted as the symbol of the "sivilization" from which Huck had fled and in this sense, it should have been a detestable item for Huck. But here the locket offers a sense of relief. Huck is completely scared of the man who has lost his senses, but the golden locket reassures him that the man is not a native beast in the wasteland. He was once a gentleman with a wife and children, and there are still remnants of human

affection toward them in his devastated mind, as symbolized in his attitude toward the elegant locket. Huck's fear of the insane man turns out to be a fear of the wilderness. For Huck, the western borderland is a fatal wilderness far away from the homeland rather than a regenerative virgin land. Huck tries to nurse the man in vain. The sufferer passes away in the middle of the night, and Huck wakes to find himself lying beside the dead body:

> And just then comes one of them blind-white glares of lighting that turns midnight to daytime, and there he laid, grinning up at me, stone dead. . . . He had got at our grub whilst I was after the mule, and over-eat himself and died, and I had been sleeping along perfectly comfortable with his relics I don't know how long, and him the gashliest[sic] sight I ever struck. (68)

The horrible death of the wanderer embodies the desolate image of western frontier right before Huck's eyes. As Slotkin argues, Turner-style "regeneration" is regeneration through violence, if it is regeneration at all (5).

The mythicized term "western frontier" initially surpasses the limit of geography. The concept of the western frontier has a slippery, versatile nature: the frontier line steadily moved westward along with the march of settlers in a physical manner. It was this abstract, incorporeal nature of the western frontier that enabled the southerner Samuel Clemens to transmigrate as the western humorist Mark Twain metaphorically. Nevertheless, Twain unveils the mythic ambiguity of the western wilderness with his own hands by scrupulously describing the white stray's tormented body. If we identify Huck who escapes to the West at the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* with Samuel Clemens, Huck also experienced a simulation of death in the wilderness after lighting out for the Territory by the dead wanderer's side, just

like young Samuel Clemens. Yet Huck fails to find the site for revival, and the narrative breaks off. The imaginative West in "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" foretells the disappearance of frontier, or imperial America's expansion beyond the ocean and colonialization and oppression of racial Others.

4. Huck's and Sam's Frontier—the Orient

About a decade after the aborted attempt to write a sequel to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* set in the western wilderness, Twain finally published *Tom Sawyer Abroad* in 1894. The narrative begins some time after the journey of the previous work. Huck, Tom, and Jim, who is no longer a slave, have safely returned to St. Petersburg, Missouri. Tom, who is famed as an adventurer, enjoys being the center of the townspeople's attention, but he soon longs for a new adventure. Concurrently, a balloon is to be launched from the county town, and Huck, Tom, and Jim go to see the spectacle. When the three step on the balloon to inspect it, the strange vehicle accidentally lifts off. Tom insists on pursuing the adventure, and the three operate the balloon, managing to fly across the Atlantic Ocean and reach the African continent. Flying over the Sahara, they arrive in Egypt and then journey further to the Holy Land. Then, Tom finds that his favorite corn pipe is broken, and he sends Jim back home to get another one. Jim successfully returns to St. Petersburg, but he is discovered by Aunt Polly, who is angry at the naughty boys, so they reluctantly head for home, and the story ends abruptly.

Tom Sawyer Abroad is an odd nineteenth-century American version of *One Thousand and One Nights* that is set in a fictional Orient. Indeed, Twain does not use the word "Orient" in the narrative. The setting of the trio's journey—the Atlantic Ocean, the Sahara, Egypt, and the Holy Land—does not precisely fit the definition of

the word "Orient," which refers to the countries of East Asia. Nevertheless, I argue that the term "Orient," or, to be precise, "pseudo-Orient," which shares the evasive, hard-to-grasp nature of the term "western frontier," best represents the setting of *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. As Lewis and Wigen indicate, the word "Orient" is a cultural, not a geographical, term, and "the scholarly Orient was never coincident with the Asia of conventional geography texts" (54). Western civilization has bundled together alien non-Western cultures and collectively estranged them as the "Orient," so "the Orient could encompass North Africa, a zone that had never been considered part of Asia; even southeastern and southern Europe could be identified as having certain Oriental traits" (54). The erratic nature of the term allows us to assert that the setting of this adventure novel is the Orient.[18]

In considering Huck's pseudo-Orient, *Tom Sawyer Abroad*'s status as a sequel to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* warrants attention: Twain's attempt to construct the Western Territory Huck heads for at the end of the previous work results in failure in "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians." He then reorganizes the western wilderness as the fictional Orient in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. Both "Orient" and "frontier" are tricky, whimsical words: they refer to ideological, nonexistent regions. The extent of regions to which the term "Orient" refers shifted eastward as European geographical knowledge did: "It was with the expansion of European colonial networks into the Indian Ocean and South China Sea that the conceptual Orient began to push eastward" (Lewis and Wigen 54). Similarly, the American frontier shifted westward and finally reached the Pacific coast. According to Richard Francaviglia, the Far West and the Far East were superimposed on each other in Americans' mind in

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[18] Kazuhiko Tsuji astutely points out that "they [Tom, Huck, and Jim] travel not in actual Africa, but in the Western image of the Orient" (105).

the nineteenth century, and Oriental elements were often applied in descriptions of the American West. Starting with Lewis and Clark's 1804–1806 Corps of Discovery expedition, pioneers put the western virgin land to the plow in nineteenth-century America. At that time, the image of the far-away West was superimposed on that of the Orient, which was coincidentally developed and received attention (15).

Twain redescribes the Western Territory that Huck longs for at the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as the pseudo-Orient in the sequel *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. Huck and Tom face the harsh "reality" of the western frontier, which demythologizes Turner's thesis in "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians"; they are wholly battered down by the frontier's violence and slaughter. When Huck finally reaches the pseudo-Orient—that is, when the novel is written—the Indian Territory is about to disappear: the land ceded to Native Americans has already been stolen from them, and the Oklahoma Organic Act (enacted in 1890) led to Oklahoma statehood (1907) and the extinguishment of the Indian Territory. Twain interplays these time frames in his vacillating mapping of the Frontier-Orient.

In *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, the pseudo-Orient takes the place of the lost western frontier, and the balloon gives Huck a sense of security as the party flies across the barren desert: "We was used to the balloon now and not afraid any more, and didn't want to be anywheres else. Why, it seemed just like home" (48). Later, he says, "Land, I warn't in no hurry to git out and buck at civilization again," which reminds us of the famous conclusion of the monumental work (49). The coziness of the balloon conjures up the raft in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Tsuji 106–08). Contented with a carefree life on the river, Huck agrees with Jim that "there warn't no home like a raft, after all" and continues: "Other places do seem so cramped up and smothery, but a raft don't. You feel mighty free and easy and comfortable on a raft"

(*Huckleberry Finn* 156). Huck, who happily recounts that he has fled the irksomeness of "sivilization" in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, seems to have discovered the "territory" as a safe haven in the balloon up in the sky.

Previous research has criticized the temporal and spatial incoherence in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* as a severe weakness. Indeed, its plot—the band safely flies across the Atlantic and tours North Africa, with Jim easily returning to Missouri from the Middle East to retrieve Tom's favorite corn pipe—is nothing less than absurd. And yet, that absurdity is precisely the reason why the narrative world of *Tom Sawyer Abroad* could be considered Twain's fictional new Western Territory, where spatial and temporal contradictions are made possible, as is the case with lions in the Sahara Desert. By creating the mythical and hyper-spatiotemporal Orient, the pseudo-Orient, Twain attempts to restore the territory that was to be lost with the disappearance of the frontier. Turner's frontier theory itself is, in part, a form of romance in the name of history and realism. Twain examines and appeals to a romance that, like the balloon, suspends social and political reality. Bruce Michelson assumes that Twain "escapes" from realistic ideology to romanticism in composing this narrative: "Mark Twain may have been a realist, but realism by no means limits him; and, ironically enough, it was romance that provided escape from the supposedly liberating realist ideology" (114). Michelson attempts to point out the weakness of the narrative's implausibility, but this criticism paradoxically supports the hypothesis advanced here. Huck, Tom, and Jim literally take flight into the "romantic" world of *One Thousand and One Nights*, and Huck, who makes fun of Tom's geographical lecture, also constructs the pseudo-Oriental world and finds shelter in its falseness. In this falseness, where reality and fictionality are intertwined, Sam Clemens' passage west overlaps that of Huck's. For

Twain, to restore the frontier is to reclaim the shelter where he can reconcile with the past.

5. "Erronort" Tom's Cartography and the Pseudo-Orient

Huck, Tom, and Jim journey in this pseudo-Oriental world, where alluring events—encounters with caravans, sandstorms, mirages, and treasure hills—occur one after another. One night, the three drink in the beauty of the moonlit scene, and Tom, who tends to show off his book knowledge, likens the spectacle to the world of *One Thousand and One Nights*: "Tom said we was right in the midst of the Arabian Nights now. He said it was right along here that one of the cutest things in that book happened" (49).[19] Tom's romanticism discloses his desire for foreign lands—that is, his desire for labeling everything he encounters as exotic and incorporating it into the Western edifice of knowledge, granting him control over it. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said defines the term as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (3). Orientalism describes the large body of Western (European) knowledge of the Orient, which enables westerners to brand the East as "the Other" and to dominate it. In short, western imperialists cunningly invented the discourse of Orientalism to justify their colonization, just like they molded the concept of "savagery." Fiction is one of the technologies of Orientalism. Tom is a typical westerner who categorizes the cultural Other as the Orient and dreams of the exotic, foreign lands described in books.

As stated earlier, the borders of both the Orient and the frontier moved eastward or westward. We must note that the source of this movement was none other

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[19] According to Susan Nance, nineteenth-century Americans read the translation of *One Thousand and One Nights* and consumed its novelty (11).

than the colonizers' lust for expansion. Although Said devises the model of Orientalism to explain European encroachment of "the East," there is a strong tie between European imperialism and US manifest destiny that can be argued beyond an appeal to Said's thesis. According to Wail S. Hassan, Orientalism in the US "facilitat[es] the internal colonization of Native Americans and African Americans (acquiring in the process a racial dimension), and fuel[s] a discourse on American imperialism as part of Manifest Destiny" (27). Though the notion of Orientalism tends to leave aside political economy, and, specifically, the globalization of capitalism that both colonialism and westward expansion instrumentalize, Karen J. Leong argues that "American orientalism took a form specific to and supportive of the US's emerging role as a worldwide moral and economic force" (7). The West's imperialistic Orientalism and the US's lust for expansion, which is justified by the flowery rhetoric of manifest destiny, are fundamentally alike, creating an analogy between "going east" and "going west."

Likewise, Tom's romanticism and imperialistic expansionism are two sides of the same coin, as seen in an episode when he teaches Huck and Jim about the relationship between Greenwich Mean Time, time differences, and longitude lines on maps. In early nineteenth-century America, education in geography was considered highly important for "indoctrinating children into America's privileged position in the world and setting the stage for expanding the new empire westward" (Martin 68). Tom's rhetoric in his lecture on geography also reflects contemporary US expansionism. Likewise, in Jules Verne's *Five Weeks in a Balloon* (1863), the protagonist ventures to Africa in a balloon to explore the unknown land.[20] Tom's

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[20] Twain was well acquainted with Jules Verne's works. According to Twain's notebook, he started writing a novel on the theme of the balloon in 1868 but

imperialistic sentiment can be seen in his rhetoric, which superimposes the shape of the Sahara on the US: " 'Well,' he says, 'this Desert is about the shape of the United States, and if you was to lay it down on top of the United States, it would cover the land of the free out of sight like a blanket. . . .' " (65). Tom eloquently spells out geography by referring to the recent war with Mexico, eventually transforming the vast desert in North Africa into the US with his art of narration.[21]

The boy's imperialistic tendencies come to a head in the latter part of the narrative when the party finally reaches Egypt. At the sight of the pyramids and the Sphinx, the three are overcome with excitement. Tom and Huck make Jim stand on the head of the Sphinx, holding the American flag in his hand: "We landed Jim on top of the head [of the Sphinx], with an American flag to protect him, it being a foreign land" (189). Then the boys drive the balloon away to see the size of the Sphinx in comparison with the black man: "The further we got away, the littler Jim got, and the grander the Sphinx got, till at last it was only a clothespin on a dome, as you might say. That's the way perspective brings out the correct proportions, Tom said" (189). Jim, who is "standing on his head and working his legs the way a frog does" (189), degrades himself to the stereotypical coon in the minstrel show.[22] An ex-slave hoists the flag into the African sky at a white boy's command, and Tom dares to say that

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abandoned it when the English version of Verne's *Five Weeks in a Balloon* (1863) was published in 1869: "While this was being written, Jules Verne's 'Five Weeks in Balloon' came out, & consequently this sketch wasn't finished' " (*Notebooks & Journals* 511). In addition, Twain criticized his brother Orion Clemens' literary work, which made references to Verne on February 21 1878: "You make it appear that you are re-writing a portion of Jules Verne's book. You will have to leave out your gorilla, your disordered compass & your trip to the interior world" (Clemens par.2).

[21] Hilton Obenzinger goes so far as to say that the boy's bird's-eye view from the balloon is "a burlesque of this older tradition of the Orientalist panorama," aligning it with imperialistic US rhetoric in the 1890s that justified conducting the Spanish-American War and annexing the Philippines (258).

[22] See Wonham's "The Minstrel and the Detective."

"Julus Cesar's[sic] niggers didn't know how big he was, they was too close to him" (189), divulging his imperialistic, unconscious arrogance.

However, Twain maps the cunning mechanism of Orientalism onto fictionality in the pseudo-Oriental world. As of 1894, he was already conscious of the mechanism of Orientalism, self-criticizing its fallacy through Tom's romantic imperialism in the pseudo-Orient. Tom's mapping of the pseudo-Oriental world is full of errors, exemplified by his misspelling of the word "aeronaut" in his letter to Aunt Polly. Tom joyously signs his name, "From Tom Sawyer, the Erronort" (31). One can easily notice that his misspelling mirrors the word "error." If, as J. B. Harley argues, maps are merely "rhetorical images" (37), then it seems here that imperialistic domination is no more than an empty strategy on a map, and Twain's narrative reveals its arbitrariness. Huck embarrasses Tom when he learns that the actual surface of the earth is not shaded as the multicolored map is: "Tom Sawyer, what's a map for? Aint' it to learn you facts? Well, then, how's it going to do that if it tells lies? That's what I want to know" (43). These nonsensical episodes expose the fallacy of imperialistic discourse. Charles D. Martin astutely observes that Twain exposes imperialistic design and the shallowness of geographical pedagogy through the episode of Tom's "lecture," during which Huck and Jim laugh away in vain (69). Huck, who appears to be an innocent fool, plays a crucial role in relativizing and even further negating Tom's imperialistic narrative: a narrative that in effect maps the pseudo-Oriental world. Although they look at the same object simultaneously, Huck and Tom perceive entirely different things.

The confrontational relationship between imperialistic Tom and the duo of Huck and Jim, who unconsciously ridicule Tom's lectures, reflects Twain's noncommittal attitude to US imperialism in the early 1890s. In the article "Mark

Twain Home, An Anti-Imperialist," which appeared in the *New York Herald* on October 15, 1900, Twain explains how he changed his beliefs from supporting to opposing imperialism. Twain uncritically supported the expansion of his country before the Spanish-American War, that is, during the period of writing *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, just as Tom does in the narrative. He transformed his policy and devoted himself to anti-imperialism in 1898, when the US annexed the Philippines following its victory in the Spanish-American War: "It should, it seems to me, be our pleasure and duty to make those people [the people of the Philippines] free, and let them deal with their own domestic questions in their own way. And so I am an anti-imperialist" (qtd. in Zwick 5). It was in the 1900s that he became the vice president of the American Anti-Imperialist League and wrote a series of anti-imperialist essays, including "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" (1901), *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905), and "The War-Prayer" (written in 1905 and published posthumously in 1923).[23] *Tom Sawyer Abroad* was written in Twain's period of transition from nonradical citizen to anti-imperialist, but it is also true that the pseudo-Oriental world in the narrative self-referentially exposes the arbitrariness of the ruler's eyes in the sky, and the very person who reveals this falseness is Huck.

Of course, we cannot simply appreciate Twain's official conversion to anti-imperialist. Just like his withdrawal from the confederate volunteer army did not necessarily mean that he abandoned southern policy and the sense of belonging to slaveholding society, the declaration of his opposition to the US and other Western powers' imperialistic foreign policy could not be proof of Twain's moral sense. Rather, this conversion could have been the product of his political influence as a

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[23] Regarding the details of how Twain came to support anti-imperialism, see Zwick (xvii–xlii).

literary celebrity. “The Fable of Yellow Terror,” written from late 1904 to early 1905, is an allegory of the Russo-Japanese War. Comparing Western powers to butterflies and Asians to bee tribes, Twain criticizes the Western powers’ enlightenment activities in non-Western countries in a sarcastic way. At the same time, he seems to sympathize with and even incite the Yellow Peril frenzy. Thanks to the butterflies’ enlightenment campaign, the bee tribes learned the taste of honey and how to use stings, and it turns out that bees are going to surpass butterflies in the near future. At the end of the short piece, the grasshopper warns the prominent butterfly, saying that bee tribes “will be able to banish all the butterflies someday” (429). I argue that it is undeniable that the motivation for Twain’s conversion to anti-imperialism was a highly sophisticated political decision. He could not unlearn his discriminatory views on racial Others. At the same time, however, he never turned his face away from his own moral contradictions. The fallacious fictional Orient anticipatorily reflects Twain’s warring emotions behind the scathing eloquence over US imperialism.

6. The Haunted Desert

If the lost western frontier and the fictional Orient have an expansionistic desire in common, Huck cannot be immune from it as long as he indulges himself in the dream of the new frontier. While Huck laughs off Tom’s lecture and unconsciously unveils the imperialists’ deceitful measure in the pseudo-Oriental world, it is undeniable that he also conspires with Tom to map the fictional Orient, relies on its authority, and finds his emotional mainstay in it. Nevertheless, the fictional Orient is not truly a dreamlike paradise, and Twain does not allow Huck to find peace of mind in the pseudo-Orient. Just as the territory where Huck sought refuge from “sivilization” is depicted as a lifeless, barren land in the sequel “Huck Finn and Tom

Sawyer among the Indians," the fictional Orient in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is also haunted by the shadow of death. Although critics dismiss the work as a light, childish novel, Huck, Tom, and Jim look death in the eye throughout their journey, starting with that of the professor, who falls from the balloon he created. The most gruesome image of death was when Huck, Tom, and Jim came across a caravan in the middle of the desert: they found people of all ages and both sexes dead in the sand. Huck narrates that the dead bodies, which have lain there for years, are "dried by the sun and dark and shriveled and leathery, like the pictures of mummies you see in books" but still look "just as human," "just like they was asleep" (52). The three take the beautiful swords, pistols, and small boxes of the deceased and then try to bury them, but it is impossible because there is nothing around but sand. Helplessly, the boys take to the air again, leaving behind "that black spot on the sand" (53).

This episode alone is sensational enough, but there is a more ghastly scene, which Mary Mapes Dodge, the editor of *St. Nicholas Magazine*, expurgated from the narrative. Dodge thoroughly expurgated uncultured language, racist remarks, and ill-mannered childish behavior which she considered inappropriate for the juvenile readers of her magazine.[24] Though she overlooked the encounter with "mummies" in the desert, the editor purged another scene, which was to be included in the University of California Press edition published in 1980.[25] The purged scene included. In the scene, the three are terrified to see the body of a dead man, who appeared to be staring

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[24] For Dodge's censorship of the work, see Inge 4–6. Twain refers to her expurgation in a letter to Fred J. Hall in 1892: "The rest of Sawyer Abroad [*Tom Sawyer Abroad*] went to you some time ago. . . . It is finished, and doesn't need another finish; but I have left it so that I can take it up again if required and carry it on. I tried to leave the improprieties all out; if I didn't, Mrs. Dodge can scissor them out" (*Letters to His Publishers* 324).

[25] See *Tom Sawyer Abroad; Tom Sawyer, Detective: The Authoritative Texts with All of the Original Illustrations* (1980).

at the nearby body of a dead girl: "A man was setting his hands locked around his knees, staring out his dead eyes at a young girl that was stretched out before him. He had straight black hair hanging down by his cheeks, and when a little faint breeze fanned it and made it wag, it made me shudder, because it seemed as if he was wagging his head" (52). The boys try to bury the girl's body but give up when they see the dead man's hair shake, as if he is refusing the burial of his beloved one. The real cause of the mysterious massive deaths, however, is revealed in a later episode that escaped the editor's deletions. The trio watch from the air as a sandstorm consumes a caravan. All of the members of the caravan die instantaneously:

> Where the caravan was before there wasn't anything but just the sand ocean now, and all still and quiet. . . . All them people and camels was smothered and dead and buried—buried under ten foot of sand, we reckoned, and Tom allowed it might be years before the wind uncovered them. . . . Tom said: "*Now* we know what it was that happened to the people we got the swords and pistols from. (78)

Thus, the band unexpectedly solves the mystery of the mummies in the sand. Having watched the lively caravan from a distance, they are shocked by the sudden deaths.

This episode could be seen as one of the devices employed to attract readers' curiosity about the exotic world. Twain refers to famous literary works, including *One Thousand and One Nights*, Sir Walter Scott's *The Talisman* (1825), and Jules Verne's *Dick Sands* (1878) along with other unique experiences to make the narrative entertaining (Gerber 244). Contrary to the comical exchanges of banter among the travelers, however, the death in the desert gives a narrative a dreadful tone. Of course, the portrayal of death itself is not a new element in Twain's works—consider Injun Joe's horrible last moment in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. What matters here is

that the graphic description of mummies in the desert is reminiscent of the death of a wanderer in "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians." Harsh death confronts Huck in both the frontier and the Orient, both of which he expected to be safe havens. The situations and numbers of deaths of the white wanderer in "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" and the caravans in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* are completely different. Nevertheless, the double image of the forbidding western wilderness and the desert unites the American frontier and the Orient. As stated, violence without regeneration is one way of seeing the frontier, and in Robert Coover's *Huck Out West*, a tributary sequel to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* set just after the Civil War, mercenary genocide and a lifeless or inanimate landscape drive the plot. Yet this deadly or lifeless landscape prevented Twain from completing the story set in the western wilderness, and he created the pseudo-Oriental world in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, only to face the harshness of the wilderness again.

In "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians," Jim remains lost in the wilderness, abducted by Native Americans. In order to console the boys, Brace swears that Native Americans rarely kill African Americans. This means that Jim, who once gained his freedom from slavery, is enslaved by racial Others once again, this time at the hands of Native Americans.[26] As Jim, who had been manumitted, comes under the yoke in the wilderness, the shadow of race problems also falls on *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. When the band reaches the African continent, Jim is excited to see "where his originals come from," and he stares with his "eyes bugged out" (37). This sequence unavoidably evokes the memory of Africans abducted and taken as slaves from their home to the American continent. Twain does not fail to acknowledge that Africa, or

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[26] Historically, from the late eighteenth century through the Civil War, some Native American tribes held African Americans in slavery. See Krauthamer 2–3.

the pseudo-Oriental world in the narrative, is not merely an arena for adventure but also the origin of America's national embarrassment: slavery. Carried by flowing rivers, the shadow of slavery follows Huck. After the deaths in the caravan in the sandstorm, the balloon flies through the desert and finally takes the three characters to the Nile River, "a snaky stripe" running through "a wide country of bright green" (88). Its flowing waters relieve Huck's spiritual thirst, similar to the Mississippi: "If you will fool along over three thousand miles of yaller sand . . . the green country will look so like home and heaven to you that it will make your eyes water *again*" (88). As the journey down the Mississippi first seems to lead Huck and Jim to freedom in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the grand, moving waters of the Nile set Huck's mind at peace. Nonetheless, Huck unconsciously reveals the fictionality of the paradisiacal waterside, saying that the Nile "wasn't real" for him, just like a mirage in the desert (88). The Nile in the pseudo-Orient mirrors the flow of the Mississippi, which eventually brings the two to the Deep South and the heart of slavery. Historically, the Mississippi was compared to the Nile in the early nineteenth century, when US expansion west of the Mississippi joined forces with the colonization of the Nile Basin: "The semiotic and ideological links between the Nile and the Mississippi were formative links for the iconography of western expansion" (Trafton 16). Although Twain, intentionally or unintentionally, avoided mentioning this fact in his fictional works, the Mississippi River served as an important transportation network for the domestic slave trade—it was not the road to freedom. At the turning point of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Huck and Jim overlook the fork at Cairo and end up going down the river toward the Deep South, notorious for the harsh treatment of slaves. It cannot be a mere coincidence that in 1818, John G. Comegys named Cairo, Illinois for its resemblance to Cairo, Egypt.

As mentioned above, Jim, who had already been emancipated, obeys Tom and Huck and plays the fool in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, and his minstrelsy reaches its most extreme point when he waves the American flag from the head of the Sphinx. One can easily read into this episode the problematic situation of African Americans, still the subjects of oppression in the post-Reconstruction era when the work was written. This scene might be based on an actual experience that Twain describes in *Innocents Abroad* (1869). While going sightseeing at famous ancient Egyptian structures, Twain and other tourists enticed an Arab man to climb up and down a pyramid: "He grew small and smaller till he became a bobbing pigmy. . . . Up, up, up—at last he reached the smooth coating—now for it. But he clung it with toes and fingers, like a fly. He crawled this way and that . . . and stood at last, a black peg on the summit, and waved his pigmy scarf!" (630). Young Twain disdainfully likens the Arab man on the pyramid to a pigmy and a fly in the same way that the "innocent" Huck describes Jim as "working his legs the way a frog does" in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. The binary image of the Arab and the African American on the ancient Egyptian monument poses the foreign/domestic problem of the oppressed non-white races. The emotional turmoil over the race problem experienced by Twain, who grew up in the slaveholding society of the Mississippi Basin, hounded him in his later years, extending beyond the boundaries of the United States through the analogy of the Mississippi and the Nile. In the late nineteenth century, when fresh land for development in the West had been depleted, the expansionists sought an alternative "virgin land" in the Far East.[27] Both

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[27] "In becoming a Pacific power, America had fulfilled a European people's destiny and, like Columbus, had gone ashore, unfurled the royal banner, offered a prayer of thanksgiving, and taken possession of the land. America's Far West become the Far East, where Indian-fighters became 'goo-goo' fighters in the Philippines and Indian savages became Filipino 'niggers,' and where a war of extermination was pursued with no less determination than the chastising of the Iroquois urged by George Washington in 1779. . ." (Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams* 28).

lusts for going east and west are impelled by political/economic desire: “adventures” are from the start “ventures,” or undertakings that include the usurpation of Native American land and chattel slavery—or “physical capital.” The world Twain maps, or the suspended realities Twain depicts, show that globalizing/modernizing networks of exploration, appropriation, and expropriation are at times at odds with, but also supported by, frontier myths or romances the fallacy of which he shrewdly exposes.

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn cannot escape the charge of being evasive in its treatment of the freedman Jim and its attack on slavery. Huck’s (and Sam Clemens’) warring emotions over the absurdity of this evil social institution are resolved in neither the landmark work nor its sequels: “Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians” and *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. Far from that, Tom and Huck’s pseudo-Oriental world in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, the substitution for the lost frontier, reveals Twain’s ambiguous attitude toward American imperialism before the Spanish-American War in 1898, that is, another form of oppression of non-white people which extended to outside the country. Through the double image of the American frontier and the Orient, Twain attempts to depict a safe haven where one can reconcile the personal/national past—that is, the territory that no longer exists—only to be faced with the memory of slavery, a recurrent domestic matter in antebellum America, which was shifted to a foreign land. The shadow of slavery was to haunt Twain in his later years when he witnessed the colonial oppression of non-whites by whites in the British colonies, which he addresses in *Following the Equator* in 1897, two years after the publication of *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. Mark Twain is destined to keep searching for the territory where reality meets fictionality, the safe haven which is as slippery as a mirage in the pseudo-Orient, just like his alter-ego, Huckleberry Finn.

Chapter 5

"Our Fellow-Cannibals": Rereading Romances in *Letters from Hawaii* and Other Hawaiian Writings

Mark Twain's *Letters from Hawaii* is based on his twenty-five pieces of reporting for the *Sacramento Union* during his four-month stay in the Sandwich Islands from March 7 to July 19 in 1866. This travelogue describes the culture, economy, and political situation of the Hawaiian Islands (known to Europeans and Americans as the Sandwich Islands). Although he had wandered from place to place in the western and the eastern parts of his home country by that time as an apprentice, a steamboat pilot, and a newspaper reporter, it was the first opportunity for the young Twain to set foot on foreign soil. Encountering Native Hawaiians was an eye-opening experience for him. In Arthur Pettit's words, it was "an entirely new racial situation that came closer to unseating his established convictions about dark-skinned people" (32). At the same time, as Amy Kaplan suggests, the encounter with Native Hawaiians in the Sandwich Islands in 1866 "took Twain homeward into the American South," where African slaves were exploited on sugar plantations (75): ". . . his trip to Hawaii in the immediate aftermath of the war led him to the memories of the prewar past, both the nostalgia for and the nightmare of slavery. It, therefore, allowed him to defer these memories and offered a form for their displaced expression" (75). Her argument concerning Twain's attitude toward racial others both inside and outside the United States—that is, African Americans and Native Hawaiians—astutely connects

domestic and foreign issues, bridging the gap between the 1860s and the 1890s.[1] However, Twain's uneasiness about and yearning for contact with racial others in the Pacific has yet to be thoroughly examined.

The encounter with Native Hawaiians lingered in Twain's memory for decades. In 1884, while forging his masterpiece *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, he made an abortive attempt to write a novel on Bill Ragsdale, a half-white, half-Native-Hawaiian interpreter who died of Hansen's disease. Many scholars have grappled with the significance of the unfinished "Sandwich Islands Novel," but it is difficult to evaluate an incomplete work: without the conclusion of the story, all we can do is speculate as to Twain's intention. Yet it is telling that Twain could not complete this work, thereby revealing what appears to be his conflicted feelings about his experience on the islands. Moreover, Twain's remarks on the Sandwich Islands can be found scattered throughout his correspondences in 1866, in the lectures that lifted him to national fame, and in his retrospection in *Following the Equator* (1897). This chapter analyzes Twain's writings on the Sandwich Islands and reconstructs the unfinished "Sandwich Islands Novel" as an unfinished romance with reference to two

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[1] Although he wrote *Letters from Hawaii* after the Civil War, when slavery no longer existed, Twain likened Native Hawaiians to African American "slaves": "the natives all laid down on the deck as thick as Negroes in a slave pen…" (*Letters* 196). He even suggests at one point that Native Hawaiians could be an alternative workforce to black slaves:

> In the Islands wild sugar land is worth from $1 to $20 an acre, mills and stock cost about the same as in Louisiana. The hire of each laborer is $100 a year—just about what it used to cost to board and clothe and doctor a Negro—but there is no original outlay of $500 to $1,000 for the purchase of the laborer, or $50 to $100 annual interest to be paid on the sum so laid out. (260)

He saw Native Hawaiians as identical to black slaves and dared to suggest that a planter could make much profit from Native Hawaiians' labor. Twain thus announces to his readers that the labor of dark-skinned people offers riches and prosperity. At that point in 1866, perhaps he had nostalgia for the "old days" in the slave society or the days before the Civil War. What is certain is that in his travel tale, he encourages white Americans to recreate slavery—the "peculiar institution" in the South that had already been abolished—in the islands of the Pacific.

other singular romances by Twain, a short piece "Dining with a Cannibal" (1870) and the unfinished "The Man with Negro Blood" (c.1884). Through the analysis of three different romances written from the 1870s to the 1880s, we can better see changes in Twain's attitude toward the racial others both inside and outside the nation in the age of American expansionism.

1. Letters from the Virgin Land

Twain wrote *Letters from Hawaii* during the travelogue boom as well as during the growth of US diplomatic policy toward the Kingdom of Hawaii.[2] Advances in transportation led to a tourist boom in the early-to-mid-nineteenth-century Europe and the United States, sparking a desire for travel books as well. *Letters from Hawaii* was one of them.[3] In it, Twain gives a graphic portrayal of sceneries, peoples, customs, and manners in the islands, and humorously tells how he enjoyed horse riding, which was a popular attraction among white visitors. He does not forget to mention a comical dialogue he had with a Native Hawaiian man when Twain tried to rent a horse from him; he then warns potential tourists against the shrewdness of the native people.

Twain's *Letters from Hawaii* played an essential role in promoting not only

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[2] Captain James Cook "discovered" the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 and named them in honor of his patron, then First Lord of the Admiralty John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich. After this, Kamehameha the Great unified the island of Hawaii in 1790, then ruled all the islands of Hawaii 1795 with the help of Western powers and weapons and established the Kingdom of Hawaii. Since the 1820s, the Kingdom had been tossed about by waves of changes caused by its diplomatic relationship with Euro-American countries, such as the arrival of Christian missionaries.

[3] The diplomat Benjamin Moran refers to the popularity of travel books in *Trubner's Bibliographic Guide to American Literature* (1859) as follows: "This would seem to be the age of travel literature, judging from the many narratives now published, and the general excellence of such works. No nation has given more good books of this class to the world since 1820 than the United States, considered with regard to styles or information" (lvi).

tourism but also the possibility and importance of American expansion into and across the Pacific. In the early nineteenth century, there were three political groups in the Hawaiian Islands: Native Hawaiian, British, and American. While Twain was staying in the Kingdom as a correspondent, the United States secretly planned to annex the islands. Twain urges the economic importance of the Sandwich Islands in his twenty-five pieces of correspondence by highlighting its role as a supply base for whaling ships, its potentially profitable sugar industry, its cheap and plentiful labor force of Native Hawaiians and Coolies, and its products, such as coffee beans and fruits: "It is a matter of the utmost importance to the United States that her trade with these islands should be carefully fostered and augmented. Because—it pays. These can be no better reason than that" (20). He also gives a full account of the situation of Christian propagation on the islands as well as the political scene. As a reporter, he observes the Hawaiian legislature where Native Hawaiians, English, and American leading figures sit together and reports how the talks were going there: "I found the Legislature to consist of half a dozen white men and some thirty or forty natives. It was a dark assemble" (107). In this sense, Twain's *Letters from Hawaii* met the needs of the times.

In addition to useful reports and comical sketches, Twain provides lyrical descriptions of the islands' beautiful nature, stirring the yearning of his readers for this paradise of the Pacific. Twain evidently regarded his trip to the Sandwich Islands as an extension of his journey to the western frontier, as he republished his letters to the *Sacrament Union* in his travelogue *Roughing It* (1872). The Sandwich Islands was another virgin land further to the west, and its gateway was California:

> We have found the true Northwest Passage. . . . The gateway of this path is the Golden Gate of San Francisco; its depot, its distributing

> house, is California; her customers are the nations of the earth; her transportation wagons will be the freight cars of the Pacific Railroad, and they will take up these Indian treasures at San Francisco and flash them across the continent. (*Letters from Hawaii* 274)

As Caron astutely indicates, "Always an undercurrent in the topic of relations between the Kingdom and the United States, annexation provided Clemens with the opportunity to express early and often his view of the prospect of an overseas American empire" ("Blessings" 61).

Indeed, it was a common idea at that time that the Sandwich Islands were the object of the desire of the United States' Manifest Destiny.[4] Still, Twain's attitude towards the annexation of Hawaii remains controversial. Based on Twain's propagation of the economic advantages over the annexation in the *Letters from Hawaii*, Frear concludes that he "was an ardent advocate of annexation" (215). Some other researchers argue that even though he referred to the advantage of annexation, Twain had rather a negative view of it, often stressing the harmful influence that Western intervention, such as missionary work, had on Native Hawaiian people. Vogelback asserts that "Even when Mark points out apparent advantages . . . the whole undertone is one of mockery" (123).[5] Some previous researches assume that

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[4] On January 9, 1873, the editor of *New York Tribune* introduces Twain's column on the Sandwich Islands using the term "Manifest Destiny": "Our . . . correspondent, Mr. Mark Twain, draws a striking picture of *the little kingdom in the Pacific toward which our Manifest Destiny is reaching with great desire*. . . . the honest and clear picture of the kingdom of Hawaii, as we see it through Mark Twain's extravagant fun, shows it about as good as kingdoms go . . ." ("A Toy Kingdom" p. 4; emphasis added). Gary Okihiro qualifies the period of the annexation of the Philippines and Hawaii in 1898, and John Hay's "Open Door" policy in 1899 as "the second period of America's manifest destiny" (*Margins and Mainstreams* 27). The Pacific during the late nineteenth century was a "new frontier" and an "new empire" for the United States, and as "the nation's 'Far West' became the 'Far East,' race, ethnic, gender, class, and ideological diversities had to be subsumed beneath the banner of empire" (Okihiro, *Common Ground* 25).

[5] Also see Caron: "Clemens never advocated annexing the islands. While the

his pro-annexation comments in *Letters from Hawaii* and his lectures on the islands were influenced by the public sentiment at that time as well as the tone of the *Sacrament Union*.[6]

Regardless of whether he supported the annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom or not, Twain undeniably employs the rhetoric of expansionism in *Letters from Hawaii*. Narratives of expansion often glamorize such adventures as an interracial romance—that is, a romantic encounter with the unknown racial other in feminized, foreign soil.[7] Twain's 21st letter from the Sandwich Islands relates a comic episode

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Sacramento Union letters do show some sympathy for the cultural imperialism of the American missionaries, Mark Twain in those letters is more accurately characterized as ambivalent at best about any American involvement in Hawai'i" ("Blessings" 61). When the death of King Kamehameha V on December 11th 1872 rekindled the debate on the annexation of Hawaiian Kingdom, Twain openly expresses his critical view on it in an article on the *New York Tribune* on January 9th, 1873:

> We must annex these people. We can afflict them with our wise and beneficent government. We can introduce the novelty of thieves, all the way up from street-car pickpockets to municipal robbers and government defaulters, and show them how amusing it is to arrest them and try them and then turn them loose-some for cash, and some for "political influence." We can make them ashamed of their simple and primitive justice. ("A Toy Kingdom" 123).

Moreover, in his letter to Whitelaw Reid, which was written a few days prior to the contribution to the *New York Tribune*, Twain plainly advances his opinion: "To speak truly, I would rather those islands remained under a native king, if I were there, but you can easily see that that won't suit those planters" (n.pag.).

[6] Jim Zwick astutely indicates that Twain changed his comments on the annexation during his lecture tour, depending on the sentiment of the audiences: "Available texts and reviews indicate that Twain's western lectures supported the annexationist position by repeating the material about the sugar industry and California trade from his earlier letter for the Sacramento Union. When he took the lecture east, however, that material was apparently dropped, and he placed more emphasis on the destruction of the Hawaiian people by the 'disease' of civilization." (230). Hunt Hawkins takes a skeptical view of Twain's enthusiasm on the problem of annexation itself: "he had no interest in annexation as a more general phenomenon" (35).

[7] According to Joan Pong Linton, "in the narrative invention of the New World, the domestic closure that gives husband mastery of women as property finds analogous expression in promising adventurers the domestication of a rich and feminized land" (3). The glamorization of the colonists' desire as "romances" remained for decades as a kind of a familiar ploy. Citing H. Addington Bruce's *The Romance of American Expansion* as an example, Zwick explains "a popular view of America's rise to world power at the beginning of the twentieth century that sees it as a smooth and logical transition from the westward expansion across the continent that preceded it"—that is, "a continuous 'romance' of expansion," which "was promoted after the Spanish-American War by proponents of imperialism to justify annexation of Spain's former

entitled “Venus at the Bath” that reminds us of expansionists’ clichés: “At noon I observed a bevy of nude native young ladies bathing in the sea, and went down to look at them. . . . I piled their clothes up on a boulder in the edge of the sea and sat down on them and kept the wenches in the water until they were pretty well used up” (*Letters* 240). The beautiful Native Hawaiian girls symbolize the New World of the Sandwich Islands, where Western powers, including the United States and the United Kingdom, plan to exert their control. Twain’s gaze on healthy maidens reflects the expansionists’ desires. During his stay in the Sandwich Islands, Twain contributed to the development of colonial romance narratives by hiding the fact of Hansen’s disease and instead vividly emphasizing the beautiful Hawaiian nature and maidens. In this sense, *Letters from Hawaii* acts as a kind of interracial romance, an imperialist's rosy one-sided propaganda.

In this dream of western expansion, it is crucial that the savages are always savages who need civilizing by westerners and that the boundary between self and other, civilized and uncivilized, is always maintained. While reporting on the political and cultural situation in the Kingdom of Hawaii and propagating the economic advantages of overseas expansion as a correspondent, Twain cultivates and establishes his own style of writing in *Letters from Hawaii*. He uses three different styles of language in this work: reportage of the political, cultural, and economic situation in the Sandwich Islands; the first-person narrative; and comical dialogues between Twain and his fictional companion, Mr. Brown. Making full use of these three literally styles, Twain depicts Native Hawaiians from his original point of view, along with Hawaiian culture and nature. And following Twain’s unique viewpoint

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colonies” (“Mark Twain and Imperialism” 228).

reveals his obsession for mixing or blurred boundaries between self and other.

When Twain and a group of American tourists enjoyed a long horse ride in the island of Oahu, they find a massive amount of human bones scattered on the ground of the old battlefield and are engrossed in collecting bones as souvenirs: “All around everywhere, not three feet apart, the bleached bones of men gleamed white in the moonlight. We picked up a lot of them for mementoes. I got quite a number of arm bones and leg bones—of great chiefs, maybe, who had fought savagely in that fearful battle in the old days . . .” (59). Twain notes white men and women’s strange conversation over human bones, “their queer newly-acquired property”:

> The conversation at this point took a unique and ghastly turn. A gentleman said:
>
> “Give me some of your bones, Miss Blank; I’ll carry them for you.”
>
> Another said:
>
> “You haven’t got bones enough, Mrs. Blank; here’s a good shinbone, if you want it.”
>
> Such observations as there fell from the lips of ladies with references to their queer newly-acquired property:
>
> “Mr. Brown, will you please hold some of my bones for me a minute?” And, “Mr. Smith, have you got some of my bones; and you have got one, too, Mr. Jones; and you have got my spine, Mr. Twain. Now don’t any of you gentlemen get my bones all mixed up with yours so that you can’t tell them apart.” (*Letters from Hawaii* 59-60)

Not only the dead but also the living can be objects of such mixing. Watching the traditional hula dance for the first time, Twain admires the “perfect concert” of the dancers’ movement, swaying “as if they were part and parcel of a single individual”:

> It was performed by a circle of girls with no raiment on them to speak of, who went through with an infinite variety of motion and figures without prompting, and yet so true was their "time," and in such perfect concert did they move that when they were placed in a straight line, hands, arms, bodies, limbs, and heads, waved, swayed, gesticulated, bowed, stooped, whirled, squirmed, twisted, and undulated as if they were part and parcel of a single individual; and it was difficult to believe they were not moved in a body by some exquisite piece of mechanism. (*Letters from Hawaii* 71)

Here, Twain indulges himself in the conceit of mixing, strange images of exchangeable human bones and an aggregate of hula dancers.

What is noticeable is that objects of mixing are always Native Hawaiians, and Twain sometimes describes a kind of "uncleanliness" in their "body contact," as he openly looks down on them. He depicts them packed on a boat, along with animals, fleas, and other goods: "As soon as we set sail the natives all laid down on the deck as thick as Negroes in a slave pen, and smoked and conversed and captured vermin and ate them, spit on each other, and were truly sociable" (*Letters from Hawaii* 196). One can say that Twain's disgust for Native Hawaiians' intimate body contact concerns the issue of hygiene. Twain also expresses his disgust when he sees Native Hawaiians enjoy their traditional food "poi": "Many a different finger goes into the same bowl and many a different kind of dirt and shade and quality of flavor is added to the virtues of its contents" (69). He hurries away from this scene and firmly refuses to become involved in any such mixture.

Twain is not the only travel writer who refers to the difference in the sense of hygiene. Still, there is no denying that his aversion to "mixing" is obsessive. The

fourth letter from Hawaii suggests the possible reason of Twain's obsessive evasion from mixing. In the comic scene of the letter, Mr. Brown, Twain's fictional traveling companion, complains about the horrible state of the bedroom infested by mosquitoes: "You look at them raw splotches all over my face—all over my arms—all over my body! Mosquito bites!" (33). Mr. Brown emphasizes that not only do mosquitoes annoy, but they also bite his skin and suck his blood. He complains that he "was eternally chawed up," for mosquitoes "swarmed in there and *jammed their bills through my shirt and sucked me* as dry as a life preserver before I got breath again" (emphasis added; 33-34). It was at the turn of the century that the fact that some notorious diseases are spread via mosquitoes was scientifically proved.[8] When Twain wrote the travelogue in 1866, he could not have known the menace of the hematophagous insect. Yet Mr. Brown, his alter-ego, nervously talks as if to be bitten by mosquitoes is fatal to him, which makes this scene laughable.

Nevertheless, we cannot laugh away Mr. Brown's exaggerated fear. Leprosy, also called "*Mai Pake*" or "Chinese disease," was present in the Sandwich Islands at least from the 1830s. Although there is no certain proof, it was believed that the source of the infection in the islands was a Chinese immigrant worker (Inglis 33):

> As early as 1823, missionaries noted medical cases that may have involved some aspects of leprosy, though its confusion with early stages of syphilis tend to discount their accuracy. Although it may never be certain how or when leprosy was brought to the islands, its

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[8] In 1881, a Cuban doctor, Carlos Finlay, suggested that yellow fever might be transmitted by mosquitoes, not by direct human contact. The yellow fever commission members in the U.S. Army—Walter Reed, James Carroll, Aristides Agramonte, and Jesse William Lazear—then successfully proved Finlay's hypothesis. After this, the English doctor Sir Ronald Ross demonstrated that mosquitoes transmitted malaria in 1897. In 1906, dengue fever was also proved to be spread via mosquitoes.

> early incidence in Hawai‘i has most often been associated with Chinese immigrants. (Inglis 34)

Shortly before Twain visited the islands, the Kingdom tried to gain control of the leprosy epidemic: “. . . with the approval of King Kamehameha V, on January 3th, 1865, the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands passed the Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy” (Inglis 50). Although Twain never mentioned the leprosy epidemic in *Letters from Hawaii*, he was well aware of the menace of the disease. He visited “the hideous *Mai Pake* Hospital & examined the disgusting victims of Chinese Leprosy” on June 29 in 1866 (*Notebooks & Journals Vol. 1* 118). Yunte Huang suggests Twain’s intention was not to frighten the readers who could be future tourists or to dampen the expansionists’ enthusiasm (*Transpacific Imaginations* 14).

Twain might have been aware of the threat of infectious diseases, at least as early as in 1867. During his tour around Europe and the Holy Land in 1867, which would become his travel book *Innocents Abroad* (1869), Twain visited a leper hospital in Damascus and got cholera, or cholera morbus the very next day (464-65). Sander Gilman construes the causality between his contact with the lepers and the contraction of the disease, assuming that his suffering from cholera could be a revelation of his existential fear: “His association of the world he has entered with disease has now infiltrated his very being, his inner sense of self” (100). The fictional Mr. Brown is Twain’s alter ego. In that sense, Twain also shared Mr. Brown’s fear of being sucked dry by mosquitoes. His excessive reaction against blood-sucking insects is not merely a mere comical episode in a travelogue on the tropical islands. Rather, Twain expresses his aversion for the transgression of bodily boundaries here.

2. Who Are the Cannibals?

When western expansionists met native peoples in the so-called New World, their insistence that the natives were savages who needed to be civilized served as an excuse for usurping their lands. The expansionists often referred to cannibalism to show native people's savagery: "Cannibalism is the ultimate signifier of the 'primitive,' for it represents a complete rejection of civilization" (Ivison 126). As Vincent Woodard also argues, "[i]n a European colonialist mode of thinking, the presence of cannibalistic others marked a philosophical boundary, a threshold of human versus nonhuman experience" (69).[9] Saying that "they are cannibals" constructs an inviolable boundary between westerners and natives, including Native Hawaiians. At the same time, cannibalism could be seen as an ultimate form of "merging": "In cannibalism, the image of merging is heightened and intensified, is carried to a spiritual plane through its use in ritual; beginning with the acquiring of special powers by consuming parts of the slain (heart, hand), it culminates in the total absorption of the eater and the eaten in each other, a total sharing of identities" (Slotkin, *Regeneration* 125). Twain, who once showed a strong reaction against the bodily transgression in *Letters from Hawaii*, also understood these two countervailing natures of cannibalism.

In the fifteenth letter written on June 25 in 1866, Twain details the rescue of fifteen men who had belonged to the clipper ship *Hornet*. The vessel went up in flames on May 3, and the survivors had been drifting on a boat for forty-three days. Twain refers to the possibility that the desperate men could violate the taboo of

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[9] Woodard expounds on the problem of cannibalism and otherness: "It helped Europeans and white Americans establish the rigid boundaries of real, of the humane and inhumane, of chaos and temporal/spatial order, of honorable and dishonorable social status in the process of empire and reality building" (69).

cannibalism, but he makes it clear that they did not: "The men seems to have thought in their owns minds of the shipwrecked mariner's last dreadful resort—cannibalism; but they do not appear to have conversed about it" (154-55). Here, Twain implies that any men could become cannibals.[10] The boundary between savage and civilization could easily be transgressed, which caused a curious misunderstanding among some audience members at his lecture in Jamestown, New York in January 1870.[11] After his stay in the Sandwich Islands, Twain spoke about his experiences on a lecture circuit entitled "Our Fellow-Savages of the Sandwich Islands" in 1869. Contrary to the attitude toward Native Hawaiians expressed in *Letters from Hawaii*, he dared to declare them "our fellows," which led the appearance of protest letter signed as "many citizens" in *The Jamestown Journal*:

> I confess I did not comprehend his lecture, as I did not [comprehend] the subject announced on the bills. "Our fellow-cannibals"! Now what does it mean? Cannibals are men who eat folks, ain't they? And if they are our fellows, it means *we* eat folks too, if I understand it correctly, don't it? Is this true? (qtd. in Lorch "the Failure at Jamestown" 316; italics original)

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[10] Twain evidently had a growing interest in cannibalism during and after his stay in the Sandwich Islands. On his way back to San Francisco on July 26, Twain noted a passage from "Forty-Five Day's Sufferings" in *Ocean Scenes, or, The Perils and Beauties of the Deep* (1848) as follows: "Where did you get that excellent venison at this time of the tear? It isn't venison—it is a steak of that dead nigger." This short piece is "an account of the tribulations of a crew stranded at sea in a ship," which "includes a lurid description of the murder and consumption of a Negro who is part of the ship's cargo" (*Notebooks & Journals vol.1* 136). His short story "Cannibalism in the Cars" (published in 1868 in *The Broadway Annual* magazine and later republished in *Sketches, New and Old* in 1875) portrays a group of men who were trapped on a train during a snow storm and forced to resort to cannibalism.

[11] Twain gave his first public lecture on the Sandwich Islands on the west coast in the fall of 1866 and then in towns along the Mississippi River and in New York in the spring of 1867. He also went on lecture tours from 1869 to 1870 and in 1873.

The author misstates "savages" for "cannibals" as the title and subject of Twain's lecture and struggles to restore the distinction between colonial and native.[12]

As if mocking the good citizens of Jamestown, Twain dared to publish a mock-travel report in which the narrator details the dinner with the king of the Islands of the Pacific in January 1870. It was a short piece titled "Dining with a Cannibal" appearing in a column called "Around the World" in the *Buffalo Express*. Although which islands the King reigns is not clear (there is only a note to the title, saying, "The same being the King of Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean"), it is highly plausible that the material for this sketch was drawn from his stay in the Sandwich Islands, considering the fact that he gave lectures on it in the Northeast at that time and the narrator's reference to "poi," made out of the taro-root "in the Sandwich Islands and the Marquessas [sic]," as well as to "the poor common *Kanakas*" (145). The king entertains the narrator at the table by explaining table manners of Kanakas in detail and how they prepare their favorite delicacy, a baked dog with yam. Then the king offers the narrator the main dish, a Frenchman, his friend of thirteen years' standing and brother-in-law:

> Try some of the human being? By George, this fellow us done to a charm. You'll like him. He was a French man—splendid chap—young and hale and hearty, beautiful to look upon. Do you prefer white meat or dark? Let me help you to some of the breast. Ah me, I have known this youngster for thirteen years— fished with him, swam with him, sailed with him gave a couple of my sisters and four

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[12] As Fred Lorch indicates, it is not likely that James Redpath, who was the agent for Twain's lecture tour, used the phrase "Our fellow-cannibals of the Sandwich Islands." Indeed, the advertisement for the lecture carried the words "Our fellow-savages of the Sandwich Islands."

> aunts to him. I loved him. He was always good. He is good now. (147)

After the king complains that the cook deep-fried the man instead of boiling him, he realizes that the cooked man is not the Frenchman but his brother whom he has been long separated:"Oh my brain reels! This hair a Frenchman's hair? There *must* be some mistake! A horrid suspicion bursts upon me! Ah, what is this I see?—this thing?—this accusing mark! *A strawberry on the left arm*!—it is, it is, my long-lost brother!" (148; italics original). It turns out that "the sweetheart of the Frenchman had made a surreptitious exchange of marketing in the king's kitchen before daylight on that fatal day": "She had bought the king's brother from a wandering tribe that belonged in the great wilderness at the other end of the island" (149). Of course, the Frenchman's lover did not know that the man she bought was the king's brother. The narrator concludes this awkward story by saying, "The girl and the Frenchman escaped from the island in a canoe that very night and were happily married. Or drowned, I don't know which. I would have liked to taste that Frenchman" (149). This episode follows the typical structure of the colonialist's horrible fantasy of the savage king savoring the human flesh of a white man. However, the structure is easily inverted when the narrator unknowingly eats the flesh of the king's brother. The "civilized" narrator who is supposed to be an American devours the "savage" man of the Pacific. At the king's table, the Frenchman turns out to be the savage king's brother, and the man from Western civilization turns into a cannibal. Twain, who showed his disgust against "mixing" in *Letters from Hawaii*, well understood that the binary opposition of civilization and savagery could easily be blurred. The encounter with the "exotic other" constantly reminds subjugators of the risk of trespass. In 1870, Twain was aware of this risk and no longer took part in the promotion of the expansionists'

romance, as he did not give a full account of the fate of the Frenchman and the Native Hawaiian girl in "Dining with Cannibals." After the course of two decades, Twain turned his eyes towards the fact that along with interracial romance comes the birth of mixed-race children. Accordingly, in the mid-1880s, Twain wrote two unfinished romances in which biracial children come to tragic ends: "Sandwich Islands Novel" (1884) and "The Man with Negro Blood" (1883–84).

3. The Unfinished "Sandwich Islands Novel"

While in the Sandwich Islands, Twain was attracted by the half-white, half-Native-Hawaiian interpreter working in the Legislative Assembly, Bill Ragsdale, who died of Hansen's disease in 1877. He was the son of Alexander Ragsdale, a sugar plantation owner from Virginia, and a Native Hawaiian woman of minor royal birth (Tayman 343).[13] According to Twain, Bill Ragsdale had "a spice of deviltry" in his nature; he would intentionally insert a word or two that would "make the gravest speech utterly ridiculous" when he translated the speeches of Native Hawaiians who did not understand English (*Letters from Hawaii* 111). Owing to his mixed racial identity, Ragsdale gained a trickster-like power that enabled him to alter the meaning

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[13] John Tayman reveals Ragsdale's family history through interviews with a descendant, Cari Castro: "William Ragsdale's father, Alexander Ragsdale, arrived Hawaii in 1819 and married a Hawaiian woman of minor royal birth. The couple had three children: Annie, William, and Edward. One of Annie Ragsdale Dowsett's grandchildren, William Dowsett, later adopted her maiden name, to continue the Ragsdale line after William died in the colony" (343). Romanzo Adams provides a detailed explanation of interracial marriages in the Kingdom of Hawaii:

> Some of the few white men who came to Hawaii in the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century became permanent residents and rendered important services to King Kamehameha as advisers in relation to military and civil affairs. In order to bind these men to Hawaii and his service, the king gave them Hawaiian women of chiefly rank for wives and, incidentally, recognized them as men of chiefly rank. (47).

Undoubtedly, Ragsdale's parents were one of these couples.

of other people's statements and control the atmosphere. Twain remained fascinated with this half-white, half-Native-Hawaiian man for decades. On January 7th in 1884, he wrote to William Dean Howells about his idea for a novel based on Ragsdale, the unfinished "Sandwich Islands Novel":

> My billiard table is stacked up with books relating to the Sandwich Islands. . . And I had begun a story. . . .I start Bill Ragsdale at 12 years of age, & the heroine at 4, in the midst of the ancient idolatrous system, with its picturesque & amazing customs & superstitions, 3 months before the arrival of the missionaries & the erection of a shallow Christianity upon the ruins of the old paganism.
>
> Then these two will become educated Christians, & highly civilized. And then we will jump 15 years, & do Ragsdale's leper business" ("Letter to Howells 7 January 1884" par. 4, 5).

Twain also wrote to Mary Fairbanks about his plan for the novel: ". . . the scene is laid in the Sandwich Islands 65 years ago; that is, the first part—second part is a number of years later" ("Letter to Fairbanks 30 January 1884" par. 1).

In the extant manuscript of the unfinished "Sandwich Islands Novel," Twain introduces the protagonist, Bill Ragsdale, and the heroine, Aloha, who is also half white, half Native Hawaiian. From Twain's letters to Howells and Fairbanks, we can assume that the starting date of the narrative is set within late 1819 to early 1820, and the fictional Ragsdale was born in 1807 or 1808, whereas the real Ragsdale was born sometime in 1837 and died in 1877. The fragment of the "Sandwich Islands Novel" narrative begins with the sentence "The date is 1840," after which Twain describes the beautiful scenery of this island paradise. Unfortunately, we do not know how Twain

described Ragsdale in 1840, in any case. Several pages have been lost, and the next fragment describes the scene set late in 1819, which is at the chronological beginning of the story and features "Ragsdale at 12 years of age, & the heroine at 4." It is impossible to know the complete plot and ending of "Sandwich Islands Novel." We can, though, perceive the overall structure Twain had in mind. He writes to the William Dean Howells about his motive for writing "Sandwich Islands Novel": "Its hidden motive will illustrate a but little considered fact in human nature; that the religious folly you are born in you will die in, no matter what apparently reasonabler religious folly may seem to have taken its place meanwhile and abolished and obliterated it" ("Letter to Howells 7 January 1884" par. 4). But based upon this remark in a letter to Howells, Fred Lorch speculates that "Sandwich Islands Novel" could have been the narrative of a tragic hero caught in a dilemma between "a Christian democratic social structure" and "a pagan feudal one" (66).[14]

However, what I emphasize here is that Ragsdale's romance with the heroine deserves more than a passing notice. More specifically, what attracted Twain to Ragsdale's story was his tragic fate, his decision not to marry because of his "leprosy." Twain stresses that "Ragsdale had nothing to gain by his sacrifice" in a letter to Charles Warren Stoddard (1843–1909) in 1886.[15] In *Following the Equator*,

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[14] Stephen Sumida concludes that "Twain intended to end the novel as a somehow balanced elegy for all that had passed away: for the virtues of the ancient Hawaiian religion and culture, for the good works and intentions of the missionaries, as well as for Bill Ragsdale himself and the contemporary, lively, and tragic Hawai'i he embodied" (*And the View from the Shore* 53). According to Sumida, Twain abandoned the novel on Ragsdale because he feared that it could be misread as "anti-Hawaiian, pro-missionary propaganda" (53). Also, "he may have found it difficult to enter, so to speak, the nature of a Bill Ragsdale as he could a Huck Finn or a Hank Morgan" (53).

[15] Twain refers to Ragsdale in his letter to Charles Stoddard in 1886. He read Stoddard's sketch on the leper colony in Molokai and Father Damien, who gave his life to sufferers in the isolated island:

> his [Father Damien's] heroism is surpassed by that of Bill Ragsdale only—but wait: I am not so sure that Ragsdale's surpasses it. I shall have to think over that. Both are dazzlingly fine & splendid; it hurts

Twain also draws attention to the fact that Ragsdale lost "his prosperous career" (63) and his fiancée, "a beautiful half-caste girl," to his disease:

> I asked after him, and was told that his prosperous career was cut short in a sudden and unexpected way, just as he was about to marry a beautiful half-caste girl. He discovered, by some nearly invisible sign about his skin, that the poison of leprosy was in him. The secret was his own, and might be kept concealed for years; but he would not be treacherous to the girl that loved him; he would not marry her to a doom like his. And so he put his affairs in order, and went around to all his friends and bade them good-bye, and sailed in the leper ship to Molokai. There he died the loathsome and lingering death that all lepers die. (*Following the Equator* 63)[16]

> one's baser moral eyes to look at them: but Ragsdale had nothing to gain by his sacrifice; & so, somehow it looks—well, it looks like the very superbest thing in history. . . .Come—write the case of Ragsdale. It is worthy of perpetuation. ("Letter to Stoddard 16 March 1886" par.1)

Stoddard was Twain's old friend from California and stayed in London as a secretary-companion for six weeks during Twain's lecture tour (Austen 66-67). Jerome Loving gives a full account of their partnership:

> Twain added fifteen dollars a week and the cost of lodging to Stoddard's income by making him his personal secretary during his lecture tour and their stay at the Langham Hotel in London. A few years later he told Howells, who had published Stoddard in the *Atlantic*, that he had hired him as a secretary to keep a scrapbook of the daily newspaper reports of the Tichborne Claimant trial going on at that time, but his true reason for hiring Stoddard was so that he would "sit up nights with me & dissipate." As Twain later commented, he was simply looking for a drinking partner in Charlie, whose friendship with Twain ultimately prompted him to decline payment for his secretarial work. During the lectures in December, Stoddard accompanied Twain to the theater, sat in the empty royal box during the lecture, and accompanied him and his manager, George Dolby, back to the hotel for late-night drinking. (169)

[16] The strange thing is that Twain pretends not to know the fate of Ragsdale here, although he once tried to write a novel based on Ragsdale's tragic life. After Ragsdale passed away on November 24, 1877, *The New York Times* reported his death with the title "Death of the King of the Lepers" on January 27, 1878. Whether Twain read the article or not is uncertain, but one might expect him to take note of Ragsdale's death after having planned to write a novel on the half-Kanaka in 1884.

From these references to Ragsdale's loss of his fiancée, it is safe to say that the main plot of the unfinished "Sandwich Islands Novel" would have been a romance with a tragic ending. Both Ragsdale and his fiancée, the possible model of the heroine Aloha, were born to noble native Hawaiian mothers and white fathers. These two fruits of interracial romances were unable to consummate their romance due to a disease brought to the islands by contact with racial others. Twain admired Ragsdale for stepping aside to protect his fiancée and, perhaps, also for ending a chain of interracial romances.

The failure of interracial romances paradoxically fosters the unity of the white nation: in other words, romances between racial others should be destroyed for the sake of the solidarity of the white nation. According to Louise Barnett, "the frontier romance," which features Native Americans, often ends with marriages of white couples and the collapse of interracial couples or the death of "savages" and foreign whites, forecasting the establishment and the solidarity of the new white nation (67). Patrick Wolfe, the foremost advocate of settler colonialism, indicates that Native American people "who originally occupied it should never be allowed back," for "the evacuation of Native people's territory" was required in the process of the colonization (3). While Native Hawaiians were expected to be an alternative labor force to black slaves, they also shared the fate of Native Americans in that their land was seen by the expansionists as the new frontier on the Pacific and that fatal illnesses were crucial to this process of the evacuation of the new frontier. Epidemics of infectious disease caused not only the end of a chain of interracial romances but also the depopulation of Native Hawaiians and the weakening of their kingdom. The leprosy epidemic also justified the Euro-Americans' "presence in the islands by implementing Western ways of dealing with disease, that the 'dying race' might be

'saved'" (Inglis 41).[17] Twain paid keen attention to the decline in the population of Native Hawaiians after the inflow of settlers in the Sandwich Islands and jotted down the demographic data in his journal. As he writes, there used to be "400,000 here in Cook's time—and even in 1820" (*Notebooks & Journals Vol. 1* 129), but "only 65,000 natives in the whole groupe [sic] now—good many coolies & Malays brought there to work plantations & about 3,000 whites" (117). He understood that the plague brought by whites into the islands caused massive death among Native Hawaiians: "People bring all manner of diseases to the S.I., &keep the people always in danger" (140). He even wrote that "whites always the aggressors[sic]" (159).[18] During his lecture tour from 1869 to 1870, Twain also referred to the falling population in the Sandwich Islands and dared to say that "we will take possession as lawful heirs" (qtd. in Fatout, *Mark Twain Speaking* 6).

Nevertheless, when Hansen identified the leprosy bacillus in 1879 and announced his findings that the disease was contagious in 1880, "the belief in western immunity" was undermined: "The apparent randomness of its incidence was also a cause of unease" (Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific* 195). As Rod Edmond indicates, the expansionists' desire could invite a "free trade in disease," the retaliation from the colonized:

> Leprosy would find its way home to Europe to avenge the colonized in a kind of bacteriological writing-back. This was a fear of the reverse invasion of the body. In the very process of taking control of native bodies the colonist was in danger of being similarly overrun.

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[17] Also see Inglis 56-57.

[18] When Twain got mumps on his way to the Sandwich Islands, he wrote, "I suppose I am to take a new disease to the Islands & depopulate them, as all white men have done before" (*Notebooks & Journals Vol. 1* 189).

> Such mirroring has haunted modern colonialism. (*Representing South Pacific* 197)

Twain must have grasped the risk of "the reverse invasion," at least half-unconsciously. This explains his excessive reaction against Native Hawaiian's table manners mentioned above, for "The native food staple, poi (the food, not just the act of eating it), was suspected by some to be the very root of spreading the disease" (Inglis 42).

In 1848, Josiah C. Nott, an advocate of craniology and polygenism, published his "insect theory" as to the cause of yellow fever in *The New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*. He refuted the miasma theory, which was prevailed at that time and indicated that the epidemic of yellow fever "may be much better explained by a reference to the habits of Insect Life" (581).[19] Whether Twain knew Nott's insect theory or not is unknown. However, it is notable that J.C. Nott, who scientifically explained the racial boundary between white and non-whites and created a racial hierarchy, hinted at the threat of contagion caused by insects. The spread of infection is caused by contact with others, the transgression of boundaries by individual bodies. As Susan Sontag astutely suggests, an illness could physically transform a patient's body or face, assigning a new, often negative meaning to it: "Not every kind of alternation to the face is perceived as repulsive or shaming. The most dreaded are those that seem like mutations into animality (the leper's "lion face") or a kind of rot (as in syphilis)" (128-29). Then she asserts, "The most feared diseases, those that are

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[19] It must be noted that although Nott had been regarded as the first scientist who proposed that mosquitoes carried the disease, the close examination of Nott's writings reveals that he just implies that some "insects might play in propagation or transmission" of yellow fever; he did not grasp or foresee "the role of insects in yellow fever any more than had his many predecessors who had speculated about insects and disease" (Downs 797).

not simply fatal but transform the body into something alienating" (133). Such physical transformation changes the metaphysical meaning of human bodies. Once a healthy person catches a disease, they become a marked existence. Branded as the diseased, patients lose their own names. They are deprived of any personal factors other than each diagnosis formed on them and subsumed within the term "invalid." The diseased transforms from an individual into a faceless patient, who is replaceable with other patients. Thus, the transmission of a disease dissolves the boundary between self and others, which Nott and other proponents of race science tried to establish.

4. The Romance of Race and Illness

Not coincidentally, Twain attempted to write another romance while working on the unfinished "Sandwich Islands Novel." In 1883 and 1884, he plotted and wrote a four-page outline of the romance of a tragic bi-racial man called "The Man with Negro Blood."[20] The protagonist, who is one-sixteenth black, was born in a plantation in the South in 1850 as a son of the master and a slave woman. He was separated from his mother and sister in 1860 "by some accident or sale." After a series of struggles, he passes for white in the North and financially succeeds. By an irony of fate, he falls in love with his white cousin, whom he used to address as "Miss" on the plantation. The protagonist and his cousin become engaged without knowing each other's past or their blood ties. Meanwhile, the protagonist's master/father and his "noble & lovely" daughter (the protagonist's white half-sister)

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[20] See Budd 226, Pettit 142-43, and Fishkin, "False Starts, Fragments and Fumbles" 27. As Arthur Pettit indicates, it is highly possible that Twain was encouraged to write the romance of a tragic "mulatto" when he went on the lecture tour with George Washington Cable, the literary contemporary and the master of the interracial romance.

are now impoverished in the wake of the Civil War, so they use false names and hide their former history to preserve the father's honor. But one day, when the protagonist dines with his fiancée and her relatives including his master/father and white half-sister (they are his fiancée-cousin's uncle and cousin, respectively), a black woman who waits on their table reveals the protagonist's origins by announcing herself to be his long-lost sister. At this, his "proud, poor, & not sweet" white half-sister recoils in disgust. With both his "passing" and his family ties exposed, the protagonist angrily responds to his former slave owner-father's daughter: "this loathsome negro is your *brother*" ("The Man with Negro Blood" n.pag.; italics original). In these sketchy notes, Twain does not give a detailed explanation of the protagonist's blood relationship with his cousin or his father's white family, but it is obvious that Twain understood the impact of the revelation of hidden African blood.

Unlike Ragsdale, the protagonist of this unfinished story hides his race and the fact that he is a former slave when he tries to marry a white woman. The protagonist's engagement is broken not because of a fatal disease but because of his hidden origins and society's abhorrence of miscegenation. While Ragsdale's death by Hansen's disease puts an end to his sad story, the protagonist of "The Man with Negro Blood" must deal with his anguish over his origins for the rest of his life. Moreover, the revelation of his fiancée's unknown origins implies there may be a considerable number of "black" and "white" children with African family ties who do not know their roots. The turmoil over miscegenation led to Jim Crow and innumerable tragedies in postbellum America. Nevertheless, these two unfinished stories also have similarities: Both protagonists lose their fiancées over revelations of factors undetectable from external appearances, whether it be illness or black blood inside their bodies. To have dark skin or one drop of black blood was as stigmatized

as being a leper.

In Edmond's words, "Leprosy is a boundary disease" (10), which can "serve as a punishment for such infringements, and help to re-establish the categories and boundaries that define our relation to the world by keeping the clean from the unclean" (*Leprosy and Empire* 10-11). Tales of tragic "mulattoes," including "The Man with Negro Blood," are also tales about the problem of boundaries. And the horror of leprosy comes from its infectiousness, which undermines the boundary between the clean and the unclean. According to Edmond,

> Leprosy can also be understood in terms of the significance of the skin and body in Polynesian culture. Skin is boundary between the self and others, between the individual and their society. . . . leprosy weakens it [skin] until it disintegrates. . . . unwraps the body, strips away its social identity, makes an outside of its inside, and anticipates death through premature decomposition. (*Representing South Pacific*, 205)

At this point, we might even recall the assumption of Benjamin Rush (1745-1813)—an education reformer, a physician, a politician, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence—that the black skin color of Africans derived from leprosy (Rusert 9). The leper's diseased body and the slave's black body have often been associated with each other. Twain plotted Ragsdale's leper tragedy and "The Man with Negro Blood" at around the same time, with these overlapping images of dark-skinned racial others in his mind. Furthermore, it seems that Twain was obsessive about the idea that the difference in skin color could be ascribed to a disease. In *Extract from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* (1909), Captain Stormfield's friend, Sandy McWilliams tells him that "we whites and the occasional nigger" are regarded as "Injuns that have

been bleached out or blackened by some leprous disease or other" (104). If racial difference resulted from pathological malformation, it leads to the assumption that racial attribution is variable and not hereditary. Moreover, it could even be contagious, just like leprosy.

Twain's obsession with and insight into the permeability of the racial boundary paradoxically suggests the rising tension over "boundary issues" in late-nineteenth-century America. Although he did not fully approve of the annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Twain once assisted the expansionists' romance in *Letters from Hawaii* in the 1860s. About two decades after his stay in the Sandwich Islands, Twain tried to face the problem of racial others both inside and outside the nation, African Americans and Native Hawaiians, by writing two unfinished romances: "Sandwich Islands Novel" and "The Man with Negro Blood." Indeed, the interracial conflict intensified in the 1880s. Though often contested, the racial boundaries between black and white was enforced by the system of slavery in antebellum America. After the Civil War, the solid dividing line between the two races became void and removed "a juridical barrier that had previously set them apart from the dominant society as decisively as the physical frontier distanced Natives" (Wolfe, *Traces of History* 14). By then, Twain had become well aware of the absurdity of the imperialist's romance, such as "Venus at the Bath." He understood that although the United States eagerly sought a chance to swallow up the Kingdom of Hawaii, a nation of racial others, the problem of racial conflict in the United States had yet to be resolved.[21] As Moon-Kie Jung expounds, "Acquiring territories, even under the

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[21] For the overlapping racial conflict inside and outside the nation in Antebellum America, Matthew Frye Jacobson write the following:

> These turn-of-the-century interventions [in Hawaii, the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Marianas] took place against the backdrop of a portentous reunion between the sectional combatants

assumption that they would be turned into states, has always been a racist process" (6).[22] Put another way, as the United States extended its territorial boundaries from the late eighteenth century on at the cost of dark-skinned others, white Americans were forced to confront the turmoil over another boundary *inside* the nation, that is, the boundary inside their mindset—the *racial* boundary. The United States expanded at the expense of those it swallowed.

Twain recollects his stay in the Sandwich Islands in *Following the Equator* (1897). He was to revisit the islands at the beginning of his lecture tour around the world, but his group was forced to change their plan due to the cholera epidemic:

> When it came it brought disappointment, of course. Cholera had broken out in the town, and we were not allowed to have any communication with the shore. Thus suddenly did my dream of twenty-nine years go to ruin. Messages came from friends, but the friends themselves I was not to have any sight of. My lecture-hall was ready, but I was not to see that, either. (58)

Unable to land on Oahu Island, he sees its beauty from afar (59). At the time, Twain

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> of the American Civil War . . . The Reconstruction era's profound philosophical revisions of the concept of the citizenship—both Reconstruction's radical promise and its crushing defeat to the forces of white supremacism—formed the crucial background for later public discussions of the many other peoples of color who were drawn into the political and social orbit of the United States. (7-8)

[22] According to Jung, the annexation of Puerto Rico, Guam, Philippines, and Hawaii in 1898 "provoked a more radical doubt of whether white supremacy could be maintained through the usual colonial practices of the U.S. state, a doubt resolved through the *Insular Cases'* doctrine of territorial incorporation" (6). He goes further to say that "It was precisely because US white supremacy was already and sufficiently guaranteed that Hawai'i was incorporated while other oversea territories were not" (7). For the definition of the term "insular cases," see Sparrow. Insular cases are the U.S. Supreme Court's decisions that established "the indeterminate status of the inhabitants and local governments of the United States' island territories" (Sparrow 1). "As the United States expanded, it added still other non-Anglo populations to its domain" (23), and whether to allow Indigenous people to join as people of the United States or not depended on "the racial fitness of the inhabitants of the newly acquired territories"(63).

revisited there (though he was only allowed to see the islands on board) in 1895, the Hawaiian Islands were suffering through turbulent times: the Kingdom of Hawaii, which had Lili‘uokalani as the last queen, had been overthrown by the republicans led by Sanford Dole, who became the President of the Hawaii Republic, which was established in 1894. Twain knew the political situation on the islands. Moreover, he recalls that during his stay in the islands in 1866, he found the grotesqueness in the political circumstances in the Hawaiian Kingdom, in which the whites gained the power and the monarchy was emasculated:

> A change had come, but that was political, and not visible from the ship. The monarchy of my day was gone, and a republic was sitting in its seat. It was not a material change. The old imitation pomps, the fuss and feathers, have departed, and the royal trademark—that is about all that one could miss, I suppose. That imitation monarchy, was grotesque enough, in my time; if it had held on another thirty years it would have been a monarchy without subjects of the king’s race. (59)

US expansionists schemed to take over the Hawaiian Kingdom in the Pacific, indulging in the fantasy of romance with dark-skinned maidens. Afterward, Twain tried to revise the expansionists’ romantic dream by writing two related tragic romances, but it was, arguably, too late: the Kingdom of Hawaii was annexed in 1898.

Conclusion

In Search of the Happy Hunting Ground: "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" and *Extract from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven*

Samuel L. Clemens, known as Mark Twain, drifted from place to place both inside and outside the United States throughout his life, and thus Twain's fictional and nonfictional works are set in various locations, from slaveholding communities by the Mississippi River to the Hawaiian Islands on the Pacific. We have seen how the author tactically utilized the spatially or temporally remote settings to sublimate his long years of distress (especially over his past attitudes, particularly regarding racial issues) in works of art, and how such emotional turmoil of the author unexpectedly leaks out, revealing the sense of guilt over the personal and national past. The unfinished text "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" published posthumously in 1968 and *Extract from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* (1909) are set respectively in the world of microbes inside a filthy tramp's body and a heaven beyond a distant part of the universe. The nonsensical fictionality of these two works vividly manifests Twain's gazes on the past and the future of the United States and himself, just like the absurd pseudo-Oriental world in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894) scrupulously foregrounds the contemporary race problem and expansionism in the United States. By focusing on these two peculiar stories of explorations into the human body and the world after death, I reexamine Twain's tactics for reconciling the past.

1. The Universe Inside a Tramp's Body

"3,000 Years Among the Microbes" is an account of the strange experience of the American narrator Huck who is mistakenly transformed into a Cholera germ inside the body of Blitzowski, a filthy tramp, at the hands of a magician. This story can be categorized as speculative science fiction, with the framing that Twain translated Huck's notes written in the "original microbic" (433). Twain worked on "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" from May 20 to June 23 in 1905 at Dublin, New Hampshire but never completed the work, probably becoming more concerned with *The Mysterious Stranger*.[1]

What makes this unfinished novel peculiar is the fact that Blitzowski, who is a social outcast, is nothing but the whole universe for the microbes inside his body:

> Our world (the tramp) is as large and grand and awe-compelling to us microscopic creatures as is man's world to man. Our tramp is mountainous, there are vast oceans in him, and lakes that are sea-like for size, there are many rivers (veins and arteries) which are fifteen miles across, and of a length so stupendous as to make the Mississippi and the Amazon trifling little Rhode Island brooks by comparison. ("3,000 Years" 437)

Furthermore, the world of microbes inside Blitzowski's body reflects the social and political situation at the turn of the century: the Republic of Getrichquick, which seems to be modeled on the United States, and the Henryland Empire, which reminds us of the European great powers. Twain evidently satirizes the United States'

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[1] For the ideological connection between "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" and *The Mysterious Stranger*, see Gilman, *Dark Twins* 177-78.

annexation of ocean territories after the Spanish-American War by referring to the assimilation of the archipelago in "the Great Lone Sea" into Getrichquick ("3,000 Years" 443).

Interestingly, the microbes do not realize that they are mere parasite germs and name themselves "swinks," which is equivalent to the term "men": "Every microbe is a swink, every bacterium is a swink, and so on; just as in the World every German, Indian, Irishman, and so on, is a *man*" ("3,000 Years" 515). Curiously, there is another form of life called "Sooflasky," which infests microbes/"Swinks." Thus Huck becomes conscious of the endlessness of the great chain of being, and wonders whether humans might also be inferior beings in the cosmos, just like the microbes who believe that Blitzowski is the whole universe:

> The inexorable logic of the situation was this: there being a Man, with a Microbe to infest him, and for him to be indifferent about; and there being a Sooflasky, with a Swink to infest him and for the said Sooflasky to be indifferent about: then it follows, for a certainty, that the Swink is similarly infested, too, and has something to look down upon and be indifferent to and sponge out upon occasion; and it also follows, of a certainty, that below that infester there is yet another infester that infests *him* — and so on down and down and down till you strike the bottomest bottom of created life — if there is one, which is extremely doubtful. ("3,000 Years" 527)

Based on these unique parameters of the microbic universe, previous researchers have regarded this work as a philosophical thought experiment that relativizes the anthropocentric world view.

Nevertheless, this does not fully explain the work's peculiar relationship with *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Although the narrator Huck in "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" is not the same person as Huckleberry Finn, this science fiction has something in common with the monumental work.[2] It is not certain whether Twain regarded the world of microbes as a possible setting for Huck and Tom's next adventure; he had already drawn up a plan for "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" as early as in 1884 when he prepared for the publication of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. He left a note on the idea that "we are only the microscopic trichina concealed in the blood of some vast creature's veins, and it is that vast creature whom God concerns Himself about and not us" (*Mark Twain's Notebook* 170).[3] In addition, the narrator Huck uses the name "B. b. Bkshp" in the microbic language which lacks vowels. As Rasmussen indicates, "it appears that Bkshp may take his name from Clemens's boyhood friend TOM BLANKENSHIP, who was the chief model for Huckleberry Finn" (476). The host for microbes, Blitzowski, "a hoary and mouldering old bald-headed tramp" ("3,000 Years" 436), reminds us of Huck's vulgar father, Pap

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[2] The narrator asks his fellow microbes to call him Huck, an abbreviation of his middle name, Huxley. Ketterer suggests that this could be "a tribute to Thomas Henry Huxley" (1825 – 1895), an English biologist and the grandfather of Aldous Leonard Huxley (1894–1963) (*Mark Twain* 376).

[3] Twain mentions his idea of the microbic universe in Chapter 12 of *Following the Equator*, published in 1897. During his lecture tour around the English colonies, he had a curious dream:

> In Sydney I had a large dream, and in the course of talk I told it to a missionary from India who was on his way to visit some relatives in New Zealand. I dreamed that the visible universe is the physical person of God; that the vast worlds that we see twinkling millions of miles apart in the fields of space are the blood corpuscles in His veins; and that we and the other creatures are the microbes that charge with multitudinous life the corpuscles. (132)

The unfinished *The Great Dark*, which was written during his stay in Austria in the fall of 1898 and published posthumously, also reveals his obsession with the minimal world. After observing the tiny animal life in a drop of water with a microscope, the protagonist Henry Edwards has a peculiar dream in which he sails the microscopic ocean.

Finn, the town drunkard. Moreover, Tuckey associates the term “Blitzowski,” which means “man of lightning” or “blazing one,” with Twain’s traumatic memory from his childhood in Hannibal (540). Young Sam Clemens gave matches to a drunken tramp in the village jail, which caused his death by fire. Twain recalls that he suffered nightmares for three months in his autobiography:

> The drunken tramp—mentioned in “Tom Sawyer” or “Huck Finn”—who was burned up in the village jail, lay upon my conscience a hundred nights afterward and filled them with hideous dreams—dreams in which I saw his appealing face as I had seen it in the pathetic reality, pressed against the window-bars, with the red hell glowing behind him—a face which seemed to say to me, “If you had not given me the matches, this would not have happened.”
>
> （*Autobiography vol. 1*, 157-58）

For Twain, Blitzowski is an unpleasant memory attaching to his hometown Hannibal, and an embodiment of guilt which has been planted in his mind.

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and “3,000 Years Among the Microbes” also share the lust for the westward movement. At the end of both narratives, each protagonist shows their intention of going West, suggesting the frenzy of westward migration in antebellum America triggered by the Gold Rush. The setting of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is supposed to be the 1840s, and Huck’s flight to the West was on the eve of the Gold Rush in 1849. In “3000 Years Among Microbes,” the narrator has a prophetic dream of gold buried in Blitzowski’s molar tooth and became ecstatic over the premonition of making a fortune:

> By my stingiest and most conservative and exacting measurement, I was obliged to admit that that wad of gold was not a shade less than

> half the bigness of a human buckshot! It was titanic—colossal—unthinkable—it was absolutely breath-taking! Yet there it was—there were the figures—there was no getting around them. What might I compare this astonishing deposit with? Klondike? It made me smile. Klondike was but a peanut-pedlar's till, alongside of it. The Big Bonanza, then? ("3,000 Years" 551)

Though "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" substantially suggests the connection with *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, in previous studies it has not been categorized in the series of sequels to the monumental work such as *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. However, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" shares Twain's insight about race issues in the expanding nation.

We have seen how Twain faced or reckoned with his inexcusable past as a son of the slaveholder and ex-confederate volunteer soldier in his fictional and nonfictional works. As a number of Mark Twain scholars have indicated, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* best reflects the personal/national conflict over slavery of both Mark Twain and the United States. The examination of sequels to *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among the Indians" and *Tom Sawyer Abroad,* clarifies how Huckleberry Finn's westward movement and US expansionism in the late nineteenth century overlap with each other, and how Twain's awareness of race problems has extended from the treatment of black slaves he saw in his childhood to non-black racial others inside and outside the United States. What is important is that "3000 Years Among the Microbes" also reflects Twain's expanding awareness of the domestic/foreign race issues, staging them in the microbic universe inside the tramp's body.

Henry B. Wonham argues that Twain tries to subvert the logic of ethnic caricature from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Blitzowski is a reincarnation of the vagrant drunkard who was burnt to death in Hannibal before the Civil War, and at the same time, he fits the stereotype of the new immigrants who flowed into the United States from East European countries at the turn of the century. Caricaturing the racial others just means rhetorically usurping them in forging a national narrative that enforces white supremacy. Thus the rhetoric of ethnic caricature deprives or trivializes the real identity of its objects, just as the western whites romanticized Native Americans as noble savages. Wonham explains that ethnic caricature "creat[es] the impression of a knowable, unitary type, in this case the type of the morally and physically degenerate immigrant vagabond. A few potent cliches are sufficient to tell us all we need to know about Blitzowski, according to the usual practice of ethnic typification, because we know him already" (71). And such rhetoric of ethnic caricature supports the national narrative, which reinforces the solidarity of "white Americans" and alienates the "others." Chapter 1 discussed how Twain well understood this rhetoric of national narrative or national memory-making and applied it to retelling his personal narrative while he showed signs of hesitation in fully employing a devious rhetoric. In "3000 Years Among the Microbes," Twain subverts the very rhetoric by creating a universe in the body of the filthy tramp who embodies his sin of the past: "The reified image of an Eastern-European tramp collapses with Bkshp's move to an interior point of view, a perspective that allows him to see behind the apparently unitary ethnic mask" (Wonham 71).

2. Heaven Far Beyond the Universe

Extract from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven also presents a peculiar universe that overturns the established order. As the title *Extract from Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* indicates, only two (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4) out of six chapters were published in 1909. The posthumous edition by Browne published in 1970 gave the full particulars of the work. The narrator Captain Stormfield has a real-life model. In December 1866, Twain became acquainted with Captain Edgar (Ned) Wakeman on the way to New York where he set out on a journey around the Mediterranean and the Holy Land. Inspired by Captain's dream, Twain set about writing this work in the late 1860s and worked on it for decades with hiatuses: "Captain Wakeman had a fine large imagination, and he once told me of a visit which he had made to heaven. I kept it in my mind, and a month or two later I put it on paper — this was in the first quarter of 1868, I think. It made a small book of about forty thousand words, and I called it 'Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven'" (*Autobiography vol.2* 193-94).[4]

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[4] For the writing process of *Captain Stormfield*, see James A. Miller. Twain mentions his incomplete project in his letter to Orion written on March 23, 1878:

> Nine years ago I mapped out my "Journey in Heaven." I discussed it with literary friends whom I could trust to keep it to themselves. I gave it a deal of thought, from time to time. After a year or more, I wrote it up. It was not a success. Five years ago I wrote it again, altering the plan. That MS is at my elbow now. It was a considerable improvement on the first attempt, but still it wouldn't do. Last year & year before I talked frequently with Howells about the subject, & he kept urging me to do it again. So I thought & thought, at odd moments, & at last I struck what I considered to be the right plan! Mind, I never have altered the ideas, from the first—the plan was the difficulty. (par.8)

After this, he resumed writing the novel in his notebook during the 1880s. He delivered a reading of the manuscript at a dinner party in 1894, but he still could not write up the novel. According to Miller, what brought Twain to complete writing the work was Olivia's death in 1904.

As Twain remarks in his autobiography, *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* is a parody of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's best-selling novel *The Gates Ajar* (1868): "I had turned it into a burlesque of *The Gates Ajar*, a book which had imagined a mean little ten-cent heaven about the size of Rhode Island — a heaven large enough to accommodate about a tenth of 1 per cent of the Christian billions who had died in the past nineteen centuries" (*Autobiography vol. 2* 194). He also harshly criticizes the contemporary Protestant church minister, Thomas De Witt Talmage. One can see Twain's skeptical view of Christianity here: Raised in a Presbyterian family, Twain received strict religious education in his childhood and then converted to atheism.[5]Therefore, the primary purpose of this novel could have been to satirize the dominant contemporary view on religion. Previous studies have also indicated that Twain conducts a kind of a philosophical thought experiment by describing a different world where the established notions crumble, as in "3000 Years Among Microbes."

Nevertheless, some previous researchers read a criticism of US expansionism and the oppression of racial others in *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven*. Stephanie LeMenager astutely indicates that "Twain's Heaven is the ultimate de-territorialized space of national imagining and corrective to claims of Manifest Destiny" (220). Hsuan Hsu also suggests that "[b]y using the scale of deep time to place notions of whiteness, nationalism, and criminality in perspective, Twain's demography of Heaven undermines the national and racial categories that conventionally determine which lives count most" (155). Indeed, Twain obstinately refers to geography and demography in his fictional heaven. The geographical features of heaven are

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[5] He also refers to a collection of jokes of the time, *Old Abe's Jokes: Fresh from Abraham's Bosom* (1864).

analogous to the ones of the lower world, except that it is immeasurably vast, for all the dead from all places, all ages gather together:

> We've got everything here, just as it is below. All the States and Territories of the Union, and all the kingdoms of the earth and the islands of the sea are laid out here just as they are on the globe—all the same shape they are down there, and all graded to the relative size, only each State and realm and island is a good many billion times bigger here than it is below. (*Captain Stormfield* 99).

In such a vast heaven, the solar system the earth belongs to is such a trivial existence that it looks like "fly-specks" on the map, and the earth itself is called "the Wart."

Furthermore, in Twain's fictional heaven, America is not a white supremacist society, which Captain Stormfield regarded as quite natural in his lifetime. Far from that, he comes across "swarms of angels, without ever seeing a single white one, or hearing a word I could understand" (101). It is quite natural that there are far more "red" angels than white angels, for "America was occupied a billion years and more, by Injuns and Aztecs, and that sort of folks, before a white man ever set his foot in it" (*Captain Stormfield* 101-02). Then Captain Stormfield's friend, Sandy McWiliams, continues to make a detailed explanation of the demographic transition of the numbers of "red" angels in heaven:

> in the beginning of our century there were only 6,000,000 or 7,000,000—say seven; 12,000,000 or 14,000,000 in 1825; say 23,000,000 in 1850; 40,000,000 in 1875. Our death-rate has always been 20 in 1000 per annum. Well, 140,000 died the first year of the century; 280,000 the twenty-fifth year; 500,000 the fiftieth year; about a million the seventy-fifth year. (*Captain Stormfield* 102)

Thus, Twain provides the readers with the absolute fact that the whites are invaders who deprived Native Americans of their lands.

In "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," the narrator Huck falls asleep while planning to head for Blitzowski's molar tooth where gold is buried. Huck's abortive attempt to get rich quick could be interpreted as Twain's incredulous view of the Gold Rush and US expansionism. In *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven*, Twain goes a step further to reveal that California, the destination of the westward movement, was far from the New World where everyone can get a chance of starting over. Captain Stormfield, who is from San Francisco, plans to go to California searching for his acquaintance from his lifetime, but Sandy advises him not to, for "[i]t swarms with a mean kind of leather-headed mud-colored angels — and your nearest white neighbor is likely to be a million miles away" (*Captain Stormfield* 106). LeMenager argues that Twain attacks the US westward movement and oppression of natives: "Turning California-Heaven into a 'majority minority' culture," Twain "returns the right of first occupancy to people who were systematically killed, removed, or assimilated throughout the United States' westward advance" (216). In his ground-breaking work *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*, Patrick Wolfe explains that while the whites exploited African-Americans as labor and "require[d] the continual reproduction of its human providers," Native Americans were only required not to come back to their native lands, for their relationship with the whites was "premised on the evacuation of Native people's territory" (3). In order to recall the Native Americans from the dust-heap of history, Twain created fictional heaven as the synchronic space where all the departed gather together "by using the scale of deep time to place" (Hsu 155) and dismantling a progressive linear temporality.

3. The Collapse of Whiteness

Chapter 3 argued that Huck, the protagonist of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, is often overwhelmed with feelings of loneliness, and this is caused by his lack of consanguineous and societal relationship and his inability to become white enough to follow the standard of white slaveholding society. At the same time, it was his lack of whiteness that allowed him to foster a sense of interracial solidarity with Jim, even though it was ephemeral. Interestingly, Captain Stormfield also expresses his sense of "lonesomeness."[6] At the beginning of *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* (which was first published by Browne in 1970), Twain shows the very moment of Captain Stormfield's death, and how he (or his soul) flies out to the outer space and races with a comet.[7] He encounters a Jewish man, Solomon Goldstein and becomes delighted to have a fellow partner: "I was trained to a prejudice against Jews — Christians always are, you know — but such of it as I had was in my head, there wasn't any in my heart. But if I had been full of it it would have disappeared then, I was so lonesome and so anxious for company" (Browne 43). Moreover, he profoundly sympathizes with Goldstein who grieves over the loss of his daughter, overcoming his discriminatory

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[6] Not only in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* but also in the unfinished sequel "Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer among the Indians" Huck uses the word "lonesome." After the attack of Native Americans, Huck narrates how dismal and sterile the place looks: "It was the biggest, wildest, levelest world — and all dead; dead and still; not a sound. The lonesomest place that ever was; enough to break a body's heart, just to listen to the awful stillness of it" (Twain, "Indians" 49).

In "The Californian's Tale" (1906) Twain also uses the word "lonesome" to qualify the dreariness of the West: "It was a lonesome land! Not a sound in all those peaceful expanses of grass and woods but the drowsy hum of insects; no glimpse of man or beast; nothing to keep up your spirits and make you glad to be alive" (104). The short story was first published in *The Book of the Author's Club: Liber Scriptorum* in 1893 and republished in the anthology *The $30.000 Bequest and Other stories* in 1906.

[7] Twain had already used the motif of comets in his writings. "The Curious Pleasure Excursion" (1874) is a story about P. T. Barnum's new business in the tourist industry which offers a trip to space on a comet. He also wrote a short piece, "A Letter from the Comet," in 1885, which was to be posthumously published in *Mark Twain's Fables of Man* (1972).

view of Jews. While traveling outer space, Captain Stormfield gains another traveling companion, an ex-slave called Sam. He shows affection for the black man, just like Huck does for Jim: "He was a good chap, and like his race: I have seen but few niggers that hadn't their hearts in the right place" (Browne 50). Here Twain seems to rewrite the interracial solidarity between Huck and Jim, which he once obscured in the notorious "evasion chapters," shifting its stage from Mississippi River to outer space. His fictional heaven beyond the universe where people of every race and every faith come together could have been a place for a harmonious union that is unachievable on earth.

Nevertheless, Twain reveals the difficulty in the mutual understanding across racial and religious lines and the uncomfortable feeling it causes. When Captain Stormfield arrives in heaven, he cannot find the right entrance for the people from earth, and gets "dreadfully lonesome," being surrounded by the odd-looking strangers from other solar systems:

> All day I walked towards the far end of a prodigious hall of the office, hoping to come out into heaven any moment, but it was a mistake. That hall was built on the general heavenly plan—it naturally couldn't be small. At last I got so tired I couldn't go any farther; so I sat down to rest, and begun to tackle the queerest sort of strangers and ask for information, but I didn't get any; they couldn't understand my language, and I could not understand theirs. I got dreadfully lonesome. I was so down-hearted and homesick I wished a hundred times I never had died. (*Captain Stormfield* 29-30)

As a white man, Captain Stormfield belongs to the minority group even in the American part of heaven where most of the residents are Natives, and he and his

friend Sandy often search around for fellow whites. As mentioned above, in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, while Huck feels lonesomeness caused by his lack of whiteness, he could establish momentary interracial solidarity with Jim, overstepping the norm of white slaveholding society. In the case of Captain Stormfield, however, he feels a sense of alienation because of his whiteness: "Whiteness figures here as 'loneliness' and 'homelessness,' as existential rather than imperative or Providential mobility" (LeMenager 217).

Unlike Huck, Captain Stormfield believes in his whiteness without any doubts about its reliability, and he tries to find someone he can interact with, which means, someone "white." Yet his hopes for white solidarity are betrayed. His only friend, Sandy, tells him that when he visited the European district in heaven, he found lots of whites but could not "understand any of them" and he was still "hungry for talk" because of the language barrier: "I like to look at a Russian or a German or an Italian —I even like to look at a Frenchman if I ever have the luck to catch him engaged in anything that ain't indelicate—but *looking* don't cure the hunger—what you want is talk" (*Captain Stormfield* 107). The English district of heaven "is not so very much better": "As long as you run across Englishmen born this side of three hundred years ago, you are all right; but the minute you get back of Elizabeth's time the language begins to fog up, and the further back you go the foggier it gets" (*Captain Stormfield* 107-08).

This episode reminds us of Benjamin Franklin's remark on whiteness. In *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries* written in 1751, discussing the overpopulation in Europe, Franklin endorses immigration to the United States as the solution. However, he shows a discriminatory view on ethnicity.

He identifies the Anglo-Saxons as the only white people and expresses deep concerns about the influx of non-English speaking Dutch people into Pennsylvania:

> That the number of purely white people in the world is proportionably very small. All Africa is black or tawny. Asia America (exclusive of the new comers) wholly so. And in Europe, the Spaniards, Italians, French, Russians and Swedes are generally of what we call a swarthy complexion; as are the Germans also, the Saxons only excepted, who with the English make the principal body of white people on the face of the Earth. (Franklin 224)

Through this seemingly comic episode of being lost among the foreign-language speakers, Twain mocks Captain Stormfield's blind belief in the authority of whiteness or Franklin's arbitrary attempt to restrict the privilege of whiteness.

As stated above, Henry Wonham argues that in "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" Twain dismantles "the apparently unitary ethnic mask" (71), which nullifies the "ethnic typification" of others and subverts the narrative of racial hierarchy. In *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven*, Twain goes so far as to dissolve the unity of whiteness that guarantees whites' privileged position in the narrative of racial hierarchy. By focusing on the difference of languages, Twain shatters Captain Stormfield's firm faith in whiteness. His friend Sandy even reveals the shocking fact in heaven that "we whites and the occasional nigger are" thought to be "Injuns that have been bleached out or blackened by some leprous disease or other—for some

peculiarly rascally *sin*" (*Captain Stormfield* 104).[8] Thus the whites fall from the top to the bottom in the racial hierarchy, assumed to be a variety of Native Americans.

4. House-flies' Happy Hunting Ground

Thus far, we have seen how Mark Twain subverted the white supremacistic ideology which underpinned US expansionism and the associated oppression of racial others. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Twain was (or regarded himself as) immune from the national sin that he so bitterly reproached. Instead, he was very much aware of his involvement in it. In 1906, Twain wrote a curious episode "The Supremacy of the House Fly" for his autobiography. This episode is about how Twain strives to exterminate house-flies.[9] After a desperate struggle, he finally succeeds in killing a few house-flies. He smashes the flies into the wash-bowl with a wet towel and contentedly observes the way they become enfeebled:

> With deep satisfaction I watched them spin around and around in the water. Twice they made land and started to climb up the bowl, but I shoved them back with fresh satisfaction and plunged them under with my finger, with more satisfaction. I went on gloating over their

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[8] This idea could be based on Benjamin Rush's race-scientific theory that the African's skin color was caused by leprosy: "The prominent physician Benjamin Rush also subscribed to the theory of racial degeneration, arguing that blackness was produced by leprosy, and since it was caused by degenerating disease, he believed that blackness could be 'cured'" (Russert 8-9).

[9] Written at the almost same time as "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," he compares here the difficulty in getting rid of house-flies to the difficulty of extirpating microbes. Twain insists that even though Nature "has gone on pathetically and hopefully reducing her microbes until at last she has got them down so fine that she can conceal a hundred million of them in a single drop of a man's blood," humans figure out "how to find them and exterminate them" with their scientific knowledge (*Autobiography vol.2* 219). According to Twain, however, it is still difficult to extirpate house-flies for humans with such an advanced knowledge of science. This remark shows the extent of Twain's interest in the microbic world.

> efforts to get out of their trouble. Twice more they made land, and in both instances I restored them to their activities in the water. But at last their struggles relaxed and the forlorn things began to exhibit pitiful signs of exhaustion and despair. (*Autobiography vol. 2* 222)

However, soon he becomes overwhelmed with the sense of guilt and turns the soap-dish over the suffering house-flies: "I cared not a rap for their sufferings so long as they furnished enjoyment for me, but when they began to inflict pain upon me, that was another matter. The conditions had become personal. I was human, and by the law of my make it was not possible for me to allow myself to suffer when I could prevent it" (222). When he peers under the dish after half an hour, he finds "that the spiritual part of them had ascended to the happy hunting grounds of their fathers" (222).

The words "happy hunting ground" stands for the concept of the afterlife that members of some Native American tribes believe in. Here Twain's description of "independent, insolent, intrusive, and indestructible" (220) house-flies which strut about his room recalls to us depictions of Native Americans.[10] He considers the

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[10] In "Flies and Russians" written from late 1904 to early 1905, Twain also compares the ethnic other — in this case, Russians — to flies. He dares to say that Russians are a combination of the rabbit, the mollusk, an idiot and the bee: "If we combine these three[the rabbit, the mollusk, an idiot] and add the bee, what do we get? A Russian" (175). Then he continues: "It is possible that at the time the idea of creating the Russian nation was first conceived, the grotesque nature of the result was not clearly foreseen" (175):

> It was so with the fly. It would not be right for us to allow ourselves to believe that the fly would have been created if the way he was going to act had been fully known beforehand. I think we may not doubt that the fly was a disappointment. I think we have reason to believe that he did not come up to expectations. This argument justifies us in surmising that it is the same with the Russians. The making of flies and Russians — just as they are, I mean — could not have been intentional. (175)

house-flies as offensive trespassers in his territory, which reminds us of the white's view of Native Americans:

> When our modern fashion of screening all the doors and windows was introduced, it was supposed that we were now done with the fly, and that we had defeated him at last, along with the mosquito. It was not so. Those other creatures have to stay outside nowadays, but the fly remains a member of the family just as before. (220)

While Twain exposes the whites' mass slaughter of Native Americans in the past in *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven,* he openly shows Captain Stormfield's displeasure against the "swarms of" red-skinned angels. Here LeMenager and Hsu's interpretations of *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* as an outspoken criticism of the US westward movement turns out to be problematic. Rather, he held his discriminatory view of Native Americans in his later years.[11] It does not signify that Twain justified his disgust towards racial others, as the comic episode of the struggle with house-flies implies. Through the hilarious description of his desperate battle with flies, he showed that he shared the lust for exterminating others which was one of the driving forces of the westward movement. What is more important, with a tinge of bewilderment, he faithfully expatiates his sense of guilt, which he realizes only after he has gratified the lust for a massacre.

As often stated, Samuel Clemens, known as Mark Twain, who was born shortly after Halley's comet appeared in 1835, passed away one day after it appeared again at its brightest in 1910, as if he followed his own fictional character Captain Stormfield, who raced with a comet for fun on his way to heaven. Since his death the

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[11] For Twain's view on Native Americans, see Chapter 4.

United States has kept expanding its hegemony over land, sea, sky, and even space, swallowing up the "others." Twain subverts the racial hierarchy that has provided the ideological basis for expansionism by creating the microbic universe inside the body of a tramp. He also depicts the inerasable vestige of mass slaughter in heaven in the far side of the universe, showing that no words can truly justify or glorify the national past. Mark Twain, the man who was to be called "the father" of American literature (Faulkner 88), kept narrativizing the national sin. But he never looked upon himself as a righteous critic of the United States. Instead, he was continually overpowered by the guilt over his own involvement in the national sin. Twain expresses his sense of guilt by adopting the tramp who symbolizes his past sin as the host of the microbic universe. And he also confesses his crime of killing under the guise of comic episode of the battle with house-flies, alluding to the mass slaughter of Native Americans with use of the analogy of a house to the home territory. As such, Twain's creative space-making or geographical imagination allowed him to sometimes face and sometimes face away from the uncomfortable national/personal past.

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