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THE LAW AND MARK TWAIN

(TITLE)

BY

Jeff Andrew Weigel

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts in English

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1985

YEAR

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ABSTRACT

Varying concepts of law are an essential part in many of Mark Twain's works. Twain's position as an observer and critic of society is often reflected by the way he represents law and justice in his stories. His dislike of injustice and cruelty caused him to focus on these "legal" problems as a way of revealing and attacking various injustices in society. My thesis examines Twain's perception of law as he exposes it in Roughing It, Pudd'nhead Wilson, The Prince and the Pauper, and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court. The general objective of my study is to examine Twain's philosophy of law and how his ideas are reflected in his literature. The specific aim of study is to explore Twain's tendency to present law and politics with multiple views which sometimes suffer from seeming to embody contradictory opinions.

The first half of my study examines Twain's view of American frontier law by centering on Roughing It and Pudd'nhead Wilson. Roughing It exhibits Twain's early views of lawlessness in the west and includes his suggestions for a commonsense approach to law. The areas of law covered include: desperadoism, juries, and government. Twain's approach to these subjects frequently oscillates between criticizing the lack of law and finding fault with established, but poorly administered law.

Pudd'nhead Wilson continues Twain's critical approach to law and justice with the location changing to the antebellum

southwest. The regimented code of law in this novel fails to secure justice because it suffers from existing within the framework of slavery, which is supported by antebellum aristocractic privileges and traditions. Pudd'nhead Wilson demonstrates how traditionally entrenched laws and customs prove unyielding even to creative and innovative methods (fingerprinting and crime detection) for securing justice. The pessimism concerning law in this novel differs from Roughing It's tone of youthful speculations and suggestions for law in a new frontier.

The second half of my study examines Twain's political comparison of democracy to monarchy and despotic rule. The Prince and the Pauper and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court reveal many of Twain's thoughts concerning justice and government. His criticisms of the appalling injustices in these supposedly outworn and alien systems suggests the inherent injustice in law and government, not merely historically, but even in Twain's nineteenth century America. Twain examines man's inability to find solutions to injustice and inefficient government, and Twain's moral outrage often results in multiple and contradictory presentations. Democracy and technology in A Connecticut Yankee initially appear to be solutions for oppressed people, but the inability of the common man to accept and use these innovations properly, ultimately results in failure and destruction in the novel's ending. Twain's inability to envision or propose a consistent system for securing justice reveals

his changeable and unresolved approach to the difficult issues of law, government and justice.

Varying concepts of law are an essential part of many of Mark Twain's works. Twain's position as an observer and critic of society is often reflected by the way he represents law and justice in his stories. His dislike of injustice and cruelty caused him to focus on these "legal" problems as a way of revealing and attacking various injustices in society. I will examine Twain's perception of law as he exposes it in Roughing It, Pudd'nhead Wilson, The Prince and the Pauper, and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court. The general objective of my study will be to examine Twain's philosophy of law and how his ideas are reflected in his literature. I will also attempt to explain how Twain's perception of law and politics often included multiple views which suffered sometimes from seemingly contradictory opinions.

Roughing It illustrates Twain's early views on law and lawlessness in the west. The new frontier with its wild assortment of thieves, desperadoes and politicians provided Twain with abundant material for satire, and his satiric comedy often centered on law and government. Written in 1872, Roughing It is a partly fictionalized account of Twain's impressions of the west as he travelled and explored the frontier beginning in July, 1861 when Twain and his brother Orion set out for Nevada, where Orion was assuming his duties as Secretary of the Territory. During these travels Twain recorded his impressions as a journalist for newspapers and as an interested participant in ventures such as mining

and homesteading. In these impressions, Twain details his views of law, corruption, and justice which he presents along with stories about many other adventures. "That Twain entered into the spirit of the frontier is obvious; that he enjoyed its healthy, boisterous masculinity is equally obvious--but it is important to remember that he never minimizes its defects. And its defects are almost all related to the absence of any public morality; to the absence, in particular, of law" (Kriegal (XXIV).

The study of law in Roughing It can be classified into three different categories: desperadoism, juries, and government. Twain presents and explores these three areas repeatedly in the novel, describing each subject in all its various forms and giving impressions and views on these topics.

The first instance of desperadoism in Roughing It is the description of station keepers.

> The station keepers, hostlers, etc., were low, rough characters, as already described; and from western Nebraska to Nevada a considerable sprinkling of them might be fairly set down as outlaws--fugitives from justice, criminals whose best security was a section of country which was without law and without even the pretense of it (Twain Roughing It 54-55).

The absence of law presents a situation in which the individual often solves problems by force.

> When the division agent issued an order to one of these parties [the station keepers] he did it with the full understanding that he might have to enforce it with a navy six-shooter, and so he always went "fixed" to make things go along smoothly (Twain Roughing It 55).

Twain is describing the hierarchy in a system which relies on individual force and violence instead of organized intervention or law. At this early point in the novel this peculiarity is presented as a curious situation. Twain (or Twains's narrator) will continue to explore this situation with increasing satire and irony as he is introduced to futher examples of individual desperadoism.[1]

The first detailed account of desperadoism is the story of Slade, the "bloody, dangerous, yet valuable citizen." Twain will spend over two chapters (X and XI) explaining and evaluating the exploits of this famous desperado. Throughout Twain's presentation of Slade, the reader receives a seemingly contradictory presentation between a ruthless killer and a valuable law enforcer. It is explained that Slade's dubious reputation "procures for him the important post of overland division agent at Julesburg" (Twain Roughing It 71). Previously the company suffered from stolen horses and coach delays from gangs of outlaws. However, Slade makes quick work of the offenders.

> The result was that delays ceased, the company's property was let alone, and no matter what happened or who suffered, Slade's coaches went through, every time! True, in order to bring about this wholesome change, Slade had to kill several men--some say three, others say four, and others six--but the world was richer for their loss (Twain Roughing It 71).

This occasionally ironic description seems to accept and condone this violent conduct and approach to solving the problem of lawlessness. Admiration for Slade's bravery and determination appear stronger than criticism of his methods. It is related that "Slade's energetic administration had restored peace and order to one of the worst divisions of the road" (Twain Roughing It 72).

Slade's continued "success" is resumed when he is transferred to the violent and lawless Rocky Ridge division.

> It was the very paradise of outlaws and desperadoes. There was absolutely no semblance of law there. Violence was the rule. Force was the only recognized authority (Twain Roughing It 72).

Slade's success in correcting this situation is related with considerable admiration:

> He began a raid on the outlaws, and in a singularly short space of time he had completely stopped their depredations on the stage stock, recovered a large number of stolen horses, killed several of the worst desperadoes of the district, and gained such a dread ascendancy over the rest that they respected him, admired him, feared him, obeyed him! (Twain Roughing It 72).

However, after this seemingly admiring portrait, Twain begins to detail the ruthless and senseless killings, robberies, and terrorism which Slade perpetrates. These transgressions become so frequent and outrageous that eventually the community is forced to form a Vigilance Committee which arrests Slade and executes him for his crimes. The final reflection made on Slade is whether his tears, prayers, and lamentations made before his execution constitute cowardice in light of all his stouthearted bravery. The question of whether Slade's "successful" methods were justified remains ambiguous. It remains ambiguous and is made ironic by the fact that Slade is eliminated by others using his own vigilante methods.

At this early stage of the novel the narrator seems too overwhelmed with these events to supply more than awed admiration and an account of the facts. This aspect of awe is revealed when the narrator actually meets the desperado

Slade. He suddenly finds himself sitting across from Slade one day and relates his feelings.

> Here was romance, and I sitting face to face with it!---looking upon it---touching it---hobnobbing with it, as it were! Here, right by my side, was the actual ogre who, in fights and brawls and various ways, had taken the lives of twenty-six human beings, or all men lied about him! I suppose I was the proudest stripling that ever traveled to see strange lands and wonderful people (Twain Roughing It 75).

At this early stage of the novel, the tone of evaluating desperadoes is still one of awe and respect. However, this view undergoes a transformation as Twain or Twain's narrator becomes more knowledgeable and experienced through his travels. Desperadoism is seen from a different perspective when related by the quick learning newspaper reporter who becomes acquainted with desperadoes and their deeds. Consider the ease and detachment with which Twain describes a gun battle later in the story. After hearing pistol shots nearby, he explains: "We got the particulars with little loss of time, for it was only an inferior sort of barroom murder, and of little interest to the public" (Twain Roughing It 226). The tone of farcical understatement creates humor by using a casual approach, but the style indicates Twain's familiarity with

violence. The more experienced narrator loses his fascination over gun battles and even makes distinctions between them like any skillful reporter. He seems pleased that he can react to and report these incidents with the same ease as other westerners.

> . . . Removal of the restraints of settled community life produced the spectacular phenomenon of the Western bad man, the killer. When the topic had come up in the chapters devoted to the desperado Slade, Mark Twain's tone had been curiously ambiguous. He seemed not to know whether he feared the man, or admired his courage and skill, or hated him for his brutality, or despised him for the cowardice that might possibly be the basic trait of the desperado. Now taking up the desperado as a type, he speaks with conventional astonishment about the universal respect accorded such men by 'this sort of people'--evidently not the writer's sort (Smith _Development_ 64).

Twain explains:

> In Nevada, for a time, the lawyer, the editor, the banker, the chief desperado, the chief gambler, and the saloon-keeper,

> occupied the same level in society, and it was the highest . . . I am not sure but that the saloon-keeper held a shade higher rank than any other member of society. . . To be a saloon-keeper and kill a man was to be illustrious. . . "There goes the man that killed Bill Adams" was higher praise and a sweeter sound in the ears of this sort of people than any other speech that admiring lips could utter (Twain Roughing It 255-256).

Obviously the outraged moralist in Twain has been aroused. He now identifies himself with people who seek an end to desperadoism. The speculative and ironic approach concerning desperadoes finally evolves into a more resolved conclusion on the subject. It becomes apparent that "the men he respects most highly are invariably those who have succeeded within the confines of the law" (Kriegal XXIV). Honest miners, merchants, and other solid citizens gradually take the place of gunfighters and desperadoes for presentation and esteem in the novel.

Twain's attention to lawlessness leads him into the topic of injustice. His criticism of specific and individual lawlessness gradually expands to include attacks on established systems of law. The specific injustice that causes

him the most concern is the subject of juries. This formal aspect of law provides Twain with examples of inconsistencies, abuses, and wrongdoings which he felt needed correction in the frontier west. Twain often uses irony and sarcasm in his quest to reveal injustice and negligence in the whole jury system. Consider this ironic and humorous treatment of an inquest.

> On the inquest it was shown that Buck Fanshaw, in the delirium of a wasting typhoid fever, had taken arsenic, shot himself through the body, cut his throat, and jumped out of a four-story window and broken his neck--and after due deliberation, the jury, sad and tearful, but with intelligence unblinded by its sorrow, brought in a verdict of death "by the visitation of God." What could the world do without juries? (Twain Roughing It 247).

Twain even ventures to suggest that the jury system is obsolete and no longer secures justice.

> The jury system puts a ban upon intelligence and honesty, and a premium upon ignorance, stupidity, and perjury. It is a shame that we must continue to use a worthless system because it was good a thousand years ago (Twain Roughing It 257).

Citing the changes that have occurred since the invention of trial by jury (by Alfred the Great) Twain attempts to demonstrate the unworkable circumstances of juries in the modern age.

> In his day [Alfred the Great's] news could not travel fast, and hence he could easily find a jury of honest, intelligent men who had not heard of the case they were called to try---but in our day of telegraph and newspapers his plan compels us to swear in juries composed of fools and rascals, because the system rigidly excludes honest men and men of brains (Twain Roughing It 256).

Twain explains that responsible people are excluded after a screening process because they have read newspaper accounts of the cases. Since almost all literate and thoughtful people read the paper or were aware of events, finding a jury not knowledgeable about details in a case results in an ignorant jury "composed of fools and rascals." In a case in Roughing It where "a noted desperado killed Mr. B., a good citizen, in the most wanton and cold-blooded way," Twain explains the screened jury:

> It was a jury composed of two desperadoes, two low beerhouse politicians, three barkeepers, two ranchmen who could not

> read, and three dull, stupid, human donkeys! It actually came out afterward that one of these latter thought that incest and arson were the same thing (Twain Roughing It 257).

Twain continues his impassioned case by revealing that the jury passed the verdict of Not Guilty, and concluding: "What else could one expect."

> Twain's scathing comments on the jury system are actually an indictment of the idea that every man has the capacity or the right to judge. The dispassionate intelligence that the jury system requires was either absent or unwanted on the frontier. If he was brought to trial at all, the man who had 'killed his man' was more often than not a hero rather than a criminal to those who tried him (Kriegal XXIV).

Twain's adherence to law and order compels him to appeal for a better approach: "Why could not the jury law be so altered as to give men of brains and honesty an equal chance with fools and miscreants? (Twain Roughing It 257). Continuing his appeal for revisions in the system Twain states:

> I wish to so alter it [the jury system] as to put a premium on intelligence and character, and close the jury box

> against idiots, blacklegs, and people who do not read newspapers (Twain *Roughing It* 258).

The fact that the jury system was overrun with incompetent men reinforced "Twain's fear that American democracy might someday be victimized by the much-heralded 'common man'---who, Twain saw, was frequently much too common to be a man" (Kriegal XXV). However, Twain's specific methods for remedying the ills of the jury system remain vague. The problem is merely presented to the reader for further consideration. Twain's faith in democracy remains sound; however, he criticizes various abuses to demonstrate how certain factors (common and corrupt men) upset the idealized conception of democracy. The inability to resolve this problem and others displays the conflict in Twain between criticism and solution.

Once the topics of desperadoism and juries have been presented and examined, Twain enlarges the scope of his examination of law by exploring the subject of government in the frontier west. "Chapter XXV discusses the distressing but hilarious difficulties of administering a raw and reckless territory on grants and regulations issued by a distant bureaucracy that adamantly refuses to recognize local variations in prices" (Baldanza 44). Twain explains:

> In the days I speak of he [the U.S. Treasury Comptroller] never could be made to comprehend why it was that twenty thousand dollars would not go as far

> in Nevada, where all commodities ranged at an enormous figure, as it would in the other territories, where exceeding cheapness was the rule (Twain Roughing It 149).

Twain explains the reception of the new government (the Nevada Legislature) by saying: "The new government was received with considerable coolness. It was not only a foreign intruder, but a poor one" (Twain Roughing It 147). He also demonstrates how poor government causes needless complications for honest hard working people. Twain explains how the new government turns down the request for payment for honest work because an illiterate Indian was unable to sign a voucher. Using ingenuity, Twain has the Indian make an X and he witnesses and co-signs the document. Once the voucher clears he says: "I was sorry I had not made the voucher for a thousand loads of wood instead of one" (Twain Roughing It 150). Concluding this episode, Twain reflects on how poor government can force even honest people into dishonesty.

> The government of my country snubs honest simplicity but fondles artistic villainy, and I think I might have developed into a very capable pickpocket if I had remained in the public service a year or two (Twain Roughing It 150).

Eventually he is persuaded to leave the territory because of government intrusion.

> The argument that mining firms were threatened with heavy taxes weighed heavily with him against the first constitution. . . In Roughing It he went so far as to claim he left the Comstock because he thought the revised constitution that was actually adopted would "destroy the flush times" after carrying against the wish of the property owners and by the votes of the "folks who had nothing to lose" (Budd 13).

It becomes apparent that Twain can be as critical of poorly executed and misguided government as he can be of total lack of law.

In Roughing It, Twain criticizes injustice resulting from the lack of law, but he is also critical of established law such as juries and legislature when they exhibit incompetence. He continually pleads for justice in a territory where, in his view, there was either not enough law, or too much law poorly administered. Twain repeatedly calls for justice and focuses on injustice, but he is often unclear concerning the precise methods he wants employed to achieve the goal of justice. The complexity in arriving at an entirely satisfactory solution illustrates Twain's predicament as a talented critic of injustices who grappled with the possibly unresolveable dilemma of finding an ideal system of justice.

Pudd'nhead Wilson continues Twain's critical approach to law and justice with the location changing to the antebellum southwest. Written in 1894, Pudd'nhead Wilson presents a society which has an intricate and systematized form of law. Roughing It had presented a rudimentary and inexperienced form of law in the frontier west which suffered from an imbalance between lawlessness and poorly administered law. Pudd'nhead Wilson offers a society with a regimented and strict code of law. However, this organized system fails to secure justice because it suffers from the fundamental injustice of slavery, which is supported by aristocratic privileges and traditions. The elements of slavery and aristocracy combine in the novel to impair any sort of justice which the repressed and constrained law might provide.

The aristocratic element which undermines law in Pudd'nhead Wilson is the "code of honor" among "gentlemen" which works independently and outside the realm of established statute law.[2] The story ". . . opens with a masterfully ironical portrayal of the ruling class of Dawson's Landing, the Missouri town where the novel is set. We are immediately shown how a slaveholding culture breeds an aristocratic, feudal tradition in a democratic society." To be a gentleman---a gentleman without stain or blemish---was his only religion, and to it he was always faithful, "is the way Twain sums up the philosophy of the leading slaveholder in the community." (Foner 273). Twain continues his appraisal of these "gentlemen" and their laws for maintaining honor by explaining:

> These laws required certain things of him [the gentleman], which his religion might forbid: then his religion must yield---the laws could not be relaxed to accommodate religions or anything else (Twain Pudd'nhead 71).

The idea that personal disputes must be settled by duels arranged without the consent of law is a strongly held belief by the aristocratic men of the code.[3]

The unwritten but adhered to "laws of honor" are valued not only by the aristocratic gentleman, but by the community, including the slave community. When Tom fails to challenge the Italian twin to a duel after an insult the community is unanimous in its verdict against Tom. Tom's aristocratic uncle responds in a predictable way: "You cur! You scum! You vermin! Do you mean to tell me that blood of my race has suffered a blow and crawled to a court of law about it? (Twain Pudd'nhead 73). However, Pudd'nhead Wilson, the lawyer who at the end of the novel solves the central mystery through crime detection (fingerprinting), reacts to Tom's refusal in a surprisingly irrational way: "Well, he has been requiring you to fight the Italian and you have refused. You degenerate remnant of an honorable line! I'm thoroughly ashamed of you, Tom! (Twain Pudd'nhead 77). Surprisingly, even Roxy, who is a slave, reacts with contempt towards Tom because she identifies remotely with aristocratic blood lines: ". . . en yit here you is, a-slinkin' outen

a duel en disgracin' our whole line like a ornery low-down hound! (Twain Pudd'nhead 87). "Patrician and Negro, American and foreigner, freethinker and churchgoer, all accept the notion that an insult can only be wiped out in blood, and that the ultimate proof of manhood is the willingness to risk death in such an attempt" (Fiedler 134). It is this adherence to aristocratic values by all concerned in the novel which sustains the slaveholding mentality in Dawson's Landing. The slave culture with its implicit and explicit acceptance of social hierarchy fosters the existence and survival of social segregation which employs the "code of honor" as a sign of social distinction.

Twain also attacks the legal system which uses intricate lawful distinctions regarding slavery. "Twain scoffs at the manifest absurdity of the slaveocracy's doctrine that justified enslavement of any person with the slightest infusion of Negro blood in his or her veins" (Foner 275). Twain describes the specific regulations of this discriminatory system:

> Only one-sixteenth of her was black,
> and that sixteenth did not show. . .
> To all intents and purposes Roxy was
> as white as anybody, but the one-sixteenth
> of her which was black outvoted the
> other fifteen parts and made her a negro.
> She was a slave and salable as such.
> Her child was thirty-one parts

> white, and he, too, was a slave, and
> by a fiction of law and custom a negro
> (Twain Pudd'nhead 8-9).

It is only through the injustice of southern law and custom that the two children are separated lawfully and socially. The fundamental absurdity of the legal distinction between the babies is demonstrated when Roxy switches the two children and no one in the community or the household notices any difference.

It is apparent that sophisticated crime detection is not enough to secure justice in Dawson's Landing in light of slavery and social injustice. The intricate use of law and crime solving methods by Pudd'nhead Wilson is not enough to set things right at the end of the novel.

> The resolution of Pudd'nhead is, of course, double; and the revelation which brands the presumed Thomas a' Becket Driscoll a slave, declares the presumed Valet de Chambre free. We are intended, however, to feel the "curious fate" of the latter as anything but fortunate; neither black nor white, he is excluded by long conditioning from the world of the free, and barred from the "solacing refuge" of the slave kitchens by the fact of his legal whiteness (Fiedler 133).

The inability to secure justice through law is implicit in the story's ending. Fiedler remarks:

> The revelations of David Wilson (the name "Pudd'nhead" is sloughed off with his victory) restore civil peace only between him and the community which rejected him: for the rest, they expose only bankruptcy and horror and shame, and stupidity of our definition of a Negro, and the hopelessness of our relations with him (Fiedler 138).

In <u>Pudd'nhead Wilson</u> aristocracy and slavery combine to make law and justice unworkable. The pessimism concerning law in the novel differs from <u>Roughing It</u>'s tone of youthful speculations and suggestions for law in a new frontier. <u>Pudd'nhead Wilson</u> demonstrates how traditionally entrenched laws and customs prove unyielding even to creative and innovative methods (fingerprinting and crime detection) for securing justice. Finding the murderer and elevating Valet de Chambre to his "proper place" only ensures slavery for Tom, heart-break for Roxy, and irreparable culture shock for Chambre. Twain uses brutal irony by pretending to celebrate the restoration of order, while placidly relating the horror of the actual circumstances of each victim.

Society's inability and unwillingness to change unjust systems is a theme Twain will explore in greater depth in

The Prince and the Pauper and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court. The political comparison of democracy to monarchy and despotic rule is explored to reveal appalling parallels between those supposedly outworn and alien systems and Twain's nineteenth-century American society. Throughout these comparisons and evaluations of political systems Twain will often present multiple criticisms while offering contradictory and confusing resolutions; again we find ourselves observing a man who has a very clear idea of what he disapproves of and why it demands criticism, but who cannot discover just what ought to be done in its stead.

The subject matter of The Prince and the Pauper (1882) and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889) appealed to Twain because he could write about an age that was controlled by nobility and royalty, and which suffered from political divisions, all of which characteristics Twain enjoyed deriding. It was also an age of great religious debate and distinction, yet it was filled with unchristian acts. In both novels Twain uses the device of a king travelling incognito (as a commoner or pauper) through his own kingdom to discover the many social injustices which plague his country.[4] These revelations allow the king to re-evaluate present systems and meditate on the deficiencies in law, justice, and administration. Both novels also begin to address the injustices inherent in human nature or "the damned human race" as it was termed in his later work, The Mysterious Stranger.[5] However, despite his numerous criticisms of society in both

novels, Twain still tries to offer possible solutions to injustice. In these two stories, democracy, when properly applied, offers a way of redressing injustices and correcting the deficient areas in society. The novels offer lessons in democracy which were not lost on Twain's own society which was trying to find solutions to labor disputes, religious divisions, and various other social injustices. The workability of democracy was being questioned during this period of urban industrialization and social unrest (1880's and 90's).[6] Therefore, these novels, in part, address the political and social implications of democracy while examining the deficiences of other systems like monarchy and despotism.[7]

> In A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court and The Prince and the Pauper, he [Twain] used the technique of historical fiction to demonstrate the superiority of democracy to monarchy, republicanism to aristocracy, reason to superstition, and organized labor to servile workers dependent upon their employer's whims. He was not content merely to rail against ancient evils in his books set in medieval times. Nor did he beat a dead dog in these novels. The evils he exposed had their counterparts in the 1880's and he sought to make the connection crystal clear. The very fact that these

> novels became ammunition in the contemporary struggles for greater political and economic democracy is proof of his success (Foner 273).[8]

The Prince and the Pauper offers an examination of laws and justice and uses a historic format to deliver Twain's viewpoint and observations. The misuse of power, which causes a breakdown in society and its institutions, is one of the major topics of The Prince and the Pauper.[9] The novel centers on the consequences of law which result from monarchial rule. The prince (king) traveling incognito through his kingdom is the device which uncovers the actual circumstances of justice rather than the idealized image of the system.

The British monarchial system (sixteenth century) is immediately criticized at the beginning of the novel. Once the young prince and Tom Canty change clothes their positions in society also change. "The plot by which beggar Tom Canty becomes king and Prince Edward, son of Henry VIII, a beggar, disposes of the flimsy assumption of royal divinity. The pauper boy and the young prince change places and the courtiers sense no difference" (Foner 135).[10] Certain personality differences are noticed, but they are not dramatic enough to cause anyone to question the boys' identities. The prince is unable to prove his legitimacy by words or actions and Tom can play the prince's part convincingly once he's dressed for the part. Law by appearance rather than by merit is satirized and ridiculed by the role reversal.

Twain's criticism against monarchies is dramatized early in the story when Henry VIII says of his "temporarily" and presumed mad son:

> He is mad; but he is my son, and England's heir; and, mad or sane, still shall he reign! And hear ye further, and proclaim it: whoso speaketh of this his distemper worketh against the peace and order of these realms, and shall to the gallows! . . . Mad, is he? Were he a thousand times mad, yet is he Prince of Wales, and I the king will confirm it (Twain Pauper 23).

The very fact that "the king's will is law" leaves all other subjects in the kingdom unprotected from possibly evil or arbitrary (even mad) rule. The major thrust of the novel details abuses in power resulting from cruel and unjust law enforcement which is inflicted on the unprotected populace. Twain's detailing of abuses may seem melodramatic, overly sentimental and time consuming to the modern reader, but it serves as elaborate examples of monarchial injustice, and sets the stage for more modern and contemporarily significant criticisms.

The prince's travels associate him with outlaws, beggars, and commoners. "From them he learns of England's cruel laws and of widespread injustice. He sees 'small husbandmen turned shiftless and hungry upon the world because their

farms were taken from them to be changed to sheepranges.' He sees what his father's rape of the monasteries had meant to those turned out in the world 'houseless and homeless.' From a once-prosperous farmer he hears of the tragedy of a starved wife and children, hears his ironical toast to the 'merciful English law that delivered (them) from the English hell!" (Foner 135). Throughout the prince's travels he encounters cruel examples of English law which inflicts beatings, brandings, mutilations, imprisonments, slavery, and executions (burning at the stake, etc.) upon the populace. After this indoctrination the prince concludes that "the world is made wrong," that kings should go to school, see the operation of their laws, "and so learn mercy." However, the complete abolition of the monarchy is never definitely presented as a solution. Considering Twain's detailed criticisms of the system, for details of which he often inserts democratic corrections, it seems odd that the story concludes without a clear resolution to the question of monarchies. Tom Canty and the prince (Edward) correct various abuses with democratic solutions but they never suggest removal of the monarchial system. Presumably the prince will be a kinder ruler after his experience, but his unusual and unlikely education leaves no similar provision for future rulers.

The conclusion which restores and maintains the monarchial system undermines Twain's democratic approach and criticisms of monarchies which were developed throughout the novel.

The unsettling conclusion leaves the reader confused regarding Twain's viewpoint. He demonstrates through the re-education of the prince that monarchies are workable as long as the ruler is educated to the needs of the common people. Twain uses democratic approaches to correct certain injustices but doesn't tamper dramatically with monarchial government. The common people are portrayed as downtrodden servants who never consider revolution and Twain doesn't even provide an invented or proposed (possibly democratic minded) courtier who could advocate continued justice and democracy for the future. In The Prince and the Pauper Twain seems satisfied to work within the historic limitations of his setting and doesn't tamper or take liberties with history by inventing characters who could advocate and represent his democratic veiwpoints. This approach differs from his later, historically set novel, A Connecticut Yankee, where Twain invented a proposed catalyst (Hank Morgan) who actively engages in changing and rearranging the traditional realm of sixth-century England. Perhaps the spectacle of England acquiring justice at the hands of two children sufficiently ridicules the whole concept of the divine right rule and monarchies in general. "The Prince and the Pauper was but a prelude to a more fully developed criticism of the feudal world. Here Twain did not pose the abolition of monarchy but its improvement, ending with Edward VI a better monarch for having worn the pauper's rags" (Foner 135-136). "It is in A Connecticut

Yankee in King Arthur's Court that we find most of the passages in which Twain expresses his full contempt for monarchy" (Foner 136).

The dilemma for readers of A Connecticut Yankee is the duality of various concepts and theories. Twain can criticize certain aspects of democracy and technology which initially in the novel appear to be solutions to monarchies and despotism.[11] The inability to form a consistent stance on law and government often creates a dual approach which can praise and criticize both sides of an issue without committing to a definite philosophy and conclusion. By examining A Connecticut Yankee we see a developed and systematic political comparison which often presents confusing and contradictory viewpoints between feudal policies and democratic methods.

Written in 1889, A Connecticut Yankee presents a culmination of Twain's thoughts and philosophies on government. The novel is, in part, an attempt by the author to resolve various conflicts in law and government which his earlier novels examined to a lesser degree. A Conneticut Yankee reflects the author's attempt to resolve these questions (the final attempt) before the pessimism which engulfs his concluding works.

The numerous descriptions and evaluations of law and government in the novel present a complex and conflicting study for the reader. The three areas of law and government

covered include: criticisms of the feudal order, democracy, and technology. These three subjects often receive a contradictory and dual evaluation throughout the novel. A detailed study of these topics reveals Twain's unresolved and changeable attitudes concerning law and government.

The criticism of feudal government and authority is directed against three enemies of mankind. Foner describes these features:

1. The established church which inculcated feudal doctrines in the mass of the people; kept them in a state of poverty, ignorance and superstition in order to maintain its worldly power; suppressed freedom of thought and encouraged resignation to a sordid life by insisting that only life in the hereafter truly mattered.[12]
2. The parasitical aristocracy which throve on the system the church sanctioned; paid lip service to Christian ideals as it plundered the peasants and other producing classes; perpetuated a rigid caste system in order to maintain dominance over the commoners and preserve its own privileges.
3. The monarchy which crowned and symbolized the decadent feudal order. Sanctioned by the church and subsidized by the aristocracy, and further propped up by the doctrine of divine right, it perpetuated itself by means of a vicious and degrading penal code (Foner 141).

Much of A Connecticut Yankee centers on examples illustrating the injustices and cruelties visited on the common people by the kind of despotism Mark Twain imagines to have existed in the Middle Ages. "What Mark Twain hated was the brutal power resident in monarchies, aristocracies, tribal religions and minorities bent on mischief, and making a bludgeon of the malleable many" (Brooks 53). Descriptions of imprisonments, tortures, starvation and other cruel punishments inflicted on the common people by the church, aristocracy, and despotic rule, recalls the style and tone of The Prince and the Pauper. The melodramatic and impassioned examples of injustice are presented to prove the inadequacy and unworthiness of feudal government and aristocratic privileges.

> The truth was, the nation as a body was in the world for one object, and one only: to grovel before king and Chruch and noble; to slave for them, sweat blood for them, starve that they might be fed, work that they might play, drink misery to the dregs that they might be happy, go naked that they might wear silks and jewels, pay taxes that they might be spared from paying them, be familiar all their lives with the degrading language and postures of adulation that they might walk in pride and think themselves the gods of this world (Twain Yankee 38).

Twain continually advocates better treatment and more rights for the common people by criticizing their treatment by the privileged class in society. Speaking of commoners or freemen he states:

> By a sarcasm of law and phrase they were freemen. Seven-tenths of the free population of the country were of just their class and degree: small "independent" farmers, artisans, etc.; which is to say, they were the nation, the actual Nation; they were about all of it that was useful, or worth saving, or really respectworthy; and to subtract them would have been to subtract the Nation and leave behind some dregs, some refuse, in the shape of a king, nobility and gentry, idle, unproductive, acquainted mainly with the arts of wasting and destroying, and of no sort of use or value in any rationally constructed world (Twain _Yankee_ 62).

Twain's ardent republicanism is characterized by Foner this way:

> Again and again in the _Yankee_, Twain points out that the material welfare and cultural achievements of civilization had derived entirely from the suppressed

> masses, and only in the masses of common men lay the seeds of a better social order. The supposition that the people were not as well fitted to govern themselves as some self-appointed rulers were to govern them was a manifest absurdity (Foner 144).

Twain explains the strength in the suppressed masses by stating:

> The master minds of all nations, in all ages, have sprung in affluent multitude from the mass of the nation . . . only---not from its priviledged classes; and so, no matter what the nation's intellectual grade was. . . the bulk of its ability was in the long ranks of its nameless and its poor, and so it never saw the day that it had not the material in abundance whereby to govern itself (Twain Yankee 143-144).

Twain's faith in the common man to govern himself and create a destiny free from oppression by the aristocracy receives much attention and comment throughout the novel.

"In A Connecticut Yankee Twain ripped up the basic premise of monarchy, the divine right of kings. Using a device already employed in The Prince and the Pauper, he has King Arthur wander incognito through his realm with the

Yankee. Captured by slave-traders, Arthur is chained with other slaves in a convoy. The Yankee, musing on the king's inability to identify himself, concludes:" (Foner 141-142).

> It only shows that there is nothing diviner about a king than there is about a tramp, after all. He is just a cheap and hollow artificiality when you don't know he is a king (Twain Yankee 213-214).[13]

Criticism of the king and nobles while supporting the cause of the common man reveals the foolishness in social distinctions and privileges due to an imposed ranking system. "The basis of Hank Morgan's authority is a simplified but passionate commitment to the cause of the common people against the nobles, the monarchy, and the Established Church" (Smith Development 144).

Hank Morgan works earnestly for the re-education and transformation of the common people into a populace which can control its own destiny. "The Yankee had intended to transform feudal society by substituting good training for bad---in promising individual cases by sending people to his Man Factories for a technical education: on a broader scale by founding free public schools and newspapers and by the pervasive influence of industrialization" (Smith Development 162). Almost to the end, Hank Morgan maintains optimism and hope for the success of his program. "But at the outbreak of civil war among the knights, when the

Church seizes the opportunity to impose an interdict on the nation, the superstitious dread of authority ingrained in the people proves stronger than the Yankee's training. His proclamation of a republic has no effect, and he grows bitter about their cowardice and bondage to the established order of things:" (Smith Development 162).

> Ah, what a donkey I was! Toward the end of the week I began to get this large and disenchanting fact through my head: that the mass of the nation had swung their caps and shouted for the republic for about one day, and there an end! The Church, the nobles, and the gentry then turned one grand, all-disapproving frown upon them and shriveled them into sheep! From that moment the sheep had begun to gather to the fold---that is to say, the camps--- and offer their valueless lives and their valuable wool to the "righteous cause." Why, even the very men who had lately been slaves were in the "righteous cause," and glorifying it, praying for it, sentimentally slabbering over it, just like all the other commoners. Imagine such human muck as this; conceive of this folly! (Twain Yankee 261).

"Morgan now shares the contempt of the nobles for the commoners. In calling the people 'human muck' he echoes the remark of King Arthur that Beard chose for ironic illustration: Brother!---to dirt like that?" (Smith _Development_ 162.)

Hank Morgan's disillusionment with the common people runs contrary to the optimism and hope in commoners which dominated much of the novel ". . .The Yankee's denunciation of the mass of the nation as 'human muck' is the climax of a series of episodes revealing in him a deep-seated although unacknowledged contempt for mankind in general" (Smith _Development_ 163). The dichotomy in Twain's philosophy of common man between hopeful optimism and disillusioned contempt reveals his unresolved but growing pessimism concerning the "damned human race." The concluding pessimism is jarring in light of the assurances emphasized repeatedly throughout the novel:

> A man is a man, at bottom. Whole ages of abuse and oppression cannot crush the manhood clear out of him. . . There is plenty good enough material for a republic in the most degraded people that ever existed---if one could but force it out of its timid and suspicious privacy, to overthrow and trample in the mud any throne that was ever set up and any nobility that ever supported it (Twain _Yankee_ 182).

The Yankee's mission of re-educating the populace ultimately fails. The only effective way to achieve drastic change and popular support, the Yankee suspects, is by violent revolution.

> What this fold needed, then, was a Reign of Terror and a guillotine, [the Yankee admits] and I was the wrong man for them (Twain Yankee 103).

The confession of being "the wrong man for them" (the common people) is evident in the Yankee's final effort. In desperation he attempts a violent revolution in the Battle of the Sand Belt even though his common man support has disintegrated. With only a handful of aides the Yankee still attempts to destroy all opposition to his policies. The relationship between breaking feudal authority and faith in common man remains unresolved. Hank Morgan's final attempt to gain power only creates an ironic situation where he uses force (without popular consent) to obtain his will, which resembles the feudal method of government he detested and criticized.

The second prominent, yet contradictorily treated topic Twain presents in A Connecticut Yankee is the subject of democracy. Hank Morgan's endeavors throughout the novel have been referred to as an "object lesson in democracy," (Smith Development 138), but once again we receive a dual and contradictory presentation of a Twain novel's major concern. Twain's faith in democracy is apparent in the detail and time devoted to introducing democratic institutions

and methods for correcting feudal injustice. However, Hank Morgan's personality and actions often run contrary to the democratic devices he offers.

Baldanza accepts Hank at his word: "The political doctrines of The Boss consist of a wholehearted defense of democracy on the standard American pattern of his day---universal male suffrage and separation of church and state" (Baldanza 76). Smith agrees, but with reservations: "The spirit of democracy in A Connecticut Yankee is on the whole rather conservative. It might appropriately be called an ideology of republicanism. Morgan never mentions any proposals for creating an economic system different from that of the United States. The novel is a kind of inverse utopia; it implies an endorsement of the political and economic structure of the United States in the 1880's without basic changes" (Smith Development 150). The Yankee (Hank Morgan) quietly sets up newspapers, schools, fire departments, insurance companies, a mint, a patent system, a West Point and a naval academy, telephone and telegraph communication, Protestant churches, and even traveling salesmen.

In A Connecticut Yankee the endorsement of democracy is apparent in the detail and enthusiasm with which numerous democratic innovations are presented. However, Hank Morgan's methods for attaining influence and power are derived from fraudulent means. "Since the obliteration of individual freedom by group pressure is the prime obstacle the Yankee

faces in his efforts to reform sixth-century Britain, his passion for spectacular effects runs profoundly counter to the goal set for him by his ideology" (Smith Development 163). The Boss's immense pleasure derived from demonstrating his power reflects the superiority he feels over the populace, including the aristocracy. The Boss's various special effects raises him above the masses into a realm of adoration which borders on divine-like supremacy. The boss wants democracy but requires a form which has him in complete control over all facets of government and institutions. The gratuitous pride and conceit with which Hank Morgan rises to power is contrary to the theoretical equality which his democracy offers.

The Boss wants to destroy the aristocracy because of an apparently sincere desire to improve the common man's circumstances. However, the Boss's personality creates a situation where he fully enjoys the powers that he has acquired and plans to use them for his own advantages, much the same way that the aristocracy uses their special privileges. The Boss states: "the fact remains that where every man in a State has a vote, brutal laws are impossible" (Twain Yankee 143), yet he rises to power without any votes by using deception and trickery. Ultimately, Twain's democratic presentation oscillates between being an innovative vehicle for equality and freedom and a corrupting power force which can resemble despotism when abused and handled improperly.

The specific device Hank Morgan uses to "benefit" society and wield power involves the novel's third and final prominent subject, which is technology. Technology is the device which works together with democracy and makes it run smoothly. The delight with which Twain, through Hank Morgan, presents mechanisms and innovations reveals the author's faith in technology to serve and benefit a democratic society. However, through this presentation, we are again faced with Twain's confusing and contradictory view of a major concept concerning government and society.[14]

Initially, technology seems to have little to do with law and government. However, Hank Morgan uses technology as a political weapon which supports his democratic institutions and undermines the feudal government and authority. The Boss "intends to transform Arthur's kingdom into a republic by means of an industrial revolution" (Smith *Development* 153). The transforming force of technology is presented as a way to modernize and democratize Arthur's society. "*A Connecticut Yankee* is a how-to-do-it book demonstrating the superiority of advanced technology" (MacDonald 118). The triumphs of "The Boss" over Merlin and other feudal reactionaries displays the superiority and benefits technology offers mankind. ". . . The question at issue is whether republican idealism and nineteenth century technology can redeem society. This in turn poses the question of whether or not man can improve his lot if offered an ideal opportunity; whether, indeed, man is perfectible" (Tanner 161).

Twain's vision of a capitalist democracy through technology receives a dual and unclear treatment in <u>A Connecticut Yankee</u>. "Like most of his countrymen, Mark Twain oscillated between enthusiasm for the brave new world of science and technology, and nostalgia for the simple agrarian world that the industrial revolution was destroying before his eyes" (Smith <u>Development</u> 157). The optimistic presentation of technology in the novel gradually gives way to an increasingly pessimistic outlook concerning technology and industrialist institutions. The novel ultimately questions the beneficent effect of industrialism and implies that nineteenth-century civilization has threatened rather than fulfilled human happiness. Much of the pessimism in industrial technology is revealed in the unexpectedly violent and cataclysmic conclusion of <u>A Connecticut Yankee</u>. The Boss's influence and democratic institutions are endangered by the Church's Interdict, so the Boss relies on scientific technology to save democracy. The destructive modern weapons such as mine fields, electrified fences, and Gatling guns dramatize the devastation and death these innovations offer. "The book seems to end up as a declaration that democracy is a naive delusion and technology a force which merely multiples man's power of destruction" (Smith <u>Development</u> 162-163). By the end of the final battle: "twenty-five thousand men lay dead," and the peaceful beauty of ancient Camelot is destroyed by modern implements. The pastoral landscape

which had been described with so much care and reverence throughout the novel becomes a devastated battlefield. Ironically, in the end, Hank Morgan longs to return to the beautiful and idyllic land of innocence that he destroyed rather than the nineteenth-century which he tried to re-create. The inconsistent resolutions regarding feudal society, democracy and technology demonstrate Twain's changeable, unresolved and two-sided approach to these issues.

My study can suggest only part of the wide range of issues which Mark Twain raised through use of the law. The first two novels, Roughing It and Pudd'nhead Wilson, display Twain's views on law and government as he observed it in his own country. The youthful criticisms of law and government in Roughing It (1872), gradually give way to a more complex criticism and pessimism in Pudd'nhead Wilson (1894). The multiple and conflicting views of law and government were present in these two novels, but they lacked the depth and painful conflict which his historic novels offered. In The Prince and the Pauper (1882) and A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889), Twain offered unresolveably conflicting considerations on the problems of democracy and monarchy, new values and old values, technology and innocence, and man's ability to govern himself. Twain's inability to form a consistent stance and philosophy on these and other issues demonstrates his role as a critic

and his constant search and re-evaluation concerning law, government and society.

Notes

[1]". . . The 'I' who speaks in the first-person narratives is a character deliberately projected by the writer for artistic purposes, even though the technique of the projection may falter and drift into confusions" (Smith _20th Century_ 12). However, this character often represents and expresses Twain's criticisms and perspective on many subjects. The challenge for many critics is finding the precise relationship between Twain's narrator and the author himself.

"In _Roughing It_ . . . the frontier is not a cockpit which is viewed with haughty disdain from the back bench; it is a life into which the narrator is plunged head over heels" (Lynn _20th Century_ 44). Much of the humor is derived by the "innocent" narrator's reactions to things.

[2]The aristocratic and romantic tendencies of the South was a subject Twain had an intense interest in. "Next to slavery, Twain attributed the evils of Southern society to the 'Sir Walter disease.' From Scott's Waverly novels came the Southern obsession with genealogy, knighthood, and chivalry. It was Scott, Twain charged, who had resurrected in the South the medieval 'chivalry silliness.' The advance of civilization had been checked in the South by the debilitating influence of Scott's romances.

"Warming to his subject, Twain even charged that Scott had caused the Civil War. 'It was Sir Walter that made

every gentleman in the South, a major or colonel, or a general or a judge, before the war; and it was he, also, that made these gentleman value these bogus decorations. . . Sir Walter had so large a hand in making Southern character, as it existed before the war, that he is in a great measure responsible for the war.'

"Admittedly this personal devil interpretation of American history was superficial. (Twain himself agreed that it was a 'wild proposition')" (Foner 261-262). However, this tendency in Twain to criticize and satirize romantic pretensions displays his dislike for aristocratic behavior in the South and Ante-bellum South.

[3]Twain disliked duels and frequently criticized them in his stories. The Grangerford feud in Huckleberry Finn is an example of premeditated custom and ritual which results in violent and useless acts. Even in A Connecticut Yankee Twain criticizes duels; "As a rule they were simple duels between strangers---duels between people who had never even been introduced to each other, and between whom existed no cause of offense whatever" (Twain Yankee 14).

[4]In Roughing It Twain's character travels west, not incognito, but with the persona of an innocent tenderfoot who absorbs and relates his impressions on various situations and subjects. In fact, the character of the increasingly-sensitive observer is one of Twain's most useful creations.

[5]Twain's almost unbridled pessimism during the last fifteen years of his life is well-known. MacDonald remarks: "From the 1890's onward Mark Twain was struggling with his perception that democracy had been corrupted by money and that war was the normal behavior of modern as well as of ancient nations" (MacDonald 120-121).

[6]Smith says: "The immediate American environment must have played a part in Mark Twain's increasing concern with social and political issues. The later 1880's were a turbulent period. The manifold discontents that would find expression in the Populist movement were already much in evidence: the press was filled with the varied and contradictory demands of an unprecedented number of dissident groups -- for regulation or even government ownership of the railroads, for expansion of the currency, for a single tax on the unearned increment in the value of land, for curbs on the power of Wall Street, for the destruction of monopolies, for a hundred measures declared necessary to save the Republic from ruin. The Knights of Labor had emerged during the decade as the first national organization of workers in all types of industry. The hysteria over the Haymarket Riot in Chicago in 1886, leading to the execution of four anarchists falsely accused of murder, revealed the depth of conservative anxieties over radical influences in the labor movement.

"Although Mark Twain was not strongly attracted toward any of the radical programs, he had joined the Mugwump seceders from the Republican Party in 1884, and he ascribed to the

Yankee Mugwump doctrines about tariff and civil-service reform. More importantly, he was responsive to the general sense of outrage with which many popular spokesmen dwelt on the dislocations caused by the consolidation of power in the hands of industrialists and financiers after the Civil War" (Smith Development 142-143).

[7]Foner states that Twain's "transition from sentimental romance to social criticism was hastened by his feeling that he had a 'special mission' to vindicate American democracy from attacks by foreign critics, especially Matthew Arnold, who, during and following his tour of the United States in 1883-84 had characterized American civilization as mediocre and even barbarous. In several unpublished articles and in a public speech, Twain angrily retorted to Arnold, denouncing the evils of the British monarchial system and defended American democracy which, unlike the British system, was founded on the three principles basic to any 'respect-compelling civilization---equality, liberty, and humanity'" (Foner 137).

[8]Foner states: "That the Yankee said something for the working class and to the working class of the 1880's and 1890's is seen by the choice of it wherever workers assembled. Excerpts from the novel, especially Chapter XXXIII, were read aloud at trade union meetings and labor picnics, and were reprinted in many labor papers in America and England. In February, 1890, barely two months after its publication, W.T. Stead ranked the Yankee along with

Henry George's Progress and Poverty and Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward as the three literary contributions 'which have given the greatest impetus to the social-democratic movement in recent years'" (Foner 229).

[9]The misuse of power which undermines law can be seen in other previously examined novels. Consider Slade, juries and government in Roughing It. The slavery law in Pudd'nhead Wilson is also supported and maintained by an aristocracy which wields incredible power over life and death.

[10]Monarchy, like slavery laws in Pudd'nhead Wilson result in social distinctions which cannot stand up to scrutiny, which in both cases is the switching of two people of different social ranks which goes unnoticed. The absurdity of the system is dramatized by showing the equality of people in reality while criticizing the imposed social stratification which imposes ridiculous social distinctions.

[11]Smith says, "Mark Twain's relation to democracy has also been subjected to analysis in recent criticism. At the level of explicit statement, his political views turn out to have been, like many of his abstract ideas, somewhat confused. He can be quoted on both sides of almost any controversial issue of his day. Even his most ambitious imaginative treatment of political and economic themes, A Connecticut Yankee, has held contradictory meanings for its readers. Howells called the book 'an object-lesson

in democracy,' and it was welcomed by various radical groups because its satire of feudal tyranny was taken to be a thinly veiled attack on nineteenth century abuses. Yet as Roger Salomon has recently pointed out (in Twain and the Image of History, 1961), the protagonist undergoes a bitter disillusionment concerning the ability of the common people to govern themselves which the author seems to share. Whatever Mark Twain's intention may have been, the ending of the story suggests a despair of democracy" (Smith 20th Century 10).

[12]One of Twain's consistent criticisms and concepts is his plan to change religion in A Connecticut Yankee. Morgan states in the novel: "We must have a religion---it goes without saying---but my idea is, to have it cut up into forty sects, so that they will police each other, as had been the case in the United States in my time. Concentration of power in a political machine is bad; and an Established Church is only a political machine; it was invented for that: it is nursed, cradled, preserved for that; it is an enemy to human liberty, and does no good which it could not better do in a split up and scattered condition" (Twain Yankee 90).

[13]The king is also presented in a contrary way at another point in the story. When the king and the Yankee are saved from execution Morgan says of the king: "And as he stood apart, there, receiving this homage in his rags, I thought to myself, well really there is something peculiarly grand

about the gait and bearing of a king, after all" (Twain Yankee 231). The duality between supporting the common man and admiration for kings reflects Twain's conflicting personality. "Actual kings were with him nothing less than an obsession: kings, empresses, princes, archduchesses---what a part they play in his biography! He is always dragging them in, into his stories into his letters, writing about his dinners with them, and his calls upon them, and how friendly they are, and what gorgeous funerals they have. And as with kings, so also with great men, or men who were considered great, or men who were merely notorious. He makes lists of those he has known, those with whom he has spent his evenings---Mark Twain, to whom celebrity was the cheapest thing going! Is there not in all this the suggestion of an almost conscious weakness that sets a premium upon almost any kind of success?" (Brooker 62).

[14]"In the cosmos of the novel, Twain is the Yankee's master; although the Yankee is Boss of the machine world he imposes upon the face of Arthurian landscape, Twain operates the machinery of the novel and compels the Yankee to jump through act after act with ever increasing velocity until all his improvisations are exhausted. In bringing Morgan to death Twain was symbolically killing the machine madness which possessed him. . . . For Hank Morgan is to a large extent the concrete embodiment of Twain's obsession with Paige's invention. . . .From 1881, when he first became interested

in the Paige typesetting machine, until 1894, when the bankruptcy to which it brought him forced him to abandon it, the machine devoured $300,000 of his money. At the height of his obsession, in 1888, the same year in which he wrote most of A Connecticut Yankee, he was spending three thousand dollars per month on the invention" (Cox 20th Century 124-126).

Many authors have suggested the ultimate failure of the Paige typesetting machine venture as a significant factor in Twain's steadily pessimistic view concerning technology.

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