

THE REPRESENTATION OF SATAN IN THE
FICTION OF SAMUEL L. CLEMENS

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Samuel L. Clemens, born on November 30, 1835, lived at a time when the Puritanical and Calvinistic teachings of the day resulted in emotional "fire and brimstone" attitudes that he could never accept. He seemed to be a most logically minded man who needed to understand a cause-and-effect relationship in man's religion and his actions. He early established the rationale that man and not God has established the mundane rules vigorously pounded from the pulpit.

Unable to rationalize man's interpretation of God, Clemens took a different view of Satan. He wrote four minor pieces that illustrate his attitudes toward Satan. In "That Day in Eden" Clemens defined the human characteristic which he called the Moral Sense. In "Carnival of Crime" Twain destroyed his Moral Sense, otherwise known as Conscience. The result of the extermination of Twain's Conscience was "Sold to Satan," in which Clemens acquired wealth by selling his soul to Satan. By the time the author wrote "A Humane Word from Satan," he no longer felt the necessity to defend or characterize Satan. He began to act as a pen for the narrator, Satan.

Twain wrote three longer works characterizing Satan. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" was written as an allegory of the Garden of Eden story, describing the fall

from innocence of an entire community. Within "The Mysterious Stranger" manuscripts, Clemens described the appearance of a beautifully dressed Satan. In the manuscripts the author set forth his theory of dreams and explained the impossibility of finding happiness on earth. But he wrote a conclusion that stated nothing really exists but "you," and you are only a thought. "Letters from the Earth" was narrated by Satan, Twain's way of unleashing his own sarcasm.

Clemens allowed his Satanic characters freedoms that he would not allow other characters, and opinions that he restrained from writing as his own. But an older Clemens tossed convention aside as he assumed Satan's identity and wrote imaginative and unrestrained ideas on God, Satan and man.

THE REPRESENTATION OF SATAN IN THE
FICTION OF SAMUEL L. CLEMENS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	INTRODUCTION	1
II	MINOR PIECES	20
III.	<u>THE MAN THAT CORRUPTED HADLEYBURG</u>	34
IV.	<u>THE MYSTERIOUS STRANGER</u>	43
V.	<u>LETTERS FROM THE EARTH</u>	70
VI.	CONCLUSION	80
	A BIBLIOGRAPHY	88

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: FUNDAMENTALISM IN HANNIBAL, 1835-1853

Samuel L. Clemens was born on November 30, 1835, the same day the earth saw Halley's Comet streak across the sky. After a brief stay at Florida, Missouri, Sam's parents, John Marshall and Jane Clemens, moved to Hannibal, a small town on the Mississippi.¹ Born two months premature, Sam was a very sickly baby and for years was a sickly child.

"One quarter of the children born, die before they are one year old; one half die before they are twenty-one and not one quarter reach the age of forty," so reported the Hannibal Gazette on June 3, 1847. Sam Clemens came close to death in both the first and second round.²

The young Sam Clemens was not considered a handsome boy. His features were rather disorganized; his head was somewhat large compared to the rest of his body; his hair was oiled down to keep his curly locks straightened. His blue eyes were sharp and alert surrounded by a fair complexion often tinted with grime.³

¹Albert B. Paine, The Boy's Life of Mark Twain (New York, 1944), pp. 3-6.

²Dixon Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal (Boston, 1952), p. 80.

³Paine, The Boy's Life of Mark Twain, p. 22.

Companions to Sam were his brothers and sisters, of whom he was chronologically the youngest. Orion, the oldest, was ten years his senior; after Orion came Pamela, Margaret, Benjamin, and then Sam. The children also enjoyed the companionship of several Negro slaves who were owned by the Clemens family, relatives and neighbors. Their influence on Sam became more pronounced as he grew older.⁴

Hannibal possessed more numerous fine houses than did Florida.⁵ "The river was one side of the village; the other three were countryside, prairie, and forest."⁶ There was no problem of starvation within Hannibal and no need to fear the Indian who wandered in and out of the village. Those Indians that visited or lived around Hannibal were mostly half-breeds who had come from a "sexually puritanical race." Life was simple and fear of the frontier existed no longer.⁷ Men in Hannibal no longer found it necessary to create all their household tools as they did in many other frontier cities. Crafts were being developed individually, although many frontiersmen continued to feel many needs. The prairie and the forests were good reasons for a later Mark Twain to find material enough to fill five-sevenths of his works.⁸

⁴Albert B. Paine, Mark Twain: A Biography (New York, 1912), III, 14-15.

⁵Bernard DeVoto, Mark Twain's America (Boston, 1967), p. 29.

⁶Ibid., p. 30

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 31

The frontier reflected the religion of the time. Evangelism was wide spread, and the beliefs of John Calvin were definitely alive. But the frontiersman did not forget to be happy. Bernard DeVoto states, ". . . the Puritan is nowhere discoverable on the frontier, if the Puritan is a man who hates loveliness, fears passion, represses his instinct, and abstains from joy."⁹ The Calvinistic religion was preached to Sam from the time he was very young. The beliefs of John Calvin, who lived from 1509 to 1564, existed past the sixteenth century and followed five major issues.

1. Election or predestination
2. Limited Atonement
3. Total Depravity
4. Effectual calling
5. Perseverance of the Saints¹⁰

Needless to say, Sam was affected by his religious upbringing. Calvinism left little room for amusement if strictly followed. But the frontiersman would not neglect enjoyment. He "tossed a badger into a barrel with a terrier, or dug a pit for twenty terriers and a bear."¹¹ Naturally, the Calvinist was forbidden to play cards or make bets, but these rules were often broken by the more liberal minded.¹²

⁹DeVoto, Mark Twain's America, p.42.

¹⁰Stella Mae Freeman, "The Influence of the Frontier on Mark Twain," unpublished master's thesis, Department of English, North Texas State University, Denton, Texas, 1942, p. 47.

¹¹DeVoto, Mark Twain's America, p. 32.

¹²Ibid.

There were other taboos, such as the sexual beliefs of the time, although Puritan views of sex within the frontier were much more liberal than those of the seaboard cities. Bernard DeVoto states that "the notion of Puritanical abhorrence of sex is a critical cliché and has no correspondence in fact." He asserts this as fact on the evidence of the large families existing during this time, as well as the ratio of men who married a second time after their wives died.¹³

To the real Puritan, evil was manifest in the theatre. But seaboard and river port cities still looked forward to the happy sound of the tugboats tooting their whistles, signaling the approach of a showboat. And "the band mounted. . . for a concert."¹⁴

The inhabitants of the Mississippi enjoyed all types of music within their homes. They were apt at not only creating their own instruments, but also at repairing a broken string or even a broken banjo or fiddle. No matter the poverty, men were expected to have a musical instrument "hanging beside the rifle in the shanty."¹⁵

Some of the most creative music from the United States came from this era in her history. The slaves created out of their hardships a new and sad music. As already stated, the

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 35.

Clemenses and many other families of Hannibal were slave holders. Sam never forgot the Negro's hardships; and he listened to the slaves sing in the fields and in the kitchens. Their joyous songs made them appear happy creatures, but Bernard DeVoto relates the difference in their songs as sadness crept in. The sad, melancholy, and "at once awful and sublime" songs of the slaves were heard throughout Hannibal. DeVoto adds that the old fables taught in Sunday school became strikingly real through these pleas for understanding and deliverance. Here is the way DeVoto chants the feeling:

The son of Nun shouted and the walls came tumblin' down; bands of angels filled a sky swept with radiance from a chariot of fire; Daniel walked into a furnace but the Lord delivered him and the blood came trickling down, Moses smote upon the waters, the sea divided, and then ol' Pharaoh's army done got drowned. Meanwhile King Jedus came riding crost Jurdan to feed his lams. . . Ecstasy lifted the songs above the fables till a race spoke, out of its suffering, a poetry unequalled on this continent. Go down, Moses, tell ol' Pharoah to let my people go! The chariot swung lower, oh, yes, lord! --the trumpet sounds within my soul, I ain't got long to stay here. And nobody knows the trouble I see, nobody knows but Jedus. I know moonlight, I know starlight-- I lie in the grave an' stretch out my arms -- I lay dis body down. A motherless child, that's what I feel like; oh, yes, Lord, a long way from home. But I'm goin' to tell him the road was rocky, I'm goin' to tell God all my troubles when I get home. The trumpet sounds within my soul! Swing low, sweet chariot. I want to cross over where all is peace. . . A humble race, simpler than most, more joyful, more bawdy, finding expression for a labor and a sorrow not to be comprehended. The child heard and the trumpet sounded in his soul. . . 16

¹⁶Ibid., p. 38.

Religion and superstition were often believed in together. Although Sam refused to admit any belief in heaven or hell, he was superstitious, probably from his close relationships with many slaves. Both religion and superstition instigated much fear; people believed in a God out for vengeance. This God believed in acting as a disciplinarian, and his main job was to administer punishment whenever and wherever needed.¹⁷

Wagenknecht discusses the "voodoo magic of the negroes" hovering over young Sam's childhood.¹⁸ There was an elderly Negro woman who was said to be over a thousand years old. This woman told of her experiences with Moses and Pharaoh. When she recognized the presence of witches, she "tied up the remnant of her wool in little tufts with white thread, and this promptly made the witches impotent."¹⁹ The slaves told stories and tall tales that would influence Twain's writings throughout his life.

Young Clemens watched as an Abolitionist was practically lynched by a mob because he advocated the freeing of slaves. Sam saw a group of slaves chained together waiting to be taken aboard a ship, and he remembered their faces as the "saddest faces I ever saw."²⁰

¹⁷Stella Mae Freeman, "The Influence of the Frontier on Mark Twain," p. 10.

¹⁸Edward Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Work (New Haven, 1935), p. 196.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Paine, The Boy's Life of Mark Twain, p. 19.

On May 8, 1851, as editor of the Hannibal Gazette, Orion printed a story concerning a family of poor whites who had been located near a hogshhead and needed help. The family was described as follows: "A blanket constituted the bedding, a coffee pot and skillet made up the cooking utensils; and a few stones piled up formed a fire place. . . the dirty-faced cherubs appeared to be as happy as young princes."²¹ The town fathers voted against helping the family since the father was a "loafer," which meant that the town had no responsibility for the loafer or his "luckless brood."²²

Of course, no one could criticize this Christian neighborhood of being slack on morals. By 1845, the leading citizens had voted against Sunday sale of liquor and it was a misdemeanor to "play at any game of billiard, ten pins or other games of amusement" on Sunday.²³ Dixon Wecter attributes much of this religious behavior to the Presbyterian influence and idea of the Moral Sense," . . . [the church's] morbid pre-occupation about sin, the last judgement, and eternal punishment. . ." There is little wonder that Sam suffered a lifetime trying to understand this kind of religion.²⁴

²¹Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal, p. 146.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., pp. 85-86.

²⁴Ibid., p. 88.

Edward Wagenknecht states that Sam probably spent his early years feeling guilty. In both Autobiography and Life on the Mississippi Clemens discusses feelings he had at night following childish pranks played during the day. The thunderstorm sounded like a messenger from God reminding the young boy that God would shed vengeance upon him one day. Sam would promise this god all the things that he was sure should be promised, knowing full well that the things promised made little, if any, sense.²⁵ Even as a child, Clemens seems to have been a "silent rebel" against God and the idea of a hell, which he did not believe in, but found frightful at night. Found among Twain's autobiographical notes is the statement, "Campbellite revival. All converted but me. All sinners again in a week."²⁶ Along with these nightmares, Sam often walked in his sleep, which distressed his entire family.²⁷

When he was older, Mark Twain said that the morality that Man has is "artificial morality." Perhaps it was impossible for Sam to develop a love for this Calvinistic God, but rather a rebellious attitude.²⁸ But Wagenknecht states that the Calvinism in Hannibal has been overemphasized, since Hannibal's Calvinism maintained a co-existence with

²⁵Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Works, p.190.

²⁶Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal, p. 88.

²⁷Ibid., p. 81.

²⁸Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Works, p. 189.

"eighteenth century rationalism." He reasons that Jane Clemens was not intolerably Calvinistic; John Clemens was not Christian at all; even John Quarles, whom Clemens respected highly, was not Calvinistic. But Wagenknecht recognizes the fact that Sam was brought up on the "old theology."²⁹

Sam had great respect for his mother. She exhibited moral character and courage. She taught him to "fear God and dread the Sunday School."³⁰ Sam felt that the height of the children's moral training was initiated by their mother, who "loved animals, rebuked cartmen who beat their horses, refused to trap rats, or kill flies, and adopted waifs and strays on sight."³¹

Sam was extremely close to his mother. They shared like temperaments, and she influenced him in many areas. Although Wagenknecht speaks of her as being Calvinistic, he says she was intensely social, and at one time was considered a belle in Kentucky, ". . . devoted to dancing. At one time she also smoked a pipe."³²

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Janie Rogers, "Representations of the Mother-Son Relationship of Samuel Clemens," unpublished master's thesis, Department of English, North Texas State University, Denton, Texas, 1968, p.30.

³¹Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal, pp. 127-128.

³²Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Works, p.9.

Sam enjoyed telling the story of how she was tricked into defending Satan because he was the most pitiable of sinners. Sam also had a determined interest in Satan as the "most appealing figure in Christian mythology, though probably out of admiration for an archrebel."³³

Mrs. Jane Clemens joined the Presbyterian Church in 1843. The church's steeple "with a bell from the wrecked steamboat Chester, towered over North Fourth Street." The children followed her example and joined the church, but Judge Clemens visited church only once and never joined.³⁴

Despite the close relationship between mother and son, Dixon Wecter states that "Sam was fitful, idle, erratic, unpredictable. With relief his mother looked to school days to take him off her hands."³⁵

There was only one thing young Clemens disliked more than church, and that was school. He later had Tom Sawyer say, "church ain't worth husks," but it was better than school.³⁶ Sam Clemens was introduced to school and his first

³³Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal, p. 127.

³⁴Ibid., p. 86.

³⁵Ibid., p. 82.

³⁶Paine, Mark Twain: A Biography, III, 69.

teacher, Mrs. Horr, at the age of four. She was a "middle-aged lady from New England who always required her school children to read a Bible verse and then say a prayer."³⁷ Her assistant and principal was a thin old maid from Florida, named Miss Mary Ann Newcombe; she ate her meals with the Clemenses.³⁸ The high point of enjoyment for the children came with the celebration of May Day. These two teachers and the parents would probably have been horrified had they realized the sexual connotations related to this event. Nevertheless, it was a celebrated occasion, as "the pupils resplendent in clean shirts and starched pinafores, [were] preceded by the municipal brass band, led by the May Queen and shepherded by their teachers." Playing their innocent games, the group sang songs "in praise of spring, their God, and their country."³⁹

Sam's learning under this feminine domain was different from later learning experiences under Mr. Cross and Mr. Dawson. These early lessons were continuations of "prayers, Bible readings, deportment, the ABC's, Webster's speller, and McGuffey's reader and the deafening recitation of the old blab school."⁴⁰ Since Miss Newcombe taught the importance

³⁷Rogers, "Representations of the Mother-Son Relationship of Samuel Clemens," p. 16.

³⁸Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal, p. 83.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 84-85.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 84.

of praying, Sam decided once to test for advantages in prayer. He prayed for gingerbread, and it just happened that the daughter of the local baker, whose name was Margaret Kolneman, had brought a piece of the much wanted bread with her. Sam believed his prayer was answered, but upon similar tests and failures, he failed to see the advantages in future prayer.⁴¹ School and church were similar in the mind of young Sam. He began to see them as threats to his freedom. They took practically the entire week.⁴²

Several years before John Marshall died, Sam attended what was considered a "good common school for boys and girls"; the teacher was an Irishman named William O. Cross.⁴³ Mr. Cross was once the object of poetry written by Sam. This short poem was placed on the blackboard.

Cross by name and cross by nature--
Cross jumped over an Irish potato.⁴⁴

Friday afternoons were more pleasurable to Sam, since it was at this time that he competed in spelling-bees. At this, he excelled, and even Mr. Cross commended his aptitude in this area.⁴⁵

⁴¹Ibid., p. 83.

⁴⁴Ibid., p.132.

⁴²Ibid., p. 85.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., p. 131

Sam also attended school under the tutelage of Mr. J.D. Dawson. His school began in 1847, and he offered openings for "young ladies and a few boys 'of good morals, and of ages under twelve years.'"⁴⁶ It was in this school that Sam met his first Jews. He somehow envisioned them as dressed "invisibly in the damp and cobwebby mold of antiquity . . ."⁴⁷ The young Jews were named Levin; and although there was much jesting at their expense, Sam never seemed to develop a prejudice toward Jews.⁴⁸

Sam's first church was not Presbyterian, but Methodist. ✓ At this church he visited his first Sunday school. The church's name was the Old Ship of Zion, and his Sunday school teacher's name was Mr. Richmond.⁴⁹ The man was a point of envy to Sam because of his strange thumb that had been deformed by a blow with a hammer. It looked like a parrot's beak to Sam. Mr. Richmond had his boys recite Bible verses from memory, in order that they might earn the right to check books from the church library. The prize was dishonestly won by Sam for weeks as he recited the verse about the five foolish virgins each week.⁵⁰

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 132-133.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 86.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 136.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

One of the Campbellite ministers of Sam's day was a Reverend Barton W. Stone, grandfather to a close friend, Will Bowen. Sam later told the story of how he and Will had been playing euchre and, being interrupted by adults, had quickly hidden the cards in the minister's baptizing robe. Forgetting to retrieve the cards, the boys left them in the robe. While the minister was baptizing converts, the cards came to the surface and floated on the water. Evidently the cards were not the best, since one of the boys amid his punishment declared, "I don't see how he could help going out on a hand like that."⁵¹

By the age of ten or eleven, Sam was considered old enough to remain for the sermon. This he disliked more than Sunday school. The "limitless fire and brimstone. . . thinned the predestined elect down to a company so small as to be hardly worth saving."⁵² Edward Wagenknecht saw part of Sam's attitude toward religion as a product of the not too intelligent, ranting, Calvinistic ministers who made statements that were not logical and were often contradictory.⁵³

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 88-89.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 86-87.

⁵³Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Works, p. 191.

It seemed that "God intends us to be thoroughly miserable, and that He will roast us all in hell if we manage somehow to evade here the miseries which, in His merciful wisdom, He designed for us."⁵⁴

Years later upon visiting a church in Illinois, Twain was reminded of his childhood church.

There was the high pulpit, with the red plush pillow for the Bible; the hair sofa behind it, and the distinguished minister from the great town a hundred miles away.⁵⁵

The minister and congregation fit the patterns he had gathered as a child. He described the sermon, the setting, the people.

There were the stiff pews; the black velvet contribution purses attached to long poles, flanking the pulpit; the tall windows and Venetian blinds; the wonderfully scattering congregation; the gallery with ascending seats, opposite the pulpit; six boys scattered through it, with secret spitball designs on the bald headed man dozing below; the wheezy melodeon in the gallery-front; the old maid behind it in severe simplicity of dress; the gay young soprano beside her in ribbons and curls and feathers; the quiet alto; the grim middle-aged bass; the smirking, ineffable tenor (tenors are always conceited).⁵⁶

The older Twain reflected upon his views as a boy and felt the congregation resembled a "captive audience."

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal, p. 87.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 87.

He was amused at the young boy who was considering catching a fly, and the older people who dozed through the sermon. The, "Oh, Praise the L-o-r-d" brought back memories that were not altogether pleasant.⁵⁷

Revivals were always an important event in Hannibal. These revivals were held at different places. Sometimes they were "held at Camp Creek, five miles southwest of the village, and sometimes in a clearing of the woods between Hannibal and Palmyra."⁵⁸ Orion once said, "There is something about a scenery entirely natural."⁵⁹ The old pentecostal spirit rose to extremely emotional heights, and many persons were "saved" through this type of meeting. But Sam did not put a great deal of importance on these highly emotional meetings.

It appears a little strange that Sam always had numerous clerical friends. He decided when only a youth to become a minister himself as insurance against hell. It seemed his only chance of avoiding the place. As Wagenknecht

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 87

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 89

⁵⁹Ibid.

puts it, "he believed it impossible that a clergyman could be damned."⁶⁰ He remained close to the clergy. As late as 1866, he states, "I am as thick as thieves with the Reverend Stebbings, and I am laying for the Reverend Scudder and the Reverend Dr. Stone. I am running on preachers now altogether."⁶¹ It can not be presumed that Twain the adult meant this, but as a child he probably did.

Sam's greatest influence during his first twelve or thirteen years apparently was his mother. When he was only eleven years old, his father, John Marshall Clemens, died.⁶² Standing beside his father's coffin, Sam promised his mother that he would be a better boy if only he could quit school. But the census record seems to prove that he remained in school until 1849.⁶³

True to religious beliefs of the time, Jane Clemens requested a second promise from Sam as he was leaving Hannibal. She had him promise "not to throw a card or drink a drop of liquor while he was away." Dutifully he repeated the words, "and she kissed him."⁶⁴

⁶⁰Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Works, p. 192.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 193.

⁶²Rogers, "Representations of the Mother-Son Relationship of Samuel Clemens," p. 26.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 30-31.

⁶⁴Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal, p. 262.

When Sam Clemens left Hannibal in 1853, he was saturated with what he later referred to as "the Moral Sense." The eighteen year old Clemens reflected Jane Clemens' active appreciation for life without her religious fervor. To him, Man had created a set of rules by which it was impossible to live.

Although he found this Calvinistic religion illogical, Sam took this religion to bed with him at night. Coupled with the superstitious tales told by the slaves, he had nightmares that made him believe that there was a God preparing a hell just for him. This young sceptic always remembered his mother's pity for Satan as the most lost of all the wicked, and he began to feel akin to this lost being. The following quotation from an unpublished version of The Mysterious Stranger depicts the young Sam and Satan as one, residing in Hannibal and being appreciated by the animals, since they too were lacking the Moral Sense:

"Animals could not let him alone; they were so fascinated with him; and this was mutual, for he felt the same way toward them. He often said he would not give a penny for human company when he could get better. You see they were fond of each other because in a manner they were kin, through their mutual property in the absence of the Moral Sense. And kin in another particular, too - to him, as to them, there were no unpleasant smells . . . He said that the natural man, the savage, had no prejudices about smells, and no shame for his God-made nakedness. . . The wild creatures trooped in from everywhere, and climbed all over Satan, and

on his shoulder and his head, and rummaged his pockets, and made themselves at home - squirrels, rabbits, snakes, birds, butterflies, every creature you could name; and the rest would sit around in a crowd and look at him and admire him and worship him, and chatter and squawk and talk and laugh, and he would answer back in their own language."⁶⁵

There is evidence that at this time Sam believed in pre-destination, because he seemed to view himself as one of the doomed. He considered becoming a minister, since it seemed the only possible road to salvation for him. But he later learned that this was not security either. At eighteen, ✓ Sam was still a "silent rebel"; he questioned the existence of God, hell, Satan, and heaven. Whether or not he ever answered the questions concerning these topics, he would find an outlet for discussing them in fiction and nonfiction ✓ until his death.

⁶⁵Dixon Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal, p. 94.

CHAPTER II

MINOR PIECES

As early as 1876, and as late as 1905, Twain wrote small pieces characterizing Satan. He had a different purpose for writing each one, but all remain a criticism of God. To date, these short writings have been somewhat overlooked, and little has been said concerning their importance. But they weave an intricate design among Twain's longer Satanic writings. The purpose of this chapter is to view this design in order to expose a logical trend in Twain's thinking.

Around 1905, Twain wrote a serious criticism against God. Allison Ensor points out that Twain "introduced a new viewpoint. Satan was allowed to give his side. . ."¹

"That Day in Eden" defines Twain's attitude toward that human characteristic, the Moral Sense.

Satan, narrator and sympathizer, plays God with Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The Man and Woman, existing in their secure haven, question the meaning of Good, Evil, and Death. They call upon Satan to explain the meanings of these terms.²

¹Allison Ensor, Mark Twain and the Bible (Lexington, 1969), p. 54.

²Charles Neider, ed. The Complete Essays of Mark Twain (Garden City, 1963), pp. 668-669.

Satan attempts to explain to the two innocents the reason why it is impossible for them to comprehend. He explains that reduced to formulas these words have no meanings, and they exist outside Adam and Eve's world.³ Satan touches lightly upon such words as pain, fear, death, good, and evil, realizing the impossibility of their understanding such alien terms.⁴ He explains that these words "have place in the moral kingdom only. You have no morals."⁵ Through Satan, Twain eventually reaches his maxim: "No one can do wrong without knowing how to distinguish between right and wrong."⁶ Satan attempts to explain how knowledge of right and wrong is acquired. He tells Adam and Eve that the Moral Sense gives this knowledge, but man should not desire this "creator of wrong," since "wrong cannot exist until the Moral Sense brings it into being."⁷

Since the Tree of Knowledge endows man with the Moral Sense, Eve takes an apple, bites into it, and declares, "I am degraded - I have fallen, oh, so low, and I shall never rise again."⁸

³Ibid., p. 669.

⁴Ibid., p. 670.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 671.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 672.

Adam's eyes were fixed upon her in a dreamy amazement, for he could not understand what had happened, it being outside his world as yet, and her words having no meaning for one void of the Moral Sense. And now his wonder grew: for, unknown to Eve, her hundred years rose upon her, and faded the heaven of her eyes and the tints of her young flesh, and touched her hair with gray, and traced faint sprays of wrinkles about her mouth, and eyes, and shrunk her form, and dulled the satin luster of her skin.⁹

And Adam "loyally and bravely" followed Eve into the world of the Moral Sense by taking a bite of the apple. He became similarly changed. Then the two walked from the Garden equipped with the power to choose between right and wrong: Man now had the Moral Sense.¹⁰

Mark Twain exhibited philosophical characteristics in his attitude toward the duality of God, Man and Satan. "God, so atrocious in the Old Testament, so attractive in the New-- the Jekyll and Hyde of sacred romance" is an example of Twain's written opinion toward this matter of duality in God.¹¹

During 1876 Twain was becoming established with Hartford society, evidenced by his election into the Monday Evening Club. Warner, Twichell, Professor Calvin E. Stowe, Dr. Horace Bushnell, and J. Hammond Trumbull were among the eminent personages belonging to this society.¹²

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Albert B. Paine, ed., Mark Twain's Notebook (New York, 1935), p. 392.

¹²Hudson E. Long, Mark Twain Handbook (New York, 1957), p. 187.

Although Twain outwardly appeared somewhat Christian during the year 1876, with "days punctuated at regular intervals by prayers, Bible readings, and grace before meals,"¹³ his humor was already reflecting the revolt his mind was deliberating. On January 24, 1876, as on several previous occasions, Twain was invited to entertain the Monday Evening Club by reading one of his works. For the evening's entertainment he read "The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut."¹⁴ Narrating in first person, Twain attempted to relate allegorically the cause for the black depression he so often felt. Kaplan states that Twain believed:

Conscience was the source of guilt and remorse, and of that Presbyterian sureness of damnation that he tried to joke away in his "(Burlesque) Autobiography" and in all his other public pseudo confessions that he was a liar, a thief, and a wastrel.¹⁵

More and more frequently, Twain's writings acquired this symbolic self-punishment.¹⁶

Twain compared Man to the Moon. The moon has a dark side that is not shown; Man, also, has a dark side of his personality that is never revealed. This dark side Twain connected with evil, and evil in Man concerned him more and more.¹⁷

¹⁴Kenneth S. Lynn, Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor (Boston, 1959), p. 203.

¹⁵Justin Kaplan, Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain (New York, 1968), p. 225.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 403.

Twain turned to Man's conscience for evidence of evil. ✓
 In "The Recent Carnival" Twain asked his Conscience, ✓
 "Who are you?"
 "Well, who do you think?"
 "I think you are Satan himself. I think you are the devil." ✓
 "No."
 "No? Then who can you be?" ✓
 "Would you really like to know?"
 "Indeed I would."
 "Well, I am your Conscience!" 18 ✓

Twain was not prepared in 1876 to introduce to the world ✓
 this stranger whom he called Satan. But he was questioning
 the validity of Man's opinions toward good and evil. At night
 more than during daylight hours, he questioned this duality
 within himself. He later admitted, "In my age as in my youth,
 night brings me many a deep remorse. I realize from the cradle
 up I have been like the rest of the race - never quite sane at ✓
 night."¹⁹

Twain's Conscience stood only two feet tall. Although
 his Conscience was once quite healthy, Twain had with age

¹⁸Neider, The Complete Essays of Mark Twain (Garden City, 1963), p. 292.

¹⁹Kaplan, Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain (New York, 1968), p. 403.

grown more reluctant to be pained by his wrong deeds. Since his Conscience thrived on the anguish he caused, he shriveled in size and appearance as Twain became more and more stubborn toward repentance. Twain described him as being covered by a greenish looking mold and somewhat out of shape generally.

While being plagued by the little creature, Twain asked the misshapen dwarf why he persisted in torturing him. Conscience admitted that his job, although set up for the purpose of improving man, was grossly enjoyed by him as a pleasure. After having been chided for a wrong he had committed, Twain cried, "Remorse! Remorse! It seemed to me that it would eat the very heart out of me! And yet that small fiend only sat there leering at me with joy and contempt, and placidly chuckling."²⁰

Twain contrived to murder his Conscience, and succeeded by causing the miscreant to fall asleep when Twain refused to feel guilty when faced with his problem of smoking. The less remorse Twain felt, the more sleepy the Conscience became. At last, Twain was able to grasp the dwarf and tear him to shreds. The last paragraph described Twain's feelings toward and the results of his loss of Conscience. No longer was he plagued by guilt for any act he chose to commit.²¹

²⁰Neider, The Complete Essays of Mark Twain (Garden City, 1963), p. 291.

²¹Ibid., p. 301.

Brashear and Rodney placed "The Carnival of Crime" within the third stage of approximately six stages of Twain's writing career. In "this third stage, the irony is directed at himself."²² Huckleberry Finn was written shortly thereafter.

In 1886 Twain found part of his answer concerning the duality of the personality. He identified with the ideas placed in Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde by Robert Lewis Stevenson. Twain recognized the duality of good and evil, but believed that these two were totally separated from each other.²³ As in Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Twain and his Conscience in "The Recent Carnival" are attempting to destroy each other, but of course, out of different motives.

Twain made a reference in his Notebook to the total duality that he felt must exist in Man:

The French have lately shown (apparently) that that other person is in command during the sonnambulic sleep; that it has a memory of its own and can recall its acts when hypnotized and thrown again into that sleep, but that you have no memory of its acts. You are not present at all. Very good. That is distinct duality. . . .²⁴

Years after "The Recent Carnival" was published, Twain's ideas concerning this distinct duality changed. On January 7, 1897, he made an entry in his Notebook concluding that he had

²²Minnie M. Brashear and Robert M. Rodney, The Art, Humor, and Humanity of Mark Twain (Norman, 1960), p. 187.

²³Kaplan, Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain (New York, 1968), p. 403.

²⁴Neider, The Complete Essays of Mark Twain (Garden City, 1963), pp. 348-349.

erred to believe that Man and Conscience were separate and ✓
 that he was wrong to have separated them in "Carnival."²⁵
 On the same day he made this statement concerning Conscience:
 "It is merely a thing; the creature of training; it is what-
 ever one's mother and Bible and comrades and laws and system
 of government and habitat and heredities have made it. It is
 not a separate person, it has no originality, no indepen-
 dence."²⁶

In 1904 Mark Twain was at Stormfield. One morning,
 noticing that stocks were down, he decided it was time to
 call upon the Devil and investigate the going rate for his
 soul.²⁷ In the essay "Sold to Satan " Twain's interview ✓
 with Satan is based upon the capitalistic profit motive.
 Through a Mr. Blank, Twain is able to arrange a meeting with
 Satan, a 2-1/2 per cent commission to be paid to Mr. Blank if
 an agreement between Twain and Satan be made.²⁸

At the hour of midnight the Prince of Darkness arrives.
 Twain describes this devil as follows:

. . . noiseless, came the modern Satan, just as we
 see him on the stage -- tall, slender, graceful, in
 tights and trunks, a short cape mantling his shoulders,

²⁵Kaplan, Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain (New York, 1968), p.225.

²⁶Neider, The Complete Essays of Mark Twain (Garden City, 1963), pp. 348-349.

²⁷Bernard DeVoto, "The Easy Chair," Harper's Magazine, CXCII (April, 1946), 310.

²⁸Neider, The Complete Essays of Mark Twain (Garden City, 1963), p. 650.

a rapier at his side, a single drooping feather in his jaunty cap, and on his intellectual face the well-known and high-bred Mephistophelian smile.²⁹

Twain recalls with admiration the beauty and theatrical appearance of Satan. Realizing "other Christians" long since had accustomed Satan to the human admiration exhibited in his presence, Twain was not at all surprised that Satan did not respond to his flattering expression.

Twain refers to Satan as a "nebular dream":

. . . a softly glowing, richly smoldering torch, column, statue of pallid light, faintly tinted with a spiritual green, and out from him a lunar splendor flowed such as one sees glinting from the crinkled waves of tropic seas when the moon rides high in the cloudless skies.³⁰

The nine hundred-odd pound, six foot one, radium Satan compliments Twain's recognition of his monetary significance, admitting that no other candidate has perceived his value. He said, "I used to buy Christian souls at fancy rates, building bridges and cathedrals in a single night in return, and getting swindled out of my Christian nearly every time I dealt with a priest. . ."³¹ Twain is the first to distinguish real value.

In "The Chronicle of Young Satan," one of the manuscripts of The Mysterious Stranger written between 1897 and 1900, Twain made a reference to Satan's inability to capture his priest. The town of Eseldorf possessed a bridge built in the Middle Ages by the Devil at the price of one Christian. But

²⁹Ibid.

³¹Ibid., pp. 651-652.

³⁰Ibid., p. 651.

after the Brotherhood prayed all night for a dying priest to gather enough strength to pass over the bridge, a promise made to the devil, the priest rose to the occasion, passed over the bridge, and immediately fell dead. The Devil was enraged, but to no avail. The promise had been kept: one priest was made his property in return for the building of the bridge: one dead priest.³²

Satan now prepares to enlist a new man: Mark Twain. After enjoying hot toddy and Cavour, the conversation eventually turns to the monetary value of radium, which is the make-up of Satan. DeVoto refers to this discussion concerning radium's potentials for the world as evidence of Twain's scientific forethought concerning future scientific discoveries.³³

Satan admits that his skin, described by Twain as "delicate, silky, transparent, thin as a gelatine film - exquisite, beautiful"³⁴ is made of polonium isolated from the radium. He goes on to explain the total power held within his body. This power, if turned upon the earth, would entirely destroy both earth and moon. But held within, the energy causes misery. Satan says, "I burn, I suffer within, my pains ✓

³²William Gibson, Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 39-40.

³³Bernard DeVoto, "The Easy Chair," Harper's Magazine, CXCH (April, 1946), 310.

³⁴Neider, The Complete Essays of Mark Twain (Garden City, 1963), p. 650.

are measureless and eternal, but my skin protects you and the globe from harm."³⁵ This same protection is said to be the dress for the damned, since it naturally lasts forever.

Satan decides to share with Twain the secret of the existence of a store of wealth found within a graveyard of fireflies. These fireflies, dying for centuries, always search out this graveyard when death approaches, and dying, always leave one pure electron of radium. Satan describes the build-up of radium as so great that "the massed riches of the planet could not furnish its value in money."³⁶

Satan explains that the mine cannot be explored until Madame Curie finds the method of separating polonium from radium, which, he explains, she will soon do.

With his mission complete, Satan disappears, and Twain begins planning for the future, proclaiming, "Stock is for sale. Apply to Mark Twain."³⁷

In 1905 Harper's Weekly published a rather short article signed "Satan," but undoubtedly written by Mark Twain. This article, "A Humane Word from Satan," is a satire on the wealthy philanthropist John D. Rockefeller.³⁸

³⁵Ibid., p. 655.

³⁶Ibid., p. 657.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Janet Smith, ed., Mark Twain on the Damned Human Race (New York, 1962), p. 94.

In his letter to the editor, Satan claims that three-fourths of all contributions to charities come from him. He charges that every year the American Board, a charity organization, receives money that he describes as "Conscience-money."³⁹ He refers to perjury, since Rockefeller was ordered to dissolve an oil company in 1892 and again in 1911 because the courts would not believe his sworn statement saying his business methods were upright.⁴⁰

Satan states further that all wealthy men perjure themselves as they cheat on their income tax. He promises his reader that below is found "a whole hell-full of evaders! Sometimes a frank lawbreaker turns up elsewhere, but I get those others every time."⁴¹ He concludes that if the money contributed to charity is money "filched from the sworn-off personal tax,"⁴² then the money is evil, belonging to Satan; therefore, it is Satan contributing the money. And if Satan can give money to charity organizations, why can Rockefeller not do the same?⁴³

³⁹Ibid., p. 95.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 94.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 95.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 95-96.

Some years before publication of this article, Mark Twain had written, "We write frankly and freely but then we 'modify' before we print."⁴⁴ Perhaps by 1905 Twain was censoring less of his work, yet he protected himself by signing this piece not by Mark Twain, but by "Satan."

Although these four pieces were not written chronologically in the order presented here, this is a logical order. Mark Twain appears to have become increasingly more bitter toward God and the Bible. Satan seems to have become godly in comparison to the God presented in the Old Testament. If God were, after all, similar to man but with unlimited power, Twain would look elsewhere for a master. At least artistically, he did this. Within these shorter pieces, he turned to Satan for a god.

Within "That Day in Eden," Twain reviews the Eden scene imaginatively, placing no blame on man, little blame on Satan, and a great deal of blame on God. Nevertheless, man fell and gained the ability to do evil, referred to by Twain as the Moral Sense.

Twain, having defined the Moral Sense, rejected it in "Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut." He plotted to kill his Moral Sense, otherwise identified as the Conscience, and succeeded.

Having rid his life of the nuisance of a Moral Sense, Twain arranged a meeting with Satan and contracted the sale of

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 94.

his soul in "Sold to Satan." And, finally, in "A Humane Word from Satan," Twain began to identify so strongly with his Master that he began to address the public as though he, Twain, were Satan speaking. Consequently, Twain graduated from the innocent man tortured by Conscience to a liberated, Satanic figure.

CHAPTER III

THE MAN THAT CORRUPTED HADLEYBURG

Journeying by sea to Germany in 1891, Twain recorded in his Notebook, "Hell or Heidelberg, whichever you come to first."¹ This is the earliest reference to Hadleyburg, which would become the small town to fall into corruption under the influence of a Satanic stranger in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg." A second hint toward "Hadleyburg" was written by Twain in December, 1897. "Buried treasure in a Missouri village -- supposed by sworn figures to be \$980. Corrupts the village, causes quarrels and murder, and when found at last is \$9.80."²

While in Vienna in 1898 Twain wrote two short stories. One, "Which Was the Dream?" was discussed by Twain in a letter to Howells, but Twain's attitude toward Man at this time is so apparently exhibited that DeLancey Ferguson referred to this excerpt as relative to Twain's other short story of 1898, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg." "All of the first half of the story -- and I hope three-fourths -- will be comedy. . . I think I can carry the reader a long way before he suspects that I am laying a tragedy-trap."³

¹Albert B. Paine, ed., Mark Twain's Notebook (New York, 1935), p. 216.

²Ibid., p. 342.

³DeLancey Ferguson, Mark Twain: Man and Legend (Indianapolis, 1943), p. 278.

To DeLancey Ferguson, Twain's "tragedy-trap" entangles more than the Richardses. If the reader is honest with himself, he should recognize the every-man idea that "there with or without the grace of God, go I."⁴

Not only must Twain's individuals fall, but so does the previous attitude toward the American village. In The American Novel Carl Van Doren points to "Hadleyburg" as the one short story written previous to 1915 that "put it bitterly on record that villages too complacent about their honesty might. . . become a hospitable soil for meanness."⁵

Leary backed this theory of the fall of the "kindly hearts and gentle people" when tempted by large sums of money.⁶ Gladys Bellamy considered "Hadleyburg" a continuance of what she called Twain's "appraisal of the American village."⁷ This appraisal originated with the writing of The Gilded Age. DeVoto went one step further by considering "Hadleyburg" as one of a sequence of fictitious works embodying Twain's "absorption in American life, the fiction that most immediately embodies the experience of which he is a part."⁸ And the life of which he was a part entertained much inward deliberation

⁴Ibid., p. 279.

⁵Gladys Carmen Bellamy, Mark Twain as a Literary Artist (Norman, 1950), p. 287.

⁶Lewis Leary, A Casebook on Mark Twain's Wound (New York, 1962), p. 39.

⁷Bellamy, p. 287.

⁸Bernard DeVoto, Mark Twain's America (Boston, 1967), p. 283.

concerning the possibility of good and evil within the individual and within the community.

Twain had come to realize that Man who has never met temptation could not possibly be conqueror of that temptation. Just as Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn made and broke resolutions regularly, so did the man Sam Clemens and so did the town of Hadleyburg.⁹

. . . throughout the formative years temptations were kept out of the way of the young people so that their honesty could have every chance to harden and solidify.¹⁰

It is under these circumstances that Twain had the "mysterious stranger" visit Hadleyburg. But unlike E. Hudson Long's speculation that the story depicts "the yielding to temptation of once honest people who succumb through weakness to the lure of wealth,"¹¹ the story reveals the "hoax," as Pascal Covici calls it, that is played on the damned human race. The heretofore honest people of Hadleyburg only exhibited a pose of honesty. There was no honesty previous to the stranger's visit. The town was living a lie, and it was through a second lie that they were detected.¹²

⁹Stella Mae Freeman, "The Influence of the Frontier on Mark Twain," unpublished master's thesis, N.T.S.U. (Denton, 1942) p. 42.

¹⁰Minnie M. Brashear and Robert M. Rodney, The Art, Humor and Humanity of Mark Twain (Norman, 1960), p. 255.

¹¹Hudson E. Long, Mark Twain Handbook (New York, 1957), p. 229.

¹²Pascal Covici, Jr., Mark Twain's Humor: The Image of a World (Dallas, 1962), p. 180.

Twain's first references to Satan within "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" note him as a "passing stranger"¹³. . . [and] a bitter man and revengeful."¹⁴ He has been offended by Hadleyburg and is determined to invent a sweeping inquiry that will affect the whole of Hadleyburg. Once his plan has been decided, "it lit up his whole head with an evil joy" because it will affect all of Hadleyburg by corrupting the entire town.¹⁵

While conversing with Mrs. Richards, who had been reading The Missionary Herald, Satan, Twain's stranger, refers to himself as "a stranger. . . passing through town."¹⁶ Mrs. Richards thinks of him as "the mysterious big stranger."¹⁷ Although she feels somewhat uncomfortable upon receiving Satan, she is also filled with curiosity.¹⁸

Henry B. Rule has made the most thorough study of Satan's role in "Hadleyburg." He penetrates the allegorical aspects of The Garden of Eden theory. Satan's references to himself as a "stranger," "foreigner," and "ruined gambler" coincide with the biblical and mythical Satan. The stranger is "a wanderer" and a "master of disguises," typical allusions to Satan in the Old Testament.¹⁹

¹³Brashear, p. 255.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 256.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Henry B. Rule "The Role of Satan in Twain's 'The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg'"

Just as Satan tempted Eve in the Garden of Eden, the Satanic stranger excites Mrs. Richards, who has existed in a world of untried innocents. With this excitement comes curiosity.²⁰ With Mrs. Richards' first glimpse of real temptation comes an exhilaration since Man's existence in a world of duplicities issues him a choice of good or evil. And the men and women of Hadleyburg had never been allowed this choice.

Satan's plot to catch Hadleyburg unaware and watch the town fall is baited with gold, "the root of all evil." And it is through the Richardses that the reader is aware of what all men and women are doing and thinking about the gold.²¹ Covici points to Twain's hoax as he leads the 'nineteeners to say something that is untrue by guessing words that were never spoken in order to gain gold that does not exist.²²

Satan has been somewhat restrained from revenging himself upon Hadleyburg by a man named Goodson (God's son) since the town knew Goodson was the one man who would give twenty dollars to a needy stranger. But the death of Goodson alleviated this problem, and Satan was able to set his plot into action.²³

²⁰Brashear, p. 256.

²¹Rule, p. 621.

²²Covici, p. 180.

²³Rule, p. 623.

Henry Rule points to the parallels of the Satanic stranger with those evidenced in the Bible:

The ease with which he manipulates the Hadleyburgians through their greed proves him to be "the ruler of this world" (John, 12:31). The town-hall meeting is "the synagogue of Satan" (Rev. 2:9) or the Devil's Mass of Christian-Folklore. . .²⁴

Even the name Stephenson, which Satan assumes when he writes the holy nineteneers, means "a crown" in Greek.²⁵

Until the appearance of Satan, the people of Hadleyburg have been "honest, narrow, self-righteous, and stingy."²⁶ But with the approach of temptation of gold, the Richardses, representing the nineteen families, admit that their honesty has been "artificial honesty, and weak as water when temptation comes. . ."²⁷ But Twain's deterministic attitude shines as Richards explains, "It was so ordered," managing an attitude of acceptance toward those things they could neither explain nor alter.²⁸

Gladys Bellamy acknowledges this deterministic attitude of the author toward his characters, but she feels that the moralist Twain and the determinist Twain are unable to correlate unity through the story.²⁹

²⁴Ibid., p. 622.

²⁵Ibid., p. 621.

²⁶Brashear, p. 259.

²⁷Ibid., p. 264.

²⁸Ibid., p. 294.

²⁹Bellamy, p. 309.

The stranger who devises almost laboratory conditions for the testing of human behavior in Hadleyburg coincides well with Mark Twain's theme of determinism; but the switch to an implied theme of divine justice -- the great theme of the judgement of God as it operates through the consciences of Mr. and Mrs. Richards -- makes any unity of effect impossible.³⁰

Twain's later philosophic views are never more apparent than within "Hadleyburg." He focuses on ideas concerning Man, Satan, and Conscience. It is within Hadleyburg that the Conscience similar to that in "Carnival of Crime" works overtime to relay worry and unhappiness to the Richardses. It is here that Twain examines his "nothing is good or evil" idea. It is Satan who intentionally sets out to destroy Hadleyburg, but in reality saves it. Frank Baldanza states the following:

This is one of Clemens' major indictments of what he called "the damned human race." It illustrates the assumptions of What Is Man? in that every leading citizen of the town follows his own self-interest knowing all along what would be the right thing to do, but doing the wrong. Rational free choice indicated to them that they had no right to the money, but their wills were powerless to renounce the wealth. On the other hand, the Richardses have managed to conceal their duplicity from the entire town, and could easily escape with the money, but their consciences do them in. Here Clemens underscores his continuing hatred for what he considers the most useless aspect of the human psyche.³¹

³⁰Ibid., pp. 308-309.

³¹Frank Baldanza, Mark Twain: An Introduction and Interpretation (New York, 1963), p. 137.

As Satan's plan drives on as plotted, he sends a letter to each of the nineteneers explaining the words that should secure for each a claim to the gold; and just as the Richardses fall for this trick, so do the other eighteen symbols of honesty.³²

Covici states that Twain exposes Christianity and money standards as illusions.³³ The town meeting becomes a workshop for Satan. Posing as an "impossible English Earl,"³⁴ he watches Hadleyburg's reputation fall. Only one symbol is left - the Richardses, and like all the other symbols, the Richardses have met temptation and fallen.

The Richardses are untouched by the speculative crowd as the other nineteneers fall. Even Satan seems to have fallen for their pose of innocence. But they are ruined by their own Consciences. They would not be shamed into an admittance of guilt, but their hard working Consciences successfully attain a public plea of guilty by planting fear within their hearts.³⁵

Had Richards, after he admitted their guilt, realized that they were in no danger of being exposed, he would probably have expressed Twain's determinism by repeating, "It was so ordered." But by Hadleyburg's last symbol falling, the town

³²Brashear, pp. 268-69.

³³Covici, p. 219.

³⁴Brashear, p. 292.

³⁵Brashear, pp. 299-300.

exhibited an altered and necessary motto, "Lead Us Into Temptation,"³⁶ where the town had heretofore exhibited a "Not" within this motto. By admitting their sinfulness, the town of Hadleyburg once more had become Christian. Twain states, "It is an honest town once more, and the man will have to rise early that catches it napping again."³⁷

Unintentionally, Satan becomes the savior of Hadleyburg. ✓

³⁶Ibid., p. 300.

³⁷Ibid., p. 301.

CHAPTER IV

THE MYSTERIOUS STRANGER

Mark Twain never completed for publication any of the three manuscripts, originally four versions, of The Mysterious Stranger. Because of the opinions set forth in these manuscripts, coupled with the unorthodox handling of the manuscripts by Twain's editor, Albert B. Paine, The Mysterious Stranger remains a controversial book.¹

It is impossible to analyze the Mysterious Stranger without first acknowledging the despair throughout Twain's latter years that influenced his determinism and pessimism. Henry Nash Smith saw this pessimism as "a loss of faith in progress and human perfectibility which all but paralyzed his powers of imagination and condemned him to the relative sterility of his last twenty years."²

During these latter years Twain suffered great losses. In August, 1896, Susy died. Feeling himself drifting into some type of Great Dark, Twain wrote in his Notebook, "The cloud is permanent now."³ Wecter wrote that within The

¹William M. Gibson, ed., Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts (Berkeley, 1969), p. 2.

²Henry Nash Smith, Mark Twain's Fable of Progress: Political and Economic Ideas in "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" (New Brunswick, 1964), p. 3.

³Albert B. Paine, ed., Mark Twain's Notebook (New York, 1935), p. 354.

Mysterious Stranger ". . . cynical themes appear, written when Mark himself was drifting toward the Great Dark of pessimism and personal frustration."⁴ Perhaps Twain had developed a cloud from which he could not free himself. He had, however, freed himself from the debts that had followed the fall of his plans for the Paige typesetter. Under this new freedom he wrote a "stream of notes and shorter pieces,"⁵ some finished, some not, some published, some not; most concerning "some diabolic stranger."⁶

As this cloud of scepticism hung over all of Twain's writings, he was continuously preoccupied with the morality of good and evil in a way which suggests Melville and Hawthorne. He groped for answers within the universe, but became increasingly disillusioned with the traditional concepts of God. Man was surely no more than a "damned human race."⁷

Deep sadness and resignation accompanied the deaths of those he loved. When Livy died in 1904, Twain wrote in his Notebook,

She took such interest in all my work-and I miss her so--and half the incentive is gone. Those words touched her so: "And will you not come back again."⁸

⁴Dixon Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal (Boston, 1952), p. 139.

⁵Gibson, p. 17.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Smith, pp. 107-108.

⁸Paine, Mark Twain's Notebook, p. 320.

The words Livy loved were spoken by August in one of the ✓ manuscripts of The Mysterious Stranger when he asked No. 44, Satan, "and you are going away, and will not come back any more?"⁹ No. 44 replied, ". . . we shall not see each other any more."¹⁰ If there were no heaven or hell, there would be no future life for Twain and his friends who preceded his dying.

Of Livy, Twain wrote:

"I looked for the last time upon that dear face-- and I was full of remorse for things done and said in the 34 years of married life that hurt Livy's heart."¹¹

Twain did not expect to see Livy in a world hereafter. He could not believe there would be one.

Twain worked long hours to cover heartaches, unable to believe in such a God as the one displayed in the Old Testament. This God was merely a creation of man's imagination, but this creation was nothing less than "a man with evil impulses far beyond the human limits."¹² Twain showed no disrespect toward the word of Christ, but he pessimistically

⁹Bison, p. 403.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Paine, Mark Twain's Notebook, p. 387.

¹²Hudson E. Long, Mark Twain's Handbook (New York, 1957), p. 358.

commented, "There has been only one Christian. They caught Him and crucified Him early."¹³

If man created his own God, then man developed his own code of good and evil. Perhaps Twain decided man had been regulating his own life and calling it God. The what-is-real and what-is-not became vague, and from it Twain developed a dream theory. He said, "We are nothing but echoes. We have no thought of our own, we are but a compost heap made up of the decayed heredities, moral and physical."¹⁴

Twain wrote a dream theory to describe his own life:

I dreamed I was born and grew up and was a pilot on the Mississippi and a miner and a journalist in Nevada and a pilgrim in the Quaker City, and had a wife and children and went to live in a villa at Florence-- and this dream goes on and sometimes seems so real that I almost believe it is real. I wonder if it is? But there is no way to tell, for if one applies tests they would be part of the dream too, and so would aid the deceit.¹⁵

It was not a happy man that wrote four versions of The Mysterious Stranger between the years 1897 and 1908. Twain the man was unable to answer for himself the essential questions concerning man and God; Twain the author was therefore unable to reconcile his works when dealing with his "mysterious stranger."

¹³Paine, Mark Twain's Notebook, p. 344.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 312.

¹⁵Edward Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Work (New Haven, 1935), pp. 17-18.

It would be incorrect to suggest that Twain thought only of Satanic characters because of illnesses and deaths within his family. It would be equally incorrect to consider Satan a character individual to Twain in the nineteenth century.

The rehabilitation of the fallen angel from heaven was a popular theme. And it is partially from other writings that Twain found material and a continuing interest in his "mysterious stranger."

Twain's protagonist of The Mysterious Stranger resembles "the black-robed, white-faced Pausanias (Deliverers from Pain)" of Adolph Wilbrandt's Der Meister von Palmyra. Typical of Wilbrandt's visitor, Twain's Satan was an emissary of both comfort and destruction. Wilbrandt's visitor, also like Twain's Satan, commented on the shabbiness of the human race in the presence of death.¹⁶

There seems to be little doubt that Goethe's Mephistopheles was a definite influence toward shaping Twain's Satan. Mephistopheles jeered at the human race much as did Twain's Satan. The contempt he displayed resulted in a maturing process for Faust. Twain's Satan in "The Chronicle" and "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger" continuously pointed out the inhumane behaviour displayed by man toward man. Both Theodor and August evolved through the constant teachings of

¹⁶Coleman Parsons, The Background of The Mysterious Stranger," American Literature, XXXII (March, 1960), 59.

Satan toward a more profound understanding of man's helplessness in the presence of evil.¹⁷

Twain seems to have been interested in the works of Voltaire, especially Zadig, which portrays Jesrad, Voltaire's angel, instructing "a moral in determinism. . .and man's insignificance."¹⁸

Robert Ingersoll, a personal friend of Twain, stated in his book The Gods, "In nearly all theologies, mythologies and religions, the devils have been much more humane and merciful than the gods."¹⁹ This human quality attributed to Satan is a characteristic not only of Twain's latter works, but also of many shorter writings as early as the 1860's.

Twain studied Jules Michelet's Jeanne d'Arc while preparing his own version, called Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc. It is quite possible that he also read Michelet's second book, translated in 1863, La Sorcière, which describes Satan as "the great civilizer and educator, an embodiment of life, liberty, and charity."²⁰

Coleman Parsons points to the Jesus found in the Apocryphal New Testament as a source of the duplicity of

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 59-60.

¹⁹Robert Ingersoll: Ingersoll (New York, 19-20), I, 17.

²⁰Parsons, p. 60.

nature relegated to Twain's Satan. Twain discussed this book in a letter, June 2, 1867. The portrayal of Jesus is mixed with acts of compassion and acts of revenge. He was as easily disposed to commit evil as good.²¹

It cannot be assumed that The Mysterious Stranger was ever completed by Twain. Albert B. Paine said that Twain in 1906, indicating unfinished writings, said, "There is yet another - The Mysterious Stranger. It is more than half finished and it causes me a real pang to reflect that it is not to be."²² Again in 1909 Twain called attention to desk drawers containing unfinished manuscripts saying The Mysterious Stranger could be finished any time he wished.²³

With the publication of The Mysterious Stranger in 1923, Paine stated in his Introduction, ". . . it was not until a considerable time after his death. . . that I found among a confusion of papers that tremendous final chapter. . . Happily it was the ending of the story in its first form."²⁴ Though E.S. Fussell and John Tuckey apparently recognized irregularities involved in this published edition, it was not until 1969 and the publication of the three manuscripts by William

²¹ibid.

²²Samuel Clemens, The Autobiography of Mark Twain, edited by Charles Neider, (New York, 1959), p. 266.

²³Paine, Notebook, p. 369.

²⁴Samuel Clemens, The Mysterious Stranger and Other Stories (New York, 1922), p. ix.

Gibson that the reader of Twain was able to understand how Paine and Frederick A. Duneka of Harper and Brothers "cut and bowdlerized" Twain's manuscripts in order to publish the 1923 edition.²⁵

DeVoto earlier catalogued the manuscripts as the "Hannibal" story, the "Eseldorf" manuscript, and the "Print Shop" version.²⁶ Gibson added a dimension to the three and stated that there were four versions: the "St. Petersburg Fragment," "The Chronicle of Young Satan," the "Schoolhouse Hill" version, and the "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger" version.²⁷

The "St. Petersburg Fragment" was the beginning of The Mysterious Stranger. This fragment consists of nineteen manuscript pages written in late September, 1897, while Twain was in Vienna, and worked into the second manuscript in late 1897. Many names were marked through and given substitutes to correspond with those used in "The Chronicle" manuscript.²⁸

Between November, 1897, and September, 1900, Twain wrote the second version of The Mysterious Stranger, called "The Chronicle of Young Satan."²⁹ This is the version that Paine

²⁵Gibson, p. 2.

²⁶John S. Tuckey, Mark Twain and Little Satan (West Lafayette, 1963), p. 9.

²⁷Gibson, p. 4.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 4-5.

²⁹Ibid., p. 5.

edited, rearranged, and entitled The Mysterious Stranger. Evidently, it was during the writing of this second version that Twain referred to what he might later incorporate into the same story when he wrote in his Notebook in September 1898:

Story of little Satan Jr. who came to Hannibal, went to school, was popular and greatly liked by those who knew his secret. The others were jealous and the girls didn't like him because he smelled of brimstone. He was always doing miracles-- his pals knew they were miracles, the others thought they were mysteries.³⁰

Twain was later to consider a Hannibal version that he would call the "Schoolhouse Hill" version.

William Gibson has stated that the four concepts of The Mysterious Stranger are as follows: "protracted death by water, mob cowardice and cruelty, the Creation minimized, and quarrels and warfare."³¹ In all manuscripts it was Satan who would attempt to lead the narrator down a path from innocence to knowledge.

Both "The Chronicle" and The Mysterious Stranger take place in Austria; but while Twain set the date around 1702, Paine moved the time back to 1590.³² Both versions are very careful to create an atmosphere of innocence and unreality.

³⁰Paine, Notebook, p. 369.

³¹Gibson, p. 19.

³²Ibid., p. 5.

Like Hadleyburg, Eseldorf is "far from the world," "asleep," and drowning "in peace."³³ To Twain this sleep was related to the lack of knowledge. Satan would bring a flowering of knowledge.

Twain immediately introduces Father Adolf and Father Peter. The former is the villain of "The Chronicle," unlike Paine's version, which produces a character from Twain's fourth version of the story and credits him, an astrologer, with those crimes which had been initially individual to Father Adolf.³⁴ This is Twain's description of Father Adolf:

[He was]. . . a very loud and zealous and strenuous priest, and was always working to get more reputation, hoping to be a Bishop some day; and he was always spying around and keeping a sharp lookout on other people's flocks as well as his own; and he was dissolute and profane and malicious, but otherwise a good enough man, it was generally thought.³⁵

But the description that was left after Paine's editing was simply, "There may have been better priests, in some ways, than Father Adolf, but there was never one in our commune who was held in more solemn and awful respect."³⁶ The villain became the astrologer, so it was not necessary to offend the character of the priest.

³³Samuel Clemens, The Mysterious Stranger, p. 4.

³⁴Gibson, p. 3.

³⁵Ibid., p. 37.

³⁶Samuel Clemens, The Mysterious Stranger, p. 4.

Father Peter is similarly introduced in "The Chronicle" and the published edition as "the other priest that we loved best and were sorriest for."³⁷ He had been charged with "talking around in conversation that God was all goodness and would find a way to save all his poor human children,"³⁸ but is later charged with stealing eleven hundred and seven ducats. Twain names Father Adolf as the accuser, but Paine relied upon the astrologer to destroy the kind priest.

Chapter II introduces the three young boys who will be taken into Satan's confidence by being told his true identity. They are Nikolaus Bauman, son of the principal judge; Seppi Wahlmeyer, son of the church organist. Theodor Fischer is the narrator for both "The Chronicle" and Paine's published edition.³⁹ Twain immediately makes room for the fantastic and supernatural. The servingman who lives at the local castle, owned by a Prince but seldom inhabited by him, befriends the boys and often has them in for the evening and enjoys telling them stories of ghosts. One day after one such visit, the boys stroll upon a hill on which they sit to

³⁷Ibid., p. 5.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., p. 8.

discuss the previous evening's events.⁴⁰ Here Satan joins the boys. Theodor describes the scene:

Soon there came a youth strolling toward us through the trees. . . . He had new clothes on, and was handsome and had a winning face and a pleasant voice, and was easy and graceful and unembarrassed, not slouchy and awkward and diffident, like other boys.⁴¹

Satan has no difficulty putting the boys at ease; he is a master of charm. He reads Theodor's mind by offering to light a pipe that Theodor had not spoken of, but only thought about. The boys are further frightened to find that Satan is capable of producing fire for pipes by blowing his breath.⁴²

The stranger produces other miracles for the boys, but none more intriguing than his creation of the little people. Discussing Twain's philosophy, Long said:

. . . it was in the latter story that Mark embodied his philosophy of man, displaying that miserable creature in his pygmy form as he appeared in his impersonal state before the eyes of Satan.⁴³

Never more evident within the story is the philosophy of the relative unimportance of man exemplified. Satan builds a population of five hundred small people to construct a castle. While discussing an angel's innocence and inability to sin:

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 10.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., p. 11.

⁴³Hudson Long, Mark Twain Handbook (New York, 1957), p. 229.

Satan reached out his hand and crushed the life out of them with his fingers, threw them away, wiped the red from his fingers on his handkerchief, and went on talking. . . "We cannot do wrong; neither have we any disposition to do it, for we do not know what it is."⁴⁴

Satan eventually destroys all the little people. The boys are heartbroken:

"Don't cry," Satan said; "They were of no value."
 "But they are gone to hell!"
 "Oh, it is no matter; we can make plenty more."⁴⁵

This is typical of Satan's attitude toward people in general. But his "bubbling spirits" always affected those around him, no matter what the circumstances.

Satan relates the name by which he will go while on earth. His name, Phillip Traum (meaning dream), is an indication of Twain's forthcoming dream theory.⁴⁶

Within the first three chapters the reader is given the setting of, as well as an introduction to Satan's attitude toward man. To him, man is not only ". . . made of dirt. . . a museum of diseases. . . and a home of impurities," but he contains the Moral Sense, the element of man that sets him apart from the animals and that to Satan makes him far more dangerous.⁴⁷

⁴⁴Samuel Clemens, The Mysterious Stranger, p. 16.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 21.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 22.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 26.

Following the introductory chapters, Twain's Father Adolf accuses Father Peter of stealing over a thousand ducats from him. As has been stated, Paine transposed the astrologer from the "Print Shop" version to become the villain, therefore, the accuser. And the people of the village become affected by Phillip Traum's miracles. The atmosphere becomes dismal as the villagers become distrusting and afraid of recent occurrences, but Traum remains cheerful, gay and unsympathetic. Throughout the story his role dramatizes the inability of an immortal to relate to the human race. Satan is always quick to point out that man's inhumanity is not a "brutal thing," but strictly a human trait. He says, "You should not insult the brutes by such a misuse of that word. . . It is like your paltry race-- always lying, always claiming virtues which it hasn't got, always denying them to the higher animals. . ."48

Twain included much material that was deleted by Paine from "The Chronicle." Twain exposed Satan's character and presence among the villagers in greater detail than did Paine. Twain allowed Marget, Father Peter's niece, and Lilly, Theodor's sister to become infatuated with Traum so completely that Wilhelm and Joseph, the girls' fiancés, developed strong animosity toward the stranger. But, as stated, Paine chose to delete this material.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 50.

⁴⁹Gibson, pp. 94-106.

After Satan convinces Ursula, Marget's servant, that a cat by the name of Agnes has magic powers, Marget and Ursula begin to live and eat so well that the villagers begin to talk. In order to search out the witchcraft within the house, Father Adolf orders the villagers to visit the house to obtain evidence. But Satan arrives at a party and influences the astrologer (or Father Adolf) to confess the witchcraft. Satan melts into the villain and explains previous mysteries:

"It is nothing-- anybody can do it! With my powers I can even do much more."⁵⁰

After more supposed witchcraft from the astrologer, the people ask,

"Was it real? Did you see it; or was it only I-- and I was dreaming?"⁵¹

With this statement the reader becomes increasingly aware of Twain's dream theory.

Twain included an incident to reveal man's deterministic environment. Theodor asks, "Does God order the career?" Satan answers, "Foreordain it? No. The man's circumstances and environment order it."⁵² Satan directs Theodor's attention to the future possibilities for Nikolaus. In order to save Nikolaus and Lisa Brandt from unhappy lives, Satan allows them

⁵⁰Samuel Clemens, The Mysterious Stranger, p. 70.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 73.

⁵²Ibid., p. 82.

an alternative-- to meet death within twelve days. These twelve days are for the narrator and Seppi very difficult but revealing and maturing.

After several similar incidents of Satan's magic changing the destinies of unfortunate humans with no future hope for happiness, the boys decide to ask for no more favors:

" . . . For he (Satan) did not seem to know any way to do a person a kindness but by killing him . . ."53

Satan did, however, exhibit a second method of releasing man from the miseries he suffers. It was this second method that he applied to the case of Father Peter.

The case against Father Peter was strong. Although Wilhelm defended the old priest, there was little defense to be made against the accusation. Satan, having promised that Father Peter would be declared innocent, melted into Wilhelm and had the ducats become the case for Father Peter. It seemed the ducats were dated much too recently to have been in the keeping of the astrologer. After Father Peter was declared innocent, Satan appeared immediately to the old man and told him that he had been found guilty.⁵⁴ Theodor says:

"This unseated the old man's reason. . . When we arrived . . . he thought he was Emperor!"⁵⁵

⁵³Ibid., p. 104.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 121-128.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 128.

Theodor felt he had been deceived by Satan's promise that Father Peter would live out his days a happy man. Satan explained:

"What an ass you are!" he said. "Are you so unobservant as not to have found out that sanity and happiness are an impossible combination. No sane man can be happy, for to him life is real, and he sees what a fearful thing it is. Only the mad can be happy, and not many of those."⁵⁶

Satan knew these two methods to be the only roads to peace: death and insanity.

In 1904 Twain wrote what he called the Conclusion of the book.⁵⁷ It is necessary to add that Twain wrote again on his manuscript "No. 44" as late as 1908, but the chapter written in 1908 was inserted as the next-to-last chapter in the "No. 44" manuscript.⁵⁸ The "Conclusion" which had been written in 1904, was placed at the end of the "No. 44" version, but Paine substituted the names corresponding with "The Chronicle" version and published it as complete.

In this "Conclusion" Twain definitely states his dream theory. Satan explains to Theodor that he is going away and will not see the youth again. He admits to Theodor that "there is no other [world]."⁵⁹

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 130.

⁵⁷Gibson, p. 11.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Samuel Clemens, The Mysterious Stranger, p. 137.

"It is true, that which I have revealed to you; there is no God, no universe, no human race, no earthly life, no heaven, no hell. It is all a dream - a grotesque and foolish dream. Nothing exists but you. And you are but a thought - a vagrant thought, a useless thought, a homeless thought, wandering forlorn among the empty eternities."⁶⁰

And Theodor knew it was so.

Perhaps Twain was applying this dream theory to his own life as he described the pageant of old age examining life.

Old Age, white-headed, the temple empty, the idols broken, the worshippers in their graves, nothing left but You, a remnant, a tradition, belated fag-end of a foolish dream, a dream that was so ingeniously dreamed that it seemed real all the time; nothing left but you, center of a snowy desolation, perched on the ice-summit, gazing out over the stages of the long trek and asking yourself, "Would you do it again if you had the chance?"⁶¹

Since The Mysterious Stranger, as originally published, can only in part be attributed to the art of Twain (the other part must be attributed to the editing skill of A.B. Paine) it is clear that the published version can only be viewed as Paine's opinion of how Twain might have revised his manuscripts. The possibility of Twain's ever publishing a book similar to the text of The Mysterious Stranger is slight. Therefore, it is necessary to note the characterization of Satan within Twain's other manuscripts.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 140

⁶¹Wagenknecht, p. 18.

As previously stated, the characterization of Satan within The Mysterious Stranger and "The Chronicle of Young Satan" is almost identical. And the first version of The Mysterious Stranger, referred to by Gibson as "The St. Petersburg Fragment," within a month after being written, had been absorbed within the opening pages of "The Chronicle."⁶²

Perhaps "The Chronicle" became hopelessly serious and Twain had hopes of writing a story primarily comic in nature. Whatever his reason, in November 1898, he began the "Schoolhouse Hill" version. The author renamed characters, and Satan took on a slightly different personality.⁶³

Typical of all "Mysterious Stranger" manuscripts, Satan just happens to appear one day and becomes a member of the community. In the "Schoolhouse Hill" version, he appears one morning in St. Petersburg and climbs the hill to attend school with the other children of the town. Among the more outstanding class members are Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn, Sid Sawyer, and Henry Bascom, although Twain did not develop the characters of any of these boys.⁶⁴

The new boy, 44, attends school; and in one day performs miraculously by learning to speak English, memorizing books

⁶²Gibson, pp. 4-5.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 175-176.

on Latin, English, Phonography, and other skills. He also recites a previous classroom discussion, mimicking all voices with perfection.⁶⁵ When asked by the schoolmaster, Archibald Ferguson, how he had communicated with the Hotchkisses, the family with whom he is staying, 44 answers in Christ-like-innocence, "I was cold, and I was a stranger."⁶⁶

Although Chapter I deals with No. 44's intellectual power, Chapter II exploits his physical strength. When Henry Bascom, the school's young bully, insists upon proving his strength against the new boy, 44 seems to have a protecting shield, winning the fight without trying. Even Henry's father receives a crushed wrist when he tries to interfere. But 44 remains calm and unconcerned.⁶⁷

Naturally, 44 has brought no luggage with him, but he is always "prim and slick en combed up nice as a cat. . ."⁶⁸ He can also talk cat-talk.

Whenever 44 needs help, he brings little red devils to his aid. Upon seeing these small creatures, Hotchkiss asks if they are related. Forty-four explains they are merely his "father's subordinates."⁶⁹ Hotchkiss gasps, "'Your father is - er -'" Forty-four replies, "'Satan.'"⁷⁰

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 177-181.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 194.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 185.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 212.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 185-189.

⁷⁰Ibid.

The young Satan explains the fall of man:

". . . but the planets - I cared the most for them; we all did; I have seen millions of them made and the Tree planted in the Garden, and the man and the woman placed in its shade, with the animals about them. I saw your Adam and Eve only once; they were happy, then, and innocent. This could have continued forever, but for my father's conduct."⁷¹

Young Satan is indifferent toward the deaths of men, as are Twain's other Satanic figures. When Hotchkiss thinks of a friend dying, he remarks on the sadness. Satan calmly asks "Why is it awful?"⁷²

Twain wrote only six chapters of "Schoolhouse Hill" before he laid this version aside for "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger." By Chapter VI, Hotchkiss has been loaned a small red devil to utilize around his home. He tells Rachael, the black cook, "We have been misinformed about devils. There's a great deal of ignorant prejudice around, concerning them. I want you to be friends with this one."⁷³

Between November, 1902, and July, 1905, Twain wrote all of "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger," except Chapter 33, written in 1908.⁷⁴ This version is set in Austria in 1490. This narrator, a sixteen-year-old boy who works as a printer's devil, describes the Castle Rosenfeld, where a print shop is

⁷¹Ibid., p. 214.

⁷²Ibid., p. 214.

⁷³Ibid., p. 219.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 9.

nestled and where, one cold day, a stranger appears.⁷⁵ August, the narrator, describes the new young boy:

His clothes were coarse and old, ragged, and lightly powdered with snow, and for shoes he had nothing but some old serge remnants wrapped about his feet and ankles and tied with strings.⁷⁶

The stranger explains, "I am friendless, gracious lady, and am so - so hungry!"⁷⁷ But these words, addressed to Frau Stein, the print shop owner's wife, fall on deaf ears. The stranger's poor conditions are viewed with indifference and disgust. He introduces himself as No. 44, New Series 869,962. When asked if he has received his name from being in jail, No. 44 neither answers nor attempts to defend himself. He is immediately disliked by most of the occupants of the castle. But the owner of the print shop, the cook, Katrina, the owner's dog, and the narrator sympathize with the hungry stranger.

Twain introduces a magician to be used throughout by No. 44 whenever he wishes to place upon someone else the responsibility for his own magic. August tells us, "He made reputation for the magician right along no matter what unusual thing he did."⁷⁹

August does not visit No. 44 privately until Chapter VI. He is amazed to find that the young stranger can read his every

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 221.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 238-239.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 235.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 245.

⁷⁷Ibid.

thought. August remains frightened and confused throughout this visit, promising himself that he will never return to visit with No. 44. But after a good night's sleep, August begins to question whether or not the evening had taken place. He finally concludes that it was only a dream, until No. 44 reads this thought and assures him that it was real.⁸⁰

The workers' disapproval of No. 44 increases until they strike, leaving the owner within days of completing a contract to print a large number of Bibles. August believes that a printer named Doangivadam, renowned for his wanderings and his attempts to aid the underdog, can be of service. He prays for Doangivadam's aid and he appears. None but No. 44 is courageous enough to explain the details of the strike to Doangivadam. Although this man's arrival adds support to the owner, the reader is always aware that No. 44 is still in control of the situation. In fact, the strikers are not successful in their attempt to ruin the owner because No. 44 creates ghosts to complete the men's jobs.⁸¹

Another complication arises when boxes of Bibles must be carried to wagons in order to complete the contract. Katrina, who has adopted No. 44 as a son, says that along with Doangivadam, she will force men to carry the boxes. Forty-four expresses

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 247-249.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 277-283.

his pleasure by saying, "Now I am content."⁸² He seems to need followers in order to be pleased, although he can accomplish any feat alone. In fact, he has the striking men carry the boxes without any knowledge of what they are doing. Later, they deny having carried the load.⁸³

Not until Chapter XV does No. 44 admit to August that he is not controlled by the magician. Although all miraculous actions are attributed to the magician, No. 44 says:

"I don't obey him except when it suits me. I mean to use his enchantments whenever I can get any entertainment out of them, and whenever I can annoy him. I know every trick he knows, and some that he doesn't know. Tricks of my own - for I bought them from a bigger expert than he is."⁸⁴

But August worries about No. 44's lack of religion more than any other aspect of his personality. He says:

"I do wish you would become a Christian; won't you try?"
 He shook his head, and said, "I should be too lonesome."
 "Lonesome? How?" [August asked.]
 "I should be the only one." [44 replied.]⁸⁵

Number 44 does not choose to remain in humble attire. He appears more finely dressed than anyone in the castle:

⁸²Ibid., p. 291.

⁸³Ibid., p. 293.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 301.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 302.

Embroidered buskins, with red heels; pink silk tights; pale blue satin trunks; cloth of gold doublet; short satin cape of a blinding red; lace collar fit for a queen; the cunningest little blue velvet cap with a slender long feather standing up out of a fastening of clustered diamonds; dress sword in a gold sheath, jeweled hilt.⁸⁶

But he is only jeered for wearing such clothes, and the strikers accuse him of stealing them. Because of an argument resulting from his clothes, the foreman strikes No.44, whereupon No. 44 creates a group of men known as the Duplicates. These are the exact duplicate of each worker. But they differ since they need no food, rest, or money to live; they are the Dream-Selves of the men. Twain develops much of his action around these real men and their Duplicates.⁸⁷

Eventually, August begins to realize the possibility that No. 44 is not of the earth. Forty-four admits to him, "I think the human race is well enough, in its way, all things considered, but surely, August, I have never intimated that I belonged to it."⁸⁸ August is taught by No. 44 that man consists of three beings, the Waking Self, the Dream-Self, and the Soul. But not until the final chapter does he realize that everything is a dream. By this chapter he has begun to refer to No.44 as "Master," and spends his waking hours involved with

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 303.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 306-308.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 318.

the mysterious being. It is the concluding chapter that Paine has taken and added to "The Chronicle" to finish that version of the manuscripts. But Twain seems to have written the conclusion for this last version, since all the names coincide.

In Chapter XXXIV, the concluding chapter, No. 44 becomes the prophet of truth. Like Christ, his mission culminates with a new beginning for his disciple. Number 44 explains to August that there is no other life than the one now existing. August narrates his feelings toward this thought as follows: "A gush of thankfulness rose in my breast, but a doubt checked it before it could issue in words. . ."⁸⁹ Number 44 says, "'I your poor servant have revealed you to yourself and set you free. Dream other dreams and better!'"⁹⁰

Even before this final chapter, August refers to No. 44 as "Master." But like Christ, Number 44 refers to himself as "your poor servant."⁹¹

Number 44 continues to tutor August, and August begins to realize that this world is impossible except in a dream; and with the realization that we are only thoughts, he senses that nothing else can exist. Number 44 predicts that he will fade

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 404.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 395-396.

from August's sight, and he does. And August knows that "all he [44] had said was true."⁹² Once again a Twainian character has graduated from innocence to knowledge.

⁹²Ibid., p. 405.

CHAPTER V

LETTERS FROM THE EARTH

Following A.B. Paine's death in 1937, Bernard DeVoto was recommended by Harper and Brothers to take over the job of preparing Twain's unpublished works for the printer. By 1939, he had the manuscript Letters from the Earth edited and ready for publication. Since it was not possible for any manuscript to reach the printers without first passing the approval of Clara Clemens, and Letters did not exhibit to her a clear picture of her father, this manuscript was put aside for twenty-three years before the book could be read by the public. By the year 1962 Bernard DeVoto was no longer living, so the book was published with neither writer nor editor present to view the outcome.¹

Letters from the Earth is divided into two sections: the first includes "Letters from the Earth," "Papers of the Adam Family," and "Letters to the Earth"; the second part includes various unfinished manuscripts which had, to a great extent, been published separately before 1962.² This chapter will deal with "Letters from the Earth."

¹Samuel L. Clemens, Mark Twain: Letters from the Earth, edited by Bernard DeVoto (Greenwich, 1967), pp. vii - viii.

²Ibid., p. viii.

"Letters from the Earth," written about 1909, is comprised of eleven letters from Satan, who visits the earth to view God's new experiment, man. Although Twain acknowledges Satan to be the author of the individual letters, Twain himself describes the creation of the universe.³

"Letters from the Earth" was not Twain's first attempt at discussing either God or the Bible. John Gerber recognizes the work as the same old themes that Twain wrote about in The Mysterious Stranger and What Is Man? Gerber views the themes as follows:

the vanity and perfidy of the Deity, the operation of Natural Law, the Moral Sense as parent of all the immoralities, the irrationality of our religion, the stupidity and the meanness of man, and the superiority of animals.⁴

Gerber criticizes Twain's inability to maintain Satan as the narrator. Rather, as the letters begin, Satan discusses the peculiarities of man and his ideas toward religion; but as the letters continue, his sarcastic attitude shifts from man to God. This is the result of a shift in point of view from Satan to Twain. Unable to allow Satan to speak as an unconcerned observer, Twain himself has to take back the point of view in order to bitingly cut at religion. Although the reader is quite aware that Twain speaks in the later letters, he retains Satan as the spokesman.⁵

³ibid., p. 11.

⁴John Gerber, Book Review of Letters from the Earth, American Literature, XXXVI (May, 1964), 221.

⁵ibid.

Twain apparently never believed the book would be published. Suffering in 1909 from a betrayal of the trust he had placed in his secretary, Twain perhaps was inspired to write his true feelings without restrictions. As Hudson Long puts it, ". . . he let his fancy free and exuberantly reveled in irreverence."⁶ Allison Ensor agrees with this idea, stating that "Letters" was probably "deliberately made more outrageous than the public could stand."⁷

"The Creator," Twain's initial term for God, calls his "Grand Council" together to witness the miracle of the universe. This Grand Council is composed of the archangels, Michael, Gabriel and Satan. After the creation, these archangels retire to a "private place" where they discuss the mystery of this new miracle. It is agreed that the most stupendous of the new inventions is the creation of Automatic Law, the Law of Nature, the Law of God -- all terms for the same thing.⁸ The archangels are again called before the Deity to watch the creation of the animals, the most prized among them being Man. God expresses the purpose of man to be "an experiment in Morals and Conduct."⁹

⁶Hudson E. Long, Mark Twain Handbook (New York, 1957), p. 253.

⁷Allison Ensor, Mark Twain and the Bible (Lexington, 1969), p. 98.

⁸Clemens, Mark Twain: Letters from the Earth, p. 11.

⁹Ibid., p. 15.

Satan questions the Almighty about the miracles, but the answers do not satisfy his curiosity. Therefore, when Satan finds himself invited to take leave from his celestial home for a day (one thousand years) due to his sarcasm, he decides to visit the small globe, called Earth, where God placed man after the creation. Following this introduction of events, Twain turns the narration of events over to Satan, who secretly writes letters to Michael and Gabriel from earth.¹⁰

Satan states in Letter I that "the people are all insane, the other animals are all insane, the earth is insane, Nature itself is insane."¹¹ Twain unleashes his disgust for man's attitude toward God, his passion for praying to Him, and his disregard for God's refusal to answer prayer.¹²

In Letter II, Satan discusses man's curious attitudes toward heaven. Twain categorizes the aspects of heaven as seen by man, pointing out specifically that man omits from his heaven the most glorious of earthly pleasures: sexual intercourse. Going one step further, Satan defines man's heaven: it "consists utterly and entirely-- of diversions which he cares next to nothing about. . . in the earth, yet is quite sure he will like in heaven."¹³

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 12-14.

¹¹Ibid., p. 14.

¹²Ibid., p. 15.

¹³Ibid., p. 16.

Step by step, Satan bitingly criticizes each aspect of man's heaven. His final stab is aimed at the absence of any intellectual exercise in heaven. Concerning intellect, he states that it "would rot there in a year -- rot and stink. Rot and stink -- and at that stage become holy. A blessed thing: for only the holy can stand the joys of that bedlam."¹⁴

Letter III introduces a criticism of the Bible, "built mainly out of fragments of older Bibles that had their day and crumbled to ruin."¹⁵ In Letter III Satan states that he will be writing his letters from the point of view of the people rather than of God. He then begins without a doubt to toss accusations toward God, expressing his own feelings through the mask of Satan.¹⁶

The author has his Satan describe the fall of man, typically a Twainian theme. Since he has sided with man, it is now simply a matter of pointing out God's decided unfairness to expect of man what is not within his nature. As in "That Day in Eden," Satan points out the inconsistency in God's order to Man and Woman not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge since the result would be death. Since Man and Woman

¹⁴Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

could not possibly understand death, they could not have grasped the gravity of the warning.¹⁷ Satan states that "the only person responsible for the couple's offense escaped; and not only escaped but became the executioner of the innocent."¹⁸ From the Tree of Knowledge the couple received a sentence of death, knowledge of the Supreme Art (sexual intercourse), and a knowledge of the Moral Sense. Man could now "do evil."¹⁹

Letter IV touches upon the populating of the world in order to take early years up to the flood. Within this letter Twain seems to enjoy his statements concerning God's instability "except in his advertisements,"²⁰ and again concerning the short-sightedness of God, "for he is only the Far-sighted one in his advertisements."²¹ Here it is definitely Twain who is speaking out against what he feels is the assassin of man. But God chose to save a specimen of man from the flood. Satan's letter here begins a description of Noah and his ark that will continue intermittently throughout following letters.²²

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 22-24.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 23-25.

²⁰Ibid., p. 26.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 27.

Letter V investigates the collecting of animals and the sailing of the ark. Satan is quick to show the inadequacy of the size and build of the ark; also, the impossible task bestowed upon Noah of collecting thousands of species of animals and insects to inhabit it.²³

As the ark sails, Satan points out the "weeping fathers and mothers, and frightened little children who were clinging to the wave-washed rocks in the pouring rain and lifting imploring prayers to an All-Just and All-Forgiving and All-Pitying Being. . ."²⁴

Letter VI begins by discussing the sailing and return of the ark. One of the most important flies, which carried typhoid had been left behind, and this fly was most important in keeping man diseased and crippled, but alive.²⁵

Twain rambles in this letter, leaving the Noah theme by way of analyzing the disposition of God. He refers to God as a jealous, petty, fiendish God who states, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God," meaning "I the Lord thy God am a small God."²⁶ By the close of Letter VI, Satan has stated that God is "responsible for everything that happens."²⁷

Letter VII strikes against the many microbes that besiege man and cause him discomfort. Satan refers to these microbes as "golden bearers of God's love to man."²⁸ He compliments

²³Ibid., pp. 27-29.

²⁶Ibid., p. 31.

²⁴Ibid., p. 29.

²⁷Ibid., p. 33.

²⁵Ibid., p. 30.

²⁸Ibid., p. 34.

God for the undying energy that has gone into keeping man forever miserable. After discussing hookworms and sleeping sickness, Satan concludes that only one father would so cruelly infest his children with endless diseases.²⁹ It should be evident at this point that an only mildly interested Satan who thinks of man as simply a curiosity and one of the animals would never arrive at the biting conclusions toward the Creator that Twain reveals.

Letter VIII is a continuous example of the laws of the Bible written with the purpose of limiting or defeating God's laws, the Laws of Nature. Twain chooses as his example sexual intercourse versus the Biblical law that man should not commit adultery. He views this law's effect upon all ages and differing types of people. He also concedes that woman is more restricted than man since she is capable of enjoying intercourse more often if she were not restricted to one man. Man's limitation lies within the restriction of age.³⁰

Letter IX continues the flood, ending it shortly thereafter by having the ark settle upon Mount Ararat. Satan questions the far-sightedness of God since ministers agree and spread the word that God knows all. Twain cannot conceive of a God who knows the outcome of all things past, present, and future and allows such suffering and unhappiness to occur.³¹

²⁹Ibid., pp. 34-39.

³¹Ibid., pp. 44-45.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 39-44.

Letter X summarizes God's visits to the earth as bringing man death on the first visit and hell on the second, death being an escape from pain and suffering, and hell being added so that man might not escape suffering beyond the grave. Twain goes into a detailed quotation describing Moses' mass murder of the Midianites by the Israelites, ordained by the word of God. Since the Deity said, "Thou shalt not kill," Twain concludes that God cannot keep his own ruling, proof being the Israelites versus the Midianites.³²

Letter XI points out that man usually has a limit to murdering unless he takes the Deity to war with him. Then, "he slays, slays, slays!"³³ Satan compares the masses slaughtered by Moses with an incident that occurred in Minnesota in 1862. This massacre exemplified the Indians versus the white man. Both examples show man's innate love of killing. Twain ends this letter by comparing the Beatitudes with the story of God directing Moses in battle. He questions how the same God could have possibly inspired the differing writings. He concludes that both selections should always be read from the pulpit together for a true account of God to be given.³⁴

³²Ibid., pp. 45-51.

³³Ibid., p. 52.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 52-55.

Concerning Letters from the Earth, Twain wrote, "This book will never be published -- in fact it couldn't be, because it would be felony to soil the mails with it, for it has much Holy Scripture in it of the kind that . . . can't properly be read aloud, except from the pulpit and in family worship."³⁵ It is obvious that Letters from the Earth was never completed. It is equally obvious that Twain had no intention of printing the work, especially during his lifetime. Allison Ensor makes an interesting observation concerning Twain's attitude toward Adam, the Prodigal Son, and Noah. She points out that all of these men, like Twain, ventured from home, and with the exception of the Prodigal, none could return. At the age of seventy-three Twain was adrift and homeless since he had lost most of those persons who had been so dear, and his attitudes definitely differed from the attitudes of those around him.³⁶

Of all those cast from their homes, Satan is the most prominent. Of all those who could not return to their homes, Satan is the most evident. Of all those who were not allowed a second chance, Satan is the most outstanding. It is no wonder that Twain chose this claimant to speak for and with him in Letters from the Earth.

³⁵Albert B. Paine, ed., *Mark Twain's Letters*, (New York, 1917), II, 834.

³⁶Ensor, pp. 102-103.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

During his early life, Samuel Clemens was taught various characteristics of God that he would never be able to rationalize. The Puritanical and Calvinistic teachings of his day resulted in emotional "fire and brimstone" attitudes that he could never accept. The effective revivals that described God as a disciplinarian, full of vengeance, resulted in Clemens's dislike for church and its taboos. Neither the Methodist nor Presbyterian churches that he attended were able to show him a believable God. He saw gross incongruities in religious men that could never conform to his own moral code. He seemed to be a most logically minded man who needed to understand a cause-and-effect relationship in man's religion and his actions. To Clemens, slavery could not be the result of a just God, nor could he find reason to feel prejudice toward the Jews. Innately he held a respect for mankind that never understood the cruelty one man justified toward another man's race. He early established the rationale that man and not God had established the mundane rules so often vigorously pounded from the pulpit. But the young Clemens who tried to sleep at night felt all the pains of a tortured sinner as he lay in bed fearing the hell that the Sunday School God was preparing for him.

Unable to rationalize man's interpretation of God, Clemens likewise took a differing view of Satan. Discussing the fall of man in "That Day in Eden," he placed no blame on Satan. It was God who had placed an impossible law upon man. God had created man totally innocent and unaware of Death, and then He threatened man with this undefined term if the creature ate of a forbidden fruit. God made the impossible law, not Satan. Since Satan had already revealed a rebellious spirit, "That Day in Eden" simply continued Satan's inability to understand God's reasoning. Here Satan reflects Clemens's nonconforming spirit.

At the time Twain wrote "The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut," he was actually attempting to be an acting Christian. But the damnatory spirit of Presbyterianism continued to plague him, especially at night, forcing him to continuously search for a logical explanation for God, and Evil, and other words filled with cosmic grandeur.

The "Carnival of Crime" was written to resemble closely Stephenson's Jekyll and Hyde story. Clemens rationalized that man must be two separate entities, and in "Carnival of Crime" he related the attempts these different beings made to destroy one another. He considered man's nature and the rules governed by the Moral Sense or Conscience too contrasting to fuse within man. He felt that Conscience plagued man and kept him in a constant state of turmoil; therefore, its destruction could ~~on~~ be considered beneficial to man.

Since Conscience's appointed duty was to torture, Clemens did not admit Satan to be the Deliverer of Pain. In fact, he asked Conscience if he were Satan, and Conscience replied that he was not. Clemens did not consider Satan's task to be the destruction of man. This ambition he relegated to God and His Natural Laws.

Clemens murdered his Conscience in "Carnival of Crime," and spent his last few paragraphs explaining the luxury of feeling no pain, no matter what the deed. But murdering his Conscience did not free the author from the Moral Sense even in the essay. The acts committed by the Conscience-free narrator exemplified man's inability to restrict the Moral Sense by killing the Conscience. Having fallen, man could not rise again on earth; and although Clemens attempted to equate the Moral Sense and Conscience, he amply showed in "Carnival of Crime" that the Conscience is only one aspect of that complicated Moral Sense attained when man fell.

In "Sold to Satan" Clemens exhibited no trace of the Conscience he had so ingeniously murdered. Here he scheduled an appointment with Satan and bargained for his soul. Although the soul was Satan's interest, money was Clemens's concern. The beautifully traditional Satan talked eloquently with Clemens, and it is evident that the narrator was seeing Satan for the first time. Although Satan did refer to his home, hell, he appeared amoral, just as all of Clemens's characters

without the Moral Sense. Also, Satan did not appear until the author solicited his presence. At no time in "Sold to Satan" did Clemens refer to Conscience or the lack of it as having any relationship to Satan. Satan's visit ended after Clemens had joined forces with his society.

"A Humane Word from Satan" is a very short piece in comparison to many of Clemens's works signed "Satan." But within the pattern of shorter Satanic figures, this small article related a great deal about its author. At this point, he no longer felt the necessity to defend or characterize Satan. He now felt free to act as a pen for the narrator, Satan.

Unable to agree with Christian theology, Clemens reviewed the fall through his own eyes, murdered his Conscience, sold his soul to Satan, and enjoyed writing under the auspices of Satan's name, acknowledging the identity he felt toward the supreme outcast.

Clemens's major Satanic works reflect much the same order as discussed in the four shorter pieces of Chapter II. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" is an allegorical representation of the fall in the Garden of Eden dealt with in "That Day in Eden." But the approach reveals a more mature insight into the author's philosophy.

Man has already fallen. Clemens did not approach Hadleyburg as if it were void of the Moral Sense. Rather, man created in Hadleyburg a community without evil, and the only safeguard against the admittance of evil was guarding the community from the influence of others. Of course, Eve would probably have never eaten the apple had an outside influence not encouraged her.

In a world already existing in sin, Clemens emphasized Hadleyburg's weaknesses as complacency and an inability to face temptation. Hadleyburg's Satan was a "stranger," "foreigner," "wanderer," "ruined gambler," and "master of disguise" - all the things Satan is portrayed as being, save one: evil. Just as Satan in "That Day in Eden" meant no harm as he introduced Man and Woman to the Moral Sense, resulting in their fall and eventual deaths -- an evil result, so the Satan of "Hadleyburg," attempting intentionally to harm the nineteeners who did fall, succeeded in reinstating a community zeal ready to fight temptation. These examples of intent and result expose a nothing-is-good-or-evil theory. Good or Evil intentions never dictate the desired results. In "Hadleyburg," the stranger, Satan, became the savior of a community that had become indifferent to good and unmindful of evil.

With "The Mysterious Stranger" manuscripts, Clemens came close to viewing religion and life as do the Eastern religions. Had he not become increasingly more pessimistic toward God and

man, he might have reached some conclusive ideas that would have given him peace of mind, but he never found contentment in the truths he stated, indicating that he never reconciled the Puritan and the intellectual on the issues of religion.

Within all versions of "The Mysterious Stranger," Clemens described the appearance of a beautifully dressed Satan, similar to the Satan of "Sold to Satan." Young 44 appeared poorly attired, but later wore the most colorful dress possible. In all versions, young Satan simply appeared one day spreading magic wherever he appeared.

In these manuscripts, Clemens attempted to examine the differences between a mortal and an immortal, in order to exemplify an existence without the Moral Sense through the being of young Satan and to expose man's cruelty toward man as seen through the eyes of an indifferent observer. The supposedly indifferent observer explained that happiness was impossible on earth, alternatives for peace being death or, in some cases, insanity.

In his last "Mysterious Stranger" manuscript, Clemens through Satan, set forth his dream theory. Young Satan taught his friend, August, this truth in progressions. He began by dividing man into three selves: the Waking Self, the Dream Self, and the Soul. August could imagine this idea, perhaps as Clemens had been able to logically cope with this philosophy. Next, Satan explained that everything is a dream

except "you," and this "you" is but a wandering thought. This, he may have imagined, but he could never humanly believe. Just as the Satan in "Sold to Satan" had revealed to the author a truth to make him worldly wealthy, the young Satan in the "Conclusion" of "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger" revealed to the narrator the intellectual truth of the universe.

Similar to "A Humane Word from Satan," in "Letters from the Earth" Clemens turned the narration over to Satan. In both works this seemed to allow the author the freedom of expression he needed to unleash his sarcasm. Within "A Humane Word" this sarcasm was directed at man, or a type of man; but in "Letters from the Earth" he withheld no criticism toward God, His methods, or His laws. The more he discussed man's ridiculous predicament on earth and his futile attempt to understand God or his (man's) place in the scheme of the universe, the more Clemens seemed to unintentionally confuse the attitudes which should have come from an indifferent visitor, Satan, and his own attitudes of disgust toward the seeming unconcern of an unjust God. The evident bitterness of "Letters from the Earth" complicated the work and resulted in an interesting topic being overpowered by an author who could not restrain opinions he had so long censored.

Clemens always allowed his characters to expose his attitudes. His Satanic characters, in particular, were allowed freedoms that he hesitated to allow to others, and opinions

that he restrained himself from writing as his own opinions. But an older Clemens tossed convention aside as he assumed Satan's identity and wrote, for the first time, his most imaginative and unrestrained thoughts on God, Satan and man.

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