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MARK TWAIN'S RACIAL ATTITUDES AS RELATED IN HIS WORKS TO SHIFTING PATTERNS IN TONE

by

John William Miller

A Thesis Submitted to the
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I. INTRODUCTION

Mark Twain's attitudes toward non-whites are seen to be thinly spread throughout the content of much of his published material. Because of this and because these attitudes are often vague and inconsistent, they are not easily explained. However, one overall pattern to these views seems to be evident. Twain most often vacillates between two extreme views or dual myths pertaining to a given race. These views generally represent popular myths current in Twain's own time, such as the myth of hereditary evil in Negro "blood," and the myth of white supremacy. Twain's affinities for and conflicts between such unrealistic extremes prevail; he seldom takes a center position. For example, in his treatment of the American Indian Twain vacillates between the myth of the "noble" Indian and the myth of total Indian depravity, never admitting that Indians are not all alike. Ambivalence between two mythical extremes in Twain's racial attitudes is one aspect of the pattern. A second aspect involves a major shift in Twain's racial views. This becomes apparent in his later works. In _Letters from the Earth_, for example, Twain condemns all races as evil. In the earlier works, for example in a sketch called "Niagara," Twain had destroyed, often humorously, the myths that glorified the Indian as a Noble Savage or the myths that glorified other races. He had also destroyed those myths that fostered white supremacy. Twain seems to have accepted the remaining negative mythical extremes, those which focused on the pervasive evil within men of different races. The evil in the Indian stood, in a sense, for the basic evil in all men. Twain, characteristically compelled to extremes, came to condemn man as the lowest animal.

This shift in Twain's racial views functions as part of the overall shift in the tone of his works from early to late. Twain had treated the myth of the "noble" Indian savage with some humor and subtle indirection. When he came to accept many negative racial myths, the tone of his works dealing with Indians and other races became more directly serious and bitter. The genial and worldly wise persona became the bitter old man.

This study will be an examination of the relationship between the process of the shift in Twain's racial views and the similar process of the shift in the tone of his works dealing directly or indirectly with non-white races and cultures. We will begin in the second section with a condensed examination of Twain's view of the Negro as seen in _Pudd'nhead Wilson_, an example which focuses on Twain's vacillation between two myths pertaining to the Negro, the myth of evil in Negro "blood," and the myth of white supremacy. We will note Twain's felt need to accept the former and to undercut the latter. In _Number 44, The Mysterious Stranger_ we will examine a more compact and more fascinating version of this same pattern of vacillation. The third section focuses on the clear-cut duality of Twain's racial myths, most readily seen in his treatment of the American Indian in _Huck and Tom Among the Indians_. The pattern of ambivalence and vacillation is repeated here. Especially in Twain's treatment of the Indian one sees the tonal shift, from the genial humor and sarcasm of a persona to Twain's genuine bitterness. Finally, in the fourth section we will note Twain's negative attitude toward all races and the nearly complete nihilistic bitterness of this attitude in his later works. Attention will be given throughout this study to the interrelatedness of processes of shifting tone and shifting racial attitudes in Twain. This interrelatedness is especially to be noted in the last two sections.

Some of Twain's material to be examined here has long been familiar. Some works have only recently been published. Recent material here is from two volumes, Mark Twain's _"The Mysterious Stranger" Manuscripts_ and _Mark Twain's Hannibal, Huck_ and _Tom_, both published in 1969 by the editors of the Mark Twain Papers at the University of California Press at Berkeley. These are two of six volumes of previously unpublished Twain material published at Berkeley beginning in 1967. Except for editorial introductions to these, little scholarship has been done on that material. We will also examine various studies that trace Twain's racial attitudes and his personal and literary involvement with non-whites.

II. THE NEGRO

The relatively recent resurgence of Huckleberry Finn criticism has reflected many different opinions regarding both the kind and quality of the relationship between Huck and the "nigger" Jim. Often this criticism has pointed to an incipient bitterness in Twain, which comes later to be full-blown in, for example, The Mysterious Stranger.[1] Different approaches to Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, many of which show a psychological interest in Twain's treatment of Huck's troubled relationship with Jim and with "conscience," have perhaps had a part in bringing about a renewal of critical interest in Pudd'nhead Wilson, a puzzling novel dealing with race, slavery, and miscegenation. Barbara A. Chellis, in an article on Pudd'nhead Wilson, tries generally to identify a basis for some of Twain's racial attitudes.[2] The novel, Chellis says, can be seen as an act of reparation on Twain's part:

> . . . an exposure of the white man's moral decay resulting from Negro slavery, as well as an expression of Mark Twain's sympathetic understanding for those, who, he believed, suffered most from that decay, the products of miscegenation, those who are white in color, yet Negro by that American "fiction of law and custom" that labels a man, and thereby condemns him for the merest drop of Negro blood. (p. 100)

Chellis admits that what is indeed not specifically clear ". . . is his own [Twain's] attitude toward race, and particularly toward its hereditary influence" (p. 101). In the novel, the reader finds a real and a false "Tom" Driscoll in the same person. The false "Tom" is a criminal whose instincts seem to be the result of heredity (Tom is 1/32 Negro). The "real" Tom is conditioned by his white environment. Chellis finds this seeming duality to be puzzling and a possible flaw in the novel:

> In a novel whose expressed intention is to expose "the fiction of law and custom" that has fostered prejudice against the Negro, the false "Tom" seems to be a major flaw in the design, a flaw that hinders bringing Mark Twain into the realm of the unprejudiced. (pp. 101-102)

Indeed, Twain's good-evil dichotomy in Pudd'nhead Wilson, in the person of Tom, comes near to saying "blood will tell." And this, of course, has us well on the way to charging Twain with racism. It is an easy charge to make, but it is an unfair oversimplification of Twain's complex racial attitudes. It also ignores Twain's predilection for attacking certain racial myths and stereotypes, these attacks often being effected through skillful subtleties of irony and satire. Chellis, at any rate, dismisses the charge by pointing out that the issue, in Pudd'nhead Wilson, is slavery in general and the doctrine of white superiority, and not necessarily race or color. Chellis notes that Twain seems to imply that all human beings are slaves in the sense that all can be used:

> Unlike Roxy, "Tom" had benefited from slavery, and consequently, he had no objection to it, as he had no objection to anything he could use to get what he wanted. He had been taught [as a white] to use the Negro as his personal slave and he had used him without mercy and with the full endorsement of his family and society. The rest was inevitable . . . if one human being can be used . . . all human beings can be used. (pp. 112-113)

Here as in Huckleberry Finn white racism is dealt with in an undertone of almost bitter irony. The myth of the black-evil equation was probably quite widespread in Twain's time. Twain probably felt, and this can be seen in many of his works, that racism is more a matter of behavior than belief. One may, then, feel kindly toward the ornery black devils, and feel oneself to be relatively open-minded and free of prejudice. But it seems to me that Twain deals with the Negro in much the same way that he approaches other races and cultures in his works--by postulating or acknowledging two mythical extremes, one absolutely favorable and the other absolutely unfavorable, in other words, a good-evil duality. His intent seems usually, no matter what the tone of the material is, to prove for the reader the worth of accepting one or the other myth; this is especially true of his attitude toward the American Indian, which reflects an either-or duality: for the most part James Fenimore Cooper Indians are "noble," but "real" Indians are all bad and are better off dead. Twain seldom seems to see the worth of positioning himself in the center of a dual racial view and refusing to take sides; this is an approach we would be apt to call "multi-valued" or "realistic." It seems to me Twain tries to find a "realistic" center in Pudd'nhead Wilson, where the good-evil dual view is presented in terms of white is "good" and black is evil. If the novel focuses on Twain's attack on slavery and white supremacy, the "good" extreme of the duality, Twain's attitude toward the Negro here seems objective. There is no pure objectivity, however, because there is an affinity for the other side of the duality, the idea of hereditary evil in Negro "blood." Twain vacillates here between two unrealistic extremes. That Twain should align this good-evil duality with environment-heredity is unfortunate and detracts from his objectivity. While he successfully undercuts the idea of white "good" and shows it to be an unfounded myth, Twain fails to deal adequately with the equally unrealistic myth of "evil" Negro heredity. Thus, in an attempted move toward a humane and realistic center between two unrealistic extremes, from which he could begin to absolve or at least acknowledge the guilt of the white for his behavior toward the Negro, Twain has nonetheless undercut his objectivity in his seeming acceptance of the myth of evil in Negro "blood." For an author whose affinities for realism were strong this is perhaps unfortunate, but probably an indication that, iconoclastic as Twain was, he accepted American myths and stereotypes as much as did most Americans, and as readily as did many romantic writers whose affinities were for those myths to which Twain was opposed. A significant question, then, in Pudd'nhead Wilson, is why Twain on the one hand discredits the myth of white supremacy while on the other hand he makes no attempt to discredit the myth of Negro inferiority. The question seems immediate enough in Pudd'nhead Wilson, but even more so in the following passage from the text of the recently published Number 44, The Mysterious Stranger, which seems to offer possibilities for attributing Twain's complex and paradoxical racial attitudes, at least partially, to some psychological aberration:

> . . . and he had extraordinary thick lips, and the teeth showed intensely white between them, and the face was black as midnight. It was a terrible and ferocious spectre, and would bound as high as the ceiling, and crack its heels together and yah-yah-yah! like a fiend, and keep the bones going, and soon it broke into a song in a sort of bastard English-
>
> "Buffalo gals can't you come out to-night. . . ."
>
> "Oh, dread being, have pity, oh-if-if. . . ."
>
> "Bress yo soul, honey. I ain' no dread being, I's Cunnel Bludsoe's nigger fum Souf C'yarlina, en I's hea th'ee hund'd en fifty year ahead o' time, caze you's down in de moug en I got to muse you wid de banjo en make yo feel all right en comfy agin. So you jist lay whah you is, boss, en listen to de music; I gwinter sing to you, honey de way de po slave-niggers sings when dey's sol' away fum dey home en is homesick en down in de mouf."
>
> . . . .

> And so on, verse after verse, sketching his humble lost home and the joys of his childhood, and the black faces that had been dear to him, and which he would look upon no more . . . and there he sat lost in it, with his face lifted up that way, and there was never anything so beautiful, never anything so heartbreaking, oh, never any music like it below the skies! And by the magic of it that uncouth figure lost its uncouthness and became lovely like the song, because it so fitted the song, so belonged to it, and such a part of it, so helped to body forth the feeling of it and make it visible, as it were, whereas a silken dress and a white face and white graces would have profaned it, and cheapened its noble pathos. (pp. 354-355)[3]

The narrator in this passage dreams or hallucinates the black figure and his songs and speech. However else he feels about the figure, there is no doubt that he feels ambivalent toward him. In a strong sense the above passage is a compact version of Pudd'nhead Wilson. Note how the narrator's sympathies are evoked when slavery is mentioned, how he can have pity for the black figure and still be terrified of his blackness. When this "nigger fum Souf C'yarlina" first appears in the dream he is "dreadful" and "terrible." After his song and introduction the experience becomes "beautiful," "heartbreaking," and finally, of "noble pathos." The ambivalence, here also, is between two very wide extremes. It is perhaps a mistake to equate Twain with the narrator in Number 44, The Mysterious Stranger. But it has been said that Twain was among the first of Southern American writers to express sympathy for the American Negro; it is certainly possible, it seems to me, that not only the tone of sympathy in the above passage but the ambivalence as well come, directly or indirectly, from Twain the man. One wonders why Twain, in _Pudd'nhead Wilson_ and in _Number 44, The Mysterious Stranger_, should be so concerned or involved with two extreme views, vacillating between them, in a sort of approach-avoidance conflict with both extremes. The experience in the above passage is above all emotional, and there seems to be within it a wide and difficult conflict that is not altogether resolved within the passage or later in _Number 44, The Mysterious Stranger_.

III. THE INDIAN

This conflict in extremes in racial views pertains not only to Twain's literary involvement with the Negro; the duality of extremes is seen most clearly in his treatment of the American Indian. Especially with his treatment of the Indian, but also true, for readers of Huckleberry Finn, in his treatment of the American Negro, Twain's presentation of two extreme racial views of the Indian functions well as a basis for satire, parody, humor, and irony. Twain can, for example, very skillfully and subtly explode the myth of the Noble Savage, begun by Rousseau and furthered by James Fenimore Cooper's attitude toward the American Indian. Often little genuine bitterness is evident in his treatment of Cooper's Noble Red Men; the treatment is often very humorous. We ought, then, to make a distinction among the kinds and qualities of Twain's commitment to two extreme views of race. How much, for example, is Twain's disillusionment with Cooper Indians really Twain's and how much of it is that of his often-used persona of the genial and worldly-wise philosopher, who tells the "truth" in spite of himself? Or, equally to the point, how much of the attitude that says in effect that the only good Indian is a dead one really belongs to Twain and not necessarily to the persona? These questions are not readily answered, but past a certain point it is evident that the persona is dropped. We will begin to see how Twain's treatment of the Indian functions as part of the shift from a rough but rollicking humor to a more or less serious bitterness.

The question of a pure racism in Twain is probably irrelevant. Indeed he may have had no more than the ordinary prejudices of any other nineteenth century American who grew up among people who kept and traded slaves. The racial myths he held to were also probably widespread. He in fact satirized many such prejudices and myths. Besides his having put a black man through college, having offered support to the Tuskegee Institute, Twain wrote, in 1901, "'One of my theories is that the hearts of men are about alike, all over the world, no matter what their skin complexion may be.'"[4] Twain himself made known his basic racial views in an article called "Concerning the Jews":

> I will begin by saying that if I thought myself prejudiced against the Jew, I should hold it fairest to leave this subject to a person not crippled in that way. But I think I have no such prejudice. . . . I am quite sure that (bar one) [probably the French] I have no race prejudices, and I think I have no color prejudices nor caste prejudices nor creed prejudices. Indeed I know it. I can stand any society. All I care to know is that a man is a human being--that is enough for me; he can't be any worse. (p. 528)[5]

If Twain intends no genuine bitterness here it can be said that there is a tone of bitterness in these very words or words like them in Twain's very late work. This is evident to anyone who has read the more familiar version of _The Mysterious Stranger_. In the passage from "Concerning the Jews," the tone is more humorous than honestly bitter. It is interesting to note that this professed irritation with mankind, functioning as an explanation of Twain's freedom from racial prejudice, provides the high point of that humor, just as the same thought in similar words provides many high (or low) points of bitter deulusion in _The Mysterious Stranger_ or _Letters from the Earth_. It is possible, then, that while the words do not essentially change, Twain's racial attitudes as expressed above provide an approach to a close look at the more or less gradual transition in the tone of his works--from a humorous delusion with mythical extremes or stereotypical racial views, of the kind we see clearly in _Roughing It_, where Twain provides the "truth" about the Noble Cooper Indian, to the genuinely bitter picture of all mankind we find in the late works. It is worth noting that, central to that transition, is a gradual blending or clouding of distinctions among races, no one of them, as Twain implies in "Concerning the Jews," "any worse" than another. This blending seems to be one overall pattern in Twain's expressed racial views, the tonal shift being inseparable from this pattern. The above passage from "Concerning the Jews" provides, I think, a guide or background against which the shift and pattern can be observed.

A great deal of the difficulty in a multi-level approach to reading Twain lies in his affinities for both romanticism and realism, even naturalism in the later works. We have noted that Twain seemed to have held to or at least favored some romanticized notions of race groups, only to profess a disillusionment with these in later works. We have noted that this disillusionment may apply to a persona whose role is to function as a vehicle for humorous satire of these romanticized notions; we will see more of this later. We have also noted a very evident "either-or" duality in Twain's views of race, which, because of his affinity for one or another extreme, may detract from viewing Twain as a pure "realist." Nowhere does Twain's presentation of these extremes become more clear than in his many views of the American Indian.

Twain is not entirely to be blamed for accepting certain myths about the American Indian. It rather makes sense to believe that some unfounded myths about them were and are still held by otherwise unprejudiced people. It is worth noting, in A. Irving Hallowell's analysis of the Indian's place on the American frontier, that there was in eighteenth and nineteenth century America generally a dual view of the Indian--"Noble Savage" and just "savage."[6] This generally is very near to Twain's racial views, more readily seen in his treatment of the two extreme views of the Indian. Note that the duality that Hallowell speaks of makes, understandably, no tribal or individual distinctions among Indians:

> Americans have created a whole succession of images of the Indian, some literary and interpretive, some growing out of direct contact with particular types of white men with him and changing with historical circumstances.
>
> . . . .
>
> As the eastern frontier receded westward, and for most Americans the contemporary Indians could be viewed at a comfortable distance, it was their decline that became a romantic literary theme. As expressed in poetry, drama, and the novel, it became an early backwash of the frontier. But it was by no means always the Noble Savage that was depicted; a double image was created--the savage as ignoble as well as noble. During this period, the first half of the nineteenth century, when the Indian was such a popular figure in American literature, it is particularly significant that most of the authors who dealt with the Indian themes derived their information from written sources rather than from direct information. (pp. 231-232)

Hallowell's statement that "most of the authors" derived information about Indians secondhand is not too much of an oversimplification. It is misleading in Mark Twain's case, since Twain did, as one sees in Roughing It, encounter a number of Plains and Great Basin tribes on a trip west. According to Ivan Benson, on Mark Twain's trip west, Twain met in Nevada ". . . a strange commingling of races . . . Indians, Chinese, Mexicans, Germans, Englishmen from Cornwall, Irishmen from Cork, and miscellaneous Americans."[7] Dixon Wecter, in a biography of Twain, mentions a number of Indians, living in and around Hannibal, that Twain probably knew.[8] And if one is apt to interpret Hallowell as saying that most authors believed the content of their second-hand information, it can be seen that Twain, while he may once have believed Cooper, makes Cooper's Indians, in Roughing It and in other works, the target of much parody. Twain did, however, hold this same two-valued orientation toward the Indian, whether Twain's information for dealing with either side of the dual view comes second or first hand. Twain had access to any number of second-hand sources about Indians. Some of these he satirized as untrue (Cooper's works); some he accepted as factual. As expected, reports of Indian savagery tended to impress him as factual and widened or enforced his dual view. In an introduction to an unfinished novel by Mark Twain called Tom and Huck Among the Indians, published recently in Mark Twain's Hannibal, Huck and Tom, Walter Blair speaks of Twain's use of readily available secondary material on Indians.

> Despite familiarity with some aspects of Western life, Clemens did much reading about other's Western experiences, and he made a great deal of use of literary sources. . . . Moreover, regardless of his claims, he had not enough experiences of the right sort to provide many details for his narrative; the fact that he could draw so little on experience for this narrative probably accounted for serious weaknesses in it. . . . In addition to the romantic portrayals of Indians by Cooper, Emerson Bennett, and Robert Montgomery Bird which

> he had encountered as a boy, Clemens had read several factual books about Indians before 1884. The Galaxy article [September 1870] mentions evidence that Indians are treacherous and cruel from Keim's Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders. (p. 84)[9]

Twain's aim in Huck and Tom Among the Indians is to focus on the theme of Indian depravity. His method is to reveal a significant contrast between what is unsupported myth and what is "factual," by showing the transformation in Tom Sawyer from belief in the Rousseau-Cooper myth to disillusionment at encountering Indian savagery. As the fragment begins we find Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn, and the Negro Jim living at a hemp farm, doing absolutely nothing but keeping out of trouble. As one might expect, the inactivity is too much for the energetic Tom, who is strongly inclined to light out for "Injun territory," with the idea of taking Huck and Jim with him. Tom argues the adventure to Jim, who sensibly argues that they have had enough adventure and are better off where they are. Tom's point is that Indians are so fantastically noble that he and the other two are missing a great deal out of life by not meeting them. Jim is won over; Huck, as narrator, is neutral and goes along with the other two. They leave the farm at night and head West. In Nebraska, they meet the Mills family, who are heading for Oregon in their wagon, Huck, Jim, and Tom travel with them. There are two daughters in the family, Flaxy and Peggy. Peggy is the oldest and is so painfully beautiful that the three adventurers all fall in love with her. Brace, Peggy's boyfriend, is to meet the wagon later somewhere along the way. Brace arrives to discover that the family has been massacred by Indians, who at first were friendly enough but suddenly turned on the family and killed all but Peggy and Flaxy; they apparently took the two girls and Jim with them. Tom and Huck now must go on the rescue mission. Brace is sure Peggy has been raped by the Indians and probably killed, and signs indicate that this is true. The fragment ends when proof of Peggy's fate is discovered by Huck, who wonders how to break the news to Brace.

For the "truth" about the Indian as a malicious savage, Twain, Blair claims, depended, in _Tom and Huck Among the Indians_, almost entirely upon two documentary works by Colonel Richard I. Dodge, United States Army, who, Twain wrote in a letter to Howells dated 22 February 1877, "knows all about the Indians and yet has some humanity in them."[10] Dodge's two works are _The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants, Being a Description of the Plains, Game, Indians, etc. of the Great North American Desert_ (New York, 1877) and _Our Wild Indians: Thirty-three Years' Personal Experience Among the Red Men of the Great West_ (Hartford, 1882). The tone of Twain's letter to Howells is as interesting as is his preoccupation with Dodge; Twain almost implies a distinction between what one ought to believe about the Indian and how one ought to behave toward him.[11] What Twain believed, Blair says, largely was a result of his reading of Dodge. In _Huck and Tom Among the Indians_, Twain drew upon Dodge primarily for descriptions of Indian massacre and, says Blair, for theme development.[12] The massacre of the Mills family, for instance, closely resembles that of the Germaine family as described by William Blackmore in an Introduction to Dodge's _The Plains of the Great West_ (pp. l-li). Like Twain's Mills family, the Germaines travel alone; in both accounts, Indians shoot the father, tomahawk the mother, kill all the children except the daughters, burn the wagon, and carry the girls away tied to horses. One Germaine girl, like Huck Finn, helplessly watches the massacre and later describes it. Dodge noted in _The Plains of the Great West_ that Indians were not apt to hurt children or Negroes; thus, perhaps for the reasons Dodge mentions, little Flaxy Mills and the Negro Jim are safe when the Sioux capture them in Twain's account. Brace, whose lengthy physical description, Blair says, Twain lifted nearly word for word from General Custer's account of Wild Bill Hickock in _My Life on the Plains_, explains to Huck and Tom why the Indians are not apt to readily hurt Flaxy and Jim. Brace also knows that the Indians are apt to rape and kill Peggy, in a manner described by Dodge, while she is pinned to the ground by four stakes. Other details in Twain's fragment, (the fog in which Tom and the Stranger are lost, their panic, Huck's vigil over the Stranger, the waterspout) are close to descriptions in either of Dodge's works. Twain seems, then, to have depended heavily on Dodge for detail and for theme development. But Twain seems to have had difficulty sustaining the theme of Indian depravity. He left the fragment unfinished, for reasons which are unknown, at the point where he depicts Indians as most depraved, the account of the rape and killing of Peggy Mills. Blair offers Bernard De Voto's explanation for Twain's having dropped work on the novel; here, Blair summarizes De Voto's notes on the fragment:

> The humorist, always prudish in his writings, had to deal with the fearful signs that Peggy Mills had been staked to the ground and then raped. Twain might have achieved a happy ending, to be sure, by having his characters discover the stakes had been used for another purpose. . . . But even so, Huck would have had to talk less ambiguously about rape than he does in the fragment--and Mark Twain probably decided that this was impossible in a novel by him. (p. 9.)

This fragment has internal difficulties which may have been a factor in Twain's never having finished it. It seems evident to me that those difficulties involve a massive shift in the tone of the narrative, which seems to have undercut its intended unity. The shift in tone parallels the shift from one extreme side of a dual racial view to the other, specifically from Tom's light-hearted and energetic enthusiasm for the nobility of Indians to the view of deceitful, quick, violent, and total Indian savagery. The shift must, if it was to be at all successful, end with a strong feeling of nightmare and panic. At first, the tone is masterfully satiric and humorous. Twain seems to be at his best writing with his good-natured lampooning of Tom's enthusiasm for the Noble Red Man. The interplay that goes on at the beginning of the fragment among Tom, Jim, and the narrator Huck effects subtle, intricate, and controlled satiric humor, as well as a deepening of the same imaginative characterization of Huck, Tom, and Jim that we find in Huckleberry Finn. Note these passages which begin the fragment:

> Me and Jim kind of hung fire. Plenty to eat and nothing to do. We was very well satisfied. We hadn't ever had such comfortable times before and we reckoned we better let it alone as long as Providence warn't noticing; it would get busted up soon enough, likely, without our putting and helping. But Tom he stuck to the thing, and pegged at us every day. Jim says:
>
> "I doan' see de use, Mars Tom. Fur as I kin see, people dat has Injuns on dey han's ain' no better off den people dat ain' got no Injuns. Well den: we ain' got no Injuns, we doan' need no Injuns, en what does we want to go en hunt 'em up f'r? We's gitt'n along jes' as well as if we had a million un um. De's a powful ornery lot anyway." (p. 93)

Though Huck is the narrator here, Twain would probably have seconded Jim's notion. But Twain maintains a well-controlled emotional detachment in these early passages, letting events unfold and characterizations enlarge. Note, in the following, Tom's answer to Jim, especially the contrast between the older and more sensible Jim and the kinetic, idealistic, and adventuresome Tom, who is bound to bring about some complicated and exciting trouble:

> "Injuns ornery! It's the most ignorant idea that ever--why, Jim, they're the noblest human being that's ever been in the world. If a white man tells you a thing, do you know it's true? No, you don't; because generally it's a lie. But if an Injun tells you a thing, you can bet on it every time for the petrified fact; because you can't get an Injun to lie, he would cut out his tongue first. . . . An Injun is all honor. It's what they're made of. . . . Death?--an Injun don't care shucks for death. They prefer it. They sing when they're dying--sing their death-song. . . . They're awful strong, and fiery, and eloquent and wear beautiful blankets, and war paint, and moccasins, and buckskin clothes, all over beads, and go fighting and scalping every day in the year but Sundays, and have a noble good time, and they love friendly white men, and just dote on them, and can't do too much for them, and would rather die than let any harm come to them, and they think just as much of niggers as they do of anybody. . . . Amongst the Injuns, life is just simply a circus, that's what it is." (pp. 94-95)

Note in the above passage what Sidney J. Krause calls the "understatement of Twain's overstatement."[13] Tom's chorus of oversimplifications, in terms of its place in the whole of the fragment, can be seen as a foundation for a straight, unconditional contrast between the false and the "true," or, for an "antithesis to be rammed hard against thesis" (Krause, p. 330). Tom's oversimplifications, as a technique of dramatic irony, are interspersed here and there with quite damning exaggerations, such as in the above where Tom argues that the Indians have a "noble good time" scalping and fighting everyday except Sunday, which not only is a compact contrast suggested by "noble" and "scalping," but is probably an oblique reference to the relative ineffectiveness of missionary work among the Indians. Note also in the above that Tom seems to have gotten his information second-hand, probably from Cooper, and that his affinity and enthusiasm for adventure books shows him to be the same Tom as in Huckleberry Finn--still living the adventures of his reading. Everything Tom says to Jim here about the Indians has its own frequently subtle function in terms of the overall width of the contrast Twain has in mind. Tom cannot say enough in the Indians' praise; he has to stop. It is just as well, because Jim is completely converted by Tom's rhetoric anyway. Jim has been lied to and tricked by the white man before:

> "Whoosh! Dem's de ticket for Jim. Bust ef it doan' beat all, how rotten ignornt a body kin be 'bout Injuns w'en 'e hain't had no chance to study um up. Why, Mars Tom, ef I'd a knowed what Injuns really *is*, I pledges you my word I'd--well, you jes' count me *in*, dat's all; count me in on de Injun-country business; I's ready to go, I doan' want no likelier folks aroun' d'n what dem Injuns is." (p. 96)

In attempting to develop his theme of Indian depravity, Twain had to make an extreme transition in tone that seems necessarily to have called for a discontinuance of the imaginative subtleties **seen in** the above passages. Even Huck, as narrator, seems to have to step aside to share Twain's increasing bitterness, which is something that does not, after the transition in Huck and Tom Among the Indians, fit into the otherwise neutral but pliable character of Huck, nor into the otherwise lovable roguishness of Tom. An overall tone of bumptuous humor has been too well established in the fragment, and too expertly, to sustain such an extreme transition to a tone so completely different; all that has gone before, as is detected toward the end of the fragment, seems to break down. Twain may have asked himself how Huck, a character already well established in the earlier works, is supposed to react when a girl he falls in love with is violently raped and murdered, and still be Huck Finn. This, it seems to me, would have been nearly impossible for any writer, and Twain was probably wise not to finish the novel on such a bitter note and thereby lose some of his reading audience, whatever his own reasons were for dropping it. Twain, above all, does not seem to know what to do with Huck after Huck's encounter with total Indian depravity. The following passage is as close as Twain lets Huck come to reacting as Twain might have wanted to himself to the doings of the "real" Indians:

> Well, I was ciphering around in a general way myself, and outside of the camp I run across a piece of Peggy's dress as big as a handkerchief, and it had blood on it. It most froze me to see that, because I judged she was killed; and if she warn't, it stood to reason she was hurt. I hid

> the rag under a buffalo chip, because if Brace was to see it he might suspicion she wasn't dead after all the pains we had took to make him believe she was. (p. 137)

Huck later confesses to Tom that he is unable to make up a lie to keep the news of Peggy's fate from Brace. He also notices a change in Tom at this point:

> I noticed, but I never said anything, that Tom was putting the Injuns below the devils, now. You see, he had about got it through his noodle, by this time, that book Injuns and real Injuns is different. (p. 138)

Had this novel been completed and published, perhaps Twain's reading audiences would have accepted his theme. If what Hallowell said of the dual image of the Indian is true, this is quite likely. But it seems to me that Twain's audiences would have been a bit incredulous at Huck's inability, in any situation, to make up a lie to get himself, Tom and Jim out of trouble; this would not have been the same Huck Finn. In his attempt, then, to expose a romantic delusion about Indians and present them as "bad guys" in the worst sense possible, Twain has released, whether voluntarily or inadvertently, a hold on his more well-known family of characters. They lose whatever individuality they had when Twain and his theme take over, and the flaw is evident long before the end of the fragment. Thus, basically the same kind of situation we found in _Pudd'nhead Wilson_ is to be found here in _Huck and Tom Among the Indians_; the gap between two major racial myths is too wide for Twain to deal with adequately and not lose something or leave some inconsistency in his felt need to commit himself to aspects of both myths pertaining to a given race, or, less often, to a place between the two myths. While Twain projects an objective and fair persona, whose omniscience is rough and tough and often humorous and subtle, the end result, in either of these two works, is paradoxically narrow. This narrowness crowds out and dissipates those qualities for which a good foundation is only begun. Mark Twain, in _Huck and Tom Among the Indians_, chooses, it seems, to turn away from those qualities of imaginative characterization, whimsy and subtle irony, we find in _Huckleberry Finn_. Antithesis may very well be rammed hard against thesis, in _Huck and Tom Among the Indians_, hard enough to knock some of these good foundations loose. In _Pudd'nhead Wilson_ a gap was seen to be left in Twain's seeming affinity for the myth of bad "blood" in the Negro, though his attack on slavery and the myth of white supremacy is consistent with the otherwise objective and open-minded tone of the novel. In _Huck and Tom Among the Indians_, Twain's movement from one extreme racial view to the opposite not only is inconsistent with the objective and satiric tone at the beginning of the fragment but it causes character inconsistencies and a breakdown of the witty, humorous, and careful indirection which is well established at the beginning of the fragment.

Twain's two-valued approach to race may be said to have been a result of his felt need to break away from a tradition of increasingly unrealistic and superfluous romanticism. Twain may at times have gone too unrealistically far to the other side; we saw the possibility of this in _Huck and Tom Among the Indians_. Indeed, it is the "other side" that seems to figure in Twain's having given up on man altogether. When all the romantic myths are exploded, many in a tone of bumptious humor, only their opposites are left, and the humor, now out of place, is replaced with an increasingly bitter tone. This process can be seen in other works where Twain deals with the American Indian. The process begins when Twain's only target seems to be the one side of the dual view of the Indian that offers immediate and obvious possibilities for parody--the sentimental Indian of popular verse (e.g., Longfellow) and fiction (e.g., Cooper), as is seen in "Niagara," from _Sketches New and Old_.[14] Here again Twain is at his humorous best. Fortified with a romantic picture of what an Indian is, Twain meets the souvenir shop Indian at Niagara Falls. He begins with his mental picture:

> The noble Red Man has always been a friend and darling of mine. I love to read of his inspired sagacity and his love of the wild free life of the mountain and forest, and his general nobility of character, and his stately metaphorical manner of speech, and his chivalrous love for the dusky maiden, and the picturesque pomp of his dress and accoutrements. (p. 62)

This "noble Red Man" at Niagara turns out to be an Irishman, who is not too happy when the narrator Twain asks him, "Is the Wawhoo-Wang-Wang of the Whack-a-Whack happy?" (p. 63). There is a semantic barrier between the narrator Twain and the rest of these Niagara "Indians" that makes for slapstick humor when they throw him over the Falls. This is nearly the same kind of humor we find in Huckleberry Finn, where Huck tries to explain to Jim things that "niggers" just cannot understand. Here, in "Niagara," it is James Fenimore Cooper's fault for his having tricked Twain into thinking the "Indians" would react well to the clumsy but well-meant greeting.

For Twain, the non-communication with the non-white is nearly always the fault of the non-white, and where the other party is an Indian, he always stands for the rest of his kind. Note in the following from Innocents Abroad the generalization from "Digger" Indians to Indians in general:

> Tahoe means grasshoppers. It means grasshopper soup. It is Indian and suggestive of Indians. They say it is Pi-ute--possibly it is Digger. I am satisfied it was named by the Diggers--those degraded savages who roast their dead relatives, then mix the human grease and ashes of bones with tar, and "gaum" it thick all over their heads and foreheads and ears, and go caterwauling about the hills and call it mourning. . . . It isn't worth while, in these practical times to talk about Indian poetry--there never was any in them--except in the Fenimore Cooper Indians. But they are an extinct tribe that never existed. I know the Noble Red Man. I have camped with the Indians; I have been on the war-path

> with them--for grasshoppers; helped them steal cattle; I have roamed with them, had them for breakfast. I would gladly eat the whole race if I had a chance. (p. 124)[15]

Twain in the above is still writing on the level of genial sarcastic humor, and attempting the effect of understating overstatement, but there is nonetheless the blanket condemnation without "tribal" distinction, which tends to tip the balance in the direction of overstatement. From one tribe, "Digger" (of the Shoshonean linguistic family) which is certainly not representative of all North American tribes, Twain moves to a condemnation of them all.[16] Diggers were at opposite poles from the Cooper Indians. Certainly there were many tribes less genuinely impoverished than the Diggers, certain Plains tribes, for example, or the Iroquois that Twain expected to meet in "Niagara," these being less apt to have had to depend now and then on gathering insects for subsistence. But here as elsewhere Twain judges the whole by the standard most opposite the subject of his attack, the Cooper myth in the above case.

Note the following, from Roughing It, where Twain speaks of the "Goshute" Indians (Gosiute), Great Basin Indians also linked linguistically and geographically with the Shoshonean family:

> The disgust which the Goshutes gave me, a disciple of Cooper and a worshiper of the red man . . . set me to examining authorities to see if perhaps I had been overestimating

> the red man while viewing him through the mellow moonshine of romance. The revelations that came to me were disenchanting. It was curious to see how quickly the paint and tinsel fell away from him and left him treacherous and repulsive--and how quickly the evidence accumulated, and that whenever one finds an Indian tribe he has only found Goshutes more or less modified by circumstances and surroundings--but Goshutes after all. (pp. 119-120)[17]

The possibilities for a purely altruistic motive in the above, turning American readers away from an oversentimentalized romantic literature and toward something more realistic, are probably not to be questioned. It may even be possible that in presenting such a wide contrast and in focusing on the Gosiute, Twain had in mind that his readers might accept a view near the center of these two contrasting views, or at least be drawn away from the influence of Cooper. But there is a reason to believe that Twain had no such altruism in mind or that it was a minor factor in his treatment of the Indian. The process of a shift in tone in Twain's racial material ends with what cannot in any sense be linked to an altruistic motive, as we shall see.

IV. THE HUMAN RACE

After his judgment of the whole race of Indians by its least shining examples, Twain's shift to the "other side," the negative side, of the dual racial view is nearly complete. A major shift in the tone of his works begins to be evident, specifically when his judgment of Indians, solidified into an alleged hatred for all of them, begins to overlap or encompass other races as well. Again, from Innocents Abroad:

> They [Arabs in Damascus] sat in silence and with tireless patience watched our every motion with that vile, uncomplaining impoliteness which is so truly Indian, and which makes a white man so nervous and uncomfortable and savage that he wants to exterminate the whole tribe.
>
> These people about us had other peculiarities which I have noticed in the noble red man, too: they were infested with vermin, and the dirt had caked on them till it had amounted to bark. (p. 305)

Not only has the Shoshone become the standard by which Twain judges all Indians, but Indians seem now to become the standard by which Twain judges other peoples who impress him unfavorably. Again from Roughing It:

> I refer to the Goshute Indians. From what we could see and all we could learn, they are very considerably inferior . . . all races of savages on our continent, inferior even to the Tierra del Fuegans; inferior to the Hottentots, and actually inferior in some respects to the Kytches of Africa. . . . Such of the Goshutes as we saw, along the road and hanging about the stations, were small, lean, "scrawny" creatures; in complexion a dull black like

> the ordinary American Negro--a silent, sneaking, treacherous looking race, taking note of everything, covertly, like all the other "Noble Red Men" that we (do not) read about. . . . The Bushmen and our Goshutes are manifestly descended from the self-same gorilla, or kangaroo or Norway rat, whichever animal-Adam the Darwinians trace them to. (p. 118)

This process in Twain's racial views, a gradual movement from one extreme to the opposite, a movement that gathers a number of races to that one opposite, seems at this stage to point directly back to the content of Twain's opening statements in "Concerning the Jews": to say that a man is a human being is enough; one can say no worse. The process, the negative generalization that seems to include more and more groups of people, moves toward a final and universal condemnation of all races. If by "prejudice," as Twain uses the term in "Concerning the Jews," he meant a specific antipathy toward any one given race or group of people, it should be evident at this point that Twain's denial of being prejudiced, by claiming to be antipathetic to all mankind, is perhaps a bit more than a good-natured fib. In those later works which are clearly different in nearly every sense from the lovable and humorous Mark Twain who wrote Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, the dead accuracy of his claim is seen to be seriously clear.

In those later works of which Letters from the Earth and The Mysterious Stranger are the more familiar examples, Twain seems to show no distinctions among, or mercy toward, any races or groups of people. This blending indicates that the overall tonal shift is complete. The earlier subtle, funny, even sometimes incidental attacks on either a race or a myth that attached to it, become altogether serious when the distinctions among races become clouded, and when the negative myths come to prevail. Man himself becomes the target of Twain's felt need to attack.

A specific target of Twain's attack on man is human cruelty, and the American Indian is a prominent figure here. As we saw in Huck and Tom Among the Indians, Twain was impressed and apparently strongly affected by reports of Indian savagery. "Letter XI" from Letters from the Earth indicates that this same savagery is applicable to all men:

> The mouth [of God] . . . is the very same that ordered the wholesale massacre of the Midianitish men and babies and cattle; the wholesale destruction of house and city; the wholesale banishment of the virgins into a filthy and unspeakable slavery. This is the same person who brought upon the Midianites the fiendish cruelties which were repeated by the red Indians, detail by detail, in Minnesota eighteen centuries later. The Midianite episode filled him with joy. So did the Minnesota one, or he would have prevented it. (pp. 54-55)[18]

Indians, Midianites, Christians, man, God, all are immoral agents of wanton cruelties and destruction; Twain makes no distinctions, or, more to the point, the distinctions no longer matter. The Indians become one of many reasons why immoral man is the very lowest of animals. There are, at this point, not only no Gosiutes or "Diggers," or Iroquois or Sioux or Cooper Indians; there are no Indians and no races. There is only man, and that, in a tone clearly sincere in Letters from the Earth, is the worst to be said:

> And so I find that we have descended and degenerated, from some far ancestor--some microscopic atom wandering at its pleasure between the mighty horizons of a drop of water perchance--insect by insect, animal by animal, reptile by reptile, down the long highway of smirchless innocence, till we have reached the bottom stage of development--namable as the Human Being. (p. 181)

The process does not stop with Twain's shift from a seemingly ambivalent attitude toward extreme and two-valued racial myths, where tone and point of view vary, to an apparently serious condemnation of humanity. God also takes a serious beating from Twain, who seems to conclude, in Number 44, The Mysterious Stranger, that human life, and all of life, which is so detestable as not to be believed, is in fact a dream. Number 44 (Satan) speaks to the narrator:

> "Nothing exists; all is a dream. God--man--the world--the sun, the moon, the wilderness of stars: a dream, all a dream, they have no existence. . . . Strange indeed that you should not have suspected that your universe and its contents were only dreams, visions, fictions! Strange because they are so frankly and hysterically insane--like all dreams: a God who could make good

> children as easily as bad, yet
> preferred to make bad ones." (p. 404)

The process of the tonal shift ends, then, with a nihilism that seems as extreme as any racial view that Twain seems ever to have held or at least claimed to have held. And the tone that signals the end of the shift is perhaps not even so far removed from Twain's treatment of race and slavery in _Huckleberry Finn_; if one can penetrate the humor there, he may find this to be the case. An incipient bitterness certainly can be found, as we have seen, near the end of _Huck and Tom Among the Indians_. What began as a two-valued pattern of views toward people of different races and cultures ends with a rejection of either extreme or either value, which, in a sense, can be said to be an acceptance of another, the strongly felt nihilism of _Number 44, The Mysterious Stranger_. An overall pattern of a gravitation toward and vacillation between extremes of one sort or another is seen throughout much of Twain's writing and much of his life. This is not to suggest that the end product of his writing, bitterness and nihilism, is the direct result of Twain's own eccentricities or possible abnormalties, though this probably can be argued with some success. We still maintain racial myths that are not far different from or less extreme than those Twain either accepted or rejected. I suggest, however, that within Twain's pattern of extremes there is, for one thing, a shift in tone from that evident in the genial and worldly-wise type of persona, who destroys racial and other myths with an effect that is at once humorous and innocent, and often ironic and satiric, to that of a bitter and nihilistic Twain, who still meticulously understates overstatement, by carefully pointing out only a few of the many failures of men of all races, but whose apparent bitterness becomes no longer a facade and whose aim is no longer to effect an occasional laugh. Also, accompanying that tonal shift, and a strong factor related to it, is Twain's gravitation to nearly all of those racial myths that seem gradually to have made for his negativistic orientation to all of mankind, whites included. Twain apparently did not find that relatively realistic center between extremes in his attitudes toward races; the bad in all races and cultures prevailed.

The process of a major shift in the tone of Twain's works can be traced easily and is evident to anyone whose reading of Twain includes even a small portion of the later works. The same is true for the shift in Twain's racial attitudes. Both processes are gradual and some insight into either requires careful study. As more of Twain's unpublished material becomes generally available, more insight into Twain's tonal shift will doubtless be discovered. My point has been that one avenue of insight into Twain's complex personality is a study of the interrelatedness of both processes, tonal shift and shift in racial attitude. As we have seen, the increasing seriousness and bitterness in Twain is directly related to his own peculiar confrontation with the human race, culminating in the notion that all humanity is nightmarishly evil. But this confrontation and this notion do not explain the process of the gradual shift in tone; they only point to the bitter personality of an old man who has apparently rejected the idea of finding any good in people. This negative attitude toward all people is the culmination of another gradual process: the rejection of many unrealistic myths favorable to many races, the vacillation between dual mythical extremes, and the apparent final acceptance of equally unrealistic myths that damn those races. Both processes are complex, but both ought to be studied together.

NOTES

[1] Henry Nash Smith, "Mark Twain as an Interpreter of the Far West: The Structure of *Roughing It*," in *The Frontier in Perspective*, ed. Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber (Madison, Wis., 1957), p. 226. Smith speaks of *Roughing It* and of *Huckleberry Finn* as two Twain novels that reflect a painful nostalgia for a frontier that was no more. This nostalgia, according to Smith, had great bearing on Twain's bitterness late in life.

[2] Barbara A. Chellis, "Those Extraordinary Twins: Negroes and Whites," *AQ*, XXI (Spring 1969), 100-112. Hereafter cited by page within the text.

[3] *Mark Twain's "The Mysterious Stranger" Manuscripts*, ed. William M. Gibson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969). Cited by page within the text. *Number 44, The Mysterious Stranger* is not the more familiar *The Mysterious Stranger, A Romance*, first published in 1916 and termed an "editorial fraud" by Gibson. See Gibson's Introduction to this volume.

[4] Milton Meltzer, *Mark Twain Himself* (New York, 1960), p. 257.

[5] Mark Twain, "Concerning the Jews," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XCIX (September 1899), 524-535. Cited by page within the text.

[6] A. Irving Hallowell, "The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture," in *The Frontier in*

Perspective, ed. Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber (Madison, Wis., 1957). Hereafter cited by page within the text.

[7] Ivan Benson, "Mark Twain in the West," *Department of Education Bulletin, State of California*, No. 21 (November 1935), p. 16.

[8] Dixon Wecter, *Sam Clemens of Hannibal* (Boston, 1952), p. 151.

[9] *Mark Twain's Hannibal, Huck and Tom*, ed. Walter Blair (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969). Cited by page within the text. This volume contains the entire fragment, *Huck and Tom Among the Indians*, and a number of other unfinished plays and sketches by Twain where Huck and Tom appear as central characters. De Benneville Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders* (Philadelphia, 1870).

[10] *Mark Twain--Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells*, ed. Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), I, 172. A footnote to this letter to Howells indicates that though Colonel Dodge was Twain's candidate for Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Cabinet of President Hayes, Dodge was never appointed.

[11] Traditions of U.S. Government policy behavior toward the American Indian are well explained by D'Arcy McNickle in "Indian and European: Indian and White Relations from Discovery

to 1887," American Indians and American Life, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXXXI (May 1957), 1-11: "What was beginning to emerge and would be clearly defined in the years during which discovery and settlement progressed in the Americas, was a European society--varying in detail from country to country, but intrinsically similar--based on the belief in the perfectibility of man" (p. 2). The Indian savage, noble though he may be, came to be a target for this " . . . concern for the moral improvement of mankind" (p. 3). Thus, a Calvinist orientation, and, often, the doctrine of social progress, dictated for many years a policy which ignored the cultural integrity of the Indian. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 " . . . placed in the hands of the President the authority to remove all Indians west of the Mississippi River" (p. 9). From 1830 to the 1880's, according to McNickle, " . . . Indian tribes continued to be moved, some of them three or four times, like inanimate pieces on the checkerboard of the nation's destiny" (p. 10).

Twain's attitude toward social Darwinism should be clear to any one who reads Letters from the Earth, where in "The Damned Human Race," Twain says: "Man--when he is a North American Indian--gouges out his prisoner's eyes; when he is King John, with a nephew to render untroublesome, he uses a red-hot iron. . . . In the first Richard's time he shuts up a multitude of Jew families in a tower and sets fire to it. . . . Of all the animals, man is the only one that is cruel." (Letters

From the Earth, New York, 1963, pp. 178-179). Still, Twain can, like Colonel Dodge and seemingly unlike the U. S. Government, have some "humanity" for the Indian: "They deserve pity, poor creatures; and they can have mine--at this distance. Nearer by, they never get anybody's" (*Roughing It*, New York, 1962, p. 120).

[12] Blair points out (*Mark Twain's Hannibal, Huck and Tom*, p. 85) that Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail* probably provided an overall pattern, and specifically some character names, for Twain's *Huck and Tom Among the Indians*.

[13] Sydney J. Krause, "Cooper's Literary Offenses: Mark Twain in Wonderland," *NEQ*, XXXVIII (September 1965), p. 305. The article refers to Twain's first critical essay on Cooper, but it seems to me that where Krause generalizes on Twain's technique, it applies here as well.

[14] Mark Twain, *Sketches New and Old* (New York, 1922). Hereafter cited by page within the text.

[15] Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad or The New Pilgrim's Progress, Being Some Account of the Steamship Quaker City's Pleasure Excursion to Europe and the Holy Land* (New York, 1964). Cited by page within the text.

[16] As seen in *Roughing It* and in *Innocents Abroad*, Twain did observe some Shoshone tribes of the Great Basin, e.g. Gosiute and Piute. His account of Shoshone habits is probably not altogether exaggerated, as is seen in the following account:

> Grasshoppers, crickets, bees, caterpillars, ants and locusts along with their eggs, larvae and chrysalids all served as food in the Great Basin. When the so-called "Mormon crickets" appeared in swarms and blackened the whole countryside, the Shoshone collected great quantities. The Shoshone regretted that the plague of crickets came only about once in seven years.

The above is from Robert F. Spencer, Jesse D. Jennings, et al., The Native Americans: Prehistory and Ethnology of the North American Indians (New York, 1965), p. 277. Spencer and Jennings point out (p. 278) that the Shoshones were among the culturally impoverished tribes of the Great Basin, and that their basis of subsistence lay in gathering, often root gathering; thus the name "Digger," given to them by travelers to California and Oregon (ca. 1850). Plains Indians, who were Twain's target in Huck and Tom Among the Indians, were less apt to rely on a gathering subsistence.

[17] Mark Twain, Roughing It (New York, 1962). Hereafter cited by page within the text.

[18] Mark Twain, Letters from the Earth (New York, 1963). Hereafter cited by page within the text.

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