

Jim

The LIFE and AFTERLIVES of
HUCKLEBERRY FINN'S COMRADE

SHELLEY FISHER FISHK



Jacket illustration: Jim, Wood Engraving from the Pennyroyal Press edition of
Adventures of Huckleberry Finn 1984, by Barry Moser.

Also by Shelley Fisher Fishkin

Author

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Shelley Fisher

Fishkin —

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from the Germanacos Foundation.

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Frontispiece (p. xii): *Jim*. Wood engraving from the Pennyroyal Press edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 1984, by Barry Moser.

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Appendix

Notes for Teachers

This appendix does not pretend to be a comprehensive teaching guide. Rather, it gathers ideas that have proven helpful to teachers trying to address the major challenges posed by *Huckleberry Finn* in the classroom. Part One focuses on the challenge of dealing with the offensive racial epithet; the challenge of contextualizing the history of race and racism in America as background for the novel; and the challenge of teaching Mark Twain's use of irony to attack racism. Part Two includes two scenes from Ralph Wiley's unproduced screenplay, *Spike Lee's Huckleberry Finn*, and a description of how to use them for staged readings in class. I have had my students stage these scenes for two decades, and the results have been remarkable. Part Three contains full citations for works mentioned in Parts One and Two that are not included in the endnotes, as well as suggestions for further reading.

Part One

The Challenge of Dealing with the Offensive Racial Epithet That Runs through the Book

Teachers often cite the ubiquity in the book of an offensive racial epithet as a reason not to teach *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Teachers

should not teach it if they are not prepared to have a discussion about this word before their students begin reading the novel.

Some of the points made in the “Explanatory” that precedes the table of contents in this book bear repeating. The notorious racial slur that appears more than two hundred times in *Huckleberry Finn* has been used for centuries in the United States to vilify and stigmatize Black people. Spoken by a non-Black indi

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vidual, the word immediately identifies the speaker with the ideology of white supremacy, and with it the history of dehumanization, disparagement, and def amation to which Black people have been subjected from the beginnings of racial slavery through the present. While seeking to represent the authentic speech of his characters on the page as accurately as possible, Mark Twain recognized that the word denied the humanity of the people it was used to describe, enabling and embodying the racist norms that prevailed in the world in which he lived.¹

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though no character in the novel challenges those norms directly, Twain makes those norms the object of his lacerating satire in an effort to push his readers to recognize and reject them on their own.

Teachers might note that although the word can bring to mind the hateful practices that have fostered anti-Black hostility from Twain’s day to our own, a sizable number of Black people have used—and use—the word themselves in a range of contexts, sometimes repurposing it in ways that diminish its stigma. But the slur’s historical use by white people to maintain an unjust racial order associates it with a history of violence and insult that remains and that can still provoke anger and cause pain.

Before teaching the book, teachers should inform themselves about the his tory of the word and how it came to derive the power that it wields in American culture. Randall Kennedy’s book *Nigger: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word* (2003) is a good place to start.² For students, a shorter text by Kennedy could be assigned: “A Note on the Word ‘Nigger,’” which appears on the website of the National Park Service’s Park Ethnography Program, along with the entry on the word in R. Kent Rasmussen’s *Critical Companion to Mark Twain*.³ Teachers might also find helpful Jabari Asim’s book *The N Word: Who Can Say It, Who Shouldn’t, and Why*.⁴ Teachers should be willing to discuss the power that the word retains today to demean and diminish Black people while also being reclaimed by some Black people as a term of affection when referring to each other. To clarify these issues, I highly recommend having students watch an excellent Peabody Award–winning documentary written and directed by Todd Williams and produced by executive producer Nelson George, *The N-Word*, released June 26, 2004.⁵

Teachers might engage students in a discussion of why Twain

repeatedly used a word that at the time was an offensive epithet as well as the word normally used to refer to Black people. In their efforts to convey Twain's recognition of the power of the word to almost single-handedly transform Black people into the "other," I recommend that teachers assign Twain's satire from 1869 about a lynching in Memphis in which an innocent man lost his life. It is called "Only a Nigger," and in the piece, Twain mockingly impersonates the Memphis lynchers justifying and minimizing the importance of their actions by saying that "only a

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'nigger'" was killed by their mistake. Twain puts the term in quotation marks, making clear that he viewed it as part of how the lynchers turned the murdered Black man into someone whose life didn't matter.⁶

Teachers might also consider assigning short stories by nineteenth-century Black writers that are set, like *Huckleberry Finn*, in antebellum times, in which the offensive epithet appears. For example, teachers might assign "The Ingrate" by Paul Laurence Dunbar and "The Passing of Grandison" by Charles W. Ches

nut. Both of these writers use the word for the same reasons that Mark Twain does: to accurately portray the speech of a particular time and place and to convey the ways in which the word helps portray Black people as hopelessly "other."⁷ As I wrote in my "Explanatory," given the pain that the word inflicts, I believe there is no need to read the word aloud in the classroom.⁸ The word is offensive— but so, too, are slavery and racism. We can no more hide from this painful word than we can from America's painful past. But it is helpful to provide students with a context for understanding its destructive power by exposing them to some of the resources outlined here, as well as strategies to avoid saying the word out loud.

The idea of having students read aloud from *Huckleberry Finn* in class is controversial. Personally, I'd discourage this, but some teachers have found the practice constructive. In any case, I'd encourage teachers to tell their students that the offensive epithet should not be said aloud in class. If portions of the book containing the word need to be quoted in class, students and teachers might substitute a euphemism of their choice (such as *n-word* or simply substituting the letter *n*).⁹ Teachers should note that students should never use the word when writing in their own voices in their essays and research papers. However, teachers may decide whether to give students the option of using the word in writing when quoting from the text; alternatively, they might substitute something like [n—]. A trigger warning noting the presence of the offensive epithet in the book might be included in the syllabus, or it could be written on the blackboard before students start reading the book, along with a statement along the lines indicated above about how the word should be handled.

Teachers might also find the following sources helpful on this topic: Alan Carey-Webb's "Racism and 'Huckleberry Finn': Censorship,

Dialogue, and Change" (1993); Shelley Fisher Fishkin's "Take the N-Word Out of 'Huck Finn'? It's an Insult to Mark Twain—and to American History" (2011); David E. E. Sloane's "The N-Word in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* Reconsidered" (2014); Jocelyn Chadwick's "We Dare Not Teach What We Know We Must: The Importance of Difficult Conversations" (2016); Jocelyn Chadwick's "When Will We Listen? Mark Twain through the Lenses of Generation Z" (2018); and David A.

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Gorlewski's "Scholars Weigh In on Teaching *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*" (2022).¹⁰

College teachers might consider assigning David Bradley's essay "Eulogy for Nigger," winner of the international Notting Hill Editions Essay Prize in 2015. It was written originally on the occasion of the NAACP's decision to hold a funeral for the word. The text of the essay was reprinted in London when it won the prize.¹¹

The Challenge of Contextualizing the History of Race and Racism in America

Exposing students to slave narratives and essays by Black writers can help them understand the conditions that inform the novel. Having students read slave narratives (or portions of them) by Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, Harriet Jacobs, and others, as well as selections from WPA Federal Writers' Proj

ect interviews with individuals who were formerly enslaved in Missouri, can give them a useful grounding in the situation in which Jim finds himself in the novel. All of these are readily available online and are not difficult to understand, although they can be emotionally painful to confront.¹² Recollections of people enslaved in Missouri may be found at the website of Missouri State Parks.¹³ In addition, Frederick Douglass's essay "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" is powerful and clearly argued, as well as profound, and can deepen any discussion of race in the classroom.¹⁴

Teachers might share the myths about race that dominated the world in which both Huck and Mark Twain lived that I outline in the first section of chapter 2 of this book and ask students to think about whether Jim embodies or subverts those myths. Take the myth about Black lack of intelligence. Ask stu

dents to read the book starting with the assumption that Jim is smart. How does that shape the way we read various scenes that might, on the surface, appear to cast him as a minstrel show figure? Do the same with the myths about Black lack of creativity or the ability of Black people to feel pain and grief. Discussions of whether—and how—Jim subverts popular stereotypes about race might be enhanced by having students watch the Emmy-winning documentary about stereotypes by Marlon Riggs titled *Ethnic Notions* (1987).¹⁵

One novel intervention that some teachers found helpful in recent years was taking their classes to a stage adaptation of *Huckleberry Finn* called *Splittin' the Raft*, by Scott Kaiser.¹⁶ In this play, Frederick Douglass acts as Greek chorus of sorts, delivering excerpts from his speeches as asides to the audience that serve as commentaries on the action. (This option is viable only if a local theater group or high school or college theater club is willing to present the play.)

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Reading accessible works on race and racism can help a teacher prepare for issues that may come up in discussions. Some useful works in this category include Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (2016); Thomas H. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (1997); George M. Fredrickson, *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality* (1988); Toni Morrison, *The Origin of Others* (2017); and George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (rpt., 2015).¹⁷

Examining American culture's discomfort with facing issues of race and racism as they relate to Twain can also help prepare a teacher for controversies surrounding the book. Two works that do this are my book *Lighting Out for the Territory: Reflections on Mark Twain and American Culture* (2002) and my essay "Mark Twain and Race" (2002).¹⁸

The Challenge of Teaching Mark Twain's Use of Irony to Critique Racism

The materials that follow come out of programs I've presented over the past three decades in Austin and Dallas, Texas; in Greenwich and Hartford, Connecticut; in Stanford, California; at the National Humanities Center in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, and elsewhere to help high school teachers teach this book.

"Teaching *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," a ninety-minute webinar of a teachers' institute that I conducted in 2015 for the National Humanities Center's "Humanities in the Classroom" Webinar Series, can be helpful. It addresses questions such as how to help students recognize how Twain's irony works and what led him to choose the risky strategy of creating a narrator who fails to understand so much of the world around him. I discuss, among other things, the value of preceding discussions of *Huckleberry Finn* with discussions of some of Twain's widely available earlier satires on racism that feature narrators too innocent or too bigoted to grasp what is wrong with the racism that their society widely normalizes—works such as "What Have the Police Been Doing?," "Disgraceful Persecution of a Boy," and the "Goldsmith's Friend Abroad Again" letters.¹⁹

My essay "Teaching Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," published in 1999 by PBS in connection with the film *Born to Trouble: Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (part of its *Culture Shock* series) can be

useful to teachers as well, along with a six-part teachers' guide developed in connection with the film.²⁰

A paper topic that was assigned during my American literature class during my junior year in high school—"Write a paper on how Mark Twain uses irony to attack racism in *Huckleberry Finn*"—has proven useful to John Pascal in his classes at Seton Hall Preparatory School for the past three years.

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Part Two

To dramatize the ironic gap between the action of the book as Huck narrates it and the action of the book as Jim perceives it, I have found it helpful to have students do a staged reading of two scenes from *Spike Lee's Huckleberry Finn* by Ralph Wiley. The first involves the prank Tom plays on Jim at the start of the book, and the second centers on the prank Huck plays on Jim after the fog.

Wiley, who died in 2004, was an influential sports journalist and iconoclastic satirist who was also an appreciative and insightful reader of Mark Twain. His books include *Dark Witness: When Black People Should Be Sacrificed (Again)* (1996), as well as *Why Black People Tend to Shout: Cold Facts and Wry Views from a Black Man's World* (1991) and *What Black People Should Do Now: Dispatches from Near the Vanguard* (1993).²¹ Wiley had wanted to subtitle *Dark Witness* "In Homage to Mark Twain," but his publisher refused. When Wiley gave the book to friends, he sometimes pasted a yellow sticky note with his preferred subtitle on the cover (he gave me a copy with such a sticky note in 1999). Wiley wrote the screenplay in the 1990s and hoped to persuade his good friend Spike Lee to produce it. Wiley, who was coauthoring *By Any Means Necessary: The Trials and Tribulations of Making Malcolm X* with Lee at the time, also hoped to persuade the actor Denzel Washington, then starring in the *Malcolm X* film, to play Jim.²² Wiley shared his script with me, sought my advice, and enlisted my help. The movie was never made—but Spike Lee spent a day with Wiley and me in his Brooklyn studio discussing *Huckleberry Finn*, Jim, and why both Ralph and I cared so much about this book. Wiley gave me permission to publish several scenes from the unproduced screenplay in the *Mark Twain Circular*, encouraging teachers to have their students do staged readings of them. I published the scenes in 1999. For more than twenty years, I have been having students do staged readings of them in class, as have many other teachers around the country. The results have been nothing less than transformative.

In this screenplay, Huck's voiceover narration stays close to the story as Huck tells it in the novel, while the camera shows us the action from Jim's perspective. In addition to casting students as Jim, Huck, and Tom, teachers who want to have students stage these two scenes should cast a student to read the part of "Narrator" and another to read the "stage directions." Excerpts from the screenplay follow.²³ My article about the

screenplay, "In Praise of *Spike Lee's Huckleberry Finn* by Ralph Wiley" (*Mark Twain Circular* 13, no. 4 [1999]), may be accessed at this link: <https://marktwaincircle.org/ralph-wiley-huck-finn>.

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Scenes from *Spike Lee's Huckleberry Finn* by Ralph Wiley

7. ext. widow douglas home. rear. night. — *Huck scrambles out of the window onto the roof of attached shed. He jumps down and crawls back among the trees and underbrush behind the house and there is Tom, grinning. They tiptoe along a path among the trees. Passing the back of the corral, where Jim sits, using an awl on what appears to be a doll's head. Huck steps on a dry branch and it snaps. At this sound, Jim surreptitiously puts away the doll-object and picks up a rack of tallow candles; his head comes up as he begins to snap them off.*

jim

Who dah?

The boys bend over, stock-still, grimacing, then hide behind separate trees. We can see that Jim catches a glimpse of them. Jim walks back into the foliage with two candles, and stops in a space between the two trees. Only a fool would not have seen the boys. So Jim pretends to be one.

jim

Say—who is you? Whar is you? Well, I knows what I's gon' do.
I's gon' set down heah . . . ahh! . . . and listen till I hears it agin.

Jim sits down on a natural seat under the tree. Huck is on the other side. Huck shuts his eyes tight. Jim settles into a comfortable position, puts his hat on the ground and sighs contentedly.

7a. ext. moon shot. silvery river. night.

8. ext. trees. night. — *Huck hears heavy breathing from the other side, begins to peer around the tree. We see Jim, eyes slitted open, obviously awake, feigning sleep, as he continues to make the sound of a man deep in slumber. Tom Sawyer's cap begins to emerge from the other side of the opposite tree. Jim's eyes close effortlessly. Tom makes a sign to Huck; he and Huck creep away on their hands and knees in opposite directions away from the trees.*

9. ext. medium shot. jim under tree. night. — *Through the foliage we can*

see Jim, Huck and Tom's profiles enter from opposite sides of the shot, close-up. They look at each other, then back at Jim, then back to each other.

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tom

Let's tie him to the tree.

huck

No, let's don't. S'pose he wakes up? It's my bust, not yourn.

tom

Go on ahead. I'll happen to borrow some 'a them candles from Jim.

Huck slips off.

narrator

Nothing would do Tom but he must crawl to where Jim was, and play something on him. Tom didn't borrow the candles, he left Jim a nickel for them . . . he also slipped Jim's hat on a limb.

Tom creeps up to Jim and picks up the candles and leaves a nickel, turns to go, but is unable to resist a trick. He picks up Jim's hat and places it on the limb of a tree, and then, with a look of glee, races off to catch Huck. As he goes, Jim smiles and opens his eyes, looks down and smiles at the nickel even more affectionately. He palms the nickel; then calmly looks up and takes his hat off the limb of the tree, puts it on his head, and walks away, all action as Narrator says . . .

narrator

Afterwards, Jim said witches bewitched him, put him in a trance and rode him all over the State, and then set him under the tree again and hung his hat on a limb to show who done it. Next time Jim told it, he said they rode him down to New Or-leans. Next time it was all the way 'round the world. Strange niggers came from miles away to hear Jim talk about it. Jim, he was most ruined for a servant, he got so stuck up, on account of having seen the Devil . . .

10. ext. hillside. night. — *Seven boys, including Huck and Tom, run along the hillside, in the moonlight. Tom stops and howls like a wolf at the silvery moon.*

narrator

. . . and been rode by witches.

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61. ext. river raft. night. — *Jim is “sitting there with his head down between his knees, asleep, with his right arm hanging over the steering oar. The other oar was smashed off. The raft was littered with leaves and branches and dirt. So she’d had a rough time.” Huck paddles up silently, quietly, makes the canoe fast, boards the raft, lies down under Jim’s nose, “and begun to gap, and stretched my fists out against Jim and says”:*

huck

Hello, Jim, have I been asleep? Why didn’t you stir me up?

jim

Huck? En you ain’ dead—you ain’ drowned? Lemme look at you, lemme see . . .

Jim touches Huck’s shoulders and arms. Near tears with relief.

jim

. . . no, you’s back, d’same ole Huck . . . thanks to goodness.

huck

What’s the matter with you, Jim. You been a-drinking?

jim

. . . Has I had a chance to be drinkin’?

huck

Well then, what makes you talk so wild?

jim

How does I talk wild?

jim

How? Talkin’ about me coming back and all that stuff, as if I’d been gone away?

jim

Huck. Huck Finn. You look me in d’eye; *look me in d’eye; Ain’t* you been gone away?

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huck

Gone away? I hain't been gone anywheres. Where would I go to?

Jim pauses for a few seconds; decides to string along, affects a slightly stronger dialect.

jim

Well . . . looky here, boss, dey's sumf'n wrong, dey is. Is I *me*, or who *is* I? Is I *heah*, or whah is I?

huck

Well, you're here plain enough, but I think you're a tangle-headed old fool, Jim.

jim

(*unamused*) I is, is I? Didn't you tote out d'line in d'canoe fer to make fast to d'tow-head?

huck

Tow-head? What tow-head? I hain't seen no tow-head.

jim

Didn' d' line pull loose, en de raf' go hummin' down d' river, en leave you en d'canoe behind in d'fog?

huck

What fog?

jim

De fog. En didn' you whoop, en didn' I whoop? En didn' I bus' up agin a lot er dem islands en have a turrible time en mos' get drowned? Ain't dat so—boss?

huck

It's too many for me, Jim. I hain't seen no fog, nor no islands, nor no troubles, nor nothing. *You* been dreaming.

Jim "didn't say nothing for about five minutes, but he set there studying it over. Then he says":

jim

. . . Well, den . . . reck'n I *did* dream it, Huck . . . never had no dream b'fo' dat's tired me like dis one.

huck

That's all right, because a dream does tire a body like everything, sometimes. Tell me about it, Jim, about your dream.

Jim purses his lips, knits his brow, then eases his features

and speaks: jim

. . . well, d'fust tow-head mus' stan' for a man who gon' try t'do us some good; den d'curren's is 'nuther man dat'll get us 'way from d' good man. D'whoops is warnin's dat gon' come t'us ever now en den, 'long d'way. D'tow-heads is troubles en all kine o' mean folk, but ef we mine's our bidness, don' talk back en aggravates 'em, we'll pull thoo en gits to de big clear river, d'O-hi-o.

Huck's face clouds up tiring of Jim's facility with the lie Huck himself had started, and not wanting to think about losing his companion at the Ohio. Huck's face then becomes smug.

huck

Oh, well, that's all 'terpreted well enough, as far as it goes, Jim (*points to dirt on raft*). But what does these things stand for?

Jim looks at the detritus, then at Huck, levelly, emotionlessly, then back to the sticks, leaves and dirt; one side of his face—the side away from Huck—lifts in a fatalistic half smile. He turns back to Huck looking at him steadily, without smiling, and says:

jim

What do dey stan' for? I's gon' tell you . . . When I got all wore out wid work, en wid callin' for you, my heart was most broke because you was los' en I didn' k'yer no mo' what become er me en d'raf'. En when I wake up en fine you back agin, all safe en soun' . . . en all you wuz thinkin' 'bout wuz how you could make a fool uv ole Jim wid a lie. (*points to detritus on the raft, speaks calmly, clearly*). . . **Dat truck dah is trash; en trash is what people is dat puts dirt on de head er dey fren's en makes 'em ashamed.**

out over the river, as if he is too proud to care. But then, he looks down.

61a. int. wigwam. night. — *Jim sits, pensively. It seems Huck is no different from the “witches and devils” that have ridden him in his days of bondage. Huck enters wigwam. Jim recoils, but holds it in. Huck gets on his haunches, looks at Jim, looks down. Looks up.*

huck

Jim, I . . . (inhales, exhales deeply) I'm sorry, Jim.

And with that, a crack in Jim's soul is patched. Huck looks down again as Jim regards him with slightly knitted brows. His face softens. He reaches out with the flat palm of his hand—hesitates, then rubs the boy's bowed head. Huck looks up, so thankfully, his eyes shining wet.

Part Three

In addition to the works cited throughout, the following may provide teachers with useful background.

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Explanatory

1. “explanatory. In this book a number of dialects are used, to wit: the Missouri negro dialect; the extremest form of the backwoods Southwestern dialect; the ordinary ‘Pike County’ dialect; and four modified varieties of this last. The shadings have not been done in a haphazard fashion, or by guesswork; but pains-takingly, and with the trustworthy guidance and support of personal familiarity with these several forms of speech. I make this explanation for the reason that without it many readers would suppose that all these characters were trying to talk alike and not succeeding. the author.” Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Victor Fischer and Lin Salamo with Harriet Elinor Smith and the late Walter Blair, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (1885; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), xxxiii.

2. Mark Twain, “Fenimore Cooper’s Literary Offenses” (1895), in *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, and Essays, 1891–1910*, edited by Louis J. Budd (New York: Library of America, 1992), 181.

3. Twain made this word central to the title of an antilynching satire he published in the *Buffalo (NY) Express* in 1869 that he called “Only a Nigger.” In this satire, the “honorable” men of Memphis use the word to justify their having lynched an innocent man. The miscarriage of justice they have perpetrated does not trouble them because “only ‘a nigger’” lost his life as a result. Mark Twain, “Only a Nigger” (1869), in *Mark Twain at the “Buffalo Express,”* edited by Joseph McCullough and Janice McIntire-Strasburg (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999), 22–23.

4. For more on the history of the word and its role in American culture,

see Randall Kennedy, “A Note on the Word ‘Nigger,’” Park Ethnography Program, National Park Service,

[www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/intro_furthRdg1 .htm](http://www.nps.gov/ethnography/aah/aaheritage/intro_furthRdg1.htm); and Randall Kennedy, *Nigger: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2003). See also the Peabody Award–winning documentary directed by Todd Williams and produced by Nelson George, *The N-Word*, released June 26, 2004, www.youtube.com/watch?v=v3Z9dudFGLQ. The

appendix at the end of this book addresses this issue, as well. 5. Black writer David Bradley disagrees (as I do) with those who want to eliminate the word from the book. See his comments on this point on CBS's *Sixty Minutes* in "Huckleberry Finn and the N-Word," *Sixty Minutes*, June 12, 2011, www.youtube.com/watch?v=nW9-qee1m9o. Bradley, a Pen/Faulkner award-winning novelist, responded to the NAACP's decision to hold a public burial for the word by writing a memorable essay that won the top international essay prize, the biennial £20,000 Notting Hill Prize in 2015. Emily Dugan, "Eulogy for Nigger Author Wins Notting Hill Prize," *Independent*, October 8, 2015, www.independent.co.uk/news/people/david-bradley-eulogy-for-nigger-author-wins-notting-hill-editions-essay-prize-a6686996.html. The piece became the title essay in a new anthology, *A Eulogy for Nigger and Other Essays: The Second Notting Hill Editions Essay Prize Winners* (London: Notting Hill Editions, 2015), and was republished in the *Independent*. David Bradley, "Eulogy for Nigger," *Independent*, October 8, 2015, www.independent.co.uk/news/world/world-history/eulogy-for-nigger-the-provocative-title-that-has-been-printed-verbatim-a6687016.html.

Introduction

1. The book was published in London in 1884 but did not appear in the United States until 1885. The title page in both editions reads *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (Tom Sawyer's Comrade)*, and it is to this full title that the title of the book at hand alludes. It is worth noting that the character Jim in *Huckleberry Finn* is a completely different character than the enslaved child named Jim in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876).

2. The town of St. Petersburg in the book is based on the town of Hannibal, MO, in which Samuel Clemens grew up. He would adopt the pen name "Mark Twain" in 1863.

3. Mark Twain, *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, vol. 1, edited by Harriet Elinor Smith with Benjamin Griffin, Victor Fischer, Michael B. Frank, Sharon K. Goetz, and Leslie Diane Myrick, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 212.

4. Leo Marx, "Mr. Eliot, Mr. Trilling, and 'Huckleberry Finn,'" *American Scholar* 22, no. 4 (1953): 430.

5. Fredrick Woodard and Donnarae MacCann, "Minstrel Shackles and Nineteenth-Century 'Liberalism' in *Huckleberry Finn*," in *Satire or Evasion? Black Perspectives on Huckleberry Finn*, edited by James S. Leonard, Thomas A. Tenney, and Thadious M. Davis (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 142.

6. Mark Twain, "explanatory," in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Victor Fischer and Lin Salamo with Harriet Elinor Smith and the late Walter Blair, Mark Twain Library, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (1885; Berkeley: University of California

Press, 2003), xxxiii. Twain cites among the “rules governing literary art” the rule that “when personages of a tale deal in conversation, the talk shall . . . be talk such as human beings would be likely to talk in the given circumstances.” Mark Twain, “Fenimore Cooper’s Literary Offenses” (1895), in *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, and Es*

says, 1891–1910, edited by Louis J. Budd (New York: Library of America, 1992), 181. 7. Percival Everett, *James: A Novel* (New York: Doubleday, 2024). 8. Gerry Brenner, “More Than a Reader’s Response: A Letter to ‘De Ole

True Huck,” *Journal of Narrative Technique* 20, no. 2 (1990): 221–34; E. E. Burke, *Taming Huck Finn (New Adventures)* (self-pub., 2018); Jon Clinch, *Finn* (New York: Random House, 2007); Robert Coover, *Huck Out West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2018); Tim DeRoche, *The Ballad of Huck and Miguel* (Los Angeles: Redtail Press, 2018); Wil Haygood, *Two on the River* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1988); Scott Kaiser, *Splittin’ the Raft* (self-pub., CreateSpace, 2017); John Keene, “Rivers,” in *Counternarratives* (New York: New Directions, 2015); Norman Lock, *The Boy in His Winter* (New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2014); Gina Logan, *The Auto biography of Miss Huckleberry Finn* (self-pub., CreateSpace, 2013); Greg Matthews, *The Further Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (New York: Crown, 1988); Edward Morgan, *Sounding the River (Huck Finn Revisited)* [play at Milwaukee Rep, 2001] (unpub.); Mark Twain and Lee Nelson, *Huck and Tom among the Indians* (Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, 2010); Phong Nguyen, *The Adventures of Joe Harper* (San Francisco: Outpost19, 2016); Nancy Rawles, *My Jim* (New York: Crown, 2005); Bernard Sabath, *The Boys in Autumn* [play on Broadway, 1986] (Wood stock, IL: Dramatic Publishing, 1986); Sam Sackett, *Huckleberry Finn Grows Up* (self-pub., iUniverse, 2012); Martí Sales, *Huckleberry Finn: Poems*, translated by Elisabet Ràfols and Ona Bantjes-Ràfols (Toronto: Book*Hug Press, 2015); John Seelye, *The True Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1970); Julie Smith, *Huckleberry Fiend* (New York: Mysterious Press, 1987); Mark Time, *Black Lives Matter Too: My Adventures with Huckleberry Finn* (Chatham, NJ: Bowker, 2018); Mark Time, *Black Lives Matter Too, Two: The Death of Huckleberry Finn* (N.p.: John/Zavez, 2020); Dan Walker, *Huckleberry Finn in Love and War* (self-pub., CreateSpace, 2015); David F. Walker and Marcus Kwame

Anderson, *Big Jim and the White Boy* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Graphic / Ten Speed Press, 2024); Robert Wells, *Passing through to the Territory* (self-pub., 2019); Clement Wood, *More Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing, 1940); *Tom Sawyer Abroad/Tom Sawyer, Detective*, edited by John C. Gerber and Terry Firkins (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Mark Twain, *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among the Indians and Other Unfinished Stories*, edited by

Dahlia Armon, Paul Baender, and Walter Blair, with William M. Gibson and Franklin R. Rogers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

9. John H. Wallace, ed., *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn Adapted* (Falls Church, VA: John H. Wallace and Sons, 1985); Alan Gribben, ed., *Mark Twain's Adventures of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn: The NewSouth Edition* (Montgomery, AL: NewSouth Books, 2011); Mark Twain, with Gabriel Diani and Etta Devine, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn: Robotic Edition* (Los Angeles: Diani and Devine Press, 2011); and Mark Twain, with W. Bill Czolgosz, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and Zombie Jim* (self-pub., CreateSpace, 2015). See also Jill Pantozzi, "Inter

view: The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, the Robotic Edition," *The Mary Sue*, April 12, 2012, www.themarysue.com/huckleberry-finn-robotic-edition/; E. D. W. Lynch, "Adventure of Huckleberry Finn [Robotic Edition] by Diani & Devine," *Laughing Squid*, December 9, 2011, <https://laughingsquid.com/adventures-of-huckleberry-finn-robotic-edition-by-diani-devine/>; and Mark Medley, "Can't Wait for Censored Version of Huck Finn? Read Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and Zombie Jim," *National Post*, January 5, 2012, <https://nationalpost.com/after-word/cant-wait-for-censored-version-of-huck-finn-read-adventures-of-huckleberry-finn-and-zombie-jim>.

10. For my discussions of the evolution of Mark Twain's thinking about race, see Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Mark Twain and African Americans," in *Mark Twain in Context*, edited by John Bird (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 192–202; Fishkin, "Black and White Youth in Mark Twain's Hannibal," in *Mark Twain and Youth: Studies in His Life and Writings*, edited by Kevin MacDonnell and R. Kent Rasmussen (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 223–37; Fishkin, "Mark Twain and Race," in *A Historical Guide to Mark Twain*, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 127–62; and Fishkin, *Lighting Out for the Territory: Reflections on Mark Twain and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 13–114.

11. Fishkin, "Mark Twain and African Americans."

12. Mark Twain, *Following the Equator*, The Oxford Mark Twain, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (1897; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 213. 13. Kerry Driscoll, *Mark Twain among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

14. In 1985 the *Christian Science Monitor* asserted that many people, Black and white, believed that Jim was "not only the most noble character of the book but also the first Black hero in American fiction." Hilary DeVries, "At 100, 'Huck Finn' Is Still Causing Trouble," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 15, 1985. It is more accurate to call Jim "one of the first" rather than "the first," although the list of Black heroes in

American fiction before 1885 is a short one. There are innumerable Black heroes in the slave narratives that were published throughout the nineteenth century but just a handful when it comes to fiction. The list of Black heroes in American fiction before 1885 might include Archy Moore in the early antislavery novel by Richard Hildreth, *The Slave; or, Memoirs of Archy Moore* (1836); Uncle Tom as well as George Harris in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852); Madison Washington, the hero of the only work of fiction Frederick Douglass ever wrote, a story entitled "The Heroic Slave" (1852); William, the central Black male character in William Wells Brown's novel *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter: A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States* (1853); Mr. Walters, a wealthy Black real estate investor in Frank J. Webb's novel *The Garies and Their Friends* (1857); and Henry Blake, an escaped slave who plans a slave insurrection in Martin Delany's novel *Blake; or, The Huts of America*, which was serialized between 1859 and 1862.

Chapter 1. Contexts and Conditions

1. Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815–1865* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 3. 2. Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Ante bellum South*, updated ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), cxiv. Toni Morrison has noted that for her and for Black people that she knew, "in addition to the very shrewd, down-to-earth, efficient way in which they did things, there was this other knowledge or perception, always discredited but nevertheless there, which informed their sensibilities and clarified their activities." Morrison tells us that she grew up in a house in which people had "some sweet, intimate connection with things that were not empirically verifiable. . . . Without that, I think I would have been quite bereft because I would have been dependent on so-called scientific data to explain hopelessly unscientific things and also I would have relied on information that even subsequent objectivity has proved to be fraudulent." Quoted in Christina Davis and Toni Morrison, "Interview with Toni Morrison," *Présence Africaine*, n.s. (1st trimester 1988): 144.

3. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 275, 286; William Wells Brown, *My Southern Home; or, The South and Its People* (Boston: A. G. Brown, 1880), 70, at Documenting the American South, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/brown80/menu.html>.

4. Daniel Hoffman, *Form and Fable in American Fiction* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 339.

5. Alexis Wells-Oghoghomeh, *The Souls of Womenfolk: The Religious Cultures of Enslaved Women in the Lower South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 147, 155–56, 158, 160, 192.

6. Richard Kimmons, Lawrence County, MO, slave narrative in "Individual Slave Narratives at Missouri State Museum," Missouri State

Parks, <https://mo.stateparks.com/page/58373/individual-slave-narratives>.

7. Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Victor Fischer and Lin Salamo with Harriet Elinor Smith and the late Walter Blair, Mark Twain Library, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (1885; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 201–2.

8. Tishey Taylor, Poplar Bluff, MO, slave narrative in “Individual Slave Narratives at Missouri State Museum,” Missouri State Parks, <https://mostateparks.com/page/58373/individual-slave-narratives>.

9. Terrell Dempsey, *Searching for Jim: Slavery in Sam Clemens’s World* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 78; Brown, *My Southern Home*, 15, 20, 25, 26, 27.

10. Brown, *My Southern Home*, 15, 20, 25, 26, 27.

11. Mark Twain, “Jane Lampton Clemens,” posthumously published memoir in *Mark Twain’s Hannibal, Huck and Tom*, edited by Walter Blair (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 49; Mark Twain, *Following the Equator* (1897; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 352; Sam Clemens, typescript of note book 28b, 22–23, quoted in Arthur G. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 15.

12. Mary Armstrong, St. Louis, MO, and Emma Knight, Florida, MO, slave narratives in “Individual Slave Narratives at Missouri State Museum,” Missouri State Parks, <https://mostateparks.com/page/58373/individual-slave-narratives>.

13. Bill Simms, Osceola, MO, slave narrative in “Individual Slave Narratives at Missouri State Museum,” Missouri State Parks, <https://mostateparks.com/page/58373/individual-slave-narratives>.

14. Twain, “Jane Lampton Clemens,” 49.

15. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 185.

16. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 83.

17. Clay Smith, Hannibal, MO, slave narrative, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia, reprinted in *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, series 1, vol. 2: *Arkansas, Colorado, Minnesota, Missouri, and Oregon and Washington Narratives*, edited by George P. Rawick (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1977), 263; Hurley J. Hagood and Roberta Hagood, “Hannibal’s Underground Railroad,” *Hannibal (MO) Courier-Post*, June 22, 1991.

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18. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 218–19; “Memoir of Franklin Harriman,” quoted in Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 220.

19. Twain, “Jane Lampton Clemens,” 49; William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1947), 33–34. 20. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 87.

21. Charlie Richardson, Warrenburg, MO, slave narrative in “Individual Slave Narratives at Missouri State Museum,” Missouri State Parks, <https://mostateparks.com/page/58373/individual-slave-narratives>;

Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 88.

22. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 11; “The History of Slavery in St. Louis: Slavery and the Law,” National Park Service, www.nps.gov/articles/000/slavery-and-the-law.htm; “Laws Concerning Slavery in Missouri: Territorial to 1850s,” Missouri’s Early Slave Laws: A History in Documents, Missouri Digital Heritage, www.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/aahi/earlyslavelaws/slavelaws.asp; “Slave Stampedes on the Southern Borderlands,” National Park Service Network to Freedom / House Divided Project at Dickinson College, <https://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/stampedes/the-1856-hannibal-stampede/screen-shot-2021-06-21-at-7-29-58-am/>.

23. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 12.

24. “Laws Concerning Slavery in Missouri”; Nelson Allyn, “Nat Turner’s Rebellion, 1831,” History Resources, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/nat-turner-s-rebellion-1831.

25. “Laws Concerning Slavery in Missouri”; CPI Inflation Calculator, www.officialdata.org (accessed July 23, 2024).

26. Mark E. Neely Jr., *The Last Best Hope of Earth: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 82, cited in James Tackach, “Why Jim Does Not Escape to Illinois in Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 97, no. 3 (2004): 218.

27. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 176.

28. Esther Easter, Westport, MO, slave narrative, in Federal Writers’ Project, *Slave Narrative Project*, vol. 13, *Oklahoma*, 88, available at <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mesn.130>; Twain, “Jane Lampton Clemens,” 49. Indeed, Joseph P. Ament, owner of the Hannibal *Missouri Courier*, worked as an agent for a company that offered “Insurance on Negroes” at the time that Sam Clemens worked for him as a printer’s apprentice. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 143.

29. Mark Twain, *Mark Twain’s Autobiography*, edited by Albert Bigelow Paine, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1924), 1:101; “Runaway Slave Laws,” in “Laws Concerning Slavery in Missouri”; Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 46, 170.

30. “Missouri v. Celia,” *Slavery and the Making of America*, 2004, www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/experience/legal/feature2c.html.

31. Explanatory notes, in Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Victor Fischer and Lin Salamo with Harriet Elinor Smith and the late Walter Blair, Mark Twain Library, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (1885; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 394; S. L. C., “To the Muscatine *Tri-Weekly Journal*,” February 24–26, 1855, *Mark Twain’s Letters*, vol. 1: 1853–1866, edited by Edgar Marquess Branch, Michael B. Frank, Kenneth M. Sanderson, the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general

editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 51.

32. Explanatory notes in Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 392–93; Donald H. Welsh, “Sam Clemens’ Hannibal,” *Midcontinent American Studies Journal* 3, no. 1 (1962): 38; S. L. C., “To the Muscatine *Tri-Weekly Journal*”; “Free Black People Must Apply for a License to Remain in Missouri,” March 14, 1835, A History of Racial Injustice, Equal Justice Initiative, <https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/mar/14>.

33. “Missouri’s Dred Scott Case, 1846–1857,” Missouri Digital Heritage,

www.sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/africanamerican/scott/scott.asp.

See also Paul Finkelman, *Dred Scott v. Sandford: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2016). The Court held that people of African descent “are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word ‘citizens’ in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them.” “Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857),” Milestone Documents, National Archives, www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dred-scott-v-sandford.

34. Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 23, 26.

35. Twain, “A Scrap of Curious History,” quoted in Dempsey, *Searching for Jim*, 27.

36. “An Act in Relation to the Marital Rights and Children of Colored Persons,” February 20, 1865, cited in “Timeline of Missouri’s African American History,” Missouri Digital Heritage, www.sos.mo.gov/mdh/curriculum/africanamerican/timeline/timeline3.

37. Fannie Barrier Williams, “A Northern Negro’s Autobiography,” in *The New Woman of Color: The Collected Writings of Fannie Barrier Williams, 1893–1918*, edited by Mary Jo Deegan (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), 5–13.

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38. Deegan, *New Woman of Color*, xiii–lx.

39. “Racial Terror and Reconstruction: A State Snapshot,” Reconstruction in America, Equal Justice Initiative, <https://ejl.org/report/reconstruction-in-america/documenting-reconstruction-violence/#racial-terror-and-reconstruction-a-state-snapshot>.

40. “He foresaw himself writing a major treatise on lynching, perhaps as large as six volumes, ‘to be called “History of Lynching in America” or “Rise and Progress of Lynching,” or some such title,’ but then decided against the idea.” L. Terry Oggel, quoting Clemens’s letter to Frank Bliss, August 29, 1901, in “Speak

ing Out about Race: 'The United States of Lyncherdom' Clemens Really Wrote," *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* 25 (October 2000): 129. 41. "fred douglass! His Great Speech Yesterday . . .," *Elmira (NY) Advertiser*, August 4, 1880. For more on Douglass's speech and Twain's almost certain awareness of it, see Matt Seybold's persuasive article, "Even If He Weren't My Friend: Frederick Douglass and Mark Twain," Center for Mark Twain Studies, August 2, 2021, <https://marktwainstudies.com/freddouglassmarktwain/>. Twain himself would have witnessed some of the impacts of the erosion of these rights during the trip down the Mississippi that he took in 1882 when he was researching *Life on the Mississippi*.

42. Jim's Journey: The Huck Finn Freedom Center, www.jimsjourney.org; Faye Dant, *Hannibal's Invisibles*, introduction by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (Cleveland, OH: Belt, 2024). For more on Jim's Journey, see Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Writing America: Literary Landmarks from Walden Pond to Wounded Knee* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 5–6, 122–25; and Fishkin, "Black and White Youth in Mark Twain's Hannibal," in *Mark Twain and Youth: Studies in His Life and Writings*, edited by Kevin Mac Donnell and R. Kent Rasmussen (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 223–37.

Chapter 2. Myths and Models

1. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), query 14, available at Documenting the American South, <https://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/jefferson/jefferson.html>; "Racial Stereotypes of the Civil War Era," American Antiquarian Society, www.americanantiquarian.org/Freedmen/Intros/questions.html.

2. George M. Fredrickson, *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988).

3. Some of the earliest letters Sam Clemens wrote his family as a teenager away from home for the first time were peppered with racist comments reflecting the ideology of Black inferiority to which he had been exposed since birth. See

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Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Mark Twain and Race," in *A Historical Guide to Mark Twain*, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 127, 130.

4. Mark Twain, "Consistency" (1887), in *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, and Essays, 1852–1890*, edited by Louis J. Budd (New York: Library of America, 1992), 909.

5. Philip S. Foner, *Mark Twain: Social Critic* (New York: International Publishers, 1958), 288–89.

6. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Clemens and Adolph Sutro, see Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "A Fresh Look at Mark Twain and the Jews," *Journal of Foreign Languages and Cultures* 1, no.

1 (2017): 11–27; and Fishkin, “Mark Twain and the Jews,” *Arizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literatures, Culture and Theory* 61, no. 1 (2005): 137–66.

7. Samuel L. Clemens (hereafter cited as SLC) to Charles Erskine Scott Wood, January 22, 1885, in Mark Twain, *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, edited by Benjamin Griffin and Harriet Elinor Smith with Victor Fischer, Michael B. Frank, Sharon K. Goetz, and Leslie Diane Myrick, vol. 2, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 607.

8. “Readers of *Harper’s Monthly*, the *New York World*, *Century Magazine*, *McClure’s*, and the *Chicago Daily Tribune* . . . were familiar with his distaste for anti-Semitism. He had published a searing exposé of anti-Semitism in the Austro Hungarian empire and had minced no words denouncing pogroms in Russia. He had condemned French anti-Semitism in the Dreyfus Affair on numerous occasions, and in a widely-read essay called ‘Concerning the Jews’ had provided his own analysis of the roots of anti-Semitism. Would he want his daughter to marry one? Absolutely. When Clara Clemens did just that in 1909, Twain embraced his Jewish son-in-law, the pianist and conductor, Ossip Gabrilowitsch, with affection.” Fishkin, “Fresh Look,” 12.

9. See Fishkin, “Mark Twain and Race,” 135–36.

10. My line of argument here builds on David Lionel Smith’s argument in his seminal essay “Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse,” in *Satire or Evasion? Black Perspectives on Huckleberry Finn*, edited by James S. Leonard, Thomas Tenney, and Thadious M. Davis (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 103–20; and on that of Jocelyn Chadwick-Joshua, *The Jim Dilemma: Reading Race in “Huckleberry Finn”* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998). (Note: although the book was published under the name Chadwick-Joshua, the author has used the name “Chadwick” for over two decades—and asked the publisher to change the way she is listed. She will be identified as Chadwick from this point on in this book.)

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11. Richard H. Colfax, *Evidence against the View of the Abolitionists Consisting of Physical and Moral Proofs, of the Natural Inferiority of the Negroes* (New York: James T. M. Bleakley, 1833), 26. See also Colfax quoted in “Racial Stereotypes of the Civil War Era: 19th Century Claims That Science Proved the Inferiority of African-Americans,” Northern Visions of Race, Region and Reform, American Antiquarian Society, www.americanantiquarian.org/Freedmen/Intros/questions.html.

12. Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America; To Which Is Prefixed an Essay on the Varieties of the Human Species* (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1839). See also “Racial Stereotypes of the Civil War Era.”

13. Michael E. Ruane, “A Brief History of the Enduring Phony

Science That Perpetuates White Supremacy," *Washington Post*, April 30, 2019. For an overview of these theories, see also Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2016).

14. Yasuko I. Takezawa, "Gobineau's Essay on the Inequality of Human Races," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, www.britannica.com/topic/race-human/Gobineau -Essay-on-the-Inequality-of-Human-Races; Thomas H. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, new ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 342–57.

15. George S. Sawyer, *Southern Institutes; or, An Inquiry into the Origin and Early Prevalence of Slavery and the Slave-Trade: With an Analysis of the Laws, History, and Government of the Institution in the Principal Nations, Ancient and Modern, from the Earliest Ages Down to the Present Time; With Notes and Comments in Defence of the Southern Institutions* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1858), 192; Howard Dodson, "Needed: A New Perspective on Black History," *Humanities* 2, no. 1 (1981): 2; L. Scott Miller, "The Origins of the Presumption of Black Stupidity," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 9 (1995): 78–82.

16. Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*, The Oxford Mark Twain, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (1869; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5–6, 118–24, 163–64, 183.

17. Twain, *Innocents Abroad*, 240–42.

18. SLC to Olivia L. Langdon, December 15 and 16, 1869, in *Mark Twain's Letters*, vol. 3: 1869, edited by Victor Fischer, Michael B. Frank, and Dahlia Armon, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 426.

19. For the story of how Twain got to know and support Warner T. McGuinn, see Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Lighting Out for the Territory: Reflections on Mark Twain and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 100–108; Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Black and White Youth in Mark Twain's Hannibal,"

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in *Mark Twain and Youth: Studies in His Life and Writings*, edited by Kevin MacDonnell and R. Kent Rasmussen (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 228–30; and Edwin MacDowell, "From Twain, a Letter on Debt to Blacks," *New York Times*, March 14, 1885. For McGuinn's intellectual and political talent, see Tanya Koshy, "Remodeling Resistance: Black Civil Society and the Battle Against Baltimore's Residential Segregation Ordinances (1910–1918)" (honors thesis, American Studies Program, Stanford University, May 2006).

20. Charles Dudley Warner, "The Education of the Negro," in *Complete Works of Charles Dudley Warner*, vol. 14 (Hartford, CT: American Publishing, 1904), 384.

21. Mark Twain, "A Family Sketch," in Mark Twain, Livy Clemens, and Susy Clemens, *A Family Sketch and Other Private Writings*, edited

by Benjamin Griffin, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 18–29; Benjamin Griffin, “Unveiling MT’s ‘Family Sketch,’” *Mark Twain Annual* 11 (2013): 109–12; Bonnyeclaire Smith-Stewart, “In interview with Bonnyeclaire Smith-Stewart about George Griffin, Hartford Butler of Mark Twain,” *Mark Twain Journal* 53, no. 1 (2015): 114–21; Kevin Mac Donnell, “George Griffin: Meeting Mark Twain’s Butler Face-to-Face,” *Mark Twain Journal* 62, no. 1 (2024): 10–58.

22. See Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and African American Voices* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 124; and Twain, “Family Sketch,” 24, 20.

23. Twain, “Family Sketch,” 13.

24. Constance Neyer, “The Butler behind Mark Twain: George Griffin Was a Part of Samuel Clemens’ Family and Remains a Key Figure in Hartford’s African-American Heritage,” *Hartford (CT) Courant*, February 6, 1994; Arthur G. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 103–4.

25. Notice and explanatory notes, in Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Victor Fischer and Lin Salamo with Harriet Elinor Smith and the late Walter Blair, Mark Twain Library, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (1885; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 376.

26. Twain, “Family Sketch,” 20.

27. Twain, “Family Sketch,” 22. Benjamin Griffin notes that “Governor Robinson” was “Mayor of Hartford from 1872–1874. . . . Although Connecticut Republicans twice nominated him for office, he was never governor.” Griffin, “Biographical Directory,” in Twain, Clemens, and Clemens, *Family Sketch and Other Private Writings*, 184.

28. Twain, “Family Sketch,” 23. For more on George Griffin, as well as the

only extant photograph of him, see Kevin Mac Donnell’s excellent article, “George Griffin: Meeting Mark Twain’s Butler Face-to-Face.” Mac Donnell presented his research at a program at the Mark Twain House and Museum on May 14, 2024, that may be accessed at this link: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3XYs3UagBg.

29. SLC to Edward Bok, editor, *Ladies’ Home Journal*, July 17, 1904, quoted in Sharon D. McCoy, “No Evading the Jokes: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Mark Twain, and Male Friendship across Racial and Class Lines,” *Mark Twain Annual* 12 (2014): 51.

30. SLC to John Brown, August 25 and 27, 1877, Elmira, NY, Mark Twain Project, <https://www.marktwainproject.org/letters/ucc01473/>. 31. Chadwick, *Jim Dilemma*, 20.

32. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, query 14. It was also widely believed that Black people were less sensitive to physical pain. See Joanna Bourke, “Pain Sensitivity: An Unnatural History from 1800 to

1965," *Journal of Medical Humanities* 35, no. 4 (2014): 301–19.

33. Mark Twain, "A True Story, Repeated Word for Word as I Heard It," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1874, reprinted in Twain, Clemens, and Clemens, *Family Sketch and Other Private Writings*, 45–50.

34. David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 220–31. 35. Paul Laurence Dunbar was engaged in an analogous project. See Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Race and the Politics of Memory: Mark Twain and Paul Laurence Dunbar," *Journal of American Studies* 40, no. 2 (2006): 283–309. 36. A South Carolinian, "South Carolina Society," *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1877, quoted in Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (1954; New York: Da Capo, 1997), 252. 37. This section draws on descriptions of Cord and "A True Story" in Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Writing America: Literary Landmarks from Walden Pond to Wounded Knee* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 133–38; and Fishkin, *Was Huck Black?*, 8–9, 151n22. David E. E. Sloane and Terry Conroy have tracked down external confirmation that the story that Mary Ann Cord told Twain actually happened, much as she described it. Terry Conroy and David E. E. Sloane, "'A True Story' Confirmed: How a Slave Mother Found Her Lost Son," *Studies in American Humor*, n.s., 3, no. 22 (2010): 147–54.

38. Fishkin, *Was Huck Black?*, 8–9, 151n22.

39. William Dean Howells to SLC, September 17, 1874, in *Mark Twain–Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William Dean Howells: 1872–1910*, vol. 1, edited by Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960), 24–25; William

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Dean Howells, "Recollections of an Atlantic Editorship," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1907, 601.

40. "Negro," in *The American Cyclopædia: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge*, edited by George Ripley and Charles Anderson Dana, 16 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1873–76), 12:216. Twain had referred to the *Cyclopædia* as "that steadfast friend of the editor all over the land." Quoted in Alan Gribben, *Mark Twain's Literary Resources: A Reconstruction of His Library and Reading*, vol. 2 (Montgomery, AL: NewSouth Books, 2022), 21. Gribben notes that Twain donated his complete set of this edition of the *Cyclopædia* to the Redding Library in Connecticut, but Twain clearly ignored or rejected this particular entry.

41. Lucinda H. McKethan, "Huck Finn and the Slave Narratives: Lighting Out as Design," *Southern Review* 20, no. 2 (1984): 253–54.

42. Mark Twain, *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, vol. 1, edited by Harriet E. Smith with Benjamin Griffin, Victor Fischer, Michael B. Frank, Sharon K. Goetz, and Leslie Diane Myrick, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press,

2010), 390.

43. Deborah A. Lee, "Love and Debt: A True Story of Mary Ann Cord, John T. Lewis, and Mark Twain at Quarry Farm," *Mark Twain Journal* 54, no. 2 (2016): 97–134.

44. SLC to Olivia L. Langdon, December 15 and 16, 1869, Pawtucket, RI, and Boston, in *Mark Twain's Letters*, vol. 3: 1869, edited by Victor Fischer and Michael B. Frank, with Dahlia Armon, the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 426.

45. For more on the friendship between Twain and Lewis, see Robert Paul Lamb, "John T. Lewis and Mark Twain: A Friendship," August 28, 2023, Center for Mark Twain Studies, <https://marktwainstudies.com/john-t-lewis-mark-twain-a-friendship>.

46. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, query 14.

47. *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, 1:389.

48. *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, 1:399–400. Daniel Quarles's most memorable ghost story may have been "The Golden Arm," the tale written in Black dialect that is featured in Mark Twain's essay "How to Tell a Story." Mark Twain, "How to Tell a Story," in *How to Tell a Story and Other Essays*, The Oxford Mark Twain, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3–15.

49. Mark Twain, "Corn-Pone Opinions" (1901), in *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, and Essays, 1891–1910*, edited by Louis J. Budd (New York: Library of America, 1992), 507–11.

50. This section draws on Fishkin, *Was Huck Black?*, 54–59, 173–74n6. Robert Paul Lamb notes that Jerry's impact on Twain may have gone beyond opening

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his eyes to the power of satire: Twain would adopt Jerry's philosophy of human behavior as his own. Lamb notes that the same year Twain published *Huckleberry Finn* he wrote a piece on "The Character of Man" which centered on ideas about conformity to which Jerry had introduced him. Robert Paul Lamb, "Mark Twain's New Method of Cultural Critique: Authorial Double-Voiced Speech in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," *American Literary Realism* 52, no. 1 (2019): 21n27.

51. Hildegard Cummings, "The Hartford Artist," in *Charles Ethan Porter, 1847?–1923*, edited by Helen K. Fusscas (Marlborough, CT: Connecticut Gallery, 1987), 62.

52. H. W. French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut* (New York: Charles T. Dillingham, 1879), 160.

53. Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Afterword, in Mark Twain, *Is He Dead? A Comedy in Three Acts*, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 158, 212–13n32; Fusscas, *Charles Ethan Porter*, 38; Thomas P. Riggio, "Charles Ethan Porter and Mark Twain," in Fusscas, *Charles Ethan Porter*, 78; and James Miller, "Charles Ethan Porter and the Hartford Black Community," in Fusscas, *Charles*

Ethan Porter, 88–95.

54. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1885, cited in Victor Fischer, “Huck Finn Reviewed: The Reception of ‘Huckleberry Finn’ in the United States, 1885–1897,” *American Literary Realism, 1870–1910* 16, no. 1 (1983): 24. 55. Chadwick, *Jim Dilemma*, x.

56. Mark Twain, “A Fable” (1909), in *The Complete Short Stories of Mark Twain*, edited by Charles Neider (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 633–34.

Chapter 3. The Debates

1. “Some of Mark Twain’s Fun; He and Mr. Cable Amuse an Audience by Turns,” *New York Sun*, November 19, 1884.

2. There is also no evidence that Twain ever called Jim by this name in his public readings. When the epithet appears in newspapers, it is never a direct quotation from Twain.

3. As was the case with the papers that ran the episode under the headline “Nigger Jim’s Story,” the excerpt ran over the byline Mark Twain but without any reference to the novel.

4. *Buffalo (NY) Evening Telegraph*, May 23, 1885; *Larned (KS) Chronoscope*, March 6, 1885; “Nigger Jim’s Story,” *Crawford Avalanche* (Grayling, MI), April 30, 1885; “Didn’t Shut the Door; Nigger Jim’s Little Deaf and Dumb Daughter—How He Punished Her and Why He Couldn’t Forgive Himself—A Pathetic Story,” *Parsons (KS) Palladium*, March 18, 1885; *Placer Herald* (Rocklin, CA), April 25, 1885; *Santa Maria (CA) Times*, May 9, 1885.

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5. Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, 4 vols. (New York: Harper and Bros., 1912), available at www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/2988/pg2988-images.html; Albert Bigelow Paine, *The Boys’ Life of Mark Twain* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1916), 7; Ernest Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (New York: Scribner, 1935), 23; Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain’s America* (1932), edited by M. J. Gallagher (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 52, 236, 292, 302; Norman Mailer, “*Huckleberry Finn*, Alive at 100,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1984; Leslie Fiedler, “Viewpoint: Subversive Mark Twain,” *Viewpoint* (Center for Inquiry) (Summer 1983): 56; Leslie Fiedler, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (1960) (reprint, Dallas, TX: Dalkey Archive Press, 1997), 196, 271, 279, 367; C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (1960) (reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 181, 295; Mel Watkins, *Stepin Fetchit: The Life and Times of Lincoln Perry* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2010), 92.

6. Malcolm Bradbury, “*Huckleberry Finn*: An Epic of Self Discovery,” *UNESCO Courier* 35, no. 6 (1982): 16; Josef Skvorecky, “*Huckleberry Finn*: Or, Something Exotic in Czechoslovakia,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1987; Perry Miller, *Nature’s Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 269, 270, 282; Edward L. Ayers,

The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 538; Hilton Als, "More Harm Than Good: Surviving the N-Word and Its Meanings," *New Yorker*, February 3, 2002; Russell Baker, "Observer: The Only Gentleman," *New York Times*, April 14, 1982; Michiko Kakutani, "Light Out, Huck, They Still Want to Sivilize You," *New York Times*, January 6, 2011; Donald Bogle, *Blacks in American Films and Television: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 1988), 490; "Louis C.K.: Live at the Comedy Store (2015)," transcript, May 4, 2017, <https://scrapsfromtheloft.com/comedy/louis-c-k-live-at-the-comedy-store-2015-transcript/>; "Opie and Anthony—Louis CK on the Removal of Nigger Jim," *Bilibili*, September 21, 2017, www.bilibili.com/video/BV1gx411G7S4/.

7. Harold Beaver, "Run, Nigger, Run: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as a Fugitive Slave Narrative," *American Studies* 8, no. 3 (1974): 339; Gladys Bellamy, *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist* (1950; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 52, 321, 338, 342, 361, 372; Kenneth S. Lynn, *Mark Twain and South western Humor* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1959), 240; Kenneth S. Lynn, "Huck and Jim," *Yale Review* 47, no. 3 (1958): 428; Leo Marx, "Mr. Eliot, Mr. Trilling, and 'Huckleberry Finn,'" *American Scholar* 22, no. 4 (1953): 424; Arthur G. Pettit, *Mark Twain and the South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1973), 46, 55–56, 77, 95, 103, 104, 105; Tom Quirk, *Coming to Grips with Huckleberry Finn* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 64, 66, 67, 73, 74, 75, 114, 127; Dixon Wecter, *Sam Clemens of Hannibal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), 44, 100; Dixon Wecter

ter, "Introduction: One More Word," in Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), xi.

8. Beverly Goldberg, "On the Line for the First Amendment: A 1995 Inter view with Judith Krug, Director of the ALA's Office for Intellectual Freedom," *American Libraries*, May 27, 2009, <https://americanlibrariesmagazine.org/2009/05/27/on-the-line-for-the-first-amendment/>; Ralph Ellison, *Shadow and Act* (1964; New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2011), 50, 58.

9. Joe B. Fulton, *Mark Twain's Ethical Realism: The Aesthetics of Race, Class, and Gender* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 56. 10. "Mark Twain's New Story," *New York Sun*, February 15, 1885. 11. Sterling Brown, *The Negro in American Fiction* (1937; New York: Arno, 1968), 68.

12. T. S. Eliot, "Introduction to *Huckleberry Finn* (Chanticleer Press, 1950)," in *The Mark Twain Anthology: Great Writers on His Life and Works*, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (New York: Library of America, 2010), 239.

13. Leo Marx, "Mr. Eliot, Mr. Trilling, and 'Huckleberry Finn,'" *American Scholar* 22, no. 4 (1953): 430.

14. John Strausbaugh, *Black Like You: Blackface, Whiteface, Insult*,

and Imitation in American Popular Culture (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, 2006), 225.

15. Strausbaugh, *Black Like You*, 227.

16. Christina Melton, "Baton Rouge Bus Boycott," 64 Parishes, <https://64parishes.org/entry/baton-rouge-bus-boycott>, updated March 9, 2022. See also Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915–1972* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995).

17. Ellison, "Change the Joke and Shift the Yoke" (1958), in *Shadow and Act*, 50.

18. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

19. Lott, *Love and Theft*, 4.

20. There were occasional exceptions, as Sharon D. McCoy observes. The song "Pass down de Centre," performed by the San Francisco Minstrels, for example, "is hardly the nostalgic longing for the 'good old days' that we expect from a blackface 'plantation' number. [The song] is instead an ambiguous and ambivalent mixture of hope, anger, agency, burlesque, possibility and despair." And, as McCoy notes, minstrel shows in the 1870s often addressed topics removed from life on the plantation, satirizing the contemporary corruption, for example, of a political figure like New York City's William Magear "Boss" Tweed. Sharon D. McCoy, "'The Trouble Begins at Eight': Mark Twain, the San Francisco

Minstrels, and the Unsettling Legacy of Blackface Minstrelsy," *American Literary Realism* 41, no. 3 (2009): 237, 243–44.

21. David Bradley, personal communication, March 30, 2023. 22. In Hannibal, Twain saw minstrels in Spalding and Rogers' Floating Palace (a showboat that stopped at the steamboat landing) and Dan Rice's Circus; he saw the San Francisco Minstrels in both San Francisco and New York, and he saw the New Christy Minstrels in St. Louis. Anthony J. Berret, "Huckleberry Finn and the Minstrel Show," *American Studies* 27, no. 2 (1986): 37–38. See also McCoy, "'Trouble Begins at Eight,'" 233.

23. Samuel L. Clemens (hereafter cited as SLC) to Tom Hood and George Routledge and Sons, March 10, 1873, in *Mark Twain's Letters*, vol. 5: 1872–1873, edited by Lin Salamo and Harriet Elinor Smith, the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 315.

24. Mark Twain, *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, edited by Benjamin Griffin and Harriet Elinor Smith with Victor Fischer, Michael B. Frank, Sharon K. Goetz, and Leslie Diane Myrick, vol. 2, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 294.

25. The distance between Black life and representations of it on the minstrel stage was the focus of many scholars in the late twentieth century who noted that "the minstrel show was neither about authentic

black life nor about an authentic South. Alexander Saxton, David Roediger, and Eric Lott have . . . argued that blackface performance was a fantasy of northern white performers, largely from middle-class homes who knew little or nothing of nothing of black life.” W. T. Lhamon, *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 6.

26. Mark Twain, “explanatory,” in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Victor Fischer and Lin Salamo with Harriet Elinor Smith and the late Walter Blair, Mark Twain Library, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (1885; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), xxxiii. Unless otherwise indicated, this is the edition of the novel to which all notes refer.

27. The term *racial counterfeit* comes from Lott, *Love and Theft*, 38. For a nuanced discussion of the complexities of Twain’s attraction to minstrel shows, see Henry B. Wonham, *Playing the Races: Ethnic Caricature and American Literary Realism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 69–100. 28. SLC to William Dean Howells, September 20, 1874, in *Mark Twain’s Letters*, vol. 6: 1874–1875, edited by Michael Frank and Harriet Elinor Smith, the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 233.

29. Sterling Brown, *The Negro in American Fiction* (1937; New York: Arno, 1968), 68.

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30. David Lionel Smith, “Black Critics and Mark Twain,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Mark Twain*, edited by Forrest G. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 119.

31. Langston Hughes, Milton Meltzer, and Charles Eric Lincoln, *A Pictorial History of the Negro in America* (New York: Crown, 1968), 235.

32. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 6–8.

33. Chadwick Hansen, “The Character of Jim and the Ending of ‘Huckleberry Finn,’” *Massachusetts Review* 5, no. 1 (1963): 46.

34. Fredrick Woodard and Donnarae MacCann, “Minstrel Shackles and Nineteenth-Century ‘Liberalism’ in *Huckleberry Finn*,” in *Satire or Evasion? Black Perspectives on Huckleberry Finn*, edited by James S. Leonard, Thomas A. Tenney, and Thadious M. Davis (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 145.

35. Andrew Silver, *Minstrelsy and Murder: The Crisis of Southern Humor, 1835–1925* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 96. 36. See Shelley Fisher Fishkin, “In Praise of ‘Spike Lee’s Huckleberry Finn’ by Ralph Wiley,” *Mark Twain Circular* 13, no. 4 (1999): 1–8, available at www.marktwaincircle.org/ralph-wiley-huck-finn. Both scenes from Wiley’s screen play, which are reprinted in the *Mark Twain Circular* and in the “Appendix: Notes for Teachers” at the end of this book, may be reproduced for classroom use. 37. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 6.

38. James M. Cox first suggested this possibility in 1966. Cox, *Mark Twain: The Fate of Humor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), 319. 39. David L. Smith, “Huck, Jim, and American Racial

Discourse," in Leonard, Tenney, and Davis, *Satire or Evasion?*, 109.

40. Smith, "Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse," 109. 41. Smith, "Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse," 109–10. 42. Carl F. Wiecek, *Refiguring Huckleberry Finn* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 25, 109.

43. Lamb, "Mark Twain's New Method of Cultural Critique," 5. 44. Lamb, "Mark Twain's New Method of Cultural Critique," 5. 45. Hansen, "Character of Jim," 47.

46. Smith, "Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse," 110–11. 47. Forrest G. Robinson, "The Characterization of Jim in *Huckleberry Finn*," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 43, no. 3 (1988): 372.

48. Wiecek, *Refiguring Huckleberry Finn*, 165.

49. Victor A. Doyne, "Huck's and Jim's Dynamic Interactions: Dialogues, Ethics, Empathy, Respect," *Mark Twain Annual* 1 (2003): 21–22. Edward Kemble's illustration for chapter 4 (p. 37, first American edition) of Jim listening to the hair ball has probably contributed to the view that this episode is redolent of minstrelsy. Jim might be wearing the typical stage makeup of blackface minstrelsy,

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given his exaggerated lips. Some other images of Jim are problematic, as well. However, other pictures of Jim are respectful and neutral (e.g., "We turned in and slept," chap. 13, p. 108; "On the Raft," chap. 12, p. 93; and "Asleep on the Raft," chap. 15, p. 105). Twain said the pictures "will just barely do— & that is the best I can say for them." Twain qtd. in Samuel Charles Webster, ed., *Mark Twain, Business Man* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1946), 415. For more on Kemble's drawings as ethnic caricature, see Wonham, *Playing the Races*, 89–99.

50. Woodard and MacCann, "Minstrel Shackles," 145.

51. Elaine Mensh and Harry Mensh, *Black, White, and Huckleberry Finn: Re-imagining the American Dream* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000), 39.

52. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 283.

53. Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 109, 43. 54. Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps, eds., *The Book of Negro Folklore* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1958), 191.

55. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 57; Mensh and Mensh, *Black, White, and Huckleberry Finn*, 48.

56. Wiecek, *Refiguring Huckleberry Finn*, 165; Silver, *Minstrelsy and Murder*, 102.

57. Donald B. Gibson, "Mark Twain's Jim in the Classroom," *English Journal* 57, no. 2 (1968): 196, emphasis in original.

58. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 94–96.

59. Woodard and MacCann, "Minstrel Shackles," 145. In a similar vein, Andrew Silver writes that this "minstrel dialogue" involves Huck taking on "the role of a minstrel dandy to Jim's end man." Silver, *Minstrelsy and Murder*, 109. Berret, "Huckleberry Finn and the Minstrel Show," 40.

60. Neil Schmitz, "The Paradox of Liberation in *Huckleberry Finn*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 13 (Spring 1971): 32.

61. Mensh and Mensh, *Black, White and Huckleberry Finn*, 50. As Jocelyn Chadwick puts it, "By assuming the persona of Solomon and thereby appropriating Solomon's voice and authority," Jim rejects his subservient role and manages to break, in the process, "the conventional boundaries between masters and slaves in the old South." Jocelyn Chadwick, *The Jim Dilemma: Reading Race in "Huckleberry Finn"* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), 51. 62. Wieck, *Refiguring Huckleberry Finn*, 23–24.

63. For Douglass's visit backstage, see Guy A. Cardwell, *Twins of Genius* (London: Neville Spearman, 1962), 22. For the presence of "Sollermun" on the program, see Fred W. Lorch, "Cable and His Reading Tour with Mark Twain in

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1884–1885," *American Literature* 23, no. 4 (1952): 475; and Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, 4 vols. in 2 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912), 2:785. Wieck has written at length about resonances between Douglass's *Narrative* and *Huckleberry Finn*. He suggests that "the influence was stronger and more profound than has hitherto been understood." Wieck, *Refiguring Huckleberry Finn*, 20–39, quotation at 39. For more on the relationship between Twain and Douglass, see Matt Seybold, "Even if He Weren't My Friend: Frederick Douglass and Mark Twain," Center for Mark Twain Studies, August 2, 2021, <https://marktwainstudies.com/freddouglassmarktwain/>.

64. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 97–98.

65. Berret, "*Huckleberry Finn* and the Minstrel Show," 39.

66. Fredrick Woodard and Donnaræ MacCann, "Huckleberry Finn and the Tradition of Blackface Minstrelsy," *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin* 15, no. 1–2 (1984): 5.

67. Brown (*Negro in American Fiction*, 68), summarized in Smith, "Black Critics and Mark Twain," 120–21.

68. Hansen, "Character of Jim," 50–51.

69. Steven Mailloux, *Rhetorical Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 74; Smith, "Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse," 111; Pettit, *Twain and the South*, 112–13; Chadwick, *Jim Dilemma*, 53.

70. Betty Jones, "Huck and Jim: A Reconsideration," in Leonard, Tenney, and Davis, *Satire or Evasion?*, 155. See also Mensh and Mensh, *Black, White, and Huckleberry Finn*, 53–54.

71. M. J. Sidnell, "Huck Finn and Jim: Their Abortive Freedom Ride," *Cambridge Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (1967): 204; Woodard and MacCann, "Minstrel Shackles," 145.

72. Winston Kelley reads this scene the same way as Wiley, noting that "when Huck fails to back down, Jim gives him the minstrel-like

performance Huck seems to demand, fabricating an extravagantly dramatic account of what happened.” Winston Kelley, “How German Translations of ‘Trash’ in Chapter 15 of *Huckleberry Finn* Facilitate Misunderstanding the Whole Novel,” Special Forum on “Global Huck,” edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Tsuyoshi Ishihara, Ronald Jenn, Holger Kersten, and Selina Lai-Henderson, *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 12, no. 2 (2021): 92.

73. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 103.

74. From *Spike Lee’s Huckleberry Finn* by Ralph Wiley. Copyright © 1997 Ralph Wiley. all rights reserved. Printed with permission of the author. May be reproduced for classroom use only. WGA-E Registered #107314-00. Emphasis in original. The scene, along with Fishkin, “In Praise of ‘Spike Lee’s Huckleberry

Finn,” appears at <https://marktwaincircle.org/ralph-wiley-huck-finn> and in the “Appendix: Notes for Teachers” at the end of this book. For over two decades my students have done staged readings of this scene in class and have found that it profoundly shapes their understanding of Jim’s character.

75. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 105.

76. Stephen Railton, “Jim and Mark Twain: What Do Dey Stan’ For?,” *Vir ginia Quarterly Review* 63, no. 3 (1987): 398.

77. Silver, *Minstrelsy and Murder*, 122; E. L. Doctorow, *New Yorker*, June 26, 1995, 132.

78. Marx, “Mr. Elliot, Mr. Trilling, and ‘Huckleberry Finn,’” 429–30. Similarly, Woodard and MacCann write that “infantile reactions on Jim’s part are multiplied and intensified in the last fifth of the novel when he acquiesces completely to Tom’s escape plan.” Woodard and MacCann, “Minstrel Shackles,” 146.

79. Hansen, “Character of Jim,” 59–60; Pettit, *Twain and the South*, 119; Joseph Sawicki, “Authority/Author-ity: Representation and Fictionality in *Huckle berry Finn*,” *Modern Fiction Studies* 31 (1985): 698.

80. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 289.

81. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 296–97.

82. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 309.

83. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 309, 310.

84. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 323, 325; Chadwick, *Jim Dilemma*, 125.

85. Peaches Henry, “The Struggle for Tolerance: Race and Censorship in *Huckleberry Finn*,” in Leonard, Tenney, and Davis, *Satire or Evasion?*, 33, 38. 86. Chadwick, *Jim Dilemma*, 122–23, 124.

87. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 327, 328.

88. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 354.

89. Smith, “Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse,”

114–15. 90. Smith, “Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse,” 115.

91. Matthew Seybold, "Even If He Weren't My Friend: Frederick Douglass and Mark Twain," *Mark Twain Studies*, August 2, 2021, <https://marktwainstudies.com/freddouglassmarktwain/>.

92. Scholars who suggest that the last portion of the novel is a commentary on race relations in the 1880s include Harold Beaver, *Huckleberry Finn* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987); Louis J. Budd, "Southward Currents under Huck Finn's Raft," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46, no. 2 (1959): 222–37; Stephen Clarke, "Huckleberry Finn's Conscience: Reckoning with the Evasion," *Journal of Ethics* 24, no. 4 (2020): 485–508; Victor A. Doyno, *Writing "Huck Finn": Mark Twain's Creative Process* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992); Shelley

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Fisher Fishkin, *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and African-American Voices* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 68–95; Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Race and the Politics of Memory: Mark Twain and Paul Laurence Dunbar," *Journal of American Studies* 40, no. 2 (2006): 283–309; Richard Gollin and Reta Gollin, "Huckleberry Finn and the Time of the Evasion," *Modern Language Studies* 9 (Spring 1979): 5–15; Lawrence B. Holland, "A 'Raft of Trouble': Word and Deed in *Huckleberry Finn*," in *American Realism: New Essays*, edited by Eric Sundquist (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 66–81; Andrew Levy, *Huck Finn's America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2015); Stacey Margolis, "Huckleberry Finn or Consequences," *PMLA* 116, no. 2 (2001): 329–43; Stephen Mailloux, "Reading Huckleberry Finn: The Rhetoric of Performed Ideology," in *New Essays on "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn"*, edited by Louis J. Budd (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Charles H. Nilon, "The Ending of *Huckleberry Finn*: 'Freeing the Free Negro,'" in Leonard, Tenney, and Davis, *Satire or Evasion?*; Neil Schmitz, "The Paradox of Liberation in *Huckleberry Finn*," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 13, no. 1 (1971): 125–36; Neil Schmitz, "Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, and the Reconstruction," *American Studies* 12, no. 1 (1971): 59–67; Kevin Michael Scott, "'There's More Honor': Reinterpreting Tom and the Evasion in *Huckleberry Finn*," *Studies in the Novel* 31, no. 2 (2005): 187–207; Tony Tanner, *Reign of Wonder: Naivety and Reality in American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); and Wieck, *Refiguring Huckleberry Finn*, 56–69. For a corrective to some imprecise or misleading dimensions of discussions of Reconstruction in these works, see Brook Thomas, "Adventures of *Huckleberry Finn* and Reconstruction," *American Literary Realism* 50, no. 1 (2017): 1–24.

93. Robert Paul Lamb, "America Can Break Your Heart: On the Significance of Mark Twain," in *A Companion to American Fiction, 1865–1914*, edited by Robert Paul Lamb and G. R. Thompson (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 484.

94. Toni Morrison, "Introduction," in Mark Twain, *Adventures of*

Huckleberry Finn, The Oxford Mark Twain, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), xxxvi.

95. Robinson, "Characterization of Jim," 370.

96. Robinson, "Characterization of Jim," 365; Cox, *Mark Twain*, 318–19; Lamb, "Twain's New Method of Cultural Critique," 2–3.

97. Robinson, "Characterization of Jim," 363.

98. Morrison, "Introduction," xxxv.

99. Wecter, "Introduction," xxiii.

100. See an overview of this trend in Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "New Perspectives on 'Jim' in the 1990s," *Mark Twain Review* (Korea) 4 (Winter 1999): 5–19.

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101. Chadwick, *Jim Dilemma*, xii.

102. Smith, "Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse," 112. 103. See work by Smith, Chadwick, Ellison, Robinson, and Fishkin cited above, as well as Lawrence Howe, "Property and Dialect Narrative in 'Huckleberry Finn': The 'Jim Dilemma' Revisited," *Mark Twain Annual* 7, no. 1 (2009): 7. 104. Lamb, "America Can Break Your Heart," 480.

105. Hilton Obenzinger, "Going to Tom's Hell in *Huckleberry Finn*," in *A Companion to Mark Twain*, edited by Peter Messent and Louis J. Budd (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 412.

106. Robinson, "Characterization of Jim," 391.

107. Robinson, "Characterization of Jim," 369.

108. Morrison, "Introduction," xxxviii.

109. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 125.

110. Lamb, "Twain's New Method of Cultural Critique," 2; Lamb, "America Can Break Your Heart," 482.

111. Lamb, "America Can Break Your Heart," 482.

112. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 51; Doyno, "Huck's and Jim's Dynamic Interactions," 23.

113. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 104; Morrison, "Introduction," xxxiii.

114. Lamb, "America Can Break Your Heart," 481.

115. Lamb, "Twain's New Method of Cultural Critique," 2.

116. See the satirical letter that Clemens published under the pseudonym Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass in *Keokuk (IA) Saturday Post*, November 1, 1856, available at www.twainquotes.com/Keokuk/18561101.html.

117. Twain, *Is Shakespeare Dead?*, in Mark Twain, "1601," and "Is Shakespeare Dead?," The Oxford Mark Twain, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5.

118. Gary Scharnhorst, "Mark Twain's Lost 'Burlesque *Hamlet*,'" *American Literary Realism* 52, no. 3 (2021): 272–77.

119. See, e.g., the ghosts in *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, and *Richard III*. See also Ben Lauer, "Shakespeare's Top 5 Spookiest Ghosts," *Shakespeare and Beyond*, October 25, 2019, Folger

120. Scharnhorst, "Mark Twain's Lost 'Burlesque *Hamlet*,'" 276. **121.**

One scholar has noted other resonances of *Hamlet* in the novel—including the fact that the first line Jim speaks in the book—"Who dah?"—(which also happens to be "the first phrase of directly uttered speech" in the novel) repeats

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the first line of *Hamlet*—"Who's there?" Benedict J. Whalen, "Mark Twain's Reading of Shakespeare in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," *Mark Twain Journal*, 61, no. 2 (2023): 127.

122. Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn: Text of the First Edition, Sources, Criticisms*, edited by Hamlin Hill and Walter Blair (Scranton, PA: Chandler, 1962), 400, 405.

123. Dan De Quille (William Wright), *History of the Big Bonanza: An Authentic Account of the Discovery, History, and Working of the World Renowned Comstock Lode of Nevada* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing, 1876); Dan De Quille, "Sketches of Indian Life" (from *History of the Big Bonanza*), in *The Art of Huckleberry Finn: Text, Sources, Criticisms*, edited by Hamlin Hill and Walter Blair (Scranton, PA: Chandler, 1962), 400, 405.

124. De Quille, *History of the Big Bonanza*, 411–16.

125. See Fishkin, *Was Huck Black?*, 86–87.

126. Pettit, *Twain and the South*, 128.

127. SLC to James R. Osgood, March 4, 1882, Mark Twain Project, <https://legacy.marktwainproject.org/xtf/view?docId=letters/UCCL02561.xml;query=Osgood;searchAll=;sectionType1=;sectionType2=;sectionType3=;sectionType4=;sectionType5=;style=letter;brand=mtp#1>.

128. *Huck Finn* manuscript quoted in Victor A. Doyno, *Writing "Huck Finn": Mark Twain's Creative Process* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 122.

129. *Huck Finn* MS, 209–10, quoted in Doyno, *Writing "Huck Finn,"*

122. 130. *Huck Finn* MS, quoted in Doyno, *Writing "Huck Finn,"* 122.

131. White, *Every-day English*, 195–96, quoted in Gavin Jones, *Strange Talk:*

The Politics of Dialect Literature in Gilded Age America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 46–47.

132. John R. Rickford, *African American Vernacular English: Features, Evolution, Educational Implications* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 4–9; Geneva Smitherman, *Talkin That Talk: Language, Culture and Education in African America* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 19–28. For an early investigation of Twain's use of AAVE, see Lee A. Pederson, "Negro Speech in the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," *Mark Twain*

133. Lisa Cohen Minnick, *Dialect and Dichotomy: Literary Representations of African American Speech* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 67, 66–67, 73.

134. Ann Ryan, “Speak Softly, but Carry a Big Stick: Tom Sawyer and Company’s Quest for Linguistic Power: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Mark Twain’s

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, and Tom Sawyer Abroad” (MA thesis, Liberty University, 2010), 16.

135. Holger Kersten, “The Creative Potential of Dialect Writing in Later Nineteenth-Century America,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 55, no. 1 (2000): 95. **136.** This manuscript page is reproduced by the Mark Twain Project in “Ap

pendix D: Manuscript Facsimiles,” *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (2003), 564. Twain changed *of* to *er* twenty-two times and *of* to *o’* five times. (Twain would also sometimes replace *of* with *uv* or *un*.)

137. SLC to William Dean Howells, September 20, 1874, Mark Twain Project, in *Mark Twain’s Letters*, vol. 6: 1874–1875, edited by Michael Frank and Harriet Elinor Smith, the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 233.

138. “The Pass-word,” in *Brudder Bones’s Nigger Dialogues; Containing Most Laughable Drolleries and Funny Stories, Abounding in Wit, Humour, and Sarcasm, for Representation by Two Delineators of Ethiopian Character at Public or Private Entertainments* (Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson, 1869), 41; “The Sham Doctor,” in *The Darkey Drama: A Collection of Approved Ethiopian Acts, Scenes, Interludes, etc. etc.; Now First Printed; As Played with Complete Success by the Christy’s, Bryant’s, Wood’s, Charley White’s, Buckley’s, Morris and Pell’s, Duprez and Green’s, Hooley’s, Sharpley’s, “Iron Clads,” Birch’s, Leon and Kelly’s, and Other First-Class Negro Minstrel Troupes*, edited by Henry L. Williams Jr. (London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, 1867), 54. Similarly, in “Box and Cox,” Cox refers to “de wool off ob a black sheep” and “de last peck ob coal.” See also *Darkey Drama*, 3, 4, 6, 12.

139. “We’ll All Make a Laugh” quoted in Berret, “Huckleberry Finn and the Minstrel Show,” 37; “Going a Journey” in *Brudder Bones*, 33; “Happy Uncle Tom” in *Brudder Bones*, 25. In the same vein, “Happy Uncle Tom” has a line that reads, “Oh, just gib me some ob dat” (*Brudder Bones*, 25).

140. “Sleepy Tom” in *Brudder Bones*, 43; “Spirit Rappings” in *Brudder Bones*, 36.

141. “Old Times Gone By” in *Brudder Bones*, 38; “The Three Black Smiths” in *Darkey Drama*, 31; “Ring, Ring de Banjo” and “Oh! Susanna” quoted in Lott, *Love and Theft*, 202, 211; “A Tough Boarding-House” in *Brudder Bones*, 10; “Grass hoppers” in *Brudder Bones*, 49; “Jenny, Put

de Kettle On" in *White's New Illustrated Melodeon Song Book, Containing a Variety of All the New and Most Popular Songs, Jokes, Conundrums, Burlesque Lectures, etc.; Embracing the Choicest Collection as Sung by White's Band of Serenaders, The Christys, Campbells, and Sable Brothers* (New York: H. Long and Brother, 1865), 2; "Dandy Broadway Swell" in *White's New Illustrated Melodeon*, 43.

142. Doyno, "Huck's and Jim's Dynamic Interactions," 23.

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143. "Electric Shocks" in *Brudder Bones*, 52; "The Grand Burlesque Lecture on Phrenology!" in *White's New Illustrated Melodeon*, 81; "Patent Safe" in *Brudder Bones*, 46; "Suke ob Tenisee" in *White's New Illustrated Melodeon*, 17; "The Dinner Horn" in *White's New Illustrated Melodeon*, 19; "Slap Jack" in *Brudder Bones*, 13. Other examples include the lines, "Sixty dollars for a ting like dat" in "Happy Uncle Tom"; "tink ob frens he luff behind" in "The Dinner Horn"; and "I tink I'm goin' to heben, Jane!" in "Going a Journey."

144. "Sleepy Tom," *Brudder Bones*, 43; "The Fall," *Brudder Bones*, 47; "A Tough Boarding-House," 10.

145. John Russell Rickford and Russell John Rickford, *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English* (New York: John Wiley, 2000), 30.

146. "The Senator, or Atlantic Cable" in *Brudder Bones*, 44; "I Can't Help Dat," quoted in Christian McWhirter, *Battle Hymns: The Power and Popularity of Music in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2023), 140.

147. "Burlesque Political Stump Speech" in *Brudder Bones's Stump Speeches and Burlesque Orations; Containing also Humorous Lectures, Negro Drolleries, and Comic Recitations, Interspersed with Racy Yankee Stories* (Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson, 1868), 10.

148. In "Mark Twain's Representation of Negro Speech," James Nathan Tidwell notes that Twain "shows his linguistic sense by using 'eye dialect' in only five words: ben (been), b'fo' (first syllable), han's, wuz, and um. . . . By not re-spelling words for eye dialect, Twain makes Jim's conversation easy reading." James Nathan Tidwell, "Mark Twain's Representation of Negro Speech," *American Speech* 17, no. 3 (1942): 173. Tidwell should have included *uv* for *of*, and *shore* for *sure*, as well.

149. "Electric Shocks" in *Brudder Bones*, 52.

150. "Wonderful Eggs" in *Brudder Bones*, 15; "The Bet" in *Brudder Bones*, 16. **151.** Doyno writes that Twain dropped a "manuscript sentence of Huck giving orders about breakfast preparations. Twain was gradually figuring out what the relationship could be like; originally Huck had given Jim orders about the fire, contradicted Jim, and demanded, 'No, you follow me, and bring some brands along.' (MS 170) Without this explicitly bossy sentence, the two characters still do get to have a fire nearer the river, but without having a boss/servant stratification." Doyno, "Huck's and Jim's Dramatic Interactions," 23. **152.** Jones, *Strange Talk*, 165, 177.

153. Booker T. Washington, "Tributes to Mark Twain," *North American Review*, June 1910, 829.

154. Minnick, *Dialect and Dichotomy*, 68.

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155. John McWhorter, *Talking Back, Talking Black: Truths about America's Lingua Franca* (New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2016), 26.

156. McWhorter, *Talking Back, Talking Black*, 25–26.

157. They write, "Without the awareness of AAVE's systematicity or its legitimate status as a rule-governed dialect, one might assume that the occurrence of such speech patterns in someone's speech marks both a lack of grammaticality and intelligence. However, as shown above, Jeantel displays a deep understanding of the dialect's grammar and its associated patterns. Unfair judgment of Jeantel's language skills is demonstrated in public comments on news articles published covering the trial: 'She is a dullard, an idiot, an individual who can hardly speak in coherent sentences'—Jim Heron, Appalachian State. 'This lady is a perfect example of uneducated urban ignorance' . . . —Sheena Scott." King and Rickford note that questions raised by jurors along with public comments such as those cited here "raise questions about the potential consequences of producing stigmatized speech in legal settings and the role that dialect plays in attributions of credibility or trustworthiness." Sharese King and John R. Rickford, "Language on Trial," *Daedalus* 152, no. 3 (2023): 181–82.

158. Kenneth E. Eble, *Old Clemens and W.D.H.: The Story of a Remarkable Friendship* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 66. 159. James A. Miller made this comment during a public talk at the Mark Twain Memorial in Hartford, Connecticut, in the fall of 1989 and reaffirmed it in conversation during the summer of 1990 (personal communication). 160. Rickford and Rickford, *Spoken Soul*, 195.

161. Rickford and Rickford, *Spoken Soul*, 6.

162. Vernon E. Jordan Jr., quoted in Rickford and Rickford, *Spoken Soul*, 185. 163. McWhorter, *Talking Back, Talking Black*, 59.

164. Fishkin, *Was Huck Black?*, 107.

165. Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "The Challenge of Teaching *Huckleberry Finn*," in *Making Mark Twain Work in the Classroom*, edited by James S. Leonard (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 191.

166. I was also wrong when I asserted, in the same book, that "like the minstrel show itself, Jim was an eclectic amalgam of authentic black voices and white caricatures of them" (*Was Huck Black?*, 92). I am now convinced that when Ellison wrote in 1958 that "Twain fitted Jim into the outlines of the minstrel tradition and it is from behind this stereotype mask that we see Jim's dignity and human capacity—and Twain's complexity—emerge," what he meant was that *on the surface* Twain fitted Jim into this tradition. The conversation I had with him in 1991 supports the idea that Ellison, who kept a photo of Twain next to his desk,

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knew that apparent resemblances between Jim and minstrelsy dissolve on closer inspection.

167. High school juniors in John Pascal's class at Seton Hall Preparatory often expressed their admiration for and identification with Jim in their final exams in 2023 and 2024. For example, Michael Kelly wrote, "Jim is somebody I would want as a friend and role model." Casey O'Sullivan wrote, "Jim is truly the only good person in the story." Lucan Benitez wrote, "Jim is the best person in the book. . . . [H]e was always the one that made the right choices." Responses like these will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7: "Afterlives: Jim in the High School Classroom."

168. Johnson, quoted in Rickford and Rickford, *Spoken Soul*, 18. **169.** Brown, *Negro in American Fiction*, 68.

170. In this view, the minstrel show and the novel are both structured in three parts featuring an opening set of comic dialogues, an "olio" with novelty acts (such as those of the king and duke), and zany burlesque skits set on a southern plantation. Berret, "Huckleberry Finn and the Minstrel Show," 38, 44; Obenzinger, "Going to Tom's Hell," 403–5; Tracey E. Ryser, "A White Man's Inadequate Portrait of a Slave: Minstrel Shows and *Huckleberry Finn*" (MA thesis, Youngstown State University, 2004), iii, 25–29, 42–61.

Chapter 4. Jim's Version

1. Archie Moore, "Why I Played Jim, the Slave; Huck Finn Movie Might Help, Rather Than Hurt Negroes, Says World Champ," *Ebony*, September 19, 1960, 43.

2. Archie Moore quoted in "Archie Moore Does All Right as Actor," *Es canaba (MI) Daily Press*, October 22, 1959, 1.

3. Ron Richardson quoted in Alvin Klein, "Theater; Ron Richardson of 'Big River' Takes Success in Stride, Faith," *New York Times*, April 4, 1985.

4. Ron Richardson quoted in Joe Brown, "Ron Richardson at High Tide," *Washington Post*, May 17, 1986.

Chapter 5. Jim on Stage and Screen

1. This chapter does not pretend to be comprehensive and does not address aspects of each adaptation that do not involve Jim. It deals with the following actors who played Jim on stage or screen (the list below includes their birthplaces and the year of the film, play, or television broadcast in which they played Jim): George Reed (from Macon, GA) (1920); Clarence Muse (from Bal-

timore) (1931); Wayland Rudd (from Lincoln, NE) (1936); Rex Ingram (from Cairo, IL) (1939); Archie Moore (from Benoit, MS) (1960); Serge Nubret (from Anse-Bertrand, Guadeloupe) (1968); Felix Imoukhuede (from Lagos, Nigeria) (1973); Meshach Taylor (from Boston) (1985); Ron Richardson (from Philadelphia) (1985); Samm-Art Williams (from Burgaw, NC) (1985); Courtney Vance (from Detroit, MI) (1993); Charles Dumas (from Chicago) (2000); and Jacky Ido (from Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso) (2012).

2. *Huckleberry Finn*, film directed by William Desmond Taylor; written by Julia Crawford Ivers and Mark Twain; featuring George Reed, Lewis Sargent, Katherine Griffith, Martha Mattox, Frank Lanning, and Gordon Griffith; produced by Famous Players-Lasky; cinematographer, Frank E. Garbutt; released by Paramount Pictures, February 22, 1920. Quotation from David Kiehn, “*Huckleberry Finn*,” San Francisco Silent Film Festival, 2011, <https://silentfilm.org/huckleberry-finn/>.

3. “‘Huckleberry Finn’ (1920)—Hidden Gem,” Silent Hall of Fame, <https://silent-hall-of-fame.org/index.php/other-favorite-films/701-huckleberry-finn-1920-hidden-gem-10>; R. Kent Rasmussen, “Film, Television, and Theatre Adaptations,” in *Mark Twain in Context*, edited by John Bird (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 333.

4. Brought from Kongo to America by enslaved people, patting juba involved creating complex rhythms by slapping hands and thighs. 5. Julia Crawford Ivers, *Huckleberry Finn*, incomplete scenario for silent film, May 22, 1919, MSSHM 83965, Archives and Manuscripts, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, 6.

6. Ivers, *Huckleberry Finn*, 9.

7. *Huckleberry Finn*, film directed by Norman Taurog; written by Grover Jones, William Slavens McNutt, and Mark Twain; featuring Clarence Muse, Jackie Coogan, Junior Durkin, Mitzi Green, Jackie Searl, and Eugene Pallette; cinematographer, David Abel; released by Paramount Pictures, August 7, 1931. Christopher Gray, “Streetscapes: Harlem’s Lafayette Theater: Jackhammering the Past,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1990.

8. Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films*, 4th ed. (New York: Continuum, 2002), 53. 9. Clyde V. Haupt, *Huckleberry Finn on Film: Film and Television Adaptations of Mark Twain’s Novel, 1920–1993* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1994), 27. 10. Clarence Muse, “The Dilemma of the Negro Actor” (self-pub., 1934), 2, available at https://search.alexanderstreet.com/preview/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C4391495.

11. Clarence Muse quoted in Gary Null, *Black Hollywood: The Negro in Motion Pictures* (New York: Citadel, 1977), 2.

12. Herb Boyd, "Clarence Muse, a Versatile Artist and Actor of Integrity," *New Amsterdam News*, January 24, 2020, <https://amsterdamnews.com/news/2020/01/24/clarence-muse-versatile-artist-and-actor-integrity/>.

13. Donald Bogle, *Blacks in American Film and Television: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 1988), 431–32.

14. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, film directed by Richard Thorpe; written by Hugo Butler, Waldo Salt, and Mark Twain; featuring Rex Ingram, Mickey Rooney, Walter Connolly, and William Frawley; produced by Joseph L. Mankiewicz; cinematographer, John F. Seitz; released by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, February 10, 1939.

15. *Huckleberry Finn*, film directed by Michael Curtiz; written by Mark Twain and James Lee; featuring Archie Moore, Tony Randall, Eddie Hodges, Neville Brand, Patty McCormick, Mickey Shaughnessy, Buster Keaton, and John Cardine; cinematographer, Ted D. Cord; produced by Sam Goldwyn Jr.; released by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, August 3, 1960.

16. "Emperor Ingram of 'Haiti,'" *New York Times*, July 24, 1938. 17. Jonathan Dewberry, "Black Actors Unite: The Negro Actors' Guild," *Black Scholar* 21, no. 2 (1990): 3.

18. "Rex Ingram Bankrupt; Negro Actor Who Played 'De Lawd' in Film Owes \$9,511," *New York Times*, September 10, 1937.

19. Kate Dossett, *Radical Black Theatre in the New Deal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 217–19, 221 (photo of Ingram as Christophe holding two guns).

20. Cairo is the town that Jim seeks in *Huck Finn*, where the Mississippi meets the Ohio River. After Cairo heading south, slave states lined both sides of the river. It was well known among slaves that Cairo presented their best bid for freedom, and one can only speculate whether this had anything to do with Ingram's claim.

21. "Rex Ingram: We Both Have Much to Learn," *The Skeins: Unraveling the "Ribbon of Dreams" in Classic Films and More*, February 15, 2010, <http://moiras.thread.blogspot.com/2010/02/rex-ingram-we-both-have-much-to-learn.html>; Rex Ingram, "'I Came Back from the Dead': Actor Tells of His Determination to Return to Stardom after a Period of Disaster," *Ebony*, March 1955, 48–58.

22. Donald Bogle, *Hollywood Black: The Stars, the Films, the Filmmakers* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2019), 49; Bogle, *Toms, Coons*, 70.

23. Bogle, *Blacks in American Film and Television*, 406.

24. Bogle, *Toms, Coons*, 70.

25. Bogle, *Toms, Coons*, 70.
26. Seth Abramovitch, "Oscar's First Black Winner Accepted Her Honor in a Segregated 'No Blacks' Hotel in L.A.," *Hollywood Reporter*, February 19, 2014. 27. Nicholas S. Patti, "Rex Ingram, 1894–1969," Encyclopedia.com, 2018, www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/film-and-television-biographies/rex-ingram#B.
28. *Newsweek*, for example, praised his "outstanding performance as Jim." Quoted in Haupt, *Huckleberry Finn on Film*, 57.
29. Haupt, *Huckleberry Finn on Film*, 47–48.
30. Moore would hold the title from 1952 to 1962, becoming the longest reigning world champion in that class ever.
31. Archie Moore, *The Archie Moore Story* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), 187.
32. Moore quoted in "Will 'Uncle Tom' Film Role Hurt Archie Moore? Actor to Make Film Debut," *Jet*, October 15, 1959, 52.
33. Darcy Demille, "Data 'n' Chatter," *St. Paul (MN) Recorder*, August 28, 1959.
34. "Will 'Uncle Tom' Film Role Hurt Archie Moore?," 52.
35. Uncle Tom was no "Uncle Tom" either. The character has been widely misunderstood. See, for example, Patricia Turner's comments in the NPR report "In Character: Why African-Americans Loathe 'Uncle Tom,'" NPR, July 30, 2008, www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=93059468.
36. Moore, *Archie Moore Story*, 189.
37. Bob Thomas, "Archie Moore Discusses His Acting Job," *Denton (TX) Record-Chronicle*, October 22, 1959.
38. Archie Moore, "Why I Played Jim, the Slave; Huck Finn Movie Might Help, Rather than Hurt Negroes, Says World Champ," *Ebony*, September 1960, 43. 39. Moore, "Why I Played Jim," 43.
40. Moore, *Archie Moore Story*, 188.
41. Red Smith, "Archie Leaves Pro Actors Dead in 'Huckleberry Finn' Test," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), October 11, 1959.
42. The scene from the script was reprinted verbatim in *Jet*. "Will 'Uncle Tom' Film Role Hurt Archie Moore?," 54–55.
43. Moore, *Archie Moore Story*, 191.
44. Alan K. Rode, *Michael Curtiz: A Life in Film* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2017), 533–34; "First-Class Showman: Archie Moore Is as Cagey on Stage as in the Ring," *Daily Intelligencer* (Doylestown, PA), October 21, 1959. 45. Moore, "Why I Played Jim," 43.
46. Moore, "Why I Played Jim," 43.

47. Moore, *Archie Moore Story*, 188.
48. Moore, "Why I Played Jim," 43.
49. "Archie Moore in *Huckleberry Finn*," *Life*, June 27, 1960, 113.
50. Bob Thomas, "Archie Moore Seeks Movie Career," *Record Searchlight* (Redding, CA), October 22, 1959.
51. Donald Ingram Ulin, "From *Huckleberry Finn* to *The Shawshank Redemption*: Race and the American Imagination in the Biracial Escape Film," *European Journal of American Studies* 8, no. 1 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.4000/ejas.10026>.
52. Moore, *Archie Moore Story*, 193.
53. "Despite Moore's stellar turn the script turned Twain's edgy adventure tale into a Disneylike family movie" (Rode, *Michael Curtiz*, 53–54); "Prizefighter Archie Moore Giving Moving Performance as Runaway Slave Jim," *Parents* 3, no. 1–6 (1961): 8; "Bright Debut of an Old Pro," *Life*, June 27, 1960, 113; "Films: Boxer Archie Moore Plays the Part of *Jim*, the Runaway Slave, in a Surprisingly Effective and Moving Performance," *America* 103 (April 1960): 522; "Films in Review," *Film facts* 3 (1960): 172.
54. "Entertainments: The Adventures of *Huckleberry Finn*," *Upper Hutt Leader* (Wellington, NZ), August 24, 1961, 2.
55. Perry Frank, "Adventures of *Huckleberry Finn* on Film," in *Huck Finn among the Critics: A Centennial Selection*, edited by M. Thomas Inge (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1985), 298; R. Kent Rasmussen and Mark Dawidziak, "Mark Twain on the Screen," in *A Companion to Mark Twain*, edited by Peter Messent and Louis J. Budd (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 284.
56. Moore, "Why I Played Jim," 48.
57. Moore went on to say, "I believe that eventually total freedom will come as long as we Negroes continue to demand it without bringing discredit on our selves." Moore, "Why I Played Jim," 49.
58. Margarita Marinova, "*Huck Finn*'s Adventures in the Land of the Soviet People," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 12, no. 2 (2021): 119, 122, 124. Between 1918 and 1959, Marinova notes, nearly eleven million copies of Twain's works in twenty-five languages were published in the Soviet Union.
59. Mark Twain, *Приключения Геккельберри Финна и беглого негра Джима* (*Prikljuchenija Gekkel'berri Finna i beglogo negra Dzhima*) [Adventures of *Huckleberry Finn* and the Runaway Negro Jim] (Leningrad: Molodaia gvardia, 1926); Marinova, "*Huck Finn*'s Adventures," 120, 124; A. Sarukhanyan, "Mark Twain in Russia," 1959, Mark Twain Stormfield Project 1908–2012, <https://twainproject.blogspot.com/2010/07/russian-versions-of-mark-twains-books.html>.
60. Interest in this film among Twain scholars has been ignited recently by the work of Cassio de Oliveira, who presented a paper on it at the Ninth Inter-

national Conference on the State of Mark Twain Studies in 2022 and published his research in the *Journal of Transnational American Studies* in 2023: Cassio de Oliveira, “Mark Twain on the Soviet Silver Screen: Stalinist Laughter and Anti racism in *Tom Soier*,” *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 14, no. 2 (2023): 29–49.

61. S. Ani Mukherji, “‘Like Another Planet to the Darker Americans’: Black Cultural Work in 1930s Moscow,” in *Africa in Europe: Studies in Transnational Practice in the Long Twentieth Century*, edited by Eve Rosenhaft and Robbie Aitken (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 135; Yevgeniy Fiks, ed., *The Wayland Rudd Collection* (Brooklyn, NY: Ugly Duckling Presse, 2021); Jonah Goldman Kay, “Art Books: The Wayland Rudd Collection: Propaganda Posters, Works of Art, and Other Pieces of Print Culture Reveal a Complex and at Times Incongruous Approach to Race,” *Brooklyn Rail*, March 2022, https://brooklynrail.org/2022/03/art_books/The-Wayland-Rudd-Collection. Christopher E. Silsby, “African American Performers in Stalin’s Soviet Union: Between Political Promise and Racial Propaganda” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2018). Ira Aldridge had played Othello in London in the nineteenth century, and Paul Robeson began playing the role there in March 1930, a month before Rudd played it in the United States.

62. Meredith L. Roman, *Opposing Jim Crow: African Americans and the Soviet Indictment of U.S. Racism, 1928–1937* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 11; de Oliveira, “Mark Twain on the Soviet Silver Screen,” 33. On March 9, 1932, New York’s *Amsterdam News* ran the headline “Soviet Seeks Negroes to Make Film of Conditions Here,” while on March 19 the *Chicago Defender* announced, “Russia to Produce Film of Race Life in America Soon,” cited in Mukherji, “‘Like Another Planet,’” 121. See also Maxim Matusevich, “Blackness the Color of Red: Negotiating Race at the US Legation in Riga, Latvia, 1922–33,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 52 no. 4 (2017): 832–52; Allison Blakely, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1986), 102, 145–47; and Soviet screenwriter G. E. Grebner’s preface to *Chernyi i belyi*, quoted in Mukherji, “‘Like Another Planet,’” 121.

63. Jack El-Hai, “Black and White and Red,” *American Heritage*, May–June 1991, www.americanheritage.com/black-and-white-and-red; Mukherji, “‘Like An other Planet,’” 121; “Movie Players Leave for Moscow,” *Amsterdam News* (New York), July 15, 1932; “Russia to Produce Film of Race Life in America Soon,” *Chicago Defender*, March 19, 1932; “Stars Now on Way to Russia to Make Film,” *Chicago Defender*, June 11, 1932; “To Make Photoplay in Soviet Russia,” *Chicago Defender*, July 9, 1932; “Soviet Seeks Negroes to Make Film of Conditions Here,” *Amsterdam*

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News (New York), March 9, 1932; “21 Movie Players Leave for Moscow,” *Amsterdam News* (New York), July 15, 1932.

64. Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 244–46.

65. El-Hai, “Black and White and Red”; Roman, *Opposing Jim Crow*, 137; Allison Blakely, “Foreword: Contested Blackness in Red Russia,” *Russian Review* 75, no. 3 (2016): 363–64; Mukherji, ““Like Another Planet,”” 138.

66. Silsby, *African American Performers*, 88, 101–2; Langston Hughes, “Mixes Russian and Jazz on Soviet Stage,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, February 25, 1933. Another veteran of the *Black and White* fiasco was also cast in the film: Lloyd Patterson, who would play a slave named George.

67. *Том Соьер* (*Tom Soier*) [Tom Sawyer, Russian], film directed by Lazar Frenkel and Gleb Zatvornitsky; written by Nikolay Shestakov and Mark Twain; featuring Wayland Rudd, Lloyd Patterson, Konstantin Kulchitsky, Nikolai Katsovich, Pyotr Svechnikov, and Nikolai Uspensky; cinematographer, Yuri Vovchenko; released by Ukrainfilm (Soviet Union), December 31, 1936.

68. De Oliveira, “Mark Twain on the Soviet Silver Screen,” 31. **69.** De Oliveira, “Mark Twain on the Soviet Silver Screen,” 31. **70.** Meredith Roman, “Anti-Racist Aspirations and Artifacts,” in Fiks, *Wayland Rudd Collection*, 154.

71. Constantin Katsakioris, “The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher Education for a Soviet–Third World Alliance, 1960–91,” *Journal of Global History* 14, no. 2 (July 2019): 289; Beth Knobel, “Changing Lifestyles: Moscow’s Marxist School Strives to Reinvent Itself,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1993; Maxim Matusevich, “Probing the Limits of Internationalism: African Students Confront Soviet Ritual,” *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 27, no. 2 (2009): 24; Maxim Matusevich, ed., *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007), 172; Maxim Matusevich, “Journeys of Hope: African Diaspora and the Soviet Society,” *African Diaspora* 1, no. 1–2 (2008): 67–74; Maxim M. Matusevich, “Soviet Anti-Racism and Its Discontents,” in *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, edited by James Mark, Artemy M. Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 229–50; Everest Mulekezi, “I Was a Student at Moscow State,” *Reader’s Digest*, July 1961, 99–104; Olabisi Ajala, *An African Abroad* (London: Jarolds, 1963); Andrew Richard Amar, *An African in Moscow* (London: Ampersand, 1965); William Anti-Taylor, *Moscow Diary* (London: Robert Hale, 1967); Andrea Lee, *Russian Journal* (New York: Random House, 1981); Maxim Matusevich, “Black in the U.S.S.R.,” *Transition*, no. 100 (2008): 56–75; Kimberly St.

Julian-Varnon, "The Racist Treatment of Africans and African Americans in the Soviet Union," *New Lines Magazine*, February 17, 2023, <https://newlinesmag.com>

/essays/the-racist-treatment-of-africans-and-african-americans-in-the-ussr/; Julie Hessler, "Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War," *Cahier du Monde Russe* 47, no. 1–2 (2006): 33–63; Peter Shearman, *Rethinking Soviet Communism* (London: Palgrave, 2015), 132; Riikkaman Johanna Muhonen, "'Good Friends' for the Soviet Union: The People's Friendship Uni-

versity in Soviet Educational Cooperation with the Developing World, 1960–1980" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2022), 23.

Although the actor spells his name Felix Imoukhuede today, the film lists him as Feliks Imokuede.

72. *Совсем пропащий* (*Sovsem propashchiy*) [*Hopelessly Lost*, Russian], film directed by Georgiy Daneliya; written by Georgiy Daneliya, Viktoriya Tokareva, and Mark Twain; featuring Feliks Imokuede, Roman Madyanov, Yevgeny Leonov, Vladimir Basov, Vladimir Ivashov, and Vakhtang Kikabidze; cinematographer, Vadim Yusov; produced by Mosfilm and released August 27, 1973.

73. Daria Goncharova, "'Workers of the World Unite!': Huck, Jim, and the Cold War's Racial Tensions," in *Post45 vs. the World: Literary Perspectives on the Global Contemporary*, edited by William G. Welty (Wilmington, DE: Vernon Press, 2023), 55–76.

74. Alexander Federov, *Cinema in the Mirror of the Soviet and Russian Film Criticism*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: ICO Information for All, 2019), 32. **75.** Goncharova, "'Workers of the World,'" 63–64; Theodore Shabad, "'Huck Finn' Put on Film in Soviet," *New York Times*, November 29, 1972. **76.** Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2001), 106. **77.** Goncharova, "'Workers of the World,'" 56–57.

78. Goncharova, "'Workers of the World,'" 59.

79. Goncharova, "'Workers of the World,'" 62.

80. Goncharova, "'Workers of the World,'" 73.

81. Goncharova, "'Workers of the World,'" 69.

82. On his return, Imokuede joined the Nigerian Agip Oil Company, where he worked for the rest of his career. He lives in Lagos today.

83. Oseomoje Imoukhuede confirmed that the street in Lagos was indeed named for his cousin Felix Imoukhuede.

84. "*Huckleberry Finn: Literature or Racist Trash?*," *Nightline* (broadcast February 4, 1985), transcript, including ABC Special Report, in *The Critical Response to Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Laurie Champion (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1991), 147.

85. "*Huckleberry Finn: Literature or Racist Trash?*," 148.

86. “*Huckleberry Finn*: Literature or Racist Trash?,” 148.

87. “*Huckleberry Finn*: Literature or Racist Trash?,” 149.

88. “*Huckleberry Finn*: Literature or Racist Trash?,” 149.

89. Gordon and the Organic Theater Company had become known for a style of adapting works of literature that maintained total fidelity to an author’s words. Stephen C. Gray, “A History of the Chicago Off-Loop Theatre Explosion: 1969 to 1989” (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1997), 163.

90. Roger Dettmer, “The Organic Grows Up and Tackles *Huck Finn*,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 2, 1975.

91. Gray, “History of the Chicago Off-Loop Theatre Explosion,” 163.

92. Richard Christiansen, “‘Huckleberry Finn’ Triumphant,” *Chicago Daily News*, February 6, 1975. See also Richard Christiansen, “‘Huck Finn’ at the Good man,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 3, 1985.

93. Earl Calloway, “Criticism Lashed upon Goodman’s Provocative *Huck leberry Finn*,” *Chicago Defender*, February 7, 1985.

94. “Kimball Art Center Presenting ‘Huck Finn,’” *Summit County Bee* (Coal ville, UT), September 16, 1976; Tony Halloway, “Reviewer: Play Well Done,” *Pan tagraph* (Bloomington, IL), May 3, 1976.

95. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, stage play adapted by the Organic Theater Company; directed by Stewart Gordon; featuring Meshach Taylor, John Cameron Mitchell, and Tom Towles; opened February 4, 1985, Goodman Theatre, Chicago. Recorded by WTTW.

96. E. R. Shipp, “A Century Later, Huck’s Still Stirring Up Trouble,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1985.

97. Calloway, “Criticism.”

98. Calloway, “Criticism.”

99. See Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *From Fact to Fiction: Journalism and Imaginative Writing in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 65–66; Fishkin, “Mark Twain and Race,” in *A Historical Guide to Mark Twain*, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 135–36; and Fishkin, “Race and Ethnicity: African Americans,” in Bird, *Mark Twain in Context*, 195.

100. Shelley Fisher Fishkin, “Twain in ’85,” *New York Times*, February 15, 1985.

101. SLC to Francis Wayland, December 24, 1885, boxed text of letter reprinted in Edwin McDowell, “From Twain, a Letter on Debt to Blacks,” *New York Times*, March 14, 1885.

102. The desk in which the letter was found had belonged to one of Dean Wayland’s descendants. See Francis Wayland to SLC, December 25, 1885, UCLC

24826, Mark Twain Project Online; and Philip Butcher, "Mark Twain's Install ment on the National Debt," *Southern Literary Journal* 1, no. 2 (1969): 48–55. **103.** See Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Lighting Out for the Territory: Mark Twain and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 100–108; and Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Changing the Story," in *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on Their Jewish Identity*, edited by Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky and Shelley Fisher Fishkin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 47–68. **104.** McDowell, "From Twain, a Letter." See also Mark Alden Branch, "Old Yale: A Civil Rights Champion," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, January–February 2024, 22–3.

105. This narrative of press responses to the McGuinn letter first appeared in Fishkin, *Lighting Out for the Territory*, 106–8.

106. *Big River*, musical directed by Des McAnuff; written by William Haupt man and Mark Twain; Original score by Roger Miller; choreographed by Janet Watson; featuring Ron Richardson, Daniel H. Jenkins, René Auberjonois, Bob Gunton, and John Goodman; opened 25 April 25, 1985, closed September 20, 1987, at the Eugene O'Neill Theatre on Broadway.

107. Nan Robertson, "'Big River's' Big Voice: Jim the Slave," *New York Times*, May 2, 1984.

108. Robertson, "'Big River's' Big Voice."

109. See, e.g., Frank Rich, "Stage: With Huck Finn on the 'Big River,'" *New York Times*, April 26, 1985.

110. Rich, "Big River."

111. Richardson, quoted in Robertson, "'Big River's' Big Voice." **112.** Richardson, quoted in Patrick Pacheko, "Huck Takes the Stage," *News day* (Long Island, NY), April 14, 1985.

113. Akihiko Senda, "Experiments in Cross-Cultural Theater," *Japan Quar terly* 36, no. 3 (1989): 311.

114. Robertson, "'Big River's' Big Voice."

115. Robertson, "'Big River's' Big Voice."

116. "Ron Richardson," *Variety*, April 10, 1995.

117. Alvin Klein, "Theater: Ron Richardson of 'Big River' Takes Success in Stride, Faith," *New York Times*, August 4, 1985.

118. John C. Thorpe, "Theatre," *Crisis* 92, no. 7 (1985): 15.

119. Klein, "Theater: Ron Richardson."

120. Klein, "Theater: Ron Richardson."

121. Joe Brown, "Ron Richardson at High Tide," *Washington Post*, May 17, 1986.

122. Brown, "Ron Richardson."

123. Richardson, quoted in Pacheko, "Huck Takes the Stage," 97. In 2010 William Hauptman would revise the script to decrease some of the instances of the word. Note from William Hauptman, March 1, 2010, in

William Hauptman, Roger Miller, and Mark Twain, *Big River: The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Nashville, TN: Concord Theatricals, 1985, 1986, 2010).

124. Klein, "Theater: Ron Richardson."

125. Robertson, "'Big River's' Big Voice."

126. Richardson, quoted in Robertson, "'Big River's' Big Voice." **127.** Klein, "Theater: Ron Richardson."

128. For more on Twain's blending of Black and white rhetorical traditions, see Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and African-American Voices* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

129. Hauptman, Miller, and Twain, *Big River*, 78.

130. Hauptman, Miller, and Twain, *Big River*, 78.

131. Hauptman, Miller, and Twain, *Big River*, 78.

132. Hauptman, Miller, and Twain, *Big River*, 116–17.

133. Rasmussen and Dawidziak, "Mark Twain on the

Screen," 280. **134.** Hauptman, Miller, and Twain, *Big River*, 123.

135. Hauptman, Miller, and Twain, *Big River*, 124.

136. Hauptman, Miller, and Twain, *Big River*, 129.

137. Rasmussen, "Film, Television, and Theater Adaptations," 332.

138. Michael Bolanos, "The Journey behind 'A Journey in Open Diplomacy,'" *Soviet Life* 2 (February 1987): 60–61.

139. Richardson, quoted in Clyde Haberman, "An American in Japan's 'Big River,'" *New York Times*, March 19, 1988.

140. Haberman, "American in Japan's 'Big River.'"

141. Mel Gussow, "Ron Richardson Is Dead at 43; Won a Tony in 'Big River' Role," *New York Times*, April 6, 1995.

142. "Forget Dubbing, He'll Do the Role in Japanese," *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, UT), May 13, 1988; Haberman, "American in Japan's 'Big River.'" **143.** Haberman, "American in Japan's 'Big River.'"

144. *Big River*, musical translated by Yoji Aoi; directed by Michael Greif; music by Roger Miller; produced by Saburo Kitamura; featuring Hiroyuki Sanada and Ron Richardson; opened March 4, 1988, closed May 5, 1988, at the Aoyama Gekijo, Tokyo; opened May 10, 1988, closed May 29, 1988, at the Kintetsu Gekijo, Osaka. See Tsuyoshi Ishihara, "Mark Twain in Japan: Mark Twain's Literature and 20th Century Japanese Juvenile Literature and Popular Culture" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 231; and Haberman, "American in Japan's 'Big River.'"

145. "Forget Dubbing."

146. Haberman, "American in Japan's 'Big River.'"

147. Haberman, "American in Japan's 'Big River.'"

148. Senda, "Experiments in Cross-Cultural Theater," 311.

149. Haberman, "American in Japan's 'Big River.'"

150. For reviews of the original Japanese production of *Big River*,

see Ishi hara, *Mark Twain in Japan: The Cultural Reception of an American Icon* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 126–27.

151. Senda, “Experiments in Cross-Cultural Theater,” 313. When he returned home to the United States, Richardson expressed his gratitude to the Japan Society for the help he was given by performing at a benefit for them with his Japanese costar, Hiroyuki Sanada.

152. Mel Gussow, “Ron Richardson Is Dead at 43.”

153. For charges of minstrelsy, see Mark Royden Winchell, “‘Huckleberry Finn’ Suffers from Revision,” *Newsday* (Long Island, NY), May 8, 1984; Barry Bearak, “Huck’s Adventurous 100 Years,” *Atlanta (GA) Constitution*, December 22, 1985; and John J. O’Connor, “TV Review: 4-Part ‘Huckleberry Finn’ Begins,” *New York Times*, February 10, 1976. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, DVD, directed by Peter H. Hunt; written by Guy Gallo and Mark Twain; produced by William P. Perry and Jane Iredale; music by William Perry; cinematographer, Walter Lasally; featuring Samm-Art Williams, Patrick Day, Jim Dale, Frederic Forrest, Anne Shropshire, Sada Thompson, and Eugene Oaks, with appearances by Butterfly McQueen and Lillian Gish; aired on PBS, *American Playhouse*, February 10, 1986.

154. “Williams, Samm-Art, 1946,” Encyclopedia.com, www.encyclopedia.com/education/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/williams-samm-art-1946.

155. Mel Gussow, “The Theater: ‘Cork,’ by Samm-Art Williams,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1986.

156. Trudier Harris, “Samm-Art Williams,” in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Afro-American Writers after 1955: Dramatists and Prose Writers*, edited by Thadious M. Davis and Trudier Harris, vol. 38 (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1985), 305; Steve Lawson, “An Unsung Civil War Heroine Lives Again on the Home Screen,” *New York Times*, February 24, 1985.

157. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, directed by Peter H. Hunt. **158.** O’Connor, “TV Review.”

159. Toni Morrison, “Introduction,” in Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, The Oxford Mark Twain, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), xxxiii.

160. Robert Paul Lamb, “The Roots of Huck Finn’s Melancholy: Sam Clemens, Mark Twain, and a World of Pain,” *Mississippi Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (2019): 166.

As Lamb reminds us, Henry Nash Smith had noted that “Huck’s character is the product of Mark Twain’s own lifelong depressiveness, loneliness, morbidity, and haunting sense of guilt.” Henry Nash Smith, *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962), 130–32, cited in Lamb, “Roots of Huck Finn’s Melancholy,” 169.

161. Gary Scharnhorst, *The Life of Mark Twain: The Early Years, 1835–1871* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2018), 22, cited in

Lamb, "Roots of Huck Finn's Melancholy," 171.

162. Ron Powers, *Dangerous Water: A Biography of the Boy Who Became Mark Twain* (New York: Da Capo, 2001), 57, 97–117.

163. Guy Gallo, quoted in Hebert Mitgang, "Televising the Dark Side of 'Huck Finn,'" *New York Times*, February 9, 1986.

164. Morrison, "Introduction," xxxiv, xxxv.

165. Williams, quoted in Fred Rothenberg, "'Huckleberry Finn' Starts on PBS Tonight," *News* (Frederick, MD), February 10, 1986. His comment is echoed by that of screenwriter Guy Gallo: "Here were two outcasts, a Black slave and a troubled white boy oppressed by his ignorant father, on a journey to freedom. Every time their raft touched ground—touched the United States—they got into trouble. The 'white trash' boy, who has inherited the prejudices of his father and the community, and the Black slave come to love each other. The journey is of their growing affection." Gallo quoted in Mitgang, "Televising the Dark Side of 'Huck Finn.'"

166. O'Connor, "TV Review"; Owen McNally, "'Huck Finn' Is Pleasant to Watch but a Bit Long," *Hartford (CT) Courant*, July 2, 1985.

167. O'Connor, "TV Review."

168. Haupt, *Huckleberry Finn on Film*, 142.

169. Mitgang, "Televising the Dark Side of 'Huck Finn.'" The *Hartford Courant* commended director Hunt for having dealt "realistically with the sordid side of life along the river, including violence, racism and fraud," adding that "screen writer Guy Gallo's adaptation is commendably true in letter and spirit to Mark Twain's masterpiece." McNally, "'Huck Finn' Is Pleasant to Watch." **170.** Haupt, *Huckleberry Finn on Film*, 123.

171. Quoted in Haupt, *Huckleberry Finn on Film*, 146.

172. Rothenberg, "Huckleberry Finn." In a similar vein, the *New York Times* observed that "this Jim, played by Samm-Art Williams, is a man of unquestioned dignity." O'Connor, "TV Review." McNally, "'Huck Finn' Is Pleasant to Watch."

173. Rasmussen and Dawidziak, "Mark Twain on the Screen," 287–88. In 2001 Michael Patrick Hearn argued that this production was still "the most ambitious and faithful production" yet. Hearn, *The Annotated Huckleberry Finn* (New

York: W. W. Norton, 2001), cxxxiv. Similarly, in 1994 Haupt had declared this production to be "the most sensitive and intelligent rendition [of *Huckleberry Finn*] made to date." Haupt, *Huckleberry Finn on Film*, 113. See also E. Hulse, "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," Video Librarian, July 11, 2007, <https://video.librarian.com/reviews/film/adventures-of-huckleberry-finn/>.

174. The multitalented Williams continues to have a thriving career both as a playwright and as an actor and producer in film and television and has been nominated for a Tony and two Emmys.

175. Lia Chang, "Backstage Pass with Lia Chang: Remembering

Meshach Taylor, 1947–2014,”

<https://liachang.wordpress.com/profiles/meshach-taylor/>. Taylor's hundred-year-old mother, Hertha Ward Taylor, told this to his friend Joe Mantegna shortly before Taylor's funeral, as Mantegna noted in the eulogy that he delivered at a memorial service at the Old North Church at Forest Lawn–Hollywood Hills in Los Angeles on July 6, 2014.

176. Caroline B. Hubbard, “Vance '82: Mass. Ave to Broadway,” *Harvard Crimson*, September 20, 2013, www.thecrimson.com/article/2013/9/20/courtney-b-vance-82-in-conversation/;

The Adventures of Huck Finn, film directed by Stephen Sommers; produced by Laurence Mark; written by Mark Twain and Stephen

Sommers; featuring Courtney Vance, Elijah Wood, and Robbie Coltrane; released by Disney, April 2, 1993.

177. Courtney Vance, quoted in Henry Sheehan, “‘Huck’ Player Brings Dignity to Slave Character,” *Fort Worth (TX) Star-Telegram*, April 18, 1993. **178.** Courtney Vance quoted in “‘Huckleberry Finn’ Actor’s Input Protects Dignity of His Character,” *Orlando (FL) Sentinel*, April 22, 1993. **179.** Vance quoted in “‘Huckleberry Finn’ Actor’s Input Protects Dignity of His Character.”

180. Stephen Sommers, quoted in Bernard Weinraub, “Huck Finn Adventure for a Mississippi River Boy,” *New York Times*, March 25, 1993. **181.** Sheehan “‘Huck’ Player.”

182. Sheehan, “‘Huck’ Player.”

183. Weinraub, “Huck Finn Adventure.”

184. Allen Carey-Webb, “Racism and ‘Huckleberry Finn’: Censorship, Dialogue, and Change,” *English Journal* 82, no. 7 (1993): 26.

185. Carey-Webb, “Racism and ‘Huckleberry Finn,’” 26.

186. Carey-Webb, “Racism and ‘Huckleberry Finn,’” 26.

187. Sheehan, “‘Huck’ Player.”

188. Robert W. Butler, “‘Huckleberry Finn’ Actor Finds Dignity in Difficult Role,” *Kansas City (MO) Star*, April 9, 1993.

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189. Terry Orme, “‘Huck Finn’ Has Same Charm, Pluck of Twain,” *Salt Lake (UT) Tribune*, April 2, 1993.

190. Patrick Bibby, “‘Huckleberry Finn’ Still an Endearing Tale,” *Greenville (SC) News*, May 7, 1993; Gannett News Service, “Twain Classic Is Watered Down,” *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, April 1, 1993.

191. David Kehr, “‘Finn’ de Siècle: New ‘Huck’ Slows Twain’s River Down to a Trickle,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 2, 1993.

192. David Ansen, “Rites of Passage,” *Newsweek*, April 4, 1993.

193. Brownstein, “Straying from the Classic Disney Formula.” **194.**

Joshua Chu, “Retired Penn State Professor, Actor, Writer Charles Dumas

Reflects on Lifetime of Social Justice,” *Daily Collegian* (Penn State University), January 22, 2021, www.psucollegian.com/culture_lifestyle/retired-penn-state-professor-actor-writer-charles-dumas-reflects-on-lifetime-of-social-justice/article_b6d211e0-5c45-11eb-ad82-c3510b44f404.html; Layli Maria Miron, “Charles Dumas, JD: Actor, Activist, Writer,” Public Writing Initiative, Penn State University, July 21, 2020, <https://pwi.psu.edu/2020/07/21/charles-dumas/>. **195.** Edward Morgan went on to say, “It grew from there. Given the conceit that these two geezers were somehow magically alive—it seemed to me they could use magic to ‘conjure up’ a young Jim and Huck, and all the other necessary spirits. And once they were in charge, then there might be ways that old huck and old jim would try to monkey with the story. And before long, the two men were off on a new kind of adventure.” Morgan, comments in “Prologue,” news letter of the Milwaukee Rep, quoted in Shelley Fisher Fishkin, “World Premiere of *Sounding the River* (*Huck Finn Revisited*),” Mark Twain Forum blog, March 11, 2001, <https://listserv.yorku.ca/cgi-bin/wa?A2=TWAIN-L;519b1924.0103>. **196.** Edward Morgan, email to author, July 28, 2023.

197. Morgan email.

198. *Sounding the River* (*Huck Finn Revisited*), stage play directed by Edward Morgan; written by Edward Morgan and Mark Twain; featuring Charles Dumas, Raphael Peacock, Jim Baker, Sean McNally, James Pickering, La Shawn Banks, Paul Bentzen, Mark Corkins, Olivia D. Dawson, Rose Pickering, and Laura Gordon; music arranger and director, Chic Street Man; music performed by Cedric Turner and Scott Wakefield; opened February 21, 2001, closed April 1, 2001, at the Milwaukee Repertory Theater. I am grateful to Edward Morgan for having shared the script with me and given me permission to quote from it.

199. Morgan, *Sounding the River*, 15, 17.

200. Morgan, *Sounding the River*, 22, 24–25.

201. Morgan, *Sounding the River*, 25–26.

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202. Morgan, *Sounding the River*, 34, 35, 36, 38–39.

203. Morgan, *Sounding the River*, 52–54, 78, 74.

204. Edward Morgan, email to author, July 27, 2023; Morgan, *Sounding the River*, 206.

205. Morgan, *Sounding the River*, 100, 104, 118–19.

206. Morgan email, July 27, 2023.

207. Edward Morgan, Prologue, *Newsletter of the Milwaukee Repertory Company*, Twainweb, March 11, 2001, <https://listserv.yorku.ca/cgi-bin/wa?A2=TWAIN-L;519b1924.0103&FT=&P=&H=&S=b>.

208. A reviewer for *Backstage* wrote that as “Huck and the escaped

slave Jim” are “reunited as senior citizens” who “travel back in time” with the help of an old lamp from Twain’s home, “the old fellows observe the trip from the fringes of the action, commenting on it from the perspective of their advanced years. With those comments, Morgan . . . establishes the irony employed by Twain in writing about the partnership between a racist white boy and a runaway slave fleeing oppression together.” *Backstage*, March 16, 2001, quoted on the website of playwright and director Edward Morgan, www.edward-morgan.com/sounding-the-river-1. The *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* called the production “beautifully produced and well-acted.” “Perhaps because [Morgan] was not trying to write a straightforward adaptation of the book, the play works much better than many attempts to transfer the page to the stage.” The reviewer also noted “a fluidity largely due to Morgan’s shrewd use of period music—old country, blues and spirituals—to connect the scenes.” The reviewer believed that the “sharp, clear and sure-handed acting from the entire cast provides the richly colored portrait of river life created by Twain and recreated by Morgan.” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, quoted at www.edward-morgan.com/sounding-the-river-1.

209. The film was produced on the cusp of the social and cultural change that the student demonstrations of 1968 in Germany would help set in motion. At the time it was made, however, mainstream cultural productions could still count on being received by “a general German audience which basically did not question the validity of the historical representations of racial and class differences. It is only in the 1970s that a more general change of attitude sets in and enters cultural productions. It is the airing of the American TV series *Kunta Kinte* (the adaptation of Alex Haley’s *Roots*, 1976) in 12 episodes in 1978 which brings about a different perception of slavery and of African Americans.” Alfred Hornung, email to the author, February 4, 2024.

210. Ingrid Gessner notes that “the works of Berlin filmmaker Branwen Ok pako about the Afro-German detective Sam Meffire in the award-winning documentary *Dreckfresser* (2001) or in the feature film *Tal der Ahnungslosen* (2003) took up lived Black history in (East) Germany in the 2000s. They can be read both as

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cultural criticism and as poetic inscriptions that (might) have led to a new interpretation of Jim as we see it in Huntgeburth and Arango’s *Die Abenteuer des Huck Finn* (2012).” Gessner, email to the author, February 4, 2024.

211. “Steve McQueen, the British director of *12 Years a Slave*, commented when his film was shown in 2013, that the slave trade is a cinematic subject whose time has come, and he called this ‘the Obama Effect.’” Andrew Anthony, “*12 Years a Slave* and the Roots of America’s Shameful Past,” *Observer*, January 5, 2014, quoted in Paul Giles, “Obama, Tarantino, and Transnational Trauma,” in *Obama and Transnational American Studies*, edited by Alfred Hornung (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 2016), 257.

212. Richard Dyer, “The White Man’s Muscles,” in *Race and the Subject of Masculinities*, edited by Harry Stecopoulos and Michael Uebel (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 286.

213. *Un gosse de la butte* [alternative title *Rue de cascades*, French], film directed by Maurice Delbez; written by Robert Sabatier, Maurice Delbez, and Jean Cosmos; featuring Serge Nubret, Madeleine Robinson, and René Lefèvre; cinematographer, Jean-Georges Fontenelle; produced by Edmond Lemoine; released by Les Films de Mai (France), December 2, 1964.

214. *Tom Sawyers und Huckleberry Finns Abenteuer* (Tom Sawyer’s and Huckleberry Finn’s Adventures), episode 4 of four-part mini-series made for German television by French, German, and Romanian production companies (Franco London Films, Office de Radiodiffusion Télévision Française [ORTF], Deropa Films, Studioul Cinematografic Bucuresti); directed by Wolfgang Liebeneiner; screenplay by Walter Ulbrich; featuring Serge Nubret (Jim), Marc di Napoli (Huck), Roland Demongeot, Robert Hecker, Lina Carstens, and Marcel Peres; narrated by Ernst Fritz Fürbringer; produced by Stefan Barcava, Henry Deutschmeister, Ulrich Picard, and Walter Ulbrich; premiered on ZDF, January 12, 1968. **215.** John E. Davidson, “Working for the Man, Whoever That May Be: The Vocation of Wolfgang Liebeneiner,” in *Cultural History through a National Socialist Lens: Essays on the Cinema of the Third Reich*, edited by Robert Charles Reimer, (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2000), 242.

216. Ingrid Gessner observes that Liebeneiner’s series from 1968 “was produced and broadcast as what was called Weihnachts-Vierteiler (Christmas four part series), which explains its enormous popularity.” At a time when there were only two channels—the networks ARD and ZDF—these four movie-length episodes that aired every Sunday during Advent (between December 1 and December 22) constituted “a real event back then” that “had the whole family sitting in front of the TV” (Gessner, email to the author, February 1, 2024). See also “Tom Sawyers und Huckleberry Finns Abenteuer,” TV Wunschliste, www.wunschliste.de/serie/tom-sawyers-und-huckleberry-finns-abenteuer.

217. *Die Abenteuer des Huck Finn* (*The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*) [German], film directed by Hermine Huntgeburth; written by Sascha Arango and Mark Twain; featuring Jacky Ido, Leon Seidel, Louis Hofmann, and August Diehl; music by Niki Reiser; produced by Boris Schönfelder for Schönhauser Film Produktion; distributed by Majestic Filmverleih, released December 20, 2012. Ingrid Gessner notes that the screenwriter, Arango, “is himself a person of color. Arango is also known as Sascha Arango Bueno and as Arturo Arango. The son of a German mother and a Colombian father, Sascha Arango was born in December 1959 and grew up with his brother Tonio in Berlin-Wilmersdorf. Besides screenplays, he has also written several radio and theater plays and has

been awarded the Adolf Grimme Prize [a prestigious award for German television] several times" (Gessner email). "Sascha Arango," www.filmportal.de/person/sascha-arango_533c763f73604bf7a99a7d787937b7a9.

218. *Die weisse Massai* (*The White Masai*) [German], film directed by Hermine Huntgeburth; written by Corinne Hofmann, Johannes W. Betz, and Nadia Fares; featuring Nina Hoss, Jacky Ido, and Katja Flint; cinematography by Martin Langer; produced by Günter Rohrbach; released September 15, 2005.

219. Jacky Ido interviewed on *One on One with Steve Aduato*, November 7, 2014, www.youtube.com/watch?v=V8Z4GsAT3hQ.

220. "Jacky Ido," TVSA: South Africa's TV Website, www.tvsa.co.za/actors/viewactor.aspx?actorid=16877.

221. Sophie Charlotte Rieger, "Die Abenteuer des Huck Finn," film review, Filmstarts, www.filmstarts.de/kritiken/196411/kritik.html.

222. Limits of space prevented me from dealing with other laudable performances. For example, I regret that there was not room to discuss Paul Winfield's portrayal from 1974 of Jim as a caring husband and father seeking freedom to keep his family whole or Brock Peters's portrayal from 1981 of a Jim who is more confident and playful than he is in other productions.

Chapter 6. Jim in Translation

1. Selina Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015), 106.

2. Much of this chapter draws on essays that appeared in a Special Forum of the *Journal of Transnational American Studies* in 2021, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin, Tsuyoshi Ishihara, Ronald Jenn, Holger Kersten, and Selina Lai-Henderson. "Special Forum: Global Huck: Mapping the Cultural Work of Translations of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 12, no. 2 (2021): 7–287, hereafter cited as *Global Huck*.

3. Ronald Jenn, "Global Jim: Translating African American Voices in Mark

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Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* Worldwide," *Revue Française d'Études Américaines*, no. 174 (2023): 92. This excellent article by Jenn, with whom I have collaborated for years on projects related to *Huck Finn*'s global travels, addresses many of the issues I explore in this chapter in a manner parallel to my own.

4. Kuni Sasaki, trans., *Hakkuruberī monogatari* [The story of Huckleberry] (Tokyo: Seika shoin, 1921); Tsuyoshi Ishihara, *Mark Twain in Japan: The Cultural Reception of an American Icon* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 24. 5. Ishihara, *Mark Twain in Japan*, 26.

6. For more on the history of racism in Japan, see Hiroshi Fukurai and Alice Yang, "The History of Japanese Racism, Japanese American

Redress, and the Dangers Associated with Government Regulation of Hate Speech,” *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (2018): 533–75.

7. Tsuyoshi Ishihara writes, “Sasaki’s distortions of Jim seem to reflect Japanese people’s deep-seated prejudices against blacks at the time. It was not black America but white America that Japan had recognized as its model since its encounter with America in the mid-nineteenth century. As a result, the Japanese assimilated white American racism toward blacks.” Ishihara, *Mark Twain in Japan*, 26.

8. Ishihara, *Mark Twain in Japan*, 27.

9. For details on Kenzaburō Ōe’s crediting *Huckleberry Finn* with having sparked his excitement about literature, see Shelley Fisher Fishkin, *Lighting Out for the Territory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 190, 194. When I met Ōe in Austin, Texas, in 1996 and asked him whether I was correct in my suspicion that his first book, *The Catch*, was responding directly to *Huckleberry Finn*, Ōe answered yes.

10. Winston Kelley “How German Translations of ‘Trash’ in Chapter 15 of *Huckleberry Finn* Facilitate Misunderstanding the Whole Novel,” in *Global Huck*. 11. Mark Twain, *Las aventuras de Huckleberry Finn* [The adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by M. Teresa Monguió (Barcelona: Juventud, 1957); Mark Twain, *Die Abenteuer des Huckleberry Finn* [The adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Rainer Lübbren (Stuttgart: Blüchert, 1956). Arthur Egon Kunst identifies these scenes as omitted from these Spanish and German translations in Kunst, “Twenty-Four Versions of *Huckleberry Finn*: Studies in Translation” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1961), 228–29.

12. Mark Twain, *Abenteuer und Fahrten des Huckleberry Finn* [Adventures and travels of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Henny Koch (Stuttgart: Robert Lutz, 1892); *Die Abenteuer des Huckleberry Finn* [The adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Ulrich Johannsen (part 1) and Marie Schloss (part 2), in *Die Abenteuer des Tom Sawyer und Huckleberry Finn* [The adventures of Tom Sawyer

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and Huckleberry Finn] (1913; Leipzig: Josef Singer, 1923), 302–615; Fred Wübben, trans., *Fahrten und Abenteuer* [Trips and adventures] (Heidelberg: Kemper, 1951); Mark Twain, *Les aventures de Huck Finn, l’ami de Tom Sawyer* [The adventures of Huck Finn, Tom Sawyer’s Friend], translated by William-Little Hughes (Paris: Hennuyer, 1886) [note: the translator’s name appears to have been William Little Hughes, but it appears as “William-L.” on the title page of *Les aventures de Huck Finn, l’ami de Tom Sawyer*]; Kunst identified these scenes as missing in these early German and French translations (Kunst, “Twenty-Four Versions,” 228–29). It is also missing from a Korean translation from 2008 by Kim Uk Dong: Mark Twain, 허클베리 핀의 모험 (*Hōk’ülberi P’in ūi Mohōm*) [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Kim Uk Dong (Kyōnggi-do P’aju-si, South Korea: P’urūn Sup Chuniō, 2008). I am

indebted to Chris Suh for confirming that these scenes are missing in this edition.

13. Kunst, "Twenty-Four Versions," 83.

14. Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, translated by Franz Geiger (Vienna: Ibis, 1952); Mark Twain, 哈克贝利·芬历险记 (*Hake Beili Fen lixianji*) [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Ren Aoshuang (Tianjin: Tianjin People's Publishing, 2003); Kim, *Höck'ülberi P'in üi Mohöm*.

15. Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, translated by Wolfram Gramowski (Cologne: Agrippina, 1954); Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finns äventyr* [Huckleberry Finn's Adventures], translated by Olav Angell (Oslo: Kagge, 2003); Mark Twain,

أفان هكليري مغامرات [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Shawqi Ala meer (Cairo: International Company for Publication–Longman, 1992); *Huck Finn, el negro y Tom Sawyer* [Huck Finn, the Negro, and Tom Sawyer], vol. 2 of *Las cinco mejores obras de Mark Twain*, 5 vols., edited by José Castellano and translated by Simón Santainé (Barcelona:

Mateu, 1957); Mark Twain, *Приключения Гекльберри Финна* (*Priklyucheniya Gekl'berri Finna*) [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], edited by Kornei Chukovsky (Moscow: Molodaia gvardia, 1933); Mark Twain, فین

[مغامرات هاكليري] Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Kawthar Mah moud Mohammad (Cairo: Hindawi Foundation for Education and Culture, 2012); Mark Twain, أفان هكليري مغامرات [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Nasr Abdulrahman (Cairo: Al-Hay'ah Al-Amah li Qusor Al-Aaqafa GOCP, 2015).

16. Ronald Jenn, "From American Frontier to European Borders: Publishing French Translations of Mark Twain's Novels *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* (1884–1963)," *Book History* 9, no. 1 (2006): 238.

17. Jenn, "From American Frontier," 248.

18. Judith Lavoie, "Traduire pour aseptiser: *Huck Finn* revu et corrigé par W. L. Hughes," *Babel* 48, no. 3 (2002): 194.

19. Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, edited by Victor Fischer

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and Lin Salamo with Harriet Elinor Smith and the late Walter Blair, Mark Twain Library, from the Mark Twain Project, Robert H. Hirst, general editor (1985; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 150.

20. Lavoie, "Traduire pour aseptiser," 199 (translation mine). 21. Lavoie, *Mark Twain et la parole noire* (Montreal: Presses Universitaires de Montreal, 2002), 24 (translation mine).

22. Jenn, "From American Frontier," 252; Mark Twain, *Les aventures de Huckleberry Finn* [The adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Suzanne Nétillard (Paris: Hier et Aujourd'hui, 1948).

23. Mark Twain, हकलबरी फिन [Huckleberry Finn], 5th ed., translated by Omkar Sharad (New Delhi: Radhakrishna Prakashan, 2018).

24. Seema Sharma, "Huck's Adventures in India: Cultural

Conversation in 'Select Hindi Adaptations,' in *Global Huck*, 206.

25. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 105.

26. Sharad, *Huckleberry Finn*, 35 (translation Sharma's); Sharma, "Huck's Adventures in India," 207.

27. Sharma, "Huck's Adventures in India," 207.

28. Kunst, "Twenty-Four Versions," 83–84 (translation mine).

29. Kelley, "German Translations of 'Trash,'" 99.

30. Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China*, 112. Their version of Jim's story, Lai-Henderson writes, "deprives the readers of a more complete picture of the slave trade and the inhumanity of slavery."

31. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, 57; Chris Suh, personal communication, May 2023.

32. Cassio de Oliveira, email to the author, September 11, 2023. 33. Julia Lin, "Children's Literature, Translation and Censorship: The Spanish Translations of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* under Franco's Dictatorship (1939–1975)" (MA thesis, University of Sydney, 2015).

34. Lin, "Children's Literature," 58–62.

35. Lin, "Children's Literature," 62.

36. Mark Twain, [مغامرات هكليري] *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, translated by Mahir Naseem (Cairo: Maktabat Misr, 1958).

37. Mariam Abdulmalik, "The *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in Arabic Translations: A Case Study" (PhD diss., SUNY Binghamton, 2016), 147. 38. Mark Twain, [فن هكليري مغامرات] *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, translated by Nasr Abdulrahman (Cairo: Al-Hay'ah Al-Amah li Qusor Al-Aaqafa GOCP, 2015). See also Hamada Kassam, "Arabic Huck: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in Vernacular Arabic," in *Global Huck*, 71–90.

39. Abdulmalik, "*Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in Arabic Translations," 74.

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40. Kassam, "Arabic Huck," 75.

41. Raphael Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English into German: The Problem of 'Jim' in Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4, no. 4 (2000): 603.

42. Koch quoted in Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 603.

43. Johannsen and Schloss quoted in Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 603.

44. Robert W. Kestling, "Blacks under the Swastika: A Research Note," *Journal of Negro History* 83, no. 1 (1998): 84–99.

45. Eugen Fischer quoted in Kestling, "Blacks under the Swastika," 87. Kestling cites Christian Pross and Goetz Aly, *The Value of the Human Being: Medicine in Germany, 1918–1945* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1991), 98–99; Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany, 1933–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 129–30; Benno Mueller-Hill, *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others, Germany, 1933–1945*

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 10–12, 30, 138; and Keith L. Nelson, “The ‘Black Horror on the Rhine’: Race as a Factor in Post–World War I Diplomacy,” *Journal of Modern History* 42, no. 4 (1970): 606–27.

46. Kestling, “Blacks under the Swastika,” 85, citing Robert N. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 114.

47. Hughes quoted in Lavoie, “Traduire pour aseptiser,” 194 (translation mine).

48. Mark Twain, *Las aventuras de Huck* [The adventures of Huck], 2 vols., translated by Carlos Peyrera and Fernando de la Milla (Madrid: Caro Raggio, 1923), quoted in Kunst, “Twenty-Four Versions,” 36 (translation mine).

49. Cassiano Teixeira de Freitas Fagundes, “Retraduções de variedades linguísticas da literatura de língua inglesa: O polissistema brasileiro em trans formação Florianópolis” (MA thesis, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2016), 121; Mark Twain, *As aventuras de Huck* [The adventures of Huck], translated by Monteiro Lobato (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1957). 50. Lavoie, “Traduire por aseptiser,” 195 (translation mine).

51. Lavoie, “Traduire por aseptiser,” 197 (translation mine).

52. Lavoie, “Traduire por aseptiser,” 200.

53. Judith Lavoie, “Mark Twain vs. William-Little Hughes: The Transformation of a Great American Novel,” in *In Translation: Reflections, Refractions, Transformations*, edited by Paul St.-Pierre and Prafulla C. Kar (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), 101.

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54. Lavoie, “Mark Twain vs. William-Little Hughes,” 101, 105. 55. William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africa: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 244, 291. 56. Mark Twain, *Pustolovščine Huckleberryja Finna* [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Pavel Holeček (Ljubljana, Slovenia: Mladinska knjiga, 1948), discussed in Janko Trupej, “Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia during the Socialist Period: Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*,” in *Translation and the Reconfiguration of Power Relations: Revisiting Role and Context of Translation and Interpreting*, edited by Beatrice Fischer and Matilde Nisbeth Jensen (Graz, Austria: LIT, 2012), 96–101.

57. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 100.

58. Trupej, “Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia,” 99.

59. Trupej, “Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia,” 99.

60. Trupej, “Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia,” 100.

61. Trupej, “Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia,” 100.

62. Trupej, “Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia,” 100.

63. Mark Twain, *Prigode Huckleberryja Finna* [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], trans. Janez Gradišnik (Ljubljana, Slovenia:

Mladinska knjiga, 1962), discussed in Trupej, "Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia," 101–2.

64. Trupej, "Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia," 104–5. **65.** Sharad, *Huckleberry Finn*, 86, discussed in Sharma, "Huck's Adventures in India," 206–7.

66. Sharma, "Huck's Adventures in India," 207–8.

67. Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 592. **68.** Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular

English," 608. **69.** Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 601. **70.** Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 600. **71.** Mark Twain, *Le*

avventure di Huckleberry Finn [The adventures of Huck

leberry Finn], translated by Gabriele Musumarra (1964; reprint, Milan:

Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 2000), discussed in Iain Halliday, *Huck*

Finn in Italian, Pinocchio in English: Theory and Praxis of Literary Translation (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009), 93.

72. Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular

English," 602. **73.** Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China*, 111.

74. An-chi Wang, email to author, August 21, 2023.

75. Jenn, "Global Jim," 96.

76. Jenn, "Global Jim," 96, citing Masoud Sharififar and Seyed A. Enjavi Nejad, "A Study of African American Vernacular Dialect Translation into Persian in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," *Iranian EFL Journal* 9, no. 1 (2013): 495.

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77. B. J. Epstein, "Are There Blacks in Europe? How African-American Characters Are (Or Are Not) Translated," in *True North: Literary Translation in the Nordic Countries*, edited by B. J. Epstein (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2014), 90, 95.

78. Epstein, "Are There Blacks in Europe?," 96.

79. Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English,"

603. **80.** Berthele creates a table that shows how thirteen German translators from 1890 to 1997 used sixteen strategies of marking speech for African American English in German. Categories such as using colloquial words, regional words, dialectical syntax, and double negation are in the "difference" category, while mistakes in congruence, genus, and case, along with wrong word order and missing articles, are in the "deficit" category. Although spelling mistakes are included in the "deficit" category, sound/syllable loss is in the "difference" grouping. Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 604. **81.** Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 605; Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finns Abenteuer*, translated by Sybil Countess Schönfeldt (Würzburg, Germany: Arena, 1978).

82. Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English,"

605. **83.** Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 588. Berthele examined about forty German translations from some

thirty translators over the past century. His analysis focused on thirteen of these translations in detail.

84. Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 609.
85. Berthele, "Translating African-American Vernacular English," 607. Berthele cites Herbert Graf and Eike Schöenfeld, *Black American English: Vorläufiges Glossar und andere Arbeitsergebnisse einer Fortbildungstagung* (Straelen, Germany: Straelener Manuskripte, 1983).
86. See work cited above by Abdulmalik (Arabic), Berthele (German), Jenn and Channaut (French), Epstein (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish), Halliday (Italian), Ishihara (Japanese), Jenn (French), Kassem (Arabic), Kunst (French, German, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish), Lai-Henderson (Chinese), Lin (Spanish), Marinova (Russian), and Sharma (Hindi). For Czech, see Tereza Šedivá, "Huckle berry Finn in Czech: Comparative Analysis of Translations" (MA thesis, Masaryk University, Brno, 2011). For Chinese and Spanish, see José Manuel Rodríguez Herrera, "The Reverse Side of Mark Twain's Brocade: *The Adventures of Huckle berry Finn* and the Translation of Dialect," *European Journal of English Studies* 18, no. 3 (2014): 278–94. For Vietnamese, see Hoang Thi Diem Hang, "An Assessment of the Vietnamese Translation of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," *VNU Journal of Foreign Studies* 35, no. 1 (2019): 35–54. For Spanish, see also Miguel Sanz

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Jiménez, "The Problem of the Explanatory: Linguistic Variation in Twenty-First Century Spanish Retranslations of *Huckleberry Finn*," in *Global Huck*, 77–99. For Assamese, Korean, Urdu, and Yiddish, I am indebted to personal communication with scholars and curators Aruni Kashyap (Assamese), Chris Suh (Korean), C. Ryan Perkins (Urdu), and Eitan Lev Kensky (Yiddish), who examined translations in these languages at my request. This list, of course, barely scrapes the surface of a very small number of critical studies of translations of *Huckleberry Finn*. To date, the novel has been translated into sixty-seven languages.

87. Epstein, "Are There Blacks in Europe?," 89; Angell, *Huckleberry Finns äventyr*, 12.

88. Korneĭ Chukovsky, *The Art of Translation: Korneĭ Chukovsky's "A High Art,"* translated and edited by Lauren G. Leighton (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 127–28, quoted in Marinova, "Huck Finn's Adventures," 91. See also Chukovsky, *Prikl'yucheniya Gek'l'berri Finna* [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn].

89. Ishihara, *Mark Twain in Japan*, 12.

90. Sanz Jiménez, "Problem of the Explanatory." See also Rodríguez Herrera, "Reverse Side," 278–94.

91. Abdulmalik, "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn in Arabic Translations," 43.

92. Twain, *Huck Finn*, 22.

93. Abdulmalik, "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn in Arabic Translations," 45. Kassam, email to the author, February 21, 2024.

94. Šedivá, *Huckleberry Finn in Czech*, 53; Mark Twain, *Dobrodružství Huck leberryho Finna* [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by František Gel (1953; reprint, Prague: Albatros, 1986); Mark Twain, *Dobrodružství Huckleberryho Finna* [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Jana Mertinová (Prague: Albatros, 2007).
95. Šedivá, *Huckleberry Finn in Czech*, 74.
96. Marinova, “*Huck Finn’s Adventures*,” 128. See also Mark Twain, *Приключения Гекльберри Финна* (*Priklyucheniya Gekl’berri Finna*) [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Nina Daruzes (Moscow: Detgiz, 1955).
97. Marinova, “*Huck Finn’s Adventures*,” 128.
98. Meta Grosman, *Književnost v medkulturnem položaju* [Literature in an intercultural situation] (Ljubljana, Slovenia: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 2004), 147–48, quoted in Trupej, “Translating Racist Discourse in Slovenia,” 102.
99. Rodríguez Herrera, “Reverse Side,” 281.
100. Rodríguez Herrera, “Reverse Side,” 286; Mark Twain, *Las aventuras de*

Huckleberry Finn [The adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by J. A. de Larrinaga (1974; reprint, Barcelona: Mondadori, 2006).

101. Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China*, 113.

102. Selina Lai-Henderson, “Translation and International Reception,” in *Mark Twain in Context*, edited by John Bird (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 322.

103. Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China*, 113; Mark Twain, 哈克你贝利·费恩历险记 (*Hakeni Beili Feien lixianji*) [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Cheng Shi (Taipei: Guangfu, 1989); 哈克你贝利·芬历险记 (*Hakeni Beili Fen lixianji*) [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Xu Ruzhi (Nanjing: Yi Lin, 1995).

104. Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China*, 114.

105. Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China*, 114.

106. Rodríguez Herrera notes, as an example, the translator’s use of “the wrong character 布 instead of the right one 不 (a negation mark) to translate the informal expression ‘ain’t going to forgit you.’” Rodríguez Herrera, “Reverse Side,” 294, 289.

107. Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China*, 114–15. Xu, *Hakeni Beili Fen lixianji* [Adventures of Huckleberry Finn]. Xu also “provides over 150 footnotes with details about American history, geography, race relations, language, and culture that are necessary for a thorough understanding of the novel, especially for readers who have little knowledge of the United States” (Lai-Henderson, *Mark Twain in China*, 115).

108. Šedivá, *Huckleberry Finn in Czech*, 53.

109. Šedivá, *Huckleberry Finn in Czech*, 53.

110. Ronald Jenn and Véronique Channaut, “Translations of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in France (1886–2015),” in *Global Huck*, 56, 60.

111. Rodríguez Herrera, “Reverse Side,” 282.

112. Vanessa Lopes Lourenço Hanes, review, “*As aventuras de Huckleberry Finn* de Mark Twain, tradução de Rosaura Eichenberg,” *Cadernos de Tradução* 2, no. 28 (2011): 243–48. See also Vera Lucía Ramos, “Mark Twain: The Making of an Icon through Translations of *Huckleberry Finn* in Brazil,” in *Global Huck*, 149–71.
113. Kassam, “Arabic Huck,” 73.
114. Kassam, “Arabic Huck,” 79–80.
115. Hamada Kassam, email to the author, August 5, 2023.
116. Kassam, “Arabic Huck,” 80.
117. Sharma, “*Huck’s* Adventures in India,” 209.
118. Mark Twain, *Aventuras de Huckleberry Finn* [Adventures of Huck Finn],

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in *Selección de obras de Mark Twain*, edited by Bernard DeVoto and translated by Andrés M. Mateo (Mexico City: Limusa Wiley, 1967), 207–542. 119. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuijla: Esbozo etnográfico de un pueblo negro* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958), 9–11; Jessica M. Harris, “When the Right Word Is Not Enough: Spanish-Language Translations of *Huck Finn*” (Plan II honors thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 2001), 47–48. Harris summarizes in detail the linguistic characteristics Beltrán observes among the Cuijeños and their relationship to the ways in which Mateo translates Jim’s speech in the novel. See also Shelley Fisher Fishkin, “Transnational Mark Twain,” in *American Studies as Transnational Practice: Turning toward the Pacific*, edited by Yuan Shu and Donald E. Pease (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2015), 120.

120. Beltrán, *Cuijla*, 208.

121. Beltrán, *Cuijla*, 253–56; Mateo, *Aventuras de Huckleberry Finn* [Adventures of Huck Finn], 318, 322, 597.

122. Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, chap. 14.

123. In addition, they might say *parriba* for *para arriba*, or *patrás* for *para atrás*. Also *pal* for *para él*, *namás* for *nada más*, and *l’amigo* for *el amigo*. Beltrán, *Cuijla*, 207.

124. Beltrán, *Cuijla*, 253, 255, 257; Mateo, *Aventuras de Huckleberry Finn* [Adventures of Huck Finn], 293, 296, 322. He also says *salvao* for *salvado*, *sabé* for *saber*, and *onde estoy* for *dónde estoy* (323).

125. Beltrán, *Cuijla*, 226.

126. Harris, “When the Right Word,” 51.

127. Mark Twain, *As aventuras de Huckleberry Finn* [The adventures of Huckleberry Finn], translated by Francisco José Tenreiro, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Inquérito, 1973). I am grateful to Isabel Caldeira for bringing this translation to my attention and to Isabel Oliveira Martins for having shown it to me in the exhibit she produced with Maria de Deus Duarte at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal on October 9, 2010. See the exhibition catalog *Mark Twain em Portugal* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal/Centro de Estudos Anglisticos de Universidade de

Lisboa/Fundação para Ciência e Tecnologia, 2010).

128. See Maria dulce de Oliveira Almada, *Cabo Verde: Contribuição para o estudo do dialecto falado no seu arquipélago* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1961); Carlos Alberto Delgado, *Crioulo de Cabo Verde: Situação linguística da sona do barlavento* (Praia, Cape Verde: Instituto da Biblioteca Nationale do Livro, 2008); and António Carreira, *Crioulo de Cabo Verde: Surto e expansão* (Lisbon: n.p., 1982). See also “Cape Verdean Cre-