CLERGYMEN IN THE LIFE OF

SAMUEL L. CLEMENS

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CLERGYMEN IN THE LIFE OF SAMUEL L. CLEMENS

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CHAPTER I

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDES

"The religious folly you are born in you will die in, no matter what apparently reasonabler religious folly may seem to have taken its place meanwhile, and abolished and obliterated it,"[1] wrote Samuel Clemens, and he himself proved a living example of that statement. Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835-1910) was reared in the frontier town of Hannibal, Missouri, with its backwoods fundamental beliefs, and he was never completely able to break the tie that bound him to those beliefs. During his seventy-five years he searched for the meaning of life first taught him in the fundamentalist Calvinistic doctrines, only to complete the circle and end his life in a determinism that echoed those early teachings.

This thesis intends to point out the religious thoughts that Clemens encountered. It will present the various religious groups with which he dealt the most and the clergymen with whom he associated both casually and intimately. It will also attempt to indicate at least one reason why he never found in religion the peace which he sought.

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[1] Edward Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Work (Norman, Oklahoma, 1961), p. 200. Hereafter cited as Wagenknecht, Man and Work.

American frontier life was rough. Pioneer men and women fought against the elements of nature, Indians, and each other. Not until the fundamental necessities of life were settled could civilization bring in the schools, churches, and other cultural elements to round out the pioneer life. Clemens was born only fifteen years after St. Louis had its first church established. The religious doctrine that could stand up to the life of the pioneer had to be as robust, virile, rigorous, and dynamic as the congregation to which it was presented. A religion given to rose water and perfume presentation would survive no better than the preachers who did not have the stamina to endure the hardships of frontier life. Preachers had to play up the part of their message which would capitalize on the dynamic, and hold the attention of these early settlers. Therefore, the stern doctrines of punishment for sin were presented in their most terrible, powerful, and awful forms in an effort to deter the rough frontier men from loose morals, drunkenness, dancing, Sabbath-breaking, and card-playing.[2]

These early churches "retained many of their adolescent features pertaining to all new organizations. There was little dignity to the services and little sense of the continuity of church life through all the past centuries, with its rich cultural accompaniments."[3] Both the church buildings and the

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[2]William C. S. Pellowe, Mark Twain, Pilgrim From Hannibal (New York, 1945), pp. 16-17. Hereafter cited as Pellowe, Pilgrim.

[3]Ibid., p. 20.

theology presented inside them were rough-hewn. Clemens remembers the first church he attended as "a log church, with a puncheon floor and slab benches. The church was perched upon short sections of logs, which elevated it two or three feet from the ground."[4] Hogs would often sleep under there, and when the dogs would get after the hogs the minister would have to wait until the disturbance was over. During the week, the church was used as a schoolhouse.[5]

The first church built in Hannibal was the Presbyterian. It was organized by the Rev. Dr. David Nelson in 1832.[6] By 1847 the town had grown in population to twenty-five hundred and had several churches: a First and Second Presbyterian, a North and South Methodist, a Christian, a Baptist, and an Episcopalian.[7]

Scholars have agreed that Samuel Clemens' religious background was one of Calvinist-Puritan-Presbyterianism. The Westminster Catechism used by the Presbyterians taught children that the Almighty God "had made the world for His glory and that men were but clay in His hands. God's omnipotent will

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[4] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Autobiography, Vol. XXXVI of The Writings of Mark Twain, edited by Albert B. Paine, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1925), p. 8. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Writings.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 24.

[7] Minnie May Brashear, Mark Twain; Son of Missouri (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1934), p. 141. Hereafter cited as Brashear, Son of Missouri.

was the source of all that happened, and He willed not only the pleasant things but the terrible things--earthquakes, wars, epidemics, accidents, drownings"[8] as well, and by His sovereign decree some souls went to heaven and others went to eternal damnation.[9] This creed emphasized "Holy Law and righteousness, an untiring pursuit of duty, especially the duty of work, [and] an unbending opposition to what the Church regarded as evil."[10] Five of the major parts of Calvinism were the election or predestination of persons to Heaven or to Hell; limited atonement; total depravity of man; effectual calling, and perseverance of the Saints.[11] It is not difficult to see these points appearing repeatedly throughout Clemens' life and writings.

Nor did the boy escape the religious influence in school. Every day his teacher, Mrs. Horr, would open with a prayer and read a chapter from the Bible. One day the teacher expounded upon the "Ask and ye shall receive" passage of Matthew 7:7. Taking the matter quite literally, Samuel asked for gingerbread in his morning prayer. By sheer accident the baker's daughter put her gingerbread slice out on her desk at

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[8]Pellowe, _Pilgrim_, p. 36. [9]_Ibid_.

[10]Philip S. Foner, _Mark Twain: Social Critic_ (New York, 1958), p. 129. Hereafter cited as Foner, _Social Critic_.

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

precisely the moment that Clemens finished his prayer. She was not looking and he quickly consumed his reward. He tried to obtain other things by earnestly praying for them, but to no avail, and at last considered that he was no longer a Christian. His mother discovered what had happened and tried to smooth things over,[12] but the first seeds of doubt had been planted.

Clemens' sensitive conscience was also hurt by the violence of the life that adults in the town demonstrated. He witnessed murders, epidemics, drownings, and steamboat explosions. He was haunted by a drunken tramp who had persuaded him to give him some matches only to be burned to death in the village jail,[13] and after undergoing the ordeal of spying on his father's autopsy and attending the funeral, he spent several nights sleepwalking.

No one minister made an indelible personal impression on the teenage Samuel Clemens. During these formative years his sensitive nature heard the hell-fire and damnation sermons which affected him deeply, but the individuals who spelled out the differences to him were those of his own family.

In an early reminder written by Samuel to himself, he notes that he must run a number of errands and must go to

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[12]Samuel Clemens, The Autobiography of Mark Twain, edited by Charles Neider (New York, 1959), pp. 34-35. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Autobiography.

[13]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

"Christian church." If he had attended this church regularly, he probably would not have needed the reminder. The Christian Church was the name adopted by the Campbellites, an offshoot from the Baptists. Jane Clemens had a cousin named Paxton, who was a Campbellite preacher, and for a while Samuel's sister, Pamela, was a member of the sect. She had joined through the influence of friends of hers including the daughter of Alexander Campbell, who founded the group.[14] Later, however, she joined the Presbyterian Church on the same day her mother did.

Much has been written about the influence of Jane Clemens and her staunch Presbyterianism upon her son. Van Wyck Brooks seems to feel that all of Clemens' later problems stem from this stern mother and the religion that she forced upon him. He lays all the blame of Clemens' despair, determinism, frustrations, and inhibitions upon the shoulders of this one woman.[15] Since 1920 a brighter side of the coin has been shown, and much of the "sin" has been lifted from Jane's slender shoulders. Instead of being staunch and forbidding, she has now been shown as quite liberal for her time and for her community, and not a steady church-goer or Bible

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[14] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain, Business Man, edited by Samuel Charles Webster (Boston, 1946), p. 24. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Business Man.

[15] Van Wyck Brooks, The Ordeal of Mark Twain (New York, 1920).

reader.[16] Mrs. Clemens, who did not admit having a Puritan ancestor[17] in her background, enjoyed attending meetings of many religious groups. She loved to attend camp meetings,[18] enjoyed talking about spiritualism even though she never became a spiritualist,[19] and even attended the Jewish synagogue in St. Louis in later years.[20] Jane is not remembered for ever referring to the "retribution of a stern Calvinistic God"[21] even though she became a member of the Presbyterian church about 1843.[22] She is remembered as having a sunny disposition, being a good dancer, being fond of banter and having a good sense of humor.[23]

Nevertheless, Jane Clemens wanted her children to grow up with a religious background. She sent the younger children to Sunday school and made the older ones stay for church. When Samuel got older he had to attend Sunday night services

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[16] Foner, *Social Critic*, p. 127.

[17] Doris and Samuel Webster, "Whitewashing Jane Clemens," *Bookman*, LXI (July, 1925), 531. Hereafter cited as Webster, "Whitewashing Jane."

[18] Pellowe, *Pilgrim*, p. 48.

[19] Webster, "Whitewashing Jane," p. 532.

[20] *Ibid.* [21] *Ibid.*

[22] Dixon Wecter, *Sam Clemens of Hannibal* (Boston, 1952), p. 86. Hereafter cited as Wecter, *Hannibal*.

[23] Foner, *Social Critic*, p. 127.

as a punishment, he recalled.[24] And she had him read the Bible through before he was fifteen.[25] When Samuel was about to leave home at the age of eighteen to work in St. Louis, his mother made him promise on the Bible that he would not touch liquor or throw a card.[26] For these reasons, some would condemn her; yet none of these were unusual requests for a mother of that day to make. The times were rough and mothers often felt that a strong religious background would help keep their children out of trouble. The oath was a kind of reassurance mothers wanted from their sons, particularly those as young as Samuel. When he became a river pilot some four years later, it seems that the two of them no longer considered the promise binding. Samuel was considered old enough and experienced enough to make his own decisions from that point on. "There is no existing correspondence to show she ever scolded or lectured him from then on in the patterns of life he adopted. . . . Jane Clemens did not create Mark Twain the writer, but she did mold, as a potter with clay, Mark Twain the man."[27]

Pamela never seemed to reach a satisfactory religious goal. She, too, was attracted to odd religions as her mother was, including at one time, East Indian philosophies.[28]

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[24] Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVII, 95-96.

[25] Foner, Social Critic, p. 128.

[26] Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 67. [27] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[28] Samuel Clemens, Business Man, p. 226.

John Marshall Clemens, Samuel's father, was a freethinker. He "went to church--once; never again."[29] He never joined any church, and "it would be interesting to know to what extent, if any, Samuel's apostasy was influenced by his father's example."[30] For eight years John Clemens worked hard as an attorney in Hannibal. He had just been named county judge when he caught pneumonia and died in 1847, at the age of forty-nine.[31] "When he was dying, he was asked by a clergyman whether he believed in Christ and in the saving blood of Christ; he answered, 'I do.'"[32] Although his father did not pass down a rich religious inheritance, he did give Samuel a personal integrity that Samuel followed all of his life.[33]

Orion, Samuel's eldest brother, spent many years attending various religious congregations before settling down. In his early days he attended the Methodist, and later, the Presbyterian church with the rest of the family, except John Clemens. During his newspaper days in Hannibal, Orion frequently printed anecdotes with an unorthodox flavor, and he supported a building fund appeal for a Catholic church in 1853. The

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[29] Wecter, Hannibal, p. 86.

[30] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 8.

[31] Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 58.

[32] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 8.

[33] Kenneth R. Andrews, Nook Farm; Mark Twain's Hartford Circle (Cambridge, 1950), p. 67. Hereafter cited as Andrews, Nook Farm.

question of whether or not to allow the Catholics to build a church in Hannibal was of great importance to the citizenry. He was not in favor of the Catholics, whose small population was recruited mainly from the Germans and Irish who had immigrated into Hannibal in the late forties, but he urged them to come out from underground. Orion wrote in an editorial entitled "Catholic Rule" in 1853: "Wherever there is Catholic rule there is blight. . . . Roman Catholic rule was beneficial in the Dark Ages, but politically it has served its time . . . during the last three centuries, her efforts have been aimed to stunt the growth of the human mind. Every advance in the freedom, knowledge and national wealth has been resisted by her where it was possible for resistance to be effectual. . . . We do not attack the Religion of the Church of Rome, but her politics."[34] Also, during these days, Orion was lecturing for the Baptist Church, yet printing articles espousing Universalism.[35]

During the Nevada days of Orion and Samuel, Orion was reconverted to Calvinism and was baptized in the Presbyterian Church at Carson City in April, 1864. Later he became an elder in that congregation,[36] but was "excommunicated" for

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[34] Foner, Social Critic, p. 147.

[35] Wecter, Hannibal, p. 229.

[36] Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 84.

heresy in Keokuk twelve years later.[37] In a May 29, 1879, letter from Paris, Clemens told his mother and sister:

> It is funny to see them Excommunicating Orion--they'd better have saved themselves the trouble and Mollie the distress--he'll be a deacon in that same church next year--and a deacon in some other church a year after. I judge Orion wrote a pretty good lecture. I knew he could write a good one if he was able to stick to his subject--but I feared he would change his religion seven times before he got through, and of course that would mix the argument too much. But he'd better look out how he prances around the lecture--some of the godly will hang him.[38]

Clemens further remarked that the church of Orion's new faith was always glad to get him. They made him treasurer at once, and the graft and the leaks in the church stopped immediately.[39] But Clemens did put his foot down about Orion's religious generosity once when Orion owed him a large amount of money. Orion sent Samuel an account of every expense. Samuel noticed that Orion had paid twenty-five dollars for a pew rental, and "I told him to change his religion and sell the pew."[40]

Two other religious groups that made an impression upon Samuel were the Mormons and the Negroes.

The Mormon influence was indirect. In 1839, the year the Clemens family moved to Hannibal, the Mormons were

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[37] Wecter, Hannibal, p. 229.

[38] Samuel Clemens, Business Man, p. 138.

[39] Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVII, 330. [40] Ibid., p. 325.

settling eighty miles north in a city they named Nauvoo, which means "beautiful place." In 1838 they had been driven out of Missouri by force. Things remained peaceful until 1844, when a newspaper, The Expositor, released articles that led to the destruction of the city and the martyrdom of Joseph Smith.[41] Doubtless, the echoes of the destruction reached Hannibal. In later years, Clemens wrote about the Mormons and what he learned of their beliefs in Roughing It.

Samuel saw for himself the day-by-day conduct of the Negro people.

> Young Sam Clemens associated very freely with the Negro boys of Hannibal. He played with them, rambled through the woods, swam in the creek and chatted with them. He listened to their prayers to the Almighty, he noticed their conduct in the crises of sickness, misfortune, and death. His own parents owned a slave. The Methodist Church in Hannibal reported in the year 1841 that, in addition to the whites, there were forty colored members. From these colored people, adult and youth, he absorbed their folklore; learned about the charms they practiced to cure warts, to bring good luck, to promote good crops.[42]

He understood the closeness of the Negro to his God, and to God's Heaven, which the blacks believed to be only a few miles down the road. Their religion was not always accurate, and definitely not orthodox. It blended with the religion they had brought with them from their native land, where any god was a voodoo being and had elements of fear and horror.[43]

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[41] Pellowe, Pilgrim, pp. 52-53. [42] Ibid., p. 43.

[43] Gladys Carmen Bellamy, Mark Twain as a Literary Artist (Norman, Oklahoma, 1950), p. 299. Hereafter cited as Bellamy, Literary Artist.

From such an association, Clemens developed a superstitious nature, and was inclined to believe in luck. He would not get out of bed on the wrong side for fear of bad luck; he would not speak or write of an improvement of his wife's health without adding "Unberufen"; whenever he left a place, he would leave something of his behind to insure his safe return; and three times in his life he saw a lunar rainbow which he took to be a sign of good fortune.[44]

The summers from his fourth through his eleventh or twelfth year, Samuel spent on the farm of Uncle John Quarles. Samuel enjoyed the farm very much during those years, and used it in his literature later. Quarles had eight children and fifteen or twenty slaves, lots of good food and rolling countryside complete with a brook to fish and swim in and trees under which to lie in the shade.[45]

Although Clemens did not mention Quarles' religious thoughts in any of his writings, there is little doubt that Quarles was another free thinker like Samuel's father, and that Samuel was impressed with what he said.

Quarles was unable to reconcile the question of human destiny with the Calvinist dogma, and became a Universalist. This group believed "that all mankind will be saved and not only the elect; that truth and righteousness are controlling

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[44] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, pp. 181-182.

[45] Samuel Clemens, Autobiography, pp. 4-6.

powers in the universe, and that Good must therefore triumph over Evil."[46] But the people of that day considered that belief even worse than being an "infidel," and thought it often converted a man into a social pariah.[47] Judge Quarles did not suffer that fate, however. His usefulness to the community, his success, and his popularity among his fellows saved him from it.[48] But this brother-in-law of John Clemens could have started Samuel to some thinking of his own.

Quarles died in his seventy-fifth year, shortly before the 1876 publication of Tom Sawyer, in which the Quarles farm was used as one of the settings. Clemens said of him, "I have not come across a better man than he was."[50]

Another influence that Quarles could have had on Clemens was concerned with Freemasonry. Quarles was a Mason[51] and Samuel petitioned for membership into the Polar Star Lodge, Number 79, in St. Louis, on December 26, 1860. He was accepted into the lodge in February, 1861, and was initiated and took his first degree in May. He passed to the Fellow Craft degree in June and was raised to Master Mason in July

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[46] Foner, Social Critic, p. 126.

[47] Brashear, Son of Missouri, p. 53.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Wecter, Hannibal, p. 101.

[50] Samuel Clemens, Autobiography, p. 4.

[51] Wecter, Hannibal, p. 40.

of that year.[52] His exposure to the Masons occurred at precisely the same time that he was emancipating himself from home and from Calvinism.[53]

Masonic doctrine at that time was a specialized type of deism. This philosophy reinforced and supplemented many ideas that Clemens was gathering from associates such as a Scotsman named Macfarlane, who lived in the same hotel Samuel did. Some of the similarities between the Masonic dogma and the beliefs of Clemens included the belief that religious creeds were of human origin, and that their differences simply reflected differences in environment and custom; that the traditional Jehovah of the Old Testament did not deserve man's worship; that God the creator and the physical universe, which, as His chief revelation to man, is sublime in all its parts, merit man's profoundest veneration; and that the study of God's works should teach men humility.[54]

There is no evidence that Clemens associated with a lodge while he was in the West, or in fact, that he attended church services,[55] but he did reaffiliate with the Polar

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[52]Leah A. Strong, Joseph Hopkins Twichell, Mark Twain's Friend and Pastor (Athens, Georgia, 1966), p. 88. Hereafter cited as Strong, Twichell.

[53]Alexander E. Jones, "Mark Twain and Freemasonry," American Literature, XXVI (September, 1954), 373. Hereafter cited as Jones, "Freemasonry."

[54]Ibid., pp. 370-372.

[55]Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 81.

Star Lodge when he returned from the Sandwich Islands in 1867.[56]

While he was on the Holy Land tour of the Quaker City he sent the lodge a mallet made of cedar cut from the trees of Lebanon from which Solomon obtained the timber for the Temple.[57] And in The Innocents Abroad, the book resulting from that trip, there are heavy Masonic overtones of their lore, specifically in reference to the cedars of Lebanon.[58]

On October 8, 1869, he wrote the lodge from Buffalo, New York, asking for a demit, knowing he preferred to live in the East. His desire to leave the original lodge in good standing seems to indicate that he might have thought about joining one of the many groups in Buffalo or in Hartford, Connecticut, where he and his wife soon moved. But other social activities took their time,[59] and he never reaffiliated with Freemasonry.

During Clemens' days on the river, he read much of Thomas Jefferson. The spirits of democracy and free inquiry and an honest skepticism appealed to Clemens. In 1823 Jefferson had written in his Confessions, "I am a Christian in the only sense Christ wanted anyone to be His follower.

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[56] Jones, "Freemasonry," p. 365.

[57] Strong, Twichell, p. 88.

[58] Jones, "Freemasonry," pp. 367-369.

[59] Strong, Twichell, p. 89.

I am sincerely attached to His doctrines in preference to all others. I ascribe to Him every human excellency, believing that He Himself never claimed any others."[60] And further, Jefferson had proposed a shortened version of the gospels omitting all passages presenting the miraculous and emphasizing only those which taught strong ethical injunctions.[61]

Clemens also read Thomas Paine's The Rights of Man in Philadelphia, and sometime before 1861 he read The Age of Reason. The latter work gave Clemens his first glimpse of the mechanical theory of human life. The first part of it explained the principles of Newtonian deism as based on the phenomena of planetary motion. It ridiculed what Paine felt was superstition and was in favor of a pure morality founded upon natural religion.[62] The village atheist's ideas paved the way for the reasonings of Macfarlane.

Clemens met the forty-year-old Macfarlane in a Cincinnati boarding house in the early part of 1856. Clemens recalled that Macfarlane seemed to know his Bible as well as he did the dictionary and that he considered himself a philosopher and a thinker.[63] Three years prior to Charles Darwin's publication of Origin of Species and fifteen years prior to

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[60] Pellowe, Pilgrim, pp. 184-185.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Brashear, Son of Missouri, pp. 247-248.

[63] Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 146.

the publication of The Descent of Man, Macfarlane was teaching Clemens the same ideas. Macfarlane left the Calvinistic God out of his theory and he

> considered that the animal life in the world was developed in the course of aeons of time from a few microscopic seed germs, or perhaps one microscopic seed germ deposited upon the globe by the Creator in the dawn of time, and that this development was progressive upon an ascending scale toward ultimate perfection until man was reached; and that then the progressive scheme broke pitifully down and went to wreck and ruin!
>
> He said that man's heart was the only bad heart in the animal kingdom; that man was the only animal capable of feeling malice, envy, vindictiveness, revengefulness, hatred, selfishness . . . .[64]

The germ of the deterministic pessimism that Clemens held to more and more as he aged had some of its beginnings with Macfarlane.

Clemens greatly admired the agnostic Robert Ingersoll, "whom he called an angelic orator, and regarded as an evangel of a new gospel--the gospel of free thought."[65] Agnosticism was a new word to the religious world. Huxley, Tyndall, Mill, and others were bringing in scientific theories. The writings and speeches of Ingersoll had a strong appeal to Clemens. He studied Ingersoll's "Mistakes of Moses" carefully, and agreed with much of Ingersoll's judgment upon the Scriptures. Clemens did not become a total disciple of Ingersoll, but he

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[64] Ibid.

[65] William Dean Howells, My Mark Twain (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1967), p. 27. Hereafter cited as Howells, Twain.

was attracted to the idea that an attack was being made against the teachings of a God of cruelty.[66] When Clemens heard of the death in 1899 of his "silver-tongued infidel"[67] he wrote to Miss Eva Farrell in New York:

> Except my daughter's, I have not grieved for any death as I have grieved for his. His was a great and beautiful spirit, he was a man--all man from his crown to his foot soles. My reverence for him was deep and genuine; I prized his affection for me and returned it with usury.[68]

During his courtship of Olivia Langdon, Clemens came very close to religious ecstasy, for falling in love is, in a sense, a religious experience.[69] In his letters to her he would often use biblical phraseology and reassurances. He would tell her of the church services he was attending,[70] the Bible reading and praying he was participating in, and would reassure her that this newspaper man from the West loved her with all his heart--and soul. He wrote:

> But I shall so strive all the days of my life to make you happy, and shall try so hard to walk as you do, in the light and the love of God, that some of the bitterness of your exile shall be spared you.

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[66] Pellowe, Pilgrim, pp. 151-152.

[67] Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 15.

[68] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Letters, edited by Albert B. Paine (New York, 1917), II, 682. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Letters.

[69] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 177.

[70] Clara Clemens, My Father, Mark Twain (New York, 1931), pp. 9-11. Hereafter cited as Clara Clemens, My Father.

> Dont [sic] be sad, Livy, we'll model our home after the old home, and make the Spirit of Love lord over all the realm. Smile again, Livy, and be of good heart. Turn toward the Cross and be comforted--I turn with you--What would you more? The peace of God shall rest upon us, and all will be well.[71]

For a while all was well. Livy and Samuel had grace before meals, prayers, and morning Bible readings. But finally Clemens told her:

> Livy, you may keep this up if you want to, but I must ask you to excuse me from it. It is making me a hypocrite. I don't believe in this Bible. It contradicts my reason. I can't sit here and listen to it, letting you believe that I regard it, as you do, in the light of gospel, the word of God.[72]

Livy continued for a while, but she, too, felt a void. Some years afterward she is said to have lost her orthodox views of the Bible and its God, "who exercised a personal supervision over every human soul."[73] She adopted Clemens' idea of a larger God than the one of the Christian Bible:

> the greater mind which exerts its care of the individual through immutable laws of time and change and environment--the Supreme Good which comprehends the individual flower, dumb creature, or human being only as a unit in the larger scheme of life and love. . . . Long afterwards, in the years that followed the sorrow of heavy

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[71] _Ibid._, pp. 20-21.

[72] Albert B. Paine, _Mark Twain; A Biography_, Vol. XXXI of _The Writings of Mark Twain_, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1912), p. 411. Hereafter cited as Paine, _Writings_.

[73] _Ibid._, p. 650.

> bereavement, Clemens once said to his wife, "Livy, if it comforts you to lean on the Christian faith do so," and she answered, "I can't, Youth, I haven't any."[74]

This statement by Livy is supposed to have hurt him very much for he did not wish to take anyone's religion away from him.

While they lived in Hartford, the Clemenses were among some of the most liberal religious minds in the country. Most of the liberal minded were disciples of one man, the Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell. The liberal Congregationalists had rejected Calvinism and turned "religion over to the personal mystical experience of the individual, leaving the way open for one to believe almost anything."[75] In Hartford Samuel found the most peace in religion that he ever did in his life.

Bushnell had been charged with heresy on the basis of his disagreement with the church doctrines of Christian nurture, the nature of the Trinity, and the purpose of Christ's sacrifice as being not that of atonement.[76] Bushnell disagreed with the basic tenets of Calvinism: "Total depravity, unconditional election, and prevenient and irresistible grace."[77] Such doctrines did more harm than good, he believed. In Christian Nurture, published in 1846,

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[74] Ibid., p. 651.

[75] Robert A. Wiggins, Mark Twain, Jackleg Novelist (Seattle, 1964), p. 87. Hereafter cited as Wiggins, Jackleg Novelist.

[76] Strong, Twichell, p. 56. [77] Ibid., p. 55.

Bushnell stated that he believed that a child became a Christian by living in a Christian home rather than becoming a Christian through some miraculous and sudden means; "rather, he would grow up never feeling that he had been other than a Christian." This seemed to defy the omnipotence of God, cried the orthodox.[78]

In God in Christ Bushnell analyzed the nature of the Trinity. He felt that knowing God intimately was beyond human comprehension and that God had expressed himself to man as a Trinity of persons rather than the unity He actually was, so that man could better understand the different aspects of divinity. Thus the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were "instrumentally three,--three simply as related to our finite apprehension, and the communication of God's incommunicable nature."[79]

Bushnell's third point of conflict involved the doctrine of atonement.

> According to Bushnell, the purpose of Christ's sacrificial death was not that of atoning for man's sin, but was, instead, an example set before man of God's law and character, and would affect the individual man only if he allowed himself to be influenced by the example which Christ had thus portrayed of the spirit of God. In Vicarious Sacrifice he stated that wherever love exists, vicarious sacrifice exists also, not as a debt paid, but as a universal and Christian aspect of love.[80]

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[80] Ibid., p. 56.

In his thinking, Bushnell "came close to the thinkers of the Romantic Movement by arguing the immanence of God in what he had created and defining the essence of God as the spiritual reality in nature." He was apparently the first theologian in New England to develop the religion of nature within the framework of a formal sect.[81]

Among Bushnell's disciples was Joseph Twichell, the clergyman with whom Clemens became most intimate. The teachings of Bushnell, through Twichell, must have appealed to Clemens, or he would not have sat under him for so many years.

Jane Clemens had been interested in spiritualism in years past, and during Clemens' Hartford years the country felt a new surge of this interest.

Clemens had been acquainted with spiritualism and had written about it before he knew Olivia. During his newspaper days in California, he had written articles entitled "The New Wildcat Religion" and "More Spiritual Investigations" which provided his readers with humorous and satiric statements about it. Even in these, however, he managed to slip in some serious thoughts.

In "The New Wildcat Religion," for instance, Clemens remains on the side of his Presbyterianism if he has to take a choice between the two. He will not change over to this

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[81]Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 27.

new religion which may indeed be like a wildcat, but admits that he never wholly espoused Presbyterianism either. But then again, "You never heard of a Presbyterian going crazy on religion," he says. "They are much too precise and grave to take any chances on the emotionalism of this new group."[82]

In "More Spiritual Investigations" he presents a seance in a humorous and satiric manner, and "Reflections on the Sabbath" serves as a climax to his articles on spiritualism, but it also skeptically explores some theological aspects of orthodox Presbyterianism.[84] Its predominant intent is humor, and its "quixotic application of logic to nonlogical doctrine is in the sound tradition of funmaking. In the light of subsequent writing, moreover, the piece is prophetic."[85] The serious undertones of the article suggest Clemens' first printed objection to the ways of the Almighty[86] as well as his later concern with the ideas of immortality, determinism, and a divine justice.[87]

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[82] Samuel Clemens, <u>Mark Twain's San Francisco</u>, edited by Bernard Taper (New York, 1963), pp. 231-232. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, <u>San Francisco</u>.

[83] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 232-235.

[84] Bellamy, <u>Literary Artist</u>, p. 107.

[85] Edgar Marquess Branch, <u>The Literary Apprenticeship of Mark Twain</u> (Urbana, Illinois, 1950), p. 147. Hereafter cited Branch, <u>Apprenticeship</u>.

[86] Bellamy, <u>Literary Artist</u>, p. 107.

[87] Branch, <u>Apprenticeship</u>, p. 147.

In the piece, Clemens wishes for two Sundays a week. "Still it is not our place to criticize the wisdom of the Creator,"[88] although taking things as they are found goes against the grain, sometimes. But his is not to reason why. He considers himself a Presbyterian, a brevet, a member of the elect, and knows the difference between heaven and hell. Heaven is pictured as rather dull with its constant studying and progressing; whereas in hell, the victims will sooner or later forget what they were sent there for, lose their guilty feelings, and so be happy again.[89]

Residents of the Nook Farm community such as Isabella Beecher Hooker were intensely interested in spiritualism and encouraged others to be. Spiritualism was "a halfway house on the road to complete disbelief in revealed religion, and an emotional refuge for those whose faith had been detached from the rock of old-time simplicity."[90] Clemens was interested in the movement and accompanied Mrs. Clemens to seances,[91] but he later confessed that he could "take no interest in otherworldly things and [was] convinced that we know nothing whatever about them and have been wrongly and uncourteously and contemptuously left in total ignorance of

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[88] Samuel Clemens, *San Francisco*, p. 236.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

[90] Andrews, *Nook Farm*, p. 55.

[91] Wagenknecht, *Man and Work*, p. 189.

them. . . ."[92] Try as he would, he could not find the supernatural the solution to life's problems.[93]

Faith healing was another interest. Mrs. Clemens was a helpless invalid when she was a girl, and it had been a faith healer, a Dr. Newton, who had restored her.[94] This interest led quite naturally into Clemens' later interest in Christian Science.

These are the major background aspects of Clemens' religious life. They are varied to say the least and at times inconsistent. The ordinary man would have not let them bother him, but Clemens was not an ordinary man. His religious feelings bothered him and compelled him to try to find answers. The answers he found did not satisfy him, however, and he was never consistent even in his own thinking about what he truly felt, thought, and believed about religion and its God. Edward Wagenknecht says, "The man had a religious temperament; he certainly had the moral constitution of a Christian."[95] He "asked" but he did not "receive" a peaceful answer; he "sought" but he did not "find" a complete solution. But what he did feel that he believed in is interesting in the light of theology today.

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[92] Samuel Clemens, _Mark Twain in Eruption_, edited by Bernard DeVoto (New York, 1968), p. 339. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, _Eruption_.

[93] Wagenknecht, _Man and Work_, p. 216.

[94] _Ibid._, p. 184. [95] _Ibid._, p. 180.

"A religion that comes of thought, and study, and deliberate conviction, sticks best," said Clemens,[96] and he did all of these. While doing these things for himself, he did not want to interfere with anyone else's religion, "either to strengthen or to weaken it. . . . It may easily be a comfort to him in his life--hence it is a valuable possession to him."[97] But he could not be a hypocrite either with himself, Livy, or his closest friend and pastor, Joseph Twichell. During a tramping trip with Twichell in 1878 he is supposed to have said:

> I'm going to make a confession. I don't believe in your religion at all. I've been living a lie right straight along whenever I pretended to. For a moment, sometimes, I have been almost a believer, but it immediately drifts away from me again. I don't believe one word of your Bible was inspired by God any more than any other book. I believe it is entirely the work of man from beginning to end--atonement and all. The problem of life and death and eternity and the true conception of God is a bigger thing than is contained in that book.[98]

For what Clemens believed one must study his life and his writings, especially the writings of his later years. In A Tramp Abroad Clemens had stated that "the church is always trying to get other people to reform; it might not be a bad idea to reform itself a little, by way of example."

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Paine, Writings, XXXIII, 1584.

[98] Paine, Writings, XXXI, 631.

At the time, he had in mind trivial matters of lining out the hymn, a custom that was no longer necessary since mass printing had made the books available to the congregation; bell ringing, which disturbed him; reading notices from the pulpit, particularly when there was a bulletin available; long prayers; the irreverence given to the Lord's Prayer; and the inability of most clergymen to read aloud well.[99]

As the years went by, however, Clemens began to see the established churches, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, as a threat. His most vehement attack on the Catholic Church as an Established Church is within the pages of A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court published in 1889. If he had been astounded at the wealth of the Church and the poverty of the parish people in The Innocents Abroad, and satirized the sale of trinkets and souvenirs, it was to cure Americans of their pseudo-reverence for anything old.[100] He now blasted the Established Church, and as Edgar Branch says,

> increasingly emphasized the church as a hindrance to progress and an enemy of human rights. The church, he later believed, propagated erroneous, literal concepts of man and God. As an institution it worked hand in hand with the imperialistic state. It tended to concentrate power in the hands of a few, and it was

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[99]Samuel Clemens, A Tramp Abroad, Vol. X of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1923), pp. 80-81.

[100]Cyril Clemens, "Mark Twain's Religion," Commonweal, XXI (December, 1934), 254.

> susceptible to all the flaws of character and intellect displayed in its leaders.[101]

DeLancey Ferguson also says:

> As an embodiment of economic and political power Mark realized and hated it; as a spiritual force, for any end save terror and oppression, it scarcely exists in his pages except in the one scene where the courageous young priest stands by the girl who is executed for the theft of a piece of cloth. To him, the Church was still the "awful ecclesiastical swindle" he had called it in Florence in 1867.[102]

In his final years, he was both awed and appalled as Christian Science began to rear its head and win converts. He allowed the miracles of this new faith-healing society to be tried on his friends and family, if they wished it.[103] He did not object to it as a religion, "either because of its stress on spiritual healing or on account of its philosophical idealism. . . . What he objected to in Christian Science was what seemed to him Mrs. [Mary Baker] Eddy's personal duplicity."[104] While she said she was doing all this for the good of mankind, she was at the same time building a powerful machine, and this Clemens could not abide. His criticism of Christian Science, both in his article "Mrs. Eddy in Error" which appeared in 1903 in the

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[101] Branch, Apprenticeship, p. 183.

[102] DeLancey Ferguson, Mark Twain, Man and Legend (Indianapolis, 1943), p. 244. Hereafter cited as Ferguson, Man and Legend.

[103] Howells, Twain, p. 70.

[104] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 185.

North American Review,[105] and his book, Christian Science, are really aimed at Mrs. Eddy's ambition to dominate a great religious organization. While he admired her organizational ability, he did not like it. He believed that her religious machinery was as perfect as that of the Roman Catholics, and destined to be so formidable as to become the state religion within a few years. What he failed to take into account was the law of diminishing returns, that the rate of growth for a new cult would be sharp at first, but then would taper off, and finally, diminish.[106]

Up to a point, Clemens could go along with the Christian Science philosophy. They both believed in repudiating stern conceptions of God and protested against the notion that He was cruel, arbitrary, or vindictive. But from there on, they parted company. William Pellowe says that Clemens could not agree with the assertion "that God knew no evil, and originated no evils such as sickness, death or disaster; and, as only that which existed within His knowledge has any real existence, therefore these so-called evils [did] not exist."[107]

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[105] Samuel Clemens, "Mrs. Eddy in Error," North American Review, CLXXVI (April, 1903), 505-517. Also in this volume are "Christian Science--II," 1-9, and "Christian Science--III," 173-184. "Christian Science--I," appeared in North American Review, CLXXV, 756-768. The Christian Science articles were incorporated in his book by that title.

[106] Ferguson, Man and Legend, p. 278.

[107] Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 157.

This dogma was as much a fable to him as were those of the good and bad children that he had read about from the church library shelves when he was a boy in Hannibal. He had satirically attacked these fables in "The Story of the Bad Little Boy," "The Story of the Good Little Boy," "Stories for Good Little Boys and Girls," and "The Christmas Fireside." In each of these inverted fables Clemens inserts a reversal of the creed that good must follow good deeds and evil follow evil deeds.[108]

An outlet for his religious thoughts could have been through the use of clergymen in his works. He could have let them speak for him, and yet he did not. Instead, the clergymen in the writings are inadequate and remain mute in expressing any of the profound theological thoughts which deeply troubled Clemens' mind. In all of Clemens' works no clergyman attains a prominent role, and none is a theologian.

In the first story with which Clemens became a nationally acclaimed figure, "The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," a clergyman is mentioned. The narrator of the story is looking for a Rev. Leonidas W. Smiley, a young minister of the Gospel, and he asks Simon Wheeler if he can tell him anything about him. Instead of information about the parson, Wheeler tells him the story which helped make the name of Mark Twain a household word.

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[108] Bellamy, _Literary Artist_, pp. 111-112.

In The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (1876) the only clergyman who appears is the one at Tom's church who is leading the services in the same manner as Clemens knew them in Hannibal. The Rev. Mr. Sprague is only a stage prop that is in his proper place at the proper time. He does not serve in any plot-moving activity, nor does he give young Tom any profound advice.

Tom Sawyer, Detective (1896) revolves around Parson Silas, who is accused of murder. Tom figures out who the real murderer is and frees the parson from guilt. The character of the parson is weakly drawn as a man who will not defend himself. From him there is no profound theological significance either.

In The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (1884) the preachers are again merely stage props. Huck attends a camp meeting in Chapter XX and observes the preachers on their high platforms lining out a hymn and preaching. The unnamed preacher is duped by the king. In Chapter XXIV the Baptist preacher, Hobson, conducts a funeral, and he conducts another in the following chapter.

In The Prince and the Pauper (1881) is the first sympathetic view of a clergyman, a priest who is kind to poor Tom Canty. Father Andrew taught the boy "right ways secretly . . . a little Latin, and how to read and write." But Father Andrew is killed early in the book without being allowed to

identify or elaborate the "right ways" he was teaching the boy. A clergyman appears near the end of the book, in Chapter XXVII, to conduct prayer for two women who are being burned at the stake.

Even though the Established Church is attacked in A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889), the theology of the church is not in question. Priests and monks appear all through the book, but again they are merely stage props. Only one attains any significant proportion when he defends the young mother and speaks against injustice and man's inhumanity to man.

In Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc (1895), Clemens contrasts the good and bad priests in their relations to Joan. Most of the priests are again put on the scene of action because they belong there. The two most highly developed clerical personages are the good parish priest, Guillaume Fronte, who encourages the youthful Joan, and the evil Bishop, Pierre Cauchon, who betrays her to the English.

In Roughing It (1872) is the famous Buck Fanshawe funeral chapter in which the young fledgling preacher tries to communicate with the rough silver miner. In Following the Equator (1897) and A Tramp Abroad (1880) and The Innocents Abroad (1869), he has clergymen in their proper places. The only ones dwelt upon were those drawn from actual life such as the character Harris, who serves as more of a companion

than the actual Rev. Joseph Twichell, or the preachers aboard the Quaker City. In no instance is there any deep discussion of theology or doctrine between these men and Clemens.

Only in his last works, and in those which were published posthumously does he speak openly of ethical and religious matters. It is known that he revised a Sunday school speech written for Tom Sawyer, reducing it to two sentences;[109] and when he really had something serious to say he often hesitated and sometimes did not put his name on the work.

He had been writing satiric pieces about the different church groups and clergy for years, but it was left to The Mysterious Stranger, What Is Man?, and other posthumous writing to complete the picture. Even in these he does not use clergymen as spokesmen.

William Pellowe says that The Mysterious Stranger, in which Satan's nephew is spokesman, "is an indictment of human history--its futility, its waste, its cycles of sordidness. Of human beings and their future possibilities on this globe it has only a painful, paternal despair."[110] The disillusionment of Clemens dramatized itself in this story. What man has called progress is little more than the advance from clubs to swords to guns. Spiritual development

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[109] Bernard DeVoto, Mark Twain at Work (Boston, 1967), p. 12. Hereafter cited as DeVoto, Work.

[110] Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 183.

has not taken place, and man has only learned how to be bloodier as the centuries rolled by.[111] Satan also criticizes the Moral Sense, much as Clemens did in What Is Man? (1906). The Moral Sense is not a blessing but a hindrance, for it is only because of its existence that man knows right from wrong; yet at the same time there could be no wrong if the Moral Sense did not exist.

Samuel Clemens never wrote an essay about which books influenced him most, but if he had, he would have put the Bible at the top of the list. He used the Bible in his writings in a variety of ways. A reference may consist only of the name of a biblical character in a nonbiblical text; or he may give a lengthy quotation. Biblical allusions abound throughout his writings. A biblical character may be used for the quality he has come to stand for: for instance, Methuselah, antiquity, or Solomon, wisdom. An entire sketch or small book may be built around biblical characters and incidents. Clemens may use the Bible quite reverently, or as a source of humor. He may parody, ridicule, and in his later years, revile it.[112]

The most extensive biblical images he used were the Prodigal Son; Adam, Eve, and the fall; and Noah and the

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[111] Arthur Scott, Mark Twain at Large (Chicago, 1969), p. 246.

[112] Allison Ensor, Mark Twain and the Bible (Lexington, Kentucky, 1969), p. 2. Hereafter cited as Ensor, Bible.

flood.[113] At first he used these well-known stories as playful treatments, but as the years went by he became more serious about how he was using them.

Pieces such as Adam's Diary and the companion piece, Eve's Diary were strictly light and humorous. Besides these, there are "A Monument to Adam" and "Adam's Soliloquy" which can be called humorous. These contain little philosophy. But the later pieces such as "Eve Speaks" and "That Day in Eden" are serious. These are almost pure criticism about the stories to which they refer. Allison Ensor says, for instance:

> The whole point of "That Day in Eden" is that God was stupid to utter such a command, for it was totally incomprehensible to Adam, and to Eve when he told her of it. Since it had no meaning for the pair, one could not reasonably expect that it would be obeyed. Further inferences, though not spelled out, are apparent; to punish the disobedience of Adam and Eve was unfair and unjust, and the greatest injustice of all was to punish mankind in general for that one uncomprehending act on that one day near the beginning of time. If the reader should protest that that story of Adam and Eve was not literally true, Twain could simply transfer the stupidity from God to the Bible. If God did not give the absurd command quoted, then it was absurd of the Bible to say that he [sic] did. Either way Twain was saying something that would have been startling and disturbing to the Christians of his day if it had been available to them.[114]

In 1870 he started "Shem's Diary" concerning life on the ark and returned to it several times, but never finished

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[113] Ibid., p. 30.

[114] Ibid., p. 56.

it. "Methuselah's Diary" is the one exception of humor given to a biblical subject after the years of 1905 and 1906.[115]

Clemens made a second careful study of the Bible while he was on the Holy Land tour, and it was this tour which gave him so much of the feeling that the Bible was wrong about many things which he had been taught to take for literal truth. He was not an orthodox believer when he left New York, but the trip made him even more of a skeptic. Yet, at this point, he never openly challenged the authority of the Bible or criticized the biblical concept of God or made any critical comments about Christ.[116] He spoke impatiently of people who said that the Bible meant the same to them at fifty as it had at former milestones of their lives. In a letter to William Dean Howells dated August 22, 1887, he wondered how people could lie so because nothing remained the same, but shrank "to its correct dimensions."[117] For him, the Bible had permanently "shrunk." He grew upset with people who believed in literal interpretations of the Bible and orthodox conceptions of God.[118] In an article, "Bible Teaching and Religious Practice," he took Christians to task for being so slow to change their interpretations of the

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[115] Ibid., p. 71. [116] Ibid., p. 24.

[117] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain-Howells Letters, edited by Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, 1960), II, 595-596.

[118] Branch, Apprenticeship, p. 147.

Bible. The Christian church, he alleged, was the last to make changes, but when it did, it took credit for all other such changes. He cited the examples of slavery, witches, and infant damnation.[119]

He did not stop with saying that the Bible was being wrongly used or misinterpreted. The book itself deserved harsh criticism, and he pointed out its major faults. He felt the Bible to be untrue. It claimed to be telling the literal truth, but it was filled with lies. He regarded the stories of the fall, the flood, and many events in the life of Christ as falsehoods. The main reason he refused to accept the Bible as true was the miraculous quality of some of the narratives and the fact that they could not be verified by one's own experiences. The Bible lacked originality; it had borrowed from other "pagan" religions. Clemens felt that the Bible had a pernicious influence on mankind and one particular influence that Clemens liked to dwell on at this point was the obscenity of the Bible. The God of the Bible, especially the one of the Old Testament, never failed to arouse Clemens' anger, especially in His killing of innocent people as well as the guilty.[120] For Clemens the Bible was one more proof of the stupidity and depravity of "the damned human race."[121]

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[119]Ensor, Bible, p. 79.

[120]Ibid., pp. 80-84. [121]Ibid., p. 93.

A year before his death, Clemens wrote that the Bible "is full of interest. It has noble poetry in it; and some clever fables; and some blood-drenched history; and some good morals; and a wealth of obscenity; and upwards of a thousand lies."[122]

One might suppose that Clemens would have liked the New Testament better than the Old Testament, since it presents a more easily acceptable concept of God, but this was not the case, especially in the last ten years of his life. Clemens saw that Christ was a teacher of morals, gentleness, meekness, righteousness, and purity, but he could not forgive Him for the fires of hell. To Clemens, Christ was inconsistent in presenting himself as "sweet, and gentle, merciful, forgiving," and then proclaiming hell. This made Christ even more cruel than Jehovah was in the Old Testament.[123] Clemens also did not feel that the moralities of the New Testament matched those of the Old Testament God.[124]

Satan was the favorite biblical character of Clemens, much as he had been for Milton. There are numerous allusions to him: "Sold to Satan," "A Humane Word from Satan," the Satan analogy in "Is Shakespeare Dead?" and *The Mysterious Stranger*, in which Satan's nephew is the hero,[125] and in *Letters From the Earth*.

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[122]Samuel Clemens, *Letters From the Earth* (New York, 1962), p. 14.

[123]Ensor, *Bible*, pp. 86-87. [124]*Ibid*., p. 88.

[125]Brashear, *Son of Missouri*, p. 208.

Readers of Clemens must be careful to place his criticism of the Bible in perspective. He was not always careful. He frequently failed to check the biblical material he incorporated in his arguments and too often relied on a faulty recollection. The theology of sin, judgment, and grace which modern scholars find in the Yahwist epic was never detected by him. He could see the judgment but was blind to the grace that was there also. As time went on, he seemed to look for things which would point toward "the abyss of depravity into which it is possible for human nature to sink."[126] On some points, such as the difference between the Immaculate Conception and the Virgin Birth, he was never clear and has them confused in his "Recollections on Religion."

The God that Samuel learned about in his boyhood did not win the admiration of Clemens the man. He had learned of a frightening, stern God who seemed to have little pity on His creatures. Yet, when man began to preach about a God of love, Clemens did not rejoice. If God was a God of love, why did he create so much misery? Had this God who was supposed to be all good, made man for hell, or hell for man, and was his creation only made to replenish that hell?[127] If this were true, then God must be the most unhappy being

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[126] Ensor, Bible, p. 93.

[127] Paine, Writings, XXXIII, 1513.

of all, for He could foresee all the misery and suffering His own creatures would endure.[128]

Clemens wanted a God who could command the deepest respect of his intellect, not one who enjoyed the sardonic pleasure of human discomfort.[129] If God did not willingly punish man, why did he do it? Man did not ask to have it done.[130] Clemens could not justify these things within himself without setting down his own theories about what he felt God really was.

Clemens never came to the solution that there was no God. On the contrary, he said, "No one who thinks can imagine the universe made by chance. It is too nicely assembled and regulated. There is, of course, a great Master Mind. . . ."[131] But, as he grew older, he did not feel that this "great Master Mind" cared anything about man's happiness or unhappiness. God was too large to consider the microbe of a world He had created. He had ceased to be personal. Rather, he set into motion a "good eighteenth-century Deistic doctrine."[132] Clemens felt that God was indeed the Creator, but that the human conception of pity and morality were unknown to Him.

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[128] Paine, Writings, XXXII, 871.

[129] Pellowe, Pilgrim, pp. 159, 151.

[130] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 199.

[131] Paine, Writings, XXXIII, 1353.

[132] Wiggins, Jackleg Novelist, p. 87.

The difference in importance, between the God of the Bible and the God of the present day, cannot be described, it can only be vaguely and inadequately figured to the mind. . . . If you make figures to represent the earth and moon, and allow a space of one inch between them, to represent the four hundred thousand miles of distance which lies between the two bodies, the map will have to be eleven miles long in order to bring in the nearest fixed star. So one cannot put the modern heavens on a map, nor the modern God; but the Bible God and the Bible heavens can be set down on a slate and yet not be discommoded. . . .

To trust the God of the Bible is to trust an irascible, vindictive, fierce and ever fickle and changeful master; to trust the true God is to trust a Being who has uttered no promises, but whose beneficent, exact, and changeless ordering of the machinery of his colossal universe is proof that he is at least steadfast to his purposes; whose unwritten laws, so far as they affect man, being equal and impartial, show that he is just and fair; these things, taken together, suggest that if he shall ordain us to live hereafter, he will still be steadfast, just, and fair toward us. We shall not need to require anything more.[133]

. . . .

If I were going to construct a God, I would furnish Him with some ways and qualities and characteristics which the Present (Bible) One lacks.

He would not stoop to <u>ask</u> for any man's compliments, praises, flatteries; and He would be far above <u>exacting</u> them. I would have Him as self-respecting as the better sort of man in these regards.

He would not be a merchant, a trader. He would not buy these things. He would not sell, or offer to sell temporary benefits or the joys of eternity for the product called worship. I would have Him as dignified as the better sort of men in this regard.

He would value no love but the love born of kindness conferred; not that born of benevolences contracted for. Repentance in a man's heart for a wrong done would cancel and annul that sin, and no verbal prayers for forgiveness be required or desired or expected of that man.

In His Bible there would be no Unforgiveable Sin. He would recognize in Himself the Author and

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[133] Paine, <u>Writings</u>, XXXI, 412-413.

> Inventor of Sin and Author and Inventor of the Vehicle and Appliances for its commission; and would place the whole responsibility where it would of right belong: Upon Himself, the only Sinner.
>
> He would not be a jealous God--a trait so small that even men despise it in each other.
>
> He would not boast.
>
> He would spend some of His eternities in trying to forgive Himself for making man unhappy when He could have made him happy with the same effort and He would spend the rest of them in studying astronomy.[134]

These statements indicate what God is not to be. A couple of years afterward, Clemens stated positively in his Notebook:

> The Being who to me is the real God is the One who created this majestic universe and rules it. He is the only Originator, the only originator of thoughts; thoughts suggested from within, not from without; the originator of colors and of all their possible combinations; of forces and the laws that govern them; of forms and shapes of all forms. Man has never invented a new one; He is the only Originator--He made the laws by which and by which only, man may combine them into machines and other things which outside influence may suggest to him. He made character--man can portray but not "create" it, for He is the only Creator.
>
> He is the perfect artisan, the perfect artist. Everything which He has made is fine, everything which He has made is beautiful; nothing coarse, nothing ugly has ever come from His hand. Even his materials are all delicate, none of them is coarse. The materials of the leaf, the flower, the fruit; of insect, the elephant, the man; of the earth, the crags and the ocean; of the snow, the hoar-frost and the ice--may be reduced to infinitesimal particles and they are still delicate, still faultless; whether He makes a gnat, a bird, a horse, a plain, a forest, a mountain range, a planet, a constellation, or a diatom whose form the keenest eye in the world cannot perceive, it is all one--He makes it utterly

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[134] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Notebook, edited by Albert B. Paine (New York, 1935), pp. 301-302.

> and minutely perfect in form, and construction. The contemplation of it moves one to something of the same awe and reverence which the march of the comets through their billion mile orbit compels.
>
> This is indeed a God! He is not jealous, trivial, ignorant, revengeful--it is impossible. He has personal dignity--dignity answerable to his [sic] grandeur, his greatness, his might, his sublimity; He cares nothing for men's flatteries, compliments, praises, prayers; it is impossible that He should value them, these mouthings of microbes. He is not ignorant, He does not mistake His myriad great suns, swimming in the measureless ocean of space for tallow candles hung in the roof to light this forgotten potato which we call Earth, and name His footstool. He cannot see it except under His microscope. The shadow does not go back on His dial--it is against His law. . . . His real character is written in plain words in His real Bible, which is Nature and her history.[135]

In the early 1880's Clemens put down what might be called his creed concerning God. It reads:

> I believe in God the Almighty.
>
> I do not believe He has ever sent a message to man by anybody, or delivered one to him by word of mouth, or made Himself visible to mortal eyes at any time in any place.
>
> I believe that the Old and New Testaments were imagined and written by man, and that no line in them was authorized by God, much less inspired by Him.
>
> I think the goodness, the justice, and the mercy of God are manifested in His works: I perceive that they are manifested toward me in this life; the logical conclusion is that they will be manifested toward me in the life to come, if there should be one.
>
> I do not believe in special providences. I believe that the universe is governed by strict and immutable laws. If one man's family is swept away by a pestilence and another man's spared it is only the law working: God is not interfering in that small matter, either against the one man or in favor of the other. . . .

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[135] _Ibid._, pp. 360-362.

> I cannot see how eternal punishment hereafter could accomplish any good end, therefore I am not able to believe in it. To chasten a man in order to perfect him might be reasonable enough; to annihilate him when he shall have proved himself incapable of reaching perfection might be reasonable enough; but to roast him forever for the mere satisfaction of seeing him roast would not be reasonable--even the atrocious God imagined by the Jews would tire of the spectacle eventually.
>
> There may be a hereafter and there may not be. I am wholly indifferent about it. If I am appointed to live again I feel sure it will be for some more sane and useful purpose than to flounder about for ages in a lake of fire and brimstone for having violated a confusion of ill-defined and contradictory rules said (but not evidenced) to be of divine institution. If annihilation is to follow death I shall not be aware of the annihilation, and therefore shall not care a straw about it.
>
> I believe that the world's moral laws are the outcome of the world's experience. It needed no God to come down out of heaven to tell men that murder and theft and the other immoralities were bad, both for the individual who commits them and for society which suffers from them.
>
> If I break all these moral laws I cannot see how I injure God by it, for He is beyond the reach of injury from me--I could as easily injure a planet by throwing mud at it. It seems to me that my misconduct could only injure me and other men. I cannot benefit God by obeying these moral laws--I could as easily benefit the planet by withholding my mud. (Let these sentences be read in the light of the fact that I believe I have received moral laws only from man--none whatever from God.) Consequently I do not see why I should be either punished or rewarded hereafter for the deed I do here.[136]

This conception of God was altered but little during the last years of Clemens' life. When he wrote in 1898 "God's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,"[137]

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[136] Paine, Writings, XXXIII, 1583-1584.

[137] Wiggins, Jackleg Novelist, p. 189.

the statement points to his increasing pessimism toward the human race rather than further direct speculation on the nature of God. For the rest of his life he concentrated on the "damned human race"--and by that he implies that the race deserved condemnation.[138]

What about Christ? His views on Christ seem to change as much as they do about religion as a whole. When he went to Palestine, he gazed upon the site of the Crucifixion "with a far more absorbing interest than I had ever felt in anything earthly before."[139] In his early letter to Livy and to Mrs. Fairbanks he spoke of Christ only with reverence, and even stated in 1871, "All that is great and good in our particular civilization came straight from the hand of Jesus Christ."[140] In 1878 in a letter to Orion he said that even though Jesus was not divine, He was "a Sacred Personage" who ought never to be referred to "lightly, profanely, or otherwise than with profoundest reverence."[141] At one time, he is on record as having said he would like to write a life of Christ, but he may not have been serious.[142]

In 1908 Clemens received a letter from a gentleman in Buffalo which had an incomplete list of the world's "One

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[138]Ibid. [139]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 191.

[140]Ensor, Bible, pp. 88-89.

[141]Samuel Clemens, Letters, I, 323.

[142]Ensor, Bible, p. 89.

Hundred Greatest Men," who had exerted "the largest visible influence on the life and activities of the race." The writer asked Clemens if he would examine the list and suggest other names, adding the question of whether or not Jesus, as the founder of Christianity, should be included. Clemens gave him an unqualified affirmative answer and added that Satan should be put on the list also.[143]

In an article called "A Curious Book," Clemens tells about reading a 1621 edition of the Apochryphal New Testament. He presents the material humorously, but at the same time, the undertones mark what may have been the beginning of his skepticism concerning Christ.[144] He later recorded that Tacitus the historian did not record any slaughter by Herod of the first born male children under three years of age, and that Christ's temptation by Satan was ridiculous since Christ was supposed to rule the world anyway.[145] In his notebook he wrote:

> There seems to be nothing connected with the atonement that is rational. If Christ was God, He is in the attitude of one whose anger against Adam has grown so uncontrollable in the course of the ages that nothing but the sacrifice of life can appease it, and so without noticing how illogical the act is going to be, God condemns

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[143] Samuel Clemens, Letters, II, 817-818.

[144] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Travels With Mr. Brown, edited by Franklin Walker and G. Ezra Dane (New York, 1940), pp. 251-254.

[145] Paine, Writings, XXXIII, 1468-1469.

> Himself to death--commits suicide on the cross, and in this ingenious way wipes off the old score. It is said that the ways of God are not like ours. Let us not contest this point.[146]

Clemens considered the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount the most significant part of Christ's story,[147] but he could not forgive Him for "inventing" hell.[148]

Although Clemens never denied the story of the Resurrection specifically, perhaps because he knew that this was the most cherished belief of Christians, he did by implication, since he denied that Christ was divine.[149]

Concepts of heaven and immortality were not clear in Clemens' mind. In his younger days he had told Livy that they would never be separated from the earth "and let us pray that we may not in Heaven."[150] Later he said that he had lost his belief in immortality and his interest in it. . . ." When we believe in immortality we have a reason for it. . . . Our reason for choosing to believe in this dream is that we desire immortality . . . But I have no desire. I have sampled this life and it is sufficient."[151]

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[146] Edgar Lee Masters, Mark Twain: A Portrait (New York, 1938), pp. 217-218.

[147] Ensor, Bible, p. 90.

[148] Samuel Clemens, Earth, p. 45.

[149] Ensor, Bible, p. 91.

[150] Clara Clemens, My Father, pp. 17-18.

[151] Samuel Clemens, "Mark Twain Speaks Out," Harper's Magazine, CCXVII (December, 1958), 36.

But as the tragedies of life struck, it became not a dogma to him, but a hope, and was often upon his mind.[152]

When Susy died, Clemens wrote Livy: "It broke my heart--what you wrote to Sue about immortality. Let us believe in it! I will believe in it with you. It has been the belief of the wise and thoughtful of many countries for three thousand years; let us accept their verdict; we cannot frame one that is more reasonable or probable. I will try never to doubt it again."[153]

In 1903 he said that he did not mind being immortal but he did not know "how to accommodate the thought . . . . It at least cannot appal me, for I will not allow myself to believe that there is disaster connected with it. In fact, no one, at bottom, believes that; not even the priests that preach it."[154]

One of the last notes from Livy to Samuel during her long illness said: "I am truly thankful that you 'more believe in the immortality of the soul than disbelieve in it.' Why are you 'vexed' at this? I should think you would be pleased, now that you believe, or at least do not disbelieve, there is so much that is interesting to work for. An immortality already begun seems to make it worth while to train oneself."[155]

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[152] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, pp. 195-196.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid., p. 196.

[155] Clara Clemens, My Father, p. 250.

When Jean died in 1909, Katy Leary, the Clemens' maid for so many years, was certain that he said to her, "Oh, Katy! She's in heaven with her mother." His daughter Clara said that he wished to die by a stroke of lightning so that he would change from this life to the other without warning. "Sometimes he believed that death ended everything, but most of the time he felt sure of a life beyond."[156]

Of heaven he had told his biographer, Albert B. Paine:

> If God has such a place prepared for us, and really wanted us to know it, He could have found some better way than a book so liable to alterations and misinterpretation. God has had no trouble to prove to man the laws of the constellations and the construction of the world, and such things as that, none of which agree with His so-called book. As to a hereafter, we have not the slightest evidence that there is any--no evidence that appeals to logic and reason. I have never seen what to me seemed an atom of proof that there is a future life.
>
> Then, after a long pause, he added:
>
> And yet--I am strongly inclined to expect one.[157]

Clemens had put a chapter of What Is Man? before the Monday Evening Club in Hartford long years before he completed it. Each one there scoffed, jeered, reviled it, and called it a lie, Clemens said. They handled him without delicacy, and said that if it were published it would strip man of his dignity, a quality that Clemens did not feel he possessed anyway. Life would not be worth living if that philosophy

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[156] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 196.

[157] Paine, Writings, XXXIII, 1431.

were accepted, the members said, and Clemens replied, "That would merely leave life in the condition it was before."[158]

In an article entitled "If I Could be There" there is a conversation between the Lord and Stranger about man. In Part I man is established as being trivial as a microbe and therefore undeserving of the Lord's attention. In Part II man is but food for the microbes. To punish him is pointless, since he has no other duty to perform.[159] In What Is Man? man is reduced lower than the animal level to the mechanic level. Man has no free will, integrity, or virtue. The human mind has no control over its fate, and people are foolish to blame themselves for anything because it all works under the cause and effect system. Since the first cause there has been no change in the rest of the chain right down to the present day.[160] Man is nothing but a "coffee mill" whose crank is turned by outside powers. If a man is good or bad it is because of his "make" and not because of anything he has done or can do about himself. Man originates nothing, not even a thought.

This "bible" of his gave him no inner peace, however. He wished at times that he could believe in the integrity of man, but the more shortcomings he saw, the more bitter he

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[158] Samuel Clemens, Eruption, pp. 240-241.

[159] Paine, Writings, XXXII, 1157-1161.

[160] Strong, Twichell, p. 140.

grew.[161] He reminded himself over and over that God had made a colossal mistake with man, that the monkeys were probably embarrassed by their so-called superior, but since man had no control over his acts he must not deal too harshly with his fellows.[162]

> What Is Man? is not only a treatise on man's instability, weakness, cowardice, cruelty, and degradation. It is not only an assault on the illusions of free will, integrity, decency, and virtue with which mankind makes tolerable its estate. It is not only an assertion of the familiar logic of determinism, the fixed universe, the infrangible sequence of cause and effect from the beginning of time, holding man helpless, and unalterable by will or wish or effort. If that were all there was to it, surely there would be significance in its getting itself written at this particular period. But it is more than that. For clearly What Is Man? is also a plea for pardon. In describing man's helplessness, it pleads that man cannot be blamed. In asserting man's cowardice, it asserts also that man is not responsible. In painting man as enslaved and dominated by inexorable circumstance, it argues that the omnipotence of circumstance must answer for what Mark is inwardly afraid he is being held to answer for. . . . No one . . . can read this wearisomely repeated argument without feeling the terrible force of an inner cry. Do not blame me, for it was not my fault.[163]

Clemens' determinism has been attributed to the influence of various writers upon him such as Lecky, Hobbes, Mandeville, Locke, Hume, and Newton. In 1898 when he returned a book to a friend he said he had not read any of the philosophers

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[161] Bellamy, Literary Artist, p. 63.

[162] Samuel Clemens, Letters, II, 763-764.

[163] DeVoto, Work, p. 116.

mentioned by Sir John Adams in that book, but nevertheless he had been thinking the same thoughts. To him, it only proved that there was no such thing as an original thought.[164]

Clemens' theology can be described as Calvinism without God, a determinism which left man blameless from any responsibility or error because man could not control himself or his universe.[165] The foundations for Clemens' determinism lie in Hannibal. Perhaps he gleaned some of it in his readings, but the majority of it seems to stem from his own experience. His philosophy did not change radically over the years; it was only intensified. Determinism to him was not determinism in the scientific sense, because he could never attain the true objective approach needed by the scientist.[166] He was emotionally involved with his philosophy. His indignation over "the damned human race" never died even though he tried to lay the blame elsewhere. And even though man is not responsible to God or society, the inner voice of conscience makes man responsible to himself.[167]

Determinism acted as a strong reinforcement for pessimism.[168] When he lost his faith in conventional

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[164] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 226.

[165] Strong, Twichell, p. 140.

[166] Bellamy, Literary Artist, p. 184.

[167] Ibid., p. 347.

[168] Ibid., p. 187.

religion he had nothing to put in place of those values.[169] He had said in a letter to the Rev. L. M. Powers in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1905: "Pessimists are born not made; optimists are born not made; but no man is born either pessimist wholly or optimist wholly; perhaps, he is pessimistic along certain lines and optimistic along certain others. That is my case."[170] He liked to conclude things with a balance of one hopeless and one hopeful final word.[171] Disbelief and pessimism seemed to be of his mind and not of his heart.[172]

Perhaps it was his tenderness that impelled him toward despair, and although his pessimism was not the best way to meet the problem, it was not the worst.[173] If it had not been coupled with determinism, it might be seen as a healthy pessimism, a sign of critical sagacity.[174] C. O. Parsons says,

> The Clemens theology was trinitarian. It involved contempt for the Old Testament God, championship of the insulted and injured Satan, and immense respect for the universal Creator.

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[169] H. H. Waggoner, "Science in the Thought of Mark Twain," American Literature, VIII (1937), 370.

[170] Samuel Clemens, Letters, II, 785.

[171] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 208.

[172] Paine, Writings, XXXIII, 1581.

[173] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 211.

[174] C. Merton Babcock, "Mark Twain: A Heretic in Heaven," Etc: A Review of General Semantics, XVIII (July), 190.

> But at no time does the American theologian manage to keep these three necessary persons of his trinity in mind at once. . . . The tenets of Clemens' creed were achieved separately and were never integrated; thus the creed itself was unstable and seldom consolatory.[175]

Clemens was a seeker and a searcher all his life. His religious quest never ended. A late note written to Livy indicates that he "never shut up his mind so tight that it would not unfold to the possible mysteries of an invisible world."[176] The tragedy is that he could find no peace in contemporary religions, or in his own. When Jean entered a convent he said that her religion seemed the most peace-giving of religions, and if he had it he would not trade it for anything in the earth.[177]

Throughout his life he had respect for all religious beliefs, but he could not "embrace the doubt."[178] He wanted to find the reassurance that Jean had seemed to find; he wanted to be "assured of the validity of man's faith in the unseen."[179] Perhaps, it was for this reason that he sought the company of clergymen.

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[175] C. O. Parsons, "The Devil and Sam Clemens," Virginia Quarterly Review, XXIII (Winter-Autumn, 1947), 595-596.

[176] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 189.

[177] Clara Clemens, My Father, p. 100.

[178] Brashear, Son of Missouri, p. 251.

[179] Ibid.

CHAPTER II

CLERGYMEN IN THE LIFE OF SAMUEL L. CLEMENS: MINOR FIGURES

Samuel L. Clemens knew many clergymen in his lifetime. Some were passing acquaintances, and others were intimate friends. Some Clemens did not like, and others he liked intensely. Some had only one mention in one writing; others required many pages. Some found their way into his essays and fiction, while others were lost to obscurity.

The earliest references to clergymen in the life of Clemens occur in Hannibal. Both young Samuel and brother Orion thought of becoming ministers themselves. Had Samuel chosen this road of life, he would have filled many of the desirable qualifications of the profession. His keen mind, simple style, sensitive conscience, vast capacity for sympathy and compassion, unfailing sincerity, and unswerving courage would have served him well. He became the most popular platform speaker of his day, and his magnetic personality would have made him a great success in the pulpit. This is not to overlook some disabilities that might have been in his way, however.

His intellectual nonconformity would have made his preaching anything but orthodox, conventional, or stale, and his gift of humor would have often prevented him from being taken seriously. He would have had to overcome his use of profanity and would have needed to develop the taste for tea, even though he was not a heavy drinker. He would have needed to control his outbursts of wrath and his expression of disgust for the "damned human race" although he never hated any individual.[1]

His reason for wanting to become a preacher was vastly different from Orion's. While Orion was attracted to the public speaking that ministers perform, Samuel was motivated by the feeling that a minister had a very safe job because "it never occurred to me that a preacher could be damned."[2] Clemens' concern about being "damned" is evident in his writings and his philosophy discussed in Chapter I, and that these feelings have their roots in Hannibal is also evident.

The preaching of Clemens' day was filled with pronouncements of hell-fire and damnation. Such ominous threats doubtlessly frightened the young lad. Sermons were long and terrifying and prayers were long and dull, according to this description:

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[1]Rev. C. J. Armstrong, "Sam Clemens Considered Becoming a Preacher," Twainian, IV, viii (May, 1945), 1.

[2]Ibid.

> The preacher wrought upon his meek congregation with mighty force, reading the Scripture lesson from the big Bible with ominous intonations and chastening gestures, every now and then peering over the top of his spectacles to see if one miscreant had escaped his vocal lash.
>
> Then the prayer began. The preacher, his head bowed and fingertips touching under his chin, prayed over the standing congregation, prayed for each and all of them, prayed for their near and dear, prayed for the souls of lost sinners, on land and on seas, prayed for the heathens in darkest Africa, prayed for wayward brethren fallen by the wayside, prayed for weak mortals tempted by the fleshpots, prayed for lost lambs strayed from the fold. The prayers went on and on, tolling a lugubrious list of sinners. Sam's heart sank in the face of a world so dark. He felt miserable and his attention wandered. Idly, he noticed that the prayer lasted as long as it took a June bug to make its way down the aisle from the door to the pulpit.[3]

The ministers in Hannibal responsible for giving preaching such a dark picture included the Rev. Daniel Emerson, who started the English and Classical School in the basement of the Presbyterian Church,[4] the Rev. Joshua Tucker, and the Rev. Robert Jordan.

Clemens attended Sunday School "for two or three years," in the little Methodist church on the public square called the Old Ship of Zion.[5] The structure had been erected in

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[3]Jerry Allen, The Adventures of Mark Twain (Boston, 1954), pp. 30-31.

[4]Minnie May Brashear, Mark Twain; Son of Missouri (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1934), pp. 141-142. Hereafter cited as Brashear, Son of Missouri.

[5]Dixon Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal (Boston, 1961), p. 86. Hereafter cited as Wecter, Hannibal.

1841 of bricks that were baked in the town square. Samuel Clemens, as a boy of six, probably watched the workmen building this new church. The first pastor was the Rev. Robert H. Jordan.[6] From this atmosphere Clemens later created the Sunday School scene in The Adventures of Tom Sawyer. In Chapter IV Tom collects varied colored tickets in order to win a prize Bible. Tickets were earned by memorizing Bible verses, but Tom took a short cut and traded for them. Clemens, in his early days, recited the same Bible verses about the five foolish virgins every week in order to get enough tickets to borrow a book from the church library.

The Presbyterian congregation erected its church building in 1839 and called its first regular pastor in 1840. The new pastor, the Rev. Joshua Tucker, arrived in October.[7]

About 1843 Jane Clemens and all the family except Samuel and Judge Clemens joined the Presbyterian church on North Fourth Street. Besides hearing about the horrors of hell-fire, brimstone, and the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, Clemens also had to endure the pastor's habit of lining out the hymn, a left-over from the days when there were few hymn

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[6] William C. S. Pellowe, Mark Twain, Pilgrim From Hannibal (New York, 1945), p. 25. Hereafter cited as Pellowe, Pilgrim.

[7] Ibid., p. 26.

books. Hymn lining and making long announcements when a bulletin or newspaper was available irritated Clemens in his worship.

An early letter to Livy, from Lockport, New York, dated March 4, 1869, describes his meeting Tucker's successor, the Rev. Joseph L. Bennett. His mother and sister were members of the church. Tucker had continued as pastor until 1846. For two years the church had supply preachers, and in October, 1848, Bennett was elected to serve. He stayed until 1853, which is the year young Samuel left Hannibal to become a journeyman printer in New York and Philadelphia.[8] Bennett's visit recalled "trooping phantoms of the past. . . ."[9] for Clemens.

But all his early memories were not bad ones. He still held the ministry in high esteem in spite of some unfortunate associations. A former playmate of Clemens, Frank Walden, left his printer's apprenticeship to go into the ministry. He became a country preacher "without a cent." Clemens wrote him after a lapse of twenty years, "I am glad you are in the ministry. It is the highest dignity to which a man may aspire in this life."[10]

Another playmate, Eugene Lampton, a first cousin, also became a preacher. His family had followed the Clemenses

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[8] Ibid., p. 79. [9] Wecter, Hannibal, p. 288n.

[10] Ibid., p. 231.

from Kentucky to Florida, Missouri, before the end of 1855.[11] As an old man, Lampton was the minister in the Disciples Church at Madison in Monroe County[12] and "maintained the veracity of a Campbellite minister."[13]

Alexander Campbell, a founder of the Disciples of Christ, commonly called Campbellites, was born in Ireland in 1786. He attended the University of Glasgow in 1808 and came to America in 1809. His first pastorate was at Brush Run Church. He started the publication of the Christian Baptist in 1823 and formed the Disciples of Christ with his father. The membership totaled over 350,000 by 1864. In 1840 he helped found Bethany College and was president from 1840 to 1866.[14]

Campbell created a great deal of excitement when he visited Hannibal. There was not enough room in any church to hold the crowds at the meetings, so he preached in the public square. His congregation wanted the sermons printed, and with sixteen dollars that was collected for that purpose, they contacted Joseph Ament's printing office, in which Clemens was an apprentice, to print five hundred copies of the sermons.

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[11] Ibid., pp. 46-47.

[12] Brashear, Son of Missouri, p. 47.

[13] Wecter, Hannibal, p. 47.

[14] Who Was Who in America, Marquis Edition (Chicago, 1963), p. 93. Hereafter cited as Who in America.

Clemens records in his autobiography how Wales, a fellow worker, reduced the name Jesus Christ to the French style of J.C. in order to save space. When Campbell received the revise, he strode into the office and read Wales a lecture about not diminishing the Saviour's name ever again. He emphasized this rather sternly. In retaliation Wales enlarged the abbreviation to Jesus H. Christ, the way "that common swearers of the region" emphasized the Saviour's name when they were using it profanely. It caused trouble and Wales was punished, but "he had already collected his dividend."[15]

A minister with connections in Hannibal and with the Campbellites was Barton Warren Stone. Born in Port Tobacco, Maryland, in 1722, he was licensed in 1796 by the Orange Presbytery, North Carolina. Later he formed the Springfield Presbytery, known only as "Christian," which was somewhat, but not entirely, allied with the Campbellites.[16] In 1810 his first wife died, and in 1811 he married Celia Wilson Bowen, daughter of William and Mary Bowen of Hannibal. Stone was the founder and editor of the Christian Messenger in 1826, and the author of many theological tracts. In 1844 he died in Hannibal in the home of his son-in-law, Captain

[15] Samuel Clemens, The Autobiography of Mark Twain, edited by Charles Neider (New York, 1959), pp. 98-99. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Autobiography.

[16] Who in America, p. 509.

S. A. Bowen,[17] and his grandson Will. Will Bowen was one of Clemens' closest friends.

Clemens mentioned another Rev. Dr. Stone and a Rev. Scudder he was "laying for" and a Rev. Stebbins in a letter to his mother in 1866 from California: "I am thick as thieves with the Reverend Stebbings [sic]. I am laying for Reverend Scudder and the Reverend Doctor Stone. I am running on preachers now altogether, and I find them gay. Stebbings is a regular brick."[18]

The Rev. Dr. Stone was pastor of the First Congregational Church and had resided in San Francisco only a few months when Clemens wrote the letter.[19] The Rev. Dr. Scudder was pastor of the Howard Presbyterian Church, and had been a missionary to India for some years prior to the California ministry. His personality loomed large in the city. During his pastorate he led the congregation in building a new church. The auditorium could seat thirteen hundred persons. Nine visiting clergymen assisted the pastor in the dedication ceremony. These were chiefly from the "new school" of Presbyterianism. Scudder was also a popular lecturer, his

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[17]Allen Johnson, editor, Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1929), XVIII, 71. Hereafter cited as Johnson, DAB.

[18]Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Letters, edited by Albert B. Paine (New York, 1917), I, 122. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Letters.

[19]Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 89.

favorite lecture being entitled, "The Hindu Mutiny and the American Rebellion," a study of the attempt of the people of India to throw off the government of England in the mid-nineteenth century.[20]

The Rev. Mr. Stebbins was a Unitarian clergyman who was a commanding figure in San Francisco for over thirty years. He was born in South Wilbraham, Massachusetts, in 1821. He graduated from Harvard in 1848 and attended Harvard Divinity School from 1848 to 1851. He was ordained to the ministry in the Unitarian Church in 1851. After pastoring in Massachusetts, and Portland, Maine, he accepted a call to San Francisco in 1864 to succeed the Rev. Thomas Starr King, another well known Unitarian leader of the West coast and late pastor of the First Unitarian Church on Geary Street. Clemens might have known this venerated clergyman and noted orator, also. He could have met him through Orion and Mollie Clemens in Nevada. A letter to the Rev. Mr. King from them was written to Carson City, February 26, 1864, showing they were on good terms.[21]

Stebbins was "a big, towering man, dignified in bearing and polished in manners. Independent, intellectually honest, direct and forceful in speech, and possessing an organ-like

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

[21] Samuel Clemens, *Clemens of the "Call,"* edited by Edgar M. Branch (Berkeley, 1969), p. 309n8. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, "*Call*."

voice, he drew large congregations and at important public gatherings was often the principal speaker."[22] He was also influential in the field of education. A year after his California arrival he was made a trustee of the College of California. He strongly supported the establishment of a State University and held a place on its first board of regents. He helped found Stanford University and was on its board of trustees. He was an advisor of Leland Stanford also.[23] He died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1902.

Clemens poked friendly fun at Stebbins several times. In "The Cruel Earthquake" which appeared in the _News_ on October 13, 1865, he wrote: "Rev. Mr. Stebbins . . . did precisely what I thought of doing myself at the time of the earthquake, but had no opportunity--he came down out of his pulpit and embraced a woman. Some say it was his wife." And the _Call_ had reported on October 10 that when the quake brought down an organ pipe in the midst of the Sunday service, Stebbins made a "facile egress" from his church.[24]

In 1895 Stebbins recorded this statement in his autobiography, _Thirty-one Years in California_: "I have not withheld my hand or my heart as a minister, a man, or a citizen from any human interest, within the reach of limited

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[22] Pellowe, _Pilgrim_, pp. 89-90.

[23] _Ibid_.

[24] Samuel Clemens, "_Call_," p. 317n14.

capacity and prescribed duty."[25] But in making that statement, he obviously did not count, or had forgotten, an incident in his and Clemens' relationship. When Jervis Langdon, Livy's father, asked for references upon Clemens' asking for Livy's hand in marriage, Clemens requested the references from six prominent men, among them two clergymen, one of whom was Stebbins. Evidently Stebbins took the request as a joke, because he wrote back that Clemens would fill a drunkard's grave.[26] Had not Langdon himself befriended Clemens, the outcome of this episode might have been different.

Among the other pastors Clemens knew in San Francisco were Abbott E. Kittredge of Howard Street Presbyterian Church; G. J. Mingins and William C. Anderson of the First Presbyterian Church; John D. Blain of the Howard Street Methodist Episcopal Church; Hubbard H. Kavanaugh, a visiting clergyman; the Rev. Mr. Grot of Marysville; the Rev. Dr. David B. Cheney of the First Baptist Church on Washington Street near Stockton; the Rev. Dr. Charles Wadsworth; and the Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows.[27] Most of these men were only acquaintances who were mentioned in various stories in the newspaper. Clemens became personally acquainted with Wadsworth and Bellows, however.

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[25]Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 90.

[26]Samuel Clemens, Autobiography, p. 206.

[27]Samuel Clemens, "Call," pp. 66, 86, 100, 242-245, 257.

Dr. Charles Wadsworth of the Calvary Presbyterian Church was a former friend of Emily Dickinson. He came to California from Philadelphia in 1862 and held the pastorate for seven years.[28] Clemens wrote that he could "get off a firstrate joke" and was able to take one on himself too.[29]

Henry Whitney Bellows, a Unitarian, was born in Boston in 1814 and graduated from Harvard Divinity School in 1837. Although his first preaching was in Mobile, Alabama, he returned to the North in 1839 to become the pastor of the First Unitarian Church of New York City. Later a new church was built on Fourth Avenue and renamed the Church of All Souls. Bellows was known for surprises that he liked to play upon his congregation. He would express from the pulpit a bold theological heresy, the advocacy of an unpopular reform, or the championship of a misunderstood class. Not technically a scholar, Bellows did have a wide reading knowledge, a quick insight, and great powers of interpretation. Although he was radical in thought, he was conservative in feeling and action. His most effective work was his ability to inspire men to common purposes and aims. He had an exceptional talent for public action and social and religious organization, and a genius for friendship

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[28]Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 88.

[29]Samuel Clemens, "Call," p. 100.

and domesticity.[30] While in California he organized widely for the United States Sanitary Commission of which he was founder and president.[31]

Bellows preceded Clemens to San Francisco by one month, having arrived by steamer on April 30, and left for New York City again in September. But during the five or six months that they were closely acquainted, Clemens learned to like him very much, and it was through him that he met Stebbins. Bellows came to supply the pulpit of the late Rev. Thomas Starr King and had a very fine miniature portrait of that preacher by Henrietta Molineux Gibson. When the newspapers printed caricatures of King, Clemens wrote an article, "Fine Picture of Rev. Mr. King" telling about the lovely portrait he had seen.[32]

Bellows liked Clemens' newspaper writing and encouraged him to write a book. When Bellows left, Clemens wrote a tribute, "Farewell Address of Dr. Bellows," in the _Call_, and to his mother and sister he wrote: "Bellows is an able, upright and eloquent man--a man of imperial intellect and matchless power--he is a Christian in the truest sense of the term and is unquestionably a brick."[33]

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[30] Johnson, _DAB_, II, 169.

[31] Samuel Clemens, "_Call_," p. 19.

[32] _Ibid._, p. 61.

[33] _Ibid._, pp. 256-257.

During the four months in 1866 that Clemens was in Hawaii his closest clerical friends were Father Alexander and Father Damon. Father Alexander lived at Wailuku on the island of Maui. Clemens stayed with him for more than a month. "He was often welcomed to supper at the Alexander home, and he and Mr. Alexander had jolly times together. He used to say that he thought too much of Mr. Alexander to put him into any of his books."[34]

Father Samuel C. Damon lived in Honolulu and pastored the Seaman's Mission, the Bethel Union Church, and edited the _Seaman's Friend_, a monthly founded in 1843. The house and chapel where he preached were built by the Seaman's Friend Society of New York in 1833. The Rev. John Diell had pastored until his death in 1841. Damon arrived in the fall of 1842 and had been there ever since, except for the yearly trips home, and to California in 1849. He preached the first sermon ever preached in Stockton, Clemens said.[35]

Clemens enjoyed staying with the Damons. In an unpublished section of his autobiography, he said: "Went with Mr. Damon to his cool, vine-shaded home . . . . Dr. Damon's identification with all benevolent and public measures for the welfare of the community early made this one of the best

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[34]Walter Francis Frear, _Mark Twain and Hawaii_ (Chicago, 1947), p. 134. Hereafter cited as Frear, _Hawaii_.

[35]_Ibid_., pp. 152-153.

known homes in the islands." Clemens also said that Damon was "beloved by all--he and wife always collecting and caring for the poor. Old whalers like him."[36]

Once when Clemens overdid horseback riding on a month-long tour of the islands, he developed boils and stayed with Father Damon and took advantage of his vast library. Most of the reading was flat, but one of the few books Clemens did enjoy, he read and reread so many times that he subconsciously memorized the preface of it. This book was one of William Dean Howells' blue-and-gold series, Songs in Many Keys. Years later, Clemens wrote that preface as his own in his book The Innocents Abroad.

Clemens also "borrowed" a book from Damon's library. When he was twitted by the Honolulu press for his failure to return Jarves' History of the Sandwich Islands, he wrote Damon an apology.[37] He kept the book for a while, however. Clemens sent it back, and later gave Damon copies of his "Jumping Frog" book and Sketches New and Old.[38]

Clemens claimed acquaintanceship with ninety-six missionaries in Hawaii.[39] He was acquainted with Father

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[36] Ibid., p. 152.

[37] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Travels With Mr. Brown, edited by Franklin Walker and G. Ezra Dane (New York, 1940), p. 286n2. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Travels With Mr. Brown.

[38] Frear, Hawaii, p. 154. [39] Ibid., p. 36.

Paris.[40] He thought highly of G. P. Judd, at first a medical missionary and later one of the foremost benefactors of Hawaii in government service. Of him he wrote:

> A man can't know anything about G. P. Judd from talking to him--but read his writings--he never jumps to a conclusion but when he arrives at one it is monstrous apt to be correct--his state papers are models of clearness, perspicacity, and sound judgment--statesmanship, if you please. The whiffets who now hold office should not speak lightly of him--the equal of that shrewd, wise old head of his does not exist in the S. I. today.[41]

Clemens knew the Rev. Lorrin Andrews, author of the Hawaiian dictionary and phrase book, who taught himself and his students to engrave on copper; and he knew Professor W. D. Alexander, a missionary son, who had been a salutatorian at Yale, president of Oahu College, historian and philologist. Of him Clemens wrote: "One of the finest Greek scholars ever produced."[42] Of the Rev. H. H. Parker, another missionary son and pastor of the Kawaiahao Church for fifty-four years he wrote: "A young man born and well educated here--never been away--very fine orator and thorough in native language." Parker did travel some afterwards, and revised Andrews' Hawaiian Dictionary before his death at the age of ninety-three.[43]

On the Sunday after his arrival Clemens heard young Rev. T. G. Thurston deliver his first sermon. He had been

[40] Ibid., p. 64.

[41] Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[42] Ibid., p. 24.

[43] Ibid., p. 25.

a fellow passenger with Clemens on the ship coming over to Hawaii. Clemens recorded: "Young Thurston made first sermon in Fort Street Church Sunday evening 25th--his old father and mother (missionary 46 years) present--feeling remarks of minister in his prayer about the old people being spared to hear the son they had dedicated to the Lord--very affecting."[44]

When Clemens got his famous interview story from the Hornet survivors, he met Henry Ferguson, LL.D. Ferguson was only eighteen at the time, but he became an Episcopal clergyman, and a professor of history in Trinity College. In Hartford he and Clemens continued their friendship. Both belonged to the Monday Evening Club. Ferguson died in 1917.[45]

One of the most anti-religious things taught Clemens in his youth was to hate Catholics: "I have been educated to enmity toward everything that is Catholic, and sometimes, in consequence of this, I find it much easier to discover Catholic faults than Catholic merits."[46] In Hawaii he was able to overcome some of this enmity through association with the Right Reverend Lord Bishop Maigret, head of the French Roman Catholic Mission. Of him and the mission Clemens said:

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[44] Ibid. [45] Ibid., pp. 102-103.

[46] Arthur Scott, Mark Twain at Large (Chicago, 1969), p. 54. Hereafter cited as Scott, Twain at Large.

> The French Roman Catholic Mission here, under the Right Reverend Bishop Maigret, goes along quietly and unostentatiously; and its affairs are conducted with a wisdom which betrays the presence of a leader of distinguished ability. The Catholic clergy are honest, straightforward, frank and open; they are industrious and devoted to their religion and their work; they never meddle; whatever they do can be relied on as being prompted by a good and worthy motive. These things disarm resentment--prejudice cannot exist in their presence. Consequently, Americans are never heard to speak ill or slightingly of the French Catholic Mission. Their religion is not nondescript--it is plain, out and out, undisguised and unmistakable Catholicism. You know right where to find them when you want them. The American missionaries have no quarrel with these men; they honor and respect and esteem them, and bid them God-speed. There is an anomaly for you--Puritan and Roman Catholic striding along, hand in hand, under the banner of the Cross![47]

But Bishop Staley of the Hawaiian Established Reformed Catholic Church was another matter entirely. When Bishop Staley arrived on the islands, he had been preceded by forty years of missionary effort. Instead of following in those footsteps, he revived the native customs, some of which Clemens considered of a barbarous age and best forgotten. Such customs included certain funeral rites that went on for days and days, "promiscuous bathing in the surf of nude natives of opposite sexes," the hula, and beating of the tom-tom "that wretchedst of all wretched musical abortions."[48] Clemens said that all of this had come about because of

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[47] Frear, Hawaii, p. 139.

[48] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Letters from Hawaii, edited by A. Grove Day (New York, 1966), pp. 169-170.

elevating "a weak, trivial-minded man to a position of rank and power--of making a bishop out of very inferior material--of trying to construct greatness out of constitutional insignificance."[49]

He further declared that Bishop Staley gossiped, did not know how to control his tongue and speeches, showed spite, was vain, lacked sagacity, and displayed an "unripeness of judgment which might be forgiven a youth, but not a full grown man . . . not a bishop."[50] Furthermore, his church did not fit in well with the natives. It conducted a stiff and stuffy cermonious service which meant little, and the wealthy trappings of the church did not fit in well with its surroundings.[51]

Clemens specifically condemned Bishop Staley in his handling of a funeral of an Hawaiian princess who was a member of the flock of a Reverend Parker. Parker was the pastor of the great stone church. Clemens described him as being "always eloquent." Bishop Staley refused to let Parker conduct the graveside ceremonies. The princess was not a member of Staley's church, but the cemetery was under his jurisdiction. The Bishop gave her only a "meager, noncommital benediction--a sort of chilly funeral politeness--nothing more," rather than offering a prayer and regular burial

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 170. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-175, 178.

services.[52] This Clemens could not forgive or forget. He used Bishop Staley in his letters to the Union, private and public letters, Roughing It, and lectures.[53]

Between these two kinds of missionaries, the Maigrets and the Staleys, Clemens was able to allow for the individual, but he still held to some old prejudices. When he had first come to the islands, he felt that the missionaries were the despoiling agents of an innocent land. He said the missionaries had made the natives

> permanently miserable by telling them how beautiful and how blissful a place heaven is, and how nearly impossible it is to get there; and showed the poor native how dreary a place perdition is and what unnecessarily liberal facilities there are for going to it; showed him how, in his ignorance, he had gone and fooled away all his kinsfolk to no purpose; showed him what rapture it is to work all day long for fifty cents to buy food for next day with, as compared with fishing for a pastime and lolling in the shade through eternal summer, and eating of the bounty that nobody labored to provide but Nature. How sad it is to think of the multitudes who have gone to their graves in this beautiful island and never knew there was a hell.[54]

But when he saw the missionaries' work he changed his mind, at least enough to allow a more liberal view. Ivan Benson asserts that "Twain never could make up his mind

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[52]Ibid., pp. 177-178.

[53]Frear, Hawaii, p. 137.

[54]Samuel Clemens, Roughing It, Vol. IV of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1922), p. 186. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Writings.

definitely about the missionaries; sometimes he thought they were all right and probably had done the Islands some good, whereas at other times he thought the missionaries had serious shortcomings."[55] The reason for this was the fact "that he was never able to reconcile the three areas of missionary influence--social, doctrinal, and colonial."[56]

He felt the social missionary, that is, the teacher, doctor, nurses, and village social workers, performed good work, but he never commended the colonial missionary:

> The missionaries have clothed them, educated them, broken up the tyrannous authority of their chiefs, and given them freedom and the right to enjoy whatever their hands and brains produce, with equal laws for all, and punishment for all alike who transgress them. The contrast is so strong--the benefit conferred upon this people by the missionaries is so prominent, so palpable, and so unquestionable, that the frankest compliment I can pay them, and the best, is simply to point to the condition of the Sandwich Islanders of Captain Cook's time, and their condition today. Their work speaks for itself.[57]

Here, within one page his ambivalence is perfectly illustrated. In his Notebook he made this note testifying to the latter feeling recorded above:

> Missionaries have made honest men out of the nation of thieves; instituted marriage; created homes; lifted women to [the] same rights and

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[55]Ivan Benson, Mark Twain's Western Years (Stanford, 1938), p. 146.

[56]Scott, Twain at Large, p. 19.

[57]Samuel Clemens, Writings, IV, 187-188.

> privileges enjoyed elsewhere; abolished infanticide; abolished intemperance; diminished licentiousness; given equal laws, whereby the chief's power of life and death over his subjects is taken away; in a great measure abolished idolatry; have well educated the people.[58]

And he heartily approved of the American missionaries:

> But by and by the American missionaries came and they struck off the shackles from the whole race, breaking the power of the Kings and Chiefs. They set the common man free, elevated his wife to a position of equality, and gave a plot of land to each to hold forever. They set up schools and churches and imbued them with the spirit of the Christian religion. If they had had the power to augment the capacities of the people they could have made them perfect, and they would have done it, no doubt.
>
> The missionaries taught the whole nation to read and write with facility, in the native tongue. I don't suppose there is today a single uneducated person above eight years of age in the Sandwich Islands. It is the best educated country in the world, I believe, not excepting some portions of the United States. That has been all done by the American missionaries.[59]

He could justify and approve of the missionaries' raising the standard of the natives, but he could never decide upon the missionary wanting to change the native religion to his own. At one time he wrote, "True irreverence is disrespect for the other man's god."[60] A further jotting in his Notebook reveals that he perhaps did not agree with the changing of the natives' religion:

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[58] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Notebook, edited by Albert B. Paine (New York, 1935), p. 28. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Notebook.

[59] Frear, Hawaii, p. 141.

[60] Scott, Twain at Large, p. 264.

> I suppose that a missionary passes some of the bitterest hours that men are called upon to suffer in this life; hours heavy with self-reproach, humiliation, remorse; hours wherein the one side of his nature rises in revolt against the other side; where his heart fights against his head; where his duty comes into collison with his humanity. For he is but a man, like the rest, with the instincts and feelings common to his race. He must often feel a deep compassion for the parents whose heart he is breaking when he beguiles their children from the religion which those parents love and honor and leads them into paths which they regard as perilous, and puts upon them the shame of treachery and apostasy. It must be that sometimes the missionary is a parent himself and has suffered what he is now inflicting. And he will remember how careful he was to shield his children from religious influences foreign to his creed; how particular he was to see that the teachers were of the right theological tint before he trusted them in any school; how promptly he dismissed a servant, sometime or other, when he found out that that servant was a propagandist for another creed.
>
> He will argue that the cases differ; that the servant was robbing his child of salvation, but that he is bringing salvation to this man's children. Then he will remember that <u>he</u> was the judge in the case of his child, and so he must allow this man to be judge in the case of <u>his</u> children. He cannot claim a right which he denies to another man.[61]

He also wrote:

> A missionary is a man who is pretty nearly all heart, else he would not be in a calling which requires of him such large sacrifices of one kind and another. He is made up of faith, zeal, courage, sentiment, emotion, enthusiasm; and so he is a mixture of poet, devotee, and knight errant. He exiles himself from home and friends and the scenes and associations that are dearest to him; patiently endures discomforts, privations, discouragement; goes with good pluck into dangers which he knows may cost him his life; and when he must suffer death, willingly makes that supreme sacrifice for his cause.[62]

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[61]Samuel Clemens, <u>Notebook</u>, pp. 285-286.

[62]Frear, <u>Hawaii</u>, p. 130.

Clemens wrote so much about the missionaries that he was referred to in the California papers as the Missionary, St. Mark, the Moral Phenomenon, the Moralist of the Main, the Inimitable, the Immaculate, the Irrepressible, and the American Patron Saint of Mendacity.[63]

In later years, he became disillusioned with American missionaries. He had felt that it was the American missionaries who had really civilized the Hawaiian native. But in 1901 he read newspaper accounts about the American missionary, William Ament. Clemens felt Ament had been used for imperialistic purposes in China. The "denunciation was not based upon either religious convictions or their absence,"[64] but rather upon the growth of an attitude toward American imperialism which had already expressed itself the previous year. In a "Greeting From the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century," written New Year's eve 1900, Clemens wrote:

> I bring you the stately nation named Christendom, returning, bedraggled, besmirched, and dishonored, from private raids in Kiao Chou, Manchuria, South Africa, and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pockets full of boodle, and her mouth full of pious hypocrisies. Give her soap and towel, and hide the looking glass.[65]

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[63] Ibid., pp. 146-147.

[64] Edward Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Work (Norman, Oklahoma, 1961), p. 176. Hereafter cited as Wagenknecht, Man and Work.

[65] DeLancey Ferguson, Mark Twain: Man and Legend (New York, 1943), pp. 283-284.

From such a point of view, he denounced the Rev. William Ament in the invective essay published in the February issue of the North American Review. The American Board of missions had demanded compensation of thirteen times the actual damage done to Ament's mission during the Boxer Rebellion. The missionary who had taught peace, and "Love thy neighbor as thyself," was now asking for blood sacrifice. "The Person Sitting in Darkness" did not understand this blatant contradiction.

Journalists and clergymen attacked Clemens for this treatment of Ament, particularly after it was discovered that a cable error was responsible for the incorrect report that the compensation was thirteen times the amount. In actuality it was but one and a third times the amount. The American Board under the Rev. Dr. Judson Smith demanded an apology. Instead, Clemens wrote "To My Missionary Critics" in the April issue of the North American Review. He took the stand that since the amount had been reduced, the board was apparently now saying that it was all right for Ament to get the compensation. They failed to see that the principle was the same. Ament's justification of the collection of the extra by saying it was a Chinese custom, gave Clemens the grounds for his scathing denunciation of moral relativism and his pronouncement that Ament was revising the Ten

Commandments to read: "Thou shalt not steal--except when it is the custom in the country."[66]

At the same time he was writing these treatises he was contributing financially to missionary causes.[67] However, in January, 1894, in reply to a letter from Mrs. Hamilton Marsh, a stranger, who asked him to speak at a meeting in support of missionaries and help raise money to spread the gospel, he had replied: "In declining your kind invitation I will be frank with you and say that I have no interest with such things and take no interest in them."[68] His experiences with the Ament situation may have been the permanent turning point in his attitude toward the missionary effort.

Other direct attacks had come from Clemens' pen as early as 1865 when he pointedly attacked the venal clergy through an imaginary exchange of letters in two issues of the Alta California using three ministers, Bishop Hawks from New York, Phillips Brooks from Philadelphia, and the Rev. Dr. Cummings from Chicago, regarding a call to the pulpit at Grace Church in San Francisco. His attack on these clergymen came because he believed they showed more interest in cash

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[66]Frank Baldanza, Mark Twain; An Introduction and Interpretation (New York, 1961), pp. 132-133.

[67]Leah A. Strong, Joseph Hopkins Twichell, Mark Twain's Friend and Pastor (Athens, Georgia, 1966), p. 120.

[68]Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain-Howells Letters, edited by Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson, II (Cambridge, 1960), 657-658.

than in converts. As told by Clemens, each of the ministers, in turn, rejected the seven-thousand-dollar-a-year position because he was making more at home with his stock investments. Clemens did not believe they lived up to the Christian standard they professed.

Clemens' first letter was to Bishop Hawks. He told him not to worry about the salary as stated. Clemens would see to it that he earned more in California than he had ever earned in New York. "I have a great deal of influence with the clergy here . . . I can get them to strike for higher wages any time."[69] The statement for clerical strikes for higher wages would have horrified Bishop Hawks. Protestant clergy considered all strikes as illegal at that time. Nevertheless, Clemens reemphasized the certainty of his intention to increase the good father's pocketbook.

In his letter of reply, the Rev. Dr. Hawks rejected the offer but his language was the same, monetary. He told Clemens that since he had had the offer, his own congregation had appreciated him more, increased his salary and promised him a new church. He explained he could not leave then because he must look after the cotton trade stock that he held. Clemens condemned him for following the example of the Wall Street stock speculator.[70]

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[69] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's San Francisco, edited by Bernard Taper (New York, 1963), p. 78.

[70] Philip Foner, Mark Twain: Social Critic (New York, 1958), p. 143.

By the next week the other two clergymen refused to have their letters published, Clemens wrote. But they made it quite clear that the reason why they could not accept the offer was that Brooks was "in petroleum to some extent, also," and Cummings was "speculating a little in grain."[71]

Although the "Important Correspondence" was fictional, the people were real. Clemens wrote it to attack the hypocrisy that he felt was going on in such instances:

> Money motivates their conduct just as it does other men of influence and power. Godliness was in alliance with wealth, and too many clergymen made business values the criterion of religious conduct. Although the "Correspondence" was imaginary, the press of the period carried sufficient reports of the adoption of "business ethics" by clergymen to give it reality.[72]

The reason for Clemens' not getting into trouble about printing what would be termed libelous stories today, is a mystery. Perhaps the names he used for his imaginary correspondence were too far away to give it ample notice, and even if they did, Clemens was too far away to prosecute.

The Bishop Hawks referred to in the first letter could very well have been the very popular Francis Lister Hawks. He was born in 1798 in North Carolina. He graduated with first honors at the University of North Carolina in 1815 and began to study law, but turned to theology and was ordained in 1827. He held pastorates in New Haven and Philadelphia

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[71]Samuel Clemens, San Francisco, pp. 88-89.

[72]Foner, Social Critic, p. 144.

before being elected a professor in the Divinity School of Washington (now Trinity) College in Hartford. In 1831 he became rector of St. Stephen's in New York City and later of St. Thomas' Church, holding the latter place until 1843. Although he went to Mississippi for a time, he returned to New York as rector of the Church of the Mediator in 1849. He went to Calvary Church in 1862, resigned and went to Christ Church in Balitmore during the Civil War, but returned to New York once again in 1865 and formed the parish of Our Saviour and also that of Iglesia de Santiago where he preached and conducted services in Spanish. He died in 1866.[73]

Born in Boston in 1835, Phillips Brooks graduated from Harvard in 1855, attended a seminary in Alexandria, Virginia, and was ordained in 1859. He was a well-known and popular speaker of the day. His sermon "Character, Life, and Death of Mr. Lincoln," at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in 1865 at the funeral services for the late President Abraham Lincoln received nationwide attention. He had also delivered a sermon at Harvard's commemoration of the Civil War dead in 1865 which won him acclaim. He composed the words for "O Little Town of Bethlehem" in 1868.[74]

He began his ministry in the Church of the Advent, Philadelphia. In 1862 he was the rector of the Holy Trinity

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[73]Johnson, DAB, VIII, 416-417.

[74]Concise Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1964), p. 110.

Church in Philadelphia. In 1869 he returned to Boston as rector of Trinity Church, the stronghold of Episcopalianism. He led the congregation in building a new church in 1877 in Copley Square when the old one burned. In 1880 he preached before the Queen of England at Windsor, the first instance of such distinction to an American. Oxford gave him an honorary doctor of divinity degree in 1885, and Columbia followed in 1887. He was elected bishop in 1891.[75]

In 1901 when Clemens read a biography of Phillips Brooks he called it the "dullest book that has been printed for a century . . . . Why, in that dead atmosphere even Brooks himself is dull--he wearied me; *oh* how he wearied me!"[76]

The Rev. Dr. Cummings is less well known. Clemens remarked in a letter to the *Alta California* in 1867 that Cummings wrote "The Great Consummation,"[77] but beyond that nothing was found.

Clemens also attacked two other clergyman for what he felt was pious hypocrisy and religious snobbery. These articles were originally published in the *Galaxy* magazine.

The Rev. Mr. Sabine of New York had refused to hold funeral services for George Holland, the famous actor. In Clemens' article, "The Indignity Put Upon the Remains of George Holland by Rev. Mr. Sabine," Clemens contended that

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[75] Johnson, *DAB*, III, 85-87.

[76] Samuel Clemens, *Letters*, I, 712.

[77] Samuel Clemens, *Travels With Mr. Brown*, p. 153.

Holland had reached more people's hearts for the gospel of mankind than Sabine could ever hope to do. In his conclusion he goes so far as to call Sabine and others like him, "this crawling, slimy, sanctimonious, self-righteous reptile!"[78] It was from this article that Sabine's Church of the Transfiguration earned its title of the Little Church Around the Corner.[79]

The Rev. Thomas DeWitt Talmage, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, New York, was a lecturer and quite prominent in clerical and social circles. In 1870 his congregation had erected Brooklyn Tabernacle with a seating capacity of four thousand. This building and its two successive structures were destroyed by fire in 1872, 1889, and 1894. Each time the congregation rebuilt a larger church.[80]

Talmage used popular dramatic devices in his preaching and lecturing:

> Exploiting strong clear-cut features, erect carriage, and startling gestures, he made the ordinary seem impressive. One device was to hurl a question in a low, intense voice. Then, after striding wordlessly about the stage, he suddenly faced his audience, crossed his arms, stamped his feet, and repeated the question in a loud voice, and roared the answer.[81]

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[78]Albert B. Paine, Mark Twain; A Biography, Vol. XXXIII of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1922), 1627. Hereafter cited as Paine, Writings.

[79]Ferguson, Man and Legend, p. 151.

[80]Elgin S. Moyer, editor, Who Was Who in Church History (Chicago, 1968), p. 396. Hereafter cited as Moyer, Church History.

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Unfortunately for Talmage, he published an article in which he assumed the premise that if the working classes attended his church and sat in the plush pews it would drive the better class of worshiper away. Among the things he said was this:

> I have a good Christian friend who, if he sat in the front pew in church, and a working man should enter the door at the other end, would smell him instantly. My friend is not to blame for the sensitiveness of his nose, any more than you would flog a pointer for being keener on the scent than a stupid watch-dog.[82]

Clemens used this reference to entitle his article "About Smells." It all but scorched the paper. Clemens contrasted Talmage with the early disciples of Christ and in part of his conclusion he stated:

> They healed the very beggars, and held intercourse with people of a villainous odor every day. If the subject of these remarks had been chosen among the original Twelve Apostles he would not have associated with the rest, because he could not have stood the fishy smell of some of his comrades who came from around the Sea of Galilee. He would have resigned his commission with some such remark as he makes in the extract quoted above: "Master, if thou art going to kill the church thus with bad smells I will have nothing to do with this work of evangelization." He is a disciple, and makes that remark to the Master; the only difference is that he makes it in the nineteenth instead of the first century.[83]

Clemens later used Talmage in his Report From Paradise where he said:

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[82]Paine, Writings, XXXI, 404.

[83]Ibid., p. 405.

> There's a Brooklyn preacher by the name of Talmage, who is laying up a considerable disappointment for himself. He says, every now and then in his sermons, that the first thing he does when he gets to heaven, will be to fling his arms around Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and kiss them and weep on them. There's millions of people down there on earth that are promising themselves the same thing . . . . If they were a mind to allow it, they wouldn't ever have anything to do, year in and year out, but stand up and be hugged and wept on thirty-two hours in the twenty-four. They would be tired out and as wet as muskrats all the time.
>
> Do you think Talmage will really come here?
> Why certainly he will; but don't you be alarmed; he will run with his own kind, and there's plenty of them. That is the main charm of heaven--there's all kinds here--which wouldn't be the case if you let the preachers tell it. Anybody can find the sort he prefers, here, and he just lets the others alone, and they let him alone. When the Deity builds a heaven, it is built right, and on a liberal plan.[84]

And finally, in a suppressed article published in 1963 entitled "Mark Twain's Reflections on Religion," Clemens wrote scathing comments on Christianity and its God, and pointed out one Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs in particular. At first, Clemens called him "perhaps the most daringly broadminded religious person now occupying an American pulpit." But further on in the article he said that Dr. Briggs' mind and others like his "have lost their clarity through mulling over absurdities in the pious wish to dig something sane and rational out of them."[85]

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[84] Samuel Clemens, Report From Paradise (New York, 1952), pp. 60-61.

[85] Samuel Clemens, "Mark Twain's Reflections on Religion," edited by Charles Neider, Hudson Review, XVI (Autumn, 1963),

In his early days, Briggs had led a varied life between preaching and teaching. In 1892 he had been tried for heresy by the Presbytery of New York and had been acquitted. The following year the prosecution appealed to the General Assembly, which condemned him and suspended him from the ministry. About 1900 he took orders from the Protestant Episcopal Church in which he remained until his death in 1913. The Union Theological Seminary became independent and non-denominational by splitting away from the Assembly as a result of their action with Briggs, and retained him as a professor. "In spite of his reputation for radicalism, he was thoroughly conservative except in the field of Biblical criticism."[86] Perhaps this is what brought about Clemens' feelings concerning Briggs.

Clemens did not approve of the Rev. Dwight L. Moody, although he did not know him personally. The Moody type of religious expression he did not relish, although if he had known Moody himself he might have found him as hard to resist as Joseph Twichell.[87]

Clemens became quite a celebrity when he returned from Hawaii because of the exclusive newspaper interview story on the Hornet survivors. His editor was more than pleased with the report and was quite willing for Clemens to accompany a tour to Europe and the Holy Land sponsored by the Plymouth

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[86]Moyer, Church History, p. 58.

[87]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 180.

Congregational Church of Brooklyn and led by the most renowned minister of the time, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

Clemens carried letters of introduction to Beecher and to the Rev. Dr. Tyng, among others. Stephen Higginson Tyng was a Protestant Episcopal clergyman born in Newburyport, Massachusetts. He had graduated from Harvard at the age of seventeen in 1817, but went into the business world before entering the ministry. He was ordained a priest in 1824 and ministered for fifty-seven years in various eastern pulpits.

Described as the "prince of platform orators," Tyng was an outstanding figure in religious circles. His commanding personality was inclined to become somewhat autocratic at times, particularly when he faced opposition. Beecher said of him, "He is the one man that I am afraid of." He was noted for his fearlessness in the pulpit and was considered the greatest pastor in the Episcopal Church next to the Rev. Dr. Francis Lister Hawks.[88]

When Clemens was on his way to New York in December, 1866, and January, 1867, he recorded meeting a Rev. John G. Fackler, an Episcopal clergyman, who was on his way to the East to get his family. He was the pastor of the Central Church Mission near Fifth Street. On the trip, he performed a wedding ceremony and when an epidemic of Asiatic cholera broke out, Fackler's

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[88] Johnson, DAB, XIX, 102.

services were required to bury the men at sea with proper ceremony. Fackler was a very sensitive man and Clemens records that he "made himself sick with sorrow for the poor fellows that died."[89] Later, on January 5, the minister got a "fit" or "convulsion of some kind," took sick that afternoon and died early the next morning. Clemens attended his funeral at Key West. The association, however brief, remained with Clemens for a long time.

While Clemens was in New York waiting for the tour to leave, he visited the Bible House, which had been built in 1853 on Astor Place. It was the first building in New York to occupy an entire city block. The Bible Society remained there until 1936 when it moved to smaller quarters at 57 Park Avenue since it no longer did its own printing. According to Franklin Walker and G. Ezra Dane, "By 1938, in 122 years, it had issued 283,700,204 volumes of scripture, over one fourth of the billion volumes which, by its estimate, have been produced since the invention of printing."[90] During the tour, Clemens met the Rev. Father Agapius, a Cossack by birth, and a priest of the Greek Church, who was setting up the Gospels in Arabic type. In another room the Rev. Dr. Van Dyck was reading proofs of the Arabic Bible. Clemens also met the Rev.

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[89] Samuel Clemens, _Notebook_, p. 45.

[90] Samuel Clemens, _Travels With Mr. Brown_, p. 293n1.

Dr. Dyer, secretary of the Bible Society.[91] At the end of this letter about his visit to the Bible House he confessed that he had at last mailed the long "borrowed" book back to Father Damon.[92]

Clemens visited "Bishop Southgate's Matinee," so-called because many of the showpeople attended the services on Sunday afternoon. The ungodly called it the "Church of the Holy Zebra" since it was grid-ironed all over with alternate short bars of red and white. The service was just as unorthodox, with its unusual choir and organ accompaniment. But Clemens said he liked the sermon and that the Bishop's matinee "is well calculated to seduce the sinner into coming within the sound of the preached Gospel. There is wisdom in the idea, no doubt."[93]

Horatio Southgate, then in his middle fifties, was rector of the Zion Protestant Episcopal Church. He had been a missionary in the Near East and the first missionary bishop in Constantinople. In his early years he had been called a radical "low man," but later he went to the opposite extreme of ceremonial services and was criticized by his former colleagues for "coqueting with popish errors."[94]

Clemens attended church one night at St. Alban's. If Bishop Southgate's was "high church," St. Alban's was even

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[91] *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 212. [92] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 97. [94] *Ibid.*, p. 285n2.

higher. "I should say that the latter was Roman Catholic in disguise." The service was very formal and lovely. Clemens concluded, "It was worth a pilgrimage to hear."[95]

When Clemens went to sign up for the Holy Land tour, Edward "Ned" House, a New York Tribune newsman, introduced him as the Rev. Mr. Twain, a Baptist clergyman of some distinction lately arrived from San Francisco. Clemens pretended to have been on missionary business as an excuse for the man's not being familiar with his name. House told the man that the Rev. Mr. Twain was wondering if Henry Ward Beecher would be on board and if so, would he be willing to share the pulpit during the voyage. Clemens did go back the next day and acknowledge his true occupation. He left references, including the name of the Rev. Mr. Damon, as to his high moral character.[96]

When the Quaker City finally left New York harbor there were only three clergymen on board, but the boat seemed filled with them because of all the prayer meetings that were held. Clemens had written the Alta on June 10, 1867, that "preachers are always pleasant company when they were off duty,"[97] but from the relationships he was to encounter with these particular clergymen, it would seem he might have been wrong.

Of the three, the youngest, the Rev. G. W. Quereau of Aurora, Illinois, was forty. Since he was closer to Clemens'

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[95] Ibid., 98.

[96] Ibid., pp. 113-116.

[97] Ibid.

age than the other two one might have expected them to get to know each other well, but Clemens scarcely mentioned him.[98]

The Rev. E. Carter Hutchinson, a sixty-one year-old Episcopal priest from St. Louis, was an acquaintance of Clemens' mother. This made no difference to Clemens. He wrote his mother:

> I am resigned to Rev. Mr. Hutchinson's or anybody else's supervision. I don't mind it. I am fixed. I have got a splendid, immoral, tobacco-smoking, wine-drinking godless roommate who is as good and true and right-minded a man as ever lived--a man whose blameless conduct and example will always be an eloquent sermon to all who shall come within their influence. But send on the professional preachers--there are none I like better to converse with. If they're not narrow minded and bigoted they make good companions.[99]

The Rev. Dr. Hutchinson seemed to be one of the "narrow minded and bigoted," however, for Clemens did not spend much time conversing with him. It may well have been Hutchinson who is described in an Alta letter as a "solemn, unsmiling, sanctimonious old iceberg that looked like he was waiting for a vacancy in the Trinity."[100] Hutchinson asked the captain if the excursion would come to a halt on Sundays to observe Holy Day. The Captain said he did not think it would be possible to anchor in the middle of the Atlantic, but on shore everyone would be free to do as he pleased. Hutchinson warned

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[98]Dewey Ganzel, Mark Twain Abroad (Chicago, 1968), p. 34. Hereafter cited as Ganzel, Abroad.

[99]Samuel Clemens, Letters, I, 126.

[100]Samuel Clemens, Travels With Mr. Brown, p. 276.

against doing anything on the Sabbath that would bring later judgment. Clemens concluded:

> Now I respected that man's repugnance to violating the Sabbath until he betrayed that he would violate it in a minute if he were not afraid the lightning would strike him, or something else would happen to him, and then I lost my reverence for him. I thought I perceived that he was not good and holy, but only sagacious, and so I turned the key on my valise and moved it out of his reach. I shall have to keep an eye on that fellow.[101]

Once again Clemens showed that he could not stand the pious hypocrite: "There was a little difference of opinion between us--nothing more. /He thought that he/ could have saved Sodom and Gomorrah, and I thought it would have been unwise to risk money upon it."[102]

Hutchinson had an understanding with a St. Louis paper about sending reports back, as did the third minister on board, the Rev. Mr. Bullard, of Wayland, Massachusetts.[103] Bullard was only twenty-seven, but came from a family of ministers. His father had been the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis. This young Presbyterian acted as the ship's chaplain during the voyage. His and Clemens' initial meeting was dispiriting, for all Clemens had

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[101]Ibid., p. 277.

[102]Justin Kaplan, Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain (New York, 1966), p. 41. Hereafter cited as Kaplan, Mr. Clemens.

[103]Ibid., p. 43.

to say in his notebook was: "Rev. Mr. Bullard preached from 11 Cor. 7 & 8 verses about something."[104]

A week or so after the ship was underway, Bullard and Clemens were drawn into a religious conversation. Bullard later remarked to another passenger, evidently with some chagrin, that he "hoped that from this voyage many souls might be born again."[105] Although Clemens led the evening devotions the following week, he wanted no part in the clergyman's obstetrical plans.[106]

During the voyage, the Rev. Mr. Bullard took a side trip with some of the Pilgrims, and a former classmate of his, the Reverend Washburn, who was living in Constantinople, took his place with the others on the trip to the Black Sea. The Rev. Mr. Washburn had been to Palestine several times and the Pilgrims seemed to enjoy hearing of his experiences.[107]

If Bullard had thought that the trip to the Holy Land would serve to strengthen the faith of the believers and win converts, he was mistaken. On the contrary, they were disappointed to find that the miracles could not be proved readily, nor exact places easily located, and that the "sacrificing missionaries" were living in high style.[108] Yet when Clemens tried to point this out in later lectures, many other clergymen

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[104]Ganzel, Abroad, p. 33.

[105]Ibid., p. 34.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Ibid., pp. 187-188.

[108]Ibid., p. 248.

were dissatisfied with his talks. "He was even friendly though only politely apologetic to a young Baptist minister who scolded him as 'this person who visits the Holy Land and ridicules sacred scenes and things.'"[109] Clemens later reassured Mrs. Fairbanks, who was also on the trip and therefore knew the circumstances firsthand, that it was only the "small-fry ministers" who attacked him. With "all those of high rank and real influence," he assured her, he was on friendlier terms than ever.[110]

Clemens seemed to become attracted to clergymen known for their exceptional speaking ability. While he was on his lecture circuits he came into contact with such well-known clerical speakers as the Reverends E. H. Chapin, Robert Collyer, and W. H. Milburn.[111]

Edwin Hubbell Chapin was born in 1814 in Union Village, New York. He was ordained into the ministry in 1838. His first pastorate was in Richmond, Virginia, but he later moved to Charlestown, Massachusetts. In 1848 he was called to the Fourth Universalist Society in New York. The congregation moved to accommodate larger crowds, finally building the Church of the Divine Paternity which stands as a monument to his life work. Beecher, a friend of his, said of him, "I

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[109]Kaplan, Mr. Clemens, p. 70.

[110]Ibid.

[111]Fatout, Lecture Circuit, pp. 19-20.

have never met or heard a man who in the height and glow of his eloquence surpassed or equalled him." Chapin was known as a master of climax and for his brilliant and original mataphors. He emphasized Christ, not the Christianity of creeds.[112]

Clemens wrote of him in the Alta in June, 1867:

> Now there is a preacher for you. There is a man who can just seize a congregation and hold on to it as many hours as he wants to. There is an invisible wire leading from every auditor's soul straight to a battery hidden away somewhere in that preacher's head, and down those wires travels in ceaseless flow the living spirit of words that might fall cold and empty and meaningless from other lips. I do not know that I ever looked upon faces so eager, so wrapt, [sic] so fascinated as those I see in Chapin's church.
>
> I have wondered what it was that chained the congregation so, (because I couldn't believe that every Tom, Dick and Harry who came there had sense enough to appreciate his magnificent orations,) but at last I have concluded that it must be Mr. Chapin's strong, deep, unmistakable earnestness. There is nothing like that to convince people . . . .
>
> Mr. Chapin is large, and rather stout; is about forty-five, or thereabouts; is full of action and energy, and has a noble voice, and knows how to use it. His eloquence is genuine, free from show and unsubstantial flummery, meant for use, not ornament.
>
> There is no fuss and nonsense about Chapin's eloquence. It is the true steel. It is a power, and he knows well how to wield it. He has a large and handsome church at the corner of Fifth avenue and Forty-fifth street, and a full congregation. He is a man of wide-spread and potent influence, and a recognized leader in all the progressive movements of the day. He never moves till his mind is made up for good and all, and then he moves like an avalanche.[113]

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[112]Johnson, DAB, IV, 15.

[113]Samuel Clemens, Travels With Mr. Brown, pp. 174-176.

Robert Collyer was born in Keighley, England, in 1823. When his first wife died in 1849 after only three years of marriage, Collyer's thoughts turned to religion. He had been reared in the Church of England, but became a Methodist. In 1850 he married Ann Armitage and sailed for America the same day. He worked as a blacksmith in Shoemakertown, seven miles from Philadelphia, and as a Methodist lay-preacher. He moved toward Unitarianism, and in January, 1859, his Methodist license was withdrawn. In February he was called to Chicago to be minister-at-large to the First Unitarian Church, where he was ordained in May.

Collyer pastored the Unity Church on the North Side of Chicago. The church was outgrown and the new church burned. When the Chicago fire occurred in 1871, Collyer helped with relief and reconstruction. He was one of the prime movers in establishing the Liberal Christian League in 1866 to promote welfare for the masses. He was pastor of the Church of the Messiah in New York City from 1879 until 1903.[114]

William Henry Milburn was born in Philadelphia in 1823. He suffered an injury to his left eye when he was five years old. The inflammation spread to the right eye, and he was left almost totally blind. He was attracted to circuit preaching and joined the Rev. Peter Akers on a five-hundred-mile circuit in 1843. He was given a three-hundred-mile

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[114]Johnson, DAB, IV, 310-311.

circuit, but in 1844 he went to St. Louis for eye treatment. While he was on a mission to help raise money for the "Female Seminary" and McKendree College, he met some congressmen on a riverboat and reproved them for their cardplaying, drinking, and profanity. The congressmen took it in good form, raised a purse for him, and elected him chaplain to the House of Representatives in 1845. He did not accept the post at that time. In 1848 he went South for his health and held a church in Montgomery, Alabama, for two years; the St. Francis Street Church in Mobile for two years; and served as the city missionary for Mobile for two years. In 1852 he was investigated for attending a New Year's Eve ball, and heresy, but no action was taken. In 1853, poor, blind, and father of four children, he suffered a physical and nervous breakdown, and went to New York. Once he recovered, he supplied churches in Canada and England. In 1862 he received orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and in 1878 he was readmitted to the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Church. He was chaplain of Congress in 1853, of the House in 1885, and of the Senate in 1893. His style of speaking was simple and undecorated, and he was at his best when he was telling the stories of backwoods life that he knew so well.[115]

During the days when Clemens lived in St. Louis he may have heard the lectures of a certain Rev. Mr. Cox, whom he

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[115]Johnson, DAB, XII, 610-611.

mentioned in the St. Louis Evening News, in February, 1855. If so, he would have come away "wise and metaphysically minded, stuffed with learning of the value and method of historical study, on the 'science of time,' and on the progress of civilization from Noah to Alexander the Great."[116]

In England in 1879, Clemens heard a Rev. Spurgeon. He was disappointed with the English minister's audience. He noted that the auditorium was some three quarters full, about three thousand people present, but that they were wooden-faced, "just the sort to see no incongruity in the majesty of Heaven stooping to plead and sentimentalize over such, and see in their salvation an important matter." He commented that the sermon was unpleasant: "Man a mighty bad child, God working at him in forty ways and having a world of trouble with him."[117] Albert Bigelow Paine identified this Spurgeon as the Rev. Thomas Spurgeon, but William Pellowe thinks that this was the famous Rev. Charles Haddon Spurgeon.[118]

Back in the United States, Clemens in a letter to Mrs. Fairbanks referred to a Rev. G. M. Heacock, a Congregational minister in Buffalo, whom he considered an exceedingly pleasant and hearty man. "I can never forget him. I never can forget

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[116]Edgar M. Branch, The Literary Apprenticeship of Mark Twain (Urbana, Illinois, 1950), pp. 35, 277n26.

[117]Paine, Writings, XXXI, 647.

[118]Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 149.

his kindness to the stranger within his gates." Although it is known that Heacock and Thomas K. Beecher exchanged pulpits at one time,[119] nothing further is recorded of him.

When Thomas K. Beecher died, the Rev. Samuel E. Eastman became pastor of the Park Street Congregational Church of Elmira, New York. He and Clemens were also close friends, and Eastman conducted the funeral service for Clemens in Elmira.[120]

In 1900 and 1901 reform groups in New York City were battling Tammany Hall. Bishop Henry Codman Potter called upon Clemens to lend his support. On January 4, 1901, Clemens shared the platform with him in a discussion before the reform-minded City Club, on "The Causes of Our Present Municipal Degradation."[121]

On November 9, 1905, Clemens wrote a letter to the Rev. L. M. Powers in Haverhill, Massachusetts. Knowing that Clemens enjoyed cigars, Powers had asked if he could have the privilege of sending Clemens some very expensive ones. Clemens replied that he did not wish for Powers to send him any good cigars because he never smoked one which cost more than a nickel. The expensive ones he pawned off on visitors.[122]

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[119] Samuel Clemens, _Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks_, edited by Dixon Wecter (California, 1949), p. 125.

[120] Pellowe, _Pilgrim_, p. 260.

[121] Foner, _Social Critic_, p. 99.

[122] Samuel Clemens, _Letters_, II, 784-785.

Another letter to a clerical acquaintance was written in August, 1908, from Redding, Connecticut, to the Rev. F. V. Christ in New York. In this letter Clemens was concerned with a statement that the Rev. Mr. Christ had made, saying: "I often owe my best sermons to a suggestion received in reading or from other exterior sources." Clemens wanted him to change it to: "I owe all my thoughts, sermons and ideas to suggestions received from sources outside of myself . . . . No man's brains ever originated an idea . . . . None but the gods can do that,"[123] he concluded.

A Rev. J in Baltimore had written Clemens in 1885 concerning stock investments. The minister wrote to say that he had bought some stock advertised in a religious paper and after hearing that Clemens had also bought one hundred shares, he wrote for further information. Clemens said he was called a shrewd man prematurely, but he was one now for he would not invest in anything offered by a Mr. B--and further said: "A financial scheme advertised in any religious paper is a thing which any living person ought to know enough to avoid; and when the factor is added that M. runs that religious paper, a dead person ought to know enough to avoid it."[124]

Clemens also had a passing acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Carstensen of Riverdale. Carstensen was a liberal-minded minister who visited with Clemens and exchanged views with

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[123]*Ibid.*, II, 813-815. [124]*Ibid.*, II, 451-452.

him. Once Carstensen told Clemens that he was going to dine with a party which included the Rev. Mr. Gottheil, a Catholic bishop, an Indian Buddhist, and a Chinese scholar of the Confucian faith, after which they were going to a Yiddish theater. Clemens told him, "Well, there's only one thing you need to make the party complete--that is, Satan or me."[125]

Among the tributes that came from clergymen, was a sermon by the Rev. Fred Winslow Adams, of Schenectady, New York, who used Clemens as his subject. "Take Mark and bring him with thee; for he is profitable for the ministry," he had said. He placed two Marks, St. Mark and Mark Twain, side by side as ministers to humanity, and characterized Twain as a "fearless knight of righteousness." Adams came to Stormfield a few weeks later, "and like all open-minded ministers of the Gospel," found that he got along with Clemens very well.[126]

Clemens was friends with Father William Fitz-Simon, the Episcopal rector at St. Mary's in Tuxedo Park. "He seems to have been just the kind of clergyman whom Mark Twain liked best, whom he enjoyed testing . . . with earthy anecdotes designed to redden a less human and tolerant clergyman's face,"[127] says Lewis Leary. However, Father Fitz-Simon wrote

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[125]Paine, Writings, XXXII, 1142.

[126]Paine, Writings, XXXIII, 1527.

[127]Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Letters to Mary, edited by Lewis Leary (New York, 1961), pp. 86-87.

Clemens a serious letter in 1908 concerning his desire to get married and asked Clemens' advice. Clemens had been saddened by Livy's death in 1904. He told Fitz-Simon that marriage was "the supreme felicity of life . . . and also the supreme tragedy of life. The deeper the love the surer the tragedy." He both encouraged him and warned him of the future heartbreak when one of the partners goes with death. Clemens said he did not want to be present for the wedding, probably because it would stir up old feelings that he felt unable to bear, but for "friendship's sake and because I honor you so, I would be there if I could."[128]

At one time, Clemens had thought of writing the Life of Pope Leo the Thirteenth. Since there were so many Catholics, he thought the sale of such a book would help save the Webster and Company Publishing House financially. Charles Webster talked to the Pope about it and the project was given clearance. However, it was discovered that even though there were millions of Catholics in the United States and abroad, most of them could not read, had no money to buy the book, and since the Pope really did not have a "life" they would not read the book. The project was a failure.[129]

One of Clemens' closest Catholic associates was Father Hawley of Hartford. When Clemens first came to Hartford,

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[128] Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 157.

[129] Stephen B. Leacock, Mark Twain (England, 1932), pp. 122-123.

Father Hawley was the city missionary and only full-time social worker of the community. Clemens praised him as a man of tireless zeal. The good man died in 1876,[130] but not until Clemens had come to his rescue twice.

In 1873, a depression year, Clemens gave an immediate response to Father Hawley's appeal to help raise funds to aid people in Hartford who were starving. He offered to give the lecture free and "to bear an equal proportion of whatever expenses were incurred by the committee of eight who agreed to join in forwarding the project."[131]

In 1875 Father Hawley and sixteen other Hartford citizens asked Clemens to lecture at a benefit for orphans. Clemens wrote that he had quit the lecture field and would not return to it unless driven there by lack of bread. But he added:

> By the spirit of that remark I am debarred from delivering this proposed lecture, and so I fall back upon the letter of it, and emerge upon the platform for this last and final time because I am confronted by a lack of bread--among Father Hawley's flock.[132]

Clemens spoke on "Our Fellow Savages" and the full house netted fifteen hundred dollars for the orphans.[133] The lecture concerned his experiences from the Sandwich Islands.

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[130] Kenneth Andrews, <u>Nook Farm, Mark Twain's Hartford Circle</u> (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 130-132. Hereafter cited as Andrews, <u>Nook Farm</u>.

[131] Foner, <u>Social Critic</u>, p. 149.

[132] Paine, <u>Writings</u>, XXXI, 540-541.

[133] Fatout, <u>Lecture Circuit</u>, pp. 176, 139.

When Clemens and Livy were in Italy in 1904 in an effort to help Livy recover her health, Clemens wrote Twichell a letter mentioning a priest. It said:

> That's a very nice word from the Catholic Magazine and I am glad you sent it. I mean to show it to my priest--we are very fond of him. He is a sterling man, and is also learnedly scientific. He invented the thing which records the seismatic disturbances, for the peoples of the earth. And he's an astronomer and has an observatory of his own.[134]

One of the final clergyman to be considered in this chapter is the Reverend Calvin Ellis Stowe, who was closely connected with the Hartford group which comprised most of Clemens' inner circle of clerical friends and was one of the founders of the Monday Evening Club. Stowe was born in 1802. He attended Andover Theological Seminary. In 1831 he was a professor of Greek in Dartmouth College and in 1833 he held the chair of Biblical Literature in Lane Theological Seminary. His first wife died and he married Harriet Beecher in 1836. The College of Teachers in Cincinnati was founded largely under his influence. In 1850 Stowe was chairman of natural and revealed religion at Bowdoin and in 1852 he was professor of sacred literature at Andover Seminary.[135]

In 1860 Stowe started a Sunday School at his home for the children of residents of the area.[136] He remained a

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[134] Samuel Clemens, Letters, II, 753.

[135] Johnson, DAB, XVIII, 115.

[136] Strong, Twichell, p. 43.

Congregationalist though his wife was Episcopalian. They sometimes attended Joseph Twichell's church. Harriet's son, Charles, became a Congregationalist minister.[137]

The Clemenses never knew the Stowes until they were old and broken in health, especially Calvin Stowe. He was remembered as a large, solemn man, having a thick, white beard which hung far down on his breast, and wearing a broad slouch hat. The first time Susy Clemens saw him she came running in to her mother excitedly proclaiming that "Santa Claus has got loose!"[138] Stowe died in the summer of 1886.

Clemens made his most lasting clerical friendships in Hartford. Among these were the Reverends George Williamson Smith, Francis Goodwin, Nathaniel Burton, Edwin Pond Parker, Henry Ward Beecher, Thomas K. Beecher, and Joseph Hopkins Twichell.

Smith has a passing, but knowledgeable reference, in a letter from Clemens to William Dean Howells in 1901. Smith was president of Trinity College in Hartford, a member of the Monday Evening Club, and an old friend of the Clemens family. In the letter Clemens calls him "one of the loveliest men alive."[139]

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[137] Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 33.

[138] Caroline Thomas Harnsberger, Mark Twain, Family Man (New York, 1960), p. 119.

[139] Samuel Clemens, Twain-Howells, II, 728.

Goodwin, Burton, Parker and the Beechers were close friends for many years; they will be considered in Chapter III. Joseph Twichell, the most intimate and influential of all, will be considered in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

THE INNER CIRCLE

The clergymen belonging to what could be called Samuel Clemens' inner circle of clerical friends included Franklin Rising from Clemens' western and Sandwich Island days; Francis Goodwin, Nathaniel Burton, and Edwin Pond Parker of Hartford; and the Beecher brothers, Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn and Thomas K. Beecher of Elmira, New York.

When Samuel Clemens went to Nevada, he formed a close association with an Episcopalian rector, the Rev. Franklin Rising of Virginia City. Rising became the "fragile, gentle new fledgling" of the Buck Fanshaw episode in volume II of Roughing It. In that delightful chapter a rough silver miner tried to ask the eastern preacher to conduct the funeral service for Fanshaw, but the two were on such totally different levels that it takes some twelve pages to get the simple message across and accomplished.[1]

Another incident about Rising, whom Clemens knew for three years in Nevada, is recorded by Paine. This incident records

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[1]Samuel Clemens, Roughing It, Vol. IV of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1922), pp. 42-53.

how Clemens admired Rising's sincerity, and the young minister "quickly recognized the new reporter's superiority of mind." Rising came to the newspaper office to see Clemens. Unfortunately, he came in just as Clemens was raging over the theft of some of his property. Clemens was using strong language, and Rising stood spellbound. When Rising urged him to try to say, "Forgive them, Father, they know not what they do," Clemens replied that if the thieves should be considered fools it altered the case, for he was in that class himself and he would try to forgive them and forget about it.[2]

When Rising first tried ministering in the rough, western land, he did not have his own church. While he was doing missionary work on Gold Hill, he preached in a theater which had a gambling game in progress night and day in another part of the building. The gamblers objected to Rising's preaching there, and he had his next Sunday sermon in Chrysopolis Hall. Before Rising left Nevada, however, he had laid the foundations to two churches, St. John the Divine in Gold Hill and St. Paul's in Virginia City.[3]

Clemens rediscovered his old friend when he was in the Sandwich Islands. Rising was on the same ship with Clemens on

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[2]Albert B. Paine, Mark Twain; A Biography, Vol. XXX of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1922), pp. 214-215. Hereafter cited as Paine, Writings.

[3]William C. S. Pellowe, Mark Twain, Pilgrim From Hannibal (New York, 1945), pp. 83-84. Hereafter cited as Pellowe, Pilgrim.

the return voyage. Clemens recalled in a letter started July 30, 1866, to Jane Clemens and Pamela Moffett in St. Louis how Rising conducted the service on the quarter-deck of the ship Smyrniote and he led the choir. He admitted he was a sorry leader, concluding: "I hope they will have a better opinion of our music in Heaven than I have down here. If they don't a thunderbolt will come down and knock the vessel endways."[4]

Rising became the Financial Secretary and General Agent of the Bible House in New York. He also edited the American Church Missionary Register and founded the Children's American Missionary Society. All of these projects succeeded admirably under his care as Clemens reported approvingly in an Alta California article of July 7, 1867.[5]

About 1872 Rising had occasion to write his friend Clemens. In the letter he reminded Clemens that Hawaii was poor in available reading material.[6] At first, Clemens did not know to what Rising was referring. But as he thought upon the matter, it occurred to him. Clemens had recently published The Innocents Abroad and had been accused of plagiarizing the dedication from

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[4]Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Letters, edited by Albert B. Paine (New York, 1917), I, 117. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Letters.

[5]Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Travels With Mr. Brown, edited by Franklin Walker and G. Ezra Dane (New York, 1940), p. 210. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Travels With Mr. Brown.

[6]Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Autobiography, Vol. XXXVI of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, edited by Albert B. Paine, 37 vols. (New York, 1922), 239-241. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Writings.

one of William Dean Howells's blue-and-gold poetry series. Gradually Clemens recalled how he had gone horseback riding around one of the largest islands and had developed saddle boils so badly that he had to stay in bed for two weeks. The library was poor indeed, with but few books. Among them was the Howells' book, Songs in Many Keys. Clemens enjoyed it so much that he read and reread it until he had subconsciously memorized part of it. Quite unknowingly he wrote this memorized passage for the dedication of his first book. When he realized what he had done, he wrote to Howells and explained the whole incident. Howells laughingly forgave him and told him that he could not remember where he, in turn, got it from, but he was sure he also got it from someone else because no thought was completely original.[7]

Franklin Rising died a young man. Upon hearing of his death Clemens wrote the following letter to Livy:

> Fort Plain, Dec. 19
>
> My dearest Livy,
> Here at dead of night I seem to hear the murmur of the far Pacific--and mingled with the music of the surf the melody of an old familiar hymn is sounding in my ear. It comes like a remembered voice--like the phantom of a form that is gone, a face that is no more. You know the hymn--it is 'Oh, refresh us." It haunts me now because I am thinking of a steadfast friend whose death I have just learned through the papers--a friend whose face must always appear before me when I think of that hymn--the Reverend Franklin Rising. I hear he was lost in the late disaster on the Ohio River. He was

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[7]Samuel Clemens, Letters, II, 732.

rector of the Episcopal Church in Virginia City, Nevada--a noble young fellow--and for three years, there, he and I were fast friends. I used to try to teach him how to preach in order to get at the better natures of the rough population about him, and he used to try hard to learn--for I knew them and he did not; he was refined and sensitive and not intended for such a people as that. Afterwards I stumbled on him in the Sandwich Islands, where he was traveling for his health, and we so arranged it as to return to San Francisco in the same ship. We were at sea five Sundays. He felt it his duty to preach, but of the fifteen passengers, none even pretended to sing, and he was so diffident that he hardly knew how he was to get along without a choir. I said "Go ahead--I'll stand by you--I'll be your choir."--And he did go ahead--and I was his choir. But we could find only one hymn that I knew. It was, "Oh, refresh us." Only one, and so for five Sundays in succession he stood in the midst of the assembled people on the quarter-deck and gave out that same hymn twice a day, and I stood up solitary and alone and sang it! And then he went right along happy and contented and preached his sermon. We were together all the time--pacing the deck night and day--there was no other congenial company. He tried earnestly to bring me to a knowledge of the true God. In return, I read his manuscripts and made suggestions for their emendation. We got along well together. A month ago, after so long a separation, he saw by the Tribune that I was at the Everett House, and came to leave his card--I was out and did not see him. It was the last opportunity I was ever to have on earth. For his wanderings are done, now. The glories of heaven are about him, and in his ears its mysterious music is sounding--but to me comes no vision but a lonely ship in a great solitude of sky and water; and into my ears comes no sound but the complaining of the waves and the softened cadences of that simple old hymn--but oh, Livy, it comes freighted with infinite pathos! Tunes are good remembrancers . . . .[8]

When Clemens and his family moved to Hartford, he quickly adapted himself to the Nook Farm group and their activities.

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[8]Clara Clemens, _My Father, Mark Twain_ (New York, 1931), pp. 22-23.

Becoming established in the community, he was readily accepted into the Monday Evening Club, an exclusive society of eighteen to twenty community leaders who met at one another's houses every two weeks from September to May.

The Monday Evening Club was founded in 1869 by Horace Bushnell, an outstanding clergyman, and Charles S. Henry and James H. Trumbull.[9] Clemens joined the Club in the fall of 1871 and remained in it until the summer of 1891.[10] He once remarked, "It always had more clergymen in it than good people."[11]

The members met for supper, talk, and cigars. The talk consisted of each member in alphabetical order reading an essay which was followed by discussion. The subject could be of the member's own choosing, lasting about twenty minutes, and could be given from the manuscript or memorized. The discussion period for each member was about ten minutes. Wives were permitted to be present, but they had to remain silent.[12]

Among the clerical members of the Club that Clemens was most closely associated with were the Reverends Francis Goodwin, Nathaniel Burton, Edwin Pond Parker, and Joseph H. Twichell. Twichell will be considered in Chapter IV, but he is so closely

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[9]Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain-Howells Letters, edited by Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, 1960), p. 120. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Twain-Howells.

[10]Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 294.

[11]Ibid., pp. 305-306. [12]Ibid., pp. 294-295.

intertwined with this group that brief mentions are unavoidable here. Parker, Burton, and Twichell were especially close in friendship and in their religious work in the community. This closeness is illustrated best perhaps with the fact that Twichell named his sixth child Burton Parker Twichell.[13]

Francis Goodwin lived on Woodland Street near Twichell.[14] Goodwin "was a man of many accomplishments; and, among others, he was an architect."[15] Clemens recorded an amusing incident in his Autobiography in which Goodwin had set up a burglar alarm system throughout his house which he turned on every night before retiring. One night, thieves cut their way through a door to avoid turning the system on, and ransacked the house. Before they could get away, however, one of them became careless and activated the alarm. Goodwin had become so accustomed to hearing the system go off every morning that he automatically shut it off without ever fully awakening. The burglars, however, were so shaken that they fled the premises, leaving the loot behind.[16]

Goodwin, Twichell, and Clemens were the only three voters among the Nook Farm society who cast their votes for Grover

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[13]Leah A. Strong, Joseph Hopkins Twichell, Mark Twain's Friend and Pastor (Athens, Georgia, 1966), p. 59. Hereafter cited as Strong, Twichell.

[14]Ibid., p. 84.

[15]Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 315.

[16]Ibid., pp. 315-317.

Cleveland in the 1884 election. All others went for Blaine. Twichell was the only one in any real danger of losing his job over it, however, because Clemens made his living outside the community, and Goodwin was privately wealthy anyway. Goodwin, an Episcopal rector, continued to be respected publicly, but privately he "was damned," Clemens records. But public opinion was not necessary since his father was worth seven million dollars that Francis stood to inherit[17] and he was a cousin of J. P. Morgan.[18]

When the Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell died, the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel J. Burton took charge of his pulpit, Park Church. Burton was pastor from 1870 until 1887. He resembled Bushnell in his originality of thought and poetic imagination. He had a broad cultural background, fine social qualities, practical common sense, and an engaging humor.[19]

In 1884 Burton delivered the Lyman Beecher lectures at Yale. He was not especially interested in publishing these lectures or his sermons, as some clergymen were wont to do, and Clemens offered to publish the Yale lectures.[20] They were finally released in 1888 by his son, Richard J. Burton, in

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[17]Samuel Clemens, _Writings_, XXXVII, 22.

[18]Strong, _Twichell_, p. 84.

[19]Allen Johnson, editor, _Dictionary of American Biography_ (New York, 1929), III, 344. Hereafter cited as Johnson, _DAB_.

[20]Justin Kaplan, _Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain_ (New York, 1966), p. 289. Hereafter cited as Kaplan, _Mr. Clemens_.

Yale Lectures on Preaching, and Other Writings by Nathaniel J. Burton, D. D. His letters were reprinted in In Pulpit and Parish in 1925.[21]

In later years Richard J. Burton recalled how Clemens had asked him to come over and talked to him about publishing his father's work. Burton had planned to give the work to Century Magazine, but he knew that his father's old friend would give him a better contract. He reported that the contract with Clemens gave his mother ten times as much in royalties than if it had been brought out in the usual ten per cent trade way. Clemens gave the book such publicity that it sold very well and after fifty years in print it was still well known. "It owes its long lease of life directly to the impulsive, generous art of a humanitarian, a warm-hearted lover of his friends, and a champion of justice, mercy, and truth," Burton stated.[22]

Clemens recorded in the Autobiography how Burton once teased him when he was telling Burton about a dream he had had. Burton asked him how many times he had told that dream, and although Clemens declared he had not added anything to it, Burton warned him not to retell the story again or else it might become embroidered. Burton told Clemens how he himself

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[21]Johnson, DAB, III, 344.

[22]Richard J. Burton, "Mark Twain in Hartford in Days," Mark Twain Quarterly, I (Summer, 1937), 5.

was tempted to stretch facts, and encouraged Clemens not to succumb to that temptation.[23]

Clemens wrote of Burton's death:

> On October 13, 1887, Nathaniel Burton, with his faithful deacon, John Hooker, at his bedside, died of pneumonia. Twichell called it "a dark, sad day! . . . I went at once to his house and found that it was even so. There I met my other brother, Dr. Parker. In presence of the astounding fact, which overwhelmed both of us with surprize [sic] and distress we found nothing to say, but could only embrace with tears."[24]

Edwin Pond Parker and Clemens shared an even closer relationship that did Burton and Clemens. When Matthew Arnold came to lecture in America, he wanted to see William Dean Howells. Upon arriving at Boston, he was told that Howells had gone to visit Clemens. Arnold was to lecture in Hartford anyway, and went there to perform both errands. At a dinner party, Arnold was conversing with Parker about Clemens. Paine records that Arnold, who was quite taken by Clemens, asked Parker if Clemens were ever serious, to which Parker solemnly answered: "Mr. Arnold, he is the most serious man in the world."[25]

Parker also had occasion to introduce to Clemens Protap Chunder Mazoomdar, a Hindu Christian prelate of high rank,

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[23]Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 312-314.

[24]Kenneth R. Andrews, Nook Farm; Mark Twain's Hartford Circle (Cambridge, 1950), p. 53. Hereafter cited as Andrews, Nook Farm.

[25]Paine, Writings, XXXI, 758-759.

who visited Hartford in 1883. Mazoomdar was also much taken with Clemens.[26]

Clemens recorded in his Autobiography a humorous incident involving Parker, Burton, and Twichell. It seems that George, the butler, found some very cheap cigars, "long nines" they were called, and served them after dinner to the gentlemen guests. Clemens, known for smoking inexpensive cigars, records that he had bought quite a few of them some time earlier and knew you could buy a "basketful for a dime." At any rate, Parker was the first to light one. After only a couple of puffs, he made an excuse about having to see a dying parishioner and took his leave. Burton left next followed closely by Twichell, who left simply because of the overwhelming aroma. George said he stepped on one of those cigars at every step from the house to the outer gate.[27]

Parker and Clemens shared an interest in music. At one time Clemens wrote to Parker, who was a skilled musician, urging him to write a score for Tennyson's "Bugle Song," and outlined an attractive scheme for it. Dr. Parker replied that this particular task had been often attempted, but in vain, even by the best musicians.[28]

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[26] Ibid., p. 759.

[27] Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 296-298.

[28] Paine, Writings, XXXI, 724-725.

Parker was also interested in literature as a hobby, and Clemens valued his opinion. After reading some of Clemens' work, Parker wrote to him on December 22, 1880:

> Your rank as a writer of humorous things is high enough--but, do you know--Clemens--that it is in you to do some first-class serious or sober work.
>
> Now let me say _to_ you what I have repeatedly said _of_ you--that I know no American writer of your generation, who is capable of writing such forcible, sinewy, racy English as you. You are abundantly capable of turning out some work that shall bear the stamp of your individuality plainly enough, and at the same time have a sober character and a solid worth and permanent value. It might not pay in "shekels," but it would do you vast honor, and give your friends vast pleasure.[29]

Clemens answered on December 24:

> I thank you most sincerely for those pleasant words. They come most opportunely, too, at a time when I was wavering between launching a book of the sort you mention, with my name on it, and smuggling it into publicity with my name suppressed. Well, I'll put my name to it, and let it help me or hurt me as the fates shall direct . . . . Will you, too, take the manuscript and read it, either to yourself, or, still better, aloud to your family?[30]

The book under discussion was _The Prince and the Pauper_. Parker, Twichell, and Howells read the manuscript, and all agreed to strike out the chapter which told the story of the boy, the bull, and the bees. The three were not trying to act as censors, because they were delighted when the story was later issued by

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[29]Andrews, _Nook Farm_, p. 190.

[30]Kaplan, _Mr. Clemens_, p. 238.

itself in an issue of the Hartford Bazaar, but they did not feel it belonged in The Prince and the Pauper.[31]

Parker liked to examine Clemens' work as an amateur critic might. He urged Clemens to leave humor and move toward the superior excellence of The Prince and the Pauper.

Parker once wrote a review of Clemens' career for J. R. Osgood, a Boston publisher, to use for circular purposes.[32] In 1912 Parker wrote several articles for the Courant about his relationship with Clemens which included this humorous anecdote:

> Having mentioned Mr. Clemens's enjoyment of music, I am reminded of what occurred one Sunday morning in the church of which I was then the minister. Congregational singing prevailed in Dr. Twichell's church, at that time while the South Church had a fine choir of which it was justly proud. Now and then, when Dr. Twichell was absent, Mr. and Mrs. Clemens would stray away from their accustomed place of worship and come to the South Church, to hear--as he was fond of telling me--the music there. Accordingly, one Sunday forenoon he so came and he and his wife were seated in the pastor's pew. In due time the ushers proceeded to "take up the collection," a part of the service for which he was not prepared. He saw them approaching him, and looked to his wife for relief. She was unable to assist him and shook her head, to that effect. There was no time for reflection, for the crisis was at hand. He met it heroically and in an original manner, for as the plate was thrust toward him, he looked calmly up to the young man who held it, and hoarsely whispered, "Charge it, please!" The young usher nearly had a fit, and some who overheard that whisper forgot for a while the solemnity of the sanctuary.[33]

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[31]Strong, Twichell, p. 111.

[32]Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 45.

[33]Strong, Twichell, pp. 96-97.

On a visit to England in 1883, Parker declared himself to be a friend of the acclaimed Samuel L. Clemens. But his acquaintances there thought he was lying and made him feel so guilty that he did not venture to repeat his boast.[34] When Clemens was in Vienna, Parker and a man named A. C. Dunham came to visit him.[35]

The two most prominent clergymen with whom Clemens was associated outside Hartford were Henry Ward Beecher and his brother, Thomas K. Beecher.

Henry Ward Beecher had been born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1813. He was educated at the Boston Latin School, Amherst College, and Lane Theological Seminary in Connecticut. His father, Lyman Beecher, was a professor of theology and president of Lane Seminary. Beecher held two Indiana pastorates before coming to Brooklyn in 1847. He became an oratorical giant of his day, not only in the pulpit, but also as an after-dinner speaker and public lecturer.[36] Clemens was later to record that Beecher was among the few lecturers who knew his own worth and exacted it.[37]

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[34]Paine, Writings, XXXI, 747.

[35]Ibid., XXXII, 1071.

[36]Elgin S. Moyer, editor, Who Was Who in Church History, (Chicago, 1968), p. 34. Hereafter cited as Moyer, Church History.

[37]Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 157.

In 1867 when Clemens was granted permission to join a group which was to tour Europe and the Holy Lands and to act as a news correspondent to his San Francisco newspaper, the Alta California, and the New York Tribune, he was given letters of introduction to Eastern politicians and editors, to solid citizens who might later sponsor him if he decided to lecture, and to several clergymen. His most highly treasured letter was one to Henry Ward Beecher, the pastor of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York. Henry Ward Beecher, at fifty-four years of age, was the most celebrated clergyman in the United States, and it was his and his church congregation's idea to have the trip in the first place.[38]

In order to attend a worship service conducted by Beecher, Clemens arose early one Sunday morning so that he could claim a seat in the pew of a New York editor that had been promised. He was at the church by ten which he felt "was earlier than any Christian ought to be out of his bed on such a morning," but he found the pavement already crowded with people trying to get in.[39] This occurrence was the rule rather than the exception at the "Beecher Theater," as the church was called. Visitors had come on the early morning ferries nicknamed "Beecher Boats," and pew holders had to claim their seats no later than ten-twenty. After that time, the police guarding

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[38]Kaplan, Mr. Clemens, p. 23.

[39]Samuel Clemens, Travels With Mr. Brown, p. 92.

the double line of people were given a signal and the "non-members were then allowed to fill the remainder of the 2,100 seats that ran in semicircular rows of lush upholstered red around the white and pink-tinged interior."[40]

After all the seats were taken, "several hundred chairs and stools were put in the aisles and along the walls." And the vestibules still remained jammed with standees during the two-hour services.[41] Clemens managed "to capture a little stool from an usher and jammed it into a vacancy among the multitude, about large enough to accommodate a spittoon."[42]

Beecher's pulpit was made of olive wood from the Garden of Gethsemane. As the organ played, Beecher stepped out quietly from a small door in the rear, "a black leather hymn book in one hand and his familiar black hat in the other. He threw the hat upon the flower-decked platform and sat down in a simple armchair next to it."[43]

Beecher's style of preaching had been formed at camp meetings and forest revivals in Indiana. He knew how to dominate and mesmerize an audience.[44] The platform, rather than the pulpit, gave him a chance to display his dramatic talent

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[40]Robert Shaplen, Free Love and Heavenly Sinners; The Story of the Great Henry Ward Beecher Scandal (New York, 1954), p. 20. Hereafter cited as Shaplen, Heavenly Sinners.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Samuel Clemens, Travels With Mr. Brown, p. 93.

[43]Shaplen, Heavenly Sinners, p. 20.

and flamboyant vocabulary. "He could, and invariably did, make his audiences laugh and cry, playing on the whole gamut of emotions."[45] Clemens remarks that he could have brought the house down at the end of the sermon if he had given in to the almost overwhelming impulse to applaud. Clemens described Beecher and his sermon in this manner:

> He has a rich, resonant voice, and a distinct enunciation, and makes himself heard all over the church without very apparent effort. His discourse sparkled with felicitous similes and metaphors (it is his strong suit to use the language of the worldly,) and might be called a striking mosaic work, wherein poetry, pathos, humor, satire and eloquent declamation were happily blended upon a ground work of earnest exposition of the great truths involved in his text . . . . He forsook his notes and went marching up and down his stage, sawing his arms in the air, hurling sarcasms this way and that, discharging rockets of poetry, and exploding mines of eloquence, halting now and then to stamp his foot three times in succession to emphasize a point . . . .
>
> Mr. Beecher is a remarkably handsome man when he is in the full tide of sermonizing, and his face is lit up with animation, but he is as homely as a singed cat when he isn't doing anything.[46]

> During Beecher's pastorate at Plymouth Church
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> the annual income from pew rentals had gone up from $10,000 to $60,000 over two decades, while the amount taken in from collections had risen from a few thousand to $40,000 a year. There was no doubt that Plymouth Church was big business. Its Sunday-school room, complete with fountain, flowers, melodeon and piano as well as baby organ, and its

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[45] Shaplen, Heavenly Sinners, p. 20.

[46] Samuel Clemens, Travels With Mr. Brown, pp. 93-94.

> social parlors and lecture room, were no longer ridiculed, as they had been at first, by other churches in America; if the others could afford them, they were copied.[47]

Like his father and brothers, Beecher was unconventional in his manners and speech. In theology, he became more and more liberal, finally withdrawing from the Congregational Church. He accepted higher criticism and the theory of evolution as consistent with Bible teachings. His message was pre-eminently on the subject of love--love to God and love to man.[48] Although he had no premonition at this time, the relaxing of the stern disciplines "which once had reinforced moral conduct with the imagery of hell,"[49] would lead him to the brink of disaster.

For over twenty years, Beecher contributed to the *Independent*, a politico-religious journal; he was the editor for two years. He founded and served as editor for ten years for *The Christian*, later renamed *The Outlook*, a pioneer non-denominational paper. He wrote for the New York *Ledger*; he published his sermons after 1859 as *The Plymouth Pulpit*, and was the author of several books including *Life of Jesus Christ*, *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, *Doctrinal Beliefs and Unbeliefs*, and *Norwood*, a novel.[50]

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[47]Shaplen, *Heavenly Sinners*, p. 19.

[48]Moyer, *Church History*, pp. 34-35.

[49]Andrews, *Nook Farm*, p. 34.

[50]Moyer, *Church History*, p. 35.

Beecher invited Clemens to dine with his family. Clemens accepted the invitation and met Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mrs. Isabella Hooker, and an old *Quaker City* friend, Emma Beach, at the dinner party. Mrs. Stowe and Mrs. Hooker later became neighbors of Clemens in Hartford. In a letter to his mother and sister, Clemens recalls that he was invited back after the evening service and "staid [*sic*] all night at Mr. Beach's. Henry Ward is a brick."[51]

Henry Ward did not go on the Quaker City trip as planned, but elected to stay home and write his *Life of Jesus Christ*. When he read Clemens' account of the trip finally recorded in *The Innocents Abroad*, he advised Clemens about securing his first contract. Clemens wrote to his mother and sister explaining the circumstance:

> But the best thing that has happened was here. This great American Publishing Company kept on trying to bargain with me for a book till I thought I would cut the matter short by coming up for a *talk*. I met Rev. Henry Ward Beecher in Brooklyn, and with his usual wholesouled way of dropping his own work to give other people a lift when he gets a chance, he said, "Now, here, you are one of the talented men of the age--nobody is going to deny that--but in matters of business, I don't suppose you know more than enough to come in when it rains. I'll tell you what to do, and how to do it." And he did.
>
> And I listened well, and then came up here [Hartford] and made a splendid contract for a Quaker City book of 5 or 600 large pages, with illustrations, the manuscript to be placed in

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[51]Samuel Clemens, *Letters*, I, 143.

> the publisher's hands by the middle of July. My percentage is to be a fifth more than they have ever paid any author, except Horace Greeley. Beecher will be surprised, I guess, when he hears this.[52]

The two men respected one another, but the relationship never really became a fast friendship. Part of it may have been due to Beecher's being twenty years older than Clemens as Kaplan has suggested, or "that Clemens found something in him that was "antipathetic, a hint of the religious mountebank and hypocrite."[53] These feelings may have come later, however, rather than at this point in their relationship, which had only proved to Clemens' good.

In 1875 things took a turn for the worse: Beecher was on trial for adultery. The alleged adultery came to the public's attention by way of a privately published paper belonging to Victoria Woodhull and her sister, Tennie C. Claflin, the *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*. The sixteen-page paper carried the masthead maxim: "Progress! Free Thought! Untrammeled Lives!" and made good Woodhull's declaration: "Wherever I find a social carbuncle, I shall plunge my surgical knife of reform into it *up to the hilt!*"[54]

Victoria Woodhull had been made the darling of the suffragist movement. She was also a free love advocate and had

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[53] Kaplan, *Mr. Clemens*, p. 24.

[54] Shaplen, *Heavenly Sinners*, p. 125.

tried in vain to get Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Tilton to publicly support her views. When she was told about the adulterous affair between Beecher and Mrs. Theodore Tilton, she felt she had the ammunition she needed to force him to advocate her ideas. She published the article after hearing the tale from a reliable source, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

> What Mrs. Stanton knew was beyond the realm of gossip: she had been told the story by Tilton himself the night during the recent summer when he had poured his heart out to her and to Laura Curtis Bullard over dinner in Brooklyn, and she had been able to check it against what Elizabeth Tilton had told Susan Anthony that same night at the Tilton home. So there was no reason for Mrs. Woodhull to doubt it--not that she would have anyway. But Mrs. Stanton did not realize what ammunition she was furnishing Victoria.[55]

Victoria Woodhull published the article in hopes that now Beecher would preach publicly what he practiced privately.[56] The article burst like a "bombshell into the ranks of the moralistic social camp," just as Mrs. Woodhull had hoped it would. More than a hundred thousand copies of the Weekly sold immediately. Second-hand copies went for ten dollars and one man admitted having paid forty dollars. The scandal became the talk of the town overnight, and then of the country.[57]

The events that followed did not go according to Mrs. Woodhull's hopes. Instead of publicly proclaiming free love

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[55] Ibid., p. 131.

[56] Ibid., p. 37.

[57] Ibid., p. 162.

and the resulting affair as the new found freedom, Beecher and the Tiltons remained silent. Finally, the trial was forced in hopes to clear the air and settle accounts once and for all. In the meantime, Mrs. Woodhull tried to explain her position. Upon the publication of the sensational article, she and her sister had been arrested on a charge of sending obscene matter through the mails, but this charge finally had to be dropped. "At a spiritualist convention in Boston, representing herself as 'mere nuncio to the world of the facts that have happened,' she related in 'a rhapsody of indignant eloquence' the details of the case."[58]

While the news of the affair rocked the country and the community of Nook Farm where members of the Beecher family lived, Clemens made a move to stay as much out of it as possible. Molly Clemens wrote her mother-in-law, "Sam says Livy shall not cross Mrs. Hooker's threshold and if he talks to Mrs. H he will tell her in plain words the reason."[59] Mrs. Hooker was convinced that her brother was guilty as charged, while most of the others in the community believed him innocent. Clemens was undecided.

Thomas K. Beecher wrote his feeling to his sister Isabella Beecher Hooker:

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[58] Ibid., pp. 159-160.

[59] Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 39.

> To allow the devil himself to be crushed for speaking the truth is unspeakable, cowardly and contemptible. I respect, as at present advised, Mrs. Woodhull, while I abhor her philosophy. She only carried out Henry's philosophy, against which I recorded my protest twenty years ago, and parted (lovingly and achingly) from him, saying, "We cannot work together." . . . In my judgment Henry is following his slippery doctrines of expediency, and in his cry of progress and the nobleness of human nature has sacrificed clear, exact, ideal integrity.[60]

Clemens seemed to have gone through every possible variety of feeling concerning the incident. At first he wanted to "cut" Mrs. Hooker, and then swung over to having doubts about Beecher's innocence, "but he never failed in essential humanity and understanding," says Edward Wagenknecht.[61]

Clemens and Twichell attended the trial of Beecher on April 14, 1875,[62] after which Clemens told Twichell, "His quibbling was fatal. Innocent or guilty, he should have made an unqualified statement in the beginning."[63] Later, when William Dean Howells pressed him for comment, Clemens replied, "The man has suffered enough." Howells maintained that Clemens believed that Beecher was guilty.[64]

Some years later, Clemens said, "Mr. Beecher made the stupendous and irremediable mistake of remaining silent until

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[60] Ibid., p. 38.

[61] Edward Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Work (Norman, Oklahoma, 1961), p. 122.

[62] Samuel Clemens, Twain-Howells, I, 228.

[63] Paine, Writings, XXXI, 544.

[64] Samuel Clemens, Twain-Howells, I, 228.

all sane people believed him guilty." It would have been better for religion if Beecher had died in infancy, he told his sister Pamela.[65]

> The entire squalid and drawn-out affair--"the Beecher horror," James Russell Lowell called it--became for Clemens symptomatic of his times, a nauseating way of summing up the contrast between his own country and the England he had just left and would soon rush back to. "The present era of incredible rottenness is not Democratic, it is not Republican, it is national," he told Orion a few years later. "This nation is not reflected in Charles Sumner, but in Henry Ward Beecher, Benjamin Butler, Whitelaw Reid, William M. Tweed . . . ."[67]

Communications between the two men were not entirely cut off, however. When General Ulysses S. Grant died, Henry Ward Beecher was asked to deliver a eulogy. Beecher wrote Clemens since Clemens had published Grant's Memoirs and knew a great deal about him. Clemens gave him needed information in a lengthy letter written from Elmira on September 11, 1885.[67]

Clemens and Beecher were also linked with the publishing house of Webster. When the company was in financial trouble, Beecher was asked to revamp and write a second volume of his Life of Christ. He was given $5,000 in order to do this, but when he did not succeed, the money was eventually given back.[68]

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[65] Kaplan, Mr. Clemens, pp. 188-189.

[66] Ibid., p. 158.

[67] Samuel Clemens, Letters, II, 457-462.

[68] Samuel Clemens, The Autobiography of Mark Twain, edited by Charles Neider (New York, 1959), pp. 278-279.

In January 1887 Beecher was asked to write his autobiography. Again he was given $5,000 in advance. Clemens was enthusiastic about the project and predicted a profit of $350,000 if only Beecher "leaves in just enough piousness." Three weeks later, Beecher died of a cerebral hemorrhage. Clemens was left with an unfinished manuscript and a paper loss estimated at $100,000 and maybe more.[69] The Webster Publishing House took a financial turn for the worst from which it never recovered.

Twichell eulogized Beecher at his funeral and sent Clemens a copy of the eulogy. Upon reading it, Clemens sent Twichell the following letter which contains his final statement about his feelings about Beecher:

> It is a noble sermon, and I am glad I did not hear it. The mere reading it moved me more than I like to be moved--or rather, _would_ like to be moved in public. It is great and fine; and worthy of its majestic subject. You struck twelve.
>
> What a pity--that so insignificant a matter as the chastity or unchastity of an Elizabeth Tilton could clip the locks of this Samson and make him as other men, in the estimation of a nation of Lilliputians creeping and climbing about his shoe-soles.[70]

Clemens' relationship with Thomas K. Beecher was much more pleasant. Thomas Beecher had helped Twichell solemnize the wedding between Olivia Langdon and Samuel Clemens, and the Thomas and Samuel friendship increased with the years.

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[69]Kaplan, _Mr. Clemens_, p. 290.

[70]Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 52.

The Langdons were pillars of the Park Church in Elmira, and Livy's religious training had been shaped under Thomas Beecher's leadership. He was a leading exponent of liberal Protestantism[71] and was concerned primarily with the social and ethical implications of Christianity.[72] When Thomas Beecher's liberalism got him into trouble with the other clergymen of the city, Clemens took up for him in an article published anonymously with the signature "S'cat" in the Elmira Advertiser.

The Ministerial Union of the Episcopal Church had turned Beecher out because he was holding meetings in the Opera House on Sunday nights for his church service. His church was not large enough to accommodate the crowd of 1,500. The Union met on Monday nights and one night asked Beecher not to join them any more. Beecher let it go at that and said nothing. Finally, the Union published a notice about the dismissal in the New York Evangelist, a religious paper. It only succeeded in backfiring at the Union instead of embarrassing Beecher. Clemens said that the other ministers were jealous of Beecher because of the growth of his church while their own congregations were diminishing, but excused themselves by saying

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[71]Philip S. Foner, Mark Twain: Social Critic (New York, 1958), p. 130. Hereafter cited as Foner, Social Critic.

[72]Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 68.

that they had doubts about the doctrines being preached and taught in an Opera House, although none of them had attended any of the services.[73]

> Clemens endorsed Rev. Beecher's project for a model church providing rooms for a public library, social gatherings, family reunions, games and dances, and to which people of all creeds or no creed could come. "You will notice," Clemens wrote approvingly, "in every feature of this new church one predominant idea and purpose is discernable [sic]--the banding together of the congregation as a _family_, and the making of the church a _home_ . . . _it is_ the great, central, ruling idea."[74]

Beecher called himself the "Teacher of Park Church."[75] He considered it his chief pastoral function to help men as individuals to be Christians. He was not a pulpit preacher only, but a trained mechanic, locomotive engineer, and general repairman. He helped to found an Elmira Academy of Sciences which corresponded with the Royal Academy in London. He enjoyed bowling, billiards, cricket, whist, and organized a baseball team called the Lively Turtles. He preached no doctrine save the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.[76]

When Clemens brought Thomas down from Elmira to Hartford to solemnize the wedding, Beecher met Twichell. This was the

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[73]Paine, _Writings_, XXXIII, 1618-1623.

[74]Foner, _Social Critic_, p. 146.

[75]Max Eastman, "Mark Twain's Elmira," _Harper's Magazine_, CLXXVI (May, 1938), 622.

[76]_Ibid._, pp. 623-624.

beginning of a life-long friendship between these two men. At one time Beecher and Twichell even exchanged pulpits so that Twichell could be with Clemens in Elmira and Beecher could be in Hartford for awhile.[77]

It was Thomas Beecher who suggested the name for Quarry Farm to Clemens[78] and it was he who with Clemens and F. G. Hall thought it would be interesting to build a monument to Adam, the first of the human species. A petition for such a monument was signed by Beecher, but when General Joseph Hawley was elected to send it to Congress, Hawley decided not to go through with the plan, and the idea was dropped.[79]

The inner circle of clerical friends thus shared both good times and bad, humorous interests and serious incidents together. Clemens respected and sought after the particular friendship of these men, as they in turn, did his. Clemens' most intimate friendship with a clergyman was with Joseph Twichell. Their relationship covered many years and many areas.

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[77]Strong, Twichell, p. 69.

[78]Paine, Writings, XXXI, 434.

[79]Ibid., pp. 707-708.

CHAPTER IV

JOSEPH HOPKINS TWICHELL

In September, 1877, Samuel Clemens wrote a letter in which he stated: " . . . I was not unworthy to be with you and share a companionship which to me stands first after Livy's."[1]

The receiver of those fond words was Joseph Hopkins Twichell, a clergyman who was the friend of Clemens for over forty years. Twichell's companionship with Clemens was unique, and Twichell's position as both an intimate friend and pastor to this troubled nonconformist was also unique.

"Joe" Twichell began life on May 27, 1838, in Southington, Connecticut, the first child of Deacon Edward Twichell and his first wife, Selina D. Carter. The later siblings included Edward, born in 1839; Upson, born in 1843, but died in 1844; and Sarah, born in 1844. Selina Twichell died in April, 1849, and during the following year, Twichell married Jane Walkley. Joe and his stepmother were known to be close, as he had been with Selina.[2]

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[1] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Letters, edited by Albert B. Paine (New York, 1917), I, 338. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Letters.

[2] Leah A. Strong, Joseph Hopkins Twichell, Mark Twain's Friend and Pastor (Athens, Georgia, 1966), pp. 5-6. Hereafter cited as Strong, Twichell.

Joe's early education was directed toward college. He attended the district schoolhouse at the Corners, and later, the Sally Lewis Academy in Southington for college preparatory study.[3] In 1855 he entered Yale. His academic honors were few. In his sophomore year he won two prizes in English composition and a second prize in declamation. In his senior year he received a Townsend Premium award for English composition. After graduation, Twichell entered Union Theological Seminary in New York.[4]

On April 29, 1861, Twichell reported for duty at Camp Scott on Staten Island. He had enlisted for three years and served them in the 71st New York State Infantry as a chaplain. The regiment that he joined was a rough one. Most of the recruits came from the lowest elements of New York City streets. Some of them had been serving prison sentences. Before a chaplain was assigned, four hundred of the men voted for a Catholic priest, while the others voted for any kind of Protestant clergyman or a Mormon elder; some wished for no clergyman at all.[5]

Twichell accepted the challenge that this type of regiment offered. He seemed less worried about the men than he was about the possibility that the Brigade Chaplain, who would be his superior officer, would be an Episcopalian. "The non-religious

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[3]*Ibid*., p. 6. [4]*Ibid*., pp. 15-16.

[5]*Ibid*., p. 20.

he could try to convert to Christianity; those who disagreed with him in doctrine he was almost afraid of."[6]

As things turned out, Twichell became very close friends with a Catholic priest, Father Joseph B. O'Hagan, S. J., who joined the 71st in October. The two men were together often in both on-duty and off-duty hours and found that even though they had theological differences, their personalities and basic ideas were much the same. Neither changed his religious principles, but they accepted one another as individuals and both benefited from the relationship.[7]

The friendship with Father O'Hagan was important for Twichell's broadening of mind and acceptance of persons who differed with him on theological doctrines. In later years, Clemens said that "Joe Twichell could get together the most impossible Christians that ever assembled in anybody's congregation."[8] The background for developing this kind of congeniality among all kinds of people is this friendship with the Jesuit.

The friendship outlasted the war. The two corresponded, and in 1875 Clemens wrote Charles W. Stoddard that he was going to Worcester, Massachusetts, with Twichell to have a "'time' with a most jolly and delightful Jesuit priest who was all

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[6]Ibid., p. 21. [7]Ibid., pp. 25, 31.

[8]Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain's Autobiography, Vol. XXXVI of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, edited by Albert B. Paine, 37 volumes (New York, 1924), 302. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Writings.

through the war with Joe."[9] Evidently Twichell felt that even though Father O'Hagan and Clemens were at religious extremes, they were much the same at heart, and this to all three of them was most important.

It is important, too, that Twichell began his ministerial duties in the war atmosphere among the rough soldiers of varied religious and non-religious backgrounds. For these reasons Twichell did not stress doctrinal or theological matters, but the brotherhood and dignity of man, current problems of army life, and optimism for the future. As time went by, his services became better attended and much individual counseling took place between the services and drill times.[10] This background also helped in his later friendship with Clemens.

After the Civil War Twichell finished his seminary training at Andover Theological Seminary and moved to Hartford. While on leave in 1863, Twichell had gone to Hartford and had impressed the Reverend Horace Bushnell enough to be offered a tentative post as his assistant in the Park Church after the war and seminary studies. However, by the time Twichell was ready to assist Bushnell, the need for a church on Asylum Hill was more important. A new church was built and Bushnell himself recommended this new minister to lead the congregation.[11]

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[9]Strong, Twichell, p. 71.

[10]Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[11]Kenneth R. Andrews, Nook Farm; Mark Twain's Hartford Circle (Cambridge, 1950), p. 14. Hereafter cited as Andrews, Nook Farm.

Like Bushnell, Twichell was interested in freedom of thought and in rational explanations for doctrinal problems, but Twichell was never primarily a theologian. "His interests continued to be primarily humanitarian. His sermons were dependent on ordinary reason rather than on doctrine. He was more concerned in having his parishioners lead Christian lives than he was in what they believed in matters strictly doctrinal."[12] Twichell wrote very little on theological matters, and the few articles he did write, such as "The Religious Experiences of Childhood," were extensions of some of Bushnell's views. Twichell recognized this debt that he owed to Bushnell and upon Bushnell's death in 1876 wrote a brief article entitled "A Word from Another Hartford Disciple."[13]

> Horace Bushnell himself deserves to be known for more than his theories. Prominent in civic and educational matters, he took part in many activities outside his church. It was he who convinced the city authorities to make an undeveloped and then unpleasant area in central Hartford into a park, later named for him. Although in 1840 he had refused the presidency of Middlebury College, he accepted without salary for a time the presidency of the College of California while on a visit there for his health. He also elected the site for that college. He selected the route which was adopted for the Pacific Railroad.[14]

Bushnell performed many other projects, not the least of which was as one of the founders of the Monday Evening Club.

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[12] Strong, Twichell, pp. 61-62.

[13] Ibid., pp. 58, 62.

[14] Ibid., p. 59.

Clemens remembered him as a member there for awhile "whom I saw when his step was halting, but his intellect unimpaired, and in his wonderful eyes the deeps had not shoaled."[15]

In 1875 when Clemens conceived a petition to Congress concerning the right of copyright, he remembered that Bushnell was "the only man who ever signed my petition with alacrity, and said that the fact that a thing was <u>right</u> was all-sufficient."[16] He signed the petition far down on the page, however, to let the "literary gentlemen" have their lead.[17]

In a sense, this "Emerson of Hartford" foretold the rise of Samuel Clemens:

> At a Yale Commemorative Celebration in 1865 he had said in his principal oration ("Our Obligation to the Dead"): "Henceforth we are not going to write English but American. We have gotten our position, we are now to have our own civilization, think our own thoughts, rhyme our own measures." The development of American literature in his own neighborhood, though he died in 1876 before it had reached the climax, did not escape him.[18]

Clemens remembered Bushnell as "that noble old Roman," and the greatest clergyman the nineteenth century produced.[19]

Albert B. Paine has stated that Samuel Clemens' creed could be put into three words, "liberty, justice, humanity,"

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[15]Caroline Thomas Harnsberger, <u>Mark Twain; Family Man</u> (New York, 1960), p. 20.

[16]Samuel Clemens, <u>Letters</u>, I, 262.

[17]Andrews, <u>Nook Farm</u>, p. 29.

[18]<u>Ibid</u>. [19]<u>Ibid</u>.

or even into one word, "humanity."[20] This creed also embodies the sermons of Joseph Twichell.

Twichell's practical, rational mind always pointed men toward Christianity rather than theory. He felt the most important part of Christ's teaching was "the elevation of the individual man to a place where he could fulfill the promises of his being."[21] He spoke of brotherliness and of

> the Christian ethic as the assurance and foundation of the good life, of the emotional, uncodified relation of man to a God of love, and of his optimistic perception of a growing kindness among humanity. His style was even at this time apparently rhythmic, his voice rich, resounding, and warm. And with the attraction of handsome strength and breeziness, humor, and a touch of earthiness, he completely charmed his parishioners into devotion, greatly increased their numbers, and made it unthinkable that he should ever leave them. They thought him a "memorable man" and responded to his natural directness at once.[22]

One of his parishioners, Charles Hopkins Clark, wrote of Twichell in later years:

> Nobody stands in dread of him, everybody respects and loves him and to thousands he is still "Joe" Twichell; he is approachable as one boy is to another, full of interest in the things of this world, and in abundant sympathy with many of them, and all the more influential because his feet touch the ground and he walks the same earth with the rest of us, though on a path that leads upward and along which his leadership draws and has drawn so many others.[23]

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[20] Albert B. Paine, Mark Twain; A Biography, Vol. XXX of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1912), 371. Hereafter cited as Paine, Writings.

[21] Strong, Twichell, p. 61.

[22] Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 15.

[23] Ibid., p. 49.

This, then, is the man to whom Samuel Clemens was drawn even upon their first meeting in 1867, at the Elisha Blisses in Hartford. Elisha Bliss, publisher of Clemens at that time, and his wife were parishioners of the then spireless Asylum Hill Congregational Church. In an August letter in the Alta California newspaper, Clemens had referred to it as the "stump-tail church." Among the guests whom the Blisses had invited that evening unbeknown to Clemens was the pastor of the "stump-tail church."

During the course of the evening, Clemens noticed a picture of that church among some others on one of the walls. Going over to get a closer view, Clemens remarked to Mrs. Bliss about the commercial pursuits of the Asylum Hill congregation by calling the church the "Church of the Holy Speculators." In a hushed tone, Mrs. Bliss told Clemens that the pastor was right behind him and had been wanting to meet him all evening.[24] It could have been an embarrassing moment, but was not. Twichell apparently not only found the remark humorous, but upon pondering it, rather appropriate. Certain members of his congregation *were* known for their business speculations.

Years later Twichell recalled this meeting when he wrote on Clemens' death in the Hartford *Courant*:

> We were both young men, and the acquaintance so begun soon grew into a friendship which continued

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[24] Paine, *Writings*, XXX, 370-371.

> unbroken ever after, and went on strengthening with the flight of years. I cannot say that at that point [the first meeting] we were wholly sympathetic in either thought or feeling. Our antecedent conditions and experience in life had been very different, and, in some ways, contrasted. But while originally attracted to him by the brightness of his mind, the incomparable charm of his talk, and his rare companionableness, I was not long in finding out that he had a big, warm and tender heart.[25]

The two men were about the same age, athletic, handsome. Twichell was a man's man--physically, mentally, and spiritually. He was a student and devout Christian "yet a man familiar with the world, fond of sports, with an exuberant sense of humor and a wide understanding of the frailties of humankind."[26]

Soon after their first meeting Twichell invited Clemens to his home. For the first time Clemens felt completely relaxed in Hartford. Previously he had been happy and well treated, but he had felt slightly awkward and out of place.[27] He made the Twichells' home his whenever he was in Hartford.

As their acquaintanceship grew into friendship, the Twichells realized that Clemens was lonely and longed for a home of his own. When they questioned him about it, he told them that he did love someone but that he felt that she would never be his. Harmony and Joe persuaded Clemens into talking seriously with Olivia Langdon and her family about marriage. Not long after

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[25]Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 21.

[26]Paine, Writings, XXX, 371.

[27]Strong, Twichell, p. 66.

that Clemens told them the joyful news that his beloved had accepted him and he wanted Joe to help perform the ceremony. The Twichells were delighted, and on February 2, 1870, they journeyed to Elmira, New York, where Twichell and the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, pastor of the Park Congregational Church in Elmira, performed the wedding ceremony.[28] This was the beginning of a long friendship between these two pastors, and among all three families.

Although the Clemenses lived in Elmira for awhile, after the death of Olivia's father they moved to Hartford "largely because of the Twichells, although his publishers were also located there."[29]

As has been mentioned previously, Clemens was accepted into the Monday Evening Club soon after he joined the Nook Farm community. At the club meetings Clemens recalled that "Joe Twichell sometimes took his turn. If he talked, it was easily perceptible that it was because he had something to say, and he was always able to say it well. But almost as a rule, he said nothing, and gave his ten minutes to the next man."[30] Sometimes this was agreeable with the club members, but at other times they would rather have heard the well-spoken Twichell than "the next man."

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[28] Ibid., p. 69.

[29] E. Hudson Long, Mark Twain Handbook (New York, 1957), p. 171. Hereafter cited as Long, Handbook.

[30] Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 301.

Clemens and his family attended Twichell's church regularly and were pewholders at Asylum Hill. Arthur Thompson, a fellow parishioner, recalled that the Clemens' pew "was on the left side of the center aisle, seven or eight rows from the front. In those days pews were sold at a public auction in the church once a year. The reason Clemens came to our church was not because he was religious (he was a skeptic) but because of his close friendship with Dr. Twichell."[31]

Clemens' churchgoing was not only out of friendship, but also it was a way of taking part in community life and establishing his membership in the Nook Farm community more solidly.

> Though he had rejected Christianity, his rejection was qualified by his behavior in a way that brings to mind Bushnell's abandonment of the old theology. Clemens ruled out all theology, and the supernatural that it attempted to interpret, but he was not contemptuous of Christianity as a basis for an equitable society and not at all at odds with his community's regard for personal and public morality.[32]

Clara Clemens also believed that her father had no faith in orthodox religion, but went to church to please Livy. She remembered being very embarrassed once when Clemens said to Twichell, "Joe, that's a clever trick of yours to pound the pulpit extra hard when you haven't anything to say."

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[31]Edith Colgate Salsbury, Susy and Mark Twain; Family Dialogues (New York, 1965), p. 176. Hereafter cited as Salsbury, Susy and Mark Twain.

[32]Andrews, Nook Farm, p. 70.

"I thought Mr. Twichell would show embarrassment, but to my surprise he laughed quite loud and replied, 'Mark, it was clever of you to discover it.'"[33]

"That Twichell was a minister did not seem to affect Clemens one way or another."[34] Not only is this important, but it is also equally important that Twichell _was_ a minister and had the experience and knowledge to understand and help Clemens in later moments of stress. Twichell could and did serve in both capacities as friend and pastor to Clemens throughout his life.

As friends, Clemens never failed to delight in telling humorous, although sometimes embarrassing, incidents on Twichell. One of the most humorous, if not the most embarrassing,incident that Clemens told in his _Autobiography_ about Twichell was the account of Twichell and the hair restorer. It seems that Twichell noticed a bottle of what he believed to be hair restorer on his wife's dressing table. He poured it over his locks and the next morning joyfully got up to check the results. What he saw was more than unexpected, it was horrifying--his hair was a brilliant shade of green! He could not find a substitute to preach for him that day and had to go through with it himself. The sermon prepared that morning was on a very grave subject, but Twichell found that the curiosity about his hair drew such attention that

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[33]Clara Clemens, _My Father, Mark Twain_ (New York, 1931), p. 26. Hereafter cited as Clara Clemens, _My Father_.

[34]Strong, _Twichell_, p. 66.

no one went to sleep on him that morning and many came up after the service to congratulate him on his sermon. Twichell knew that it was not his sermon they were congratulating, but rather to get a closer view of his head. Try as he would the green color would not come out, but deepened each week to a darker shade. And it did not deepen evenly, but made his hair look "mottled." Folks came for miles around to see it. Clemens concluded with tongue-in-cheek: "Now a lot of people joined the church so that they could have the show, and it was the beginning of a prosperity for that church which has never diminished in all these years. Nothing so fortunate ever happened to Joe as that."[35]

In the Autobiography, Clemens makes mention of a Rev. Mr. Harris without giving any further identification other than Harris' being a friend of Dean Sage, who loved to play practical jokes on other people. Sage and Harris had been classmates in college. About 1873, Clemens recalls, Sage fell victim to an illness and went to the Adirondacks to cure it and took Harris with him. Sage, always an active man, enjoyed hiking every day. One day, "toward nightfall," the two of them came across a log cabin inn of sorts and decided to stay the night. Sage's stomach could not stand the bill of fare, but Harris ate ravenously. Poor Sage went to bed hungry, but Harris was filled. In the morning the same thing occurred; Sage did not eat, but

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[35] Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 342-344.

Harris did. Sage went out on the porch and had a private talk with the innkeeper about the bill. The innkeeper said the bill was a dollar and thirty cents, but Sage insisted upon making it thirteen dollars. Sage had the innkeeper do his bidding, and pretended to be outraged over the amount of the bill. All went according to plan, and Harris, hearing the commotion came out to help settle matters. The crowning blow came when the innkeeper said that he usually treated gentlemen to the same treatment for a dollar and thirty cents, but since Sage had brought a Famine with him he had charged them more. Sage apologized and prepared to pay the thirteen dollars when it was clearly evident that Harris was not going to make an offer to do so after all. His practical joke had backfired.[36]

Harris is the name given to Twichell in A Tramp Abroad. Therefore, this "Harris" story may indeed be another one on Twichell. Also, Dean Sage and Twichell were close friends at Yale. In a letter to Howells in 1876, Clemens mentioned how:

> Dean Sage's happiest 'surprises' are his simply-stated failures, after having worked up one's expectancy to the point where you are holding your breath for the climax, and you suppose you of course know what the climax is going to be. But instead of said climax, Sage gives you the quiet, simple TRUTH, and goes on about his business, cheerful, content, unaffected by his defeat--even almost unconscious of it.[37]

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[36] Samuel Clemens, The Autobiography of Mark Twain, edited by Charles Neider (New York, 1959), pp. 339-341. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Autobiography.

[37] Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain-Howells Letters, edited by Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, 1960), I, 138. Hereafter cited as Samuel Clemens, Twain-Howells.

This picture of Sage accurately matches the Sage in the story who may not have realized that he is the one who had been duped, or has simply pulled off one of his "failures."

And finally, it has been discovered in uncollected portions of Clemens' autobiography that Twichell usually appears under the name "the Rev. Joseph T. Harris," in reminiscence of A Tramp Abroad.[38]

Another account in the Autobiography records how Clemens and Twichell were hiking in 1874 and came across an inn in either Ashland or Westford, Connecticut. When the duo entered the inn, there were two men present, but neither one paid any attention to their guests--until Twichell asked one of them a casual question. From that moment on, the ostler gave out with a string of conversation freckled with profanity. Twichell, embarrassed, tried to change the subject only to find that the subject did not make any difference in the language. Even after Twichell let it be known "accidentally" that he was a preacher, the ostler and innkeeper only hastened to prepare him food and lodging, but made no change in language. The next morning Twichell overheard the ostler telling the story in the same colorful language to someone else. The native did not seem offended in the least, but took the uncouthness as part of the natural speech.[39]

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[38]DeLancey Ferguson, "The Uncollected Portion of Mark Twain's Autobiography," American Literature, VIII (1936), 43.

[39]Samuel Clemens, Autobiography, pp. 234-238.

Clemens wrote to Howells inviting him to visit Hartford and telling him he would have guests in to meet him or else he would keep his company all to himself. The following statement shows the closeness of Twichell and Clemens by this time, and the freedom which Clemens felt in telling Howells such a thing on his friend:

> Now you shall find us the most reasonable people in the world. We had thought of precipitating upon you George Warner and wife one day; Twichell and his jewel of a wife another day and Chas. Perkins and wife another. Only those--simple members of our family, they are. But I'll close the door against them all--which will "fix" all of the lot except Twichell, who will no more hesitate to climb in at the back window than nothing.[40]

In another letter to Howells, dated December 16, 1881, Clemens told his friend how Twichell had managed to get an interview with some circus people, a dwarf, a fat woman, and a giant. The giant snarled at Joe at first, but Twichell managed to strike a sympathetic cord, and learned his personal history. Clemens' regret was that Twichell could only tell the tale beautifully, but did not have the knack for putting it into print.[41] This disability is also much regretted in reading some of Twichell's remembrances of Clemens. There is a formal stiffness about them that does not belong to the "Joe" and "Mark" who lived them.

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[40]Samuel Clemens, Twain-Howells, I, 68.

[41]Ibid., pp. 380-381.

But every incident was not as light as the above were. As had been briefly mentioned in Chapter III when the Rev. Francis Goodwin, Twichell, and Clemens cast their votes for Cleveland against Blaine in the 1884 election, Twichell almost lost his pastorate. Voting was public at that time and so everyone knew within a very short time who had cast their ballots for the Democrat.

> From that day forth, for a good while to come, Twichell's life was a good deal of a burden to him. To use a common expression, his congregation "soured" on him and he found small pleasure in the exercise of his clerical office . . . . Twichell had most seriously damaged himself with his congregation. He had a young family to support.[42]

Pastors were not to involve themselves in the church business meetings, and during the next one the congregation almost voted him out. He was saved by a faithful parishioner, however, and Clemens recorded that he

> has never made any political mistakes since. His persistency in voting right has been an exasperation to me these many years and has been the cause and inspiration of more than one vicious letter from me to him. But the viciousness was all a pretense. I have never found any real fault with him for voting his infernal Republican ticket, for the reason that, situated as he was, with a large family to support [there were nine children], his first duty was not to political conscience, but to his family conscience. A sacrifice had to be made; a duty had to be performed. His first duty was to his family, not to his political conscience. He sacrificed his political independence, and saved his family by

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[42]Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVII, 21.

it. In the circumstances, this was the highest loyalty, and the best.[43]

Clemens did not let the matter rest there, however. He wrote a piece called "The Character of Man" which states the case and says that even though man claims to admire and respect independence that man does not and rather condemns someone who is trying to be independent. He was afraid that he had not covered Twichell carefully enough, however, and that the article might thus do more damage to Twichell, so he suppressed it and printed it only in his Autobiography.[44] Edward Wagenknecht asserts, however, that Twichell did not oppose Blaine in the election by voting for Cleveland but by voting for the Prohibition ticket. He says that there is no proof that Twichell's congregation objected, as Clemens remembered it.[45]

Clemens came into contact with people from all walks of life, and he often shared these contacts with Twichell, especially when they could be of valuable service. One such instance involved meeting with General Ulysses S. Grant, whom Clemens knew personally. Twichell wanted Grant's signature on a petition to help stop the Chinese conservative government, which had just come into power, from forcing their students to leave their United States studies. For a number of years, one hundred or so Chinese students had been privileged to

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[43] Ibid., pp. 24-25. [44] Ibid.

[45] Edward Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Work (Norman, Oklahoma, 1961), p. 227.

come to the United States to learn western ways, but now there was a danger that the program would fall through. Clemens supported the Chinese student project, as did Twichell. Clemens agreed that if anyone's signature would impress the Chinese government it would be that of Grant, and so he took Twichell to meet him and plead the cause. However, when they arrived, Twichell had no need to give his long, carefully planned speech to win Grant over. Grant knew all about it and volunteered to write a personal letter to Li Hung-Chang, head of the progressive party. He did so immediately and a return telegram came right back. For the time being the students and the Chinese Educational Mission were kept as they were.[46]

Twichell, in turn, introduced Clemens to a General friend of his, General "Dan" Sickles, with whom Twichell served in the Civil War. Twichell would visit him whenever he went to New York and took Clemens with him a couple of times. The visit was not quite so pleasant for Clemens, however.[47]

Twichell and Clemens went on several trips together. Twice, they visited West Point for the purpose of reading papers to the cadets of the literary society of which Twichell's parishioner Cadet "Andy" Hammond was president for a time. Both in 1881 and 1886, Clemens recorded successful and enjoyable times.[48]

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[46]Samuel Clemens, Writings, XXXVI, 21-24.

[47]Ibid., pp. 337-339.

[48]Samuel Clemens, Twain-Howells, I, 356; II, 553.

In 1887 Clemens and Twichell went on vacation together to Bermuda. They loved the island and the freedom of not being known. They registered in Mrs. Kirkham's boarding house under assumed names.[49] When they were ready to leave, Twichell received great delight in telling the lady of the house whom she had entertained. They vowed to return soon. The "soon" was thirty years later, in 1907, when they spent a few more glorious days there in the winter.[50]

In Bermuda and at home, Twichell and Clemens enjoyed hiking together, relaxing, laughing, telling jokes and stories, and sometimes having more serious discussions as they went. Clara, and Katy Leary, the maid, recalled how the two loved to hike nine or ten miles to Talcott Mountain or even Boston, "taking their time to it."[51] "They'd have to take that long walk at least once a year, just to see if they was holdin' their own."[52]

It was natural for the project of a long-term hike to evolve, and it did. In the spring of 1878, Clemens took Livy, Susy, and Clara to Europe for about a year and a half. Clemens was to use the eighteen months to gather material and write a book similar to The Innocents Abroad which had been very

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[49]Strong, Twichell, p. 77.

[50]Long, Handbook, pp. 246-247.

[51]Clara Clemens, My Father, p. 27.

[52]Salsbury, Susy and Twain, p. 70.

successful. Twichell came over as his guest and "tramped" with Clemens for six weeks. The walking tour took them through the Black Forest and down into Switzerland. They walked a good deal, but also took trains, or carts or carriages and spent long days talking and loafing.[53] The Clemens family followed occasionally by train.[54] The book resulting from this trip was _A Tramp Abroad_ in which Twichell is Harris. When Clemens has Harris say in the book, "Your Harris will never desert you. We will die together," he is stating lightly the closeness that the two felt for one another at this time.[55]

The day after Twichell left to return to the States, Clemens wrote him the following note:

> Dear old Joe, It is actually all over! I was so lowspirited at the station yesterday, and this morning, when I woke, I couldn't seem to accept the dismal truth that you were really gone, and the pleasant tramping and talking at an end. Ah, my boy! it has been such a rich holiday to me, and I feel under such deep and honest obligation to you for coming. I am putting out of my mind all memory of the times when I misbehaved toward you and hurt you: I am resolved to consider it forgiven and to store up and remember only the charming hours of the journeys and the times when I was not unworthy to be with you and share a companionship which to me stands first after Livy's.[56]

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[53]Samuel Clemens, _Mark Twain's Notebook_, edited by Albert B. Paine (New York, 1935), p. 50.

[54]Strong, _Twichell_, p. 78.

[55]_Ibid._, p. 82.

[56]Samuel Clemens, _Letters_, I, 338.

The injuries that Clemens is supposed to have done to Twichell have never been explained. In a follow-up letter from Twichell, he does not remember any such occurrences.

Once Clemens wrote the book he realized more fully the debt he truly owed Twichell and expressed it in the personal inscription he made in Twichell's copy:

> My Dear "Harris"--No, I mean My Dear Joe,--Just imagine it for a moment: I was collecting material in Europe during fourteen months for a book, and now that the thing is printed I find that you, who were with me only a month and a half, are in actual presence (not imaginary) in 440 of the 531 pages the book contains! Hang it, if you had stayed at home it would have taken me fourteen years to get the material. You have saved me an intolerable whole world of hated labor, and I'll not forget it, my boy.
>
> You'll find reminders of things, all along, that happened to us, and of others that didn't happen; but you'll remember the spot where they were invented. You will see how the imaginary perilous trip up the Riffelberg is preposterously expanded. That horse-student is on page 192. The "Fremersberg" is neighboring. The Black Forest novel is on page 211. I remember when and where we projected that: in the leafy glades with the mountain sublimities dozing in the blue haze beyond the gorge of Allerheiligen. There's the "new member," page 213; the dentist yarn, 223; the true Chamois, 242; at page 248 is a pretty long yarn, spun from a mighty brief text--meeting, for a moment, that pretty girl who knew me and whom I had forgotten; at 281 is "Harris," and should have been so entitled, but Bliss has made a mistake and turned you into some other character; 305 brings back the whole Rigi tramp to me at a glance; at 185 and 186 are specimens of my art; and the frontispiece is the combination which I made by pasting one familiar picture over the lower half of an equally familiar one. This fine work being worthy of Titan, I have shed the credit of it upon him. Well, you'll find more reminders of things scattered through here than are printed, or could have been printed, in many books.

> All the "legends of the Neckar," which I invented for that unstoried region, are here; one is in the Appendix. The steel portrait of me is just about perfect.
>
> We had a mighty good time, Joe, and the six weeks I would dearly like to repeat any time; but the rest of the fourteen months--never. With love,
>
> Hartford, March 16, 1880 Yours, Mark[57]

Perhaps the most famous episode to be remembered from A Tramp Abroad is the incident of the lost sock. In the book, it is Clemens and Harris who are sleeping in the same room, but in actuality it was Clemens and Livy. One night Clemens could not sleep so he decided to get up and get dressed and leave, rather than risk waking his companion by tossing and turning. He arose with "catlike stealthiness" to keep from waking Livy and tried to dress in the dark. He found all his garments except one sock. With his slipper in one hand, he crawled softly around trying to find the elusive sock. The longer he searched, the more vehement he became--"and at last, when I found I was lost, I had to sit flat down on the floor and take hold of something to keep from lifting the roof off with the profane explosion that was trying to get out of me." He consoled himself with the fact that Livy still slept and searched for thirty more minutes. At last, upon finding the missing sock, he raised up, butted the wash-bowl and pitcher off the stand and swore loudly. This time Livy did awaken

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[57]Paine, Writings, XXXI, 666-667.

quite suddenly and screamed what was the matter? "I said, 'There ain't anything the matter--I'm hunting for my sock.' She said, "Are you hunting for it with a club?" When his fury subsided he realized how funny the incident was, and wrote it down immediately, substituting Twichell for Livy.[58]

This influence on Clemens' literature was new in one way and not so new in another. It was the first time he had used Twichell in his writing as an actual person, but it was not the first time nor the last that Twichell figured very prominently in Clemens' writings either directly or indirectly.

Twichell's influence upon Clemens' writings, as well as the influences of Howells and Livy has been called into question by some, represented by the attitude of Stephen Leacock. Leacock marvels that Clemens wrote anything at all under the burden of these three censors and that the three "did their loving best to ruin his work--and failed; that's all."[59] However, Leacock fails to see the true personalities of both Clemens and his three censors.

It is clearly evident from letters and statements by many, that Clemens sought the advice of his friends, and that their advice was not thrust upon him against his wishes.[60] He wanted the approval of such people as Livy, Twichell,

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[58] Samuel Clemens, Letters, I, 348.

[59] Stephen Butler Leacock, Mark Twain (England, 1932), p. 69.

[60] Strong, Twichell, p. 109.

Howells, and daughter, Susy. There seems to have been a basic insecurity in many areas of Clemens' makeup, and especially in the areas of religion and literature. Perhaps this is one reason why preachers figure so prominently in Clemens' life. He sought their company and their approval to feed his need of social acceptance and even, perhaps, of some vague religious acceptance. He could not go along with many religious doctrines, but he wanted to be around religion and keep up with it in an effort perhaps to reach a peace that he never fully understood. It was the same basic insecurity which possessed him when he first came East from the rough and ready West. He sought the aid and friendship of the socially accepted in a hope that some of their smoothness would rub some of the roughness off his edges. It was this type of assurance he needed time and again with his writings. The people he asked to criticize his writings or offer suggestions were those whom he respected and who respected him, friends who would give him constructive and honest opinions.

It should also be pointed out that even while Clemens sought advice, his friends did not have the final word. No revisions were made without his approval and as Leah Strong points out, "Clemens did not always accept the advice he had requested when he was sure himself as to what he wanted to do."[61]

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[61]*Ibid.*, p. 110.

Twichell read sections of The Gilded Age (1873) as Clemens and Charles Dudley Warner finished them. He encouraged this first major fictional project between them.[62] Much of the writing of A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court took place in Twichell's home. It may also be noted that Clemens wrote his best work between these years of 1873 and 1889. No lack of credit goes to Twichell's remarkable influence.

A major literary achievement sparked by Twichell was Life on the Mississippi. Howells, editor of the Atlantic, had written Clemens requesting something from him for the special January, 1875, issue, but Clemens did not feel he had anything worth writing at the time. Soon after he had posted a second letter to Howells telling him the bad news, Twichell came over and persuaded Clemens to go for a walk and forget about business. As they walked, Clemens began to tell Twichell about his piloting days on the Mississippi. Twichell remarked, "What a virgin subject to hurl into a magazine!" The imagination had been sparked, and Clemens rushed a letter to Howells telling the story:

> My Dear Howells, I take back the remark that I can't write for the January number. For Twichell and I have had a long walk in the woods and I got to telling him about old Mississippi days of steamboating glory and grandeur as I saw them (during five years) from the pilot-house. He said "What a virgin subject to hurl into a magazine!"

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[62] Ibid., p. 146.

> I hadn't thought of that before. Would you like a series of papers to run through 3 months or 6 or 9?--or about 4 months, say?[63]

The articles were called "Old Times on the Mississippi" while the book title was Life on the Mississippi. Clemens might have thought of this idea himself eventually, but in this case, Twichell was able to work as the catalyzing force during a time when Clemens was not producing.[64]

Clemens once wrote Twichell a five-hundred-word letter on how to strop a razor.[65] And he wrote the ribald 1601 for the robust Twichell "who had no special scruples concerning Shakespeare parlance and customs."[66] Clemens said he decided to write 1601 or, Conversation as It Was in the Days of the Tudors, and practice on Twichell. "I have always practiced doubtful things on Twichell from the beginning . . . ."[67] But this practice later led to unhappy results when Clemens read a shotgun wedding tale to Harmony and Joe one evening. Harmony Twichell was not at all amused, but Clemens did not realize it. The next day when she attended a woman's literary club as a guest, because ministers' wives were not customarily

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[63]Samuel Clemens, Letters, I, 229-230.

[64]Strong, Twichell, p. 113.

[65]DeLancey Ferguson, Mark Twain: Man and Legend (New York, 1943), p. 273.

[66]Paine, Writings, XXXI, 580.

[67]Samuel Clemens, Autobiography, p. 292.

invited to join such groups, Clemens read the manuscript again, much to the dismay and shame of Mrs. Twichell. Many of the ladies left "in a huff" and "Harmony Twichell never completely forgave Clemens for this blunder."[68] He had lived away from these dear friends for a few years and had lost some of his sensitivity to them.

In a similar way, Clemens almost came to a disastrous result through a near innocent literary blunder first suggested by Twichell. A man named Chew told Twichell a very entertaining episode and Twichell suggested to Clemens that he make a story of it, sharing the profits with Chew. Chew agreed and promised to send the facts. Clemens was delighted with the tale and had a strong temptation to write it down at once without waiting on Chew. When Chew's material came it was in the form of a clipping, the story having been printed by some newspaper. Had Clemens gone ahead with the project he could have been accused of plagiarism. In a letter to Twichell dated June 9, 1873, he makes it very clear that he would have felt ruined if he had printed the story and plagiarism had been charged.[69]

In 1890 Clemens published a piece in Harper's called "Luck," the particulars of which had been furnished by Twichell who got them from a visiting English army chaplain. The following year, an English gentleman introduced himself to

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[68]Strong, Twichell, p. 138.

[69]Samuel Clemens, Letters, I, 206.

Clemens in Rome and asked him if he did not realize who was the chief figure of the sketch. Clemens told him he did not, and the stranger informed him it was Lord Wolseley "and don't you go to England if you value your scalp." In 1900 Clemens met Lord Wolseley at a banquet and they got along quite well, however.[70]

Clemens used to tell Twichell about Captain Ned Wakeman, a real person whom he transformed into several fictitious characters, such as Captain Hurricane Jones and Captain Stormfield.[71] Once when Twichell was on vacation and following his usual vacation custom of traveling under an alias "so that he could associate with all kinds of disreputable characters and have a good time and nobody be embarrassed by his presence, since they wouldn't know that he was a clergyman," he took a Pacific mail ship for the Isthmus of Panama. By happy coincidence the one other passenger on board was none other than the illustrious Wakeman of San Francisco. The two men were inseparable for the rest of the voyage. One day Wakeman asked Twichell (alias Peters) is he had read the Bible, and by his ramblings and diversions in reply, Wakeman thought to take it upon himself to teach Twichell how to understand the miracles. He expounded on "Isaac and the Prophets of Baal" and Twichell did not tell him that it was

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[70]Samuel Clemens, Autobiography, pp. 294-295.

[71]Paine, Writings, XXXI, 593-594.

not Isaac at all. It was an unique interpretation and Clemens later used it just so in a tale.[72]

As late as 1901 Twichell was requested to "hurry down and help Livy squelch"[73] an article entitled "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." However, it was not "squelched." And in the same year, Clemens told Twichell that one of the casual items they had read years before had just given him an idea for something of his own. He wrote:

> How long it takes a seed to sprout sometimes! This seed was planted in your house many years ago when you sent me to bed with a book not heard of by me until then--Sherlock Holmes. [The seed referred to grew into Clemens' story, "A Double-Barrelled Detective Story."][74]

These then are the direct influences of Twichell on Clemens' writings. But what are more important are the influences he had indirectly, in the involvement and evolution of what Leah Strong calls the "manhood theme" which is present in the works during the time that Clemens was under Twichell's influence.

Christian manhood was an ever recurring theme in Twichell's sermons and lectures. "Through the spirit of Christ, and the example of Christ's life, man could overcome many obstacles. In spite of circumstances of any kind, a man could always be

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[72]Samuel Clemens, Autobiography, p. 303.

[73]Philip Foner, Mark Twain: Social Critic (New York, 1958), p. 269.

[74]Strong, Twichell, p. 114.

a man,"[75] Twichell asserted. Clemens could not have sat very long under this man and not received this message, because it was repeated in some form or another in nearly everything he ever wrote and every sermon he ever preached. Although it may be impossible to prove that this idea was taken directly from Twichell, it is likewise impossible to prove that it was not. Since this was a focal point in Twichell's religion, and since the two spent so much time together, hearing one another speak formally and in private conversations, it seems likely that "much of the idea may be held as dependent on Twichell."[76] There is also the fact that this idea did not appear in Clemens' writing until after Clemens had been around Twichell for a while.

The first appearance of the theme is in The Prince and the Pauper, nine years after The Gilded Age. In this novel, the Prince of Wales, Edward Tudor, and Tom Canty, a pauper, switch identities successfully because they look so much alike. Edward is driven out of court, and Tom becomes Prince, and later King of England, before Edward can prove who he is again.

Both boys adjust to their new lives to some extent. Edward's adjustment is more important to the manhood theme than is Tom's, since his change is an improvement. Edward

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[75] Ibid., pp. 60-61. [76] Ibid., p. 135.

is used as a pawn, completely unable to direct the course of his life; however, he takes it like a man.

A second character in the book who also displays the manhood theme is Sir Miles Hendon, who befriends Edward. Hendon protects Edward against opposing forces as best he can, even taking blows for him. Edward recognizes his manhood and dignity, and later, when his true identity is re-established, rewards him.

The manhood theme is also implied in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. Huck and Jim accept with dignity the buffetings of fate as they are carried along from one adventure to another. Jim has an independent spirit that remains constant throughout the book. Jim remains loyal to Huck regardless of the tricks Huck plays on him or the evils which befall him. In the climatic scene of the book, when Huck decides to go to hell rather than turn Jim in as a runaway slave, Huck displays the essence of the manhood theme: he is willing to undergo the very worst for his friend.[77]

In one scene of the book Clemens comes close to the direct statement about manhood. This is the scene involving Colonel Sherburn's holding off the lynch mob after he has killed Boggs. He quieted them down under a steady stare and then said:

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[77] Ibid., pp. 125-131.

"The idea of you lynching anybody! It's amusing. The idea of you thinking you had pluck enough to lynch a man! Because you're brave enough to tar and feather poor friendless cast-out women that come along here, did that make you think you had grit enough to lay your hands on a man? Why, a man's safe in the hands of ten thousand of your kind--as long as it's daytime and you're not behind him . . . .

"You didn't want to come. The average man don't like trouble and danger. But if only half a man--like Buck Harkness, there--shouts, 'Lynch him! Lynch him! you're afraid to back down--afraid you'll be found out to be what you are--afraid and so you raise a yell, and hang yourselves onto that half-a-man's coattail, and come raging up here, swearing what big things you're going to do. The pitifulest thing out is a mob; that's what an army is--a mob; they don't fight with courage that's born in them, but with courage that's borrowed from their mass, and from their officers. But a mob without any man at the head of it is beneath pitifulness. Now the thing for you to do is to droop your tails and go home and crawl in a hole. If any real lynching's going to be done it will be done in the dark, Southern fashion; and when they come they'll bring their masks, and fetch a man along. Now leave--and take your half-a-man with you" tossing his gun up across his left arm and cocking it when he says this.[78]

Clemens' most specific statements about the manhood theme are in A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court. In Chapter XVII the Yank sees a man tortured to make him confess to killing a deer. In spite of the physical suffering, he does not confess, in order to save his family. When the Yank finds out the truth he says to him:

"Oh, heart of gold, now I see it! The bitter law takes the convicted man's estate and beggars his

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[78]Samuel Clemens, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, Vol. XIII of The Writings of Mark Twain, Author's National Edition, 25 vols. (New York, 1899), pp. 196-197.

> widow and his orphans. They could torture you to death, but without conviction or confession they could not rob your wife and baby. You stood by them like a man; and you--true wife and true woman that you are--you would have bought him release from torture at cost to yourself of slow starvation and death--well, it humbles a body to think what your sex can do when it comes to self-sacrifice. I'll book you both for my colony; you'll like it there; it's a Factory where I'm going to turn groping and grubbing automata into _men_."[79]

Later in the work, the Yankee recognizes the manhood in the king, and states that even after the king has been beaten for a week "the king was a good deal more a king, he was a man; and when a man is a man, you can't knock it out of him."[80]

The idea is carried over in this work and in _Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc_ to encompass mankind, not only the male sex, but women as well. Joan's strength and fortitude impressed him greatly when she too is seen as tossed about through the circumstances and forces that she can in no way control.

When Joan is tied to the stake, she still keeps her dignity and her only thoughts are for others:

> If any thought that now, in that solemn hour when all transgressors repent and confess, she would revoke her revocation and say her great deeds had been evil deeds and Satan and his friends their source, they erred. No such thought was in her blameless mind. She was not thinking

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[79]Samuel Clemens, _A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court_, Vol. XVI of _The Writings of Mark Twain_, Author's National Edition, 16 vols. (New York, 1899), pp. 140-141.

[80]_Ibid._, p. 323.

> of herself and her troubles, but of others, and of woes that might befall them.[81]

After Joan of Arc, the manhood theme disappears from Clemens' work. "In What Is Man? it does not appear, though it seems from the evidence of the novels themselves that for some time it was a very important part of Clemens' personal philosophy."[82]

> In Twichell's belief this manhood ideal was part of a Christian pattern of life, an attribute possible to men through spiritual powers. In Clemens' writing, the theme of manhood appears primarily as an idea in itself, without the Christian background which was at the center of Twichell's philosophy.[83]

By the time What Is Man? was written, Clemens had completely swung over to didacticism.[84] Over the years of separation, there is a marked deterioration in both Clemens' inner life and in his works.

Twichell and Clemens were so close at times that there seemed to have been a kind of mental telepathy between them. Once when Clemens was reading Romola, Twichell felt a certain urge to go into the room and did so without prelude and said he had read the same book six years ago. He then made a statement that had just crossed Clemens' mind not six seconds

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[81] Samuel Clemens, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, Vol. XVIII of The Writings of Mark Twain, Definitive Edition, 37 vols. (New York, 1923), p. 280.

[82] Strong, Twichell, p. 134.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., p. 145.

before. Another instance like this occurred when they both thought of checking on a telegram from Livy while they were on one of their sojourns. Twichell got it out faster, but Clemens said if he had been an instant later, he would have said exactly the same thing.[85] Twichell wrote to Clemens from the mountains of Vermont in 1885: "I have never known anyone who could help me read my own thoughts in such a case as you can and _have_ done many a time, dear old fellow."[86]

Twichell was always the one to whom Clemens wrote when he was upset.[87] Twichell had the kind of personality that members of both sexes would come to for help in time of trouble. It was to Twichell that Clemens could pour out his venom of bitterness, and Twichell rejoiced in being able to do this service for him.[88] In this capacity as consoler and compassionate listener Twichell was not only acting as friend, but also as pastor.

In the more official capacity, Twichell served Clemens as the officiant at his and Livy's marriage; the wedding ceremony of Clara; and the funerals of Susy in 1896, Mrs. Clemens in 1904, Jean in 1909, and last of all, Clemens himself in 1910.

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[85] Paine, _Writings_, XXXI, 627-628.

[86] _Ibid_., p. 815.

[87] Strong, _Twichell_, p. 104.

[88] Andrews, _Nook Farm_, p. 73.

The death of his daughter Susy was a turning point in Clemens' attitudes toward religion. It was a blow from which he never recovered. He never forgave himself for not being present, although he knew he could not have done anything to avert it. Nevertheless, he blamed himself as he had done years ago for the accidental death of his brother Henry. Clemens appreciated Twichell's faithful presence at the final hours of Susy's life: He wrote Twichell:

> It was no surprise for me to learn that you stayed by Susy long hours, careless of fatigue and heat, it was no surprise that you swept her spirit when no other could; for she loved you, revered you, trusted you, and "Uncle Joe" was no empty phrase upon her lips! I am grateful to you, Joe, grateful to the bottom of my heart, which has always been filled with love for you, and respect and admiration; and I would have chosen you out of all the world to take my place at Susy's side and Livy's in those black hours.[89]

When Livy died in 1904, Clemens sank even lower into determinism and pessimism. Twichell talked with him and wrote to him. The substance of those letters indicate that their conversations had been on spiritual matters,[90] again a pastoral service from Twichell. But it was difficult to achieve the consoling and counseling that Clemens needed over the distance of the miles. He tried, and Clemens appreciated his efforts, but Clemens plunged deeper into his own despair,

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[89] Samuel Clemens, Letters, II, 635.

[90] Strong, Twichell, p. 98.

never fully recovering his psychological and emotional balance as he had done in earlier times of tragedy. "While Twichell was with him, he was able to maintain the necessary balance. Without Twichell, he failed in that respect, and Joe could only watch it happen from a distance."[91]

And then suddenly, Clemens died and Twichell had cause to write:

> The word which came last evening, that the struggle at Redding, which we all had been watching with bated breath, was over, was not expected; yet was not without the effect of a shock, as such word ever is. We had not been able to make it seem real that Mark Twain was dying. With me it brought the tide of memories that had been rising ever since I heard how desperately sick he was, to the flood . . . .[92]

From all over the world condolences reached Clara; newspapers around the world paid tribute to Samuel Clemens. He was carried to the Brick Church in New York for funeral services where Dr. Henry van Dyke spoke briefly and Twichell delivered a prayer, broken with grief.[93]

On the way home to a dying Harmony, Twichell sat beside a passenger who asked him if he had known Samuel Clemens. During that one-hundred-ten-mile trip back to Hartford, Twichell poured out memory after memory which helped to relieve his mind of his personal trouble awaiting him at home, and helped focus once more on the beloved memory of his cherished friend.

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[91] Ibid., p. 149. [92] Ibid., p. 89.

[93] Long, Handbook, p. 256.

His seat-companion was sincerely interested in his reminiscences and Twichell was able to unburden himself.[94]

Twichell lived until 1918, the last six years in pleasant retirement. Occasionally visitors and reporters would come to see him, or talk to him about his famous friendship. He was survived by all nine children.[95]

In January, 1897, Clemens had written a letter to Twichell in which he stated:

> You have something divine in you that is not in other men. You have the touch that heals, not lacerates. And you know the secret places of our hearts. You know life--the outside of it--as others do--and the inside of it--which they do not. You have seen our whole voyage.[96]

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[94] Strong, Twichell, p. 164.

[95] Ibid., p. 166.

[96] Samuel Clemens, Letters, II, 640.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Overlooking the Mississippi River from the banks of the town of Hannibal, Missouri, is a life-size statue of Samuel L. Clemens. The tablet on the monument bears the words, "His Religion Was Humanity."[1] Those four words echo the sum of a spiritual quest which lasted seventy-five years.

Clemens was born with a hungry heart. He wanted to know the logic behind events, to understand why things happened as they did, and to believe in spiritual things without any doubts. As a boy he was taught that God was all powerful and all knowing and that punishment was sure. His sensitive nature learned to fear God and to dread damnation. But as he grew older, read more, heard more, and learned more he began to question the orthodox teachings of his youth. However he tried to escape the Calvinism of his boyhood, he did not accomplish it. He succeeded only in intensifying it into determinism. He rejected much of the orthodox Christian theology, but he never rejected Christian ethics.

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[1] William C. S. Pellowe, Mark Twain, Pilgrim From Hannibal (New York, 1945), p. 200. Hereafter cited as Pellowe, Pilgrim.

Students of religious movements realize that what Clemens underwent in his lifetime is representative of his era. If beliefs such as the crude conception of God, magical ideas of the efficacy of prayer, Calvinism's foreordination and fore-damnation, hell as a geographic locality, and acceptance of the Bible as literal truth to its very punctuation marks[2] were still true today, Christianity would not have the allegiance it has. Clemens was part of the purging of Christian theology from the old fundamentalist ideas, but he could not break away from them himself. From youth to old age he could not cease from scrutinizing Christianity and trying to construct serious plans of salvation and interrogating the universe to determine what God was really like.[3] Yet the religious folly he was born in, he died in, as he himself predicted.

In his early writings, religious beliefs and the Bible were treated humorously and satirically. In these early years he was primarily a humorist, regarding literature as a means of entertainment, which might also contain ideas of educational benefit and value. Later, however, he began to adopt the idea that literature should be used for purposes of instruction. "The story became less important, the humor was played down, and the idea became supreme."[4] Then in the last ten years

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[2] Ibid., pp. 183-184.

[3] Ibid., p. 177.

[4] Leah A. Strong, Joseph Hopkins Twichell, Mark Twain's Friend and Pastor (Athens, Georgia, 1966), pp. 144-145.

or so of his life, Clemens swung all the way over to didacticism. "The story became very unimportant, the humor was rare, and the expression of the idea was the complete objective of the author."[5]

The change in his art reflected the change in his personal religious theories. When he was young and his spirit was robust, he maintained a balance between art and religion, but the longer he lived, the more disappointments and tragedies befell him, the more difficult this balance became. In his latter days, he repudiated moral responsibility. His determinism was an effort to assert that man was not responsible for anything; but paradoxically in his own life he could not convince himself that this was true. "Because his determinism and pessimism had come as much from his emotional responses to life as from his intellect and reading, when the many emotional disturbances became too numerous and overpowering, he felt the necessity to explain his beliefs more explicitly."[6]

If Clemens had been a stoic, his attitude toward the woes of life might have been indifference. Clemens sympathized with his fellow men too much to be indifferent. Perhaps what he needed was a philosophy which would permit him to see the lower animals only as waste products in the

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 143. [6] *Ibid.*

evolutionary chain, and "to believe in a God of Heal, not Hurt."[7] Clemens sought a more humane God, but never found Him.

It seems unfortunate that Clemens had to experience religion in one of its harshest and unloveliest forms. But if he had not had these experiences, he would not have been the man and writer he was. The older he became, the more vehemently he rejected all that he could not "prove" as "reality." As a result he tried to solve spiritual problems on a secular level and failed.

Some might say that Clemens' interest in clergymen derived from an unfulfilled ambition to become one. He once wrote his nephew, Samuel Webster, saying that the ministry was the only genuine ambition he ever had, "but somehow I never had any qualifications _but_ the ambition."[8] Others might claim that Clemens enjoyed clergymen because they were educated, articulate, socially skillful, and usually shared in sympathizing with humanity, traits which appealed to Clemens. His interest was certainly not derived from guilt over his apostasy.[9] Instead it was a natural response to seek out those who should have been able to help him in his search for spiritual peace.

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[7]Edward Wagenknecht, _Mark Twain: The Man and His Work_ (Norman, Oklahoma, 1961), p. 199.

[8]Dewey Ganzel, _Mark Twain Abroad; The Cruise of the "Quaker City"_ (Chicago, 1968), p. 33.

[9]Kenneth R. Andrews, _Nook Farm; Mark Twain's Hartford Circle_ (Cambridge, 1950), p. 71.

Clergymen were interested in him, at least those who looked beyond the surface level of occasional bursts of coarse language or excessive use of tobacco. Beneath those surface matters, they found a man involved in a genuine seeking after truth. Clergymen were among his closest friends who understood and sympathized with him, and who saved him from spiritual and intellectual loneliness.[10] These clergymen knew that even though Clemens declared his "damned human race" philosophy, he cared deeply for these "damned" individuals. His religion was, indeed, humanity.

Although Clemens knew, either slightly or intimately, more than a hundred clergymen, not one among his intimates was a serious theologian. He knew the Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell only in Bushnell's declining years, and he was acquainted with the Rev. Charles Haddon Spurgeon only briefly. His closest clerical friend, the Rev. Joseph Twichell, was not a theologian. Twichell helped him all he could. He inspired him to write many times, and may be identified as the direct source of the manhood theme which appears in his greatest works. But in the inner depths and recesses of religious theology, Twichell could be of little help. Of all his religious friends, not one could answer to his deepest need.

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[10] Pellowe, Pilgrim, p. 117.

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