ILLUSTRATING MARK TWAIN'S SUBSCRIPTION-BOOK: EDITING FOR COMEDY AND SUBVERSION DURING THE PRODUCTION AND MARKETING OF ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN

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INTRODUCTION

After an extensive study of Samuel Langhorne Clemens' Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (A.H.) and the popular argument the novel is racist, a question remains that deserves an answer: What was the author's editorial intent with the illustrations during the production of the novel? The fact that Clemens published the novel himself as a subscription-book, that he had complete editorial control and that he knew the importance of the illustrations to its reception, offers several potential areas of study. Some of the primary tasks entail hiring a trusted manager and illustrator, accepting or rejecting illustrations, proofreading the text and captions, and marketing. While each of these is important to the novel's production, the illustrations were very important to the marketing and reception of any subscription-book. Nevertheless, Clemens accepted flawed illustrations of his main characters, Jim and Huck. In Jim's case, he is a caricature whose appearance changes throughout the novel, most noticeably between the novel's beginning and ending. Another concerns the differences in appearance between the Huck Finn of Tom Sawyer and the Huck Finn of A.H.: the boy wearing rags in Tom Sawyer is more civilized in A.H. These anomalies are unusual given Clemens' many years of experience publishing his work in the subscription-book market. However, if the illustrations simply serve to entertain the reader, uniformity in the appearance of

characters throughout the text is less important than entertaining the reader.[1] In part, Clemens supports this premise in a letter evaluating several early illustrations written to his manager Charles L. Webster. He wrote, "An artist shouldn't follow a book too literally."[2] While Clemens' response clearly allows for inconsistencies in the illustrations, it also suggests a unique opportunity to examine how production, marketing and editing inevitably affect a novel's final form.

Clemens entered the publishing business to overcome the difficulties he encountered with his previously published novels, and he began by hiring an inexperienced illustrator: Edward Windsor Kemble. When Kemble began working on the novel, he brought with him his love of comedy, his ability to animate characters and several examples of his work from the popular press (Life), and he applied each of these to his illustrations for Clemens. However, because he was a novice, Kemble struggled to understand exactly what Clemens wanted illustrated from a text written entirely in the first person. As for Clemens, he moved from the realm of author to publisher. As author, he wrote a sequel to Tom Sawyer that provides Huck Finn with his own unique voice, humanizes Jim, and is both comical and violent. However, as publisher, he edited and approved of illustrations based on their ability to increase his novel's audience appeal; Huck Finn is civilized, Jim is either subservient or a clown, and the violence is nullified. The result is a novel about the antebellum South that incorporates Kemble's popular press style of illustrating to enhance audience appeal through comedy and the nullification of violence, so while the illustrations support Clemens' editorial intent as a

[1] See David's discussion in "The Pictorial Huck Finn."

[2] Webster, 255.

publisher, they do not always follow the text.[3] Marketing and appearance were more important during editing than remaining true to the story, but how and why this happened remains an area of study not fully explored. Each of Clemens' decisions during production impacted the novel's final form and is critical to understanding authorial intent versus the editorial production of a novel because once Clemens entered the realm of publisher, his editorial decisions inevitably altered the novel to create a marketable product. This study of Clemens' editorial decisions during the production of A.H will explore and demonstrate how illustrations subvert or complement the final form of the novel, how marketing affected production decisions, how accepting or rejecting illustrations and editing captions impact the novel's interpretation, and provide another avenue for evaluating the charge of racism against the novel today.

Following the publication of The Celebrated Jumping Frog and Other Sketches, and his return from his extensive European travels, Clemens received his first correspondence from Elisha Bliss in November 1867. Bliss owned American Publishing Company, and he proposed that Clemens write and publish a travel narrative based on his recent trip to Europe. Bliss' correspondence caused Twain to write the novel Innocents Abroad (1869), and the publication of that novel began Clemens' career in the subscription-book market. Though Clemens appreciated the opportunity to make money, he knew nothing about the subscription-book business, but after a trip to visit both Horace Greeley and Albert Richardson, who both published through subscription, Clemens signed a contract with Bliss on January 24, 1868. Thanks to Greeley and

[3] Douglas Anderson argues that Clemens "literally makes room on the page for Kemble's drawings, as if the drawings themselves are part of what must be read"("Reading the Pictures in Huckleberry Finn," 101).

Richardson's input concerning potential profit, Clemens agreed to a percentage of the book's royalties.

As Clemens discovered, subscription-books were sold door-to-door by a wide variety of people, and though some of these independent sales agents included out of work veterans from the Civil War, they also "included broken-down clergymen, maiden ladies, grass widows, and college students."[4] These "semiscrupulous" agents traveled the countryside with a "dummy, or prospectus," copy of a novel that would be delivered upon completion, but in order to sell it to average Americans, they had to promise an appealing book:

> People in those days would not pay for blank paper or wide margins. They wanted everything filled up with type or pictures....One way to expand a book to the necessary length was to saturate it with illustrations, usually wood-cuts that looked as if they had been engraved with a tablespoon. Cheap engravings meant a big savings in production costs...and most subscribers wouldn't know the difference anyway.[5]

Apparently, what average Americans lacked in taste for finely engraved illustrations during this period, they made up for in bulk because when they received their copy of Innocents Abroad, it contained over six-hundred fifty pages with two-hundred thirty-four illustrations. While many buyers used the book as "surrogate travel brochures," and the illustrations provided "visual reinforcement for their imaginary adventures," the full-page illustrations with no text on the back served to "decorate the walls of many readers'

[4] Meltzer, 194.

[5] Hill, Mark Twain and Elisha Bliss, 13.

homes."[6] The average subscription-book buying public loved illustrations, but Clemens' audience did not include the genteel readers he hoped to write for later in his career, and this happened because of the differing reception subscription-book agents received by potential customers:

> The canvassing agent, while welcomed in small towns and on farms, was 'voted a bore and a nuisance' in the city; 'private houses of any gentility are all shut against him; brutal placards on shop and office doors and elevator shafts class him with the forbidden peddler and beggar;...he is a hissing and a by-word, a proverb of the undesirable.'[7]

While canvassing agents selling subscription-books in small towns and on farms were popular, their reception by more sophisticated customers ensured a majority of America's genteel readers would not see Clemens' work. The primary differences in these two audiences were class distinctions based on Victorian beliefs and conservative moral values at a time in American history when wealth meant more than power. Boston served as the hub of America's wealth and power, the hub of establishing and maintaining America's moral, social and cultural standards during the Gilded Age, and its social elite set the standards for anyone aspiring to be classed with the genteel. However, "Boston's official culture" never accepted Clemens, and his readers were not society's social and cultural leaders who purchased their books from bookstores. Instead, Clemens wrote travel narratives for average people who traveled the world through the text and illustrations of his early books; average Americans who purchased their book via

[6] David, Mark Twain and His Illustrators, 15.

[7] Henry Smith, 514.

subscription. This social and cultural distinction between American's genteel and average subscription-book buyers is a class division in the reading public; one that Clemens sought to overcome when publishing and editing his humorous novel A.H. Eventually, through humor and better illustrations, Clemens' sought to expand his novel's audience to include the genteel reader.

For the first time in his life, Clemens worked to complete a six-hundred page manuscript, and though it proved challenging, he repeated the process over and over again throughout his career. However, at this point, some of the problems he encountered with the artists Bliss hired to illustrate his novel provide a better example of his initiation into the business of subscription-books. These problems began almost immediately after he learned the importance of illustrations to selling his first book, but he had very little control over the illustrators or their work. Clemens explains the progress of his novel in a letter to Mrs. Fairbanks in the autumn of 1868:

> It [Innocents Abroad] cannot be illustrated profusely enough to get it out in December, and therefore we shall make a spring book of it and issue it the first of March. The publishers are ready to snatch it out at once, with the usual full page engravings, but they [Bliss and artists] prefer to have pictures sandwiched in with the text & [I] do too.[8]

Clemens' reference to what "they" (Bliss and artists) prefer indicates that he had little control in the novel's production; he simply includes himself while deferring to the publisher's expertise. In doing so, he leaves himself at the mercy of others, and this is a mistake he often repeated when he became fed-up with all of the details associated with

[8] Wector, 40.

the publishing process. Also, Clemens mentions a delay in publication because the novel needs to be filled with illustrations, so he has already learned the value of illustrations and he chose to miss the best market, the Christmas holiday rush, to ensure enough are included in the final book.

The delay in publication of Innocents Abroad happened because the illustrator, True Williams, was a drunkard, and Clemens' suggestion to use some of the postcards he purchased and photographs he had taken on his European trip as illustrations.[9] Early in the production process, Bliss "enthusiastically" agreed with Clemens' idea to use some of his own material as illustrations because it would save time in "selecting subjects to illustrate, insure a sizeable number of interesting and relevant drawings, and...[it] could be exploited in sales promotion," but when Bliss turned the job of illustrating the text over to Faye and Cox Illustrators, who turned it over to the respectable, yet alcoholic, artist and illustrator True Williams, that decision ensured even more delays.[10] Clemens discovered that in order to get any work out of Williams it was "necessary to lock him in a room...with nothing more than cold water as a beverage."[11] Eventually, that was exactly what Bliss did with Williams when he sent the illustrator and his two companions to New York City to live with a friend of Clemens, Moses Beach. While the illustrators worked, Clemens proofread his manuscript, but the entire process turned into a nightmare for both him and Bliss. For Clemens, some of the major problems included missing

[9] According to Paine, Clemens also acquired many of the photographs used in Innocents Abroad from his friend and travel companion Moses S. Beach (366).

[10] David, Mark Twain, 9. Additionally, Henry Smith claims that in a letter to his wife October 3, 1871, Orion Clemens (Mark Twain's brother and also employed by American Publishing Company) told her "that he had seen [True] Williams climbing a lamp post, and offering to go to the top, for the amusement of some loafers in front of Tim Dooley's saloon"(123).

illustrations, poorly drawn illustrations, and matching text with illustrations, but for Bliss, the problems began with all of the unmarked photographs that Clemens had put in the hands of the illustrators because only he knew the identity of the people that were eventually illustrated. In the end, Clemens' frustration resulted in him pushing "more and more of the major illustrating decisions onto Bliss."[12] By giving up much of the editorial control to Bliss, Clemens ensured that Bliss would insert most, if not all, of the illustrations because lots of pictures (even if they didn't always match up with the text) is what the customer of a subscription-book wanted. In the end, Clemens' first commissioned publication appeared a full year after he turned the manuscript over to Bliss, and the experience he gained in the publishing business proved as valuable as the fame and fortune he received. So, in July 1869, Innocents Abroad entered the market, and by the time sales slowed, it sold over 100,000 copies by subscription. With that first major publication, Clemens began a career in the business of subscription-books that would last until Webster and Company went bankrupt in 1894.

Thanks to a very favorable review by William Dean Howells in the Atlantic Monthly, Clemens' fame instantly increased on a national level:

> It is no business of ours to fix his rank among the humorists California has given us, but we think he is, in an entirely different way from all the others, quite worthy of the company of the best.[13]

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[11] Paine, 366.

[12] David, Mark Twain, 12.

[13] Paine, 383.

With that glowing review, Clemens and Howells eventually became good friends, but not surprisingly, given the artist's reputation at the time, Howells also included the illustrator True Williams in his praise:

> The artist who so copiously illustrated the volume has nearly always helped the author in the portraiture of his fellow passengers, instead of hurting him, which is saying a good deal for an artist; in fact, we may go further and apply commendation to all the illustrations; and this in spite of the variety of figures in which the same persons are represented, and the artist's tendency to show characters on mules where the author says they rode horseback.[14]

While Howells' praises True Williams on the quality of most illustrations, despite the all too apparent problems with some of them, it is interesting to note that the quantity of illustrations is also praised. The number of illustrations is the backbone of any subscription-book because a "copiously illustrated" book is what the average buyer wanted, so despite the mixed review concerning quality, Howells' praise meant success for Clemens, and it resulted in Bliss immediately offering Clemens another subscription-book contract, and he accepted.

Over the next decade, Clemens' fame continually increased, and thanks to the many lessons he learned from Elisha Bliss and the American Publishing Company, he felt prepared to begin his own company to publish A.H. himself. Clemens learned during this period that "what his audience saw in the illustrations would shape their reading of the

[14] Fredrick Anderson asserts that one of the primary problems with some of the illustrations in Innocents Abroad was True Williams putting mule's ears on the horses (28). Also, David argues that many illustrations in Innocents Abroad do not relate to the story, that Bliss used a picture of his own fountain

story and that the illustrations would manipulate the responses of his readers."[15] Despite Clemens knowing the importance of the relationship between audience and illustrations to the publication and success of his work, his ability to control their production did not happen overnight.

With Clemens' next book, Roughing It, he busily worked on writing a massive manuscript while telling Bliss, "hatch up lots of pictures for the book—it is going to sell bully."[16] Clemens' trust in Bliss to take care of the publishing concerns resulted in him "leaving subordinates to correct the massive amounts of illustrated proof," and as he again turned more of the editing process over to Bliss, he came to learn

> Bliss was a businessman first and an editor and friend second. Mark Twain's neglect of significant detail, his aloof attitude toward pictorial design, and his naïve faith that others would do the work and treat him fairly, seriously damaged the book [Roughing It]. The inevitable result paved the way for Mark Twain's eventual paranoia and ultimately helped destroy the relationship between the author and his editor [Bliss].[17]

Clemens felt he had enough to do with writing the manuscript and his personal life, so he trusted the publisher to do the rest. Some of the eventual problems that resulted from Clemens' trust in Bliss' expertise include True Williams and a wide variety of other illustrators misreading (or not reading) the text. This inevitably caused many illustrations

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instead of the one from Versailles, and in one illustration Twain is standing next to a mule that is supposed to be a horse (Mark Twain, See esp. pp. 16, 20, 31).

[15] David, "The Pictorial," 334.

[16] Hill, Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers, 63.

[17] David, Mark Twain, 36.

not to follow the text, so the illustrations in his novel became, in too many instances, a "cartoon-strip" that altered the intended comedy for the reader; the novel became too realistic instead of satirical.[18] By altering the humor of the text, Clemens' use of intellectually stimulating comedy reverts to farcical and crude humor unappreciated by a genteel audience. The undermining of Clemens' intent caused frustration, but other problems with the illustrating of the novel proved even more problematic. Because many illustrations went unsigned, Bliss took the opportunity to slip in additional illustrations from other novels:

> In Roughing It Bliss used pictures from at least two other books, Thomas W. Knox's Overland Through Asia (1870) and Albert D. Richardson's Beyond the Mississippi (1869). From these two books alone there were seventeen illustrations that showed up in Twain's book either unaltered or changed only slightly, and it is more than likely that other cuts were patched up in order to fit into the context of Roughing It.[19]

When Clemens discovered this deceit through his brother Orion (who was employed by American Pub. Co. at the time), the matter of fraud concerned him less than the loss of profits because the cost of illustrations came directly out of an author's royalties. Briefly, Clemens contemplated suing Bliss and American Publishing Company, but because it could damage the subscription-book industry's reputation, and it could financially ruin Clemens because of both the expense and the damage to his reputation in the publishing

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[18] David, Mark Twain, 47. Also see David's "Those Pirated Prints: Illustrating Mark Twain's Roughing It", in which David argues that Bliss brought Williams back to do additional illustrations for the novel, and that many of the illustrations in the novel are Williams' even though another author signs them.

[19] Hill, Bliss, 58. Hill also discusses the fact that Clemens was more concerned about the loss of profits than fraud (66-67).

industry, he did little else but get angry. In fact, during the remainder of their relationship, Clemens continued to "depend on Bliss and others to supervise these matters [the details and "selection or approval" of illustrations] and then cried foul when they were not carried through to his satisfaction:" Though Clemens had learned the importance of illustrations to his work, and he increasingly learned how to direct a "reader's attention to particular drawings in the text," he neglected to stay involved in the details of production when the process frustrated him.[20] Clemens' frustration with the details of production begins a pattern he repeats whenever frustrated with the process of producing A.H., so his lack of attention to detail will again result in the undermining of the author's intent by illustrations too concerned with comedy or not following from the text.

Between 1874-76 however, Clemens' frustration with Bliss steadily increased. While the final preparations for publishing The Gilded Age were taking place, Clemens contracted with Bliss for Tom Sawyer, but he had not forgotten the previous problems of stolen or poorly drawn illustrations with Roughing It. When The Gilded Age came out in 1874, with both poor illustrations and paper, Clemens attempted to take his idea to publish Sketches to J. R. Osgood. However, when Clemens told Bliss about his plan, Bliss confronted Clemens with a four-year-old contract. In a letter, 12 February 1875, to Osgood, Clemens explains what happened:

> Concerning that sketch-book. I went to Bliss yesterday and told him I got all my old sketches culled and put together and a whole lot of new ones added, and that I had about made up my mind to put them in

[20] David, Mark Twain, 57-58.

your hands. Whereupon he went to his safe and brought back a contract *four years old* to give him all my old sketches, with a lot of new ones added!—royalty 7½ per cent!

I had totally forgotten the existence of such a contract—*totally*. He said, "It wouldn't be like you to first fulfill *this* contract."[21]

This confrontation only heightened the tension that already existed between Clemens and Bliss because Bliss had so little confidence in Sketches that he hired True Williams as illustrator, and Williams did a very poor job. Following the publication of Sketches in 1875, Clemens, upset with Bliss, wrote Howells on 14 September 1875: "I destroyed a mass of sketches, & now heartily wish I had destroyed more of them—but it is too late to grieve now."[22] Between Bliss' lack of confidence and Clemens' frustration, Sketches became a short book with only one-hundred poorly drawn illustrations.

Almost every publishing issue that created problems between Clemens and Bliss came to a head with Tom Sawyer, published in 1875. Besides owing Bliss $2,000, Clemens had signed a contract with him, but he also began thinking about other publishers.[23] First, however, Clemens needed to complete and publish Tom Sawyer, and that proved to be a challenge for both Bliss and Clemens because Tom Sawyer was not the normal subscription-book; it was short and a "novel" (something new) so it was hard to sell. Bliss used a thicker paper to make it appear thicker, and he had True Williams create numerous illustrations, but they were "inconsistent in character, inaccurate due to

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[21] Hill, Publishers, 83-84). Also, see David's Mark Twain for a detailed account of the illustrations' quality (82).

[22] Henry Smith, 99.

careless reading of the text, had a bit of whimsical humor but not the humor of the spirit of the work," and the text included "borrowed" illustrations from other works.[24] Clemens also created problems for himself because his attempt to have Tom Sawyer published in England resulted in a pirated .75 cent edition in Canada, so the competition in sales caused a loss in profit. Clemens' wrote on 2 November 1876, that "Belford Bros., Canadian thieves, are flooding America with a cheap pirated edition of Tom Sawyer."[25] In the end, the short text, cheaper Canadian version, and poor illustrations meant very little profit because the book did not sell very well, and Clemens blamed Bliss for every problem.

Following the publication of Tom Sawyer, Clemens felt Elisha Bliss and American Publishing Co. had cheated him long enough, so he contracted with Frank Bliss (Elisha's son) because he trusted him and because Frank happened to be starting his own publishing company. While Clemens worked on the manuscript for A Tramp Abroad, Frank discovered he didn't have the money to survive his first year in business, and when his father, Elisha, became ill, Frank returned to American Pub. Co. with Clemens' approval and his contract. Following the death of Elisha Bliss, and the publication of A Tramp Abroad (1879), Clemens decided that Frank had neither the experience or energy to properly run a publishing business, so he took his business to J. R. Osgood, a respectable Boston publishing house, yet despite different contract

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[23] David contends Clemens owed Bliss the money from "the ill-fated Riley diamond mine book. Tom Sawyer [underlining mine] would finally satisfy this Riley debt"(Mark Twain, 84).

[24] David argues that the person responsible for one borrowed illustration is a mystery, but Twain admits stealing the idea for Aunt Polly from Shillaber's The Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington, 1854. However, it is unclear whether Bliss or Twain provided the illustration used for Aunt Polly on page 274 of Tom Sawyer (Mark Twain, 89).

arrangements, when his profits for The Prince and the Pauper (1881) and Life on the Mississippi (1883) were no better than with American Pub. Co., he decided to publish A.H. (1885) by subscription himself. In spite of the failed agreements with Osgood, Clemens remained his loyal friend; he simply felt Osgood "knew nothing about subscription publishing."[26] The end of Clemens' business agreements with Osgood left him with few options, so he eventually hatched the idea of setting up his new nephew-in-law Charles L. Webster in the publishing business to publish A.H.

Clemens' travels and speaking engagements fueled both his fame and the manuscripts he produced, and his relationship with American Pub. Co. taught him the business and problems of subscription-book marketing. Clemens learned the importance of illustrations to marketing his work, he knew his audience, he knew that the novels he wrote sold better when they were packed with "good" illustrations that complemented the story, but he never overcame his inability to deal with his frustrations during the lengthy production process. In other words, Clemens enjoyed writing his novels, but the complex process of editing and marketing frustrated him. This inability to deal with the details of publishing resulted in him turning many business decisions over to Elisha Bliss, but in doing so, the illustrations did not follow from his text, were poorly drawn or were stolen from other novels. Clemens felt cheated because the stories he wrote were not illustrated to his satisfaction. Despite making money, Clemens believed he could increase his profits by expanding his novel's marketability, so by improving the appearance of his work through better illustrations he could expand his audience and increase sales. A better

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[25] Hill, Publishers, 105-106.

[26] DeVoto, 157.

product meant more copies sold and an increase in profits, but Clemens never learned how to adequately deal with his frustration over details. This inevitably resulted in him turning many of the production decisions over to Webster, as he did with Elisha Bliss, but more importantly, the decisions Clemens did make during editing altered the final form of his novel.

While Clemens learned everything he needed to know to enter the business of subscription publishing, his future illustrator, Edward Windsor Kemble, began learning his trade. Though very little biographical information exists on Kemble, a brief outline of his early life begins with his birth in 1861, to Colonel Edward Cleveland Kemble and Cecelia Windsor Kemble in Sacramento, California. Besides a leader in West Coast journalism, his father authored several "clever and amusing sketches of life west of the Rockies," so young Edward Kemble "inherited a capacity for seeing the humorous side of life" from his father, "making his pen tell the story better than most."[27] As a would-be illustrator and the son of a publisher, Kemble would have paid close attention to the type of work done in the popular press, and given his love of humor, he learned to appreciate the type associated with comical illustrations.

In early 1870, the Kemble family moved to New York City where Colonel Kemble worked as Inspector for Indian Affairs. At fourteen, young Kemble left his family to attend boarding school in Philadelphia, and while there, he sent home many letters with comical sketches of Indians he remembered from a trip he took in 1872, with his father to an Oklahoma reservation. Following boarding school, one of his most memorable jobs was with the Western Union Telegraph because at that time he left four

of his best pen and ink drawings with Mr. Charles Parsons, the editor of Harper & Brothers in New York. When he returned a few days later to inquire about his illustrations, Mr. Parsons offered him seventy dollars for them, and Kemble gratefully took the money and immediately quit his job with Western Union. For a couple of weeks, Kemble's only formal training was with an Art Student's League in New York, but when he felt "nobody ever looked at his work," he left the school and applied for a job at The Daily Graphic in New York in 1881.[28] At the young age of twenty, Kemble's career in illustrating began.

Figure 1. "The First Snow."

Figure 1 is an example of Kemble's work before Clemens hired him as his illustrator, and its subject employs popular beliefs associated with blacks during the late nineteenth century.[29] In fact, the illustration is too stereotypical because Kemble had never been South or seen blacks in their so-called "natural environment."[30] In Figure 1, an elderly black man stands

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[27] Martin, 55. Unless otherwise noted, all biographical information concerning Edward Windsor Kemble comes from Martin.

[28] Martin, 57-58.

[29] "The First Snow" was first pub. in The Daily Graphic 28 November 1882.

[30] See David's discussion of Kemble's experience prior to illustrating A.H. in Mark Twain.

in front of his dilapidated shack with a child, a couple of scrawny chickens, and a pig, and the early snowfall impresses the well dressed black man. Kemble's illustration uses exaggeration to create a caricature of a black type rather than a realistic individual, and this is an aspect of his work that is used repeatedly when illustrating Jim and the King for Clemens. As inspiration for his early illustrations, Kemble probably used a variety of examples from newspapers and magazines he grew up with and was familiar with, and his skill in creating comical and satirical caricatures, and particularly caricatures of blacks, increased in popularity in the press after his work for Clemens. Additionally, that popularity resulted in him publishing a variety of illustrated works on his own.[31]

Figure 2. "Liberty Frightening The World."

Figure 2 is the type of satirical image found in the popular press in 1870-90, and it represents America's fear of the unregulated immigration that resulted in both harsher treatment of new immigrants and a backlash against those guilty of that mistreatment. The Statue of Liberty is a confused symbol representing both America's freedom and the "corruption and abusive treatment of immigrants."[32] The use of satire is sophisticated, its

[31] Some of E. W. Kemble's illustrated collections include Kemble's Coons, 1896; The Blackberries, 1897; Comical Coons, 1898; and a variety of other popular illustrated works depicting nineteenth century stereotypical beliefs about blacks. Also, see note 126 for additional works by Kemble and Appendices A, B, C, and D for a variety of individual examples of Kemble's early work.

[32] Figure 2 is rpt. from The Image of America in Caricature and Cartoon, 91.

use directed toward people aware of current issues in society and politics, and a type commonly found in the popular press and accepted as the norm, and appreciated, by the sophisticated genteel reader of newspapers and magazines. Clemens' also enjoyed the subtle sophistication of satirical humor in illustrations in the popular press, but at this time, Kemble only just began experimenting with illustrations incorporating satire and political satire while working as an illustrator for Life, 1883-84. Though Kemble eventually became known as an illustrator of black types, at this early stage in his career, he also created many comical illustrations that also satirized whites.[33]

Figure 3 is Kemble's work from 1883, and its humor is similar in nature to the type Clemens encountered when he selected Kemble to illustrate his novel.[34] The comedy in Figure 3 supports the argument that Kemble very much enjoyed animating his characters to create comedy, but in this instance it is aimed at satirizing James B. Townsend's "Ballade" published just beneath

Figure 3. "Would Pussy Like Some Tea?"

[33] See appendices B and C for examples of Kemble illustrating political satire while working for Life in 1883-84.

[34] "Would Pussy Like Some Tea" was first pub. in Life 13 September 1883.

it on the same page. While the poem describes the speaker's desires for a beautiful young woman, Kemble's illustration satirizes its subject through the use of a foolish old gentleman who is particularly enamored with his cat, so it reminds readers that old men appear foolish and oftentimes get burned when they fall in love with younger women. Additionally, the humorous nature of the poem's subject is enhanced by its animation, and animation is an aspect of Kemble's work that assists in the comedy by reducing the potential sophistication of the illustration to a caricature. Animating characters to add humor is a feature Clemens probably noticed when viewing Kemble's work for the first time because it is an additional, and important, element in some of the illustrations he did for Clemens. This early illustration demonstrates Kemble's talent, and given Clemens' prior experience with illustrations and illustrators, the combination of Kemble's youth and skill as an artist probably had much to do in Clemens hiring him.

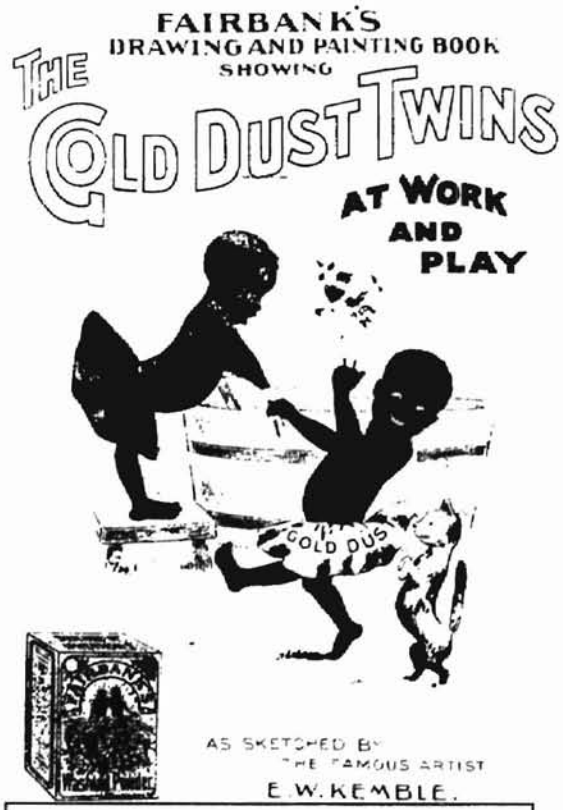

Figure 4. "The Gold Dust Twins."

Kemble's most famous early work is the "The Gold Dust Twins" in Figure 4.[35] As an advertisement for a popular soap powder made by the N. K. Fairbanks Co., c. 1882, it provides another

[35] "The Gold Dust Twins" is rpt. from Martin, 55.

example of Kemble's ability to bring together his skill as an illustrator with his appreciation for animated humor. The child washing clothes is lighter in color than the one dancing around him, so the appearance of the playful black children suggests the soap powder works so well it lightens skin color. Animation, satire, and exaggeration all become focal points in Kemble's illustrations to create comedy, and in combining them to create caricatures of blacks in this example, the illustration prophesizes the artist's future. Because of Kemble's popularity and fame as an illustrator of blacks near the turn of the century, the N. K. Fairbanks Company compiled Kemble's illustrations and sold them as a children's painting book that included dried pigments. Parents familiar with the soap powder through its advertisements could purchase the coloring book for their children's entertainment.

These nineteenth century illustrations are examples from the popular press, and each one demonstrates an increasing appreciation for humor, satire or animation. As for Kemble's work, it speaks for his love of humor and talent as an artist, and though many artists of the period satirized social and political events in illustrations, few artists incorporated animation. In doing so, Kemble set himself apart from other illustrators and possibly contributed to Clemens noticing his work. As for Clemens, the respected humorist and author learned the importance of illustrations to selling his work from Elisha Bliss, and he believed he knew how to produce a successful subscription-book.[36] However, Clemens' decisions during production ultimately resulted in the illustrations altering the final form of his novel. While the text humanizes Jim, provides violent and

[36] David asserts, "Mark Twain had learned his publishing lessons well. He had had good teachers in Elisha and Frank Bliss....[and] Clemens felt more than qualified to make the many practical decisions relevant to running a subscription firm"(Mark Twain, 154).

graphic episodes for reading entertainment, Kemble's illustrations are caricatures that reduce Jim to a clown and nullify all potentially risqué and violent scenes. However, exactly what changes Clemens made during editing, and how they affect interpretations of the text to expand marketability, are vital to understanding authorial intent of a novel during its production. In better understanding Clemens' intent as both author and publisher, readers can fully appreciate how the text reflects antebellum South while Kemble's illustrations more accurately reflect illustrations from the popular press; the author, artist and America's appreciation of humor and common racial and cultural attitudes at the time of production. The focus of this study discusses Clemens' decisions while editing and producing A.H., his hiring of a trusted manager and illustrator, his decisions concerning proofreading, accepting or rejecting illustrations and captions, and how particular decisions during editing inevitably affected the novel's final form. It will demonstrate that the details that frustrated Clemens while working with Elisha Bliss did not disappear by beginning his own company, and that Clemens' acceptance of some comical illustrations to enhance the novel's marketability impact interpretations of the text. Also, despite Clemens' complete control as author and publisher, Webster's managerial skills contributed much to the novel's success, Clemens' success and the company's success.

ILLUSTRATING MARK TWAIN'S SUBSCRIPTION-BOOK: EDITING FOR COMEDY AND SUBVERSION DURING THE PRODUCTION AND MARKETING OF ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN:

By February 1884, Samuel Langhorne Clemens (a.k.a. Mark Twain) decided to publish Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (A.H.) himself: "I proposed to be my own publisher now and let young Webster do the work."[37] Because Twain felt he did not have time to run the company himself, he hired Charles L. Webster, his new nephew-in-law, as manager, and Twain named the company Webster and Company, Publishers. As the company's general agent, Webster managed and made arrangements with the sixteen sub-agencies marketing the novel around the country. However, Webster's lack of experience caused Twain to feel he did Webster a service he did not receive as an apprentice riverboat pilot, and that entailed paying a man to learn a trade. Twain wrote:

> I have secured something entirely new to history in Webster. And also believe that a young backwoodsman who was starting life in New York without equipment of any kind, without proved valuc of any kind, without prospective value of any kind, yet able without blinking an eye to propose to learn a trade at another man's expense and charge for this benefaction

[37] DeVoto, 165-67. Hereafter, Samuel Langhorne Clemens will be referred to as Mark Twain. According to Graff and Phelan, in February 1862, Clemens signed his name "Mark Twain" for the first time in a "comic travel piece:" he said it meant "two-fathoms from an old writer-pilot named Isaiah Sellers...[and] in Nevada...the term meant two drinks on credit"(22).

an annual sum greater than any president of the United States…must surely be worth securing—and instantly—least he get away.[38]

Twain's initial view of Webster as "glorified errand boy" meant he made all major publishing decisions himself. Twain said, "I am Webster & Co., Myself." Yet by the time Twain published his novel, he completely reversed his earlier feelings about Webster abilities as his manager. When Twain hired Webster, Twain had forgotten all of the work he had already done, which included previously negotiating with American Publishing Co., resolving his "Kaolatype misadventure," and having "supervised general agents when Osgood entered the subscription business." Though Webster's previous work should have demonstrated his abilities, he did not really begin proving himself to his new boss until he began doing all of the leg-work when managing Twain's publishing company. With the signing of a contract between Webster and Twain, Webster and Company, Publishing entered the publishing world, but for Twain, the long tedious job of proofreading required completion.[39]

Twain almost always had more than one thing happening in his life at any given time, so while proofreading, he also attempted to patent a new "grape-scissors invented by [William Dean] Howells's father," and when he wrote Howells that his "days were

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[38] Unless otherwise noted, Hill is the source for information concerning Webster's abilities and Twain's statements (Publishers).

[39] According to Hill, there were two contracts between Webster and Twain. The first was "an informal agreement concerning the publication of *Huckleberry Finn* on 1 May 1884." The second contract was dated 20 March 1884, and it was a formal agreement that stated Twain "agreed to advance 'all capitol necessary to conduct and carry on said business.' Webster received a salary of $2,500 annually, plus one-third of all net profits to the amount of $20,000 and one tenth of the profits after that"(Publishers, 169-70). The problem with Hill's account of the contracts signed between Webster and Twain is the dates they were signed because the informal agreement is claimed to be signed after the formal, but no evidence is available to verify the accuracy of the dates. Additionally, while several other letters indicate the trifling chores Twain subjected Webster to, one possible explanation, according to Webster, is "it kept Webster from frittering away too much time on…*Huckleberry Finn*"(Webster, 279).

given up to cursings, both loud and deep," Howells volunteered to do it for the "pleasure of reading the story."[40] As with Bliss, Twain's frustrations during editing caused him to find someone else to help with the work, but rather than asking Webster, Twain turned to Howells. Following Twain's acceptance of Howells' offer, and with the manuscript in Howell's hands, Twain went shopping for an illustrator. For the first time in his publishing career, Twain had the complete editorial control to select a man who he believed would follow "his own ideas" in the illustrations, and his method of discovering his illustrator is important to understanding what he had in mind for readers of his new novel.

Twain searched for an illustrator by looking through the comic papers, and there he discovered the illustration "Some Uses for Electricity" (see Figure 5) in the recently established Life. Figure 5 is an excellent example of E. W. Kemble's talent, and it demonstrates both the artist and Twain's love of comedy.[41] The original illustration covers two full pages and is literally filled with slapstick comical action designed to entertain the reader. Twain's choice to search recent comic illustrations to find an illustrator leaves little doubt he had comedy in mind when he thought of the illustrations for his new novel, but his actions beg the question of whether he sought to entertain the reader with comic illustrations that emphasized his text, or did he choose to use comedy to subvert portions of his text, or both? What is most apparent in Figure 5 is Twain's choice to use comedy and animation in the illustrations of his novel that reflect the type used in the popular press of the late nineteenth century. While a good idea for marketing

[40] Paine, 771-72.

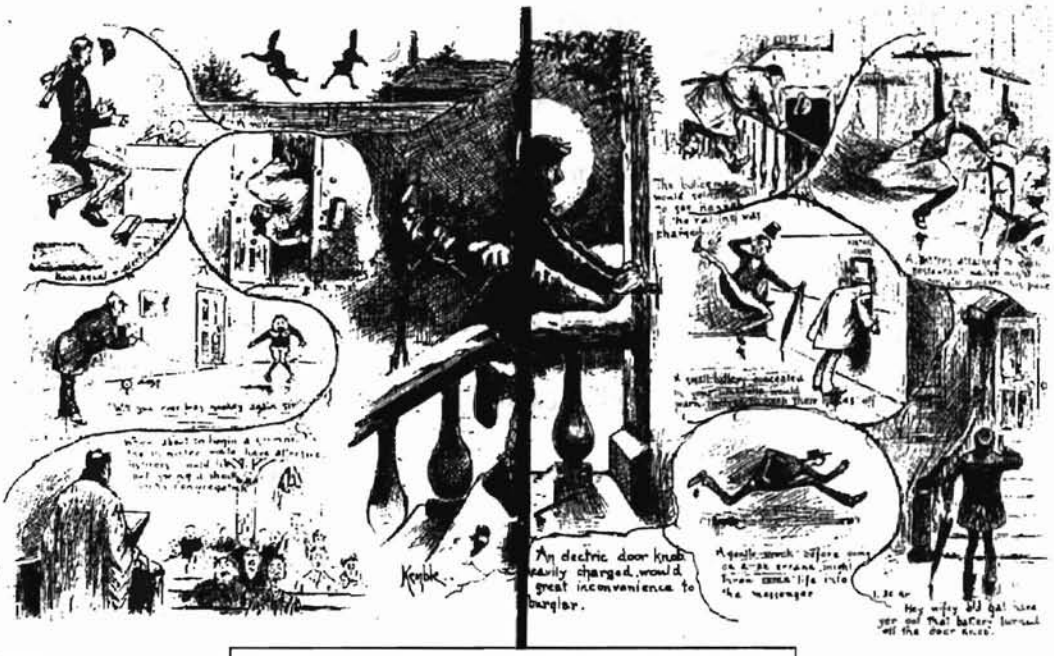

Figure 5. "Some Uses For Electricity."

a book because subscription-book readers loved illustrations, Twain's choice leaves open the possibility of oversimplifying the underlining message of a text by either nullifying darker passages or reducing too many episodes to cartoons through comically animated illustrations. Kemble provides an example of oversimplification in Figure 3 when he satirizes the potentially serious subject of Townsend's poem with a comical illustration, and the same process is applied to Figure 5 because electric shock is used as a means to improve the service industry. Though comedy and animation are apparent, Twain sought to use them to expand the marketability of his new novel with humorous illustrations.

Not long after seeing the illustration in Life, "Some Uses for Electricity," Twain wrote to Webster:

[41] "Some Uses for Electricity" was first pub. in Life 13 March 1884. Also, Martin argues Life began operations in New York City in 1883, and because it was the most illustrated magazine at the time, Kemble sought to join its staff shortly afterwards (58).

> Is that artist's name Kemble?—I can not recall that man's name. Is that it? There is a Kemble on "Life," but is he the man who illustrated the applying of electrical protectors to door-knobs, door-mats &c & electrical hurriers to messengers, waiters, &c., 4 or 5 weeks ago. That is the man I want to try.[42]

This letter appears to settle the matter of how Twain discovered Kemble, but when Webster went to find the illustrator at Life, he discovered two artists that he wanted to try. Besides finding Kemble, Webster gave an artist named Hooper a couple of early chapters to illustrate. Though Hooper agreed to do the work for slightly less money, Webster argued that Kemble did better work. This resulted in Twain hiring Kemble based on his talent, and by "mid-April, Kemble signed his contract and went to work on the most famous drawings of his career."[43]

In an interview for The Colophon (1930), Kemble describes the events that led to his new job:

> While contributing to Life I made a small picture of a little boy being stung by a bee. Mark Twain had completed the manuscript of "Huckleberry Finn." …Casting about for an illustrator, Mark Twain happened to see this picture [see Figure 6]. It had action and expression, and bore a strong resemblance to his mental picture of Huck Finn. I was sent for and immediately got in touch with Webster.[44]

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[42] Webster, 246. See appendices D and I for additional examples of Kemble illustrating comedy and action.

[43] David, Mark Twain, 156.

[44] Kemble, "Illustrating," n.p.

Kemble's version suggests a disagreement between Twain and Kemble in exactly how the events surrounding his discovery unfolded, but Figure 6, "The Bumble Bee" (mentioned by Kemble), actually appeared in Mark Twain's Library of Humor (1888). In addition, Twain did not have the manuscript ready for Kemble when he selected him as illustrator because Howells was proofreading it, so Kemble's faulty account proves that neither he or Twain had a "mental picture of Huck" when Kemble went to work.[45] The only apparent certainty is Twain had comedy in mind when he selected his illustrator, and Kemble's lapse in memory happened because he provided his account over forty years after first working for Twain.

Figure 6. "The Bumble Bee."

Besides the differences in Twain and Kemble's accounts, Francis Martin believes Twain recalled the Kemble name from his work for an Alta, California, newspaper founded by Kemble's father, Colonel Kemble. While a possibility, it is more likely Twain's understanding of the importance of the illustrations to his new novel, hiring a talented artist that would follow his directions, and the survival of his new company were much more important motivators than name recognition. Also, given Kemble's faulty memory, the importance of the illustrations to the novel, and Twain's desire for his publishing company to succeed, Twain's account of

[45] David, Mark Twain, 159.

events is more plausible. In addition to the discrepancy surrounding the events of Kemble's hiring, he incorrectly recalls the amount Webster and Company paid him for his services.

Opinions vary on the amount Kemble received for his work for Twain from $1,000 to $2,000, but the latter figure comes from Kemble himself.[46] In his interview for The Colophon, Kemble's claim of receiving $2,000 is a mistake, and it is a repetition of the problem he had when trying to recall the particular illustration that inspired Twain to hire him, so his inaccuracy is largely because of his inability to recall events accurately forty years after they occurred. However, the illustration Kemble believed inspired Twain, and the amount he received for his work, can be attributed to his work on Library of Humor. Twain provides the most reasonable account of events in the form of letters to Webster on the 3 & 5 of April 1884, in which Kemble secured employment for the sum of $1,200.[47] Despite all of the confusion surrounding Twain's inspiration and Kemble's compensation, Twain felt rushed to get the manuscript to Kemble to begin illustrating because he knew that the best time to release a new novel, to get the most out of sales, happened near Christmas. However, in the spring of 1884, Twain had trouble getting Kemble more than small portions of the text at any one time.

In part, Twain's frustrations with details got the best of him again, but his primary problem concerned proofreading the manuscript. In his frustration, Twain took advantage of Howells' offer to proofread, and he gave him "carte blanche in making corrections,"

[46] According to the editors of The Mark Twain Encyclopedia, "Kemble was hired for $1,200, which was later reduced to $1,000"(383).

[47] According to a letter from Twain to Webster 14 April 1884, Kemble received $2,000 for his work on Library of Humor (Hill, Publishers, 173-74).

but besides Howells' poor job of editing, Twain had other proofreaders.[48] While Twain worked and reworked the manuscript, he would send small portions at a time to Howells, and as Howells completed them, he sent them to Webster, then Webster would turn them over to a staff editor for a final reading. All of this shuffling happened before Kemble ever saw a portion of the manuscript, and Twain became increasingly frustrated with Webster's staff editor. At an early stage in the process, Twain wrote Webster, "Charley, your proofreader is an idiot; and not only an idiot, but blind; and not only blind, but partly dead."[49] Despite Webster getting some of his staff on track with the proofreading, Twain remained disgusted in mid August:

> [11 August, 1884] Most of the proof was clean & beautiful, & a pleasure to read; but the rest of it was read by that blind idiot whom I have cursed so much, and is a disgraceful mess.
>
> [14 August, 1884] If all the proofs had been as well read as the first 2 or 3 chapters were, I should not have needed to see the revises at all. On the contrary it was the worst and silliest proof-reading I have ever seen. It was never read by copy at all—not a single galley of it.[50]

[48] Webster, 251. Also, David asserts "Howells' secretary typed two copies of the newly edited manuscript, but they were useless" because of his poor editing (Mark Twain, 159).

[49] Henry Smith, 494.

[50] Webster, 272. Interestingly, Twain sent two letters about proofreading on the same day, Aug. 7th: One went to Webster and the other to Howells. In the letter to Howells, Twain refers to the A.H. manuscript he is sending him and writes, "re-ship it [the manuscript] to Webster & and tell him, from me, to read the remnant of the book himself, & send no more slips to me, under any circumstances." In the letter to Webster, Twain writes, "I miscalculated my fortitude…I sent this batch to Howells without glancing at it….Howells will maybe return it to you to read—in which case you may send it to me again, & I will get my profanity together & tackle it"(Henry Smith, 497-98). It is unclear from the content of these letters if Twain changed his mind after sending his letter to Howells because he didn't trust Howells' editing, or if he didn't trust Webster's editing, or more likely, both.

Because of his dissatisfaction with the proofreading, Twain re-edited the entire manuscript himself, and this process took much of his time through early fall 1884. Over the course of the summer, the frantic shuffling of manuscript from Twain to Howells to Webster to Kemble and back again to Twain to consider the illustrations caused nothing but grief for everyone involved; this frustration held especially true for Webster because he found himself caught in the middle. Thanks to Twain's frustrations during editing, he complicated the proofreading process, and in doing so, he set himself up for disaster because by never seeing and editing the manuscript in its entirety, the possibility existed for errors in both text and illustrations. Also, thanks to Twain's proofreading fiasco, the job of illustrating the manuscript turned into a nightmare for Kemble, but the fact that he never met Twain in person also worked against him.

Twenty years after working on A.H., Twain and Kemble met for the first time, and they said:

> [Kemble] The thing most authors neglected...[was] a clear, concise description of the characters. They left the artist in the dark.
> "[Twain] Then why in the name of Sam Hill don't they come to the author and get him to unburden himself and tell them whether Amos has a receding chin and works his Adam's apple when he talks or has a full face adorned with normal or abnormal attachments?"
>
> "Yes," he [Twain] continued, "the artist should go to the author and submit his sketches before he makes the completed picture. It would save the gnashing of teeth, the tearing of hair, the deep sepulchral

groan"—Here he paused abruptly..."You never came to me [Twain] before you did Huck Finn, did you?"

I [Kemble] had not come to him; in fact, I had never met him until after I illustrated the book.[51]

This discussion helps explain the author and artist's frustration with the publishing process on several levels, and especially some of the basic problems of illustrating a novel. Kemble's youth and inexperience resulted in him not seeking Twain out for a consultation before beginning his work. However, Twain's prior experience with illustrators, with illustrations, and with publishing in general should have prompted him to meet Kemble to discuss the work; however, Twain chose not to meet with Kemble. Webster, the man caught in the middle, did meet with Kemble to sign the contract, but he too never suggested the author and illustrator should meet. Instead, Kemble illustrated the novel while working with only pieces of a manuscript written entirely in the first person; so Kemble had to hunt for textual cues (prompts) to use as his initial inspiration for the illustrations. Twain left these textual cues for Kemble to discover on his own, but they also work as a key part to understanding whether the illustrations illustrate the text or not because they come directly from the text. The illustrations either illustrate a particular person, event or scene from the text, or they work against the actual text, but in either case, they were left for Kemble to discover and illustrate and for Twain to accept or reject. Twain and Kemble's lack of contact and piecework resulted in errors in illustrations caused by a constant level of frustration with the process. Because Twain

[51] David, Mark Twain, 171. To improve the readability of the conversation between Twain and Kemble, I moved the quotation marks in line ten from in front of the word "HERE to behind the word GROAN", then

chose not to meet with Kemble, he is primarily to blame for their combined frustration and consequently any problems with the illustrations that resulted.

While the manuscript traveled from proofreader to proofreader, Twain encouraged Webster to get Kemble working on the illustrations, so in a letter to Webster 12 April 1884, Twain wrote, "Let Kemble rush—time is already growing short."[52] This hurried pace set the tone for all of Twain and Kemble's work from spring through fall 1884. While Twain dealt with proofreading and Kemble struggled with the illustrations, Webster began working on the color of the cover in April, and at the same time he asked Kemble to begin working on its design. When Kemble completed the design for the cover, Twain complained to Webster that he thought Huck's grin appeared too "Irishy."[53]

The smile on the frontispiece illustration of Huck in Figure 7 probably survived Twain's scrutiny because of the hurried pace he worked at the time, but Twain also worried about Huck's "Irishy" grin because it could possibly limit sales. While running

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I added a quotation mark in line 10 in front of the word "YOU. These changes make Twain's remarks more distinguishable from Kemble's and vice versa.

[52] Webster, 248. Twain's next sentence reads, "As fast as he gets through with chapters, take them & read & select your matter for your canvassing book"(248). Though this appears to explain potential errors in the illustrations, Twain later discovered that he would have to proofread the entire text again, and he would also scrutinize all of Kemble's illustrations, but it could explain many of the problems in the illustrations because they immediately went into the prospectus. Thus, the entire manuscript with illustrations was never viewed by either Twain or Kemble, only Webster.

[53] Twain wrote to Webster 7 May 1884, "the boy's [Huck's] mouth is a trifle more Irishy than necessary"(Webster, 253). See Appendix E for additional examples of Huck Finn and his changing appearance. Twain's comment concerning Huck's grin being too "Irishy" may have much to do with a combination of two issues. The first concerns Huck's name because Finn could be considered a shortened version of Finnegan to the subscription-book buyer. When this is combined with the color green for the cover color of the first edition, the combination could limit audience appeal by suggesting the story is about the adventures of an Irish lad named Huckleberry Finnegan. Because Twain did not want to hamper potential sales by appearing to target one particular ethnic group, he was overly concerned about Huck's facial appearance at this time. Also, the frontispiece was duplicated as an example because no clear image of the cover is available, but the image in both cases is very similar. However, see Appendix F Figure A for the cover illustration on the Centennial Facsimile Edition of A.H. Also, see Figure B Appendix F for Kemble's redrawn frontispiece illustration submitted (but not accepted) for the 1899, newly illustrated edition of A.H..

between author and illustrator and back again, Webster discovered from incoming orders that the public did not like the color blue for a cover color any longer: the color of the cover for Tom Sawyer. They decided on a "dull olive green" color, but the combination of an "Irishy grin" and green cover left Twain concerned his new book would not appeal to a wide enough audience. In the end, Twain suggested to Webster they offer readers a choice of cover colors, but Webster quickly pointed out the high cost, so three different types of covers were offered at different prices: a "cloth-bound edition in dull olive green" for $3.50, leather for $4.00, and morocco for $5.50.[54]

Figure 7. "Huckleberry Finn Frontispiece."

As for Twain's fear of appealing to too narrow an audience for his new book because of Huck's grin, his fear is a reflection of an acute awareness of the nation's anxiety over the increasing number of arriving immigrants, many of whom were Irish. As a reformed southerner, racial issues influenced Twain's life. Whether the Negro, the Irish or the Chinese immigrant, as humorist and author Twain knew his white audience and their social, political, and cultural concerns;

[54] All information concerning illustrating the cover, its color and price in this section, unless otherwise noted, is from David, Mark Twain, 160-61. All references to Twain's complaint about Huck's "Irishy Grin" refer to both the cover and frontispiece illustrations interchangeably unless otherwise specified. Also, Vogelback asserts the "regular subscription price is $2.75," but Twain later reduced his price from $2.75 to $2.25 (264). Vogelback makes no mention of differences in color or binding type in his reference, and this probably accounts for the price differences between him and David.

he understood the nation's racial anxieties as he had previously with the Chinese in 1877.[55] However, there is a difference between being aware of a nation's racial anxieties and actually seeking to alter them in any substantial way. Twain did not seek the advancement of any particular race, instead, he sought the success of his new business through the success of his new novel, and this meant being aware of national racial anxieties so they could be circumnavigated rather than addressed.[56] Twain's racial attitude reflects his concern about Huck Finn's "Irishy" grin because it could limit sales by limiting audience appeal, and increasing the marketability of his novel influenced his editorial decisions concerning all illustrations because comedy and animation were more important than attempting to alter national racial attitudes. However, besides Huck's grin, there is another problem with Figure 7: it does not at all resemble the Huck Finn of Tom Sawyer.

Figure 8. "Huckleberry Finn From Tom Sawyer."

Figure 8 is True Williams' illustration of Huck Finn for Tom Sawyer. Williams created a Huck who looked like a ragged tramp of a boy, but Kemble created a Huck who appeared nearly civilized. Though critics disagree on the exact differences between the two illustrations, Beverly David asks a very pertinent

[55] According to Holt, in 1877, Chinese immigrants became the target of a play co-authored by Mark Twain. On opening night in New York City, Twain told his audience, "The Chinaman is getting to be a pretty frequent figure in the United States...and [he] is going to be a great political problem and we thought it well for you to see him on stage before you had to deal with that problem"(169).

[56] See Pettit's discussion of Twain and racial issues (See esp. pp. 136-37).

question: "What happened to the romantic outcast dressed in the castoff clothes of a full-grown man?...who altered his size and shape, freckled his face, designed his clothes and changed his age?"[57] The eyes, nose, mouth, hair and hat all appear different, and these differences are probably result of, in part, Kemble's lack of familiarity with Tom Sawyer; however, that probability only accounts for some of the differences in the illustrations. Another concerns Twain's desire to expand his market, so he wanted to improve Huck's appearance to appeal to a more genteel audience to increase sales, but to do so, he had to enhance Huck's audience appeal. Or, Twain sought to show his readers the passage of time through Huck's improvement, so Huck's improved appearance meant he also improved as a person as he grew older. While Twain's exact motive for Huck's improvement remains unclear, Twain wanted a good-looking Huck Finn for his readers, and Kemble provided exactly that in his illustration.

While Kemble worked with pieces of a manuscript lacking descriptive details, Twain knew readers could only acquire an adequate idea of Huck's appearance through an illustration. Knowing his audience might be repelled by an ugly image of Huck, Twain wanted him illustrated as the "typical, good-hearted lad from down the street," and in a letter to Webster on 24 May 1884, Twain writes, "The frontispiece has the usual blemish—an ugly, ill drawn face. Huck Finn is an exceedingly good-hearted boy, & should carry a good and good-looking face."[58] Twain knew exactly what his Huck Finn should look like, but his acceptance of the frontispiece indicates how busy he worked proofreading the manuscript. If Twain had more time in preparing his novel for

[57] David, "The Pictorial," 334. In contrast to David, Gneiting argues that Kemble's illustrations are "sensitive interpretations of Twain's text," so the two images of Huck Finn appear the same age and dimension, and that the freckles are only shading lines (444).

publication, or if he had attempted to publish his new novel alongside Tom Sawyer as he originally planned, he probably would have required additional alternations to the illustrations of Huck; it is also likely other illustrations would have received more critical attention.[59] As David points out, if the two books were published and sold together, one can only wonder at the public's reaction to the two very different illustrations of Huck Finn.

However, Twain's acceptance of the cover illustration (frontispiece) caused Kemble to begin feeling more like a professional because he immediately hired a model for his illustrations. That model was a sixteen-year-old white boy named Courtland P. Morris, but Morris posed as more than just the model for Huck: Kemble used Morris in costume for every character whether black or white, male or female, adult or child. Later in life, Kemble described his experience with his young model:

> The story called for a variety of characters, old and young, male and female. In the neighborhood I came across a youngster, Court Morris by name, who tallied with my idea of Huck. He was a bit tall for the ideal boy, but I could jam him down a few pegs in my drawing and use him for the other characters...I used my young model for every character in the story—man, woman and child. Jim the Negro seemed to please him the

[58] Webster, 256.

[59] In a letter to Webster on 29 February 1884, Twain writes, "Let us canvas Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer [underlining mine] both at once, sell both books for $4.50 where a man orders both"(Webster, 239). Buying the rights from American Publishing Company was another project Twain had Webster deal with from February through September (so his two novels could be sold together), but 1 September 1884, he wrote Webster, "...if Am. Pub. Co. will not give you terms on Tom Sawyer [underlining mine] which will afford you a profit, does that not end the project?"(Hill, Publishers, 172).

most. He would jam his little black wool cap over his head, shoot out his lips and mumble coon talk all the while he was posing.[60]

Kemble's description explains much about how he viewed his work for Twain. Kemble believed Morris too old and tall for the illustration of Huck given Twain's estimation of him as being twelve years old at the time, but he could get a rough sketch from the boy in costume to create all of the characters. While that process supplied Kemble with a general body outline, Kemble's illustrations demonstrate his reliance on previous work and his muses to supply a head and posture. As for Huck's strange "Irishy grin" on the cover, Kemble possibly provided the best explanation of the event: Morris sat "grinning, and one side of his check padded with a sour ball."[61] However, there are other possible explanations for Huck's grin, and one concerns Kemble living and working in New York City at a time in history when Irish immigrates still arrived. Kemble possibly knew some Irish people or simply copied from real life what he believed an appropriate grin for a book about the adventures of an Irish lad: an Irish boy named Huck Finn (a possibly Americanized version of the Irish name Huckleberry Finnegan).[62] Also, the fact that Twain and Kemble never met, and never discussed Twain's ideas for his characters, meant he had little choice but to illustrate characters the best he could from Twain's sketchy descriptions in text and previous illustrating experience. The combination resulted in Huck's Irish grin.

[60] Kemble, "Illustrating," n.p.

[61] Kemble, "Illustrating," n.p.

[62] Kaplin asserts that huckleberry is a "slang term for a person of no consequence," and it was "fused" with Twain's recollection of "Jimmy Finn, Hannibal's town drunk"(89).

Whether Kemble's account is accurate when creating Huck's grin or one of the other possibilities is correct, Court Morris' recollections of these events (from later in life) prove even more unreliable than Kemble's:

> One day in the early spring of 1884, I met him in front of our house. He was all aglow with excitement and asked me how I would like to be Huckleberry Finn, and I told him I had never heard of him. Well, he said there is $4.00 a week in it for you. That was enough. I grabbed the chance and very soon thereafter found myself reading the manuscript and investigating Huckleberry Finn at his studio from day to day, posing and collaborating in the illustration work of the "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" [quotes by author] by Mark Twain with whom Mr. Kemble had made a contract to do the illustrating work. Being a nimrod and fisherman just like Huck, landed me the job which lasted from May 1st to October 1st, 1884...All the illustrations in the Kemble edition of Huckleberry Finn are with myself as the subject of many illustrations.[63]

While Morris does validate some of Kemble's version of events, Beverly David points out several problems. First, "it is doubtful...sixteen year old Court was involved in reading carefully the non-existent manuscript;" Second, "that he posed for Kemble in any consistent fashion for six months;" and third, that he received four dollars a week because Kemble was never paid more than $125.00 to $300.00 a month, so it would have meant a severe drain on his meager pay. Each of these problems casts doubt on the accuracy of

[63] Morris, 22.

Morris' account of events, but there is little doubt Kemble rushed to put together illustrations with very little of the manuscript in hand.

Besides the lack of manuscript, Kemble encountered other more serious problems in his living and working arrangements that would affect his work. Kemble set up shop in his parents' home, so he lived and worked in an attic studio.[64] Kemble's father, however, had to move at the same time Twain pushed Webster to push Kemble for "faster work and better designs," and Kemble conveyed this problem to Webster in a letter:

> I cannot have many of the illustrations finished until the latter part of the week (May 12), as we all have the moving craze & are experiencing such little delights as eating our meals from off the mantel piece, bathing in a coal scuttle behind a fire screen &c &c. I have tried to work but cannot make it go.[65]

Kemble's illustration on the back of his letter to Webster, Figure 9, demonstrates by example the many problems in the artist's life. Presumably, Kemble's young model Court Morris is the "box-carrying Negro" illustrated as Jim for Webster's amusement, and the illustration demonstrated Kemble thought about his job

Figure 9. "Kemble At Work."

[64] David discusses the many problems with Morris' account of events while working as a model for A.H. and the problems with Kemble's living and working arrangements (Mark Twain).

despite problems in living arrangements. Though the illustration appears quickly drawn and strictly humorous in intent, the animation and exaggerated and distorted faces are also elements of Kemble's work for Twain. By distorting the faces of animated characters in an illustration done for fun, Kemble provides an example of his particular style as an artist that eventually results in complaints from Twain. Those complaints concern the distorting of facial features of some characters while animating them, but first, Kemble needed to get to work.

When the work began, Kemble soon discovered a text filled with ugly, despicable, "greasy hair" drunkards, "nigger-hunting crowds," con men, shootings, dead bodies, and tobacco-chewers; if Twain hoped to ever sell his novel, he would have to do so with pictures that did not offend by presenting characters too literally.[66] Through Kemble's illustrations, Twain hoped to nullify violence and use comedy to present readers with pleasing visualizations of the dark or comical parts of his novel in order to manipulate their responses. While Twain criticized some of Kemble's early work, he never mentioned the illustrations of Jim or any illustrations of blacks. Because of his objections to "stylistic qualities—exaggeration and distortion" of some of the early illustrations of whites, and his lack of attention to the illustrations of black characters, some scholars argue that Twain was a racist, that he knew Kemble's work so he got what he wanted, and that he only sought to please a genteel audience through humorous illustrations.[67] However, these assertions are problematic because Twain did not intend to

[65] Webster, 251-52. Figure 9 rpt. from Webster, 252.

[66] See David's discussion in "The Pictorial."

alter national racial attitudes through the illustrations at the time of publication, instead, the survival of his new company through the sale of his novel motivated his decisions during editing.

Twain knew the subscription-book business, he knew his audience and their expectation of seeing numerous illustrations, and he knew he had written a novel verging on the immoral because of its many despicable characters. Given these concerns, he knew his white readers might be offended by ugly illustrations of whites, yet at the same time, they would expect to see the same caricature type of illustrations of blacks that Kemble did for Life (see Figure 1). In other words, Twain did not set out to write a racist novel, racism simply entered into the novel through illustrations that are a reflection of Kemble's work for the popular press and accepted national racial attitudes. What a white audience considered acceptable were the type of comical illustrations they were already seeing in magazines and newspapers around the country at the time, so the novel is not a social statement. Instead, in the case of Jim, the illustrations provide readers with comical distortions held up to common Mississippi River-folk from the antebellum South. Rather than advancing social change or making a social statement, Twain chose comedy because he had absolutely no reason to do otherwise. As a respected humorist who hired an illustrator based on a comical illustration (Figure 5), Twain sought success through comedy, and his editorial decisions when selecting and editing illustrations were motivated by the success of his new novel and the survival of his new company.

[67] For further discussion of Kemble's illustrations and racism see Briden's "Kemble's 'Specialty' and the Pictorial Countertext of Huckleberry Finn," and Anspaugh's "The Innocent Eye? E. W. Kemble's Illustrations to Adventures of Huckleberry Finn."

However, Kemble did not understand Twain's intent with the illustrations at the time because besides his problems with living and working arrangements, Kemble kept his job with Life while working for Twain. This left him with little time to focus on any one particular task, but what is particularly interesting in an examination of the illustrations he did for Twain and Life during 1884 are the occasional parallels between his work for his two employers. These parallels probably happened for two reasons: first, Kemble kept himself very busy, and second, Twain wrote his entire story in the first person. To save time and energy, Kemble borrowed ideas and illustrations he did for Life to use in Twain's novel; yet the reverse is not true because the illustrations that represent parallel caricatures were published in Life first, however, Kemble denied doing this in his interview for The Colophon. He said:

> [after] several advance chapters of "Huckleberry Finn" were published in the Century Magazine [underlining mine]...I was asked to call and exhibit my wares. I went to Life [underlining mine] and borrowed a few originals, but not one picture contained a Negro type. 'We want to see some of your Negro drawings,' Mr. Frazer said. 'I have none,' I replied. 'I've never made any until this one in Huck Finn.' The art editor looked dubious.[68]

Although Kemble did not travel South until 1885, his illustrations of blacks did begin appearing in 1882 while working for The Daily Graphic. He also created many caricatures of blacks for Life in 1883-84: these caricatures began showing up in the pages of Life a full year before he illustrated A.H.[69] Because Kemble never traveled South, it is

[68] Kemble, "Illustrating," n.p.

likely he copied his colleagues' illustrations of blacks and added the comedy and animation he enjoyed in order to make them his own. This scenario is likely given the fact that Kemble had to learn how to illustrate black characteristics somewhere. Also, given Kemble's use of his previously published material in Twain's novel, and Bliss' casual use of illustrations between novels, it appears common practice to use all available material when illustrating and publishing.[70]

Figure 10. "Jim."

As for Kemble's busy schedule and problems illustrating a narrative text, Figure 10 exemplifies how he dealt with these issues, and the resulting combination of illustration and text begins demonstrating Twain's comic intent for the illustrations.[71] The only early description of Jim provided for the reader is at the beginning of

[69] Though Kemble went to work for Gilder at Century Magazine early in 1885, he claims he did not travel South until two years after working for Twain (Kemble, "Illustrating," n.p.). However, there is a problem with Kemble's recollections because his illustrations (for an article about New Orleans) were first published in Century Magazine in 1885, and in his 1885 letter thanking Twain for discovering Kemble, Gilder says, "He [Kemble] is going to New Orleans for us to illustrate a long article of Cable's"(David, Mark Twain, 198).

[70] David argues, "Webster may have helped Kemble by underlining sentences or by marking passages suggesting illustration. There is, however, no evidence that Webster gave Kemble advice about the illustrations or their captions"("Mark Twain and the Legends for Huckleberry Finn," 156). Also, the existent illustrations are from pages 18-170 of the first edition and were created by Kemble between May 29 and June 21, 1884 (157). In her discussion of the captions themselves, David asserts, "Kemble obviously considered his legends only working captions since most words were not capitalized, ampersands were used instead of "and," and much appropriate punctuation is missing. Clemens's editing of some Kemble captions, therefore, merely involved corrections, a tightening of wording, or a shift into a third-person narrative"(157).

Chapter II. Huck introduces Jim while he and Tom Sawyer sneak around at night. When Huck first sees Jim, he says, "Mrs. Watson's big nigger, named Jim, was setting in the kitchen door," and a little later he says Jim always wore a "five-center piece around his neck" that the devil gave him (22). Neither of these occasions provides Kemble with much of a description for his illustration, instead, all Kemble has to work with is Twain's characterization of Jim as someone who became proud through his foolish beliefs: Jim "was most ruined, for a servant, because he got so stuck up on account of having seen the devil and been rode by witches"(24). Twain's description is less physical than behavioral, so Kemble illustrated Jim as prideful, and he used an illustration he did for Life as an example (see Figure 11). Both Figures 10 and 11 share the "bucket, baggy chest-high pants held up by a single gallus, frayed straw hat, and look of comic indignation."[72] Besides their clothing, both caricatures share a look of independence in their posture and facial expression, so Jim is proud and angry, and that is not the normal expression of a slave or obedient servant during the antebellum South.

Figure 11. "Model of Jim From Life."

[71] Unless otherwise noted, all illustrations and text references from this point forward will come from 1885 edition of A.H.

[72] Briden, 5. Also, Briden argues that the black man in Figures 10 and 11 become a "comic type bordering on caricature, his features and postures exaggerated, with the result that any distinct personality and individual reality are absorbed into what amounts to a racial abstraction"(5).

During editing, Twain created a humorous relationship between text and illustration in Figure 10 by accepting Kemble's caricature of a prideful Jim placed alongside his textual description of Jim's belief he was rode by witches and saw the devil. The key to understanding the creation of comedy in the novel lies in this complementary relationship between text and illustration; in most cases, when authority accompanies foolishness, the illustration serves as comedy to accentuate the foolishness in the text. In Kemble's illustration, Jim is "flattened out emotionally and intellectually" because his exaggerated facial features and baggy clothes accentuate his foolishness to create a caricature, and Twain desired a caricature to emphasize his comical description in the text.[73] While Twain is guilty of using Jim to create humor and expand the audience appeal of his novel, he is not guilty of racism at the time of publication because his intent did not entail altering national racial perceptions. Instead, Twain's editorial decisions during editing only focused on emphasizing the comedy of the text through humorous illustrations to expand the novel's market.

As for Kemble, he discusses how he created Jim in an interview for The Colophon: "Jim the Negro seemed to please him [Court Morris] the most. He would jam his little black wool cap over his head, shoot out his lips and mumble coon talk all the while he was posing."[74] Both Kemble and Morris's racial attitudes accurately reflect those of the period because blacks were used as comic relief in the popular press. Also, while Kemble and Morris apparently enjoyed their work, their actions during the creation of the illustration also explain how and why Jim developed as a caricature. Kemble

[73] Briden, 7.

[74] Kemble, "Illustrating," n.p.

lacked experience with Negro characteristics because he never visited the South, so the only sources available to him existed in the work of other artists, his previous illustrations of blacks and his model's example. Though it is likely that Kemble copied the work of other artists and altered them to make them his own, he also used other illustrations he created for the popular press as examples for Jim. Additionally, when Morris' exaggeration of Negro characteristics combines with Kemble's lack of experience, it should not surprise the reader to find Jim appearing less a person than a comic type.

By undermining Jim's authority through a caricature in Figure 10, the novel begins to follow a pattern repeated in the next illustration (Figure 12). In Chapter IV, Twain describes Huck visiting Jim to have his fortune read by Jim's hair-ball, and Jim pays the hair-ball to talk to him; Jim, on his knees listening for advice from a hair-ball, serves as Kemble's prompt for the illustration. Jim's posture and facial expressions in Figure 12 exaggerate the foolishness of the situation in the text. As a result, the reader sees an illustration of a caricature because Jim lacks any sense of the authority, power or independence previously suggested, and Jim is foolish for his superstitious beliefs because he is on his knees listening to a hair-ball. Twain's acceptance of the illustration establishes a pattern in his editorial decisions during editing that clearly demonstrate his comical intent with the illustrations. Jim is comic relief because of his actions and

Figure 12. "Jim Listening."

appearance in the illustrations, so humor is established when placed alongside Twain's text.

After three chapters focusing on Huck's abduction by his father, his escape, the pig's blood being discovered and believed to be Huck's, and Jim running away, the potential seriousness of these events immediately shifts to an illustration of an apparently foolish Jim on his knees again because he believes he sees Huck's ghost.[75] Kemble's prompt for the illustration tells the truth: Jim "drops down on his knees, and puts his hands together and says: 'Doan' hurt me—don't! I hain't ever done no harm to a ghos.' I alwuz liked dead people, en done all I could for'em"(67). As a result, Figure 13 follows Twain's text, but Twain enhanced the humor of the situation, and the comedy surrounding Jim's superstitious beliefs, by writing the caption "Jim and the Ghost." Kemble's illustration of Jim as a caricature facilitates the comedy of the situation, but Twain repeatedly uses Jim's superstitions to add humor to his text through the illustrations, and his editing of

Figure 13. "Jim and the Ghost."

[75] David asserts, "In Clemens' text Jim's first meeting with Huck had him 'drop down on his knees.' Kemble had copied the action of the scene and put his caption into the past tense, 'Then he dropped on his knees.' Clemens, however, sensing an opportunity for humor, used an idea from the next line in the story, where a fearful Jim says, 'I hain't ever done no harm to a ghos'"("Legends," 159). While it is interesting that Kemble wrote some of the captions, Twain frequently altered them to add humor or distract the reader from a potentially offensive subject.

Kemble's caption only adds to an already comical situation. This established pattern of comedy surrounding Jim continues in the relationship between text and illustration, but in this case it is very similar to an illustration and caption Kemble created for Life.

Mr. Tooter Williams in Figure 14 is a caricature of a proud black man, but that pride is subverted into foolishness when he falls through the ice while showing off to his friends and neighbors.[76] The pride is subverted, it is satirized to create comedy, and Twain accomplishes the same thing through a combination of text and illustrations because Jim is a proud slave that ends up on his knees before a white boy. In the first illustration of Jim (Figure 10), he is proud, but in Figures 12 and 13, he is on his knees listening to a hair-ball or believing he sees Huck's ghost. In each case Jim is foolish in both text and illustration. Twain and Kemble use similar tactics to establish prideful identities for their different black characters, then both author and illustrator subvert their characters to create comedy for a white audience. The text and illustration work together to create the type of humor most white readers expect to see in black

Figure 14. "Mr. Tooter Williams From Life."

[76] Figure 14 was first pub. in Life 6 March 1884. Also, Briden asserts that Kemble's "drawing of Tooter Williams...presents Carleton's Thompson Street character as an embodiment of smugness: hat cocked rakishly over his eyes, arms folded in a congratulatory self-embrace, Tooter is the black show-off. In a

characters because comical caricatures of blacks were common in the popular press as evidenced by Kemble's work for Life and Twain's editorial decisions during production.

This pattern continues early in Chapter IX when Jim and Huck find a cave on the island. According to the text, Jim isn't afraid. Instead, he wants to use it to hide a canoe and traps inside, and Jim suggests that he and Huck hide in it if anyone comes looking for them. In fact, thanks to Jim, he and Huck spend the night in the cave while it rains outside, and Jim is never afraid. However, Kemble's illustration of this episode does not follow from the text. Instead, Jim is fearful, surprised and ready to run in Figure 15, and the result is another caricature. Kemble's illustration does not literally follow the text, and that is exactly what Twain wanted because by undermining the seriousness of the occasion to produce comedy for the reader, the marketability of the text increases. Despite the impossibility of examining Kemble's process of trial and error in order to better demonstrate Twain's editorial intent when accepting or rejecting illustrations, it is possible that Kemble began to acquire a better understanding of the intended relationship between text and illustrations.[77] In the case of Jim, Kemble's illustrations establish a pattern by presenting him as a caricature, and as such, they

Figure 15. "Exploring The Cave."

cartoon in the Life [underlining mine] issue of 3 April 1884, Kemble similar depicts Brer Pewter as the black windbag, inflated with self-importance and holding forth in the posture of oratorical bombast"(7).

become the means to demonstrate that Twain intended to use Jim as comic relief. The text and illustrations become complementary in their ability to undermine Jim's character in the novel. This relationship between text and illustration is particularly interesting when comparing an illustration at the end of Chapter X with one of Kemble's illustrations submitted for the newly illustrated A.H. in 1899.

In Chapter X, Huck decides he needs to go back into town to learn the latest news, and Jim suggests Huck dress up like a girl to disguise himself. Figure 16 illustrates a very feminine looking and acting Huck, and under Jim's direction, Huck spent the day learning to walk and act like a girl. Kemble chose this line from the text: "Jim hitched it from behind and it was a fair fit," and he followed this prompt to create the illustration (83). However, what Kemble did not illustrate, or possibly illustrated but Twain rejected, would have arisen from the line, "I [Huck] practiced around all day to get the hang of the things, and by and by I could do pretty well in them, only Jim said I didn't walk like a girl..."(83). If Kemble had illustrated this

Figure 16. "A Fair Fit."

[77] In a letter from Twain to Webster on 24 May 1884, Twain writes, "The pictures will *do*—they will just barely do--& and that is the best I can say for them"(Webster, 255).

latter prompt, the resulting illustration would appear similar to the 1899 illustration of Huck and Jim in Figure 17.[78] The differences between the two illustrations are striking.[79]

In Figure 16, Jim is on his knees again, and he is happy and helpful while Huck is overly feminine, but in the 1899 illustration, a very feminized Huck prances around in front of a Jim who stares with a sinister look on his face. While the original illustration is merely comical given the situation in the text, Figure 17 presents Jim leering at a very feminized Huck Finn. If Twain had seen an illustration similar to the 1899 illustration, and he had accepted it, it could have reduced the episode to a drawing of a drag-queen and a leering black pedophile.[80] The reading and selecting of prompts (lines, cues) by Kemble proves extremely important to illustrating a scene in the fashion Twain intended,

Figure 17. "1899 Illustration."

[78] Kemble's "1899 Illustration" is rpt. from Anspaugh, 30: this is the illustration Kemble submitted and Twain rejected for a newly illustrated edition of A.H.

[79] One possible explanation for Kemble illustrating this particular scene the way he did for the 1899 edition has to do with Twain altering Kemble's prompt. David argues that the caption Kemble supplied with this illustration read, "Jim hitched it from behind with hooks," but "Clemens seized the chance to extend the feminine concept of the situation by an alternative line that commented on Huck's girlish attire, "A Fair Fit'"'("Legends," 159). By altering the line to increase the humor and "extend the feminine concept," Twain may have inadvertently led Kemble to increase the humor even more in the 1899 illustration.

[80] Anspaugh argues, "The latter picture [Figure 17] is more naturalistic than the earlier [Figure 16], and offers a rather hermaphroditic Huck: the gawky, smirking, big-footed boy of the cartoon has been replaced by a virtual Nabokovian nymphet—nymphet enough, in fact, to make Sigmund Freud, not to mention Leslie Fiedler, break out in a cold sweat. Note in these two pictures [Figures 16 & 17] the change in Jim: in

and additionally, it helps explain why Twain chose not to hire Kemble as his illustrator for the 1899 newly illustrated version of his novel.

Thus far, all of the illustrations of Jim are excellent examples of Twain's humorous intent for his black character and Kemble borrowing ideas from his work for Life. In these early illustrations, Twain did not have a problem with Jim; instead, he complained about the appearance of the white characters. However, these early illustrations of Jim were probably part of the first batch of seventeen illustrations that Twain received, rejected, and Kemble reworked. In a letter to Webster on 24 May 1884, Twain complains about Kemble's work:

> Some of the pictures are good, but none of them are very *very* good. The faces are generally ugly, & wrenched into over-expression amounting sometimes to distortion. As a rule (though not always) the people in these pictures are forbidding and repulsive. Reduction will modify them, no doubt, but it can hardly make them pleasant folk to look at.[81]

Some of the ugly and distorted faces that Kemble reworked possibly include Figures 18-20, but, if they were, one can only wonder at how distorted and ugly Kemble had originally drawn them. Figure 18 illustrates a Sunday-school teacher chasing a boy away from a picnic raided by Huck, Tom Sawyer and his gang. While the text describes the exaggerated circumstances of the raid, Kemble's only cue from the text read "the teacher charged in and made us drop everything and cut"(32) The illustration of an apparent

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the first he is the buffoonish "darkie," assisting *directly* in Huck's costuming; in the second he is more realistically portrayed and a distant admirer of Huck's performance"(23).

[81] This is the same letter to Webster 24 May 1884, in which Twain writes, "An artist shouldn't follow a book too literally, perhaps—if this is the necessary result"(Webster, 255). In response, Webster wrote

wicked old woman chasing a frightened boy with her umbrella is more animated than the text describes. The only indications of either a picnic or a raid in the illustration are the girls standing in the background and a single foot exiting the scene. The expressions on both primary characters are exaggerated and distorted, but the fear in the boy and anger in the teacher work in direct opposition to the comedy Twain describes. However, rather than being a flaw in Kemble's ability to follow Twain's prompts, or simply a filler illustration for a subscription-book buyer who loved illustrations, this illustration may help account for exactly why Twain hired Kemble in the first place.

Figure 18. "The Robbers Dispersed."

Besides illustrating comedy, Kemble animated his characters, and he did so in a way that resulted in comedy. Illustrating animation proved important to Figure 3, "Would Pussy Like Some Tea," Figure 14, "Mr. Tooter Williams From Life," and very important to the illustration that inspired Twain to hire Kemble, Figure 5, "Some Uses for Electricity." Animation is an important part of the reason why Twain hired Kemble in the first place because it occasionally is an essential component of some illustrations. Though animation exists in only a few illustrations in the novel, it is almost never found in any of Twain's previous novels or those of the period.[82] So, the majority of the simple,

Twain on 29 May 1884, "In regard to Kemble's pictures, I think they will come out all right....However, I shall not relax my efforts to get better work out of Kemble"(Hill, Publishers, 174).

unanimated, portrait-like illustrations in A.H. represent the norm for the period, but because they follow from exact prompts in the text, they provide the reader with a better understanding of particular scenes. However, animation may also account for Twain's early complaints because when an illustration animated characters, their facial expressions are distorted and overly exaggerated if portrayed too realistically. If Twain wanted animated characters who also looked good, calm, or relaxed, Kemble did not accomplish the task with Figure 18, "The Robbers Dispersed." As for Twain's rejection of early illustrations of white characters, many of them are more serious in nature than previous illustrations of Jim because the text is serious, so Kemble followed the text to make Jim humorous and white characters serious.

In Figure 19, neither the text or Kemble's illustration provides comedy, and Twain only alludes to a passed out, drunk Pap in the text. According to the text, a kindly judge and his wife help Pap, but as soon as the text leads the reader to believe in Pap's salvation, Twain has him slip out the bedroom window, get drunk again, and pass out. Kemble's illustration ends the Chapter on a dark and dangerous tone while setting the stage for the next, and Pap's face is an ugly and distorted expression of misery. Interestingly, Twain's use of Pap in this chapter mirrors his use of Jim previously in the text, but the difference

Figure 19. "Falling From Grace."

[82] In perusing through some of the illustrations of Twain's earlier novels, I did not once discover an

lies in Kemble making Jim look foolish in the illustration while Pap is drunk and dangerous. Though Kemble wrote the caption for this illustration, "Nearly Frozen to Death," Twain changed it to "Falling From Grace" to undermine the seriousness of his text to create humor.[83] Twain's editorial alteration to the caption adds humor to nullify the potentially threatening image of a drunken Pap. The added humor reduces Pap's actions to a joke, and the result is comic relief. This is similar to Twain's use of Jim, but the difference lies in interpretations of the text. In Jim's case, the text is pure comedy, and the illustrations simply emphasize that comedy, but in Pap's case, the text and illustration are serious, so Twain uses the caption to add the humor he feels necessary. Twain's changes to the caption demonstrate that Kemble followed the text to create both a humorous or serious illustration depending on the description in the text, and that Twain did not single Jim out for his comedy. Instead, Twain edited his text to create comedy whenever the opportunity presented itself. Therefore, the creation of humor and nullification of violence were Twain's primary concerns during editing.

Figure 20, at the end of Chapter VI, is another illustration of a drunken Pap, only this time Pap has captured Huck, gets delusional drunk, and sees snakes crawling around the room. However, instead of drawing snakes, Kemble's Pap looks foolish in the

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illustration in which an artist attempted to animate a character.

[83] David argues, "Clemens' most creative and comical caption change appears with Pap's misadventure after he had signed the pledge against drinking....Kemble had as usual, used a cautious line from the book, 'Nearly frozen to death.' Clemens, with inspired tongue-in-cheek piety, viewed Pap's descent as 'Falling from Grace'"("Legends," 161). Whether this was Twain's most creative change, Pap is still one ugly character, and his brief attempt at salvation is undermined. Also, According to David, Kemble wrote a caption for Figure 20 that read, "He Hopped around the cabin." David asserts, "Clemens increased the level of drunken delirium by labeling Pap's antics as "Raising a Howl," and in doing so he increased the level of comedy (160). Additionally, David discusses diverting the reader's attention away from potentially disturbing scenes in the context of the "naked King" on stage, but the same strategy of analysis is also applicable in the context of other illustrations that include the drunken Pap. It is a "shift away from the horror to the analytical"("The Pictorial," 262).

illustration by hopping around the room on one leg, so only through the text does the reader know Twain's intent. Instead of dark and dangerous, this farcical comedy repeats Twain's treatment of Jim because the animated Pap reduces the possible horror of the scene to comical action. Kemble's illustration reduces Pap to a caricature that distracts the reader from the text, so the relationship between text and illustration causes Pap to appear comically foolish. As for his appearance, Pap is ugly. If Twain wanted good-looking white folk, he didn't get them in either the Sunday-school teacher or Pap, so if these three illustrations were reworked by Kemble, then a reader can only wonder how ugly and distorted they were to begin with. Figures 18-20 use illustrations of whites to create comedy for the reader that both support the text and work against it because distortion, exaggerated facial expressions and animation are used as comedy not described in the text.

Figure 20. "Raising A Howl."

What does not exist in any of the illustrations of the white characters are examples of corresponding characters created for Life. Despite drawing both white and black characters for Life, Kemble apparently chose to copy only examples of his black characters when working for Twain, and a reader does not have to look far in the text to find another illustrated example. In Chapter IX, "Jim Sees A Dead Man" in the house

floating on the Mississippi, both the illustration and the caption suggest the "emotional shift is away from horror toward the analytical."[84] Though Figure 21 attempts to shift the reader's attention away from the disturbing nature of the text, it also parallels an image published in Life. While the text describes a fearless Jim protecting Huck from seeing the body of his dead father, Kemble's illustration supports the text while sterilizing it because there are no bodies shown in the illustration. This is very similar to the hopping, drunken Pap because the snakes described in the text are not supported by Kemble's illustration.

Figure 21. "Jim Sees A Dead Man."

In both illustrations, the violence or crudeness of the text is altered by a sterile or humorous interpretation in the illustration. Additionally, the Jim in Figure 21 very closely resembles the character of Mr. Dilsey in Figure 22 from Life. Mr. Dilsey appears prideful like Mr. Tooter Williams in Figure 14, but Mr. Dilsey and Jim have faces and body styles that are very similar in appearance.[85] While Morris sat in costume, Kemble used his

[84] David, "The Pictorial," 262-64. Additionally, David claims, "Most captions for the drawings use lines directly from the text"(264): In her notes, she adds, "there is proof that Mark Twain wrote neither captions nor running heads for the first edition illustrations"(269). The proof David discusses is from Allison Ensor's "The Contributions of Charles Webster and Albert Bigelow Paine to Huckleberry Finn" in which Ensor argues that Webster and Paine wrote both titles and captions for A.H., and Twain left this aspect of the publishing process to their judgement (222-27). The captions, their creation, and particular illustrations are also discussed by David in "Legends." She argues that Kemble did write several captions for illustrations, but Twain rewrote many of them to add humor or direct the reader's attention away from potentially offensive episodes (155-56).

illustrations from Life to help him create Jim, and the combination resulted in a caricature. Also, Jim begins appearing younger in this illustration than he did when first illustrated in Figure 10. Instead of a man, Jim now looks like a boy. The change in Jim's appearance possibly happened because Kemble used a young model, or he copied illustrations from Life to save time, or the fact that he continued to work with only parts of the manuscript at any one time. Kemble lack of previously illustrated material meant he had no previous illustrations of his characters because they were immediately shipped to Webster, and Webster shipped them to Twain. Though pleased with all of Kemble's reworked illustrations from early in the novel, Twain continued to scrutinize closely all illustrations as he received them.

Figure 22. "Mr. Dilsey From Life."

In late May, Kemble wrote Webster, "send me the manuscript from XIII Chapter on...as there are illustrations here which are described minutely and I'm afraid to touch them without the reading matter to refer to."[86] By complicating the proofreading process, Twain created problems for Kemble, but by working with what he did have, Kemble

[85] Briden argues, "In the early chapters of the novel Jim is drawn repeatedly as an icon of wide-eyed, slack-jawed astonishment, whether he is seeing what he thinks is a ghost, approaching a cave entrance, talking with Huck, or peering into the window of the House of Death. These pictures are clearly modeled after the open-mouthed, pop-eyed cartoon figures that Kemble had been doing for *Life*...."(6). Briden refers to "Mr. Dilsey" and "Brer Abe" as examples of Kemble's work from Life that he probably used as models for Jim because they are very similar to the illustrations he did for Twain.

[86] David, "The Pictorial," 253.

completed many of the early illustrations by June 1884, and shipped them to Webster, and from Webster they traveled to Twain for his scrutiny. In response, Twain wrote Webster:

> I have reshipped the pictures to you. I *knew* Kemble had it *in* him, if he would only modify his violences & come down to careful, painstaking work. This batch of pictures is most rattling good. They please me exceedingly.
>
> But you must knock out one of them—the lecherous old rascal kissing the girl at the camp meeting. It is powerful good, but it mustn't go in—don't forget it. Let's not make any pictures of the campmeeting. The subject won't bear illustrating. It is a disgusting thing, & pictures are sure to tell the truth about it too plainly.[87]

Apparently, from Twain's letter, Kemble had about a third of the novel illustrated by June, Twain finally approved of the early illustrations, and Kemble's work pleased him. However, this letter also reveals much about Twain as the author and editor of his own work because he knew the disturbing parts of his novel could offend readers. The illustrations he approved demonstrate he sought to enhance the comedy, or, for the more disturbing episodes, to distract the reader through humorous or sterilized images. In either case, Twain's approval allowed Kemble to settle into a pattern of illustrating what he could from the text, but because there were so few prompts, and Twain remained the only person who knew exactly what his readers should see, Kemble occasionally illustrated an objectionable scene.

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[87] Webster, 260.

This happened in one of Kemble's illustrations of the camp-meeting because only the more comical illustrations survived Twain's scrutiny. Figures 23-25 support the conclusion that Kemble and Twain sought to create and use comedy, and the relationship between text and illustration support the argument that Kemble used very sketchy prompts when creating his illustrations. In both Figures 23 and 24, one line in the text directs the reader's attention to the illustration. For Figure 23, that prompt is "the king could be Juliet," and from that line Kemble illustrated the old man as Juliet during the balcony scene (170). Twain's humorous text resulted an illustration of a bearded old man wearing a dress, and the exaggerated expression on the King's face assists in creating a caricature similar to Jim and Pap. When creating the image of the King, Kemble had his young model Court Morris dress and act the part. Kemble says:

Figure 23. "The King As Juliet."

> For the King, Court wore an old frock coat and padded his waist line with towels until he assumed the proper rotundity. Then he would mimic the sordid old reprobate and twist his boyish face into the most outlandish expressions. If I could have drawn the grimaces as they were I would have had a convulsing collection of comics, but these would not have jibed with the text, and I was forced to forego them.[88]

[88] Kemble, "Illustrating," n.p.

Kemble's recollection of Morris posing in costume demonstrates that he intended to use comedy in his illustrations whenever possible, and Morris dressing in costume helps explain why they became humorous caricatures rather than realistic portraits: humor is an aspect of the illustrations of Jim, Pap and the King.

Some of this humor is also apparent in Figure 24. Kemble's prompt read "some of the young folks was courting on the sly," and Kemble created an illustration of two pleasant looking young people bashfully siting side by side on a bench under a tree (172). The exaggerated facial expression on the young man is particularly humorous because he appears shy and bashful, so it is something a reader might expect to appear on the young lady. Together, Figures 23 and 24 are either foolishly comical or extremely innocent in their portrayal of Twain's characters, and Kemble remained on cue because both of them were drawn from very specific prompts in the text. However, this is not the case with the illustration that fell between these two in the text, Figure 25.

Figure 24. "Courting on the Sly."

If Kemble had followed the same pattern of prompts from the text for Figure 25, he would have probably produced the type of illustration Twain referred to in his letter that he wanted removed. That prompt read, "poor pirates away off there; and every little while the prettiest kind of girls...would up and ask him would he let them kiss

him"(174).[89] The illustration that Kemble probably produced, and Twain objected to, supports the potentially offensive idea of an old seaman and a prostitute, or at the very least, an old pirate enjoying his kiss from a young girl a little too much. Instead, the illustration that did appear in the text in Figure 25 is a comical portrait of a knobby-kneed old man in a pirate costume. Twain's objection to the original illustration supports his earlier directive to Webster (and Kemble) that an illustrator should not follow the text too literally, and anytime Kemble failed to follow that edict, Twain's editorial good judgment intervened.

Figure 25. "A Pirate of Thirty Years."

Apparently, Kemble became set in a pattern of discovering lines he believed would produce an illustration that followed from the text and from his experience thus far with Twain's scrutiny, and from the prompts he produced illustrations. David asserts that "Twain's editorial good sense cautioned him to control carefully incidents involving sex, religion and the church:" Though less concerned with the average subscription-book customer, she believes Twain feared a "genteel" audience might be offended by an illustration illuminating risqué scenes.[90] While Twain's editorial judgment did cause him to closely scrutinize Kemble's work, no evidence exits

[89] Also see Figure A in Appendix G for an additional illustration of the comical King almost naked.

[90] David discusses "Twain's editorial good sense," but she does not supply source information for her assertion that these were Twain's comments, however, the assumption does follow an established pattern from Twain's previous letters. In both Figure 26 and 27, David argues that Twain uses the illustration to

demonstrating he sought to market his novel beyond the average subscription-book buyer, but that does not mean he totally ruled out the possibility of it one day appealing to the genteel reading public. If Twain felt concerned about the "genteel" reader during editing, its more likely he focused on the reviewer's judgment because good reviews meant more copies sold, so Twain's rejection of the pirate kissing the girl proved a safe decision, and it had the added consequence of Kemble not repeating the mistake when presented with another opportunity to illustrate a graphic scene.

Figure 26. "The Death of Boggs."

This is the case in the very next Chapter (XXI) with Figure 26 because rather than graphically illustrating Colonel Sherburn shooting Boggs, or Boggs' daughter crying over her father's dead body, or the look of fear or pain on Boggs' face, Kemble's illustration is a sterile image that lacks either the blood or emotion of the event.[91] Twain's prompt in the text reads, "'O Lord, don't shoot!' Bang! goes the first shot, and he staggers back crawling at the air—bang! goes the second one, and he tumbles backwards onto the ground, heavy and solid, with his arms spread out"(186). Kemble nullified Twain's graphic description of events by removing the horror on Boggs' face in the illustration, and because the illustration does not fall on the same page as the text's

divert the reader's attention away from particular scenes in the text, so the illustration, and its caption, add to the comedy as opposed to supporting either vulgarity or horror ("The Pictorial," 260-61).

description, the illustration diverts the reader's attention away from the scene's graphic nature. Whether Twain's editorial intervention is responsible for this particular diversion tactic concerning the exact placement of an illustration in the text at the time of production, or Webster's final editing, or luck, another potentially graphic scene repeats the strategy.

Figure 27. "Tragedy."

At the beginning of Chapter XXIII, the King and Duke were supposed to perform parts of Romeo and Juliet and Richard III for the townspeople, but Figure 27 is a very toned down illustration of the painted and naked King prancing around on stage for the crowd's entertainment. The line prompting Kemble's illustration reads, "the king come a-prancing out on all fours, naked; and he was painted all over, ring-streaked and striped, all sorts of colors, as splendid as a rainbow"(196). David's assertion regarding Twain's use of language and Kemble's illustration describes it best:

> Mark Twain shows his skill here in handling a potentially explosive subject. By diverting the reader quickly from the word naked to a dazzling description of a rainbow and then flatly suppressing further details, the possibly offensive "naked" is diverted and much of the potential suggestiveness becomes ambiguous. Kemble's illustration for the

[91] The description of the actual shooting is on the page opposite the illustration. Besides those shown, for additional illustrations of scenes with a potentially violent or graphic content, see Figures A and B in Appendix H.

> performance uses the same technique. Hilariously funny, the drawing ignores the nakedness and focuses on the ludicrous.[92]

This description of text and illustration supporting one another provides evidence regarding Twain's editorial intent throughout his novel. Though many illustrations are simply portraits of individuals to assist readers in understanding what particular characters took like, many other illustrations serve to heighten comedy or nullify horror. Twain uses the illustrations to shift the reader's attention away from serious subjects or to provide comedy whenever possible while his text skillfully touched on many potentially offensive subjects. These patterns continue in the remainder of the novel where Jim is the subject of the majority of the more comical illustrations.

Jim, in Figures 28 and 29, is increasingly foolish in both dress and character.[93] Figure 28 is sandwiched between the King and Duke's Shakespearean spoofs and the setup for the hoax on the Wilks family at the beginning of Chapter XXIV, but in Jim's case, he is wearing "King Lear's" outfit as an "Arab" disguise, and the illustration serves to anticipate the comical ending. Twain's prompt for the illustration reads:

> It was a long curtain-calico gown, and a white horse-hair wig and whiskers; and then he [the Duke] took his theatre-paint and painted Jim's face and hands and ears and neck all over a dead dull solid blue, like a man that's been drowned nine days (203).

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[92] David, "The Pictorial," 261. Additionally, David asserts that "Kemble's illustrations, under Mark Twain's guiding editorial hand, worked therefore in a number of interesting ways. When referring to a delicate or disgusting subject the drawings would tone down the ugly or brutal aspects, making them appear pleasantly humorous. Other times, with particularly offensive material, the drawings would substitute a comical irrelevant topic. These techniques...were also used to make the violence of the novel acceptable"(261-62).

[93] See Figure A in Appendix I for an additional illustration of Jim in a dress: "Arab Costume."

Because they were in slave territory, when Huck, the King and Duke left the raft they dressed Jim as an Arab to make him more comfortable: so they disguised him rather than tie him up. Kemble's caricature of Jim in Figure 28 is the most comical and absurd thus far because Jim is a combination of the naked King on stage (because Jim is also painted) and the King as Juliet wearing a gown. Apparently, Jim cannot escape his role as the focal point of Kemble's, or Twain's, comic distraction. While the illustration of Jim does accurately reflect the comical nature of the entire episode, it also anticipates the comedy surrounding the entire ending while beginning another pattern of Jim almost always illustrated wearing a gown. Twain chose to use an illustration of Jim in a gown, and he accepted several illustrations of him in a gown, to add to the already comical concluding chapters, make him appear harmless in a dress, and, by doing so, possibly to reverse the element of danger. Throughout the ending of the novel, the white adults treat Jim as dangerous, but he does not appear dangerous wearing a dress. Instead, the white men carrying guns are the threat while Jim is a harmless, comical clown in the illustrations.

Figure 28. "Harmless."

In Figure 29, Jim again wears a gown at the end of Chapter XL, only this time Tom Sawyer decided to steal a gown from Aunt Sally for Jim to wear as a disguise while the boys helped him escape. Twain uses Jim and his predicament as a captured runaway

slave as the centerpiece for the boys' antics in the final chapters, and by putting Jim in a gown, Twain accentuates the comedy. Twain's approval of Kemble's illustration demonstrates Twain's intent because by showing Jim as completely harmless, while all the white people searching for him appear dangerous, the comical caricature reverses the threat. While Jim is foolish in the illustration, the white people with guns are both dangerous and foolish for considering him a threat, and the resulting comical situation compliments the boys' antics throughout the ending. The more serious or possibly offensive the text is considered by a reader, the more comical the illustration, so the relationship between text and illustration heightens or lessens the effect of the other depending upon the circumstances in the novel.

Figure 29. "Jim Advises A Doctor."

However, the final illustration of Jim in Figure 30 is the most noticeably flawed of all the illustrations of him in the novel. On the final page of text, Jim is much younger than Kemble's first illustration of him in Figure 10. Though both illustrations have him wearing the same baggy paints held up by one gallus, any other similarities quickly end. The most reasonable explanation for the differences attributes this inconsistency in the illustrations to the "confused shuffling of the manuscript Chapters and drawings from Kemble to Webster to Mark Twain," so Kemble had none of his previous material to compare his illustrations with because he only worked with pieces of the manuscript at a

time. While a confused shuffling of the manuscript explains the final illustration, it does not explain the fact that Jim does not have the "hairy arms and breast" that Twain describes in the text. The oversight is unusual given Twain's knowledge of "Negro characteristics" because he would have known that "hair or lack of it would make his Nigger Jim different from the usual Negro."[94] As for Kemble, Jim's lack of hair probably went unnoticed because of his inexperience dealing with Negro characteristics, and a lack of manuscript may explain the differences in age between the first and final illustrations, but Jim's lack of hair in any of the illustrations is not.

Figure 30. "Out of Bondage."

One final difference between Twain's text and all the illustrations of Jim and Huck concerns the text describing them as always nude while on the raft, but they are never illustrated nude. As in the case with the King painted and naked on stage, Twain's editorial control results in him rejecting some illustrations rather than risk offending any reader with potentially offensive illustrations, so he had Kemble put clothes on them. However, Twain's editorial control does not easily explain missing details because he did not apply the same level of scrutiny to all illustrations.[95] So, while it is possible that

[94] David, "The Pictorial," 253-54.

[95] As an example of Twain catching even the smallest oversight in Kemble's illustrations, Twain wrote to Webster on 25 June 1884, "It occurs to me now, that on the pilot house of that steam-boat wreck the artist has put Texas—having been misled by some of Huck's remarks about the boat's 'texas'—a thing which is a part of every boat. That word had better be removed from the pilot house—that is where a boat's name is

some differences in illustrations occurred because Twain did not believe illustrations must literally follow from the text, others occurred because Twain did not compare all of the illustrations to each other or the completed text before publication.

Twain did not have the time or the occasion to scrutinize all of the illustrations in the completed novel because neither he or Kemble ever worked with more than small sections of the manuscript at any one time during production. While the manuscript traveled one proofreading circuit that included Howells, the illustrations traveled another, and when Twain completed and approved each section, Webster kept it to prepare the prospectus. So Twain, like Kemble, never saw the completed manuscript before publication, and that could account for many small oversights or errors in the illustrations. This is particularly true when explaining the differences in ages between the first and last illustrations of Jim. However, Webster did ship pieces of the final manuscript to Twain for his final approval. In a letter on 22 July 1884, Webster wrote:

> I send you by mail today a batch of paged proof that you have already corrected. I send this for the reason that I have inserted titles of the pages and pictures, and if you wish to make any changes it [sic] must be done before the pages are electrotyped.[96]

Though Twain did see portions of the completed manuscript, and he did make some alterations to captions and titles, he never saw the completed manuscript. If Twain and Kemble had worked together, if they had each worked and inspected the completed manuscript, it is likely that Twain would have rejected several more illustrations. This did

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put, & that particular boat's name was, Walter Scott, I think. It is mentioned in a latter chapter"(Webster, 262).

not happen because Webster needed to complete the prospectus. The prospectus provided the life's blood for selling by subscription because the subscription-book agents needed it to show potential customers, so when Webster had gathered enough material for its completion, he wrote Twain about its final cost. Webster wrote, "I have made the contract for the prospectus and after a careful estimate I find they will cost me about 36 or 37 cents each."[97] Despite Webster working hard to complete the prospectus, Twain found a way to further complicate the process.

By early September, Webster had the prospectus almost completed when Twain wrote him: "Here is a photograph of the bust. How would it do to heliotype it (reducing it to half the present size), & make a frontispiece of it for Huck Finn."[98] In the fall of 1884, Twain had found enough time to have a bust sculpted of himself, but his suggestion that it be copied and included as a frontispiece caused Webster some grief because he had hoped to

> get the prospectus finished this week [September 2] "so that he could see the General Agents and mount a campaign for the book in the West. Clemens' new scheme meant that he had to postpone printing again" and go to Boston and give minute directions and draw a contract requiring delivery on the things.[99]

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[96] David, "Legends," 156-57.

[97] David, Mark Twain, 184.

[98] Webster, 275.

[99] David, Mark Twain, 185. Karl Gerhardt sculpted the bust of Twain. In a letter to Webster on 10 July 1884, Twain wrote, "It seems to me that an artist must surely sit up nights to think out ways of being a d___d fool. Gerhardt knows we are not in Hartford, yet he must go & send his d___d statue there....I could swear my teeth loose over this d___d idiocy"(Webster 266).

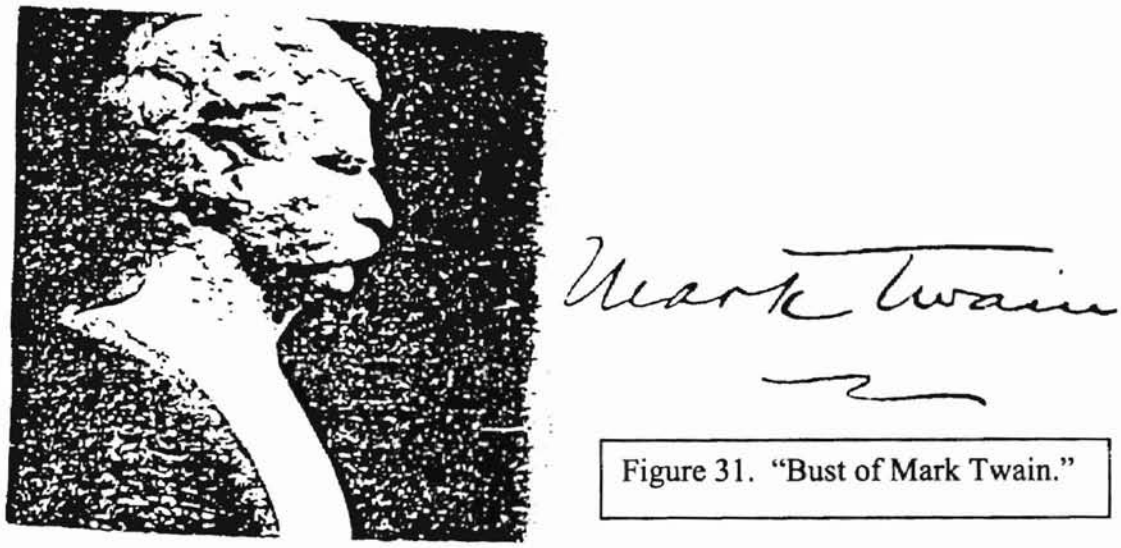

Figure 31. "Bust of Mark Twain."

Webster agreed to Twain's idea, but Figure 31 did not get included on the original "List of Illustrations" and only appeared on the facing page of the Huck Finn frontispiece in the New York first edition.[100] Twain's signature in Figure 31 resulted in a delay in the prospectus because a couple of copies of the new prospectus and a bottle of special ink had to be shipped to him, then the copies must be signed and returned for printing, but the bottle of ink was delayed in shipping.[101] The many delays in printing the prospectus were a serious problem for Webster because delays in the prospectus meant delays in publishing the novel by Christmas.

By fall of 1884, Twain's continued investment in the publishing company caused additional delays in publishing, so he planned a reading tour with George W. Cable and William D. Howells. After Howells declined the offer, Cable and Twain decided to leave, so when the ink did not arrive on time from Boston, Twain left and did not return until a week later. This meant he would not sign the copies and get them returned to Webster to

[100] The illustrated "Bust of Mark Twain" is rpt. from David, Mark Twain, 186.

have the prospectus printed. The delays caused by Twain's desire to include the bust, the delay in shipping the ink, and the reading tour all caused additional frustration for Webster, and this is very similar to problems Twain caused for Bliss when he desired to include photographs and postcards in Innocents Abroad. Webster's frustration intensified when Twain shipped the manuscript to Howells before it returned to Webster because "without the presses rolling the prospectus would never get finished."[102] Also, the shipping of the manuscript to Howells resulted in some lost galleys, and in response to Webster's inquiry as to their location, Twain wrote, "The missing galleys are the ones I sent to Howells, no doubt."[103] Despite all of these problems getting the manuscript together to complete the prospectus, everything settled down by late September. Webster wrote Twain:

> The General Agts. Who have been to the office & who have seen specimens of the book are confident that it will sell better than any recent one of yours, and I hope it will prove true as it is a very interesting book to my way of thinking and equal to any not accepting Innocents. In outside appearance it will beat them all.[104]

With the prospectus in the hands of the printer, Webster began canvassing the book in the West, but one last oversight in the proofreading caused some major problems.

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[101] Twain discusses the delay in receiving the ink in a letter to Webster 20 September 1884 (Webster, 278).

[102] At this time Twain wrote Webster (7 August 1884) about his frustration with proofreading, and Twain asked Webster to return the proofs to him after getting them from Howells and he would get his "profanity together & tackle it [reading proofs]"(Webster, 271).

[103] Webster, 272.

[104] David, Mark Twain, 187. Also, David claims that no letters pertaining to the "immoral illustration" exist (188).

With all of the shuffling of the manuscript from proofreader to proofreader, the final "press proofs" were left in the hands of J. J. Little's printing house in New York, and a scandal resulted. While Twain continued his lecture tour with Cable, and Webster worked at canvassing the prospectus from Chicago, an engraver tampered with one of illustrations:

> In order to properly embellish the book, the services of a leading metropolitan engraver were secured....One of the plates represented a man with a downcast head, standing in the foreground of a particularly striking illustration. In front of him was a ragged urchin with a look of dismay overspreading his countenance. In the background...was an attractive-looking-young girl....Something which the boy or man had said or done evidentially amused her highly. The title of the cut was, "In a Dilema; What shall I do?"

Figure 32. "In A Dilemma."

When the plate was sent to the electrotyper, a wicked spirit must have possessed him. The title was suggestive. A mere stroke of the awl would suffice to give the cut an indecent character never intended by the author or engraver....The work of the engraver was successful. It passed

the eye of the inspector and was approved. A proof was taken and submitted....The work was ready for printing.[105]

Figure 32 is the indecent illustration that resulted from the engraver's tampering, and Figure 33 is the intended, and eventually published, illustration on page 283.[106] Despite 250 copies of the prospectus with its indecent illustration canvassing the country in the hands of agents, only one Chicago agent noticed a problem. As soon as Webster learned of the problem, he traveled back to New York and tried to have all of the copies recalled and corrected, but not all of the copies were returned. Instead, some rival publishers hung the illustration from their office walls as a joke.[107]

Figure 33. "Who Do You Reckon It Is?"

On Thanksgiving Day, the New York World ran a headline reading "Mark Twain in a Dilema...A Victim of a Joke He Thinks the Most Unkindest Cut of All."[108] On 29

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[105] Vogelback, 262. The misspelling of "Dilema" is retained for accuracy.

[106] Figure 32, "In A Dilemma," is rpt. from David, "The Pictorial," 248.

[107] Vogelback asserts, "Some 3,000 of these prospectuses, with the defective cut, were presented and distributed to the different agents throughout the country"(262). The claim that "250 copies had been shipped before the defective page was discovered" is made by Irving S. Underhill, "The Haunted Book: A Further Exploration Concerning Huckleberry Finn," 283. There is no explanation or particular reason for the differences in Vogelback and Underhill's accounts pertaining to the number of prospectuses in the hands of agents, so I have used the lesser of the two. Also, Vogelback claims, "Several opposition publishers got hold of copies of the cut...and these now adorn their respective offices"(263). David asserts that Webster may have discovered the tampered with illustration himself while in Chicago (Mark Twain

November 1884, the New York Herald discovered Twain's problem and also printed a story:

> Mr. Charles L. Webster...yesterday offered a reward of $500 for the apprehension and conviction of the person who so altered an engraving in "Huckleberry Finn"[quotes by Underhill] as to make it obnoxious. Mr. Webster said yesterday: "The book was examined before the final printing by W. D. Howells, Mr. Clemens, the proofreader, and myself. Nothing improper was discovered....By the punch of an awl or graver, the illustration became an immoral one. But 250 copies left the office, I believe, before the mistake was discovered. Had the first edition been run off our loss would have been $25,000. Had the mistake not been discovered, Mr. Clemens' credit for decency and morality would have been destroyed."[109]

This story in the Herald provides an example of Webster's distress because not only does he offer a reward, but his complete explanation of events is an attempt to calm Twain and save everyone's reputations. By the time the story ran in the press, Webster arrived at the publishers in New York and the page "was excised and a new page pasted in...on the cancel (or stub). Later, or while this was being done the defaced plate was

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188-190). Vogelback asserts, a Chicago agent notified the company of the problem with the illustration (263). Underhill asserts that Webster learned of the tampered illustration while in San Francisco (283).

[108] David, Mark Twain 190. Additionally, David asserts, "The headline was taken from the original caption which was changed with the inserting of the new page to "What Do You Reckon It Is?""(Mark Twain, 190). It is very possible that David made a mistake in the caption she believes was changed. Rather than "What...", the caption should be "Who...", and in the context of the sexual suggestiveness of this illustration, "Who...," is much less likely to be considered suggestive or offensive than "What...". Additionally, the caption "Who..." is what is included with the illustration in A.H., 283.

[109] Underhill, 283.

corrected...and the entire signature reprinted."[110] Besides the potential loss of money, Twain's humiliation, and the grief it caused Webster, this entire fiasco meant another delay in canvassing the prospectus which meant further delays in publication because orders had to be secured beforehand.

Twain learned about securing orders early from Bliss, and the American Publishing Company. Twain wrote Webster on 14 April 1884:

> Keep it diligently in mind that we don't issue till we have made a *big sale.* Bliss never issued with less than 43,000 orders on hand, except in one instance—and it usually took him 5 or 6 months' canvassing to get them.
>
> Get at your canvassing early, and drive it with all your might, with the intent and purpose of issuing on the 10th (or 15th) of December (the best time in the year to tumble a big pile into the trade)—but if we haven't 40,000 orders then, we simply postpone publication till we've got them. It is a plain, simple policy, and would have saved both my last books if it had been followed. There is not going to be any reason whatever, why this book should not succeed—and it shall and must."[111]

Because of the many delays in publication, Twain's enthusiasm and confidence early on had declined by fall. With the loss of a deal with American Publishing Company for the publication rights to Tom Sawyer, the delays and negative publicity associated with the corrupted illustration, and his busy schedule, it proved impossible to complete enough

[110] Main, 31. Additionally, Main asserts, "some copies somewhere out on the prairie, could not or would not be recalled. They would be allowed to go forward to San Francisco and an express shipment of the new material required would be forwarded at once. A San Francisco binder would do the work"(31).

canvassing to secure 40,000 orders by Christmas despite a "prize" incentive for agents to sell copies. As September's problems dragged into October, Twain received a letter that eventually resulted in an advertising experiment he had never before tried.

Though Twain opposed publishing portions of the text beforehand, he allowed the publication of excerpts of the novel in Century Magazine because both he and Webster knew the novel could not be ready for the 1884, Christmas rush.[112] When Richard Watson Gilder, the editor of Century Magazine, wrote Twain, "Huckleberries won't be ripe for a month or two;-- make it a bit longer before the book comes out," Webster prepared excerpts with illustrations.[113] Gilder generously allowed Twain and Webster to "throw in any pictures which...[they] might wish," and rather than publish complete Chapters, it provided an opportunity to entice readers with the promise "twice as much to come out in book form later." The possibility of publishing excerpts caused Webster to feel optimistic about sales, and in a letter to Twain on 13 December 1884, he wrote, "Reports from agents show good sales and the book is doing all that could be expected in these hard times." The "hard times" Webster referred to must have concerned the negative publicity surrounding the corrupted illustration, but very soon afterwards that changed.

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[111] Hill, Publishers, 173.

[112] David claims, "he [Gilder] knew how skeptical Clemens was of issuing parts of his work before publication"(Mark Twain, 192).

[113] All factual references pertaining to the publication of excerpts in Century Magazine, unless otherwise noted, are from David's account in Mark Twain. The reference to "pictures" is qtd. in David, but the reference to "twice as much..." is from David (193). David's source for this letter (13 December 1884), is unknown because her reference is incorrect. Additionally, I have been unable to locate it anywhere near the date indicated. However, given its content, its relevance to events at the time, and Webster's continued optimism, I trust it was an actual letter from Webster to Twain on the date indicated.

The first published excerpt appeared in the December 1884, issue of Century Magazine, and it was the Grangerford-Shepherdson feud, but in preparing the text for publication, Gilder edited out some of Twain's "cuss words" and any illustrations he felt unnecessary to the plot or too "sexually suggestive." In a letter to Twain, Gilder wrote:

> A good deal would have to be omitted on acc. (sic) of space---and in omitting we might also have regard for our audience. But I have a pretty "robustuous taste" (for a pharisaical dude) and wouldn't mutilate your book you may be sure.[114]

Though Gilder did not mangle Twain's book, he did make increasing editorial changes to both the text and the inclusion or exclusion of particular illustrations as more excerpts were published because he knew, as did Twain, how language and particular illustrations "could inform, guide, amuse, and even offend...his 'genteel' audience of the mid-1880's."[115] Knowing his audience and their concerns, Gilder's additional alterations demonstrate that Twain's attempts to edit his novel during production were insufficient. While Twain knew changes were necessary to make his novel more acceptable, his attempt to use the illustrations to emphasize the comedy or nullify the graphic or violent occasions in the text were not enough to alter all potential interpretations, and occasionally a genteel reader could even find the illustrations themselves offensive. While unsophisticated readers relied on illustrations to supplement a text to assist in interpretations, the sophisticated reader required only text to follow and understand a

[114] Herbert Smith, 130.

[115] David, Mark Twain, 196-98.

story. Without Gilder's additional editorial alterations to both text and illustrations, Twain's novel may have received bad reviews from the excerpts.

Figure 34 is an example of the type of illustration Gilder feared might offend a reader, so he cut it from the first published excerpt, the Grangerford-Shepherdson episode. In referring to it, David asserts:

> The drawing, captioned "And asked me I liked her," referred to the scene where Miss Sophia waits for Huck, "and she took me in her room and shut the door very soft and asked me if I liked her." [Figure 34] This drawing, with its caption, showing a much disconcerted Huck with his head averted to avoid being smothered in Sophia's breasts, heightened the suggestive humor of the incident but could add too much to the rather already explicit text. It was omitted.[116]

Figure 34. "And Asked Me If I Liked Her."

Gilder's omission of Figure 34 is an example of his ever vigilant and watchful eye when protecting his genteel audience's sensibilities. An illustration that too easily emphasized an already sexually suggestive scene in the text could ruin a reputation, so this was not prudishness on Gilder's part because both he and Twain were very aware of the

[116] David, Mark Twain, 194-95.

"sensitivity of their audiences....[And] Gilder knew he had challenged the moral standards of the magazine publishing industry of the time by even printing Huckleberry Finn"(197-98). Of the ten drawings Webster sent Gilder for the first excerpt, Gilder used five, and besides Figure 34, the other four were cut because either that portion of the text was cut or they were considered unnecessary to the story.

The second and third excerpts edited, published and titled by Gilder were "Jim's investments, and King Sollermun" and "Royalty on the Mississippi" respectively, but the latter of the two received the brunt of Gilder's editing handiwork. This happened because the excerpt Webster sent Gilder covered eight chapters and included forty-nine illustrations; much too large a section for a magazine with limited space. Of the forty-nine illustrations and eight Chapters, Gilder cut "one-fourth of the text" with their twelve corresponding illustrations, then cut "almost half" of the twenty-eight illustrations that remained because they were either redundant illustrations of characters or "merely descriptive pictures" illustrating some unimportant action. One of the many illustrations Gilder cut from the camp-meeting included Figure 24, "Courting on the Sly," because even this innocent scene could be considered offensive by a genteel audience. As for textual omissions, Gilder cut some possibly offensive words and any redundant "reference to the King's...kissing of the girls." The illustrations Gilder published were a selection of either portraits or those that used humor as social commentary because the combination of Twain's text and Kemble's illustrations made some scenes too explicit for Gilder's genteel readers. One possible explanation for Twain's humor being too explicit concerns his audience versus Gilder's. Twain wrote for the unsophisticated subscription-book buyer, so it is possible he felt they would appreciate crude humor with explicit

illustrations, but Gilder's more genteel, sophisticated audience would not need the additional cues from either text or illustration, and they would not appreciate the vulgarity of having their nose rubbed in situations possibly considered vulgar or indecent. Though humor as social commentary is oftentimes aimed directly at the occupations or concerns of the genteel audience, it is not the case in much of Twain's novel because the subject concerns average, unsophisticated Americans. The novel portrays average American people (the typical subscription-book buyer) who, unlike average genteel readers, are more likely capable of laughing at crude humor, so Twain wrote and edited his novel for the average subscription-book buyer and not a genteel audience. However, through Gilder's understanding of a genteel audience and his editing, the editorial changes he made created a more acceptable novel for their sophisticated, genteel tastes.

Figure 35. "The Doctor."

Two illustrations that were included by Gilder demonstrate his editorial expertise where it concerned his genteel audience are Figures 35 and 36 from the Wilks family episode. Figure 35 is a harmless illustration of an apparent country doctor accusing the King of being an imposter, and the subtle humor arises out of the fact that the doctor is right but the daughters don't believe him. Instead, they give the King the six-thousand dollars to invest for them, and the tension of the moment is turned to humor through their naiveté. Though the illustration of the doctor is clearly finger pointing, his hand also

takes the shape of a gun pointed at, probably, the King, but Twain reduces the episode to harmless humor because the honest doctor is merely trying to protect two apparently foolish girls.

Figure 36 from Chapter XXVII, is an illustration of an undertaker yelling to everyone that he just smacked a barking dog because "He Had a Rat." The text describes the undertaker as a very quiet man who softly "glided" about the room, but that silence is broken by the yelp of the dog he smacked and his announcement to everyone at the funeral, "He Had a Rat." Twain's contradictory description of a gliding undertaker who yells during a funeral creates humor in the situation, and the illustration emphasizes that humor by showing him blurting out what the dog was busy with during the sleepy service. Both Figures 35 and 36 illustrate particularly humorous situations from the text, and they are humorous because of the added emphasis provided by the illustrations. Though Gilder selected illustrations of occasions that could have actually occurred, neither of them are situations a genteel reader would ever expect to experience, so their inclusion provides examples of what Gilder knew his readers would enjoy because both are humorous without the possibility of being considered too real to be offensive.

Figure 36. "He Had A Rat."

Additionally, Gilder cut any references to the camp-meeting episode that could be considered even remotely offensive. As Twain wrote in his letter to Webster, "Let's not make any pictures of the campmeeting. The subject won't *bear* illustrating."[117] Though Twain sought to edit his novel for the unsophisticated subscription-book buyer, he knew boundaries existed, and Gilder narrowed those boundaries through his additional omissions. From the camp-meeting, Gilder cut the word "naked," the illustration of "The Naked King" (Figure 27), the "last line on the poster advertising the performance, "Ladies and Children Not Admitted"" and the Duke's comment, "If that line don't fetch them, I don't know Arkansas."[118] Gilder's editorial cuts and Twain's concern in his letter to Webster both demonstrate a knowledge of audience, but Twain's audience consisted of the unsophisticated subscription-book buyer and Gilder's the sophisticated, genteel reader. If Twain intended to write his novel for a genteel audience, he could have written a different novel, but instead, he created a humorous story about potentially real Americans in all their filth and crudeness. However, Gilder's "choice of the much more potentially dangerous Duke and King Chapters over the innocuous Tom Sawyer section [does] show not only courage but also critical acumen."[119] Thanks, in part, to Gilder's courage and editorial skills, the published excerpts eventually had a positive influence on the novel's sales, but it proved especially helpful following the negative publicity surrounding the corrupted illustration fiasco.

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[117] Webster, 260.

[118] David, Mark Twain, 197. David asserts, "Gilder's attitudes toward the story and the illustrations were identical to Clemens' in many respects. They both enjoyed broad humor yet remained terribly aware of the sensitivity of their audience's"(197).

[119] Herbert Smith, 134.

Even after the publication of the final excerpt in Century Magazine, Twain did not feel positive about his novel's prospects. Thanks, in part, to the defaced illustration, Twain made his concerns known to Webster in a letter, 10 February 1885:

> I am not able to see that anything can save Huck Finn from being another defeat, unless you are expecting to do it by tumbling books into the trade, & and I suppose you are not calculating upon any sale there worth speaking of, since you are not binding much of an edition of the book.
>
> As to notices, I suggest this plan: Send immediately, copies (bound & unbound) to the Evening Post, Sun, World, & the Nation; the Hartford Courant, Post & Times; & the principle Boston dailies; Baltimore American....
>
> Keep a sharp lookout, & if the general tone of the resulting notices is *favorable*, then send out your 300 press copies over the land, for that may *possibly* float a further canvas & at least create a bookstore demand....[120]

Twain's pessimism proved misplaced, but his strategy of sending out advance copies for review and Gilder's published excerpts would eventually pay off. Webster's optimism never faded however, and it proved correct shortly after the novel's release.

Though Mark Twain's Adventures of Huckleberry Finn first appeared in excerpts in Century Magazine, it did not appear in its entirety in both England and the United

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[120] Webster, 300.

States until February 1885. Webster gave one of the first cloth-bound copies of the book to his father on 10 December 1884, and he wrote inside:

> A Merry Christmas to Luther Webster. From his son, the publisher of the book....This book is one of three cloth copies first bound, and at this date there are but ten copies of the book in the country, as the first edition of 30,000 volumes will not be issued until Feby 16th next. Chas. L. Webster, Publisher.[121]

By giving his father an advance copy of the novel, Webster felt proud of his accomplishment, and his continued optimism proved well placed because Twain's new novel affirmed his success as an author. Though Gilder publicity deserves much of the credit for increased sales (sales increased from forty-thousand at the time of printing in December 1884, to more than fifty-thousand shortly after being turned over to subscription agents in February 1885), the remainder can be attributed to the reviews and additional publicity the novel received following its release.[122]

However, Kemble proved the first to benefit from the novel's publication because the published excerpts advertised his illustrations, and that publicity had a lasting effect on his career. In the first review, 31 January 1885, by Brander Matthews for the Saturday Review, Kemble's illustrations received critical attention:

> Nor have we left ourselves room to do more than say a good word for the illustrations, which, although slight and unpretending, are far better than

[121] Webster, 303-304.

[122] Paine, 793.

> those to be found in most of Mark Twain's books. For one thing, they actually illustrate—and this is a rare quality in illustrations nowadays. They give the reader a distinct idea of the Duke and the King, of Jim and of Colonel Sherburn, of the Shepherdsons and the Grangerfords. They are all by one artist, Mr. E. W. Kemble, hitherto known to us only as the illustrator of the *Thompson Street Poker Club*, an amusing romance of highly-colored life in New York.[123]

Matthews' praise in Kemble's skill as an artist is also a direct reflection of Twain's editorial skills in publishing his own novel. Twain knew the illustrations were the only means for providing readers with an idea of what characters looked like when writing and editing his work, so they were an important aspect of his editorial decisions when scrutinizing illustrations. While Kemble struggled with illustrating a novel written entirely in the first person, Twain finally decided which illustrations best fit his idea of his characters. The result is a novel in which the reader sees what the author intended (in most cases), and that is entirely due to Twain's editorial decisions.

Those decisions made Kemble a success because his skill as an artist began receiving recognition. Gilder recognized Kemble's talent, and in gratitude he wrote Twain:

> We are not only indebted to you for your good chapter for our next number, but are profoundly indebted to you for unearthing a gem of an artist for us. As soon as we saw Kemble's pictures in your proofs, we recognized the fact that that was a find for us, & so we went for him and

[123] Fredrick Anderson, 125.

we've got him. He is going to New Orleans for us to illustrate a long article of Cable's.[124]

Kemble's career began in earnest, and many years later he described this early period in his career for The Colophon:

> Negro Jim, drawn from a white school, with face unblackened, started something in my artistic career...My coons caught the public fancy. The Century then engaged me to work exclusively for their magazine...I was established as a delineator of the South, the Negro being my specialty, and, as I have mentioned, I had never been South at all.[125]

Kemble's success as a "delineator of the South" led to his eventually illustrating several of his own published works as well of those of prominent authors.[126] As for never having been South, Kemble illustrated characters the best he could given his lack of experience, so he used what he had learned from the popular press. This resulted in Jim presented as a comical caricature in the illustrations because Kemble knew no other way to deal with him, but the King is comical because Twain created him that way in the text.

After Kemble's career began, Twain also began feeling more like a success. By 16 March 1885, (just one month after his pessimistic letter to Webster), Twain knew of his novel's success. In a letter to Webster, Twain wrote,

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[124] Herbert Smith, 134.

[125] Kemble, "Illustrating" n.p.

[126] A few of examples of E. W. Kemble's work include S. L. Clemens' Mark Twain's Library of Humor, 1888; illustrations for the reissued Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin 1892; Kemble's Kemble's Coons: Drawings of Colored Children and Southern Scenes 1896; Kemble's The Blackberries and Their

"Your News is Splendid. Huck certainly *is* a success, & from the standpoint of my own requirement."[127] The remainder of Twain's letter remains genuinely optimistic about Webster and Company's next publication, General Grant's Memoirs, published after his death in 1885, but he also met his "own requirement," and that "requirement" was always success.

In 1867, Twain desired fame and fortune, and they are the reasons he accepted Elisha Bliss' offer and wrote his first novel, and in 1884, they are why he began Webster and Company to edit and publish his novel himself. As reviews began to appear, his confidence in his latest work increased, but W. D. Howells' did not provide a review because he lacked a forum in which to provide his public support for his friend's most recent accomplishment.[128] However, many other reviewers did begin voicing their opinions, and while the majority of them were generally positive and praised the novel and author as being "true to life," or "Mark Twain is a humorist or nothing," the Concord Public Library came out with its own public review in March: It read, "If Mr. Clemens cannot think of something better to tell our pure minded lads and lasses...he had best stop writing for them."[129] This portion of a decidedly negative review by Mrs. Louisa May Alcott, "with the moral weight of a lifetime of well-loved books behind every word," instigated a firestorm of reviews and critical responses that continues

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Adventures 1897; Kemble's Comical Coons 1898; Kemble's Kemble's Pickaninnies 1901; Ruth Stuart's Plantation Songs and Other Verse 1916; John C. McNeill's Lyrics From Cotton Land c1922.

[127] Webster, 307.

[128] David, Mark Twain, 210.

[129] Fredrick Anderson, 125-26.

today. When Twain heard about the Concord Public Library's decision to ban his novel from their shelves, he responded in a letter to Webster on 18 March 1885:

> The Committee of the Public Library of Concord, Mass., have given us a rattling tip-top puff which will go into every paper in the country. They have expelled Huck from their library as "trash and suitable only for the slums." That will sell 25,000 copies for us sure.[130]

Twain's enthusiastic response to Concord's decision to ban happened only because it directly influenced sales, and his response confirms he was as much a businessman as an author, he wanted to be successful, and the banning of his book meant everyone wanted to buy and read it. As for Concord's problems with the new novel, they concluded it "the veriest trash....characterizing it as rough, course, and inelegant," and essentially unfit for genteel readers.[131] Nevertheless, sales increased from "forty-two thousand copies by March 18, [to] fifty-one thousand by May 6---and there was every indication that it would never stop."[132]

If not for Mrs. Alcott's public condemnation arousing publicity, sales would probably not of increased as fast as they did; however, Mark Twain, E. W. Kemble and Webster and Company, Publishers were immediately successful following the publication of Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. That success happened because of sales, but Twain's attempt to use the illustrations to emphasize comedy and nullify violence failed to impress the genteel audience of the nineteenth century. It failed because Twain did not edit his novel for genteel readers as Gilder did for Century Magazine. The text and

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[130] Kaplan, 268-69.

[131] Fredrick Anderson, 8.

illustrations Gilder published were edited selections of text and either portraits or caricatures because the combination of Twain's text and Kemble's illustrations made some scenes too explicit for Gilder's genteel readers. The difference lies in audience. Twain wrote for the unsophisticated subscription-book buyer that required numerous illustrations to assist in interpreting the text. However, Gilder's sophisticated genteel readers did not rely on illustrations to assist them in interpreting the text, so when they looked beyond the illustrations they discovered, like Mrs. Alcott, a graphic and violent story about the antebellum South. A story about a young boy, foolish slave, a drunken Pap, con-men and violence, and no amount of comical or sterile illustrating could alter the genteel reader's moral condemnation. However, sales did increase, and they did because the largest segment of the population consisted of unsophisticated subscription-book readers who were curious to read and see what the genteel reader condemned.

As for the production process affecting the final form of the novel, Twain did not overcome his earlier problems with Elisha Bliss and American Publishing Company by beginning his own company. Instead, Webster dealt with several problems: Twain's proofreading fiasco; the illustrations traveling from Kemble to Twain and back again; the delays in the prospectus because of the bust; the subscription-book agents; the arrangements with Gilder to publish excerpts in Century Magazine; the indecent illustration and its replacement. Webster oversaw the entire production process, but in the end, Twain is entirely responsible for the novel's final form. Whether the illustrations follow from the text and compliment it or not, Twain is solely responsible for all proofreading decisions, his novel's final form and all accompanying interpretations.

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[132] David, Mark Twain, 202.

The most recent and often discussed interpretation charges Twain, Kemble and the novel with racism, however, Twain did not seek to alter national racial attitudes through the illustrations of Jim while editing and readers did not complain of racism at the time of publication. Whether white or black, Twain used the illustrations to expand his novel's marketability during editing, and whether morally right or wrong, Twain's editing of illustrations during production proves fair concerning black or white characters because of his narrow focus on comedy or the nullification of violence. Even when calling for alterations to illustrations or editing captions or titles, Twain's complaints or changes were based on better looking characters or adding to the humor of his story. The final form of the novel reflects this combination of pleasing and sterile illustrations alongside a graphic and comical text.

For example, when the text describes a drunk and dangerous Pap but the reader sees a foolish illustration of him, the editor's intent with the illustration to make Pap appear comical overrules the danger described by the author. Or, when the text describes Jim wanting to hide or sleep in the cave but the reader sees a caricature of a fearful Jim ready to run, the editor's intent to maintain comedy overrules the author's to humanize a slave. Or, when the text describes a Huck who is a ragged tramp of a boy but the editor chooses to illustrate a good-looking boy from down the street, the editor's intent to improve his appearance overrules the author's to stay true to his story. Each of these, and other, editorial decisions proved more important to expanding marketability than the author's in remaining true to his story, so each alters the final form of the novel to create an appealing product for an easily offended audience. As a result of Twain's concerns over audience appeal and marketability during editing, A.H. demonstrates both conflict

and complement between Kemble's illustrations and Twain's story in the novel's final form. In doing so, Twain proves his ability as an author capable of writing a funny and interesting story, but only through an examination of the production process and Twain's editorial decisions with the illustrations is his intent to entertain the reader revealed.

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Appendix A

Figure A. "Aut Circum Aut Panem"

Figure B. "All in a Nut Shell"

Figure C. "The Funeral in Mokeville

Figure A. By E. W. Kemble. From Life 13 September 1883.

Figure B. by E. W. Kemble. From Life 3 April 1884.

Figure C. by E. W. Kemble. From Life 1 May 1884.

Appendix B

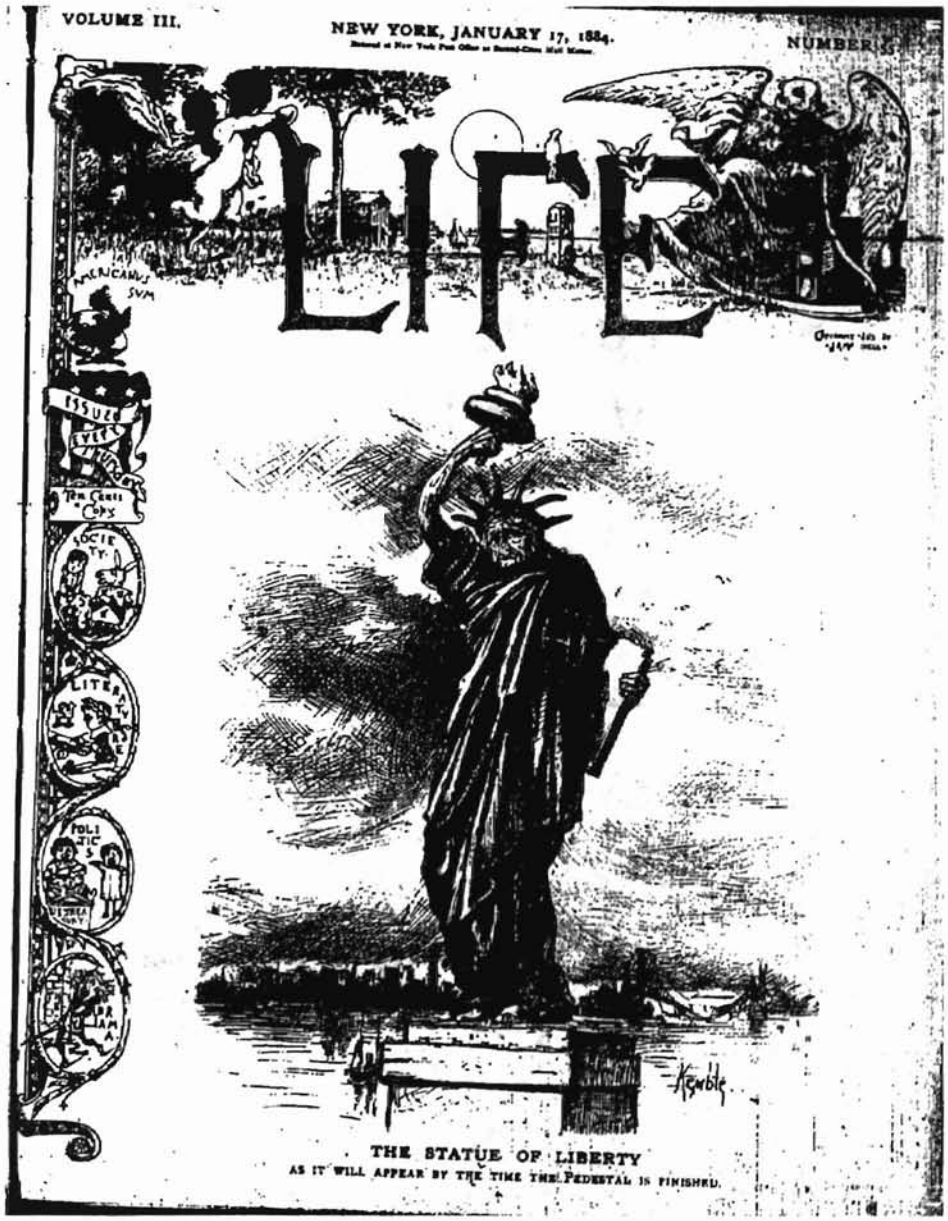

Figure A "Kemble's Statue of Liberty"

Figure A. By E. W. Kemble. From Life 17 January 1884. The caption at the bottom reads, "As it will appear by the time the pedestal is finished:" Evidently progress on the pedestal was too slow, so Kemble is satirizing the work being done.

Appendix C

Figure A. "Bravo"

Figure A. By E. W. Kemble. From Life 17 April 1884. The caption at the bottom reads, "Mr. Roosevelt Gets in Some Fine Work on The Deadly Upas:" An example of Kemble illustrating political satire.

Appendix D

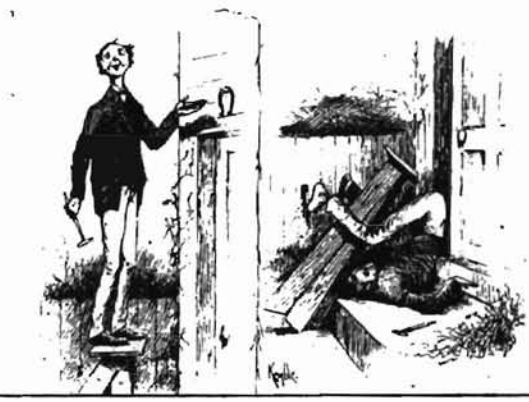

Figure A. "Comical Action by Kemble"

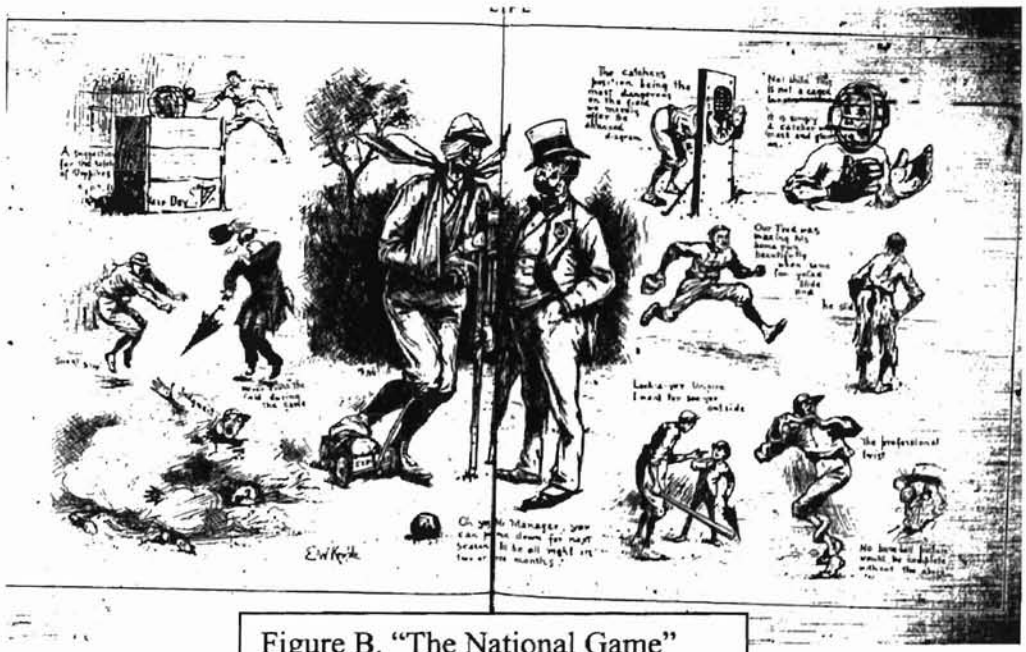

Figure B. "The National Game"

Figure A. By E. W. Kemble. From Life 31 January 1884. Very similar in slap-stick, comical action to the illustration "Some Uses for Electricity." The line beneath the left frame reads, "'I believe in the horse-shoe theory' says Boggs, 'Everything seems to go better; Business seems brighter, You're much happier." The line under the right frame reads, "But a sudden lurch of the step-ladder some-what modified his views on the subject."

Figure B. By E. W. Kemble. From Life 28 August 1884. Kemble combines action with comedy in a more detailed illustration completed about the time he finished working for Twain.

Appendix E

Figure A. "Solid Comfort."

Figure B. "Shooting the Pig."

Figure C. "Discovering the Camp Fire."

Figure A. A.H., 46. Huck's smile in this illustration is similar to that in the frontispiece.

Figure B. A.H., 56. This Huck more closely resembles the one in Figure C than the one in Figure A in age. However, the Huck in Figure C appears younger than in any previous illustrations.

Figure C. A.H., 64.

Appendix F

Figure A. Cover Illustration From the "Centennial Facsimile Edition" of A.H..

Figure B. Kemble's Frontispiece Illustration Submitted for the 1899, Edition of A.H.: This Illustration was Never Published.

Figure A. "Frontispiece"

Figure B: By E. W. Kemble. In the context of racism, Kelly Anspaugh refers to Kemble's redrawn Frontispiece for the 1899, autographed edition of A.H. as a "transvestite Aunt Jemima" that proves Twain was "ambivalent" on the "nigger question"(23).

Appendix G

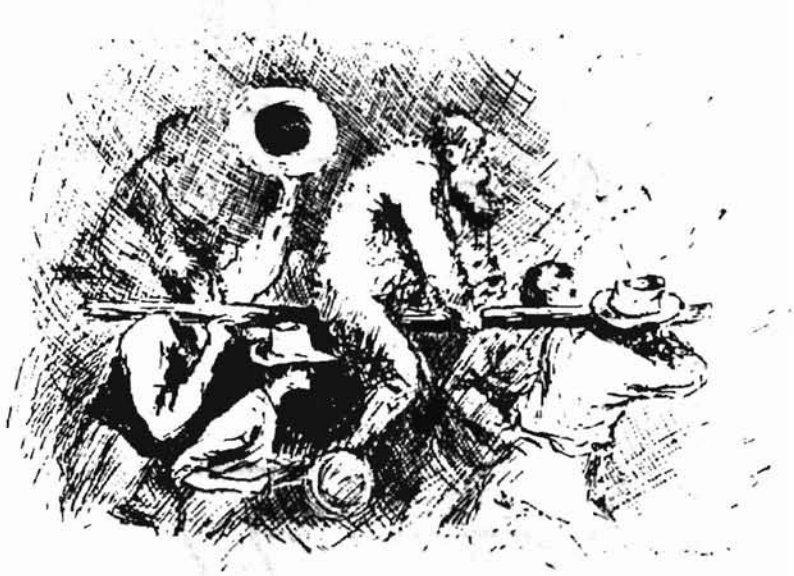

Figure A. "'Traveling By Rail'"

Figure A. A.H., 291. Comedy and action are combined in an illustration of the King.

Appendix H

Figure A. "'Please Don't, Bill'"

Figure B. "'It Ain't Good Morals'"

Figure A. A.H., 98.

Figure B. A.H., 100.

Appendix I

Figure A. "'Jim Lit Out'"

Figure A. A.H., 260. Another example of Jim wearing a dress.

VITA

Darwin Pagnac

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: ILLUSTRATING MARK TWAIN'S SUBSCRIPTION-BOOK: EDITING FOR COMEDY AND SUBVERSION DURING THE PRODUCTION AND MARKETING OF ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN.

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