Southern Ambivalence: The Relationship of Mark Twain and Joel Chandler Harris

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Southern Ambivalence:
The Relationship of Mark Twain and Joel Chandler Harris

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ABSTRACT

Biographies of Mark Twain and Joel Chandler Harris and studies of their fiction acknowledge that the two authors evidenced mutual respect and similar interests in Southern dialects and folklore. Scholars point out that, despite their antithetical temperaments, Twain and Harris met, corresponded, and wrote about each other.

Beyond this superficial level, however, lies their largely unexamined literary relationship in which similar responses by each author to the South can be found. Corroborated by their analogous backgrounds and their friendship, the literary relationship of Twain and Harris serves as a case study of the ambivalences and identifications which characterize much of what would become known as "Southern" writing.

Feeling compelled to literarily revive the South they remembered, both authors rendered the region with a paradoxical mixture of humor, nostalgia, pathos, and disillusion. Both Twain and Harris strongly identified with the South's blacks, and both found this identification to be useful in focusing their ambivalent feelings through characters like Aunt Rachel, Uncle Remus, 'Nigger' Jim, and Free Joe. The fiction engendered by these tensions and identifications endures as some of the most poignant and memorable literature of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The relationship of Twain and Harris consisted not only of letters and conversations, but also of shared sensitivities and analogous responses to their "Southerness."
SOUTHERN AMBIVALENCE:
THE RELATIONSHIP OF MARK TWAIN AND JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS
Nearing his seventieth birthday, Mark Twain inscribed a copy of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* for Joel Chandler Harris with the words,

Consider well the proportions of things: it is better to be a young june-bug than an old bird of paradise.

Truly yours,

Mark Twain

In *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, more than in any of his other works, Twain had venerated the romantic South of his boyhood. In *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson*, the source of this inscription, Twain had harshly condemned the hypocritical South of his past. In Harris, like himself more an "old bird of paradise" than a "young june-bug," Twain had found a lifelong friend whose experiences and Southern background uniquely qualified him to "consider well" the proportions of Twain's canon of Southern literature (what Henry Nash Smith called "the matter of Hannibal") from the nostalgia of *Tom Sawyer* to the horrors of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Like Twain's, Harris's writing also had been shaped by ambivalent feelings toward the South. The way in which this shared ambivalence is reflected in their literature has been overlooked in the biographies of the two authors and in studies of the fiction of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Although these studies chronicle the correspondence and meetings between these two contemporaries, they are more apt to dwell upon their differences: Twain was a volatile, histrionic Southern expatriate whose writings reflect deep-rooted ambivalences toward the South and its institutions; Harris, by contrast, was a chronically diffident
local colorist who immortalized the black folklore of the antebellum South. A closer look at their relationship to each other and to the South reveals significant congruities, some of which ultimately found expression in their writings. This essay will explore these literary analogues and parallels to show that, in their shared "Southernness," Twain and Harris had more in common than existing studies have shown.

An entry in Twain's notebook in the fall of 1880 reveals his notice of "Uncle Remus writer of colored yarns." Harris's compilation of tales which had appeared in a number of newspapers in 1879 and 1880, Uncle Remus, His Songs and Sayings, was published in November 1880, and Twain quickly ordered a copy. Impressed by what he read therein, Twain wrote to Harris, initiating a friendship which would flourish for four years, and would last until Harris's death in 1908.

From the time he had joined the staff of the Atlanta Constitution as an editorial paragrapher in 1876, Harris had been a reviewer of current books and periodicals and was, therefore, cognizant of Twain's popularity and stature as a member of the Eastern literary establishment. Although Twain's initial letter has been lost, it may be inferred from Harris's reply that Twain had "pinned a proud feather in Uncle Remus's cap." The Uncle Remus tales had struck a familiar and sentimental chord in Twain's memory of his childhood and he queried Harris about a particular "Ghost Story" he remembered hearing as a child from a slave named Uncle Dan'l.

Harris's prompt reply expressed his sense of being flattered by Twain's notice of his work, but he characteristically denied any literary achievement on his own part:
I am perfectly well aware that my book has no basis of literary art to stand upon; I know it is the matter and not the manner that has attracted public attention and won the consideration of people at the North; I understand that my relations toward Uncle Remus are similar to those that exist between an almanac maker and the calendar.... (LL, p. 168)

Further, Harris confessed his unfamiliarity with the "Ghost Story," but offered to attempt to verify it with some of his folklore sources if Twain would send an outline. Lastly, Harris sought Twain's advice on publishing future work:

I have a number of fables ready to be written up, but I don't want to push the public to the wall by printing them in the magazines without intermission.... Would it be better to bring out a revised edition of Uncle Remus, adding the new matter and issuing the volume as a subscription book? I am puzzled and bothered by it. (LL, p. 169)

This opening exchange of letters illustrates that, from the outset, each author respected the other's talents and experience and sought to benefit by association with them. In a single exchange of letters they established a familiar and unreserved relationship in which neither author seemed reticent about requesting help or advice from the other.

Twain replied to Harris within a week. He apparently sensed that the phenomenal success of Uncle Remus had done little to allay Harris's diffidence. 7 "You can argue yourself into the delusion that the
principle of life is in the [Uncle Remus] stories themselves & not in their setting," Twain chastised, "but you will save labor by stopping with that solitary convert, for he is the only intelligent one you will bag." Taking exception to Harris's "matter over manner" argument, Twain asserted that:

in reality the stories are only alligator pears [avocados]—one merely eats them for the salad-dressing. Uncle Remus is most deftly drawn, & is a lovable and delightful creation; he, & the little boy, & their relations with each other, are bright, fine literature, & worthy to live, for their own sakes; & certainly the stories are not to be credited with them [Twain's emphasis].

(MTUR, p. 10)

Turning to Harris's request for publishing advice, Twain recommended his new publisher, James R. Osgood, and advised Harris that subscription sales through traveling book agents was the most profitable scheme for selling one's books. "Keep the public unsatisfied," he advised, "I wouldn't let them have such generous meals as you have been giving them [in the magazines]" (MTUR, p. 11).

His praise of the "manner" notwithstanding, Twain was no less interested in the "matter" of the Uncle Remus tales. Always alert to new sources of popular material, Twain cannot have failed to notice the popular appeal of Harris's written recollections of antebellum folklore. Harris had requested an outline of the "Ghost Story"; Twain sent a manuscript. Entitled "De Woman wid de Gold'n Arm," and embellished with
crude dialect, it is the story of a corpse that leaves its tomb in search of a grave robber who has stolen its golden arm. Having been impressed by the dialect renderings in the Uncle Remus tales, Twain deferred to Harris's skill: "Of course I tell it in the negro [sic] dialect—that is necessary; but I have not written it so, for I can't spell it in your matchless way. It is marvelous the way you & [George W.] Cable spell the negro and creole dialects" (MTUR, p. 11). Finally, Twain urged, "Work up the atmosphere with your customary skill & it will 'go' in print" (MTUR, p. 12).

This "Ghost Story" turned out to be a boon for both Twain and Harris. By December 1881, Harris had located a Georgian version of the story among his Negro sources. He reported to Twain, "It comes back a little changed. The golden arm has disappeared, and a 'silver sev'mpunce [sevenpence] wat de folks gone en put on de 'oman eyedl for ter keep 'em shot,' has taken its place." Twain was obviously delighted with Harris's version, observing that it threw a new light "upon the negro estimate of values by his willingness to risk his soul & his nightly peace for ever [by grave robbing] for the sake of a silver sev'mpence" (MTUR, p. 14). Harris published his version both in Century Magazine in August 1883 (with a footnote attributing the "Golden Arm" variant of the story to Twain), and as one of the tales in his second book, Nights with Uncle Remus (1883). Heeding Twain's advice, Harris "framed" the story by having it told by 'Tildy, a slave girl. The "Ghost Story" became a regular feature of Twain's 1884-5 and later reading tours. He reportedly alternated telling his "Golden Arm" and Harris's "Stolen Coins" versions in these lecture programs, probably to keep the surprise climaxes as "fresh" as possible.
Twain also published his version as one of the instructional examples in his essay "How to Tell a Story," which first appeared in 1895 in *Youth's Companion Magazine*.

Twain's and Harris's "collaboration" on this story serves as a paradigm of the interaction of needs and abilities that fueled the active phase of their relationship between 1881 and 1885. The Uncle Remus tales had recalled to Twain not only the stories, but also the story-telling sessions of his own boyhood in the antebellum South. Further, the authenticity of dialect and character in the tales impressed Twain, who, by 1881, had not visited the South in twenty years. Although he had written about various aspects of the South as he remembered them in *The Gilded Age*, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, and "Old Times on the Mississippi," he was, by his own admission, struggling in his efforts to render accurately the vernacular speech of the region in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. The shared interest in the "Ghost Story" showed that Harris could provide Twain, a Southern expatriate, with masterful, imitable examples of black dialect and character.

Similarly, Twain had responded to Harris's implicit need for encouragement by praising his acumen in handling dialect and his accuracy. Twain wrote that Harris's variant, "seems nearer the true field-hand standard than that achieved by my Florida, Mo., negroes with their sumptuous arm of solid gold" (*MTUR*, p. 14). He also reiterated an earlier request that Harris visit him in Hartford. Uncertain of the literary value of the Uncle Remus tales, Harris received a boost from Twain's praise and encouragement.

The immediate effect of this encouragement was its contribution to Harris's achievement of a long-standing, personal goal—the publishing
of "original" (non-Uncle Remus) fiction. Since as early as 1867 Harris had wanted to compose original, serious fiction, but his insecurities about his ability, the exigencies of newspaper work, and growing family responsibilities, had hindered any efforts beyond the kind of late-night compositions represented by the short Uncle Remus tales. Harris saw in Twain's successes proof that a Southerner and a humorist with a journalistic background, like himself, could gain access to the seemingly forbidding sanctums of the Eastern literary establishment. In the same letter in which he had forwarded the variant "Ghost Story," Harris masked his awe of the Eastern literati in humorous musing about Twain's recent articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*:

> I have often pictured to myself the astonishment of the Boston maidens when they turned from one of Miss Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's essays on "The Comity of Sensibility," or "Color as a Transgression" to the deep toned hilarity of one of your sketches. Was it on this account that Mr. Howells retired to amuse himself with overwork?^{14}

His "enjoyment" of the effect of Twain's writing on the Northern readers reflects, vicariously, Harris's concern for how his own stories would be received by the public. His literary ambitions having been bolstered by Twain's examples and encouragement, Harris mentioned that he had "in mind a story of slave-life in the South which [he] would be glad to have [Osgood] publish."^{15}

Twain apparently perceived this statement to be a subtle request on his friend's part as evidenced by his reply eight days later in which
he reported to Harris, "you must not take it ill if I drop Osgood a hint about your proposed story of slave life..." (MTUR, p. 15). The story, "Mingo, A Sketch of Life in Middle Georgia," is set in the same geographical setting as the Uncle Remus tales and employs a Negro protagonist, but it is an original piece of "serious" short fiction which relied for its genesis not on remembered folk tales, but solely on Harris's creative abilities. As such, it represented Harris's first legitimate testing-of-the-waters as a short-fiction writer. Whether Twain's intercession with Osgood took place is unknown, but Osgood did respond favorably to "Mingo," publishing it as the title piece of Harris's first volume of non-Uncle Remus fiction in 1884. Although Twain's part in this success should not be overstated, he had provided Harris with an important contact in Osgood and, more significantly, had given Harris encouragement at a critical juncture in his literary development.

Always a pragmatist, Twain also wanted to capitalize on the fact that his new-found friend was the chief reviewer of current books and periodicals for the increasingly prestigious Atlanta Constitution. In the same letter in which he had hinted he was going to "plug" Harris's story with Osgood, Twain noted that he was sending Harris his "new book," The Prince and the Pauper. Two weeks later Harris gave Twain's book a favorable review in the Constitution in which he observed that Twain's writing had undergone a significant transformation:

In "The Prince and the Pauper,"...[Twain] has made a wide departure from his old methods--so much so that the contrast presents a phase of literary
development unique in its proportions and suggestions. The wild western burlesquer, the builder of elephantine exaggerations and comicalities has disappeared, and in his stead we have the true literary artist. 17

Again, Harris's identification with Twain's success underlies his laudatory comments. Harris wanted to make the transition from humor—Appleton had listed *Uncle Remus* as a humorous publication—to "truly literary" fiction. In this endeavor there was no more popular or accessible mentor for Harris than Twain, as Harris's reaction to a proposed joint lecture-tour with Twain reveals.

In his intermittent effort to complete *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (underway since 1876), Twain decided that a Southern excursion by way of the Mississippi River would help revive his capacity to render Southern character and dialect. He had appealed to Harris twice to visit Hartford, but the two had yet to meet face-to-face. Twain's friend and traveling companion, Rev. Joseph Twichell (coincidentally called "Harris" in *A Tramp Abroad*), visited Harris in Atlanta during a trip to the South in the Spring of 1882. Twichell conveyed a proposal for a tour of public readings in which Harris and Twain would share the podium. Harris declined, citing his "constitutional diffidence," but Twain responded quickly, making a conscious effort to encourage the scheme and to effect a meeting between the two. "Twichell said you didn't believe you would ever be able to muster a sufficiency of reckless daring to make you comfortable & at ease before an audience," Twain observed. "Well," he added, "I have thought out a device whereby I believe we can get around that difficulty" (*MTUR*, p. 16). He invited Harris to meet with him and Osgood in New Orleans in early May. The
positive effect of Twain's invitation and confidence is evident in the words of Harris's reply:

Your project is immensely flattering to me, and I am grateful to you for even connecting me with it in your mind. I appreciate the fact that, if successfully carried out, it would be the making of me in more ways than one. It would enable me, for one thing, to drop this grinding newspaper business and write some books I have in my mind. (LL, p. 171)

Twain had succeeded in eliciting an uncharacteristically ambitious response from the chronically modest Harris, and the two finally met in New Orleans on April 30, 1882. The inclusion of Cable and Osgood in their party ensured that Twain could absorb the Southern dialect expertise of two acknowledged masters and that Harris could meet with, and be encouraged by, his future publisher, Osgood, and his new-found literary confidant, Twain.

Twain's desire to renew his acquaintance with Southern "types" first hand may explain their itinerary in New Orleans, for on the day Harris arrived—a Sunday—the group attended Cable's Presbyterian church and one of the city's leading black churches. On Monday they visited Cable's home and, as Twain reported in his description of the incident in Life on the Mississippi, neither he nor Cable was able to coax Harris into reading an Uncle Remus story to a gathering of children. Twain and Cable read from their own works in an effort to show how easy it was but, as Twain lamented, Harris's "immortal shyness was proof against even this sagacious strategy; so we had to read about Brer
Rabbit ourselves." Whether Twain's reading of Harris's material was the "device" to overcome diffidence that he had mentioned in his letter is unclear, but this episode convinced him of the futility of the lecture-tour scheme. He had bolstered Harris's confidence as a writer, but Twain realized that he would not be able to encourage Harris onto the speaker's platform, no matter how profitable or beneficial the foreseeable result.

A scheme which would have strengthened their friendship and mutual influence had come to naught, but the needs which had characterized the relationship to this point continued to exist. The two sustained their correspondence and, at Twain's insistence, Harris finally visited Hartford the following Spring (1883). In his Autobiography Twain recalled this visit, remembering especially the impression Harris made on his daughters. They "knew [Harris's] book by heart," Twain noted, "through my nightly declamations of its tales to them." Acknowledged familiarity with Uncle Remus's tales would be one of the ways in which Harris's influence would continue to be evident in Twain's writing, even though after this meeting the two never met again and exchanged only one additional set of letters.

The furor over the publication of Adventures of Huckleberry Finn in the winter of 1884-5 brought this final exchange of letters between Twain and Harris. The initial reaction to the novel had been largely negative. As Justin Kaplan explains in Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain, the book "seemed to offer its author-publisher a scarifying lesson in bad luck, bad planning, bad timing, entrenched orthodoxy and public humiliation." The critical reactions, Kaplan observes, consisted of either profound silence or vociferous condemnation. In November
1885 Harris chose to use a requested contribution to the *Critic*’s "Mark Twain's Semi-Centennial" Issue as a forum in which to express his views on *Huckleberry Finn*. "I know that some of the professional critics will not agree with me," Harris averred,

but there is not in our fictive literature a more wholesome book than "*Huckleberry Finn*." It is history, it is romance, it is life. Here we behold human character stripped of all tiresome details; we see people growing and living; we laugh at their humor, share their griefs; and in the midst of it all, behold we are taught the lesson of honesty, justice, and mercy.  

Twain's and Harris's epistolary discussion of "matter and manner" in literature from four years earlier had resurfaced. Now Harris maintained that Twain's artistic manner, his finding universal themes in ostensibly "low" subject matter, was the essence of the value and genius of *Huckleberry Finn*, and he took exception to the critics who saw it differently. Frederick Anderson and the other distinguished editors of *Selected Mark Twain-Howells Letters, 1872-1910*, have labelled Harris's letter "the most enthusiastic published contemporary comment on *Huckleberry Finn*." Appreciation for such uncharacteristic outspokenness on Harris's part moved Twain to write "*Uncle Remus*" on November 29, 1884:

I thank you cordially; and particularly for the good word about Huck, that abused child of mine who has
had so much unfair mud flung at him, & it's a great refreshment to my faith to have a man back me up who has been where such boys live, & knows what he is talking about. (MTUR, p. 20)

Although both authors lived for more than twenty years after 1885, there exists no record of further personal correspondence between the two. Their interests and temperaments, which had been in harmony between 1881 and 1885, diverged amicably but irrevocably after this time: Twain was compelled to wander while Harris became increasingly attached to his Atlanta home and his family; Twain thrived in the literary and social spotlight, Harris was uneasy there; Twain grew bitter in his later years, Harris remained optimistic; Harris was befriended by Theodore Roosevelt, whom Twain despised. In contrast to many of Twain's other friendships and associations, however, no profound downturn in the relationship ever took place. Neither author lost the respect and admiration of the other. The "Tar baby" story continued to be a regular feature of Twain's lectures and was the only selection by another author that he performed at an 1891 performance at Bryn Mawr, where his daughter Suzy was enrolled. Twain also included the "Tar baby" story in his repertoire of readings for his 1895 global lecture tour. Passages taken verbatim from Uncle Remus appear in the texts of such diverse works as A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889), Following the Equator (1897), and "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger" (1902-04). Evidence that Twain remained interested in Harris's literary career is seen in his successful nomination of Harris for membership in the prestigious American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1905.
Ultimately, the personal relationship of the two authors reflects their larger literary relationship. As the abiding mutual admiration and respect of their first letters and meetings suggests, the two were kindred spirits. They not only produced works which directly influenced each other's writings, they also brought to the relationship similar backgrounds and experiences which engendered analogous literature. Their backgrounds, especially their childhood experiences in the ante-bellum South, instilled in each author similarly ambivalent feelings. These ambivalent feelings lay dormant during the years Twain and Harris strove to establish themselves, but their attaining success as journalists and humorists, and their becoming married and settled, allowed both authors to turn their creative efforts toward reconstructing their Southern pasts in literature. The results of this reconstruction evince similar incongruities in their mixture of humor, nostalgia, pathos, and disillusion. Despite their ambivalent feelings, Twain and Harris shared a consistent interest in the characters, dialects, and humor of the common folk of the South. Their attempts to look back in time were, significantly, looks into their own minds, and the tensions each found produced some of the most authentic Southern characters and realistic themes in the fiction of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The roads the two authors had taken to get to their first meeting in 1881 covered similar terrain. Although Hannibal, Missouri, and Eatonton, Georgia, were physically and demographically disparate locales, the childhood experiences of Twain and Harris reveal several parallels which are evident in their literature. Their respective home towns were, at times, remembered by each author as idyllic child's
paradises where the kinds of boyish adventures Twain chronicled in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), and Harris recalled in sections of his "fictional" autobiography, *On the Plantation* (1892), took place in stable and happy environments. Both Twain and Harris would depict their nostalgic memories of such antebellum "Arcadias," frequently through the use of children characters. Even the fondest memories, however, could not prevent some disturbing personal and social conditions from becoming an undeniable, if often unconscious, part of these remembrances.

The paternal circumstances of both authors' early years were one aspect of their pasts which were clearly not idyllic. An illegitimate child, Harris was abandoned by his father at the time of his birth in 1848. Samuel Clemens was eleven when his father, John Marshall Clemens, died. The suggestion that at least a part of Clemens's and Harris's need for surrogate fathers was met by benevolent, older black men, like Twain's "Uncle Dan'l" and Harris's "Old Harbert" and "Uncle George Terrell," is reinforced by situations in *Huckleberry Finn* and *Uncle Remus* in which affectionate, paternal black men befriend, protect, and educate white youths. Furthermore, in these works, as well as in *Tom Sawyer* and *On the Plantation*, the natural fathers of the protagonists are portrayed as unsuitable like Pap Finn, stilted and distant like "Mars John" (the little boy's father in the Uncle Remus tales), or conspicuously absent from the plot altogether like the fathers of Tom Sawyer and Joe Maxwell (Harris's persona in *On the Plantation*).

A second blemish on the nostalgic memories of childhood that found expression in the later literature of each author was what Twain called the "aristocratic taint" on the antebellum South. The humble circumstances of Harris's birth excluded him from even the pretensions of
Southern gentility, but his acceptance, at age thirteen, of an apprenticeship as a printer's devil at Joseph Addison Turner's Plantation near Eatonton allowed Harris to see firsthand a paradigm of plantation culture. Both The Countryman newspaper on which Harris worked and "Turnwold" where he lived reflected Turner's literary and political sectionalism and devotion to the ideals of antebellum Southern society. Thus Harris became exposed to, but never bore the stamp of, Southern gentility; he was close enough to absorb the culture, but removed enough to see its faults and pretensions. The Clemens family claimed to be aristocratic by virtue of lineage from the First Families of Virginia, land holdings in Tennessee, and the occasional ownership or rental of slaves, but Twain came to realize that for his family, like many others in the antebellum South, gentility was a pretentious sham.

As an implicit reaction to society's pretensions and in addition to the search for paternal affection, both Twain and Harris seemed to have formed in their boyhoods what Louis D. Rubin calls an "instinctive identification" with blacks which would, in time, differentiate their literature "from anything else in local-color fiction." This identification embodied an enigmatic tangle of emotions: sympathy for blacks' underprivileged, underdog status; affection, even reverence, stemming from childhood associations with blacks; fears of racial revenge; insecurity over their own paternal situations; and guilt over the mistreatment of blacks by white society. Jay B. Hubbell, in The South in American Literature, suggests that Harris's humble background enabled him to understand and identify with Negro slaves and to be understood by them. In the highly class-conscious antebellum South Harris found, as Huck Finn would with 'Nigger' Jim, kinship and identification with
the "lowest" and most humble of society's castes. Twain's memory echoed a similar sentiment, both toward blacks and toward the society which maintained the institution of slavery. "I was playmate to all the niggers," Twain recalled,

preferring their society to that of the elect, I being a person of low-down tastes from the start, notwithstanding my high birth; and ever ready to forsake the communion of high souls if I could strike anything nearer my grade.  

Twain and Harris exhibited remarkably similar incongruities in their memories of slavery. In some unfocused recollections both authors maintained that, in their experiences, the institution of slavery had been generally benevolent. Arthur G. Pettit's study, *Mark Twain and the South*, suggests that Twain "had trouble remembering whether slavery was brutal or benevolent." Harris, likewise remembered that, though "the possibilities of slavery anywhere and everywhere are shocking to the imagination...the realities, under the best and happiest conditions, possess a romantic beauty and a tenderness all their own." He added, "in some of its aspects [slavery] was far more beautiful and inspiring than any of the relations that we now have between employers and the employed in this day and time."

Although the institution of slavery could, on occasion, escape condemnation by Twain and Harris, their observations of the practices of slavery ensured that its troubling aspects would endure eventually to find their way into their literature. For both authors specific scenes from boyhood became a kind of emotional baggage to be carried in
the mind until the catharsis of literary creation would permit unload­
ing. These graphic memories often contrasted with their fond recol­
lections of childhood in antebellum society. During his boyhood in
Eatonton, for example, Harris had known a pathetic freed slave whose
humble cave was a familiar local landmark. Harris's memory of "Free
Joe" provided both the title and substance for his most frequently
anthologized local-color story, "Free Joe and the Rest of the World"
(1884). Similarly, Twain had not forgotten an incident in 1847 in
which a runaway slave was aided for weeks by a poor-white boy from
Hannibal. Modified, since the slave was actually hunted down, drowned,
and mutilated, this episode became a source for Huck Finn's and 'Nigger'
Jim's fictional relationship.

Although such memories would become catalysts to fictional re­
creations of the South by Twain and Harris, they apparently had little
effect on the earliest writings of the two authors. Twain and Harris,
like Whitman and Howells, became journalists by way of the print shop
before becoming men of letters. Like Twain, Harris struck his earliest
successes in the vein of humorous journalism, a medium which, under the
influence of the Southwestern humorists, commonly made use of racial
stereotypes and slurs to evoke humor. Twain, for example, noted in a
newspaper account that the blacks of Key West smelled so bad that lost
ships at sea need only get their bearings from Key West's redolent
"nigger quarter." Other articles by Twain dealt crudely with miscegena­
tion and even cannibalism. Although Harris did not push the limits
of propriety as far as Twain had, he, nevertheless, resorted to "nigger
humor" in his newspaper accounts in the early 1870s. "A Negro woman is
on trial in Macon for murdering her baby," Harris noted, "This goes to
show that the colored people have no rights in Georgia...they are not
allowed to murder their own children. When will this oppression
cease?" In another overtly insensitive note Harris reported: "A
Lumpkin negro seriously injured his pocketknife recently by undertaking
to stab a colored brother in the head." Thus, both authors appar­
tently suspended both the nostalgia and the disturbing aspects of their
childhood memories while they wrote humorous, sometimes insensitive,
articles for newspapers and magazines.

Although such racial humor from authors who would later depict
with unprecedented pathos the poignant humanity of blacks like 'Nigger'
Jim and Free Joe seems incongruous, an expectation that Twain and
Harris, who were both influenced by the brashness and crudeness of
Southwestern humor, would have rejected racial slurs and jokes out­
right is unrealistic. Further, the extent to which this kind of humor
indicated their sincere attitudes is indeterminate. As Louis Rubin
points out, they wrote "for white audiences...at a time when the black
man was almost universally adjudged less than fully a man," and should
probably be excused for not complying with the standards and sensi­
bilities of today. Nevertheless, it is clear that both Twain and
Harris suspended the close association they had had with blacks in
their youths long enough to permit their writing (and telling) of
crudely insensitive jokes and slurs. This suspension of identification
also served to preclude the kind of sensitive characterization of
blacks which would typify much of their later literature.

For Twain and Harris the 1870s proved to be a time for beginning
to come to terms with their Southern origins. In that decade each
author attained a measure of personal and financial success and, less
by design than circumstance, began to convert the unassimilated ambivalences of his memory of the South into literature. Twain had left the South in 1861 and, except for a brief visit with his mother and sister in St. Louis in 1867, had not returned. Working as a "tramp-journalist," he traveled first to the West, then to New York where he slowly worked his way into literary respectability. By the early 1870s his reputation as a Western humorist was secure, he had married, and he was a fledgling member of the Eastern literary establishment. Harris had not left the South, but in ten years of journalistic wanderings he had worked his way from printer's devil to assistant editor on newspapers from New Orleans to Atlanta. By 1876 Harris was the best-known humorist in Georgia; he had married, and had become an associate editor of the Atlanta Constitution (the forum for Henry Grady's nascent "New South" movement). These successes gave Twain and Harris more personal and financial stability and time for reflection than they had enjoyed in their earlier years as "itinerant" journalists. Further, their detachment from the places where they had been reared enabled each to begin to put his past into perspective and to consider writing about his experiences of the antebellum South.

Their first efforts to write about the South reflect the extent to which the complex emotions that each attached to his antebellum experiences were, as yet, unassimilated. Although the callous insensitivity of their "tramp-journalism" days had disappeared with their reaching professional success and assuming the responsibilities of families, neither author found in his mind concrete images of the South about which to write. Black characters, in particular, remained undeveloped, suggesting that the recalling of their boyhood "identifications"
with blacks was the most difficult aspect of the past to reconstruct.

Within a few days of marrying Olivia Langdon in 1870, Twain wrote his "First, & Oldest & Dearest Friend," Will Bowen, about the rebirth of his nostalgic memories of Hannibal: "The fountains of my great deep are broken up & I have rained reminiscences for four & twenty hours," Twain confessed. "The old life has swept before me like a panorama; the old days have trooped by in their glory again...." Such nostalgia might be expected to produce a work like *Tom Sawyer* (1876), but many of Twain's memories of the past were hardly consistent with this sentiment as evidenced by some of the themes and characters in his intervening works.

Twain's first novel with a Southern setting, *The Gilded Age* (1873), on which he collaborated with Charles Dudley Warner, contains no suggestion that the kind of sentimental recollections he had shared with Will Bowen had any influence on this early effort to recreate a part of the antebellum South he had known. Instead, the darker aspects of Twain's past, the squalor of the filthy poor whites of Obedstown and the desperate business ventures of Silas Hawkins (modeled after John Marshall Clemens), predominate. Uncle Dan'l, an unrealized re-creation of the story-telling slave by that name whom Twain had known as a boy, functions only as a kind of "minstrel show" caricature. Although he is forty years old, Uncle Dan'l and his thirty-year-old wife Aunt Jinny are described as "children (at least in simplicity and broad and comprehensive ignorance)." The appearance of a steamboat churning up-river at night leads Uncle Dan'l to believe that he is in the presence of the Almighty's "charyot o' fiah [and] dat some po' sinner's gwyne to ketch it" (*TGA*, p. 36). After the steamboat rounds a bend, Uncle Dan'l denies
that he was frightened, explaining that he ran away "under de influence ob de sperit" (TGA, p. 37). A second steamboat convinces him that, "He [the "Deity"] comin' now like he fo'got sumfin," and Uncle Dan'l again flees to "rastle in prah" in the woods (TGA, pp. 38-39). Even when Twain revived Uncle Dan'l and Aunt Jinny in The American Claimant (1892), he still cast them as stereotypical "darkies." Sold "down the river" as a result of one of Colonel Sellers's periodic bouts with bankruptcy, the two dutifully return, after emancipation, to their old master. They are old, do almost no work, and argue, especially about religion, "because Dan'l is a Dunker Baptist and Jinny is a Shouting Methodist." 40

Twain's depiction of the South in The Gilded Age shows that his impressions of the region were, as yet, unassimilated. Instead of the sentimental boyhood memories that would characterize Tom Sawyer, Twain emphasizes the squalor and filth of the rural Southerners. In place of powerful characterizations of black characters, Twain provides only "darky" caricatures. Only in his brief description of Ruth Bolton's horror upon viewing a black cadaver during her medical training do we see a suggestion that Twain's memory of the South embodied ambiguous impressions of blacks:

Perhaps it was the waivering light of the candles, perhaps it was only the agony from a death of pain, but the repulsive black face seemed to wear a scowl that said, "Haven't you yet done with the outcast, persecuted black man, but you must now haul him from his grave, and send even your women to dismember his body?" (TGA, p. 176)

This pointed authorial intervention suggests that Twain's memory of his
past contained more than "Uncle Dan'1" stereotypes. He had simply not synthesized these more troublesome glimpses of the past into the kinds of visions which could be exploited in literature.

Another example of the unassimilated literary potential of Twain's association with blacks in his past may be seen in "A True Story" (1874). This poignant account by Aunt Rachel in essence presented itself to Twain, though he was, at the time, apparently uncertain of its literary power. Twain appears in the sketch as Misto C---, an unobtrusive, mildly naive observer who asks the family's cheerful black servant, Aunt Rachel, how she's "lived sixty years and never had any trouble?" Her reply reveals, in graphic, vernacular detail, that she has had many troubles, including seeing her husband and seven children "octioned" off piecemeal. Aunt Rachel's closing comment, "Oh no, Misto C---, I hain't had no trouble. An' no joy!" (SNO, p. 272), works to make her a symbol of the nation's blacks who had endured the cruelties of slavery and continued to be misunderstood and stereotyped in postbellum America. The sketch is one of Twain's most vivid and realistic renderings of the kind of pathos he could associate with characters, but Twain had not assimilated his past enough to realize this. His subtitle, "Repeated Word for Word as I Heard It," intimates that he was only reporting the incident objectively. In a letter to Atlantic editor William D. Howells concerning "A True Story" and another sketch he had sent, Twain maintained that he liked the other piece better. "'A True Story'...has no humor in it," Twain remarked, "[and it] is rather out of my line." At this early stage in the journey back to his past Twain could not fully realize the connection between a former slave's tale of suffering and his own memories of childhood and identification with the underdog.
During this period of beginning to come to terms with the South, Twain's memories of childhood could become even abhorrent. In 1876, the same year his most nostalgic novel *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, was published, Twain demonstrated one extreme in the range of ambivalences the past produced in his mind. In another letter to his boyhood friend Will Bowen, to whom he had "waxed nostalgic" about Hannibal six years earlier, Twain insisted,

> As to the past, there is but one good thing about it, & that is, that it is the past—we don't have to use it again. There is nothing in it worth pickling for present or future use. Each day that is added to the past is but an old boot added to a pile of rubbish— I have no tears for my pile, no respect, no reverence, no [illegible deletion] pleasure in taking a rag-picker's hook & exploring it....

Harris's journey toward rediscovery of his past reveals significant similarities to that of Twain. His initial depictions of Uncle Remus in newspaper sketches in 1876 and 1877 are analogous to Twain's early portrayals of Uncle Dan'l. The Uncle Remus in these sketches, like Uncle Dan'l in *The Gilded Age* and *The American Claimant*, is unrealized as a character. In his lack of depth and dimension, he is as different from the Uncle Remus of Harris's later tales as Uncle Dan'l in *The Gilded Age* and little Jim in *Tom Sawyer* are from 'Nigger' Jim in *Huckleberry Finn*. Like the minstrel show characters Twain loved, these early efforts of both authors were only black-faced embodiments of white stereotypes. Harris had suspended his childhood identification with
blacks during his early adult years and, like Twain, found it difficult to recreate in literature the blacks whom he had known in his childhood.

In "Uncle Remus's Politics," one of the earliest appearances of Uncle Remus in the Atlanta Constitution, he is portrayed not as a character in his own right, but as a caricature contrived to fulfill an anecdotal role. Harris depicts Uncle Remus's reaction to a "discussion" of the administrations of Hayes and Grant:

"Well, dey ain't no kin ter me," said Uncle Remus thoughtfully, "an' I ain't oneasy 'bout none uv 'em. Gimme a two-dollar bill, an' I'm in favor uv free guv'ment and red licker right erlong; but w'en I'm a hankerin' arter a dram I kinder disremember w'ich is w'ich an' who is who, an' dar's de d'sease what I got now."44

In one of the first Uncle Remus stories, "Uncle Remus as a Rebel" (1877), Harris stressed the veracity of this account of how Uncle Remus saved his master's life by killing a Union sniper during the Civil War. Harris felt the need to subtitle "Uncle Remus as a Rebel," as Twain had done with "A True Story," with notice that this account was "The Story as Told by Himself." Harris, like Misto C--- in "A True Story," appears only as an auditor whose question about the saving of his master's life allows Uncle Remus to relate the particulars in his own speech and with his own sensibilities. In the conclusion of this story Uncle Remus's thoughts upon seeing the Yankee sniper take aim at his master are described in his own words:
I know'd dat de Yankees wuz gwinter free de niggers, 'caze Ole Miss done tole me so, an' I didn't want ter hurt dis man in de tree. But, boss, w'en I see him lay dat gun' cross a lim' an' settle hisse'f back an' Marse Jeems goin' home ter Ole Miss an' Miss Sally, I disremembered all 'bout freedom, an' I jes' raise up wid de rifle I had an' let de man have all she had.45

By using Uncle Remus as both protagonist and narrator Harris had found the form which would enable the black characters he remembered to achieve fictional verisimilitude, but, like Twain, he did not as yet fully appreciate the potential of this form.

In his revision of "Uncle Remus as a Rebel," for inclusion in his first volume of Uncle Remus tales three years later, Harris showed that he still could not give free reign to Uncle Remus as a character. In the revised version (retitled "A Story of the War" (1880)) Harris is replaced as auditor by Theodosia Huntingdon, a Northern woman, who has come to the South to visit her brother. The brother, wounded in the Civil War, had married into the Southern family that had nursed him back to health and had stayed on the plantation. When Miss Huntingdon asks Uncle Remus if what she has heard about his reputation as a warrior is true, he tells his tale. Harris's depiction of Miss Huntingdon's reaction to Uncle Remus's story, perhaps unconsciously, anticipates the viewpoint of modern readers who see Uncle Remus as a potentially powerful, but misused character. She is "painfully con­scious of the fact...that Uncle Remus spoke from the standpoint of a Southerner, and with an air of one who expected his hearers to
thoroughly sympathize with him. In this version Uncle Remus only
wounds the sniper, who turns out to be Miss Huntingdon's brother.
With these stories, Harris had succeeded in transforming Uncle Remus
from one-dimensional stereotype to complex narrator, but he still
seemed insecure about letting Uncle Remus fill a realistically power­
ful role. In limiting him to the part of loyal retainer, Harris
demonstrated the same kind of insecurity about Uncle Remus that Twain
had confessed feeling about Aunt Rachel.

Harris chose his boyhood home as the setting for his first effort
at writing a novel. Serialized in the Atlanta Weekly Constitution
between April and September 1878, The Romance of Rockville drew on
Harris's childhood memories of life in an isolated, antebellum com­
"munity. Like Twain's rendering of the South in The Gilded Age, Harris's
first novel paints a disturbing picture of Southern society. Although
he asserts at the outset that in order to "write accurately or even
adequately of Rockville, one would have to fall into the idyllic mood,"
the setting and plot of the novel are hardly idyllic. The first hint
of this comes only a few paragraphs into the story when Harris notes
that "the family feuds of the Wards and the Dawsons" periodically
interrupt the pastoral serenity of the community. As the story develops
an old slave, Plato, is introduced; we learn that he has been mutilated
by a cruel overseer (RR, p. 307). Even more unidyllic is the pro­
tagionist Vanderlyn's discovery of a wretched poor-white family in the
woods near Rockville. One of the family members describes their con­
dition to him:

Pap's bin a-lyin' thar more'n a week, an' what he's
et indurin' that time wouldn't more'n make a meal fer a kitten. Ef we wuz a-gwine ter die, mister, we ain't got a bite er bread er meat in the house ner a dust er meal er flour, an' I'm that weak I can sca'cely ketch one breath etter another. Ef it hadn't bin fer 'Cindy Ashfield, we'd 'a'bin dead by this time, pap an' me, an' I wish ter the Lord she'd 'a'let us be. It 'ud all 'a'bin over by now. 'Cindy's lyin' thar er two weeks. I crawled down ter the road this mornin' an' waited hours and hours it 'peared ter me, fer some un ter pass. Ef you got enny wimmen folks, mister, you better git down on your knees in the woods out thar an' ast the Lord ter look etter um better'n He's looked etter us. (RR, p. 324)

Rockville, it seems, has much more in common with Obedstown that it does with St. Petersburg. The central plot concerns the death of an illegitimate child and the return of an orphaned boy to his natural parents, themes which have obvious autobiographical links to the darker side of Harris's boyhood situation.

Twain's and Harris's next major works dealing with the South, The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (1876) and Uncle Remus, His Songs and Sayings (1880) respectively, reveal that nostalgic memories of antebellum days played a large part in shaping their literary efforts to depict the past. Twain states in the preface to Tom Sawyer that he intended to recall an idyllic time:

Although my book is intended mainly for the
entertainment of boys and girls, I hope it will not be shunned by men and women on that account, for part of my plan has been to try to pleasantly re­mind adults of what they once were themselves, and of how they felt and walked and talked, and what queer enterprises they sometimes engaged in. 48

Harris's introduction to Uncle Remus conveys a similar intention for his readers. Noting that his narrator, Uncle Remus, "has nothing but pleasant memories of slavery," Harris asserts,

my purpose has been to preserve the legends in their original simplicity, and to wed them permanently to the quaint dialect...through the medium of which they have become a part of the domestic history of every Southern family; and I have endeavored to give the whole a genuine flavor of the old plantation. 49

In short, Tom Sawyer's St. Petersburg (Hannibal) and Uncle Remus's plantation (Turnwold) were, at least on the surface, idyllic children's paradises, full of adventures, wonders, and entertainments, and free of the cares and fears of the adult world. Although earlier depictions of the South by both authors contained hints that a purely sentimental rendering would ignore other emotions they attached to the region, the nostalgic impulse remained strong enough that both could claim to be providing authentic depictions of the antebellum South they had known. Both works were popular, but the fact that Twain and Harris subsequently
wrote about the South in less sentimental terms indicates that Tom Sawyer and Uncle Remus did not satisfy their authors' desires to re-create in literature the South as they had known it. Subtle suggestions of this dissatisfaction, perhaps unconsciously, found their way into even these most deliberately idealized works.

Despite Twain's intention that Tom Sawyer entertain children and "pleasantly remind" adults of their youth, the novel reflects a less nostalgic side of Twain's boyhood. As Pettit notes, the evils of slavery and the threat of racial revenge, though overwhelmed by "melodrama, romance, and burlesque," are, nonetheless, evident in Twain's idyll. Little Jim, Aunt Polly's "small colored boy," lives in constant fear that "Ole Missis [will] take an' tar de head off'n me" (TS, p. 47). These fears are reinforced when Aunt Polly paddles little Jim with her shoe for dallying to see Tom's sore toe while on his way to fetch water (TS, p. 47). This situation is less innocuous than it first appears when one takes into account that little Jim, a child, is being beaten into permanent servility by an ostensibly Christian woman. Even more unsettling is Injun Joe, whose malevolence is not so much a product of his own evil nature as it is a desperate reaction to society. Because of the onerous stigma of mixed blood, Injun Joe has no place whatsoever in the social structure of St. Petersburg. He has been publicly whipped, "like a nigger" (TS, p. 198), for vagrancy, and embodies, in the eyes of the townsfolk, the ubiquitous threat of racial revenge. Twain wryly uses Injun Joe's starvation to comment on the white citizenry, noting that the attendees at Injun Joe's funeral "brought their children, and all sorts of provisions; and confessed that they had had almost as satisfactory time...as they could have had
at the hanging" (TS, p. 221). The pastoral setting and romantic plot of Tom Sawyer, like the nostalgic impulses of Twain's memory, could not completely efface the underlying tensions engendered by a past in the antebellum South.

Just as Twain invested Tom Sawyer with undercurrents of racial tension through the characters of little Jim and Injun Joe, Harris was no less indirect in his use of allegory in the tales told by Uncle Remus. Although Harris's intentions are debated, there can be little doubt that he realized the implications of Uncle Remus's fables. As he indicated in his introduction to Uncle Remus:

> At least it [the Brer Rabbit "cycle"] is a fable thoroughly characteristic of the Negro; and it needs no scientific investigation to show why he selects as his hero the weakest and most harmless of all animals, and brings him out victorious in contests with the bear, the wolf, and the fox.

> It is not virtue that triumphs, but helplessness; it is not malice, but mischievousness. (CT, p. XXV)

As a device to frame the tales Harris uses a benevolent, paternal Negro storyteller who shares with the impressionable son of "Mars John and Miss Sally" quaint animal fables from Negro folklore. This situation stems from Harris's sentimental memories of slave storytellers he had known in his youth. The tales told within this frame, which Harris took pains to verify as authentic, often reveal a predatory world in which conspicuously "human" animals vie for survival within a facade of pretentious civility. Louis D. Rubin, in an essay on "Southern
Local Color and the Black Man," suggests that Brer Rabbit is very much in the situation of the black man in the South, and that however docile and accommodating Uncle Remus himself may be, the undisguised relish with which he relates to the little white boy the clever triumph of Brer Rabbit in a world where the rules and power are weighted against him is no mere dramatic device.  

In "The Awful Fate of Mr. Wolf," for example, Uncle Remus describes the intimidation of Brer Rabbit by Brer Wolf:

Brer Rabbit ain't see no peace w'atsumever. He can't leave home 'cep' Brer Wolf 'ud raid en tote off some er de fambly. Brer Rabbit build 'im a straw house, en hit wuz tore'd down...den he made 'im a bark house, en dat wuz raided on, en eve' y time he los' a house he los' one er his chilluns. (CT, p. 42)

Finally Brer Rabbit builds a house strong enough to withstand "raiding" and even makes a hole into the cellar so that the little Rabbits can hide in the event of trouble. Some time later Brer Wolf comes to Brer Rabbit's house begging to be hidden from a pack of pursuing dogs. Brer Rabbit feigns compassion by hiding (and locking) Brer Wolf in a wooden chest. After some "turnin' his min' over en wukken his thinkin' masheen" (CT, p. 44), Brer Rabbit proceeds to boil a kettle of water and bore some holes in the lid of the chest, telling Brer Wolf that the holes are to help him to "get breff." Retrieving all of his children out of
the cellar so that they can watch, Brer Rabbit "commenced fer to po' de hot water on de chist-lid," and continued until, "de scaldin' water done de bizness" (CT, p. 45). Brer Rabbit then gathers all the neighbors to celebrate the scalding to death of Brer Wolf. Uncle Remus notes in concluding the tale that, "ef you go ter Brer Rabbit's house right now, I dunno but w'at you'll fin' Brer Wolf's hide hangin' in de back-po'ch, en all bekaze he wuz so bizzy wid udder folks's doin's" (CT, p. 45). Thus, the defenseless Brer Rabbit has not only outsmarted his adversary, as is his usual tactic, he has actually destroyed Brer Wolf in a disturbingly vengeful manner. In an allegorical sense, such violence strongly suggests racial revenge, the fear of which was common in Harris's (and Twain's) youth.

Some of the other details of the tales tend to similarly reduce the distance between allegory and memory. "How Mr. Rabbit Saved His Meat," contains the curious interjection of an aspect of slavery into the animal world of Brers Rabbit and Wolf. Brer Wolf kills one of Brer Rabbit's cows and Brer Rabbit wants desperately to at least keep Brer Wolf from getting the meat from the carcass. He decides to tell Brer Wolf "dat de patter-rollers comin'" (CT, p. 68). In antebellum days slaves lived in fear of the "patter-rollers," the local force which maintained order by patrolling the roads at night. Brer Rabbit's scheme works, for "soon's Brer Wolf hear talk er de patter-rollers, he scramble off inter de underbrush like he bin shot out'n a gun" (CT, p. 68). Here Harris's choice of an aspect of slavery as a dramatic device seems to be at least an unconscious linking of the darker aspects of his own experiences with slavery and the Uncle Remus tales.

Two other tales allegorically touch on the philosophical aspects
of slavery. "Mr. Rabbit Nibbles Up de Butter" reaches a disturbing
denouement when Brer Possum, who has been falsely accused of stealing
butter from a communal store, is burned to death trying to leap over
a fire to prove his innocence. Brer Rabbit, guilty of the theft and
the frame-up, clears the flames easily. When the little boy objects
to the injustice of this outcome, Uncle Remus responds,

In dis worl', lots er folks is gotter suffer fer
udder folks sins. Look like hit's mighty onwrong;
but hit's des dat away. Tribbalashun seem like
she's a waitin' foun' de cornder fer ter ketch one
en all un us, honey. (CT, p. 57)

Here, Uncle Remus finds larger significance in the "tribbalashuns" of
the animals. In "Why the Negro Is Black," Uncle Remus explains that,
"Niggers is niggers now, but de time wuz w'en we 'uz all niggers
tergedder" (CT, p. 110). He explains that "[w]ay back yander" his race
had gotten short shrift when a pond was found that turned anyone who
was immersed in its waters white. A rush ensued, Uncle Remus explains,
and only the "fortunate" first to arrive had enough water to become
completely white. By the time Uncle Remus's ancestors got there, he
explains, "de morest dey could do wuz ter paddle about wid der foots
en dabble in it wid der han's" (CT, p. 110). In a tone of acquiescence
to the resulting color-caste, Uncle Remus concludes his explanation by
telling the little boy simply, "Hit bleezed ter be dat away" (CT, p. 111).

Similarly ambiguous tales appear in this and other volumes of
Uncle Remus's tales. Such ambiguities suggest the existence of a more
complex and serious side to the fables than their obvious humor and
quaintness imparts. Uncle Remus himself intimates as much in "Brother Rabbit Ties Mr. Lion" when he insists, "ef deze yer tales wuz des fun, fun, fun, en gigle, giggle, I let you know I'd a-drapt um long ago" (CT, p. 355). Like Twain's intendedly sentimental creation, *Tom Sawyer*, the Uncle Remus tales embody subtle but powerful images which reveal a less nostalgic view of the South.

The search for more satisfactory images of the past led both Twain and Harris to explore aspects of their memories which had, to this point, manifested themselves in their literature only as unassimilated impressions, suggestions, and allusions. Twain clearly abandoned the kind of nostalgic re-creation represented by *Tom Sawyer*, even though he had initiated work on *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in 1876 as a sequel to it. Harris continued to produce the popular Uncle Remus stories replete with allegorical ambiguities, but he also turned, with Twain's encouragement, to "original" fiction. Both authors felt as strongly as ever the need to write about the South, but it had become clear that the ambivalences and tensions their pasts had produced had not been assuaged by their efforts thus far. In an effort to find a more satisfactory means of coming to terms with the South in literature, each author began to revive that "instinctive identification" with blacks and to transform it into realistic renderings of black characters.

Harris, probably unwittingly, had already begun this "revival" with the character of Uncle Remus. Ostensibly a paradigm of the stereotypical plantation "darky," Uncle Remus had evolved into a character with unique mannerisms, humor, authentic dialect, subtle nuances of character, and warm humanity, all of which made him the
most fully developed representative of his race in American literature up to that time. Although changed standards and perspectives have brought charges that Uncle Remus was only another caricature and a glorification of the institution of slavery, he was, by the standards of Harris's time, the most authentic and sympathetic representation of a black character yet to be found. In his introduction to Uncle Remus, Harris had stated his hope that his rendering of the dialect would "give vivid hints of the really poetic imagination of the Negro," and that the depiction of Uncle Remus's character would evoke the "picturesque sensitivity" and "elevation of the mind" of blacks (CT, p. [XXI]). Twain's letters to Harris substantiate the fact that he highly valued the character of Uncle Remus as "a lovable and delightful creation" (MTUR, p. 10). Uncle Remus cannot be credited with causing a change in Twain's attitude toward black characters in fiction, but he unquestionably provided a fully developed analogue for the Uncle Dan'l of Twain's memory, who had yet to appear in his fiction as anything more than a caricature.

As a manifestation of the turn to more realistic renderings of black characters, Pettit and other scholars have observed that "from the 1880s onward Mark Twain began to replace his old darky jokes with carefully selected readings about blacks delivered before both white and black audiences."53 One of these "carefully selected readings" was Harris's "Tar-baby" story from the first Uncle Remus volume. In February 1881, Twain related in a letter to Howells that he had enjoyed "a most rattling high high time" reading the "Tar-baby" in Rev. Joseph Twichell's Church in Hartford, and that he intended to read it to a black congregation as well.54
Twain's professed enjoyment in retelling this story has a parallel in Harris's experience. Harris's small stature, red hair and freckles, illegitimacy, and nervous speech impediment are all commonly cited as causes of his debilitating shyness. Whatever its genesis, this diffidence prohibited Harris from accepting accolades, speaking in public, and even from reading his stories to his own children. Although wary of publicity and acutely uncomfortable in social situations, Harris was able to freely exchange stories with blacks. In the introduction to his second volume of Uncle Remus stories, *Nights with Uncle Remus* (1883), Harris describes a session with a group of black railroad workers to explain one of the ways he gathered and verified Negro folk tales:

The writer [Harris himself] sat next to one of the liveliest talkers in the party; and, after listening and laughing awhile, told the "Tar baby" story by way of a feeler...the peals of unrestrained and unrestrainable laughter...drew the attention of the other Negroes, and before the climax of the story had been reached, where Brother Rabbit is cruelly thrown into the briar-patch, they had all gathered around and made themselves comfortable. Two or three could hardly wait for the conclusion, so anxious were they to tell stories of their own. The result was that, for almost two hours, a crowd of thirty or more Negroes vied with each other to see which could tell the most and best stories. It was night, and impossible to take notes; but that fact was not to be regretted. The
darkness gave greater scope and freedom to the narratives of the Negroes, and but for this friendly curtain it is doubtful that the conditions would have been favorable to story-telling....

Left unsaid is the biographical fact that black auditors, like these, were the only people to hear Harris recite his own tales. He had had to be excused from reciting a pledge when he joined a printers' union. He refused speaking offers, honorary degrees, and joint-lecture proposals. He even fled after being embarrassed by requests that he read a tale at a banquet given in his honor at New York's Tile Club. Yet, free from the social pressures, roles and pretensions of white society and the literati, Harris was uninhibited in his speech. Like Twain, he enjoyed a genuine rapport with blacks, and this familiarity spilled over into his writing.

Twain, of course, was not reticent about public speaking, and reveled in social situations, regardless of his audience. His particular delight in relating stories like the "Tar baby," or his own "A True Story," shows that he was beginning to recover his identification with blacks. The telling, later writing, of such authentic stories cannot but have been a cathartic and enlightening experience for Twain as it contributed to, or at least paralleled, a time of transformation in his attitudes toward the South in general and toward blacks in particular. In 1894, a decade after his last correspondence with Harris, Twain was still so enamored of Uncle Remus that he attended a masked ball in Paris costumed as the venerable black storyteller.

In addition to the associations suggested by Uncle Remus himself, the animal fables he told also struck a "resonant chord" with Twain.
He had heard similar ones told by slaves in his boyhood and also had been immersed in the animal stories, vernacular narrators, and tall tales of Southwestern humor. Walter Blair's study of "Jim Baker's Blue Jay Yarn" from Twain's *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), suggests that a "kinship—perhaps something more—" existed between Twain's blue jay and Harris's Brer Rabbit. Some of the peculiarities of gesture and description are remarkably similar. While considering Brer Fox's offer of reconciliation, "Brer Rabbit scratch one year wid his off hinefoot sorter jubously [dubiously]...(CT, p. 3). Twain's blue jay, puzzled over the discovery of a knothole, "took a thinking attitude...and scratched the back of his head with his right foot."

The "kinship" of these two accounts extends beyond the descriptive similarities Blair has noted. The blue jay and Brer Rabbit respond to their inability to get an "answer" in analogous fashion. Both are astonished to find something out of the ordinary in their "domains." The initial reactions of each is to "test" these anomalies. Brer Rabbit, described as being "dez ez sassy ez a jay-bird," greets the tar baby and inquires, "How duz you' sym'tums seem ter segashuate? [How do you do?]" (CT, p. 7); the blue jay drops an acorn into the knothole. When the expected response—a polite reply or the sound of the acorn striking bottom—is not received, neither "critter" is able to leave. Each launches into an all-too-human kind of obstinate, determined, and escalating effort to elicit a response. The blue jay insists, "I'm d--d if I don't fill you, if it takes a hundred years!" (TA, p. 29). Brer Rabbit threatens, "I'm gwine ter larn you how ter talk ter 'spectbble folks ef hit's de las' ack" (CT, p. 7). Thus enraged, they proceed in pointless, and ultimately humiliating endeavors
which represent, in Harris's words, "that incongruity of animal expression that is just human enough to be humorous." Both Twain and Harris were attuned to such incongruities and this kindred sensibility resulted in analogues between each others' "animals."

Another, and probably more influential aspect of the Uncle Remus fables, however, was their frame. Harris had done, in Twain's view, an admirable job of preserving the oral tradition from which the stories came by the skillful use of Uncle Remus as a fully-developed, vernacular narrator. Remus's mannerisms and speech, the rustic setting of the slaves' quarters, and the auditor-foil role of the little boy, made the stories, in Twain's words, "bright [and] fine literature" (MTUR, p. 10). Like some of Twain's memorable narrators—Simon Wheeler, Jim Baker, et al.—Uncle Remus captures as much of the reader's interest as the tales he tells. How he tells about "de critters" is as valuable and interesting as what "de critters" do. An appreciation of the ability to adapt to written form material which had its origin in an oral tradition became another source of the mutual respect between Twain and Harris.

A final area of common interest enhanced by Uncle Remus was Negro music. Harris had included in the first volume of Uncle Remus tales ten Negro songs which included representative religious, work, and play songs from the antebellum plantation period. Twain had a long-standing interest in such music stemming from his boyhood delight in the minstrel shows which visited Hannibal. Twain had apparently absorbed both the minstrel and the authentic Negro music, especially spirituals, and he found them to be a source of pleasure and comfort for the remainder of his life. Just as Uncle Remus had suggested that his analogue in
Twain's life, Uncle Dan'l, could be more than a "daky" caricature, Harris's chronicling of antebellum Negro music may have served to expand Twain's appreciation of minstrel music to include the "real" music of the Negroes in his memory.

Uncle Remus, then, can be seen as having been directly responsible for bringing the two authors together. Literally, notice of Uncle Remus prompted Twain to initiate the relationship. Symbolically, Uncle Remus illustrated the parallels between the two authors' lives and views and the analogues between some of their literature about the South. Both Twain and Harris had known and been influenced by Remus-like figures who served as sources for fictional representations. Although both authors had experienced a time of racial insensitivity, both revived their identification with blacks, and Uncle Remus helped to focus this identification. Each author embodied the tensions between the sentimental and the troubled remembrances of their pasts and found their black characters to be a means of converting these ambivalent feelings to literature, and both authors were fond of, and could identify with, the kind of animal fables told by Uncle Remus. Lastly, Uncle Remus's music endeared itself to each author's sensibilities.

The transformation of black characters from stereotypical caricature to vital, central roles in fiction thus became one of the most significant ways in which both authors came to terms with their "Southernness." The results of this transformation also served to differentiate the works of Twain and Harris from much of the local-color literature which was being published in the 1880s. For, although the pages of the popular literary journals had bulged with Southern local-color fiction since the early 1870s, most efforts were lacking, as Albion Tourgée
noted in his famous essay on "The South as a Field for Fiction" (1888), in their depictions of "the Negro as a man with hopes, fears, and aspirations like other men." Whereas a number of Southern writers like Thomas Nelson Page and John Esten Cooke produced works glorifying the putative superiority of the culture and ideals of the antebellum Southern aristocracy and its postbellum vestiges—usually to the detriment or exclusion of the South's poor whites and blacks—Twain and Harris began to try, consciously, to render "lower class" Southerners of both races realistically and without prejudices.

Their analogous views on Southern literature show that, in this area too, the authors had much in common. In 1879 Harris had noted, in an essay on "Literature in the South," that

the results of literary effort in the South are pervaded with the most intense sectionalism. Prejudices take the shape of egotism and we unblushingly allude to ourselves as the pinks of chivalry and our neighbors as the sons and daughters of every mean and unworthy impulse. In short, we have gushed until the general effect of so much gush has reacted upon us....

[T]he stuff we are in the habit of calling Southern literature is not only a burlesque upon true literary art, but a humiliation and a disgrace to the people whose culture it is supposed to represent...we must drop sectionalism and all the outlying and resultant prejudices, and along with them must go the selfishness
and spite that have misrepresented us at home
and abroad. 

In a letter concerning a requested article on "The American Type" for Current Magazine in 1884, Harris observed that "no novel or story can be genuinely American, unless it deals with the common people, that is, country people" (LL, p. 204). Harris's solution to the "problem" of Southern literature was to depict, as accurately and authentically as possible, and from his own experience, the common folk of the South, in whom universal themes could be found. Although contrived happy endings and sentimental plotting marred much of Harris's short fiction, a few of the stories contain thematic and descriptive elements which have parallels or analogues in Twain's Southern writings.

Most of Harris's stories have blacks as central characters. Like Aunt Rachel and 'Nigger' Jim, these protagonists display a greater capacity for love, insight, and humanity than the white characters around them. In "Mingo" (1882), for example, a venerable former slave puts into perspective a poor-white woman's bitter attack on the social castes among Southern whites. In "Ananias" (1888), Harris depicts a black whose repulsive countenance marks him as a "negro to be watched." When his proud but inept former master and his daughter are faced with economic ruin and starvation at the hands of unscrupulous speculators during Reconstruction, however, Ananias proves his superior loyalty and humanity, literally saving them by stealing from the speculators without his "master's" knowledge. In "Balaam and his Master" (1891), Balaam, a slave and companion since childhood of an aristocratic ne'er-do-well, proves to be morally superior to his master in a series of situations, ultimately allowing himself to be sold to pay his
master's gambling debts. 67

The pathos of victims of slavery particularly touched the sensibilities of both authors. In Harris's "Daddy Jake the Runaway" (1889), a Negro woman, Crazy Sue, explains to two white children why she has run away from her master. She had fallen asleep while feeding her two babies, she explains, and when her master discovered her sleeping she was summarily ordered to the fields to work. Unable to feed her children, even though she can hear them crying, they "des fade away, an' bimeby dey died, bofe un um on the same day." 68

A similar depiction of the humanity and pathos of blacks is found in Harris's "Free Joe" (1884). Written after his meeting with Twain and Cable in New Orleans, the story concerns a freed slave in the rural, antebellum South. Like Aunt Rachel in Twain's "A True Story," Free Joe embodies the poignancy that results from the transformation of intense, personal recollections to writing. "The problems of one generation are the paradoxes of a succeeding one," Harris posits in explaining Free Joe's status. 69 Aunt Rachel and Free Joe, respectively, personify the problems of both the free black in the antebellum South and the ostensibly free black in the postbellum North. Although Aunt Rachel is strong-willed and gruff, she is described as a "cheerful, hearty soul," and Misto C--- notes that "it was no more for her to laugh than it is for a bird to sing" (SNO, p. 265). Free Joe, likewise, appears to white observers to be simple-minded and "pine-blank as happy...as a kildee by a millrace" (FJ, p. 63).

These typically shallow observations counterpoint the revelation of the tragedy that slavery has inflicted on each character. Both Aunt Rachel's and Free Joe's families have been scattered. Although
Free Joe has been granted his freedom, his wife, Lucindy, is still enslaved, and she is sold away when her overseer catches Free Joe coming to visit her. Aunt Rachel recalls the horror of seeing her entire family sold at the auction block. Harris and Twain make use of these two pathetic figures' endurance in the face of adversity to demonstrate how false the observations about their simple-minded happiness have been. Their outward displays of ingenuous mirth are only poses which allow them to survive in a world in which they have little power or control. Beneath these guises, both Aunt Rachel and Free Joe experience the same grief and anguish as the "higher" classes would: Free Joe points out that "tain't wid my ole 'oman like 'tis wid yuther niggers" (FJ, p. 59); Aunt Rachel reminds Misto C--- that "de Lord can't make no chil'en so black but what dey mother loves 'em..." (SNO, p. 266). They are, as Harris describes Free Joe, "black atom[s]...blown about by all the winds of circumstance" (FJ, p. 53), and their condition is not fundamentally altered by their putative freedom. By shunning the stereotypes and allowing black characters individually to embody the disquieting memories of their pasts, Twain and Harris anticipated the advent of such complex black characters as 'Nigger' Jim, who would be, in Tom Sawyer's ironic words, "as free as any cretur that walks this earth!"70

Twain perceived that Harris's efforts represented an imitable departure from the Southern literary norm. In his famous attack, in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), on the Southern epidemic of the "Sir Walter disease," Twain observed:

There is as much literary talent in the South, now
as there ever was, of course; but its work can
gain but slight currency under present conditions;
the authors write for the past, not the present;
they use obsolete forms and a dead language. But
when a Southerner of genius writes modern English,
his book goes on crutches no longer, but upon wings;
and they carry it swiftly all about America and
England...as witness the experience of Mr. Cable
and "Uncle Remus," two of the very few Southern
authors who do not write in the Southern style.\textsuperscript{71}

Twain recognized that Harris's literary efforts contained, in addition
to their accurate dialect and realistic characterizations, at least some
of the same intensely personal tensions, identifications, and ambiva-
lences which characterized his own ongoing effort to write about the
South of his past in \textit{Huckleberry Finn}. Not surprisingly, affinities
in diction, characterization, and structure exist between Twain's
masterpiece and Harris's writings.

On the level of diction, Twain probably "borrowed" some of Harris's
dialect renderings from "At Teague Poteet's" (1883) for use in the
"Arkansas Gossips" section (Chapter XLII) of \textit{Huckleberry Finn}. David
Carkeet's study of "The Dialect in \textit{Huckleberry Finn}" cites a vernacular
entry in Twain's notebook which is similar to the speech of the mountain
women in Harris's novella. This entry coincided with Twain's revision
of the "Arkansas Gossips" section, with Harris's publication of "At
Teague Poteet's," and with Harris's visit to Hartford.\textsuperscript{72} Twain noted
that Huck, at Tom Sawyer's Aunt's house, is to overhear "some Arkansas
women, over their pipes & knitting (spitting from between teeth); swap reminiscences of Sister this & Brother that...." At some later time Twain added a further note: "s'I, sh-shhe, s-ze." This description is probably derived from Harris's depiction of mountain women who ride miles to gossip, smoke pipes, and address each other formally as "Sister" so-and-so. The dialect, even the spelling of "that-air" and "s'I," are analogous in the two works: Harris's "Sister Parmalee" says, "'Purithy, yess go down an' see Puss,' s'I; 'maybe we'll git a glimpse er that air new chap with the slick ha'r'"; Twain's "Sister Hotchkiss" says, "Well Sister Phelps, I've ransacked that air cabin over an' I b'lieve the nigger was crazy. I says so to Sister Damrell--didn't I Sister Damrell?--s'I, he's crazy, s'I--them's the very words I said. In borrowing these linguistic forms for this scene," Carkeet maintains, "Clemens shows his respect for Harris, whom he rightly considered a master of dialect writing."

On the level of characterization, an analogue between the characters of Brer Rabbit and Huck Finn is suggested by their similar use of pluck to overcome more powerful adversaries. William J. Scheick's article, "'The Spunk of a Rabbit': An Allusion in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," points out a similarity between Huck's foiling the slave hunters (Chapter XVI) and Brer Rabbit's freeing himself from Brer Fox in the "Tar baby" story. Huck's response to the slave-hunter's question, "Is your man white or black?" is, at first, one of frozen fear. "I didn't answer up prompt," Huck confesses, "I warn't man enough--hadn't the spunk of a rabbit" (HF, p. 75). The thought of a rabbit, however, seems to remind Huck (vis-à-vis Twain) of Brer Rabbit's clever ruse: "Please...don't fling me in dat brier patch." Huck boldly
proceeds to beg the slave hunters to come see his "pap," intimating subtly that there is something wrong with him. He knows enough about human nature to be able to manipulate them into guessing that "pap" has small-pox and that they will act in opposition to his request, just as Brer Rabbit's plea results in his being thrown into the briar patch, his natural home.

The similarity of the two scenes extends beyond the literal and allusory sense of Huck's thoughts concerning "the spunk of a rabbit." A comparison reveals that similar sensitivity to the foibles of human nature motivated both writers' characterizations. Both Huck and Brer Rabbit initially adopt uncharacteristically humble poses when faced with a dangerous situation: Huck addresses the slave hunters as "sir," while "Brer Rabbit talk mighty 'umble." Once they have figured on a course of action, however, both exhibit consumate "spunk" in playing their roles. When the slave-hunters vow to "go and see [the raft] for [them]selves," Huck replies immediately, "I wish you would..." (HF, p. 75). Similarly, Brer Rabbit's response to Brer Fox's vow to "bobbycue [him] dis day, sho," is equally histrionic: "I don't keer w 'at you do wid me...so you don't fling me in dat brier-patch" (CT, p. 13). Each character demonstrates mastery of this kind of specious acquiescence to the desires of their captors, encouraging the very action they seek to prevent. Finally, aware that their respective schemes have worked, neither rogue can resist a "curtain call": Huck, having averted the capture of Jim (and forty dollars richer for the effort), cannot resist a final repartee, "Good-bye, sir...I won't let no runaway niggers get by me if I can help it" (HF, p. 76); while Brer Rabbit "wuz bleezed fer ter fling back some er his sass, en he holler out: 'Bred en bawn
in a brier-patch, Brer Fox'" (CT, pp. 13-14). The similarities in the characters of Twain's and Harris's most famous protagonists are less a result of literary "borrowing" than they are an affirmation of the kindred sensibilities of these two gifted observers of universal traits of "human" character.

On a structural level, the central relationships of Huck Finn and 'Nigger' Jim, and Uncle Remus and the little boy, are in some ways analogous. Both black characters can be considered father surrogates. They lavish paternal affection on boys whose real fathers are unloving and, in so doing, suggest similar psychological parallels to the paternal situations of Twain's and Harris's boyhoods. Like 'Nigger' Jim, Uncle Remus is socially inferior to his white charge, but he is able to assert his implicit superiority through wisdom, unselfishness, "knowledge" of the natural and supernatural, and guidance. Uncle Remus and the little boy are in league against the rules and prohibitions of the "big house" in much the same way that Huck Finn and 'Nigger' Jim oppose the requirements of "sivilization." At one point, when the little boy has sought refuge in his cabin, Uncle Remus lies to Mars John to protect the little boy from punishment (CT, pp. 199-200). These kinds of allegiances, embodying both racial and paternal overtones, are only incidental in Uncle Remus, but they are central to Huckleberry Finn. Twain's masterful depiction of the relationship between a noble slave and an impressionable, adventurous, white youth was appreciated especially by Harris as the artistic culmination of their shared desire to recapture the essence of their pasts.

With Huckleberry Finn, Twain succeeded in combining the same kinds of imitable renderings of dialect and characterization that Harris's
work had helped to recall, with the ideas and ambivalences that his memories of Hannibal had produced. Harris, in whom analogous tensions and ambivalences toward the past existed, recognized the novel's greatness from the outset, calling it "the most original contribution that has yet been made to American literature." In the allegorical aspects of Uncle Remus's tales, in "Free Joe," and in some of his other short fiction, Harris had demonstrated his sensitivity to themes and the artistic "manner" which, he recognized, Huckleberry Finn masterfully embodied. In a review in the Atlanta Constitution in May, 1885, six months earlier than his more celebrated praise of the book in the Critic's "Mark Twain's Semi-Centennial" Issue, Harris asserted that Huckleberry Finn

presents an almost artistically perfect picture of life and character...[which] will be equally valuable to the historian and the student of sociology. Its humor, which is genuine and never-failing, is relieved by little pathetic touches here and there that vouch for its literary value.  

Like his critique of Twain's contributions to the Atlantic and his admiration for Twain's having breeched the walls of the Eastern literary establishment, Harris's review venerated Huckleberry Finn as a paradigm of the kind of literature he longed to produce--authentic, focused on the common people, universal in its implications, and touched with genuine humor and pathos. Quite possibly the contrived "happy ending" to the book, the feature most unsettling to the book's modern critics,
was reassuring to Harris in its similarity to his own fiction which frequently resolved moral dilemmas by artificial or improbable means.

Two of Harris's fictional efforts after *Huckleberry Finn* show the influence of Twain's novel. In "Daddy Jake the Runaway," Harris depicts Daddy Jake as a "happy and trusted servant" who runs away after striking a cruel overseer (*DJ*, p. 6). Like 'Nigger' Jim, he flees in fear of being sold to a speculator, the least harsh punishment meted out for such offenses. When his master hears of the incident he fires the overseer, but Daddy Jake is nowhere to be found. The plantation owner's children (named for Harris's children) revere Daddy Jake, so they launch their own "search." During this search they drift idyllically down the nearby Oconee River in a bateau for a day and a night becoming themselves, in a sense, runaways. Quite by accident—the boat grounds while they are asleep—they find Daddy Jake's hideaway. As 'Nigger' Jim would do for Tom Sawyer when he was wounded, Daddy Jake sees his responsibility to the children as being more important than his freedom: "Dey ain't no use talkin'," he decides, "I got ter carry you back an' set you down in sight er de house, but how I gwine do it an' not git kotched?" (*DJ*, p. 66). The children convince Daddy Jake that he may return home without any fear of recrimination, that the overseer has been dismissed, and that everyone, including their father, wants him to return. Although he is not freed, as was 'Nigger' Jim, Daddy Jake is elated that he can return to his family and "home" without the fear of being sold away.

The several incidental similarities between this story and *Huckleberry Finn*—the accidental discovery of Daddy Jake, the happy resolution, the river as dramatic device—are ultimately less significant than are the similarly sympathetic portrayals of the runaway slaves,
Daddy Jake and 'Nigger' Jim. Again, Twain's and Harris's "instinctive identification" with the discriminated against results in analogous characters. Both slaves run away in desperation, to avoid being sold, yet both are willing to risk their freedom to help white youths they have befriended. Although Harris, by using younger, more naive children as Daddy Jake's companions, avoids the moral issues that the character of Huck Finn raises, the essential humanity and dignity of Daddy Jake, like that of 'Nigger' Jim, remains a key element of the story.

Louis D. Rubin's essay, "Uncle Remus and the Ubiquitous Rabbit," suggests that some of the situations and incidents in Harris's "fictional autobiography" On the Plantation (1892) are also "reminiscent" of scenes in Huckleberry Finn. At one point Joe Maxwell, Harris's persona and the protagonist, discovers a runaway slave. His immediate reaction, again like that of Huck Finn, is to befriend the fugitive. He brings the slave food and warns him of an impending man-hunt. During the man-hunt Joe is able to abet the slave's escape by staying mum when he sees an obviously laden bateau slip by (OTP, p. 43). Joe is even befriended by a "tramp and almost a tragedian," Mr. Snelson, a printer who gives dramatic readings from Richard III and Hamlet.

The character of Joe Maxwell clearly suggests its similarity to Huck Finn. Over a decade earlier Harris's stories had helped revive Twain's childhood memories of Uncle Dan'l; Twain had reciprocated with Huck Finn, providing a character that evoked Harris's boyhood reminiscences. Joe Maxwell is depicted, initially, as one of the town's "bad boys." He stampedes some hogs on market day and engages in a number of boyish pranks. In helping the runaway slave he learns "that blacks had
it in their power to smooth many a rough place in [his] life" (OTP, p. 33). When 'Nigger' Jim is heard to moan his children's names in his sleep, Huck comes to the realization that "he [Jim] cared just as much for his people as white folks does for their' n" (HF, p. 125). Joe Maxwell has a similarly enlightening experience in the closing days of the Civil War:

In a corner of the fence, not far from the road, Joe found an old negro woman shivering and moaning. Near her lay an old negro man, his shoulders covered with an old ragged shawl.

"Who is that lyin there?" asked Joe.

"It my ole man, suh."

"What is the matter with him?"

"He dead, suh! But, bless God, he died free!"

(OTP, pp. 230-1)

Although Joe Maxwell does not experience the kind of moral crises that Huck Finn does over the "sin" of aiding a runaway slave, his actions do reiterate the "instinctive identification" of the youthful white protagonist with the plight of the slave, and in so doing link Harris's artistic sensibilities with those of Twain. In his preface Harris disclaims any purely autobiographical intentions for On the Plantation with good reason; there can be little doubt that the differences between the life and the literature therein are attributable to Huckleberry Finn.

As he had with several of Twain's other works, Harris admired and emulated Huckleberry Finn. The fact that Harris produced no piece of literature which comparably reflects his identification with a black
character is not a function of his being somehow less influenced by the identifications with blacks in his past, rather it is a reflection of the limitations Harris imposed upon his literary output. Despite lucrative offers from publishers which would have enabled him to write under contract, Harris did not give up his full time newspaper editorship until 1900. The exigencies of this journalism and his psychological need to write literature created a duality which worked to limit and to detract from his literature. Harris referred to his creative concomitant as his "other fellow" in a letter to his daughters in 1898:

As for myself—though you could hardly call me a real, sure enough author—I never have anything but the vaguest ideas of what I am going to write; but when I take my pen in my hand, the rust clears away and the "other fellow" takes charge....I have often asked my "other fellow" where he gets all his information, and how he can remember, in the nick of time, things I have forgotten long ago; but he never satisfies my curiosity....

Now, my "other fellow," I am convinced, would do some damage if I didn't give him an opportunity to work off his energy in the way he delights.

(LL, pp. 384-5)

The allegorical intimations of the Uncle Remus tales (which Harris continued to write until 1907), and the occasional appearance of some of the more disturbing aspects of Southern life in his short fiction, are manifestations of Harris's "other fellow," seeking to purge, through
writing, the tensions of the past.

Harris's experience with his headstrong "other fellow" had a parallel in Twain's writing of his last novel to deal with the South, *Pudd' nhead Wilson* (1894). In his preface to "Those Extraordinary Twins," Twain explains that, in its inception, *Pudd' nhead Wilson* was intended to be a farcical, "six-page tale." In writing the story, Twain adds, three characters, David Wilson, Roxana, and Tom Driscoll, took "things almost entirely into their own hands and work[ed] the whole tale as a private venture of their own" (*PW*, p. 120). An autonomous "other fellow," analogous to Harris's, acted to transform the novel from a farce about Siamese twins to a bitter and at times confusing condemnation of Southern racial hypocrisy and miscegenation in which the "darkest" aspects of life in the antebellum South found form. The "tragic mulatto," Roxana, and the "mulatto avenger," Tom Driscoll, especially convey the horrors of Southern interracial crime and punishment which had been, to this point, a mostly latent aspect of Twain's memory of the South.83

Both authors' earlier works acknowledge that racial interbreeding was an evident part of life in the South. Mulattoes were among the children who could be found at the St. Petersburg water pump in *Tom Sawyer* (*TS*, p. 46). In "Why the Negro is Black," Uncle Remus explains to the little boy the "origins" of "merlatters" (*CT*, p. 110). Harris allegorically hints at the sexual taboo of miscegenation in a number of the Uncle Remus tales in which Brer Rabbit vies with the more powerful creatures for the attentions of "Miss Meadows en de gals," and other "ladies."84

Despite these acknowledgements of the vestiges of miscegenation,
the underlying tensions induced by the issue of racial interbreeding did not assert themselves in the literature of Twain and Harris until after 1890, after the nostalgia of Tom Sawyer and Uncle Remus and the identification and pathos of "Free Joe" and Huckleberry Finn had found expression. Pettit probably speaks for Harris as well when he asserts that Twain felt "the greater tragedy of the South was not miscegenation, but the curse that white southerners had placed upon it; and, therefore, on themselves." This tragedy, which, for Twain, found expression in Pudd'nhead Wilson, found analogous expression in three of Harris's short stories, "Where's Duncan?" (1891), "The Case of Mary Ellen" (1899), and "Rosalie" (1901).

Harris, like Twain, makes ironic use of the arbitrary racial distinctions made in the South by portraying Mary Ellen Tatum, Willis Featherstone (in "Where's Duncan?"), and Rosalie as mulattoes who are white enough to "pass." They, like Roxana, are each arbitrarily condemned not because of any inferiority, but because of the belief that they embody racially mixed blood. Thus, they become victims of a society which tacitly accepts interracial intercourse, but not its products. The tragedy of such a system manifests itself in analogous ways in the two authors' fiction.

The least tragic manifestation is the proliferation of ridiculous caste distinctions among all classes of Southern society. Roxana, for example, berates her son, Tom Driscoll, for "disgracin' our whole line," which she speciously traces back through the First Families of Virginia to a "nigger king outen Africa" (PW, p. 70). Aunt Minervy Ann, a boisterous former slave who narrates "The Case of Mary Ellen," describes herself proudly as "Affikin fum' way back yander 'fo' de
flood, an' fum de word go." In establishing their stations in the social order, both women ironically adopt the prejudicial conduct of Southern white society. Roxana attributes Tom's failure to honor the chivalric code duello to the black element in his mixed blood: "Thirty-one parts o' you is white, en on'y one part nigger, en dat po' little one part is yo' soul" (PW, p. 70). Aunt Minervy Ann, presumably "pure" black, touts her magnanimity in befriending Mary Ellen since she "des natchully 'spises merlatters" (CMA, p. 187). The implication of these analogous depictions is that Twain and Harris have presented an authentic cast of petty bigots and made them ironic exemplars of bigotry and prejudice in all its forms in all strata of Southern society.

Harris had expressed his belief, in an essay in May 1883, "that the negroes will be just what the justice of the South chooses to make them...," and it is clear in these "darker" works of both authors that they intended to show how the injustice of the South "made" blacks inferior. "Chambers" Driscoll, though white and descended from venerable, aristocratic stock, is raised as a slave and subjected to the indignities and degradations accorded the "inferior" castes. When, after the trial, he finds himself not only white, but "rich and free" as well, Chambers demonstrates that he is to be handicapped forever by his upbringing. The trappings of gentility only make him "more pathetic" (PW, p. 114). Harris makes a similar point with Mary Ellen Tatum, who had been sent north before the Civil War. As Aunt Minervy Ann narrates, "Hit seem like dat up dar...she ain't never tell nobody but what she wuz white, an' de human wa'nt born dat could tell de difference" (CMA, p. 195). Accorded unprejudicial treatment in the North, Mary Ellen becomes a renowned and respected artist. A visit to her home town, to "dat ar
mud-shack whar her ma live at" (CMA, p. 198), serves to illustrate the
difference between her lot in life and that of less fortunate victims
of Southern hypocrisy. Although Mary Ellen is treated well by the
town's whites during her homecoming, Aunt Minervy Ann perceives the
capriciousness of the white townspeoples' attitude:

 Ef a fly had lit on Marse Bolivar's face dat day,
Mary Ellen would 'a' had ter face 'er trouble by
'er own'lone self. Ef some sour-minded man had
gone up town an' told how Marse Bolivar wuz
en'tainin' nigger gals an' a Yankee 'oman in his
parlor, dey'd all been down on 'im. An' den...
dey'd 'a' been weepin' an' whailin' in de settle-
ment sho. (CMA, pp. 203-4)

Harris's story implies that the only solutions for "victims" of racial
interbreeding and its prejudicial consequences, at least in this small
town, are to leave or to accept a "place" in the lowest social caste.

Both Twain and Harris also depicted the more violent effects of
Southern racial distinctions and hypocrisies. Willis Featherstone, in
"Where's Duncan?," is obsessed with exacting revenge on his white father,
who had raised him like a white son until he was fifteen, then, "in a
fit of anger, [had] sold him to a nigger speculator." In the grisly
final scene, more resembling work by Poe than any of Harris's other
fiction, Featherstone's mulatto mother is seen by the horrified narrator
stabbing Featherstone's father to death as their son approvingly looks
on. All the while, the plantation house is burning and collapsing
around them, eventually killing the three (FJ, pp. 8-10). Such examples
reinforce the sense that the "sins" of the white fathers of mulattoes are to blame for the violent consequences. Tom Driscoll, switched with a white baby at birth out of maternal desperation, eventually sells his mother, Roxana, "down the river." He murders his stepfather, not because of his mixed blood, but as a reaction to the stigma which affects him as a mulatto (even an unrevealed mulatto) in a prejudiced society. Rosalie, like Roxana a "tragic mulatto" character, falls in love with a white visitor to the house where she works as a servant. Naive about the prohibitions of society, "[h]er nature was a law unto itself, and was altogether untouched by the forms and conventions which were insisted on and observed by the people all about her." A product of miscegenation, Rosalie becomes a victim of the hypocrisy associated with it: while trying to warn her white lover that a gang of the town's whites is after him, she is accidently shot and killed by them. Rosalie and Willis Featherstone showed that, for Harris, the hypocrisies of the South held the same kind of violent potential that Twain had depicted in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.

Harris's "other fellow," like Twain's ambivalent memory, prevented him from completely forgetting the Southern tragedies of slavery, miscegenation, and hypocrisy even though the majority of this fiction dealt with less harsh aspects of Southern life. Unlike Twain, Harris never became embittered nor was compelled to express his pessimism toward the South in literature as Twain would. Thus, their parallel development as writers who were influenced by their Southern legacies to produce analogous literature ended with *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and Harris's three mulatto stories.
Ironically, it was Harris's and Twain's sharp focus on individual Southern characters which led them in opposite directions with regard to the most troublesome aspects of their memories. For Harris, sensitive observation of black and white Southern "types" reinforced his fundamental optimism and ameliorated the effects of the darker aspects of his "Southernness." In an essay on "The Negro of To-Day" (1904), Harris discussed his response to a Northern friend who had become, like Twain, a "hopeless pessimist" about the South's racism and class consciousness. Harris cites his belief in the "innate common sense" of the majority of the people which "has brushed away so many difficulties, and solved so many problems...that it may confidently be depended on in the future." The tragic outcomes in "Rosalie" and "Where's Duncan?" represented the "darkest" extreme Harris's ambivalent feelings would allow. With these stories he had acknowledged that tensions and incongruities existed in his relationship with his past. They are an exception, however, to the tone of most of the fiction in Harris's canon which supports his conviction that Southerners of both races would resolve the South's problems with common sense and dignity in the best "New South" spirit.

For Twain, financial and personal misfortunes in the years after he finished Pudd'nhead Wilson led to bitterness and despair, some of which was directed at the South. Still troubled by ambivalent feelings toward the region, he seemed unable to recreate that cathartic process which had converted ambivalences into such literature as Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn, and Pudd'nhead Wilson. Having exiled himself from the South, Twain's recollection of individual Southerners resulted not in "fresh" images, but in visions of the composites that earlier recollections had artlessly produced—Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn, and 'Nigger'
Jim. Twain tried to rework these three in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894) and in "Tom Sawyer's Conspiracy" (1897-1900), but these attempts imparted neither the nostalgia of *Tom Sawyer* nor the pathos of Huckleberry Finn.

Harris's and Twain's journeys into their respective pasts, which had diverged only after having closely paralleled each other for two decades, ended with the sojourners in far different locales. Harris spent his last years, uncharacteristically, in the mainstream of Southern literature. As editor of a new Southern literary journal called *Uncle Remus's Magazine*, Harris noted that the journal "might well be called the Optimist; for it [would] preach a cheerful Philosophy and practice a seasonable toleration in all matters where opinions are likely to clash."93 Far from despairing over the South's troublesome incongruities, Harris strove in his literary work to "smooth over and soothe, and finally [to] dissipate all ill feelings and prejudices that now exist between the races."94

Twain's failure to revive successfully his best Southern characters led to his invention of a new and disconcerting one: Jasper the "vengeful mulatto" in "Which Was it?" (1899).95 In this unfinished manuscript Twain again depicted the violent consequences of the South's hypocrisy about miscegenation, going beyond *Pudd'nhead Wilson* to evoke the larger, more subtle issue of the ironic subjugation of the Southern aristocracy by its own victims. Jasper suffers indignity after indignity at the hands of his white father and finally becomes so enraged that he commits himself to revenge on those who have enslaved and humiliated him. In the story's climax, Jasper blackmails George Harrison, who is his cousin and inheritor of his father's estate. The crucial point is
made when we learn that the blackmail is not for money but for role-reversal; Jasper makes Harrison act the part of his slave. "It's my turn, now," Jasper exults, "dey's a long bill agin de lowdown ornery white race, en you's a-gwyneter settle it" (DRT, p. 146). Such a reversal of roles symbolized Twain's belief that Negro rather than white supremacy was a potential outcome of Southern racial injustices. Only the kind of abject pessimism born of despair and irreconcilable and now unpurgeable ambivalences could have converted Twain's memories of Southern characters into the disturbing implications the character of Jasper embodies.

Ultimately, the Twain-Harris relationship is a study of analogues and parallels which exist between their literary responses to their Southern backgrounds. On a personal level, Twain's achievements and his encouragement of Harris's literary endeavors helped to reduce Harris's awe of the Eastern literati and to boost the confidence of Uncle Remus's creator. Harris's insights into Southern character and his mastery of written dialects provided Twain with at least a reference, if not a model, for some of his renderings of the region's types and themes. From their antebellum boyhoods in the rural South, through their development as journalists and humorists, to their maturity as authors trying to come to terms with impression-rich Southern pasts through literary expression, Twain's and Harris's relationship provides a case study of the ambivalences and tensions which underlie the Southern literary experience. More than any other authors of the period, they embodied the jumble of attitudes and tensions that have come to characterize Southern literature. Neither author can be credited with having transformed the work of the other, yet both
produced analogous pieces, the similarities in which reflect the kindred sensibilities of two keen observers of Southern language, character, and humor. Most significantly, both Twain and Harris rediscovered an innate identification with blacks who, as characters in their works, served to focus their efforts to express the ambivalent feelings their "Southern-ness" had engendered.
APPENDIX

A Chronology of the Twain-Harris Relationship

1835

1839
The Clemens family moves to Hannibal.

1847
John Marshall Clemens (Twain's father) dies.

1848

1853
Dec 9: Joel Chandler Harris born illegitimately in Satonton, Georgia.

Twain begins working as a printer (through 1857).

Mar:
Harris begins working as a printer's devil on The Countryman newspaper at Joseph Addison Turner's plantation (through 1866).

Apr 25:
Twain leaves the South and begins working for newspapers in Nevada and California.

1862
Dec:
Twain leaves California to become the New York correspondent for the San Francisco Alta California.

1866
Apr:
Twain's first book, The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, and Other Sketches, is published.

Jun 8:
Twain departs for Europe and the Holy Land aboard the Quaker City.
Harris works for the New Orleans Crescent Monthly; becomes editor of the Monroe Advertiser.

1869
Jul:
Twain publishes The Innocents Abroad.

1870
Feb 2:
Twain marries Olivia Langdon.
note: Harris becomes associate editor of the Savannah Morning News.

1871
fall: Twain moves to Hartford.

1872
Feb:
Twain publishes Roughing It.

Jun 2:
Twain's first son, Langdon, dies.

1873
Apr 20:
Harris marries Esther LaRose.

Oct:
Scribner's publishes Cable's "Sieur George," initiating the Southern local-color movement.

Dec:
Twain publishes The Gilded Age in collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner.

1874
Nov:
"A True Story" is published in the Atlantic (Twain's first contribution to America's most prestigious literary journal).

1876
Jun:
Twain's The Adventures of Tom Sawyer published; Twain begins work on a sequel Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (through 1884).

Oct:
Harris becomes associate editor of the Atlanta Constitution; publishes first Uncle Remus sketch therein.
1878

Apr-Sep: Harris's *The Romance of Rockville* serialized in the *Constitution.* The Uncle Remus tales begin appearing in newspapers nationwide; Twain probably reads them in the *New York Evening Post.* Harris's third son, Evan Howell, dies.

1880

Mar 13: Twain's *A Tramp Abroad* is published. Walter Blair has suggested that Harris's folktale may have influenced Twain's "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."


Nov 23: *Uncle Remus, His Songs and Sayings* is published; Twain orders a copy.

1881

Feb 25: Twain reads from Harris's "Tar baby" story in Rev. Twichell's Church in Hartford.

late Jul: [SLC to JCH]. This letter has been lost, but from Harris's reply it can be inferred that Twain praised Harris's first book, mentioned a "Ghost Story" he'd heard as a child, and probably invited Harris to visit Hartford.

Aug 4: [JCH to SLC] from Atlanta, Harris is flattered by Twain's praise but plays down any achievement on his part. He requests an outline of Twain's "Ghost Story" and asks for advice on publishing.

Aug 10: [SLC to JCH] from Elmira. Twain chides Harris for his modesty; he recommends his publisher, James Osgood, and subscription sales. Twain also encloses a manuscript of "De Woman wid de Gold'n Arm" (the "Ghost Story").

Dec 6: [JCH to SLC] from Atlanta. Apologizing for the delay, Harris sends a variant of the "Ghost Story." Harris also mentions that he has a "story of slave-life" which he hopes to publish.

Dec 12: [SLC to JCH] from Hartford. Twain thanks Harris for the variant and mentions that he's sent his new book [*The Prince and the Pauper*], obviously for Harris to review. Twain repeats his invitation for Harris to visit Hartford.

Dec 25: Harris's review of *The Prince and the Pauper* appears in the *Constitution.*

1882

before April: Twichell calls on Harris in Atlanta on behalf of Twain to propose a joint lecture-tour; Harris balks at the idea.

Apr 2: [SLC to JCH] from Hartford. Mentioning Twichell's visit, Twain says he has a "device" whereby Harris's shyness can be overcome; he asks Harris to meet him and Osgood in New Orleans in May.

Apr: [JCH to SLC] Harris is flattered by the invitation and excited about the possibility of touring with Twain.

Apr 30-May 2: Harris arrives in New Orleans in the morning (Sunday), and all attend services in both white and black churches. Twain reports that on Monday at Cable's house Harris "deeply disappointed a number of children who had flocked eagerly...to get a glimpse of the illustrious sage and oracle of the nation's nurseries." Harris was too diffident to read to them so Cable and Twain read Harris's work as well as their own. Harris departed for Atlanta on May 2, the lecture-tour scheme apparently having been forgotten.

Jun 11: Harris reviews Twain's *The Stolen White Elephant* in the *Constitution.* Harris visits New York intending to continue on to Boston and to visit Twain en route. At a banquet at the "Tile Club" he becomes so embarrassed by repeated requests that he read that he immediately abandons his plans and departs for Atlanta.

Jun: [JCH to SLC] text not available. Harris apparently asks Twain how his summer's literary work is going and inquires if he's received a clipping of his review of *The Stolen White Elephant.*

Aug 28: [JCH to SLC] text not available. Harris apparently asks Twain how his summer's literary work is going and inquires if he's received a clipping of his review of *The Stolen White Elephant.*
[SLC to JCH] from Elmira. Twain complains of poor health and lack of inspiration to write. He heard of Harris's "admirable stupefaction" at the "Tile Club"; Twain repeats his invitation for Harris to visit Hartford, "Do it, & I will forgive you."

Sep 12: [JCH to SLC] from Atlanta. Harris promises to visit Hartford the following spring during a trip to Quebec.

Dec: Harris's first daughter, Mary Esther, dies.
Christmas: Harper's publishes Harris's "Mingo, A Sketch of Life in Middle Georgia," his first "serious" fiction to appear in a national publication.

May: Twain's Life on the Mississippi published. In a chapter entitled "Uncle Remus and Mr. Cable," Twain describes his meeting with Harris in New Orleans.

spring: Harris visits Twain in Hartford. Twain recalled that Harris was "reverently devoured by the big eyes of Suzy and Clara, for I made a deep and awful impression upon the little creatures...by revealing to them privately that he was the real Uncle Remus whitewashed so that he could come into peoples houses the front way."

May and Jun: Century publishes Harris's novella, "At Teague Poteet's," in two parts.

summer: Twain works feverishly to complete Huckleberry Finn. Scholars have suggested that Harris's influence can be seen in some of the dialect, the "Arkansas Gossips" scene, and in Huck's encounter with the slave-hunters. Entries in Twain's notebook and letters corroborate these suggestions.

Aug: Century publishes Harris's version of the "Ghost Story."

Nov 7: Osgood publishes Harris's second volume of Uncle Remus tales, Nights with Uncle Remus.

1884

Jun 16: Osgood publishes Harris's first volume of original fiction, Mingo, and Other Sketches in Black and White.

Nov: Harris's "Free Joe" is published in Century.

Dec 3: Twain's Adventures of Huckleberry Finn is published.

1885

May 26: Harris's review, "Huckleberry Finn and His Critics," appears in the Constitution.

Jun 1: [JCH to SLC] from Atlanta. Harris sends a copy of the review of Huckleberry Finn to Twain. In an attached letter he writes, "It is difficult that the critics who have condemned the book...can have read it." Harris adds,"it is an almost artistically perfect picture of life."

Nov 28: The Critic publishes "Mark Twain's Semi-Centennial" Issue, having solicited humorous verses and letters from leading literary and editorial figures. Harris uses this opportunity to praise Huckleberry Finn and to reiterate his belief that the book's critics are mistaken.

Nov 29: [SLC to JCH] from Hartford. Twain thanks Harris for his praise of Huckleberry Finn in the Critic.

Nov 30: Twain's fiftieth birthday.

Dec 9: Harris's thirty-seventh birthday.

1886


1888

Apr: Harris's "Ananias" published in Harper's.

Dec: Albion Tourgée's essay on "The South as a Field for Fiction" appears in Forum.

1889

Sep 23: Harris's Daddy Jake the Runaway, and Stories Told After Dark published.

Dec 5: Twain's A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court published.
1890
Harris's fifth son, Linton, dies at the age of seven.

1891
Mar 23: The "Tar baby" is the only selection by another author listed by Twain in his repertoire for a lecture at Bryn Mawr College, where his daughter Suzy is enrolled.
May 8: Harris's *Balaam and His Master* is published. The title piece contains a slave trading and stealing scam which may have been derived from a similar scheme described by Twain in Chapter 29 of *Life on the Mississippi*. Harris's most stark rendering of the theme of miscegenation, "Where's Duncan?" appears in this volume.

1892
Apr: Harris's *On the Plantation* is published. Louis Rubin has noted that some of the themes and situations in this novel probably derive from *Huckleberry Finn*. Twain's *The American Claimant* is published.
Nov 5: After laying aside Browning and Tennyson, Twain and a literary reading circle in Florence take up Uncle Remus.

1893
Apr 18: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
Nov 30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published.
Dec: Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1894
18: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1895
3: The *Youth's Companion* magazine publishes Twain's "De Woman wid de Gold'n Arm" in the essay "How to Tell a Story."

1896
Jul 15: Twain's daughter Suzy dies at the age of twenty-four.
Nov 13: Twain's *Following the Equator* is published; he begins the manuscript of "Tom Sawyer's Conspiracy" (through 1900).

1897
Oct 7: Harris's *The Chronicles of Aunt Minervy Ann* is published (includes "The Case of Mary Ellen"). Twain writes the manuscript of "Which Was It?" Oct 1: Harris's "Rosalie" is published in *Century*.

1898
Jul 3: Twain begins work on the manuscript of "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger" (through 1904).

1899
Jun 5: Twain's wife, Olivia, dies in Florence.

1900
Apr 20: Twain successfully nominates Harris for membership in the American Academy of Arts and Letters.
Dec 5: Harris's congratulatory letter is included in the program for Twain's seventieth birthday dinner. In the letter Harris praises Twain for having "written the great American novel." [1907]

1901
Harris named as editor of *Uncle Remus's Magazine*.

1902
18: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1903
Dec 4: Harris's daughter Jean dies at the age of twenty-nine.

1904
19: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1905
19: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1906
19: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1907
19: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1908
19: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1909
19: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1910
19: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.

1911
19: Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is published
30: Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is published. Twain attends a masked ball in Paris costumed as Uncle Remus.
Notes

1 Samuel L. Clemens, inscription in The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1903), flyleaf, in the library of Joel Chandler Harris's home, "At the Sign of the Wren's Nest," in Atlanta, Georgia.


3 Alan Gribben, Mark Twain's Library: A Reconstruction (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980), I, 296.

4 See Appendix: A Chronology of the Twain-Harris Relationship.

5 Joel Chandler Harris, Letter to Samuel L. Clemens, 4 August 1881, in Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris, ed. Julia Collier Harris (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), p. 168. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as LL.


8 Clemens, Letter to Joel Chandler Harris, 10 August 1881, in Mark Twain to Uncle Remus, 1881-1885, ed. Thomas H. English (Atlanta: Emory University Press, 1953), p. 10. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as MTUR.

10 Harris, "A Ghost Story," Century, 26 (1883), 618-619; and The Complete Tales of Uncle Remus (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), pp. 235-238. Further references to Complete Tales will be noted parenthetically as CT.


13 Robert L. Wiggins, The Life of Joel Chandler Harris (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1918), pp. 77-78.

14 Goldstone, p. 243.

15 Goldstone, p. 243.

16 Wiggins, p. 170. Harris had produced a serialized novel entitled The Romance of Rockville which appeared in the Atlanta Weekly Constitution from April to September, 1878. This effort went largely unnoticed and did not satisfy Harris's desire to publish "original" fiction.


22 Harris, "To the Editors of the *Critic*," 21 November 1885, rpt. in *MTUR*, p. 19.


24 Harris's optimism was tested by personal loss (three of his nine children died before their eighth year), but he never experienced the combination of personal and financial misfortunes which beset Clemens after 1894.


26 Harris, *LL*, p. 34, and Kenneth S. Lynn, *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1959), p. 242. "Seeking for a quality of experience they could not find in their white lives," Lynn observes of Twain and Harris, "both men sent their boy-heroes in search of the companionship and understanding of the black man."


29 Clemens, as quoted in Dixon Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), p. 74.


31 Harris, Joel Chandler Harris, Editor and Essaysist, ed. Julia Collier Harris (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931), pp. 117, 129.


33 Pettit, pp. 15-16; and Wecter, pp. 147-151.

34 Pettit, p. 41.


37 Bickley, Joel Chandler Harris, p. 28.


39 Clemens and Charles Dudley Warner, The Gilded Age, 2 Vols. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1915), p. 34. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as TGA.
Clemens, The American Claimant and Other stories and Sketches

Clemens, "A True Story," in Sketches New and Old (New York:
Harper and Brothers, 1899), p. 265. Further references to this edition
will be noted parenthetically as SNO.

Clemens, Letter to William Dean Howells, 2 September 1874, in

Clemens, Letter to Will Bowen, 31 August 1876, in Mark Twain's
Letters to Will Bowen, p. 23.

Harris, "Uncle Remus's Politics," Atlanta Constitution, 28
November 1876, rpt. in Wiggins, p. 126.

Harris, "Uncle Remus as a Rebel," Atlanta Constitution,
14 October 1877, rpt. in Wiggins, pp. 263–268.

Harris, "A Story of the War," in Uncle Remus, His Songs and

Harris, The Romance of Rockville, Atlanta Weekly Constitution,
16 April to 10 September 1878, rpt. in Wiggins, pp. 282–428. Further
references to the novel as reprinted in Wiggins will be noted paren­
thetically as RR.

Clemens, The Adventures of Tom Sawyer; Tom Sawyer Abroad; Tom
Sawyer, Detective, ed. John C. Gerber, et al. (Berkeley, Los Angeles,
references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as TS.

Harris, Introduction to Uncle Remus, His Songs and Sayings,
rpt. in CT, pp. [XXI] and XXVII.

Pettit, p. 60.

Some examples of Uncle Remus tales which allegorically suggest the Southern social situation are: "Brother Rabbit Submits to a Test" (CT, p. 265), which contains revenge by oppressed "critters"; "Brother Wolf Gets in a Warm Place" (CT, p. 312), in which discriminatory prohibitions are put on Brer Rabbit by the other animals; "Brother Rabbit Outdoes Mr. Man" (CT, p. 339), in which "Mr. Man got w'at lots er folks ain't got..."; "Old Grinny Granny Wolf" (CT, p. 346), which depicts racial revenge (Brer Rabbit feeds Brer Wolf's granny to him); "How Wattle Weasel Was Caught" (CT, p. 347), which portrays a time when the other creatures "pust ole Brer Rabbit so close he 'uz bleezed ter git he revengeance out'n um"; "The Little Boy and His Dogs" (CT, pp. 420-428), suggests the deceit of "the quality"; and "How Black Snake Caught the Wolf" (CT, pp. 427-428), in which Brer Rabbit points out "dat dish yer country gittin' in a mighty bad way w'en de creeturs is got ter go 'roun' wid der ribs growin' terge'er w'iles de reptules layin' up in de sun des natchully fattenin' on der own laziness."

Pettit, p. 127.

Clemens, Letter to William Dean Howells, 27 February 1881, as quoted in Pettit, p. 127.

Harris, Introduction to Nights with Uncle Remus (New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883), p. XIII.

Julia Collier Harris, ed. Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris, p. 190.

Gribben, I, 296.

Clemens, *A Tramp Abroad* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1907), I, 28. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as TA.

Harris, as quoted in Blair, "Mark Twain's Other Masterpiece," p. 139.


Clara Clemens, *My Father Mark Twain* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1931), pp. 186, 252. Twain reportedly sang Negro spirituals on the night his wife, Olivia, died. Harris describes the poignant effect such music could have on auditors of all races: "The fine company of men and woman at the big house—men and women who had made the tour of all the capitals of Europe—listened with swelling hearts and with tears in their eyes as the song [a Christmas song being sung by the slaves] rose and fell upon the air...(CT, p. 405).


Harris, "Mingo: A Sketch of Life in Middle Georgia," *Harper's Christmas Pictures and Papers...Done by the Tile Club and Its Literary Friends* [Christmas, 1882], rpt. in *Mingo and Other Sketches in Black and White* (Boston: Osgood, 1884), pp. 1-35.


Harris, *Daddy Jake the Runaway, and Short Stories Told After Dark* (1889; rpt. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), p. 65. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as DJ.

Harris, "Free Joe," in *Free Joe: Stories by Joel Chandler Harris* (Savannah, Georgia: Beehive Press, 1975), p. 53. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as FJ.


Clemens, *Life on the Mississippi*, pp. 348-349.

Blair, "When Was Huckleberry Finn Written?" *American Literature*, 30 (1958), 1-25.


Harris, "At Teague Poteet's," *Century*, 26 (1883), 146; and Clemens, HF, p. 218.


77 Harris, Letter to Samuel L. Clemens, 1 June 1885, Joel Chandler Harris Papers, Emory University Library, Atlanta, Georgia.


79 Rubin, "Uncle Remus and the Ubiquitous Rabbit," p. 162.

80 Harris, On The Plantation (New York: D. Appleton, 1892), p. 28. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as OTP.

81 The appearance of the printer, Mr. Snelson, with his repertoire of Shakespearean readings (OTP, p. 27) brings to mind Twain's Duke, in Huckleberry Finn, who is a self-proclaimed tragedian and a "Jour printer, by trade" (HF, p. 99).

82 Clemens, Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins (New York: Norton, 1980), p. 120. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as PW.

83 Pettit, p. 143.

84 When the little boy pointedly asks Uncle Remus about "Miss Meadows en de gals," in "Mr. Rabbit Grossly Deceives Mr. Fox," the old storyteller tactfully refuses to answer (CT, p. 18). In this and in several other tales Brer Rabbit is in competition with other animals for the attention and favor of females of other species. In "Brother Fox, Brother Rabbit, and King Deer's Daughter," the two antagonists seek "to win the smiles of a nice young lady of quality" (CT, p. 469).
Appleton's illustrators reached a compromise in the four sketches of "Miss Meadows en de gals" in Uncle Remus, His Songs and Sayings, depicting them as nymph-like girls, some with caucasian and others with negroid facial features.

Pettit, p. 155.

Harris, The Chronicles of Aunt Minervy Ann (London: J. M. Dent, 1899), p. 2. Further references to this edition will be noted parenthetically as CMA.


Harris, "Where's Duncan?" in Free Joe: Stories by Joel Chandler Harris, p. 5.

Two of Uncle Remus's tales depict the selling of family members. In "Brother Rabbit Gets the Provisions," Brers Rabbit and Wolf "tuck'n 'gree one er n'er dat they sell der mammy en take de money en git sump'n' n'er ter eat" (CT, p. 286). In "Aunt Tempy's Story," Brer Rabbit convinces Brer Fox to "take der fammerlies wid um ter town un swap off for some fresh-groun' meal..." (CT, p. 294).

Harris, "Rosalie," Century, 62 (Oct. 1901), 920.


Pettit, p. 159.

Harris, "Plans and Scope of the Magazine as Outlined by the Editor," Uncle Remus's Magazine, 1 (1907), 6.

Harris, Letter to Andrew Carnegie, 2 November 1907 Joel Chandler Harris Papers, Emory University Library, Atlanta, Georgia. He was seeking Carnegie's support for Uncle Remus's Magazine.

96 Pettit, p. 168.
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