In all of his writing, Mark Twain uses various techniques and genres to expose social corruption. One of the genres he uses is the detective story. Twain burlesques the classical detective character and the classical detective story elements to show that detectives are not really heroes; they are members of a corrupt society who create chaos instead of order. Twain believed that the ideal detective who symbolized truth, solved crimes, and established justice, was good. But through his observations and experiences Twain came to believe that this ideal character did not exist. Instead, he saw corrupt, inept detectives, like Allan Pinkerton and his agency men whose attempts to solve crimes were mere dramatic escapades. Twain blatantly ridicules Pinkerton-type detectives in his burlesques, "Cap'n Simon Wheeler, Amateur Detective. A Light Tragedy," Simon Wheeler, Detective, and "The Stolen White Elephant." Though these burlesques seem to be exaggerated, they are based on
fact. According to Twain, the tragedy about such detectives is that they are heroes in the public eye, and corrupt heroes represent a corrupt society.

One of the reasons why Twain believed the society to be corrupt was because of the abuse of science in the nineteenth century. Though Twain initially admired scientific reason and common sense, he saw men becoming more like machines than human beings. In his novel, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Twain shows how inept scientific detectives are at salvaging humanity. *Pudd'nhead Wilson* uses the scientific method of fingerprinting to uncover a murder, but his victory does not touch the underlying corruption of the town.

Twain thought that the ideal detective could only exist in fiction. In *Tom Sawyer, Detective* Twain creates a boy detective hero in Tom Sawyer whose success depends mainly on coincidence and luck. This undermines the principle on which detective stories are based: that the crime must be solved by the analytical deductive reasoning powers of the detective. In his burlesque of the fictional Sherlock Holmes in "A Double Barreled Detective Story," Twain shows the unreality of detective fiction amidst society's moral corruption.

Throughout these works Twain shows that the perfect four part form of the detective story is as unreal as the detective character. Conventionally, all detective stories begin with a crime, then the detective or Watson-figure presents the evidence, then the detective solves the crime, and finally the detective gives a conclusion or synopsis of his analytical reasoning. Twain generally follows the
first three parts but in the process the works often become con-
fused and ridiculous. In all of his detective stories, Twain gives
the conclusion rather than having his fictional detective character
do so. In the conclusions Twain exposes a social system so corrupt
that more than detectives are needed to uncover the problems and
restore justice and order to the society. By presenting the problems,
Twain acts as a social reformer who makes the public aware of the
necessity of change.
MARK TWAIN: DETECTIVE STORY WRITER

A Thesis
Presented to
the Department of English
EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Donna Mary Andrews
July, 1981
Approved for the Graduate Council

James E. Hoy

Approved for the Major Department

[Signature]

Approved for the Graduate Council

424803

D.P.

MAY 04, 1982
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge appreciation in this study to my thesis director, Dr. G. Bleeker, for his guidance and many helpful suggestions. I also wish to thank Dr. R. Keller, my second reader, and Evette Nissen, my typist. Finally, I wish to thank Dr. J. Wild for his suggestions in the technical form, and Lois Johnson and Duane Procter for their criticism and support.

Emporia, Kansas
July, 1981

D.M.A.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DETECTIVE STORY</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEFORE THE 20TH CENTURY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. SIMON WHEELER, AMATEUR DETECTIVE</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. &quot;THE STOLEN WHITE ELEPHANT&quot;</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. PUDD'NHEAD WILSON</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. TOM SAWYER, DETECTIVE</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. &quot;A DOUBLE-BARRELED DETECTIVE STORY&quot;</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Mark Twain, one of America's best and most popular nineteenth century writers, is known for his humor, satire, common sense philosophies, adventure stories, essays, and speeches, but he has not been given nearly enough credit or recognition for his detective stories. Most of Twain's works have in them a sprinkling of detective story elements, and several whole works are devoted to the detective. Twain's use of the detective story paralleled the development of that genre in the nineteenth century. Many detective story authors, among them Allan Pinkerton and Arthur Conan Doyle, were quickly becoming very popular, and Twain used the detective story to try to "cash in on the detective story fad." However, Twain also wanted to expose social injustice which was one of his primary concerns.

Twain was not only influenced by the popular literary styles during his lifetime, but also contributed to their development. For example, when the sly, cunning criminal was popular in fiction, Twain wrote "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calvareras County." In this story the criminal wins. According to Ellery Queen, this story influenced many authors to write stories of "crime-in-the-ascendence." Twain also contributed to the popularity of riddle or
puzzle stories with his short story "Medieval Romance." Both of these types of stories, criminal and puzzle, contributed to the rise of the detective story in the late 1800's. After the detective story had been established as a literary genre, Twain introduced the first boy detective in Tom Sawyer, Detective. According to Tage La Cour, this is the best work written about a boy detective.

Although he made some minor contributions to the detective genre, Twain spent most of his energy burlesquing it. Twain burlesqued several of the most popular works soon after they came out. Two of his most obvious targets were Allan Pinkerton and Arthur Conan Doyle. Twain found Pinkerton's works repulsive because of their dishonest plea for publicity. Moreover, he found Pinkerton-type detectives ridiculous in their methods of using clues and pursuing criminals. These assertions are evident in Twain's Simon Wheeler series and in his short story "The Stolen White Elephant." The burlesques of Doyle's Sherlock Holmes are not as malicious. However, Twain found Holmes to be a psuedo-scientific detective who had no effect on the deep reality of social injustice. Holmes pretends to convey social justice, but Twain points out that he really does not. Twain makes fun of Holmesian deduction in Pudd'nhead Wilson, in Tom Sawyer, Detective, and in "A Double-Barreled Detective Story." Through these stories Twain shows that successful detectives are only a fantasy because social corruption is embedded far too deep in the social system.
Twain respected some detective stories, though. After Dickens dies, leaving the conclusion of *Edwin Drood* unfinished, many critics and detective authors tried to finish it for him. About the conclusion Twain said:

The investigations which a number of researchers have carried out have already thrown a great deal of darkness on the subject, and it is possible, if they continue, that we shall soon know nothing about it at all.⁵

This shows that Twain felt researchers were ruining a respectable detective story fragment. Aside from Dickens, Twain also admired Poe's detective stories as is evident in his notebook entry: "What a curious thing the detective story is. And was there ever one that the author needn't be ashamed of, except the 'Murders in the Rue Morgue'?"⁶ Whether Twain was ashamed of his detective stories or not, he continued to write them throughout his long career.

According to Albert Stone, Twain liked to use established genres, like "the historical romance, the boy's adventure tale, the detective story. . . because they had established formulas and could be easily and rapidly (as he thought) composed, and were readily marketable."⁷ Though this may be true in part, other evidence shows that his own writing style was very conducive to the detective story genre. According to Edgar Goold's research on Twain's style and technique, Twain used six principal rules in his writing. The material is based solidly on experience and observation; there is a solid underlying basis in fact;
the author must stick to probabilities; he must use concrete
details; the characters have to be realistic; and the work
has to have an organic unity and completeness. According
to these rules, Twain's works are realistic, with an ideal
romantic point of view. All of Twain's detective stories
follow these six rules.

Mark Twain was originally an innocent idealist who thought
that all men were instinctively good. But that young
idealism began to shatter as Twain grew older. Because of
his increasing pessimism, Twain's satire grew more savage. His
detective stories, in particular, present and support
much of Twain's urgent plea to the public to open their
eyes and see the corruption quickly overcoming their moral
senses. According to Maxwell Geismar, had the U.S. listened
to Twain, we wouldn't have many of our current problems.
By aiming his humor and satire at existing conditions, Twain
shows that detectives never really accomplish social justice
and that they never will. Through his detective satire
Twain reveals the moral and social corruption of detectives
and society.

Twain's use of the detective story was not based purely
on the writings of others. He was very interested in and
knowledgeable about law. According to D.M. McKeithan,
Twain should have been in law because of his clear logical
mind, an exhaustive knowledge of human nature, and a mastery
of the art of public speaking. W.D. Howells supports
McKeithan's opinion by elaborating on Twain's reliance on
facts and common sense.\textsuperscript{13}

On one occasion, Twain even tried to be a detective himself. After he wrote the play in his Simon Wheeler series, Twain received a message from George, his servant, saying that the burglar alarm in his Hartford house went off at odd hours of the night. Twain returned to Hartford to solve the mystery and to read his play to the Twichell family. He did both goals simultaneously. Because Twain was interested in solving the mystery in a scientific way, he cross-examined all of his servants. One finally admitted that her lover had been coming by and setting off the alarm. Twain then gave the young lover a choice of two doors, one with a preacher, the other with the police. The lover chose the preacher and the couple was married that same day. According to Webster, Twain was very proud of himself for his bit of detective work.\textsuperscript{14} In his actions as a detective he did what he thought was logical and morally right.

Thus, because of Twain's own six rules which rely on truth and fact, his pessimism, his interest in law, and his common sense, the detective genre was effective and appropriate for Twain's use.

One of Twain's main concerns in his writing was the illogical reasoning of man. He expresses this concern in \textit{A Connecticut Yankee} when man's lack of reason and misuse of science cause destruction. In "A Mysterious Stranger" Twain speaks through Satan and asks why the human race is not logical. Twain even expresses this concern
in a notebook entry:

Does the human being reason? No, he thinks, muses, reflects, but doesn't reason. Thinks about a thing; rehearses its statistics and its parts and applies to them what other people on his side of the question have said about them, but does not compare the parts himself, and is not capable of doing it. 

Twain was sure that other men, unlike himself, were illogical and needed to be shown truth. Twain saw the ideal detective as the symbol of truth, but at the same time he saw that the real detective did not perform this role. Hence, Twain presents an ambivalent view of detectives in his works. In "A Brace of Brief Lectures On Science," which preceeded "The Stolen White Elephant," Twain severely burlesques the detectives. The Simon Wheeler series and "The Stolen White Elephant" also make fun of detectives and their inability to use common sense or reason. But, when Tom Sawyer plays detective in Tom Sawyer and Tom Sawyer, Detective, Twain does not fail to show Tom's superior mind and reasoning powers.

Part of Twain's indecision about the detective resulted from his ambivalence toward science. Twain had a firm education in science. Like a scientist, he admired reason, common sense, and truth. But with the increase of science in the nineteenth century he saw men becoming more like machines than human beings. Science led Mark Twain deeper into his pessimistic philosophies. As Wilson notes, while Mark Twain was "at first enthusiastic about
the abstract ideal possibilities of the enterprise [both pseudo-science and legitimate science], he is inevitably appalled by the grotesque human enactment of the ideal."¹⁷

Because the detective is the personification of science, in his works Twain's views on the detective are similar to his views on science. In the innocent ideal manifestation the detective is good and righteous. But he, like other forms of science, has been exploited and has turned corrupt because he is so strongly influenced by his increasingly corrupted environment.

Through his works Twain continually shows how the environment is a corruptive force in man's individual development. As a result people are hypocritical and manipulated. In "The Character of Man" Twain says that man "was not made for any useful purpose" and that man lies to himself to make himself feel more important. He also says that men are not the individuals they pretend to be.¹⁸ This same concept of lack of individuality and hypocrisy is obvious in the Simon Wheeler series, in Pudd'nhead Wilson, and in "The Mysterious Stranger." It is implied in "The Stolen White Elephant" and in Tom Sawyer, Detective.

Twain's "What Is Man?" provides a possible solution for man to get himself out of his hopelessly corrupt state. This work pleads emotionally for pardon for man's state. In the essay he says that the individual in man must come forth; "Diligently train your ideals upward and still upward toward a summit where you will find your chiefest pleasure in conduct
which, while contenting you, will be sure to confer
benefits upon your neighbor and the community."19

Another possible solution Twain proposes to solve the
unconscious corruption and manipulation is to make these
faults known. If faults are known, then people can deal
with them and try to change them. In this respect Twain
is the hero of his detective stories. He is a detective
because he uses common sense and deductive reasoning to
expose social injustices. In all of his detective stories
Twain gives the conclusion rather than having his fictional
detective character do so. He tries to present real situa-
tions with real conditions, which results in exposing a
social system so corrupt that more than detectives are needed
to uncover the problems and restore justice and order to the
society. By presenting the problems, Twain acts as a social
reformer who makes us aware of the necessity of change.

Ideally, then, detectives are good, but in a corrupt
society, they are too stupid and insignificant to do any
real good. Detective stories became popular because they
made the reader feel secure with his environment. Twain
wrote his detective stories to make the reader afraid of
his environment and to encourage the reader to do something
about it. By using the popular genre Twain thought he could
reach a large portion of the population and thus effect
social change.

Although Twain frequently used detectives and their
deductive reasoning in his works, I have chosen to examine
only his most popular works in this study. These works are "Cap'n Simon Wheeler, Amateur Detective. A Light Tragedy," Simon Wheeler, Detective, "The Stolen White Elephant," Pudd'nhead Wilson, Tom Sawyer, Detective, and "A Double-Barreled Detective Story." In each of these works the central characters are the detectives, and the form follows the characteristic detective genre structure. Before examining Twain's use of the detective genre, it is essential to trace briefly the history of the detective story and its form up to and during the time Twain was writing.
CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DETECTIVE STORY

BEFORE THE 20TH CENTURY

Some critics argue that the detective story could not have originated before there were detectives. Superficially this is true. But the detective's role developed out of the police, private investigator, and criminal roles, just as the detective story developed out of domestic, gothic, and adventure fiction. While these elements were not combined until the detective hero came into existence in the mid-nineteenth century, some of the contributing styles of writing had previously been heading in the direction of the detective story. Besides the contributions of these roles and styles, other factors also led to the development of the detective genre. Some of these factors include the public's intrigue with puzzles, their interest in crime, their increasing desire for justice, the growth of urban areas, and an increasing respect for scientific analysis. The detective story envelopes all of these areas. The stories are about a detective hero who solves crime through analytical deduction, inevitably bringing order and justice to a corrupt and chaotic social situation.

Perhaps the earliest contribution to the detective genre was the first crime which the Bible says was committed
by Cain when he slew his brother Abel. With this incident history had its first victim, criminal, motive, and weapon. Cain's exile represents inevitable justice. Other early contributions came from ancient Hebrew, Latin, and Greek tales which emphasize the cunning thief. Even Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, particularly the "Pardoner's Tale," gives attention to the sly criminal. Oedipus Rex, one of the earliest Greek traumatic tragedies, emphasizes the judicial search motif, and puzzle tales come from the early Hellenic and Hebrew civilizations. Since these early influences came from early democratic civilizations, there seems to be some parallel between the democratic process and the detective story.

These early periods set up a basis for the detective genre, but direct noticeable contributions were not made until the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century, with the rise of scientific belief, there was an increase of mystery stories with rational explanations, an increase of novels about factual accounts, and an increase in recognition of the crime writer.

Voltaire, in his philosophical novel Zadig (1747), was one of the first to use the art of detection. In chapter three because he is able to describe a stolen royal dog perfectly, it is assumed that Zadig is a thief. After pleading his innocence, he tells the royal court how he used deduction to describe the dog. Zadig was the first to use his eyes in the act of deduction.
Closely related to Voltaire's fictional deduction is William Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (1793-94). Godwin, an eighteenth century propagandist and writer, believed that social injustices could be solved by reason. Because of his novel and the way he wrote it, he is known today as the "Grandfather of the Detective Story." *Caleb Williams* is about a servant, named Caleb, who discovers that his master is a murderer. Caleb feels great joy in satisfying his curiosity and in reasoning from truth. The least likely person is the criminal, and the novel is based on authentic material. Because it was written to preach morality and goodness, the novel does not classify as a detective story. Also, Caleb is not a detective. The most important contribution Godwin made through this novel was in his method of writing. He wrote the last chapter first. According to several critics, this hind-sight is mandatory in writing a detective story because all events prior to the end must lead the reader in the proper direction. Without a carefully considered ending, the beginning cannot be properly focused.

Detective stories have their roots in fact. The facts must be realistic so that they will be believable. One of the first novelists to concern himself with facts was Daniel Defoe. Defoe wrote eye witness accounts of events, he gave wordy pictures of environments and circumstances, and he had a close interest with criminal activity.

Another author whose work serves as a basis for detective fiction was the chaplain of the Newgate Prison. He wrote
The Newgate Calendar (1829), a series of pamphlets containing confessions of condemned prisoners and details of how they were brought to prison. These psychological criminal details are important to the fictional detective because they give him insight into the criminal mind on which he can base his deductions. Before The Newgate Calendar many murderers and criminals had been popular, like Peter Wagner's criminal Dracole (Nuremburg, 1488) and many of Shakespeare's villains. But, after The Newgate Calendar was published, there was a greater response to the criminal, and two things happened: first, the crime novel genre came to be popular, and second, the police started writing their own recollections. The crime novels developed eccentric criminals who became very popular, including, for example, Monsieur Arsene Lupin, created by Maurice LeBlanc in France, and A.J. Raffles, a gentleman crook created by Arthur Conan Doyle's brother-in-law E.W. Hornung in England.

Though the crime novel is a prime contributor to the detective novel, the police recollections are even more so. One of the first accounts of properly organized police work is Water's Recollections of a Detective Police Officer (1856). The most important account which served as a foundation for the detective story is Vidocq's Mémoires by Eugene Vidocq. Vidocq, an ex-con who turned detective, lived in Paris between 1775 and 1857. He was the first real-life professional detective who wrote dramatic reports on his
sensational exploits in hunting down dangerous criminals. In these reports he explained the case, he explained his reasons for his actions, he related the steps of his pursuit, and he recorded the arrest of the criminal. Vidocq gave later detectives an outline of the ideal hero. He was very aware of details, was a master of disguise, and had physical strength, patience, and endurance. With his insight into criminal mentality, Vidocq had inevitable success and dramatic personal triumph. At the crucial moment he would enter and say "I am Vidocq!" He was the omniscient detective. Vidocq was very dissatisfied with the French police for he felt they were jealous of him and his success. As a result he was sure to show the regular police as inept in his writing.

Some of Vidocq's and later detectives' inclusion of detail came from the novels of the American, James Fenimore Cooper (1823-41). Cooper's stories are about "redskins" who act as guides to white people journeying through hostile Indian territory. According to Murch, Cooper's stories are centered around the guides' remarkable instincts: "the skill these redskins display in following a trail, their quick perceptions of any sign of danger, the information they can obtain from a broken twig, a torn leaf or a faint footprint." The guides also explain what led them to their conclusions as they go along. Cooper was the first to use these details, which later became clues in detective fiction.
Other contributions to the detective story conventions came from France in the early nineteenth century, with the development of the Roman Feuilleton, a magazine for the general reading public. The magazine was inexpensive and contained enjoyable reading material. One device the magazine used to continue its popularity was the use of serial stories which involved drama, suspense, and sensational crimes. The authors of these stories influenced the direction of detective fiction. Honore de Balzac, one of the serial writers, used elements of mystery some of Cooper's tracking techniques, and details inspired by Vidocq in his writing. He gave the hero role to the criminal, his deductions were based on trivial details, and he used the "locked room." The "locked room," later employed by Poe, made the case more involved since the murderer seemed to have no access into or out of the location of the crime. In Balzac's stories the characters are more important than the plot and some of the characters appear in more than one work. This continuation of characters is common to detective fiction. Balzac also used technical language, a result of his background in law.

Eugene Sue, another French serial writer, incorporated his socialistic views into his writing. In his stories he elaborated on poor social conditions. He also showed extensive knowledge of prison life and of criminal psychology. According to Sue, certain types of criminals characteristically commit only certain types of crime.26
Alexander Dumas, another important French serial writer, used analytical deductions and he forshadowed "psychological" or "institutional" methods of reasoning. He was the first to introduce the detail of pen impressions on a second sheet of paper. He also followed Cooper's lead of using prints as important clues.

Because of these writers the French were a big influence on the detective story. Other more general influences from the French are fanciful reconstructions of the crime, inane accusations, the love of coincidence, acceptance of chance solutions, dislike of police, and the desire for psychological truth. Though some of these elements, such as coincidence and chance solutions, are no longer part of the detective genre, many of these influences still come through today.

Before it could fully develop the detective story had to wait for certain conditions. Since most of the crime-detection experiments were in the largest centers of population, the primary condition was the establishment of an effective police organization. In England Sir Robert Pell replaced the Bow Street Runners, a bunch of corrupt ex-cons, with Scotland Yard, an organization of plain clothes detectives. In Paris the hated police were also replaced by a group of detectives called the "Surete." The police in all of France also reorganized. Scotland Yard and the Surete reflected the democratic belief that a Democracy upholds the
rights of society and the individual. Throughout detective story development, the English detectives tended to work with the police, upholding the Democratic ideal. However, the French detectives always hated the police. A second condition which lent itself to the rise of detective fiction was that people put an increasing amount of faith in reason. A third condition was that people's concepts of the world changed because of increasingly effective methods of communication. All of these conditions came about in the mid-nineteenth century.

Edgar Allan Poe took advantage of previous contributions and changing conditions. He put an end to the casual use of detection, and as a result, became the "Father of the Detective Story." Poe created the first fictional detective, and he put that detective into the first detective story. That first detective story was "Murders in the Rue Morgue," and the first detective was Auguste Dupin, the prototype for all detectives since. Dupin is French, and of a good family as several real Dupins were. He is also the most extraordinary of detectives. Dupin is an eccentric figure, a recluse; he is isolated from the community that he later enters to restore peace. As a recluse he can look at the situation from the outside; and see more clearly into the nature of the situation. He is a man of culture and of good education; he is an intellectual with incredible powers of reasoning. He applies his powers of analytical reasoning to practical matters and his reason always masters a situation.
Because of his intellect Dupin is never wrong and he is the only character capable of success. He draws his deductions from clues and the evidence of witnesses. He outshines the police, who come to him for help, because he discovers clues the police have missed. The police, contrasted against Dupin, show how unimaginative organization men are. Dupin is a sympathetic character who is poor by choice. He is the exposcer of evils in society. He is omniscient and overbearing. He is also a recurrent figure in three of Poe's detective stories which display Dupin's powers of observation and deduction.32

The "Murders in the Rue Morgue," first printed in *Graham's Magazine* in 1841, is an example of the intellectual type of crime story because Dupin solves the problem of the murders by intellectually analyzing the evidence. In the beginning of the story Dupin gives the philosophy of analysis. Through this philosophy Poe introduces the hero, the hero's companion, and their home life. Next, Poe gives a preliminary account of the crime; then he lets Dupin visit the scene of the crime, where Dupin makes his observations. Dupin is very satisfied with what he finds, while his companion is very confused. The remainder of the story is devoted to Dupin's explanations to his confused companion and to the reader. In his explanation Dupin makes sure to mention the stupidity of the regular police.33

According to Murch, Poe is the first to give a scientific interpretation of the evidence and to support it by reference
Poe is also the first to base a fictional detective story on fact. A possible source for the story is an English newspaper article on an escaped chimpanzee. Through this first detective story in which an ape as murderer makes highly sensational reading, Poe introduces two factors to the detective genre: first, the more extraordinary a problem seems, the easier it is to solve, and second, when all other possibilities are eliminated, what remains must be the truth.

Poe's second detective story, "The Mystery of Marie Roget," was published in Snowden's Ladies' Companion in November and December, 1842. Like the first detective story, the nature of Dupin's character is the essential theme. But, whereas the previous story is concerned with physical clues and evidence, the second story is mainly concerned with the mental reasoning of Dupin. "The Mystery of Marie Roget" is based on an actual murder that aroused the American public. The murder took place in New York in August, 1841, and was unsolved at the time Poe wrote his story. In the true account the police did confuse the investigations, a point Poe did not ignore in his story. After the story was published, police investigators did not rule out the solution Dupin derived, which shows that Poe was very thorough and factual in his evidence.

Poe's third detective story, "The Purloined Letter," represents a balance between the physical and the mental types of detective stories. In "The Purloined Letter"
During the scanning process of this Thesis the following pages were found missing:

20 page
the narrator, so the reader sees only what the companion sees. By having such a companion, the detective can be frank about the clues, but he can keep the implications to himself. Through this point of view, the reader sees only external actions, and the detective can have some secrecy. Because the companion acts as a narrator, the unessential is eliminated, the solution is postponed, and the readers are emotionally removed. This type of eye-witness narrative also attains a dramatic effect more easily than does an impersonal record of the action.

Other elements which Poe employs are the locked room convention, deduction by the detective putting himself in another position, concealment by means of the obvious, a staged ruse to force the culprit's hand, solution by unexpected means, and a wrongly suspected man to whom superficial evidence points. Poe also makes Dupin attracted only to extraordinary crimes which the police cannot solve. Police, then, come to the detective for help. In the contrast between Dupin and the police there is an "implied connection between brilliance and individualism on the one hand, and dullness and regimentation on the other." Apparent in all of Poe's detective stories is the distrust of police methods.

Poe outlined the detective story as the scientific detection of crime. According to Poe's outline, the thesis should be based on curiosity; every point should be there to perplex the readers; the secret should be well kept, but
not by unartistic means; and the secret should be saved for the end. The other elements that Poe initiates which later become conventions, work within this outline to prove that crime can be scientifically detected. Through the detective story "Poe oriented readers to a particular form of tension between the ordinary and the bizarre, between sentiment and reason, and between appearance and reality." Some critics believe that Poe wrote detective stories to control his anguished unconscious mind and Joseph Krutch believes that the detective story was his therapy to keep from going mad. Elliot Gilbert, on the other hand, believes that the detective story was part of Poe's madness. Whatever Poe's unconscious or conscious motivations were, he is still the Father of the Detective Story.

Even though Poe had established the conventions, the detective story did not become a popular genre until Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes in the last part of the nineteenth century. But, between "Murders in the Rue Morgue" in 1841 and "A Study In Scarlet" in 1887, other authors experimented with detective fiction. Charles Dickens in England created the first Anglo-Saxon detective to appear in a novel, Police Inspector Bucket in Bleak House. Bucket, a member of the police force, symbolized the "new detective force of London." The English were not as hard on the police as the French, so Bucket was well accepted by the public. Poe wrote mainly for the intellectual classes, but
Dickens' Bucket was written primarily for the middle class readers. Bucket is the first detective to assemble all of the implications available and point to the murderer. Bucket also has much help from his wife, an innovation which has rarely been used since. Bucket shows his confidence and personal triumph by using Vidocq's famous, "I am Inspector Bucket." Dickens started another detective novel, Edwin Drood, which many critics feel could possibly have been his best work if it had been finished.

Wilkie Collins, also English and a friend of Dickens, wrote two semi-detective novels: Woman in White and Moonstone. The first has a complicated, tight plot; is based on reality; and connects detection and villainy. Collin's books are based largely on old volumes of French crimes, so there are some French characteristics in his works. In Moonstone, for example, Collins shows no admiration for the police. Moonstone is also more like a pure puzzle than his previous work. In his latter book, which he may have written while he was on cocaine, Collins introduces Sergeant Cuff, a fictional character based on the real Inspector Whicker of Scotland Yard. Cuff has a dry sense of humor, uses underhanded methods, and is sometimes wrong in his deductions. Collins modifies Poe's blueprint for the detective and does not have a companion narrator. Instead, different characters relate different episodes in the novel.

Because of various English detective writers, the fictional English police detective took on his own characteristics.
The English detective is sound, dependable, self-respecting, sympathetic of the middle class, and proud of his work. He functions both as an individual and as a member of a great organization. He performs his duties efficiently and energetically, even though he sometimes loses. He takes help from others and eventually brings the case to a successful conclusion. He also likes his home-life and the limelight. These characteristics of the English detective are a response to Poe’s French Dupin.

Meanwhile, in France Emile Gaboriau (1866-1873) became the first Frenchman to make a detective a hero. Gaboriau’s hero is Detective Monsieur Lecoq and his companion is the amateur Pere Tabaret. Gaboriau was the first detective writer to achieve world-wide success, he was the first to illustrate his texts with a sketch map of the crime, and his sleuth was the first to make a plaster cast of footprints. In typical French manner, Gaboriau had highly sensational and elaborate plots.

Because of the distinguishing characteristics Collins and Gaboriau had in their writings, critics have placed them in a school of their own apart from the classical detective story writers. The Collins-Gaboriau school of detection emphasizes external clues, their detectives replace instantaneous deduction with industry and mobility, they use exploration rather than instinct, and they have an enormous amount of energy, as opposed to the armchair detective type.
Another early French detective story writer, Pierre Alexis de Ponson du Terrail (1829-71), developed Detective Rocambole, first a street urchin, then a leader in a gang, then a detective. Rocambole makes fun of the police, enjoys luxuries, wears many disguises, and is tough. Because of these characteristics, Rocambole was a forerunner of Nick Carter and Sexton Blake, "hard-boiled" detective types who flourished in dime-novels across the United States. The most popular dime-novel detective series were about Nick Carter. The first Nick Carter novel was written in 1886 by Russell Conwell.41

While the dime-novel was beginning to make the detective story popular in America, Arthur Conan Doyle was bringing his detective, Sherlock Holmes, into the limelight in England. Doyle, a physician and author, published the first Sherlock Holmes story, "A Study in Scarlet," in the Strand Magazine in 1887. His stories grew in popularity so much that when Doyle wanted to quit his Holmes stories the public was frantically disappointed. Doyle rejuvenated the series with Hound of the Baskervilles (1901), a tale based on a true legend in the West Country. Though he continued to be a success, many people believe that Doyle's later stories were not as strongly constructed as his earlier ones.

Doyle was a literary descendant of Poe and together they form the classical school of detection. Doyle tried to combine the sensational and the intellectual elements
in his works. He blended elements from the French and the English and from the traditional features of the genre and new innovations, to create the first really celebrated English detective, Sherlock Holmes.

In the Victorian manner of creating rich characters, Doyle created Sherlock Holmes who became so familiar that people still speak as if he were real. In comparing Holmes to the previous detective types, Frank Chandler in Literature of Roguery says that Dupin is sheer reason, Lecoq is sheer energy, and Holmes is reason governing energy, an energy marked by a quiet nonchalance. Holmes has great mental brilliance, a good background, and the status of a scientist. He is unemotional but shows more animation and movement than Dupin. People bring personal problems to him, and the reader is free to share in the dramatic movements with Holmes. Holmes is a master of disguise, and he is confident even when he is sometimes baffled by evidence. But Holmes is always successful because of his deductive genius. Holmes is very eccentric, and he shows human frailty together with superhuman powers of perception which always carry him to his conclusions.

Doyle also created a companion, Dr. Watson, to act as narrator and as a foil for Holmes. Holmes meets Watson in a hospital, and through a series of questions Holmes deduces Watson's history and character. The reader feels a comraderie with Watson because of his emotions, his curiosity, and his
stupidity. Because Doyle wrote for the general public, Watson, the public's informer, had to be dense to make Holmes look even more superior.

Detectives of the late nineteenth century had to be superior because they were responsible for preserving the social order. In the late nineteenth century environmental conditions continued to lend themselves to the rise of detective fiction. New scientific discoveries in chemistry and medicine prolonged life. Because of an increasing abundance of materials, everyone wanted material wealth. Because they were so concerned with wealth, they became more concerned with criminals. Also poor people were learning to read. Detective stories provided security for the rich and entertainment for the poor.

By the late nineteenth century the detective genre was established and many variations on the theme were written. Allan Pinkerton wrote books about his Chicago Agency. These books were primarily propaganda to show the Pinkerton detectives in a favorable light. Pinkerton and his detectives, who always wore the badge "WE NEVER SLEEP," quickly became American heroes. Dashiell Hammett, a former Pinkerton man, wrote detective stories of the "hard-boiled" type. He introduced the American public to the U.S. underworld of guns and gangsters. On the other extreme, religious detectives were created. Davison Post created Uncle Abner, the American Bible carrier, in America, while G.K. Chesterton
created the notorious Father Brown in England (1901). These variations on the traditional detective reflected the increasing popularity and strength of the newly established detective genre.

Since the genre is so well established today, we can now identify stylistic conventions and character types in the detective story. The detective is extremely important because the detective's intelligence is the key to a detective tale. The detective is conventionally eccentric, arrogant, and isolated. He lives outside of the social order to view circumstances in their appropriate perspectives. In existing outside of the established authority, the detective is not influenced by corruption and disorder. Even though he is isolated, he is at ease in a broad range of social situations. The detective is usually not well off because he enters his cases for intellectual stimulation rather than for profit. He may also enter a case for moral obligations. The detective has a desire to know truth and to establish justice. In most cases he will treat the problems as puzzles rather than crimes. In solving the puzzles he attempts to make things right. This is part of his optimistic world view. The detective-hero must also be like a common man; he has to appear "real" for people to believe in him. He is always honest, proud, adventurous, and able to see hidden truth. He is also humane and has an interest in other people which transcends his interest in himself. He has toughness of mind which
enables him to face human weakness, including his own, with open eyes. Because of these characteristics he is the protector of society's order and justice, and because of his continued success, we accept his representation of the social code. According to William Kitteridge, "he is and has always been enormously popular, because he exists as an augmented version of the moral truth-seeking person we wish to be." But, even with all of his deductive instincts, his inner sense of morality, his "Fairy Godmother" characteristics, and his continued devotion to his profession, the detective cannot remove corruption from society.

The heroic figure of a detective fits in a specific form in the detective genre. The detective story is economical, tidy, and complete, and usually works best as a short story. In these stories the reader's brain is moved more than the reader's heart because the detective story offers intellectual satisfaction. It involves intricate arguments and intricate proofs. The arguments are solved by logical methods. The author establishes the argument on fundamental data and the consequences are deductable from concrete evidence. In outlining the detective story structure, Austin Freeman says, "the intellectual satisfaction of an argument is conditional on the complete establishment of the data." The data and evidence are extremely important to the story, as is the argumentative premise on which the story is built. The plot, then, is the completion of the argument, under the guise of fiction.
The structure of the story includes four parts: a statement of the problem; the production of data and evidence; the discovery, that is, the completion of the inquiry; and the explanation. Sometimes a preamble comes before the statement of the problem, but in most cases the story starts with a statement of the predicament. The predicament is some variation from the norm which invites inquiry. The detective sees the true question and investigates it. The predicament may be mysterious, grotesque, or horrible, but it usually concerns a crime. The crime is usually murder because a murder is the most mysterious and dramatic crime. A murder also removes one party from the secret. Because the moral attitude toward it is negative, murder causes gravity, seriousness, and curiosity. Tage La Cour says that murder creates an innocent amusement and that dead bodies and wicked people make the business man feel happy and at peace with the world. Murder mysteries also affirm the significance of life by affirming the importance of death.

In the course of the story, clues must be given to the reader, but they must be given as inconspicuously as possible. The clues must also be clear in their essentials. Austin Freeman says that the "failure of the reader to perceive the evidential value of facts is the foundation on which detective fiction is built." So the clues must be present, but only the superior-minded detective can put them together to make conclusions. The detective must tell the reader all
of his questions and answers and the people, places, and things from which he draws his clues. Because clues are the essential pieces to the puzzle, all objects which may serve as clues in a detective story are taken literally and seriously. They represent implications of past action and motive. A good clue points in the right direction but seems at first to point in the wrong direction. Clues cannot be elusive; they must be named, and the material must be recognizable. The lack of clues is also important. There are two types of clues: physical clues, and those clues which reveal the murderer's character or behavior. The latter is sometimes more difficult to accomplish than the first.

The third part of the detective story is the discovery and solution of the crime. This brings the inquiry formally to an end. No new material can be unfolded in this part. The discovery may end in violence, confession, arrest, or suicide.

After the discovery comes the detective's explanation of the conclusion. This is where he brings all of his clues and evidence together and proves his methods and solution. The conclusion is the most important part of a detective story because here the miraculous detective outshines even our own intelligence.

This four part structure follows the order of the reader's curiosity. The logic and the feeling of suspense are rooted in the reader's unconsciousness. The plot makes the reader's
imagination wander to various possibilities, and the conclusion satisfies the reader's own sense of justice. The main interest of the story is the reader's curiosity in finding out who committed the crime, and why it was committed.

Ronald Knox outlines another set of detective story rules and conventions:

1. The criminal must be someone mentioned in the early part of the story, but must not be anyone whose thoughts the reader has been allowed to follow.

2. All supernatural or preternatural agencies are ruled out as a matter of course.

3. Not more than one secret room or passage is allowable.

4. No hitherto undiscovered poisons may be used, nor any appliance which will need a long scientific explanation at the end.

5. No Chinamen must figure in the story.

6. No accident must ever help the detective, nor must he ever have an unaccountable intuition which proves to be right.

7. Detective must not himself commit the crime.

8. The detective must not light on any clues which are not instantly produced for the inspection of the reader.

9. The stupid friend of the detective, the Watson, must not conceal any thoughts which pass through his mind; his intelligence must be slightly, but very slightly, below that of the average reader.

10. Twin brothers, and doubles generally, must not appear - unless we have been duly prepared for them.

The detective genre became popular because it satisfies certain human needs for entertainment and security. The detective story is entertaining because it is suspenseful
and exciting. It offers a sense of security because it is a realistic account of crime and punishment. The guilty are always convicted. It releases in man animal instincts of the chase and the kill.\textsuperscript{55} The detective story also makes moralistic social comments on real-life situations. We need the hero, the always successful detective, and his promises of social order and justice for our corrupt society. And, according to G.K. Chesterton, the "first essential value of the detective story lies in this, that it is the earliest and only form of popular literature in which is expressed some sense of the poetry of modern life."\textsuperscript{56}

Mark Twain incorporated many of these detective story conventions and characteristics into his writing. To these conventions Twain added humor and satire, making the detective and his surroundings seem ridiculous. Like other detective story writers, Twain used the detective story to uncover corruption in society. As part of the corruption Twain included the detective hero. One of the most absurd of Twain's detective heroes is Simon Wheeler, amateur detective. The play, "Cap'n Simon Wheeler, Amateur Detective. A Light Tragedy," was Twain's first attempt at the detective genre.
full of brains but improbable on the stage and not popular. The public wants to see the plain realities of life reflected on the boards. All on acting is a bad card. Put in a story.  

Even though the outlined plot for the Simon Wheeler play was rejected, Twain was not discouraged. Twain wrote and revised the play between June 27, and July 11, 1877. The play incorporates Simon Wheeler, the detective, into a segment Twain wrote in 1870, which is the "Brummel-Arabella plot." This burst of enthusiasm apparently came from Chandos Fulton, a producer-director, who thought the plot outline had much potential. After this encouragement Twain went to Quarry Farm, his summer retreat near Elmira, New York, to write the play. He expressed his enthusiasm to Howells along with his progress reports on the play. "Never had so much fun over anything in my life--never such consuming interest and delight." His progress reports confirm his enthusiasm. In "6 1/2 working days of 6 1/2 hours each," he conceived, plotted out, and finished his rough draft for the Simon Wheeler play. He wrote 300 pages of manuscript in "42 hours by the clock." Another part of Twain's enthusiasm was his estimated financial success of $50,000 or more.

After Twain completed the play he visited Hartford to investigate reports of burglars around his house and to read his play to the Twichell family. Then he went to New York to find a producer, but nothing resulted. In October, 1877, Howells advised Twain to make the play into a novel. Upon
Howells' advice Twain began the novel but never finished it. He wrote Howells that "the story was dreadfully witless and flat" and that he had "given up writing a detective novel," for he lacked the necessary "faculty." Further revisions and additions to the novel show, though, that Twain did not abandon the novel until 1898. The novel remains incomplete.

The Simon Wheeler play is a burlesque of the Allan Pinkerton stories which were flooding the market in the '70's. Twain shows little patience with Pinkerton's slavish application of the same rigid procedure to every case. Twain also attacks the detective-author's pretensions to infallible reasoning. In the play Twain humorously exaggerates the conventions of the detective story as presented by Pinkerton. According to Franklin Rogers, "with the detectives and Simon Wheeler, Twain manages to pour ridicule upon Pinkerton's three major devices in detection: the accumulation of exhaustive details both relevant and irrelevant, the constant surveillance of the suspect by detectives in disguise, and the securing of a confession by gaining the confidence of the suspect." The Pinkerton stories are descendants from Vidocq's Mémoires, which are accounts of actual exploits by Vidocq. The Pinkerton books are also accounts of actual exploits. Both detective-authors are highly sensational, they don't like police, they explain details, and they are masters of disguise. Vidocq is also the first to present the
omniscient detective from whom nothing can be hidden. Vidocq makes dramatic entrances showing his personal triumph. At a crucial moment he exclaims, "I am Vidocq," a phrase which later became a popular one among fictional detectives. Twain said he had tried to extravagantly burlesque these detective conventions and others, "if it is possible to burlesque that business extravagantly."65

The basic structure of the play does not strictly follow the classical detective formula because Twain mainly works off of the Pinkerton formula. Twain introduces the character of the detective in the first act along with the problem the detectives must solve. Then Wheeler goes through the motions of the detective, gathering clues and following his suspect. The suspect confesses and Wheeler believes he has clinched his case. But where the classical detective gives his explanations and theories, in this play we see the final ridiculousness of detectives in general. Wheeler is too stupid to produce a meaningful conclusion though he continually blurts out his "theories" during the middle of the play. Twain also uses the last part for a trial-like scene, with a judge, to uncover the foolishness of the Pinkerton agency and thus make his statement on the Pinkerton type of detection.

The story line of the play is quite confusing but is humorously developed to exploit the detectives. The story takes place in a small town where everyone knows everybody
else's business. In this town live two cousins, Hugh Burnside and Charles Dexter. Part of the busy body business is that Charles is to be left out of his uncle's will, Charles and Hugh's sister (Clara) are lovers, Hugh and Millicent can't be lovers because of Millicent's father, and Jake Belford recently escaped from prison. Mr. Griswold, Millicent's father, will not allow her to see Hugh because Hugh is a poor poet and according to a "man's premise," love is based on money. Wheeler's love of detection is based on the same premise—money. Because Hugh can't see Millicent he makes a statement as to his action which results in the detective's reactions. He says, "I will wring her hard heart! If it's the last act of my blighted life, I'll commit suicide."  

Thus far Twain has set the circumstances for the rest of the play. Hugh tries to commit suicide but only sleeps instead. While he is sleeping, Tom, a reporter, sees the body and wants to keep it for a newspaper item. After a physical fight with Lem, a telegraph operator and Tom's roommate, which results in some bloodshed, they decide to leave the body. Early the next morning Hugh wakes up and sees the desperado Jake Belford disguised as a tramp. Hugh changes clothes with him and the desperado goes into the woods and is shot by Charles who thinks him a wolf. Charles thinks the desperado is Hugh because he is wearing Hugh's clothes. Meanwhile Hugh, as tramp, gets picked up by Wheeler who thinks the tramp murdered Hugh. Wheeler keeps
the tramp under surveillance while he looks for "clews" and develops theories.

While Wheeler suspects the tramp, the other detectives have suspects of their own. Baxter charges Mrs. Burnside of murdering her son with an ax. When he displays his criminal, Tom confesses to the murder. Billings charges Millicent of murdering her lover with a stove lid, and Lem confesses. Bullet charges Clara with murdering her brother, and Charles confesses. Then Wheeler steps forward with the tramp and Hugh reveals himself. All is straightened up and detective Wheeler is the hero.

Because there really is no murder, and because the audience knows all that is going on, we see what the detectives’ attempt to uncover as being ridiculous. The detectives are not omniscient; they are blind fools. But, the detectives are not the only fools; the townspeople are also in this category. Throughout the play everyone believes Wheeler and the rest of the detectives to be stupid, but at the end they show faith in the detectives' accusations. Regardless of the detective's actions, the people are taught to believe that the detectives have a special mentality and a special eye for crime. This belief is supported by the Pinkertons of the world. Thus, the villagers initially believe that each of the accused actually committed the crime.

The detective characters Twain constructs are closely related to those in the Pinkerton agency in Chicago.
Pinkerton himself is the celebrated "Flathead" who writes the wonderful detective stories from which Simon Wheeler learns of detective methods and jargon. He admires the "Flathead" and tries to be just like him. The three detectives, Bullet, Baxter, and Billings, have the same initial as the three detectives in Pinkerton's agency. Throughout the play these three detectives mirror the typical ridiculous antics of Pinkerton's detectives in general.

The first act of the play introduces Simon Wheeler, his detective characteristics, his self image, and the reactions of the villagers to him. The act opens with Wheeler hiding behind a barrel, "spying around" for no apparent reason. While Wheeler is in hiding he overhears various groups of people give their opinions of him along with other village gossip. Charles Dexter and his cousin, Hugh Burnside, stage a fight for "the old fool that imagines he's a detective" (p. 221). Mr. Higgins thinks he is an "ignorant old amateur detective" who mixes in and makes mysteries out of nothing (p. 225). Mrs. Higgins also thinks little of the intellect "in his poor old mushy head" (p. 225). Tom Hooker, the newspaper reporter, probably best expresses the villagers' sentiments about Wheeler, and detectives in general, by saying, "A detective, your Grandmother! A detective couldn't follow [a track of blood] if it was eleven foot wide" (p. 236).

The villagers have good reason to believe that old
Simon is a ridiculous character because of his obsession for irrelevant clues and his dedication toward his imaginary detective agency. But Simon Wheeler has a completely different conception of himself. Like Vidocq and his predecessor Pinkerton, Wheeler shows personal pride in his occupation and he imagines himself as one of the great detective heroes of the time. He thinks he has stamina for putting "up with all kinds of places, in the way of business" (p. 226). And he regrets not being "valued and looked up to as he ought to be" (p. 228). But, that does not discourage Wheeler, for he thinks he has that special detective mentality and "nobody can't hide a secret from you no way" (p. 231). He is so proud of himself in Act III that he thinks his case is "worthy a chapter in one of Allan Pinkerton's great detective books! - The villagers still observe me with admiration - Allan Pinkerton couldn't do it better, himself" (p. 272). As a reward for his detective abilities, Wheeler also wants fame and recognition. If he clinches his case within a year "it'll give me the biggest name in America. It'll spread to England -- it'll be in books!" (p. 247).

Closely related to Wheeler's pride and desire for fame is his desire to be in the limelight and to be the main actor in the drama. Though most fictional detective heroes live in isolation, they too are very dramatic in their crime solving efforts. Two illustrations in particular show Wheeler's respect for the detective's convention of dramatic actions. The first is that a detective ought to
look like a detective in his actions. He tells his wife Jenny that the motions are:

a big part of the business, too, to do it right. - I mean when there's people looking at you. Ah, when a detective's under the public eye, it's beautiful to see him go through the motions - beautiful! Why Jenny dear, you watch a detective, and you can follow his line of thought right straight through, just the same as a deaf and dumb scholar can follow his teacher's meaning when he stands on the school platform making signs" (p. 271).

The second illustration of dramatic action occurs when Wheeler "lays for the dramatic effects" (p. 282), by declaring his suspect to be the criminal. At the end of the play Wheeler strips off his disguise and says, "I, detective Wheeler!" (p. 287). This statement represents a deformed version of Vidocq's famous original, "I am Vidocq!"

Twain does not leave out the use of disguise which Vidocq and Pinkerton employed in their exploits. Hugh uses a tramp disguise of rags, blue goggles, a cane, false whiskers, and a sign on his breast "Pity the Poor Soldier." Wheeler also uses several disguises to gain a confession from the tramp. The tramp, though, can see through Wheeler, but the other detectives can't. Baxter believes his old man disguise and his country man animal chatter (p. 260). Billings believes his idiocy routine (p. 261), and Bullet believes his deaf routine (p. 262). Wheeler also tries to use disguises of a "Nigger" and an "Irish woman." The tramp does not believe any of these disguises but plays along with Wheeler and gives a confession in sleep, then confirms
it in waking. Wheeler believes that he "hounded" him down until the suspect confessed, just like a real Pinkerton detective.

The disguises are about as transparent as Wheeler's character. Wheeler cannot maintain the classical detective front of being hard and tough. When the tramp gives his waking confession, Wheeler pities him and wants to let him go, but the tramp wants to remain to see justice done. When the tramp confesses in his sleep "the detective's stern implacable heart" melts and he condemns himself for hounding him day and night (p. 277). Wheeler also cries while he eavesdrops on the lovers and when he hears the funeral. Since he lacks these mandatory detective traits, we become convinced that Wheeler is merely playing detective.

He is obviously only playing detective as he gathers "clews" and develops theories. Through Wheeler, Twain completely destroys the detective's deductive reasoning through clues. In the play, clues that are supposed to point the reader in the right direction, after appearing to at first point in the wrong direction, never point anywhere at all. None of the clues Wheeler finds are significant. He produces insignificant and non-existent clues for the reader and poor Jenny. Not only can we not see the relevance of the clues, but we cannot believe the deductions Wheeler inevitably draws out of his rigid procedures and detective intellect. Wheeler puts all of his faith in "clews" because "they just lead him as dead straight to his man as the poles would lead
an ord'nary man to the telegraph office" (p. 232).

Perhaps most irritating about Wheeler and his clues is that he doesn't pick up on the real clues. For example, he could have a possible motive for Charles killing Hugh because Charles is left out of the will. Also Hugh sounds exactly like himself, which the detective never notices. Out of all of the characters who think they have really killed Hugh, none are suspected by Wheeler because they frighten too spontaneously. What Wheeler does notice are trite tidbits of nothing, like fallen leaves, a piece of a tree limb, lard, and a wheelbarrow. He says that these clues "yell" to him. From these clues he deduces that Hugh wanted to commit suicide but climbed a tree to think about it when he fell on a man carrying lard who swung a wheelbarrow at him and murdered him (p. 239). Wheeler thinks that as a matter of course this man was left-handed because "all murders are committed by left-handed people," according to the detective books (p. 240).

Though we may think this illogical thinking ridiculous, not so his wife. Jenny, Wheeler's wife, is not like Dickens' Detective Bucket's wife who helps her husband. Instead Jenny is a Watson figure who is curious about the detective mentality. Jenny shows overwhelming admiration for Wheeler and his theories. She asks questions and acts as a foil for Wheeler to verbalize his conclusion. She is supposed to represent the "ord'nary" person who cannot put the detective puzzles together without the detective's intellect. But
even the villagers suspect her of being more simple-minded than her husband, that is, until the end.

In the end of the play Wheeler is the hero, not because he is right in his logical thinking, but because "to track out a lost corpse and fetch him home alive and good as new, takes genius!" (p. 289). The villagers believe, or want to believe, that to find the corpse is Wheeler's intention. The people rejoice in the order that is restored to the village without questioning the disorder that the detectives originally brought. They want to believe in detectives, as heroes even though they subconsciously know that such heroes are not worthy of the honor.

Wheeler is an example of a hero unworthy of honor. In fact he denies all of the detective's honorable traits. He does not enter the case for intellectual stimulation; he tries to solve the case in order to obtain the reward money of "two or three hundred dollars" (p. 240). No one calls on his services; he spies around unwanted. He does not have a superior mind either; he proves himself stupid through his actions. He does not have a strong self-image, because he fears failure, and he needs Jenny's admiration for his confidence. Wheeler does not see all; he sees nothing and is easily fooled. He is also easily intimidated, even by his suspect, the tramp. Most importantly, he is not an agent of justice and social order.

Wheeler wants to bring justice to the village, but only
for his own glory. He thinks he sees "the mark of Cain" on the tramp (p. 243). In attributing the characteristics of Cain to the tramp he simultaneously sees himself as a sort of savior. Cain is the first murderer just as the tramp is Wheeler's first murder suspect or case. Because of Cain, brothers became enemies. If Wheeler could instill justice with the first murder, then presumably no others would occur. This would make him the savior of brotherhood in the eyes of the world. To Wheeler becoming a savior in the eyes of the villagers would inevitably accomplish the same glory. The cities would soon hear about his victory, and as his fame grew, so would the rest of America, and England. Also, in wanting to save Millicent from the tramp's stares (p. 256), he shows a desire to rid the tramp, and murderer, from the village and ultimately rid all murderers from the earth.

Though these sentiments may be grand, they are innocent and unrealistic. Universal justice cannot be achieved, certainly not by Simon Wheeler. Wheeler brings injustice. Not only are his motives primarily for profit and glory, but he would have condemned the tramp as being a murderer when the tramp was really the alleged murdered. Wheeler and the rest of the detectives do not bring order to the small village; they bring chaos with their ridiculous schemes and convictions. The detective mentality and morality Twain presents would lead the world into a deeper corruptive state than already exists. By ridiculing the villagers as well as the detectives, Twain attempts to make us aware of our
own blind beliefs. Twain opens our eyes to the farcical Pinkerton agency that, through increasing popularity, was quickly enforcing the heroism of the American detective.

Though Wheeler and the other three detectives are exaggerated representations of the Pinkerton agency, they still represent a certain social code which Twain depicts as degenerate. Throughout the play Twain also shows us that when this code is actually used it is ridiculous. Because the play is fictional, it can end with the order restored.

But the Pinkerton agency is real. The social code is real. We, the public, accept farcical detectives as real heroes. With these corrupt standards and blind admiration of a non-existent ideal, can we possibly expect an ordered, judicial society?

The novel about Simon Wheeler is similar to the play in the detective elements. In the novel, however, Twain begins to add new details and elements to the plot. These added details are relevant to the detective formula, but the added elements are not. The first and most important element is the development of the feud between the Dexters (Charles becomes Hale Dexter) and the Burnsides. With further development this feud plot ultimately becomes incorporated into Huckleberry Finn as the feud between the Shepardsons and Grangerfords. Another added element is the "runaway horse episode" where Milly is saved from death by Hugh, who stops the runaway horses right before they go over the cliff. Both of these added elements are based on fact.
The feud element adds some detail to the detective plot. Dexter has supposedly come to the village to murder Hugh and thus finish the age old feud between the two families. This feud had its foundation so long ago that no one living can remember for what they are fighting. Simon Wheeler knows about the feud but never suspects Dexter as the murderer of Hugh. Instead he foolishly warns Dexter that the Burnsides are out to kill him by putting strychnine in his meat. Wheeler relays this message through a note which reads: "Don't eat Beefstake in the House when you are stopping. Beware. 'From a friend.'" This note further illustrates Wheeler's stupidity in that as well as confusing clues, he is illiterate and definitely not of a superior mind. Wheeler comes up with this conclusion by hearing Hugh say that he wanted to eat the wolf bait meat if it were cooked and full of strychnine (p. 42). Wheeler tries to warn Dexter again when he is dressed like a gypsy fortune teller. Dexter sees through his disguise though. The gypsy fortune teller scene also anticipates Pudd'nhead Wilson who, through fingerprints, is also a sort of fortune teller.

In converting the play into a novel, Twain develops and lengthens each particular point in the plot. The love scenes are more dramatic and involved, the characters are given more attention, the village and its surroundings are specifically described, the antics of the other three detectives are more detailed, and the story finally becomes too confusing even for Twain to finish. The Pinkerton burlesque is still
evident, but somewhat lost among the other details. These
detailed additions add to Twain's implications in the play
of a "deformed consciousness" existing in the village. Twain
attributes the deformity to a lack of communication among
the characters. Because of this change of focus, Simon
Wheeler is a product of chaos rather than an instigator,
and Twain seems to be more kind to him.

Simon Wheeler continues to portray a ridiculous detec-
tive, but because he is more like Captain Stormfield (on
Howells' suggestion), we feel sorry for him. Wheeler was
a jack-of-all trades before he had his calling to be a
detective. His calling, or vision, occurred in a dream
where the "Beautiful Personage" said he was to be a
"brother and comrade of all [the] nations and peoples" (p. 142).
Thinking that this was a position for a detective, Wheeler
read all of Pinkerton's books and considered himself one of
the detectives. In fact, he imagined himself the chief and
he carried out his pretend role at all times. We feel
sorry for him because we can see his naivete and his
foolishness. He considers "Tales of a Detective" his Bible:

he marveled over its cheap mysteries and trivial
investigations and thought they were near to being
miracles. Now this was all perfectly natural,
for these reasons, to wit: Captain Wheeler was
country-born and village-bred; all his goings
to and fro had been among backwoodsmen and
villagers; he was almost without education and
real experience of men and life, and this gave
him a confidence, a self-appreciation and a deep
knowingness which nothing but ignorance can afford--
ignorance carefully selected, and boiled down
and compacted to pemmican; he was very brave, he
was a manly man, and void of meanness and implaca-
bilities; but at the same time he was as gentle-hearted as a girl, as simple-minded as a child, and as easily seen through as glass. (p. 143)

Because of Wheeler's avid admiration for detectives he tries to make himself as much like them as possible, but with this type of character he becomes warped instead. Juxtaposed against Wheeler's detective attempts are the real detectives from "Inspector Flathead's celebrated St. Louis Detective Agency." These detectives prove that Wheeler is a good learner for they are extremely ridiculous.

The St. Louis detectives are on Jake Belford's trail. They appear when they come to question Dexter. The detectives ask Dexter if he has seen a man in a prison uniform, if he has seen tracks, and if he knows what kind of animal made the tracks. From Dexter's answers the detectives conclude that Belford is disguised as a cow. This scene shows the faulty reasoning of Pinkerton-type detectives. These detectives are even more closely related to the Pinkerton agency than in the play, because they wear the badge, "WE NEVER SLEEP."

These "miraculous" detectives appear next as they try to capture Belford by pursuing their theory on his disguise. The three detectives act exactly alike in their procedures. They all sweep the ground with a stick, they all measure the same tracks, and they all set down the dimensions in their notebooks (p. 102). Like in the play, the motions seem to be very important. The detectives conclude that Belford (as a cow) is up a tree. Belford unharmed, hears
them and feels secure in his safety because the detectives are so stupid. To further prove his safety and their stupidity, Belford approaches them and says he is the celebrated "country detective," Bob Tufts (p. 103). Of course the St. Louis detectives believe him and they congratulate themselves for knowing that Belford is not in Illinois, as "Tufts" assumes, but is up a tree in a cow disguise. As in the play the detectives are blind fools.

In the play Twain depicts Pinkerton as a corrupt element in society and he enforces that idea in the novel. Not only do they cause disorder and injustice, but the detectives influence people like Wheeler into becoming just like them. With every detective hero, at least one admirer, like Wheeler, is influenced into believing the hero's immoral social code is his own. In both the novel and the play Twain burlesques Pinkerton and thus tries to persuade the audience to see that detectives may not really be instigators of justice. For if the detectives are anything like Pinkerton and his agency, they may really be the instigators and enforcers of injustice. Twain may have exaggerated the Pinkerton detective-methods to unbelievable extremes, but they are based on fact. Pinkerton and his men did use rigid procedures, they did use transparent disguises, they did hound their suspects, they did use innumerable means of getting a confession, they did desire glory, and they did love details—both possible relevant and irrelevant. Twain
shows that with such methods and characteristics they are not heroes but society's enemies.
"The Stolen White Elephant" was written in 1878 but was not published until 1882. After Twain had temporarily given up work on the Simon Wheeler story he decided to further burlesque the "detective business." He was inspired by the detectives "nosing around after Stewart's loud remains." This inspiration led him to put a detective burlesque chapter into his current novel, *A Tramp Abroad*. That chapter was later omitted from *A Tramp Abroad* and became the titlepiece of a collection that was published in 1882.

In "The Stolen White Elephant" Twain further ridicules the Pinkerton agency, but included in his ridicule are the New York detectives. The New York detectives involved in the Stewart body-snatching case proved to be just as ridiculous and incompetent as the Pinkerton agency detectives. They used the same methods of obtaining an inexhaustable amount of details and clues. They tracked down their suspects by using disguises, and they tried to get a confession. Twain's story is based on the actual Stewart case and on facts from newspaper accounts of the case. Involved in the case were famous private and professional detectives,
including the Pinkerton detectives and New York detectives and police.

The story of the first New York body-snatching hit New York headlines on November 8, 1978. The body of Alexander T. Stewart, a wealthy man who rose from "rags to riches" after he reached America, was stolen from a family crypt. Notices about the crime were sent to thousands of detectives and the news quickly spread throughout the nation. The daily papers were full of detectives' clues and theories on the case; they praised the detectives for their fine detective work. The detectives were optimistic about their clues and their suspects, even though all of the suspects were eventually proven innocent. The reward was raised and detectives became more optimistic. But, by December, the public and the press had tired of the false leads and the promises of detectives, and little more was ever said about the case. According to recent research, the body was never found and the case was never solved. 71

Though Twain was in Munich at the time, he had apparently been familiar with the case through the newspapers, because his elephant story closely parallels the actual case. "The Stolen White Elephant" is about a British civil servant who is commissioned to bring a valuable gift from the King of Siam to Queen Victoria. While stopping in Jersey City, New York, to rest before continuing the voyage, the valuable gift, a sacred white elephant, is stolen. As soon as the
British civil servant finds out about the theft, he takes "the one course for an intelligent man to pursue."

He goes directly to the New York detective agency just in time to catch the "celebrated Inspector Blunt" (p. 200). After telling Inspector Blunt about the theft, Blunt secures a $25,000 reward and proceeds to ask a series of questions helpful in finding the elephant. The questions concern the elephant's description, his birthplace, his parents, and his eating and drinking habits. After Blunt receives this information he dispatches several detectives to "shadow" the elephant and the thieves, and to guard the place from where the elephant was stolen.

Even though Blunt wants the case to be secret, all of the newspapers knew about the stolen elephant by the next morning. Their headlines flashed the clues and the theories of the detectives. Daily, the newspapers continue to report new developments, until there are no more. When the detectives prove incompetent, the media ridicules the inept detectives and their daily reports. After the chief Inspector Blunt secures a reward of $100,000, he compromises with the thieves and the dead body shows up in the police station basement. Then most of the newspapers once again admire the detectives and their methods.

The parallels between the actual case and the fictional story are many. Both take place in New York, both involve a missing body, both require a large number of detectives, both include many clues and many suspected thieves, both
have the same initial reward money and both are given extensive newspaper coverage. Twain probably questioned the newspapers' complete coverage of the detectives' plans and procedures because with this information the thieves could easily avoid being captured. His doubts are reflected in the story when the narrator poses this question to Chief Blunt. Blunt responds as the real New York detectives did: "They will find that when I am ready for them my hand will descend upon them, in their secret places, as unerringly as the hand of fate" (p. 206). The fifth parallel is perhaps the most direct; he named his Chief Inspector Blunt after George H. Bangs, head of Pinkerton's New York agency.

Twain's close parallels show that he used documented fact to portray the absurdity of real life conveyers of justice, that is, detectives. In his story, the naive narrator and the gullible press enhance the position of the warped detectives, as the press has proven to do in real life. In both the factual account and in Twain's story, the papers believe the detectives. The papers give the detectives free publicity by keeping them in the limelight and supporting their heroic image. Without the papers, detectives would starve. Chief Blunt explains to the narrator that papers cannot be kept from a secret:

they must keep in with them. Fame, reputation, constant public mention -- these are the detective's bread and butter. He must publish his facts, else he will be supposed to have none; he must publish his theory, for nothing is so strange or
striking as a detective's theory, or brings him so much wonderful respect. ... We must constantly show the public what we are doing, or they will believe we are doing nothing (p. 206).

The detectives' image in the public eye is of all importance to the warped detectives. When the papers begin to ridicule the detectives, then the detectives have to produce new, brilliant evidence or they must clinch the case at a crucial moment for his reputation.

The narrator, also the British civil servant, represents the majority of the public. He is a Watson figure who shows great admiration for the Inspector. He sees no fault in the detective nor in his brilliant methods. The narrator sees Chief Blunt through the same haze as the rest of the public. That vision is what makes fictional detectives heroic. According to the narrator, Inspector Blunt is "a person of no common order" (p. 200). He has an iron self-possession, he is practiced in concealing his thoughts and feelings, and he is systematic and thorough. He is confident, authoratative, calm, and optimistic. The narrator "marveled over the mysterious wonders of his profession" (p. 204). This description is that of a classical detective and is very impressive. The narrator, by thus acting as a foil for the detective and for the audience, fulfills his duty in the detective story.

Twain, however, negates the insurmountable respect of the narrator by showing the Inspector's actions. The narrator presents the rose-colored detective of the Pinkerton agency
and the New York detective force. According to Blunt's newspaper speech, he thirsts for money and for fame. He expects free publicity but is selfish and won't let others have the same. This is evident when he requires $7,000 from Barnum to put circus posters on the elephant, until the detectives catch him (p. 210). Blunt, and similar detectives, cannot exist without public support, unlike the true detective who is self-assured. Blunt takes the case because he needs the publicity, not for intellectual satisfaction. The actions of the other detectives show that they too have little or no intelligence. When Detective Brown finally finds the elephant, for example, he gets "brained" while looking for the essential clue of "a boil-scar" under the elephant's arm pit, "and nothing issued from debris" (p. 211).

Twain also presents Blunt as a real-life Pinkerton in his methods. Pinkerton, as chief, orders other detectives to "shadow" and do the physical detective work. Meanwhile Pinkerton remains at the headquarters to receive all of the daily developments from the "never sleeping" detectives. When he has gathered his information, he ultimately solves the crime in true heroic manner. Blunt acts the same way. He dispatches scores of detectives with orders to "let me be informed at once if any clues should be found — footprints of the animal, or anything of that kind" (p. 204). When the reports start coming in Blunt makes obvious and optimistic statements like, "So the elephant has turned
westward. . . . However, he will not escape, for my men are scattered all over that region" (p. 209). Though many detectives are scattered across the area, Blunt ultimately finds the elephant in "the vast vaulted basement where sixty detectives always slept, and where a score were now playing cards" (p. 215). Apparently not all of the detectives honored their badge "WE NEVER SLEEP!"

Twain shows that the detectives are not as systematic as Blunt implies at the beginning of the story. They roam around in various directions trying to find clues that support the initial clues Inspector Blunt obtained from the narrator. Detective Darley, for example, will not believe a farmer who says the holes are not elephant footprints, but are places where he dug up saplings for shadetrees (p. 207). Darley takes him in as a suspect. Other detectives secure clues from clothing of the elephant's victims, broken bottles that the elephant supposedly ate, and pieces of a dead horse carcass. One detective even accidentally bumps into the elephant's rear end, and then he loses him again. The detectives automatically pick up on these ridiculous clues, but do not regard obvious clues as valid. The biggest obvious clue they reject is the broken wall in the elephant's quarters. Blunt tells them this is just a trick and does not merit attention. The ridiculous clues are not clues that will ever lead in the right direction. The readers know this, but the detectives do not. That these are dead end clues becomes evident when the clues never lead to the apprehension
of the elephant. The Inspector finds the elephant by luck, and not by any kind of analytical deduction or scientific methods. According to detective story critics, a detective story is not a true detective story unless the clues in the story lead to the resolution of the crime. Through making the clues inconsequential to the solution, Twain proves this is not a detective story, and the detectives are not real detectives.

Because these farcical detectives closely represent detectives like Pinkerton and New York detectives, Twain implies that the practicing detectives are not real detectives either. Since they are not real detectives they cannot uphold or enforce justice. In the actual Stewart case the detectives suspect several thieves which are later proven innocent. These actions do not represent justice. Twain reflects this injustice in his story also. Darley brings the farmer in as a suspect and Inspector Blunt accuses Brick Duffy and Red McFadden, two renowned criminals. The farmer is obviously innocent, Brick Duffy had been dead for two years, and Red McFadden has been hanged eighteen months ago. Twain's parody suggests that the detectives don't care about justice as long as they find a thief. This example also shows the detective's ignorance which destroys his claim to omniscience, even though the deaths of these two men support Blunt's "unerring accuracy of [his] instinct" (p. 214).
The biggest injustice the story represents is the dishonesty of the American leaders and heroes, who Blunt represents. Blunt is not honest with the press, the narrator, or himself. Blunt's only concern is financial gain. He can manipulate the press, because the public wants sensational heroes, real or not. He can manipulate the narrator because he too needs a hero -- one who can provide hope for the return of the valuable elephant. He also believes in himself because the public has given him that confidence. But, the detective, that is, the hero, is really the thief. Not only does he conceal the elephant (possibly on purpose) until he can secure a $100,000 reward, he conceals truth, justice, and order from the American public.

By making Blunt the true criminal of the story, Twain further violates detective story conventions. According to Knox, "the detective must not have committed the crime himself."73 This would deny the detective's judicial role in the detective story. Blunt, the criminal-detective, is never really exposed within the context of the story. Thus, order is never restored to the society. The elephant creates a physical disorder to the society and by doing so there is a chance that the society would restore itself upon the basis of morals instead of materials. But, as Twain indicates, "there is an abundance of material for another funeral" (p. 211), and therefore enough material to build a new physically orientated society. In not exposing the real inner corruption,
which is supported by warped heroes and their influential values, order cannot ensue. This is the tragedy presented in the story.

In the story, Twain does, however, provide a glimpse of hope for society. As in the Simon Wheeler play, Twain follows the basic steps for a conventional detective story by presenting the issue, clues, and methods which could lead to the solution of the problem. The story then straightens itself out and the elephant is found, but not by conventional means. But, where the conclusions and final analysis should be, Twain inserts his own final comments on the issue. Twain's comment in "The Stolen White Elephant" comes through a newspaper reporter who is not influenced by the fickle press. Amidst the praises of the rest of the papers is the exception:

"Great is the detective! He may be a little slow in finding a little thing like a mislaid elephant — he may hunt him all day and sleep with his rotting carcass all night for three weeks, but he will find him at last— if he can get the man who mislaid him to show him the place!" (p. 216).

This one reporter sees through the haze which surrounds and influences the American public into unwarranted adoration. Twain thus shows a glimpse of hope for those who open their eyes and see what really happens around them.

But, this hope for justice and truth is short-lived. The narrator continues his blind adoration of Blunt, even though the detective has made him penniless and ruined.
The narrator represents the American public who, even after the detective's failure to find Stewart's body, continue to idolize Pinkerton-type detectives as their heroes. Twain's implications about detectives, of the Pinkerton agency and the New York force, in particular, seem obvious. According to "The Stolen White Elephant," and his Simon Wheeler sequence, Twain does not imagine detectives as heroes. The burlesques show that detectives are in business and as American businessmen they are concerned with fame and money. The society has become a stage for the rich and a means of getting richer. The detective is not on the edge of society exposing human deficiencies, but in the center of society manipulating others for his own monetary and political advancement. Instead of solving crimes, he creates them. Instead of building up society, he breaks it down. Instead of setting an example of goodness, he sets one of corruption.

Twain uses actual incidents combined with detective story conventions to show that detectives are not contributing to American justice, nor are they worthy of heroism. Twain warns us that we, the American people, have let corrupt leaders, like detectives, manipulate our society. Because we have let these things happen, then we have accepted these warped values as our own. Twain exposes these corruptions and leaves it up to us, the readers, to open our eyes and see the truth. In this respect Twain is the real hero for he is the one who has revealed one of the primary sources
of social corruption. Once we have seen the truth we can demand a change and expect more from ourselves as well as from our society.
CHAPTER V

PUDD'NHEAD WILSON

Pudd'nhead Wilson, Twain's third attempt at the detective genre, differs from his previous two because it is a full-length novel, it is not based on the Pinkerton type detection, and most importantly, it is not a detective burlesque. This is also the most controversial of Twain's works. Critics either disagree on the genre, or the quality of the novel. Langston Hughes says it is not a detective novel. 74 Robert Rowlette says that "Pudd'nhead Wilson represents his most (indeed his only) successful use of the genre. . . ." 75 John Gerber believes that the work is not a novel, but a fable, and as a fable it is successful. 76 Michael Orth says the book is based on the "tragic octoroon theme," or abolitionist genre, and as such is a romance built around a beautiful part negro girl. 77 F.R. Leavis finds Pudd'nhead Wilson "a classic in its own right," 78 and Leslie Fiedler calls it "the most extraordinary book in American literature." 79 Other critics find the book flawed in characterization, 80 and design. 81

Though the book cannot be called a detective story, in the classical sense, it does present many detective elements, and the detective-lawyer-Pudd'nhead, David Wilson, solves the murder case and exposes the social problem at the same time.
Even though critics do not agree on the genre or the quality of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, most agree on the book's basic underlying philosophy—that man is a product of his environment and molded according to the role he must play. Men do not have a choice; they are like machines who respond only to what they've been taught. Twain presents trained humanity in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* by using a shallow and contrived detective plot to expose and ridicule the shallow community and their dramatic display of human life. This aspect is consistent throughout Twain's detective fiction; in exposing the detective he also exposes societal problems.

As in "The Stolen White Elephant" and "Simon Wheeler, Detective," Twain's foundation for *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is based on fact. Originally Twain wrote *Those Extraordinary Twins* but the detective character kept interfering, so Twain performed a literary caesarean operation and came up with *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. The original plot of *Those Extraordinary Twins* is based on a famous St. Louis murder case which took place in the autumn of 1849. The two brothers, Gonzalve and Raymond Comte de Montesquiou, were French noble regime descendants. The older brother, who had sanity problems, killed two people in a St. Louis hotel. According to newspaper reports the murdered were admired by the town, and thus the accused brothers were hated. In the end the two brothers were freed and they immediately went back to Europe.

Part of Twain's plot in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is very similar to the historical fact. The twins, Counts Angelo and Luigi,
move to Dawson's Landing and are accused of murdering Judge Driscoll. After the judge is murdered and the twins arrive first at the scene of the crime, the townspeople immediately change their initial admiration of the twins to condemnation. Before the murder and the trial take place, though, Twain first establishes the circumstances of the murder, the characters of Pudd'enhead Wilson and the real murderer Tom Driscoll, and the community's role and influence over the events and characters.

The community plays a significant role in the book. The community represents all communities and is a microcosm of the world where appearances are deceptive and where freshly painted houses cover the underlying decay. According to Louis Leiter, "Twain exposes the theme by forming description of houses to suggest ethical attitudes (superficial), and species of plants (old-fashioned) to suggest traditional beliefs."\(^{84}\) The townspeople who appear friendly and warm-hearted also have underlying personalities which prove them corrupt and hypocritical. They turn their backs on the twins and accuse them of murder, and they talk behind David Wilson's back and give him the name of Pudd'enhead. The town's inhabitants govern the actions and reactions of the entire community. The town's inhabitants condone the slaves' warped values and, thus, all slaves act morally corrupt. All other people must also conform to their given roles and identities.

Within the framework of this community Twain plots out events conducive to a character's function. The initial event of the novel is Roxy's cradle switch. Roxy is a
mulatto slave employed in the Driscoll household. As a 
slave she responds to the morally corrupt role she is taught. 
When she fears her son may be sold "down the river," she 
switches her baby, Valet de Chambre, for the Driscoll baby, 
Thomas á Becket Driscoll, over which she has charge. After 
Tom's parents pass away Tom becomes the heir of Judge 
Driscoll, brother to Tom's real father. Tom, the real son 
of Roxy, grows up in luxury, while Chambers, the real heir, 
grows up as a slave, intimidated and illiterate. Their 
characters are molded by their environment.

Tom Driscoll goes away to school and comes back in 
debt from gambling and with a foul nature. His motivation 
to commit his first crime comes from his insatiable desire 
to gamble. To pay off his gambling debts he steals from 
the townspeople and sells the stolen merchandise in St. 
Louis. One of the items he steals is a unique valuable 
knife from the twins. Because of its value, the townspeople 
become very interested in the recurring thefts. The detectives put out a warning to pawnbrokers, so the thief will be arrested which prohibits Tom from selling the knife and pay off his debt. Because Roxy is afraid Tom will get cut off from Judge Driscoll's will if he finds out about the debt, she asks Tom to sell her and use the money. Tom does so, but instead of selling her up the river, he sells her "down the river." After a period of time Roxy escapes, and she forces Tom to buy her back so she will not be hunted.
Tom's second fatal crime also comes from his desire for money. He tries to steal the money from his uncle but his uncle awakes during the attempt and Tom kills him with the twins' knife. Before the murder there had been an argument between the Judge and the twins over honor. Because of the argument and extenuating circumstances, the twins are initially accused of the murder.

Up to this point Twain does little with the detective genre, except introduce Pudd'nhead and his detective characteristics, a combination of Poe's Dupin and Doyle's Holmes. Pudd'nhead Wilson is well educated in law, having just completed law school before coming to Dawson's Landing. Like previous detectives, Pudd'nhead is isolated from the town. His isolation is the result of a bad joke he made upon coming to the town, thus earning the name "Pudd'nhead." For over twenty years he remained outside of the community and was not a part of any community function besides the "Free-thinkers Society" of which he and Judge Driscoll were the only members. Aside from being educated and isolated, Pudd'nhead Wilson is considered eccentric by the town because of his hobbies, fingerprinting and palmistry. By the time of the murder he had fingerprints of almost every member of Dawson's Landing, including the slaves and children. Wilson also putters in palmistry. Because of these two "hobbies" he receives jeers and mockery from the townspeople, for these were new ideas to the community, and indeed to the
world. Other detective traits that Pudd' nhead demonstrates are his love of the limelight during the trial, his "kindly courtesy," his lack of sympathy toward the criminal, his detached curiosity, his observations, his meditative manner, his honesty, and his diligence and devotion to his fingerprint interests.

Pudd' nhead Wilson is the living symbol of law and order in Dawson Landing. But, he too, is a product of his training and has only a mechanical function throughout the novel. The community governs and limits his function which is to personify scientific method and to bring justice, but not to maintain that justice. After he finds Tom Driscoll, alias Valet de Chambre, guilty, the community allows him into their society, but they resume the appearances and warped morals they begin with by allowing Tom to be sold "down the river." This shows that they still value money over humanity.

The structure of the novel does not follow the classical detective story structure. One main reason that it cannot is because of the ever present omniscient narrator. This narrator is Mark Twain, the story teller, according to John Gerber. Other critics believe that Mark Twain identifies more with Pudd' nhead Wilson's dualism. Whether the narrator is Mark Twain or not, the narrative mode lets the reader see all, from all of the main characters' perspectives. We see only what the narrator wants us to see though. As a result we know who committed the murder, long before
Pudd'nhead does. By knowing what happens first, we can clearly see how Pudd'nhead works his deductions, how Tom the criminal slyly manipulates the crimes, and how shallowly and stupidly the community behaves. Because of the omniscient narrator the first two structural parts, that is, the problem and the evidence, are given through the action.

Through the action, Twain presents three crimes. The first is a moral crime, committed by Roxy when she switches babies. The second crime is a materialistic crime, committed by Tom when he steals from the townspeople. The third is a combination of the two, murder, where Tom steals a life for money. The first crime goes undetected; the second, though detected, is not solved. After the theft disrupts the placidity of the community, Mr. Justice Brown, Detective Buckstone, and the town constable Jim Blake, come to Pudd'nhead Wilson to discuss the matter. Pudd'nhead is thus recognized by politicians of the town. Not moving from his chair, he listens to the others, contemplates the matter, and makes a plan which ultimately fails. In this manner he is much like Poe's arm-chair detective, Dupin, and Doyle's somewhat arm-chair detective Sherlock Holmes.

The third crime, the murder of Judge Driscoll, arouses intense drama among the community and forces Pudd'nhead's scientific fingerprints to come forth to undermine the psuedo-circumstantial evidence which would condemn the innocent twins. In Pudd'nhead's calendar entry at the beginning
of Chapter Twenty, he comments on the fiction of circumstantial evidence: "Even the clearest and most perfect circumstantial evidence is likely to be at fault, after all, and therefore ought to be received with great caution" (p. 123). Instead of condemning the twins on this faulty evidence, Pudd'nhead Wilson finds the real murderer by using the scientific evidence of fingerprinting. In the process of solving the third crime, Pudd'nhead uncovers the previously undetected first crime, and he deductively finds the thief of the second crime. Theft is not an exciting enough crime for Pudd'nhead to make his claim to fame, but murder is.

Little on fingerprinting was done before Twain wrote Pudd'nhead Wilson. Twain's book was published even before detectives of Scotland Yard or the Paris police realized the importance of fingerprints. Twain had used fingerprinting before in Life On the Mississippi, but his use of the science is much more involved and important in Pudd'nhead Wilson. Indeed, the science of fingerprinting undercuts the whole structure of familial identity on which the society stands.

When the novel first came out, the general belief was that Twain's concept of fingerprinting was inspired by "Cheiro," alias Louis Hamon, who read his palm. But Anne Wigger says that he received the fingerprint material from the first book on fingerprints entitled, Fingerprints, by Galton. This book apparently provided Twain with background and general information on the science, because
in the novel Pudd'nhead Wilson is extremely accurate.

The fingerprint on the knife, the murder weapon, is Pudd'nhead Wilson's only clue as to the murderer of Judge Driscoll. With this minute clue Wilson approaches the miraculous (p. 138). Through fingerprinting he establishes the true identity of not only Tom but of himself. His scientific system of detection counteracts his original role of being a "pudd'nhead."92

The third element of the detective story, the solution of the crime and apprehension of the murderer, is accomplished through a trial scene. In all of Twain's trials he follows the same pattern: an innocent man accused of a crime, the introduction of evidence which proves his guilt, a late discovery of sensational new evidence, or a surprise witness that saves the innocent man and identifies the unsuspected criminal in the closing hours of the trial.93 In Pudd'nhead Wilson, the innocent twins are suspected, and circumstantial evidence further proves their guilt. The night before the final trial, Tom visits Pudd'nhead and while he makes fun of Pudd'nhead's fingerprints he places one of his own on a glass slide. This is the sensational new evidence from which Pudd'nhead solves the crimes.

Though trials usually have no place in detective fiction, the trial scene in the last two chapters of the novel is the only place the detective's abilities show. This is partly because Twain spends the preliminary part of the novel
setting up situations and characters, and partly because Pudd'nhead is an armchair-detective who spends little energy in any other affairs except for his fingerprint laboratory. In the laboratory Pudd'nhead discovers the murderer and pieces together material from the other crimes to form his solution. He finds the correct set of fingerprints, realizes Tom wore a girl's costume, and finds the approximate date of the cradle switch. Pudd'nhead then presents his material for the inspection and admiration of the audience. Pudd'nhead begins his dramatic presentation by appealing to the intelligence of the audience. Then he establishes his circumstantial evidence and presents his theory on fingerprinting. He tells his audience facts about their "natal autograph" (p. 135-136), and he wants to be tested twice to insure credibility (p. 137). He also offers his fingerprinting evidence for the judge and jury. With this initial education on fingerprints he releases the innocent twins from suspicion because neither of their fingerprints appear on the murder weapon. Then he dramatically says, "and please God we will produce that [guilty] man in this room before the clock strikes noon!" (p. 136). After he proves the twins' innocence, he focuses on the real murder victim, his history, and his motive. Tom then "slides limp and lifeless to the floor" and Pudd'nhead confirms his confession and states, "he has confessed" (p. 141).

Throughout the trial Pudd'nhead acts in true detective fashion, stating evidence and conclusions deductively and
economically in an even tone. He is meticulous and scientific in his assertions. When he states a hypothesis he looks at Tom whose terrified face confirms his analysis. Pudd'nhead shows no concern or sympathy toward Tom or Roxy for he is only concerned that justice be done.

Through Pudd'nhead, Twain shows his divided opinion on science and the scientific method. The scientific method of fingerprinting proves successful, and in the end Pudd'nhead is raised in the community's hierarchy. But, before Tom identifies himself the night before the trial, Pudd'nhead is lost in his technological research. Because he thinks a female is involved in the murder, he only examines female fingerprints which shows his lack of ingenuity in figuring out disguises or other criminal techniques. On a larger scale Pudd'nhead represents the limitations of science and technology in the hands of pure amateurs. Science may uncover the realities of a community, but in so doing it also makes people mechanical and identical. The only individual identity the people have is physiological which is the ultimate tragedy in the novel.

The conclusion of the novel, and of the detective story, is left to Twain in the final chapter. In the conclusion Twain reestablishes the appearances of the town to once again blur the reality. The slaves continue to steal and be intimidated, the politicians continue to be corrupt, and materialistic values continue to overrule moralistic ones. Detective Pudd'nhead enjoys the community's
recognition, but he has ultimately accomplished little toward establishing and maintaining justice. Through his acceptance of the community's values he cannot see the truth in the injustices he uncovers. Thus as a true detective he has failed.

Throughout the novel Twain uses the "detective" story to condemn all men equally: the detectives for their narrow-minded dependence on science, the community for its hypocrisy and its manipulation of the individual, and science for its denial of morality and individuality.
CHAPTER VI

TOM SAWYER, DETECTIVE

Mark Twain began Tom Sawyer, Detective before the publication of Pudd’nhead Wilson, but did not complete it until January 1895. The work was published in the August and September (1896) issues of Harper’s Magazine. Twain enjoyed writing this story as evidenced in his statements to Livy that the composition was such "delightful work" on a "delightful subject," and that "the story tells itself." But Twain was apparently not completely satisfied with the final product. Bay quotes Twain as saying shortly before his death that he did not consider Tom Sawyer, Detective to be one of his better works. McKeithan describes the work as being too complex and overdone, perhaps because Twain imposes his story on a ready made plot.

The ready made plot McKeithan refers to is found in the short novel, The Minister of Veilby (1829), by Steen Steenson Blicher, a Swedish author. This work is based on an authentic case which took place in the seventeenth century. Though the novel was not translated into English until 1928, Twain heard about the novel and the actual incident from Lady Hegermann-Lindencrone, the wife of the Danish ambassador to the United States. Twain relies heavily on
Blicher's plot in *Tom Sawyer, Detective*. In a footnote to the story Twain says,

> Strange as the incidents of this story are, they are not inventions, but facts—even to the public confession of the accused. I take them from an old-time Swedish criminal trial, change the actors, and transfer the scenes to America. I have added some details, but only a couple of them are important ones.

Blicher's account of the "old-time Swedish criminal trial" was the first Scandinavian literary crime story, written twelve years before Edgar Allan Poe created Dupin. Most of the "added details" Twain refers to are elements which turn the original crime story into a detective story. He introduces his detective-boy-hero, Tom Sawyer, who uses the insight and reasoning of Sherlock Holmes. He gives Tom a companion-Watson figure, Huck Finn. He also brings in a climactic trial scene at the end, which highlights Tom's brilliance and burlesques the community.

Twain uses a four part structure which parallels the classic detective story structure. First he presents the characters and the problem; then he complicates the problem and gives some initial evidence; then he complicates the problem further and continues to give more evidence; and finally he presents the trial where Tom puts all of the evidence together and finds the real criminal. The conclusion, as in his other detective stories, is left for Twain and is presented as an aftermath.

Most of Twain's detective stories are obvious burlesques
of detective fiction, but Tom Sawyer, Detective is not a burlesque of detectives in the same sense as the others. Tom Sawyer is not Twain's target; he is Twain's duplicate and his idol. Even his name is an extension of Twain and his boyish fantasies. As such, Twain shows Tom's innocence, honesty, and sense of adventure as the redeeming factors of the story and of society. As in Tom Sawyer, the adventures of Tom lead to the wiping out of evil. In wiping out evil, Tom innocently and dramatically brings justice. Because of Tom the story is more optimistic than Twain's other detective stories. Tom seeks glory by honest means and pursues justice out of his innocent conception of truth.

Tom represents the ideal detective, but he is not real. Throughout the story, Twain enforces the unreality of Tom and the situations by making his version of the event depend on coincidence and exaggerated adventure. In circumstances similar to those in real-life, an innocent man is convicted and hung. The tragedy of Tom Sawyer, Detective is that ideal detectives, like Tom and Holmes, only exist in fiction and in reality truth and justice do not prevail. Twain contributes this to the early loss of innocence and sense of adventure in children because of parental and environmental manipulation and to the stupidity and fluctuating values of the manipulators. Thus children are affected by the hypocritical and corrupt values of adults, losing their innocent and honest sense of right and wrong.
Tom Sawyer, Detective opens in a typical detective story fashion; the detective and his companion are shown in their domestic environment waiting for a new adventure. It is spring and Tom and Huck have spring-fever as they wait for summer, the time for adventure. As they sit depressed and bored, Aunt Polly approaches them with a letter from Tom's Aunt Sally, requesting Tom and Huck to go to Arkansas to cheer up Uncle Silas Phelps, depressed because of his hired help Jupiter Dunlap, the brother of Brace Dunlap who wants to marry Silas Phelps's daughter, Benny. Silas refuses to let Brace have her, and to curb Brace's temper over the matter Silas offers to hire Jupiter even though he can't really afford it. Jupiter, acting as an agent of Brace's anger, has made Silas angry, depressed, and prone to fits of anger. Before Jupiter's employment Silas had been a gentle man who Tom didn't think even "had any temper" (p. 142). Tom's estimation of his Uncle Silas is that "he was always so good and kind and moony and absent-minded and chuckle-headed and lovable" (p. 143).

Tom is charged with remedying this problem. Others come to Tom for help in the typical detective story manner. Between the letter and Aunt Polly, Tom learns of the history and of the primary characters involved in the problem. They are Brace, Jupiter and Jupiter's twin brother, Jake. Much of the information Tom gets because of his intense curiosity.

The problem grows larger on the steamboat journey to Arkansas. Because of Tom's desire for adventure and his
curiosity about the sick man in the cabin next door. Tom and Huck find the long lost bandit Jake Dunlap, who tells them of his latest criminal exploits. His confession is similar to one that might be made to a Pinkerton man.

Jake tells Tom and Huck about how he and two others stole two diamonds worth $2,000. Each one of the criminals wants the diamonds for himself but Jake succeeds in securing the diamonds in the heel of his boot. The other two are after him so Jake contrives a plan to lose them. He buys a disguise and plans to leave the ship and hide out at his brothers' house.

The disguise consists of blue goggles, whiskers, and a countrified suit of clothes, which is the same disguise Twain used in the Simon Wheeler play. Upon Tom's suggestion Jake is also to play deaf and dumb and cut his hair to look more like Jupiter.

This part of the plot, which introduces the twin and the diamond theft, is not part of Blisher's original plot. In adding this part Twain complicates the story, but also adds another dimension to the detective story theme. The confession about the diamonds in the boot gives Tom and Huck some crucial evidence which later becomes important for Tom's heroism in solving a much greater crime, that of murder. Aside from giving inside information, this episode shows insight into Tom's character. Throughout the confession Tom is fascinated and full of admiration for Jake. His questions to Jake also show his innocence toward actual
criminal activity. At this point they agree to help Jake. They see the crime as an adventure and do not realize the importance of criminal action. They see it as helping a friend, and doing harm to no one.

In the next episode Twain complicates the problem further by presenting a murder. From this point Tom and Huck see and hear only bits and pieces of information which Tom uses later as evidence. Ten minutes after Jake sneaks off the boat, they see his two enemies follow him. When they depart to meet Jake in the designated spot, they hear screams for help and they see two men running away, followed by four other men. They assume that Jake has been killed and the diamonds have been repossessed by the other two robbers. Soon after the men run away they see a ghost dressed in Jake's disguise. Because of their fear, the boys do not leave their hiding place until two men walk by discussing Silas Phelps. Their conversation indicates that the townspeople are losing respect for Silas. Two days after their arrival at the Phelps' household, a rumor spreads that Jupiter Dunlap has been murdered. After everyone gives up looking for Jupiter's body Tom and Huck borrow Old Jeff Hooker's bloodhound to look for it. They find it, and instead of receiving glory for their deed, Silas confesses to be the murderer. The sheriff arrests him and he is kept in jail until the trial. Meanwhile the ghost turns out to be real and Tom and Huck believe he is Jake, because he is wearing Jake's disguise and acting deaf and dumb,
according to the plan.

In the presentation of the evidence, thus far, Tom proves to have powers of the all-seeing detective and the Holmesian powers of reasoning. According to the narrator Huck Finn, "when Tom Sawyer seen a thing it just got upon its hind legs and talked to him--told him everything it knewed" (p. 171). One instance of Tom's reasoning power is when he deduces that the thieves didn't get the diamonds because everything that the murdered had on turned to ghost stuff, and the ghost still had on the boots. Therefore the thieves didn't get the diamonds. Tom also reasons that the ghost is not a real ghost because it isn't "smoky" or "like he was made out of fog" (p. 167). Huck wonders why the ghost had Jake's bag and Tom says it's because "whatever a ghost has turns to ghost stuff" (p. 167). To Huck and Tom this is reasonable. They believe in ghosts because of their innocence and their training. Their common sense then is ruled by their beliefs. But, overpowering facts prove to Tom that in this instance the ghost is not real. The facts are that it goes round in the daytime, and ghosts don't; it itches its head, and ghosts have nothing to itch; it chews tobacco, and ghosts have no teeth; and it is not clear enough to see the bushes through, and ghosts have no substance (p. 187). So Tom decides it is real, and he is right.

Tom also has other detective traits. He has insight into character. He is patient enough not to rush Jake Dunlap's confession. He has the ability to question
others for information. He is observant, perceptive, and dedicated to his curiosity. He also loves the limelight and the rewards which heroism brings.

Huck Finn, who like a Watson figure admires Tom's every move, compliments Tom's detective brilliance. According to Huck, Tom has the best head out of a million (p. 190). Huck also narrates the information and evidence without the conclusions. As a result, Tom's conclusions are as impressive to the reader as they are to Huck. Huck Finn's narration makes this story seem more like a detective story than Twain's other detective stories which are told from the omniscient point of view. The reader sees only what Huck sees and perceives, and Huck proves to be innocently reliable.

Tom and Huck are both stunned when Silas Phelps confesses to the murder. They perceive that he is really innocent and suddenly crime, especially that of murder, becomes very real and important to them. The boys can see Silas' innocence because they are outsiders to the community and as outsiders they have a clearer vision of reality than the townspeople. They have also obtained bits of helpful evidence from Jake Dunlap on the steamboat. Tom especially devotes himself to Silas' case because Silas is his kin, and he knows that Silas is incapable of murder. Tom also anticipates glory in solving the case. The boys, Tom and Huck, represent innocence entering into a guilty, hypocritical society, and in Twain's world, the innocent cut through the corruption
and obtain temporary justice.

The last part of the story is a trial scene which follows the same pattern as the one in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. Innocent Silas Phelps is convicted, extenuating circumstances further prove his guilt, and new evidence arises which proves the innocent party innocent and condemns the unsuspecting guilty party. In *Tom Sawyer*, Detective Silas admits his guilt by confessing to the crime. The lawyer of the "prostitution" confirms his guilt by bringing in witnesses who claim to have seen Silas murder and bury Jupiter Dunlap. Everything looks very grim for Silas until Tom, who is acting, in part, as Silas' lawyer, stirs from his daydreaming and says, "Now I've got it! A murder was done...!" (p. 214).

Tom presents the judge, jury, and audience with information which explains every "detail" (p. 215). He begins by giving the history of the disagreement between Brace and Silas. Next he disproves what the other witnesses claim to have seen and heard. Then he presents his most valuable clue, behavioral evidence, which Tom explains as a distinct character trait which one develops out of habit; an unconscious movement which distinguishes that person from someone else. Tom confirms the assumption that everyone has a unique habitual behavior by giving examples to the audience. His, for example, is that he draws a capital "V" on his cheek (p. 217). Others in the audience react favorably to this initial assertion. Then Tom brings in old evidence of his observations the night of the murder, and he ties them together with
actual incidents.

According to Tom the two robbers did murder Jake Dunlap, and Jupiter Dunlap used his murdered brother's disguise. Brace Dunlap buried Jake's body and then spread the rumor that Silas Phelps murdered Jupiter. All along Jupiter had really been in the community as a deaf and dumb person in disguise. Tom came to these conclusions because he saw Jupiter drawing a cross on his cheek. He had noticed this behavioral characteristic in Jupiter the summer before when he had visited his aunt and uncle Phelps. After Tom proved correct in these conclusions, he tells the judge that a thief is in the house (p. 224). He points to Jupiter, but claims that Jupiter doesn't know he is a thief. He climacticly concludes the trial with unscrewing Jupiter's boot heel and presenting the two diamonds worth $2,000.

The dramatic effects are very important for Tom. He stops in the middle of his conclusions at least five times to establish the proper "effect." Tom's glory is heightened when the judge asks Tom,

My boy, did you see all the various details of this strange conspiracy and tragedy that you've been describing? Why you've told the history straight through, just the same as if you'd seen it with your own eyes (p. 223).

Tom responds that he was "just noticing the evidence and piecing this and that together. . . just an ordinary little bit of detective work" (p. 223). Tom is completely satisfied with himself and his victory when the judge tells him
that he has earned the reward money, which he secretly
shares with Huck. According to the judge Tom also earned:

the deepest and most sincere thanks of this
community besides, for lifting a wronged and innocent
family out of ruin and shame, and saving a good
and honorable man from a felon's death, and for
exposing to the law a cruel and odious scoundrel
and his miserable creatures! (p. 227).

Tom's final deductive reasoning during the trial is
spectacular. He brings justice and order to the community
when the established form of law and order, that is the judge
and jury, cannot prove the truth. Tom shows that the witnesses
are also corrupt for accepting bribes to lie for Brace
Dunlap (p. 224). Tom is a true detective-hero who preserves
justice though he does it unconsciously. Tom's motivation
is his ambitious desire for glory and his innocent sense
of duty to his beliefs of right and wrong. Since he is a
boy, his physical movement, sense of adventure, and curiosity
are also important parts of his motivation.

Even though Tom has effected the legal justice of the
community, he has not penetrated the community's underlying
sense of hypocrisy. The community initially accepts the
belief that Silas Phelps, their preacher, is guilty of murder.
They cry with sympathy for Brace Dunlap during the trial,
and they show no respect or support for the accused man
during the whole incident. But after Tom proves him innocent
they change their minds and opinions about Silas and they
flock to his church the following Sunday. According to
Huck's description of the sermon and the reactions of the
congregation, the people are either stupid or lying. Huck says the sermon is idiotic and confusing yet the people "let on" that it is elegant and clear. This shows that the people have not been cleansed of their hypocrisy, because they continue to cover the truth.

Aside from being hypocritical, the community is also manipulative. Twain shows this as a consistent theme in his works. In Tom Sawyer, Detective, the community makes Silas feel like a failure and then they coax him back into sanity (p. 227). The adult community also manipulates the minds and actions of children. Aunt Polly and Aunt Sally, for example, try to stifle Tom's and Huck's curiosity and sense of adventure.

But Tom, Twain's hero, often escapes from any permanent damage adult or community manipulation might cause. The freedom Tom shows leads him to remedy the problems of justice in the community. Apparently Twain adheres to the belief that innocence is a virtue because with innocence comes common sense and truth. But all children lose their innocence and grow up into the adult world. Upon entering the adult world, as Twain did in later years, innocence meets the reality of misery and corruption. Therefore innocence and real justice do not come from detectives, and any such implication is only fiction.
CHAPTER VII

"A DOUBLE-BARRELED DETECTIVE STORY"

Mark Twain's "A Double-Barreled Detective Story" (1902) is the most obvious of his Sherlock Holmes burlesques. In this story Twain freely borrows facts from Arthur Conan Doyle's first work "A Study in Scarlet" (1887). Twain wrote this burlesque at a time when other authors besides Doyle were also using Sherlock Holmes as their detective hero. Examples are William Gillette's popular play "Sherlock Holmes," and Bret Harte's burlesque "The Stolen Cigar Case." Arthur Conan Doyle responded to the popularity of Holmes by resurrecting him in The Hound of the Baskervilles. In his "Double-Barreled Detective Story," published in two separate installments in Harper's Magazine, Twain burlesques the detective story's neat structure, the Holmesian methods of detection, and the detective's underlying moral and idealistic motives. Through this burlesque, Twain shows the unreality of detective fiction amidst the reality of society's moral corruption.

Several critics, however, consider Twain's burlesque a failure; they believe the story is greatly marred by a confusing plot, an unstructured development, and an extremely inconsistent tone. Robert Rowlette, for example, says it is
an "abysmally bad story... shunned by general reader and professional critic alike." Keith Kraus believes the story is a failure because the parallels Twain tries to draw between the two stories don't work.

Twain does not try to parallel the story directly. He borrows facts from the story and creates his own. In his creation he attacks all detective stories by distorting the style, the characters, and the tone. Whereas the classical detective story is ordered and perfect, his is not, for good reason.

The facts Twain borrows from "A Study in Scarlet" are the revenge motif, the two distinct parts with two distinct narrators, the Holmes character, and the bloodhound sense of instinct and devotion. In "A Study in Scarlet," Watson, narrator and companion, gives a detailed description of Holmes and his philosophy of detection. At first Watson believes Holmes' deductions to be prearranged and staged, but after a series of minor tests he finally believes Holmes' deductive genius. Sherlock Holmes wins the complete admiration of Watson in a final test which is also the first case in which he assists Holmes. Tobias Gregson, the smartest of Scotland Yarders, writes Holmes a letter asking for his services in solving a baffling murder. Holmes enters the case out of curiosity even though he knows the Scotland Yarders will get credit for their competence regardless of what they do. When Holmes and Watson go to the place of the murder, Holmes looks for clues outside the house, as
well as inside the house. Inside he searches the corpse of Drebber, as well as the room containing the corpse. He examines the room's walls and floors with a tape measure and magnifying glass, picking up a piece of dust, measuring footprints, and inspecting the writing on the wall. This clue searching reminds Watson of a "pureblooded, well-trained foxhound." After Holmes completes his observations he gives the detectives from Scotland Yard a preliminary report on the murderer's description and method.

In the next few chapters Holmes interviews a policeman and follows an old woman who he thinks is linked to the crime. He loses the woman, but the police officer proves helpful. These incidents show that Holmes is not always successful in obtaining evidence, but when he does, the evidence supports his deductions. While Holmes has been working on his analysis, the two Scotland Yarders, Gregson and Lestrode, have been doing likewise. Through Gregson's analysis and interviews, he suspects Mr. Charpentier, the Drebber's landlady's son. Lestrode, on the other hand, suspects Stangerson, Drebber's secretary. While the two detectives discuss the possibilities and occurrences with Holmes, he applies their material to his own. Lestrode, for example, finds Stangerson dead upon his arrival. In the room Lestrode finds a box of pills which he produced for Holmes. The poisonous pills provide Holmes with the missing link. Immediately after this discovery Holmes handcuffs the cab driver, who has just entered the room, and has thus caught
the murderer.

In the second part of "A Study in Scarlet," Watson is no longer the narrator. A third person narrator takes his place. The second part also changes locations. The setting is no longer in London, but in an American desert where a man and his adopted five year old daughter are dying of thirst. Just as they are ready to die, a huge band of Mormons save them, provided they uphold the Mormon faith. The father, John Ferrier, agrees to commit himself to the Mormon faith and live happily in the Mormon village until the daughter, Lucy, comes to marrying age. Lucy and her father wanted the marriage to be with Jefferson Hope, but he is not a Mormon. The head of the Mormons says this is forbidden and John has thirty days to decide whether the daughter be married to Stangerson or Drebber. The mention of these two familiar names is the first link to the first part of the story that the reader receives.

John and Lucy Ferrier spend the thirty days waiting for Jefferson to return from a trip to take them away. While they wait, the other Mormons spend their nights guarding their house and posting the remaining number of days somewhere within the house's boundaries. At the end of the thirty days, the father and daughter are to meet a terrible fate. But, on the twenty-ninth day Jefferson arrives and they escape, leaving their land and wealth behind. After two days of running, Jefferson, a hunter, ventures away from camp to find food, only to return to
a smoldering fire, the grave of John Ferrier, and horse prints headed back toward the Mormon village. Upon his return to the village, all tattered and torn, he finds Lucy has just been forced to marry Drebber. Because of the death of her father or the ill treatment by Drebber, Lucy dies shortly after, and Jefferson Hope seeks revenge. He searches all over the United States and Europe for the two men and he becomes retched and desperate. Finally, in London, he finds and kills them.

During Jefferson's search he was described as a bloodhound with ears of a lynx. He was affected by an injustice and he spent his life making sure that justice prevailed; that justice was his revenge. In Chapter VI of the second part of the story, Watson takes over the narrator duties and records Jefferson Hope's confession to the detectives, his death from a tumor in the Jail, and Sherlock Holmes' conclusion. In that last part, the story comes completely together. Holmes' theory proves perfectly correct in accordance with Jefferson's confession.

Aside from the story's derivation on the motive, the story follows the exact pattern of the detective story: the problem, the production of data, the solution and capture of the criminal, and the detective's conclusion. Incidentally, in the end of the story Holmes proves correct on yet another point. The Scotland Yarders, Gregson and Lestrade, are given all of the credit. In the classical detective character, Holmes is not affected, but is happy to solve the case for
his own satisfaction and for the maintenance of justice.

Jefferson Hope's motives are also significant. His motive is revenge toward a man whose religious ethics kill the woman he loves. Jefferson's devotion is to that love and he gives his life to restore justice for its loss. After he has revenged his enemies he can die without regret, which he does before he is tried. Jefferson's revenge is stimulated by his own moral sense of justice which he doggedly pursues. Because of this moralistic murder, Jefferson cannot be considered guilty in anyone's eyes, so he has to die before he is tried.

In Twain's rendition of "A Study In Scarlet," the motive is also revenge. But the revenge is not the self-motivated revenge of Jefferson Hope. Instead Archy Stillman, the bloodhound of "A Double-Barreled Detective Story," seeks revenge for his mother. His mother forces him to torment his father, and out of a sense of duty he sets out to do so. The structure of the story is also in two parts, but the first part of Twain's work is more like the second part of Doyle's. In the first part readers are given an account of a wedding between a man, Jacob Fuller, and a woman. The woman's father, though, does not like the man she is marrying and he tries to insult him. After the marriage, the husband tries to harm his wife in order to shame her father. But the woman refuses to tell her father of her ill treatment, which results in Jacob Fuller's last attempt to put the father to shame. In this last attempt he ties her to a tree, sets
his bloodhounds on her, and disappears.

The father-daughter-lover is still the kernal of Twain's story as it is in Doyle's, but the lover-husband acts out of pride instead of love. Thus, the husband is wicked instead of moralistic. The duty of revenge is given to their son who is born with the instinct of the bloodhound and the heart of a human. When he is old enough to venture away from his mother, he is given disguises, money, and notices intended to make the victim tirelessly move on. The rest of the first part is told through his letters to his mother. Archy Stillman, the son, finds his father and makes him sell his property and move because of the anonymous notices which give an account of the crime, a reward for the criminal, and a certain number of days to move. Archy follows his victim all around California before he realizes that the victim is really a cousin of Jacob Fuller, by the same name. With this realization Archy tries to find the man to tell him the truth. After searching all over the United States and Europe, without success, Archy settles in a western mining town to rest.

Thus ends the first part of the story. The first part gives an account of the crime, the character of the instinct-type detective, Archy Stillman, and the accusation of the wrong man. The second part begins with the statement "No real gentleman will tell the naked truth in the presence of ladies." After this point Archy no longer tells the story, since he is the "gentleman." Twain sarcastically
refers to the public as "ladies" who cannot hold up under
the "naked truth." This statement foreshadows Twain's
negative treatment of honored detectives and the injustices
society actually allows them to commit.

The second part is told from third person perspective
and the reader is given most insight into Fetlock Jones' character. The reader also finds himself in a new setting,
that of a secluded mining town, with a new cast of characters,
with the exception of Archy, and a new crime. In the second
part the narrator tells of Fetlock's motive and execution
of the murder of Flint Buckner, a horribly mean man who treats
Fetlock poorly. The murder takes place the day Sherlock Holmes, Fetlock's uncle, comes to town. After the murder
the two types of detectives give their evidence and reasoning
for the conviction of their suspect. Archy wins and immediately
after his victory, the wrongly accused cousin of Jacob Fuller,
from the first part, comes into town, as a miserable tired
beggar who dreads Sherlock Holmes who he believes has been
following him. The townspeople assure him that Holmes has
died again in Mexico. Twain makes this an obvious satire
on the fictional Holmes who recently died and came to life
in *Hound of the Baskervilles*.

In the conclusion of the story, Archy writes a final
letter to his mother explaining the cousin of Jacob Fuller's
story, that is, the confession of the wrongly accused, and
the lynching of Holmes which resulted. Holmes is confirmed
a procurer of injustice only to be saved in the end by the
sheriff. Archy also tells his mother that the murdered Flint Buckner was really the real Jacob Fuller. He assures her that Jacob lived a miserable life and that he should be left to rest in peace. So, by coincidence, all ends well.

With this distortion of structure Twain shows that life is not neatly ordered like a real detective novel. He ignores the plot rules and makes his own, which resemble more of a life-like disorder. In contrast to "A Study In Scarlet," where there is a clear cause and effect relationship between the two parts, "A Double-Barreled Detective Story" shows little sense of order and meaning. Twain's story relies on coincidence which shows that life does not follow rules of plot and structure, but follows its own illogical path of natural occurrence. If a cause and effect relationship does occur it is not necessarily because of someone's moralistic vision of seeking justice. Twain also clearly shows that Doyle's revenge for love theme is a romantic notion, and revenge out of pride is much more realistic.

Another contrast between reality and fiction that Twain points out is the contrast between Archy Stillman and Sherlock Holmes. Holmes enters the story with an established reputation and well-known logical deductive methods. Twain proves this logic faulty by ridiculing detectives in general. Fetlock, Holmes' nephew, says: "Anybody that knows him the way I do knows he can't detect a crime except where he plans it all out beforehand and arranges the clues and hires some fellow to commit it according to instructions. . . ." (p. 451)
He also says, "if you don't want them to find out about a thing, it's best to have them around when you do it" (p. 466). In these two insights Twain speaks to all detectives. Real detectives, like Pinkerton, cannot solve a case because they can't reason or think. In fiction, detectives are always successful because the author, who creates the detective, is also the creator of the clues. The author knows the end before the reader does, and so does the detective. An extension of this theory is illustrated through the villager's imagination. After Archy has found the kidnapped child, the villagers reconstruct the solution as Sherlock would have done it (p. 453-4). They create imaginary clues, as Sherlock does, and they come up with the correct solution, which Archy has already provided. When Sherlock has to come up with his own clues after the murder of Buckner, Sherlock cannot solve the crime. Instead he condemns an innocent man. Thus he is stimulating injustice. His clues prove to be irrelevant and his deductions prove to be false.

Archy Stillman, in contrast to Holmes, does not rely on logic, but on animal instincts. Archy is born with bloodhound characteristics of night vision and an acute sense of smell. When his mother first realizes this, she tests his instincts repeatedly until no doubt is left. This birthmark could be because of his mother's attack by hounds during her pregnancy, it could be a metaphorical mark to link Archy to the professional hounds, that is,
the detectives, or it could be a reference to Doyle's *Hound of the Baskervilles*.108 Because of this birthmark, Archy is successful in tracking down and following his intended victim. He is also successful in finding a lost child and in solving the murder of Flint Buckner, his real father. Archy is not completely an animal, though, because of his human heart. He writes his mother that the task of hounding his victim is becoming harder because of paternal ties (p. 432). But because of his sense of dogged devotion to his mother, he continues the mission. Archy also hints at having omniscient powers when he claims to be able to see inside of his victim (p. 433).

Because of these instinctive senses, Archy looks for clues to the murder of Buckner around the chaparrel instead of following Sherlock's method of using a tape measure and compass around the blown-up house. Sherlock claims his clues are "eye-witnesses of the tragedy" that speak to him (p. 459). Archy proves him wrong both in his evidence and in his deductions by producing his own clues and analysis. Sherlock's victim then is really innocent, and Archy's is the correct one who the readers also know to be correct. Because Twain employs a third person narrator for the second part of the story the reader knows from the beginning who committed the murder and the reader is also able to see the ridiculousness of Sherlock Holmes, his procedure, his evidence, and his conclusion. Through this contrast of detection, Twain implies that innocent instinct is much more powerful in
securing justice than distant logical procedure, which incriminates the innocent.

Though Twain shows that instinct works better than reason, it is not perfect. Archy, the instinctive detective, does not ever accomplish his original mission of torturing his father. This proves that it is highly unlikely that man can carry out another man's revenge. The level of justice then is still imbalanced at the end of the story. One man, Fetlock, is correctly convicted, only to escape at the end, like the original Jefferson Hope. Twain made him able to escape because he killed a bad man who everybody wanted killed. The biggest injustice is the misery inflicted upon the wrongly suspected Jacob Fuller. But Archy tries to reconcile this injustice by bringing him back to Colorado to set him up in business.

In contrast to Twain's belief in man's instinctive goodness are the rest of the villagers who represent society as a whole. The villagers deeply believe in Sherlock Holmes and admire him even when he convicts the most gentle of all the miners, Sammy Hillyer. The miserable Jacob Fuller's cousin believes in Sherlock so much that he believes that only Sherlock Holmes could be following him around the world. He even sees Sherlock Holmes in his dreams, pressing him to move on (p. 467-8). This demonstrates the extent to which the public believes in their heroes—heroes that ultimately cause misery and injustice to innocent men. The villagers hold on to these beliefs but they are easily swayed. When
Archy proves Holmes wrong; they are just as enthusiastic.
The public, represented by the villagers, proves to be fickle
and dumb. They have no firm convictions and no proof to
back up their temporary ones. When the villagers turn into
an uncontrollable mob ready to lynch Sherlock Holmes, Twain
speaks through the sheriff who calls the villagers "gutter­
snipes," "scum," and cowards who don't have even courage
enough to shoot him in the back (p. 471).

Twain's "Double-Barreled Detective Story" takes a
shot at detectives' injustices and stupidity, along with
the public's fickle, cowardly nature. The imbalance in tone
also enforces the public's stupidity. Twain presents a tone
for each reader and for each detective. He is sympathetic
for some and realistic for others. He is anything but consis­
tent in the story, just as the public is anything but con­
sistent in their beliefs. According to the story, people are
not reasonable, they have no firm convictions, and they are
generally cruel and cowardly. Twain proves their unreason­
ableness and blind belief by testing the reader's detection
with the absurd description of the environment and the insertion
of the "solitary esophagus" (p. 439). If we the readers are
part of the public then we too respect corrupt and ridiculous
methods of justice.

The only redeeming hero in the story is Archy Stillman
with his animal instincts. Twain depicts animals, then, as
more effective arbiters of justice than men. The animal
instincts in man overrule morals, and thus justice cannot be fully achieved, as shown by Archy's inability to achieve success in his original adventure. According to Twain, "we have no real morals, but only artificial ones, morals created and preserved by the forced suppression of natural and healthy instincts." A free man, who is not part of society's manipulation, bases his real morality on the discreet use of his instincts. Archy is not discreet and most other people are manipulated by their environment. This shows little hope for man in general. Because we are not free and because we have no real morality, we are not able to maintain justice and order. One example of a corrupt moral trait in this story is our powerful sense of artificial pride. This pride only leads us deeper into corruption, and further from justice for all.

Like Twain's other detective works, "A Double-Barreled Detective Story" exposes a corruption much deeper than the detectives can see. Twain burlesques detectives to show their weaknesses, but at the same time he ridicules society for putting corrupt heroes on a pedestal. According to Twain, as evidenced in these stories, the innocent are the ones who suffer for the lack of justice, equality and integrity in society. In his stories, though, the detective always rescues the innocent at the last moment. The rescue usually comes from a coincidence, or surprise, which shows that if it weren't for Twain's manipulation of character and plot,
the guilty party would escape and the innocent party would be condemned. Twain infers that the author's manipulation of character and plot is the key to all detective stories, and without the author, detectives contribute to a corrupt society. Throughout his detective works, Twain does not see the classic know-all detectives as defenders of a righteous social system; he sees them as being repulsive and absurd. On the other hand, Twain sees himself as an instigator of social order and justice. Through satire Twain reveals the truth about detective heroes in hopes that there is still room for change.
NOTES


3 Queen, p. 26.


7 Stone, p. 165.


10 Geismar, p. 65.


12 McKeithan, p. 3.


19 "Mark Twain's Pessimistic Philosophy," *Current Literature*, 48 (June 1910), 646.


22 Murch, p. 22.

23 Murch, p. 43.

24 Murch, p. 45.

25 Murch, p. 40.
26 Muroh, p. 60.
29 Sayers, p. 76.
30 Barzum, p. 12.
32 Muroh, p. 68.
33 Haycraft, p. 168.
34 Muroh, p. 71.
35 Sayers, p. 82.
36 Muroh, p. 77.
37 Kitteridge and Krauzer, 320.
40 La Cour and Mogensen, p. 25.
Nicholas Blake, "The Detective Story--Why?" in *The Art of the Mystery Story*, p. 401.

Barzum, p. 20.


Kitteridge and Krauzer, 319.


Freeman, p. 14.

La Cour and Mogensen, p. 116.


Freeman, p. 15.


Barzum, p. 9.


Original in *MTP*, August 6, 1876.

Mark Twain - Howells Letters, William M. Gibson and Henry Nash Smith, eds. (Cambridge: Belkamp Press of

60 Mark Twain - Howells Letters, I, p. 188.

61 Mark Twain - Howells Letters, I, p. 189.

62 Mark Twain - Howells Letters, I, p. 188.

63 Mark Twain - Howells Letters, I, p. 246.

64 Rogers, p. xxii.


66 Mark Twain, "Simon Wheeler, Amateur Detective. A Light Tragedy," in Mark Twain's Satires and Burlesques, ed. Franklin R. Rogers (Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1967), p. 224. All subsequent references to this work are noted by page numbers in text.

67 Because I am mainly concerned with the detective genre in this study, I only mention the added elements.

68 Walter Blair, "When Was Huck Finn Written?" American Literature, 30 (March 1958), 12.

69 Mark Twain, Simon Wheeler, Detective, ed. Franklin Rogers (New York: New York Public Library, 1963), p. 46. All subsequent references to this work are noted by page numbers in the text.

70 Mark Twain - Howells Letters, I, p. 246.

71 Howard G. Baetzhold, "Of Detectives and Their Derring-Do: The Genesis of Mark Twain's 'The Stolen White Elephant,'" Studies In American Humor, 2 (1976), 189. See also for more complete data on Stewart case.

72 Mark Twain, "The Stolen White Elephant," in The Complete Short Stories of Mark Twain, ed. Charles Neider
(New York: Bantam, 1959), p. 200. All subsequent references from this work are noted by page numbers in the text.

73 Knox, p. 195.
77 Micheal Orth, "Pudd'nhead Wilson Reconsidered; Or the Octoroon in the Villa Viviani," *Mark Twain Journal*, 14 (Summer 1969), 12.
79 Leslie Fiedler, "As Free As Any Cretur...," *New Republic*, 133 (August 1955), 17.
85 Mark Twain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, introd. Langston Hughes (New York: Bantam, 1959), p. 76. All subsequent references to this work are noted by page numbers in the text.

86 Earl F. Briden, "Idiots First, Then Juries: Legal Metaphors in Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 20 (Summer 1978), 173.

87 Gerber, 22.

88 McKeithan, p. 36.


90 "The Origin of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*," *Literary Digest*, 45 (October 1912), 740-41.


92 James Cox, "*Pudd'nhead Wilson*: End of Mark Twain's American Dream," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 58 (Summer 1959), 357.

93 McKeithan, p. 25.

94 Rowlette, p. 54.


96 McKeithan, p. 178.

97 Mark Twain, *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (New York: Harper and Brothers Pub., 1896), p. 137. All subsequent references to this work are noted by page numbers in the text.


101 Rowlette, p. 55.

102 Rowlette, p. 56.


105 Doyle, p. 34.


All subsequent references to this work are noted by page numbers in the text.


108 Rowlette, p. 58.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


"Pudd'nhead Wilson: End of Mark Twain's American Dream." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 58 (Summer 1959), 351-63.

Cronin, Frank C. "The Ultimate Perspective in *Pudd'nhead Wilson."* *Mark Twain Journal*, 16 (Winter 1971), 14-16.


*Ramparts*, 6 (May 1968), 64-71.


Kraus, Keith W. "Mark Twain's 'A Double Barreled Detective Story': A Source For the Solitary Oesophagus." Mark Twain Journal, 16 (Summer 1972), 10-12.


"Mark Twain's Pessimistic Philosophy." Current Literature, 48 (June 1910), 643-47.

McKeithan, D. M. Court Trials In Mark Twain and Other Essays. 'S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958.


"Simon Wheeler Amateur Detective. A Light Tragedy."


Warren, Williams G. "On the Naming of Tom Sawyer."

*Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 24 (July 1955), 424-36.


Wigger, Anne. "The Source of Fingerprint Material In *Mark Twain's Pudd'nhead Wilson* and Those Extraordinary Twins."


Wilson, James D. "'The Monumental Sarcasm of the Ages': Science and Psuedo Science in The Thought of Mark Twain."

*South Atlantic Bulletin*, 40 (1975), 72-82.