RECOGNITION AND DESPAIR: MARK TWAIN'S THE PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF JOAN OF ARC AS A MODERN LITERARY ALLEGORY IN THE AMERICAN TRADITION

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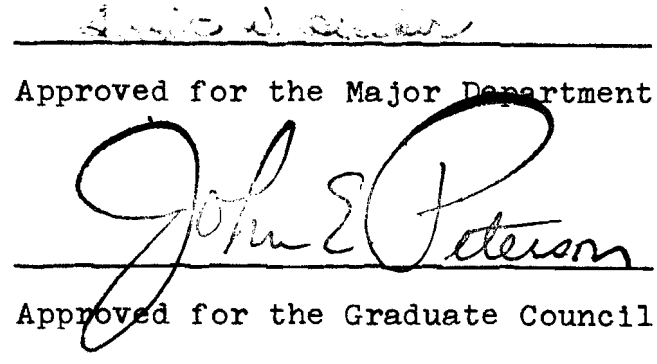

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PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to explicate Mark Twain's The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc in terms of modern, American, literary allegory and thereby demonstrate that this work, until now dismissed by the critics as a poor example of Twain's art, is significant to his canon of fiction and to American literature, generally. Such a purpose necessitates the careful re-evaluation and redefinition of allegory as a modern literary genre, and the reassessment of its role in early American literature and in Twain's major works.

I sincerely acknowledge the scholarly criticism and assistance of Dr. Gerrit W. Bleeker and Dr. Green D. Wyrick. Also, I wish to thank Mr. Robert L. Hampton, Director of the William Allen White Library, for his co-operation, and my husband, Darrell, for his patience and continual encouragement.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION

The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc has been consistently dismissed as one of Mark Twain's most dismal failures. His critics have labeled it "romantic" and sentimental, representing the most maudlin expression on the part of its author.[1] But their opinions are based on a superficial reading of Joan of Arc that emphasizes only a simple, mono-dimensional interpretation. Twain, as an author, cannot be fully comprehended in a simple way. A surface reading of any of his works can be deceptive--Huckleberry Finn, read superficially, is a good "boy's book" with a less-than-great ending; Pudd'nhead Wilson is a fairly good detective story; Connecticut Yankee presents a unique fantasy with a somewhat overly violent finale. However, when read with critical awareness and perception, they present a complex pattern of images leading to deeper truth through carefully crafted structures.

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[1]Roger B. Salomon, "Escape from History: Mark Twain's Joan of Arc," Philological Quarterly, XL (January, 1961) 77; and Edward C. Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Work, p. 58.

C. Merton Babcock uses a map of Paris, drawn by Twain, as a clue to unlocking the secrets of his fiction.[2] This map projects a nightmarish quality on the city of Paris by including as landmarks only the Seine and some cryptically labeled divisions of the city--Notre Dame, L'Arc de Triomphe, the Louvre are all missing.[3] Further, to be read, the map must be held up to a mirror, for it is written from right to left.[4] With these devices Twain succeeds in presenting his concept of the city of Paris as inverted, familiar yet unrecognizable, and strangely terrifying.[5] The same technique is sometimes apparent in his fiction--appearances and reality are not the same and the fictional elements are often instilled with symbolic significance.[6] This is especially true of The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc.

In this work Twain utilizes a mode of writing, allegory, which he has used, to varying degrees, in his earlier works but which he has never exploited to the extent that he did in Joan of Arc. This mode of writing is based on an established tradition in American fiction which, in turn, derives

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[2]C. Merton Babcock, "Mark Twain's Map of Paris," Texas Quarterly, VII (Autumn, 1964) 92.

[3]Loc. cit.

[4]Loc. cit.

[5]Ibid., p. 94.

[6]Ibid., p. 96.

its basis from the long and honorable tradition of allegorical expression in Western Civilization. To better understand and appreciate Twain's Joan of Arc, it is essential to re-evaluate and redefine allegory for the modern reader and to demonstrate the existence of allegory in both American fiction and Twain's earlier works.

This investigation into allegory, its American tradition, and its presence as the controlling factor in Twain's Joan of Arc is based on the belief that, first, a work of literature, to be interpreted completely and exhaustively, must be considered from every significant critical viewpoint. It is not enough to define the limits of a work according to a prevailing critical prejudice; a work must be approached honestly from every angle to arrive at its truth.

Second, no one interpretation can endure as the interpretation. While I do not accept the interpretation of Joan of Arc as a sentimental and romantic melodrama, I also do not propose that an allegorical reading will produce the final and definitive interpretation. Rather, I suggest that by applying a new definition of allegory to Joan of Arc and by illustrating that the work is based in an American allegorical tradition, the work will assume a new importance in the canon of Twain's fiction and in the body of American literature.

Allegory, within the last century, has been considered a less-than-literary mode. Much of this current prejudice against allegory may be diminished by a careful, critical look at the history of allegorical conception, its subsequent expression in literature, and a new and more comprehensive definition of modern literary allegory.

CHAPTER II

ALLEGORY: TRADITION, CONCEPT, AND CONSTRUCTION

Allegory finds its roots, not as commonly supposed in the mind of the Middle Ages, but rather in the mind of Man.[7] It is in the very nature of Man, as a creature of the Imagination, to use thought and language to represent the immaterial in terms of the material.[8] Further, the essential concept of the dichotomy of Good and Evil and its figurative expression--what is light and happy meaning Good; what is dark, deep, and miserable meaning Evil--are products of Man's earliest imaginings.[9]

The early Greeks gave this particular imaginative tendency a name, allegory.[10] Using their words, "allos" (other) and "agoria" (speaking), they formulated a specific term for that which equated the tangible with the intangible, the myth with the mystery, and the speakable with the

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[7] C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, p. 44.

[8] Loc. cit.

[9] Loc. cit.

[10] Edwin Honig, The Darke Conceit: The Making of Allegory, p. 24.

unspeakable.[11] Their culture, which named it, used allegory to express their religion and traditional history.[12]

Later, the Romans were to use allegory and to narrow and refine its definition even further. Quintillian critically defined it as something whose meaning goes beyond the written work, and, citing the "real persons" in Virgil's tenth Ecologue as evidence, made a distinction between "historical" allegory and other kinds.[13] Quintillian also refined the terms "symbol" and "enigma"--a symbol being a sign whose meaning was fixed in either literary or theological tradition, and an enigma being an obscure allegory.[14] With these terms carefully defined, the Roman artists and critics were then able to increase the classical tradition through their own literature and criticism.

The classical concept of allegory was rejected by the early Church fathers who substituted for it their own allegorical philosophy and method, typology.[15] By this method, they were able to explain and justify certain "Christian" ideas and personalities of pre-Christian origin

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[11] Loc. cit.

[12] Loc. cit.

[13] Don Cameron Allen, Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance, p. viii.

[14] Loc. cit.

[15] Loc. cit.

as pre-figures or "types" of Christ.[16] From this idea came their concept of the four levels of meaning--literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogical with which they explicated both the Bible and certain "Christian" pagan literature.[17] But due to the upsurge of scholarship in the Middle Ages and the extreme value assigned to any existing literature--pagan included--classical allegorical philosophy was rediscovered and integrated into the prevailing Christian typological and four-level approach.[18] This synthesis of allegorical concepts is understandable since theological systems represent only one form of man's concept of his destiny; art, science, psychology, and philosophy are others.[19] Therefore, as the medieval allegorist discovered, the Christian concept of typology and system of the four levels of meaning were unique only as ideological phases in the development of the total concept of allegory.[20]

Allegory was, then, a literary mode which presented a surface or literal meaning and had within it a secondary

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[16]Dorothy Bethurum, Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature, p. 64.

[17]Loc. cit.

[18]C. S. Lewis, Critical Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, p. 45.

[19]Konig, op. cit., p. 182.

[20]Edmund A. Bloom, "The Allegorical Principle," English Literary History, XVIII (September, 1951), 163-190.

or abstract meaning with definite moralistic significance. From this concept arose the now-common assumption that allegory presupposes a conscious effort on the behalf of the author.[21] By incorporating the classical concept of symbols with the prevalent Catholic sacramentalism, the Medieval allegorist found symbolism to be a mode of thought and allegory to be its expression.[22] His allegory, using symbols in the same way nouns use adjectives, opened wide potential for artistic development.[23]

At the end of the eleventh century, the concept of the Ideal Woman, inspired by the Cult of the Virgin, was added to Medieval allegory.[24] Allegorized, this Woman, who inspired quests and filled heroes with raptures of love, assumed the roles of creative force and psychological-symbolical outlet.[25] Thus, by synthesizing Christian and classical concepts of allegory and enriching his heritage of symbolic thought with liturgical sacramentalism and the veneration of Woman, the Medieval allegorist created a

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[21]Ibid., p. 187.

[22]Lewis, Allegory of Love, p. 48.

[23]Allen, op. cit., p. 18.

[24]Honig, op. cit., pp. 31-33.

[25]Ibid., p. 35.

suitable method for the expression of temporal and sempiternal truths.[26]

The Renaissance condensed the Medieval concept of four-fold meaning into one representative, symbolic level.[27] In this period, the practical value of allegory was emphasized over its aesthetic value.[28] This two-level nature of allegory is echoed in Boccaccio's definition of the poet as one who "veils truth in a fair and fitting garment of fiction."[29] The only two facets of allegory commonly recognized in the Renaissance were its basic truth and its overt fiction. The writers of the Renaissance, operating in an age of practicality, had difficulty creating and sustaining their allegories in the prevailing atmosphere of objectivity, realism, and materialism.[30]

True to their pragmatic, Renaissance natures, the Elizabethans, like their Continental contemporaries, emphasized the didactic side of allegory over the artistic side. Spenser's Faerie Queene illustrates the difficulty of

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[26]Bloom, op. cit., p. 165.

[27]Loc. cit.

[28]Loc. cit.

[29]Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory: Some Notes Toward a Theory of Allegorical Rhetoric in the English Renaissance, p. 67.

[30]Bloom, op. cit., p. 190.

sustaining an allegory in a culture which placed little emphasis on the subjective and introspective.[31]

In the eighteenth century, allegorical method and theory broke into two prevailing modes of usage. The first, as practiced by such Neo-Classical poets as Dryden, Pope, Waller, and Granville, re-emphasized the aesthetic view of allegory, and their symbols, often drawn from classical myth, assumed meanings immediately understandable by the intelligent reader.[32] The second mode of usage, utilized by Defoe and Swift, emphasized allegory as a method of subterfuge whereby dangerous or incendiary political and social views could be disguised.[33]

By the nineteenth century, in England, the use of allegory was diminishing, due largely to the critical efforts of Ruskin, MacCaulay, and Coleridge.[34] The force with which allegory was denounced was such that even those who were practicing it vehemently denied doing so.[35] Of those critics who wrote against allegory, Coleridge is the most significant; he is the source for the modern opposition to allegory,

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[31]Ibid., p. 169, and Honig, op. cit., p. 87.

[32]Allen, op. cit., p. 311.

[33]Bloom, op. cit., p. 177.

[34]Ibid., p. 187.

[35]Loc. cit.

primarily through his definition of Symbol and Allegory.[36] In his discussion of the two he writes:

> The Symbolical cannot, perhaps, be better defined in distinction from the Allegorical, than that it is always itself a part of that, of the whole of which it is representative . . . Of most importance to our present subject is this point, that the latter (the allegory) cannot be other than spoken consciously;--whereas in the former (the symbol) it is very possible that the general truth may be unconsciously in the writer's mind during the construction of the symbol; and it proves itself by being produced out of his own mind . . . The advantage of symbolic writing over allegory is, that it presumes no disjunction of faculties, but simple predominance.[37]

This definition, taken too literally or misapplied, led to the development of a pedantic distinction between symbol and allegory (previously the two had been considered two aspects of the same thing). Basically, it was a semantic quibble encompassing, at most, the variations between synedoche and metonymy.[38]

The very language which Coleridge used illustrates a fundamental doubt about the distinction he attempted to make. Such ambiguous phrases as "perhaps," "very possible," "may be," and "presumes" confuse the reader, and it is necessary for Coleridge to illustrate how one trope or the

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[36]Honig, op. cit., p. 44.

[37]T. M. Raysor, (ed.), Miscellaneous Criticisms of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, p. 30.

[38]Honig, op. cit., p. 46.

[39]Ibid., p. 47.

other predominates in a prolonged work.[39] (What Coleridge's definition does do, however, is explain his belief in organic form, rather than present any workable philosophy of either allegory or symbol.[40]) The primary reason for Coleridge's preoccupation with the distinction between allegory and symbol lies in his theory of criticism and the imagination--a theory which, rejecting the Medieval concept of man and art, forced him to define and propagandize a new concept based on True Man, not True Religion.[41] Coleridge, then, assumes a philosophical split between the language of the mind and the language of nature and reconciles this split, not with dogma (the solution of the early Church fathers when faced with the same split), but with a rationale based on a creative imagination--thus necessitating a turn against traditional allegory in favor of symbolism.[42]

Due primarily to Coleridge's defense of symbol, which made allegory into a sort of devalued metaphor-making, the modern reader is suspicious of the entire concept of allegory.[43] Allegory is as mistrusted as "Sunday-school religion,

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[39] Ibid., p. 47.

[40] Loc. cit.

[41] Loc. cit.

[42] Loc. cit.

[43] Ibid., p. 3.

while symbol, at best ambiguous, is universally accepted,--much like higher mathematics."[44] This prejudice is an expression of the dissatisfaction with the traditional concept of allegory: that it, as art, should not have any relationship to beliefs, but be an autonomous product of the imagination.[45] We assume that allegory subordinates everything to a prescribed pattern; that it is, briefly, a counterfeit of literary values.[46] This animus against allegory is propagated by the artist who rejects any view which would place his art in any predetermined moral scheme.[47] It is also supported by the critic who declines to allow a continuous allegory to determine the course which his criticism will follow and, in so doing, restrict his freedom.[48]

Allegory, then, as both philosophy and method, prevailed in the literary heritage of Western culture until, by the nineteenth century, it was reduced by definition to the place of a second-rate, unimaginative mechanical formula.

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[44]Ibid., p. 40.

[45]Loc. cit.

[46]Richard Harter Fogle, The Light and The Dark, p. 4.

[47]Honig, op. cit., p. 51.

[48]Northrop Frye, The Anatomy of Criticism, p. 90.

But the allegorical tendency had not then, nor has it now, ceased.[49]

To allay the criticism of his art, the allegorist has sought other literary forms which could provide a vital symbolic structure and communicate in terms of contemporary reality.[50] More feasible than the search for new forms, however, is the solution offered by a new and more valid definition of allegory. A false theory of realism, a misconception of the true nature of allegory, and a tendency to evaluate allegory in pragmatic rather than aesthetic terms are the critical legacy of the twentieth century.[51] The necessary new definition must transcend this legacy and provide a critical criteria for allegorical identification and construction, and a general theory of the nature of allegory.

Considered most broadly, allegory is created by many different writers, utilizing all the known literary forms.[52] However, one characteristic is necessary--fiction and

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[49]An example of contemporary allegory may be found in E. E. Cummings' poem, "Three Wealthy Sisters," explicated in Poetry: An Introduction to Its Form and Art, Norman Friedman and Charles A. MacLaughlin (eds.), pp. 98-99.

[50]Honig, op. cit., p. 91.

[51]Bloom, op. cit., p. 173.

[52]Honig, op. cit., p. 93.

allegory must be simultaneous.[53] They must, together, create an integrated vision of reality which must be sustained within the work.[54] The subject is either sacred to belief or revered in the imagination, the text is provided by the world, and allegory establishes the connection.[55] This creative nature of allegory requires the double purpose of making a reality and making it mean something.[56] In fixing and relating fictional identities, allegory provides a new dimension, converting the commonplace into purposeful forms.[57] The danger in this creative nature is that it tends to become prescriptive and leads to an impersonal, naive, personification allegory.[58] (The opposite extreme, programmatic realism, is equally as drained of reality.)[59]

Allegory, then, presupposes an integral and creative nature. It also requires the establishment of a fictional world of reality which both _is_ and _means_. In order to achieve this precarious balance and to maintain its creative

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[53]_Loc. cit._

[54]_Loc. cit._

[55]_Ibid._, p. 113.

[56]_Ibid._, p. 180.

[57]_Loc. cit._

[58]_Ibid._, p. 180.

[59]_Loc. cit._

integrity, allegory depends on sub-units which are of a like essence and nature. The sub-units of allegory are, and have been since Quintillian, symbols. Although the controversy over symbol and allegory resulted in making them separate and decidedly unequal, the reality of their essential natures demands that they be recognized for what they are: two versions of the same thing, differing primarily in degree.[60]

In their study, The Theory of Literature, Rene Wellek and Austin Warren define symbol as: ". . . an object which relates to another object but which demands attention also in its own right . . ."[61] The symbol must have an integrity of its own as well as relate to something else, just as an allegory must have fictional integrity and encompass a further meaning. When this symbol is given motion, whether in Time, Space, or a Psychological dimension, the result is allegory.[62] Rather than divide narrative artists into symbolists and allegorists, it is more important to focus on the symbolic and allegorical relationships and their totality of meaning as represented by each individual author and his art.[63]

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[60]Murray Krieger, "Creative Criticism: A Broader View of Allegory," Sewanee Review, LVIII (January, 1958) p. 47.

[61]From Fogle, op. cit., p. 218.

[62]Allen, op. cit., p. vii.

[63]Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, The Nature of Narrative, pp. 106-107.

Operative at the very source of allegory is the principle of inner tension--the bellum intestinum--which, as it intensifies increases the tendency for symbolic expression, creating allegory.[64] The positive or negative resolution of this tension is the pattern which the allegory creates. Within the pattern is made possible a cosmic view of intrinsic relationships--the symbolic objects in their allegorical progress toward a resolution of internal tension illustrate their universal relationships.[65]

Allegory, symbolic in method and philosophy, is ultimately realistic in aim and perception.[66] In order for allegory to achieve artistic integrity and at the same time fulfill its symbolic role, its fictional progress must seem to be determined by realistic incidents and events. The "meanings" must grow naturally from the action of the narrative.[67] The success of an allegory arises from the narrative which moves progressively in a three-dimensional spiral, backward, forward, and upward: backward, to the literal story; forward and upward to the consummation of both action

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[64]Lewis, Allegory of Love, pp. 60-61.

[65]Honig, op. cit., p. 130.

[66]Loc. cit.

[67]Ibid., p. 114.

and meaning.[68] The symbolic overtones of the literal dimension act further to evoke in the reader a recognition that his own experiences parallel the expanding implications of the symbolic material in the narrative.[69] Thus, in a spiraling motion, allegory converts problematic issues of experience into symbolic entities by virtue of its own organic design--it does not depend on external moral mandates or religious dogma.[70]

Medieval and classical allegories were secure in their authority, modern allegory is not. It is necessary for the modern allegorist to create or define an authority upon which to base his work. This creation of authority requires a critical examination of both reality and the objective norms of experience in the light of human ideality.[71] The sources for the creation of authority include the "twice-told tale," the old story (myth or history) which becomes the pattern, and thus the authority for the new story.[72] To re-create the story the writer must create a

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[68]Ibid., p. 179.

[69]Loc. cit.

[70]Ibid., p. 182.

[71]Ibid., p. 109, Bloom, op. cit., p. 89, and John E. Becker, Hawthorne's Historical Allegory: An Examination of the American Conscience, p. 177.

[72]Konig, op. cit., p. 13, and Austin Warren, "Hawthorne," The Recognition of Nathaniel Hawthorne: Selected Criticism Since 1828, Benjamin Cohen, (ed.), p. 179.

new structure and, in so doing, a new meaning.[73] The extent to which the pattern is re-created determines the new story's artistic autonomy and allegorical success.[74]

Inherent in the concept of the old pattern is the idea of myth. To some extent, myth is allegory and allegory, myth, because each embodies the modes of symbolic thought.[75] The archetypal myths provide principles of masculinity and femininity, death and regeneration, quest and home, guilt and innocence, cycle and stasis--all of which allegory adopts as authoritary patterns.[76]

Modern allegory, by its nature--organic, dynamic, with a creative basis of authority--serves more comprehensively than any other trope (metaphor, irony, symbol) in structuring the basic design of fiction, and due to its inherent flexibility, it engages more fully in the symbolic uses of literature than any other literary type.[77] This concept of flexibility implies that allegory, as a bridge between fiction and ideas, must be seen in a wider

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[73]Becker, op. cit., p. 5.

[74]Loc. cit.

[75]Allen, op. cit., p. vii.

[76]Honig, op. cit., p. 35.

[77]Ibid., p. 54.

perspective to include the workings of other literary types or genres, particularly pastoral, epic, and satire.[78]

The existence of pure allegory, as with other pure literary types, ended gradually as the Protestant ethic began to emerge.[79] Subsequent allegory has been shaped by various thematic ideas and literary forms, while its traditional moral emphasis and modes of identification and narrative often are applicable to pastoral, epic, and satire as well.[80] A comprehensive definition must include this generic interplay and synthesis as an essential aspect of the nature of modern allegory.[81]

The consideration of allegory in terms of generic type requires a consideration of the role of the Ideal. Ideals generally issue from the tendency to visualize a state of uninterrupted happiness or perfection and are shaped upon the past or future so that through memory or anticipation the Ideal is localized in time.[82] It is possible to conceive of allegory, pastoral, epic, and satire as types in which the generic or stylistic elements

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[78] Loc. cit.

[79] Ibid., p. 153.

[80] Loc. cit., and Harry Levin, The Power of Blackness: Hawthorne, Melville, and Poe, p. 20.

[81] Konig, op. cit., p. 149.

[82] Loc. cit.

are compounded and which differ primarily in their treatment and localization of the Ideal.[83] The Ideal appears in various forms, depending on the genre-type: as a norm from which men have strayed (satire), as a desired good with which all men should be allied (pastoral), and as an unattainable perfection of either past or future which serves as a judicial measure of man (epic).[84] It is the task of the hero to close the gap between the earthly and the divine--to make the Ideal real.[85] The Ideal, whether implicit or explicit, may be the same in each genre-type; the difference between types is indicated by the treatment and conception of the Ideal itself.[86]

More specifically, the pastoral demands an idealized behavior that is protected from everyday disillusionment, while specific events and the behavior of the characters are realistically drawn from the world of contemporary reality.[87] The need to return to the pastoral--the state of innocence, equality, or perfection--may be viewed as

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[83]Ibid., p. 150.

[84]Vega Curl, Pasteboard Masks: Fact as Spiritual Symbol in the Novels of Hawthorne and Melville, p. 15, and Honig, op. cit., p. 152.

[85]Loc. cit.

[86]Honig, op. cit., p. 169.

[87]Ibid., p. 166, and Murrin, op. cit., p. 74.

desirable by some authors, as naive by others, while still others make light of it.[88] The pastoral, above all, subsists in the practicability of its own ideals and levels pointed criticism at all social behavior which falsifies them.[89]

Differing from the pastoral, where the Ideal is seen in terms of contemporary reality, is the epic, in which the Ideal is realized in action through the precepts of epic heroism.[90] The epic hero magnifies and socializes the actual conditions of man living under stress.[91] Other men live in his shadow, operating in the perimeter of his greatness--he becomes mediator between god and men, the bond between the Ideal and the Real.[92] But heroes can be mocked and the result usually is satire.

Satire, though commonly placed opposite allegory on the critical scale, is often found in combination with allegory.[93] Satire dispenses with gods and entirely demolishes man's concept of himself as rational, yet still forces the

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[88]Honig, op. cit., p. 169.

[89]Ibid., p. 166, and Murrin, op. cit., p. 74.

[90]Honig, op. cit., p. 171.

[91]Ibid., p. 158, and A. N. Kaul, The American Vision: Actual and Ideal in Nineteenth-Century Fiction, p. 68.

[92]Honig, op. cit., p. 158.

[93]Loc. cit.

hero's consciousness to admit to the world's total resignation.[94] The Ideal, in satire, is allegorized through the use of irony and analogy, with the prevailing sense of an unanswerable mystery whose one true key has been lost and only the meagerest clues remain.[95]

Thus allegory demonstrates its flexibility by incorporating into its nature various other generic types. The presence of these generic types, however, in any specific work is explainable only by the individual projections of each individual author.[96] Modern allegory, then, must be defined as organic, dynamic, and flexible in nature. To complete the definition its form must also be determined.

The consideration of allegory in terms of form requires a two-part approach: structure and characteristic verbal modes. The primary aspect of allegorical structure is its underlying synthesis of dualities. The author bonds together into one organic and dynamic whole, two things which are, in essence, separate; that is, one being literal and the other spiritual.[97] The author, as Man, seeks by this fusion to reunite the world of the actual with the

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[94]Works which may be considered satiric allegory are Kafka's "Metamorphosis" and "The Hunger Artist," and Swift's Gulliver's Travels.

[95]Honig, op. cit., p. 87.

[96]Ibid., p. 154.

[97]Becker, op. cit., p. 161.

world of the spiritual through fictional expression. This synthesis of dualities, as the underlying premise of allegorical philosophy, also forms the foundation of allegorical structure. The second aspect of allegorical structure is manipulation of Time and Space. This manipulation is necessary to locate the allegory in a specifically symbolic context--"once upon a time, in a far away land." The elements of Time and Space are usually distorted through the device of the Dream-Vision, including, as well, Memory and Imaginative Projection.[98]

The artifice involved is the body of techniques necessary to sustain the impression of either a dream, an extended recollection, or an imaginative mental projection.[99] Foremost among these techniques is the device of the dream-state introduction which relies on the basic psychology of the dream, thus haunting the reader with the feeling of the familiar-unfamiliar. That is, although foreign, the scene and situation are recognized by the reader in much the same

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[98]Honig, op. cit., W. H. Auden, in Levin, op. cit., cites specifically American symbolic settings in time and space as being of a "border-land" nature, the boundary in the literal narrative symbolizing the concept of the separation between reality and unreality, p. 17. A similar statement is made by Richard Foster in Six American Novelists of the Nineteenth Century: An Introduction, on p. 6, and the correlation is made with the Medieval psychomachia.

[99]Loc. cit.

manner as those in a dream or psychic deja-vu.[100] Dante's journey in the Dark Wood and Bunyan's Den in the Wilderness are two prime examples of the use of the dream pattern to involve the reader in the sense that, subconsciously, he is linked with the narrative through archetypal dream-experiences.[101] When the situation is not a dream but an extended recollection or imaginative projection from one point in time and space to another, the techniques of emblem or threshold symbol introduce and propel the narrative.[102] Such threshold symbols and emblems, when used well, also awake in the reader a sense of familiarity with the unknown.[103] The hero in both the dream or the recollection/projection is operative within the symbolic context. The hero often is unaware of the meaning of his experiences and relies upon guides (false and true) to show him the way.[104] Within the concept of the

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[100]Honig, op. cit., p. 70.

[101]The Inferno, (ll. 1-3): "Upon the journey of our life midway/ I came unto myself in a dark wood/ For from the straight path I had gone astray." The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Jefferson Butler Fletcher, (tr.); and The Pilgrims's Progress, (l.1): "As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place where was a Den; and I laid me down in that place to sleep . . ."

[102]Honig, op. cit., p. 71.

[103]The watery shipwreck in The Tempest, and the incidents in the Forest and the Den of Errour in Book I of The Faerie Queene provide examples of threshold symbols.

[104]Honig, op. cit., p. 71.

guide is the concept of the Intelligence which is part of the hero's consciousness and helps propel the action.[105]

Also inherent in the technique of the dream-vision is the ordeal or journey. The hero, usually, though not always, in a state of despair, generally launches the narrative by undertaking an ordeal or journey (Dante, Christian, Red Cross Knight).[106] The ensuing allegorical narrative progresses toward the completion of the hero's journeys or the culmination of his ordeal. In modern allegory, the success or completion is often characterized by recognition of Actual Truth (not Idealized Truth) and the result is despair and its accompanying disintegration of the hero.[107]

Accompanying the journey and ordeal as denoting dream-vision, recollection, and projection is the use of initiation and talisman to denote hero.[108] The pattern of action which typifies the ordeal or journey of the hero is generally a pattern of archetypal initiation.[109] The talisman concentrates into a single symbolic object (clothing, burden, paraphrenalia(the essence of the hero allowing him

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[105]Loc. cit.

[106]Loc. cit.

[107]Ibid., p. 40, and Kaul, op. cit., p. 71.

[108]Honig, op. cit., p. 81.

[109]Ibid., p. 85.

to be recognized as hero before he is actually presented as such.[110] Thus, the structural elements of allegorical form include the basic premise of the fictional synthesis of dualisms, the creation of a symbolic context through the manipulation of Time and Space (through the devices of the Dream-Vision, extended recollection, or imaginative projection), the character of narrative action (ordeal or journey), and the denotation of the hero (through archetypal initiation patterns and talisman).

The second aspect of modern allegorical form is its characteristic and identifiable use of the verbal modes, analogy and irony.[111] While all the details in an allegorical setting need not have symbolic significance, most will serve to satisfy one of these two principle modes.[112]

The first of these verbal modes, analogy, is seen in its simplest form in the allusion--a technique which relies on an immediate recognition and imaginative connection on the part of the reader.[113] A second use of analogy is the personification of abstractions, either explicit (Ignorance in Pilgrim's Progress), or ambivalent (Captain Ahab/Pride--

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[110] Ibid., p. 81.

[111] Ibid., p. 114.

[112] Murrin, op. cit., p. 57.

[113] Honig, op. cit., p. 115.

at once personal heroism and ugly monomania).[114] Allied to the personification of abstractions is the analogy through nomenclature, or the expression of symbolic meaning in the name of a specific literal object.[115] Analogy further exists in the expression of the hero's state of mind by the natural world--anthropomorphism or the Pathetic Fallacy--and through appropriate actions (Red Cross Knight succumbs to sleep in Archimago's hut and to Orgoglio while embracing Duessa.)[116] Related to these forms of analogy is the analogy of the action to events outside the fictional context (the Hunger Artist led from his cage and supported after his ordeal by two women is analogous to, though not identical with, Christ lowered from the Cross into the arms of the Blessed Virgin and St. Mary Magdalene.)[117] Finally, the most artistically dangerous use of analogy is foreshadowing or coincidence. This method is useful only when the specific incidents are part of the organic whole, and its misuse results in ludicrous "accidents" in the narrative.[118]

The second verbal mode, irony, relies primarily on incongruence and the accompanying proposal of a superficial

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[114] Ibid., pp. 116-117, and Becker, op. cit., p. 176.

[115] Honig, op. cit., p. 118.

[116] Loc. cit.

[117] Ibid., p. 123.

[118] Ibid., p. 125.

similarity between things essentially dissimilar.[119] Along with incongruity is the use of the impact of appearance on reality.[120] The context assumes a mirror-image quality, because what appears to be is very often the opposite of what really is. Related to the ironic verbal mode is the use of the pageant or pageant-like situation to form a narrative link and, in many instances, to underscore the effects of the narrative action at that point.[121] These pageants, presenting a dramatic sequence which underscores the difference between appearance and reality, may echo or oppose the action in the narrative. They may provide a clue to the hero's progress in dealing with the ordeal or journey, or they may occur in a series and assume the quality of an operatic motif as they wind in and out of the narrative, always emerging in a new perspective.[122] Irony, then, depends on the response of the reader's mind as triggered by essential dissimilarity and incongruity, whereas analogy depends on immediate recognition through essential similarity and identification.

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[119] Ibid., p. 131.

[120] Loc. cit.

[121] Ibid., p. 132.

[122] Ibid., p. 140. The parade of the Seven Deadly Sins before the throne of Pride in Book I of The Faerie Queene illustrates the use of the pageant device to underscore the narrative action, since Red Cross Knight is, at that point, a victim of Pride.

Allegory, as both a literary form and an imaginative concept, must be reconsidered and re-evaluated in the context of modern literary theory and practice. Due to a misconception of both allegory and realism and to a semantic quibble which reduced the whole (allegory) while elevating the part (symbol), the current century lacks a clear, concise theory of allegorical thought and practice. Such a theory is possible if based on a definition of modern allegory which delineates the mode in terms of its nature and form. The nature of modern allegory should be defined as organic, dynamic, and flexible; authorized by myth, history, and the author's own creative force; and compounded of other literary forms, specifically the pastoral, epic, and satire. Its form should be defined in terms of a structure which is created through a synthesis of dualities and a manipulation of Time and Space through the dream-vision devices, and of a combination of the verbal modes of analogy and irony. This definition establishes a theory of allegory which includes both the essential concept and the overt practice and which is readily applicable to modern fiction.

More specifically, this concept of modern allegory may be demonstrated as being present in native American fiction. The premise that a well-developed allegorical tradition existed in America by the nineteenth century is supported by evidence of an American predisposition to

allegory, both in literature and philosophy, and by the specific examples of this tradition in literature in the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and ultimately, Mark Twain.

CHAPTER III

ALLEGORY: AN AMERICAN LITERARY TRADITION

American novelists tend to express themselves in allegory.[123] In order to realize the validity of this statement, it is essential to understand the underlying reasons for this American literary preoccupation with the form. One reason lies in the origin of the American allegorical expression.

In the early days of New England, this expression began to take on an identifiable form from the English typological tradition assimilated by the Puritans.[124] The mythology of the Old Testament formed the Yankee mythology, prefiguring everything that would or could ever happen.[125] American allegorical expression was fed with the Literal/Spiritual dualism, beginning with "In Adam's fall/ We sinned all"--the spiritual myth (the primordial error) applies directly to the literal reality (we). The Pilgrim's Progress, seemingly the determining link between English

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[123]William Van O'Connor, Introduction to The Idea of the American Novel, Louis D. Rubin and John R. Moore, (eds.), p. vii.

[124]Becker, op. cit., p. 156.

[125]Levin, op. cit., p. 11.

literature and American literature, lent to this developing expression certain specific characteristics--the dream, the agent or narrator-agent who is another self, the journey or ordeal, and the celestial Ideal.[126] From this influence it is not surprising that what seems to be America's first prose fiction is a full-blown allegory, The History of the Kingdom of Basaruah, printed in Boston in 1715 by a Calvinist minister, Joseph Morgan.[127] Its name, Basaruah, is glossed as a combination of the Hebrew "flesh" and "spirit" and endows it with psycho-physical parallels, creating psychomachia, as well as a Dream-vision journey.[128] The elements of The Kingdom of Basaruah--narrator, characters, situation, development--all show evidence of Bunyan's influence.[129] Thus, the allegorical approach in The Kingdom of Basaruah demonstrates the development of the American allegorical expression as having begun in the shadow of Puritan typological tradition.[130] Along with the typological tradition, Puritan pragmatism demanded a realistic approach to life;

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[126]Ibid., p. 19, and Warren, op. cit., p. 177.

[127]Levin, op. cit., p. 19.

[128]Loc. cit.

[129]Loc. cit.

[130]Becker, op. cit., p. 155.

and allegory in the Renaissance sense of teach-and-delight fulfilled this demand.[131]

A second influence, however, was also exerted on the developing American allegorical expression, and this came from the realm of mythical concept rather than typological tradition. This influence, the natural heritage of abundant resources, limitless land, pioneer spirit and freedom, led inevitably to the tendency toward romanticism.[132] Between 1620 and 1800 a new myth was emerging in America: a hero who would tap the vast power of Earth and learn the secrets of the cosmos.[133] With the election of Jackson to the Presidency in 1828, American culture had reached democratic millenium; now, a New World Garden would exist, peopled with a race of Pre-lapsarian Adams.[134] The Pilgrims' dream of a new Kingdom of God, peopled with his Chosen Ones, had been regenerated by democracy into an American myth. But was this myth a true one? The spiritual speculation of the

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[131]Grant C. Knight, The Critical Period in American Literature, p. 4, and O'Connor, op. cit., p. iv.

[132]Knight, op. cit., p. 4.

[133]David W. Noble, The Eternal Adam and the New World Garden: The Central Myth in the American Novel Since 1830, p. 4.

[134]Ibid., p. 5, and Levin, op. cit., p. 9, where Melville is quoted voicing the American myth thus: ". . . On this Western Hemisphere all tribes and peoples are forming into one federated whole . . . the estranged children of Adam restored as to the old hearthstone in Eden."

emerging American novelists was characterized by the question: Is it possible that Americans are exempt from the human condition--does a New Garden really exist, and, in it, a new and stainless Adam?[135] The nineteenth century American novelists possessed a vision circumscribed by a recognition of those permanent limitations which are inherent in the moral nature of man and the universe.[136] These novelists lived through the Jackson era and witnessed the failure of the millenium and thus incorporated into their vision a denial of America as a New Garden and its race as New Adams.[137] For the American novelist, the dream of the Great Ideal, Innocence, arising from the American myth, was always there and was filled with irony, sometimes gentle, sometimes harsh.[138]

The allegorical fiction of nineteenth century America, developed from Puritan and democratic sources and born amidst the climate of the New England transcendentalists, satirized extreme Romanticism, optimism, and liberalism and looked ironically at iconoclastic realism and over-rationalized

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[135]Noble, op. cit., p. 5, and Bloom, op. cit., p. 189.

[136]Kaul, op. cit., p. 67, and Foster, op. cit., p. 5.

[137]Noble, op. cit., p. 6.

[138]O'Connor, op. cit., p. iv.

determinism.[139] A new attitude, typified by a growing sensitivity to psychological motives and suspicion of individualized ethics, began to emerge with one overriding message: that the glorification of the Ideal led to hypocrisy and self-destruction.[140] But the Ideal still needed explaining, and thus, became the source of both fascination and repugnance.[141] This very ambivalence of attitude typically suited the method of allegory.[142]

The mid-nineteenth century American writers thus created a new and serious fiction on an allegorical basis which coupled the early Puritan allegorical tendency with the denial of the new myth of America-as-Eden. They set their scenes against a vast panorama of symbolic significance--the sky, the prairie, the wilderness, and the ocean--and involved expansive forces and concepts--humanity, war, and even eternity.[143] Their narrators or narrator-agents communicated their stories first-hand, or as retold by a close eye-witness; as in medieval allegory, they were prone to remind the reader that what he was reading was the

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[139] Loc. cit.

[140] Loc. cit.

[141] Loc. cit.

[142] Loc. cit.

[143] O'Connor, op. cit., p. vii.

recounting of a Dream-vision.[144] The themes which sprang from the ambivalence toward the Ideal and the denial of the American myth were characterized by individual alienation, man's personal and metaphysical relationships--including the loss of, or search for Innocence, and the journey in search of the cosmic Secret.[145] A definite pattern of development in relationship to the Ideal presented itself in American fiction as a direct reversal of the pattern in Cervantes' Don Quixote.[146] American allegorical expression, then, developed from Puritan and mythical sources and was realized by the works of the nineteenth century American novelists, particularly those of Hawthorne and Melville.

Hawthorne and Melville wrote in a way no previous American writer ever had.[147] Hawthorne was concerned with the psychological and moral, Melville with the moral and metaphysical, but each was writing using the allegorical mode and the result was something apart from whatever had gone before.[148] Neither's work could be labeled "allegory"

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[144]Levin, op. cit., p. 5.

[145]Kaul, op. cit., p. 60, and Honig, op. cit., p. 80.

[146]This pattern is a direct reversal of Cervantes' Don Quixote in which the existence of stark Reality begins the narrative, and a belief in the reality of the Ideal ends it.

[147]Curl, op. cit., p. 45, and Foster, op. cit., p. 5.

[148]Ibid. (Foster, p. 145), Fogle, op. cit., p. 216, and Warren, op. cit., p. 178.

in the sense of The Kingdom of Basaruah, nor could they be considered merely as legend or travelogue. They certainly bore no similarity to their English contemporaries, the "social" novels.[149] The imaginations of both artists were committed to allegorical premises and used allegorical methods in the service of search and skepticism.[150] They sensed in allegory a viable fictional method suited to their purposes.[151] Protests from both Hawthorne and Melville to the assertion that their work was allegorical should be considered as protection, in the light of the prevailing Coleridgian view of allegory and the rising prominence of their realistic contemporaries, and should not be considered as having any fundamental bearing on their art.[152]

The allegory of Hawthorne arose, predictably, from an ambivalent attitude toward the Ideal and an inner, spiritual tension. His mixture of skepticism and faith regarding the Ideal influenced his artistic form and thematic choices and led to the expression of his convictions in allegorical terms.[153] His basic convictions, resulting from a state of

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[149]Kaul, op. cit., p. 48.

[150]Daniel Hoffman, Form and Fable in American Fiction, p. 5.

[151]Honig, op. cit., p. 6.

[152]Bloom, op. cit., p. 188.

[153]Hyatt H. Waggoner, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Critical Study, p. 54.

spiritual tension, seem to be, first, that man's life is irrational and his sin comes from the act of refusing to accept the irrationality, and second, that his sin is a state that is manifested in immoral action; the sin is not then the action itself.[154] This moral opposition, sin-as-state versus sin-as-action, combined with an ambivalent attitude toward the Ideal, emerged artistically in allegorical fiction. The premise that Hawthorne's fiction is allegorical is supported by a critical examination of his best-known work, The Scarlet Letter, in terms of the definition of modern allegory.[155]

Hawthorne's concept of allegory demonstrates an organic, dynamic, and flexible nature created by his skillful integration of the literal and figural; the progression of the narrative is impelled both by the literal action and by the movement of the figurative elements toward an ultimate resolution. His handling of characterization in The

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[154]Barry A. Marks, "The Origin of Original Sin in Hawthorne's Fiction," NCF, XIV (1960), p. 360.

[155]Other examples of Hawthorne's fiction explicated allegorically are: The Marble Faun, Waggoner, op. cit., pp. 209-225; "Endicott and the Red Cross," Fogle, op. cit., pp. 3-14; "Rappacini's Daughter," Honig, op. cit., pp. 134-137, and Herbert Liebowitz, "Hawthorne and Spenser: Two Sources," AL, XXX (January, 1959), pp. 459-461; "Young Goodman Brown," Liebowitz, op. cit., pp. 459-461; The House of the Seven Gables, Hazel Emry, "Two Houses of Pride," PQ, XXXIII (January, 1954), pp. 91-94; and "The Great Stone Face," James J. Lynch, "Structure and Allegory in 'The Great Stone Face,'" NCF, XVII (September, 1960), pp. 137-146.

Scarlet Letter presents a good example of the dynamic and organic nature of allegory which exists in the fiction as a whole. The character of Hester Prynne begins as primarily realistic; her pain in the recollection of childhood memories is very real, very human, and very literal.[156] Throughout the progress of the narrative she becomes increasingly symbolic, increasingly an example of a psychological type.[157] Chillingsworth too, demonstrates a human character in his act of deliberate choice--he chooses the course of action which destroys his humanity--and through the action of the narrative he is transformed into a specific, representative type.[158] Dimmesdale continuously fluctuates between saint and sinner--a characteristic which is congruent with his literal role.[159] And Pearl, whose identity begins as a symbolic type, is literally and figuratively freed and endowed with humanity through Dimmesdale's confession.[160]

Also in compliance with the nature of modern allegory, Hawthorne utilizes elements of other genre-types, especially the Pastoral, through which he expresses a specific attitude

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[156]Becker, op. cit., p. 177, and Fogle, op. cit., p. 216.

[157]Becker, op. cit., p. 177.

[158]Loc. cit.

[159]Loc. cit.

[160]Loc. cit.

toward the Ideal. In The Scarlet Letter, the pastoral is portrayed as unreachable: the return to the state of natural harmony (the meeting of Hester and Dimmesdale in the forest) is marred by the intrusion of moral reality in the person of Pearl.

Hawthorne found his basis of authority in the history of the New England Puritans. He saw no contradiction between historical truth and the philosophical truth expressed in fiction, because both contained basic moral truth.[161] To this historical authority he added the creative authority of a new pattern, founded in the old concept of original sin, in which his characters are ambiguous in their relationship to guilt; that is, is sin an act or a state?[162] A third basis of authority is his denial of the concept of the New World Eden myth with American man as a New Adam.[163] Thus, the nature of Hawthorne's fiction, dynamic, organic, flexible, and based in traditional, mythical, and artistic authority, corresponds to the definition of the nature of modern allegory. The form-structure and verbal modes--may also be seen as fulfilling the criteria suggested as inherent in modern allegory.

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[161]Michael Davitt Bell, Hawthorne and the Historical Romance of New England, p. 7, and Noble, op. cit., p. 36.

[162]Marks, op. cit., p. 360.

[163]Noble, op. cit., p. 25.

The Scarlet Letter demonstrates, clearly, the criteria of allegorical structure: a synthesis of dualities (a literal/spiritual bond), Dream-vision devices, and the talisman-initiation. Allegory, to Hawthorne, was an innate quality of his vision--a natural predisposition to find a spiritual meaning in natural things.[164] Regarding The Scarlet Letter, it is important to recognize his natural allegorical tendency as it affects the characters in the narrative. The reality of the characters is gradually transformed into symbolic significance, which, paradoxically, becomes a form of superior psychological reality.[165] His characters, through a synthesis of reality and symbolism, become a superior reality --examples of those monodimensional personality types possible in both literal and figurative worlds.[166]

Like the basic synthesis of dualities, the use of the devices of the Dream-vision--emblems, threshold symbols, and the ordeal or journey--are also recognizable in Hawthorne's fiction. The episode in the Custom House in which the author discovers an old foolscap manuscript with the legend of the Scarlet Letter creates the historical authority for the

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[164]Fogle, op. cit., p. 214.

[165]Becker, op. cit., p. 5, and p. 177.

[166]Ibid., p. 176, and for parallels between Hawthorne's characters and those in The Faerie Queene, consult Randall Stewart, "Hawthorne and The Faerie Queene," PQ, XII (April, 1933), pp. 196-206.

narrative and establishes one of the Dream-vision modes--the extended imaginative projection. The subsequent narrative exists as a literal reality, located in Time and Space, only by the mind of the author as he projects his imagination from the Custom House to the events of the Puritan past. While not a "faery land," this context serves to place the action of The Scarlet Letter on a plane of the imagination similar to the world of the dream. The threshold symbols encountered in the beginning of the narrative further the concept of the allegorical form of the action: the rose-bush, traditional symbol of erotic love, growing beside the prison door, is emblematic of Hester and Dimmesdale's erotic commitment to each other, and its tragic consequences.[167] The rosebush as an emblem is superseded by the scarlet letter, a sign of the social judgment of an act which Hester cannot consider more sinful than the rosebush itself.[168] The symbols complement each other, one anticipating the other, while it, in turn, is fulfilled.[169] Further defined by the narrative, the letter becomes a talisman, inseparable from its wearer.[170] Its nature is magical, serving as both

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[167]Honig, op. cit., p. 71.

[168]Loc. cit.

[169]Ibid., p. 72.

[170]Ibid., p. 85.

punishment and shield, and when it appears on Dimmesdale's chest and as a sign in the sky, it becomes a cosmic symbol.[171]

The concept of initiation completes the structural discussion of The Scarlet Letter as allegory. The result of Hawthorne's dramatization of the initiation in The Scarlet Letter appears as a version of the Fall.[172] Adam, destined to fall (Dimmesdale), exists in a Garden (the New World) in the beginning.[173] Into the Garden comes Eve (Hester)--not a New World Eve, but a European one, a child of the Old Garden. Pearl, the sign of sin, is a reality in the Puritan community of saints. What the saints fail to recognize is that with Eve also comes redemption--they do not see in Hester the Madonna and Child which would be immediately apparent to a Papist, aware of his own sin through Adam. Chillingsworth is a portrait of the "true American"--the New Adam--who stands alone in the presence of nature and God.[174] Witnessing the failure of Eden through sin-as-act, yet not willing to admit a similar sin-as-state, Chillingsworth pledges himself to uncover the identity of Pearl's father,

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[171]Loc. cit.

[172]Waggoner, op. cit., p. 55.

[173]Noble, op. cit., p. 25. The following explication abstracted from pp. 25-33.

[174]Ibid., p. 41.

thereby ridding the Garden of the traitor and the world of its mystery.[175] The recognition by Dimmesdale of his true nature as human, therefore sinful, brings with it the traditional lot of sinful humanity--death. But Chillingsworth, having failed his own pledge (through Dimmesdale's self-revelation) and thereby failing to answer the literal mystery of paternity and the cosmic mystery of the nature and generation of sin, does not die--he disappears. Chillingsworth as symbolic of the fallacious concept of the "true American"--the New Adam who does not admit his humanity--continues, and like the Wandering Jew, emerges again and again in American fiction.[176] This failure of the initiation in The Scarlet Letter is central to the allegorical interpretation of the work.

Through the use of the basic synthesis of dualities, the Dream-vision devices of imaginative projection, threshold symbols, and the talisman-initiation motif, the Scarlet Letter demonstrates its allegorical structure. The final determination of its allegorical form lies in its use of verbal modes characteristic of allegory.

The first of the allegorical verbal modes, analogy, may be identified in Hawthorne's use of allusion, in which he employs traditional symbols drawn from the mainstream of

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[175] Ibid., p. 28.

[176] Ibid., p. 35.

Western thought: the wild forest and winding path of Error (Spenser); the Edenic garden (the Puritan community in the New World), with Adam, Eve, and the Serpent; the devil's stigmata; and the corruption of darkness and holiness of sunlight.[177] The analogy through nomenclature is demonstrated in the names of his characters: Pearl (of great price), Dimmesdale (ambivalence), and Chillingsworth (frigid and sterile.)[178] The analogy of action with an outside event is demonstrable in the scaffold ordeals of Dimmesdale, and their parallel, the Crucifixion. A final use of analogy may be found in the carefully controlled "accidents" which allow Chillingsworth to witness Hester's ordeal, and which provide for the meeting of Hester and Dimmesdale in the forest, prior to his public confession. The accidents are necessary to the movement of both the literal narrative and figurative meaning.

The second verbal mode, irony, is also present in The Scarlet Letter.[179] Hawthorne adopts an ironic attitude toward the entire underlying Eden myth by recognizing the logical impossibility of Americans defining their independence from the Old World in terms of an Old World theological

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[177]Fogle, op. cit., p. 219.

[178]Loc. cit., and Liebowitz, op. cit., pp. 459-466.

[179]Noble, op. cit., p. 25.

myth.[180] Further, the superficial congruence of the New World Eden with the original Eden ignores the fundamental incongruence of Man's nature as imperfect, not perfect. This incongruence is tacitly recognized in the Puritan community, by the presence of the prison and cemetery.[181] Coupled with irony are the pageants or scaffold scenes which serve to illustrate both the progress of the literal narrative and the unfolding of the figurative meaning.[182] The first scaffold scene occurs at the beginning of the narrative, with Hester's public punishment (revelation of the fact of sin-as-act); and the third, again in daylight as the first, with the public confession of Dimmesdale (public revelation of both sin-as-act and sin-as-state.)

The Scarlet Letter, as a result of the application of the definition of modern allegory in terms of nature and form, is identifiable as a work of allegorical narrative fiction. It is organic, dynamic, and flexible, and based in traditional and mythical authority; it displays a synthesis of dualities (literal/spiritual), a consistent use of Dream-vision devices (imaginative projection, threshold symbols, emblems, and talisman-initiation, and ordeal); and it

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[180] Loc. cit.

[181] Ibid., p. 26.

[182] Honig, op. cit., p. 144.

utilizes verbal modes characteristic of modern allegory (analogy and irony). Through this work and others, Hawthorne may be identified as a modern, American allegorist and one of the two principle progenitors of the tradition of modern American allegory.

The other author whose works may be demonstrated as fulfilling the criteria of modern allegory is Herman Melville. Melville's self-assumed task, one which could easily have become hopeless, was an agonized probing into the cosmic mysteries.[183] Melville displays the same ambiguous attitude toward the Ideal as does Hawthorne; however, in his philosophy, it is not the nature of sin but the nature of the moral and the metaphysical which demands discovery.[184] He is by turns influenced by faith and skepticism.[185] But while Hawthorne was undecided as to the nature of sin, Melville conceived of morality as both a state and an action; thus a moral figure could exist as innately Good or Evil.[186] He found in allegory the flexibility and breadth of expression necessary for his vision of human and cosmic morality.[187]

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[183]Curl, op. cit., p. 14.

[184]Hoffman, op. cit., p. 5.

[185]Loc. cit.

[186]William York Tindall, "The Ceremony of Innocence," from Great Moral Dilemmas in Literature, Past and Present, Robert M. MacIver, (ed.), p. 75.

[187]Honig, op. cit., p. 6.

By considering Moby Dick in terms of the nature and form of allegory, it becomes apparent that Melville, whatever else he may have created in Moby Dick, created a dynamic and organic allegory which displays the elements necessary for its explication as such.[188] This is evidenced in the symbol of the whale itself. The whale, Moby Dick, is an awesome and terrible reality, an overwhelming natural force, mysterious in its nature and habits.[189] The symbol, Moby Dick, is inherent in the real Moby Dick: an awesome, terrible, indefinable mystery of the cosmos which is somehow operative in the real world (similar to the mystery of the nature and generation of sin in The Scarlet Letter.)[190] One grows out of the other and neither is entirely separable from the other. By extension, the entire fiction assumes a like nature--the literal quest of the Pequod for the white whale is organically linked to the symbolic quest after the indefinable cosmic Truth. Each quest, with its ramifications apparent in the characters, is dynamic; each moves forward and upward, while simultaneously looking back upon itself.

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[188]Other works by Melville explicated allegorically are: The Confidence Man, Honig, op. cit., pp. 82-84; Billy Budd, Tindall, op. cit., pp. 73-80; and Mardi, Curl, op. cit., p. 15.

[189]Curl, op. cit., p. 39.

[190]Loc. cit.

Melville based his allegorical fiction, Moby Dick, not in the authority of history, but in an unprecedented use of factual material, and in so doing created a new literal dimension.[191] In Moby Dick, the "overwhelming idea of the whale" is the allegorical unit that guides the development of the novel.[192] This creative authority is coupled with the mythical authority, paralleling Hawthorne, of the New World Eden.[193] Through Ishmael, the reader is led to the myth of Narcissus--the self-worship of the American Adam.[194] In the myth, the Pequod assumes the role of the Garden (a microcosm of the New World) whose inhabitants have departed their original home (as the Pilgrims left Europe.) Ishmael and Ahab become varieties of Adam, paralleling Dimmesdale and Chillingsworth. Ishmael, like Dimmesdale, will achieve spiritual salvation by recognizing his membership in the "sinful brotherhood of mankind," but Ahab, like Chillingsworth, the New World Adam bent on discovering the mystery of the cosmos and, in so doing, attaining equality with God, refuses to recognize his nature as human, and becomes a "diabolisme," consummed by the idea he sought to conquer.

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[191]Honig, op. cit., p. 103.

[192]Ibid., p. 113.

[193]Noble, op. cit., p. 35.

[194]Ibid., explication abstracted from pp. 35-46.

The vehicle of redemption for Ishmael is Queequeg, the son of a king, who is sent to work among humble men, preaching the doctrine of cosmic charity. As Hester, Queequeg, too, is paradoxical--the vehicle for redemption, as well as the sinner whom others scorn. In the epilogue, Ishmael is saved, due to his acceptance of the existence of evil in human nature and his rejection of the traditional optimism in natural goodness. His new knowledge is expressed in the following passage:

> Nevertheless the sun hides not Virginia's Dismal Swamp, nor Rome's accursed Compagna, nor Wide Sahara, nor all the millions of miles of deserts and griefs beneath the moon. The sun hides not the ocean, which is the dark side of this earth, and which is two-thirds of this earth. So, therefore, that mortal man who hath more of joy than sorrow in him, that mortal man cannot be true--not true.[195]

The role of water as redemptive, which was Ishmael's concept from the first, is negated and, rejecting perfection, he asserts that man is mortal and achieves his dignity from life in an imperfect world. The allegorical nature of Moby Dick is thus demonstrated in Melville's creation of a dynamic and organic symbolic fiction whose authority is both creative and mythical.

The form of Moby Dick, structure and verbal modes, is also identifiably allegorical. In Moby Dick, the basic

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[195]Herman Melville, Moby Dick, Charles Feidelson, Jr., (ed.), p. 377.

structural principle of the synthesis of dualities is demonstrated in the organic nature of the narrative. Reduced drastically, the concept that a monomaniac's quest for an elusive killer whale is analogous to man's quest for the cosmic secret supplies the basic allegorical synthesis of the fiction.[196] The atmosphere surrounding this synthesis and localizing the fiction in Time and Space is a Dream-vision technique--the extended recollection. Ishmael recalls the incidents that create the narrative line and, as is allegorically possible, is occasionally replaced by the voice of the controlling intelligence (in this case, Melville.) The use of the sea as a setting lends the narrative further quality of the Dream-vision by placing it outside the land-bound temporal sphere.[197] A further technique of the Dream-vision, the threshold symbol, is present in Moby Dick in the beginning, when Ishmael views the Sunday crowd gazing sea-ward, and in so doing, intimates his own forthcoming journey to sea.[198] A third structural aspect of allegory in Moby Dick, the talisman and initiation, is demonstrated in Ishmael's prolonged initiation ordeal of the

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[196]Honig, op. cit., p. 195.

[197]Ibid., p. 92, and Noble, op. cit., p. 36.

[198]Honig, op. cit., p. 197.

voyage, which culminates in his recognition of his true nature.[199]

The first allegorical verbal mode, analogy, is identifiable in Moby Dick as the analogy through nomenclature. Melville names his characters in such a way as to immediately identify their principle personality trait: Ishmael (the wanderer) and Ahab (the man of pride.) Further, he creates an ambiguous personification in Ahab--a man who is at once both a monomaniac and a hero. Analogy through the illumination of state of mind through action occurs when the crew (man as unrepentant) fall into the sea and are crazed or killed, and when Ishmael (man as cognizant of his true nature) is saved. The analogical "accident" is evident in Ishmael chancing to sign on the Pequod and so joining the quest. One example of the second verbal mode, irony, occurs in the offer of salvation to the New World Adam through the cosmic love of the pagan, Queequeg.[200] Thus, by applying the definition of modern allegory to Moby Dick, it becomes apparent that the novel can be read as allegory in the modern American tradition and that Melville, like Hawthorne, is one of the founders of that tradition.

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[199]Ibid., p. 85.

[200]Noble, op. cit., p. 39.

The explications and evidence presented here are by no means thorough and exhaustive. They are meant to suggest the existence of a modern allegorical tradition in American literature of the nineteenth century, not to prove conclusively and exclusively, that premise. That such a tradition, encompassing philosophy, literary method, and critical approach, does exist seems apparent. It is on the basis of the existence of this tradition, and the application of the proposed definition of modern allegory, that a critical examination of the works of Mark Twain--especially The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc--as allegory will be justified.

CHAPTER IV

MARK TWAIN AND THE AMERICAN MYTH: ALLEGORIES OF INNOCENCE

Before considering any of Mark Twain's works in terms of allegory, the temperament of the man who created them should be examined. His artistic temperament was influenced by a personality which was fundamentally paradoxical, cognizant of the existence of evil, and thoroughly moralistic. These traits may indicate a predisposition to the allegorical mode and its dualistic, symbolic, and didactic characteristics.

Much has been written concerning Twain's life and psychology, but only one thing can be stated as fact: the man was, and remains, a paradox. In order to approach his fiction, it is essential to realize that "nothing is simple in Mark Twain, especially in matters of the spirit: everything is ambivalent, ambiguous, shot through with counter-impulses."[201] Throughout his life, Twain mixed fact with fiction and fiction with facts, creating a maze of inconsistencies which have not yet been--and probably never will be--distilled by his biographers and critics into an accurate

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[201]Seymour L. Gross, "Mark Twain and Catholicism," Critic, XVII (April-May, 1959), 12.

definition of the man who was Mark Twain.[202] This paradox, his being two disparate entities simultaneously, is the one aspect of Twain's personality which seems to exert the greatest influence on his art. It can be seen as operative in the intellectual, social, political, and economic spheres of his temperament.

All his life Twain nurtured a growing intellect and read widely in history, science, and other factual materials.[203] His education was comprised, in great part, of these readings, and he was able to postulate and formulate theories (including the calculation of distances in space by light years); yet he is the same man who, by virtue of his Missouri demeanor, best answers Whitman's plea for the "powerful uneducated" man and great "Answerer."[204] Twain's literary tastes (ironically he preferred fact to fiction) were mercurial and varied, including Goethe, Cervantes, Boccaccio, Gil Blas, Dumas, and Voltaire.[205] He admired the New England school of American writers--Whittier, Emerson, Thoreau, and Lowell--disliked Poe, labeled Hawthorne and

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[202]Edward C. Wagenknecht, Mark Twain: The Man and His Work, p. 4.

[203]Ibid., p. 101.

[204]Loc. cit., and Newton Arvin, "Mark Twain: 1835-1935," New Republic, LXXXIII (June 12, 1935), 125.

[205]Wagenknecht, op. cit., pp. 40, 25.

Melville as "obscure."[206] However, Robert Browning, despite his "obscurity," was among Twain's favorite poets.

Socially, Twain was caught between his desire to conform to the conventions dictated by nineteenth century American culture and an inner need to break away.[207] He was a prisoner of his own provincial conventionality and rebel to its oppressive orthodoxy.[208] His own pen name--Mark Twain--demonstrates his paradoxical social behavior. There is strong evidence to support the name's origin as a Nevada barroom convenience meaning "two drinks," and as such would brand its bearer as an overindulgent partaker of spirits.[209] This connotation, though completely acceptable in the West, would have been very embarrassing in Hartford, Connecticut and thus Twain's explanation that he borrowed it from an acquaintance of his pilot days.[210]

On a broader social plane, Twain expressed a democrat's warm dislike of monarchy as an institution and most

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[206] Ibid., p. 33.

[207] Tony Tanner, "Samuel Clemens and the Progress of a Stylistic Rebel," British Association for American Studies Bulletin, N. S. #3 (December, 1961), p. 32.

[208] Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920, Vol. III, 90.

[209] Paul Fatout, "Mark Twain's Nom de Plume," American Literature, XXXIV (March, 1962), 6.

[210] Loc. cit.

monarchs as individuals.[211] He loathed the cruelty and pretense they represented and "flayed [the] dead lions of feudalism" which, he believed, they personified.[212] Yet, for all his condemnations, he gladly accepted their favor and, before he died, had performed before most of the crowned heads of Europe; he even paid a personal visit to the Czar during the voyage of the Quaker City.[213] Finally, while his social conscience was sympathetic to the plight of the working classes whose conditions forced them to strike, he denounced their actions in his portrayals of the "mob."[214]

Intellectually an educated ignorant, socially a conventional rebel, Twain was politically a patriotic dissenter. While being extremely patriotic regarding the Idea of America and the institutions which guarantee freedom and justice, Twain condemned the blind patriotism of "my country, right or wrong."[215] From 1890 onward Twain struggled with a

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[211]Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 229.

[212]Arvin, op. cit., p. 126.

[213]Louis J. Budd, "Twain, Howells, and the Boston Nihilists," New England Quarterly, XXXII (September, 1959), 351.

[214]Tanner, op. cit., p. 304. Examples of Twain's denunciation of the Mob may be seen in Col. Sherburn's arraignment of the lynching mob, Hank Morgan's reversal in his attitude toward "the people," and Joan of Arc's destruction by the very people she fought to free.

[215]Wagneknecht, op. cit., p. 229.

disintegrating image of democracy--the land of promise had become through the lust of money and power no more than any other imperialist nation and was, as such, to be denounced.[216] The truth behind any of Twain's declarations concerning America can be determined only by recognizing the specific image of America he had in mind.

Finally, Twain was, perhaps, most paradoxical with regard to his economic convictions. Like nearly all human beings, he was a materialist.[217] He happily accepted life in Hartford, Connecticut, with its prestige, money, and comfort.[218] But morally he chafed against the materialism which he saw destroying the American Dream. Publicly he courted the "robber barons" and made many acquaintances on Wall Street, but privately he condemned their greed for money and influence.[219]

Twain is, then, a paradox. Not a schizophrenic who shifts from one extreme to the other, he is a psychological

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[216]Roger B. Salomon, Twain and the Image of History, p. 42, and Henry Nash Smith, "Mark Twain's Images of Hannibal: From St. Petersburg to Eseldorf," Texas Studies in English, XXXVII (1958), 23.

[217]Richard D. Altick, "Mark Twain's Despair: An Explanation in Terms of His Humanity," South Atlantic Quarterly, XXXIV (October, 1935), p. 361.

[218]Ibid., p. 363.

[219]Lewis Leary, "The Bankruptcy of Mark Twain," Carrell, IX (1969), p. 17. Twain's Wall Street acquaintances, formed by virtue of his friendship with Henry Rogers, included Andrew Carnegie and both William and John Rockefeller.

phenomenon which integrates, simultaneously, total opposites by declaring both complete happiness and fundamental despair.[220] His temperament is such that it incorporates these opposites and blends them into a personality which is not conscious of its own paradoxes, but operates as an integrated whole.

The second aspect of Twain's personality which inevitably influenced his art was his early perception of the existence of evil. While personal tragedies may have accounted for his final eruption of pessimism, the prime sources must have been present much earlier.[221] Twain's fiction supports this conjecture and yields evidence of a prolonged incubation period during which the pessimism, bitterness, and cynicism manifested themselves in ever-increasing intensity.[222]

Twain's perception of evil began in his boyhood. His early years were often marked with the horrors and sorrows of life, and his sensitive spirit (largely due to his mother's influence) enabled him to interpolate moral significance

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[220]Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 205.

[221]Tony Tanner, "The Lost American--The Despair of Henry Adams and Mark Twain," Modern Age, V (1961), p. 299.

[222]Ibid., p. 308. There is evidence that Twain's pessimism emerged in fiction as early as 1870, for he had been toying with his "bible"--What is Man?--since that date; he also told Livy that he had been a pessimist since he was eighteen years old.

into these unhappy occurrences.[223] He daily witnessed the "lesser" atrocity of human beings [slaves] denied their human rights by conventionally "good" people.[224] He reacted with a greater degree of emotion to events which would not have been similarly considered by a less perceptive nature.[225] The Civil War provided Twain with an opportunity to observe humanity, American humanity en masse, and the result was a further intensification of his developing pessimism.[226] Later, he presented an appalling picture of governmental corruption in the Gilded Age; sadly, he realized, the government was only a result, not a cause, of the corruption. He saw that America had failed to fulfill the promise of 1776, and no measure of social reform could remedy what was, at root, the fundamental corruption of human nature.[227] Twain's final despair reached beyond himself to encompass all humanity, for human beings, he believed, were innately and inalterably evil.[228]

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[223]Wagenknecht, op. cit., pp. 9, 204.

[224]Nita Laing, "The Later Satire of Mark Twain," The Midwest Quarterly, II (Autumn, 1960), p. 37.

[225]Ibid., p. 36.

[226]"Two Civil War Letters," American Heritage, VIII (October, 1957), p. 63.

[227]Wagenknecht, op. cit., pp. 229-230.

[228]Tanner, "Despair of Mark Twain," p. 299, and Laing, op. cit., p. 37.

Perhaps because he had been born during America's era of national optimism, Twain had acquired the dream of hope and the belief in rare possibility of human goodness.[229] But with his perception he was able to see that the dream was a hollow facade and that a belief in human nature would lead, inevitably to tragedy and disillusionment.[230] His was the greatest tragedy for ever having believed at all.

The final aspect of Twain's personality which helped determine the form of his art was that of the moralist. Despite his philosophy of determinism, Twain was thoroughly moralistic.[231] There was never a time when he was indifferent to corruption, cruelty, or vice; he was always willing to go to battle for truth, moral good, and justice.[232] He was deeply concerned with the moral depravity apparent among the so-called arbiters of American thought whose hypocrisy, dishonesty, and vicious ignorance appalled him.[233] He denounced national immoralities--the Spanish-American War and the Phillipine conquest--and recoiled from the vision

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[229]Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 212, and Tanner, "Despair of Mark Twain," p. 301.

[230]Loc. cit.

[231]Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 224.

[232]Ibid., p. 217.

[233]C. Merton Babcock, "Mark Twain, Mencken, and 'The Higher Goofyism'," American Quarterly, XVI (Winter, 1964), p. 592.

of the American Man whose material progress had outstripped his moral progress and had destroyed him.[234] He also denounced private immoralities which he considered equally unpardonable.[235] Like the great moral idealists of earlier ages, Twain set his hopes and ideals far beyond the reach of human possibilities.[236] The symbolic level of his fiction expresses his realization of the fundamental reality of life: that beneficient progress toward human moral goodness is impossible, and the only direction in which man moves is toward evil and despair.[237]

Mark Twain, as a personality, may thus be considered as having a temperament which could readily influence Mark Twain, the artist, in the creation of literary allegory. A further consideration of the man, as an artist, supports this contention.

Mark Twain, as a literary artist and craftsman, exhibits the same characteristics of paradox, perception, and moralism which are evident in his personality. He

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[234]Edward C. Wagenknecht, "Twain--A Literary Lincoln," Saturday Review of Literature, XXXIV (January 20, 1950), p. 26.

[235]Budd, op. cit., p. 370.

[236]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 212.

[237]William C. Spengemann, Mark Twain and the Backwoods Angel: The Matter of Innocence in the Works of Samuel L. Clemens, p. 87.

openly expresses a theory of literary art which contradicts both his private reflections on the subject of literature, and his actual practice as a writer of fiction. His treatment of Realism and Romanticism, his concept of humor, and his literary theory and methods demonstrate an artistic duality of concept and practice and support a potential for the creation of allegory.

Realism, in the late nineteenth century American literature, was primarily concerned with the representation of literal reality and was based in part on the concept of a discontinuity of Time (the past had no effect on the present and should be rejected as meaningless.)[238] The radical changes occurring in the 1890's could only be accepted if, as the realists believed, a continuum of history and morality were renounced.[239] Twain seems to support this view in one of his notebook entries:

> There is in Life only one moment and in eternity only one. It is so brief that it is represented by the flitting of a luminous mote through a ray of sunlight--it is visible but a fraction of a second. The moments that receded are . . . forgotten and are without value; the moments that have not been lived have no existence and will have no value except in the moment they are lived.[240]

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[238]Roger B. Salomon, "Realism as Disinheritance: Twain, Howells, and James," American Quarterly, XVI (Winter, 1964), p. 532.

[239]Ibid., p. 533.

[240]Loc. cit.

The Realistic artist was a reporter, a commentator, or a psychologist, but not a creative artist.[241] Again Twain assents with a concept of narrative "where you follow the fortunes of two or three people and have no more plot than life has."[242] The Innocents Abroad illustrates Twain's allegiance to realism in passages containing parodies of and jibes at Medieval and Renaissance art, institutions, and morals.[243] However, there is a difference between what Twain says--in notebooks and direct comment--and what he actually does, because for Twain, realism had its limitations.[244]

While intellectually committed to realism, he was emotionally and artistically involved with romance.[245] The representation of literal, empirical truth was not compatible in practice with an artist who could also say that "to exaggerate is the only way I can approximate the truth."[246] The truth, for Twain, could not be presented

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[241]Ibid., p. 537.

[242]Loc. cit.

[243]Ibid., pp. 535-537.

[244]Ibid., p. 538.

[245]Loc. cit.

[246]Sydney J. Krause, "Twain's Method and Theory of Composition," Modern Philology, LVI (February, 1959), p. 175.

apart from a careful distortion of reality. Further, Twain was committed--a committment which deepened and intensified with his artistic development--to a sense of a moral and historic continuum.[247] He was aware of a sense of the past and set most of his major works in the past. The very sources of his art rested on foundations he could not rationally justify.[248] He was eternally divided, occupying two different and hostile modes of experience: the tangible world of realism and the intangible world of imagination and memory.[249] It is this division--the intellectual commitment to realism and the creative commitment to the imagination--that enables an allegorist to synthesize the dualities of flesh and spirit into an organic unity.[250]

The second aspect of Twain as a literary artist which predisposes him to allegory is his treatment and concept of humor. From the beginning of his career in literature, Mark Twain was more than a humorist and was deeply concerned if his readers saw only the humor.[251] The humor in his fiction actually exists as isolated points running the entire length

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[247]Salomon, "Realism as Disinheritance," p. 544.

[248]Ibid., p. 541.

[249]Loc. cit.

[250]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 107.

[251]Ivan Benson, Mark Twain's Western Years, p. vii, and Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 57.

of a narrative which has as its basis the author's fundamental perceptions of life and morality.[252] While of the Josh Billings-Artemus Ward tradition, Twain's humor differed from many of its predecessors in that he took what had been previously only comic situations or ideas and created from them situations expressive of America's most complex moral dilemmas.[253] These humorous situations and ideas were used

> to strip man of his pretensions, his fig leaves, his good conduct medals; to prick the irridescent bubbles of arrogance and pomposity; to puncture cherished illusions; to hold a loony mirror to his misery and show what an ungainly creature he really is.[254]

Twain saw the absurdities of American culture and undertook the task of showing these "sanctified idols" for what they really were.[255] He had an inordinate capacity for discovering relationships between disparate things, and an ability to penetrate the hollowness of common assumptions and reveal their basic reality.[256] In "The Curious Republic of Gondour," he used his capacity as a humorist/moralist to satirize the pretensions and fallacies of the Great American

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[252]Spengemann, op. cit., p. xiv.

[253]Babcock, "The Higher Goofyism," p. 593, and Spengemann, op. cit., p. xv.

[254]Babcock, "The Higher Goofyism," p. 589.

[255]Loc. cit.

[256]Loc. cit.

Dream; in the same capacity he gave the definitive title to his own era, The Gilded Age.[257] Perhaps the best example of Twain's ability to synthesize humor and morality is his series of editorials concerning the Byron scandal.[258]

These editorials reveal a creator whose moral convictions allowed him to sincerely condemn a man for sexual extravagance, and at the same time, satirize the furor which such denunciations had caused.[259] Twain realized the basic incongruity operative in the Byron scandal--the moralistic minds of his century, not realizing the absurdity of their reaction, condemned both man and poet.[260] Twain condemned the man heartily, but was able to present further moral stricture by satirizing the foolishness which condemned the poetry--something which he, as an artist, fully realized was beyond the realm of social and conventional morality.[261] By his own admission, and one supported by his work, Twain

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[257]Tanner, "Despair of Mark Twain," p. 300.

[258]Paul Baender, "Mark and the Byron Scandal," American Literature, XXX (January, 1959), p. 484. There is almost no doubt that Twain actually wrote these editorials, since his employment as editor of the Buffalo Express, the newspaper in which they were first printed, coincided with the dates on which they appeared. The style, language, and context are the same as other writings by Twain of the same period--1869.

[259]Loc. cit.

[260]Loc. cit.

[261]Loc. cit.

used humor to serve the cause of moral instruction: "I have always preached . . . If the humor came of its own accord and uninvited, I have allowed it a place in my sermon, but I was not writing the sermon for the sake of the humor."[262] The sermon deepened its satiric thrust as Twain's own bitterness deepened and intensified and, in his later works of satiric allegory, was directed specifically at moral judgment and revelation.[263]

Finally, Twain's concepts of literary theory and his methods of literary practice illustrate his potential as an allegorist. Twain insisted upon the unconsciousness of his art, but this insistence, which was influenced by the Coleridgian bias in favor of unconscious creation, is modified both by Twain's ability to postulate sound literary theory and by this actual method of creation.[264] Although he considered himself an unconscious artist--at least publicly--he was also an artist capable of conscious, deliberate literary craftsmanship.

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[262]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 217.

[263]Laing, op. cit., p. 47.

[264]Krause, op. cit., p. 172, and Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 49. For all his emphasis on spontaneity, Twain still held that: "Literature is an Art not an inspiration. It is a trade, so to speak, and must be learned--one cannot 'pick it up'," Krause, op. cit., p. 177.

Twain presented four major principles of literary theory in an essay which condemned Cooper and Scott for violating them.[265] The four qualities which literature must exhibit, according to Twain, are: formal integrity, inherent probability, consistency of style and character, and truth to nature.[266] Further in the essay he adds a fifth necessary quality, the responsibility of art to inculate virtue and discourage vice.[267] Twain's ability to enumerate specific aesthetic standards implies his own conscious awareness of his role in the creation of art.[268]

Further evidence of this conscious awareness may be found in his letters to Master David Watt Bowser. These letters and their evidence that Twain could consciously recreate a scene and minipulate it to suit his artistic purposes completely undercut not only Twain's insistence on his "unconscious" art, but also previous critical evaluations of him which were based on his "necessity" to visit-or-revisit a scene and then report what he had

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[265]Krause, op. cit., p. 167.

[266]Loc. cit.

[267]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, pp. 148, 51.

[268]Krause, op. cit., p. 168.

observed.[269] Twain could shape his reality as he chose, and whatever a specific scene meant was not dependent on geographical fact, but rather on imaginative conception.[270]

Consistent with Twain's conscious artistic endeavors was his method of composition. Foremost among his techniques of writing was re-reading. He was an avid proof-reader and reviser, often destroying whole manuscripts which, although

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[269]Pascal Covici, "Dear Master Wattie: The Mark Twain-David Watt Bowser Letters," Southwest Review, XLV (Spring, 1960), p. 121. Bernard DeVoto and Professor Kenneth S. Lynn both had, prior to Walter Blair's conclusive proof concerning the dates of creation of Huckleberry Finn, based their criticism on Twain's need to revisit the river and the Mississippi Valley in order to create the work. Although these theories have some validity, since Blair's scholarship, other evidence has come to light concerning Twain's ability to recreate a fictional context and utilize it to suit his artistic purposes. The Bowser letters have furnished further support with Twain's description of his pilot days to young David:

> Would I live it over again under certain conditions? Certainly I would! The main condition would be, that I should emerge from boyhood as a 'cub pilot' on a Mississippi boat and that I should . . . become a pilot and remain one. The minor conditions would be these: summer always; the magnolias at Rifle Point always in bloom . . . the river always bankfull . . . the middle watch (only) on moonlight nights . . . in summer moonlit nights it (middle watch) is a gracious time especially if friends have stayed up to keep one company and sing and smoke and spin yarns . . . but two decades have done their work upon them and half are dead, the rest scattered, and the boat's bones are rotting five fathoms deep in Madrid bend.

Twain was obviously able to create from his imagination and to see the reality beyond the dream.

[270]Loc. cit.

the results of months of work, were not satisfactory to his strict aesthetic judgment.[271] As he wrote, usually having several manuscripts in progress at a time, he kept a close check on his materials and allowed himself enough leeway for revision both during and after the process of creation.[272] William Dean Howells often made the final revisions, but Twain never sent a manuscript before revising it to his own satisfaction, certain that it needed examination by Howell's "fresh eye."[273]

Twain's constant re-reading and revision was contigent upon his concept of a narrative "plan."[274] He was a careful craftsman who proceeded on a particular plan for each work he created, and he often destroyed months and years of work which he realized were not in keeping with his plan[275] The first nine years of work on "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven" were spent in discovering and developing the right plan for it; without the plan, the work would not have succeeded.[276]

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[271]Krause, op. cit., p. 168.

[272]Ibid., p. 170.

[273]Loc. cit.

[274]Loc. cit.

[275]Ibid., p. 172.

[276]Ibid., p. 169.

A conscious artist and careful craftsman, Twain was also an avid devotee of the science of language.[277] His devotion to philology caused him to lavish time and energy studying style: syntax, connotation, denotation, and usage.[278] He was especially cognizant of style, searching it out and praising it even in informational articles.[279] His perceptive ear for dialect, coupled with his love of language and appreciation for literary style, led him to what was perhaps his greatest technical triumph--the vernacular narrator.[280]

Finally, Twain, according to his belief that art should support virtue, used his fiction as a tool of moral instruction.[281] The materials of art first had to be assimilated by the artist, Twain, and impregnated with his sense of moral conviction; art and morals were combined within Twain's creative function.[282] In his early works, while he emphasizes stylistic problems, the moral thrust is discernible, and in his later works, where the stylistic problems

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[277]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 102.

[278]Loc. cit.

[279]Ibid., p. 49.

[280]Albert E. Stone, Jr., The Innocent Eye: Childhood in Mark Twain's Imagination, p. 277.

[281]Ibid., p. 270.

[282]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 50.

had been resolved, it becomes increasingly apparent.[283] Both social and personal sins came under his attack, for he saw literature as expressive of public and private values.[284] The persona in Roughing It attacks, specifically, the jury system and in Life on the Mississippi, pleads the cause of cremation. In Huckleberry Finn, the practice of feuding is censured, and in The Mysterious Stranger the monstrosity of war is condemned.[285] Beyond a specific social message, he was also preaching a deeper sermon--the spiritual death of the American dream and the subsequent destruction of moral Goodness and Truth.

Thus, although Twain represented himself as an "automatic" writer, a tool of his own imagination, he was, in fact, a conscious craftsman, ready to criticize other writers harshly for their failure to adhere to aesthetic principles.[286] He expressed aesthetic theory in well-defined terms, and was capable of conscious and deliberate re-creation of scene and situation, and was careful in his craftsmanship. Further, he envisioned art as inherently didactic (though not in any

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[283]Tanner, "Progress of a Stylistic Rebel," p. 39.

[284]Stone, op. cit., p. 278.

[285]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 219. Twain's personae may speak directly for the author or they may speak, indirectly through an ironic inability to perceive what has become obvious to the reader.

[286]Krause, op. cit., p. 167.

narrow sense of didacticism) and utilized his fiction to "teach by example" the moral lessons which he was convinced were important. Like Hawthorne and Melville, the greatest lesson he tried to teach was that the dream of America as Eden, and man's eternal dream of Innocence, was a failure both in concept and in fact. Twain's doctrine of Innocence expressed through his artistic temperament adequately supports the conjecture that Twain was, among other things, an allegorist in the modern American allegorical tradition.

Mark Twain, as an artist, was fascinated with the idea of Innocence as it existed in the context of American mythology.[287] This idea forms the basic allegorical tension in his work because it represents a concept which he could neither accept nor oppose.[288] He simultaneously presented the desire to return to innocence and the urge to rationalize his adult life.[289] This moral dilemma of innocence versus corruption formed the significant basis of Twain's fiction.[290] Allegorizing his experience in the manner of his Calvinistic forbearers, he saw the war between innocence and

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[287]J. R. Vitelli, "The Innocence of Mark Twain," Bucknell Review, IX (December, 1960), p. 187.

[288]Spengemann, op. cit., p. ix.

[289]Ibid., p. 87.

[290]Ibid., p. ix.

corruption, between the individual and society, as a symbol of the metaphysical struggle between good and evil.[291]

Primary to Twain's handling of this myth of innocence is his view of the moral drama in which the hero, the innocent, is pitted against corruption with one of the following results: total defeat, compromise, or evasion.[292] Twain's innocent hero is a combination of the European ideal of innocence, the American pioneer, the democratic individual, and certain elements of romantic thought.[293] He is Ahab and Ishmael, Dimmesdale and Chillingsworth, Natty Bumpo, Christopher Newly, and Lambert Strether.[294] Most of Twain's innocents are adolescent children who possess a moral intuition which enables them to comment on the corrupt adult society.[295] In Twain's best works, except Pudd'nhead Wilson, the innocent hero undergoes either an initiation which results in his recognition of a world of pain, repression, disillusionment and moral corruption, or he is denitiated from the latter kind of world into a Delectable Land, which he soon comes to recognize as unreal and existent only in

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[291]Ibid., p. xii.

[292]Ibid., p. xi.

[293]Ibid., p. 2.

[294]Loc. cit.

[295]Stone, op. cit., p. 270.

dreams.[296] While operative within the fiction, the innocent hero is predominantly passive, acted upon the adult world.[297] Further involved in the moral dilemma is the political battle, in which the evil forces represent social sins including uniformity, sham, deceit, and repression of virtuous instinct. Since Twain worked out of the republican ideal, his innocent is often the free individual, while the adversaries are members of civilized institutions.[298] The final modification of Twain's doctrine of Innocence and his innocent heroes is his development of the vernacular narrator.

Twain uses two types of narrative personae to relate the action of his innocent heroes. The first, the reliable narrator, is the adult consciousness that guides the reality of the narrative, speaking for the author, and occaisionally getting involved in the action itself.[299] He may be

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[296]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 1. The term "denitiation" is borrowed from Spengemann, where it is used to describe the ordeal whose action is opposite that of the initiation.

[297]Stone, op. cit., p. 271. Twain's innocent heroes operate actively within the narrative context, but their ultimate fate is in the power of the adult environment. Tom Sawyer rules the adults of St. Petersburg with his childish heroics, but ultimately succumbs to their conventionality; Tom Canty rules from the throne of England, but finally is returned to the authority of the adult community; Joan of Arc actively battles the adult social structure and is totally destroyed.

[298]Spengemann, op. cit., p. xi.

[299]Ibid., p. 4.

omniscient and undramatized, as in Tom Sawyer, or he may exist as the alter-ego to Twain's own younger self, as in Roughing It.[300] In either case he reports the reality behind the action with perception and understanding.[301] His language, too, is mature, literary, usually controlled, and conforming to the standards of convention and decorum. (Twain occasionally allows his narrators to lose their control, and indulges in parody.)

The second type of narrator, however, is an unreliable observer who reports only the appearances and who is completely unaware of the reality which lies behind them.[302] This unreliable narrator--sometimes the innocent hero himself--usually speaks in the vernacular and presents an ironic narrative based on what he sees and what the reader and author see.[303] When coupled with the reliable narrator, the result is a dichotomy of points-of-view in which the reality is alternately experienced ignorantly and retold from a foundation in understanding.[304] The greenhorn in Roughing It, for example, relates his observations of the appearance

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[300] Loc. cit.

[301] Loc. cit.

[302] Loc. cit.

[303] Loc. cit.

[304] Loc. cit.

of his experiences and then comments upon his own youthful and ignorant observations with mature perception. The ironic possibilities of an unreliable vernacular narrator were apparent to Twain and he used this narrative device to attack the official culture and to present his message of the failure of the American dream.[305] Through the unreliable vernacular narrator, he could present the appearance of a situation and have his narrator react only to that appearance--ignorant and innocent of the reality of the situation. This technique is apparent in Huck Finn's reply to the question concerning the result of a river boat wreck. When asked if anyone had been hurt, he replied that no one had been hurt, only a "nigger" had been killed. The reality is stunning beneath this innocent appraisal and response. To Huck, who at that time, was aware, only of the appearance of the tragedy to a Southern conscience, nobody had been hurt, for a Negro was not counted as a human being; Twain's moral judgment is obvious. Without the advantage of the unreliable, vernacular narrator, the situation would lose its moral impact.

Twain's ambivalent attitude toward innocence--his realization that as a moral force, innocence was ineffectual against corruption, and despite this realization, his continuing desire to believe in the possibility of a return to

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[305]Tanner, "Progress of a Stylistic Rebel," p. 35.

innocence--exists as the basic conflict in his fiction. This ambiguity, like Hawthorne's sin-as-act versus sin-as-state and Melville's moral versus metaphysical, provided the internal tension necessary to allegory. Further, the irony created through the use of an unreliable vernacular narrator, enabled Twain to heighten the impact of his moral thrust and inflict upon his readers, who were aware of what the narrator could not see, the shock of moral recognition.

That Twain actually did create fiction in the allegorical tradition is demonstrable when the definition of modern literary allegory is applied to his art generally, and several of his works, specifically. Twain's fiction, when considered as modern literary allegory, demonstrates the characteristics essential to both allegorical nature and form. The nature of his narrative is organically formulated through a dynamic interaction between plot and characters, message and metaphors.[306] He successfully portrayed his message in a series of concrete metaphors which interact with each other to bring about the narrative movement.[307] The message and the narrative are dynamically presented and progress simultaneously to both a moral and fictional resolution.[3]

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[306]Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 50.

[307]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 63.

[308]Loc. cit.

Twain bases his organic and dynamic moral fiction in the authorities of myth, history, and artistic creation. The concept of the American dream and the failure of innocence provide the mythical framework for his fiction and furnish the settings and characters which are definable in terms of Eden and the Fall.[309] The historical authority which Twain utilizes allows him the basis of the past, the significance of previous human action, and the framework within which he is able to correlate a concrete past event to a present moral problem.[310] The form of Twain's fiction also satisfies the criteria of modern literary allegory by demonstrating both the structural devices and verbal modes characteristic of allegorical literature. First among the structural devices of allegory in Twain's fiction is the Dream-Vision.

Twain utilized the devices of the Dream-Vision to create a symbolic setting in both Time and Space. He set his major narratives in the past and created a dream-like

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[309] R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century, p. 9.

[310] Loc. cit., and Wagenknecht, Man and Work, p. 100. For example, Malory's Camelot was destroyed by civil war, so when Twain set his Connecticut Yankee in Camelot, the failure of the dream was inevitable--the causes, however, were nineteenth century American moral failures, not sixth century British primitivism.

"Delectable Land" for the action of his innocent heroes.[311] He often describes this land as a wide prairie which resembles the sea, a small village near a river, a broad ocean, or heaven.[312] The atmosphere, usually summery, hazy, and sleepy, further emphasizes the dream-like quality of the scene.[313] Contrasting to this setting is the scenery of corrupt civilization; equally unreal in its deliberate distortion with its institutions, businesses, laws, and mores.[314] The innocent, present in one or the other of these dream settings, moves between them, creating the significant narrative action.[315]

The narrative action of the innocent usually takes one of two forms, both inherent in the definition of modern literary allegory; that action is either the Ordeal or Journey.[316] The ordeal, often combined with the journey, is either an initiation or denitiation of the innocent hero. The pattern of denitiation moves him from a corrupt, civilized social setting into the Delectable Land and requires that he

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[311]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 2.

[312]Loc. cit.

[313]Loc. cit.

[314]Loc. cit.

[315]Ibid., p. 3.

[316]Loc. cit., and Salomon, "Realism as Disinheritance," p. 538.

be educated--often through humiliation--to recognize the superiority of that Delectable Land to his previous state.[317] The pattern of initiation forces the innocent hero out of his natural milieu into a civilized social structure which is characterized by moral evil.[318]

The denotation of the hero by the device of the talisman relates to the Dream Vision's ordeal of Initiation/Denitiation. Often in Twain's fiction the innocent hero is identifiable by the talisman of his speech--the vernacular language.[319] Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn, Tom Canty, Edward (after his initiation) and Hank Morgan (in certain parts of Connecticut Yankee) exhibit their role as innocent by virtue of their speech.[320] Usually the more artificial a character's language, the more likely that character is to be morally corrupt, for example, the King and the Duke in Huckleberry Finn.

The second aspect of allegorical form, the verbal modes of analogy and irony, are also present in Twain's fiction. His use of familiar history--Camelot, Joan of Arc--creates analogies between the ultimate destiny of both the

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[317]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 3.

[318]Loc. cit.

[319]Stone, op. cit., p. 275.

[320]Spengemann, op. cit., p. xii.

fact and the fiction. These analogies--the relationship of a narrative event to an event outside the fictional context--are characteristic of modern literary allegory.

Allusion and personification also are discernible in the names of his characters and their narrative roles. In "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," the characters' names are significant.[321] Barclay Goodson ("son of clay," "good son") is the only character in the narrative who is a functional human being, and he is disillusioned by the hypocrisy of Hadleyburg. The Richards ("rule," "hard") are victims of the hard rule of the society. Reverend Burgess ("freeman") is, ironically, the one bound tightest by the community; he frees himself only momentarily at the climax. The name of the town, Hadleyburg, may be read as a corruption of Halleyburg ("holy," "city"), or as the city that was "had" by its own pride.

Other names in Twain's works which suggest a relationship between the characters and their roles are Huckleberry Finn, the huckleberry being a phenomenon found only in virgin forests (the "Territory") and Finn, a surname common to the outcast Irish immigrants of the late nineteenth century; Jim (shortened from James), the "brother of God"; and St.

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[321]"Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" also offers significant personifications and appropriate names; these will be discussed later in this study.

Petersburg, an ironic use of the name, since it relates the New World town on the Mississippi directly to its Old World namesakes.

Finally, Twain used, perhaps most consistently, irony. He habitually presented a disparity between appearance and reality and, like Swift, used irony so masterfully that he often defeated his own purpose.[322] He employed irony in his narrative techniques (especially dual points of view and unreliable vernacular narrator), in his narrative action, and even in his symbolic settings.[323]

In order to illustrate more clearly Twain's use of allegorical techniques, it is necessary to consider briefly some specific works in which characteristics of allegory are discernible.

The first work which shows evidence of allegorical techniques is Twain's well-known short story, "The Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." This story may be read as a moral satire in the classical mode.[324] Wheeler becomes, to an extent, the West revenging itself upon the East for a trick played by an easterner (the stranger) on a westerner

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[322]Babcock, "Map of Paris," p. 96.

[323]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 16, and Stone, op. cit., p. 27.

[324]Sydney J. Krause, "The Art and Satire of Twain's 'Jumping Frog' Story," American Quarterly, XVI (Winter, 1964), p. 564. (While much of Mr. Krause's argument seems contrived, he does, nevertheless, present several points.)

(Smiley).[325] Twain used the unreliable narrator as the principle story-teller and through him created the irony of the tale.[326] The names of the characters are also allegorical, alluding to their various personality traits: Simon Wheeler was a "free-wheeling" yarn-spinner; Smiley, a lucky gambler, had the gambler's perennial optimism--the optimism of the West itself. Even the animals in the story, especially the bull-pup and the frog, exhibit allegorically significant names and traits: the pup, Andrew Jackson, emblemizes the frontier democrat, pugnacious, savage, and tenacious, and the frog, Dan'l Webster, emblemizes the educated complacency of the East. Thus Twain uses allegorical techniques to create a moral satire whose ultimate aim is to suggest a modification and blending of the attitudes of East and West.[328]

Another example of Twain's use of allegory may be seen in "The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg." The story exists as a moral exemplum with a three-fold purpose: to penetrate the reader's complacency; to convince him of his human frailties and susceptivility to temptation; and finally, to teach him how to combat this susceptibility.

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[325] Ibid., p. 566.

[326] Spengemann, op. cit., p. 6.

[327] Krause, "The Jumping Frog," p. 567.

[328] Ibid., p. 575.

The sin portrayed is not avarice or guile, but the deadliest sin--Pride.[329] This species of pride is shown to be not only sinful, but directly responsible for moral collapse.[330] The literal and figurative movement of the story is dynamic and the characters seem to have the freedom of choice in regard to their actions. The synthesis of other genre-types is also discernible as the tale, while overall satirically moral, is given over in the third section, to rowdy burlesque.[331]

Twain's major works also contain definite characteristics of literary allegory. Tom Sawyer, for example, may be read as portrayal of the American myth of Innocence in the New World Eden.[332] The atmosphere is dream-like, summery, hazy, and sleepy, and the setting is a New World Garden, St. Petersburg, and, especially, Jackson's Island.[333] However, irony is present for St. Petersburg is flawed morally--in the persons of Injun Joe and Pap Finn, and Jackson's Island holds the secret of moral corruption (gold) in its cave.[334] The action of the narrative may be interpreted as Twain's version of the fall of American Innocence: Tom

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[329]Laing, op. cit., p. 39.

[330]Loc. cit.

[331]Ibid., p. 43.

[332]Smith, op. cit., p. 7.

[333]Loc. cit.

[334]Vitelli, op. cit., p. 195.

Sawyer (the innocent hero) is corrupted by the Serpent (gold) which lies in the heart of the Garden (Jackson's Island).[335] That Twain wished to try again to create a functional innocent is apparent in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.

In Huck Finn, Twain employs the techniques of the Imaginative Projection to place his narrative in a dream-like context.[336] The physical setting, the raft and river, are presented through the heightened sensory powers of the narrator and the natural realistic aspects of the river are distorted and confused.[337] Huck follows the figurative course of denitiation, escaping society and being educated away from conventional morality to an awareness of natural moral truth.[338] However, again Twain uses irony--this time to show that while the innocent (Huck) is capable of operating within the scope of natural moral values, his innocence is not a strong enough force to overcome the corruption he encounters (on the shore.)[339] Huck as innocent does not capitulate to moral corruption (as did Tom) but he escapes

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[335]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 47. (This explication is, of course, not exclusive or exhaustive.)

[336]Ibid., p. 82, and Babcock, "Map of Paris," p. 94.

[337]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 72.

[338]Loc. cit.

[339]Ibid., p. 74.

to the Territory--to the dream state, the only place where innocence can exist.[340]

In the Prince and the Pauper, Twain presents a dual allegorical movement involving the denitiation of Edward and the initiation of Tom Canty, twin innocents reminiscent of Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer, respectively.[341] (The narrator himself is a denitiate, though not an innocent, who begins as unreliable, perceives the reality of the world only as evil, and progresses so that by the end of the book he is aware of the possibility of moral goodness existing in the natural moral conscience of the innocents.)[342] The moral progress of the innocents themselves, from innocence to recognition, ends in disillusionment but not, as yet, despair.[343] Technically, Twain uses the Dream-Vision devices to distort time and space. The Innocent Land, for Edward the plebian countryside, is described in dream-like terms of unreality:

> All his sensations and experiences, as he moved through this solemn gloom and the empty vastness of the night, were new and strange to him. At intervals he heard voices approach, pass by, and fade into silence; and as he saw nothing more of the bodies they belonged to than a sort of

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[340] Ibid., p. 82.

[341] Ibid., pp. 52, 54, 55.

[342] Ibid., p. 52.

[343] Ibid., p. 55.

> formless drifting blur, there was something spectral and uncanny about it all that made him shudder. . . . all sounds were remote; they made the little king feel that all life and activity were far removed from him, and that he stood solitary, companionless, in the center of a measureless solitude.[344]

The final meaning of the narrative is that freedom and perpetual innocence exist only in the world of dreams; when the dream becomes reality, disillusionment is inevitable.[345] Disillusionment, however, was not the final condition, as is evidenced by A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court.

The conflict in Connecticut Yankee is much the same as in Huck Finn: the innocent is in opposition to the corrupt. The irony here, however, is that Hank Morgan, by virtue of his character traits is supposed to be the innocent--the natural man operating out of instinctively good intentions.[346] However, he exists as the primary villain, destroying an Innocent Land with his materialistic doctrines.[347] The irony operative is thus between appearance and actuality--what Hank Morgan is supposed to be and what,

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[344]Mark Twain, The Prince and the Pauper, Author's National Edition, p. 91.

[345]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 52. The role of the Delectable Land (as a dream that, when acheived, leads to disillusionment) is a primary delineator between the dream setting of allegory and that of romance.

[346]Ibid., p. 88.

[347]Loc. cit.

in fact, he is.[348] Hank Morgan is a grown-up Huck Finn whose "good heart" is in conflict with society instead of in flight from it. He is the test for man's potential for moral progress and as such fails to exhibit any signs of reassurance.[349]

The Dream-Vision device of distortion of Time and Space place Connecticut Yankee in a setting of unreality, described by Hank as follows:

> Straight off we were in the country. It was most lovely and pleasant in those sylvan solitudes . . . We saw the ranges of hills, blue with haze, stretching away in billowy perspective to the horizon, with at wide intervals a dim fleck of white or gray on a wave summit . . . We moved like spirits . . . we dreamed along through glades in the midst of a green light . . . We left the world behind and entered into the . . . high gloom of the forest.[350]

But the town of Camelot serves as an image of ugliness and squalor, contrasting violently to the pastoral countryside.[351] Figuratively, Camelot exists as the reality of America, while the countryside is representative of the lost American Eden.[352] The talisman of vernacular speech

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[348]Ibid., p. 85.

[349]Tanner, "Despair of Mark Twain," p. 301.

[350]Mark Twain, A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, Author's National Edition, p. 205.

[351]Smith, op. cit., p. 15.

[352]Ibid., p. 16.

denotes Hank Morgan as a New World hero only part of the time; in other places his language is studied and artificial.[353]

The resolution of Connecticut Yankee is spiritual suicide--the defeat of Hank Morgan, the naturally innocent, by "Boss" Hank Morgan, the materialistically corrupt. The end of Connecticut Yankee is not capitulation (Tom Sawyer), ineffectual escape (Huck Finn), nor mere disillusionment (Prince and the Pauper). Connecticut Yankee ends with a ranting madman who dies in despair.

Mark Twain's fiction, then, exhibits in general concept and specific execution the characteristics of modern literary allegory. His concept of the American dream and doctrine of Innocence place his work within the American allegorical tradition, and his unreliable vernacular narrator allows Twain a more intensified presentation of his moral concepts.

With the realization that Twain's works prior to Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc contain elements of allegory, it is justifiable to assume that Joan of Arc itself contains elements characteristic of allegory. However, it will be demonstrated that Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc may be read as primarily allegorical. Further,

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[353]Spengemann, op. cit., p. 88.

its artistic aspects represent a synthesis of all the allegorical techniques previously used by Twain, and its moral emphasis represents a significant stage in Twain's concept of Innocence and the American Dream.

CHAPTER V

THE PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF JOAN OF ARC: MARK TWAIN'S ALLEGORY OF THE DEATH OF INNOCENCE

Joan of Arc occupies a puzzling position in relation to the rest of Twain's works. It was published in 1895, after Huckleberry Finn, Connecticut Yankee, and The Prince and the Pauper, and before The Mysterious Stranger and What Is Man?[354] It deals with the unbelievable life of a young Catholic peasant girl in fifteenth-century France, even though Twain admitted an abiding hatred of the French and a supreme distrust of the Catholic Church.[355] The narrative is sentimental and pessimistic, romantic and realistic, fanciful and factual. However, these seemingly irreconcilable contradictions may be explained when the work is considered as allegory. By applying the definition of modern literary allegory to both the nature and the form of Joan of Arc, the work becomes a unified artistic whole which contains a moral judgment on the American Dream of Innocence.

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[354]Albert E. Stone, "Mark Twain's Joan of Arc: Child as Goddess," American Literature, XXXI (March, 1959), 2.

[355]Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 220.

As such, it becomes significant both to Twain's entire body of fiction and to American allegorical literature in general.

Forming the basis of Joan of Arc is the synthesis of dualities which is characteristic of allegory. This synthesis exists in two fundamental aspects of the work: first, as the combination of historical fact with imaginative fiction, especially in the character of Joan, herself; second, as the integration of the literal and symbolic movement within the work, expressed through Twain's narrator, Sieur Louis de Conte, and translator Jean Francois Alden.

In order to achieve the first synthesis, Twain had to be familiar with Joan's history and had to see in it the artistic potential for allegory. Twain was well acquainted with Joan's life through both French and British biographers.[356] He began his study of Joan in 1880 and spent twelve years of laborious research, reading and noting sources which included Michelet, Janet Tuckey, J. R. Green, the Countess de Chabannes, and Dr. John Lord; of the eleven sources cited in the biography, seven belonged to Twain.[357] He was among the most knowledgeable of his day on the subject of Joan of Arc.[358] More importantly, he read and responded

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[356]Ibid., p. 64.

[357]Stone, "Child as Goddess," p. 4.

[358]Loc. cit.

critically to his sources, often noting in the margins when he agreed or disagreed with them.[359]

Further, Twain saw in the facts of history potential for allegorical fiction. Joan is both the French peasant girl and the Ideal of Innocence. In the fiction Joan exists as a static character, the same at the end as at the beginning. Her allegorical role is that of the Ideal: she is the physical incarnation of Innocence--youth, purity, power--and is unique for having not only existed, but for having acted in a morally corrupt world.[360] The conflict which she suggests and which exists as the basic conflict in the narrative action is that between the power of Innocence, the natural intuitive conscience and moral purity, and the power of Corruption, the orthodox/social conscience and moral depravity.[361]

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[359] Ibid., p. 8. Twain was well aware of historical inaccuracies and trite judgments. He comments in reaction to Michelet's claim that only a French girl would have risked "indelicacy" and gone to war with men: "How stupid! A Joan of Arc would do it, no matter what her nationality might be. That spirit has no nationality." Further, reacting to the Countess de Chabannes' insistence that Joan of Arc was a peasant, not an aristocrat, because the poor and ignorant are preferred by God as instruments of His divine Work, he comments: "It seems so great and wonderful that He should choose His instruments by preference among the dull and ignorant that I marvel He does not choose cats--His glory would be the greater and the argument is the same."

[360] Ibid., p. 5.

[361] Charles A. Allen, "Mark Twain and Conscience," Literature and Psychology, VII (May, 1957), 17.

The second synthesis of dualities exists in Twain's creation of a symbolic narrative whose development parallels the action of his literal narrative. Joan is born, miraculously amid the brutality of her society, just as Innocence exists also miraculously within humanity. Joan battles against the English and French just as Innocence battles against evils, both outside and within. Finally, Joan is lost through her own people's treachery just as Innocence is lost through society's seductions (as in Tom Sawyer). However, Twain's real moral thrust becomes apparent when it is viewed ironically through his technique of narration/translation.

Twain created his allegory within the perception of the narrator, Sieur Louis de Conte. It is de Conte's vision of Joan which creates both the narrative and the allegory, for it is he who finally sees what she symbolizes and recognizes the significance of her fate. De Conte operates in the narrative both as a young innocent hero who goes through the ordeal of initiation into the world of corruption, and also as the old man who is initiated by recognizing the significance of the events which he witnessed as a youth. The irony, however, is created in the role of the translator, Jean Francois Alden. Twain creates in his translator a nineteenth-century democrat who begins by assuming that he understands his text, finishes with a burst of hollow,

nationalistic rhetoric, and in between remains completely ignorant of the significance of the action. Alden is allowed to comment on the action, since his translation is a "free" one, and his comments express the judgments and opinions of a nineteenth-century democratic society. Seemingly, Twain's theme is that Innocence is impossible in a morally corrupt world, and that Man, when confronted by the dream of Innocence, either believes and is disillusioned by reality, or else fails to believe through his own moral blindness.

Thus, Joan of Arc satisfies in part the first criteria of allegory by displaying a basic conflict created by the synthesis of dualities. Besides demonstrating the allegorical syntheses of dualities, Joan of Arc is also organic, dynamic, and flexible in nature.

The organic, dynamic quality of Joan of Arc may be seen in the parallel movement of the literal action and the figural development. De Conte serves as the dramatic core undergoing, simultaneously, the initiation of the loss of Innocence and the initiation of recognition. Young de Conte's relationship to Joan in Domremy is the relationship of a child to Innocence--he is her equal and companion, even sharing with her the divine mystery of St. Michael's visitation. As the narrative progresses through the Battle sequences, he becomes further removed from her, seeing her now as inexplicable and miraculous. He marvels at her

intuitive knowledge and goodness, not realizing he is losing those qualities himself. The last stage is one of complete separation and total loss. He tragically realizes that he can do nothing to save her and watches helplessly as she is destroyed.

Old de Conte also undergoes a dramatic change which is characterized by the increasingly symbolic overtones of his recollection. He begins by recounting his childhood in language that is, while nostalgic, also realistic. As he becomes increasingly aware of the truth within his own youthful ordeal, his perception alters and his expression incorporates this new perception. Joan is characterized by de Conte in increasingly abstract terms until by the third book she becomes a cosmic mystery, the "sun" giving life to humanity.[362] The last line of the narrative is a double recognition, signifying both young do Conte's loss of Innocence and old de Conte's loss of his dream: "Yes, she was gone from us: Joan of Arc" (II, 282). Old de Conte ends his story by expressing the truth of Joan's nature and his own recognition that nature will never again exist in the mortal sphere:

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[362]Mark Twain, The Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, Vol. II, pp. 275-276. Subsequent references to this edition will be included in the text.

> I have finished my story of Joan of Arc, that wonderful child, that sublime personality, that spirit which in one regard has had no peer and will have none--this: its purity from all alloy of self-seeking, self-interest, personal ambition. (II, 287)

The role of Corruption, symbolized by the adult society, also changes dramatically in relationship to de Conte's growing separation from Joan. In Domremy, the adult society intrudes only occasionally and when it errs (Pere Fronte's banishment of the faeries and Jacques d'Arc's censure of his daughter), it repents and is forgiven. It is active but it can be influenced, if not completely controlled, by Innocence. In the second book, the Battle sequence, Innocence is in control, but in order to retain control must battle constantly, not just the outward enemy, but the inner enemy as well. The English are the outside forces of evil but are easily overcome by perserverance and moral courage. De Conte begins to realize that it is not outward evil, but inward corruption (the French Government, the Army and the Church) that are the real enemies. He also learns that while these can be temporarily beaten, ultimately they will be victorious. Thus, by demonstrating an organic, dynamic relationship between the literal and symbolic narratives, Joan of Arc fulfills the second criterion inherent in the nature of allegorical fiction.

The final criteria, flexibility, is evidenced in the narrative's stylistic mixture of generic types. Joan of Arc

exhibits characteristics of the three genre-types found most often in modern literary allegory: pastoral, epic and satire. The first two may be seen in the narrative as relayed by de Conte, while the third, in the character of Jean Alden, exists in the relationship between the Translator and his text.

The first part of de Conte's narrative, the Domremy chapters, may be labeled Pastoral. The setting is one of idyllic peace, regardless of the occasional intrusions of the Hundred Years War: "They were peaceful and pleasant, those young and smoothly flowing days of ours" (I, 49). The principle characters (represented here by de Conte) are spiritually integrated with the Ideal (Joan): "I was reared in the same village with her. I played with her every day, when we were little children together, just as you play with your mates" (I, xvii). Finally, no distinction is made between the power of pagan and Christian mysteries, and both are accepted and revered. The acceptance of Innocence by both natural (pagan) and divine (Christian) mysteries is portrayed in the appearance of St. Michael to Joan as she sits beneath the Fairy Tree:

> Joan sat on a natural seat formed by gnarled great roots of the Tree . . . I saw a white shadow come slowly gliding along the grass toward the Tree . . . The shadow approached Joan slowly; the extremity of it reached her, flowed over her, clothed her in its awful splendor. (I, 67-69)

Artistically, this segment is the most realistic--nearest to fiction in which the characters control the action.

The principles are children, typically naive, boastful, and idealistic. Although surrounded by war, they marvel at the reality of violent death: "Hardly any of us young people had ever seen a man before who had lost his life by violence . . . we could not take our eyes from it" (I, 53). They indulge in juvenile boasting: ". . . the others put in a word from time to time, describing over again the gory marvels they would do if ever that madman ventured to cross their path" (I, 47). And they exhibit a childishly idealistic view-point which admits no possibility of corruption or deceit: "In their far-off splendor they [the great French generals] rose upon our imaginations dim and huge . . . it was a fearful thing to hear them spoken of as if they were mere men" (I, 55). Their actions occur as much from individual determination as from allegorical control: Joan sees the hunger of the "ragged road-straggler" and responds both from human mercy and an allegorical role of Innocent; de Conte accepts the invitation to battle as much from boyish enthusiasm as from his allegorical role as Innocent hero.

The second genre-type identifiable in Joan of Arc is the epic. In the epic mode the Battle sequences of Book II portray the Ideal in control of the actions and in so doing create a conflict of seemingly cosmic proportions. Similar

to other epic heroes, Joan of Arc is the impetus for her soldiers. When she is in command, they are victorious and brave, deriving their ability from her:

> . . . when we approached the French were getting whipped and were falling back. But when Joan came charging through the disorder with her banner displayed, crying 'Forward, men--follow me!' there was a change; the French turned about and surged forward like a solid wave of the sea, and swept the English before them, hacking and slashing . . . (I, 236)

However, alone, they falter and retreat, for apart from the power of the Ideal, they are only men:

> Joan lay on the grass, weak and suffering, hour after hour, but still insisting that the fight go on. Which it did, but not to much purpose, for it was only under her eye that men were heroes and not afraid . . . Toward night Dunois [the general] gave it up. (I, 266-267)

Even the forces of nature are involved in the conflicts, exhibiting reactions appropriate to epic battles. Prior to the attack on Jargeau, the entire atmosphere is pervaded by tension:

> At eight o'clock all movement ceased, and with it all sounds, all noise. A mute expectancy reigned . . . There was no air stirring. The flags on the towers and ramparts hung straight down like tassels. (I, 304)

Throughout this segment Joan is portrayed as a glorious force in shining white armor. She leads her army to victory upon victory, yet she never exhibits cruelty or malice, being always merciful and regretting even the deaths of her enemies.

The third genre-type, satire, is portrayed in Joan of Arc through the relationship of the Translator to his text.[363] Twain creates in Jean Francois Alden a nineteenth-century democrat who is confronted by the mystery of Joan of Arc and who fails to recognize, despite his modern intellect, the ultimate truth of that mystery. In the Translator's Preface he declares Joan to be a miracle, a wonder, a unique historical phenomenon. He views her in regard to her century and reflects that: ". . . her century was the brutalest, the wickedest, the rottenest in history since the darkest ages, we are lost in wonder at the miracle of such a product from such a soil" (I, xi). His mistake, however, and the one which blinds him to the truth of Joan of Arc, is his

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[363]Twain seems to be using the techniques of modern narration discussed by Wayne C. Booth in The Rhetoric of Fiction, pp. 156-159: ". . . it is hardly surprising that modern authors have experimented with unreliable narrators whose characteristics change in the course of the works they narrate . . . it was not until authors had discovered the full uses of the third-person reflector that they could effectively show a narrator changing as he narrates . . . [a narrator is] reliable when he speaks for or acts in accordance with the norms of the work (which is to say the implied author's norms), unreliable when he does not . . . Unreliable narrators thus differ markedly depending on how far and in what direction they depart from their author's norms . . . All of them make stronger demands on the reader's powers of inference than do reliable narrators." According to this discussion, Twain (the implied author) uses Alden as an unreliable narrator-reflector against which he places de Conte the elder (the reliable narrator) who is in turn a reflector for his own, unreliable, younger self. This reading of Twain's work may be compared with Booth's reading of James's Turn of the Screw and Joyce's Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.

assumption that his age is better than hers was: ". . . judged by the standards of today, there is probably no illustrious man of four or five centuries ago whose character could meet the test at all points" (I, xi). His belief in moral progress is satirized by Twain, who had long been convinced that the human race was "damned."

The primary difference between Alden and de Conte lies in their attitudes and philosophies. The former, Alden, from his Preface and History, may be identified as a modern democrat, the latter, from instances in the text, may be identified as a medieval aristocrat. Together, they observe the story of Joan of Arc but only de Conte, through an allegorical perception, goes beyond observation to understanding. Some of the contradictions in the text may be explained as being the result of a nineteenth-century mind injecting its opinions and values into a medieval narrative. For example, de Conte is a faithful Catholic and when confronted by the mystery of St. Michael's Visitation, places his faith in the ritual of the Church rather than in his own sensory perception:

> I carved a mark in the bark of a tree, saying to myself, it may be that I am dreaming and have not seen this vision at all. I will come again, when I know that I am awake and see if this mark is still here . . . I heard my name called . . . I said to myself, it is part of the dream . . . the fairies have done this. So I crossed myself and pronounced the name of God, to break the enchantment. I knew I was awake now . . . for no spell can withstand this exorcism. (I, 40)

He is also capable of saying:

> When I was fourteen and we had three Popes at once, nobody in Domremy was worried about how to choose among them--the Pope of Rome was the right one, a Pope outside of Rome was no Pope at all . . . (I, 6)

From this evidence, it seems unlikely that de Conte should also make the following statement concerning the Church fathers at the Inquisition of Poitiers:

> Instead of setting a military commission to find out if this valorous little soldier could win victories they set a company of holy hair-splitters and phrase-mongers to work to find out if the soldier was sound in her piety and had no doctrinal leaks. The rats were devouring the house, but instead of examining the cat's teeth and claws, they only concerned themselves to find out if it was a holy cat . . . (I, 160)

Further, de Conte is aware of the actual meaning of the death of Joan--"Yes, she is gone from us--Joan of Arc. What little words they are, to tell of a rich world made empty and poor!" (II, 282), but Alden ends his translation with the evaluation of Joan as:

> . . . the Genius of Patriotism--she was Patriotism embodied, concreted, made flesh, and palpable to the touch, visible to the eye . . . shall not this and no other, stand for Patriotism through all the ages until time shall end? (II, 287-288)

This evaluation seems to belong to Alden, first, because of the emphasis, characteristic of the nineteenth century, placed on the empirical nature of the understanding of Joan-as-Patriotism, "concreted . . . palpable to the touch, visible to the eye;" and second, because the sentiment expressed, Patriotism, was largely unknown during the fifteenth

century (a fact Twain would have known, due to his extensive scholarship in the period). Patriotism, as such, arose primarily out of the nationalism of the late Renaissance and at its peak, permeated the nineteenth century which used it as an excuse for wars of conquest and acts of aggression and oppression (both of which Twain strongly criticized in such works as "War Prayer" and "To the Person Sitting in Darkness").[364]

The final illustration of the differences between Alden and de Conte which serves to substantiate the premise that the translator does act as a separate persona in Joan of Arc exists in the translator's use of footnotes. In several places Alden footnotes material in de Conte's text with information that the latter could not have been aware of, placing the material in an ironic light and, in addition, including his own personal commentary. For example, de Conte is telling of the promise of the King to exempt Domremy from taxes at Joan's request, "Yes, the promise has been kept, it will be kept always; 'forever' was the King's word," but the "King's word" loses its impact, as does de Conte's

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[364]Leary, op. cit., p. 19. Twain expressed his opinion of patriotism thus: "He Man is the only one that gathers his brethern around him and goes forth in cold blood and with calm pulse to exterminate his kind . . . Man is the only slave . . . Man is the only Patriot . . . He is the only animal that loves his neighbor as himself and cuts his throat if his theology isn't straight."

authority, when Alden notes that:

> . . . the overconfident octogenarian's prophecy failed. During the tumult of the French Revolution the promise was forgotten and the grace withdrawn . . . France owes Domremy a hundred years of taxes, and could hardly find a citizen within her borders who would vote against the payment of the debt. (II, 52)

This opinion expresses a belief in moral progress made by Alden's century, but completely disregards the materialism of that same century which would strongly object to reimbursing Domremy with a hundred years' back taxes.

The second instance of the discrepancy between de Conte's narrative opinions and the translator's footnote material exists in de Conte's belief that Joan's Standard will be "sacredly guarded by French love, a thousand years from now--yes, as long as any shred of it hangs together," and Alden's account of its destruction by a mob during the Revolution, along with the destruction of everything Joan of Arc was known to have touched, except some state papers--even a hair from her head had been stolen, but Alden has his faith that the "vandal relic-hunter" has not destroyed it: "Doubtless it still exists, but only the theif knows where" (II, 111). Finally, de Conte's opinion that Joan's prison was built of the "thickest and solidest masonry," virtually indestructable, is discounted by Alden's footnote informing the reader that "The lower half of it remains to-day, just as it was then; the upper half is of

date" (II, 223). Ironically, Alden's belief in moral progress is discounted by his own evidence that the prison, far from having become obsolete, has been repaired!

Thus, many of the contradictions in the work which have been considered artistic flaws resulting from Twain's inability to understand Joan of Arc and his desire, at the same time, to believe in her, can be explained through this three-dimensional narrative approach. It is the Persona, Jean Alden, speaking as a nineteenth-century democrat, who cannot comprehend the mystery of Joan of Arc that the medieval French aristocrat, de Conte, has come to understand. Joan of Arc may then be considered as modern literary allegory since it demonstrates a basic synthesis of dualities and exhibits evidence of an organic, dynamic, and generically flexible nature. Additional support for an allegorical reading of Joan of Arc may be found in an examination of its form in terms of allegorical structure and verbal modes.

Structurally, Joan of Arc may be considered an allegorical Dream-Vision presented as both an Extended Recollection (de Conte) and Imaginative Projection (Alden). The time element is distorted in the three books which can be identified as de Conte's narrative by the device of the extended recollection. The narrative exists only in de Conte's memory and is removed from the actual moment of occurence by a span of sixty years.

The central dramatic action is the Dream-Vision Ordeal of initiation for both the young and the old Louis de Conte, the young French aristocrat, who fulfills the criteria for the innocent hero, characteristic of Twain's fiction and American allegorical literature. He is alone and comes to Domremy, by chance, as a child:

> I was all alone, except for the company of the dead and the wounded, for the rest had taken flight and hidden themselves. I was sent to Domremy to the priest, whose housekeeper became a loving mother to me. (I, 5)

He is a child, like the other children, "of a good heart," and passive with regard to the adult community. His early life is spent in the pastoral surroundings of Domremy, but later, he journeys away to witness the war and the tragedy of Joan's death. He is innocent enough to hope until the end. Just as Huck kept trying to reconcile his natural instincts to free Jim with his social desire to "do the right thing" and return the slave to its owner, so young de Conte fights to retain his innocent belief in society--the King and Joan's friends--while gradually becoming aware that society is nothing to believe in. His innocence, personified in Joan of Arc, is literally and symbolically destroyed by a morally corrupt society.

Old de Conte undergoes a similar initiation by recalling the ordeal of his youth and recognizing not only that Joan of Arc from Domremy had been destroyed, and with her

his own youthful innocence, but also that Innocence itself, personified by Joan of Arc, cannot exist as an active force in a world that is morally corrupt. Joan takes on a cosmic aspect for the old de Conte, embodying not only moral and spiritual perfection, but a natural perfection which makes her a nature-goddess: she becomes a "child of the sun," a life force, controlling others by virtue of her own native power.[365] When she is destroyed, both young and old de Conte are aware that "she is gone from us: Joan of Arc" (II, 282).

The technique of the Imaginative Projection in the translation by Jean Alden is suggested in the title of the work: "freely translated from the ancient French into the Modern English." A free translation allows Alden to inject the "added particulars [which] depend for credit upon his own word alone" ("A Peculiarity of Joan's History" by the Translator, I, xvi). His own words do identify the "added particulars"--the contradictory material which is the result of opinions and beliefs of an era four hundred years removed from de Conte and Joan of Arc.

The time element of the Imaginative Projection is distorted through this time-span of four hundred years and is suggested by Alden's attempt to translate what is ancient

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[365]Roger B. Salomon, "Escape from History: Mark Twain's Joan of Arc," Philological Quarterly, XL (January, 1961), 17.

into what is modern, and what was French into what is English. Two separate times, places, and psychologies are involved in such an attempt, and Alden is not aware of their fundamental differences. Because he is unaware of the significance of his text--that it is the allegorical Death of Innocence as perceived and portrayed by Sieur Louis de Conte--Alden fails to realize and recognize the truth which de Conte has seen.[366] This failure is evidenced both by his continuing belief in moral progress and by his perception of Joan of Arc as "Patriotism."

The setting in de Conte's narrative further serves to place the action in an allegorical framework. Domremy is situated on a hill in a Delectable Land, flanked by a meadow and overlooked by a forest. The town itself, however, is dark and squalid:

> Our Domremy was like any other humble little hamlet of that remote time and region. It was a maze of crooked, narrow lanes and alleys shaded and sheltered by the overhanging thatch roofs of the barn-like houses. The houses were dimly lighted by wooden-shuttered windows--that is, holes in the walls which served for windows. The floors were of dirt, and there was very little furniture . . . The situation was beautiful. From one edge of the village a flowery plain extended in a wide sweep to the river--the Meuse; from the rear edge of

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[366]It may be noted here that the initials of the narrator, Sieur Louis de Conte, S. L. C., are "incidentally" the same as those of the author, Samuel Langhorne Clemens, and that Jean Alden--"speak for yourself, John Alden,"--ironically speaks, not for himself, but for someone he cannot understand.

> the village a grassy slope rose gradually, and at the top was the great oak forest--a forest that was deep and gloomy and dense . . . (I, 7)

In the countryside, the children learn the mystery of the fairies and the song of the Fairy Tree of Bourlemont; in Domremy, they learn to admire the legendary French generals and to obey the King and the Church.

The world of moral corruption outside Domremy is characterized by an ironic relationship between appearances and reality: a King who is not a King (but rather, as only Joan recognizes, a Dauphin), soldiers who will oppose their own generals with more force than their "enemies," and finally, "annointed servants of the merciful Jesus" who torment and destroy a nineteen-year-old girl solely for their own gain.

The most significant aspect of the setting, however, is its backdrop: The Hundred Years War. The eternal quality of this war, during which several generations were born, lived, and died, provides it with the symbolic aspect of the continual moral warfare which forms the background for human existence.

The hero of the narrative, the innocent-initiate de Conte, is recognizable from the beginning through the Dream-Vision device of the Talisman. De Conte's Talisman, his pen, immediately marks him and sets him apart from the other children by his ability to read and write. His pen serves

Joan in her war efforts and finally sets down the records of her trial. When de Conte finally realizes that Joan is to die, he breaks his pen, the talisman and symbol of his role as the innocent hero: "For the pen that had served Joan of Arc could not serve any that would come after her in this earth without abasement" (II, 269).

Related to the talisman is the threshold symbol or emblem which in Joan of Arc is the Fairy Tree. The Tree is a source of life, for the vision of it portends approaching death followed by and entry into Paradise. The Tree occurs in the Domremy segment and recurs throughout the narrative, reminding Joan and de Conte of both the past and the future. Its final form, the stake, brings Joan the fulfillment of the promise of Paradise, but, ironically, leaves de Conte no hope for the future.

Thus, Joan of Arc exhibits the structural characteristics which denote allegorical fiction: particularly the Dream-Vision devices of Time and Space minipulation, the Ordeal of Initiation, the Talisman, and the Threshold Symbol. Further examination reveals a pattern of verbal modes--analogy and irony--also characteristic of allegory.

The first allegorical verbal mode may be found in the parallel between natural events and those within the narrative. The birds, natural creatures of innocence, recognize the divine messenger, St. Michael, as does Joan, like-wise

a natural creature of innocence; the rain falls "calm and serene" on the night that Joan sees the "Tree," a vision which brings serenity and peace to her soul, and on the day she is first sentenced, the weather reflects the atmosphere surrounding the action:

> The mob was getting impatient. It was beginning to put on a threatening aspect; it was tired of standing, tired of the scorching heat; and the thunder was coming nearer, the lightning was flashing brighter. (II, 249)

Second, the analogy through the relationship of the action to an extrafictional event is apparent in the parallels between the lives of Christ and Joan: the Child in the Temple and Joan at Poitiers; the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem and Joan's entry into Orleans; the desertion of the Disciples and the desertion of Joan's friends (with notable exceptions in each case: St. John, and de Conte, both of whom received revelations); and finally, the Passion and Crucifixion, and Joan's trial and execution. However, Joan was completely destroyed and could only be resurrected in the mind.

Finally, the analogical "accidents" or coincidences which motivate both the literal and symbolic narratives are apparent in de Conte's chance witnessing of the Visitation of St. Michael which at once admitted him to secret knowledge and allowed him, as narrator, the authority of an eye-witness. This accident occurs in the beginning of the narrative, and another accident involving de Conte occurs near

the end. De Conte "happens" to be chosen, by virtue of his talismanic ability to write, to witness and record the proceedings of Joan's trial, thereby allowing him the advantage of further first-hand knowledge and a continuity of narrative insight arising from familiarity with Joan's entire history.

The second verbal characteristic of modern allegory, irony, pervades the narrative through the device of the old narrator/young participant dichotomy. From his perspective in time, de Conte can make statements concerning his own naivete, while at the same time, exhibiting that naivete in his actions as the young innocent hero. When the young de Conte witnesses the desecration of a corpse and accepts such actions as appropriate to war, the old de Conte adds, from his knowledge of many years as a soldier, that "soldiering makes few saints" (II, 37). Later, as the young de Conte clings to the hope of Joan's eventual rescue, the old de Conte sees this hope as a phenomenon of innocent youth:

> Our minds were full of our splendid dream of France aroused . . . Rouen in ashes, and Joan free. Our imagination was on fire; we were delirious with pride and joy. For we were very young, as I have said. (II, 258)

The appearance seen by the young de Conte and the reality seen by the old de Conte form the basic irony of the narrative.

The form of Joan of Arc demonstrates the verbal modes of irony and analogy and the structural elements of the

Dream-Vision, the Ordeal, the Talisman, and the Threshold Symbol. Coupled with the evidence of a basic allegorical nature, these characteristics justify an interpretation of the work as a modern, literary allegory in the American tradition.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to approach the structural and thematic problems in Mark Twain's Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc by interpretying the work in terms of allegory. In order to begin the study, it was first necessary to reconsider and redefine allegory as a viable literary mode suitable for modern literature.

Allegory has been defined as being both a method of thought and a method of expression, and, as the latter, demonstrates, in modern allegorical fiction, specific identifiable characteristics. Among these characteristics are a basic synthesis of dualities, an organic, dynamic, and generically flexible nature, and a textual form which incorporates the Dream-Vision devices of structure with the verbal modes of analogy and irony.

Further, this definition of allegory, when modified with the concept of the American myth of the New World Garden and attendant New American Adam and applied to several works of early American fiction, suggests the presence of a well-established tradition of American allegory. The works of Hawthorne and Melville seem to support the existence of this

American allegorical tradition and provide a foundation for the supposition that Mark Twain wrote within an established allegorical tradition.

By considering Mark Twain's tendency toward paradox and duality, his conscious literary craftsmanship, and his insistence that literature should incorporate a moral lesson, it becomes apparent that he was capable of writing in the allegorical mode. Further, by demonstrating that several of his major works exhibit elements of modern literary allegory in the American tradition, it may be implied that Joan of Arc also exhibits these same characteristics.

Joan of Arc seems to be the most artistically complete example of Twain's use of the allegorical mode. It manifests the synthesis of dualities necessary for allegorical fiction, and it exhibits an organic, dynamic, and flexible nature. Its form, also, is allegorical, demonstrating the structural devices of the Dream-Vision (Time/Space manipulation, ordeal, talisman, and threshold symbol) and the verbal modes of analogy and irony. Controlling the allegory is the three-dimensional narrative device of the unreliable narrator-reflector (Jean Alden), the reliable narrator (de Conte the elder), and the unreliable innocent hero (de Conte, the younger). This technique creates within the allegory a double theme: that Innocence is impossible in a morally corrupt world, and that contemporary man (Alden) is blind to this tragic reality.

When considered as an allegorical portrayal of the death of Innocence, Joan of Arc occupies a significant position in relation to both Twain's works and later American literature. The logical sequel to the death of Innocence is the negation of moral and spiritual existence, followed by the negation of literal existence. This negation is expressed by Twain in the work which followed Joan of Arc, The Mysterious Stranger, and is also expressed in the moral and spiritual "wasteland" of later American fiction.

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