MARK TWAIN AS HE IS TAUGHT:
AMERICAN LITERATURE ANTHOLOGIES, 1925-1994

By

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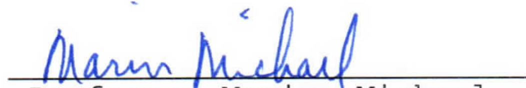

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For my grandmother

Helen Patricia Csicsila

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

By 1930 the academic study of American literature, the anthology of American literature designed for use in the college classroom, and the critical treatment of Mark Twain had all reached nascent levels of sophistication, which in effect set modern standards for their continued development. Since then American literature as a field, American literature anthologies, and Mark Twain studies have evolved together, influencing each other in innumerable ways. Academic appraisals of Mark Twain, for instance, have affected how classroom anthologies have presented his work; simultaneously, Mark Twain studies have made an impression on his academic reception. Within this complex network of mutually affecting forces, the significance of the role of anthologies has been largely overlooked, even though the scholarly investigation of trends in critical responses to individual authors such as Mark Twain has by now become a routine component of literary research. Recently, for example, Sharon O'Brien analyzed Willa Cather's historically inconsistent canonical status and attributed it to the sway of ideological temperaments within the American academy. Fully understanding the impact that Mark Twain studies have had on collections of literature designed for the college classroom market (and vice-versa) over the last seventy-five years, though, requires a look first at the

genesis of American literature studies within American universities near the end of the nineteenth century and its subsequent development in the years preceding the pivotal decade of the 1920s, as this seminal period sheds essential light on the importance of the literary anthology in shifting pedagogical approaches concerning Mark Twain.

Although more than a century had passed since the United States gained its political freedom from Great Britain, English departments in American universities as of 1900 still had not achieved any sense of literary independence. Americans in general, in fact, were wary about acknowledging that their own literary past could be ranked with the hallowed traditions of England, in part because of a lingering notion of provincial inferiority to Europe. American literature was very young by comparison, and most of the reading public--including all but a few academic scholars--believed that American literature was not yet nearly so culturally worthy and aesthetically elevated as the literature of the Old World. Even so, universities did occasionally offer courses dealing with American writers in the final decades of the nineteenth century, but for a student to announce an intention to study literature at this time invariably meant that the student would study *English* literature.

The slow growth of an academic curriculum in American literature seems lethargic indeed when contrasted to the maturation of other areas of academic study in American

universities at the same time, such as American history. Less than 10 percent of the more than 150 universities in the United States had developed graduate programs in American literature by 1900, and according to Kermit Vanderbilt's landmark study, *American Literature and the Academy: Roots, Growth, and Maturity of a Profession* (1986), "only four Ph.D.s had emerged in the field" (129). Conversely, scholars of American historical studies reported that "almost nine-tenths of the historical dissertations written in American universities in the Eighties and Nineties dealt with native subjects" (Higham 37). Moreover, by the 1890s most universities were offering equal selections of courses in ancient, European, and American history. In poignant contrast, within the relatively few colleges that were teaching American poetry and prose, the literature of England and a few other modern European languages received vastly more attention, diminishing even further the significance of the already marginal field of American literature.

Attempts by literary scholars to organize during the 1880s, however, managed to move their profession in directions that would eventually allow for the academic treatment of American literature. In 1883, together with nearly forty language and literature specialists from universities around the country, A. Marshall Elliott founded the Modern Language Association of America, and one year later in 1884 it published the first edition of the *Publications of the Modern*

Language Association of America. Also instrumental at about this same time, suggests Vanderbilt, was a growing national self-consciousness in conjunction with the deaths of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Wordsworth Longfellow in the 1880s and then of James Russell Lowell (1891), John Greenleaf Whittier (1892), Oliver Wendell Holmes (1894), and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1896), which "appear to have deepened a sense that an era had ended and could begin to be duly assessed" (Vanderbilt 128).

Book-length collections of American literature marketed for the general public also played an essential role in shifting national attention to its own literary past. Although these collections had been extremely popular with American readers since the mid-1800s, American colleges only gradually adopted the anthology format in the classroom. Evelyn Bibb's invaluable study of literary anthologies records that several scholars trace "the first true college text" of American literature (Bibb 155) back to John Seely Hart's *Manual of American Literature*, published in 1872 (scholars likewise credit Hart with offering the first college course in American literature at an American university that same year at Princeton). Hart's collection, like its contemporaries intended for a more general readership, was suggestive of a biographical dictionary or encyclopedia that was supplemented by small excerpts of poems and prose and represented the work

of literally hundreds of American authors. Concerning the logic of these early anthologies, Evelyn Bibb explains:

> The general aim is full coverage of the literature; and [an] underlying assumption is that a sampling of the work of an author is better than no representation at all. (Bibb 4)

Detailed attention to factual data and biography and the absence of historical development and interpretive information also characterize these first literary collections. But even with these obvious limitations, Hart's anthology laid the initial foundations for subsequent classroom texts.

Coinciding with the rising interest in American letters in the American academy during the 1880s, the next stage in the development of the academic American literary anthology grew out of attempts by scholars to apply critical methods to the study of literature. In November of 1878 Moses Coit Tyler published his renowned two-volume *Literary History of the American Revolution*, and although it treated only a small period of American letters, it is a work of great importance for having pioneered the methods of literary historiography. Tyler's critical approach, in fact, revolutionized American literature studies, and for at least the next half-century it became the dominant mode in academic literary scholarship. Indeed, forty years later the editors of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917-1921), which Vanderbilt lauds as an "epochal" achievement in the history of American literary study (5), venerated Tyler's work as "notable and still unsurpassed" (Erskine et al. 1: viii).

Moving the study of literature beyond mere biography and fact gathering, literary historiographers such as Tyler essentially approached the body of American letters as a portal to the American mind and spirit. According to them, American literature (which in concept at that time also included political and scientific documents) was the written record of the American cultural milieux and as such it reflected and preserved the nation's fundamental characteristics and evolving thought. "There is but one thing more interesting than the intellectual history of a man," declares Tyler in his literary history of Colonial America, "and that is the intellectual history of a nation" (5). As an archival repository of the American spirit, though, literature was at best considered only secondarily as a formidable artistic expression. And paradoxically, as literary historiography lifted the assessment of American letters out of the realm of popular praise to the higher plane of critical inquiry, literature became a *means for* study rather than the *subject of* study. Literary historians did, however, make limited strides to illustrate aesthetic values in the literature, but their criticisms (according to modern standards) were typically vague and impressionistic and generally lacked detailed support from the works themselves. But more importantly, the work of Tyler and subsequent literary historians, despite shortcomings, provided academic

American literary studies with its incipient critical methodology.

Editors of classroom anthologies of American literature, as a result of this progress, soon began adopting literary historiography into their formats. The first notable classroom anthology combining narrative literary history with selections of poetry and prose was Charles F. Richardson's *American Literature, 1607-1885* (1887-1889). Though his text is divided into two volumes, separating the historical analysis (volume one, published 1887) from the actual literature itself (volume two, published 1889), Richardson unified the Hart-like collection of poetry and prose with the Tyler-like literary history handbook and treated for the first time the entire period of American literature up to his own day. "As the culmination of literary developments" Richardson's anthology marks, according to Bibb, the end of "an era of foundations in literary historiography" and the beginning of "an era in which [it] exerted a long influence in . . . college classrooms and on textbook production" (Bibb 187). In a larger sense, Richardson's textbook also marks the first instance in which American literature studies exerted major influence on the evolution of the anthology of American literature designed primarily for classroom use.

Years later, revealing perhaps as much about the status of American literary studies in the first decades of the twentieth-century as they did about their own work, the

editors of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917-1921) would express discontent with Richardson's efforts to move beyond the "historical inquiry and elucidation" of Tyler's work as he embraced "aesthetic judgement" (Erskine et al. 1: viii.). Taking issue particularly with Richardson's declaration in his *American Literature, 1607-1885* ("We have had enough description, we want analysis") the editors of *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, who announced explicitly their intentions to make "a partial reversion to the positions of earlier historians" with their literary history of the United States, believed that Richardson's work had wrenched the study of American literature into realms of inquiry vastly unsuited for academic scholarship (Erskine et al. 1: viii).

Even though these early critics of the late nineteenth-century American literature anthologies complained about dramatic shifts away from literary historiography, in retrospect collections of literature designed for classrooms remained fairly similar in content and approach from their beginnings until about 1925. Bibb agrees and notes that historical approaches to literature reign as the guiding criteria for the selection of authors and their works in these formative years:

> On the whole, makers of the first anthologies were not primarily interested in *belles-lettres* or an author's "best" writing. They deliberately selected material that was "characteristic" of a type or class of writing, of a section of the country, or of American intellectual achievement. (Bibb 159)

As historically and socially moded anthologies of American literature proliferated during the first two decades of the twentieth-century, academic interest in American literary studies began to accelerate rapidly. Vanderbilt reports that forty-two dissertations were completed on American literary topics between 1900 and 1920 despite "little if any seminar work in the American area" (190). Compared to the years prior to the turn of the century, however, American universities witnessed "a thriving graduate program in American literature" (Vanderbilt 190) during this period of germination.

A flood of literary histories and collections of poetry and prose virtually free of interpretive explication entered the market between 1900 and 1920 to meet this expanding interest in American literature within universities. Nevertheless, the earlier textbooks by Tyler and Richardson, along with Barrett Wendell's *A Literary History of America* (1900) continued their reign as the "authorities" (Bibb 303) until about 1915. Suggesting a more scholarly approach to American letters, Wendell's textbook is fashioned in the style of Tyler's and the first volume of Richardson's set and adds to their format an extensive annotated bibliography of primary and secondary works. But neither Wendell's nor subsequent literary histories published during the next few decades advanced the development of literary historiography beyond studies of evolving language patterns and issues of social science:

> In the nineties there was general agreement that the appreciation of literature and the development of taste were primary aims. However, the involvement of English departments with methods and metaphors drawn from science was in practice resulting in emphasis on philology, history, sociology and other matters extrinsic to the literary work. (Bibb 306)

Unquestionably, historical approaches to literature maintained their supremacy both in academic studies of American literature and in American literary textbooks through the 1910s and into the 1920s, as evidenced by the success of a second generation of influential and widely used literary histories, which include W. B. Cairns' *A History of American Literature* (1912), *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917-21), and Fred Louis Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919). Yet slowly, the dominance of literary historiography in academic studies of American literature began to subside following World War I, as critics both from within and outside the academy began calling for a greater appreciation and recognition of literature as a bonafide art form.

Soon after the publication of the first volume of *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, while most academic scholars were acclaiming its appearance as a watershed in American literature studies, a group of critics collectively known as the New Humanists, whose ranks eventually included magazine editor H. L. Mencken and university professors Irving Babbitt and Norman Foerster, began to question the validity of literary historiography as a mode of scholarship. This new

faction of critics argued that certain Americans writers were worthy of aesthetic appreciation and should not be wastefully relegated solely to the sphere of historical inquiry. At the forefront of this movement was a Yale professor turned magazine editor, Henry Seidel Canby. Like most other New Humanists, he believed that American letters deserved artistic appreciation, and in 1927, taking his case before the American public in the influential *Saturday Review of Literature*, he questioned the narrow method of teaching of literature prevailing in the country's universities:

> Shall we teach the great Americans as artists in that international world of art where reputation must be based upon intrinsic excellence? Or shall we use American literature of all sorts as an index to a national culture which, it is only too clear, political history has not so far made us understand?
>
> The second method has its fascinations and indeed is in danger of capturing our colleges. . . literature should never be taught as history, unless the object is to teach history, not literature. (Canby 493)

However, a far greater number of scholars, including anthology editor Franklyn Snyder of Northwestern University, still found merit with the seemingly more pragmatic approach of literary historiography and readily came to its defense:

> I wonder whether we should not frankly recognize the fact that American writers have been more successful in mirroring social and economic and political conditions than in creating works of art, and should so shape our courses as to make them courses in American civilization, reflected in American literature, and not primarily courses in American *belles-lettres*. (Snyder 209)

Although Gerald Graff in his opinionated *Professing Literature: An Institutional Study* (1987) could characterize the overall debate between these two camps as an "attack from aesthetic formalists and humanistic moralists" (128), the exchange in fact was very civil in tone and scholarly in nature, and many among the proponents of the dissenting criticism, including Foerster, who as late as 1947 would argue that American literature has merit "because of its revelation of the American mind" (*American Poetry and Prose* v), willingly acknowledged the value of literary historiography and readily employed its methods without apology in their own work. Discussions arguing the intrinsic value of American literature between scholars lasted long into the 1940s and 1950s and without any record of large-scale faculty bloodletting. Perhaps most importantly, the New Humanists' challenge of the 1920s infused a renewed sense of vigor into academic literary studies, ultimately making way for the recognition of American literature as a respectable field of study in universities throughout the country.

The transition of American literature studies into an age of true modern sophistication occurred both figuratively and objectively during the 1920s. In April of 1921 the final two volumes of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* appeared, providing a climactic feeling of culmination and closure to the solitary existence of literary historiography within academic American literature studies. Later that same

year scholars of American literature organized themselves and met for the first time as the American Literature Group at the Modern Language Association's annual meeting. Then in 1923, as if providing American literary studies with its long-sought sense of legitimacy, a section devoted exclusively to American literature was added to the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* bibliography (previously confined to English, Germanic, and Romantic languages and literatures), with Foerster becoming its first bibliographer. Thereafter activity in the field of academic American literary studies soared. The proliferation of scholarly attention to American authors consequently demanded that college English departments discuss standards and requirements pertaining to American literature, and by 1927 the American Literature Group "was considering the possibility of setting up requirements for a Ph.D. degree in American literature" (Bibb 357). Finally in January of 1930 the first scholarly journal entirely dedicated to American literary studies, *American Literature*, published its first volume under the editorship of Jay B. Hubbell, who would continue in the post until 1954.

As it had in the past, American literary scholarship during the 1920s began to exert influence on the production of American literary anthologies. In fact, Bibb finds that a "really clear-cut differentiation between high school and college textbooks emerges only in the 1920s" (Bibb 265). Before then, anthology editors intended that their textbooks

be used mainly as general guides to American literature for students of all levels, but by 1925 scholars were compiling their collections specifically for year-long college courses, interspersing historical background with the poetry and prose together in the now-familiar, same-volume format. Influenced by the recent critical trends of the 1920s, scholar-editors also began moving away from almost total emphasis on the historical backgrounds and biography, bringing their textbooks into balance with an expanded coverage of literature. Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose: A Book of Readings 1607-1916* (1925) is the first literary anthology designed for the college classroom that divided American literature under the conventional modern headings of "Colonial/Puritan background," "Romanticism," and "Realism." Shortly afterward several other major literary anthologies began to appear one after another, ushering in the age of the modern anthology of American literature.

While academic American literature studies and American literature anthologies were transforming in the 1920s, the study of Mark Twain likewise entered a phase of specialization at about the same time. From 1870 to just before 1920 the most important figures in Mark Twain studies were William Dean Howells, Brander Matthews, and Albert Bigelow Paine, three men who had known Mark Twain well and had praised his work critically long before his reputation as literary artist became commonplace. Howells was Mark Twain's most trusted

literary advisor during the entire forty-year span of Twain's professional writing career, beginning with a review of his first full-length narrative *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) and lasting until Twain's death in 1910. Publishing hundreds of articles, reviews, and recollections (almost entirely sympathetic) concerning Mark Twain as well as a book-length personal memoir, Howells was by far the eminent and most prolific critic in Mark Twain studies prior to 1912.

Similarly, Matthews had also been an early champion and a favorable reviewer of Mark Twain's work. But as a professor at Columbia University he was, along with, to a lesser extent, William Lyon Phelps, one of the first academics to appreciate Twain's talent. Although he insightfully praised Mark Twain as one of the best writers of American fiction, Matthews, argues Vanderbilt, "may have impeded the cause of American literature, as well, by showing a conventional deference to English letters, an unrelenting stance he maintained even into the 1920s" (Vanderbilt 133). Affected by the reigning method of literary historiography in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century college English departments, Matthews's scholarship suffered from "a mixture of cultural-history criteria and a nonelitist impressionism" (Vanderbilt 133) common among most academics of this time. Nevertheless, he was an important contributor to Mark Twain studies in their earliest stage.

The last of the early triumvirate in Mark Twain scholarship was Albert Bigelow Paine, Twain's official biographer, his first literary executor, and his closest companion during the last four years of Twain's life. In addition to overseeing the posthumous publication of several volumes of Mark Twain's fiction and essays between 1910 and 1937, Paine also authored *Mark Twain: A Biography* (1912), *The Boy's Life in Mark Twain* (1916), and *A Short Life of Mark Twain* (1920) and edited *Mark Twain's Letters* (1917), *Mark Twain's Autobiography* (1924), and *Mark Twain's Notebook* (1935). However, Paine's association with Mark Twain is controversial among scholars today primarily owing to his quiet bowdlerization of Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916). In editing Mark Twain's original manuscript, Paine pruned and rearranged parts of the work, misrepresenting the entire book as Twain's own. Contemporary commentators also charge Paine with having censored and suppressed information as he edited the letters, the autobiography, and the notebooks in an attempt to sustain Mark Twain's iconic public image. Despite the fact that Paine's work is also tinged with a Victorian sense of propriety and a wholly unabashed adoration of Mark Twain, he provided Mark Twain studies with its first available primary and secondary materials, a great portion of which is still being cited today.

Although the work of Howells, Matthews, and Paine laid the essential groundwork, after 1920 the field of Mark Twain

studies passed into the hands of a generation of scholars unencumbered by personal association with their subject, and who therefore approached Twain's works with a greater degree of objectivity. The most controversial of these individuals was Van Wyck Brooks, whose *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* (1920) is still considered a provocative work in Mark Twain studies. Brooks' thesis argues that Mark Twain was a failed genius who succumbed to the pressures of his environment, affected first by the relative sterility of the West and then by the inhibitive gentility of the East, and who consequently squandered his artistic sensibilities for materialistic gain. Partially a psychoanalytic approach to Mark Twain, Brooks' book ignited countless academic studies over the next thirty years--a few of which advanced his argument while the great majority (especially in the 1930s and 1940s) attempted to disprove it. Bernard DeVoto and Walter Blair, two veritable giants in the history of Mark Twain studies, both found Brooks' thesis problematic primarily because of his amateurish treatment and cavalier analysis of the American West and would thereafter publish articles dealing with Twain that heralded the beginnings of the modern period of Mark Twain studies. Spending much of their careers elucidating a more artistically fruitful portrait of Mark Twain, DeVoto and Blair have joined Brooks in exerting a pervasive influence on the contours of Mark Twain studies.

With the steadily increasing student enrollment in America's universities and the rapid expansion of scholarship in American literature after World War II, shifts in critical trends and in the contents of literary anthologies moved at a much quicker pace than they had in the past. Perhaps better than any other American author, Mark Twain in the manner he has been excerpted in academic literary anthologies best reflects the varying scholarly tastes and pedagogical approaches to American literature over the last seventy years. As a distinctly American artist who treated distinctly American subjects, Mark Twain and his works seem to satisfy a wide range of academic scholarly concerns. Regardless of the reigning topical interest or ideology within the academy at any given time over the past several decades--literary historiography, the American West, the search for the American literary masterpiece, the Civil Rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, feminism, multi-culturalism--Mark Twain's sketches, stories, and novels are so numerous and his writing styles so diverse that he appears, as if with omniscient foresight, to have written something relevant to every period of the continuously changing face of the American academy. Tracing the metamorphasizing shapes of American literature studies through the lens of Mark Twain, then, not only provides a picture of how he has been taught within the academy in the past but also portends probable trends in academic literary pedagogy for the future.

CHAPTER II

Mark Twain and the American Frontier

From the mid-1920s until the late 1940s, anthologies of American literature designed for the college classroom concentrated almost exclusively on the early phase of Mark Twain's writing career. Typically representing his work with selections from *Roughing It* (1872), *The Gilded Age* (1874), and *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), editors of these collections, with only a few notable exceptions, presented what seems to be a curiously truncated portrait of Mark Twain. But if one considers the general status of American literary studies during the initial period of the modern classroom anthology, this phenomenon of the editors' excerpting material only from Mark Twain's early works reveals itself to be an entirely explainable consequence of converging critical tastes and scholarly trends.

Although *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) rank unquestionably as Mark Twain's most recognized works, they received surprisingly little attention in these early anthologies. In fact, not even so much as a single episode from *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* has ever been excerpted for a major collection of American literature marketed specifically for college students. While *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has fared considerably better in recent times, becoming a set standard in most contemporary

anthologies of American literature, selections from Mark Twain's masterpiece, in drastic contrast to its long history of critical acclaim, only appeared in about half the collections of American literature published before 1950. Because of the unique place that *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* hold in the canon of Mark Twain's works (and in American literature and culture in general), accounting for their strange absence is perhaps necessary before attempting to discuss the inclusion of those works which do appear in these first modern anthologies of American literature.

With its enormous popularity among several generations of younger readers, and in spite of Mark Twain's assertions that it was intended for adults and children alike, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* has long suffered, reports Gary Scharnhorst, from being first "marketed as a book for boys" (4). As such it was overlooked by most academics during this early period and thus would not be a likely candidate to appear in scholarly collections of American literature, especially those designed for college instruction. In the last thirty years, however, scholars such as Hamlin Hill and Judith Fetterly have begun to reassess the novel's structure and atmosphere, showing it to be a more serious piece of fiction than had previously been thought. Nevertheless, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer,* stigmatized as a work of juvenile fiction, remains largely neglected by anthology editors and their college textbooks.

From another perspective, of course, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* has always been critically overshadowed by its better-praised companion, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, with which it is inevitably connected and compared. In some ways this unfortunate situation is probably most directly responsible for the exclusion of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* from American literature anthologies and, consequently, the academic classroom. Considering that both novels are representative of the same phase of Mark Twain's career, that both involve many of the same characters, and that both evoke a similar sense of antebellum nostalgia, the use of material from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* clearly becomes more economical for anthology editors who must deal with a scarcity of space and for literature instructors who are typically faced with the time-constraints of a term schedule, for not only does *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* introduce students to Mark Twain's most characteristic fiction, but it also unquestionably exposes them to an acclaimed literary masterpiece, a quality, most would argue, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* lacks.

The infrequent appearance of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* during this initial period of the modern anthology of American literature, on the other hand, is a more complex issue. To begin with, unlike today, earlier editors rarely included entire book-length works in their anthologies because these collections lacked sufficient space. While most American

literature anthologies published between 1925 and 1950 may appear somewhat larger than contemporary collections, the earlier textbooks actually contain considerably less material because of their heavier, thicker paper. Varying in length from 1000 to 2000 total pages (many were packaged in two-volume sets), the first modern anthologies on average accommodated only a small fraction of the literature found in today's six-thousand-page, two-volume collections.

These facts notwithstanding, even in an excerpted format *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* only appears in fewer than half of the early anthologies. Some editors, however--perhaps influenced by the rising tide of belles-lettres aestheticism in the academy--simply balked at including mere representative fragments of what they considered to be the finest works of fiction. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest Leisy, for example, were among the first anthology editors to declare their dissatisfaction with the practice of extracting episodes from longer narratives, asserting in the preface to their 1935 textbook *Major American Writers* that "such novels as *The Scarlet Letter, Typee* or *Moby Dick, Huckleberry Finn, The Rise of Silas Lapham,* cannot be adequately represented in an anthology" (vi). Almost fifteen years later, Gay Wilson Allen and Henry Pochmann, editors of *Masters of American Fiction* (1949), echoing Jones and Leisy, explained that they too have "endeavored to print 'wholes' rather than 'snippets'" (v).

In deciding not to excerpt even highly acclaimed book-length narratives, editors expected instructors to assign the longer works in addition to the anthology readings, thereby essentially supplementing the broad framework of the textbook with either library copies or inexpensive editions of a particular novel, a common practice even in the literature survey courses of today. In fact, Jones and Leisy state in no uncertain terms that the novels they cannot "adequately represent" are the very works "which should be read" in a college-level American literature course (*Major American Writers* [1935] vi). Obviously affected by similar sentiments, Norman Foerster, who expressed no reservation about including excerpts from several novels, among them *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, in the 1925 and 1934 editions of his *American Poetry and Prose*, eventually conceded in his 1947 edition that the novel "no longer has a place in American literature anthologies--if indeed it ever had a place, since excerpts from novels are never satisfying. It is now assumed that novels will be 'parallel reading'" (vii).

In spite of this series of seemingly satisfactory rationales, the overall process of editorial selection between the mid-1920s and late 1940s also took into account the reigning approaches to literary study within the academy. Although newer, aesthetic methods of literary criticism began to influence academic studies of literature in the years immediately following World War I, literary historiography

without question remained the most pervasive scholarly approach in American literature studies into the 1940s. As scholars compiled and edited the anthologies of this period, then, historical considerations almost certainly affected the selecting of material for inclusion in college textbooks. Accordingly, the frequent appearance of Mark Twain's depictions of the far West and the ante-bellum Mississippi Valley during this initial phase becomes less of an enigma once we understand that most editors chose selections from *Roughing It, The Gilded Age,* and *Life on the Mississippi* not because they intended to introduce students to Mark Twain's most representative literature *per se*, but rather because these particular works, better than anything else Mark Twain had written, provided a general sense of both the spirit and intellectual environment of nineteenth-century America.

Most academic literary critics today would agree that one of the most appealing aspects of Mark Twain's writings, though certainly less important than the intrinsic artistic elements of technique and theme, is their ability to evoke the atmosphere of age in which they are set. "As both writer and personality," a scholar has recently noted of Mark Twain, "he perfectly illustrated his times" (Gribben, *DLB* 57). During the early phase of the modern anthology of American literature, Mark Twain's ability to conjure the atmosphere of a given age in his writings was the skill for which he was most highly praised. Characterizing this early historical approach to Mark

Twain's works, Stuart Sherman in his chapter on Mark Twain in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917-1921) writes:

> Mark Twain is one of our great representative men. He is a fulfilled promise of American life. He proves the virtues of the land and the society in which he was born and fostered. He incarnates the spirit of an epoch of American history when the nation, territorially and spiritually enlarged, entered lustily upon new adventures.
> (Erskine et al. 3: 1)

Words and phrases like "representative," "American life," "he incarnates the spirit of an epoch," "American history," all underscore the notion that early scholars celebrated Mark Twain's work primarily because it afforded both historical and sociological insight to the periods in our nation's past portrayed in his writings. And over the next few decades, most anthologies of American literature similarly viewed Mark Twain's along with many other American authors' works as vignettes of American cultural and intellectual history.

In one of the first modern college classroom anthologies, *A Book of American Literature* (1927), editors Franklyn B. Snyder and Edward D. Snyder explained that they selected works for their collection best representing "the status of our national thought and civilization at different epochs, as reflected in American literature" (v). Both Norman Foerster and Jay B. Hubbell declare allegiance to the process of historical and sociological elucidation in the compiling of their anthologies as well. Surveying the titles of some of the first American literature anthologies, including *American Life*

in Literature (1936), which Hubbell conceded he chose "because it suggests some of the compiler's aims" (xxiii), and *The American Mind* (1937), also provides a fair indication of the pervasiveness of literary historiography in the production of early college literary textbooks. And in this first generation of modern anthologies of American literature, *Life on the Mississippi*[1] is by far the most excerpted of Mark Twain's works, appearing in all but one collection and in more than twice as many as its closest competitor, "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."

The choice is justifiable *per se*, for *Life on the Mississippi* embodies a rich variety of literary elements and gratifies a wide range of scholarly tastes while also providing an excellent sense of historical access to the antebellum Mississippi River steamboat age. As it incorporates the material for which Mark Twain is best known, *Life on the Mississippi* is perhaps more a cultural and historical account in its vivid description of a by-gone era than a fictional treatment of Twain's earlier years, especially when compared to works such as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Horst Kruse in his *Mark Twain and "Life on the Mississippi"* (1981)--the only book-length study of this travel narrative--argues that Mark Twain intended the book to be a "'standard work' . . . particularly in its reportage of

[1] Includes three textbooks that draw material from its shorter version, published in 1875 as "Old Times on the Mississippi."

historical and sociological aspects" of the region (Kruse 9). Mark Twain's book title, which underscores the depiction of "life" along the Mississippi River, supports Kruse's point. Particularly revealing, too, is the fact that many literary historiographers in the first few decades of the twentieth-century, in fact, ranked *Life on the Mississippi* among Mark Twain's two or three finest works. In *A History of American Literature Since 1870* (1915), for example, Fred Louis Pattee, whom Kermit Vanderbilt characterizes as one of the most outspoken supporters of literary historiography in the American academy during the 1910s and 1920s, praised *Life on the Mississippi* along with *Roughing It*, another of Mark Twain's narratives that blurs the boundaries between fiction and historical report, as Mark Twain's two masterpieces, superior even to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

The most commonly excerpted selection from *Life on the Mississippi* in these early anthologies, predictably, is chapters four through seven, the heart of the cub-pilot episode. While the entire cub-pilot section (chapters four through seventeen) is universally lauded as the richest portion of *Life on the Mississippi* and is, as Everett Emerson has argued, "among Mark Twain's masterpieces" (*Mark Twain Encyclopedia* 466), chapters four through seven are most frequently reprinted during this period primarily because they are especially successful at distilling the spirit of the

ante-bellum Mississippi River culture. Here in these panoramic chapters Mark Twain introduces his readers to the sleepy river-towns of the Mississippi Valley suddenly brought to life by the sight of black billowing smoke rising from still-distant boats, describing in detail the men, women, and children of this already-vanished nineteenth-century American society. Mark Twain well knew that the first few chapters of the cub-pilot episode serve as an introduction to the entire social milieux of Mississippi River Valley, stating in the closing passage of chapter three:

> I now come to the phase of the Mississippi River life of the flush times of steamboating, which seems to me to warrant full examination--the marvelous science of piloting, as displayed there. I believe there has been nothing like it elsewhere in the world. (36)

Functioning as a somewhat reliable indicator of their editors' critical loyalties, anthologies that included more than two or three chapters from this section of the cub-pilot episode during this early phase of the college classroom textbook were typically more sympathetic to the methods and aims of literary historiography. Edward and Franklyn Snyders' *A Book of American Literature* (1927), Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1934), Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936), Ralph Gabriel, Harry Warfel, and Stanley William's *The American Mind* (1937), and Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn's *A College Book of American Literature* (1940), to name just a few, all include at least two chapters from this part of the cub-pilot episode (a majority excerpt three

or four chapters) and all explicitly express an intention to highlight the American experience.

In contrast, the few anthologies devoted more to illuminating the belles-lettres aspects of American literature during this phase either include only a single chapter from the core of the cub-pilot episode or look to another part of *Life on the Mississippi* altogether for an excerpt. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest Leisy include chapter four and chapter seventeen, the first and last chapters of the cub-pilot episode, in their *Major American Writers* (1935), which is perhaps the first anthology to begin limiting its pages to "the chief writers" of American literature (v). Similarly, William Benet and Norman Pearson, whom Evelyn Bibb describes as having taken "a strictly literary approach" in the compiling of their textbook (13), chose only to excerpt chapter three, "Frescoes from the Past," better known as "The Raftsmen's Passage" (the borrowed chapter from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*) for their *Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938). This particular chapter, which has almost nothing to do with the narrative structure of *Life on the Mississippi*, let alone the cub-pilot episode, is actually only anticipatory of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

Although *Life on the Mississippi* illustrates this early trend in literary textbook production, examining the inclusion of several other works amplifies a demonstration of the historical approach to anthologizing Mark Twain during the

early phase of the modern collections of American literature. Selections from *The Gilded Age*, for example, a novel which has received little critical attention when compared to most of Mark Twain's other works, appear in nearly as many collections as *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Just as in the case of *Life on the Mississippi*, the frequent appearance of *The Gilded Age* can be attributed largely to its reflection of a chapter of social history. Assessing *The Gilded Age*, David Sewell points out:

> Most modern criticism has focused on the novel as a social document, a critical portrait of a United States suffering in the early 1870s from . . . land-grabbing railroad companies, unethical lobbyists, shady "wildcat" banks and promoters of get-rich-quick schemes, and a greedy, socially pretentious middle class.
> (*Mark Twain Encyclopedia* 319)

Even the subject matter of the most commonly reprinted chapters from *The Gilded Age* during this early phase suggests that editors had historical motives for including them in their textbooks. All but one of the anthologies in which a selection from *The Gilded Age* appears excerpt chapters seven and eight, "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins." Chapter seven quaintly describes items of interest for those engaged in a survey of the age, including mid-century stagecoach travel and the living conditions of small-town frontier Americans. Continuing the local-color tenor of the narrative, chapter eight provides a detailed report of a typical evening meal and then delves into a

comical treatment of the speculative get-rich-quick schemes that characterized the age. Like *Life on the Mississippi, The Gilded Age* offers its readers qualities that are quite typical of Mark Twain's writing style, namely humor, satire, and memorable characters, but in the end the social and historical elements of this work apparently account for its inclusion in the early anthologies.

Selections from *Roughing It* also appear in several anthologies during this early phase. Again, *Roughing It*, like *Life on the Mississippi* and *The Gilded Age*, provides a distinctive portrait of the intellectual climate of particular region of America during the nineteenth century. The most commonly extracted selection from *Roughing It* during this initial phase of the modern anthology of American literature is chapter forty-seven, "Buck Fanshaw's Death." As James D. Wilson (1987) suggests, "Buck Fanshaw's Death" is a humorous dramatization that exaggerates nineteenth-century Western stereotypes. Over the course of this chapter, Mark Twain not only describes a Nevada frontier town, but also succeeds at characterizing its rough-hewn citizens and their day-to-day life, albeit for comic effect.

But at the same time, as Philip Beidler and Alan Gribben have pointed out, many of Mark Twain's works, especially a travel narrative such as *Roughing It,* are episodic in form. Thus, extracting a chapter or episode, one of these smaller "self-sustaining narratives" (Beidler 43) from a work like

Life on the Mississippi or *Roughing It*, for a collection of literature is certainly much more feasible than drawing material from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* or *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), which rely on a relatively complex narrative development. However, during this early phase of the classroom anthology, editors repeatedly return to *Life on the Mississippi, Roughing It* and *The Gilded Age* for their excerpts, which all provide distinct historical perspectives considered very important to literary studies at the time, as they all but ignore Mark Twain's other highly episodic travel narratives and novels. The conclusion must be drawn, then, that the more-often-included selections possess certain qualities, most notably historical relevance, that other works lack.

Although literary historiography had the most immediate effect on the anthologizing of Mark Twain's work during the initial phase of the modern anthology of American literature, other scholarly trends served to heighten interest in the frontier writings of Mark Twain. As scholars continued their attempts in the 1920s to distinguish American letters from the vast body of English literature, primarily working to uncover a wholly indigenous character in our nation's poetry and prose, they began to turn their attention to the American West. Of course most academic literature specialists sensed that New England had generated nearly all of the nation's "best" literature before 1900, but assumed it was too indebted

to imported European styles to exhibit distinctly American traits. Eventually literary scholars unearthed rich veins of truly native literature in the tales, sketches, and verse of the Mississippi Valley, the South, and the far West, and as a result created an entirely new branch of literary study within the American academy.

The frontier studies movement, as it would later be called, essentially incorporated a blend of literary historiography and belles-lettres criticism in its approach to American literature. In a sense, then, the frontier studies movement allowed for the gradual introduction of aesthetic means of studying American letters. At the same time and with near-patriotic zeal, the movement also began to champion distinctly American literary authors, as scholars demonstrated the development of a completely native literature, which they declared worthy of comparison to that of any other country. Mark Twain quickly became the icon of the frontier studies movement and was henceforth venerated as the first thoroughly American literary figure.

In a monumental three-volume study of American literature, *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927-1930), Vernon L. Parrington, pioneer of the frontier studies movement, praised Mark Twain for uniting various literary strains of the American West and for creating a recognizable national literature:

> As Whitman contemplated the feeble literature purveyed by the worshipers of the genteel he asked

> with some irritation: "What is the reason in our time, our lands, that we see no fresh local courage, sanity, of our own--the Mississippi, stalwart Western men, real mental and physical facts, Southerners, etc., in the body of our literature?" That was in 1870 and the answer was at hand in the person of Mark Twain. Here at last was an authentic American--a native writer thinking his own thoughts, using his own eyes, speaking his own dialect--everything European fallen away, the last shred of feudal culture gone, local and western yet continental. (Parrington 3: 86)

Concisely identifying the major influences in Mark Twain's writings--the Mississippi, the West, and the South--Parrington's observations illustrate how the frontier studies movement played an ancillary role to literary historiography in the anthologizing of Mark Twain during this initial phase. *Roughing It, The Gilded Age,* and *Life on the Mississippi*, while reflecting distinct facets of the American frontier, are also thoroughly American in form as well as content. Consequently, anthology editors sensitive to the emerging independence of American literature would naturally be more inclined to include in their collections the works of Mark Twain which seem "representative" of American letters.

While literary historiography and frontier studies certainly created interest in Mark Twain's early writings, a portion of this attention must also be attributed to Van Wyck Brooks and his controversial book, *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* (1920). In his indictment of the American frontier for having partially thwarted Mark Twain's literary genius, Brooks disparagingly characterized the West as materialistic and sterile. Brooks' book sparked a firestorm of rebuttal that

attempted to defend not only Mark Twain's artistic integrity, but the cultural history and traditions of the West as well. According to Thomas Tenney's *Mark Twain: A Reference Guide* (1977), more than sixty articles and books were published between 1920 and 1940 that dealt specifically with the subject of Mark Twain and the frontier, and of these nearly two-thirds were directly responding to Brooks' thesis in one way or the other.

During the 1920s some of the most influential scholars of American literature, including Carl Van Doren, Henry Seidel Canby, William Lyon Phelps, Lewis Mumford, and Ernest Leisy, published essays or chapters on the American frontier and Mark Twain. The most famous of the responses to Brooks' argument, however, was of course Bernard DeVoto's *Mark Twain's America* (1932). A native Westerner himself, DeVoto painted a virile and robust portrait of the American frontier, arguing that it provided both Mark Twain and American literature as a whole with myriad techniques and themes. Other studies in the 1930's that grew out of and further stimulated this tremendous interest in the frontier writings of Mark Twain include Victor Royce West's *Folklore in the Works of Mark Twain* (1930), Minnie Bradshear's *Mark Twain: Son of Missouri* (1934), Ivan Benson's *Mark Twain in the West* (1936), and Walter Blair's classic study, *Native American Humor* (1937), to name only a few. Such fervent activity among academic literary scholars on the subject of the American West in combination with the

simultaneous attraction of frontier studies and literary historiography, encouraged anthology editors to showcase Mark Twain's frontier literature.

In light of the now-routine criticism of Albert Bigelow Paine's handling of The Mark Twain Papers from 1910 until his death in 1937, examining his role in the anthologizing of Mark Twain seems advisable. Hamlin Hill's *Mark Twain: God's Fool* (1973), perhaps the most condemnatory indictment of Paine's editorship of Mark Twain's literary affairs, contends that Paine successfully conspired with Harper & Brothers, Mark Twain's publishers, to preserve a romanticized, idyllic public image of Mark Twain. The noted collector of Mark Twain literary materials Nick Karanovich agrees, adding that Mark Twain's daughter, Clara, "came to regard Paine as the officially chosen guardian of Twain's image" (*Mark Twain Encyclopedia* 562). This iconic portrait of Mark Twain as jovial frontier humorist and quintessential American bears a close resemblance to the Mark Twain presented in the first generation of modern anthologies of American literature; however, considering the various directions in academic literary scholarship during this early period, the iconic image that Hill, Karanovich, and others have exclusively attributed to Paine's censorship seems much more the product of scholarly trends of the times than the sole result of one man's plot to control the public's perception of Mark Twain.

Though inviting, Hill's and Karanovich's charges seem to overlook a tremendous amount of evidence which suggests not only that Mark Twain's image as the humorous frontier writer of *Roughing It* and *Life on the Mississippi* is almost entirely due to converging approaches to academic literary studies, but also that Paine was contradictorily responsible for promoting certain of Mark Twain's most philosophical and pessimistic writings. During his term as literary editor of the Mark Twain Estate, Paine oversaw the initial printing of several controversial works, including Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916), *What Is Man?* (1917), and *Europe and Elsewhere* (1922). Although admittedly Paine tampered with the manuscript of *The Mysterious Stranger* before its publication, the composite version (which Harper tried unsuccessfully to pass off as a piece of children's literature) remains a very disturbing book and does not at all enhance Mark Twain's traditional image. *What Is Man?* is similarly controversial, yet both works were first released to the public-at-large by Paine. In *Europe and Elsewhere* he collects a number of Mark Twain's most acrimonious and biting criticisms, many of which Twain withheld and would only allow to be published posthumously. Darker writings in this 1922 collection that are less characteristic of the early idealized Mark Twain include "The United States of Lyncherdom," "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," "To My Missionary Critics," "The War Prayer," "Letters to Satan," and "Corn-Pone Opinions." Ultimately,

these writings received little attention during Paine's lifetime, most likely because they were out of sync with academic tastes.

Despite heavy emphasis on the earlier frontier writings of Mark Twain during the initial phase of the modern anthology of American literature, a few editors did deviate from standard practices and include works from Mark Twain's later years in their collections. Possibly the most uncharacteristic selection during this period is the final chapter from *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916), included in Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936). But as Hubbell explains in his introduction, the excerpt from *The Mysterious Stranger* is part of his dispute with Van Wyck Brooks' analysis of Mark Twain's final years as a writer:

> In the later years Mark Twain's pessimism, of which there are traces in his earlier books, grew more pronounced. Van Wyck Brooks's doubtful thesis is that this pessimism was due, not to debts, recurring illness, the deaths of his wife and three children, but to his failure to follow his natural bent, that is, to become a great artist. As a matter of history, however, humorists are often pessimists. Moliere put as much of himself into *The Misanthrope* as Mark Twain did into the posthumous *The Mysterious Stranger* or Jonathan Swift into *Gulliver's Travels*. (155)

Although outspokenly devoted to the process of historical inquest with his anthology, in challenging Brooks' thesis Hubbell ultimately praises Mark Twain as a world-class literary artist and, in turn, signals a growing acceptance of belles-lettres criticism in his approach to American literary studies. And as Hubbell's anthology incorporates a broad range

of Mark Twain's writings, including nine of his letters, "The Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech," and various maxims from both *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) and *Following the Equator* (1897), it actually resembles later, more aesthetically based collections than the historically and socially engaged literary anthology it claimed to be.

In another instance of departure from the norm, the Jones and Leisy *Major American Writers* (1935) became the first major anthology to include "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg." Again, Jones and Leisy were among the first anthology editors to apply belles-lettres criticism in the compilation of their textbook. As part of their aesthetic approach, these editors stated that they included selections that are "representative of the various important phases of the authors chosen" (v). Thus, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," along with "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" and excerpts from *The Gilded Age,* and *Life on the Mississippi,* complete a well-rounded survey of the stages of Mark Twain's writing career.

"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" made its second appearance in *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938), whose editors, again, like Jones and Leisy, took a wholly literary approach in the compilation of their textbook. And even though critics as early as the 1920s began to read "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" as Mark Twain's criticism of small American village life, it received almost no notice from anthologies of American literature concerned with

historical inquiry. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" was more popular with editors who sought selections to reflect the belles-lettres qualities of Mark Twain's writing. Indeed, the story itself typifies some of the most fundamental traits valued among the later New Critics: irony, complex unity, philosophical weight, and social criticism. Scholars from Paine to James D. Wilson have generally agreed that the story is "a tightly written, polished work of art" (Wilson, *A Reader's Guide* 207) and as such it grew more frequently anthologized as literary historiography began to wane and was gradually suppressed by more aesthetically based scholarship.

The tremendous influence of literary historiography along with the frontier studies movement and specialized studies of Mark Twain all worked together to guide the process of selecting Mark Twain's works in these early years. In turn, the heavy emphasis on the frontier writings of Mark Twain during the opening phase of the modern anthology of American literature indicates that these editors, in the compiling of their collections, reflected larger trends in academic literary studies as well as personal critical tastes. While these collections unquestionably affected the manner in which authors were taught, shaping students' initial impressions of American writers, the first modern anthologies of American literature apparently had relatively little to do with actually determining the direction of American literature studies over the course of this period. The occasional

appearance of "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" and selections from *The Mysterious Stranger*, on the other hand, portended future trends in anthologies of American literature designed for college classrooms in the years after 1950.

CHAPTER III

Mark Twain and American Literary Masterpieces

Once New Criticism and its call for a close textual analysis of the literary arts commenced, as Kermit Vanderbilt observes, to "revolutionize the study and teaching of literature in the 1940s" (364), the shift from literary historiography to belles-lettres criticism in the field of American literary studies underwent dramatic acceleration. In fact, aesthetically based approaches to the study of American literature made such significant strides among academics during the World War II era that by 1949 the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association decided to poll its members to determine the "best representatives of the literary art of our country" (Bibb 389). In the wake of such developments, collections of American literature designed for college instruction grew very selective in their presentation of authors in the late 1940s, and over the next decade and a half fashioned a highly artistic portrait of American letters. The portrayal of Mark Twain in classroom literary anthologies during these years was significantly transformed, as editors typically depicted him as a world-class literary artist and creator of *the* American literary masterpiece, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

Evelyn Bibb's comprehensive study of American literature textbooks argues that 1957 was the year in which anthologies

of American literature shifted "major emphasis" to the "belletristic" qualities of American authors (392). But her conclusion appears to overlook the fact that by the late 1940s a majority of scholar-editors had already adopted an aesthetic approach to American letters in their literary anthologies. Indeed, a comparison of the first and second editions of Jay B. Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* indicates that the transformation in American literary studies was virtually complete by 1950.

Revealing in the preface to his 1936 collection a theoretical alliance with literary historiography, Hubbell wrote:

> I have tried to illustrate the fairly close connection between our literature and American life and thought. Without waving my own critical standards, I have looked for selections that picture American life in some characteristic way. If our writers too often lack the artistic qualities of the great Europeans, they have at least mirrored clearly the multifarious life of a vast territory. (xxiii)

In revising *American Life in Literature*, published as a second edition in 1949, Hubbell seems to have reshaped his overall assessment of American literature. Pointing out that "much more space is given to major writers," Hubbell then explains that in his updated textbook

> American literature is not treated merely as a record of changing political and economic thought. *American Life in Literature* is *still* [my emphasis] primarily a collection of writings whose chief value lies in their literary quality. Ideas and movements come and go, but memorable writing remains. (xiii)

The contrast between these statements is striking. Hubbell's first passage cites what were at the time several commonly assumed deficiencies of American literature, in effect apologizing for its overall inferior quality. But in the latter statement he proudly champions the nation's writers and implicitly (and ironically) criticizes the very type of historically oriented anthology he himself had published and defended in 1936. His assertion that his 1949 anthology is "still" concerned "primarily" with "writings whose chief value lies in their literary quality," somewhat misrepresents his earlier critical views, for the 1936 edition of *American Life in Literature* explicitly announces its intentions to advance the student's understanding of American literature through the methods of literary historiography. Accordingly, Hubbell's collections signaled the change in academic literary anthologies between the early 1930s and the late 1940s, recording a momentous shift in the field of American literary studies.

The brief period between the appearances of Norman Foerster's 1947 edition of *American Poetry and Prose,* in which Foerster declared he would no longer excerpt the finest American novels, and Hubbell's 1949 *American Life in Literature* marks the inception of a second phase in American literature anthologies. During this stage, which lasted until about 1965, almost all literary textbooks gradually represented fewer authors and simultaneously expanded their

material. For example, an earlier anthology such as *The American Mind* (1937) squeezed more than 260 American writers into 1500 pages, while in the following year the editors of *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938) crowded 152 writers into their 1700-page textbook. In contrast, second-generation editors Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long in the first edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* (1956) display only 100 writers in their 2500-page textbook. By the early 1960s some anthologies were limiting their two-volume, 2000-page collections to fewer than 25 authors. The most extreme case, Falk and Foerster's *Eight American Writers* (1963), presented the work of just eight literary artists (Poe, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Mark Twain, and Henry James) in the space of about 1600 pages.

While this emphasis on critical standards excluded a mounting number of writers during this second stage, some editors restricted their list of authors for pedagogical reasons. Reiterating sentiments they initially expressed in 1935, Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest Leisy discuss in the 1952 edition of *Major American Writers* their dissatisfaction with anthologies that attempt all-inclusiveness:

> It is still the conviction of the editors that the introductory course in American literature has suffered from trying to include too much, with the result that the student leaves the subject in a confused state of mind because he has tried to study too many authors in too short a time. (v)

Still other textbooks combined this notion of responsibility to the student with that of artistic excellence, as did the editors of *American Literary Masters* (1965), who asserted: "If you are going to study literature, why not the best?" (Anderson et al. xv). In any case, those writers deemed "major" or "important" by academic scholars were allotted more space within this second generation of literary anthologies. Interestingly, the manner in which editors filled the extra room allocated to Mark Twain's writings during these years progressed in two very distinct and completely opposite directions.

The most common (and predictable) editorial method of representing Mark Twain in the second generation of literary textbooks, given this extra available space, was simply to provide a broader sampling of his work. Editors of the earlier anthologies usually included extracts from four to six works, which when broken down into chapters and individual stories amounted to about ten individual selections. The widest assortment of Mark Twain's work before 1950 is found in Hubbell's 1936 textbook; it displayed 19 separate items by Mark Twain, including nine letters. During this second phase, however, collections routinely drew from seven or eight different works and averaged almost double the number of individual pieces reprinted in the earlier anthologies, in several cases offering as many as twenty to twenty-five selections. Unquestionably the most extensive survey of Mark

Twain's writings in any period is Falk and Foerster's 1963 anthology. Gladys Bellamy, who edited the section on Mark Twain in this collection, included thirty individual pieces, which actually totals closer to fifty when counting the eighteen letters by Twain also reprinted in this anthology. In a similarly thorough presentation, Henry Nash Smith collected twenty-five of Mark Twain's tales, sketches, and essays (but no letters) as editor of Mark Twain's works in Perry Miller's *Major American Writers* (1962).

Inaugurating a trend that would shape production of subsequent literary anthologies, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, Miller's *Major American Writers* and Falk and Foerster's *Eight American Writers* were the first college-level collections of American literature to assemble teams of academic specialists in the compilation of literary textbooks. Smith and Bellamy, each a distinguished authority on Mark Twain, were joined by experts of other authors and periods who also completed very focused assignments, which when brought together resulted in meticulously collaborative efforts. Nearly all anthologies that have employed editorial teams list each editor's assignment, generally by period (i.e. 1750-1865; Realism, etc.), but lately by race, gender, or group (i.e. women poets; Native Americans). Some anthologies, such as those in the early sixties that included fewer than twenty authors (Bellamy, Smith), had individual writers assigned to certain editors.

Both Gladys Bellamy's and Henry Nash Smith's contributions to establishing Mark Twain's reputation as a consummate artist are indeed considerable. Bellamy was among the first to detail Mark Twain's qualifications as a true literary master. Her vastly influential book, *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist* (1950), argued that Twain was a conscious craftsman, both in control and awareness of his aesthetic abilities. Noting in a review of Bellamy's study that "she has done Clemens and students of Clemens a real service by offering convincing proof that he was a painstaking artist" (*American Literature* 522), Walter Blair correctly prophesied the import of Bellamy's findings on future assessments of Mark Twain, particularly during the 1950s and early 1960s. Smith's seminal work, *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* (1962), likewise examined Twain's achievement as a bonafide artist. Since its publication most Mark Twain specialists have praised Smith's book as a veritable milestone in Twain studies. Typifying this general response, Paul Smith in 1963 asserted that *Mark Twain: The Development as a Writer* is a

> major contribution to scholarship . . . because it focuses attention upon style, upon the role of language in the writer's achievement, a subject which is crucial to any significant interpretation of Twain as a literary artist. (250)

Together with scores of other, slightly less momentous studies during the second phase, Bellamy and Smith validated the artistic recognition of Mark Twain's work and firmly fixed his reputation among the very best writers of American fiction.

Though occasionally anthologized in first-generation collections, excerpts from *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), *Following the Equator* (1897), and several of Mark Twain's essays made considerably stronger showings in this second phase. Because editors allowed themselves more freedom in showcasing Mark Twain's non-Western material, these later anthologies presented a more comprehensive overview of Mark Twain's career. This expanded coverage in turn afforded college instructors of American literature a greater degree of flexibility in the teaching of Mark Twain and other American authors. That is to say, second-generation textbooks gladly accommodated those instructors who still favored historical methods in addition to those who had adopted current aesthetic theories of literary analysis into their teaching style. Unfortunately, however, this new-found pedagogical freedom in the 1950s and early 1960s came at the expense of dropping scores of worthy writers from the pages of literary textbooks.

Many of the Mark Twain items popular in the early anthologies were also represented between the late 1940s and mid-1960s. *Life on the Mississippi* once again appeared more often than any other work by Twain. Even though editorial tastes were changing, excerpts from *Life on the Mississippi* remained popular mainly as a result of its large success in the first generation of literary textbooks. Of course as anthologies expanded their representation of Mark Twain during the 1950s and 1960s many editors built around and added to a

core of standard selections carried over from the first collections. Also, intellectual history was not completely devalued during this second phase. Kermit Vanderbilt points out that in the 1950s "American literature was most important of the integrated disciplines" of the American Studies Movement (536), a field of study that evolved out of the Vernon L. Parrington-type examinations of the American frontier and blended literary analysis with culture- and history-based modes of scholarship. But at the same time, an extract such as the cub-pilot episode provides much more than just historical and cultural insight concerning the nineteenth-century, and critics retained their respect for the opening chapters of *Life on the Mississippi* as ranking among Mark Twain's highest artistic achievements.

Roughing It likewise retains considerable space in these second-generation anthologies. However, unlike the earlier textbooks in which a single episode continually reappeared, *Roughing It* is represented by nearly a dozen different chapters between the late 1940s and mid-1960s. Standard extracts such as "Lost in the Snow," "When Buffalo Climbed a Tree," and "Dick Baker and His Cat" made their debut during this later period and joined "Buck Fanshaw's Death" and "Jim Blaine and His Grandfather's Ram" from the first-generation anthologies as some of Mark Twain's most widely reprinted short works.

Another perennial favorite that became very popular during this second phase, appearing in six collections of American literature, was "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" from Mark Twain's travel book *A Tramp Abroad* (1880). Walter Blair, who has enthusiastically praised "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" ("Mark Twain's Other Masterpiece" 132), first anthologized the tale in 1947. Thereafter, Norman Foerster, Henry Nash Smith, Gladys Bellamy, and several others included the story in their anthologies. Rightly, scholars in general have always assessed "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" as a highly artistic piece of fiction. Delancey Ferguson argues that among Mark Twain's works it is "the most perfect example of the genuine Western tall story" (200), and James Wilson cites various scholars who agree that it is "one of the author's most successful stories" (157). Perhaps also responsible for its success during this period is the fact that like the excerpts from *Roughing It*, "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" is a self-sustained narrative easily detached for a literary anthology from its source in a longer work.

A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889) made its sole appearance in an anthology of American literature during this second phase when it was excerpted in McElderry's *The Realistic Movement in American Writing* (1965). While many Mark Twain scholars, including Henry Nash Smith and Howard Baetzhold, place it among his finest three or four works, *A Connecticut Yankee* has been excluded from academic literary

collections for two rather obvious reasons. Set in Arthurian England, the novel is quite removed from the backdrops of the Mississippi Valley and the American frontier. It was therefore overlooked by literary historians and frontier studies scholars as well as those editors who sought to identify Mark Twain's hallmark fiction in the earlier phase of the modern anthology. Also, as with *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, some editors would have found it difficult to extract small, self-contained selections from *A Connecticut Yankee* because of its relatively interlocking narrative structure.

Not surprisingly, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1899), which had appeared in only three first-generation anthologies, experienced a booming popularity during this second phase. In fact, between 1947 and 1965 only *Life on the Mississippi* was anthologized more often. The success of "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" after World War II might simply have been the result of the larger page allotments to Mark Twain, but substantial evidence suggests otherwise. Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers* (1935 and 1945) and *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938), the only anthologies which took a strictly literary approach to American letters before 1947, were the only textbooks to include "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" during the first phase. After belles-lettres became an important criterion in editorial decision-making in the late 1940s, this short story quickly became a

standard work. It is extremely significant, too, that Foerster reprints "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" for the first time in his 1947 textbook as does Hubbell in his 1949 collection, which again hints strongly that the theoretical shift in American literature anthologies occurred in the late 1940s. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" illustrates many of the fundamental qualities--unity, symbolism, originality, irony--extolled by modern belles-lettres criticism, and for this reason more than any other it was championed during this second phase.

Another notable result of this shift from literary historiography to aesthetic criticism in the late 1940s was the appearance of several essays and stories from Mark Twain's later period. Because editors were no longer restricting themselves to illuminating American frontier history through Mark Twain's literature, a few of these dark, semi-philosophic works found their way into second-generation collections. "Corn-Pone Opinions" (1923), an essay written in 1901, and "The War Prayer" (1923), composed four years later, both made their debut in *Masters of American Literature* (1959). The editors of this anthology believed "that the student is better introduced to [American literature] through a close familiarity with a few writers than through superficial acquaintance with many" (Edel et al. 2: vii). Articulating the popular trend in literary anthologies between the late 1940s and mid-1960s, these editors explained that their aim was to

provide as broad and complete a portrait of major American authors as space in their textbook allowed.

While the majority of anthologies of American literature incorporated additional shorter pieces by Mark Twain during this second phase, a few collections utilized the extra pages allotted to Mark Twain by including unabridged full-length narratives. Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers* (1952) was the first literary anthology to include a complete book by Mark Twain. They did not, however, reprint *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as one might expect, but instead included Mark Twain's posthumously published *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916). Given their outspoken commitment to belles-lettres criticism and their refusal to represent the most highly regarded American novels with excerpted passages, Jones and Leisy's decision to include an entire longer fictional work by Mark Twain is logical, but at the same time their reprinting of *The Mysterious Stranger* and not *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* seems rather odd. But in 1952, almost a decade before the inclusion of novels in classroom anthologies had become customary practice, at nearly three times the length of *The Mysterious Stranger*, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* still posed problems of size.

Notable, too, is the fact that just six years before the publication of the 1952 edition of *Major American Writers*, Bernard DeVoto had edited *The Portable Mark Twain* (1946) in which he reprinted *The Mysterious Stranger* in its entirety.

Explaining this decision in the introduction to *The Portable Mark Twain,* DeVoto wrote:

> The highest reach of his last period is *The Mysterious Stranger*. It is an almost perfect book--perfect in expression of his final drive, in imaginative projection of himself, in tone and tune, in final judgement on the nature of man and the experience of Mark Twain. . . . It is not, finally, a major work; but in its small way it is a masterpiece. Those who know and love Mark Twain will always find it as revealing as *Huckleberry Finn*. (25)

Perhaps the earliest and certainly the most outspoken champion of Mark Twain's last full-length narrative before the 1960s, DeVoto saw in *The Mysterious Stranger* the resurrection of Mark Twain's literary artistry, arguing that in writing the novella Twain "came back from the edge of insanity, and found as much peace as any man may find in his last years, and brought his talent into fruition and made it whole again" (*Mark Twain at Work* [1942] 130). As the literary editor of The Mark Twain Papers from 1937 to 1946, DeVoto was in a position to be very influential in Mark Twain scholarship, and Jones and Leisy, who cite *Mark Twain at Work* among several of DeVoto's writings on Mark Twain recommended in the 1952 edition of *Major American Writers*, were assuredly aware of the enormously successful *The Portable Mark Twain*.

In 1963 Gladys Bellamy also included *The Mysterious Stranger* in its entirety for Falk and Foerster's *Eight American Writers*. This, however, would be the last unabridged appearance of Mark Twain's posthumous novel, and two years later McElderry became the last editor to excerpt it for an

anthology of American literature. The sudden disappearance of *The Mysterious Stranger* from literary textbooks after 1965 was undoubtedly because of John Tuckey's discovery of Albert Bigelow Paine and Frederick Duneka's editorial manipulation of Mark Twain's original manuscripts. Tuckey published his findings in *Mark Twain and Little Satan, The Writing of* The Mysterious Stranger (1963), where he demonstrated by carefully dating the composition of several manuscript fragments that Paine and Duneka had tampered with the novel before it was published in 1916. Soon afterward scholars branded Paine's text of *The Mysterious Stranger* as unreliable, and since then American literature anthology editors have abandoned it altogether. In like manner, anthologies of American literature have ignored William Gibson's corrected text, *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* (1969), perhaps intimidated by its narrative problems or not wishing to analyze the complexity of its textual history.

After Jones and Leisy pioneered the inclusion of complete longer narratives by Mark Twain, others followed suit. In 1957 Norman Foerster added to the fourth edition of *American Poetry and Prose* what he referred to as the "complete . . . 'Old Times on the Mississippi [(1875)]'" (vii). Foerster reprinted chapters four through twenty of *Life on the Mississippi* but also carried his version of "Old Times on the Mississippi" well beyond Mark Twain's original ending, adding chapters

eighteen, nineteen, and twenty from *Life on the Mississippi*, which Twain wrote subsequently in the early 1880s.

The "unabridged" anthologizing of *The Mysterious Stranger* and "Old Times on the Mississippi" in the 1950s ultimately served as preludes to the inevitable appearance of a complete version of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, which finally made its debut in the second edition of Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long's *The American Tradition in Literature* (1961). (Notably, Beatty, Bradley, and Long chose not to include "The Raftsmen's Passage" in their 1961 anthology even though, according to Thomas Tenney, they re-inserted that episode in a scholarly paperback edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* which they edited for Norton that same year.) The original Norton anthology, *The American Tradition in Literature* had been introduced in 1956 and was the first college-level literary textbook packaged in the now-familiar two-volume, 8 by 5 inch, several thousand-page design. Besides the physical difference between the 1956 and 1961 editions (the editors note in the 1961 textbook that they were "able to add 512 pages to the two volumes without appreciable increase in their bulkiness" [xxvi]), the absence of Mark Twain's masterpiece from the earlier collection and its inclusion five years later implies that a number of very profound developments occurred during this segment of the second phase in literary anthologies.

Evelyn Bibb proposes 1957 as the year that literary anthologies became decidedly "belletristic." Although evidence suggests that the shift in literary textbooks to aesthetic criticism actually took place a decade earlier, Bibb's date marks the commencement of eight-year period between 1957 and 1965 of high aestheticism in the anthology of American literature. As illustration, Beatty, Bradley, and Long, deciding to include full-length works in 1961, write in the preface to their second edition:

> Recognizing the need for the critical study of some works of larger scope, we have added two complete full-length novels, each a masterpiece of its period: in volume 1, Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*; and in volume 2, Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. (xxvi)

Indicating that they had become aware of the need for novels in literary textbooks between 1956 and 1961, a shift which arose coincidentally with the technological abilities of bookbinding to include longer pieces of literature, implies that critical tastes had significantly evolved between 1956 and 1961.

Kermit Vanderbilt chronicles a separate development with consequences related to the timing of the anthologizing of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*:

> Inexpensive paperbacks radically altered the teaching of American literature. Publishers like Rinehart, Viking, Norton, Scribner, and Houghton Mifflin enabled students in the 1950s and after to purchase their own copies of classic novels and an author's selected shorter works. (542)

In light of this new-found competition from paperback editions, anthology editors, if not wholly in favor of the necessity of incorporating full-length novels into their formats, were nonetheless confronted with a vastly changed publishing landscape. Indeed, between 1946 and 1961 no fewer than nine new editions (most scholarly) of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* appeared, with introductions by various individuals including Brander Matthews, Dixon Wecter, Lionel Trilling, Leo Marx, Henry Nash Smith, T. S. Eliot, and Wallace Stegner. Bibb believes, too, that the widely available paperbacks had by the late 1950s "undermined" the "prestige and authoritativeness" of the anthologies of American literature and had actually become a viable alternative to the literary textbooks (381-83). Charles Anderson, who includes in his anthology *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in its entirety (minus "The Raftsmen's Passage"), seems to have reacted to the situation sketched by Bibb, noting in the preface to his *American Literary Masters*:

> In recent years many instructors, dissatisfied with the conventional anthology, have tried to concentrate on the masterpieces by using a large number of separate paperbacks as texts. *American Literary Masters* provides the equivalent of more than twenty such volumes. . . . (xvii)

After 1965, the year Anderson wrote this passage and the final year covered in Bibb's study, American literature anthologies began to evolve in yet another completely unforeseen direction.

Ironically, the only two major anthologies published in 1965, McElderry's *The Realistic Movement in American Writing* and Anderson's *American Literary Masters*, represent the diametrically opposed trends of the second phase of the literary textbook in what can be categorized as the period's final year. The former incorporates selections from nine of Mark Twain's works, ranging from "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" to *The Mysterious Stranger*, totaling fifteen different short pieces and providing a diverse and informed profile of Twain's career. The latter includes only *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in its attempt to showcase nothing but "the best" of both Mark Twain and American literature.

Developments in literary anthologies after 1965 would in some sense revert to earlier methods of presenting American literature. Social, political, and historical points of view expressed by authors and their works again became important criteria for inclusion in literary textbooks over the next three decades. Gradually, too, various writers would be re-introduced and others welcomed for the first time into the expanding canon of American literature as post-modern literary theory redefined American literature and began to challenge the methods of aesthetic criticism in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

CHAPTER IV

Mark Twain and the American Cultural Revolution

By the mid-1960s, after decades of delay and struggle, scholars of American literature had finally established a solid and seemingly unassailable reputation for their field of study. The state of academic American literary studies in 1965, says Kermit Vanderbilt, was at last characterized by a sense of "confidence in the successful and unmistakably high cultural errand of teaching American literature in the nation's classrooms" (xv). This celebratory spirit soon began to subside, however, as a new generation of students arrived on the nation's college campuses and began to voice their discontent with the constricted scope of American literary "classics" and "major" American authors that had been the center of focus since the 1920s. Fueled mainly by social turbulence resulting from the various "movements" of the 1960s and the atmosphere of national crisis created by the Vietnam War, younger scholars and graduate students of American literature challenged the critical beliefs of their academic seniors, introducing attitudes that eventually culminated in a call for massive reassessment of the country's literary heritage. In the aftermath the study of American literature reverted almost in palindromic fashion to earlier modes of assessing and teaching American letters.

Evelyn Bibb reported confidently in the concluding pages of her study *Anthologies of American Literature, 1787-1964* (1965) that "there appears to be a general acceptance of a canon of American literature consisting of a 'classic' eight," which included Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, Melville, Whitman, Mark Twain, and Henry James (431). (The famed UNESCO poll of 1949 and Floyd Stovall's much-used bibliography *Eight American Authors* [1956], both commissioned by the Modern Language Association, were instrumental in providing a sense of sanctioned legitimacy to this exclusive "canon" during the 1950s.) Most literary scholars at the time certainly agreed with her findings, as did many of the literary anthology editors who were producing college-level textbooks in the first half of that decade. By the late 1960s, however, egalitarian proponents of minority rights movements within the academy began to question the essential validity of an all white-male American literary canon and to demand that the "forgotten" writings of people of color, women, and other slighted segments of American society be accorded equal attention. A recent literary anthology, commenting retrospectively on the long-term effect of these particular developments in the study of American literature, correctly points out that "in the 1970s a whole new scholarship developed that examined the cultural implications of gender, class, and race" (Lauter, *Heath Anthology* 1994, xxxiii). These newly formulated critical trends inspired a resurgence of

historical and social emphases in the academic study of American literature during the late 1960s and early 1970s and began to exert an influence on the shape of textbook production over the next two decades that as of 1994 still shows little sign of abating.

At first this movement away from a wholly belletristic mode of representing American writers was scattered and essentially tentative. Irving Howe, for instance, in the preface to his *The Literature of America: Nineteenth Century* (1970) suggested that "there remains the problem of how to approach the literature of the past, whether historically or critically" (vii). But if one considers the decidedly aesthetic slant of anthologies of American literature in the fifteen years prior to the appearance of *The Literature of America*, Howe's conundrum suggests itself to be rhetorically misleading about his decision to introduce into his collection elements of historical interest. In fact, just one year later, Howe, along with fellow-editors Mark Schorer and Larzer Smith, no longer recognized the situation as an editorial problem and boldly declared in the 1971 edition of *The Literature of America* that "literary merit was the primary criterion of choice, relevance to the age and to intellectual history the second" (xxv).

By the late 1970s editors were eschewing "literary merit" as their standard criterion altogether and instead embracing scholarly practices that harkened back to the pre-World War I

era. For example, Benjamin DeMott and Alan Trachtenberg proclaim that their anthology, *America in Literature* (1978),

> is an attempt to reflect organically the most urgent ideas in our nation as they have risen from the roots of American soil and issued through the American mind and imagination. (v)

Both the title, which subtly underscores the editors' beliefs about the presence of intellectual issues of America expressed "in" its literature, and focus on "ideas . . . issued through the American mind and imagination" recall the theories of literary criticism extolled by the editors of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917-21) and the days when intellectual historiography reigned unchallenged as the sole method of literary analysis in academic scholarship. Within the past seven or eight years this historically moded literary textbook has become standard. The 1993 edition of *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology*, to name only one, promised to elucidate a multifaceted link between literature and American culture:

> This anthology focuses strongly upon the connections between American literature and its various contexts: historical, political, economic, religious, intellectual, and international.
> (Elliott et al. xxiii)

Still another recent textbook distances itself from belletristic concerns even further. Making no pretensions about its agenda, *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990), announces editor Paul Lauter,

> frankly embodies a political vision, one growing out of the civil rights and women's movements, that

> challenges the authoritative structures of individualism that mark American culture.
> (*Heath Newsletter* 5: 2)

This return to historical and cultural methods of literary anthology compilation has had a number of results, many of which, not surprisingly, have increased the resemblance of these third-generation textbooks to the first modern anthologies.

The most conspicuous development in literary textbooks since the late 1960s has been the representation of a perpetually growing body of writers. During the first two phases of the modern anthology, the typical collection of American literature gradually evolved from an all-inclusive scrapbook into the restrictive showcase of a core of twenty or thirty "major" authors. This trend began to reverse itself noticeably by the early 1970s. Illustrating this trend, the W. W. Norton editors of *The American Tradition in Literature*, the most widely used literary textbook in American colleges between the late 1950s and early 1980s, added four or five writers, usually contemporary figures, along with 200 pages each time they revised their anthology in 1961 and 1967. In 1974, however, they suddenly introduced more than fifty new writers in the 1974 two-volume set while adding more than fifteen new authors (most of whom were from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) in the single-volume revision without boosting its physical size whatever. And since the mid-1970s this trend of inclusiveness has ballooned tremendously.

Late-second-generation textbooks on average presented the work of about 100 different writers, and while these anthologies continued their reconfigurations during the early 1960s that number dropped sharply, in some cases to fewer than twenty. Conversely, *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation* (1969), a typical third-phase anthology in declaring its intention to include "minor" and "lesser known writers" (Meserole v), brought together nearly 150 authors in 3700 pages. By 1981 *The American Tradition in Literature* compacted well over 200 writers in its 4000 pages, and one of the latest and most massive literary textbooks to appear, *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1994), managed to fit an astounding 374 American authors into a two-volume, 6000-page production. Unquestionably the widest selection of any recent anthology (the 1994 edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, by contrast, maintained levels set in the early 1980s with its assemblage of just over 200 writers), *The Heath Anthology* surpasses even the most inclusive first-generation collection by more than 100 writers. One result of this amalgamation of more authors into third-generation anthologies was that the "major" authors allotted greater space in the second phase accordingly had their page apportionments severely reduced.

As one might expect, Mark Twain was among those white-male authors who received less representation during this latest phase of the anthology of American literature. Between

the late 1960s and 1994, literary textbook editors generally worked in an average of ten to twelve individual pieces by Mark Twain, which was a return to about the same number of Twain's selections that had appeared in a typical first-generation anthology. But unlike the earliest editors who extracted their dozen or so samples from the same four or five of Mark Twain's works, third-generation anthologists, because they usually reprinted more of his late-period short stories and essays, were able to feature a wider variety of Twain's writing. Even more surprisingly, however, third-generation editors, when excerpting Mark Twain's full-length narratives, returned also to the practice of extracting chapters from *Roughing It* (1872) and *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) almost exclusively, which of course had been very common among anthologies of American literature published between 1925 and the mid-1940s, especially those oriented toward literary historiography.

Among the most noticeable developments in the anthologizing of Mark Twain's writings during this third phase is the regular appearance of several somber sketches and semi-philosophic tracts that Twain wrote in the last decade of his life. While a few literary textbooks between the late 1940s and mid-1960s included these later works in an attempt to provide students with a more complete image of Mark Twain's literary career, anthologies of American literature published between the late 1960s and 1994 routinely reprint works such

as "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" (1901) and "The War Prayer" (1905) for very different reasons. Hunt Hawkins, explaining the sudden interest in this type of selection in the late 1960s and early 1970s, notes that "To the Person Sitting in Darkness"

> has been reprinted often when it seemed to have an almost uncanny relevance to more recent political events; for example, in Frederick Anderson's *A Pen Warmed-Up in Hell* which appeared in 1972 during the Vietnam War. (*Mark Twain Encyclopedia* 738)

Indeed, in "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," which Mark Twain wrote in condemnation of the imperialist wars that were taking place at the turn of the century, Twain bitterly denounces England, Germany, Russia, and the United States for their invasions of smaller underdeveloped countries, all, as Twain ironically observes, purportedly "in the interest of Progress and Civilization" (*A Pen Warmed-Up in Hell* 72). The relevance of this work to the Vietnam War era was obvious to anthology editors of the time and unquestionably was responsible for its increased appearance during the early part of this third phase. As a matter of fact, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" appeared in six anthologies between 1969 and 1978 but has not been included in a major collection of American literature since. Furthermore, a number of other works by Mark Twain with overt anti-war sentiments such as "The War Prayer" and "The Private History of the Campaign That Failed" (1885) likewise made unusually strong showings in the 1970s.

Despite the overall editorial trimming of page allotments to Mark Twain's work between the late 1960s and 1994, the unabridged reprinting of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) became a standard selection in most third-phase college-level collections of American literature. Also, the way that anthology editors have dealt with Mark Twain's masterpiece over the last twenty-five years reveals much about individual editorial tastes, and even more concerning the progression of historical trends in academic scholarship and its effect on the teaching of Mark Twain as well as American literature in general.

The 1961 revised edition of the two-volume *The American Tradition in Literature* had been the first textbook to include *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in its entirety. But when Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long revised the single-volume "shorter edition" version of *The American Tradition in Literature* in 1962, they decided, presumably because of limited space, not to reprint Mark Twain's novel. When both the one- and two-volume versions were published in a third edition in 1967, again *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* appeared uncut in the latter but was left out of the compact collection. In 1974, however, the editors of the fourth edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* decided to remove the novel from the two-volume collection, explaining that *The Scarlet Letter* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* were dropped

> in order to make four hundred and more pages available for other material. It was thought that the two books are so widely available in paperback that the loss to the student would not be great, particularly when balanced against the great gain embodied in the large number of other works that could be encompassed in the same space. (xxv)

As the first revised production of *The American Tradition in Literature* published after the critical shift back toward historical and cultural methods of academic literary analysis, the 1974 edition illustrates both the costs and benefits of adding--in this case more than fifty--"previously ignored" authors to collections of American literature. Indeed the fourth edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* presented a sizable number of minority writings that had not appeared in earlier versions of the textbook. Among these newly added selections were various tales, speeches, and poems by Native Americans presented in a section titled "The Indian Heritage," excerpts from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), and several short works by Kate Chopin and Charles Chesnutt. For the fifth edition in 1981, the editors of *The American Tradition in American Literature*, now no longer intent upon relying on the "widely available" paperback market to supplement their textbook, decided to return the unabridged novels they had removed in 1974 because, they said, "sufficient pages have been added . . . without significant loss" (xii). The addition of more pages notwithstanding, these editors were no doubt reacting to new competition, for in 1980 the first edition of *The Norton Anthology of American*

Literature (1980) was introduced in one- and two-volume versions, both of which contained complete reprintings of several novels, including *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*

By the late 1980s anthologies of American literature were explicitly competing with each other in terms of overall comprehensiveness and diversity in their formats. One of the first textbooks to reattempt the sort of all-inclusiveness that guided the production of late-nineteenth century literary anthologies was *The Harper American Literature* (1987). In fact, the editors of this anthology actually began their preface by praising Everet A. and George L. Dunyckincks' 1855 *Cyclopedia of American Literature* for its broad representation of American letters, which according to Evelyn Bibb had contained the work of more than 800 writers (138). The two-volume *The Harper American Literature*, of course, comes nowhere near the Dunyckincks' unfathomable assortment but does pack more than 140 authors into its second volume alone, almost 40 more than volume two of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1985).

In the process of incorporating such a wide selection of writers, the editors of *The Harper American Literature* decided to deviate from the standard practice of its competitors and did not to reprint *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in their 1987 textbook. Instead they shrink-wrapped with volume two a separate copy of the novel, a facsimile reproduction of the 1885 American first edition (reduced in size) which they

titled "A Centennial Edition." Cleverly, these editors listed *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the table of contents along with the other selections by Mark Twain. The 1994 revised edition of *The Harper American Literature* continued this innovation with slight modification. Again its editors offered free of charge the separate facsimile edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry* with volume two, but "to enhance the teaching options of *The Harper American Literature*" (Back Cover, 1994), the revised edition allowed instructors to choose as an alternative to Mark Twain's novel a paperback edition of either Zora Neal Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* or Richard Wright's *Native Son* (both at a list price discount of 60%).

While the editors of *The Harper American Literature* have been alone in their decision to stop reprinting *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in college-level anthologies of American literature, recent literary textbooks have experimented with the presentation of Mark Twain's famous novel in other ways. The revised edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1994), in particular, reflecting recent trends in multi-cultural scholarship, constructed its portrait of Mark Twain's works around Shelley Fisher Fishkin's controversial study *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and Afro-American Voices* (1993), as the editors of this anthology complement their inclusion of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* with Twain's

"Sociable Jimmy" (1874) (its first appearance in anthologies of American literature) and his "A True Story" (1874).

In *Was Huck Black?* Fishkin argues that "Sociable Jimmy," a sketch of a personable and talkative young black boy whom Mark Twain had actually met, was the seed that eventually flowered almost a decade later into *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. She believes, as Everett Emerson explains in his introduction to Mark Twain's works in this edition of *The Heath Anthology*, that because Mark Twain characterized the energetically charismatic boy of "Sociable Jimmy" as speaking in a dialect that "resembles" Huck's, Twain undoubtedly appropriated what became the germ of his masterpiece from African-American culture. Partly to corroborate Fishkin's theory, *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* also includes "A True Story," which likewise recounts the real-life situation of an African-American woman that Mark Twain transformed, dialect and all, into a successful fictional sketch. Thus, in this literary textbook Twain's works mainly serve to illustrate the inter-cultural development of American literature and American society in the nineteenth-century.

This preoccupation with Mark Twain and nineteenth-century culture (particularly within the contexts of race, class, and gender questions) is not only the consequence of more general trends in academic literary studies, but also the result of specific developments in Mark Twain criticism over the last fifteen years. Most notable, and curiously the *only* work

listed in the Mark Twain bibliography in the supplemental instructor's guide for *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, is Forrest Robinson's *In Bad Faith: The Dynamics of Deception in Mark Twain's America* (1986). Robinson's study examined the influence of nineteenth-century status-quo prejudices on Mark Twain's writings, a theme further explored by Susan Gillman's *Dark Twins: Imposture and Identity in Mark Twain's America* (1989) and Guy Cardwell's *The Man Who Was Mark Twain: Images and Ideologies* (1991). These three books also incorporate at some level implications that Mark Twain suffered psychological debilitation, a notion originating with Van Wyck Brook's *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* (1920) that gained considerable momentum and was given a rather timely cynical spin in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the appearances of Justin Kaplan's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain: A Biography* (1966), James M. Cox's *Mark Twain: The Fate of Humor* (1966), and Hamlin Hill's *Mark Twain: God's Fool* (1973). Ultimately these and dozens of other studies examining the connection between Mark Twain's purportedly culture-induced neuroses and his writings have helped shape the decidedly somber presentation of Mark Twain in third-phase anthologies and have called into question the iconic and celebrated reputation of America's most popular literary figure.

While *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and several of Mark Twain's later work's made strong showings in this third phase,

it was "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" (1865) that actually became the most anthologized of Twain's writings between the mid-1960s and 1994. In fact, "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" was reprinted in more college-level literary textbooks between 1925 and 1994 than any other short story by Mark Twain, including even "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1899). And when considering the anthologizing of all of Mark Twain's writings, only the cub-pilot episode from *Life on the Mississippi* appeared in more collections of American literature between 1925 and 1994.

Even though the appearance of "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" in modern anthologies of American literature has been relatively consistent, the story's title has had quite an erratic history. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest Leisy in 1935 were the first academic editors to anthologize "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog," using as a title "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." Thereafter, American literature anthology editors who reprinted the story, including Walter Blair in all three editions of his *The Literature of the United States* (1947, 1953, 1961), likewise titled the tale "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." Curiously, though, in 1970 Irving Howe opted for a variation of the title (the text of the story remained the same), "The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," for his anthology. Since then only the 1980 edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* has varied from the use of "Notorious," as it

instead chose the now-standard "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog."

As a matter of record, "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" was the title the story bore in November 1865 when it originally appeared in the New York *Saturday Press*. The next year Bret Hart reprinted that enormously popular tale in the San Francisco *Californian* after Mark Twain had given it another title, "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." Mark Twain also used this version of the title for the story's appearance in his first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County and Other Sketches* (1867). Sometime thereafter Mark Twain, for reasons unknown, changed the title one last time to "The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" before it appeared in the 1874 and 1875 editions of *Mark Twain's Sketches New & Old*. After the mid-1870s any reprintings of the story authorized by Mark Twain carried the title "The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," such as in *Mark Twain's Library of Humor* (1888) and the various multi-volume sets of Twain's work issued by Harper & Brothers.

Despite the fact that anthologies of American literature had been using the "Celebrated" title for almost a decade, Bernard DeVoto reprinted the story under the "Notorious" heading for his *The Portable Mark Twain* (1946). Charles Neider then followed DeVoto's lead and used "Notorious" for *The Complete Short Stories of Mark Twain* (1957). Walter Blair

likewise chose the "Notorious" version of the title for his *The Selected Shorter Writings of Mark Twain* (1961), even though he opted for "Celebrated" in his three anthologies of American literature. The Mark Twain Project publication of Mark Twain's *Early Tales & Sketches, Vol. 2 (1864-1865)* (1981), currently the authoritative edition of Twain's works, decided that Twain's first title, "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" was the most authentic. Since then James D. Wilson's *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Mark Twain* (1987) has adopted "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog," as did Louis J. Budd in editing for the Library of America series *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, & Essays, 1852-1890* (1992).

Yet even with the adoption of "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" as the "official" version of the title, recent anthologies of American literature, including the 1994 edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, still employ the "Notorious" variation. Thus, this "Jumping Frog" choice, as with other editorial trends, will probably continue to vary.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

Between 1925 and 1994, editors of college-level anthologies of American literature experimented with the presentation of Mark Twain's works in distinct patterns. These images of Mark Twain reflected a gradual shift in both academic pedagogy and scholarly criticism. Late-nineteenth-century literature professors, mirroring British predilections, approached American letters almost surreptitiously and relegated study of their national writers to summer seminars and after-class "club" discussions. By the end of World War I, academics, still relatively unconvinced that the literary past of the United States was comparable with that of England, mainly recognized historical and sociological value in American poetry and verse, which in turn justified the entry of American literature into the college curriculum.

Yet other literary scholars, unsatisfied with mere permission to exist as teachers of a minor, chiefly ancillary historical subject, proposed to establish for American literature a truly respectable status among Western foreign literatures. During the 1940s and 1950s this task became a driving force behind the work of most literary specialists, and by the mid-1960s academic scholars had accomplished their mission of raising American letters to the level of world

recognition. A widespread reassessment of the ends of academic literary pedagogy arose in the late 1960s, however, and essentially re-focused the purpose for studying American writers in our nation's colleges. The very traits for which American literature had been celebrated at the turn of the century--historical, cultural, and sociological insight--received new-found appreciation that has intensified over the last twenty years into the most important criteria in literary scholarship.

Within the larger movement of this 100-year cycle of canonical constriction and expansion, evolved various trends in anthologizing Mark Twain's tales, sketches, narratives, and essays that illuminate significant successes and failures in teaching Twain's works in American colleges. Certainly the most pedagogically accommodating literary textbooks with regard to the study of Mark Twain were published between 1950 and 1965. These anthologies provided the widest selections of Mark Twain's writings and styles and presented the broad scope of Twain's life and career. Whereas the latest textbooks appear to have maintained a degree of this sort of variety, it could be argued that they have become in certain respects as restricted as some of the earliest anthologies. *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1994), to name the most publicized, is essentially as narrowly focused in its presentation of Mark Twain through the issue of racism (the instructor's manual for this textbook suggests that *Adventures*

of Huckleberry Finn "be read as the education of a racist" [366]) as Jay B. Hubbell's first-generation *American Life in Literature* (1936) was in its principal concern with depicting American frontier life.

As *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* became a standard in anthologies of American literature within the last fifteen to twenty years, the question of whether literary textbooks have been more effective in representing Mark Twain's career with longer or shorter selections seems germane. Overall, anthology editors have seemed less inhibited in spotlighting Mark Twain's shorter selections and self-sustaining excerpts from his longer narratives than in reprinting his novels in their entirety. The editors of *The Harper American Literature*, despite current trends and intense competition among literary anthologies, decided not to include *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* within their pages. And one suspects that soon other textbooks of American literature, overwhelmed by pressures to be ever more inclusive, will return to the older practice of relying on the academic paperback market to supplement longer Twain works.

"Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog," "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," the cub-pilot episodes from *Life on the Mississippi*, "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" from *A Tramp Abroad*, and several chapter-episodes from *Roughing It* have maintained steady popularity over the last fifty years, probably because of their accessibility and unencumbering lengths. These works

along with the nearly twenty appearances of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in its entirety comprise the bulk of material that has been included in anthologies of American literature over the last seventy years. That is to say, there has been a rather narrow range of Mark Twain's writings collected overall. Certainly other selections have appeared in literary textbooks with periodically, but the sporadic inclusion of lesser-known pieces such as "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses," "How to Tell a Story," and excerpts from *The Innocents Abroad* and *The Gilded Age* reveals that they were probably received with less enthusiasm in the classroom (or else challenged the instructor with too little familiarity) and as such were probably taught and appreciated only by academic Twain specialists.

Ultimately the most general, and at the same time most critical, question involves the influence that anthology production has exerted on Mark Twain studies and vice versa. Literary textbooks have always existed, mainly as the product of American literary studies. But more specifically, scholars of Mark Twain have had a two-fold impact on the anthologizing of Twain's writings. First, the major studies of Mark Twain and the American frontier by individuals such as Bernard DeVoto and Walter Blair in the first phase, Gladys Bellamy's and Henry Nash Smith's examinations of Twain's artistry in the second, and the explorations of Twain's culture-induced psychological degeneration by James Cox, Hamlin Hill, and

Forrest Robinson in the third have shaped academic perceptions of Mark Twain, which have filtered into college-level anthologies. Second, as early as Walter Blair's 1947 literary textbook, Mark Twain specialists have directly influenced the teaching of Twain's works through their editorial contributions to anthology production. In the 1960s Bellamy and Smith became part of collaborative trend in textbook editing that would eventually enlist the expertise of contemporary scholars such as Justin Kaplan (*The Harper American Literature* [1987, 1994]) and Everett Emerson (*The Heath Anthology of American Literature* [1994]).

In 1965, after examining the evolution of the anthology of American literature from 1787, Evelyn Bibb concluded:

> Historically, the national anthology of American literature has embodied the developing canon of American literature, has incorporated literary scholarship, and has reflected critical approaches and changing tastes. (iii)

Though Bibb correctly points out that literary textbooks have acted essentially as a multi-faceted index of shifting academic attitudes about literature, she overlooks the much-forgotten relationship between the anthology and the college student. As most students' first (and too often last) exposure to formal literary study, collections of American literature designed for use in college survey courses play a tremendous role in shaping impressions of our literary past that will likely remain long after most undergraduates have completed their academic careers. (A significant percentage of

undergraduates end up keeping their anthologies and consulting them as reference works for several decades.) Bibb does report that a study of high school literary textbooks conducted in the early 1960's ironically found "that American literature has fared poorly because there has been so much emphasis on 'non-literature,' slight poetry, and second-rate writing in general" (435). Given today's trends in re-expanding the anthologized body of American writers, one must wonder if sustaining student interest in our nation's literary past will become problematic when the main emphasis for anthology editors (and instructors) is inclusiveness. As early as 1952 Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest Leisy cautioned against "trying to include too much" because they feared that students would leave the subject "in a confused state of mind" (*Major American Writers* v).

As for future anthologies of American literature, the only certainty is that they will continue to change, more than likely following similar cycles of expansion and contraction that they have charted over the last century. In fact, signs that anthologies have reached their probable peak of inclusiveness and may begin trimming down have already appeared. For instance, publishers are no longer marketing single-volume "shorter editions" of their anthologies. Editors of the 1993 edition of *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology*, recognizing the massiveness of contemporary

collections, articulated several additional problems that have afflicted anthology production in recent years:

> Teachers lament that they are overwhelmed by the huge number of choices to be made and frustrated by the hundreds of pages to be covered in a given year. The large physical size of the books has even become an inconvenience, and in some cases the efforts of the publishers to produce smaller books has led to the use of very thin paper and a reduced typeface that makes reading the texts difficult. (xxi)

Certainly the passing of time and the sheer pleasure that students derive from reading classic authors such as Mark Twain will no doubt bring into balance any excesses in limiting Twain readings, for as Jay B. Hubbell proclaimed nearly a half-century ago, "ideas and movements come and go, but memorable writing remains" (*American Life in Literature* [1949] xiii). Perhaps as well as any other American author, Mark Twain succeeded in creating memorable writing, which is evidenced by its inextricable connection with American culture as a whole. And while the survival of Mark Twain in the college classroom is undoubtedly linked in many ways to how he is presented in literary textbooks, his stature as the quintessential American Realism-era storyteller will surely survive regardless of the directions taken by future anthologies of American literature.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Chronological Listing of American
Literature Anthologies, 1925-1994

1920-1929

A Book of American Humor in Prose and Verse. New York: Duffield, **1925**.

Shafer, Robert, ed. *American Literature*. New York: Doubleday, **1927**.

Snyder, Edward D., and Franklyn B. Snyder, eds. *A Book of American Literature*. New York: Macmillan, **1927**.

1930-1939

Pattee, Fred Louis, ed. *Century Readings in American Literature*. New York: Century, **1932**.

McCallum, James Dow, ed. *The College Omnibus*. New York, Harcourt, **1933**.

Foerster, Norman, and Robert Lovett, eds. *American Poetry and Prose*. Revised ed. 2 vols. New York: Houghton, **1934**.

Jones, Howard M., and Ernest E. Leisy, eds. *Major American Writers*. New York: Harcourt, **1935**.

Hubbell, Jay B., ed. *American Life in Literature*. New York: Harper & Brothers, **1936**.

Gabriel, Ralph H., Harry Warfel, and Stanley T. Williams, eds. *The American Mind*. New York: American Book, **1937**.

Benet, William R., and Norman H. Pearson, eds. *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature*. New York: Oxford UP, **1938**.

Clark, David Lee, William Bryan Gates, and Ernest Erwin Leisy, eds. *The Voices of England & America*. 2 vols. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, **1939**.

1940-1949

Brooks, Cleanth, John Thibaut Purser, and Robert Penn Warren, eds. *An Approach to Literature*. Revised ed. New York: F.S. Crofts, **1940**.

Ellis, Milton, Louise Pound, and George W. Spohn, eds. *A College Book of American Literature*. 2 vols. New York: American Book, **1940**.

White, E. B., and Katherine White, eds. *A Subtreasury of American Humor*. New York: Coward-McCann, **1941**.

Jones, Howard M., and Ernest E. Leisy, eds. *Major American Writers*. Revised ed. New York: Harcourt, **1945**.

Blair, Walter, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, eds. *The Literature of the United States*. 2 vols. New York: Scott, **1947**.

Foerster, Norman, ed. *American Poetry and Prose*. 3rd. ed. New York: Houghton, **1947**.

Allen, Gay Wilson, and Henry A. Pochmann, eds. *Masters of American Literature*. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, **1949**.

Hubbell, Jay B., ed. *American Life in Literature*. Revised ed. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, **1949**.

Wann, Louis, ed. *The Rise of Realism: American Literature from 1860 to 1900*. Revised ed. New York: Macmillan, **1949**.

<u>1950-1959</u>

Beatty, Richard C., Randall Stewart, Floyd C. Watkins, and Thomas D. Young, eds. *The Literature of the South*. New York: Scott, **1952**.

Jones, Howard M., Ernest E. Leisy, and Richard M. Ludwig, eds. *Major American Writers*. 3rd ed. 2 vols. New York: Harcourt, **1952**.

Blair, Walter, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, eds. *The Literature of the United States*. Revised ed. 2 vols. New York: Scott, **1953**.

Scott, Wilbur S., and Raymond W. Short, eds. *The Main Lines of American Literature*. New York: Henry Holt, **1954**.

Beatty, Richard C., Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds. *The American Tradition in Literature*. 2 vols. New York: Norton, **1956**.

Foerster, Norman, ed. *American Poetry and Prose*. 4th ed. Boston: Houghton, **1957**.

Flanagan, John T., and Arthur Palmer Hudson, eds. *Folklore in American Literature*. New York: Row Peterson, **1958**.

Stegner, Wallace, ed. *Selected American Prose 1841-1900: The Realistic Movement*. New York: Rinehart, **1958**.

Edel, Leon, Thomas H. Johnson, Sherman Paul, and Claude Simpson, eds. *Masters of American Literature*. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, **1959**.

1960-1969

Beatty, Richard C., Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds. *The American Tradition in Literature.* Revised edition. 2 vols. New York: Norton, **1961**.

Blair, Walter, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, eds. *The Literature of the United States*. Revised edition. 2 vols. Chicago: Scott, **1961**.

Brown, Clarence A., and John T. Flanagan, eds. *American Literature: A College Survey*. New York: McGraw, **1961**.

Beatty, Richard C., Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds. *The American Tradition in Literature*. Revised edition. New York: Norton, **1962**.

Miller, Perry, et al., eds. *Major Writers of America*. 2 vols. New York: Harcourt, **1962**.

Falk, Robert P., and Norman Foerster, eds. *Eight American Writers*. New York: Norton, **1963**.

Anderson, Charles R., et al., eds. *American Literary Masters*. 2 vols. New York: Holt, **1965**.

McElderry, Bruce R., ed. *The Realistic Movement in American Writing*. New York: Odyssey, **1965**.

Davis, Thomas M., and Willoughby Johnson, eds. *An Anthology of American Literature*. New York: Bobbs, **1966**.

Arms, George, William M. Gibson, and Louis G. Locke, eds. *Introduction to Literature*. 5th ed. New York: Holt, **1967**.

Beatty, Richard C., Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds. *The American Tradition in Literature*. 3rd ed. New York: Norton, **1967**.

Beatty, Richard C., Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds. *The American Tradition in Literature*. 3rd ed. 2 vols. New York: Norton, **1967**

Trilling, Lionel, ed. *The Experience of Literature*. New York: Holt, **1967**.

Meserole, Harrison T., Walter Sutton, and Brom Weber, eds. *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation*. Lexington, MA: Heath, **1969**.

1970-1979

Davis, Richard Beale, C. Hugh Holman, and Louis D. Rubin, eds. *Southern Writing 1585-1920*. New York: Odyssey, **1970**.

Howe, Irving, ed. *The Literature of America: Nineteenth Century*. New York: McGraw, **1970**.

Howe, Irving, Mark Schorer, and Larzer Ziff, eds. *The Literature of America*. 2 vols. New York: McGraw, **1971**.

Brooks, Cleanth, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren, eds. *American Literature: The Makers and the Making*. 2 vols. New York: St. Martin's, **1973**.

Beatty, Richard C., Sculley Bradley, E. Hudson Long, and George Perkins, eds. *The American Tradition in Literature*. 4th ed. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, **1974**.

Beatty, Richard C., Sculley Bradley, E. Hudson Long, and George Perkins, eds. *The American Tradition in Literature*. 4th ed. 2 vols. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, **1974**.

Brooks, Cleanth, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren, eds. *American Literature: The Makers and the Making*. 4 vols. New York: St. Martin's, **1974**.

McMichael, George, et al., eds. *Anthology of American Literature*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, **1974**.

Meserole, Harrison T., Walter Sutton, and Brom Weber, eds. *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation*. 4 vols. Lexington, MA: Heath, **1974**.

Gross, Seymour L., and Milton Stern, eds. *Nation and Region 1860-1900*. New York: Viking, **1975**.

Bain, Carl E., Jerome Beatty, and J. Paul Hunter, eds. *The Norton Introduction to Literature*. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, **1977**.

DeMott, Benjamin, and Alan Trachtenberg, eds. *America in Literature*. 2 vols. New York: John Wiley & Sons, **1978**.

Mack, Maynard, et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*. 4th ed. 2 vols. New York: Norton, **1979**.

<u>1980-1989</u>

Gottesman, Ronald, et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*. New York: Norton, **1980**.

Beatty, Richard C., Sculley Bradley, E. Hudson Long, and George Perkins, eds. *The American Tradition in Literature*. 5th ed. 2 vols. New York: Random, **1981**.

Hurt, James, and Brian Wilke, eds. *Literature of the Western World*. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, **1984**.

Landy, Alice S., ed. *The Heath Introduction to Literature*. Lexington, MA: Heath, **1984**.

Baym, Nina, et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. New York: Norton, **1985**.

Mack, Maynard, et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*. 5th ed. 2 vols. New York: Norton, **1985**.

McMichael, George, et al., eds. *Concise Anthology of American Literature*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan, **1985**.

Baym, Nina, et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, **1986**.

David, Jack, Robert Lecker, and Peter O'Brien, eds. *Introduction to Literature: British, American, and Canadian*. New York: Harper, **1987**.

McQuade, Donald, et al., eds. *The Harper American Literature*. New York: Harper, **1987**.

McQuade, Donald, et al., eds. *The Harper American Literature*. 2 vols. New York: Harper, **1987**.

Baym, Nina, et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*. 3rd ed. New York: Norton, **1989**.

Baym, Nina, et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*. 3rd ed. 2 vols. New York: Norton, **1989**.

1990-1994

Lauter, Paul, et al., eds. *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*. 2 vols. Lexington, MA: Heath, **1990**.

Elliott, Emory, et al., eds. *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology*. 2 vols. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice, **1993**.

McMichael, George, et al., eds. *Anthology of American Literature*. 5th ed. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, **1993**.

Baym, Nina, et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*. 4th ed. 2 vols. New York: Norton, **1994**.

Lauter, Paul, et al., eds. *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Lexington, MA: Heath, **1994**.

McQuade, Donald, et al., eds. *The Harper American Literature*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. New York: Harper, **1994**.

APPENDIX B

Annotated Listing of Mark Twain's Works in American Literature Anthologies, 1925-1994

List of Abbreviations:

Auto: Mark Twain's Autobiography (1924)
Erup: Mark Twain in Eruption (1940)
CY: A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889)
FE: Following the Equator (1897)
GA: The Gilded Age (1874)
LE: Letters from the Earth (1962)
LM: Life on the Mississippi (1883)
HF: Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (1885)
IA: The Innocents Abroad (1869)
MS: The Mysterious Stranger (1916)
OT: "Old Times on the Mississippi" (1875)
PW: The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson (1894)
RI: Roughing It (1872)
TA: A Tramp Abroad (1880)
TS: The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (1876)

1925 *Anonymous (Humor)*
"The Interviewer."
RI: ch. 47 "Buck Fanshaw's Death" [editor titles this selection "Scotty Briggs"].

1927 *Shafer*
LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition"; chs. 18-21 "I Take a Few Extra Lessons," "Brown and I Exchange Compliments," "A Catastrophe," and "A Section in My Biography"; ch. 50 "The 'Original Jacobs'"; ch. 60 "Speculations and Conclusions."

1927 *Snyder and Snyder*
LM: ch. 8 "Perplexing Lessons" and ch. 10 "Completing My Education."
HF: chs. 10-13 "The Find," "Huck and the Woman," "Slow Navigation," and "Escaping from the Wreck."

1932 *Pattee*
IA: ch. 27 "Italian Guides" [editor titles this selection "European Guides"].
GA: chs. 3-4 "Uncle Daniel's Apparition" and Prayer" and "The Steamboat Explosion."
OT: "A Boy's Ambition" and "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot."

1933 *McCallum (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1934 *Foerster and Lovett*
IA: ch. 27 "'Butchered to Make a Roman Holiday'" [editors title this selection "Rome"].
LM: chs. 4-7 "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed."
HF: chs. 17-18 "An Evening Call" and "Col. Grangerford" [editors title these selections "The Grangerfords Take Me In" and "Why Harney Rode Away For His Hat"].

1935 *Jones and Leisy*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
GA: chs. 7-8 "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins."
LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition" and ch. 17 "Cutoffs and Stephen."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
Auto: [Quarles Farm.]

1936 *Hubbell (International)*
Letters: to Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1-27-71); to William Dean Howells (1-18-76), (5-19-86), and (6-6-04); to Andrew Lang (1889); to ------ (1891); to Brander Matthews (5-4-03) and (5-8-03); to Robert Fulton (5-24-05).
"The Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech."
LM: chs. 4-6 "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," and "A Cub-Pilot's Experience"; ch. 26 "Under Fire."
HF: chs. 17-18 "An Evening Call" and "Col. Grangerford" [editor titles these selections "The Grangerford's Take Me In" and "Why Harney Rode Away For His Hat"].
PW: [six of Pudd'nhead Wilson's Maxims.]
FE: [seven maxims.]
MS: ch. 11 [editor titles this selection "Life Is a Dream"].

1937 *Gabriel, Warfel, and Williams*
RI: ch. 47 "Buck Fanshaw's Death."
GA: ch. 28 "Visit To Headquarters in Wall Street--How Appropriations Are Obtained and Their Cost" [editors title this selection "Wall Street and Congressional Appropriations"].
OT: "The Boys' Ambition" and "A Cub-Pilot's Experience" [editors title these selections

"Boyish Ambition" and "The Cub-Pilot's First Lessons"].
MS: ch. 6 [editors title this selection "Mankind's Low Nature"].

1938 *Benet and Pearson*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
LM: ch. 3 "Frescoes from the Past" [editors title this selection "Huck Finn on the Raft"].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"Little Bessie Would Assist Providence."

1939 *Clark, Lee, Gates, and Leisy (International)*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition" [editors title this selection "A Boyhood Ambition"].

1940 *Brooks, Purser, and Warren (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1940 *Ellis, Pound, and Spohn*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: ch. 27 "'Butchered to Make a Roman Holiday'" [editors title this selection "Rome"].
RI: ch. 78 "Returning to San Francisco" [editors title this selection "Mark Twain's First Lecture"].
GA: ch. 8 "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins [editors title this selection "Colonel Sellers, Financial Wizard"].
LM: chs. 6-8 "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," "A Daring Deed," and "Perplexing Lessons."

1941 *White and White (Humor)*
RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "His Grandfather's Old Ram"].
Erup: "The Hunting of the Cow."
HF: ch. 14 "A General Good Time" [editors title this selection "Huck and Jim Talk about Kings"].
LM: ch. 11 "The River Rises" [editors title this selection "A Mississippi Pilot"].
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."

1945 *Jones and Leisy*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
GA: chs. 7-8 "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins."

LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition" and ch. 17 "Cutoffs and Stephen."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
Auto: [Quarles Farm.]
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."

1947 *Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: ch. 19 "La Scala" and ch. 53 "Description of Jerusalem" [editors title these selections "The Old Masters" and "The Tomb of Adam"].
RI: ch. 3 "The Thoroughbrace is Broke" [editors title this selection "Jackass Rabbits and Sagebrush"].
GA: chs. 7-8 "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins" [editors title these selections "Colonel Sellers's Schemes for Money-Making" and "Colonel Sellers Entertains Washington Hawkins"].
OT: "A Daring Deed" and "Continued Perplexities."
TA: "Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."
LM: ch. 3 "Frescoes from the Past" and ch. 38 "The House Beautiful."
HF: ch. 17 "Col. Grangerford" and ch. 21 "Sword Exercise" [editors title these selections "The Grangerfords Take Me In" and "An Arkansaw Difficulty"].

1947 *Foerster*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: "Preface"; chs. 7-8 "Spain and Africa on Exhibition" and "The Ancient city of Tangier, Morocco" [editors title these selections "Gibraltar" and "Morocco"]; ch. 12 "A Holiday Flight through France" [editors title this selection "France"]; ch. 26 "The Grandeur of St. Peter's" [editors title this selection "Rome"].
RI: ch. 47 "Buck Fanshaw's Death" and ch. 78 "Return to San Francisco" [editors title these selections "Buck Fanshaw's Funeral" and "Mark Twain Tries a Lecture"].
LM: chs. 4-7 "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

1949 *Allen and Pochmann*

LM: chs. 4-6 "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," and "A Cub-Pilot's Experience"; ch. 13 "A Pilot's Needs."
TA: "Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"The Turning Point in My Life."

1949 *Hubbell (International)*

Letters: "to Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1-28-71); to William Dean Howells (1-18-76); to Andrew Lang (1889), to ------ (1891); to Brander Matthews (3-04-03) and (5-8-03); to Robert Fulton (5-24-05).
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
"The Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech."
LM: chs. 4-6 "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," and "A Cub-Pilot's Experience"; ch. 26 "Under Fire."
HF: chs. 17-18 "An Evening Call" and "Col. Grangerford [editor titles these selections "The Grangerford's Take Me In" and "Why Harney Rode Away For His Hat"].
PW: [six of Pudd'nhead Wilson's Maxims.]
FE: [seven maxims.]
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
MS: ch. 11 [editor titles this selection "Life Is a Dream"].

1949 *Wann (Realism 1860-1900)*

"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: ch. 23 "The Famous Gondola."
RI: ch. 47 "Buck Fanshaw's Death."
GA: ch. 8 "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins."
OT: "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot."
HF: ch. 16 "Expectation" and ch. 19 "Tying Up Day-times."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
MS: ch. 9.
Auto: "Susy's biography of Mark Twain (2-7-06)" [editors title this selection "On Biography and Criticism"].

1952 *Beatty, Stewart, Watkins, and Young (Southern)*

[Twain is not included.]

1952 *Jones and Leisy*

GA: chs. 7-8 "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent

Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins"

LM: ch. 4 The Boys' Ambition" and ch. 7 "A Daring Deed."

MS: [entire text.]

1953 *Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart*

"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."

IA: ch. 19 "La Scala" and ch. 53 "Description of Jerusalem" [editors title these selections "The Old Masters" and "The Tomb of Adam"].

RI: ch. 3 "The Thoroughbrace is Broke" [editors title this selection "Jackass Rabbits and Sagebrush"].

GA: chs. 7-8 "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins" [editors title these selections "Colonel Sellers's Schemes for Money-Making," and "Colonel Sellers Entertains Washington Hawkins"].

OT: "A Daring Deed" and "Continued Perplexities."

TA: "Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."

LM: ch. 3 "Frescoes from the Past" and ch. 38 "The House Beautiful."

HF: ch. 17 "An Evening Call" and ch. 21 "Sword Exercise" [editors title these selections "The Grangerfords Take Me In" and "An Arkansaw Difficulty"].

Auto: "The Character of Man."

1954 *Scott and Short*

[Twain is not included.]

1956 *Beatty, Bradley, Long*

RI: ch. 7 "When the Buffalo Climbed a Tree."

LM: chs. 3-4 "Frescoes from the Past" and "The Boys' Ambition"; chs. 5-7 "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title these chapters "A Mississippi Cub Pilot"].

"Some Rambling Notes of an Idle Excursion" [editors sub-title this selection "Captain Hurricane Jones and the Prophets of Baal"].

"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

1957 *Foerster*

"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."

IA: ch. 27 "Italian Guides" and ch. 60 "Thankless Devotion" (editor titles these selections "We Were Americans!"].

RI: ch. 78 "Return to San Francisco" [editor titles this selection "Trouble Will Begin at 8"].
LM: chs. 4-10 "The Boys' Ambition," "I want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," "A Daring Deed," "Perplexing Lessons," "Continued Perplexities," and "Completing My Education" [editor omits ch. 11 "The River Rises"]; chs. 12-20 "Sounding," "A Pilot's Needs," "Rank and Dignity of Piloting," "The Pilot's Monopoly," "Racing Days," "Cut-offs and Stephen," "I Take a Few Extra Lessons," "Brown and I Exchange Compliments," and "A Catastrophe."
TA: "Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"Little Bessie Would Assist Providence."

1958 *Flanagan and Hudson (Folklore)*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County"
LM: ch. 3 "Frescoes from the Past."

1958 *Stegner (Realism 1841-1900)*
RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and His Grandfather's Ram" [editor titles this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."

1959 *Edel, Johnson, Paul, and Simpson*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: ch. 11 "Getting 'Used to It,'" ch. 15 "French National Burying-ground," and ch. 27 "Butchered to Make a Roman Holiday."
RI: ch. 47 "Buck Fanshaw's Death" [editors title this selection "Buck Fanshaw's Funeral"] and ch. 61 "Dick Baker and His Cat."
GA: chs. 7-8 "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins" [editors title this selection "Col. Sellers' Speculation Schemes"]; ch. 11 "A Dinner with Col. Sellers."
TA: "Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."
LM: chs. 3-6 "Frescoes from the Past," "The Boys' Ambition," I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," and "A Cub-Pilot's Experience"; ch. 8 "Perplexing Lessons," ch. 26 "Feuding Families," and ch. 38 "The House Beautiful."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"Corn-Pone Opinions."
"The War Prayer."
Auto: [Quarles Farm.]

1961 *Beatty, Bradley, and Long*

RI: ch. 7 "When the Buffalo Climbed a Tree."
LM: chs. 3-4 "Frescoes from the Past," "The Boys' Ambition"; ch. 5-7 "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title these selections "A Mississippi Cub-Pilot"].
"Some Rambling Notes of an Idle Excursion" [editors sub-title this selection "Captain Hurricane Jones and the Prophets of Baal"].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
HF: [entire text.]

1961 *Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart*

"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: ch. 19 "La Scala" and ch. 53 "Description of Jerusalem" [editors title these selections "The Old Masters" and "The Tomb of Adam"].
RI: ch. 3 "The Thoroughbrace is Broke" [editors title this selection "Jackass Rabbits and Sagebrush"].
GA: chs. 7-8 "Colonel Sellers at Home," "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins" [editors title these selections "Colonel Sellers's Schemes of Money-Making," and "Colonel Sellers Entertains Washington Hawkins"].
OT: "A Daring Deed" and "Continued Perplexities."
TA: "Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."
LM: ch. 3 "Frescoes from the Past" and ch. 38 "The House Beautiful."
HF: ch. 17 "An Evening Call" and ch. 21 "Sword Exercise" [editors title these selections "The Grangerfords Take Me In" and "An Arkansaw Difficulty"].
Auto: "The Character of Man."

1961 *Brown and Flanagan*

RI: ch. 53 "Buck Fanshaw's Death" [editors title this selection "Buck Fanshaw's Funeral"].
LM: chs. 4-7 "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title this selection "Learning the River"].
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences [sic]."
"What Paul Bourget Thinks of Us" [various selections].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
MS: ch. 11.
Auto: [Quarles Farm.]

1962 *Beatty, Bradley, and Long (Shorter ed.)*
RI: ch. 7 "When the Buffalo Climbed a Tree."
LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition"; chs. 5-7 "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title these selections "A Mississippi Cub-Pilot"].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

1962 *Miller, et al. (Twain section edited by Henry Nash Smith)*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: ch. 11 "Getting 'Used to It'" [editors title this selection "The Pilgrim Bird"] and ch. 26 "The Grandeur of St. Peter's" [editors title this selection "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Coliseum"].
RI: ch. 5 "New Acquaintances" [editors title this selection "The Cayote"], ch. 31 "Lost In the Snow," ch. 34 "About Carson" [editors title this selection "The Case of Hyde vs. Morgan"], ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"], and ch. 61 "Dick Baker and his Cat" [editors title this selection "Tom Quartz, the Cat as the title of this selection].
"Captain Montgomery."
GA: ch. 7 "Colonel Sellers at Home" [editors title this selection "Colonel Sellers"].
"A True Story Repeated Word for Word As I Heard It."
"Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech."
LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition" and ch. 14 "Rank and Dignity of Piloting."
TA: "Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."
"Over the Mountains."
"Cruelty to Animals: The Histrionic Pig."
"How to Tell a Story."
"Fenimore Cooper's Further Literary Offenses."
"William Dean Howells."
"Platform Readings."
FE: ch. 38 "Steamer *Rosetta* to Bombay" [editors title this selection "The Indian Crow"].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"The War Prayer."
Auto: "The Quarles Farm."

1963 *Falk and Foerster (Twain section edited by Gladys C. Bellamy)*
Letters: to Orion Clemens (Sept. 28, 1860) "A Young Pilot Off Duty"; to Mrs. Jane Clemens (Sept. or Oct. 1861) "A Country "Fabulously Rich"; to the New York Society of California Pioneers (Oct. 11, 1869) "Talking 'Pioneer'"; to James Redpath (Aug. 8, 1871) "Different from Other

Women"; to William Dean Howells (Sept. 20, 1874) "Difficult Negro Talk"; to William Dean Howells (Nov. 23, 1875) "'As to the Adjective---'"; to William Dean Howells (Aug. 21, 1884) "A 'Delicious' Presidential Campaign"; to William Dean Howells (Sept. 17, 1884) "Conscience or Party?"; [to ?] (Sept. 8, 1887) "An Unmailed Letter"; [to ?] (?) "The Mailed Letter"; to ------ (?) "None of It Artificial"; to Joseph Twichell (Aug. 22, 1897) "The Jubilee Singers"; to William Dean Howells (Jan. 25, 1900) "Privately Speaking---"; to Brander Matthews (May 4, 1903) "On Sir Walter Scott"; to Brander Matthews (May 8, 1903) "On *Quentin Durward*"; to Rev. J. H. Twichell (Mar. 14, 1905) "Progress from Age to Age."

IA: ch. 8 "Monsieur Billfinger" and ch. 27 "'Butchered to Make a Roman Holiday'" [editors title these selections "Paris Guides and Paris Sights" and "The *Genus* Ferguson"]; ch. 60 "Thankless Devotion" [editors title this selection "A Newspaper Valedictory" and subtitle it "We Were Americans--Americans!"].

RI: ch. 7 "Overland City" [editors title this selection "The Buffalo That Climbed a Tree"], ch. 47 "Buck Fanshaw's Death" [editors title this selection "Buck Fanshaw's Funeral"], ch. 61 "Dick Baker and his Cat" [editors title this selection "Tom Quartz"], and ch. 78 "Return to San Francisco" [editors title this selection "Trouble Will Begin at 8"].

GA: chs. 7-8 "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins" [editors title these selections "Col. Sellers' Schemes" and "Col. Sellers Entertains Washington Hawkins"], ch. 11 "A Dinner with Col. Sellers" [editors title this selection "A Dinner Party"], and ch. 24 "Washington and Its Sights" [editors title this selection "The City of Washington"].

TA: chs. 2-3 "Baker's Bluejay [sic] Yarn: Prologue" and "Baker's Bluejay [sic] Yarn."

LM: chs. 3-7 "Frescoes from the Past," "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want To Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed"; ch. 38 "The House Beautiful."

"How to Tell a Story."

FE: ch. 38 "The Steamer *Rosetta* to Bombay," ch. 59 "A Visit to the Residency," and ch. 60 "To Lahore" [editors title these selections

"Bombay," "The Taj Mahal," and "At Jeypore"].
Auto: "Early Days."
MS: [entire text.]

1965 *Anderson, et al.*
HF: [entire text.]

1965 *McElderry*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: ch. 23 "The Famous Gondola," ch. 27 "'Butchered to Make a Roman Holiday,'" and ch. 53 "Description of Jerusalem" [editor titles these selections "Europeanized Americans," "Christopher Columbus," and "Tomb of Adam"].
RI: ch. 28 "Arrive at the Mountains."
GA: ch. 11 "A Dinner with Col. Sellers" [editor titles this selection "Supper at Sellers"].
LM: chs. 4-6 "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," and "A Cub-Pilot's Experience"; ch. 9 "Continued Perplexities."
CY: "The Stranger's History" and ch. 12 "Slow Torture."
FE: "Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
MS: ch. 11.

1966 *Davis and Johnson*
"The Story of the Bad Little Boy."
"The Medieval Romance."
RI: chs. 1-3 "My Brother Appointed Secretary of Nevada," "Arrive at St. Joseph," and "'The Thoroughbrace is Broke'"; chs. 5-7 "New Acquaintances," "The Division Superintendent," and "Overland City"; ch. 20 "The Great American Desert" and ch. 24 "Resolve to Buy a Horse."
LM: chs. 3-6 "Frescoes of the Past," "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," and "A Cub-Pilot's Experience"; ch. 38 "The House Beautiful."

1967 *Arms, Gibson, and Locke (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1967 *Beatty, Bradley, and Long (Shorter ed.)*
RI: ch. 7 "When the Buffalo Climbed a Tree."
LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition"; chs. 5-7 "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title these selections "A Mississippi Cub-Pilot"].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

LE: "Letter II: Satan to Michael and Gabriel."

1967 *Beatty, Bradley, and Long*
RI: ch. 7 "When the Buffalo Climbed a Tree."
LM: chs. 3-4 "Frescoes from the Past" and "The Boys' Ambition"; chs. 5-7 "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title this selection "A Mississippi Cub-Pilot"].
"Some Rambling Notes of an Idle Excursion" [editors sub-title this selection "Captain Hurricane Jones and the Prophets of Baal"].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
HF: [entire text.]
LE: "Letter II: Satan to Michael and Gabriel" and "V: The Lowest Animal."

1967 *Trilling (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1969 *Meserole, Sutton, and Weber*
"The Jumping Frog in French and English."
"Niagara."
TA: "Baker's Blue-jay [sic] Yarn."
HF: [entire text.]
LM: ch. 3 "Frescoes from the Past."
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."
"To the Person Sitting in Darkness."

1970 *Davis, Holman, and Rubin (Southern)*
TS: ch. 5 "The Pinch Bug and His Prey."
LM: ch. 40 "Castles and Culture," ch. 44 "City Sights," and ch. 46 "Enchantments and Enchanters."
"The Private History of a Campaign that [sic] Failed."

1970 *Howe (Nineteenth-Century)*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
OT: "The Boys' Ambition."
TA: "Jim Baker's Blue-jay [sic] Yarn."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

1971 *Howe, Schorer, and Ziff*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
OT: "The Boys' Ambition."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

1973 *Brooks, Lewis, and Warren*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
"How to Tell a Story."
IA: ch. 34 "Scarcity of Morals and Whiskey."

LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition," ch. 54 "Past and Present," and ch. 8 "Perplexing Lessons" [editors' ordering].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."
"To the Person Sitting in Darkness."

1974 *Beatty, Bradley, Long, and Perkins (Shorter ed.)*
RI: ch. 7 "When the Buffalo Climbed a Tree."
LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition"; chs. 5-7 "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title these selections "A Mississippi Cub-Pilot"].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
LE: "Letter II: Satan to Michael and Gabriel."

1974 *Beatty, Bradley, Long, and Perkins*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
"Story of the Bad Little Boy."
IA: ch. 27 "'Butchered to Make a Roman Holiday'" [editors title this selection "European Guides"].
RI: ch. 7 "When the Buffalo Climbed a Tree."
LM: chs. 3-4 "Frescoes from the Past" and "The Boys' Ambition"; chs. 5-7 "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title this selection "A Mississippi Cub-Pilot"].
"The Private History of a Campaign That Failed."
FE: "Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar."
"How to Tell a Story."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
Auto: [Quarles Farm.]
LE: "Letter II: Satan to Michael and Gabriel."

1974 *Brooks, Lewis, and Warren*
"The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
"How to Tell a Story."
IA: ch. 34 "Scarcity of Morals and Whiskey."
LM: ch. 4 "The Boys' Ambition," ch. 54 "Past and Present," and ch. 8 "Perplexing Lessons" [editors' ordering].
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."
"To the Person Sitting in Darkness."

1974 *McMichael, et al.*
"The Dandy Frightening the Squatter."
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
"Story of the Bad Little Boy."
"Story of the Good Little Boy."

RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].
"Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech."
TA: "Baker's Bluejay [sic] Yarn."
HF: [entire text.]
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences [sic]."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"To the Person Sitting in Darkness."
"The War Prayer."

1974 *Meserole, Sutton, and Weber*
"The Jumping Frog in French and English."
"Niagara."
TA: "Baker's Blue-jay [sic] Yarn."
HF: [entire text.]
LM: ch. 3 "Frescoes from the Past."
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."
"To the Person Sitting in Darkness."

1975 *Gross and Stern (1860-1900)*
[Twain is represented only by a brief introductory essay.]

1977 *Bain, Beatty, and Hunter (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1978 *DeMott and Trachtenberg*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
RI: ch. 24 "Resolve to Buy a Horse" [editors title this selection "A Genuine Mexican Plug"].
LM: chs. 4-6 "The Boys' Ambition," "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," and "The Cub-Pilot's Experience."
"How to Tell a Story."
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences [sic]."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
"To the Person Sitting in Darkness."
"The Southern Experience" [editors' mistake: this title actually refers to the next chapter in the anthology and has nothing to do with Twain's work].

1979 *Mack, et al. (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1980 *Gottesman, et al. (Shorter ed.)*
"Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog."
"Cruelty to Animals: The Histrionic Pig."
Letter: to Will Bowen (Feb. 6, 1870) "The Matter of Hannibal."

RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].
OT: "The Boys' Ambition" and "A Cub-Pilot's Experience" [editors title these selections "I." and "II. A 'Cub' Pilot's Experience; or, Learning the River"].
"Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech."
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences [sic]."
"The United States of Lyncherdom."

1981 *Beatty, Bradley, Long, and Perkins*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
IA: ch. 27 "'Butchered to Make a Roman Holiday'" [editors title this selection "European Guides"].
RI: ch. 7 "When the Buffalo Climbed a Tree."
LM: chs. 3-4 "Frescoes from the Past" and "The Boys' Ambition"; chs. 5-7 "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot," "A Cub-Pilot's Experience," and "A Daring Deed" [editors title these selections "A Mississippi Cub-Pilot"].
HF: [entire text.]
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
Auto: [Quarles Farm.]
LE: "Letter II: Satan to Michael and Gabriel."

1984 *Hurt and Wilke (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1984 *Landy (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1985 *Baym, et al.*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
Letter: to Will Bowen (Feb. 6, 1870) "The Matter of Hannibal."
RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].
HF: [entire text.]
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences [sic]."
"The War Prayer."
LE: "Letter IV."

1985 *Mack, et al. (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1985 *McMichael, et al.*
"The Dandy Frightening the Squatter."
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
"Story of the Bad Little Boy."

"Story of the Good Little Boy."
RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].
"Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech."
TA: "Baker's Bluejay [sic] Yarn."
HF: [entire text.]
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences [sic]."
"The War Prayer."

1986 *Baym, et al. (Shorter ed.)*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].
HF: [entire text.]
"The War Prayer."

1987 *David, Lecker, and O'Brien (International)*
[Twain is not included.]

1987 *McQuade, et al. (Shorter ed.)*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "Grandfather's Old Ram"].
OT: "The Boys' Ambition" and "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot" [editors title these selections "I. 'Cub' Wants to Be a Pilot" and "II. A 'Cub" Pilot's Experience; or, Learning the River"].
"The Story of a Speech."
"The Private History of a Campaign that [sic] Failed."
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."
"Corn-Pone Opinions."

1987 *McQuade, et al.*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
RI: chs. 1-3 "My Brother appointed Secretary of Nevada," "Arrive at St. Joseph," and "'The Thoroughbrace is Broke'" [editors title these selections "St. Louis to 'St. Jo,'" "An Imposing Cradle on Wheels,"]; ch. 7 "Overland City" [editors title this selection "Bemis's Buffalo Hunt"]; ch. 8 "The Pony Express"; chs. 21-24 "Alkali Dust," "The Son of Nabob," "A Happy Life," and "Resolve to Buy a Horse" [editors title these selections "The 'Washoe Zephyr,'" "Lake Tahoe," "A Bewildering Richness," and "A Genuine Mexican Plug"]; ch. 29 "Out Prospecting" [editors title this selection "'Bloated Millionaires'"]; ch. 34

"About Carson" [editors title this selection "The Great Landslide"]; chs. 40-41 "The 'Wide West' Mine" and "A Rheumatic Patient" [editors title these selections "'It's a Blind Lead'" and "'We're Ruined--!'"]; ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "Grandfather's Old Ram"]; ch. 57 "California" [editors title this selection "That Rare and Blessed Spectacle, a Woman!"]; ch. 61 "Dick Baker and his Cat" (editor titles this selection "Dick Baker's Cat"].

OT: "The Boys' Ambition" and I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot [editors title these selections "I. 'Cub' Wants to Be a Pilot" and "II. A 'Cub' Pilot's Experience; or, Learning the River"].

HF: [editors include a separate copy of the entire text: A Centennial Edition, edited as a facsimile of the first American edition by Hamlin Hill.]

"The Story of a Speech."

TA: ch. 2 "Heidelberg" [editors subtitle this selection "Language of Animals"] and ch. 3 "Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn."

"The Private History of a Campaign That Failed."

"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."

"The War Prayer."

"Corn-Pone Opinions."

Letters: *from* to Orion and Mollie Clemens (Oct. 9, 1865); to Will Bowen (Feb. 6, 1870); to William Dean Howells (July 21, 1885).

1989 *Baym, et al. (Shorter ed.)*

"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."

RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].

HF: [entire text.]

"The Art of Authorship."

"How to Tell a Story."

LE: "Letter IV."

1989 *Baym, et al.*

"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."

Letter: to Will Bowen (Feb. 6, 1870) "The Matter of Hannibal."

RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].

GA: ch. 8 "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins" [editors title this selection "Colonel Beriah Sellers"].

HF: [entire text.]
"The Art of Authorship."
"How to Tell a Story."
"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."
LE: "Letter IV."

1990 *Lauter, et al.*
GA: chs. 27-28 "Col. Sellers Comforts His Wife With His Views of the Prospects" and "Visit to Headquarters in Wall Street."
"A True Story."
OT: "The Boys' Ambition" and "I Want To Be a Cub-Pilot."
HF: [entire text.]
"The War Prayer."

1993 *McMichael, et al.*
"The Dandy Frightening the Squatter."
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
"Story of the Bad Little Boy."
RI: ch. 47 "Buck Fanshaw's Death" and ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and His Grandfather's Ram" [editors title these selections "Buck Fanshaw's Funeral" and "The Story of the Old Ram"].
"Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech."
HF: [entire text.]
"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offences [sic]."
"The War Prayer."
LE: "Letters III and IV."

1994 *Baym, et al.*
"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."
Letter: to Will Bowen (Feb. 6, 1870) "The Matter of Hannibal."
RI: ch. 53 "Jim Blaine and his Grandfather's Ram" [editors title this selection "The Story of the Old Ram"].
GA: ch. 8 "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins" [editors title this selection "Colonel Beriah Sellers"].
HF: [entire text.]
"The Art of Authorship."
"How to Tell a Story."
LE: "Letter IV."

1994 *Lauter, et al. (Twain section edited by Everett Emerson)*
"Sociable Jimmy."
"A True Story."
OT: "The Boys' Ambition" and "I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot" [editors title these selections "I.

'Cub' Wants to Be a Pilot" and "II. A 'Cub" Pilot's Experience; or, Learning the River"].

HF: [editors include the entire text and use the subtitle "Tom Sawyer's Comrade.]

"The War Prayer."

1994 *McQuade, et al.*

Letter *from* to Orion and Mollie Clemens (Oct. 9, 1865) [editors title this selection "Cultural Landscapes and Interiors: Excite the *Laughter* of God's Creatures"].

"The Notorious Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."

OT: "The Boys' Ambition" and I Want to Be a Cub-Pilot [editors title these selections "One Permanent Ambition" and "A 'Cub' Pilot's Experience; or, Learning the River"].

HF: [editors include a separate copy of the entire text: A Centennial Edition, edited as a facsimile of the first American edition by Hamlin Hill.]

PW: [editors include four maxims under the title "Cultural Landscapes and Interiors: 'A Difference of Opinion.'"]

FE: [editors include three maxims under the title "Cultural Landscapes and Interiors: 'A Difference of Opinion.'"]

"The Story of a Speech."

"The Private History of a Campaign That Failed."

"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg."

"Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses."

"Corn-Pone Opinions."

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