"There Is No Humor in Heaven"

Satire in Mark Twain's *The Chronicle of Young Satan* and
Nr. 44, The Mysterious Stranger

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Themes

My thesis will examine how American author Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens, 1835-1910) used satire in his narrative and characters in two versions of his posthumously published work *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*, consisting of three manuscripts in total. The ones I have chosen for my research are *The Chronicle of Young Satan* (primarily) and *Nr. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* (secondarily).

I have demarcated my thesis in this way to maintain coherence, especially as it relates to the satirical elements found in the *Manuscripts*. The first and the last manuscript also provide a beginning and an ending for Twain's writing process and how he pieces together the outlines of the relevant topics. Therefore, it was most natural to omit the second manuscript. Leaving the second manuscript out also makes the content easier to handle within the framework of a master's thesis. I will carry both manuscripts through my thesis and study how Twain's characters, expression and narrative possibly change or develop across these versions. Nevertheless, simply comparing the two manuscripts is not my goal.

The objective of my thesis is to find out which features in Twain's characters and narrative demonstrate satire or modes close to it – such as parody, comedy and irony. How does Twain's style of writing, such as independent and fragmented scenes, create a satirical atmosphere? How could the incompleteness of the narrative, intentional or not, be seen from the viewpoint of creating a satirical text? In order to ask these questions I place the *Manuscripts* in the context of religion, politics, psychology and other cultural features of late 19th century.

I will use a few other stories with similar characters and narratives to connect Twain's work to the tradition of moral satire and Menippean satire. These examples are mainly written after the Age of Enlightenment. At the center of my character analysis will be the Stranger and the different roles he takes amongst other characters. My assumption

is that these other characters mainly exist only for the Stranger to prove his point. In Chapter Four I categorize these roles as Teacher, Jester and Machine. I ask how Twain creates an atmosphere we can recognize as satire through these different roles.

When it comes to satire's various sub-genres, I will concentrate on Menippean satire, especially that written after the Age of Enlightenment, which I believe to be a fruitful tool to reveal new aspects of the texts. To understand the origins of Menippean satire, I will also briefly introduce Socratic dialogue, a short-lived literary genre, which eventually formed into Menippean satire. Socratic dialogue also ties the *Manuscripts* to moral satire. One of my goals is to find out what kind of characteristics of Socratic dialogue are in the narrative, characters and themes of these writings. I keep in mind, however, that Menippean satire itself is a sub-genre of carnivalistic satire, which has a very distinctive idea of laughter.

Since satire has been developing from antiquity all the way to modern times, placing the *Manuscripts* into their historical context is necessary. Therefore, I will compare the work to a few similar satire writers' texts which contemplate similar themes using similar tools. I am interested in how some 18th century writers such as Jonathan Swift and Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet) mixed themes of travelling and the viewpoint of being a stranger into satire and what kind of similarities might be found between theirs and Twain's characters. When it comes to Menippean satire, Russian author Fyodor Dostoevsky becomes relevant through Mikhail Bakhtin's research on the genre.

One of the central concepts in this thesis is "serious smiling", which is a term introduced by Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin. His theories about Menippean satire, carnivalism and Socratic dialogue will also add to the main theory base for my thesis.

Because my thesis relies significantly on the analysis on the characters and narratives used in a few significant scenes that work quite independently, I have used these features as structure for the table of contents. The order of my thesis is based on moving from the idea of the universal mysterious Stranger in literature to Twain's

Strangers in general and finally to the Stranger character in the *Manuscripts*. Who is the Stranger and what is his function in Twain's satire? What kind of narratives does Twain create around the character of the Stranger in the *Manuscripts*? I will also display the basic features of Socratic dialogue and Menippean satire to able to demonstrate the usage of these features in Twain's character gallery. I ask how Twain modernizes and modifies the tradition of Menippean satire and moral satire.

Another important question is how, by juxtaposing natural and supernatural, Twain creates the kind of satire that is not actually something you laugh out loud at, but can still be called humorous. This is where the term "serious-smiling" becomes relevant. Concepts such as humor, serious smiling, satire and irony are essential for my research, and therefore the differences between these terms will be specified in chapter 1.4. I also ask what part does fantasy play in creating a functioning environment for satire. I will approach this question through studying the narrative of the romance novel.

Since I haven't found any previous studies connecting these manuscripts and the tradition of Menippean satire, my objective is to find new perspective on the works at issue, specifically as they relate to satire and the concept serious smiling. The new, more honest style of Twain's late writings was not as well received by the audience as his earlier works. Critics would describe it as "mere products of depression induced by personal tragedy" as Pascal Covici Jr. put it (cited in Pogel, Somers 1988: 9). This gives an interesting starting point from which to relate the text to Twain's later years and the social atmosphere of late 19th century. In a *New York Times* review the Paine-Duneka edition was described in the title as "A depressing study on pessimism."

> For here we have a last word from him we have always called the greatest American humorist, a word that comes to us after the grave has closed over the speaker, a final and conclusive word. It is difficult to imagine a message carrying a grimmer credo of despair, disillusion, and contempt for human existence. It blows upon the spirit like a cold wind over a dark and desolate land, a land where there is never a light, near or far, promising shelter, home, and love. In such a land, shivering in such a wind, what better is there than to lie down and die? (Howells 1916.)

Such words as "pessimism", " dark despair" and "damned human race" often come across when reading the last pages of the books written about Twain's career. These years also get the least attention, since they have been doomed under the label of

philosophical determinism. It has even been said that the loss of belief in human race by the author reduces the significance of Twain's later writings. (Tuckey, 1970: 532.) In *Everybody Knows: Cynicism in America* William Chaloupka defines cynicism as the condition of lost belief (Chaloupka 1999: 9). In other words, cynicism doesn't leave room for hope, which I have hard time agreeing with when it comes to the *Manuscripts*. For one, this dismissive reading, (which, of course, is only one way to approach the texts) provoked me to dig deeper. However, Twain's style did not change suddenly. This extremely honest style of writing was already visible in some of Twain's other texts from the same period: for example, in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), which has also been studied from the viewpoint of Menippean satire by Hank Morgan (Studies in American Humor, 2007).

Mark Twain is considered by many to be the quintessential American humorist. In the last chapter I will take the meaning of Twain's satire beyond his life by investigating how his writings have influenced a few modern American satirists. I find this important because I can see a straight line from one particular scene in the *Manuscripts*, where the protagonist describes the mission of humor, to modern American political satirists. My assumption is that in this observation lays something that was not yet reality in Twain's time but now blooms specifically in modern American satire.

Since Mark Twain was Samuel Longhorne Clemens' pseudonym, I will use the last name "Twain" when I am talking about the author and "Clemens" when I'm talking about the historical person.

1.2 Overview on Research Materials

I was first acquainted with *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* through the stop motion animated film *The Adventures of Mark Twain* (1985), directed by Will Vinton. Several of Twain's stories are mixed into this one film, and at one point the main characters Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer and Becky Thatcher get together with Satan from *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*.

This very powerful scene takes place on a floating piece of land in the middle of nowhere. One interesting note is that in this scene Satan wears a white movable mask and has no other face. He wears a red dress, which resembles a knight's outfit. This execution differs greatly from how the character was described in the Mysterious Stranger book, but tells something about how this kind of an archetype can easily be interpreted as something universal and generic. I will go deeper into this, though, later in my study.

Even for a person living in the 21st century the things this Stranger tells the boys seem radical, somewhat uncomfortable and intriguing at the same time. In the movie, only the first scene from the book is shown: that is, when the boys meet the mysterious Stranger for the first time. This was what led me to read the book the movie was based on.

The first time *The Mysterious Stranger* came to public awareness was in 1916, when Twain's editors Albert Bigelow Paine and Frederick A. Duneka published an edition called *The Mysterious Stranger*, in which they had edited and combined Twain's three stories into one story This edition was also the first introduction for myself before I knew anything about the original texts.

It wasn't until 1969 when the original manuscripts were published. These included *The Chronicle of Young Satan*, *Schoolhouse Hill* and *Nr.44, The Mysterious Stranger*. From now on I will refer to these different parts of the manuscripts as CYS, SH and MS. The whole collection I will refer to as the *Manuscripts*.

Later on, the first “Paine-Duneka” text was determined to be an editorial fraud by many critics, since it was published under Twain's name even though the version cuts off many parts and characters and also takes liberties to combine pieces from Twain's three stories (Simmons 2007: 1). Since the publication of the original texts, the research has focused on the unaltered manuscripts. The original text exists in three different hand-written drafts stored at the General Library of the University of California in Berkeley. (Tuckey 1966: 9.) In my thesis I will use a new 2005 edition (by William M. Gibson) of the manuscripts published in 1969.

Although these three unfinished manuscripts have some differences in characters, storyline and setting, the center of the two manuscripts that my thesis handles focuses on the character of a young and innocent Stranger who comes to Earth to study human nature and to teach the protagonist and the other characters through his observations.

Twain worked on the first manuscript, CYS between November 1897 and September 1900. In CYS the setting is Eseldorf (Ass-ville), an Austrian Village, in 1702. The narrator is a young boy called Theodor Fischer who, with his friends Seppi Wohlmeyer and Nikolaus Baumann, lives in perfect ignorance, obeying the village priest Father Adolf. The priest is described to be the only one who is not afraid of the Devil, having even spoken with him. The other villagers are mainly described as faithful cattle, living in the fear of both God and the Devil.

In the beginning Theodore describes the village as a paradise, far away from the world, and asleep. Everything changes when the boys meet the mysterious Stranger on a hill after visiting the astrologer who lives in a castle. The Sranger is a young and well-mannered boy who starts to amaze them with his magical powers. At first they are afraid, but soon become friends.

The Stranger reveals to the boys that he is an angel called Satan, named after his famous uncle, the biblical Lucifer. But this Satan is not fallen, he lives above the moral sense and describes himself as merely a spirit. To the villagers he introduces himself as Philip Traum, a name that also refers to a dream and his function representing the creative imagination. Unlike the boys and other mortal creatures, he has the power to *create* from nothing, whereas humans simply mimic what already

exists. He also is able to move in time and space, turn himself into other people and read minds.

The events of the book are mainly short teachings about the absurdity of human nature, and Theodore, just like all the other villagers, seems to be only a puppet for Satan to prove his point. Looking from the viewpoint of theme versus plot, both of the manuscripts are definitely theme driven, which means that the plot and characters exist primarily to illustrate the themes. As the author, Twain operates as the spokesman of his society and personal opinions in order to address something that (in his opinion) is needed to be brought into public discussion in the society, but has not been yet covered (cf. Frye 1957: 53-54).

The main events in CYS evolve around little scenes, which work quite independently of with each other. In his essay "The Background of the Mysterious Stranger" Coleman O. Parsons calls the plot "as episodic as that of a picaresque novel. Its substance, however, is not the activity of a rogue, despite traits of *picaro* or anti-hero in Satan, but the production of a wise youth" (Parsons 1960: 61.)[1] After Satan has introduced himself, a set of travels into foreign countries occurs. In the village, the events evolve around its inhabitants: there is a trial between the good priest and the bad priest and a love triangle between two couples and Satan. Not only Theodor but other villagers also develop a strange addiction to the Stranger, who is almost treated like a superstar, yet feared at the same time.

The third manuscript, *Nr.44, The Mysterious Stranger,* is also placed in Eseldorf, but the year is 1490. Twain worked on this version between 1902 and 1908. The story is set in a print shop where the narrator, sixteen-year-old August Feldner, works. The print shop is located in an old castle, which houses over a dozen people, including the print master and the various men who work in the shop, as well as a magician called Balthasar. The mysterious Stranger, "Number 44, New Series 864,962", comes to ask for work in the print shop, where August, the protagonist of the story, works and lives. The Stranger is not introduced as Satan the Angel, but is simply called Fourty-

[1] Here we must note that Parsons refers to the Paine-Duneka text, since at the time of the publication of his essay the unaltered manuscript versions were not yet published. However, the episodic nature of the plot is only enhanced in the unaltered texts.

four throughout the narrative. Perhaps Twain wanted to make the character less obvious in this manuscript he wrote later that CYS.

However, the abilities of Nr. 44 recall the abilities of Satan in CYS. After moving into the castle he uses magical powers such as creating a duplicate of each worker, reading minds and making people invisible. The mysterious events start to irritate other workers, which leads to a strike just when they are supposed to be printing the Bible. Nr. 44 makes a copy of each worker, called the "Duplicates" throughout the narrative, each of which represents the "dream self" as compared to the "waking self". Eventually, the Duplicates replace the original humans in the print shop.

Compared to CYS, MS evolves much more around psychology, dream selves, duality and power of the mind. Both stories focus on the absurd behavior of the villagers when they desperately try to please others, obey God and still gain as much wealth for themselves as possible. In MS, however, the love triangle is more complex: The girl who August has a crush on falls for his duplicate, since the duplicate possesses many qualities that the original is lacking.

The second manuscript, SH, differs from these two in its minor characters and milieu: Twain uses familiar boys, Huckleberry Finn and Tom Sawyer in a school setting. The mysterious Stranger character is fairly similar to the other two Manuscripts, but in SH he comes into this story as a new student who stirs the balance of the class. Even though SH by any measure is part of the wholeness of the three manuscript texts, the themes Twain handles and develops during his writing process are easier to follow by focusing on the starting point and the ending point. Since I have chosen to omit the second manuscript, further details in relation to the story are not necessary.

The two versions, CYS and MS, which I have chosen I will handle as a continuum. By this I mean focusing on the question of how the story develops between these two versions and what kind of styles Twain uses in his search for a satisfactory ending. It is important to note that CYS does not have a finished ending, whereas MS does. Reading Twain from the viewpoint of Menippean satire is also easier while

comparing to storylines similar to each other when it comes to the characters, which are very important in order to fulfill Menippean satire's intentions.

Mark Twain is one of the most important American satirists and there is a lot of Twain research done overseas, but in Finland the only one I have found handles the two different translations of Huckleberry Finn. The Paine-Duneka text has been translated in Finnish, whereas the original manuscripts have not.

What also makes The *Manuscripts* fertile for research is the fact that they present a very different kind of Twain than the audience was used to. Even though his trademarks, such as the sudden appearance of a Stranger, child characters and satire are clearly present, in these last writings Twain goes into dark depths about his views on humanity. This is probably one reason why it has been left in the margins compared to his other stories. In 1899, Twain described his new project in a letter:

> What I have been wanting was a chance to write a book without reserves–a book which should take account of no-one's hopes, illusions, delusions; a book which should say my say, right out of the heart - - There was no condition but one under which the writing of such a book could be possible; only one–the consciousness that it would not see print. (Twain 1899.)

This leads me to the next interesting aspect for a literature researcher: Twain never finished any of the works relating to the mysterious Stranger stories, even though he worked on these manuscripts periodically for almost ten years from 1890 until 1910, the year of his death. CYS fragments were written completely in Europe and MS was begun and finished in the United States while the middle part was written in Florence. (Kahn 1978: 20.) The incompleteness can be mostly seen in CYS, which ends almost in the middle of a sentence when Satan and Theodor are on one of their travels. According to some research handling the *Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts,* MS has the ending Twain had long intended for the story (cf. Kahn 1978: 9-10). On the other hand, it also includes many incomplete, long-winded passages in the middle part of the story. This incompleteness in the narrative can be also seen as one possible way of reading the *Manuscripts*, and I will return to this viewpoint as I move on to the characteristics of Menippean satire.

1.3 About Mark Twain

Samuel Langhorne Clemens was born in the small town of Florida, Missouri in 1835, the same night that Halley's comet passed by the Earth. Samuel was the sixth of seven children born to John Marshall and Jane Lampton Clemens. At two months premature, the baby didn't have a good life expectancy, since the family was poor and finally only four of the children would reach adulthood – Sam, against all odds, being one of them. (Ward, Duncan, Burns 2001: 3-4.)

When Clemens was four years old the family moved to the Mississippi river town of Hannibal, an event which has had a huge influence on his work. Just like Theodor in Eseldorf, Clemens described Hannibal as a "Boy's paradise", where "everybody was poor but didn't know it." (Ward, Duncan, Burns 2001: 4.)

Clemens went to Presbyterian Sunday school and claimed to have read the Bible before the age of fifteen. Taking this into consideration, the Bible has probably influenced him more than any other single book. Since a young boy he felt the need to rewrite the Biblical stories to create another perspective, especially when it comes to the character of Satan. He also worked on new ways of presenting Adam and Eve in many of his writings. (Ferguson 1963: 25.)

This interest in the biblical characters can be seen in the *Eve's Diary* (1906), *Extracts from Adam's Diary* (1904), *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* (1909), *Letters from The Earth* (posthumously published in 1962) and finally in the *Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* - all exploring biblical stories from various perspectives. However, the *Manuscripts* differ from his other stories relating to the Bible when it comes to the ending; almost as if Twain had finally found a conclusion to the incessant arguments bouncing between his two (or perhaps more) personalities. This was how he described it earlier in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*:

> The trouble about arguments is, they aren't nothing but theories, and theories don't prove nothing, they only give you a place to rest on, a spell, when you are tuckered out butting around and around trying to find out something there ain't no way to find out. (Twain, 1894: 106)

Another thing shaping Clemens' childhood was the constant proximity of death. The misfortunes of his later life have motivated researchers to consider his writings from the biographical point of view. Clemens' sister Margaret died when he was only four years old and his brother Benjamin died three years later, in 1842. (Ferguson 1963: 32.) The near-death experience of his friend Tom Nash became part of The *Manuscripts* in the character of Nikolaus Bauman in CYS. Two of Twain's friends were drowned in the Mississippi and Nash, who survived, suffered a horrible fate of multiple diseases and never fully recovered. (Ferguson 1963: 24.) Clemens dealt with these events in his own way by including stories that paralleled with his experience in his books.

Death followed Twain even with his own family: soon after his daughter Jean had been taken off to the sanitarium he started to wear the white suits (Lystra 2004: 87). But it wasn't until the death of his wife Olivia in June 1904 when Twain started to break away from the set of his old characters and create something serious, yet satirical - and without any self-censoring (Cox: 224-225). As Cox puts it: "The Mysterious Stranger was the narrative by means of which Twain recovered his balance both as a man and writer" (Cox 1966: 269).

It is important to note that it wasn't until his latest years when this "dark side" of Twain's was completely unleashed when it comes to his writings. In 1906 (a few years after his wife's death) Clemens decided to start wearing white suits year round. In *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain* Justin Kaplan described these suits as "fetish of what had become an obsession with guilt, with forbidden and therefore unclean thoughts." According to this biographer, Twain's posthumous writings, everything he never intended to publish in his lifetime, were one manifestation of this guilt. (Kaplan 2003: 380.)

Clemens' numerous jobs also influenced his writings. In the summer of 1847 he started working as a delivery and office boy for a newspaper called *Gazette,* later continuing to an apprenticeship as a printer (Ferguson 1963: 33). Later on he worked – just to name the main ones – as a riverboat pilot on the Mississippi river, a

Confederate militiaman, a silver miner in the west, a newspaperman in Virginia City and a humorous lecturer in San Francisco (Kirk 2004: 29-31).

During his years on the Mississippi river, Clemens came up with his pseudonym Mark Twain, which in river slang meant that the water was deep enough for the boat: twelve feet, to be exact. Another explanation for the pen name was that Clemens adopted it from a senior pilot named Isaiah Sellers. (Kirk 2004 41-42.) Before this he had used and discarded other pen names such as Josh and Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass (Kirk 2004: 30, 41).

Twain's early stories mimic the tradition of American oral storytelling. Ironically, Twain was the one to establish American humor, but wasn't, due to the light tune in his writings, taken as seriously as he would have hoped. In fact, in his day Twain was more popular as a public speaker than as a writer. To be able to keep writing fiction, he also worked for numerous newspapers. The money he earned Twain liked to spend on traveling, and those trips gave him always new material for performances and writing. (Zall 1985: xv.)

In his later years, Twain's stories became more literary than oratorical as his career objective had changed from making people laugh to telling them the truth (Zall 1985: xviii.):

> Mark Twain's humorous story telling relies on anecdotal interruptions and digressions to upset our expectations of a straight-forward narrative flow, or a well made plot that moves straight ahead. (Zall 1985: xviii.)

Twain is known for his immortal quotes and one-liners with unexpected wit, such as "everybody talks about the weather but nobody does anything about it." Even today his quotes live in the memes on the Internet: *The New Yorker* just recently published a new set of unpublished quotes such as "Are you following me home? Please leave me alone, and stop quoting me!" (Joe Veix, New Yorker, 2013)

In *Mark Twain laughing - Humorous Anecdotes by and About Samuel L. Clemens* Paul M. Zall explains the nature of these short sentences that create the basis for American humor.

> The basic structure of a maxim is the same as that of a joke – a built line followed by a punch line: The difference is that both elements are contained in the maxim's one sentence, as in defining a classic as "a book which people praise [built line] and don't read [punch line]". (Zall 1985: xxi.)

A serious sentence has the reward of smile in the end. This kind of mode of humor and satire can be seen in Twain's works throughout his career, but in the later writings the punch line is increasingly hidden and offers the reader a little bit more of a challenge. Revealing this sort of "hidden humor" is the main objective in my study on the *Manuscripts*.

1.4 Key Concepts of the Thesis: Satire, Irony, Humor and Parody

Satire, irony, comedy and parody are genres that are quite impossible to completely separate from each other, but since Twain has been referred to as a master of all of these modes, the delicate gradation between them needs to be clarified. This chapter, however, is only for explaining the concepts, and in later chapters I will use them as part of my analysis.

First of all, it is important to note that these terms constantly overlap and invoke each other, but there are a few main characteristics that help one to see the differences. For example, the main difference between satire and comedy is that even though satire takes advantage of comedy and humor, its main goal is not to entertain, but to educate (Kivistö 2007: 15). Satirical laughter contains social and judgmental aspects: it inflicts social shame and is exclusive in its nature. However, there is an exception in Menippean satire and carnivalistic satire, which are important concepts in my study: in these modes laughter falls equally upon everyone. (Kivistö 2007: 17, Bakhtin 1984: 119.)

One of the main functions of satire, which are not characteristics of other genres on the list, is its educational nature and the seriousness underneath. In *Latin Satire* Charles Witke describes the importance of usefulness in satire. He states that what

most clearly distinguishes satire from comedy is satire's aim to instruct rather than to amuse (Witke 1970: 2). Witke emphasizes satire's role as a highly social genre, and the satirist someone who is capable of leading people who need someone to guide them (Witke 1970: 3).

In *Anatomy of Criticism,* Northrop Frye describes the difference between satire and irony by saying that "satire is militant irony: its moral norms are relatively clear, and it assumes standards against which the grotesque and absurd are measured" (Frye 1957: 223.) Irony uses the technique of "appearing to be less than one is", in other words, saying as little as possible and meaning as much as possible. By doing this, it is possible for irony to move away from its own meaning (Frye: 1957: 40). Frye lists two things that are essential to satire: wit or humor founded on fantasy or a sense of the grotesque or absurd and object of attack. In irony the author's attitudes are suppressed. (Frye 1957: 223-224.)

One main difference between comedy and satire lays in the characters, which in satire are usually historical or recognizable, not just fictional comical caricatures (Kivistö 2007: 17). On a genre-based level, according to Frye, "comedy blends insensibly into satire at one extreme and into romance at the other; romance may be comic or tragic; tragedy extends from high romance to bitter and ironic realism" (Frye 1957: 162).

In *A Theory of Parody* Linda Hutcheon clarifies the difference between satire and parody. She describes parody as “repetition with a critical distance, which marks difference rather than similarity” (Hutcheon 1985: 6). In the 18th century, the function of parody was often to be the “malicious and denigrating vehicle of satire”, which, according to Hutcheon, is a “role it continues to play to this day in some forms of parody” (Hutcheon 1985: 11).

The most important characteristic of parody is that its target is "always another work of art or, more generally, another form of coded discourse" (Hutcheon 1985: 16). It can be described as "repetition that includes difference" (Hutcheon 1985: 37). Furthermore Hutcheon argues that, theoretically, any codified form can be treated in terms of "repetition with critical distance" (Hutcheon 1985: 18).

According to Hutcheon, satire is "both moral and social in its focus and ameliorative in its intention" (Hutcheon 1985: 16). She adds that parody can be "used to satirize the reception or even creation of certain kinds of art". (Hutcheon 1985: 16). However, the main difference between the two forms "lays not so much in their perspective on human behavior - - but what is made into a "target"' (Hutcheon 1985: 43). "Parody is an "intramural" form with aesthetic norms, and satire's "extramural" norms are social and moral" (Hutcheon 1985: 25). I have clarified this difference to myself in the form of walls - since parody is tied to the work it parodies it can only exist within certain boundaries[2]. Satire, however, can exist outside these boundaries and be built from scratch by a community or an individual.

When it comes to the *Manuscripts*, satire and parody are quite impossible to separate since many scenes in the book have biblical and political references, but they are not tied to their origins as parody per se. Even though Twain borrows features from parody, it is clear that the *Manuscripts* are moral in their intention and do not have any one specific work of art as their target. These kinds of complex characteristics of the text are perfect examples of the overlapping of these modes, which transcends simple categorization.

Hutcheon notes that the overlapping of satire and parody has to be taken into account, but parody cannot be seen as type of satire or as a dimension of the parodic text, as some researches have stated (Hutcheon 1985: 25). Some researchers also highlight parody's potential for elitism, but Hutcheon sees it as "teaching the art of the past by textual incorporation and ironic commentary." (Hutcheon 1985: 27).

The goal for the *Manuscripts* is certainly not to entertain, since it hardly makes the reader laugh. Therefore, it can be extracted from comedy, but it cannot be said, that the story does not have comical *elements*. It uses, for example, the build line and punch line, which are very common in comedy. Many of the micro stories included in the *Manuscripts* also offer some kind of comic relief, even though it might not be the

[2] However, this metaphorical wall should not be seen as a restriction for parody, but simply what defines it.

most traditional kind. James M. Cox separates Twain's earlier and later satire from the viewpoint of the characters' attitude towards civilization and reality:

> For the book [The Mysterious Stranger] is satiric, and not humorous, in intent, which is to say that the impulse to expose reality dominates the impulse to play upon it. The pleasure of judgment thus supersedes the pleasure of play. Whereas Huck had rejected civilization in order to play in the territory, Satan rejects it because it is contemptible. (Cox 1966: 275.)

Even though Satan despises civilization, my presumption is that he has not abandoned it. Since he goes to all the trouble to visit the ignorant village, there can be hope found under the black satiric mood. Perhaps it is in the punch line? Perhaps it is in the innocence of children and animals, which the characters seem to have so much to learn from? These questions will be answered later, but first we have to get to know the character of the mysterious Stranger and his roots in order to find out what he is here to tell us.

2. The Stranger Emerges

In CYS, before Theodor, August and Seppi meet the mysterious Stranger for the first time, they spend the night in a castle close to their home village Eseldorf. The castle belonged to a "prince with a difficult name" who visited there approximately once in five years, stirring the city for a moment and leaving behind something Theodor describes as "the deep sleep which follows an orgy" (CYS: 36).

Normally, the people of Eseldorf were not allowed to even walk in the castle park, but Theodor and the other boys are the pets of the oldest serving-man in the castle, Felix Brandt. Brandt had served in a few wars and was at a siege in Vienna, where he got bags of coffee and cigarettes from the Turks. During the boys' visits, Brandt had been teaching them these foreign vices and introduced them to the spirit world.

“While it thundered and lightened outside he told us about ghosts and horrors of every kind” (CYS: 44), Theodor describes. Brandt has seen the Wild Huntsmen, an incubus, vampires, and a ghost who lives in the castle. Theodor tells how the serving-man taught the boys not to be afraid of the ghost and once they managed to see a glimpse of it - "and we scarcely trembled, he had taught us so well." This reaction indicates the story to fit in the category of romance, where ghosts are merely characters in the story and do not cause much surprise in other characters[3] (Frye 1957: 50).

In *Notebooks of Romance* (2004) Frye describes the structure of a Romance as “down-and-up type of narrative” (Frye 2004: 208). This type starts from “a condition of being in which there is nothing to write about” (Frye 2004: 208) which resembles the beginning of CYS, when the village is being described as a calm paradise. From this “we plunge into experience” and the two main worlds involved are the idealized idyllic world and the idealized bad world. The hero escapes from the bad world and the separation of these two worlds identifies heroes as heroes and villains as villains. (Frye 2004: 208.) The introduction of the Stranger leads to a typical romance plot, where the ordinary world is being replaced by a dream world. According to Frye the

[3] In comparison to myth, where there is no distinction between ghosts and living beings (Frye 1957: 50).

narrative movement "keeps rising into wish fulfillment or sinking into anxiety and nightmare" (Frye 1976: 53).

Even though this is how the narrative works in the *Manuscripts*, the stories cannot be seen as traditional romance in quite the same sense, since Twain's idea of good and bad is a little more complicated: it deals more with humans universal inner weaknesses rather than claiming that villains are "incurable" universal characters. For Twain, these two worlds of idyll and evil are mixed together and turned around.

The Romance characters play a big part in the *Manuscripts* and Twain mixes the good and evil world in the most important creature of all – an actual angel. This is how Theodor describes his image of an angel before meeting Satan:

> They had no wings, and wore clothes, and talked and looked and acted just like any natural person, and you would never know them for angels, except for the wonderful things they did which an mortal could not do, and the way they suddenly disappeared while you were talking with them - - And he said they were pleasant and cheerful, not gloomy and melancholy, like ghosts. (CYS: 44.)

This description works as an introduction to the emergence of the Stranger after the boys leave the castle. The three boys, Theodor, August and Seppi, go on to a nearby hill to smoke some tobacco and talk about all the things they have heard, but forget to bring matches to light up the cigarette. At this point, the mysterious Stranger walks up to them and creates fire from nothing, even though the boys don't express the need for it out loud. This is the first trick that the Stranger, who later introduces himself as an un-fallen angel called Satan, performs.

In *Mark Twain - The Fate of Humor* James M. Cox describes the beginning scene of CYS as Twain's "finest impersonations of the style of juvenile romance". The scenery is tranquil and still, the villages and the castle are as conventional as possible:

> The entire passage seeks to evoke the indulgently picturesque scene of a literary fairy tale - -
>
> - - The intention of this first passage is more to **set the convention** than disclose the character if the narrator. Theodore Fischer, the narrator, seems always more conventional than individual. His individuality can scarcely be felt against the

> pressure of the convention his language impersonates–the convention of juvenile romance, with its indulgent reverence for the older time. (Cox 1966: 274.) [Emphasis mine]

Deriving from a tradition common in medieval romance literature, magic, ghosts and witch-burnings are an important part of the story. The village and its people represent the convention, whereas Satan and Nr. 44 represent contemporary thoughts of Twain. It is interesting to note how Twain uses this setting to satirize religion and man's cruelty towards each other. Mixing the Stranger's magic into the witchcraft that the villagers are afraid of is a crucial part of Twain's satire.

To understand the satire present within these manuscripts, it is important to know the history behind the characters that Twain has chosen for the story. Theodor in CYS and August in MS can be placed in the tradition of sophisticated pathos, which is the story of how someone who we can relate to is broken by conflicts between the inner and outer world. These two realities are the imaginative reality and the reality with established social consensus. (Frye 1957: 39.) Oblivious characters like Theodor and August constantly struggle with the rational world of Satan's and Nr. 44's teaching and the traditional religious atmosphere.

Satan and Nr. 44 are somewhat traditional romance characters: superior in degree to other men and their environment (Frye 1957: 33). However, they don't identify themselves as humans: Satan, for example, describes himself as an angel and spirit, which gives the story some mythical elements. In the *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957) Northop Frye describes the hero of romance as someone who:

> Moves in a world which the ordinary laws of nature are slightly suspended: prodigies of courage and endurance, unnatural to us, are natural to him and enchanted weapons, talking animals, terrifying ogres and witches, and talismans of miraculous power violate no rule of probability once the postulates of romance have been established." (Frye 1957: 33.)

In CYS these postulates are established right in the beginning, when the boys have not yet met Satan and Theodor describes their visit to the old castle and encounters with ghosts and angels. Similar postulates are present in MS, where the castle magician Balthasar is being introduced in the early stages of the story: the scene has been set for Nr. 44's magic and the reader finds it logical within the romance plot. In MS, the

Stranger's emergence is not magical, but he is simply a young man who seeks work from the print shop. His magical gifts open up to other workers slowly and very often in disguise. In CYS, the things Satan does, such as change the villagers' career (cf. CYS: 117) or do a trick to a man's tree in India (cf. CYS: 170) are in both cases described as "uncanny", something unexplainable. In MS, however, the miracles that Nr. 44 performs are described as "marvelous", perhaps because the residents of the castle think they are performed by the castle magician and do not know about Nr. 44's abilities. I go deeper into this idea in chapter 4.2, handling the Stranger from the viewpoint of a jester.

In *Mark Twain's Masks of Satan: The Final Phase* (1973) Stanley Brodwin describes the world of the *Manuscripts* as:

> - - An "absurd" universe grotesquely deterministic and dream-like at the same time; the problem of personal (psychic) identity and a Satan-figure who, ironically very likely developed out of a persistent Mark Twain character-type, the sometimes **"innocent"**, sometimes **devious** stranger striving either to **"con"** or to **"reform"** the people and society around him. (Brodwin 1973: 206.) [Emphasis mine]

The juxtaposition between the devious and innocent and Satan's infinite knowledge and the sleeping villagers of Eseldorf create a situation that is very common in moral satire. This kind of satire started to flourish when traveling became more popular in Europe in the 18th century and writers were able to compare nations, their people and habits even more thoroughly than had formerly been possible. (Ikonen 2007: 122.)

In the next chapter I will explain in greater depth where this new state of affairs can be identified in the *Manuscripts*.

2.1 Stranger - Alter Ego of the National Man

In 18th century Europe satirical travel stories helped the reader to compare different cultures from new perspectives. Traveling worked as a stimulus to write travel stories, adventure novels and utopian literature. (Ikonen 2007: 122.)

It is important to note that Twain started to write the *Manuscripts* after his global lecture tour. In July 1985, Twain, accompanied by his wife Olivia and daughter Clara, started a year-long tour around the world to raise the family from their financial troubles. In 1880 Twain had made an investment for an automatic typesetting machine built by its inventor, James W. Paige. Over the course of fifteen years he spent two hundred thousand dollars on Paige's machine, which eventually led to voluntary bankruptcy in 1894 after losing the competition with other typesetting models. This left the family one hundred thousand dollars in debt. (Kaplan 2003: 157-160.) The consequences of this investment heavily influenced Twain's later writings and especially the themes of money and justice.

When the tour was over, Twain sailed to England to finish a book based on his travels. In 1897, he published a travel story *Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World*. During these travels Twain had clearly seen things he used as a background for the *Manuscripts*. Due to these experiences, in his later years Twain blossomed into a cosmopolite, a notable corollary for the Age of Enlightenment.

In *Strangers to Ourselves* (originally published in 1988), Julia Kristeva describes the Stranger in the Age of Enlightenment as the "alter ego of the national man" – the one who reveals its personal flaws and depravity of the country's institutions. According to Kristeva, the reader has been invited on a twofold journey: on the other hand it is exciting to leave the familiar and enter unknown lands, but at the root of these travels is the re-entry to yourself and a return to the homeland to laugh at your own limitations and peculiarities in addition to mental and political despotisms. (Kristeva 1991: 133.) Kristeva uses Denis Diderot's *Rameau's Nephew* (published in 1805) as an example and argues that it

> Internalized both the discomfort and the fascinated recognition aroused by the strange and carried them to the very bosom of the eighteenth-century man. If he were to wonder to the end of his passion for altering, dividing, knowing, modern man would be a foreigner to himself - a strange being whose polyphony would from that moment be "beyond good and evil". (Kristeva 1991: 134.)

Those last words could not describe the character of Satan better – right in the early stages of their friendship the boys realize that Satan is lacking the moral sense. The most important scene in the beginning of CYS occurs on the same hill where the boys meet the Stranger: with reference to the Biblical creation myth, Satan builds a castle and its inhabitants from clay and lets the boys create some of the people too. After playing with it for a while, Satan gets annoyed with some of the clay people arguing over a trivial thing. As a consequence he destroys the whole clay village and all its inhabitants, recalling images of Doomsday.

After this, the boys are deeply shocked, but Satan just calmly reveals: “We cannot have done wrong; neither have we any disposition to do it, for we do not know what it is” (MS: 49). This lack of moral sense makes Satan indifferent when it comes to the lives of humans, who, in his words, don't have sense, but only have moral sense. He clarifies this to Theodor with an example of a spider and an elephant:

> The elephant is indifferent; I am indifferent. The elephant would not take the trouble to do the spider an ill turn; if he took the notion he might do him a good turn, if it came in his way and cost nothing. I have done men good service, but no ill turns. The elephant lives a century, the red spider a day; in power, intellect, and dignity the one creature is separated from the other by a distance, which is simply astronomical. Yet in these, as in all qualities, man is immeasurably further below me than is the wee spider below the elephant. (CYS: 114.)

In MS Twain has developed the same idea into more generalized direction:

> - - The difference between a human being and me is the difference between a drop of water and the sea, a rush light and the sun, the difference between the infinitely trivial and the infinitely sublime! (MS: 319).

Here Twain undercuts the importance of being a man (Sloane: 182) and sets the story for proving this triviality in various ways. Satan, who has the power to move in time and space (which do not exist to him, since they are human inventions), brings the chance for the boys to leave their sleeping village for the first time. Evidently he is the

Stranger whose intentions fit Kristeva's description of the alter ego of the national man - his double and mask. Satan can be compared to *Rameau's Nephew* in many ways. Kristeva describes the Nephew as someone who doesn't want to settle down, but rather keep challenging, shocking and contradicting. (Kristeva 1991: 135.)

Satan has come to earth even though there is really no good reason for it. He says he likes the boys, but clearly Satan's job is to shock the sleeping village, which represents the ignorant people anywhere and in any timeframe - things just do not seem to change. Therefore, the sleepiness of Eseldorf further enhances this juxtaposition, for the villagers in particular have a lot to learn.

Also, Satan's earthly name in CYS, Philip *Traum* (German for dream), signifies that he is some sort of a dream person – another self. To Mark Twain this other self represents the creative power that is impossible for a mortal human to fully liberate. For Satan it is actually possible to *create* from nothing in the word's original meaning in contrast to humans' ability to "imagine a silk thread, imagine a machine to make it, imagine a picture, then by weeks of labor embroiders it on a canvas with a thread. I think the whole thing, and in a moment it is before you–created" (MS: 114).

Therefore Satan is not just the alter ego of a national man, but of man in general. He is some kind of superhuman that Twain perhaps hoped to be himself, but over and over again found his mortal limitations. Satan is someone who has the guts to point out the flaws in our so-called "civilization" and the simple limitations in our social behavior. In the end, the Stranger is a mirror for our own flaws, but can he also offer a door to escape some of these flaws?

In the next chapter, I will display the Stranger character from the viewpoint of the author to comprehend how Twain's personal 'strangeness' perhaps affected the birth of the *Manuscripts* and what sort of other Strangers can be found in his literary canon.

2.1 Twain's Mysterious Strangers and Twain as a Mysterious Stranger

Twain's fascination with the character of Satan started early; at the age of seven he had already attempted to write Satan's biography. In *Is Shakespeare Dead?* (1909) Twain describes a discussion with his class teacher Mr. Barcaley, who strongly opposed the idea.

> I assured him, in earnest and sincere words, that he had wholly misconceived my attitude; that I had the highest respect for Satan, and that my reverence for him equaled, and possibly even exceeded, that of any member of any church. I said it wounded me deeply to perceive by his words that he thought I would make fun of Satan, and deride him, laugh at him, scoff at him: whereas in truth I had never thought of such a thing, but had only a warm desire to make fun of those others and laugh at THEM. "What others?" "Why, the Supposers, the Perhapsers, the Might-Have-Beeners, the Could-Have-Beeners, the Must-Have-Beeners, the Without-a-Shadow-of-Doubters, the We-are-Warranted-in-Believingers, and all that funny crop of solemn architects who have taken a good solid foundation of five indisputable and unimportant facts and built upon it a Conjectural Satan thirty miles high. (Twain 1909.)

However, the story of Satan had to wait until later and Twain moved on to lighter subjects. A short story called “The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County” (first published in 1865 in *New York Saturday Press*) was Mark Twain's first great success as a writer and a model example of traditional American humor. (Zall 1985:xiv) The story also introduces Twain's trademark character, a Stranger, who walks into the scene and with his wits fools oblivious hillbillies by feeding rocks to the other contestants’ frog. After winning the competition and getting the prize, the Stranger disappears as fast as he had arrived. In their essay "Literary Humor" (Published in *Humor in America – A Research Guide to Genres and Topics, 1988)* Nancy Pogel and Paul P. Somers, Jr call Twain's first story "the oral tale, using a narrative frame", which was the basic form of early American humor (Pogel, Somers 1988: 8-9).

This mysterious Stranger character appears here and there throughout Twain's career, but I will focus on the last works in which this character has changed into a darker type – a combination between Twain's interest in Satan and the character of the mysterious Stranger.

The main character of CYS and MS is a messenger who reveals the evil in the world and has adopted a cynical approach to the human race – he himself is completely pure and sinless. Unlike the flat Stranger character in the story of a jumping frog, the Stranger emerging in Twain's later writing really has something to say, and is not afraid to say it out loud. What all of his Strangers have in common, though, is wit. The character of Stranger is superior to the other characters because of his unique abilities to surprise the people in the end by actions and by his words. Wit supported by action is common to Twain's narratives in his early works such as the Jumping Frog. Wit supported by steady arguments is being emphasized in his later works, culminating in the *Manuscripts*.

A short story called "The Man Who Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1900), for example, introduces a Stranger who tempts society with money and subverts the entire social order (Cox 1966: 265). In CYS and MS money is not the main tool for the Stranger anymore. Even though in CYS Satan uses money as a trigger to stir the village's peace in the first place (by placing a wallet on the path), eventually it is his wits that solve the case. Nr. 44 in MS also uses other, more complex, powers to fool the oblivious humans.

For Twain, the Strangers are usually on the good side. They are like knights of justice fallen from the sky to correct the injustice on this planet overflowing with ignorant people. In *Mark Twain – A Life* (2005) Ron Powers describes the Stranger character in Twain's posthumously published short story *War Prayer* (1916):

> In *The War Prayer* Twain employs his favorite spokesman, the Stranger, to interrupt a minister's invocations of God's blessings on young soldiers headed for a battle, and deliver and **anti-prayer** that inventories the hideous truths about warfare–truths that remained susceptible to the fog of piety well into the age of electronic transmission of images. (Powers 2005: 607-608.) [Emphasis mine]

The mysterious Stranger in the *Manuscripts* can also be seen as this kind of deliverer of the "anti-prayer", since in the dialogues with Theodor and August, Satan and Nr. 44 explain the vanities of war in very harsh ways. I will go deeper into this theme in the chapters handling religion and politics.

In *A Treasury of American Folk Humor,* James N. Tidwell introduces a wider portrait of American humor and another view on the Stranger as a "cracker-box commentator":

> Whether the incongruity is one of time or place, the single outsider is an interloper in the strange social group. In real life he would be considered a misfit, but the better humor comes from letting him be the only completely logical person around. He can view the social and political scene with an eye unclouded by prejudice and can therefore point out the lack of "horse-sense" in what is going on. Whereas the most of the humor of these cracker-box commentators is on some topic of the day and disappears when the topic is no longer discussed, the humor of a character shifted in time is less easily dated and can be enjoyed by succeeding generations.
> (Tidwell 1956: xv)

This Stranger is different from the others: he is not afraid to speak the truth, and he does not care about chastity. The way the Stranger points out the lack of "horse-sense" in Twain's case is heavy over-exaggeration mixed with cheerful understatements.

It is important to remember that in Twain's lifetime," English literature" meant "British literature", and American literature was not yet studied in American universities. Therefore, the idea of good taste in literature was extremely narrow. After the colonial complex broke down and America started to find its identity as a nation, Twain's appreciation rose. (Asselineau 1954: 19-20.)

Although later Twain achieved the title of "the founding father of American humor", I find it interesting to ask what created a specific type of humor that can be called "American." Of course, the history of American humor would be a topic for another thesis, but I will briefly approach the question from the perspective of the Stranger.

Since in Twain's time American humor had not yet formed into something distinct, I see these misfits as Strangers who walk around, appear from nothing and educate the ignorant people who are easily manipulated. The Stranger, however, seems to be completely sheltered against this. He is the voice of reason over greed and love over hate – and he says out loud what others barely dare think and goes even further. There are absolutely no limits, no censor. This, for me, is the essential characteristic of

American humor, which the Stranger is an inseparable part of. As Nancy Pogel and Paul P. Somers, Jr put it in Literary Humor:

> By earning such widespread popular and critical acclaim, both here and abroad, he [Twain] helped legitimize local color with its realistic attention to detail, the oral tale with its narrative frame and vernacular language (leading to Ring Lardner, Sherwood Anderson, and Ernest Hemingway), and, ultimately, humor itself (Pogel, Somers 1988: 9).

Twain was considered to be a one kind of a Stranger himself. His great-nephew Samuel Charles Webster has recorded that Twain's mother Jane Clemens was very interested in spiritualism and passed on these beliefs to her son.

> Also, the boy had strange dreams and premotions, was a good subject for mesmerism, and was known to be a somnambulist. Was not young Sam already living the part of Philip Traum, who in The Mysterious Stranger would entertain and astonish others with mind reading exhibitions and other mental feats? (Tuckey 1963: 25.)

One of Twain's famous quotes from *Following the Equator* (1897) combines the idea of the Stranger to Twain's interest in psychology: "Everyone is a moon and has a dark side, which he never shows to anybody" (Twain 1897: Chapter LXVI). This perception is highly present in the third manuscript, MS, where the Stranger creates a duplicate for each worker in the print shop.

When it comes to Twain's death, he passed away just as he had hoped. Twain was born in 1835 when Halley's Comet passed the Earth and he predicted that he would "go out with it." As he put it himself: "Now here are these two accountable freaks; they came in together, they must go out together" (Twain 1910). And it was not only Twain to claim this characteristic. His close friend described him as a "great being from another planet-never quite of this race or kind." (Trombley 2010: 4.) In April 1910 when Twain passed away, Halley's Comet was once again in the heavens.

In the next chapter I will move on to the deeper analysis of the characters through a few specific modes of satire I have chosen. Even though I shortly introduce the origins of Menippean satire and carnivalism, the primary focus will be in the literature written after the Age of Enlightenment.

3 Lowering the High and Raising the Low

3.1 Carnivalism and Menippean Satire

It is quite impossible to easily define carnivalism and Menippean satire – actually this vagueness is one of their key characteristics and something that separates them from other modes of satire. As a rule of characterization, it can be said that Menippean satire is the most well-known genre or mode of carnivalistic satire[4] (Willman 2007: 70.) and both are part of the realm of serio-comical genres (Bakhtin 1984: 106-107).

Juxtaposition is one of the most important characteristics of carnivalism: high and low, holy and obscene behavior etc. get shamelessly mixed up. In both satire and carnivalism, the target of laughter is human folly. Most importantly, these two modes are not characterized by negativity, but rather by an undefined grotesqueness. Carnivalism and Menippean satire were in their heyday in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. (Willman 2007: 70.) However, due to its free nature, Menippean satire has been able to develop from the antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance all the way through to modern times (Bakhtin 1984: 113).

My assumption is that there are many characteristics of Menippean satire and carnivalism to be found from the *Manuscripts*, but my objective is not to try to prove that these texts are a pure example of these genres or modes. Rather, I will use Menippean satire and carnivalism as tools to bring up new dimensions of the narratives and characters. In my analysis I will focus on the modern representatives of these two modes (after the Age of Enlightenment), but to understand the generic modes' roots, I will have a quick look at their birth.

Menippean satire was named after the Greek philosopher and cynic Menippus of Gadara in third century B.C. None of his actual writings survived, but Menippus was known to write about his journeys to the underworld. The term *spoudaiogeloion*,

[4] Or, as Bakhtin puts it, "menippea is a profoundly carnivalized genre" (Bakhtin 1984: 156).

serious-smiling, has also been connected to Menippus, since he combined serious philosophical questions and comical elements in his works. (Kivistö, Riikonen, Salmenkivi, Sarasti-Wilenus 2007: 345.)

Although Menippus fashioned Menippean satire into its classical form, the specific term was not introduced before the first century B.C. when the Roman scholar Marcus Terentius Varro named his satires after Menippos (Saturae Menippeae). Only fragments of his works have survived, but these texts are fine examples of the way he used playfulness, knowledge and fantasy and treated literary topics with parody. (Kivistö, Riikonen, Salmenkivi, Sarasti-Wilenus 2007: 345, Bakhtin 1984: 112-113.)

Quintus Horatius Flaccus was one of the first main Roman satirists. He talked about bad habits on a human level, not attacking individuals like many of his predecessors. His targets were types of humans, such as scrooges and gluttons. His style of writing was as clean and stylized as possible and the content gentle, humorous and sympathetic, while somewhat tolerant of human folly. (Kivistö, Riikonen, Salmenkivi, Sarasti-Wilenus 2007: 335-336.)

In contrast, Menippean satire can be described as complex, chaotic and often completely formless. It has multiple targets and it deals with mental attitudes and stereotypes. It views human folly as an evil of *a social disease*. (Frye 1957: 309) Since my theory is that Twain uses his characters only as mouthpieces to convey a deeper message about the depraved human race, this point is very important in my analysis.

Two main modern literary scholars handling Menippean satire are Mikhail Bakhtin and Northrop Frye. Frye includes Menippean satire in *Anatomy of Criticism* published in 1957. Frye has divided prose fiction into four anatomies: novel, romance, confession (autobiographical writing) and Menippean satire, all focusing on the creation of myths in literature. He emphasizes how Menippean satire's roots are in the mixture of verse and prose satire, but it has developed into a prose genre where verse sections are possible. Characters are used as spokespersons of the author's ideologies, but Menippea does not attack individual people per se. (Frye 1957: 309.)

> The Menippean satire deals less with people as such than with mental attitudes. Pedants, bigots, cranks, parvenus, virtuosi, enthusiasts, rapacious and incompetent professional men of all kinds, are handled in terms of their occupational approach to life as distinct from their social behavior. The Menippean satire thus resembles the confession in its ability to handle abstract ideas and theories, and differs from the novel in its characterization, which is stylized rather than naturalistic, and presents people as mouthpieces of the ideas they represent. (Frye 1957: 308.)

Bakhtin, however, took a more practical viewpoint and used Menippean satire as a tool to analyze Russian novelist Fjodor Dostoevsky in *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, published in English in 1973 and again in 1984 with a chapter added handling carnivalism and Menippean satire. In this book, Bakhtin examines Menippean satire from a contextual standpoint on the polyphonic novel and traces the tradition of Menippea, as he calls it, all the way from Antiquity to modern literature and especially in the works of Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky.

Menippean satire is, in Bakhtin's research, one of the many special areas of serio-comical literature. These areas are connected by an inner kinship. One of the most important elements of this cohesion is the mutual connection of the serio-comical genres to carnivalistic folklore. (Bakhtin 1984: 107.)

Other mutual characteristics of the serio-comical genres are their connections in the living present without epic or tragic distance. Just like a mythical Satan figure in CYS and MS, heroes of myth and historical figures are brought to the present moment. However, the relationship to the legend is deeply critical in Twain, since he rewrites the history of Satan by making him a likable and more complex character. All the serio-comical genres also mix high and low, serious and comic and also use inserted genres, such as letters, found manuscripts, parodically reinterpreted citations or retold dialogues. (Bakhtin 1984: 108.)

According to Bakhtin, Dostoevsky found the combination of carnivalism, adventure plot and pressing social themes in the nineteenth century adventure novel where everyday life was drawn into the carnivalized plot: The ordinary and constant are combined with the extraordinary and changeable. These combinations and elements of carnivalism were later reborn in Dostoevsky's work, Bakhtin argues. For Bakhtin, the polyphonic novel and Menippea are inseparable and the elements of menippea

determine the entire plot and structure of the story. However, the author does not have to know the characteristics and history of Menippea to be part of the tradition, since the genre has "its own organic logic" which can be adapted on the basis of a few generic models. (Bakhtin 1984: 156-157.)

Bakhtin has collected these modes into his list of fourteen characteristics of Menippea. I have condensed that list into nine sections in my own order. I will focus on the significance of them in depth in the following chapters and explain how they are portrayed in the *Manuscripts*. These features include:

1. Increase in comic element, although this may vary.
2. Liberation from history, legend and memoir (which Socratic dialogue was strictly tied to). Concern with current issues.
3. Juxtaposition between mystical-religious elements and crude underworld life, which Bakhtin describes as *slum naturalism*. The adventures take place (for example) on the high road, in brothels, in the dens of thieves, in taverns, marketplaces, prisons, or in the erotic orgies, where the wise man collides with the worldly evil. Sharp contrast between characters and oxymoronic combinations are typical.
4. Scandalous scenes, eccentric behavior and inappropriate speech. All kinds of violence against generally accepted norms.
5. Concern with the ultimate questions of life, not the academic sort. Fantasy is used to create extraordinary situations to test philosophical ideas. Dialogue is used to find the ultimate truth.
6. A "trilevel construction", usually heaven, earth, hell. Situations can be observed from unusual points of view, e.g. a city viewed from the heights.
7. Portrayal of unusual psychic or moral states of man such as insanity, strange dreams, split personality, suicides and passions bordering madness. These "destroy the epic and the tragic wholeness of a person and his fate."
8. Elements of a social utopia; a journey into another land.
9. Use of other genres to intensify the variety of styles and tones. (Bakhtin 1984: 114-119.)

Bakhtin argues that Menippean satire "always lives in the present, but always remembers its past, its beginning" and "continues to develop" (Bakhtin 1984: 106). My main argument in this thesis favors Bakhtin's developing idea of a genre we call Menippean satire. And since I consider it as a generic mode, which develops all the

time and remembers its past, it is crucial to place the *Manuscripts* into the proper context regarding its time and place.

In his analysis, Bakhtin emphasizes Menippean satire's roots in Socratic dialogue, which I will analyze in chapter 4.1. For now, the importance of carnivalism is essential. Julia Kristeva, who has been highly influenced by Bakhtin, gives more room for maneuvering when it comes to describing Menippean satire as a genre. In *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach on Literature and Art* (1980) Kristeva emphasizes the carnivalistic side of the genre and names the ability to vary as its main characteristic (Kristeva 1980: 83).

Menippean satire doesn't have room for academic problems: "without distinguishing ontology from cosmology, it unites them into a practical philosophy of life" and is a "kind of political journalism of its time" (Kristeva 1980: 83). Features of Menippean satire can be found in many other literary genres and it has been able to develop from the antiquity all the way to modern times:

> All of the most important polyphonic novels are inheritors of the Menippea's carnivalesque structure: those of Rabelais, Cervantes, Swift, Sade, Balzac, Lautrémont, Dostoievski, Joyce and Kafka. Its history is the history of the struggle against Christianity and its representation; this means an exploration of language (of sexuality and death), a consecration of ambivalence and of "vice". (Kristeva 1980: 79-80).

Bakhtin's and Frye's works on Menippean satire have been the dominant theories for decades, but some new theorists have questioned the wide-ranging portrayal of the genre. In *Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (2007) Howard D. criticizes Bakhtin's fourteen points as making it too easy for his followers to "label any work that seems comic, or loosely plotted, or searches after truth, or is naturalistic, or considers ultimate questions, or is consistent with a variety of other comparably large categories" (Weinbrot 2005: 16). I understand this viewpoint and therefore it is important to make it clear that even though I use Menippean satire as a theoretical base for my analysis, finding out how this way of reading could open up these texts from a new perspective is more important a goal than simply listing the features of Menippean and trying to prove that these manuscripts perfectly fit this complex literary mode.

The strong juxtaposition between characters, one main feature of Menippean satire, works as the starting point for my character analysis: I have chosen to cover Father Adolf and Father Peter, first because they are most clearly each other's opposites.

I will also examine the idea of good and bad fortune, and how Satan plays with the lives of the villagers by raising and lowering their positions quite arbitrarily. The juxtaposition between humans and animals is an important theme throughout the story, and is perhaps the most controversial message (in its time) of the *Manuscipts*, especially when it comes to challenging traditional religious thoughts.

3.2 Father Adolf and Father Peter

The most obvious juxtaposition of characters in CYS is between the bad priest Father Adolf and the good priest Father Peter. This composition is clear from the very beginning, when Theodor describes Father Adolf as a

> Very loud and zealous and strenuous priest, and he was always working to get some reputation, hoping to be the bishop one day; and he was always spying around and keeping a sharp lookout on other people's flocks as well as his own; and he was dissolute and profane and malicious, **but otherwise a good enough man**, it was generally thought. (CYS: 37.) [Emphasis mine]

After a harsh description Twain adds a comical relief, a subtle punch line after the built line, to the end to emphasize the credulity of the villagers. Their rebellion against him is very pathetic, when Theodor tells that in secret the villagers call Father Adolf the "Town Bull" and "Hell's Delight". Father Peter, however, is being described very differently:

> The priest that we all loved best and were sorriest for, was father Peter. But the bishop suspended him for talking around in conventions that God was all goodness and would find a way to save all his poor human children. It was horrible thing to say, but there was never any absolute proof that Father Peter said it; and it was out of character for him to say it, too, for he was always good and gentle and truthful. (CYS: 42.)

Here Twain satirizes how ironic it is that talking about God's goodness can be seen as a bad thing: common sense and the true message of religion has been completely flipped around and irony strongly blends into satire. This also works as an introduction to religion and church as absurd institutions. Father Adolf, who was good friends with the bishop, had used this position to overtake Father Peter. Corruption and immoral behavior are very common subjects in satire, and Twain uses churchmen to emphasize the injustice of the human race. The ones who are supposed to guard good morals are the ones violating them the most.

Regardless, the corruption of the bad priest leads to the misfortune of Father Peter, his niece Margaret and their housekeeper Ursula. Theodor tells how the family has been socially abandoned and Margaret's spinet pupils disappear one by one. They live in poverty and shame because of Father Adolf: other villagers are his "flock" and therefore follow his lead in everything he does.

Father Adolf's friendship with the bishop and getting his position by cheating can also be easily connected to a typical topic in medieval satire. In the 11th century bribery and corruption amongst the churchmen was very common. (Mehtonen, Linkinen 2007: 55.) Here it is important to remember that CYS is placed in the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment, in year 1702 and MS in 1490, the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. One of Twain's targets is the Papal institution and greediness in general, which were also very common subjects in satire in the Middle Ages (Mehtonen, Linkinen 2007: 57).

In CYS the most important tension between Father Adolf and Father Peter is the sum of eleven hundred and seven gold ducats that Father Peter finds in his wallet that he had dropped on a road. Originally, he only had four ducats in his wallet. This happens right after the boys meet Satan for the first time and Satan has already disappeared into thin air.

At first, Father Peter does not want to take the money, but the boys convince him that it belongs to him. Because of his financial troubles and the fear of losing the house, Father Peter finally takes the money. Immediately the newfound money affects how

other villagers treat the family and many of their old friends return. Theodor tells how the villagers' curiosity is so strong, that they even try to buy the truth from the boys and constantly ask: Where did he really get the money? This they do at the same time they convince Father Peter's family that they are once again friends. Since Satan has the ability to shut the boys' mouths and control what they tell to the others, the real course of events stays a secret.

When Father Adolf finds out that Peter has been able to pay his rent, he gets suspicious and comes up with the story of him finding the exact same amount of money a few years ago and keeping it in his house, since he did not find the owner.
The short period of Father Peter's good luck ends when he gets arrested after Father Adolf's claims. Again, the family had been lowered and their friends abandon them.

Eventually, when it is time for the court to handle the case, Satan melts into Wilhelm, Margaret's boyfriend and the lawyer defending Father Peter, and Satan brings out proof that no-one can argue with: he suggests that the dates in the coins could be checked to see if they even existed during the time Father Adolf claimed to have found them two years ago. And when they realize that all of the coins had the date from the present year, Father Peter wins the case.

In this case the wit Satan uses is not even based on his supernatural abilities, it's a very rational solution. He just possesses the capability think outside the small box the villagers are incapable of stepping out of. I believe this mixture of supernatural wit and rational wit in the narrative emphasizes the absurd gap between people's abilities in real life and satirizes the idea of a whole "civilization". The fact that Satan can melt into Wilhelm and he knows everything emphasizes the fact that people are ignorant on many things happening around them. Perhaps, Twain hints, that since we know we cannot know everything about everything and are doomed to make mistakes, why do we (and especially the Christian tradition) pretend to be the smartest animal so eagerly? Why not admit our imperfections instead?

Due to Satan's wit and the final revelation in the courtroom, Father Peter's pride gets rehabilitated and his social dignity rises. But this is not enough for Satan, since he

sees Father Peter has a miserable life ahead of him, he decides to help in his own way and makes him insane. More specifically, he makes Peter think he is an emperor. This naturally upsets Margaret and the boys, but Satan has the right words to justify his actions:

> I said he would be happy for the rest of his days, and he will. For he will always think he is an Emperor, and his pride in it and his joy in it will endure to the end. He is now, and will remain, the one utterly happy person in this Empire. (CYS, 163.)
>
> - - Sanity and happiness are an impossible combination. No sane man can be happy, **for to him life is real**, and he sees what a **fearful** thing it is. (CYS, 163-164.) [Emphasis mine]

This repeated rite of lowering the high and raising the low reveals the arbitrary social contracts humans have created: for Twain fear is the root of all evil and by "real" he refers to the thought of taking life too seriously. This is reality for the villagers, who live in constant danger: Even the smallest thing can change the course of life for them. For example, their personal popularity in the life of the village, and the behavior of the majority of people always blindly following the minority, such as priests and politicians.

The fact that Satan decides to make Father Peter insane in the end fits into the realm of serio-comical genres. The portrayal of unusual psychic or moral states of man such as insanity, strange dreams, split personalities, suicides and passions bordering on madness are some of the characteristics of Menippean satire Bakhtin mentions in his list. According to Bakhtin, these states

> Destroy the epic and the tragic wholeness of a person and his fate: the possibilities of another person and another life are revealed in him, he loses his finalized equality and ceases to mean only one thing; he ceases to coincide with himself. (Bakhtin 1984: 116-117.)

Characters of the Menippean satire have a dialogic relationship to themselves, which leads to the possibility of split personalities (Bakhtin 1984: 114-119). According to Twain's stories and personal statements throughout his life, everyone has a split personality to some extent, but the fact that ultimate happiness can only be found in total schizophrenia (in the case of Father Peter) is a fine example of black humor and serious smiling.

Bakhtin mentions scandalous scenes, eccentric behavior, inappropriate speech and all kinds of violence against generally accepted norms as elements of Menippean satire. Satan uses many ways to lower the bad Priest Father Adolf through CYS. One main thing is making Adolf part of something he strongly opposes – witchcraft.

During his visits to Eseldorf, Satan instigates many scandalous scenes by taking advantage of his magical powers and the fear of the oblivious villagers, who have been frightened by the sermons of Father Adolf. Burning witches at the stake being the most popular recreation for the people of Eseldorf, Satan does the most unexpected and places himself inside Father Adolf. He performs tricks through him first in Margaret's party and then continuing at the village's market place.

Naturally, this shocks the villagers, and since they have never even thought about the possibility of a priest performing wizardry; it shakes the basic foundations of their beliefs. For Twain, this scene, once again, gives a great chance to laugh at common human behavior. This is how the situation is described the next day:

> They were talking sharply critical about the witch-commission. "What haven't the commission summoned Father Adolf for examination? If it were some friendless old woman who had done those Satanic miracles with the bowl, the bottle and the brazen balls, would they be so lax?" That's what the public said - in a whisper. Always confidentially; adding, "Please, don't quote me - don't say I said anything." You see they were prompt to **blame the committee for being afraid of Father Adolf, yet at the same time they forgot to despise their own cowardice** in not holding up the committee's hands and encouraging them to their duty. And they forgot that in despising the committee for being so brave when it comes to old friendless women were concerned, they were only despising themselves, for that was their own attitude against friendless old women. (CYS: 94.) [Emphasis mine]

The repetitive narrative in CYS wraps around to the theme of ignoring one's own faults and blindly focusing on other people's doings. The never-ending rivalry between Father Adolf and Father Peter could easily represent any other arbitrary situation in which humans base their decisions highly on emotions such as fear and ignorance, including human's presuppositions made mostly due to lack of knowledge. Since it is possible for Satan to watch all of this as an outsider, it makes the thirst for power seem so repetitive that the reader almost starts believing what Satan said after destroying the castle and killing its inhabitants in the beginning: "Oh, it is no matter, we can make more" (CYS: 52) And probably they would do everything just the same.

3.4 Animals and Humans – Who is the Brute?

Twain handles the juxtaposition between humans and animals in greater detail in CYS, but, before going into that, I will point out one example from MS. This is the scene where Nr. 44 turns the castle's servant lady into a cat. After this metamorphosis she weights the pros and cons of her new form:

> "I would be rather a cat than a servant–a slave, that has to smile, and look cheerful, and pretend to be happy, when you are scolded for every little thing the way Frau Stein and her daughter do, and be sneered at and insulted, and they haven't any right to, they did not pay my wage, I was their slave–a hateful life, an odious life! I'd rather be a cat." (MS: 360.)

Later she adds the notion that cats do not carry anger, and she now feels free for the first time in her life. Nr. 44 leaves her as a cat and this metamorphosis brings her eternal happiness. This touch of the fantasy element is very common in satire to aim the critique at the world outside the text (Virtanen 1993: 158). Metamorphosis also offers a new viewpoint to demonstrate human brutality (Svensson 2007: 193). In Twain's narrative, the fantasy element is not completely part of the normal world and therefore it causes astonishment in the other characters. These characters, however, seem to slowly adapt to the fantasy world that the presence of Satan and Nr. 44 creates. This is especially the case in MS, where the duplicates quickly become part of the castle's routine.

The metamorphosis of the servant lady works as a logical continuum to all the scenes in CYS where Satan raises animals higher than humans. In CYS, the examples of animals being higher than humans comes across by admiring their characteristics on the outer level – in MS, humans actually realize that life as an animal is less painful. In addition to the servant lady, August also wishes he would be turned into a cat "and not have a Duplicate, then I would always know which one I am" (MS: 373). This indicates that it is the duality within humans that brings us great pain: duality makes us hesitate in our decisions and therefore brings fear.

In CYS Satan constantly raises animals above humans, which is exactly the opposite of what religion had taught Theodor and other villagers. Twain uses a few stories as examples for this satirical composition. One is the event with the carpenter, who kept the corpse of a poor lady's daughter in his cellar for four days when she was not able to pay him back fifty grochens to claim her daughter:

> Seppi asked Satan to interfere, but he said the carpenter and the rest were members of the human race and were acting quite neatly for that species of animal. He would interfere if he found a horse acting in such a way, and we must inform him when we came across that kind of horse doing that kind of human thing, so that he could stop it. We believed this was sarcasm, for of course there wasn't any such horse. (MS: 130.)

This statement completely turns around the traditional Christian thought of humans as the images of God and higher to other animals, since it claims that an animal is actually in its lowest form when it resembles a human. The example with the horse offers a comic relief in the end and the naiveté of Theodor emphasizes the effect.

Another example of raising animals above humans in CYS is the disappearance of Hans Oppert, the village loafer. One day it turns out that he fell off a cliff, and the only one who tried to help him was his dog, which he had been beating several times in front of other people. Seppi Wohlmeyer tells Satan that nobody had seen him since he did that brutal thing (hitting the dog) and that is where Satan gets to have his speech on brutes.

> No it wasn't Seppi, it was human – quite distinctly human. It is not pleasant to hear you label the Higher Animals by attributing to them dispositions, which they are free from, and which are found nowhere but in the human heart. None of the higher animals is tainted with the disease called the Moral Sense. Purify your language, Seppi; drop those lying phrases out of it. (CYS: 75.)

According to Frye, the dog belongs to the category of "incurable romantics", which includes animals that are typical in romance tradition. The usual setting is the forest, (Frye 1957: 36) and in CYS Theodor often describes Satan's encounters with animals in the nearby forests.

However, not all animals that Satan admires belong to the "incurable romantics" category. Another case when Satan surprises the villagers with his thoughts about

animals is when he stands up for rattlesnakes. In Christian mythology, the snake, of course, symbolizes the Devil.

> - - He says this, to the credit of the rattlesnake: that he never takes advantage of any one, and has none of the instincts of an assassin; that he never strikes without first giving warning, and then does not strike if the enemy will keep his distance and not attack him. Isn't that true of the rattlesnake, papa?
> Well, –yes, it is. I had not thought of it before. The truth is, it is better morals that some men have. (CYS: 98.)

Satan's supernatural abilities allow him and Theodor to have the extraordinary chance to observe human nature from unusual points of view, which was one of the basic characteristics of Menippean satire (Bakhtin 1984: 116). Another element of Menippean satire is what Bakhtin describes as "organic combination within it of the free fantastic, the symbolic, at times even a mystical-religious element with an extreme and (from our point of view) crude *slum naturalism*." The "adventures of truth", as Bakhtin calls it, take place in exceptionally grotesque places where the wise man "collides with worldly evil". (Bakhtin 1984: 115.) In a few scenes in CYS, Twain combines an unusual point of view with the question of higher and lower animals. For Satan, the moral sense is the most important thing separating the two.

A good example of slum naturalism that Satan and Theodor encounter in CYS is the scene where Theodor wonders what it is like in jail. Since Satan is able to freely move in time and space, he immediately transports both of them into a dark chamber where priests and executioners are torturing a young boy. Theodor mentions to Satan how he thinks their behavior is brutal, to which Satan responds by saying: "No, it was a human thing. You should not insult the brutes by such a misuse of that word - they have not deserved it" (CYS: 72). He continues:

> It is like your paltry race - always lying, always claiming virtues which it hasn't got, always denying them to the Higher Animals, which alone possess them. No brute ever does a cruel thing - that is the monopoly of the snob with the Moral Sense. When a brute inflicts pain he does it innocently; it is not wrong; for him there is no such thing as wrong. And he does not inflict pain for the pleasure of inflicting it - only man does that. Inspired by that mongrel Moral Sense of his! A sense whose function is to distinguish between right and wrong, with liberty to choose which of them he will do. Now what advantage can he get out of that? He is always choosing, and in nine cases out of ten he prefers the wrong. There shouldn't be any wrong; and without the Moral Sense there couldn't be any. And yet he is such an unreasoning creature that he is not able to perceive that the Moral Sense degrades him to the

> **bottom layer of animated beings** and is a shameful possession." (CYS: 72-73.) [Emphasis mine]

Satan's arguments of humans always "lying and claiming virtues which it hasn't got" not only lowers human beings, but brings the race straight to the bottom layer. This kind of exaggeration is, of course, very common in satire, but when it comes to the *Manuscripts,* at points the comedy element and relieving laughter are completely hidden. The punch line is gone and the satirical attack is made so general, it can be seen as pointed straight to the reader.

Right after the jail visit, Satan takes Theodore to a French village and shows him a factory where poor people work for low wages while the rich get richer. He describes a place that we can, even in our times, see in third-world countries.

> Have they committed a crime, these poor mangy things? No. Have they offended the priest? No; they are their pets - they fatten him with their farthings, or he would have to work for his living. What have they done, that they are punished so? Nothing at all, except getting themselves born into this foolish race. (CYS: 73.)

Satan's and Theodor's travels in these metaphysical regions also recalls the political journalism that Bakhtin listed as a characteristic of the Menippean satire (Bakhtin 1984: 118). The targets of Twain's satire are all the people who represent the twisted behavior where human beings make each other slaves and how our "so-called" moral sense does not stop us from doing wrong: on the contrary, since we possess it and still commit these crimes, it makes us lower even than other animals. Since they don't know what wrong is, they cannot commit it, just like Satan. I will go deeper into the moral aspects of the texts in chapter 5.

Characteristically for the Menippean satire, the mood of the scene at the French village quickly changes and Theodor describes how Satan drops the seriousness and starts making fun of kings, heroes and aristocracies, reminding him that these are not that big of a deal and declaring how short and meaningless human lives are – just like how humans think that insects' lives are short and meaningless. When looked at from the viewpoint of animals versus humans, the juxtaposition between good and evil is merely a question of moral sense. Twain satirizes the way humans are using complicated constructions such as religion and politics to resolve something that might be beyond our abilities to resolve.

Another scene used to compare humans and other animals in CYS is when Theodor describes the burning of the witches. He tells about girl's school close to Eseldorf where the teacher finds out that one of the girls' backs is red, as if inflamed. The girls think it is only fleas, but the teachers insist it must the marks of the Devil. They find similar marks on several girls. Their solution is to put all of them all in different dark rooms with only a little food for ten days – eventually the girls become so miserable that one of them confesses just to get out. Others soon follow and all of them end up being burnt.

A similar story Theodor tells is about an older lady, who massages people to help them with their headaches. This is seen as witchcraft and soon they get a confession from her too. When Theodor asks why, the lady tells him she is very poor and after being accused of being a witch she could not get clients anymore and she would be better off dead. Theodor tells Satan about these two cases and Satan simply tells him that what human race does is of no consequence. To prove this, he calls a bullock out of a pasture to show his point.

> "There–he wouldn't drive children mad with hunger and fright and loneliness, and then burn them for confessing to things invented for them which had never happened. And neither would he break hearts of innocent poor old women and make them afraid to trust themselves among their own race; and he would not insult them in their death-agony. For he is not besmirched with the Moral Sense, but is as pure from it as the angels are, and knows no wrong and never does it." (CYS: 80.)

If one follows this thought a little bit further, Twain actually makes an interesting note about God: if only humans have moral sense and therefore are capable of doing harm intentionally and animals are as "pure as angel", then God would have to be "only a human." In the end of the book, Satan comes to the conclusion that God, or anything else, cannot exist, because it would not be possible that something pure would allow all these bad things to happen on Earth.

However, when Theodor asks Father Peter if the moral sense is valuable, he has the opposite answer than Satan. He offers the traditional Christian outlook on the issue: “Valuable! Heavens, lad, it is the one thing that lifts man above the beasts that perish and makes him heir to immortality!” (CYS: 60). Cox sees this play upon the double

inversion as Twain's triumph: Satan's apparent diabolism is actually prelapsarian innocence and the childrens' seeming innocence is nothing less than a complete Fall (Cox 1966: 278).

When Satan compares humans and animals, he does not, according to Cox, defend animal innocence, but purely uses it as a tool to blame humans for being able to select between right and wrong and still do wrong - just for the pure pleasure of it. I cannot completely agree with Cox on this one, though, since he sees Satan's job as to convince the boy that "life is not worth living" and "death is the event that frees man from the shackles of determinism". Here, Cox refers to the dream ending of the third manuscript, which I will handle in the next chapter by using the notions of Menippean satire and polyphony to present a diverse analysis on the character of Satan and his mission.

4. The Stranger with Many Masks

Twain believed that everyone has his dark side: a Stranger within one's self. This thought can be seen particularly in his later writings and characters, in which the Satan figure has been introduced via other characters. In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* Bakhtin argues that the Russian author Fjodor Dostoevsky (1821-1881) created a new type of novel, which Bakhtin calls the polyphonic novel. This was something completely new after the dominant monologic European novel (Bakhtin 1984: 7-8). But what does this polyphony actually mean, what does it have to do with satire and could it apply to Twain's work?

Polyphony refers to ”plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses” (Bakhtin 1984: 6).Bakhtin argues that in Dostoevsky's works each character speaks for an individual self that is separated from other characters and even has the power to rebel against their creator. This means that the characters do not simply convey the author's message or work as his mouthpieces. The characters are “free people, capable to standing alongside their creator, capable of not agreeing with him and even rebelling against him." (Bakhtin 1984: 6.) Therefore literary polyphony can be executed mainly through characters that have various conflicting, yet equal, beliefs (Bakhtin 1984: 5-7). The independence of the characters is being emphasized also in positive ways, not only in the sense of rebelling against the author.

Bakhtin sees that in Dostoevsky's novels the characters “combine but are not merged in the unity of the event”, and by event he refers to "existence" or "being" (Bakhtin 1984: 6). The author is on the same level with the characters when it comes to knowledge, and also for him the ultimate truth is unobtainable. Bakhtin also argues that the truth cannot be expressed with a single mouth, hence the polyphonic novel does not act in a way of a monologue by returning back to one ideological voice. Therefore, the story is left open-ended, since not even the author can know the truth. (Bakhtin 1984: 5-6.)

Bakhtin also believes that the characteristics of Menippea were reborn in Dostoevsky’s work, but for me there first seemed to be one serious conflict: the multi-

voiced polyphonic character versus the Menippean satire's character, which is used as a simple mouthpiece, as I noted in earlier chapters. However, Bakhtin acknowledges that the ancient Menippea did not yet know polyphony, and thus polyphony could have not existed in the Socratic dialogue and Menippean satire (or later in Shakespeare, Hugo, Cervantes, Voltaire, Diderot and Balzac). Yet, according to Bakhtin, "menippea and Socratic dialogue prepared certain generic conditions necessary for polyphonic emergence." (Bakhtin 1984: 178.)

One important characteristic of Menippean satire is its ability to aim satire against itself: using an unreliable narrator emphasizes this position. For example, in Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) the narrator's last name is Hythloday, meaning "speaker of nonsense" in Greek. Therefore Menippean satire does not only mock human vices, but also literature itself and its endless efforts to create a consistent and coherent work of art. In Menippean satire, the incapability of words to construct truth is highly apparent. Nonetheless, the unreliable narrator tries to offer some ultimate truths until the reader is forced to realize them as an oxymoron. (Willman 2007: 86-89.)

This, in my view, is what ties Menippean satire to the polyphonic novel, whose characters' "truths" are always being proportioned to other, equally as important, viewpoints. It should be added, though, that I do not consider the *Manuscripts* as polyphonic novels, but I believe the idea behind polyphony can reveal interesting things about satire in these works.

Now let us study the reliability of Satan. First of all the name he tells to the villagers in CYS, Philip Traum (dream), already suggests that there is something unusual in the character. However, in CYS this name is not based on any cathartic meaning, like it would be in MS, due to the dream ending. By the time of the third narrative, Twain had abandoned this name, perhaps thinking it would be too obvious, and moved onto using the name Nr. 44. Still, we can see how Twain, with subtle gestures, develops the character of the Stranger for the dream-ending, where it is left for the reader to decide whether he was real or not – that is, whether to believe him or not.

Also, the narrator of both stories is a child without any education, which can also be seen as indicating an unreliable narrator. Theodor and August barely have their own

free will: They have been raised by religious community, and even though at first they try to disagree with Satan, eventually they are fairly easy to persuade to believe anything. In the category of unreliable narrators, they both fall into "naive" or more correctly “The Naïf” – which also Huckleberry Finn represents – meaning their perception is immature. These types of characters are “based on manifest character types” and their unreliability is intertextual. (Hansen 2007: 242.)

In *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative,* the term "unreliable narrator" is described as “a narrator whose perceptions and moral sensibilities differ from those of the implied author” (Abbott 2002: 196-197). Twain does not share the moral sensibilities with Theodor and August, but only uses them to enhance his opinions which are being brought forward by Satan. In this way, Theodor and August are not unreliable characters in its most basic meaning, since their opinions slowly change in the direction of the author as their mentors (Satan and Nr. 44) educate them.

Throughout the *Manuscripts*, Satan seems to be perfection himself: he is able to create from nothing, lives forever, performs beautiful art, sees into the past and future, knows all possible lifelines, teleports himself everywhere and is able see through people's lies. Mortal restrictions do not apply to him and actually he seems to be an extremely monologic character: everyone else in the story exists just for him to prove his points and the boys or other villagers do not have the individual voices that would be typical for a polyphonic novel. But can this be said about the dream ending in MS? Since CYS does not have a finished ending, I will only focus on the ending of MS.

After all the speeches about human race, tricks performed and stories told, after all the travels to new countries and time spent with the child narrator, Satan completely turns the situation around:

> "Nothing exists; all is a dream. God—man—the world—the sun, the moon, the wilderness of stars—a dream, all a dream; they have no existence. Nothing exists save empty space—and you!"
>
> "I!"
>
> "And you are not you—you have no body, no blood, no bones, you are but a thought. I myself have no existence; I am but a dream—your dream, creature of your imagination. In a moment you will have realized this, then you will banish me

> from your visions and I shall dissolve into the nothingness out of which you made me....
>
> "I am perishing already—I am failing—I am passing away. In a little while you will be alone in shoreless space, to wander its limitless solitudes without friend or comrade forever—for you will remain a thought, the only existent thought, and by your nature inextinguishable, indestructible. But I, your poor servant, have revealed you to yourself and set you free. Dream other dreams, and better! (MS: 404.)

Satan points out how strange he thinks it is that Theodore did not know the truth he was revealing to him. Satan says it is strange that Theodore did not realize that only in a dream things could be so absurd that they are in this thing we call life. Here, Satan uses God's actions to prove his point:

> - - A God who could make good children as easily as bad, yet preferred to make bad ones; who could have made every one of them happy, yet never made a single happy one; who made them prize their bitter life, yet stingily cut it short; who gave his angels eternal happiness unearned, yet required his other children to earn it; who gave his angels painless lives, yet cursed his other children with biting miseries and maladies of mind and body; who mouths justice and invented hell—mouths mercy and invented hell—mouths Golden Rules, and forgiveness multiplied by seventy times seven, and invented hell; who mouths morals to other people and has none himself; who frowns upon crimes, yet commits them all; who created man without invitation, then tries to shuffle the responsibility for man's acts upon man, instead of honorably placing it where it belongs, upon himself; and finally, with altogether divine obtuseness, invites this poor, abused slave to worship him! (MS: 404-405.)

According to Satan, all these things are the creation of a human imagination that is not "conscious of its freaks". Finally he is ready to completely destroy “the epic and tragic wholeness[5]” (Bakhtin 1984: 119) of Theodor and his fate or future that does not matter anymore after Satan's final speech:

> "It is true, that which I have revealed to you; there is no God, no universe, no human race, no earthly life, no heaven, no hell. It is all a dream—a grotesque and foolish dream. Nothing exists but you. And you are but a thought—a vagrant thought, a useless thought, a homeless thought, wandering forlorn among the empty eternities!"
>
> He vanished, and left me appalled; **for I knew, and realized, that all he had said was true.** (MS: 404-405.) [Emphasis mine]

[5] According to Bakhtin, Menippean satire diminishes the value of person's "external positions", meaning their willful relationship to the world and others in order that they can act as mouthpieces for the ideas that they represent – these ideas, of course, belonging not to the individual actors but stemming from "blind fate" (Bakhtin 1984: 119).

I interpret this ending as a classic example of Menippean satire's oxymoronic nature: Satan comes to the conclusion that everything is a dream, because logically the world could be only this crazy in a dream. However, this conclusion does not offer any explanation or new perspective. It cuts the argumentation that Twain had worked on for ten years like knife: none of it actually matters.

The ending of the third manuscript can seem quite the opposite of a polyphonic novel when August believes the "truth" Satan has told him. But again, how reliable is the narrator? How reliable is Satan compared to the priests and who is right? The juxtaposition between Satan's very serious thoughts about reality and humanity are eventually being swiped away by very abstract philosophical ending that might sound fancy, but can be also seen as complete nonsense.

The conflict (agon) between August the protagonist (and the hero) and Nr. 44, the hero's chief opponent (cf. Abbott 2002) gets resolved in the very final sentence of August's: "for I knew, and realized, that all he had said was true." Although Nr. 44's speech convinced August, the ending might not convince the reader. It is left open-ended: we do not know what happens to August and what, in practice, the meaning of Nr. 44's words are.

The narrative of the *Manuscripts* is not traditional in the sense of suspense and closure: none of the themes raised earlier get solved in the end. The reader is not told what happened to the Duplicates, the girl who August had a crush on or, most importantly, August himself. When it comes to literary narrative in general, "at the level of questions we anticipate enlightenment" (Abbott 2002: 56), which means answers to all the questions the narrative has risen. In the traditional sense Twain's narrative does not do this, but looking it from the viewpoint of Menippean satire we might get some answers. Since in Menippean satire and carnivalism the laughter falls equally upon everyone, even the writer, this suggests one possible way to read the dream ending. Instead of taking Nr. 44's words as cynical and deterministic, they can be seen as open-ended like a polyphonic novel, where even the author does not know the truth (cf. Bakhtin 1984: 5-6).

In his article "The Final Soliloquy of a "Littery Man"' (2009)James S. Leonard connects Twain's late works to the "Age of Realism" in America but points out that by the time Twain wrote the ending, the trend had already shifted to naturalism. The difference that this note of the cultural change makes, according to Leonard, is the fact that "it makes *MS* a reflection of a dominant ideology rather than the efflux of a psychological pathology." (Leonard 2009: 163.) In Leonard's view, the end of the story is not as closed as it might seem at first glance:

> Fourty-four is, in fact, a concretization — a specifically contrived literary symbol not just of a momentary uncertainty, but of the defining uncertainty of human existence. He is the unreachableness of the Truth itself, and whether that Truth be benign, malicious, or indifferent, what Twain sees, or believes he sees, and embodies in the protean form of forty-four is that inaccessibility of the truth for human beings. The "revelation" of the final chapter is the one that Twain has prepared us for throughout the narrative: the crushing understanding that **no revelation is possible beyond our unalterable ignorance**. (Leonard 2007: 165) [Emphasis mine]

Throughout the book Satan has been saying things that are very believable in the world Twain has created around him and in the real world it satirizes. Hence it is easy for the reader to see Satan's character as a timeless symbol defining something eternal. This makes the reader anticipate some kind of resolution; the feelings of meaning and irrelevancy are constantly present, since it is typical for humans to always try to find meaning. Therefore, the dream ending is the final nail in the coffin: Even though August or the reader might not completely understand what it all means, it leaves some sort of empty feeling. For a while there is no reason to find meaning anymore, since the seeker of the truth and meaning have both been completely ridiculed. The author, the main character, the narrator and the reader all vanish into the thin air.

Instead of justifying Twain's deterministic views in MS with the problems in his personal life (like so many earlier researchers had done), Leonard suggests that Twain simply shifted, like the trend was, from realism to naturalism (Leonard 2009: 162). However, in the *Manuscripts* Twain took a leap from the traditional side (realism and naturalism) by mixing fantasy and science fiction into the story, and this separates him from other writers of his time. CYS and MS could fall into the category of speculative fiction, more precisely magical realism, since magical elements are part of otherwise realistic environment (cf. Zamora, Faris 2005: 5). In the fictional world of

CYS and MS the Stranger is somewhere on the line between realism and magic, and the something that connects these two worlds.

The function of the Stranger changes while moving from CYS to MS. In CYS the strangeness of Satan is more of a simple personality characteristics, unknown and out of this world behavior, which are not present in other characters. In MS, the strangeness within oneself is highlighted, which August and other people working at the print shop also experience through the Duplicates. This can be seen when August ponders his relationship with the duplicate Nr. 44 has created for each person in the castle.

> To me he was merely a stranger, no more no less; to him I was a stranger; in all our lives we had never chanced to meet until 44 had put flesh upon him - -
>
> - - Although we had been born together, at the same moment and at the same womb, **there was no spiritual kinship between us;** spiritually we were a couple of distinctly independent and unrelated individuals, with equal rights in a common fleshy property, and we cared no more for each other than we cared for any other stranger. (MS: 343.) [Emphasis mine]

As a mark of the lack of "spiritual kinship", August's duplicate even calls himself with a different name. As we see, in MS the theme of strangeness has shifted into a more psychological frame, which can be reflected onto Twain's interest with Sigmund Freud,whom he met in Vienna and who had just published *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900. I will not go deeper into the analysis of the dream-selves and duplicates, for it could be a whole other theme for a thesis. Nevertheless, the notion of the continuum of the theme of strangeness works as an introduction to the deeper character analysis of Satan and Nr. 44 I will go into in the next chapters.

I will go through the different satirical roles Satan and Nr. 44 perform before the final revelation, dream ending in MS. I start from the moral satire and Socratic dialogue in order to go deeper into Satan's and Nr. 44's role as a teacher for the ignorant people.

4.1 Moral Satire of Satan the Teacher

Julia Kristeva mentions Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721) and Voltaire's *Zadig* and *Candide* as other examples of the emergence of the philosophical stranger (Kristeva 1991: 133-145). In light of my research I have chosen to cover the latter in more depth. In *Candide,* Voltaire satirizes the optimism espoused by the philosophers of the Age of Enlightenment. It is a story of a young man who travels around the world seeing misery, pain and death – in country after country. What keeps Candide going is the optimistic words coming from the philosopher Pangloss who used to tutor Candide when he still was a young boy living in his family's castle. This was before all the misfortunes Candide and his party had faced. Pangloss's main teaching is that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

Here Voltaire satirizes the optimism espoused by the Age of Enlightenment philosophers. Reason and empiricism remodeled the society that used to be based on tradition: the primary belief was that people are able to actively work in order to create a better world (Vyvenberg 1989: 205). By choosing an innocent youngster following the ideas of a presumably wise old philosopher Voltaire created an extreme juxtaposition between these two worlds of ignorance and knowledge.

In his own way, Twain did the same. Child characters had always been Twain's brand, but in the *Manuscripts* the usage of children as a contrast to an omnipotent character of Satan has a special meaning. The innocent and ignorant villagers of Eseldorf also do not go far from children when it comes to knowledge. Also, Satan chooses Theodor in CYS and August in MS to be his pupil.

Theodor expresses excitement for his travels many times and in this way embraces his role as a pupil. For example, when they first travel to China, Theodor already acknowledges his own vain habits:

> That was a grand surprise, and made me sort of drunk with vanity and gladness to think I had come so far—so much, much farther than anybody else in our village, including Bartel Sperling, who had such a great opinion of his travels (MS: 111).

Then Theodor becomes more serious and ponders the deeper meaning of travelling:

> If we could only make a change like that whenever we wanted to, the world would be easier to live in than it is, for change of scene shifts the mind's burdens to the other shoulder and banishes old, shop-worn wearinesses from mind and body both (MS: 112).

Of course, the meaning of these travels is the opposite of banishing the "old, shop-worn wearinesses"; this is only the naive narrator's viewpoint. For Satan, these travels are more of a way to add to the power of his teachings. In China they discuss the topics of determinism and Moral Sense. Satan explains why he has done all these obscure looking actions and seemingly ruined many of the villagers' lives. At first, Theodor is excited about traveling but soon the reality crushes this optimism: life is not any better in any other corner of the world and many times the potential lifelines that Satan's shows are even worse than the current one.

This kind of satire combined with traveling also resembles the adventures of Lemuel Gulliver in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). In this work, the European habits, religion and corrupt men are being satirized in many ways. Just like Theodor and August in the *Manuscripts*, Gulliver's attitude towards the human race hardens as his misfortunes grow. Gulliver realizes that no form of government that he explores on his journeys is ideal, yet kindness and goodness can be found in specific individuals.

The viewpoint found in the *Manuscripts* is more cynical – no matter where Satan and his pupil travel, they find no single human being who is on the same level with Satan. Since Satan can see everything from the past and everything from the future, he reveals to Theodor that history will be an endless continuum of carnage conducted in the name of different religions. But we must note that at least Satan did find one person on Earth whom he thought was worthy of his friendship for a brief while – Theodor and August. The traits of these young boys have something different compared to the other characters – they have curiosity and ability to discuss life on a deeper level. In some way they are mirroring Satan's character, so that a teacher-pupil relationship can be established. For them, Satan is very much like a mentor. Other people in the village would not be even able to enter the discussions Satan and his pupils have.

The line drawn between the boys and Satan is not only intellectual but also physical: The boys describe how Satan has good clothes on, he is handsome, has a winning face and a pleasant voice, his delivery is easy, graceful and unembarrassed – "not slouchy and awkward and diffident like other boys" (CYS: 45). The main tension is, however, Theodor's and August's coming of age story triggered by Satan's and Nr. 44's teachings.

An important turning point for Theodor in CYS is when Nikolaus has drowned and his mother blames herself for the event. Earlier, Theodor probably would have been shocked too, but now he just notes "how foolish people are when they blame themselves for anything they have done" (CYS: 128). It is important to note, that the narrator of CYS is telling the story retrospectively as an old man. This can be seen in only a few points of the story.

For example, in chapter 10 Satan gets frustrated with trying to help humans who do not know what is best for them. After this, Theodor reveals "He didn't seem to know any way to do a person a favor except by killing him or making a lunatic out of him. I apologized, as well as I could; but privately I did not think much of his processes. *At that time*" (CYS: 164). [Italics mine] Here Twain hints that young Theodor did not understand all Satan's teachings during his visit, but later in life internalized them through his own experiences. Unlike August in MS, Theodor in CYS has continued his life and is able to contemplate the past, which is one of the most important change in the narrative between the two manuscripts. In light of the plot of MS it is understandable for Twain to change the narration to not be retrospective, since the whole power of the ending lays in the fact that the reader does not know what happens to August after Nr. 44's dream revelation.

Just like for Gulliver and Candide, the cold truth has pierced the fragile optimism and innocence of August and Theodor, the naive characters. But for Twain, this is definitely a positive thing, since Satan and Nr. 44 represent the pure meaning of religion and the benefits of amoral behavior. But then again, the only thing these young protagonists were able to do was merely mimic Satan's opinions and taking his words for granted – just like they had done with the priest's before. Perhaps this

endless circle of satire is Twain's way to demonstrate the oxymoron inherent in fully portraying human nature.

The idea that satire's goals as a genre are to give the reader cautionary examples of man's vices and try to get the reader to pursue virtues is based on Roman poetic satire. One of the main aspects is morally incorrect milieu, which is the reason why many satirists (such as Swift, Pope and Dickens) have placed their stories in big cities. On the contrary, the countryside is typically idealized. (Kivistö 2007b: 27-30.) For Twain, both countryside and cities appear as bad when it comes to humans vices – in the countryside there are ignorant hillbillies and cities are portrayed as black spots of mass production.

Moral satire was very popular in the Late Medieval and Renaissance Germany. The idea of bringing out the truth by using laughter is a stylistic device inherited from Horace's satire. It was typical that the truth revealed by laughter was negative: slandering was not the goal per se, but to use the satirical ridicule to help people understand the stupidity of certain characteristics typical to humans. (Strack 2007: 95-95.) To be able to do this, the opponent has to be presented as stupid and ignorant, just like the people of Eseldorf. The author is seen as some sort of doctor or teacher, who heals the diseases brewing up in society (Strack 2007: 96).

Looking from this perspective, the milieu of the *Manuscripts* is somewhat interesting. The boys describe the small village of Eseldorf as a paradise, and for them it is the whole world since they have not traveled further. After getting to know Satan, August takes his first trips with him, and Satan uses travelling as a way to teach the boy about the world and its vices. Even though the story is placed in a little village, August and Satan travel to big cities and see the effects mass production.

To emphasize Satan’s message, travelling is backed by dialogues between Satan and Theodor. In these scenes, Satan is clearly the teacher and Theodor the ignorant pupil[6]. This juxtaposition is very common in Socratic dialogue, a short genre that developed into Menippean satire. Bakhtin has categorized the main characteristics of Socratic dialogue into five sections: At the base lies dialogue, which was considered to be the

[6] In MS, however, travelling does not play a part and the events are tied to the castle.

most powerful tool in revealing the truth that can only be born among people collectively searching for it. Assisting in its birth, Socrates called himself the "midwife". (Bakhtin 1984: 110.)

In Socratic dialogue, which glorifies discussion, it was actually the ideologies that played the part of the hero as opposed to people or individuals. Another feature is that participants in the Socratic dialogue are not only testing the idea, but also testing the person who represents it. Although that person is not the hero, he still carries a certain responsibility, which Bakhtin refers to as the "embryonic image of an idea". (Bakhtin 1984: 112.)

Two basic devices of the Socratic dialogue are syncrisis, which was understood as the "juxtaposition of various points of view" and anacrisis, the "means for eliciting and provoking the words of one's interlocutor, forcing him to express his opinion and express it thoroughly" (Bakhtin 1984: 110-112). To create a perfect environment for syncrisis and anacrisis to work, Socratic dialogue creates extraordinary situations, a laboratory, where "all of life's automatism and object-ness" are cleaned out and the deepest level of human thought can be revealed (Bakhtin 1984: 111). These features, though, are limited in the Socratic dialogue due to its memorial nature, but eventually bloom in the Menippean satire.

One work by Twain that can be purely called a Socratic dialogue is *What is Man?* published in 1906. It is a dialogue with a young man and an old man, and the main question is weather man works barely as a machine or not. Destiny and free will are other main themes of the dialogue, where the old man represents the wise and cynical view of world and the young man the hopeful and naive view of the world. One of the main statements that the old man makes is that Man is always satisfying his own spirit first and self-sacrifice "DOES NOT EXIST AND HAS NOT EXISTED" (Twain: 1906: 30) Even when we think we want to do something for others, we always make sure it benefits ourselves first. Therefore it is impossible for anyone to do good for others from a purely altruistic standpoint.

This arrangement is similar to the one in the *Manuscripts* between the omnipotent Satan and Nr. 44 in contrast to Theodor and August, who are just young kids living in

a sleepy village without education or knowledge of the world outside Eseldorf. The boys and the people of Eseldorf function purely from the perspective of their own self interest while Satan and Nr.44 are the only ones capable of seeing the bigger picture and basing their actions on doing good, as they do not possess the moral sense.

To understand the dialogue between the teacher and the pupils we must first understand the difference between carnivalistic and Menippean laughter and the laughter of moral satire. According to Bakhtin, carnivalistic laughter is "the laughter of all the people" meaning that it is "universal in its scope; it is directed at all and everyone, including the carnival's participants" (Bakhtin 1984b: 11). Whereas in "pure satire of modern times", the satirist places himself to the outside and to the opposite of the ridiculed target (Bakhtin 1984b: 12).

In this case of the *Manuscripts,* in many scenes the satire tilts more towards to the modern moral satire than the carnivalistic and Menippiean tradition. Satan clearly works as the spokesman for Twain, and in his indifference he places him outside the ridiculed target – at least in the beginning and middle parts of the narrative. Satan is the elephant and the ridiculed is the spider, and it is impossible for him to care about something so trifling.

But even though Satan places himself outside, there must be something that makes him care enough to write about it – just like there must be something that makes Satan care enough to be friends with the boys. And then comes in the role of the teacher. Moral satire, carnivalism and Menippean satire work together and do not rule each other out in any way. On the contrary, the overlapping of these modes improves the satiric message and makes it clearer.

In both CYS and MS Twain's narrative moves from complete ignorance of the narrator to mastering the usage of facts as solid arguments. Looking completely from the perspective of Satan, his work as a teacher is finished in each manuscript when the state of full conversion of Theodor and August has been fulfilled. The last chapter of CYS begins as Theodor describes his craving for seeing more of Satan's tricks.

> It was a delight for me to see him astonish people; it was a private pride to me, too, and pleased my vanity, for I was envied, as being friend and comrade to so great a magician (CYS: 172).

In contrast to August, who, due to his religion, is afraid of being around Nr. 44, Theodor has fully embraced the supernatural character of Satan. In the last chapter of CYS Satan takes them up the hill to a wealthy man's palace, where a magician is performing a trick. Satan turns himself into a magician and humiliates the other magician by proving that his tricks are a fraud and his assistant had helped him. The narrative suddenly ends after this revelation, but the same theme continues in MS, where Nr. 44 plays the role of Balthasar Hoffman, the castle's magician. In this role Nr. 44 performs amazing tricks that deeply impress August.

Out of all tricks, he describes the Procession as the most impressive one and describes it in great detail: an endless parade of skeletons of great leaders, biblical characters and normal people march pass August as he tries to recognize some of them. For me this symbolizes a compressed history lesson, where Nr. 44 concretely shows August how small and meaningless his life is and how suffering never ends.

Finally Satan transports himself and August into an "empty and soundless world" where the final teaching of "life is just a dream" takes place. The teacher has prepared his student for the revelation that only a person whose "self" has been diminished can comprehend.

4.2 Satan the Jester

In CYS, the first trick Satan performs for the boys is right when they meet on the hill at the castle park; the boys realize they did not remember to bring fire to light the tobacco and Satan creates it from nothing. Soon follows the sequence with the fruits and the castle with its tiny clay people and animals springing into existence from thin air. This does not scare the boys too much since they have been told about ghosts and supernatural creatures by the castle's serving man, who had seen angels himself and

taught the boys to not be afraid of the castle ghost. Therefore the boys are a lot more "educated" than the other villagers.

When Satan leaves to "run some errands" the boys become sad and they eagerly wait for him to come back. Since Satan possesses the kind of magical aura that makes people around him feel good, happy and energetic. His presence is like a drug to the boys. The trick that makes Satan involved with the sleeping village of Eseldorf is putting eleven hundred and seven gold ducats in the wallet Father Peter dropped on the road. As I have shown in previous chapters, this deed is typical carnivalistic literary feature to lower the high and raising the low.

Satan makes it impossible for the boys to tell about his supernatural tricks, which allows his abilities to be kept secret. When he reveals himself to the villagers for the first time, he gives Ursula (Father Adolf's housekeeper) a magic cat, which provides for the family. These tricks lead to the situation where Father Adolf is accused of robbery and the villagers start to suspect there is witchcraft going on in the family, since they suddenly get wealthy because of the cat providing endless food and goods.

According to Bakhtin, in carnivalistic folklore the place for sin is in songs and dance, which culminated in orgies. Witches and devils are presented as merry-making characters. (Bakhtin 1984b: 79-80) When Satan invites himself for a dinner with the boys and Ursula, Margaret and Margaret's boyfriend Wilhelm, Satan really gets to show his talents. After beating Wilhelm several times in chess, Margaret suggests that Wilhelm reads one of his poems out loud. After this Satan offers to play the poem on a piano and mesmerizes his audience:

> For this was no music such as they had ever heard before. It was not one instrument talking, it was a whole vague, dreamy, far-off orchestra-flutes, and violins, and silver horns and drums, and cymbals, and all manner of other instruments, blending their soft tones in one rich stream of harmony - - and the water rose into those two people's eyes, for they had heard no voice like that before, nor had any one heard like of it except in heaven, where it came from. (CYS: 93.)

Nothing that Wilhelm tries to do can beat Satan's abilities, simply because they are in completely different leagues. But Satan does not have the ability to feel bad for him,

his pure nature is just to enjoy without human vices such as modesty or jealousy. Also, singing and playing in the above-mentioned scene fits into the jester tradition.

In *Fellows of Infinite Jest* (1999) Anu Korhonen has researched the history of the fool in Renaissance England; the character of Satan can be connected to this kind of jester tradition. Korhonen refers to the Bible and especially the books of St. Matthew and St. Luke, according to whom "the highest truth was hidden from the wise and prudent, and revealed only to the "childlike" (Korhonen 1999: 87).

> Fools were innocents, not capable of sinning because of their lack of reason and will. One could only sin if one had the desire to do evil. Thus assuming the part of a fool could mean **relinquishing one's earthly desires** in favor of **total humility**. (Korhonen 1999: 307.) [Emphasis mine]

This type Korhonen calls "the holy fools" (Korhonen 1999: 307). The fool had no desire to do evil, but had also alienated from God and therefore was considered as a symbol of the sinning human being (Korhonen 1999: 307). Therefore the fool, paradoxically, represented both ultimate good and ultimate evil (Korhonen 1999: 98-99). Reading the mysterious Stranger character from this perspective gives an interesting viewpoint to the dream ending of MS: what else does Nr. 44 do than relinquish earthly desires by disconnecting the protagonists from their paltry race? The very last phrase perfectly symbolizes the total humility of August: "For I knew, and realized, that all he had said was true" (MS: 405).

However, it is important to note that Satan and Nr. 44 do not completely fit to Korhonen's description of the fool, for she stated that being stupid was the Renaissance fool's nominating quality (Korhonen 1999: 110). "What made man superior to beasts was his soul, his understanding and his powers of learning - - the highest quality in man was his reason, and reason placed him in direct contact with God" (Korhonen 1999: 111). A fool was considered to have not enough understanding to fight corruption (Korhonen 1999: 112). Twain's fools are somewhat more complex: the mysterious jester claims to be an angel, but has qualities of a wise jester; the villagers and priests claim to be religious, but have qualities of a fool. This leads to the idea of human folly: we are all sinners, through our folly, acting on the great stage of fools (Korhonen 1999: 307).

Approaching Satan from the viewpoint of a fool or a jester, we can also see that he is on the same level with animals: unable to sin and therefore innocent, beyond good and evil. His powers of learning did not make him superior to beasts, but instead puts him on the same level. This has to be understood within the world of the *Manuscripts*, where comparing one to animals is not lowering, but rather raising the character. The narrative Twain has created persistently proves, through satirical juxtaposition, how animals would be incapable of committing the same "crimes" humans do: therefore the good-evil composition of the narrative functions more on the level of the creature's moral aspect, and not on the level of individual's capability to change. In MS, the carnivalism of the characters is mainly based on the duplicates, which can be seen as a parody of the "original people".

In CYS Satan is seen as both wicked and charming in the eyes of the villagers, since his presence brings comfort to every living creature. As it is described by Theodor: "Satan had been going about quite freely, getting acquainted with everybody, chatting with everybody, and charming the whole village and winning its gratitude by beguiling its mind from troubles by diverting its interest to cheerful matters" (CYS: 94-95). Even Margaret and Wilhelm cannot reach a conclusion of whether he is good or evil.

> "And how did he remember that long poem and never miss a word?" Said Wilhelm. "I think he is the Devil."
>
> "Or an angel", said Margaret. (CYS: 94.)

Jesters were popular, especially in German satire, and one of the most well known examples of the genre is Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (*The Ship of Fools*) published in 1494. In these kinds of books the world is a stage and a playground for the jesters to laugh at and judge man's vices. (Korhonen 1999: 102-103.) The thought of the "higher truth" being kept from the wise and scholarly and revealed to the childlike fits very well into the *Manuscripts*, since the three young boys are the ones to which Satan chooses to reveal the whole truth about himself. If he is the magician, the boys are his little helpers and the rest of the villagers merely an audience.

The fact that Twain decided to place his story in an Austrian village highly suggests the intention towards the jester tradition. However, Twain makes the tradition even more satirical by literally combining the holy with the jester character: In the scene where Satan once again takes over Father Adolf's body, he goes to the market place and starts to perform juggling tricks.

> So saying, he tossed the balls up one after another and set them whirling in a slender bright oval in the air, and added another, then another and another, and soon—no one seeing whence he got them—adding, adding, adding, the oval lengthening all the time, his hands moving so swiftly that they were just a web or a blur and not distinguishable as hands; and such as counted said there were now a hundred balls in the air. The spinning great oval reached up twenty feet in the air and was a shining and glinting and wonderful sight. Then he folded his arms and told the balls to go on spinning without his help—and they did it. (CYS: 87.)

According to Bakhtin, games held at the marketplace play an important role in in carnivalistic laughter (Bakhtin 1984b: 231) and the function of these games is to "offer a gay parody of the legal methods of establishing the truth" (Bakhtin 1984b: 239). After the show, the only conclusion the villagers can make of the events is that God has forsaken them. "Always before, we had protection, now it has failed" (CYS: 88), one of the villagers states. The gimmickry performed by a priest diminished his power and credibility as the one protecting the people from evil. When Nikolaus' father, who is mostly worried about everyone's reputation and estate, comes to the realization that the Interdict could come upon the village, they contemplate the idea of taking the case to the witch-commission: "- - They [the witch-commission], like all the community, being hardly less afraid of this particular priest than of the strangely intrepid devil that was in him" (CYS: 89). Here, Twain satirizes how the priests can also be seen as the Devil, from a certain point of view.

Twain uses a combination of the jester tradition, fantasy and supernatural events to emphasize the evilness of Father Adolf by concretely combining the two. The character of the jester in CYS is more mysterious; his magic is "uncanny", something unexplainable and the villagers think it must originate from some kind of evil powers, since according to their religion, everything strange was the work of the Devil. When we move to MS, the tricks are mostly performed through another magician, Balthasar, which takes fantasy more to the direction of "marvelous." Balthasar takes credit for Nr. 44's tricks and the castle's residents' admiration towards him grows. Perhaps

Twain's intention here could be to satirize human logic: if tricks that otherwise would be considered as the work of the Devil come from an "earthly" magician, it is not scary anymore, but something marvelous and worth respecting.

Satan's tricks performed through Father Adolf , in my opinion, satirize the fact of how impossible and sometimes artificial it is to separate holy from evil. The higher truth of Satan being behind the trick is held from the villagers and only told to three boys who are still closest to the character of the "holy fool", due to their adolescence.

This combination is strongly present in a scene in CYS where the boys describe a yearly tradition called the Assuaging of the Devil. This means that on the 9th of December the Devil comes down to earth and builds a bridge for some village, which pays him with a soul of the Christian. However, the priests of Europe always cheated on the Devil's wages.

> Always before, when he built a bridge, he was to have for his pay a Christian, of course. But no matter, he didn't *say* it, so they always sent a jackass or a chicken or some other undamnable passenger across first, and so got the best of him. This time he *said* Christian, and wrote it in the bond himself. (CYS: 40.)

Theodor describes how the bond is being brought out every Assuaging day and everyone can see it after paying ten groschen and "get a remission of thirty-three sins besides, times being easier for every one then than they are now, and sins much cheaper; so much cheaper that all except the very poorest could afford them." (CYS: 40.) Yet the priest still found a way to cheat the Devil by sending a Christian who was just about to die, and just before the Devil was reaching for him, the man died and his soul flew to heaven. Here, Twain satirizes religion by shamelessly mixing it up with money to bring up the corruptness and absurdities of the so-called civilization. The satire on religion and money I will go in more depth in chapter 5.

When it comes to Satan's character as a jester, in this little tale of "the Assuaging" the Devil is presented from the religions' viewpoint: a gullible and stupid character. Even the word "assuaging" Twain uses hints to kind of "making peace" with the Devil, but for the priests it ironically means completely the opposite. This composition Twain

clearly wanted to change and through his version of Satan show a different kind of character, who instead of being fooled is the one fooling people – especially priests.

4.3 Satan the Machine – Satire on Mass Production

In MS, the character of the Stranger does not introduce himself as Satan or Philip Traum like in CYS. Instead he only tells his serial number: Nr.44. New Series 864,962 [7] . This refers to the cultural change in late 19th century, when industrialization and mass production got started. For Twain, this machine-like man is strictly linked to the idea of predeterminism, which he also handled in his dialogue *What is Man?* (1906).

In the *Manuscripts,* the same idea is present but within a story narrative rather than just a dialogue. However, for Twain it is not God who foreordains people's lives. When August in CYS asks for clarification, Satan replies:

> The man's circumstances and environment order it. His first act determines the second and all that follow after. But suppose, for argument's sake, that the man should skip one of these acts; an apparently trifling one, for instance: suppose it had been appointed that on a certain day, at a certain hour and minute and second and fraction of a second he should snatch at a fly, and he didn't snatch at the fly. That man's career would change utterly, from that moment; thence to the grave it would be wholly different from the career, which his first act as a child had arranged for him. (CYS: 115.)

After this, Satan uses Columbus as an example and tells August how he has examined all the possible lifelines Columbus could have had and only one of them leads to the discovery of America. Missing one step would have led him to something completely different. However, Satan notes that no man ever does drop a link and it has never happened: "Even when he is trying to make up his mind as to whether he will do a

[7] The serial number itself can be seen as a reference to one kind of unusual psychic states: man as a machine. This theme is central in CYS and MS, but even more in Twain's earlier work *What is Man?* (1906), which is also a pure example of Socratic dialogue. In MS, however, the serial number might indicate not only the character of the mysterious stranger, but also the ambient conditions: mass production in factories and ignorant people following the rules of religious leaders. Twain was well aware of these changes in society around him and, in this sense, his writings can be seen as some sort of political journalism - again - one of the characteristics defining Menippean satire according to Bakhtin.

thing or not, that itself is a link, an act, and has its proper place in his chain - -" (CYS: 116).

Satan adds that he is the only one who can change this chain and free people from the chain of predetermination. Regardless, after this their lives will still only be slaves to the new chain of events. To demonstrate his abilities, Satan changes lifelines for few of the villagers, which deeply shocks August, since many times this new lifeline includes sudden death. At first August simply cannot understand how death can ever be a better choice than life. But Satan, who sees humans as machines, does not care. For him people and their lives are like a game: feelings do not matter, only the most convenient outcome with as little grief as possible. If it means death, it is better than a miserable life.

For Satan, real people are just like the ones he created in the beginning from clay: they are puppets that can be used to prove a point but they have no further meaning. He sees things from such a different point of view, that he truly is the elephant who simply cannot care about the spider – it is far too trivial and unimportant.

The portrayal of unusual psychic stages flourishes in MS, where Twain focuses on the dualistic nature of human beings. Nr. 44 creates a duplicate for each person living on the castle and working at the printing shop. He explains to Theodor how the human mind works and demonstrates this by making it visible in the form of duplicates.

> You know of course, that you are not one person, but two. One is your Workaday-Self, and 'tends to business, the other is your Dream-Self, and has no responsibilities, and cares only for romance and excursions and adventure. It sleeps when the other self is awake; when your other self sleeps, your Dream-Self has full control and does what it pleases. It has far more imagination than has the Workaday-Self therefore its pains and pleasures are far more real and intense than those of the extraordinary. (MS: 315.)

The unusual situation August experiences by living in the same castle with his (and the other inhabitant) duplicates can be seen as a technique Bakhtin referred to as destroying the epic and the tragic wholeness of a person and his fate. Pathological stages become part of the narrative, destroying Man's belief in identity and causality. When this totality is lost, the character is no longer able to coincide with himself. (Bakhtin 1984: 119.) Therefore, the eccentric language Satan uses in both

manuscripts, the cynical frankness and his attack on etiquette demonstrate the techniques familiar to Menippean satire.

In the new world of industrialization and mass production, people can also be seen as easily replaceable from the viewpoint of big companies. This theme is highly present in the scene where Satan takes Theodor to see the factory village in a French village. Theodor describes how he sees men, women and little children working with ragged clothes, starving, weak and drowsy. Satan continues to describe what is going on:

> - - The proprietors are rich, and very holy; but the wage they pay to these poor brothers and sisters of theirs is only enough to keep them from dropping dead with hunger. The work-hours are fourteen per day, winter and summer—from six in the morning till eight at night—little children and all. And they walk to and from the pigsties which they inhabit—four miles each way, through mud and slush, rain, snow, sleet, and storm, daily, year in and year out. They get four hours of sleep. They kennel together, three families in a room, in unimaginable filth and stench; and disease comes, and they **die off like flies**. (CYS: 73.) [Emphasis mine]

I believe this is where Twain's satire is pointing: by making tons of people perform the same insignificant task day after day you lower them to the level where they are merely part of the machine and their lives seem as insignificant as a fly's life could seem to a human. And these parts of a machine can always be replaced, since none of them have any significant talent. In the eyes of a factory owner his workers are just like those clay people for Satan: we can always make more.

The same theme continues in MS when Nr. 44 makes a copy of each person living in the castle and working in the print shop. These copies are a lot cheaper and work harder, which leads to the situation where the copies start to work at the factory and the real people get unemployed – a quite original metaphor for the modern phenomenon of labor shifting to cheap countries such as China. In this metaphor humans are only seen valuable for the amount and quality of work they are able to do, nothing more. For August, this situation leads to depression:

> Young as I was–I was barely seventeen–my days were now sodden with depression, there was little or no rebound. My interest in the affairs of the castle and of its occupants faded out and disappeared; I kept to myself and took little or no note of the daily happenings; my Duplicate performed all my duties, and I had nothing to do but wander aimlessly about and be unhappy. (MS: 335.)

August tries to fill this emptiness by forming a crush on the master's niece Margaret, who also lives in the castle. Ironically, Margaret is not interested in the original August, but only his duplicate. Twain turns around the philosophical idea of the duality of human mind and uses it in a very literal way by materializing this "second self". This can be done for effect to emphasize the satirical atmosphere of the whole situation in the castle. The duplicates are also being described as some kind of machines: better than the originals in everything and free to use their creative imagination. They are closer to Nr. 44 than humans.

To test his idea of humans as machines, Twain creates a very unusual environment, which was one feature in Bakhtin's list of Menippean satire. The duplicates can be also seen as a fantasy tool to test this new psychological idea of our dream-self, which Twain adapted from Sigmund Freud's studies. In CYS, the questions of determinism and moral sense were mainly tested through short scenes handling a moral issue. In MS, however, Twain has developed a whole new group of characters (the duplicates) to test the idea on a deeper level. Another feature of Menippean satire that can be found in MS is the portrayal of unusual moral states of man: the duplicates force August to deal with his own split personality, which eventually drives him into depression and the verge of insanity, when his own duplicate tempts Margaret.

The duplicates do not seem to have a soul – at least Twain does not give them deeper characteristics and they are always described through August's narration. They perform their tasks quickly and accurately and are able to release the parts in August that the original does not even know exist. Therefore, the problem of the machine gets more complicated, and, whereas in *What is Man?* and CYS Twain has clear answers for this questions, in MS they are left open-ended.

Twain's thoughts on mass production were one kind of reflection of society, which had been completely changed by industrialization. The new world of science and reason was taking over of the old one, which was based mainly on religion. This thought takes me to the next chapter, where I will go deeper into the analysis on the mixture of politics and religion in the *Manuscripts*.

5 Satire on Religion and Politics

5.1 The Case of CYS

For Twain, the interest in the character of Satan seemed to be purely about equality as he joked about this often. He was interested in the other side of the "good versus bad" story and his way to handle it was humor, which, of course, did not go well with the serious nature of religion. Here, for example, we find a quote from Twain considering the well-being of Satan in his Autobiography:

> But who prays for Satan? Who in eighteen centuries, has had the common humanity to pray for the one sinner that needed it most, our one fellow and brother who most needed a friend yet had not a single one, the one sinner among us all who had the highest and clearest right to every Christian's daily and nightly prayers, for the plain and unassailable reason that his was the first and greatest need, he being among sinners the supremest? (Twain 1924)

In some ways, Twain can be truly considered as to friend of Satan, someone who stood up for the deserted one. He also created Theodor and August for his friends. Twain found many faults in Christianity and the most important one was its endless lies to the credulous flock of sheep. In a very simplified way we can say that there are two standpoints for perceiving God: by thinking that he is judgmental and one should be afraid of him or that he is good and accepts everyone. Twain, quite clearly, believed in the latter one. Perhaps Twain thought that Christianity's story about Satan was also a lie and, due to this, wanted to create his own version. In the essay "Twain and Nietzsche", Gabriel Noam Brahm Jr. and Forrest G. Robinson make an interesting point about how Twain and Nietzsche share a similar disbelief in Christianity:

> Twain and Nietzsche were also at one in the belief that Contemporary Christian civilization, ensnared in an unnatural morality enforced by predatory conscience, required for its creation and maintenance **a culture based in fear and immersed in lies**. (Brahm 2011: 16.) [Emphasis mine]

This culture of fear and lies goes hand in hand in CYS and MS. Twain fights against the fear of disapproval and the endless drive towards conformity through the character

of Satan, who describes humans as follows: "- - the race lived a life of continuous and uninterrupted self-deception" (CYS: 164). But Satan, of course, is different: he has the courage to speak the truth since he is not affected by the basic human characteristics: morality, the need for acceptance, and fear.

Instead of religion, Twain's hope rested in humor, something that has traditionally been considered as a threat to religion. In *Mark Twain and the Spiritual Crisis of His Age* Harold K. Bush Jr. notes how "- - the attack on the faith implicitly questions American political ideology", due to religion's close alliance with political rhetoric. (Bush 2007: 207.)

However, it is important to note that in his earlier works Twain participated in the construction of the American pioneer spirit and individualism as national characteristics. The Bible, and especially Adam and Eve, played a very important role in this development that could be described as a life-long study on the Bible, which towards the end of Twain's life turns strongly inward towards itself. The author's final years have commonly being described with words such as "darkness" and "cynicism". Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that the Christian problem of pain became prominent in Twain's latest work.

The narrator of CYS, Theodor, feels great pain as a result of Satan's actions. No matter how good Satan's intentions are, it is impossible for Theodor to see things from the same perspective. A perfect example of this is the scene where Nikolaus, one of the three boys who always spent their time together, drowns. Satan explains how he has looked at all the possible life spans Nikolaus could have had and is sure that death is the lesser evil than any of the other options. Theodor has no other chance but to wait for the day his friend is predetermined to die.

Twain highlights this grotesque waiting period by having Nikolaus decide to throw a party to cheer up his friends who had lately been gloomy. He sets the date of the party to the exact date of his own funeral. Nikolaus himself does not know about his destiny, but the fact that his friends do, makes it impossible for them to enjoy the few last days, not to mention the long-waited party.

During this wait, Theodor remembers all the mean things he did to Nikolaus and dwells in self-resentment. Slowly, Theodor's pain decreases since Satan always seems to be able to provide a logical explanation for everything. This can be seen in the scene where Nikolaus' parents blame themselves for the death of their son and Theodor can already form an idea himself of how foolish it was.

It is also important to note the autobiographical element in this story: the inspiration for the character of Nikolaus Bauman comes from the near-death experience of Twain's childhood friend Tom Nash, who was left severely disabled after the event and spent his life in pain and misery. (Ferguson 1963: 24.) Perhaps these stories were Twain's way to ease the burden of his guilt since he did not have religion to assuage the grief anymore. When Theodor asks if Satan could change Nikolaus' destiny back, he answers: "For forty-six years he would lie in his bed a paralytic log, deaf, dumb, blind, and praying night and day for the blessed relief of death." (CYS: 118.) Theodor, finally, agrees that he is better off drowning, no matter how harshly it is against his conviction of every life being worth living, which also is strongly associated with Christianity.

When Nikolaus finally dies and his mother cries for her dead child, Satan still has a very indifferent view on it all. He says humans are incapable of knowing good fortune from the bad, and always mistake the one for the other. "Many times, since then, I have heard people pray to God to spare the life of sick persons, but I have never done it", (CYS: 129). Theodor says after accepting Satan's viewpoint. Satan also takes a stand on the question of purgatory in a very satirical way:

> He told us privately that there was no purgatory, now, it having been discarded because **it did not pay,** there being none but **Catholic custom** for it; but he had contributed in order that Nikolas's parents and their friends might be saved from the worry and distress. We thought very good of him, but he said money did not cost him anything. (CYS: 129.) [Emphasis mine]

Here Twain points his satire towards the corruption of the Catholic Church, hinting that money is the only thing you need for salvation. Twain also connects the whole idea of a purgatory to business, saying "it did not pay" and therefore it has been

discarded. To emphasize the satirical connotation, Twain uses the ignorant and naive narrator Theodor, who in the sentence above, seems incapable of understanding that there is anything humorous at all in Satan's words.

Theodor represents a character Frye describes as a plain, commonsense, conventional person, rustic with pastoral affinities. A character, which the author employs "as a foil for the various alazons of society." This character, he continues, is typical in American satire that passes as folk humor. (Frye 1957: 225-226.) The sophisticated irony in Theodor's words about purgatory arises from the fact that Twain does not underline or point out that he is being ironic (Frye 1957: 41). Theodor simply states what Satan has told him and the irony is left for the reader to find.

In *Mark Twain and the Catholic Church,* Aurele A. Durocher points out how Twain "probably absorbed some hostility toward the Catholic Church from the protestants of Hannibal - -", his childhood hometown. Twain attended the Presbyterian Church, which was most enthusiastically against Catholics. (Durocher 1960: 1.)

According to Durocher Twain shared the 18th century distrust towards established institutions and was influenced by the Age of Enlightenment writers such as Hume, Paine and Voltaire (Durocher 1960: 33-34). The fact that Twain located the events of CYS in the 18th century and MS in the 15th century connects the stories to the Protestant Reformation, which turned northern Europe (including Vienna) from Catholic to Protestant. According to Harold K. Bush, in MS Twain contemplates both the good and bad sides of the Reformation:

> The culminating point of his novel expresses a surprisingly prescient understanding of the logical effects (both good and bad) of the human revolution that was awakening in the Austria of the sixteenth century. If we are willing to concede this possibility, we might be able to read the book's perplexing conclusion as simultaneously a romantic embrace and a prophetic critique of the logical outcome of the newness that was the Protestant Reformation. (Bush 2009: 98.)

Bush notes that one major outcome of the Reformation was the "American liberal imagination", breaking conventions and dismissing old customs (Bush 2009: 98). Twain, naturally, was one of these liberals.

In CYS Twain quite directly satirizes the corruption of the Catholic Church by noting that humans seemed to be incapable of using humor against things that actually mattered:

> Look at the Pope's infallibility. Does anyone see the humor of that? Not a soul, except the Pope and the Conclave. Look at his loosing-and-binding authority– which is not confined to earth, but which even God on His throne is obliged to submit to–as per claim. (CYS: 165.)

Twain saw the Church and the Pope as enemies to democratic government, education and freedom and fought against the fact that anyone who would challenge this authority was punished (Durocher 1960: 38) and Satan's words could as well be considered to come straight from Twain's mouth. But there is someone who sees the humor in the mixture of religion and politics and that, of course, is Twain himself.
A concrete example of religion being a threat to a democratic government can be found in the 8th chapter of CYS, where Satan saves a rabbit from a poacher's trap. While doing so, Satan gets caught and encounters the four men responsible for the traps. When they accuse Satan he starts telling truths about each man making them even madder, until the chief keeper, Conrad Bart, points his gun to Satan's head. At that moment Satan turn himself into Father Adolf and in his form turns Bart into a stone statue. The case goes to court, and the way the court deals with the case is full of satire and irony.

The jury decides that Bart had come to his death by the visitation of God. However, there is the small detail of the fly that happened to be sitting on Bart's cheek just when he got turned into stone. The biggest disagreement in the courthouse turns out the be the fact that the coroner was not willing to accept the verdict because it included the fly: "The jury insisted that they could not exclude the fly without irreverence, since God in His inscrutable wisdom had seen fit to honor the humble animal with an equal share in His visitation[8]" (MS: 144). The coroner suggests that including the fly was an accident. The foreman then responds by asking how can they know if there was an accident: "How do you know what the fly had been doing? Are you in the secret of the privacies of God?" (CYS: 145.)

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8 This scene could easily fit under the title of "humans and animals" too, since the religious jury automatically sets the fly to lower animals compared to humans. In my analysis I think, though, that this scene in particular satirizes more religion than the question of higher and lower animals.

When the jury cannot reach a conclusion, the coroner decides that there is no verdict and the cause for the man's death is suicide. Even though this deeply shocks the family, the judge plainly states that the law must be respected and the stone-version of Bart was exposed to public exhibition, which gained money for the family and – in Satan's opinion – a pretty good life. When Seppi expresses his worry towards Bart's family, Satan once again assures that it was for the best, since the family got to "exhibit him and get rich".

The overlapping of satire, irony and parody is plainly present in the fly sequence. Parody in this episode blooms especially in the reactions of the viewers when they see the stone sculpture. In "Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger - A Study on the Manuscript Texts" the author Sholom J. Kahn sees the scene as "a parody of realism in art." The statue gets praised by the public and is eventually sold to a palace in Florence. The fact that the coroner decided that Bart could have not been buried because of the fly turns out to be the family's fortune.

> And just as a deterministic system has to make some provision for freedom and change, as we have seen, so a flattened or inverted hierarchy of values must be taken provision for flies and microbes (Kahn 1978: 80).

Another target of parody, according to Kahn, is the Declaration of Independence. Kahn doesn't go deeper into analyzing this but in my view the parody is apparent in Twain's references to the Creator, a theme that also features prominently in the Declaration of Independence: "What it [the fly] did is a secret between itself and its Creator (and perhaps the Coroner! but it was guilty and that guilt is witnessed and forever established by its fate)" (CYS: 145). Specifically, invoking the Creator as a party to the issue as a means to lend credence to their position suggests that both the authors of the Declaration and Twain's coroner believe that the Creator would be concerned with the respective outcomes of their decisions. The comparison between almighty God and an insignificant fly illustrates this juxtaposition. By bringing fate into the discussion, Twain draws a line between the segments handling determinism.

The behavior of the jury naturally works in favor of Satan's description of people as a silly and trivial race. In this scene, satire is not just only against religion, but Twain

also ponders the problem of knowledge. Since Satan knows everything about the four poachers, he can use his infinite knowledge and wit as a weapon in turning the situation towards justice (compared to the strong minority governing the weak majority).

The distinction between satire and irony in this scene can be specified by the usage of fantasy. Turning Bart into a stone statue is the kind of fantasy element that Twain uses to create a world where his satire can operate. Even though he uses fantasy, the satire is aimed at very realistic issues. Frye notes, "Satire demands at least a token fantasy, a content which the reader recognizes as grotesque" (Frye 1957: 223). Earlier we have seen this element of fantasy in the scene handling Nikolaus' death: Satan tells the boys the future and this allows them to contemplate their human vice's from a completely new perspective that would not be possible without this usage of fantasy.

The literary attacks against religion and politics are something that were highly influenced by Twain's stay in Austria. As we know, Twain worked on the manuscripts from 1897, the year the family moved to Austria, until 1910, the year of his death. During his stay in Vienna, Twain started to follow closely the ongoing political events. For example, Twain attended several sessions of the City Council of Vienna and took notes, which eventually formed into a work of literary journalism article titled *Stirring Times in Austria*, published in 1898. (Tuckey 1963: 17-18).

These "stirring" times included many characters that can eventually be found in the *Manuscripts*. For example, few character names originate from the political circles of Vienna: Theodor's friend Seppi Wohlmeyer is quite possibly named after one of the legislators, Deputy Wohlmeyer. The most important influence, though, was leader of the anti-Jewish Christian Socialist Party and Burgomeister of Vienna, Dr. Karl Lauger. At first, Twain named the bad priest of the story after him as Father Leuger, but later changed the name to Father Adolf. Regardless of the change of name, many characteristics remained. (Tuckey 1963: 18.) In *Stirring Times,* Twain described Lueger as "the shifty trickster of Vienna" and "Betrayer of the people".

> There is a moment's lull, and Dr. Lueger begins his speech. Graceful, handsome man, with winning manners and attractive bearing, a bright and easy speaker, and is said to

> know how to trim his political sails to catch any favoring wind that blows. He manages to say a few words, then the tempest overwhelms him again.
> (Twain 1898: 6.)

This description surely fits with the character of bad priest Father Adolf. In *Mark Twain and Little Satan* (1963) John S. Tuckey expresses a direct analogy between political events in Vienna and Twain's bad priest and good priest.

> The Austrian elections of 1895 had resulted in a sweeping victory for the anti-Jewish faction. In October of that year, the municipal council of Vienna had elected Dr. Lueger as mayor. He thereupon became the leader of his party, displacing the former leader Prince Liechtestain, whose policies had been more acceptable to the emperor. These events may be related to Twain's statement, which appears in "Eseldorf" and in The Mysterious Stranger near the end of chapter 1, that the good priest "Father Peter had been out a couple of years, and our other priest, Father Adolf had his flock." - - A notebook entry of Sunday, October 10, 1987, reported that he (Twain) had discussed with the princess the harm done by priests when they meddled in politics." (Tuckey, 1963: 19.)

Thus, it is understandable how Twain satirizes politicians with religious backgrounds in the scene with the stone statue and the fly. The jury is functioning completely from the perspective of their religion. In keeping with a common feature of satire, evil is taking over good[9]. In comedy the story moves from illusion towards reality, "from a society controlled by habit, ritual bondage, arbitrary law and the older characters to a society controlled by youth and pragmatic freedom" (Frye: 1957:168). This can be also said about satire, where people are proven to live in "fake reality" (Kivistö 2007: 21). Since, according to Frye, comedy blends into satire at one extreme and into romance at the other (Frye 1957: 161), we can see this scene as a satirical attack towards the church by using tools of romance, such as the classic fantasy story of turning a human into stone.

For Twain, considering the deterministic nature of religion, no rational decisions are possible while blindly following the book. Everyone except for Satan is wrapped into this fake reality that forms a whole culture of lies and misconceptions. Even though the narration of the court scene has some comical elements, the plot does not move from illusion towards reality, instead, Twain's characters are trapped in their fake reality.

[9]Compared to comedy that, according to Frye, describes the battle of good and evil, which good always wins. (Frye 1957: 169.)

Without questioning, everything that has something to do with religion is seen as a good thing by the villagers: not because of reason but only because of habit. For example, when Satan tells that he is working for the ministry, instead of gauging his personality, the villagers admire Satan's physical looks and even link his pretty face to the possibility of him being a cardinal some day. When Margaret asks Theodor where Philip Traum is from, Theodor tells he is from a German city called "Himmelreich", meaning the kingdom of heaven (CYS: 97). Margaret describes it as a modest name and her father as a blasphemous name – suggesting that humans can only reach frail conclusions, which are highly dependent on their own vantage point.

Another connection between politics and religion can be found in Satan's description of war. During Satan's and Theodor's private trip to China they discuss the meaning of religion in wars and especially humans' capability to make killing easier and easier as time goes on and technology advances:

> Cain did his murder with a club; the Hebrews did their murders with javelins and swords; the Greeks and Romans added protective armor and the fine arts of military organization and generalship; the Christian has added guns and gunpowder; a few centuries from now he will have so greatly improved the deadly effectiveness of his weapons of slaughter that all men will confess that without Christian civilization war ' must have remained a poor and trifling thing to the end of time. (CYS: 135-136.)

The last optimism the boys are left with is their faith in the future: maybe things are bad now, but the human race will progress and things will get better, they try to convince Satan. His response brings them down even more:

> It is a remarkable progress. In five or six thousand years five or six high civilizations have risen, flourished, commanded the wonder of the world, then faded out and disappeared; and not one of them except the latest ever invented any sweeping and adequate way to kill people. They all did their best—to kill being the chiefest ambition of the human race and the earliest incident in its history—but only the Christian civilization has scored a triumph to be proud of. Two or three centuries from now it will be recognized that all the competent killers are Christians; then the pagan world will go to school to the Christian—**not to acquire his religion, but his guns**. The Turk and the Chinaman will buy those to kill missionaries and converts with. (CYS: 137.) [Emphasis mine]

The fragmentary narrative in CYS allows the modes of humor to rapidly change from light to serious: the endless struggle of Christianity's problems is not about to come to an end. For example, compared to the scene with the fly, the discussions in China are completely different in their tone: in the scene above, Satan plainly connects religion to only war and suffering, without any comic relief. In words of Bakhtin, the laughter's "positive regenerating power was reduced to a minimum" and it is "cut down to cold humor, irony, sarcasm", which is the main principle in the Romantic grotesque (Bakhtin 1984b: 38).

The fly scene, on the other hand, comes close to comedy, whereas the monologue in China can be perceived as tragedy. The same mix can be seen in the behavior of the boys when Satan tells them things that are going to happen in the future: they immediately use it to make bets with other villagers and, naturally, win all of them. Theodor describes one case like this:

> We were not sorry, for it was **wrong for them** to bet on Sunday. It seemed to me that it was a plain judgment on **them**. And not an accident, but intentional. Seppi said it was as manifest of the fly's case. Seppi knew about judgments, for his uncle worked for the ministry. (CYS: 150) [Emphasis mine]

In this sentence, Theodor reveals one of the vices of Christians that Twain points out: it was wrong for *them* to bet, but the boy is unable to think what is wrong for himself. Judgment towards each other is the main target of Twain's satire throughout both manuscripts and he often connects it with religion. The expert on judgment is someone working in the ministry. However, it is ironic that Satan, who also told the villagers he works for the ministry, is the only one not possessing the ability to be judgmental.

The well-known funeral service phrase in the Book of Common Prayer: "Earth to Earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust" refers to the hope of the body going to the ground but the soul resurrecting to eternal life. For Twain the lowness of man has its roots in the "dirt" he was made of, a "metaphor for fallen man" (Brodwin 1973: 219). In CYS Satan tells Theodor how

> Man is made of dirt–I saw him made. I am not made of dirt. Man is a museum of disgusting diseases, a home of impurities; he comes today and is gone to-morrow, he

> begins in dirt and departs as stench; I am of the aristocracy of the Imperishables. And man has the Moral Sense. (CYS: 55.)

For his idea of breaking free from this "sin of dirt" is something to which Twain did not yet find a satisfactory answer in CYS, but continued to develop the idea in MS. Therefore, in the next chapter I will focus on satire of religion and politics in MS.

5.2 The case of MS

When we move from CYS to MS, the satire on religion and politics is less apparent. By the time Twain started to write the third manuscript, his interests seem to have shifted into more psychological themes, and religion mostly mixes into this thematic structure of the text.

The idea of people being incapable of coming up with original thoughts can be read between the lines right in the beginning of both manuscripts, where Twain describes Eseldorf and its people in the style of European romanticism.

> The priests said that knowledge was not good for the common people, and could make them discontented with the lot which God had appointed for them, and God would not endure discontentment with His plans. This was true, for the priest got it of the Bishop. (CYS: 36, MS: 222)

One important character that appears in both CYS and MS is "A Hussite woman named Adler" who roams from village to village and spreads "God's *real* message" (MS: 222). Although it is not specified what this message is. Adler gets ten women together in these meetings and gives bibles and hymnbooks, "persuading them that it was not a sin to read them" (MS: 222). One day, Father Adolf sees Frau Marx reading one of these books and confronts her about the issue. Furious about the fact that they worship someone else than the Virgin, Adolf tells her that the Virgin's revenge will be horrible if she ever goes to those meetings again. Being weak, Frau Marx goes back and both of her horses die. She asks Father Adolf for forgiveness and guidance. Father Adolf tells her very specifically how the Virgin will forgive her:

> She must have a picture of the horses painted, and walk on a pilgrimage to the Church of Our Lady of Dumb Creatures, and hang it up there, and make her offerings; then go home and sell the skins of her horses and buy a lottery ticket

> bearing the number of the date if their death, and then wait in patience for the Virgin's answer. (CYS: 38, MS: 224)

After doing this, Frau Marx's ticket draws fifteen hundred ducats and she did not fall again. This story is classic Twain satire about religion, showing all the illogicalities and absurdities in the customs of religious people. Only this time the tale is told in a very serious tone, without obvious comical relief in the end. Bush connects this narrative to the Reformation and a historical figure John Huss, who spoke against corruption and opened up the Bible to the common people (Bush 2009: 94), just like Adler did in CYS and MS. Huss ended up burned at the stake, but Adler's destiny was to "carry her poisons to some other market" (MS: 224), since Father Adolf's ridiculous instructions worked for Frau Marx.

Another important theme handling the Reformation in MS is the print shop as a milieu. Printing the Bible meant setting the word of God free from the priests and into the hands of the people (Bush 2009: 95). This process, however, is left in the background of MS whilst Twain moves onto deeper themes handling religion.

Many themes Twain started in CYS continue in MS, and one of these is the idea of sinful man as dirt. To be free of sin is to be free of the moral sense. One solution in MS that I have already handled in chapter 3.4 was the metamorphosis of the servant lady into a cat. Another one relating more to religion is the case of duplicates. In one scene, August's duplicate Emil Schwarz begs Satan to release him from the "prison of flesh":

> It is these bonds - - Oh, free me from *them*; these bonds of flesh–this decaying vile matter, this foul weight, and clog, and burden, this loathsome sack of corruption in which my spirit is imprisoned, her white wings bruised and soiled–oh, be merciful and set her free!
>
> - - Oh, here I am a servant! – I who never served before; here I am a slave–slave among little mean kings and emperors made of clothes the kings and emperors slaves themselves to mud-built carrion that are their slaves! (MS: 369.)

In *Mark Twain's Masks of Satan: The Final Phase* Stanley Brodwin sees the bonds of flesh and slave-metaphor as an inversion of the Gospels in which Jesus used his

divine powers to perform "miracles" to heal, teach, and prepare people for the Kingdom to come (Brodwin 1973: 219-220).

> For Mark Twain-Satan the Kingdom to come ends in nothing but an escape into solipsistic idealism, a consequence of a metaphysical irreconcilability in a universe in which the **primal drama has always been strife between Flesh and Spirit**. The earth-bound narrators of "The Mysterious Stranger" stories find themselves in the very center of this struggle, which began historically and theologically in the Garden of Eden. (Brodwin 1973: 220.) [Emphasis mine]

In the *Manuscripts* this paradise is Eseldorf, which itself can be seen as a parody of the biblical paradise. When the young narrators can't seem to be able to solve the strife between Flesh and Spirit, the mysterious Stranger frees man from this battle by revealing that nothing exists. "There is no way, then, for man to reach any kind of "truth" or positive meaning in existence", Brodwin concludes (Brodwin 1973: 223). At this point I have to disagree and get back to the satirical side of the texts and the hidden humor; even though the ending might seem deterministic, the hope Twain relies on can be found in humor, which is the only power able to battle against the problems religion has placed upon us. Even though one ultimate "truth" might not exist, the encouraging sentence to dream better dreams indicates that there can be positive meaning in existence. I will go deeper on this viewpoint in the last chapter.

The structure of these two manuscript stories vary greatly: the narrative in CYS is more condensed and focused around the characters, whereas in MS the plot can dwell on details without any progress for dozens of pages. The relationship between the Stranger and the protagonist boy is much more intense in CYS compared to MS. Sholom K. Kahn points out how it is usual for Twain to create a fictional world through methods of accretion and variation on a central situation (Kahn 1978: 119).

> The strike plot and its complications do not disappear from August's narrative, remaining as a part of the background till as late as chapter 30. The strike gradually becomes less important in itself, coming to serve more as an excuse for treating various aspects of the basic theme of mystery, developed by means of Fourty-Four, and for treating a remarkable array of supernatural, or at least hard to explain, phenomena. The problem of the Duplicated gradually becomes central. (Kahn 1978: 119.)

Kahn sees this laggard narrative as something that allows the emphasis of the satire to move from labor trouble to religion and reminds, that "one of Mark Twain's early ideas had been to write about Satan's conversion to Christianity" (Kahn 1978: 120).

When Nr. 44 performs his forbidden magic in the castle, August's only solution is to pray for him. When Satan does not care about praying August gets shocked: "For I felt rising in me with urgency a suspicion which had troubled me several times before, but which I had ungently put from me each time–that he was indifferent to religion." (MS: 298.)

August promises himself that from that moment on his mission is to rescue this "endangered soul" of Nr. 44's. Being able to read thoughts Nr. 44 tells August that he should not bother praying for him. After this Nr. 44 takes a harp from his pocket and remarks that the "niggers" use it. He starts to play music that August describes as "vibrant and exceedingly gay" (MS: 299). Kahn connects this to 19th century "American Negro Jazz" session (Kahn 1978: 120). As Nr. 44 dances in the rhythm of his own divine music August realizes that he has banished his prayer.

In satire, food and music are traditionally connected to feasting and sin, therefore this kind of narrative is a very effective juxtaposition to August's religion. Especially in the Middle Ages and Renaissance carnivalistic satire this kind of mixture of high and low was very common: carnival was seen as a counterpoint for God's kingdom, since in the carnival the Devil was the one in charge. (Willman 2007: 71.) Therefore, it can be concluded that Twain intentionally uses these "devilish mediums" in juxtaposition to August's religion, humor being one of them. This scene described above eventually leads to a dialogue in MS where August urges Nr. 44 to become Christian. Nr. 44's answer turns the situation inside out:

> He [Nr. 44] shook his head, and said–
> "I should be too lonesome."
> "Lonesome, how?"
> "I should be the only one." (MS: 302.)

This surprising answer refers to Nr. 44's lack of moral sense, which in Twain's narrative makes him superior to humans. But it also hints to Kahn's notion of Twain wanting to write about Satan's conversion to Christianity. Twain creates a sort of parallel universe where Nr. 44, the one who represents Satan, is the only real Christian. Others are portrayed as hypocrites who hide behind the shell of religion but in reality only act in their own self-interest and are guided by the moral sense, which

is not a good thing, but in fact only makes sin possible (and a choice of action and sin). Or, in the words Kahn puts it: "The contrast between vain reputation and true righteousness" (Kahn 1978: 121).

As a character, August is a lot more sensitive compared to Theodor in CYS, who grieves for Satan's presence. August's strong religiousness makes him afraid of being around Nr. 44, and therefore Nr. 44 turns the boy invisible. This is the only way for him to overcome his fear of being condemned by other people and it is also an interesting note on human nature, suggesting that the only way to live in peace is to be as unnoticeable as possible. This humbleness, of course, also has deep roots in Christianity. Just like Theodor is proud of traveling with Satan in CYS, August cannot help his vanity when Satan makes him invisible for the first time.

> I was very proud and considered myself the superior of any boy in the land; and that was foolish, for I did not invent the art, it was a gift, and no merit to me that I could exercise it. (MS: 303.)

The theme of unjustifiable honor that people take from their actions is the target of satire here. The same thought can be used to any human life: it is a gift, but when we get some power in the world, we act like the merit belongs to us and forget the fact the pure luck played the largest part. August also mentions how "Another boy with the same luck would be just as superior as I was" (MS: 303). Perhaps Twain also directs his satire at every religious group considering themselves as the "chosen ones". In CYS, the boys and some villagers take pride just in being Satan's friend and abandoning the ones who are unpopular. This theme of pointless vanity continues through these two versions of the *Manuscripts*.

In the end of the chapter, when August goes to bed, he does not pray for Satan anymore. This is a very important shift in their relationship and also the first moment where Nr. 44 really starts to affect August's thoughts and behavior. In CYS, the same shift can be noticed in a more subtle way in Theodor's actions when Satan is not around. He starts to observe his surroundings more and is able to detect hypocrisy in the villagers' behavior, even when Satan is not around. The boy, who in the beginning, described his village as a paradise starts to see how his own sister acts in an unjust way towards her boyfriend William, when she develops a crush on Satan:

"She thought it was scandalous in Marget to act so, considering that she already had a lover. I was surprised at this remark; it seemed illogical, and I said so" (CYS: 108). For the first time Theodor actually stands up against someone and uses logical thinking as his weapon in an argument instead of emotions – just like Satan. In MS, when August stops praying for Nr. 44, the boy takes a step towards logic in his own way.

Since early Christianity had condemned laughter, (Bakhtin 1984b: 73) it is not a surprise how harshly Twain writes about religion. Early church father John Chrysostom declared how "jests and laughter are not from the God but from the Devil" (Bakhtin 1984b: 73). Twain was very familiar with this world, since he had worked in a print shop as a young boy and channeled these experiences through August in *Nr.44*.

> Very few persons in our secluded region had ever seen a printed page, few had any very clear idea about the art of printing, and perhaps still fewer had any curiosity concerning it or felt any interest in it. Yet we had to conduct our business with some degree of privacy, on account of the Church. The Church was opposed to the cheapening of book and the **indiscriminate dissemination of knowledge**. (CYS: 230.) [Emphasis mine]

Twain uses the word "indiscriminate" to emphasize the illogical thinking in religion. Who can say what is indiscriminate and what is not? According to Frye, satire always has a conception of the ideal state of affairs. Whilst in comedy there is a fight between the good and evil world, in satire the evil is always about to win this battle and take control. The satirist is the one resisting this development and his goal is to reveal to the people that the reality where they live is a fraud. (Frye 1957: 169-170.) In the previous text sample the word indiscriminate points to religion itself. Even though Twain does not straightly name his ideal state of affairs or utopia, it is clear that knowledge, humor and logic (over emotion) are the values he idealizes. And the only way to reach them is by reducing the power of religion by using humor.

When we read the *Manuscripts* today, Twain's satire on religion and politics is still surprisingly modern. In the next chapter I will analyze the legacy of Twain's works by using examples from a few modern American comedians and their parallel views on religion and politics. I will also contemplate the legacy of these two manuscript versions when it comes to satire's catharsis and laughter as healing agents.

6. Laughing From Beyond the Grave

In CYS, after Satan has bashed the human race for all of its vices, Theodor finally comes up with something he can be proud of: a sense of humor. In response, he gets a long monologue from Satan about how humans have a "bastard perception of humor", which is only used in trivial and low-grade things and closing eyes from the comical sides of politicians, religious leaders and royalty.

> For your race, in its poverty, has unquestionably one really effective weapon - laughter. Power, Money, Persuasion, Supplication, Persecution - these can lift at a colossal humbug - push it a little - crowd it a little - weaken it a little, century by century: but only Laughter can blow it to rags and atoms at a blast. **Against the assault of laughter nothing can stand**. (CYS: 165-166) [Emphasis mine]

Here, Twain rises laughter as the strongest power in the world to evoke change for the better and improvement for the human race. By this statement he also explains why he handles such serious subjects in his work. By calling laughter an assault he highlights the power of satire as a genre. Since Satan has the power to see into the future, he reveals to Theodor, who has hope for the future, that "not in two centuries" (CYS: 166) will humans learn how to use humor as a weapon. Of course, the distance Twain has created for Satan only reaches to Twain's lifetime and therefore the prediction ends in the early 20th century. In the end of his speech about humor Satan refers to Robert Burns, who in his words will "break the back of the Presbyterian Church with it [humor] and set Scotland free." The fact that Twain refers to such a specific historical person, in the least, breaks the fictional narrative and brings the manuscript closer to political journalism.

If we take a leap from Twain and the cracker-box philosophers typical in American satire and look at some contemporary American comedians, such as Bill Hicks, George Carlin, Jon Stewart, Stephen Colbert or Louis C.K, Twain's heritage in pointing out the "not so funny things" to create humor are strongly present. Religion, war, drug laws and humans' cruelty against each other are not things we usually laugh at, but these comedians incorporate them in into their humor and arouse laughter that make us think whether one is even allowed to laugh at it. The reason why I find this connection important and relevant to dedicate a chapter for in my research is the fact that, in my opinion, the power of laughter is the most important message in Twain’s

satire, in that it has the goal to educate its audience in order to be able to shape the future.

Contemporary American stand-up comedy could be seen as the modern "serious-smiling genre", where one releases the pressure of serious matters by laughing at it. Perhaps this is something that was hard to see in Twain's time, but now this kind of humor is much more mainstream. In 2008 Richard Lacayo titled his *Time* magazine article about Twain "The Seriously Funny Man." Some change since the review from 1916 has happened.

> Not quite a century after his death, in 1910, we get a lot of our news from people like him - - funnymen (and -women) who talk about things that are not otherwise funny at all. This is an election year in which some of the most closely followed commentators are comedians like Jon Stewart, Bill Maher, Stephen Colbert and the cast of Saturday Night Live. All of them are descended from that man in the white suit. (Lacayo: 2008.)

Twain most certainly was also a stand-up comedian of his time, since between 1867 and 1909 he gave lectures and speeches for hundreds of audiences. On the other hand, comedians today can be seen as modern-day philosophers. The legacy of Twain's bold criticism comes clear when we compare some statements of the man himself and comedian George Carlin (1937–2008).

> Man is a Religious Animal. He is the only Religious Animal. He is the only animal that has the True Religion - - several of them. He is the only animal that loves his neighbor as himself and cuts his throat if his theology isn't straight. He has made a graveyard of the globe in trying his honest best to smooth his brother's path to happiness and heaven - - The higher animals have no religion. And we are told that they are going to be left out in the Hereafter. I wonder why? It seems questionable taste. (Twain 1962: 237-238)

> Something is wrong here. War, disease, death, destruction, hunger, filth, poverty, torture, crime, corruption, and the Ice Capades. Something is definitely wrong. This is not good work. If this is the best God can do, I am not impressed. Results like these do not belong on the résumé of a Supreme Being. This is the kind of shit you'd expect from an office temp with a bad attitude. (Carlin 1999: HBO special)

In his essay "American Humor" Arthur Power Dudden acknowledges how "contemporary humorists are more often than not working beyond the fringes of social respectability" (Dudden 1985: 8). Satan's main goal is to show how year after

year these "fringes of social respectability" are something the masses are not willing to enter, mainly because of fear.

> I know your race. It is made up of sheep. It is governed by minorities, seldom or never by majorities. Its suppresses its feelings and its beliefs and follows the handful that makes the most noise - - **The vast majority of the race, whether savage or civilized, are secretly kind-hearted**, and shrink from inflicting pain; but in the presence of the aggressive and pitiless minority they don't dare to assert themselves - - I know that ninety-nine out of hundred of your race were strongly against the killing of witches when the foolishness was first agitated by a handful of pious lunatics in the long ago - - Monarchies, aristocracies and religions are all based upon that large defect on your race – the individual's distrust of his neighbor, and his desire, **for safety's and comfort's sake**, to stand well in his neighbors eyes. (CYS: 154-155). [Emphasis mine]

Satan uses the same argument on the beginnings of wars and other social conflicts; he believes that the majority of people would like to live in peace. This indicates that even though he states these facts, he always remembers to mention how most human beings are good. They are good, but perhaps not smart enough to use their potential to overcome the evil minorities. They are good, but fear makes them do bad things. Nonetheless, there is hope. This is where Satan's job begins – educating the oblivious masses and of course using humor to crush their fear.

Laugher in Twain's satire is something revealing and painful but also something that offers chance for healing and purification. In my opinion the ending of MS is not deterministic, but hopeful instead. I will demonstrate this statement through the term "catharsis". The most well known person dealing with catharsis in satire was Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) who studied the satirical works of Horatius. The term Catharsis originates from Aristotle's *Poetics* (Kivistö 2007b: 42). In *Anatomy of Criticism* Northrop Frye defines catharsis as something that "implies the detachment of the spectator, both from the work of art itself and from the author" (Frye 1957: 66).

According to Heinsius, catharsis and purification have traditionally arisen from the emotions of anger, irritation and laughter. These feelings are aroused by the character, who has many vices. The aggression in satire is especially aimed towards people who succeed without deserving it (Kivistö 2007b: 43), such as Father Adolf in CYS and Balthasar the magician in MS. Satire produces negative emotions but also purifies them with laughter.

What kind of catharsis does the *Manuscripts*, then, present? The unfinished ending of CYS leaves the reader only with questions and the dream ending of MS does not make one laugh out loud either, but instead evokes the sense that of the teachings that the book offered actually matter. In this way, the ending is very Menippean: laughter is aimed towards the satire itself and its incapability to find the truth it is so eagerly after.

Frye notes how "the ritual pattern behind the catharsis of comedy is the resurrection that follows the death, the epiphany or manifestation of the risen hero" (Frye 1957: 215). This can be seen in the scene in MS before Nr. 44's final speech. August witnesses the resurrection of the entire human race, the Procession, as he calls it, until it is his turn "to go" after Nr. 44's dream speech. But the reader does not know where August and Nr. 44 go or what will happen to them. For myself the final scene shows as the death of August's ego, which could mean the resurrection for something better, perhaps the utopia Twain was after the whole time while trying to find a satisfactory ending to the *Manuscripts*.

Throughout the book, Twain has bashed humanity for its vices, but in the end when he finally tells the protagonist that it has all been a dream, he urges him to "Dream other dreams, and better!" (MS: 404). Perhaps for Twain these "better dreams" are possible through making the world a better place by using humor and spreading knowledge. From this viewpoint, the catharsis can be seen as an intellectual clarification, which for Aristotle meant the essential pleasure of mimesis, which is the intellectual pleasure of learning through imitation (Aristotle 1997: 57).

This revelation forces August to experience the most core feelings of self-awareness, something that all the characters throughout CYS and MS have been escaping from. And the reason they have been doing so is the fact that self-awareness hurts. It's very easy for the reader to relate to the feeling of emptiness that follows after the painful catharsis. Twain leaves everything hanging in empty space, exits the stage and leaves the reader to dwell in self-loathing and by extension in humanity-loathing. But perhaps this loathing is needed to plant the seed for Twain's utopia.

This utopia raises humor and knowledge above everything else, especially religion. Because humans are aware of their inevitable death and their insignificance, at least on some deep level, they have to delude themselves into thinking that there is some kind of meaning and universal significance. This is done through various institutions, like religion, courts and political parties. However, it is inevitable that various contradictions and hypocrisies rise from this arrangement. In other words: corruption. Other animals are free of this need, and therefore, for Twain, higher animals are better off than humans.

But not all humans are capable of self-deception, and this is why Satan's character is so crucial for Twain: Satan is seen as evil because he tries to get the villagers of Eseldorf out of this self-deception. It is basically the same biblical tale as the Devil luring Adam and Eve to eat from the tree of knowledge. Satan offers the boys, who live in one sort of paradise, knowledge and therefore another chance by telling him this system does not have any meaning – but you do have a chance to dream better dreams.

The dream ending is almost like an invitation. Nr. 44 is pointing out a better way to deal with the feeling of insignificance: by accepting it as it is. It is especially easy to accept by the child characters, who are still like an empty canvas and easier to start over with. The fact that Nr. 44 talks about better dreams proves for me that he is not deterministic, or saying the world is hopeless and evil, but he rather is broadening the idea of what reality is and what life is. Finally, by using serious smiling as a medium, Nr. 44 forces the dreamer to take responsibility for the nightmare they find themselves in.

7. Conclusion

In *Following the Equator* (1897) Twain stated: "Everything human is pathetic. The secret source of humor itself is not joy but sorrow. There is no humor in heaven" (Twain: 1897). When it comes to my thesis, the last word of this quote is very relevant: there is no humor in *heaven*. Therefore the milieu for these manuscripts is not the place the main character Satan and Nr. 44 are coming to the Earth from. As a means of satire, an environment that has nothing to satirize does not work. Since Twain's main targets are religion and morality, he places his story in a place where the above-mentioned themes are the most misused – a small Austrian village in the 15th and 18th centuries.

When I started my research on the two manuscript texts, I knew that calling these works satire was quite clearly justified. But since satire as a genre contains laughter, finding this dimension in these very dark texts was going to be a challenge. The goal of my thesis was to research how the narrative and characters reflected this dark satire. I approached the problem by using a few sub-genres of satire such as Menippean satire and moral satire to find out if these attributes could show the *Manuscripts* in new light.

In order to fully understand the satirical world Twain created, I included few modes close to satire in my research such as parody, comedy and irony. What surprised me the most was how hard it was to keep the scenes separate and divided into different chapters: I realized one scene fits easily into many thematic unities I had formed in my table of contents. Therefore, there was not only the competing themes of satire, parody, irony and comedy in the *Manuscripts*, but also the themes themselves often overlapped to form a multilayered wholeness.

Characters play an irreplaceable part in Twain's satire. In my study I focused on Satan and Nr. 44, Theodor and August, the good priest Father Peter and the bad priest Father Adolf. I approached Satan and Nr. 44 from the viewpoint of a Stranger, and backed this up this with Julia Kristeva's studies on strangeness within travel stories. This helped me to understand the societal meaning of the character as an "alter ego of

the national man", whose mission is to make the audience to see their homeland from a new perspective. For Twain, though, the mission is on a larger scale: Satan and Nr. 44 show the whole of humanity from the viewpoint of a Stranger, who is not even from Earth. This supernatural element is just one of the fantasy tools Twain uses to create unusual situations to prove his points. This is where Menippean satire as my thesis' theoretical base comes in. Through concepts like "serious smiling" and "carnivalistic laughter" the texts can be seen in a whole new light: as a part of a long tradition of satire that does not only point its humor outside, but also includes the author and, in the end, accepts the oxymoron inherent in attempting to find ultimate truths. In the light of these terms, the dream ending, which at first can be interpreted as deeply cynical, is actually hopeful and offers a chance for regeneration. In the end, August's character (and the reader) have been completely diminished, but only to create the possibility of rising again from the ashes, like a phoenix.

I discovered how Twain uses Socratic dialogue as a medium to emphasize the juxtaposition between his characters: he chooses strong counterparts, such as Father Adolf and Father Peter, in order to discuss topical issues, such as corruption in the church. The juxtaposition between humans and animals allows the narrative to satirize religion and the struggle of being a human in general. It turns around the Christian idea of humans being the higher animals by using fantasy as a tool: for example, when the castle maid in MS is turned into cat, it is not seen as a bad or scary thing as metamorphosis in literature is usually portrayed, but ironically it is what frees the maid from all the agonies of being a human and, of course, having the moral sense.

Even though the scenes seemed fragmented at first, I found interesting connections through character and narrative analysis: August and Theodor as characters represent a natural continuum of how Twain's thoughts (during the ten years of writing the *Manuscripts*) shifted from religion to psychology and finally to a deeper understanding of the soul. In MS the mysterious Stranger is also a more discreet character and not just a straight reference to the biblical Satan.

The narrative changes from CYS to MS in few interesting ways: in CYS the narrator tells the story in retrospect, hence the reader knows he is still alive and continuing his life after the events in Eseldorf, but the story does not have a finished ending. In MS

Twain shifts away from his former retrospective tone and the dream ending is finished – however, the fate of August is left as a mystery for the reader, which creates a tenser atmosphere as compared to the first manuscript.

In MS, Twain continues many themes he started in CYS. The narrative movement shifts more into a romance plot, and the dream world sinks in the direction of a nightmare (cf. Frye 1976: 53). However this nightmare in Twain's narrative is not necessarily a bad thing. This, among many other things, can be seen as Twain's way of continuously mixing irony into his satire.

While exploring the character of a Stranger on a deeper level, I divided his mission into three categories: Teacher, Jester and Machine. One of the most interesting findings in my study was to learn how the part of the fool in the jester tradition was relinquishing one's earthly desires in favor of total humility. This way of reading the text gave new perspective to the dream ending that at first sounded very deterministic and cruel, but, in fact, fully supports Twain's aim in teaching his protagonists how to accept all the hopeless things Satan and Nr. 44 have taught them. I carried this thought all the way to the last chapter and connected it to the term of catharsis. I described how the travels and dialogues (and the whole narration) in the *Manuscripts* served an important function in preparing the reader thematically for the final scene.

Another interesting finding was how Twain continually attacked the Catholic church by using corruption and money as tools for satire. This I handled in two chapters, which combined religion and politics, since in Twain's time they were inseparable from each other. Even though Twain's thoughts mostly sprung from the ideas of the Reformation, eventually Twain loathes all religions equally – all mechanical thinking that leads to the death of common sense. But this common sense is a utopia that would paradoxically also lead to the death of humor – therefore it can be said that Twain does not go after utopia as something strictly defined, perfect and paradise-like, as much as he encourages us to use logic instead of tradition and bravery in order to do things differently.

The world in which Twain lived in late 19th century was certainly no heaven and he probably would not refer to modern America by that name either. But, as I argued in

the last chapter, something has surely changed. Satan's frustration is towards humans' "bastard perception of humor" (CYS: 164) that does not see the comic side of things that seem serious, such as the Pope's infallibility. I find it important to connect the *Manuscripts* to modern American satire, since Twain's greatest agony seems to be the fact that humor is not used correctly. Therefore, his utopia deals more with how to handle evil rather than trying to completely get rid of it.

I believe that I succeeded in reading Twain's work from multiple viewpoints. Utilizing Menippean satire, moral satire and the jester tradition made it possible to find answers that otherwise would have remained elusive. It was a challenge to keep my thesis within the boundaries of literature criticism since the topics Twain handles are very philosophical by nature. One considerable temptation was to approach these matters from a philosophical viewpoint rather than a structural one. On the other hand, I don't see the handling of the philosophical side as a bad thing, since it has such a close relationship to satire as a literary genre.

The natural outgrowth of these conclusions is the possibility to see the inner logic of these *Manuscripts* that I feel the incompleteness of the versions might hinder for the ordinary reader. I was happy to learn that Twain's later works, which have not reached the same popularity as his lighter productions, have a lot more to say than it might first seem on the surface and they are a fine mixture of many classical literature genres.

In the *Manuscripts,* Twain created a world that started from a paradise, which is a paradise from only one perspective, and ended up in a situation where the reader can either accept the truth Nr. 44 tells (like August seems to be doing) or take it as chance for change. The other choice is to stay in the old world of the "false paradise." It is a crossroads comparable to the science fiction movie the *Matrix* (1999). It is the decision between the red pill and the blue pill – the choice between embracing an uncomfortable truth or persisting in living a blind fantasy.

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