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*The Annotated*  
**Huckleberry  
Finn**

ADVENTURES of HUCKLEBERRY FINN

*(Tom Sawyer's Comrade)*

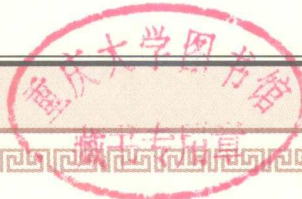
by  
**Mark Twain**  
*(Samuel L. Clemens)*

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY BY

MICHAEL PATRICK HEARN

ILLUSTRATED BY

E. W. KEMBLE



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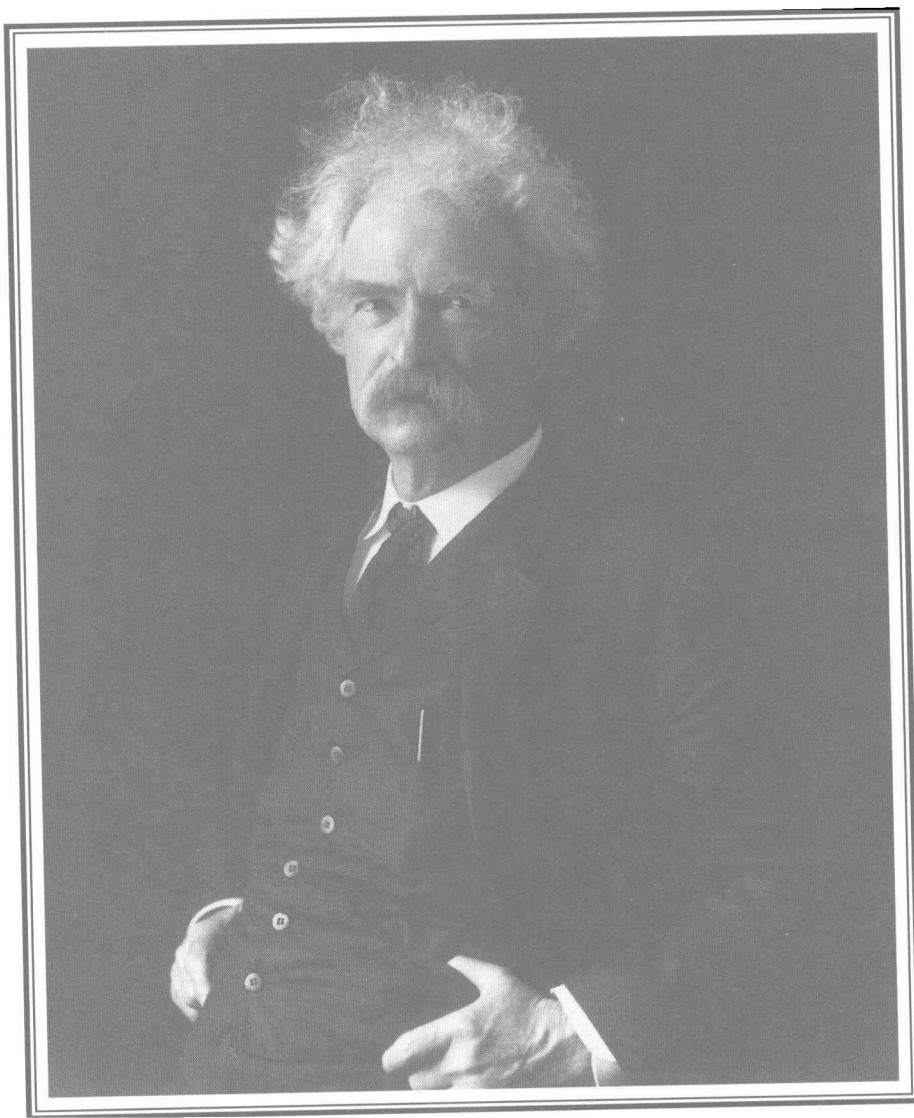
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"MARK TWAIN"

Samuel Langhorne Clemens

(1835-1910)

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*In Memory of*  
A D A F E A R F I S K .

M . P . H .





Adventures of

HUCKLEBERRY

FINN.

(Tom Sawyer's Comrade.)

By

MARK TWAIN.




ILLUSTRATED.



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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

 NO ONE WHO dares write about *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* must consider the vast and rich critical heritage of Mark Twain and his work. I am no exception. I am merely building on the labors of my distinguished predecessors, everyone from William Dean Howells to Toni Morrison. Fortunately, Samuel L. Clemens saved correspondence, working notes, galleys, and reading copies of his most famous novel; and his only surviving daughter, Clara Clemens Samossoud, in establishing a center for Mark Twain scholarship, deposited this priceless literary archive in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. I could not have done *The Annotated Huckleberry Finn* without the generous support of the staff of the Mark Twain Project. Robert H. Hirst, Victor Fischer, Lin Salamo, Neda Salem, and the others at the Bancroft Library are a scholar's scholars, and have greatly enriched my and every other researcher's efforts. They provided unlimited access to both published and unpublished material in the Mark Twain Papers. With the permission of the Mark Twain Project and the University of California Press, I have quoted from the galleys and copies of the book annotated by Mark Twain for his 1884–1885 and 1895–1896 reading tours and reproduced in facsimile in the 1988 University of California edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

The discovery in 1990 of the first half of the manuscript of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* necessitated a rethinking of the composition of the novel. Random House published most of this new material in the 1996 “Comprehensive Edition” of the novel and kindly granted me permission to quote from the



manuscript now housed in the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library. I am also grateful to William H. Loos, curator of the Rare Book Room, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, for providing photographs (by Joseph Hryvniak) of pages of the manuscript; to the New-York Historical Society for copies of pictures from their collection; to Sidney Shiff of the Limited Editions Club for permission to reproduce an E. W. Kemble drawing from the 1933 edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*; and to the directors of the Berg Collection, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, for allowing me to quote from a letter from Twain to Walter Besant. Another important source has been the Jean Webster McKinney Family Papers, Special Collections, in the Vassar College Libraries, which houses Charles L. Webster's papers and many of the original drawings by E. W. Kemble for *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. And as always, I have drawn heavily on the enormous collections of the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress.

I would also like to thank Alex Cardona, Roberta Certner, Jocelyn A. Chadwick, Beverly R. David, Cynthia Hearn Dorfman, Victor Doyno, Karl Michael Emyrs, Deborah Foley, Martin Gardner, Peter E. Hanff, William White Howells, Jeanne Lamb, Sasha Lurie, Frances MacDonnell, Francis Martin, Jr., Patrick and Rita Maund, Daniel A. Menaker, David Moyer, Dean M. Roger, Mitchell Rose, Victoria Sabelli, Barbara Seaman, Bob Slotta, Thomas A. Tenney, Richard A. Watson, Nancy Willard, and my late father, who in different ways helped in the preparation of this book. I am especially indebted to Patrick Martin for his invaluable advice on all matters pertaining to Twain. *The Annotated Huckleberry Finn* could not have been possible without the hard work and infinite patience of the people at W. W. Norton. Robert Weil, my visionary editor, and his gifted assistants Neil Giordano and Jason Baskin squirmed the bulky manuscript through completion. Copyeditors Don Rifkin and Ted Johnson prevented me from making more blunders than I might otherwise have. Norton's miracle worker Andrew Marasia heroically saw this complex book through production, and Sue Carlson orchestrated the beautiful layout. I am thankful too for Nancy Palmquist's enormous contribution and to Aimee Bianca in publicity and Bill Rusin in sales for their support. I was again fortunate to have as the book's designer Jo Anne Metsch, who did similar honors to *The Annotated Wizard of Oz*. They are the ones who deserve the credit for making this the impressive volume that it is. Thank you all, and I do apologize for any inconvenience I may have caused along the way. All errors are purely my own.

M. P. H.

INTRODUCTION TO  
*The Annotated Huckleberry Finn*

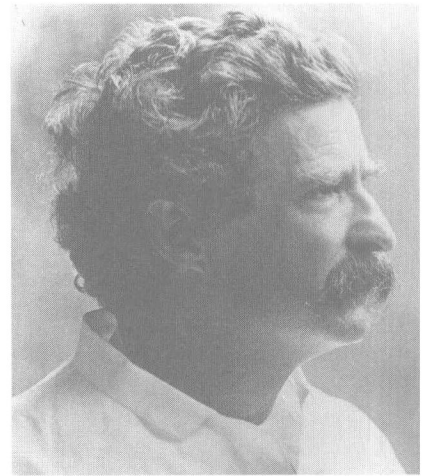
This is Huck Finn, a child of mine of shady reputation.

Be good to him for his parent's sake.

MARK TWAIN, in a presentation copy of  
*Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*<sup>1</sup>

I

MARK TWAIN once sarcastically defined a classic as “a book which people praise and don’t read.”<sup>2</sup> However, his *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is the exception to his rule: It is a classic which is both praised and still read. It has also been condemned and banned. No other living work of American literature has suffered so contradictory a history as the autobiography of Tom Sawyer’s comrade. It has been called both a literary masterpiece and racist trash. It has been marketed as a gift book for boys and girls; it has been removed from the children’s rooms of public libraries across the country. It is required reading in universities both in America and abroad; it is banned from the curricula of elementary and high school systems.

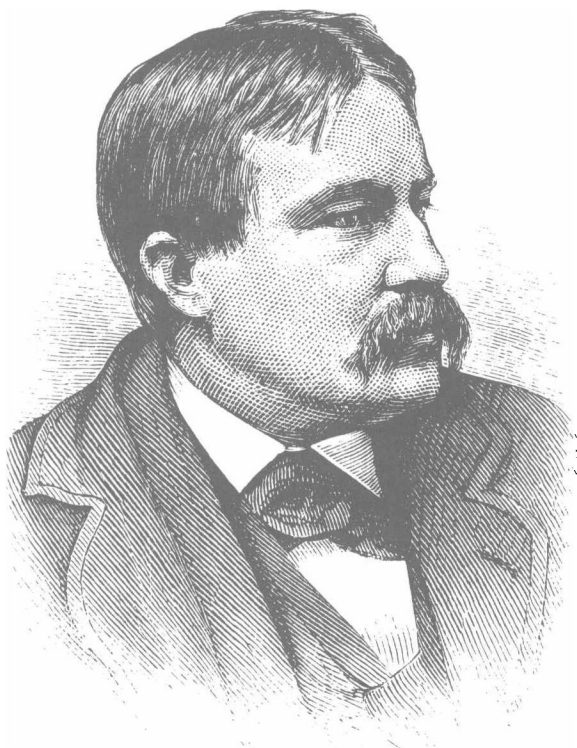


Mark Twain, 1885.

*Courtesy Library of Congress.*

<sup>1</sup> From a note in the Mark Twain Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley. Due to the enormous volume of references in this introduction, footnotes have been kept to a minimum. Often-quoted works, particularly collections of correspondence, are mentioned once in the footnotes; page numbers are included in parenthesis at the end of each subsequent quotation in the text. Sources for quotations from short articles are generally indicated by author and title with page numbers within the body of the introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Aphorism from “Pudd’nhead Wilson’s Calendar,” Chapter 25, *Following the Equator* (1897).



William Dean Howells, 1875.

*Private collection.*

Like Huckleberry Finn on his fateful journey down the Mississippi, the novel has seemed to be many things to many people. “It is by no means an easy matter, at this late date, to say anything new or fresh about Huckleberry Finn,” said Twain’s friend Laurence Hutton in *Harper’s Magazine* (September 1896). Over a century later, *Huckleberry Finn* remains one of the most beloved and hated and consequently the most frequently discussed of American classics.

Its author never understood the controversy about “Huck, that abused child of mine who has had so much unfair mud flung at him.”<sup>3</sup> When he began the novel in July 1876, Twain considered “Huck Finn’s Autobiography” to be merely “a kind of companion” to the recently completed *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876). He had originally intended to carry the hero of that book into manhood; but,

he wrote William Dean Howells, the eminent novelist and his literary confidant, “I believe it would be fatal to do it in any shape but autobiography—like *Gil Blas*. I perhaps made a mistake in not writing it in the first person. If I went on, now, and took him into manhood, he would just be like all the one-horse men in literature and the reader would conceive a hearty contempt for him.”<sup>4</sup> So in his “Conclusion” to *Tom Sawyer*, Twain left open the possibility of a picaresque sequel by suggesting that “some day it may seem worth while to take up the story of the younger ones again and see what sort of men and women they turned out to be.” He told Howells he might “take a boy of twelve and run him

<sup>3</sup> In a letter to Joel Chandler Harris, November 29, 1885, *Mark Twain to Uncle Remus*, edited by Thomas H. English (Atlanta, Ga: Emory University Library, 1953), p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> In a letter to William Dean Howells, July 5, 1875, *Mark Twain: Howells Letters*, vol. 1, edited by Henry Nash Smith, William M. Gibson, and Frederick Anderson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 91. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from correspondence between Twain and Howells are from this book.

through life (in the first person) but not Tom Sawyer –he would not be a good character for it” (p. 92).

By August 9, 1876, Twain had found his proper spokesman. He wrote Howells that he had reluctantly begun “another boys’ book—more to be at work than anything else. I have written 400 pages on it—therefore it is very nearly half done. It is ‘Huck Finn’s Autobiography’” (p. 144).<sup>5</sup> The new novel developed directly from *Tom Sawyer*, from a final chapter that Howells had advised Twain to delete, it being out of character with the rest of the story. Twain admitted to “the strong temptation to put Huck’s life at the widow’s into detail, instead of generalizing it in a paragraph” (p. 113), but he accepted his friend’s suggestion to drop the episode, and then reworked it as the opening of the sequel.

Soon the original scheme to run Huck Finn through life was abandoned, and Twain grew weary of the new effort. “I like it only tolerably well,” he wrote Howells, “and may possibly pigeonhole or burn the manuscript when it is done” (p. 144). Fortunately, he merely put it aside; and for the next six years, he intermittently pulled it out to work in additional episodes. “I don’t write the book,” he once told the *New York Times* (December 10, 1889). “A book writes itself.” While working on *Tom Sawyer*, Twain found that “a book is pretty sure to get tired, along about the middle, and refuse to go on with its work until its powers and its interest should have been refreshed by a rest and its depleted stock of raw materials reinforced by lapse of time.”<sup>6</sup> The cause of the delay was simple: “My tank had run dry.” However, after it had been neglected for two years, he took it out and reread the last chapter and discovered that “when the tank runs dry you’ve only to leave it alone and it will fill up again in time. . . . There was plenty of material now and the book went on and finished itself without any trouble.” So too it was with *Huckleberry Finn*.

*Tom Sawyer* was not only Twain’s first novel, but also his first children’s book.<sup>7</sup> It was a far more ambitious book than *Sketches, New and Old*, which also

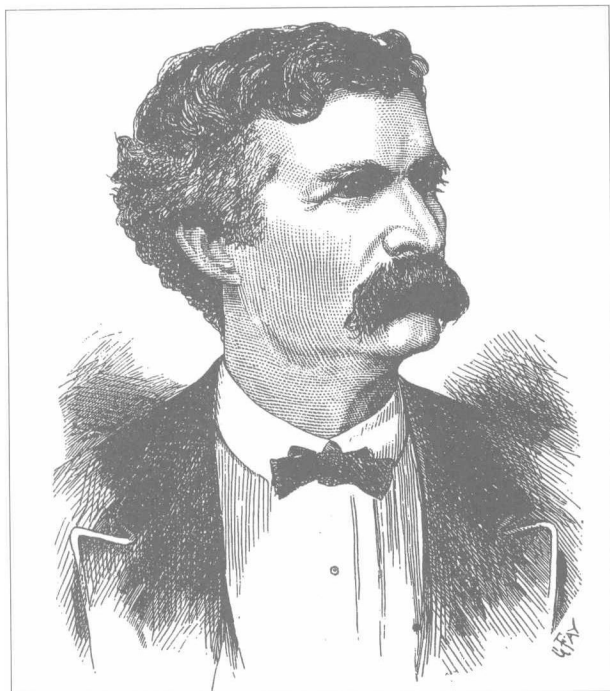
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5. The manuscript, now in the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, Buffalo, New York, consists of 1,361 holograph pages. Twain wrote with remarkable haste, sometimes not even pausing to lift pen from paper from word to word. He then made his major revisions on various typescripts, which do not survive. The second part of the manuscript was published as *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (Tom Sawyer’s Comrade): A Facsimile of the Manuscript* (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1983); and the rediscovered first half was the basis for the “Comprehensive Edition” of *Huckleberry Finn*, published by Random House in 1996.

6. In *Mark Twain in Eruption*, edited by Bernard DeVoto (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1940), p. 196.

7. Twain cowrote *The Gilded Age* (1873) with his friend Charles Dudley Warner, editor of the *Hartford Courant*, but he began *Tom Sawyer* a year before commencing that book.

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Mark Twain. Frontispiece in *The Galaxy*, August 1870.

*Courtesy Library of Congress.*

came out in 1876. Samuel Langhorne Clemens affectionately recalled in his semiautobiographical story people, places, and incidents from his boyhood of thirty years before in Hannibal, Missouri. While it received little critical notice, it immediately captured the public's affection. Sales were not as great as hoped: Although he arranged a concurrent English edition with Chatto & Windus in London and a Continental one with Tauchnitz in Leipzig, he could not prevent a Canadian publisher from pirating the book and unloading about 100,000 cheap copies on the American market. Thereafter, Twain was careful to cross into Canada for a few weeks to fulfill the then residency requirement to protect his subsequent copyrights.

Demand for a sequel to *Tom Sawyer*, however, was so swift and strong that Twain had to print up a form letter in 1877: "I have the honor to reply to your letter just received, that it is my purpose to write a continuation of Tom Sawyer's history, but I am not able at this time to determine when I shall begin the work. You will excuse this printed form, in consideration of the fact that the inquiry which you have made recurs with sufficient frequency to warrant this method of replying."<sup>8</sup> As he hoped one day to finish the boy's story, Twain must have been encouraged that some reviews of *Tom Sawyer* referred to Huckleberry Finn as worthy of special mention. The *New York Times* noted on January 13, 1877, "One admirable character in the book and touched with the hand of the master is that of Huckleberry Finn. There is a reality about the boy which is striking." Howells said in his notice in *The Atlantic Monthly* (May 1876), "The worthless vagabond, Huck Finn, is entirely delightful throughout" (p. 621).

Twain briefly pulled out the manuscript in 1879, after a trip to Europe. He added a few more chapters up to the shooting of Boggs by Sherburn in Chapter 22, and then put it aside again. The spring of 1882 saw him back in Missouri

<sup>8</sup> Copy in the Jean Webster McKinney Family Papers, Vassar College Library.

to gather material for the expansion of seven articles, “Old Times on the Mississippi,” first published in *The Atlantic Monthly* (January–August 1875), into *Life on the Mississippi* (1883). “By way of illustrating keelboat talk and manners, and that now-departed and hardly-remembered raft-life,” Twain padded the new book by throwing into Chapter 3 an episode from Huck Finn’s autobiography, “a book which I have been working at, by fits and starts, during the past five or six years, and may possibly finish in the course of five or six more.”

Fortunately, he got back to it the following summer in Elmira, where the Clemenses always spent the season. “We have been here on the hill a week or more,” he reported to friends on July 2, 1883, “and I am deep in my work and grinding out manuscript by the acre—stick to it the whole day, and allowing myself only time to scratch off two or three brief letters *after* they yell for me to come down to supper.”<sup>9</sup> He ecstatically told Howells on July 20, “I haven’t piled up manuscript so in years as I have done since we came here to the farm three weeks and a half ago. Why, it’s like old times, to step straight into the study, clomp from the breakfast table, and sail right in and sail right on, the whole day long, without thought of running short of stuff or words. I wrote 4,000 words today and I touch 3,000 and upwards pretty often, and don’t fall below 2,600 on any working day. And when I get fagged out, I lie abed a couple of days and read and smoke, and then go it again for six or seven days and am away along in a big one that I half-finished two or three years ago” (p. 435). Nothing could stop him as he confessed that “once or twice I smouched a Sunday when the boss wasn’t looking. Nothing is half so good as literature hooked on Sunday on the sly” (p. 438). He proudly wrote his family in Illinois, “I haven’t had such booming writing-days for many years. I am piling up manuscript in a really astonishing way. I believe I shall complete, in two months, a book which I have been going over for seven years. This summer is no more trouble to me to write than it is to lie.”<sup>10</sup> Even then he was unsure of the book’s merits. “And *I* shall *like* it,” he promised Howells, “whether anybody else does or not” (p. 435).

By September the book was done. As he informed his publisher James R. Osgood, he “had written 50,000 words on it before; and this summer it took 70,000 to complete it.”<sup>11</sup> He was feeling cocky about the final work when he told his British publishers, Chatto & Windus, on September 1 that “modesty

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<sup>9</sup> In a letter to Karl and Josephine Gerhardt, July 2, 1883, transcript courtesy the Mark Twain Papers.

<sup>10</sup> In a letter to Jane Lampton Clemens and others, July 21, 1871, *Mark Twain’s Letters*, vol. 1, edited by Albert Bigelow Paine (New York: Harper & Bros., 1935), p. 434.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Walter Blair and Victor Fischer, Introduction, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1988), p. 432.





Susy Clemens.

*Courtesy the Mark Twain Papers,  
Bancroft Library, University  
of California at Berkeley.*

compels me to say it's a rattling good one, too—*Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (*Tom Sawyer's Comrade*)."<sup>12</sup> They anxiously wrote back the popular writer on October 23, "We are all agog for the promised *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and hope you will be able to publish it by next year." Twain replied on November 12 that he would be ready "to talk business and make contracts with you on the new book pretty soon now—possibly a month hence." But he was being overly optimistic.<sup>13</sup>

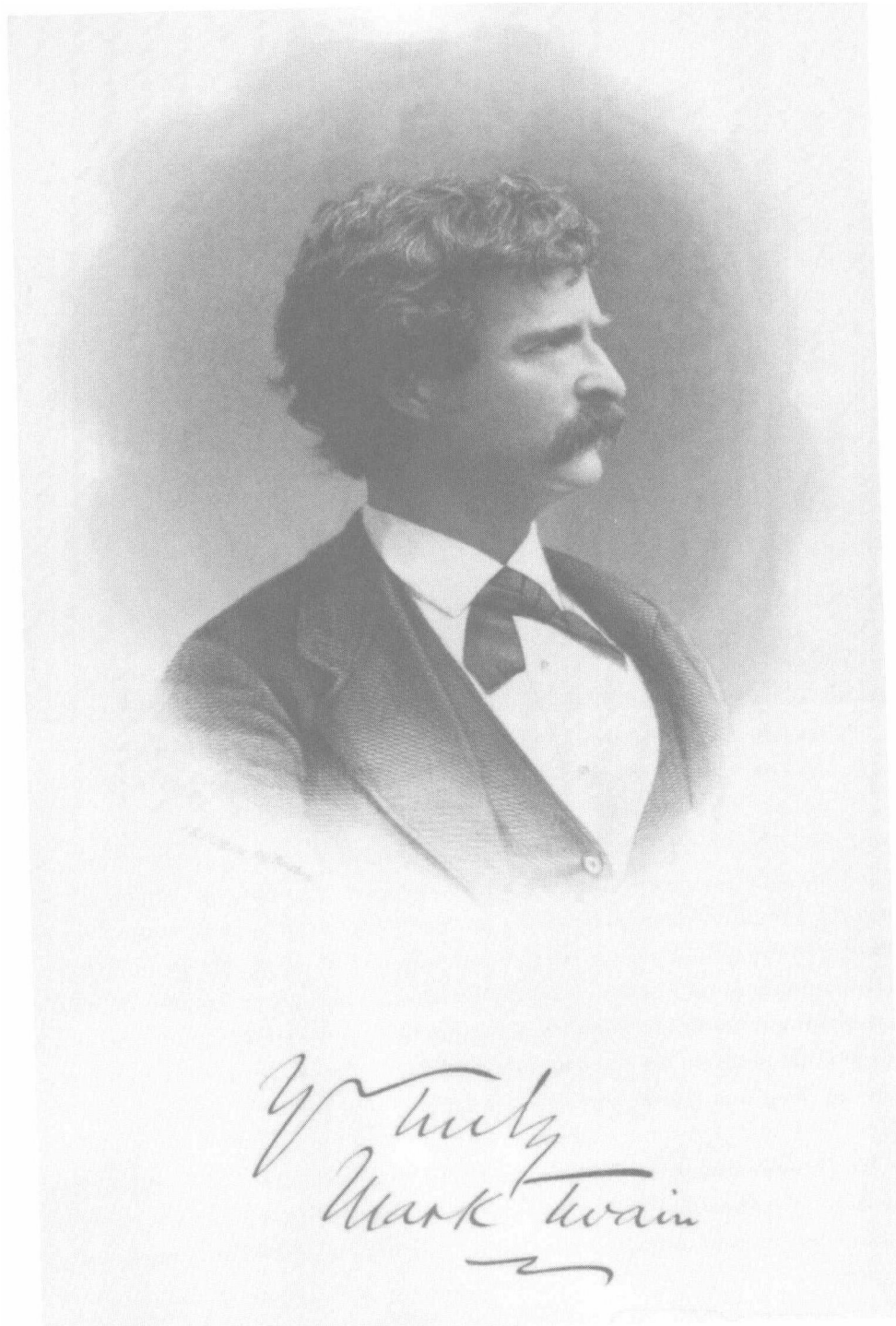
The many years during which Twain composed *Huckleberry Finn* were perhaps the happiest and most productive of the author's long troubled life. To his vast public, the famous humorist "Mark Twain" seemed to be exactly as one twelve-year-old admirer described him: "He is jolly; I imagine him to be a funny man . . . who always keeps every body laughing and who is happy as the Man in the Moon looks. . . . he makes so much money. . . . he is worth millions. . . . he has a beautiful wife and children. . . . he has everything a man

could have."<sup>14</sup> This appraisal of the public man matches the impressions Samuel Langhorne Clemens gave another child, his fourteen-year-old daughter, Susy, in the 1885 "biography" she wrote of her celebrated father. "We are a very happy family," she explained. "We consist of Papa, Mamma, Jean, Clara,

<sup>12</sup> In a letter to Andrew Chatto, September 1, 1883, quoted in Dennis Welland, *Mark Twain in England* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1978), p. 116. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from Chatto & Windus correspondence are from this book.

<sup>13</sup> Twain and the American publisher tried to keep Chatto & Windus up to date on the book's numerous delays: First it was spring, then fall, then Christmas of 1884, then "late in the fall," and finally December 10, 1885. It was necessary to bring out the English and Canadian editions a day or two in advance of the American edition to secure copyright outside the United States. See Welland, pp. 116–17.

<sup>14</sup> In a composition by David Watt Bowser, March 16, 1880, "Dear Master Wattie: The Mark Twain—David Watt Bowser Letters," edited by Pascal Covici, Jr., *Southwest Review*, Spring 1960, p. 106.



"Yours truly, Mark Twain." Engraved frontispiece, *A Tramp Abroad*, 1880.  
Courtesy Picture Collection, New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

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western edge. "There was a constant running in and out of friendly houses where the lively hosts and guests called one another by their Christian names or nicknames," Howells recalled a visit in *My Mark Twain*, "and no such vain ceremony as knocking or ringing at doors" (p. 7). Here, where also resided Charles Dudley Warner as well as Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), the Clemenses built a magnificent mansion Twain thought worthy of a successful author. Financed largely by the inheritance of his wealthy wife, the former Olivia L. Langdon of Elmira, New York, and profits of his best-selling books, the Mark Twain house reflected the former Mississippi riverboat pilot's personality as much as that of its architect, Edward Potter. It was the most eccentric home in wealthy Hartford, a nineteen-room, five-bath structure sporting a porch shaped like a steamboat deck and a balcony like a pilot-house. The mansion's Gothic turrets and polychromatic bricks and roof tiles, along with interiors designed by Louis J. Tiffany of New York and "aesthetic" wallpaper by English artist Walter Crane, reflected his wife's taste for what Potter defined as the currently fashionable "English violet order of architecture."<sup>16</sup> "There are nineteen different styles in it and folks can take their pick," Twain told the Rochester (N.Y.) *Herald* (December 8, 1884). "It wouldn't do to call it 'mongrel' for that would be offensive to some. I guess we'll call it 'eclectic'—the word describes everything that can't be otherwise described." This bizarre, yet comfortable, combination of Mississippi steamboat, English castle, and Victorian church took three years to complete, with further renovations and extensions in 1881. In all, the Clemenses spent nearly \$200,000, a



Caricature of Mark Twain by Kendrick,  
*Life*, March 22, 1883.  
Courtesy Library of Congress.

<sup>16</sup> In *My Mark Twain* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1910), p. 7.