ABSTRACT

Serialization and "The Book of Mrs. Eddy":
A Rereading of Mark Twain's *Christian Science* Materials

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Mark Twain's *Christian Science*, his last major published work, is rarely read or examined within Twain scholarship. The book is generally considered to be weak, hastily written, and overly passionate, which has left it collecting dust on the shelf. Previous scholarly readings, however, have been mis-readings because *Christian Science* is surprisingly methodical and is significant to scholarship when studied within its late-nineteenth-century context. This dissertation provides a suitable reading of *Christian Science* by examining the book within the cultural confines in which it was composed. *Christian Science* first appeared to readers serially, which means nearly half its content was published in five articles prior to the appearance of the book. Four out of the five articles have never been republished or examined heretofore in Twain scholarship, and all five have considerable individual merit when read apart

from *Christian Science*. Reading the articles prior to and in congruence with the book, however, as a late-nineteenth-century reader would have, demonstrates Twain's evolution of thinking, from which the new material in *Christian Science* makes a logical argumentative shift. The shift in direction, nevertheless, puts Twain into a structural quandary, which he must rectify by splicing and recasting the previously published material. The book, then, becomes entirely dependent upon a reading of the early articles for essential meaning. Altogether the *Christian Science* materials exemplify Twain's meticulous concern for form and for audience, which is contrary to general scholarly consensus about much of Twain's later writings. Reading *Christian Science* as a serial book also provides a detailed account of Twain's unique compositional process, which included not only reworked publications but collaboration with William D. McCrackan and Frederick W. Peabody. *Christian Science* undoubtedly tells a compositional tale unlike any of Twain's other books and adds much to current scholarly dialogue about the inseparability of form and content within Twain's later writings.

Serialization and "The Book of Mrs. Eddy":
A Rereading of Mark Twain's *Christian Science* Materials

by

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A Dissertation

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DEDICATION

To my late mother, who after a long day's work still found time to teach me the difference between "p" and "q."

And to my husband who has held my hand through it all.

CHAPTER ONE

Taking *Christian Science* off the Shelf

Don't explain your author, read him right and he explains himself.
from Twain's Letter to Cordelia Welsh Foote, December 2, 1887[1]

A book introduces new thoughts, but it cannot make them speedily understood. It is the task of the sturdy pioneer to hew the tall oak and to cut the rough granite. Future ages must declare what the pioneer has accomplished.
from the preface to Science and Health

A clumsy naive narrator. A death-defying fall off a cliff. A stiff-minded practitioner with incomprehensible lessons in the ways of Christian Science. A healing of "compound fractures extending from . . . scalplock to . . . heels." A stomach-ache. A cold. A horse-doctor with a "bucket of bran mash." And a curious storyteller with unanswered questions and an unwelcome debt.[2]

The skeletal plot structure of this famous burlesque story begins Mark Twain's *Christian Science* (1907), a tale whose style no scholar would find difficult to recognize. Its comical, lampooned characters and stretched-beyond-belief plot sequence typifies Twain's madcap literary style. The nature of the opening

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[1] Twain's complete letter to Cordelia Welsh Foote appears in Benjamin De Casseres's book *When Huck Finn Went High Brow*.

[2] The above quotations can be found on pages 217 and 228 in *Christian Science*, respectively. The entirety of the narrative appears in chapters one through four as well as in the first half of Twain's original article "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy."

chapters causes past and present readers alike to engage fully with the narrative and draw conclusions concerning the logical reasoning of Mrs. Fuller, the horse doctor, and even the narrator. These qualities bear an uncanny resemblance to the masterpieces that make up the traditional Twain canon: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), *Innocents Abroad* (1869), and *Roughing It* (1872), to name a few. Many a scholarly book and article concerning the latter years of the author's life, in fact, readily mention or even retell the tale of the Christian Scientist Mrs. Fuller and her curious methods of healing alongside these other considerable successes as equal to those works in creativity, thinking, and social insight.

As accepted as the story of Mrs. Fuller tends to be, these frequent scholarly references divorce the satirical story from the remainder of Mark Twain's last published book, *Christian Science*. The opening story, however, is a small part of the book and only a meager segment depicting Twain's views regarding Christian Science, or The Church of Christ, Scientist to be exact, founded by Mary Baker Glover Eddy in Boston in 1879. The near-ubiquitous recognition of Twain's tale becomes somewhat ironic when considering how little *Christian Science* as a whole is discussed in modern scholarship. The anecdote itself, in spite of its frequent retelling, is rarely analyzed in all its complexity when read apart from the religious commentary that follows it.

When bearing in mind the extent to which Twain wrote about the religious sect and its founder in *Christian Science* and even in several other later writings, the lack of attention given to a full investigation of the book is disconcerting and neglectful at best. Just as Mrs. Fuller's fanciful pedagogy could not sway the naive narrator, critics cannot be swayed by what fits easily into the traditional Twain canon without missing a vast amount of contextual, stylistic, and structural significance.

Christian Science today sits and collects dust on a shelf because scholars have preemptively deemed the work unsuccessful. The book, however, has been misread by a twenty-first-century audience that is unfamiliar with the context surrounding its composition. To begin with, *Christian Science* was originally a serial publication, meaning about half of it appeared in individual installments in print long before the book was published. Reading the book apart from its monthly publications or the popularity of periodical serialization in the late nineteenth century leaves it lacking the context on which it is dependent. In addition, Christian Science itself was birthed amidst a whirlwind of controversy, in which enormous numbers of critics were concerned about the sect's claim to be a perfected and improved "scientific" version of Christianity. The formation of The Church of Christ, Scientist as a religious organization and the role of the infamous founder Mary Baker Eddy in that formation were widespread worries

copiously addressed not just in the media and in the courts but around the dinner table as well. Without accepting *Christian Science* as a product of this cultural upheaval, a reader remains blind to much of the book's compositional value and societal influence.

When read through the lens of 1903, *Christian Science* surprisingly comes alive with scholarly significance.[3] Both its content and form reveal indispensable new insights into Twain's later thinking and writing during his last ten years of life. One of the greatest benefits is the resurrection of the five early articles on Christian Science that have never been reprinted or reexamined since their original publications in 1899, 1902 and 1903.[4] Each of the five articles, four of which eventually become Book One of *Christian Science*, has individual merit and illustrates Twain's continuous concern for structure and for audience.[5]

Another benefit is the insight *Christian Science* can bring to the current scholarly dialogues on Twain's compositional processes. When examining *Christian Science* as the final installment of a periodical series, the book can rival

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[3] The year 1903 was the book's planned publication date.

[4] The first of these five articles, entitled "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," was republished in *Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, and Essays, 1891-1910*. However, to the best of my knowledge, this essay has never been analyzed on its own apart from its appearance in *Christian Science*.

[5] Twain's fifth article, "Mrs. Eddy in Error," also appears in *Christian Science* in nearly the same form it appeared when first published in 1903. However, instead of appearing in Book One with the other articles previously published, Twain places this last article near the end of Book Two for reasons that will be explained later in this study.

the importance of Twain's *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts, an intriguing collection of materials written, rewritten, and revised over a considerable length of time. The *Christian Science* materials, however, all appeared in print in Twain's day unlike the *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts, which remained as unpublished fragments at the time of the author's death.[6] The *Christian Science* materials are, therefore, potentially more pertinent to discussions of Twain's compositional processes in his later life than the *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts have thus far been.

In addition to the merits of the first five articles and the relevancy of the composition of *Christian Science*, a final benefit surfaces when looking at the book in light of its original 1903 context: a picture of Twain's evolutionary thinking on Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy. Twain writes about the religious sect and its founder from the fall of 1898 until nearly the end of his life.[7] During this time, Twain's thinking about Christian Science and Eddy shifts from an outsider's look into a peculiar new socio-religious development to a perspective of one immensely familiar with Christian Science doctrine and texts. The early

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[6] Alfred Bigelow Paine revised and finished Twain's longest fragment, which is known today as *No.44, Mysterious Stranger*. Paine had it published posthumously in 1916, but he altered the manuscript so much so that the 1916 book cannot be considered Twain's original work. Twain's unaltered manuscripts were not released to the public until after Paine's death in 1937.

[7] Twain's references this subject for the last time in print in his essay *Is Shakespeare Dead?* (1909). His opening lines include the name Mary Baker Eddy among a list of "claimants." Twain died in 1910.

viewpoint is riddled with humor, sarcasm, experimentation with form, and light-hearted literary play. The later perspective, however, replaces the light-heartedness with dogmatic seriousness, which can reflect the growing importance of Christian Science in Twain's mind. Twain's evolution of thought is surprisingly inseparable from his compositional process because both his form and style are affected by his ongoing thinking about Christian Science. The *Christian Science* materials alone bear the greatest account of the interactive development of thought and form within Twain's canon, especially when considering the ways in which complex thinking can result in the formation of problematic aesthetics.

These benefits and others are the reasons for this study of Twain's *Christian Science* materials. The *Christian Science* materials, if read through the lens of 1903, prove to be an integral part of the Twain canon rather than a subsidiary of it. Taking *Christian Science* off the shelf, however, begins with understanding the reasons for the absence of *Christian Science* within Twain scholarship, reviewing the cultural context surrounding the author's initial interest in Christian Science, and expounding upon the popularity of serialization and Twain's early serialized articles. Upon this contextual platform a chronological look at the merits of the first five articles individually, followed by an examination of the complex process through which Twain's old and new

material came to be *Christian Science*, can then come. With these pieces in place, a summation of Twain's evolution of thinking about Christian Science, which results in both promising and problematic literature, can bring to light the necessity of *Christian Science*'s place in Twain's oeuvre. Twain's last published book of his life may not be considered a masterpiece when held to the same criteria as used to judge *Huckleberry Finn*, but with a new set of criteria built from the context of 1903, *Christian Science* can offer unsurpassed and heretofore unmined scholarly possibilities.

Reasons for the Absence of Christian Science *in Twain Scholarship*

From the first printed appearance of Twain's article "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy" in the October 1899 issue of the Cos*mopolitan* magazine, critics contemporary to Twain engaged in extensive dialogue pertaining to his views on Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy. Comments, for example, appeared in popular periodicals like *Harper's Weekly*. A reviewer in the December 27, 1902 issue declared, "Mark Twain seems pleased with Christian Science" ("Mark Twain on Christian Science" 2022ab). A reviewer in the January 24, 1903 issue observed Mark Twain's "thoroughness" that "made a mark that will stick" ("More from Mark Twain" 145bc). Medical journals, including *American Medicine* and the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*, specifically addressed Twain's *North American Review* articles from December 1902 and

February and April of 1903, concluding that his arguments concerning Christian Science reveal his "weakness, both as a prophet and a critic" and that this "professional humorist" turned "solemn prophet" resulted in "neither sense nor humor."[8] The numerous criticisms like these that appear in periodicals of the time signify both Twain's presence at the forefront of an unprecedented public debate as well as the interest that many of his contemporaries had for the author's opinions.

In addition to general criticism, Twain received attention from the Christian Science community itself, particularly William D. McCrackan, a member of the Christian Science Publishing Committee, whose writings avidly promoted the logical and pragmatic qualities of the religion. In an engaging rebuttal, entitled "Mrs. Eddy's Relation to Christian Science," appearing in the *North American Review* in March 1903, McCrackan argued against Twain's judgments by examining them piecemeal. In his article, McCrackan included a portion of Eddy's published work "Judge Ye," in which the founder herself spoke out against Twain's articles:

> In the aforesaid article, of which I have seen only extracts, Mark Twain's wit was not wasted in certain directions. Christian Science eschews divine rights in human beings. If the individual governed

[8] The first reference regarding Twain's "weakness" comes from an untitled review of the article "Christian Science" in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*. The second reference about Twain's lack of "sense" and "humor" comes from an article entitled "Mark Twain on Eddyism" in *American Medicine*. Both articles are referenced in Hamilin Hill's afterword in the Oxford edition of *Christian Science* (3).

> human consciousness, my statement of Christian Science would be disproved, but to understand the spiritual idea is essential to demonstrated Science and its pure monotheism—one God, one Christ, no idolatry, no human propaganda. (357)

Even though the author received mixed reviews regarding his bold statements about the doctrines of the newly formed religious sect, including McCrackan's strong rebuttal, the existence of the dialogue itself acknowledges the contemporary relevancy of the published material that eventually forms the first half of *Christian Science*.

Regardless of the ample attention received from critics in Twain's own time, no substantial in-depth analysis of *Christian Science*, especially concerning the author's compositional process, has surfaced in contemporary scholarship. In spite of widespread agreement that Twain has an intriguing interest in Christian Science and its founder, what is seen by way of critical commentary culminates in only passing references of certain minor aspects of this interest or in simple generalities. For example, Philip Foner in his book *Mark Twain: Social Critic* mentions Twain's fears about Eddy's religious sect becoming an "established church" in his chapter on religion.[9] Harold Aspiz in his article "Mark Twain and 'Doctor' Newton" makes a general comment that Twain's

[9] Philip Foner's argument involving Twain and Christian Science can be found in Chapter 4 in a section entitled "The Established Church," pages 196-199.

argument about Christian Science revolves around its claims of uniqueness.[10] Harold K. Bush in "'A Moralist in Disguise': Mark Twain and American Religion" quotes Randall Knoper in *Acting Naturally: Mark Twain in the Culture of Performance* as sufficient enough for his argument on Twain's treatment of religion at this time.[11] Knoper, however, does a bit more than what Bush mentions. Knoper's point of view concerning the *Mysterious Stranger* manuscripts revolves around taking the basic Christian Science belief in the spiritual as primary over the physical and claiming a "striking kinship" to the character No. 44 and to the famous, complex passage Twain set aside for the ending of his novel.[12] In addition to Knoper, Jason Horn in *Mark Twain and William James: Crafting a Free Self* also points out Twain's mockery of Eddy in *No.44, Mysterious Stranger* but with much less insight.[13]

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[10] Harold Aspiz, in his article, references Mary Baker Eddy on page 131 in a short discussion of Twain's interest in mental healers. His claim that Twain's "quarrel with Mary Baker Eddy is based on her purported contention that her powers are unique ones rather than the same 'force' which most mental healers say has existed throughout history" is insightful, but it is given no evidentiary support in the article.

[11] Bush's comments on Christian Science can be found on pages 82-83. Knoper is quoted at the end of his short discussion on the topic.

[12] Knoper's ideas appear in his final chapter on pages 185-186.

[13] Horn recaps the passage in *No. 44, Mysterious Stranger* when Twain transforms a character into a cat named Mary Florence Fortescue Baker G. Nightengale. Horn uses the passage in a discussion on Twain's "ambivalent relationship" with Christian Science and "Mind Cure" movements. His discussion appears on pages 122-123.

Moreover, two other references can be found in Joe B. Fulton's "Mark Twain's New Jerusalem: Prophecy in the Unpublished Essay 'About Cities in the Sun'" and David Sewell's *Mark Twain's Languages: Discourse, Dialogue, and Linguistic Variety*. Fulton's article gives insight into the unpublished review, in which Twain briefly compares George Woodward Warder, the author of the work he was reviewing, to Mary Baker Eddy.[14] Sewell's book, in turn, addresses Twain's essay "The Refuge of the Derelicts" and its dialogue, which has similarities to dramatized conversation found in chapter two of *Christian Science*.[15] Surprisingly, Bush's latest book, *Mark Twain and the Spiritual Crisis of His Age*, which provides a "cultural biography of Mark Twain's religious ethos" by "focusing on the positive contributions of American religion in the life and works of arguably our most famous author," leaves out a discussion of Christian Science entirely (2).

While this sampling of scholarship has much to offer by way of compelling discussion on various other subject matters within Twain criticism, the little time that is spent questioning the value of the connection between the author and Christian Science and the serious role it plays in the writings of his final years is somewhat surprising. That *Christian Science* is examined so rarely

[14] Fulton's arguments can be found on pages 176 and 185.

[15] Sewell's arguments can be found on pages 141-143.

in modern scholarship is an unfortunate oversight. This deficiency itself can be tied to several ongoing tendencies, which have regrettably obscured the significance of such endeavors until now. These tendencies—the temptation to analyze the later writings solely through biographical influence, the propensity to rely on claims of notable past scholars as sufficient, and the predisposition to hastily overlook the later writings as unsuccessful, and therefore, unworthy of study—highlight not only this missing piece of scholarship, but also a general neglect of all the later writings.

Throughout Samuel Clemens's life the name Mark Twain came to be an icon for an audience who adored the humorous tales of adventure and candid descriptions of travels abroad. The iconic public personality of a short man with windswept hair adorned in a flamboyant, white suit drew crowds on the lecture circuit and, even after his death, continued to evoke curiosity in many. Lay readers and early scholars alike were spellbound with the need to define and characterize the man behind Mark Twain. Van Wyck Brooks's publication of his provocative book *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* in 1920, twenty years after the author's death, ignited a firestorm of controversy surrounding Clemens's authentic self by arguing the author was a psychologically disturbed yet thwarted genius bound always by his fundamental Calvinist roots and primitive upbringing in Hannibal, Missouri. Bernard DeVoto, with his well-researched

rebuttal *Mark Twain's America* (1932), only fueled the fire arguing that Clemens's childhood on the frontier was one of wide and varied culture providing him with plentiful creative potential. This positive "American humorist," as labeled by DeVoto, was nothing like Brooks's view of Clemens with his "deep malady of the soul" that resulted in "something gravely amiss with his inner life" (10, 12).[16]

The Brooks-DeVoto controversy of the 1920s and 30s accomplished two things within early scholarship: it polarized critics on one side or the other of this ongoing biographical debate, and, in doing so, it overshadowed a proper investigation of the aesthetic quality of the works themselves. The search for the man behind Mark Twain outshone any pressing need for further scholarship in other areas. Roger Asselineau's study from his book entitled *The Literary Reputation of Mark Twain from 1910 to 1950: A Critical Essay and a Bibliography* (1954) provides a detailed explanation of the arguments of both Brooks and DeVoto, among many others, and nicely outlines in a greater way the evolution of Twain scholarship through the 1950s.

While this biographical tendency in scholarship has since been remedied with the explosion of critical attention following a few pivotal works such as Gladys Bellamy's *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist* published in 1950, remnants of

[16] Roger Asselineau's study in *The Literary Reputation of Mark Twain from 1910 to 1950: A Critical Essay and a Bibliography* is widely accepted by scholars as an accurate and thorough interpretation of the early evolution of Twain scholarship.

the approach remain in certain areas of Twain's writing (Asselineau 60). One such area is the turning point the author's work reached between 1895 and 1900, during which time Twain began to explore the Christian Science texts of Mary Baker Eddy. Hamlin Hill's *Mark Twain: God's Fool* along with Karen Lystra's *Dangerous Intimacy: The Untold Story of Mark Twain's Final Years* are two examples of biographies that continue in a similar critical vein as Brooks and DeVoto in their attempts to explain Twain's change in style and content solely by means of Clemens's own personal and relational hardships during these years. Their arguments, as well as others like these, center around the overwhelming grief the author felt during this period of his life when he attempts to rise out of bankruptcy after futile business dealings and mourns the loss of his daughter Susy to spinal meningitis in 1896 and his wife Livy to heart failure in 1904.

While Twain's writings were unmistakably influenced by his grief as they took a darker, more serious, and even startling tone, the tendency to lean on biography for explanation of literary differences cannot eclipse other viable influences of the same time period, particularly the influence of Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy. Both Hill and Lystra mention Clemens's perplexing interest in Christian Science as biographical fact, but their claims pay no heed to

the possibility of the religious sect itself and its founder as another viable source for the transformation in these later works.[17]

Along with the tendency to lean too heavily on biography, a second propensity among scholars has been to take for granted previous scholars' assessments regarding Twain's relation to Christian Science as sufficient for their own research. Initial views about *Christian Science* have been passed along regularly as both accurate and adequate. This tendency may partly be due to the abstractness and ambiguity of Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health, With Keys to the Scriptures* (the authorized Christian Science textbook) and the seeming structural awkwardness of Twain's *Christian Science*. However, more plausible than the textual complications might simply be the failure of critics to investigate further the claim repeated over and over in scholarship—that Twain was endlessly, obsessively curious about Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy and yet likewise repulsed by aspects of the organization and public persona of its founder as well. The claim itself dates back to William Dean Howells's own comments in *My Mark Twain: Reminiscences and Criticisms*, which was first published in installments in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* between July and September 1910. He writes,

[17] For the remainder of this study, Samuel Clemens's pseudonym "Mark Twain" will be used to refer to the author in order to avoid alignment with this biographical avenue of criticism. Clemens signed his articles and his book *Christian Science* with his pseudonym; therefore, in this study "Mark Twain" will be considered the author of this literature. Using Clemens's pseudonym, in addition, follows the common tradition of contemporary Twain scholarship.

> It would not be easy to say whether in his talk of it his disgust for the illiterate twaddle of Mrs. Eddy's book, or his admiration of her genius for organization was the greater. . . . The vacuous vulgarity of its texts was a perpetual joy to him, while he bowed with serious respect to the sagacity which built so securely upon the everlasting rock of human credulity and folly. (69)

As can be noted in Howells's comments, both polemic viewpoints exist simultaneously when examining Twain's interest in Christian Science. Howells's assessments have been considered so accurate that, according to scholarly trends, the repetition of this dueling idea has become the mainstay for the topic altogether with little in the way of analysis regarding its formative development, its varied and plentiful appearances in Twain's writings, and the implications these appearances have on the later works in general. Forrest G. Robinson in *The Author Cat: Clemens's Life in Fiction*, for example, simply quotes Howells, assuming the claim itself is enough to carry his argument along, and he is not alone in doing so.[18] The mere fact that a love-hate relationship for Christian Science exists has seemed sufficient for the study of *Christian Science* thus far. The heavy reliance on Howells's opinions has needlessly come to function as a superficial crutch hindering further and deeper investigation of *Christian Science*. Understanding *how* the two views—Twain's "disgust" with and yet his "admiration" for Christian Science—present themselves in *Christian Science*,

[18] Forrest G. Robinson quotes a portion of the above passage from Howells's writings in his final chapter on page 169.

including how they intertwine with Twain's literary form and style, could eliminate these unsubstantiated scholarly leanings.

The lingering tendency toward biographical explanation and the ongoing propensity to rely improperly on earlier claims can provide some explanation for the lack of scholarship on *Christian Science*. A third predisposition, however, arguably carries more weight than the first two. This tendency has been to evade in-depth study of the texts of Twain's last ten years in general due to their fragmentation and to their divergence from what traditionally fits in the Twain canon. These later pieces are generally regarded as inferior when compared to the rest of Twain's oeuvre. William R. Macnaughton acknowledges this tendency in *Mark Twain's Last Years as a Writer*:

> The consensus about Mark Twain as a writer during these approximately thirteen years is that he was a failure. . . . Critics have pointed to the abundant and pitiful array of manuscripts that he worked on so obsessively and never finished; [and] have claimed that the ones he did complete are no longer worth reading. (2)

To put it simply, many scholars feel these later works, with the possible exception of Twain's deterministic gospel "What is Man?" and the ever-perplexing *No. 44, Mysterious Stranger*, cannot compare to the earlier masterpieces, particularly works like *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, *Innocents Abroad*, or *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. Even the two later pieces, *What is Man?* and *No.44, The Mysterious*

Stranger, are judged as inferior to earlier works, in spite of their puzzling content, which holds curiosity for some scholars.

Consequently, comparing the later writings to *Huckleberry Finn*, *Tom Sawyer*, and others causes critics to misunderstand some of the complexities and questions that thread through them in unusual and even paradoxical ways. For the most part, scholars are right to judge manuscripts like "The Secret History of Eddypus" and "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" as inferior because of their fragmentation.[19] Nevertheless, they should not be judged only by standards established by Twain's earlier work, limiting him to one successful style at the cost of other bold and new stylistic attempts. Twain also should not be considered a "failure" for his creation of fragmentary literature or for completed pieces that might be deemed unsuccessful in light of earlier achievements. Ironically, that which seems like literary "failure" can sometimes tell the most about authorial intentions, aesthetic ambitions, and compositional processes. Such is the case with Twain's *Christian Science*, which houses an enormity of insight about all three of these aspects. Arguably, *Christian Science* can tell the most about Twain's own methodology of writing on a subject of profound controversy in his day.

[19] Both "Secret History of Eddypus" and "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" are heavily influenced by Christian Science and Twain's perceptions of the public persona of Mary Baker Eddy. Twain's other influenced writings besides *Christian Science* will be explored later in this study, but much remains for scholarly pursuit in this area.

While no work thus far grapples fully with the ongoing interest Twain had with Christian Science let alone with the debt his later works owe to the religious sect and its founder, one critical pursuit has emerged—the examination of Mark Twain alongside Mary Baker Eddy for the purpose of gender and feminist criticism. Peter Stoneley, in his book *Mark Twain and the Feminine Aesthetic*, devotes an entire chapter to the two figures. In Stoneley's chapter "Mark Twain and Mary Baker Eddy," he offers the reader a concise summary of the development of Christian Science as an "evangelizing of the conventions surrounding femininity," as femininity was defined and practiced in the latter half of the nineteenth century (117). According to Stoneley, Eddy developed and established her religious sect by "championing what was an essentially feminine point of view," in which the female was an inherently more spiritual creature than the male. Radicalizing this notion to an "extreme of literalness," Eddy offered an idealistic sense of transcendence to the spiritual, an "elitism of spirit" that gave freedom for women to find power in an identity already given to them through the Victorian era (117). Twain's criticism, according to Stoneley, circles around the person of Eddy, particularly the qualities of her assertive and empowering femininity. Twain regards her feminine aesthetic as in conflict with what he sees as true femininity, embarking him on a "crusade" to point out the discrepancies and inadequacies of the notion.

In addition to Stoneley's research, shorter discussions of gender and feminist criticism can be found, namely in Cynthia D. Schrager's article "Mark Twain and Mary Baker Eddy: Gendering the Transpersonal Subject." Schrager addresses Twain's interest in Christian Science from a similar vantage point as Stoneley. However, Schrager in a highly technical manner combines gender criticism with psychoanalysis to assert that Twain and Eddy both project personal conceptions of self onto the opposite sex. Such projections, in turn, create paradoxical and "competing gendered narratives" (53). When examining their studies, these critics, for the most part, are concerned with Twain's understanding of the female subject and its implications in his writings in general rather than on his writing of *Christian Science* or on the influence the religious sect and its founder has on Twain's later works. While both Stoneley and Schrager provide insightful discussions that contain the most in-depth analyses of Eddy, Christian Science, and Twain to date, still much more is needed to have a comprehensive understanding of this area of scholarship.

The Formation of Twain's Interest in Christian Science

An investigation into the reasons scholars have overlooked *Christian Science*, along with its serialization, can give much credence to the reality of this unfortunate gap within Twain scholarship. Simply recognizing the missing piece, however, is not enough to right the wrong. *Christian Science* must also be

untangled from the unsubstantiated interpretations of it as a book undeserving of appreciation because of its ruthless berating of Mary Baker Eddy. Reading *Christian Science* properly requires a consideration of the late-nineteenth-century social atmosphere, in which Twain composed both his Christian Science articles and the eventual book. Twain's concerns in *Christian Science* about the establishment of The Church of Christ, Scientist and its founder Mary Baker Eddy, are bound exclusively to the controversies of his day and Twain's own personal attraction to newly formed religious sects and homeopathic remedies. Exploring the formation of Twain's interest in Christian Science within the context of the litigious rise of The Church of Christ, Scientist can cause the book to be seen as a product of its culture and not a gratuitous attack by one author on another. *Christian Science* and its serialization is reminiscent of many other published works on the same subject in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet Twain's writings with their meticulous concern for audience and form easily rise above the rest.

When considering why Twain was drawn toward Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy, it is ironic that his interest began as something not at all out of the ordinary. Eddy and her newly formed religious sect had already become a popular subject for Twain's literary contemporaries by the time the author himself began to write about it in the fall of 1898. Twain's interest in the subject

and his published arguments about it were of the same variety as many other keen social observers facing the mounting fame of a phenomenon of powerful social precedence. Eddy's public persona and her audacious discovery of a practical and scientific form of Christianity with its promise of "natural demonstrations of divine power"[20] intrigued many a social critic including Henry Ward Beecher, the famous Congregationalist minister, who owned an original copy of *Science and Health*, calling it "one of the most wonderful books ever written" (Cunningham 888).[21] William James, a cultural philosopher of the time, found a "no more systemized form of healthy-minded religion than Christian Science," as he wrote in *Varieties of Religious Experience*, published in 1902 (128-29). The poet Hart Crane took an early interest in Christian Science, advising his mother to exert a "real effort" in her study and practice of the religious sect to discover its true authenticity (Peel 449).[22] Moreover, Amos Bronson Alcott, the father of Louisa May Alcott, spent time on more than one occasion with Eddy

[20] This short quotation comes from page 131 of *Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures*.

[21] Cunningham here quotes Margaret Beecher White in her article "Beecher and Christian Science," published in *Cosmopolitan* in 1908.

[22] Robert Peel briefly comments on Hart Crane's involvement with Christian Science in *Mark Baker Eddy: the Years of Authority*. This book is his third and final one in his biographical series, which is considered to be the most authoritative and thorough depiction of Eddy's life. On page 449 in an endnote, Peel quotes the letter that Crane wrote to his mother, which is published on page 519 in *Letters of Hart Crane and His Family*, edited by Thomas S. W. Lewis.

and her followers discussing "metaphysical problems," as he records in his own private journals (467).[23]

At the time he began studying and writing about Christian Science, Twain was living with his family in Vienna, Austria, where he came for the purpose of seeking medical attention for his daughter Jean's epileptic attacks and possibly his wife Olivia's neurasthenia and angina as well.[24] In September 1897, when the author first arrived in Vienna, the city was known as one of the world's leading centers of medicine. One of Berlin's foremost pathologists Rudolf Virchow went so far as to call the city the "Mecca of Medicine" (Dolmetsch 262). Twain wasted no time in seeking out many possible remedies for the ailments that seemed to plague his family when he arrived in Vienna. Carl Dolmetsch, in his book entitled *"Our Famous Guest": Mark Twain in Vienna*, provides detailed accounts of Twain's time in the city, his involvement with the city's medical community, and his literary pursuits during his twenty-month stay before leaving for London in October 1899 and then heading on to New York on October 15th of the following

[23] Alcott's reference to his time spent with Eddy appears in his February fifth entry on page 467 of *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*. Alcott's relations with Eddy, including part of this journal entry, are discussed in brief in Robert Peel's *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Trial* in pages 8-10 and in depth in Peel's *Christian Science: Its Encounter with American Culture* in pages 47-96.

[24] Clemens wrote a letter to Dr. Heinrich Obersteiner, a prestigious medical expert in Vienna, dated October 5, 1897, which was only a week after the family's arrival in Austria. In the letter, Clemens requests the help of Dr. Obersteiner with Jean and her epilepsy symptoms. The letter in full appears in Carl Dolmetsch's *"Our Famous Guest": Mark Twain in Vienna*, on pages 262-163.

year. Whether or not Mark Twain had examined *Science and Health* and other published texts by Eddy before his time abroad is unclear. There can be no doubt, however, that by that time Twain had heard quite a lot about the rising religious movement with its curious healing practices from the New England periodicals, public lectures on the subject, and the general buzz of local converts and other curious townspeople.

Mary Baker Eddy's famed ten-minute rebuttal entitled "Christian Science in Tremont Temple" before three thousand of Boston's ministerial elite, including the well known Reverend Joseph Cook, on October 16, 1885 had began the movement's emergence from the shadows of Boston's spiritual underground into the American religious mainstream. This short rebuttal, printed in Eddy's *Miscellaneous Writings, 1883-1896*, divulges an uncompromising voice of fortitude and passion, which inspired staggering numbers to join the movement in following years (95-98).[25] By 1898, while Twain was beginning to pen his first article "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy" in Vienna, Eddy had already achieved in America what the Boston ministers had gravely feared, a celebrated church in Boston, the Mother Church, established in 1892 with a membership of 17,000 and growing, not including the other smaller churches all

[25] Stephen Gottschalk, in his book *The Emergence of Christian Science in American Religious Life*, discusses in detail the significance of Eddy's 1885 address to the Boston ministers at Tremont Temple. Gottschalk's "Prologue" contains a more detailed account of the event and further reasons for its significance on pages xv-xxix.

over the New England area (Gottschalk xvi). In addition, *Science and Health* had, by this time, sold nearly 500,000 copies worldwide (Dolmetsch 235).

By the late 1890s, Mary Baker Eddy had not only established herself as a major public figure in New England, but talk of her new religious sect reached as far as the West coast and even prominent cities in Europe. English-speaking countries like Canada and England saw Christian Science practitioners emerge, and plans were underway for the Christian Science textbook *Science and Health* to be translated into French and German. Moreover, The First Church of Christ, Scientist had recently formed in London in 1897, the city where Twain and his family had been staying before their move to Vienna in 1898 (Peel 118).[26]

Twain's choice to set his burlesque tale of the Christian Scientist Mrs. Fuller in the countryside outside of Vienna can only attest to the global recognition the new movement had already achieved by that time. In the first lines of *Christian Science*, Twain writes, "This last summer, when I was on my way back to Vienna from the Appetite-Cure in the mountains, I fell over a cliff in the twilight and broke some arms and legs and one thing or another . . ." (216). Twain's stay in Vienna with its international reputation for traditional and nontraditional health and healing practices was not a hindrance to his awareness of the expanding movement. The place could only have served as fertile soil for

[26] Peel's discussion of the London branch of The Church of Christ, Scientist appears in *Mary Baker Eddy: the Years of Authority.*

his study of the proclaimed scientific religion and his compositions that resulted from it.

In spite of Mark Twain's travels abroad, the author was still very much tied to the current events of New England, spending much of his time in Hartford, Connecticut and Elmira, New York during some of the religious sect's real growing years of the late 1880s and early 1890s. The steady increase of seekers and converts during this time, many coming from the spiritually waning Protestant Orthodox congregations, brought ministers to the pulpit in droves to dramatically proclaim the heresy of Eddy and her teachings in Christian Science. According to Stephen Gottschalk in *The Emergence of Christian Science in American Religious Life*, "by 1885, it had become clear to observers on the Boston scene, especially the clergy, that Christian Science had caught on" (xvii).

Gottschalk quotes from a *London Times* article in the May 26, 1885 issue, providing one correspondent's observations about the anxiety of the Boston religious community:

> Clergymen of all denominations . . . are seriously considering how to deal with what they regard as the most dangerous innovation that has threatened the Christian Church in this region for years. . . . Scores of the most valued church members are joining the Christian Science branch of the metaphysical organization, and it has thus far been impossible to check the defection. (xvii)

With this "most dangerous innovation," the religious community's attempts to loudly denounce the wayward teachings of Eddy, like that of Reverend Cook's

when he permitted Eddy to give her ten-minute rebuttal in 1885 in hopes of exposing a lack of rationalization on Eddy's part, backfired in many respects. The public condemnations functioned more as a catalyst with so much attention given to the new teachings that it stirred public interest more than it kept congregations intact.

With the Protestant clergy in a pandemonium about numbers wandering from the flock, the media equally found itself in a state of upheaval and commotion. Ministers took their message from the pulpit to the newspapers, attempting to provide analysis of the faulty heretical doctrine of Christian Science in hopes of their sheep returning. Reverend James M. Buckley, an editor for New York's *Christian Advocate*, published his analysis in July 1887 issue of *Century* magazine, titling his article "'Christian Science' and 'Mind Cure'" (Cunningham 891). Unlike others who opted for theological rhetoric as a means of persuasion, Buckley set aside his religious fervor in favor of a rational examination of Christian Science beliefs and practices. Although his arguments were against the "theological constructions of 'these ethereal practitioners,'" as Raymond J. Cunningham points out in "The Impact of Christian Science on the American Churches, 1880-1910," Buckley's critique does serve as an example of Mary Baker Eddy's "frenzied acclaim, which the newspapers seized upon" (890).

Within the 1890s and early 1900s, periodicals across New England and beyond saw articles like Buckley's, and books as well, from every possible perspective addressing the peculiar rise of Christian Science, its promise of healing, and its originator Mary Baker Eddy. The regular appearance of publications on the topic could be due to its wide sweeping influence within not only religious circles but philosophical, scientific, medical and literary as well. Newspapers contained editorials across an exceptionally wide spectrum with anything from logical defenses of the faith to enthusiastic testimonials of healing and even to contemptuous attacks on Eddy as the proponent of sacrilegious ideas. These could all be seen on a regular basis. Buckley continued to publish articles on the subject, including "The Absurd Paradox of Christian Science" in the *North American Review* in July 1901 and "The Phantom Fortress of Christian Science" as a sequel in September of that same year. Like Buckley's articles, multiple publications and even serial publications were common occurrences for both the Christian Science advocates and their opponents. In fact, these multiple periodical publications resulted in a great back-and-forth debate between proponents and opponents, in which J. M. Buckley, E. Wake Cook, Frederick W. Peabody, William D. McCrackan, William A. Purrington, Mark Twain and many other writers exchanged ideas in an unprecedented public display of social criticism. The public debate itself, particularly during the years of 1899 and 1903,

is intriguing to study as a sample of the late-nineteenth-century, middle class "magazine revolution" (Cunningham 895).

Why Christian Science attracted such attention from the masses baffled contemporary writers, including Mark Twain. One *Public Opinion* article, entitled "The Gains of Christian Science," indicated that Christian Scientists could not even explain its enormous popularity:

> The spread of the Christian Scientists has been one of the extraordinary signs of the times. Within that short period the actual enrolled membership has doubled, mounting in round numbers from 150,000 to 300,000. . . . Just what is the cause of this remarkable growth is somewhat puzzling to the Christian Scientists themselves. They do not encourage active proselyting, relying rather on the dissemination of literature and the instances of healing, which they claim are wholly due to the divine impulse. (18)

Modern scholarly perspectives concerning the public reception of Christian Science, like this early view, seem far from any consensus. George Marsden, in *Religion and American Culture*, concludes that Christian Science appealed to the wealthiest and best educated who were already disillusioned with mainstream Christianity (160). The upper echelons' response to the new movement, then, had a pervasive effect on the rest of the population. Mary Farrell Bednarowski in her article "Outside the Mainstream" argues that the sect "epitomized the difficulties and helplessness of nineteenth-century women and, for that reason,

women flocked to the movement in droves (218).[27] Dewey D. Wallace, Jr. in "Sects, Cults, and Mainstream Religion" has a broader interpretation, claiming that Christian Science is more mainstream to nineteenth-century America than it seems on the surface.[28] Wallace asserts that Christian Science embraces the ideas of restoration, the millennium, a spiritual age, and idealistic community, which were long-standing themes in the biblical and Christian traditions of the country (8). The sect's appeal to these central themes of American religious life made it exceedingly popular much more than anything else.

While a general consensus among scholars may never be reached, all these influences more than likely contributed in some way to the rise of Christian Science in the culture. Twain's composition of the *Christian Science* materials from the fall of 1898 to May 1899 in Vienna and then during the summer or fall of 1902 through February 1903 in New York clearly fell in the middle of the muckraking controversy regarding Mary Baker Eddy and the rapid ascent of Christian Science within the public eye. Twain's attraction, as with the culture, probably has some similar grounding in his own religious disillusionment of the time, the allurement of Christian Science for women in his own family, and the traditional Americanized themes that are imbedded in the religious sect.

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[27] The full title of Bednarowski's article is "Outside the Mainstream: Women's Religion and Women Religious Leaders in Nineteenth-Century America."

[28] The full title of Wallace's article is "Sects, Cults, and Mainstream Religion: A Cultural Interpretation of New Religious Movements in America."

According to Harold K. Bush, Jr. in "'A Moralist in Disguise': Mark Twain and American Religion," the spiritual evolution often seen in Twain "mirrored many of the major trends and developments in American religion" (56). Twain's wife and daughters also gravitated toward the new movement. His daughter Clara Clemens even converted to Christian Science after the author's death and catalogued her spiritual journey in her own book *Awake to a Perfect Day: My Experience with Christian Science*.

In spite of these connections, what probably caught Twain's eye most was the scandalous account of Harold Frederic, a promising novelist and realist, whose death produced a flood of media attention during the months of October, November, and December in 1898.[29] C. W. E. Bigsby, in his article "The 'Christian Science Case': An Account of the Death of Harold Frederic and the Subsequent Inquest and Court Proceedings," explains the situation surrounding Frederic's death, which was hastened, and possibly caused, by his refusal of any traditional medical treatment. Frederic's refusal was bound in his Christian Science beliefs, or at least those of his influential mistress Kate Lyon, who found herself on trial for manslaughter upon his death, along with Frederic's Christian Scientist healer Athalie Mills (77). According to Bigsby, Frederic's death and the

[29] C. W. E. Bigsby provides a detailed list at the close of his article of all the published accounts that came out in London newspapers of Frederic's death and the following trial of Lyon and Mills. The list extends over three pages long, includes thirteen different newspapers, and over a hundred dates on which articles about these events appeared in print.

resulting trial "received a great deal more attention in the press than such events would normally warrant" (77). Even though Lyon and Mills were eventually acquitted, exuberant details of the trial were splashed in the newspapers making it "one of the major press stories of 1898" (81).

Harold Frederic's untimely death must have been memorable because Twain mentions the author many years later in a Savage Club dinner speech in London on July 6, 1907 (*Mark Twain Speaking* 572). Twain tells his "fellow Savages" that he never knew Frederic personally but had "heard a great deal about him, and nothing that was not pleasant" (572). In the speech, Twain even implies that one of his books had been read to Frederic in his last hours: "If any book of mine read to him in his last hours made those hours easier for him and more comfortable, I am very glad and proud of that" (572). Even if just a rumor, such an account must have given Twain compelling reason to turn his pen to Christian Science.

Twain's Vienna setting may have provided the author enough distance to have clever stylistic originality in his first publication on the subject, "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," but all the four subsequent articles published in the *North American Review* in 1902 and 1903 were by no means the most scandalizing or hostile words published on the subject. Twain's five periodical articles come to form Book One of *Christian Science*, with the exception

of the final article, "Mrs. Eddy in Error," which the author places at the end of the Book Two. While Twain's arguments seem uncharacteristically negative toward Eddy, her language, the organization of the Christian Science church, and other facets of the religious movement, his views follow closely with the literary mainstream of the time more than they do with any sense of extremism, in spite of the contemporary scholarly tendency to think otherwise. One interviewer for the *New York World* can exemplify the more extreme kind of criticism in his description of Eddy as "a living skeleton, cancer-ridden, senile, unsteady on her feet, and doped for the occasion" (qtd. in Gottschalk 160). The *Christian Science* materials, in spite of their obvious forcefulness, still never reach quite this level of debasement.

Twain's participation in the ongoing debate with the publication of his five articles (and eventually *Christian Science*) is not surprising when considering the already blazing firestorm of media attention. Twain's personal correspondence with fellow writers, like Christian Scientist William D. McCrackan and Christian Science critics Frederick W. Peabody and William A. Purrington, was also a common undertaking, as the public debate often brought about private friendships and productive collaborative relationships between writers. According to Susan Belasco Smith and Kenneth M. Price in "Periodical Literature in Social and Historical Context," "The periodical—far more than the

book—was a social text, involving complex relationships among writers, readers, editors, publishers, printers and distributers" (3). Twain's *North American Review* articles, in fact, were profoundly influenced by the author's interactions with McCrackan and Peabody, as will be discussed in depth later in this study. With their exchange of letters, both men helped Twain solidify his existing opinions on Christian Science and formulate new ones, which were all of unrelenting significance to him.

While Mark Twain's examination of Christian Science texts and his early publications on Mary Baker Eddy and her teachings began in part with a common temptation to enter the grander public debate that sent many a literary person to his pen, his interest in Christian Science has one more connection that deserves mentioning: the mainstream medical practice of the late nineteenth century. Twain's interest in Christian Science finds at least some underpinning in these much repudiated medical practices. According to K. Patrick Ober's *Mark Twain and Medicine: "Any Mummery will Cure,"* Twain "lived at a time when the world of medicine was splintered into sects and fiefdoms, each one certain of its own value, and each battling the others for primacy" (3). Mainstream medicine rarely served the needs of the public adequately, leaving patent medicines and alternative treatments as viable options to explore (13). The unguarded legal

regulations on who could be a physician let about anyone claim a medical expertise with widely exploited experimental methods.

Because science in this era still maintained its spirit of idealism, Mark Twain and many others were quick to test new, unorthodox, and often risky, methods in attempt to better their physical conditions, though many were cure-all hoaxes and brought no real medical breakthroughs. Twain, as social observer, always wrote about what he learned and experienced, especially in this area, and the author came to realize that the fundamental shortcoming of doctors, whether mainstream or homeopathic, was the mistaken belief that a doctor needed to know nothing of the patient's soul (17). Twain more than likely gravitated toward Eddy's teachings in the realization that this movement addressed both the soul and the body in its healing practices, the soul being the means of healing the body.

In the midst of the religious and medical shifting as a result of a greater reliance on scientific ideology and the scientific method, Mark Twain's personal interests before encountering Christian Science demonstrate a pattern of distinctive curiosities, even as early as nineteen, in the marginalized areas of science and medicine. Born out of such an era, these early interests would have predisposed him in many respects for the avant-garde ideas that Christian

Science brought to the late-nineteenth-century populace.[30] Twain's affection for exaggeration, famously displayed in his burlesque literary style, spilled over into his life through his often risky investments in new technological inventions, mind-based pseudosciences, and homeopathic medical "discoveries." Twain and his family's experiences with electrotherapy, rest-cure, water-cure, and osteopathy, as evidenced in Ober's study, demonstrate the author's fascination with and participation in homeopathy and alternative health remedies. This fascination can also be seen in some of Twain's smaller works, including "Aix-les-Bains" (1891), "At the Appetite Cure" (1898)," and "How to Cure a Cold" (1863), to name a few.

Phrenology, mind-cure, and other psychological or clairvoyant discoveries of the time also tempted Twain, as Alan Gribben notes in "Mark Twain, Phrenology and the 'Temperaments': A Study of Pseudoscientific Influence." Twain writes "Mental Telegraphy" (1891) and "Mental Telegraphy Again" (1895), in which he claims that he discovered "mental telegraphy" himself, but the world was not prepared for it until "the flood of light [was] recently cast upon mental telegraphy by the intelligent labors of the Psychical Society" (*Collected Tales* 31). Phrenology surprisingly appears in "The Secret History of

[30] Harold K. Bush, on pages 46-46 of his article "Mark Twain, Phrenology and the Temperaments: A Study of Pseudoscientific Influence," notes Twain's interest in phrenology as early as nineteen, according to an 1855 notebook, one of Twain's earliest journals.

Eddypus," an unfinished futuristic tale, in which The Church of Christ, Scientist has become the single imperialistic socio-political and religious force over all humankind. In addition to these writings, Twain's personal financial investments in new technologies like the Paige typesetter, Kaola-type chalked-plate illustration process, one-handed grape shears, a textile design machine, among others can only further attest to the author's extraordinary habit of attention in such unconventional directions.

Twain's curiosity in Christian Science, which led to his writing of *Christian Science* and its serialization, easily falls among these other inquiries with even more vigor because within Christian Science all these varying marginalized interests intersect. Mark Twain's early pursuits demonstrate a great belief in the authenticity and capabilities of science as well as an unwavering hopefulness in the possibilities of health and wellness through alternative means. Writing about Mary Baker Eddy and her "discovery of the might of Truth in the treatment of disease as well as of sin" that stood on the precipice of social acceptance seems inevitable in light of the late-nineteenth-century media frenzy and Twain's personal leanings (*Science and Health* viii).

Christian Science and its serialization clearly were not written in a vacuum. The apprehensions and attitudes of the late nineteenth century laid the groundwork for Twain's interest, his investigation, and his composition of the

Christian Science materials. The *Christian Science* materials are bound to this cultural heritage as much as *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is bound to a contextual understanding of Southern slavery, Reconstruction politics, and the frontier landscape of the Mississippi River for a proper reading of the text. Without it, the *Christian Science* materials are perpetually misread. When paired with their context, however, these writings can present a colorful, sophisticated, and persuasive argument that debunks the self-procured divinity of The Church of Christ, Scientist and its founder Mary Baker Eddy.

The Serialization of Christian Science

While a description of the rise of Christian Science in the late nineteenth century provides the necessary cultural context for understanding Mark Twain's interest in writing *Christian Science*, the circumstances surrounding the serial publication of the book are also important in order to read it through the lens of its intended original audience. The serialization of works of fiction and nonfiction within the nineteenth century was a booming trend in both New England and London. Novels, poetry, criticism, history, philosophy, theology and many other disciplines were available for a public audience in periodical form. A contemporary to Twain, George Saintsbury believed that "no single feature . . . not even the enormous popularization and multiplication of the

novel, was so distinctive and characteristic as the development in it of periodical literature" (166).[31]

A vast number of enduring works of literature appeared first in installments independently prior to publication in book form. According to Harry T. Baker in "Periodicals and Permanent Literature," most periodicals in the late nineteenth century were not yet "journalized," meaning they did more than discuss mere current events or topics of immediate social interest (786).[32] Good periodicals accomplished what the *Century* made claim to in its November 1881 issue:

> The monthly magazine is the great modern intellectual amphitheater, and the publicity it is able to give to works of excellence of widely differing kinds is a perpetual stimulus to the intellectual activity of a nation. (qtd. in Baker 784)

Periodicals during Twain's time were considered a source for good literature. In *Harper's* magazine alone, one can find writings by Mark Twain, Henry James, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Margaret Deland, William Dean Howells, Walt Whitman, Thomas Hardy, Conan Doyle, Richard Harding Davis, and many others (786). The *Atlantic Monthly* saw a staggering number of regularly

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[31] Saintsbury's book is entitled *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature*. The book appeared in print in 1896.

[32] Harry T. Baker, in his article, makes a strong argument for the way in which popular nineteenth century New England periodicals "fostered the growth of permanent literature" (787). His evidence consists of some excellent lists of well-read authors who published repeatedly in these selected periodicals.

anthologized writers just between the years 1857 and 1888: Emerson, Thoreau, Longfellow, Harte, James, Howells, Jewett, Lowell, Fiske, Hawthorne, Bryant, Holmes, and many more (783). These writers and others often chose to publish in periodicals in order to reach a larger audience, which was not necessarily guaranteed if their material was printed only by means of the traditional or subscription book trade. The more secure remuneration from periodical publications was no doubt a pragmatic motivation for many of these writers as well. According to John Tebbel, in *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, publishing in periodicals was actually quite useful because "the serialization of a novel usually helped its hardcover sale" (14).[33] The double exposure often exponentially increased profits as writers retained the publication rights for both the serial articles and the eventual book.

Serial publications came to be a strong vein within the heterogeneity of literary periodical publication in the nineteenth century. Across the pond, England saw the rise of the serialized novel, which included works like Charles Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* and Thomas Hardy's *Far From the Maddening Crowd*. Bonnie Gerard in her study of Hardy's novel concludes that

> serial publication of the nineteenth century . . . disintegrated what have been regarded ever since as ideologically unified texts, and it

[33] Tebbel's *History* is a multi-volume examination of publication within the history of America. His second volume, entitled "The Expansion of an Industry, 1865-1919" is where this information can be found.

> embedded their parts within intertextual conversations that open up wide varieties of possibilities. (345)

According to Gerard, reading serialized novels as singular texts misses the multiplicity of the material's framework. The modern-day expectations for an "ideologically unified" novel like *Far From the Maddening Crowd* should be exchanged with "exciting possibilities for exploring the nature and behavior of culture and ideology through a mode of production that is, in its very Victorian nature, various" (345).

In addition to the Victorian novel, New England also witnessed a similar rise, which included Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the best-selling book of the entire century. Before being published as a cover-bound book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared in forty weekly installments in *The National Era* beginning on June 5, 1851. Reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in installments allowed readers to absorb the book's racial tensions and sentimentality in a timely manner, which can seem too pervasive if read altogether in one sitting. According to Barbara Hochman in "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the National Era," Stowe intentionally made use of the serial form in order to "tell a well-known tale so as to 'make it new'" (144). This "defamiliarization" of a story with "all too familiar" themes, namely the evils of slavery, no doubt plays a role in why the book's serialization has

been such a popular discussion point among scholars (144).[34] Susan Belasco Smith in "Serialization and the Nature of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," E. Bruce Kirkland in *The Building of* Uncle Tom's Cabin, and Michael Winship in "The Greatest Book of Its Kind: A Publishing History of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" all converse about the significance of the book's serialized form in relation to its narrative content.

Serialized novels, like Dickens's, Hardy's, and Stowe's, are bound to a specific kind of reading, one that includes an understanding of the dynamics of serialization as a genre. The embedded rise and fall within a single installment, the expected emotional intensification between installments, and the development of memorable characters that can sustain readers from week to week all must be brought into the reading of these novels. In addition to novels, however, periodicals were filled with serialized nonfiction, and the core expectations for installments of nonfiction did not necessarily differ from those of fiction. Anything from serialized travel narratives to continued sections of literary criticism and religious commentary could be found in periodical pages. Twain's travel book *Innocents Abroad*, the best-selling work during the author's lifetime, appeared in newspaper letters published in the *Alta California* before Twain collected and revised them to print by subscription in 1869. William Dean

[34] Hochman relies on the writings of Russian formalist critic Victor Shklovsky, in which he discussed "defamiliarization" and the art of making strange the familiar. Her entire article is dedicated to exploring this technique in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Howells's book *My Mark Twain: Reminiscences and Criticisms*, as previously mentioned, was printed initially in installments in *Harper's Monthly* in 1910. Serial publications on religious commentary like Christian Science, of course, were no exception. Willa Cather and Georgine Milmine's sensational biography called *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the History of Christian Science*, for example, first appeared in individual segments in *McClure's* magazine before its final publication in book form in 1909. Twain's *Christian Science* should be considered in congruence with this publication trend and read accordingly. The book was printed first in five article installments that the author then gathered together, revised, and expanded to form his eventual book.

Placing Twain's *Christian Science* within the context of popular late-nineteenth-century serialization is an important distinction when considering how the book is ordinarily read by scholars. Since its 1907 publication—and more importantly due to its delayed 1907 publication—*Christian Science* has nearly always been approached as a single book and never as the final culminating installment of a periodical series. The book does include much of the content of the previous articles, but the material appears in alteration so much so that the book cannot be regarded as a stand-alone entity without misreading the text in crucial ways. Reading *Christian Science* on its own causes

it to appear inexplicably problematic, leaving scholars with wide and varied opinions on exactly what is wrong with the book.

The modern scholarly understanding of *Christian Science* as a stand-alone work is rooted as far back as the 1907 published reviews of the book. This rooting is similar to the current appraisal taken from Howells, which assumes the book merely divulges a declining author's problematic bifurcated opinions and little else. When Harper & Brothers finally released *Christian Science* to print in February 1907—both the articles and the book were completed by 1903—it received sundry acclaim from reviewers. At that time, *Christian Science* had been sitting type set and ready for print for roughly four years. The 1907 audience read the book as a stand-alone piece and, as a result, could agree on very little about both its qualities and its shortcomings.

Depending on the review, the book was seen as humorous and serious, impartial and biased, fact and fiction, compassionate and offensive (*Book Review Digest* 83).[35] The only point of consensus among readers seemed to be that *something* certainly was amiss; something was off. The *Athenaeum*, for example, in their April 20th issue, declared *Christian Science* to be written "coolly and impartially," yet the review was quick to call it "a little short of blasphemy." The

[35] Many of these words are taken directly from this short list of reviews of *Christian Science* that came out in 1907 directly following the publication of the book. They all, including the following quoted examples, appear in volume three of *The Book Review Digest*.

Literary Digest called the book "extremely funny—in spots." The April 6th issue of *Spectator* also recognized the author's idiosyncratic style in the book's "uproarious passages . . . which have all of Mark Twain's old drollery and delightful extravagance," but they "wait to be reapplied successfully" (83).

Many early reviewers speculated on what the basic problem might be, but more often than not, they diagnosed symptoms—the book's inconsistent humor, its superfluous monotony, its excessive treatment of Mary Baker Eddy—rather than any central cause that could explain the incongruence in a more holistic way. In his review in the March 15th issue of the *North American Review*, Charles Klein, seems to state it best, yet Klein, too, can do little more than say an obvious ambiguity exists in *Christian Science*. He writes,

> As the book stands it is a combination of truth and fiction which is most misleading, for one doesn't know which Mr. Twain intends to be which; it is a mixture of not too skillfully blended sense and nonsense, and while it is not funny enough to appeal to one's sense of humor it fails equally to convince in its serious moments. As the matter stands, so carefully has Mr. Twain hidden his meaning that, after reading the book, I honestly don't know whether he regards Christian Science as the greatest blessing or the greatest evil the world has ever known. (637)

Klein's critique of *Christian Science*, along with the others, points toward a problem in the breakdown of communication between author and reader, an effect that surfaces with the delayed publication of the book. For Klein, as well

as many others, Twain's meaning remained "hidden" and his authorial intentions inaccessible.

These 1907 readers encountered the same enduring problem as current readers because neither of these readers has approached the book in light of its 1902-1903 serialization. For the 1907 audience, four long years had passed since Harper's & Brothers advertisement for the publication of *Christian Science* appeared in the March 1903 issue of the *North American Review*. Four long years had passed since the serial *North American Review* articles, appearing in December 1902 and January, February, and April of 1903, had built anticipation for the coming book. And four long years had passed since readers had seen in print any additional criticism by Twain concerning the new religious sect and its future establishment on the twentieth-century horizon. By the time contemporary readers took up *Christian Science* in their hands, the serialized articles needed to understand the book properly had been forgotten. In fact, none of the 1907 reviews of *Christian Science* draw any connection at all between the book and the 1902-1903 *North American Review* series.

Christian Science was supposed to appear in May of 1903, only one month after the last *North American Review* article was printed. Such an appearance was meant to be a gloriously anticipated finale by Twain and his editors. Twain's readers, if given the book as originally planned, would have come to the text

with firm and familiar footing. Harper & Brothers, in fact, had aggressively pushed Twain during the months of March and April in attempt to get the author to finish the book for a May publication. Their forcefulness is evidence of the popularity of the previous Christian Science articles as well as the demand, expectancy, and foreseeable success of the book. According to Harper & Brothers, the only reason why *Christian Science* was not brought forth was due to Twain's inability to meet the deadlines and finish the book in time (Macnaughton 193). However, Twain claimed in a letter to Edwin H. Anderson, an admirer, on April 20th, 1903 that the real reason for its lack of print was that Harper & Brothers "lacked the courage to publish it over the objections of influential Christian Scientists" (qtd. in Macnaughton 193).[36] Even if Twain was right about the publishers not wanting to upset Christian Science followers and sympathizers, his opinion can only provide further evidence of the fervor surrounding the periodical series and the coming book.

While the critical assessments of *Christian Science* in 1907 and the few references to the book in recent scholarship are perceptive, seeing *Christian*

[36] In a letter to Frederick W. Peabody in April 4th, 1903, Twain actually supports the claims of his publisher Harper & Brothers. In the letter he tells Peabody that he could not get the book finished in time and that it would have to be distributed the following autumn instead of the spring. Twain's letter to Peabody appears in the *Microfilm Edition of Mark Twain's Previously Unpublished Letters* at the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley. It is one of many letters back and forth between Twain and Peabody, a connection that will be discussed in chapter four.

Science through the lens of 1903 is unquestionably of profound importance for understanding the significance of the book and its place within the Twain canon. When looking at *Christian Science* from the distance of a 1907 reader, the contextual support unfortunately unbuckles itself, not just from the periodical series but also from the anticipatory excitement built from it as well. The results, of course, become confusion and a greater sense of ambiguity about the author's claims regarding his subject than what necessarily exists. In addition to the unbuckling, general rhetorical expectations about a solitary book, especially one by the infamous Mark Twain, are also heaped upon a text no longer seen in connection to the serialization. The rhetorical expectancy of *Christian Science* in 1907, as would be with any book, was for consistency of ideas, thematic unity, an in-tact organizational strategy, and logical coherency. A book by Mark Twain also needed the author's classic satirical style, full of biting wit and quotable turns of phrase.

Christian Science, unfortunately, falls short of many of these expectations when read as a stand-alone book. The consistency, unity, and cleverness that can easily be seen in the serialized articles get lost when the book is read on its own apart from them. Without the indispensable association, a 1907 reviewer for the *Nation* is undoubtedly right when he declares *Christian Science* to be "without beginning, middle, or end" (*Book Review Digest* 83). *Christian Science,* when read

by itself, fails to fulfill the rhetorical expectations of either a serious piece of criticism or a conventional humorous essay.

Surprisingly, modern day readers of *Christian Science* often pile more expectations onto the already assumed need for overarching methodology and ideological uniformity. For them, *Christian Science* fails in greater ways because it anticipates considerable knowledge of the controversy surrounding Eddy's new religious sect as it was during the time when it dominated the local press and court systems. As previously described, Mary Baker Eddy was herself as much a point of controversy as the seemingly radical doctrines of Christian Science, and both were discussed profusely in public and private spheres. Twain's flamboyance or seeming sensationalism regarding Eddy was not at all out of the ordinary, and both the previously published articles and the culminating *Christian Science* are toned down considerably from some of the more radical contemporary criticism seen in print at the same time. Reading *Christian Science* with the distance of a hundred years can cause many scholars to miss the profundity and complexity of Twain's thinking about a subject matter so controversial, perplexing and pioneering in an age of great conceptual, religious and literary progress. The social situation surrounding the birth, growth, and final establishment of any religious branch must be considered when examining contemporary social or religious criticism of any kind.

Setting aside the unrealistic expectations commonly placed on *Christian Science* allows for a new vantage point to emerge, one that is similar to the perspective Twain's intended 1903 audience would have had. Such a view can easily be adopted if *Christian Science* is placed in its cultural context and considered as the culmination of a periodical series. *Christian Science* derives from its original serialization and is, therefore, deliberately reliant on it. Twain no doubt wrote *Christian Science* with the understanding that his readers were already familiar with his previous articles on the same subject. Certain passages from the final article, "Mrs. Eddy in Error," offer some evidence for this claim, but these passages will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.

Christian Science itself, however, gives plenty of credence to this idea, and Twain wrote the new material added to *Christian Science* concurrently with "Mrs. Eddy in Error." In the book, the author includes marked "corrections" from the previous articles, in which he amends certain numerical discrepancies. The original title of the book *Christian Science, with Corrections to Date* indicates the importance of these changes for him and for his readers. If Twain had not assumed that his audience was familiar with the periodical series, he would neither need to tell readers alterations had been made nor include in the book various footnotes that specify those changes. The book simply would have been published without acknowledging them. On the contrary, Twain included his

corrections assuming the majority of his readers would be familiar with the previous serialized articles and, arguably, composed and organized much of the book with this in mind as well.

In piecing together this new 1903 vantage point, another observation can be made about *Christian Science* and its serialization. Twain's periodical criticisms had been published in the "prestigious *North American Review*," as Macnaughton declares in *Mark Twain's Last Years as a Writer*.[37] He writes the following about Twain:

> He was not speaking, he was not being interviewed, he was not writing an ephemeral statement for a medium like the newspaper, in which his words would be read and discarded, the ideas either forgotten or dimly remembered. A journal article would be read and copies probably kept, with the ideas in it constantly available for perusal . . . a substantive article in the *North American Review* would have seemed like more of a . . . commitment than anything he had done previously . . . (151)

Besides the four "prestigious" appearances of Twain's articles on the subject of Christian Science, Macnaughton's distinguishing of the *North American Review* from other print media can give evidence for the familiarity, cherishment, and ready availability that readers of 1903 would have had with the author's periodical series.

[37] Macnaughton is not referring to *Christian Science* directly with these comments, but to Twain's essay "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." Nevertheless, his statements ring true about Twain's Christian Science articles, all written within two years of each other and all being published in the same place, the *North American Review*.

If it had appeared in 1903, *Christian Science* would have been read through the lens of the earlier *North American Review* publications and not as an isolated text. In so doing, these 1903 readers would have overlooked much of the book's idiosyncrasies, seen past the seeming duality of ideas, structure, and style, and filled in the logical and structural gaps that developed in the places where material from the previously published articles had been removed from the book. *Christian Science* would have seemed to them as reasonably systematic and thesis-driven, even surprisingly a fairly well-written book. The book by no means would have been judged even in 1903 as Twain's best work, and maybe not even a good one by those who were friendly toward the new religious sect; nonetheless, *Christian Science* would have been understood within a context, one that supplied indispensible and anchoring literary support.

As Mike Esbester discusses in "Nineteenth-Century Timetables and the History of Reading," most scholars assume readers approach a text linearly by "starting from the front, working toward the rear, line by line, page by page" (159). However, according to Esbester, reading is not always linear; it is often "goal-driven" (160). Esbester's main concern in his article is with the "functional reading" of information like timetables, maps, and catalogs in nineteenth-century newspapers and journals. His theoretical discussion about the common assumptions of linear reading, however, can easily be applied to *Christian Science*,

which has always been read linearly and as a stand-alone text. Unquestionably, the serialized articles, by their very nature, would have been read linearly and chronologically, but *Christian Science*—if it had appeared in May 1903—may not have been read that way. The 1903 readers may have instead read *Christian Science* as a collection of Twain's writings, possibly flipping to the new material first and expecting less consistency with the old. While the adverse arrangement of the old material, which includes the splicing of key passages from the articles, would have been a point of interest, discussion, and even criticism, it would not have overshadowed what was already memorably embedded in reader's minds from the earlier publications.

In connection with the probable reading of *Christian Science*, the form of the book and its serialization deserves a little more discussion. Twain's evolution of thinking throughout his writing of the *Christian Science* materials is intrinsically tied to their form. Serial articles were, and still are, read individually and require a distinctive organizational structure apart from any serial counterparts or culminating book. Gerard makes note of this reality in her article "*Far from the Madding Crowd* and the Cultural Politics of Serialization":

> As a result of the common practice of serialization, a vast number of Victorian novels emerged in magazine issues. That is, they initially appeared not as whole, unified texts, but as multiple small texts, each attempting to secure a small portion of a highly contested discursive space. Fragmented, supplemented, extended and extenuated, the serial novel's parts spoke as individual voices,

> unaccompanied by the voice of the novel as a whole, in the serial's ongoing cultural conversation rich with ideological contradictions and negotiations. (331)

While Gerard's article centers around the Victorian novel, her ideas expressed in this passage are easily applicable to any serial publication, especially Twain's Christian Science articles. The individual introductions of these articles had to catch the reader's attention anew each time while also reminding him or her briefly of the prior article. A new subject, or facet of the same subject at the least, needed to appear all while teasing and enticing the reader with some suspenseful hook for the coming publication. In addition to these things, nineteenth-century serial publications, by nature, grew in persuasive and emotional intensity, as well as in artistic form, to keep the reader engaged over a period of several weeks or months. The intensification could produce necessary tension, suspense, expectancy, and even greater participation in readers who would draw connections on their own amidst a looser, yet arguably more carefully constructed, literary welding than what is required in a single book-length work.

When put to the test, Twain's articles not only meet but exceed these standards. The serialized articles are as individualized as his short essays printed without sequels, and they accomplish wholeheartedly the publication goals of gaining a readership (and, of course, financial increase) by providing

stimulating intellectual contemplation and entertainment. The pieces, in themselves, communicate through cogent patterns of organization in insightful and comical ways, and they build each with growing emotional intensity. Examining the original articles as part of a series reveals outstanding individual literary quality, which can challenge even reputable essays like "Corn-Pone Opinions" (1901) or "Concerning the Jews" (1899), both written around the same time. Twain's final article even goes so far as to sell the coming *Christian Science* by teasing the reader along with unquenchable anticipation.

When considering *Christian Science* through the lens of a 1903 audience, the examination is built somewhat on intentionality, on hypothetical plans rather than the fruition of those plans. Obviously, the *North American Review* readers did not see *Christian Science* in print in 1903. The discrepancy, however, is slight when considering the previous five articles on Mary Baker Eddy and Christian Science appear in print as well as the indisputable fact that *Christian Science* was type set in 1903 and never altered prior to its publication in 1907. In addition, an investigation of the previously published articles is not based in assumption alone because reviews of the early articles can be found in print. The fact that Harpers & Brothers was set to publish *Christian Science* in May is also indisputable.

The only supposition, then, to reading *Christian Science* as the fulfillment of a periodical series (and dependent on it) is the hypothetical public reception of the final book in 1903. On this one point, conjecture about contemporary reader response must be made because the book was not in print for the reading public until 1907. Such speculation, however, is small since the position of a 1903 reader is not too difficult to presuppose as long as consideration of the late-nineteenth-century social and cultural conditions are taken into account.

With all this in mind, one final question remains: how is such a task accomplished? How can a pair of 1903 spectacles be positioned on the nose of a twenty-first century reader? The way to start is by first examining consecutively the publications—"Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," "Christian Science," Christian Science—II," "Christian Science—III," and "Mrs. Eddy in Error"— as they originally appeared in print in the *Cosmopolitan* and *North American Review* in a manner similar to how early audiences would have received them. Examining the original articles, which is undertaken in chapters two and three, can reveal their merit as individual pieces of literature and can better illuminate Twain's keen awareness of his 1902-1903 audience.

Following an examination of the five early articles, a discussion of how Twain revised and arranged the articles for their appearance in his coming book, his added preface, his corrections in form of footnotes, and his inclusion of the

new material can then aptly serve as a means through which to read *Christian Science* as it was intended to be read. This reading, which can be found in chapter four, can profoundly explain the incongruities modern scholars see in *Christian Science*, those of which a 1903 reader might have chosen, at least in part, to ignore. The new reading can also bring to light the scholarly significance of *Christian Science* and its rightful place in Twain's canon among some of his other most thought-provoking works. With *Christian Science* brought back into the canon, new scholarly avenues beyond the book, as chapter five explores, can surface, illuminating Twain's interest in Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy for the remainder of the author's life.

Twain's *Christian Science* has incredible scholarly value if examined by putting on the spectacles of 1903. Being his most direct and explicit expository writings on the subject, the *Christian Science* materials are composed over a span of years, extending from Twain's initial scribblings during the summer or fall of 1898 off and on through April of 1903. His opinions, as seen in these years, evolve and escalate as Twain studies multiple editions of *Science and Health* and other Christian Science texts, gathers source material and ideas from William D. McCrackan and Frederick W. Peabody, and collects his own research in newspapers and through various interviews. The evolution of thought affects

not only the formal quality and completion of *Christian Science* but all the subsequent works that involve the subject or subjects similar.

During this crucial time, Twain burlesques Christian Science, formulates some brawny opinions on the subject and its founder, and in the process discovers the religion's complex set of ideologies that make for him compelling, yet problematic fiction to come. Twain approaches Christian Science first as an outsider by ridiculing its healing practices and financial pursuits in attempt to debunk the religious sect's claims to divinity. Twain tries to expose Christian Science as a homeopathic cure-all scheme, a monopolizing Trust, and a soon-to-be imperialistic socio-political force. By disputing the sacredness of Christian Science and placing the religious sect into the pot of capitalism and politics, Twain trivializes it in the minds of readers while his steadily building argument, on the other hand, cooks up some powerful persuasive appeal. With the final serial article, however, Twain's outsider's perspective makes a subtle shift and moves progressively inward from practices to an exploration of Christian Science texts and doctrine.

In Book Two of *Christian Science*, Twain gives copious attention to textual analysis, although his concentration on aesthetic form is still present in spite of some critics' denouncement of it. The overpowering spotlight on Eddy, its roots bound in Twain's working relationship and correspondence with Peabody,

however, does eventually weaken both the aesthetics and persuasiveness of the remainder of what forms *Christian Science*. In spite of these weaknesses, which will be discussed in detail, the work still reveals much more in both content and form than originally assumed if illuminated by the previous serial publications.

Christian Science no doubt has some of the same problems today as it did for readers in 1903 and 1907. Rereading the book with its serialization, however, can establish this new vantage point and, in so doing, bring to light a new set of criteria, through which to approach the composition of the book, Twain's construction of his argument within it, and the qualities and shortcomings in both the book's content and form. *Christian Science*, seen through Twain's intended purpose, can give scholars significant reasons to take the book off the shelf, dust it, and read it with much more frequency. Continuing to leave *Christian Science* untouched will no longer be possible. *Christian Science* is a work of such critical importance that nearly all Twain's compositions that come after it are indisputably impacted by its influence.

CHAPTER TWO

The Early Writings of 1898-1899

This convinces me that Christian Science claims too much. In my opinion it ought to let diseases alone and confine itself strictly to surgery. There it would have everything its own way.

from "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy"

The adoption of scientific religion and of divine healing will ameliorate sin, sickness, and death. Let our pulpits do justice to Christian Science. Let it have fair representation by the press. Give to it the place in our institutions of learning now occupied by scholastic theology and physiology, and it will eradicate sickness and sin in less time than the old systems, devised for subduing them, have required for self-establishment and propagation.

from "Science, Theology, and Medicine" in Science and Health

When Mark Twain first began writing about Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy in Vienna in the summer and fall of 1898, he approached the subject the way he did with almost anything he penned—through humor. As a self-proclaimed "humorist," the only writer of importance to brand himself as such, Twain found humor as a means of familiarizing the new subject for readers.[1] Humor represented a familiar form for audiences used to Twain's uncanny characters, visual real-life settings, and entangled plot structures. Humor also provided a means for the author to quickly connect to his readership. His

[1] In the beginning of his article "The Importance of Mark Twain," Alan Gribben refers to Mark Twain's branding of himself as a "humorist" in attempt to distinguish this author from other prominent writers of "immortal American prose" (30). Twain's acknowledgement mentioned here is in reference to Gribben's article.

anecdotal "oral" style, catchy turns of phrase, and pairing of opposites were all visibly recognizable tactics employed to "poke fun," in this case, at Eddy and her new religious sect. When "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy" was published in the *Cosmopolitan* in October of 1899, its instant popularity was due in part to this familiar form. Joseph Twichell, Twain's close friend and confidant, told the author in a letter on November 8th, "Some judge it the best you ever did" (Macnaughton 118). The magazine's editor even sent along a two hundred dollar bonus above and beyond the agreed payment after its publication success.

The traditional humor of Twain's first article has given it a sustained popularity throughout the years, even among twenty-first-century readers of the tale. Twain's humor, however, is never the point on its own; it should never be read as simply a joke for the sake of laughing. His humor should also not be the primary reason Twain's early writings on Christian Science are "worth reading," as William R. Macnaughton declares in *Mark Twain's Last Years as a Writer*. He writes,

> Although it is sometimes difficult to decide what Mark Twain is attacking in this Christian Science material—whether, in fact, he is attempting to make any satiric point at all—many of the sections remain extremely funny. Primarily for this reason his early Christian Science articles are still worth reading. (121)

Contrary to Macnaughton, Twain's early writings on Christian Science nearly always reach for a deeper meaning, using humor as a means of communicating

in a more palpable way greater truths to readers. The early articles illustrate well Twain's burlesque method that mixes humor with religious commentary to produce thought-provoking and entertaining literature.

In spite of this, the merits in both form and content have remained hidden from view: scholars read Twain's articles on Christian Science only as they appear in distorted fashion within *Christian Science*. This disconnect probably explains Macnaughton's limited view of the significance of the *Christian Science* materials. Macnaughton, in his chronological look at Twain's final years, addresses the author's first article as a separate publication, but his chapter concerning the compositions from June 1902 through June 1904 only contains a short discussion on *Christian Science* without any examination of the four other articles, published prior to the book. Untying the five previously published articles, at least initially, from the book enables them to be seen properly; in their own right, they provide interesting literary fodder that can contribute enormously to scholarly considerations of form and style in Twain's later writings.

Reading the articles before coming to *Christian Science*, in fact, is a first step to understanding Twain's final published book from a 1903 perspective. The five articles demonstrate a logical progression in thought: Twain's delightful humor gives way to serious social commentary; social commentary gives way to

admonitory moral criticism; and moral criticism gives way to zealous precursory declaration. When *Christian Science* is read following the progression laid out in the articles, it appears thesis-driven and methodical, in spite of its fall into choppiness and monotony toward the end of Book Two. While *Christian Science* does present a shift in emphasis from the discussion of the Christian Science movement in the articles to a focus on Mary Baker Eddy herself in the latter half of the book, the shift is not an entirely new thesis. Both the articles and the book attempt to denounce the divinity of the religious sect and its founder by demonstrating that their great success is bound in human selfishness, profiteering, and vanity. Even the book's problems in structure and content diminish considerably when reading *Christian Science* in light of the articles. First, however, the five articles must be examined chronologically in order to see their individual literary merits as well as Twain's evolution of thought concerning Christian Science and its founder Mary Baker Eddy.

Examining Twain's five Christian Science articles begins with separating them into two groups: the early and the later writings. Twain's early writings consist of "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," "Christian Science," and "Christian Science—II."[2] These articles were all composed sometime

[2] Twain's later writings consist of "Christian Science—III" and "Mrs. Eddy in Error." Both of these articles were written between December of 1902 and March of 1903, a span of time a few years after the previous three articles were written. The articles, however, were published as

between the fall of 1898 and May of 1899 during the time Twain resided with his family in Vienna, Austria. The style of these early articles matches the literary cleverness and sophistication consistent with much of Twain's work in the 1870s and 1880s at the height of his literary achievement. What is not expressed in the articles, however, is the feeling of aggravation or despondency that scholars like Hamlin Hill in *Mark Twain: God's Fool* tend to overlay on all of Twain's later works when reading them through a biographical lens. According to Hill, Twain's articles on Christian Science were personal "outgrowths of Mrs. Clemens' 'nervous prostrations'" (52). Twain's own "frustration and anguish about his wife's health" caused him to attack Eddy and her religious sect in the way he could best, by recording his fears in *Christian Science* and insisting the book be published (55).

On the contrary, Twain's articles give no evidence of this biographical "outgrowth." They are instead rational, coherent, vibrant, and persuasive. Moreover, they are culturally relevant, appearing as pieces that explicate the particular concerns of the late nineteenth century as well, if not better than, Twain's other Vienna writings, including his short story "The Man that

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part of the same *North American Review* periodical series in 1902-1903, with the exception of the first article "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," published earlier in the *Cosmopolitan*. Because the publication of the latter four articles appears in a series, breaking the articles according to their composition seems best. The early writings will be examined here, while the later writings will be discussed in the following chapter.

Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1899) and his political essay "Concerning the Jews" (1899). For these reasons, Twain's *Christian Science* materials belong in the canon alongside these other prominent pieces of literature. The Twain canon is arguably incomplete without them.

"Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy"

The comical piece, "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," which roughly covers the first four chapters of *Christian Science*, is a mixture of burlesque and essay that cogently divulges Twain's initial opinion on his subject: "Christian Science claims too much" (*Collected Tales* 389). Through the narrative perspective of an outsider and a skeptic, the article's early questions center around language, spiritualization, and originality; they do not focus with seriousness on Mary Baker Eddy herself. Twain's opposites—particularly Mrs. Fuller and the naive narrator—are forced to work together, even rub each other raw, in order to expose a set of ideological differences that, when examined side by side, can effectively persuade a reader to give consent to the argument. Twain's humor provides an effective means by which he can articulate these differences without preemptively forsaking one view for the praise of another before adequately expressing each viewpoint to the reader. Both the narrator and the Christian Scientist Mrs. Fuller are victims of burlesque; they appear in distortions that magnify their imperfections. Yet in spite of their imperfections,

their ideologies are expressed in plainness and clarity to a reader, void of any distortion.

The narrator of Twain's first article establishes right away his whimsical nature, his love of long Germanic sentences, his apparent clumsiness, and his attraction to eccentric homeopathy. When he falls off a cliff breaking "some arms and legs and one thing or another," the only one to call is the Christian Scientist Mrs. Fuller, establishing the basic plot structure of the piece (371). As the story goes, Mrs. Fuller arrives, after some time and some "absent treatment," to treat the narrator in person but with hands-off methods quite uncharacteristic for him. A lively conversation ensues between the narrator and Mrs. Fuller as she attempts to cure him of his ailments through Christian Science methods. These curative methods require changing the narrator's beliefs rather than having him "hang out my tongue." To the narrator's action, Mrs. Fuller replies, "Return it to its receptacle. We deal with the mind only, not with its dumb servants" (373). This chatty narrator, however, finds Mrs. Fuller's command rather impossible to follow.

A caricature of Mary Baker Eddy or at the very least a mimic of her, Mrs. Fuller is large and bony with "an austere face and a resolute jaw and a Roman beak" (373). That Mrs. Fuller is from Boston and a "widow of the third degree" indicates Twain's intent at the playful caricature or mimicry and not an attempt

to "defeminize," as Peter Stoneley concludes in *Mark Twain and the Feminine Aesthetic* (130). Mary Baker Eddy was both from Boston and had been married three times, which was common knowledge among both her followers and her critics. The description of Mrs. Fuller in such imperfect physical detail must be read, therefore, as a biased perception of the narrator, which, in turn, exhibits the storyteller's hyperbolic devotion to the concrete, the real, and the pragmatic side of life. The narrator's own hearty application of sensory details throughout the narrative juxtaposes easily with the "absent treatment" and general abstractness of Mrs. Fuller's theorizing and her healing methods. Both the concrete and abstract subtly abrade each other to create a humorous tension that visualizes for the reader in familiar burlesque the characters' fundamental ideological difference: spiritual versus material reality.

The tension of the narrator's material reality and Mrs. Fuller's immaterial reality functions as the main source of humor throughout the narrative, which is strategically built on the back-and-forth dialogue of the two main characters. Mrs. Fuller ardently tries to persuade the narrator of the "truth" that his condition is perceived, not real. The narrator, in turn, cannot escape his own reality and relies incessantly on the physical world around him in attempt to understand what Mrs. Fuller is communicating. The conversation of the narrator and Mrs. Fuller is then coupled with the actions of the characters to form a

tangled, twisted interplay of dissonance and incomprehensibility that is enormously funny for the reader.

What is established best in the pairing is an assignment of certain roles: patient and doctor, teacher and student. These roles, however, come with expectations that neither character can seem to meet. The roles of the narrator—that of patient and student—reinforce a traditional position of naivety and helplessness. The clumsy man is supposed to receive knowledge and healing but is as unruly as Huck Finn or Tom Sawyer in his refusal to learn as he should. The roles of Mrs. Fuller—that of doctor and teacher—are also satirized, as Twain toys with traditionally accepted perceptions of authority. Mrs. Fuller can't seem to teach any better than the narrator can learn. Her matter-of-fact approach lacks explanation, and the repetition of the fundamental propositions of Christian Science comes to be an amusing focal point for the burlesque. The changing form of the propositions come to represent a jumbled mess of abstract and concrete terms within the narrator's mind: "All-God, God-good, good-God, Truth, Bones, Liver, one of a series, along and without equal—it is amazing!" (380). The narrator cannot seem to grasp even the notion of the spiritual without the material mixed in.

While Mark Twain is no doubt a robust critic of his subject, the merits of his first article on Christian Science come most in its careful shaping of the

illusion of common ground. Common ground arguments traditionally provide an inductive approach that suspends judgment until the adversary's position has been heard and given due diligence. The acknowledgment of the opposing viewpoint allows for a position of humility, civility and respect before guiding a reader to see any of its flaws. The narrator in Twain's story, though skeptical, allows Mrs. Fuller a voice and a chance to explain some basic doctrine of Christian Science from a Scientist's perspective. His curious, sanguine personality, along with his roles of student and patient, reinforce the approach by establishing a sense of trust between the pair. Both common ground and congeniality can be noted in Mrs. Fuller's explanation of the "Scientific Definition of Immortal Mind":

> "…They prove: 1. God—Principle, Life, Truth, Love, Soul, Spirit, Mind. Do you get that?"
> "I—well, I seem to. Go on, please."
> "2. Man—God's universal idea, individual, perfect, eternal. Is it clear?"
> "It—I think so. Continue."
> "3. IDEA—An image in Mind; the immediate object of understanding. There it is—the whole sublime Arcana of Christian Science in a nutshell. Do you find a weak place in it anywhere?" (376)

In spite of Mrs. Fuller's unwavering confidence and descriptiveness, Twain's common ground in the burlesque lacks legs to stand on. The hospitable dialogue between the two is perpetually undermined by the action of Mrs. Fuller, the narrator, a servant, and even a cat. Words and actions in this tale do not

match. The servant trods on the cat who cries out in pain, and Mrs. Fuller pricks herself with a pin in her dress. The Christian Scientist also forgets her glasses and must quote *Science and Health* from memory, since she cannot see to read the book. These actions move the conversation along, giving reason for the narrator's interest in Mrs. Fuller's explanations of Christian Science doctrines. They cause the narrator to inquire, to seek explanation, and to discover Christian Science all while pointing out the incongruity of practically living out the theoretical statements.

Twain's technique of unmatched words and actions has unmistakable similarities to *Candide, ou l'Optimisme* (1759), a French satire written by Voltaire.[3] Within Voltaire's novella, a young Candide, under the influence of his overly optimistic tutor Pangloss, is fed the impractical theoretical notion that the world is the best because it is "the best of all possible worlds" (17).[4] Throughout the story, Candide comes to realize Pangloss's philosophical abstract theorizing is absurd when brought into the light of his own tragic human experiences. Pangloss's unrelenting justification for optimism, even to the point of arguing

[3] When translated from French to English, Voltaire's book is often referred to by the title *Candide, or Optimism*.

[4] The idea that the world is "the best of all possible worlds" stems from a certain vein of Enlightenment thinking that attempted to reconcile the problem of evil with the belief in a benevolent and omnipresent God. Gottfried Leibniz is most known for this theory of optimism that assumed God created this world with all its good and evil as the best of all other possible choices.

that the bay of Lisban had been created just so a man could drown in it, is much like Mrs. Fuller's obsessive Christian Science claims. With no viable explanation for the cat's pain, the pricked finger, or the poor eyesight, Mrs. Fuller's justification for the nonexistence of the narrator's suffering has no bearing. Ironically, Mrs. Fuller's own pain proves her theorizing false, reinforcing the very notion that "Christian Science claims too much."

As in Voltaire's *Candide, ou l'Optimisme*, the ingenuity in Twain's story is obvious in his careful consideration of audience. The audience, unlike Mrs. Fuller and the narrator, are observers to the scene with more understanding than that of either character. Knowing this, Twain carefully displays for readers the hypocrisy of Mrs. Fuller while suspending judgment, at least through the voice of the narrator. The dramatic irony that results is laughable, as in the following passage:

> In making a sweeping gesture to indicate the act of shooing the illusion of pain out of the mind, she raked her hand on a pin in her dress, said "Ouch!" and went tranquilly on with her talk. "You should never allow yourself to speak of how you feel, nor permit others to ask you how you are feeling, you should never concede that you are ill, nor permit others to talk about disease or pain or death or similar nonexistencies in your presence. Such talk only encourages the mind to continue its empty imaginings." Just at that point the Stubenmädchen trod on the cat's tail, and the cat let fly a frenzy of cat-profanity. I asked, with caution:
>
> "Is a cat's opinion about pain valuable?"
>
> "A cat has no opinion; opinions proceed from mind only; the lower animals, being eternally perishable, have not been granted mind; without mind, opinion is impossible." (374)

In this scene, the author and the audience are privy to the joke fashioned through the irony of its unmatched actions and words. However, the narrator, who is not part of the joke, remains grave and confused, which keeps Mrs. Fuller from being the sole one duped. Twain holds the narrator back from any declarative comments on the situation, allowing only repeated questions. The repetitive questioning, however, is deceptive. On the one hand, it seems to keep the narrator's ideology from appearing superior to Mrs. Fuller's, but the enormity of the repetition only further evokes doubt about the practitioner's Christian Scientism to an already skeptical audience.

The scene in particular and the story in general echo Twain's own assertion concerning the "art of telling a humorous story" in his famous essay "How to Tell a Story." He writes, "The humorous story is told gravely; the teller does his best to conceal the fact that he even dimly suspects that there is anything funny about it" (*Collected Tales* 201). While this scene exemplifies Twain's conception of the narrator's role in a humorous tale, the entire story serves as a model for what he considers proper humor "as it ought to be told."

In spite of Twain's purpose to humor his readers and the literary unity through which that humor is accomplished, "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy" is more than simple burlesque. As Twain writes in his *Autobiography*, "humor must not professedly teach and it must not professedly

preach, but it must do both if it would live forever" (298). Fitting with his theories of composition, Twain's purpose in the narrative is subtly to "teach" and "preach," but the subject of Christian Science is of such importance, he ensures that his article does both by dispelling the narrative altogether for a few pages in order to state "professedly" three reasons why the religious sect claims more than it should. First of all, *Science and Health* claims to explain everything, yet it is incomprehensible. Secondly, the textbook claims to have divine origin and authorship, yet it has been revised and polished multiple times. Lastly, Christian Science claims to be unique it its curative methods, yet it applies the age-old practice of faith healing. These reasons in some ways become the lessons the reader is to learn from the narrative, as the reader now takes on the role of student with the author as teacher.

Twain's first lesson, for example, concerns the textbook *Science and Health*, Eddy's culminating work expressing the tenets of Christian Science. Twain writes, "For of all the strange, and frantic, and incomprehensible, and uninterpretable books which the imagination of man has created, surely this one is the prize sample" (383). With this initial statement ending the narrative, readers cannot help but notice the abrupt change in voice. This speaker of the "professed" is no longer naïve, clumsy, or open minded. He is experienced, clear in his meaning, and as confident as Mrs. Fuller is in her own stated opinions.

The entire story, then, takes the form of a remembered event recounted for the very purpose of "teaching" and "preaching." The narrative is reshaped, as a fable would do, and serves as the literary application of the moral: "Christian Science claims too much." The truth of Twain's arguments are given life in the narrator's own perpetual misunderstanding of Mrs. Fuller's teachings, the repetition of questions, and particularly in the playful use and misuse of the word "proof." Mrs. Fuller's "proof" is her "self-evident propositions": "1. God is All in all. 2. God is good. Good is Mind. 3. God, Spirit, being all, nothing is matter. 4. Life, God, omnipotent Good, deny death, evil, sin, disease" (375). This "proof" statement resembles a mathematical proof that can be given "at any angle" and still be found to "agree." It begs the question, however, proving nothing of any substantive meaning to the narrator because its packaging seems to him a kind of incantation more than a rationale for healing. Nothing is comprehended because nothing is made clear.

The second lesson regards the origins of *Science and Health*, or the claim of its divine "authorship," which Twain calls into question due to its multiple editions available in print and its obvious extensive editing. Twain mentions four "copyrights on it—1875, 1885, 1890, 1894" and compares Eddy's incongruous word choice and style with side by side passages from *Science and Health* and the *Christian Science Journal*, one succumb to editing and the other not

(384). The stunning stylistic differences within the "double columned" quotes are both visually and intellectually powerful, and Twain's rewriting of the badly written passages convinces even further. His exposure of the barefaced "human" methods by which the textbook has been composed and revised demystifies its claims to be divine.

The speaker's persuasive approach, however, appeals only to a fellow disbelieving outsider. The voice within the essay, though seemingly learned, argues about appearance of form only and not about content. The skeptical outsider's perspective, in fact, cleverly resembles that of the burlesque's naive narrator. In this way, the narrative nicely reinforces the argument, particularly when the narrator questions the "history and nature of the great discovery" and its biblical connection to chapter twelve of Revelation (378). The combination of the incomprehensible "proofs," laid out in "undoctored English," along with the narrator's skepticism regarding Mrs. Fuller's justification for the divine origin of *Science and Health* (also called "proofs") compounds the humor of the burlesque with the persuasiveness of the essay. Both work as a cohesive unit, supplying the burlesque with needed focus and the essay with needed illustration.

In addition to discrediting divine authorship, the final lesson involves the concept of faith healing, which Twain considers an inherent quality of human nature. While Twain's first two lessons deal with his initial concerns for

language, his attention toward humanity reveals an idealism of human beings who have the power to bring healing to one another apart from any divine intervention. Christian Science claims to be unique in its method of healing that relies, in Twain's opinion, on incantations taken from *Science and Health*. Twain, however, offers an alternative solution, "faith in the doctor," crediting the patient with the healing, not the curer. Twain piles the religion into a list of many other homeopathic approaches that all do the same thing:

> There are the Mind Cure, the Faith Cure, the Prayer Cure, the Mental Science Cure and the Christian Science Cure; and apparently they all do their miracles with the same old powerful instrument—the patient's imagination. (388)

Lumping Christian Science with other curative methods alleges its equality to them, again deflating its potential divinity.

The story further elucidates this "faith in the doctor" as the narrator observes his fractures and breaks conveniently repairing themselves upon Mrs. Fuller's departure. He describes,

> Under the powerful influence of the near treatment and the absent treatment together, my bones were gradually retreating inward and disappearing from view. . . . My body was diligently straining and stretching, this way and that, to accommodate the process of restoration, and every minute or two I heard a dull click inside and knew that the two ends of a fracture had been successfully joined. (381)

This healing process, described so concretely, mocks the spiritual abstractness of the Christian Science healing methods. The narrator's call to the horse doctor,

who in turn heals his cold and stomach ache, heaps more slander on the claim of divine healing. The narrator, no doubt, heals himself because all his ailments are imaginary. The real health problems are entrusted to the horse doctor whose ghastly bran mash turned medicine finally brings about complete health.

The three lessons Twain includes in the latter portion of his article encompass Twain's attempt to debunk Christian Science as a religious sect, exposing its utter humanness: "it is more than human to be so placidly certain about things, and so finely superior, and so airily content with one's performance" (284). The "too much" of Christian Science is its very claim of divinity put to the test by the narrator and arguably by Twain. While the author masterfully remains within the realms of satire, the blending of burlesque and essay maintain a seriousness that challenges readers to laugh and also to think. This challenge to consider the logic and logistics of Christian Science before embracing its claims of divinity is an underlying theme in all of Twain's work that makes up the early Christian Science writings.

While scholars have noted the merits of "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy" for some time, the article is often read merely as an anecdotal opening to the book *Christian Science*. Reading the article as it appears in the book, however, causes one to miss the profundity and aesthetics Twain originally intended. When the book is read apart from the context the original

article provides, the burlesque takes center stage while the commentary blends into the chapters that follow. The aesthetic unity between the two intersecting genres is lost in the book, as well as Twain's initial main point: "Christian Science claims too much."

The main reason for the discrepancy can be found in Twain's decision to cut the second lesson from *Christian Science*. While Twain's reason for doing so may lie in the copious inclusion of textual analysis provided in Book Two, which already burdens readers enough, its absence sadly diminishes needed persuasive breadth and leaves a sizable gap in the interplay of the burlesque and essay sections of the original article. For example, the order in which Twain's lessons appear precisely matches the order of their application within the preceding narrative. The argument for the text's incomprehensibility rightly appears first within the narrator's dialogue with Mrs. Fuller, followed by his questions of origin and authorship, and concluded with the narrator's healing from imagined fractures and mangling. Removing the single piece unbalances the literary positioning, resulting in more weight given to the story than the essay, the lessons becoming a mere afterthought. While the burlesque still remains funny, its singular clarified point is veiled, unleashing confusion and ambiguity about Twain's opinions on the subject.

Reading the early chapters of *Christian Science* through the lens of "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," however, increases its worth and clarifies Twain's intentions. Twain takes the position of a self-proclaimed outsider and a skeptic, and Christian Science, in turn, is seen as an ostentatious fad that dresses up primordial practices in shiny new "religious" clothes. This so-called religion for Twain is a "boon," yet one that ironically prospers, earning quite a hefty profit.

"Christian Science"

While "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy" has remained somewhat popular among scholars, Mark Twain's four additional Christian Science articles have faced unfortunate neglect. The latter articles appeared consecutively in the *North American Review*, beginning with the first one entitled "Christian Science" in December of 1902. The first two of the *North American Review* pieces ("Christian Science" and "Christian Science—II") were written during the same season Twain spent in Vienna, and they articulate the author's early thinking on the subject concerning Mary Baker Eddy and her religious sect in a similar way as the 1899 *Cosmopolitan* piece. The three link in theme, tone, and voice, and they additionally contain some loose organizational markers. For example, Twain's construction of a disbelieving outsider's voice is noticeable almost immediately in the second and third articles as well as the sprinkled

repetitive echoing of the narrator's humorous mixture of abstract and concrete terms. Halfway through the article "Christian Science," Twain includes this familiar line: "Nothing is real but Mind; all is Mind; All-Good, Good-Good, Life Soul, Liver, Bones, one of a series, ante and pass the buck!" (764).

Surprisingly, what came to be "Christian Science" and "Christian Science—II" in the *North American Review* was originally packaged with the 1899 article in a collection of Twain's sketches for German and English editions the following year.[5] Although the sketches were not published for American readers at the time, the three articles did appear under the original title of the 1899 piece in these other editions, demonstrating Twain's deliberate attempt at thematic unity, at least in certain areas. "Christian Science," in fact, eventually forms chapters five and six of Book One in *Christian Science*, and "Christian Science—II" makes up chapters seven and eight, both following sequentially Twain's *Cosmopolitan* article in the book. In spite of their chronological placement, however, the *North American Review* articles also succumb to major revision, much like Twain's splicing of the 1899 piece.

In many obvious ways, "Christian Science" links to the other two articles, which can be labeled altogether Twain's early writings, which he composed

[5] The title of the 1900 book is *The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg and other Stories and Sketches*. An American edition of the same title did appear but without the Christian Science material.

while living in Vienna. Nevertheless, when considering the perspective of Twain's contemporary audience, the three year gap between the publication of the first and second articles from October 1899 to December 1902 should cause "Christian Science" to be examined, at least at the outset, as separate from the *Cosmopolitan* piece. The article's appearance in print truly functions as a new beginning for the readers of 1902, even if select readers remembered well Twain's earlier humorous sketch of Mrs. Fuller. "Christian Science" was meant by the editors of the *North American Review* to be the start of a new series and not the continuation of an old one. A review published in *Harper's Weekly* in the same month attests to the fact in its reference to the December article as Twain's "first" on the subject, the first of a highly anticipated series ("Mark Twain on Christian Science" 2022ab).

Twain himself sought to separate the 1899 article from the others as well, in spite of their earlier publication together in the collection of sketches. For Twain, the *Cosmopolitan* article had a different intended purpose than the latter two pieces. The author declares, in a letter to Henry Huddleston Rogers on August 3, 1899,

> I've sent my Christian Science article to the Cosmopolitan and told Walker to send it to you if he doesn't want it. I shan't print the rest of the series till I issue the book. The first article merely makes fun of Christian Science and Mrs. Eddy and her book, and stops there. (*Mark Twain's Correspondence* 405-06)

While Twain does not mention in the correspondence what his specific intentions for the *North American Review* series would be, the implication is still clear. Twain planned not to "stop" in the latter articles but instead to have them communicate something more to the reading public.

Seeing the literary merits of "Christian Science" ironically begins with a careful look at Twain's construction of common ground, much like what conspires in the earlier burlesque piece. However, the introduction of "Christian Science," when read as a second "first," functions as authentic common ground established between author, adversary, and reader, not an illusory platform undermined by characters' unmatched actions and words. On the contrary, this opening dispels fiction and seeks instead to speak the truth unveiled. The starting sentence illustrates this forgoing as Twain writes, "Let us consider that we are all partially insane" (756). While the sentence is attention getting, even amusingly shocking, its clear purpose is to manufacture skillfully a semblance of basic equality among all human beings, including the author and the Christian Scientists. Following Twain's logic, readers are easily drawn to accept that they are even "insane in one or two particulars" because all are insane by the author's definition.

Sanity, according to Twain, is an "infallible standard" of agreement. In the second paragraph of the piece, he proclaims, "I think that when we all see

one thing alike, it is evidence that, as regards that one thing, our minds are perfectly sound" (756). By this definition, sanity comes in likeness of mind, and that likeness alone is what determines one opinion sound and another not. Insanity, on the other hand, surfaces in the individual differences of opinion, yet every person possesses these as well. Therefore, all people are both sane and insane, which offers a clever platform of common ground on which to build.

One of Twain's purposes in expressing this redefinition of sanity and insanity in the opening pages is to light-heartedly liberate readers by allowing them to chalk up opposite viewpoints to mere lunacy, as can be seen in the following passage:

> I cannot prove to him that he is insane, because you never can prove anything to a lunatic—for that is a part of his insanity and the evidence of it. He cannot prove to me that I am insane, for my mind has the same defect that afflicts his. . . . The rule is perfect: *in all matters of opinion our adversaries are insane*. (757)

Twain's passage, however, also leaves readers in the same fallible line of sight. They, too, can be categorized as "lunatic[s]," and the author is no exception. In fact, Twain's underlying goal is undeniably to unfetter his own voice allowing himself "under protection of these preliminaries" to address what he judges to be the insanity of Christian Science followers without repercussion. His subject is highly controversial and, therefore, sensitive for readers. However, if Twain's opinions amount to nothing more than "brass-farthings," no offense or harm

could possibly be done in expressing them in "Christian Science" and ultimately in all the *Christian Science* materials. Readers who are not persuaded by Twain's argument can easily judge his opinions as "insane." These readers, however, must do so with caution because they are not above the same labeling. In this way, Twain's common ground is a snare that forces all readers to approach the ideas in the article with at least some kind of openness of mind.

Carl Dolmetsch, in *"Our Famous Guest": Mark Twain in Vienna*, is one of the few scholars to comment on Twain's discussion of insanity, which reappears at the start of chapter five in *Christian Science*. In this passage, Dolmetsch believes Twain is "unaware . . . that his idea also weakens his argument rather than merely being a clever rhetorical ploy" (239). However, without reading the article as a separate text, Dolmetsch misunderstands Twain's purpose by letting the earlier burlesque tale interpret his reading of this passage. Twain is never "unaware" of his audience. The rhetorical trap that appears to be weakness to Dolmetsch actually functions as an ironic position of strength because through it Twain captures the attention of a large audience of agreeing and disagreeing readers alike.

By admitting potential "insanity," Twain appears *most* honest, with freedom even to be brutally honest, because he, too, is not above reproach. The admittance, in effect, makes the author seem amenable to his agreeing readers

and incurs a higher believability because Twain is no longer bound to the pretenses and politeness that can dilute truth. Rather, the truth of Christian Science can be told without restraint. Twain's position of "insanity," in turn, makes his opinions ironically palpable to any disagreeing readers. These readers can merely declare Twain's opinions as sensationalized satire, which displays the author's own "picturesque" insanity as evidence that all are truly "insane." Chalking all up to insanity gives room for disagreeing readers to stay curious and engaged as well, by leaving them with no ability to disagree with Twain's opinions legitimately unless they also accept a position of insanity themselves. Whether readers agree or disagree with his opinions, Twain achieves his ultimate purpose: he cleverly captures a widespread audience with the introduction of this article and, in so doing, entices readers to continue with the entire series. The introduction of "Christian Science," in fact, has a reverberating effect on all four *North American Review* articles, which can amend current scholarly readings of much of what becomes Book One of *Christian Science*.

The introduction of the article "Christian Science" lays strong rhetorical groundwork as Twain transitions next to investigate the interesting qualities of Christian Scientists who are "more picturesquely insane than some of us" (758). Twain's explanation of the insanity of Christian Scientists comes first by returning to the sect's dubious claims of divinity, a clear connection to the

previous *Cosmopolitan* article. While recognizing the thematic consistency between the two pieces no doubt enriches a reader's understanding of both, "Christian Science" is not dependent upon its predecessor for understanding. In the 1902 article, Twain lists three examples of the sect's "picturesqueness": the "little book" (*Science and Health*) referenced in Revelation; the book's placement in the "Christian Science Mosque," what Twain calls the central Christian Science church located in Boston; and a reverent portrait of Eddy hanging on display there with a "never-extinguished light" burning before it.

These three examples serve two purposes for Twain's article. First, they provide visual representation of Christian Scientists' insanity by wittily articulating the incongruities and oddities of certain sacred practices. The "little book" is sold for a profit, and not with earnings given to the real author, the "angel of the Apocalypse"—or even "God," as one follower declares—from whence it came. The book is also positioned on display next to the Bible in such as way as to imply equal sacredness, and two pulpits exist at the front of the church from which both sacred texts are read intermittently. The portrait of Eddy, however, is a culminating image of "picturesque" insanity as Twain mocks the positioning of the reverent portrait that encourages followers to assume their leader is divine. The author, in fact, satirically questions how long

it will take Christian Scientists before Eddy is the Mary they worship, with the inevitable dethronement of the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus.

While these illustrations appear unorthodox and silly within Twain's logical framework through which they come to life, their descriptions together give rise to a secondary purpose: they construct a foundation on which the author can present what he considers to be truly insane—the movement's unprecedented popularity and success. Within the three examples, Twain paints a picture of the religious sect's "most formidable show" in order to undermine in a satiric manner the success that The Church of Christ, Scientist has achieved. The success ought to be shaky when the three examples, tested by Twain's logic, appear to the reader as incongruous and doubtfully divine. Yet the new sect is surprisingly unaffected by arguments revealing illogicalities. The unaffected nature is the greatest point of insanity. Twain writes,

> Is it insanity to believe that Christian Scientism is destined to make the most formidable show that any new religion has made in the world since the birth and spread of Mohammedanism, and that within a century from now it may stand second to Rome only, in numbers and power in Christendom?
>
> If this is a wild dream it will not be easy to prove it so just yet, I think. There seems argument that it may come true. The Christian Science "boom" is not yet five years old; yet already it has 500 churches and 1,000,000 members. (761)

Twain's rhetorical question and subsequent answer in this passage function as a turning point in the article. The author's description of the success

of the Christian Science movement, the "wild dream," as he refers to it above, is "picturesque" and an anomaly that requires critical exploration. Twain addresses the sect's rise in fame by explaining certain components that bring about the movement's allurement and popular status. These components include the very claim of Christian Science as a religion, its piggybacking onto Christianity, an already established religion, and the "new and attractive advantages" the religious sect offers to the general public. In addition, Twain briefly mentions the sect's practice of hording money and power along with the worship of Mary Baker Eddy, but only to tease the reader along with a list of topics to come. These things, in particular, Twain saves for critical discussion in upcoming *North American Review* articles, which fall in line with the argumentative platform created by "Christian Science."

The remainder of "Christian Science" focuses on the universal appeal of the Christian Science movement, which is irrefutably bound to its prosperous healing practices. Twain sets forth to explain how Christian Science doctrine appeals to every person—"its clientage is the Human Race"—because it offers health and happiness to all no matter what the illness or ailment. According to Twain, happiness itself is a most coveted quality, and four fifths of all illnesses are imaginary, making the possibility of successful healings nearly inevitable for

Christian Science believers. The following often-quoted passage makes clear this claim:

> Remember its principal great offer: *to rid the Race of pain and disease*. Can it do so? In large measure, yes. How much of the pain and disease in the world is created by the imaginations of the sufferers, and then kept alive by those same imaginations? Four-fifths? Not anything short of that, I should think. Can Christian Science banish that four-fifths? I think so. (762)

As seen here, Twain gladly accepts as reality the movement's magnetism built around its healing practices, but his premise that most diseases are imaginary separates authentic homeopathic achievements from any of those that Christian Science claims it accomplishes. Such separation undermines the healings that seemingly occur, lowering them from the realm of the miraculous to the level of mere "human invention." By attacking the famous practice of Christian Scientists, the most "formidable show" to outsiders, Twain strikes at the core of the religious sect itself.

As he commonly does, Twain reinforces his concerns about Christian Science healing practices with concrete examples of his meaning. Critical commentary on several testimonials from the October 1898 publication of the *Christian Science Journal,* in which many dedicated followers have written about their healing experience by way of Christian Science, comes next in the article. With each miraculous healing or mystical event described, Twain raises doubt as to the testimony's authenticity. For example, the first two "witnesses" are too

indefinite in their explanations and seem "drunk with health and with the surprise of it" (763). Their "old sick conditions" and "old organic trouble[s]" offer no verifiable formula or detailed account of healing.

Twain cleverly calls the second witness's ailments, in particular, "his claim," marking further their unbelievably.[6] The Christian Science term "claim" is a concept that refers not just to diseases but to any false belief that hinders a true spiritualized understanding of reality. Claims are diseases, but they are also sicknesses of the mind, including the belief in a physical, mortal body and an empirical, natural world. In *Science and Health*, Eddy declares, "Denial of the claims of matter is a great step towards the joys of Spirit, towards human freedom and the final triumph over the body" (242). Twain's use of the term "claim," however, is in mockery of the paradox of a nonexistent disease that apparently manifests through unbelief. For this witness, "all that happens to him is, that upon his attention an imaginary disturbance sometimes obtrudes itself which *claims* to be an ailment, but isn't" (764). The unreality of the disease, the "claim," refutes any real justification for a testimony of miraculous healing. Both the disease and the healing are imaginary, making the story nothing more than "human invention."

[6] Joe B. Fulton in *The Reverend Mark Twain* discusses briefly this passage in his depiction of "wild cat" religions, for which Twain has an affinity. His discussion appears on pages 20-21.

The vague testimonies of his first two witnesses and their "claims," according to Twain, "might properly be waste-basketed, since there is evidently no lack of definite ones procurable" (765). The third witness is clearly "definite," but he has the opposite problem of the first two. This soldier from the Civil War is too excessive in his descriptions. Everything from indigestion to insomnia is included in his long list of symptoms, which sound substantive but are plainly exaggerated. The "thirty years of torture" this man endured seems downright implausible in light of the one-hour Christian Science treatment, in which all "claims vanished" (765). According to Twain, these three witnesses are just a sampling of a repertoire of testimonies, including a cured milk-leg, disappearing nervous prostration, and others. Children, especially, have the most skeptical testimonies. A nine-year-old girl saves herself from injury by reciting midair lines from *Science and Health* as she is thrown off a horse. Two-year-old Gordon kisses the "little book" piously before returning to play, indicating the sacredness of Eddy's popular textbook. With each coming testimonial, they appear more and more extravagant and obtuse. The reader is led nowhere else but to believe that most healings are indeed imaginary, or at the very least, born of "human invention."

Following these testimonies, Twain concludes "Christian Science" powerfully by asking the question, "Does the Science kill a patient here and there

and now and then?" (768). While the author poses this same question at the beginning of the repertoire, his confirmatory answer following the testimonials holds quite a bite for readers. The answer is flippant, in fact, much like the testimonies, yet it pierces to the heart of article's main point: Christian Science "kill[s] a man every now and then. But no matter; it will still be ahead on the credit side" (768). The trivial and dismissive tone of Twain's statement is deliberately meant to resonate with readers who have now been predisposed to assume the "credit side" includes the gamut of imaginary healings Twain has just described. If the "credit side" encompasses falsehoods and "human invention," does it really measure up to the lost lives? It couldn't possibly.

The horror of Twain's final revelation is irrevocably bound in the controversy of late-nineteenth-century America where many who were ill refused viable medical treatments believing Christian Science alone would cure them. Several, including novelist Harold Frederic, died unfortunate deaths from potentially curable diseases, and the church found itself in heated debates and in wobbly positions in court. Readers would have readily understood Twain's underhanded approach, which makes the healing practices, the most formidable outward success of The Church of Christ, Scientist, reasonably appear "picturesquely" insane. Twain's method of leading the reader to this chief question by *show* makes its impact all the more forceful. The accelerating fame of

the religious sect, moreover, cannot escape ignorant humanity's quickness to believe anything as truth. The irony of Twain's first sentence comes full circle: "We are all [at least] partially insane." Such an ending leaves readers thinking, as the seriousness of its implications linger on in their minds.

Often "Christian Science," or at least the pages of it that reappear in *Christian Science*, is misunderstood. One reason for the misreading comes from the scholarly attempts to mine out Twain's personal opinion for or against Christian Science before examining the road map of ideas as they are laid out in the periodical series. While Twain's opinions are clarified as the series progresses and the thesis laid out in this article grows stronger, the search for a definitive, singular, and unchanging position on Christian Science (apart from the extended thesis) too soon results in a rabbit trail that blindsides a reader from seeing noteworthy aesthetic merits as well as the author's overarching evolution of thought on his subject.

Surprisingly, in "Christian Science" Twain in some way embraces ambiguity because forceful affirmation or negation of Christian Science doctrine would defeat his argumentative purpose. The ambiguity produces fruit rather than being the stumbling block that many scholars assume it to be. Reader participation, for example, would be limited without the refrainment. Individuals seeking to learn and formulate their own opinions on the subject

would be squelched with a viewpoint more like dogmatic propaganda, a failing of some of Twain's contemporaries.[7] In addition, the publication series, meant to sustain a readership over considerable time, would be adversely affected. Twain would be giving away too much too early, supplying no reason for readers to buy the next installment. While Twain does manipulate and shape his writings to guide a reader to eventual outcomes, he does so consistently by *showing* not *telling* the reader what to believe. The ingenious construction of voice, as seen in "Christian Science," guides readers along by allowing them greater participation, even for those with a variety of differing opinions and knowledge base. Twain's construction, in addition, provides a platform on which to build continually emotional intensity, as nineteenth-century periodical serialization tended to do, in order to ensure an enduring readership for the articles to come.

While seeking a direct statement from the author regarding his private thoughts on Christian Science causes the merits of this article to be misunderstood, a second cause, inevitably adds to the apparent confusion: Twain's revision of the article before placing it into his book. "Christian Science," as an independently published article, maintains seamless fluidity from

[7] Frederick W. Peabody's lectures and writings, including his book *The Religio-Medical Masquerade* could be considered propaganda more than serious criticism. The book, in particular, is a highly volatile in its attack on Mary Baker Eddy's character. On the contrary, Twain's Christian Science articles are both tame and aesthetic when placed alongside Peabody's writings. Peabody, however, comes to influence Twain's composition of *Christian Science*, which will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.

page to page with an easily identifiable organizational strategy and uncomplicated content. In *Christian Science*, however, Twain creates a new chapter break in between the three examples of the "little book," its display in the church, and the portrait of Eddy, near the middle of the article. Twain also cuts out the second example entirely, leaving an abrupt ending to the one chapter and a puzzling beginning to the next. The entire article, divided into two parts, then loses its original profundity, lucid organization, and literary appeal.

What becomes chapter five, for example, ends with a discussion of the "little book," which adds undue emphasis given to Christian Science's "dominion":

> . . . a little book which for the present affects to travel in yoke with the Bible and be friendly to it, and within half a century will hitch it in the rear and thenceforth travel tandem, itself in the lead, in the coming great march of Christian Scientism through the Protestant dominions of the planet. (*What Is Man?* 238)

In the original article, emphasis on the "dominion" of Christian Science is slim as the passage emerges within the discussion of the three representative examples of the religious sect's "picturesque" insanity. It merely bridges two paragraphs, meant to build a reader's interest from the first example into the second. With the entire second example removed, however, a reader is left with the above passage as a kind of final thought of the chapter, one that misdirects and skews

both the development as well as the insights of the original article and the material to come.

What comes to be chapter six also negatively suffers with Twain's revision. With the cutting of example two from "Christian Science," the chapter begins with what follows it, an intertextual quote from the *Christian Science Journal*. This quote, which mentions the symbiotic relationship of *Science and Health* and the Bible, is quite perplexing without the necessary explanation Twain provides in the preceding (but now absent) paragraph. Twain's first remark following the quote—"Are these things picturesque?"—serves as another point of confusion as readers are left to speculate on the "things" to which Twain is referring. In the original print, the quote from the *Journal* is not intertextual but a cumulative example, making clear the sect's claim that *Science and Health* is equal in its sacredness to the Bible. In addition, Twain's question that follows fits well in the discussion because the "things" Twain finds picturesque are easily identifiable as the positioning of the "little book," signed "*in full*" and on display; the two pulpits arranged just so at the front of the church; and the quote itself, evidence directly from a Christian Science source. Chapter six unfortunately falls short of such connection, leaving the readers without an adequately shaped introduction and lacking in clear direction. To understand chapters five and six

of *Christian Science*, an earlier reading of "Christian Science" is an obvious necessity.

"Christian Science—II"

While Mark Twain's 1899 and 1902 articles should be read as separate pieces due to their distance in publication, "Christian Science" and "Christian Science—II," must be read in relation to one another. "Christian Science—II," in fact, functions as a sequel. The article appears in print in the *North American Review* in January of 1903, one month after its predecessor. For early readers, the matching titles were an overt sign of the connection, and the unmistakable "to be continued" in parentheses at the closeout of the preceding article no doubt manufactured some anticipation for this second one in the series.

In addition to these obvious markings, the two pieces are thoroughly bound together in theme, organization, and purpose. "Christian Science—II" functions as a continuation of Twain's critiques on the successful, but "human" formation of The Church of Christ, Scientist. Twain's outlining of the components that make up the movement's popular appeal in the earlier article come to form a loose organizational plan, although transitions linking the plan together are at times scarce. While the December 1902 piece comments on Eddy's new movement as a religion (and not just a philosophy) with its universal offerings of happiness and health, "Christian Science—II" turns to another

component from Twain's earlier list: the sect's gathering of money. Just as Twain leads readers to see the exaggeration and possible falsification in certain claims of Christian Science healing, his desire in this piece is to persuade them to consider the sect's financial practices as self-indulgent and profiteering. Both articles, as well as the entire series, attempt to debunk the divinity of The Church of Christ, Scientist by skeptically speculating on various problematic aspects of the church's well-known practices. Twain's methods of guiding the reader along and his rich supply of concrete detail, however, make his argument much more compelling than the published writings of contemporaries like J. M. Buckley or William A. Purrington who voice similar concerns.[8]

With an apposite platform of common ground and a framework of organization supplied in the 1902 article, "Christian Science—II" begins much more abruptly for readers. Twain needs little introduction in this piece, other than to remind readers of his subject and march on. The author, therefore, opens the article with an epigraph from a lecture given by Dr. George Tomkins, which serves as a reminder to readers of his overall agenda. It reads,

> We consciously declare that "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures," was foretold, *as well as its author*, Mary Baker Eddy, in Revelation X. She is the "might angel," or God's highest thought to

[8] In "The Absurd Paradox of Christian Science," J. M. Buckley writes about the questionable cost of Christian Science "treatments" (28). In "The Case Against Christian Science," William A. Purrington also questions the excessive price of Christian Science courses, which could result in a profit of "$90,000 for twelve half-days' instruction" for only three hundred students (201).

> this age (verse 1), giving us the spiritual interpretation of the Bible in the "little book *open*" (verse 2). Thus we prove that Christian Science is the second coming of Christ—Truth—Spirit. (1)

Tomkins, in this statement, reverently confirms what Twain has been keenly observing in the movement on the whole: Eddy and her book *Science and Health* are being exalted to a status of divine. While Twain sees this as problematic, Tomkins, of course, embraces the notion. He declares that Eddy and the "little book" are the same figures mentioned in Revelation, Christian Science then being "the second coming of Christ—Truth—Spirit."

The incorporation of the epigraph, as well as a second similar statement taken from a Concord newspaper, echo the catalogue of testimonies from the previous article.[9] They easily pull readers back into the context of the preceding discussion by reminding them not just of hyperbolic healing "claims" but a seeming lack of critical judgment on the part of Christian Science believers who are hypnotized with the new religious sect. These two quotes, however, are more shocking than the testimonials because their focus shifts to the worship of Mary Baker Eddy herself, something hinted at in the previous article but not developed. While the idea is not developed here either, the result of the quotes' redirection and intensification is a stronger, more forceful tone in the opening of

[9] At the end of the opening paragraph, Twain supplies a footnote, in which he quotes from a Christian Science disciple's testimony that appeared in Concord's *Independent Statesman* on March 9, 1899. According to the testimony, this disciple, after raising "a dead child to life," writes Eddy with a reverential plea to do "more as you would have me do" (1).

"Christian Science—II." In the introduction, Twain rises to meet the heightened emotional appeal of Tomkins with his own tone, presented "in plain speech," but this emotional intensification should be seen as the progression traditionally used in nineteenth-century serialization to create movement and peak an audience's interest from one publication to the next.

Twain's introduction, though brief, leads the reader suitably into his major point of scrutiny in the article. Staying inside the parameters of the overarching thesis—to debunk the divinity of the Christian Science movement by exposing its depraved humanness—Twain records the sect's many means of acquiring money from its followers. He writes,

> Already whatever she [Eddy] puts her trade-mark on, though it be only a memorial-spoon, is holy and is eagerly and passionately and gratefully bought by the disciple, and becomes a fetish in his house. I say bought, for the Boston Christian-Science Trust gives nothing away; everything it has it for sale. And the terms are cash; and not only cash, but cash in advance. . . . From end to end of the Christian Science literature not a single (material) thing in the world is conceded to be real, except the Dollar. (2)

While Twain's concern for the profiteering of the Christian Science organization (and Eddy) dominates his thinking here, the argument is built on the duplicitous discrepancy between the sect's beliefs in immateriality and yet its clear value of the material "Dollar" in financial practices. Because the logical incongruity tends to undergird many of the author's main points in the *Cosmopolitan* and *North American Review* articles, it is worth some brief commenting. The inconsistency,

for example, makes delightfully humorous the controversy of Mrs. Fuller and the narrator, particularly the droll ending in which the narrator finds himself being sued by Mrs. Fuller because he paid with an imaginary check. The 1902 article also mentions in Twain's characteristic waggish fashion the "treasure-chest of the Christian-Scientist Papacy by-and-by," which is a major contributing factor to the sect's unprecedented success.

Surprisingly, a critique against the seeming clash of the theology of immateriality and the practice still bound to materiality was quite mainstream in the late 1890s, with many writers seriously questioning how Christian Science living was even possible. J. M. Buckley, for example, argued in "The Absurd Paradox of Christian Science" about this very thing:

> Whatever materialistic, or metaphysical, or mixed theory of knowledge and reality may be held, there is in every sane mind a recognition of permanent relations of one thing or idea or another. If there be matter only, or if there be no matter and spirit alone remains, or if "nothing exists where there is not mind to perceive it," the same *relations* must exist. (23)

Both Twain and Buckley found this "paradox" to be irreconcilable with the Christian Science claims of divine origin, concluding that the movement could not be the birth of a new authentic religion. Twain's critique, however, is unique because he tackles the discrepancy through the more tangible lens of capitalism and democracy, and not through general abstract theorizing as Buckley does.

Twain's well-articulated recounting of the "cost" of Christian Science as a means of debunking its divinity (and showing its insanity) is one of the many merits of "Christian Science—II." Cost would have been of utmost concern to Twain's traditionally middle-class readership, with each dollar being a valuable commodity. While his point is in some ways similar to Buckley's, Twain's argument is ideally democratic and, therefore, immensely persuasive for a reader. Twain's underlying premise is that truth and healing, both divinely beneficial, should be free (or, at the very least, affordable for the common man) and not "peddle[d] . . . to the faithful always at extravagant prices" (2). With nothing freely given, the Christian Science organization appears inaccessible, self-serving, and autocratic in spite of its popularity.

The ostensible universality of its healing practices, in light of their cost, also becomes a flashy trade or a marketing gimmick, resembling those that flooded the nineteenth-century newspapers of the day. The association is intentional as Twain continuously diminishes the movement to equal place amongst other mind-cure approaches to healing: "Whether he be named Christian Scientist, or Mental Scientist, of Mind Curist, or King's-Evil Expert, or Hypnotist, it is all one" (8). A *Harper's Weekly* reviewer of "Christian Science—II," published in the January 24, 1903 issue, also sees the connection Twain is making with Christian Science by discussing three advertisements for mind-cure

that appear together in the same issue of a New York newspaper. According to the reviewer, the mind-curists are clearly "working overtime and making very satisfactory profits" ("More from Mark Twain" 145bc).

In the article, Twain reinforces his ideological concerns over the "cost" of Christian Science healings and materials, with his concrete literary style. First of all, Twain fills his argument with abundant examples. The author catalogs all the various items for sale at "highwayman's rates" (2). Some items in the list include Eddy's many publications, practitioner's courses, church membership taxes, collectable trinkets, and paraphernalia. This catalog echoes once again the inventory of testimonials included in the prior article, and both the testimonies and the list of "spiritual wares" produce a snowball effect for readers. The "spiritual wares," in particular, pile high the evidence against The Church of Christ, Scientist with its ever-growing profit. Twain's use of the word "dollar" in repetition throughout the article also adds to the snowballing. In one example, Twain writes,

> The hunger of the Trust for the Dollar, its adoration of the Dollar, its lust after the Dollar, its ecstasy in the mere thought of the Dollar—there has been nothing like it in the world in any age or country, nothing so coarse so lubricious, nothing so bestial, except a French novel's attitude towards adultery. (2)

The following passage cleverly illustrates this cumulative effect on readers. Each time Twain emphatically repeats "Dollar" in such proximity, readers can sense the cash piling into the Christian Science treasury.

While the author's catalog of Christian Science materials for sale and his use of repetition comes with amplified emotion, the author further builds the pathos with a discussion of the Christian Science movement's lack of charitable giving. Twain utilizes the same snowballing technique as he lists many places and people in need of charity, as can be seen in the following passage:

> No charities to support. No, nor even to contribute to. One searches in vain the Trust's advertisements and the utterances of its pulpit for any suggestion that it spends a penny on orphans, widows, discharged prisoners, hospitals, ragged schools, night-missions, city missions, libraries, old people's homes, or any other object that appeals to a human being's purse through his heart. (5)

Twain's tug in this passage on the heart is evidence of his conscious pursuit to sway readers by many rhetorical means. That his investigation of advertisements and "utterances" yields no proof of any formal Christian Science charitable offerings certainly produces shock and frustration in readers. In exposing the lack of charity, Twain attacks the underlying motivations of the organization, which he sees as impious, greedy, and uncharitable. According to Twain, Christian Science can in no way be the religion it claims to be with such motives at its core.

In "Christian Science—II," Twain calls The Church of Christ, Scientist a "Trust," a "monopoly," and a "factory." The terms serve to communicate the kind of organization that, according to Twain, seeks exclusive economic positioning and power and manufactures products in mass merely for the sake of profit. Twain calls Christian Science a force of reckoning in coming years because any organization with such motives and money, in his eyes, will inevitably reach overwhelming success. While Twain mentions this overarching prediction in the previous article, the opinion comes to the forefront in this piece. Twain writes,

> And I think it is a reasonable guess that the Trust (which is already in our day pretty brusque in its ways) will then be the most insolent and unscrupulous and tyrannical politico-religious master that has dominated a people since the palmy days of the Inquisition. (4)

By comparing Christian Science to the "Inquisition" and calling it a "tyrannical politico-religious master," Twain twists preconceived notions of what constitutes a "successful" movement, especially one claiming to be religious. Success is no longer something affirmative and constructive. Success, or at least the kind Christian Science has and will maintain, is without proper character and is utterly human in the worst kinds of ways. The organization rises under the guise of religion, established to dupe the entire human race; it falsifies the truth and charges for things that should be free. The movement unfairly oppresses

others as well in its climb to the top. Christian Science, according to Twain, stands as an ideal representative of the greedy Gilded Age.

Twain ends "Christian Science—II" by returning once again to a democratic appeal, one that sounds much like his third lesson in *Cosmopolitan* article yet in greatly expanded form. According to Twain, human beings have a primitive and innate ability to heal themselves, although few individuals cultivate what they innately possess. He writes, "The power which a man's imagination has over his body to heal it or make it sick is a force which none of us is born without. The first man had it, the last one will possess it" (7). In believing that an individual can heal himself, Twain both equalizes and elevates the human race to an ideal position of supremacy. This "power" of humanity, as Twain refers to it, is the real success of Christian Science, and not a religious experience that brings healing. The human race is superior and capable to accomplish on its own all that Christian Science offers its members.

That human beings rarely believe in this "beneficent" force—and turn instead to the "mischievous" side that invents imaginary ailments rather than healing real ones—is the sole reason for the existence of the movement:

> The Christian Scientist has taken a force which has been lying idle in every member of the human race since time began, and has organized it, and backed the business with capital, and concentrated it at Boston headquarters in the hands of a small and very competent Trust, and there are the results. (8-9)

In combating the perceived success of The Church of Christ, Scientist by claiming that the inherent power of healing is already within humanity, Twain concludes the article by leaving the movement with nothing left to stand on, except its material constructs—the business itself secured "in the hands of a small and very competent Trust" (9). Twain tears down Christian Science while simultaneously empowering readers in their own potential apart from it. In Twain's opinion, the organization of Christian Science is its only achievement, one now hollowed of its sacredness and inviolability.

"Christian Science—II," Twain's second *North American Review* article, is straightforward, fast-paced and dynamic when read apart from *Christian Science* and prior to encountering the book. Even though Twain makes no major changes to this article by splicing key passages as he does in the first two, "Christian Science—II" still communicates a poignant argument and clear structure, elements that tend to be lost when reading it as chapters in the book. In spite of its amiable qualities, however, "Christian Science—II" does lack a bit of the luster seen in the 1899 and 1902 articles, particularly because it leaves behind much of the humor found within them. While the purpose of "Christian Science—II" is clearly not to "poke fun" through fictional burlesque, this article is still missing the satirical anecdotes and amusing turns of phrase that move the readers of "Christian Science" so nicely along. With the exception of brief

comparative allusions to adultery in a French novel and to "soap-fat," "Christian Science—II" is told just as Twain says in his first sentence—"There you have it in plain speech"—with a level of sustained seriousness.

Part of this change may be due to Twain's adoption of a new role, which can be called a "moralist in disguise," as Harold K. Bush, Jr. describes in his article "'A Moralist in Disguise': Mark Twain and American Religion." While Bush only makes a passing reference to *Christian Science*, his examination of the general approach Twain has toward religion matches well with the content of "Christian Science—II." Bush recognizes the author's relentless concern for the use of money within organized religion of any kind:

> Money and greed, of course, were central themes of Twain's critique of the Gilded Age, a life-long project that commenced in his early journalism days. In particular, Twain's skepticism toward religion often revolved around his awareness of how closely it was intertwined with issues of wealth and its corrupting influence of human morality. (60)

Twain's argument against the financial exploitation and fraudulence of The Church of Christ, Scientist falls quite in line with what Bush claims to be the author's "life-long project."

Twain's approach in "Christian Science—II" is fundamentally a moral one as he exposes the "corrupting influence" of the movement, which stems from its unprecedented appropriation of wealth. The thievery he sees is equivalent to that of Chaucer's Pardoner in *The Canterbury Tales*, who blasphemously sells

indulgences to unsuspecting and ignorant devotees. Twain, in fact, compares Christian Science to Catholicism in the article, but the new religious sect is superior in both its influence and corruption, when considering its supply of cash that greatly surpasses that of the Catholic Church. Twain also lists Exodus 32:4 after a sentence that calls the Trust a "reincarnation." Exodus 32:4 states,

> And he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, 'These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.' (KJV)

The biblical reference in the passage infers that the movement's love of money is like the Israelites' worship of their golden calf, which they crafted to be a god after being delivered by Yahweh from the land of the Egyptians. Even Twain's allusions in the article to the "palmy days of the Inquisition," annual pilgrimages to "Mrs. Eddy's tomb," "Holy Metal," and the "Second Advent" all anchor his argument to a moral compass. These images, for better or worse, replace the humorous ones of the previous articles, leaving a grave and sharper tone.

While Twain's moralizing carries over to his continued writings on the subject, especially the next article in the series "Christian Science—III," the moral approach in "Christian Science—II" is indicative of a progression of thought, in which Twain's arguments increase in both complexity and seriousness. Even though all three of the articles discussed thus far were written during the same time frame in Vienna, the evolution is still noticeable. "Christian Science—II" is

more direct, weighty, zealous, and compact than the first two articles. "Christian Science" and "Christian Science—II" are both more distrustful and scrutinizing than "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," which keeps its inquisitive tone playful throughout. Even in these early compositions of 1898 and 1899, Twain is conscious of a certain aesthetic building needed to satisfy readers from one piece to the next.

In spite of the progression, however, all three early articles surprisingly do not expand beyond an outsider's perspective. Twain remains on the outskirts looking into Christian Science as his critiques focus on the church's practices, not on the doctrine itself. Twain's evidence, for example, comes mostly from advertisements in newspapers, quotes taken from testimonies, and an interview with an informant, which are all second-hand sources. Twain does take a piece of Eddy's writing from *Science and Health* and from the *Christian Science Journal* for comparison, but his focus is on the dissimilar writing style of the passages and not the content of them. The only theological postulation Twain does comment on for any duration is the Christian Science belief in spirit only, but his critical questioning of it is far from exhaustive.

Recognizing the outsider's perspective in the early writings is crucial to analyzing Twain's evolutionary thinking on a subject that surfaces and resurfaces over many coming years. His writings on Christian Science are not

overpowering or obsessive early on, and the articles disclose deliberate authorial calculations, in which Twain meticulously assembles his structure and remains ever cognizant of his audience. When reading *Christian Science* apart from its serialization, the literary merits of "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," "Christian Science," and Christian Science—II" can easily get lost in the newly added chapter breaks and splicing of key passages. The articles' demonstration of Twain's building strength and sentiment can also go unheeded as the chapters flow together from one to the next. A discussion of the problematic formation of *Christian Science*, however, must be postponed until the remainder of the *North American Review* articles is examined. Seeing the publication series in its entirety, as a late-nineteenth-century reader would, puts in place an indispensable foundation for understanding the culminating *Christian Science* as Twain intended it to be read.

CHAPTER THREE

The Later Writings of 1902-1903

Christian Science, like Mohammedanism, is "restricted" to the "unintelligent, the people who do not think." There lies the danger. It makes Christian Science formidable. It is "restricted" to four hundred and ninety-five hundreths of the human race, and must be reckoned with by regular Christianity. And will be, as soon as it is too late.

from "Christian Science—III"

Erect and eternal, it will go on with the ages, go down the dim posterns of time unharmed, and on every battle-field rise higher in the estimation of thinkers and in the hearts of Christians.

from "Inklings Historic" in Miscellaneous Writings

The lengthy gap between Mark Twain's early Christian Science writings, composed in Vienna in 1898 and 1899, and his later work, penned after he returned to Riversdale, New York in 1902 and 1903, has been a recurring concern for scholars. Often the gap is credited as the cause of a perceived "shift in focus" in *Christian Science*, as Paul Baender describes it in his introduction to the book in *What is Man? and Other Philosophical Writings*. According to Baender, Twain treats Christian Science in his early writings as a "recent socio-religious development" only to turn to Mary Baker Eddy as his "chief target" within the writings of 1903 (24). Because the focus differs so drastically, the shift that Baender describes is often thought to be the demise of *Christian Science*, in which

Twain loses his humor, his aphoristic style, he awareness of audience, and any discernible concentration on aesthetic form.

Carl Dolmetsch also acknowledges this problem in *"Our Famous Guest": Mark Twain in Vienna*. He concludes that Twain

> . . . decline[s] into a diatribe, elaborating upon his fears about the growth and spread of Christian Science, of the "personality cult" developing around Mrs. Eddy, of her profits and highly efficient business organization, and of her obfuscating jargon and cant. (239-40)

While Dolmetsch is right about certain topics on which Twain dwells and, at least in part, about his eventual slip into "diatribe" toward the end of Book Two, blaming the gap between 1899 and 1903 for what seems to be the failure of *Christian Science* is hasty.

To begin with, no gap in Twain's Christian Science writing actually exists between 1899 and late 1902. Twain consistently writes about the religious sect and its founder from 1898 through at least 1908, two years before the author's death. During the particular span of time Twain composes the *Christian Science* materials, however, the author also pens "The Secret History of Eddypus, A World-Empire" in February and March of 1901 and in February and March of 1902. He completes draft one of *What is Man?* in 1898, revises it substantially in 1901 and early 1902, and continues to tinker with it long after 1903. Twain also works consistently on early drafts of *No.44, Mysterious Stranger*, often called "The

Chronicle of Young Satan" and "Schoolhouse Hill." All these works are heavily influenced by Christian Science and illustrate a gradual evolution of thought that leads up to the resurgence of his periodical writing.[1] The opportunity to publish a book on Christian Science more than likely drew Twain back to his original genre (he writes two more articles before finishing the book); nevertheless, no length of time passed where Twain was not somehow utilizing Christian Science or caricatures of Eddy in one composition or another.

What comes instead of a gap is an evolution of thinking, a gradual shift of direction that becomes apparent when pairing *Christian Science* with its serialization. Reading *Christian Science* following the articles as well as placing the book in its late-nineteenth-century context can unite the supposed harsh dividing line Baender and Dolmetsch claim is there revealing in its place a linear progression of thought. The "shift in focus" no longer appears to be disjointed or illogical but a measured move from commentary on one particular facet of Christian Science to another. In this way, *Christian Science* becomes thesis-driven, methodical, and engaging when read after initial study of the *Cosmopolitan* and *North American Review* pieces. Even the other problems scholars tend to see

[1] Chapter five of this study will go into more detail on the influence of Christian Science in these later writings. Much more study, however, needs to be done to mine out the extent of this literary influence.

dissolve or lessen when *Christian Science* is read as Twain intended it to be. The book becomes no literary failure but a crucial piece of the Twain canon.

Before coming to *Christian Science*, however, the remaining two articles in the *North American Review* series must be examined. Twain's earlier three articles, discussed in the last chapter, demonstrate subtle shifts in thought and form from initial burlesque humor to social commentary to moral criticism. Twain's remaining Christian Science articles, composed in 1902 and 1903 ("Christian Science—III" and "Mrs. Eddy in Error"), further build on that growth. They surprisingly display no abrupt change as is often assumed when these pieces are read only in their altered form in *Christian Science*. When read as they originally appeared in the *North American Review*, "Christian Science—III," for example, preserves the focus on the religious sect as a "socio-religious movement," experimenting with the possibilities of the prophetic genre as a means of communicating social and moral criticism.

"Mrs. Eddy in Error" offers some change with a stronger tone and a spotlight on the sect's founder. Both the focus on Eddy and the tone, however, logically progress in response to William D. McCrackan's article "Mrs. Eddy's Relation to Christian Science," a rebuttal to Twain's first three *North American Review* pieces. The stronger tone, in fact, also serves a particular purpose as the second half of the article takes the shape of an engaging proposal for the author's

coming book. "Mrs. Eddy in Error" undoubtedly paves the way for *Christian Science*, a book clearly meant to be read only after familiarization with the serialized articles.

"Christian Science—III"

"Christian Science—III," the third article in the *North American Review* series, is a captivating essay, in which Twain experiments with form by juxtaposing two divergent genres as he does in the very first 1899 article. Published in February of 1903, the month following the appearance of "Christian Science—II," the article neatly divides into two parts, which Twain labels with the subheadings "Later" and "Later Still," respectively. Both parts of the essay interrelate, in spite of their distinct structures, to express a major premise of the entire series—the Christian Science movement will be an inevitable and yet abysmal "human" success. Twain cleverly makes use of the prophetic genre by prophesying about the success of the Christian Science movement in the "Later" section and then adding to it "Later Still," a fictional account of life in the year 2902, which portrays the fulfillment of that same prophecy. The fictional account is surprisingly a fragment taken from Twain's "The Secret History of Eddypus, A World-Empire," an unfinished narrative the author had whittled away at in 1901 and 1902.

Twain's construction of "Christian Science—III" easily falls in line with what Joe B. Fulton calls a "burlesque jeremiad" in "Mark Twain's New Jerusalem: Prophecy in the Unpublished Essay 'About Cities in the Sun.'" In his article, Fulton discusses the author's relationship with the biblical genre of prophecy in an unpublished review. Twain's review is about George Woodward Warder's *About Cities of the Sun*, a theological book that appeared in print in 1901. The author's critique of Warder's literal interpretation of Revelation comes just prior to his writing of "Christian Science—III." The encounter with *About Cities of the Sun* is no doubt Twain's source of inspiration for the form of this article, which displays a high level of sophistication and literary agility. Ironically Twain links Mary Baker Eddy to Warder in his review, arguing that both impose wrong interpretations on biblical passages. The references to Eddy demonstrate the correlation of both pieces in their appropriation of the literary genre of prophecy, yet "Christian Science—III" has yet to be analyzed by scholars. Seeing Twain's application of the genre of prophecy in this article can help close what Fulton sees as an "unfortunate" gap in scholarly understanding regarding the author's utilization of the prophetic genre. Twain's experimentation of form, however, is not the article's only value; it also adds to the growing picture of Twain's evolutionary thinking about Christian Science.

Twain begins "Christian Science—III" with an acknowledgement that a break in time has occurred: "Four years ago (1898-9) I wrote the preceding chapters" (173). In this opening sentence, the author admits to readers that considerable time has passed between writing the previously published articles, even though only a month had gone by since "Christian Science—II" appeared in the *North American Review*. Twain's reasoning behind the admittance may be, in part, to quickly connect readers again with the content of the preceding articles and to offer a viable excuse for any thematic or stylistic inconsistencies in the *North American Review* series on the whole, since some time had passed between their compositions. The declaration, however, serves a much greater stylistic purpose in the article; it moves the reader effortlessly into Twain's adaptation of the prophetic genre.

Acknowledging the four-year break between the early articles and "Christian Science—III" provides Twain with convenient distance. With the benefit of time, the author can look back on "wise" critics' predictions concerning the rise of The Church of Christ, Scientist and count them as false. He writes,

> I was assured by the wise that Christian Science was a fleeting craze and would soon perish. This prompt and all-competent stripe of a prophet is always to be had in the market at ground-floor rates. He does not stop to load, or consider, or take aim, but lets fly just as he stands. (173)

In this early passage, Twain calls these past critics "prophet[s]," cluing readers in to his appropriation of the prophetic genre quickly. What many thought to be a "fleeting craze" is now a thriving international religious organization. According to Twain, these early "prophet[s]" are not only wrong in their prediction, but they are unreasoning and irrational by letting such a prophecy "fly just as he stands."

In debunking the false "prophet[s]" of four years ago, Twain subtly and indirectly establishes himself as their opposite: a true prophet, with cautious and much more cogent calculations. He creates a greater level of trust between author and reader in this new role, one that consciously draws from and builds on the position of a "moralist in disguise," as seen in "Christian Science—II." Twain carefully repackages the preceding argument that weaves through both the December 1902 and January 1903 articles as a jeremianic prophecy in this article. According to Twain, The Church of Christ, Scientist will have unprecedented success and, therefore, unadulterated authority and oppressive, imperialistic power.

The first part of "Christian Science—III" is spent establishing this new prophetic lens and a rationale for Twain's clear prediction concerning the success of the Christian Science movement. To begin with, the author cleverly twists the reasoning of the so-called "early prophets" in his favor. According to these

"prophets," "There is nothing *to* Christian Science; there is nothing about it that appeals to the intellect; its market will be restricted to the unintelligent, the mentally inferior, the people who do not think" (173). As this passage suggests, the reason for the movement's impending failure lies in its lack of appeal to the intelligent of society. Twain, however, argues this is the "best reason in the world why Christian Science should flourish and live" (173). Twain provides justification for his position by supplying two reasons why the lack of an intellectual appeal to Christian Science does not negate the movement but instead exponentially propels its growth. These two ideas—training and environment—are notorious in Twain's later writings, recurring at length in *What is Man?*.

Twain's idea of "training," in particular, was not a unique concept for late-nineteenth-century writers or their audiences. Walter Bagehot, for example, writes in the October 1855 issue of the *National Review* the following:

> It is indeed a peculiarity of our times, that we must instruct so many persons. On politics, on religion, on all less important topics still more, everyone thinks himself competent to think—in some casual manner does think—to that best of our means must be taught to think—rightly. (255)

Bagehot's assertion that people need to be taught to think "rightly" is clearly similar to Twain's concept of "training" in the first half of "Christian Science—III." Both Twain and Bogehot believed that the populous needed training to

understand "the new or rapidly developing subjects" like Christian Science that surfaced in the nineteenth century (Houghton 391).

According to Walter E. Houghton, in "Victorian Periodicals and the Articulate Classes,"

> Educated and would-be educated alike wanted accounts of new or rapidly developing subjects like geology, political economy, biblical criticism, and sociology. They needed to be told what was meant by Benthamism, Puseyism, positivism, and evolution and to know what might be their political, moral, and religious implications. (390-391)

While Houghton's article focuses primarily on the situation in London at this time, readers' desires for education and writers' convictions to "train" were just as much a part of the enormous popularization of periodical literature in New England as well.

Considering this context, Twain's idea of "training" and even of "environment" would not have been entirely foreign to his *North American Review* audience. Twain's first line of reasoning, his claim that few people are "trained for such examinations," in fact, has a surprising universal appeal that would have engaged this desire in his audience. Like a careful craftsman, Twain whittles away the intellectual capability of the populous in one area, their ability to evaluate religions or religious sects properly, and yet he still leaves his readers with a sense of superior intelligence and a keen awareness of their own individual worth. For example, Twain begins by declaring that "men are usually

competent thinkers along the lines of their specialized training only" (174). The author provides an abundant list of these various "competent thinkers" alongside their own "specialized training." The list includes those with knowledge of electricity, geology, manufacturing, leather, cheese, cattle, mathematics, etiquette, obstetrics, music, and many more (175). Twain's list undoubtedly encapsulates nearly every audience member in some way. Moreover, each person, as Twain describes, is not only competent but superior in that particular area of training, an "expert" able to "deliver incontrovertible judgments" concerning whatever the area of trade might be (175).

Religion is just one "trade" in light of the long list. Twain deliberately reduces it to the level of all the others for the purpose of preparing readers to better ingest his own argument. According to Twain, few people are trained to assess Christian Science, namely to critically evaluate the sect's claims of divinity, which the author persistently called into question in the entire periodical series. Twain writes,

> And not ten among the four hundred—let their minds be ever so good and bright—will be competent, by grace of the requisite specialized mental training, to take hold of a complex abstraction of any kind and make head or tail of it.
>
> The whole five hundred are thinkers, and they are all capable thinkers—but only within the narrow limits of their specialized training. Four hundred and ninety of them cannot competently examine either a religious plan or a political one. (175)

This passage, in particular, depicts both Twain's affirmation of his audience as well as his attempt to persuade readers to agree that few are truly experts in evaluating religion. If all were experts in this area, "Christian Science would not be a scary apparition," and people would not be swept away by what seems religious but really is not (175).

Twain's careful articulation of the mental "training" of humanity transitions smoothly into a second reason why Christian Science will flourish in spite of it being "restricted to the unintelligent" (173). By accepting that not all people are competent in "taking hold of a complex abstraction" like Christian Science, an alternative reason must exist as the source of conversions to a certain denomination or religious sect. That source Twain calls environment, as he asserts in the following passage:

> *Environment* is the chief thing to be considered when one is proposing to predict the future of Christian Science. It is not the ability to reason that makes the Presbyterian, or the Baptist, or the Methodist, or the Catholic, or the Mohammedan, or the Buddhist, or the Mormon; it is *environment*. (176)

Twain's inclusion of many other known religions in his discussion continues to cause Christian Science to appear as one among many. The environment of an individual is the influencer, whether it is comprised of Christian Scientists or Baptists or Catholics or any other members of a religious group.

According to Twain, a person not trained to judge religion or to decide on a certain denomination or sect's authenticity is bound to acquire understanding "entirely at second hand." The degree of the environment that supports a certain religion often determines the magnitude of its continued growth. The Church of Christ, Scientist, the author suggests, has ascertained an environment of enormity because its members understand the means by which ordinary people acquire their beliefs. "Therein lies the danger," says Twain; "[i]t makes Christian Science formidable" (177).

Twain ends his first section of "Christian Science—III" by declaring that Christian Science must be "reckoned with by regular Christianity" but probably will not until it is too late (177). The conclusion to this first section subtly reiterates Twain's own assertion that Christian Science will be a dominant religious force in the coming years. While most of the "Later" section is spent calmly rationalizing why the "early prophets" are wrong in their predictions, Twain in doing so justifies his own position. Although he never calls himself a prophet, his claim is nonetheless prophetic.

The downplay of his own role as prophet and even the downplay of Christian Science as just one religion among many, is a conscious attempt of Twain's to counterbalance the second section, "Later Still," a fictional burlesque intentionally reliant on the first half of "Christian Science—III" and ultimately on

the previous articles in the periodical series as well. "Later Still" is Twain's prophecy fulfilled, in which readers are subtly lead to encounter an imaginary prophet called "Mark Twain, Father of History." The restraint seen in the "Later" section is necessary to prepare for the "burlesque jeremiad" packaged with it. Both sections of the article together have a profound persuasive effect on a reader.

"Later Still," the second half of "Christian Science—III," can be a shocking break for readers. In spite of the obvious change of genre, Twain radically alters the rhetorical situation. The fictional author is not Mark Twain anymore but a new unnamed individual from the distant future. The new author's purpose is to catalog an authentic history of the past thousand years and beyond, which has been lost in the imperialism and dominance of Christian Science as a social, religious, and political power. The date attributed to "Later Still" is A.D. 2902, and Twain subtitles the section "Passages taken from the Introduction to the 'Secret History of Eddypus, the World Empire.'"

In approaching "Later Still," readers are immediately thrown into the new world dominated by Christian Science. The very existence of this new Christian Science era illustrates an intensification in this third *North American Review* article, in which Twain consciously increases the emotional pull on his audience. At first, the changes can bring confusion as the reader is expected to piece

together not only the context from which this futuristic fragment comes but also Twain's purpose for including it within "Christian Science—III" and its relation to the previous section (and the entire series). Even the fragmented piece that forms "Later Still" begins in the middle: readers only get the summary of part one of the introduction before moving into part two, the passage which is provided.

The confusion caused by the abruptness and fragmentation, however, serves to submerge the reader in the prophetic genre, traditionally surrounded by elements of mystery. Readers are held in a state of uncertainty in order to build suspense and enhance their participation with the text. As the reality of Twain's intentions unfold, the confusion, nevertheless, is progressively replaced with a growing sense of his literary ingenuity as his fictional account becomes layered with complex meaning. "Later Still," in fact, comes to be seen as prophecy and prophetic fulfillment, comedy and criticism, hope and doom.

When encountering the section "Later Still," Twain's own voice is surprisingly present in spite of the existence of another created author who has penned the material. With the juxtaposition of the first section "Later" directly before "Later Still," readers come to the second section with a greater perception of its fictional quality and cannot escape the reality that the true author behind the imaginary one is still Mark Twain. With such ready awareness, readers

cannot entirely suspend belief and are instead left with a double meaning always present in "Later Still": one meaning is supplied when viewing the text through the lens of its fictional author and another is seen when remembering Twain remains the one behind the mask.

The two meanings take the form of both prophecy and prophetic fulfillment, one being an account magically obtained from the future and the other a prediction about the future in a narrative-like form yet from the present day. Twain's manipulation of the prophetic genre in this way keeps readers grounded in the major arguments from the "Later" section through a clear thematic and authorial linkage. The grounding, however, allows Twain to enlarge "Later Still," a seeming prophetic fulfillment of the earlier claim, into a critical and comical burlesque without seeming overly excessive and uncontrolled.

The burlesquing of prophecy with its comical and critical possibilities is something Fulton notes in his discussion of Twain's use of the prophetic genre:

> As a parodist, Twain found the genre rich with comic possibilities; as a satirist, Twain found the genre useful for purposes of social criticism. Prophecy as a genre encourages both comedy and criticism, for chastisement of present folly is the heart of a prophet's work. (175)

Twain in "Later Still" incorporates both comedy and criticism, the comedy in some ways softening the criticism yet without lessoning its persuasive impact.

The comedy of "Later Still" comes most in Twain's clever crafting of himself as a character in his own fiction. According to the futuristic author, he has come into possession of an "inestimable Book which Mark Twain, the Father of History, wrote and sealed up in a special vault in an important city of his day" (178). The book, no doubt, is the soon-to-be *Christian Science* because the author is using it to secretly record the "birth and rise of Christian Science" recorded therein. The character "Mark Twain" becomes a source of comic relief as the author attempts to make out his character and his place in late-nineteenth-century society. Readers easily find humor not just in mistakes like calling Twain a "statesman" but particularly in the author's assessment that the greatest flaw "Mark Twain" has is his obvious *lack* of humor. According to the author, "he devotes more than five pages to trying to prove that he *has* a sense of humor. And fails—though he is densely unaware of it" (179).

While creating the character "Mark Twain" in "Later Still" is laughable, the character is a constant reminder of the real Mark Twain. The seriousness of Twain's earlier claims are then infused into "Later Still" as readers are come to acknowledge that the fictional prophetic character is, in fact, meant to be Twain himself. The character from the ancient past, as seen from the perspective of 2902, is meant to be Twain in the present late nineteenth century, and the opinions of him in present day are none other than those same opinions recorded

by the unnamed author in this futuristic time. The weight of Twain's criticism, consequently, stays the same whether it is in his preceding treatise or his following fiction. The fictional account, in fact, ironically appears to communicate greater truth when seen in such light and does so with a sense of urgency, which would not be present if "Later Still" stood on its own without being paired with the "Later" section. Bound in Twain's manipulation of the prophetic genre, readers gather the feeling that they are living in the critical formative days described in the future, and the birth of a Christian Science empire is in the process of becoming, right before their eyes.

What Twain believes to be in the process of becoming is the rise of Christian Science to unprecedented proportions. Twain's creative use of the prophetic genre allows him to criticize the potential rise to power in an emotionally engaging way that *shows* rather than *tells* readers his opinions. Twain's criticism, however, as seen in the fictional account, is less about the foreseeable success of Christian Science as it is about the means by which Christian Science has been allowed to prosper—through what he calls "Circumstance." Twain writes,

> The world's events are not ordered by gods nor by men, but solely by Circumstance—accidental, unplanned, and unforeseen. One circumstance creates another, that one a third, and so on. . . . From that wee Circumstance proceeded all history of the past, and from it will proceed all happenings of the future, to the end of time. (180)

His adherence to Circumstance overshadows the remainder of Twain's prophecy, in which he describes the takeover of Christian Science through the means of monopolization and imperialism. Twain's description of that takeover is unquestionably a burlesquing of extreme magnitude.

The burlesquing of Christian Science to the point of reaching a world empire is not meant just to align with Twain's continuous claim that the religious sect is and will be a successful movement. When cast in light of "Circumstance," his prophecy becomes a critique of nineteenth-century American society whose members are wholeheartedly embracing the notion that Christian Science is an authentic new religious discovery. According to Fulton, the relationship between burlesque and serious social criticism is frequently misunderstood in Twain's work," which rings true in "Christian Science—III" (178). Twain's futuristic burlesque that claims "circumstances" are something "which no man could control" is actually a criticism of society, in which no man is controlling his actions by any obvious rational and purposeful means.

Moreover, the use of the prophetic genre always carries with it a promise of change upon the acknowledgment of wrongdoing and the choice to modify undesirable actions. Twain's underlying purpose is both to cause his readers to acknowledge their ignorance and choose to think better or, in this case, to think at all apart from "environment." What his readership should inevitably see is

the falsehoods of Christian Science doctrine, the organization's selfish pursuit of profit, and the "humanness" of its non-distinct healing practices. Christian Science is not sacred or divine, according to Twain, and his hope is that readers recognize this seeming truth.

Examining the interrelated tension of doom and hope in a traditional jeremiad and its use in "Christian Science—III" is a final quality worth mentioning. Twain's burlesque of Christian Science is an evident jeremiad that predicts the destruction of the contemporary American society of his day. The destruction is apocalyptic with the annihilation of the English language, American history, Protestantism and Catholicism, free-market economy, and democracy. That mere circumstance is the cause of such oppression appears a bitterly deterministic outlook, and Twain's reiteration several times that such doom is inevitable only adds to the despair.

Twain's burlesque jeremiad, however, is riddled with hope that undermines and challenges the sense of impending doom. First of all, the very existence of the "Book, which Mark Twain the Father of History, wrote" is a sign of hope; not all of the traditions and values of American society have been lost or forgotten. Secondly, the freedom that the fictitious author displays in his attempts to reconstruct American history, however secretive it might be, is still an endeavor that breeds hope. While the imaginary author describes the rise of

Christian Science from some time in history, Mark Twain, the real author, chips away at that same apocalyptic fulfillment by being the very source from which the information has derived. Even the realization that the oppressive Christian Science world is only a prophecy (and a fictional one at that) causes the prediction to appear avoidable, an undeniably hopeful thought.

The merits of "Christian Science—III" are many when considering the complexity that emerges with Twain's use of the prophetic genre. The manipulation of the genre in "Later Still," its pairing with the rational commentary of "Later," and the ways in which each section speaks through the other is both intriguing and astute. While the addition of the fictional account may increase the emotional appeal, intertwining his earlier argument with a fictional prophecy allows Twain the room to burlesque Christian Science in order to "approximate the truth" (Krause 175). As Sydney Krause declares in "Twain's Method and Theory of Composition,"

> The representational truth of literature stems not only from the writer's saturation with his subject but also from a careful distortion of experience without which life would not appear to be truthfully reflected. (175)

What Krause implies about Twain's composition process is fitting for "Christian Science—III" because the author hyperbolizes his argument in a "careful

distortion" for the purpose of defamiliarizing it for readers.[2] The formation of a successful movement—namely Christian Science—can then be seen for what it is when placed in the light of a burlesque jeremiad.

Twain's aim in his use of the prophetic genre is to voice the "truth" of society's downfalls, as he sees them, without the droning form of theorizing often found in the writings of other late-nineteenth-century critics of Christian Science. While his burlesquing may reach to the extremities of its literary possibility, Twain nevertheless captures his readers anew and keeps them enthusiastic about the published series and ultimately the culminating book to come. Twain's prophecy, however, might not be as far-fetched as modern readers assume. According to Robert Peel in the third book of his biography, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Authority*, "To more than a few at that time Mark Twain's prediction that Christian Science would swallow up the Protestant churches seems to point to a genuine threat" (229).

In spite of the value of "Christian Science—III," the article does remain a unique piece amongst the other serial articles. With the inclusion of the section of fiction, this third installment can ultimately be seen as a kind of climax to Twain's ongoing thesis. Its uniqueness might possibly be the reason Twain cut

[2] Joe B. Fulton in *The Reverend Mark Twain: Theological Burlesque, Form and Content* addresses Twain's use of the literary device of defamiliarization, which is traditionally defined as "making strange." In his discussion, Fulton references the defamiliarization in *Christian Science*, but his analysis is only of a small passage found in chapter six, page 244. Fulton's analysis appears on pages 20-21 in his critical book.

the section out completely from his book *Christian Science* when it was put in typeset in 1903. All that appears in the book is the first section "Later" and nothing else. Twain also might have wanted to publish eventually a completed version of "Secret History of Eddypus," much of which had already been composed, and for that reason removed it from the book. Whatever the reason, the missing section leaves the readers of *Christian Science* unable to see the merits found in the original article. The initial section, "Later," inevitably turns into chapter nine and serves as the conclusion of Book One of *Christian Science*. As an ending, while not entirely unsuitable, the "Later" section still lacks the creative gumption and foreseeable attention to form when combined with "Later Still" in "Christian Science—III." The fortunate readers of the entire series had much more to contemplate after reading the February 1903 article, again ending with the classical hook "to be continued in April number."

The William D. McCrackan Connection

In his final words of "Christian Science—III," Mark Twain informs readers of the new installment to come in April, but this time a gap of two months would occur before "Mrs. Eddy in Error," the fourth *North American Review* article was to appear in print. Such information can easily be overlooked by modern readers uncommitted to the periodical progression that up to this point had left its 1903 readers hanging in suspense. The two month gap for 1903 readers would have

been cause to question, for most installments appeared weekly or monthly, and the previous three articles had followed suit with this usual pattern. Many would have assumed the gap of two months had a purpose, and such hunches were proven true when the March issue of the *North American Review* was made available for readers. Within the March issue of the journal was a carefully crafted rebuttal to all the major claims Mark Twain made in his three previous *North American Review* articles, and the refutations were by none other than William D. McCrackan, a prominent Christian Scientist and vocal apologist for the religious sect. McCrackan had already published two *North American Review* articles defending the faith against another opposing critic J. M. Buckley prior to 1903, which were "The Simple Logic of Christian Science" appearing in August of 1901 and "The Strength of Christian Science—A Final Word" appearing in October of the same year. His publication in March was similar to these, in which he directly countered Twain's claims by unearthing what he considered to be logical leaps and misrepresentations of both Mary Baker Eddy's character and the doctrine of Christian Science.

While McCrackan's rebuttal may not seem significant to understanding the periodical series, the article was for a 1903 reader an important addition that gave much weight to Twain's entire critical endeavor and ultimately to *Christian Science* itself. Twain's personal encounters with McCrackan, in fact, mark a

significant turning point in the author's thinking about Christian Science and Eddy, as evidenced in "Mrs. Eddy in Error." Twain's last article really can only be read through the lens of McCrackan's article to be understood as its original audience had. If separated from the connecting link the March rebuttal provides, "Mrs. Eddy in Error" appears an error itself, a piece disjointed from the rest of the series with a shift in focus to Eddy and her profane self-deification.

In addition to this, the article's placement in *Christian Science* at the end of Book Two, which also follows after six appendixes, displaces it so far away from its home within the series that it either produces confusion or gets overlooked as repetitive behind the tedium of Book Two, which addresses many of the same things seen in the article. Why Twain would place the essay at the end of Book Two is uncertain, although Baender in his introduction speculates that it might have been set in type prior to the writing of the new material and, therefore, Twain could not "with ease insert it in either place" (*What Is Man?* 24). For whatever reason, "Mrs. Eddy in Error" unfortunately looses all its luster and insightfulness if read as an ending to *Christian Science*.

A brief pause can be beneficial here in order to better understand the significance of McCrackan's rebuttal and especially Twain's working relationship with the Christian Scientist in the months prior to its publication. Twain and McCrackan had an ongoing relationship during the time the author spent

penning the remainder of *Christian Science*. The two were surprisingly quite cordial early on, exchanging several letters beginning in December of 1902. McCrackan and Twain even have a couple long talks "over the 'phone," according to a letter the Christian Scientist wrote on February 9, 1903 (Peel, "The Years of Authority" 202). McCrackan sent Twain his early *North American Review* articles to read, and he also invited him to travel to Boston or Concord so that he could talk with prominent Christian Science figures who knew Eddy well (203). While Twain did read the articles "with pleasure and profit," as he states in a letter to McCrackan on December 15, 1902, the author declined the invitation for a visit, probably due to the illness of his wife Livy (203).

In spite of his refusal to visit with other Christian Scientists, the two men maintained an intellectual friendship over the next couple of months that culminated in a plan to publish McCrackan's rebuttal, entitled "Mrs. Eddy's Relation to Christian Science," within the coming *Christian Science*. Twain writes in a letter to David A. Munro, the editor of the *North American Review*, on December 6, 1902: "I particularly want him in my book, because granting him this courtesy will put me in a position to ask Mrs. Eddy to add my articles to her Science and Health Bible" (qtd. in Peel, "The Years of Authority" 203). While his comments to Munro come packaged with sarcasm, Twain was quite sincere in a manuscript labeled "P. S.," which he wrote on December 10, 1902. At that time

Twain intended to attach the "P. S." manuscript to the end of "Christian Science—III." He writes,

> Mr. McCracken [McCrackan], Christian Science's chief writer, is going to answer me, or correct me, in the March number of this Review. The Harpers will issue these articles of mine in book form about the end of March or in April, and Mr. McCrackan asks that his Rejoinder shall appear in that book. That hospitality he can have. It is not likely that the March Review can give him all the space he needs, but he can finish in the book; he can have half the room between the covers if he desires it. He is a straight and sincere man and a profoundly convinced and reverent Christian Scientist, and it may be that between us we can settle the Science question with the pen; though I doubt it, for the reason that we have orally tried it by the hour in my house and did not succeed. We finished where we began: he finding a meaning in the phrase "mortal mind," I only a fog; he believing that the mind *with* Christian Science can cure all ills, mental and physical, I believing that the mind can cure only half of them, and that it is able to do this powerful and beneficent work without being obliged to call on the help of Christian Science; he believing Mrs. Eddy discovered something, I believing she did not; he holding her in reverence, I holding her in irreverence. Times have changed, and for the worse. Three centuries ago these points of difference could have been settled with a shotgun; now one must resort to ink, and ink settles nothing. (*What is Man?* 513-14)

While Twain's manuscript "P. S." obviously was not published in the February issue, for reasons that will soon be discussed, it does reveal the respect Twain had for McCrackan and even for their points of disagreement over Christian Science. Twain's plan to include not just the rebuttal but give McCrackan as much room as he needed to argue his own position within *Christian Science* also gives credence to the two men's mutual respect. The

sincerity with which Twain communicates his plan here fits well with the tone and ambitions of the early articles, and even the first half of "Christian Science—III." While Twain is no doubt unrelenting in his debate with McCrackan, the author is not at all harsh or deprecating in his statements.

The manuscript "P. S." can reveal much by way of the author's early aims for his periodical series, but Twain's relationship with McCrackan, as well as the subsequent plan to write a book together, fell apart in January of 1903. Twain, for uncertain reasons, writes some angry letters to McCrackan, ones he later apologizes for and rescinds, but they cause a rift in the friendship that was never fully repaired. Part of the anger stemmed from McCrackan's return of Twain's check in a letter on January 15th, which he had sent for the peremptory purchase of Eddy's *Miscellaneous Writings*. According to Robert Peel in *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Authority*, McCrackan returned the money, telling him the normal way he could procure a copy, because he realized that Twain would only use it for scrupulous critical analysis (449).

Twain, in his frustration, submitted an advertisement to *Harper's Weekly* asking for the book that—"to my great inconvenience"—he could not receive through McCrackan. Upon their falling out, McCrackan had come to realize that his rebuttals would not be treated fairly in Twain's book, so he backed out of their original agreement. As a result, McCrackan's rebuttal was slotted for the

March issue of the *North American Review*, which then gave Twain the last word in April. Although Twain claims in his April article that he wrote it before reading McCrackan's March rebuttal, his impassioned reaction to the Christian Scientist within his article is apparent. The encounters that Twain had with McCrackan, whether in print or in person, helped shift his thinking about Christian Science by causing the author to take a more aggressive stance against his subject.

McCrackan's relationship with Twain is crucial to understanding his evolution of thinking about Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy. McCrackan's rebuttal, therefore, is just as important to the *North American Review* series for a 1903 audience. In "Mrs. Eddy's Relation to Christian Science," McCrackan battles back against Twain's claims that Christian Science is indistinguishable from other mind cure movements, that its miraculous healings are imaginary, that the movement is financially self-serving, and that worship of Eddy is encouraged. On the contrary, the Christian Scientist argues that the sect is a fundamentally distinct "religion of doing," and the "life-motive" of its founder cannot be evil if the doctrine of her discovery is both good and beneficial for members (349, 353). McCrackan quotes Twain many times, for the purpose of using the author's burlesque style and structuring of language as evidence against him. In one particularly eloquent passage, McCrackan declares,

> To turn from the picture of Christian Science presented in the three articles under consideration to Christian Science as it really exists, is like turning from an image in a convex mirror to the same image in a straight one. In these articles, the tendency has been to draw out of line the discovery and life motive of Mrs. Eddy, to swell to preposterous proportions the regular business affairs of the Chrsitian Science denomination which she has founded, and to magnify the imperfections, while minimizing the merits, of the methods used for preserving the purity of Christian Science before the world. (363)

In this passage, the antagonistic tone of the article can be seen as well as the McCrackan's redirection in defense of Eddy. Twain's previous articles revolve, for the most part, around The Church of Christ, Scientist as a socio-religious phenomenon much more than on Eddy herself. McCrackan's focus on Eddy, mainly in the latter half, brings about a shift in Twain's own periodical series, which can be seen in both his last article and in the culminating book.

As part of this refocusing, McCrackan's article includes a long address published by Mary Baker Eddy that directly responds to Twain's first and probably second *North American Review* articles. In the address, Eddy denies any rights to deification and also refutes the use of the term "Mother" by her followers. McCrackan uses Eddy's response to Twain as evidence of her sincere character and humble position. Twain, nevertheless, turns these same pieces into evidence for his own argument in "Mrs. Eddy in Error." McCrackan ends his article with the following statement:

> Mark Twain need have no fear that Christian Scientists will so deviate from true Christian Science practice as to "worship" Mrs. Eddy, but they recognize clearly the great significance of her discovery, the purity of her motives and the wisdom of her advice. It is their privilege to see that justice is not withheld from her. (364)

Such an ending easily illustrates the debate McCrackan puts in place in "Mrs. Eddy's Relation to Christian Science" as well as an embedded challenge to answer back, which Twain could hardly shun after the disgruntled ending of their friendship. "Mrs. Eddy in Error" with its shift in focus to Eddy is a consequent response to McCrackan's challenge and a meticulously articulated one at that.

Seen in this context, Twain's last article is nothing more than a continuation of the back-and-forth debate set forth by McCrackan; it counterclaims McCrackan's article with the same force and manner of style bound to in-depth textual analysis. Twain re-supplies in print in his "April number" the same long response from Eddy that McCrackan quotes, and it forms for Twain a foundation from which to build evidence contradictory to Eddy's own claims. McCrackan's article functions as a link between Twain's previous articles and his April piece by redirecting and preparing readers for what is to come. In this way, McCrackan's rebuttal is an integral part of Twain's periodical series because it helps explain at least part of the author's evolution of thought about Christian Science and Eddy. Both the focus and the tone of

McCrackan's "Mrs. Eddy's Relation to Christian Science" affect not just his last article "Mrs. Eddy in Error" but the new material of *Christian Science* as well.

"Mrs. Eddy in Error"

In spite of McCrackan's rebuttal published just a month before, "Mrs. Eddy in Error" begins in a seeming affable and obliging manner. Mark Twain declares in his opening sentence, "I feel almost sure that Mrs. Eddy's inspiration-works are getting out of repair" (505). In the first paragraph, Twain builds on this initial statement by calling the "repair" a "friend's duty to straighten such things out" and a "helpful service" for Mary Baker Eddy. His intentions in "Mrs. Eddy in Error" are painstakingly clear: he plans to point out the errors in Eddy's writing so that the truth might boldly shine through. While these word choices might appear non-combative and even cheerful when standing alone, reading them through the context provided by both McCrackan's article and the remainder of the publication series causes Twain's language to appear quite contemptuous and saucy.

The words "out of repair," for example, subtly imply that Eddy's "inspiration works" are typically repaired, meaning they are carefully revised and edited before reaching print. Twain's second sentence includes the pronoun "they" to infer that those doing the "repair" work are not one (Eddy) but many. He writes, "I think so because they made some errors in a statement which she

uttered through the press on the 17th of January" (505). That "they" are repairing Eddy's writings instead of "she" implies Eddy is dependent on others to bring her work up to certain standards. In other words, Eddy is in need of others' assistance and, therefore, Twain's "helpful service" too. The subtleties of language surface not just in Twain's own use if it; "Mrs. Eddy in Error" is all about the scrupulous and illuminating details seen in the writings of Eddy and other Christian Scientists.

The "statement" that Twain refers to in his opening paragraph is none other than Eddy's rebuttal republished in McCrackan's article in the previous month. Twain quotes the rebuttal in its entirety, as McCrackan does, in order to use Eddy's own language against her throughout the article. What Eddy includes in her rebuttal is some explicit statements regarding the use of the term "mother," attributed to her by her students, and the impossibility of her own self-deification or attempt to dethrone and replace Mary, the mother of Jesus. Eddy asserts,

> It is a fact, well understood, that I begged the students who first gave me the endearing appellative 'mother' not to name me thus. But without my consent, that word spread like wildfire. I still must think the name is not applicable to me. I stand in relation to this century as a Christian discoverer, founder, and leader. I regard self-deification as blasphemous; I may be more loved, but I am less lauded, pampered, provided for, and cheered than others before me—and wherefore? Because Christian Science is not yet popular, and I refuse adulation. (505)

Eddy's controlled yet adamant tone is apparent in her response, in which she denies the endearing name of "mother" and any sense of divine attribution. These very claims, of course, are what Twain finds to be in error in spite of the clarity and potency, through which Eddy expresses them.

Twain counterclaims Eddy's response with three prominent pieces of textual evidence, one from the sect's bylaws, and two from recorded proceedings at a National Christian Science Association session held on May 27, 1890 in New York. The author attempts to demonstrate a blatant contradiction between these three examples and Eddy's own declarations by letting the evidence speak for itself. While he provides some commentary on the three informative pieces, the remarks are built on obvious differences that readers are expected to readily see. For example, Twain begins by quoting Section 1, Article XXII of The Church of Christ, Scientist Bylaws spelled out in the *Manual of the Mother Church*. The passage is quite intriguing and worth including fully here:

> *The Title of Mother*. In the year 1895 loyal Christian Scientists had given to the author of their textbook, the Founder of Christian Science, the individual, endearing term of Mother. Therefore, if a student of Christian Science shall apply this title, either to herself or others, except as the term for kinship according to the flesh, it shall be regarded by the Church as an indication of disrespect for their Pastor Emeritus, and unfitness to be a member of the Mother Church. (506)

Upon reading the "Mother" bylaw, the inconsistency Twain points out is unmistakably clear. Eddy may oppose the use of the term "mother" in her

response to Twain, but in the bylaw she readily accepts, formalizes, and esteems the name, even to the point of inhibiting other members from its use unless based in biological relations. The Boston headquarters, itself called the "Mother Church," only further contradicts Eddy's response to Twain. Simply by quoting the bylaw in his article, the author makes his readers aware of the negation, and in doing so, he can open the door to questions about motive, knowing Eddy "can abolish that title whenever it may please her to do so" (506).

Twain moves quickly into his second example, which is a telegram Mary Baker Eddy sent to the congregation assembled at the May 27th session of the National Christian Science Association. Written five years prior to the listed date of 1895 in the bylaw (the year Christian Scientists supposedly gave Eddy the name "mother"), the telegram is a short response to her follower's greetings. The telegram states, "All hail! He hath filled the hungry with good things and the sick hath He not sent empty away.—MOTHER MARY" (507). The capitalized letters in the name and the discrepancy in the date are two obvious problems that Twain leads his readers to see. With these discrepancies, the author again questions Eddy's motives and the accuracy of her pious declarations in her recent published response to him.

As with the second example, the final piece of evidence Twain takes from the same published proceedings of the Association's May 27th session. During

the opening of the session the president addresses the congregation, and his speech includes this intriguing line: "There was but one Moses, one Jesus; and there is but one Mary." While Twain probably takes the statement out of its original context, his microscopic look at the changing verb tenses from past to present—one Moses and one Jesus "was" while one Mary "is"—is both astute and beguiling. In pointing this out, Twain subtlety moves his readers to believe the Mary that "is" must refer to Mary Baker Eddy and not Jesus's mother, although the author does not make the claim outright.

For readers, these early pieces of evidence are left in tension until Twain brings it all together into a single point, what he calls "Mrs. Eddy's Claim." Twain cleverly manipulates Christian Science terminology in this exaltation, a "claim" being "errors of mortal mind, fictions of the imagination" (508). His intention is to exclaim that Eddy's refutation of the name "mother" and ultimately her aggressive antagonism of any kind of deification are errant and counterfeit. Eddy's "claim" *is* her very self-deification. The author writes, "Mrs. Eddy is the sovereign; she devised that great place for herself, she occupies that throne" (510). Just mentioning the audacious idea, however, suffices for a moment because Twain leaves it to simmer in the minds of readers in order to return again briefly to Eddy's telegram. This pause, what Twain calls "a parenthesis," is conscientiously drawn because "Mrs. Eddy's Claim" is to be the

basis of his coming book *Christian Science*. By leaving readers to dwell on the notion while he works through one more example, the author better prepares them for his bold assertions to come.

What Twain examines in Eddy's telegram this second time is not the attribution of "Mother Mary" but the founder's blatant misquoting of Luke 1:53 from the Magnificat, a title often given to the virgin Mary's virtuous prayer spoken when she is with child. Eddy references this verse, in particular, in her telegram to her fellow devotees. While the first portion of the verse is accurate, the last portion should read ". . . and the rich he hath sent empty away" (508). Eddy, however, replaces "rich" with "sick" and adds the word "not" so that the verse instead reads, ". . . and the sick hath He not sent empty away." The misquotation is, of course, published in a New York newspaper the day after the session, but the mistake went unnoticed by both Christian Scientists and newspaper editors alike.

In examining the error for some time, Twain calls readers to question not only Eddy's error but also the reason why no Christian Scientists, who are expected to be proficient in the Bible, caught the change. Sarcastically, Twain declares, the "reason the new version provoked no surprise and no comment was, that the assemblage took it for a 'Key'—a spiritualized explanation of verse 53, newly sent down from heaven through Mrs. Eddy" (509). The implications of

Twain's reasoning, nevertheless, run deeper as the incongruity undercuts both the value Eddy (and Christian Science) places on biblical interpretation and authenticity and the depth of renown Christian Scientists have for their pious leader. According to Twain, no Christian Scientist had the heart to question or to render accountable her teachings because no one thought them to be incorrect:

> Their confidence in the authenticity of Mrs. Eddy's inspirations is so limitless and so firmly established that no change, however violent, which she might make in a Bible text could disturb their composure or provoke from them a protest. (509)

Without such accountability, Eddy has an open door to rewrite scripture in whatever "spiritualized" way she sees fit. This boundless power Twain fears most; it is for him profound evidence for Eddy's encouragement and embracement of deification.

While Twain's "parenthesis" is keenly persuasive, the example does require readers to fully engage with the evidence in order to reach Twain's own conclusions about Eddy and her followers. Twain leads his readers along, his ideas unfolding like bait. His argument is both methodical and reasonable when considering the evidence provided. The way in which Twain guides his readers through "Mrs. Eddy in Error," unveiling bits of his argument at a time, is a significant merit that stands against scholarly arguments that assume nearly all Twain's later works falter and are deficient in literary quality. The *North American Review* series and the earlier *Cosmopolitan* article both, in fact, exemplify

Twain's meticulous care in consciously directing his readership through certain ideas in order that they may discover his meaning rather than being told it blatantly and blandly. The process increases reader participation and offers clarification to readers. Bringing them through such a process of investigation, particularly in the first half of "Mrs. Eddy in Error," is indicative of a masterful blend of storytelling and journalism, two styles Twain had clearly mastered.

Mentioning Twain's clever guidance of his readership here is worthwhile because a noticeable shift occurs from *showing* to *telling* in the remainder of "Mrs. Eddy in Error." Twain turns to attack Eddy directly in scandalous statements meant to evoke shock and surprise in readers. While the ending of "Mrs. Eddy in Error" could be seen as overly passionate writing when read as it normally is at the end of Book Two of *Christian Science*, Twain has a purpose in the extreme claims he makes, and his purpose ironically upholds the article's effectiveness. The first paragraph after his "parenthesis" explains what that purpose is:

> To return to the Claim. I find myself greatly embarrassed by Mrs. Eddy's remark: "I regard self-deification as blasphemous." If she is right about that, I have written a half-ream of manuscript this past week which I must not print, either in the book which I am writing, or elsewhere: for it goes into that very matter with extensive elaboration, citing, in detail, words and acts of Mrs. Eddy's which seem to me to prove that she is a faithful and untiring worshipper of herself, and has carried self-deification to a length which has not before been ventured in ages. If ever. There is not room enough in this magazine for that Survey, but I can epitomize a portion of it here. (510)

As Twain tells readers in the above passage, the remainder of the article will "epitomize a portion" of the coming book *Christian Science*. Twain, however, does much more than give a taste of what is to come. The remainder of "Mrs. Eddy in Error," on the contrary, teases its audience like a proposal or advertisement traditionally aims to do. The article makes many attention-getting claims with little backing. Like hooks, these sensational claims further draw readers in, enticing them while at the same time withholding the support needed to accept the assertions as truth. The claims themselves are the sales ploy; they advertise only enough so that the reader longs to buy the book, in one sense, out of necessity.

In this way, Twain's claims in "Mrs. Eddy in Error" are quite effective because they sell the readers his book *Christian Science*. Twain declares, "Mrs. Eddy is the entire Supreme Church"; "To *think*—in the Supreme Church—is the New Unpardonable Sin"; and "'Excommunication' is the favorite penalty—it is threatened at every turn" (512). These examples may be biting and accusatory, but they readily render the question, how could such conclusions be reached? That question alone could compel any audience to want to read *Christian Science*. In another example, Twain's wit can be seen as he writes, "although she may regard 'self-deification as blasphemous,' she is as fond of it as I am of pie" (513). This palpable comparison not only embodies the feelings of indulgence that

Twain accuses Eddy of partaking in, it also illustrates his own objective in cultivating an appetite for *Christian Science* amongst his readers.

"Mrs. Eddy in Error," the last of the periodical series was meant to precede the publication of *Christian Science* by only one month. Its sensationalized claims are effective when placed in the context and order the article was originally read. Twain, however, does more than just make outrageous claims; he also prepares readers for what to expect when they come to his new book. For one, Twain includes a list of what he calls the "Main Parts of the Machine," which are the various roles listed in the *Manual of the Mother Church*. Commentary on these roles encompasses a large portion of the latter part of Book Two. Twain also quotes Frederick W. Peabody as an expert source, a fellow critic of Christian Science who comes to influence Book Two greatly and who Twain continues to quote many times over.

In addition to these, Twain hints at a final method to appear in *Christian Science* as he ends his article with a "P. S."[3] In the "P. S.," Twain makes some concluding statements about McCrackan's article that appeared in March and the content of his coming book, meant to be "a character-portrait of Mrs. Eddy, drawn from her own acts and words" (516). In his "hope to convert"

[3] The "P. S." mentioned here is not the same as the "P. S." manuscript, previously quoted in this chapter. The initial "P. S." manuscript that was meant to appear at the end of "Christian Science—III" was never published. This "P. S." was part of "Mrs. Eddy in Error" when the article first appeared in the *North American Review*.

McCrackan, Twain concludes, "he believes Mrs. Eddy's word; in his article he cites her as a witness and takes her testimony at par" (517). In his final lines, Twain indicates that he will do the same in *Christian Science*, but Eddy in his court will instead be "the most erratic and contradictory and untrustworthy witness that has occupied the stand since the days of the lamented Ananias" (517). The new material in *Christian Science* subsequently begins with Eddy on trial just as Twain declares.

Surprisingly enough, when seen through the lens of McCrackan's article, "Mrs. Eddy in Error," is a methodical and compelling argument that rounds out the series with adequate preparation for the new material to come in Book Two of *Christian Science*. While the latter half of "Mrs. Eddy in Error" does push the limits in tone and allegation, it has grounding in the earlier evidence of the article as well as the three articles that came before it. William Macnaughton is one of the few scholars to recognize the merits of "Mrs. Eddy in Error" in *Mark Twain's Last Years as a Writer*, although he does not fully grasp what makes it an effective piece of writing:

> The writer actually made his case more convincingly in the essays on Mrs. Eddy that he published while working on the long manuscript; a piece entitled "Mrs. Eddy in Error" is particularly effective as an argument, although it is not as humorous as certain sections of the long work. (192-93)

In spite of his affirmation, Macnaughton clearly separates the material that eventually becomes *Christian Science* with Twain's writing of "Mrs. Eddy in Error." The article, according to Macnaughton, is something composed alongside the "long manuscript" and not as an introduction to it. While he generally recognizes the article's effectiveness, Macnaughton doesn't clarify the specific "effective" qualities he sees, a considerable problem among most of the scholars who mention aspects of the influence of Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy on Twain. Rather, Macnaughton returns to the whole work believing the subject of Christian Science to be "too congenial for Mark Twain; being too close to it he was unable to view it objectively and critically" (193).

As Macnaughton's argument illustrates, "Mrs. Eddy in Error" is most often overshadowed by Book Two of *Christian Science* and not seen as the meticulously constructed precursor it actually is. All the five published articles that precede the appearance of *Christian Science*, in fact, have been neglected within Twain scholarship, rarely receiving mention let alone examination. According to Paul Baender, these articles along with the book have been "generally ignored since these subjects ceased to be controversial" (*What Is Man?* 28). The growing public familiarity with Christian Science throughout the decades, however, should not have caused the articles to slip from notice.

Twain's Christian Science articles are brimming with sophistication and depth of insight, intriguing experimentation with form, and persuasive argumentative power. The complex yet singular thesis threaded throughout the *North American Review* series, which includes the conscious building of emotional intensity and forthrightness, demonstrates Twain's mastery of periodical serialization as a nineteenth-century genre. The author constructs individual articles with their own form and content while concurrently synchronizing them together by his consistent debunking of the Christian Science claims of divinity. The literary uniqueness of the serialization alone gives reason to bring these articles into the Twain canon.

The Christian Scientists' reactions to Twain's periodical series can also give another reason. Twain's articles produced rebuttals from one of the movement's most forward thinkers, W. D. McCrackan, as well as the founder Mary Baker Eddy herself. These responses indicate Twain's imperative position at the center of this late-nineteenth-century cultural controversy. Twain's criticism of Eddy's proclamation to be called "Mother" in "Mrs. Eddy in Error," in fact, was the primary influence on Eddy when she chose to rewrite the problematic bylaw in 1903. Eddy removed the term "mother" and substituted it with "Leader" instead (Peel, "The Years of Authority" 199).

The greatest reason to place Twain's Christian Science articles into the canon, however, is their delineation of the author's evolution of thinking about a subject that he continues to ponder for the remainder of his life. These articles demonstrate a part of the development, as burlesque humor shifts into social and moral criticism. Twain's thinking, however, evolves even more as he writes Book Two of *Christian Science*. When the periodical articles are read in conjunction with *Christian Science*, the book comes to life for readers. *Christian Science* not only displays Twain's continual concern for audience and form, his extensive depth of study, and his immense concern for the accessibility and comprehensibility of religious texts, but it also shows the profound impact Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy has on all his later writings.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Repackaged and Unpublished Writings of 1903

I am not playing with Christian Science and its founder, I am examining them; and I am doing it because of the interest I find in the inquiry. My results may seem inadequate to a reader, but they have (for me) clarified a muddle and brought a sort of order out of a chaos, and so I value them.

from Chapter 5 in Book Two of Christian Science

Although this volume contains the complete Science of Mind-healing, never believe that you can absorb the whole meaning of the Science by a simple perusal of this book. The book needs to be studied, and the demonstration of the rules of scientific healing will plant you firmly on the spiritual groundwork of Christian Science.

from "Science, Theology, Medicine" in Science and Health[1]

Upon finishing "Mrs. Eddy in Error" in April 1903, readers were left with one dominant feeling: unquenchable anticipation for Mark Twain's coming book. In a private letter written to Twain on March 31, 1903, Frederick W. Peabody declares his "impatience" for the coming *Christian Science*.[2] Peabody, an ardent reader of the *North American Review* series, had just finished the April 1903 article, declaring it to be the "best thing" the author had written on the subject thus far. His anticipatory remarks in the letter lend credence to the assertion that

[1] In the original passage, the words "perusal" and "studied" are italicized. The passage appears on page 147 of *Science and Health*.

[2] Peabody's letter to Twain described here comes from a collection of letters the two men exchanged, which will be discussed in more depth toward the end of this chapter. These letters have yet to be published in book form. They are, however, available for viewing at the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

other dedicated readers must have also felt similarly about the book to come. Harpers & Brothers advertisement for *Christian Science* in the March 1903 issue of the *North American Review* told readers the book would come out in May (Baender 26). Therefore, "Mrs. Eddy in Error" was clearly no ending to Twain's commentary on Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy.

In the latter half of the article itself, Twain implies that "Mrs. Eddy in Error" is instead more like a beginning, the previously published articles then becoming a kind of introduction for his "character-portrait" of Eddy, meant to be a lengthy description of "Mrs. Eddy's Claim." The "claim," of course, was Eddy's supposed despotism, which infiltrated not just her personal life and writings but her direct involvement in the formation of the Christian Science religious sect. *Christian Science*, according to Twain, would be a fascinating exploration that not only expanded the previous claims about the religious sect but also brought to readers lengthy new material concerning the sect's equally controversial founder. Examining the movement alone was not enough; Twain would investigate for readers its source, the person and character of Mary Baker Eddy.

In spite of the expectation created with "Mrs. Eddy in Error," Twain's 1903 audience did not see *Christian Science* until February of 1907. By that time, the anticipation built by the periodical series and its logical progression of

thought (which Twain relied heavily on in the construction of *Christian Science*) was forgotten, leaving the book a seeming haphazard and arduous harangue. *Christian Science*, in fact, seemed to mark the literary downfall of an aging writer who was arguably past his prime. Such a view has remained prominent even among twenty-first century scholars, but like the readers of 1907, they too have misread *Christian Science*. When read in conjunction with the *Cosmopolitan* article and *North American Review* periodical series, the book can be seen as logical and methodical, not chaotic and confusing. The book provides insight into Twain's compositional processes, which demonstrate a continuous concern for form and its inseparability with content.

Book One of *Christian Science*, for example, is one of the most intriguing compositional reworkings in all of Twain's writings. Made up entirely of Twain's previously published material, Book One ironically looks very little like the original articles. Twain cuts out an important section from both "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy" and "Christian Science"; he removes half of "Christian Science—III," the entire fictional prophesy section; and he separates "Mrs. Eddy in Error," the transitional article, and moves it instead to the end of Book Two. These, however, are only Twain's major revisions. Many minor changes are made too, including the replacement of article titles with chapter headings and the addition of a preface and footnotes for Book One. Why Twain

makes such drastic revisions, considering the articles' previous successes, is intriguing. The reasons are bound both in Twain's confidence in serialization as well as in the dilemmas that come from following serialization with a promised new book. In *Christian Science* Twain assumes readers have prior knowledge of the previous articles and builds the book's thesis on that existing knowledge. Twain's aim in *Christian Science*, however, eventually comes to suffer from the influence of Frederick W. Peabody as well as his own ongoing questioning of Christian Science and its founder.

The Previously Published Articles Revisited

When writing *Christian Science* Twain knew quite well what readers would expect from his book. The book would need to supply something new in order to satisfy the already accumulated audience who was familiar with the previously published articles. The book's argument had to approach the subject from a fresh vantage point, utilize and carry on the momentum built in the periodical series, and challenge readers in more compelling ways in order to reach a literary peak as the culmination and fulfillment of all of Twain's previous Christian Science writings. Twain's "character-portrait" of Eddy could do just that. Twain could test not just the divinity of the Christian Science movement, as he did in the articles, but he could also test Eddy's character, of which many followers esteemed so highly that she appeared a personage of worship more

than a leader of a religious movement. Twain was not the only nineteenth-century writer to question Eddy's role in the rise of Christian Science. The movement's exponential success was as much bound in Eddy's perplexing persona broadcast within the newspapers as it was in the idealistic doctrines that it espoused.

Twain's new aim, his "character-portrait," in *Christian Science* was nevertheless not an entirely new thesis from what the periodical series presented. The book merely shifts the focus from commenting on Christian Science as a socio-religious movement to commenting on Mary Baker Eddy. The core thesis remains the same: Christian Science and Eddy, in spite of their enduring success, are utterly human. Their rise in success, in fact, is bound specifically to the worst of human traits: selfishness, profiteering, and vanity. The divinity of each is a mask that keeps the true impious characteristics hidden, and the majority of the late-nineteenth-century public, untrained in religious analysis, is unable to see past the captivating religious charms. Readers of the *North American Review* series would have seen the logical progression that takes place in the articles as Twain points out the falsehoods of the religious sect, and Twain's transition piece "Mrs. Eddy in Error" would have prepared them well for the shift in argument in the coming book. Few would have questioned Twain's main objectives, particularly with the clarity the preface of *Christian Science* provides.

Twain's shift in *Christian Science*, however, could not come without a dilemma. Twain needed to include in his book the previously published material, which first captured readers' attentions, sustained their interests, and would eventually entice them to buy *Christian Science* when released. Without it readers might feel duped into buying a book wholly unlike the original articles. The articles had to reappear; in fact, Twain promised they would reappear in the final article "Mrs. Eddy in Error." A quandary came, however, with putting both the old and new material together in *Christian Science*. The previous articles were strong and persuasive. They also demonstrated a rather steady and broad intensification of emotion and thought that would be difficult to enlarge much without berating the audience and weakening the book's claims. The previously published material, therefore, needed to be limited in such a way that it still reminded readers of the logical progression but did not overpower the new aim in the book. Any overpowering would make the book seem to say nothing new, especially considering the proximity of its planned publication one month after the last article.

Placing the previously published articles in *Christian Science* required some maneuvering for Twain. The old material couldn't be reduced too much. The material had to retain the semblance of significance while at the same time having lesser argumentative appeal than that of the new material. The published

articles also required uniformity. The multiple article titles, which reused the term "Christian Science," worked well for continuity in monthly publications, but they would be repetitive in a book, especially if condensed in size. The separation of the old material in reduced form into Book One and the placement of the new material into Book Two, along with "Mrs. Eddy in Error," seemed to be the best way to reconcile the problem. Since much of "Mrs. Eddy in Error" coincided with the new material, the whole article could fit better within Book Two. Relabeling the other articles with chapter headings and packaging them into their own book could then cause them to retain some significance while, at the same time, giving Twain additional freedom to not just limit the content but also streamline the focus of his previous argument with the inclusion of an overarching preface and footnotes. Twain's preface in *Christian Science* and his footnotes in Book One attest to his attempts to limit what would have been familiar material for readers, lesson its argumentative appeal, and bring together holistically the old and new material in one book. Assuming his audience to be the same as that of the periodical series, Twain could easily make these revisions without the fear of causing confusion or lessoning the quality of the book.

The preface to *Christian Science* contains invaluable clues that point toward Twain's structural dilemmas, in which he attempts to pull both the old and new material together in a conducive way. Twain writes,

> Book I of this volume occupies a quarter or a third of the volume, and consists of matter written about four years ago, but not hitherto published in book form. It contained errors of judgment and of fact. I have now corrected these, to the best of my ability and later knowledge.
>
> Book II was written at the beginning of 1903, and has not until now appeared in any form. In it my purpose has been to present a character-portrait of Mrs. Eddy, drawn from her own acts and words solely, not from hearsay and rumor; and to explain the nature and scope of her Monarchy, as revealed in the Laws by which she governs it, and which she wrote herself. (*What Is Man?* 215)

As indicated in Twain's preface, Book One and Book Two are clearly meant to be separate, each carrying their own weight in *Christian Science*. Book One contains Twain's previously published writings, and Book Two sets out Twain's new focus—a "character-portrait of Mrs. Eddy"—a line repeated directly from "Mrs. Eddy in Error." Twain's description of each book, however, is quite telling: the first book he subtly undervalues while the second is then venerated. For example, in his description of Book One, Twain concludes that the material was "written about four years ago." Reminding readers of the distance makes the previously published material seem less relevant in the present book, particularly when paired with the new. Twain lumps all of his early articles into this same label, even though "Christian Science—III" was probably written in congruence with the new material that appears in Book Two. Twain also concludes that the previously published material contain errors, not just in "fact" but also "judgment," both of which have had to be corrected.

With the previous material out-of-date and at least somewhat incorrect, the new material consequently shines much brighter for readers with its obvious relevancy and accuracy. As a result, Twain's "character-portrait" (Book Two) seems like a necessary addition, upon which the previous material is now dependent instead of the other way around. The clarity through which Twain explains the new purpose only reinforces the dominant role that Book Two takes in *Christian Science*. Twain's limiting of the previous articles makes sufficient room for his new aim, leaving Book One as a kind of quasi introduction.

The additions of footnotes throughout Book One tell the same tale as Twain's preface does. The footnotes contain Twain's "corrections," which are obviously meant to connect the two halves of the book together by cleverly making Book One seem dependent on Book Two. Some of Twain's footnotes include numerical changes, like the one correcting the quantity of current Christian Science churches, a number Twain had mistakenly doubled in his article "Christian Science" (239). Others include quotations from letters Twain received in response to the series, which can be found to at times uphold and contradict his previous claims. Many of the footnotes, however, six to be exact, make alterations in "judgment" by repeatedly telling readers that the "new half of the book" will fully explain certain points made in first half. For example, two times within the opening paragraph of chapter six, Twain tells readers that Book

Two will spell out the author's main point concerning a portrait of Eddy hanging in the Mother Church in Boston. Twain declares in the footnotes, "There is a dispute about that picture. I will render justice concerning it in the new half of this book" and "This suggestion has been scorned. I will examine the matter in the new half of the book" (*What Is Man?* 238). In these and other similar ones, Twain neither explains his new position nor tells where exactly in Book Two he picks up the discussion. Instead all of Book Two seems to supply the answers to the concerns of Book One.

Besides the footnotes signaling readers to Book Two, other more lengthy footnotes are added to Book One that continue to support Twain's focused revisions of the previously published material. One of them, in particular, adds insight to Twain's intentions for Book One, meant to play a secondary role in *Christian Science*. The footnote comes at the end of chapter three, in which Twain tells readers that Eddy's textbook *Science and Health* is no longer confusing to him. He writes,

> The first reading of any book whose terminology is new and strange is nearly sure to leave the reader in a bewildered and sarcastic state of mind. But now that during the past two months I have by diligence gained a fair acquaintanceship with *Science and Health* technicalities, I no longer find the bulk of that work hard to understand. (230-31)

While the most obvious realization within Twain's footnotes is his new found understanding of *Science and Health*, his confession alludes to something more

here. Twain's opinions on Christian Science no longer stem from the perspective of an outsider peering curiously into the religious sect; rather, the author has examined the doctrines first hand and has shifted from novice to expert. As a result, the foregoing naive perspective comes to represent that of the previously published material while the opinions in the latter half of *Christian Science* are now based in analytical experience.

Twain supports this transition by coupling the above passage with a lengthy satirical aside, in which he explains his lucky escape from embarrassment after he almost sent out a piece of terrible writing on the technical subject of "postcentral fissural complex." Twain's explains the errors of his initial writings in the following list:

> I said that the style was disgraceful; that it was labored and tumultuous, and in places violent; that the treatment was involved and erratic, and almost as a rule bewildering; that to lack of simplicity was added a lack of vocabulary; that there was quite too much feeling shown . . . (231)

This list surprisingly matches much of Twain's complaints about Eddy's *Science and Health*, which he intends his audience to see. He places his own early work alongside *Science and Health* implying both are equal in their severely inferior qualities.

The point in bringing up the account is two fold for Twain. On the one hand, Twain's study of Christian Science has done him a "service and saved him

a sorrow" because his careful examination of Eddy's writing style made him more conscientious of his own communication on paper. The conscientiousness Twain has cultivated, however, has seemingly not recurred with Eddy, at least as the author implies in his footnote. As the learned one, Twain now stands on higher ground able to adequately judge Eddy because he has first judged and corrected himself. Since he no longer falls into the same trap, he has the wherewithal to pinpoint where and how "Mrs. Eddy's inspiration-works are getting out of repair," as Twain claims in the first line of "Mrs. Eddy in Error" (505).

In addition to Twain's subtle defense of his own authority, a secondary purpose of the footnote can be seen in remembering the role of all the footnotes in the author's attempt to rework the previously published material that forms Book One. Twain's description of Book One and Book Two in his Preface parallel, respectively, the initial substandard writing and the later perfected and corrected second draft. While Twain's footnote does not directly state the parallel, the pairing inevitably reinforces the new perspective he wants readers to bring to Book One, a view of its inferiority and inescapable dependence upon Book Two for clarity and understanding.

In spite of the shaping Twain attempts in the preface and footnotes of Book One, the previously published articles must be read prior to *Christian*

Science. Twain may cleverly manipulate his readers into thinking Book One is inferior so that he can build upon it manageably in Book Two, but the reverse occurs: *Christian Science* is dependent upon the articles, which define its complex thesis, justify the significance of the study, and adequately lead readers into the "character-portrait" that encompasses all of Book Two. Without reading the articles first, *Christian Science* lacks the argumentative foundation necessary to see the book as thesis-driven, methodical, and organized. The splintered and redirected appearance of the old material in Book One, in fact, leads readers astray from Twain's original intentions because the missing pieces are crucial to the establishment of his argument. While many of Twain's old ideas are still accessible in Book One, his main thesis is not concurrent throughout, too much emphasis is given to minor sub-claims, and the literary ingenuity appears spotty at best. The articles, therefore, become a crutch, on which Twain leans, expecting a strong memory from his 1903 audience.

While Twain's reworking of his five previous articles in Book One is intriguing, the remainder of *Christian Science* is worth discussing for the merits it holds when followed by a discussion of the published Christian Science articles. Twain's depiction of Eddy's "character-portrait" is accomplished through lengthy textual analysis, which is anticipated in "Mrs. Eddy in Error." In *Christian Science* Twain draws from Eddy's biography *Retrospection and*

Introspection, her *Miscellaneous Writings,* and several editions of the Christian Science textbook *Science and Health* in attempt to test her character and bear out its flaws. Eddy's published writings are Twain's only reliable source, if he is to avoid the temptation of hearsay, but the sheer magnitude of his examination becomes a weakness of the book that cannot necessarily be reconciled by seeing it from a 1903 perspective. The structural problems of the book, however, surface in the latter half of Book Two. The first few chapters still have some glimmerings of stylistic ingenuity and creative attempts in form that echo those found in the previous articles.

The Newly Written Material Forming Book Two

The new material of *Christian Science* has rarely been given attention in Twain scholarship. Book Two undoubtedly contains passages of exceptional quality as well as passages with problems in both thought and form. In spite of the problems, however, Book Two is logically systematic; Mark Twain questions Mary Baker Eddy's seemingly pious character much like he does the divinity of Christian Science in the five early articles. In Book Two, Twain presents an organizational strategy for readers, set up in chapter one. In the first line of the chapter, he declares, "When we do not know a public man personally, we guess him out by the facts of his career" (*What Is Man?* 265). According to Twain, these

facts are on display in the published writings of Eddy, which the author plans to analyze in order to expose Eddy's vanity and despotism for readers to see.

Twain begins with Eddy's years as a "sprout," her childhood, which is depicted in her autobiography *Retrospection and Introspection*.[3] Building on this, Twain moves to the words of *Science and Health*, the book Eddy composed before and continuously revised during her rise to fame. Twain follows a discussion of *Science and Health* with a lengthy analysis of the *Manual of the Mother Church*, which was written after Eddy's establishment of The Church of Christ, Scientist and her far-reaching recognition as the founder of the new religious sect. In reference to this success, Twain calls Eddy "the matured sequoia gigantea," yet the character flaws displayed in her writings are constant with those that supposedly appear in her descriptions of her early years as a "sprout" (266). Eddy exposes her vanity and self-deification in all her works: *Retrospection and Introspection*, *Science and Health*, and the *Manual of the Mother Church*.[4]

The logical progression of Book Two, a chronological look at Eddy's texts in relation to her rise in fame, is intrinsically bound to Book One and, therefore,

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[3] Twain does acknowledge in his discussion of *Retrospection and Introspection* that Eddy wrote her autobiography after her rise to fame. Holding to his plan of only analyzing Eddy's own words, however, leaves the author with the autobiography alone as a reliable source for examining the founder's early life.

[4] Twain also makes reference to Eddy's *Miscellaneous Writings* and published works in the *Christian Science Journal*. These references are often used for comparison and contrast with *Science and Health* and the *Manual of the Mother Church*, but the major focus is on the three works listed above.

is equally dependent upon knowledge of the early Christian Science articles. Especially when considering his need to place "Mrs. Eddy in Error" at the end of Book Two, the articles must be read first to understand Twain's ongoing thesis and methodology in the new material of *Christian Science*. Knowing how the articles explain the human, moral failings of the religious sect, in spite of its rising status, and how they set the stage for Twain's new emphasis on Eddy is essential to seeing the new material as a significant development of the author's thinking on Christian Science. In "Mrs. Eddy in Error," Twain not only tells readers what Book Two will do, but he also shows them how he will draw his "character-portrait" of Eddy. Twain's conclusion of the contradictory passages about the name "Mother Mary" are exactly the clever connections he says he will make in order to demonstrate Eddy's vanity and self-deification. Even though *Christian Science* did not appear in 1903, the book does what Twain says it will do. In spite of its imperfections, *Christian Science* does present some persuasive contradictions and revelations in Eddy's writings, at least as Twain cunningly interprets them.

When seen in congruence with the early articles, Book Two reflects some of the same creativity and concern for form, particularly in the early chapters. The preface to Book Two, for example, is a short passage excerpted from a fictionalized work Twain calls "The Legend of Man-Mystery." Twain's excerpt

at the beginning of Book Two has the same purpose as the latter half of the article "Christian Science—III," in which he inserts a piece of futuristic fiction to illustrate his belief in the incomparable prospective success of The Church of Christ, Scientist. Like the fragment from "Christian Science—III," the "Man-Mystery" excerpt has no introduction or outside explanation. Just as its title suggests, it is a mystery, leaving readers to decipher its meaning through drawing comparisons and recognizing parallels. The difference between the passage from "Christian Science—III" and the "Man-Mystery" excerpt, however, is the fictional futuristic prophecy came from a longer unpublished work among Twain's collections, "The Secret History of Eddypus." On the contrary, the "Man-Mystery" excerpt was devised especially for *Christian Science*. No other record of a work called "The Legend of Man-Mystery" is among Twain's collections of published and unpublished writings (*What is Man?* 562).[5]

The meaning Twain intends readers to see in the "Man-Mystery" preface is not a difficult one. Twain's assessment of the "stranger called the Man-Mystery" is obviously meant to parallel his view of Mary Baker Eddy, both having a similar character make up, which is arguably the make up of all of humankind (264). The "Man-Mystery," like Eddy, is seen as "very

[5] According to Paul Baender in *What is Man? And Other Philosophical Writings*, a separate copy of "The Legend of Man-Mystery" has not survived in any form. No record of its existence is even known. Beander, therefore, concludes that Twain must have invented the creative piece for its inclusion in *Christian Science* and not for any later printing.

extraordinary" by those around him, yet within his character lies "hidden such strange contradictions and disproportions" (264). These "disproportions" are the ordinary qualities that inevitably thwart the heroic status of the "Man-Mystery," demonstrating his deficiency and absolute humanness. For the "Man-Mystery" these character flaws are jealousy, vanity, and ignorance, particularly in the areas of literature and art. Twain's "Man-Mystery" is surprisingly knowledgeable of one subject alone—the Nebular Theory—which provides a nice satiric conclusion to the excerpt. Of the legend's followers, Twain writes, "many of the laity who wanted their nebulosities fresh, admired his doctrine and adopted it, and it attained to great prosperity in spite of the hostility of the experts" (264). The implication in his final statement is, of course, a mockery of the cloudy, indistinct, and confusing abstractions, through which Christian Science doctrines are communicated. In other words, only those whose minds are confused readily accept the "Nebular Theory" of "Man-Mystery," and only those whose minds are nebulous truly believe in Eddy's ideology of Christian Science.

Twain's first chapter of Book Two nicely parallels the "Man-Mystery" preface by strongly implying the figure's connection to Mary Baker Eddy. In the first paragraph following the preface, Twain writes the following about Eddy:

> I think we can peacefully agree as to two or three extraordinary features of her make-up, but not upon the other features of it. We cannot peacefully agree as to her motives, therefore her character must remain crooked to some of us and straight to the others. (265)

According to Twain, Eddy is similar to his fictional "Man-Mystery" because both are "extraordinary" and, at the same time, "crooked." Like the "Man-Mystery," some overlook Eddy's "crooked" character flaws believing all of her to be virtuous and selfless. Eddy appears heroic, a demi-god, but Twain can see through the façade. Neither Eddy nor the "Man-Mystery" is what each seems: both are flawed and very much human.

Following this idea, chapter one incorporates a short examination of Eddy's autobiography *Retrospection and Introspection*, which demonstrates persuasive power equal to what is found in the early articles. Twain's analysis provides testimony of the spiritual journey Eddy took before, during and after her discovery of Christian Science. Twain uses *Retrospection and Introspection* to characterize Eddy in her early years as a "sprout" in order to illustrated Eddy's childhood character as not at all extraordinary. Twain writes, "The person who imagines that a Big Tree sprout is bigger than other kinds of sprouts is quite mistaken" (266). The implications of Twain's analogy are clearly that Eddy is no different from anyone else when considering her own account of her background and depictions of her early life. Eddy, according to Twain, is as "humanly commonplace" as the rest of humanity, in spite of her great successes.

In Twain's argument about *Retrospection and Introspection*, he addresses the construction of autobiographies in general. He writes, "An autobiography is the

most treacherous thing there is. It lets out every secret its author is trying to keep; it lets the truth shine unobstructed through every harmless little deception he tries to play" (266). The secret Eddy's autobiography "lets out," according to Twain, is her vanity on display in at least three ways. First of all, Eddy's autobiography includes samplings of her childhood poetry, and Eddy declares them to be satisfying and worthwhile. Twain's evaluation of the poems, however, falls short of Eddy's assessment; Twain believes them to be similar to those any juvenile writes when "vain of trivial things" during the first half of his or her life (267). Eddy also makes mention of her famous ancestry, which includes Sir William Wallace and Hannah More. Eddy's vanity appears in her need to explain to her readers who each famous relative is as well as the significant contributions made to history. The final detail is the showy description of her education:

> At ten years of age I was as familiar with Lindley Murray's Grammar as with the Westminster Catechism; and the latter I had to repeat every Sunday. My favorite studies were Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Moral Science. From my brother Albert I received lessons in the ancient tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. (10)[6]

According to Twain, the breadth of Eddy's description is astonishing in light of her rural upbringing and her declaration that all her education "vanished like a

[6] Twain includes this quote from *Retrospection and Introspection* in chapter one of Book Two, but the quote is taken from page ten of the original autobiography.

dream" (10). This disappearance becomes a running joke in Book Two as the author satirically pinpoints it as the reason for Eddy's unsophisticated writing style.

In addition to the cleverness and persuasiveness of the preface and chapter one, the next few chapters of Book Two also demonstrate Twain's consideration of form, which resembles in many ways the careful attention to detail that can be seen in the previously published articles. In these chapters, Twain builds on what is said in chapter one by moving on from demonstrating Eddy's vanity in her years as a "sprout" to a detailed comparative analysis of passages from *Science and Health*. These first few chapters that critique Eddy's own writing would never be persuasive unless Twain himself communicated his argument with a meticulousness that either matched or exceeded his own standards of evaluation. Knowing this, Twain wraps his argument in two sophisticated metaphors: the elephant hunt and the witness on trial.

Within chapters two and three of Book Two, Twain sets up a figurative hunt for an elephant, but the hunt in the eyes of readers is really two fold. On the one hand, Eddy is a huntress, her published writings are her "literary gun," and the elephant she is after is none other than Christian Science, her religious discovery. Twain points out that Eddy's

> . . . primitive literary gun which began as a hundred-yard flint-lock smooth-bore muzzle-loader, and in the course of forty years has acquired one notable improvement after another—percussion cap; fixed cartridge; rifle barrel; efficiency at half a mile . . . (*What is Man?* 270)

The new and improved "gun" Twain refers to is, of course, Eddy's *Science and Health*, which saw hundreds of revisions between its first appearance in 1875 and Eddy's death in 1910.

While Twain has no qualms with the improvements made to *Science and Health*, he does question its authorship as he examines certain passages from *Science and Health*, especially its preface, next to passages from *Miscellaneous Writings* and *Retrospection and Introspection*. Twain's conclusions are as follows:

> The immense contrast between the legitimate English of *Science and Health* and the bastard English of Mrs. Eddy's miscellaneous work, and between the maturity of the one diction and the juvenility of the other, suggests—compels—the question, Are there *two* guns? It would seem so. Is there a poor foolish old scattering flint-lock for rabbit, and a long-range, center-driving up-to-date Mauser-magazine for elephant? It looks like it. For it is observable that in *Science and Health* (the elephant-ground), the practice was good at the start and has remained so, and that the practice in the miscellaneous outside small-game field was very bad at the start and was never less bad at any later time. (272-73)

As can be seen in this passage, Twain cleverly questions whether Eddy is, in fact, the author of *Science and Health* when considering the nature and extent of the revisions made to it. According to his examples, the discrepancy between the writing style of the 1902 edition of the book and that of Eddy's other work is so

vast that readers cannot help but find credence in Twain's argument, particularly late-nineteenth-century readers who knew first hand the controversies surrounding Christian Science, its founder, and *Science and Health*. Twain's ultimate question is simple: how much second-hand revision is too much without giving credit where it is due? Even if his 1903 readers could not go the distance with the author to the point of questioning Eddy's own authorship of *Science and Health*, Twain's argument does give compelling reason to believe that another unnamed person must have come along and edited the book with so much scrutiny that little of Eddy's own sentences remain in tact.

While Twain's metaphor of a huntress with a gun gives life to what would otherwise be tiresome textual analysis, the ingenuity of these chapters also comes in the sense of the author's own "hunt" as he parcels through Eddy's writings. Similar to a traditional hunt, Twain takes his readers through the fields of Eddy's works, seeking out certain passages and dissecting them in order to evaluate their form. Piece by piece, Twain attempts to point out the inferior aspects of Eddy's own style while, at the same time, proving "the presence of the 'prentice hand" in passages that appear to have been polished (277). Twain's assertion that every writer is unique in both style and limitations reinforces his "hunt" for what he terms, "circumstantial evidence." Toward the end of chapter three, Twain includes a long list of Eddy's own writing, its qualities and limitations, as

a way of pulling all the pieces together in preparation for his questioning of *Science and Health* as a God-inspired text. The precariousness of Eddy's own authorship, at least when considering Twain's attempt to prove the existence of "two guns," forms a delightful stepping stone that the author uses for his next investigation.

Chapters four and five of Book Two leave behind the notion of a figurative hunt in order to take up a second image, Eddy on the witness stand. Twain's witness, however, is an atypical one because her testimony is maddeningly inconclusive: "the most trying witness—*the* most trying witness that ever kissed the Book, I am sure. There is no keeping up with her erratic testimony" (284). The core question Twain asks his witness continues from the preceding chapters: who is the author of *Science and Health*? Twain, however, pairs that question with another more specific one: is the author God or is it a woman? Eddy's answer to both questions is inconsistent, at least according to Twain's interpretations of the evidence he finds in *Retrospection and Introspection*, *Science and Health*, and the *Manual of the Mother Church*. In *Retrospection and Introspection* Eddy declares that her textbook is divinely inspired, yet written down by herself. The autobiography also declares that putting a price on *Science and Health* was another ordination by God. Twain spends significant time discussing the ambiguity of Eddy's statements when considering their

implications. If God wrote the book, then He should receive all profits from it. However, Eddy profits from the book and is credited as its author. If *Science and Health* is inspired by God and merely written down by Eddy, then where is the line drawn? The extent of Eddy's input into the construction of the book and the formation of its ideas is unclear in her written statements.

According to Twain, Eddy seems to claim either she wrote *Science and Health* or God wrote it whenever it is most advantageous to her. Twain writes, "A warm, palpitating Standard Old interest, so to speak. All this indicates inspiration. We may assume, then, two inspirations: one for the book, the other for the business" (*What is Man?* 283). Twain's criticism concerning the elusiveness of Eddy's claims continues as he draws on passages from *Science and Health* and the *Manual of the Mother Church*. In these chapters, Twain connects readers to Book One (and the early articles) by returning to the quotation by Rev. George Tomkins, which appears as an epigraph to chapter seven, and resurrecting the passage from the church bylaws labeled, "The Title of Mother," which appears in "Mrs. Eddy in Error."[7] Twain uses these excerpts to further demonstrate Eddy's ambiguity. The lack of clarity in the testimony of this "most trying witness," in Twain's mind, gives rise to a belief in the uncertainty of the religious sect's divinity.

[7] The Rev. George Tomkins quotation originally appears at the beginning of Twain's article, "Christian Science—II."

Twain's "Man-Mystery" preface, his metaphorical elephant hunt, and his positioning of Eddy on the witness stand are all samplings in Book Two of his conscientious attention to form and style. In *Christian Science*, Twain makes his textual analysis of Eddy's writings, at least in the first part of Book Two, palpable and entertaining for readers, just as he does in the Christian Science articles. Twain's arguments may grow in complexity as well as tedious meticulousness as he explains passage after passage from Eddy's published writings, but the chapters are still persuasive and accessible for readers, particularly those of the late nineteenth century.

While the book's literary successes can be praised, an examination of *Christian Science* is incomplete without also looking at the problematic latter half of Book Two. In the final chapters, particularly chapters seven and eight, Twain's form splinters to the point of choppiness, and his textual analysis turns to droning and monotony. Chapters seven and eight, however, do present an intriguing structural attempt on Twain's part in spite of its shortcomings. Twain creatively adopts the organizational framework of the *Manual of the Mother Church*, Eddy's book of bylaws for The Church of Christ, Scientist, and uses it as a way to structure his own continuing argument about her questionable character.

The *Manual*, for example, segments its material and gives each piece of information a subheading, beginning with the various roles and titles esteemed members of The Church of Christ, Scientist can hold. Eddy is, of course, the Pastor Emeritus, a title Twain mocks considerably throughout the latter half of Book Two. Other roles, however, include the president, treasurer and clerk, board of trustees, readers, and more. In his concern for form, Twain takes these various titles and uses them as subheadings for his own argument. Each subheading is followed by Twain's commentary upon that specific role or rule in a way that moves along his ongoing thesis. To be clever, Twain adds several additional subheadings interspersed with the ones taken from the *Manual*. The titles "The Aristocracy," "'Andsome English Required," and "Axe and Block" are among some of these, which are meant to be comedic, but Twain's strong language makes them appear sardonic much more than funny.

Twain's adoption of the subheadings from the *Manual of the Mother Church* has some potential as a unique structural technique. The sheer length of his pursuit in this direction, however, negates its possible success. The titles are too many, and they are unevenly spaced. Certain ones contain several pages of commentary while others contain only a couple of lines. On the outset, such unevenness may seem to spare the reader from monotony, but the divisions

instead give the illusion of haphazardness, even though the section has visible organization and some persuasive statements weave throughout.

The multiplicitous titles also cause these chapters to be choppy for readers who can easily lose sight of Twain's extended argument, his "character-portrait" of Eddy. Twain's late-nineteenth-century readers, in fact, who had little access to the *Manual of the Mother Church* are left longing for foreknowledge of the content in the book in order to fully grasp his interpretations. Twain's lengthy chapters seven and eight ironically coincide with the author's own claim: "I do not find this analyzing-work easy, I would rather saw wood" (340). By the end of chapter eight, readers cannot help but feel they would rather do the same, and such an attitude unfortunately lingers through the remaining summative chapters of the book.

When considering the problematic nature of the latter half of Book Two, Twain's fragmentary form is a definite problem. The lengthy chapters become a distraction and, therefore, weaken Twain's overall aim. Another problem, however, is equally if not more disconcerting: Twain's voice and tone grows more tempered and overbearingly sarcastic throughout Book Two of *Christian Science*. Twain's derogatory statements, particularly about Eddy, are too forthcoming and frequent. Even examining the book in relation to its prior serialization cannot wipe away the imperiousness of Twain's claims. According

to Twain, Eddy is a victimizer, an oppressor, and one who even embraces "the spirit of the Spanish Inquisition" (342).

While Twain's voice and tone are troubling in the latter part of *Christian Science*, the problem is not necessarily that the author expresses extreme disregard for Eddy or for the organization of The Church of Christ, Scientist. In passages toward the beginning of Book Two as well as passages from the five early articles, Twain includes similar and equally harsh statements. In "Mrs. Eddy in Error," for example, Twain goes so far as to refer to Eddy as "the entire Supreme Church" and The Church of Christ, Scientist as a "machine" (512). In the article, however, both Twain's claims and the way in which they are communicated works as a kind of shocking enticement to read the coming *Christian Science*. Twain's critical statements in the early part of Book Two also work because they are not excessive and their focus tends to be more about Eddy's derisory abstract writing style than about her as a "self-seeking and remorseless tyrant," as he calls her in chapter seven. Even in passages where Twain does attack Eddy's character, like her display of vanity in *Retrospection and Introspection* ("Mrs. Eddy is already as tall as the Eiffel Tower"), the author's comments are witty and couched in a sense of blithe exploration that balances out the sharpness of the statements (266). In the latter half of Book Two, the amusing sense of exploration, however, is lost. What surfaces instead is an

egregious all-knowing voice that lacks much of the audience appeal and literary cleverness of Twain's earlier chapters. The later chapters, in fact, appear less and less like acquired assessments that have derived from extensive study and more like a dogmatic ploy to slander Eddy and her religious sect. While Twain's thesis arguably does not change from his initial planning for *Christian Science*, his voice and tone definitely does.

Ironically, Twain's shift in voice and tone is intrinsically linked to his collaboration with fellow Christian Science critic Frederick W. Peabody. Peabody's influence on Twain's composition of *Christian Science* is profoundly impactful, both for better and for worse. Examining the influence is an essential part of any study of *Christian Science* because a marked difference can be noted in Twain's writing on Christian Science after he begins correspondence with Peabody. Not only does Peabody help shape much of what appears in the latter part of *Christian Science*, Peabody's own opinions affect Twain's ever-growing perspective on the subject of Christian Science as he continues to ponder it for the remainder of his life.

The Influence of Frederick W. Peabody

Frederick W. Peabody, a well-known lawyer and outspoken critic of Mary Baker Eddy, began correspondence with Mark Twain on December 2, 1902. In a letter, the lawyer wrote a critical response to the author, regarding his first *North*

American Review article "Christian Science." Peabody criticized Twain, calling false his exaggerated claim that one million Christian Scientists and five hundred Christian Science churches were in existence around the country and beyond.[8] When considering Twain's somewhat defensive response to Peabody on December 5th, the likelihood of a working relationship forming at that time appears improbable. Twain accuses Peabody of misunderstanding his entire purpose of writing, which he declares in the often quoted third paragraph of the letter:

> Have I given you the impression that I was *combating* Xn Science? or that I am caring how the Xn Scientists "hail" my articles? Relieve yourself of those errors. I wrote the articles to please MYSELF. . . . I am not combating Xn Science—I haven't a thing in the world against it. Making fun of that shameless old swindler, Mother Eddy, is the only thing about it I take any interest in. At bottom I suppose I take a private delight in seeing the human race making an ass of itself again—which it has done whenever it had a chance. That's its affair—it has the right—and it will sweat blood for it a century hence, and for many centuries thereafter . . . (*What Is Man?* 25)

Several things within Twain's statements are important to note when considering the ironic influence Peabody comes to have on the author and his completion of *Christian Science*. First of all, Twain clearly tells Peabody that he is not against Christian Science or those who practice the religion, as the lawyer

[8] Frederick W. Peabody's correspondence with Mark Twain can be found among the Mark Twain Papers at the Bancroft Library. The Bancroft Library is on the University of California campus at Berkeley.

initially assumes. Secondly, Peabody is not the one who turns Twain's head toward Eddy. Twain clearly sees Eddy as a fraud and the human race as an "ass" for believing her before encountering Peabody. What Peabody does do for Twain, however, is to supply the author with vast amounts of source material about Eddy, personal interpretations of that material, and continuous friendly prodding by way of correspondence during the months between December and April, the exact time he was composing Book Two of *Christian Science* as well as "Mrs. Eddy in Error."

Peabody influences Twain in profound ways during these several months, becoming his greatest source of information. Besides sending his own pamphlet called *A Complete Expose of Eddyism and Christian Science*, which he wrote in 1901, Peabody sends Twain newspaper clippings, a church manual, a personal first-hand description of the Mother Church in Boston, passages of Eddy's unedited writings, along with many other facts and figures the lawyer had collected for his own research and writing.[9] Twain incorporates much of Peabody's information into Book Two and even quotes Peabody's pamphlet multiple times throughout *Christian Science*, the only writer to receive such accolades in the book.

[9] A shortened version of the title of Peabody's pamphlet is presented above. The full title is as follows: *A Complete Expose of Eddyism and Christian Science and the Plain Truth in Plain Terms Regarding Mary Baker G. Eddy, Founder of Christian Science*. The evidence for the rest of the material Peabody sends to Twain can be found in the Peabody-Twain correspondence among the Mark Twain Papers at the Bancroft Library. Over the course of the correspondence, Peabody lists in the letters what he is sending along to Twain. Twain also makes reference to receiving the material Peabody lists in his own letters back to Peabody.

Twain's use of Peabody's material is no surprise when considering the lawyer's legal experience in the controversies surrounding the Christian Science movement. He had famously defended former Christian Scientists Josephine Curtis Woodbury who brought suit against Mary Baker Eddy and The Church of Christ, Scientist for libel in 1895. In a speech Eddy gave, she condemned a so-called "Babylonian woman," which Woodbury thought to be a distorted representation of herself. Woodbury, with the help of Peabody, then sought to defame Eddy through a very public trial, probably with greater gusto than she sought the one hundred and fifty thousand dollars she was asking for in reputational damages (Peel, "The Years of Authority" 156). Some even thought the case against Eddy was a propaganda move because Peabody and Woodbury continued "to try their case in the newspapers," as Septimus Hanna accused them of in a letter to Eddy in October of 1899 (156). While he eventually lost the case, Woodbury even being found guilty of contempt of court, Peabody gained such recognition for his flamboyant character and his comprehensive prosecution of Eddy that Twain would have definitely knew of him. Peabody, of course, had done extensive research by gathering documents, conducting interviews, and preparing for the trial, which included a portion of what he passed along to Twain.

Twain's reliance on Peabody can be seen heavily in Book Two of *Christian Science* when considering the breadth of source material the lawyer shares. Peabody's influence, however, extends past a simple sharing of material; he includes his own interpretation of these various sources in the letters, which Twain somehow absorbs into his own writing in spite of a clear acknowledgement that some of the interpretations are too tempered and, therefore, weak. Twain's inclusion of Peabody's own interpretations at times can be persuasive, at least in "Mrs. Eddy in Error," but the inclusion tends to weaken his argument on the whole by infusing it with a more deprecating voice and tone.

Taking a look back at "Mrs. Eddy in Error" once again can help explain both the depth of Peabody's influence on Twain as well as the problematic nature of it in the Christian Science writings. While "Mrs. Eddy in Error" does function well as a transition piece to prepare readers for Twain's book, the author wrote the article following much of his penning of Book Two. The pieces of evidence Twain uses in the article in order to befuddle Eddy's claim—she disapproves of the use of the name "Mother"—come directly from Peabody. Peabody is also the source for a list of what Twain calls the "main parts of the machine," a catalog he includes from The Church of Christ, Scientist official manual outlining the various roles for members within the religious community.

Twain even quotes from Peabody's book toward the end of the article, considering him a reliable expert on the subject:

> In the "Christian Science Journal" for April, 1889, when it was her property, and published by her, it was claimed for her, and *with her sanction*, that she was equal with Jesus, and elaborate effort was made to establish the claim.
>
> Mrs. Eddy has distinctly *authorized* the claim in her behalf, that she herself was the chosen successor to and equal of Jesus. (515)

Ironically, Peabody's passage is callously slandering of Eddy, yet Twain readily accepts it as truth with no apparent qualms. Twain backs the strong position, using Peabody's passage to support his own argument regarding Eddy's inconsistencies.

More evidence of Peabody's influence on Twain can be found in a letter the lawyer sends on January 17, 1903. In the letter Peabody asks Twain if he has seen Eddy's published response to the author in the *Christian Science Sentinel*. Enclosing a copy of it just in case, Peabody begins to point toward its hypocrisy by reminding Twain of the rule in the church manual commanding Eddy be called "mother."[10] Peabody summarizes the regulation with ever growing sarcasm, declaring it "funny" how false Eddy's negations of the name must be in light of her rule supporting it. Peabody's blatant disregard for Eddy is evident in

[10] Peabody sent Twain the manual for The Church of Christ, Scientist after Twain asked for it in a letter on December 5, 1902. Peabody refers to the manual in his January 17th letter because Twain already has it in his possession. Peabody also quotes the rule regarding "The Title of Mother" in his own pamphlet, according to the January 17th letter.

his attack of her character, implying she is self-serving, self-deifying, and hungry for power. The sources and the similar attack on Eddy's character reappear in Twain's "Mrs. Eddy in Error" at the beginning of the article, which forms the platform on which the entire article's argument rests. Twain quotes Eddy's response from Peabody in its entirety in the article, following it with the quoted manual regulation, labeled "The Title of Mother." Twain uses Peabody's very interpretation found in the original letter by also attacking similarly Eddy's character and mental fortitude with a resounding sardonic tone. Twain describes the discrepancy between the published response and the rule in the manual using the same points Peabody addresses in the letter, only to build on them with additional evidence—the signed telegram and president's address. These scraps, too, most likely came from Peabody as well who probably sent them with a slew of other Christian Science extracts and materials as attachments in his January 12th letter.

After reading "Mrs. Eddy in Error," Peabody must have recognized his influence, for he commended Twain for his work in a letter on March 31, 1903. Peabody, in fact, tells Twain the article is the best work that has ever been done on the subject by any writer thus far. Peabody's affirmations, however, must have been bound, at least in part, in the resonation Twain's claims had with his own because the praise of "Mrs. Eddy in Error" is a far cry from the lawyer's

criticisms of "Christian Science," declared in the December letter only a few months prior. In the March letter, Peabody even acknowledges the difference, recalling Twain's earlier statements, in which he declared he was not "combating Xn Science." After reading the April article, Peabody questions whether the opposite is now true. According to him, "Mrs. Eddy in Error" gives a "mighty poke in a tender spot."[11]

Peabody, with his praise of "Mrs. Eddy in Error," is not the only one to recognize the shift in Twain's writing. W. D. McCrackan, a Christian Science advocate with whom Twain was also in close collaboration with during his writing of *Christian Science*, makes note of the change. McCrackan even pinpoints in his correspondence with Alfred Farlow, a fellow Christian Scientist, that Peabody's influence was the reason for the shift. Unlike Peabody's affirmations of Twain, McCrackan thought the changing style was destructive to both the author's writing and their developing friendship (Peel, "The Years of Authority" 202). In a letter he wrote to Farlow on January 15, 1903, McCrackan makes mention of Twain who is "now showing temper and is attempting to accuse me of actions which I have not committed" (202).

McCrackan's letter to Farlow is actually a follow up to a letter sent one month prior on December 11, 1902. In this earlier letter, McCrackan informed

[11] This quote is taken from the March 31st letter Peabody writes to Twain. The letter is among the Mark Twain Papers at Bancroft Library.

Farlow of his working relationship with Twain, which has been previously discussed. McCrackan also tells Farlow of Twain's own assessment of Peabody. According to McCrackan, Twain was initially quite critical of the lawyer's writing style: "he did not like Peabody's pamphlet, because it showed animus and temper and that the writer should never show temper but should make the reader feel it" (202). Amazingly, McCrackan's comments are supported in the correspondence between Peabody and Twain. In a letter Twain sent to the lawyer on December 5, 1902, he confirms that he has read Peabody's pamphlet, calling it "bad art" because it pounds readers with too much detestation. Moreover, Twain tells Peabody that emotion should be *shown* and "aroused" in readers, as he himself had demonstrated in his published articles, and not *told* with hostility as the lawyer does.[12]

Why Twain, in such a short time, would fall into the same trap of "bad art" as Peabody is indubitably a paradox. Twain recognizes, himself, the dangers of Peabody's voice and tone early in his correspondence with the lawyer yet loses sight of the escalating influence it has on his own composition of the latter half of Book Two. Perhaps Peabody's interpretations of the source material, which is undeniably captivating in spite of the lawyer's limited aesthetics, enticed Twain. Peabody's colorful personality, brutal honesty, and

[12] This letter is referenced courtesy of the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley. The library houses the heretofore unpublished Twain-Peabody correspondence.

willingness to share from his own research may also have been refreshing. Twain makes many claims in his later years of wanting to be more upfront in his stated opinions, yet rarely felt able to do so without negatively affecting his public persona. In addition to these, the time constraints Twain felt—both he and Harpers & Brothers wanted the book to come out in May—possibly caused him to rely too heavily on Peabody. The later chapters of *Christian Science* do appear less refined and hastily written, when compared to chapters that come earlier. Twain last chapters are also quite repetitive; the author returns again to discuss the religious sect and its members in relation to the discrepancy between Eddy's (now established) authentic and perceived "make and character" (357).

Twain may rely too heavily on Frederick W. Peabody in the ending chapters of *Christian Science*, which in some ways lessens the book's qualities, but the reliance does not negate the scholarly significance of it, even what appears within Book Two. *Christian Science* addresses a deeply controversial concern of late-nineteenth-century society in a complex yet accessible way far exceeding his contemporaries. Writers like J. M. Buckley and W. A. Purrington criticized Christian Science through abstract theorizing; Georgine Milmine attacked Eddy through second-hand biography. Peabody used abstract theorizing, second-hand biography, and his own jaded interpretations in his 1901 pamphlet and in

his unpleasant doctrinaire *The Religio-Medical Masquerade: A Complete Exposure of Christian Science*.[13]

On the contrary, Twain offers so much more in *Christian Science*. The author rises above theorizing by wrapping his arguments in concreteness and real-life comparisons, tangible for educated and uneducated readers alike. Twain's comparison of Christian Science to Standard Oil, his inclusion of followers' testimonials, and his questioning of Eddy's authorship as an elephant hunt in Book Two are just a few examples of the palpability of his arguments. The author also chooses to criticize Eddy by examining her words alone, making a better argument than his contemporaries who fall into the temptation of including hearsay or propaganda much more than fact. Twain's textual analysis of Eddy's works as a means of addressing her questionable character may become monotonous and reflect some "bad art" toward the end of Book Two, but *Christian Science* with its flaws still exceeds other comparable contemporary works.

In addition to the significance the book holds as a cultural product of the late nineteenth century, *Christian Science* is important book for Twain's canon as well. The book and its prior serialization tell a story of Twain's compositional

[13] Peabody's book *The Religio-Medical Masquerade* is a revised and expanded version of the pamphlet he sent to Twain discussed earlier in the chapter. Peabody's book was not published until 1910, three years after *Christian Science*, but the ideas still stem from the pamphlet, which Twain read thoroughly and commented on in a letter to him sent on December 5, 1902.

process, both its successes and failures, unlike any other book he wrote. The serialization of Twain's Christian Science articles are especially important when considering how they are equally autonomous and interconnected, building in anticipation for the coming *Christian Science*. The complexity of Twain's thesis—he debunks the divinity of Christian Science and Eddy while voicing their ingenious, yet very human, successes—also demonstrates persuasive strength within his later writings that few scholars have acknowledged. In addition, Twain's literary criticism, of which *Christian Science* is a part, is as important as his fiction in the canon because the criticism holds many clues about the author's philosophy of writing on display in his short stories and novels.

Christian Science may not be Twain's finest piece of writing, but the book should be considered much stronger, aesthetically and structurally than it has thus far been. The serialization of the book, its sophisticated thesis, experimentation with form, stylistic ingenuity, audience appeal, and unique criticism of Eddy's texts are all significant reasons to take *Christian Science* off the shelf. Looking at *Christian Science* from a 1903 perspective sheds light not just on the book itself but on all of Twain's later writings, which are influenced by the author's interest in Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy. The last ten years of Twain's writing life arguably can not be understood properly without first reading his final published book, which paves the way for these other works. In

this way, *Christian Science* is a paramount work that rightly deserves a place in the canon as well as even further scholarly study.

CHAPTER FIVE

Looking Beyond *Christian Science*

Catherine said there was no such thing as pain, or hunger, or thirst, or care, or suffering of any kind: these were all fictions of the Mortal Mind. . . . She called these fictions "claims"; and said that whenever a claim applied, she could drive it away in a moment. . . . Except teeth claims. They were fictions like the rest, but it was safest to carry them to the dentist.

from "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes"

Denial of the claims of matter is a great step towards the joys of Spirit, towards human freedom and the final triumph over the body.

from "Footsteps of Truth" in Science and Health

In his book *Christian Science* Mark Twain makes use over and over of a clever Christian Science term, a "claim." A "claim" is a mis-belief, a falsehood, and occurs when a person believes himself to be ill more than he believes the truth that *all* diseases are fabrications of the imagination. Righting the wrong, of course, is a matter of faith: a person must believe the truth of health over the lie of sickness to be healed. In *Christian Science* Twain toys with the idea of "claim" by extending its meaning to include ignorance and inanity in general.[1] He applies the term to Eddy's defective editor, for example, whose "claim" is his bad grammar. His greatest recipient, however, is Eddy herself whose "claim" is her seeming vanity and despotism on display in her Christian Science writings.

[1] Discussion on Twain's use of the term "claim" can be found in chapter two's analysis of the article "Christian Science" and in chapter three's analysis of the article "Mrs. Eddy in Error."

If Twain were around in the twenty-first century, the author might have another clever use for the term "claim": the scholarly neglect and misperceptions of his last published book *Christian Science*. Outside its proper context, *Christian Science* has heretofore been deemed unliterary and insignificant in the corpus of Twain's work. Those who have referenced it often draw conclusions similar to what Laura Skandera-Trombley declares in *Mark Twain in the Company of Women*. According to Skandera-Trombley, *Christian Science* is a "scathing but almost unreadable indictment against Mary Baker Eddy" (172). When *Christian Science* is read within its proper context, however, Skandera-Trombley's assessment not only seems incongruous with the book's thesis; it appears entirely unwarranted. Nonetheless, Skandera-Trombley's views can be found repeated in the writings of many other equally preeminent scholars who believe *Christian Science* has no place within the Twain canon. While *Christian Science* does have certain problems in both its content and form, the book is neither "scathing" nor "unreadable."

Seen within its original context, *Christian Science* can add much to the ongoing scholarly dialogues about Twain's later work. Within the five Christian Science articles alone, Twain shows incredible complexity and sophistication with his experimentation in various literary forms. His use of narratives of burlesque and prophecy in the first and fourth articles, for example, are

exceptional in their creative interplay with Twain's religious commentary. The tangibility and concreteness of his articles also demonstrate a greater understanding of audience than is often acknowledged in the author's later writings. The serialized articles exhibit intensifying emotion as well as depth of insight that sustains interest and prepares readers for the coming book. *Christian Science*, when seen in light of these qualities and others, becomes a thesis-driven book that displays in unprecedented ways the author's evolution of thinking on a subject of tremendous importance in his day. The intriguing revision of Book One of *Christian Science*, the collaborations with William D. McCrackan and Frederick W. Peabody, and even the arduous meticulousness of Twain's textual analysis all make the book worthy of much more study.

Twain's composition of the *Christian Science* materials, however, is only the beginning of his thinking on the controversial religious sect and its distinguishing founder Mary Baker Eddy. *Christian Science*, in fact, functions like a springboard when considering the length and breadth of Twain's own literary interest in the subject, one that could even be labeled an obsession. With the possible exception of the moral writings of W. E. H. Lecky on European history, as noted by Joe B. Fulton in *Mark Twain in the Margins* and Howard Baetzhold in

Mark Twain and John Bull, the influence that Eddy and Christian Science held over Twain's later work is the greatest of the author's literary career.[2]

At least in part, Twain's ongoing interest in Christian Science is due to the author's particular method of composition, which Sydney J. Krause discusses in "Twain's Method and Theory of Composition." According to Krause, "Twain learned to consider creativity as essentially an act of discovery. He discovered his subject, not before, but *as*, he wrote" (172). While Krause is not specifically referring to the writing of *Christian Science* but rather observing a pattern within Twain's general operation of composition, her conclusions add a fitting explanation for the author's move from a playful outsider's perspective on The Church of Christ, Scientist and Mary Baker Eddy, evident in the early articles, to his somber view apparent in his comprehensive study of the religious sect's texts, which makes up much of Book Two of *Christian Science*. As Twain wrote the materials that eventually formed *Christian Science*, he was quickly pulled into a cycle of study, of discovery, of creative literary application, and of more study.

The results of Twain's method of composition are, of course, a wide array of continued writings on the subject of Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy. Allusions to the founder or to aspects of Christian Science doctrine surprisingly

[2] The full titles for these books are *Mark Twain in the Margins: The Quarry Farm Marginalia and* A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court and *Mark Twain and John Bull: The British Connection*.

reappear within almost all of Twain's longer works during the last ten years of his writing life. Although many of these works were unknown to nearly all of Twain's contemporaries (certain works went unpublished until the 1960s), the writings are readily available for twenty-first-century readers, and they disclose a noteworthy indebtedness to Christian Science ideology and texts. In addition to its overwhelming appearance in *Christian Science*, Twain utilizes the religious sect's tenets and practices to form the narrative structure for fictional works like "The Secret History of Eddypus" and "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes."[3] The subject is used to generate and enliven characters, including Catherine of Aragon in "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes" and Satan and Mary G. in *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger*. Along with his narrative applications, Twain's chief questioning of human life and the universe within his later writings are often set within a Christian Science construct, like the Socratic questioning in *What is Man?*, for example. Even those texts, which do not heavily rely on a Christian Science backdrop, receive mention of Eddy's name or of some aspect of the religious sect. "The Refuge of the Derelicts," "Papers of the Adam Family," "The International Lightning Trust: A Kind of Love Story," *Is*

[3] The latter half of Twain's third article "Christian Science—III," which itself it titled "Later Still," actually comes from the unfinished fictional work "Secret History of Eddypus, A World Empire." In "Christian Science—III" Twain acknowledges that the section is taken from the introduction of the narrative, but his use of it in his published article is for a specific stylistic effect. Twain most likely planned to complete "Secret History" and publish it, but he was unable to do so for unspecified reasons.

Shakespeare Dead?, Twain's autobiography, and his unpublished review of *Cities of the Sun* are among some of these.[4]

As can be seen with the above examples, Twain consistently uses Christian Science texts and doctrine as well as his impressions of Mary Baker Eddy's character as source material in nearly all aspects of creative development. Twain not only thinks about Christian Science for the remainder of his life, but his writings also demonstrate even further the marked evolution in thought as he continues to discover his subject "not before, but *as* he wrote" (Krause 172). The works Twain composed simultaneously during his writing of the *Christian Science* materials show similar leanings toward the communication, organization, and imperialistic nature of The Church of Christ, Scientist as well as what he thought to be the despotic character of Eddy. Those works composed after the book, however, are even more ambitious as Twain makes use of not just these ideas but other concepts unique to Christian Science ideology. In his writings during and following the *Christian Science* materials, Twain uniquely explores the conventions of epistemology and language, the accuracy and comprehensibility of translation, the meaning and subjectivity of history, the construction of belief systems, and the formation of individual identity all within the umbrella of a

[4] Alan Gribben gives account of Twain's references in his remarkable collection of the author's readings, entitled *Mark Twain's Library: A Reconstruction*, pages 211-213.

Christian Science framework, thus making the influence vitally important to understanding the later works themselves.

Remarkably, Twain's literary use of Christian Science and the persona of Eddy can reveal two general evolutionary trends when examining the *Christian Science* materials and the works beyond them. Both trends display a refinement in Twain's applications of Christian Science beliefs and his opinions on Eddy's character. With the first trend, Twain moves from a dominant interest in external repercussions to a focus on internal implications in his writings beyond *Christian Science*. Early on, Twain is concerned most with the negative effects of the religious sect on the late-nineteenth-century general public. These works, which include "The Secret History of Eddypus," *What is Man?*, and early drafts of *No. 44, Mysterious Stranger,* are written congruently or just after Twain's composition of the *Christian Science* materials. The two early drafts of *No. 44, Mysterious Stranger* that show specifically some influence from Twain's study of Christian Science are called "The Chronicle of Young Satan" and "Schoolhouse Hill." In "The Chronicle of Young Satan," for example, Twain adds a paragraph from Eddy's *Science and Health* within the narrative, only later crossing it out.

In addition of the external focus in these texts, Twain's attention shifts in other later writings to the internal implications of believing in Christian Science. Specifically, Twain applies select Christian Science principles to the inner

workings of single complex characters. Twain's concern in these texts is to experiment with how the beliefs of a Christian Scientist might function when lived-out, a notion that is sarcastically yet also seriously questioned in his first article "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy" and even indirectly in *What is Man?*. Twain's experimentation in later works demonstrates a development of thought, which is far removed from his earlier concerns about Christian Science and its potential social predominance. "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes" and the final draft of *No. 44, Mysterious Stranger*, which were composed following Twain's completion of *Christian Science*, can be placed among these more mature writings.

In this first trend, Twain's original concern for the outward social or political effects of Christian Science centers on the feared loss of democratic freedom and the unwanted peddling of religious ideals to the masses unprepared or unable to think critically about any religion. Twain's writings within this vein either contain grandiose burlesque or are forcefully direct, although the author spends considerable time continuing with his incorporation of various forms, as he does in the *Christian Science* materials. Wrapped into this external focus is also Twain's adaptation of a God-like vantage point, in which he turns to consider God's role in the creation of humanity as well as the concept of free will. Twain's questioning of the character of God can be found throughout

much of his later writings and appears years before his composition of the *Christian Science* materials. However, several of his major pieces of literature, which include his religious questioning, are clearly also influenced by the author's study of Christian Science texts. His encounters with Christian Science no doubt shape and refine Twain's intense pondering about the nature of God and His relation to humankind. While he never adopts Eddy's belief in a deity that is all-loving, infinite Mind and Father-Mother, Twain's knowledge of the Christian Science view of God propels his own writing about God in a reactionary way.

Twain's movement from external effects to internal implications is gradual, but the author's characteristic use of burlesque endures in all his writings influenced by Christian Science. The works that seem most concerned about the personal implications of believing and living the tenets of Christian Science tend to emphasize personal comprehension (or incomprehension), a spiritualized self, moral ambiguity, dreams, and inter-personal relations with other characters. Surprisingly, none of the main characters in Twain's fiction embrace wholeheartedly Christian Science ideology; rather, the toys with a few major components of the belief system as he allows his characters to live them out on the pages for readers. Satan, in *No. 44, Mysterious Stranger*, for example, embodies the greatest sense of Christian Science ideology, but with his character

Twain perverts the pure ideals of the sect by representing a strange mixture of Christian Science beliefs and the problematic persona of Eddy. The shift to the internal, which includes a move from the inclusion of a blamable God to a whimsical and indifferent Satan, is particularly intriguing as Twain's characterization of God and Satan in various works seems linked together with his views on Eddy.

While the first evolutionary trend of moving inward is evident in Twain's writings influenced by Christian Science, the later works also evolve in a second trend from overt and showy displays of the religious sect to imbedded portrayals of Christian Science or Eddy-like characters that fit within a greater narrative framework. In "The Secret History of Eddypus," for example, the entire tale is bound within a flagrant futuristic setting, in which the religious sect has overpowered all competing religions, political systems, and existing corporations. In *No.44, Mysterious Stanger*, on the other hand, a single and seemingly inconsequential cat named Mary G. is the only overt mentioning, yet the cat serves as a clue to readers of the many imbedded ways Twain utilizes Christian Science ideology throughout the unfinished narrative.

In spite of the obvious overt subject matter of Twain's earlier writings, readily accepting that these works lean more heavily upon Christian Science than the later ones containing only subtle mentioning is a hasty assumption. The

writings that follow Twain's composition of the *Christian Science* materials, in fact, are equally influenced by his study of Christian Science, if not more so. The subtlety itself demonstrates a softening or refinement in the author's thinking. The imbedded use of Christian Science doctrine displays more depth and a sympathetic stance, in which Twain does away with his dissident burlesquing of The Church of Christ, Scientist as a politico-religious organization by replacing it with an earnest questioning of the sect's theology apart from the church. Twain puts Christian Science postulations into practice through his characters, an arguably stronger influence than previously seen.

The two evolutionary trends—from external to internal and from overt to subtle—can be observed when looking globally at the influence of Christian Science on Twain's later writings. A closer examination of four individual pieces of literature, however, can unveil specific scholarly pursuits worthy of exploration. These pursuits go beyond what this study of the *Christian Science* materials has set out to achieve. Therefore, the ways that Christian Science influences each specific work are presented as several scholarly possibilities in need of greater investigation. If these studies are undertaken, they can bring about a full and complete picture of Twain's thinking and writing about Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy, which extends throughout the

remainder of the author's writing life. Such a scholarly picture is ultimately necessary for an accurate understanding of this prolific writer's final years.

Christian Science and "The Secret History of Eddypus"

"The Secret History of Eddypus, the World-Empire" is a fictional fragment plainly and overtly influenced by Twain's study of Christian Science.[5] When paired with the *Christian Science* materials, "Secret History" can actually be seen as a transition piece in Twain's evolution of thinking—the tale was written in the time between his early writings of 1898 and 1899 and his later writings of 1902 and 1903. Composed in February and March of 1901 and in February and March of 1902, "Secret History" presents at least three significant scholarly pursuits that are specific to its reliance on Christian Science for a narrative framework. These pursuits and others make the story deserving of much more scholarly recognition than it has thus far achieved.

First of all, "Secret History" visualizes for readers a radically imperialistic Christian Science world. Twain's futuristic setting is one where The Church of Christ, Scientist is a stifling and ruthless dictatorship that has gone so far as to rewrite history and establish a new way of marking time. Examining Twain's views on imperialism, particularly religious imperialism, alongside some of the

[5] "The Secret History of Eddypus, the World-Empire" can be found in *Mark Twain's Fables of Man*, edited by John S. Tuckey..

author's shorter essays, like "To the Person Sitting in the Darkness" (1901), "Concerning the Jews" (1899), and "The Stupendous Procession," all written around the same time, could be quite fruitful. Twain believed The Church of Christ, Scientist would be an international threat to the democracy of its growing membership who were unaware of the church's imperialistic nature. Twain's growing detestation for imperialism in his later years, in fact, cannot be separated from his writing about Christian Science, particularly in "Secret History." This story itself puts forth a complex and even deterministic definition of imperialism and its outcomes, yet the underlying hope of subverting the authority of The Church of Christ, Scientist, even by secretive means, illustrates Twain's unchanging idealism regarding the liberation and potential of humankind.

In addition to the topic of imperialism, "Secret History" calls history into question in intriguing ways by juxtaposing three differing philosophies of history: the degenerative, progressivist, and cyclical perspectives. In doing so, Twain makes claims about the subjectivity and potential inaccuracy of history as a record of human achievement. Looking altogether at Twain's layering of histories (past, present, and future), the influential role Christian Science plays in the recording of history, particularly scientific history, and the use of burlesque in the narrative would be another valuable endeavor. While Twain obviously

questions historicity prior to encountering Christian Science, the author's attempts to re-create an authentic (or humorously inauthentic) account of the inventive accomplishments of men and women in "Secret History" is unique. According to Eddy's spiritualized theology, Christian Science redefines history by ultimately doing away with the material achievements of humanity. In her autobiography *Retrospection and Introspection*, Eddy declares,

> It is well to know, dear reader, that our material, mortal history is but the record of dreams, not of man's real existence, and the dream has no place in the Science of being. It is 'as a tale that is told' and 'as the shadow when it declineth.' (21)

Twain read and studied this book and discussed it extensively in Book Two of *Christian Science*. Reacting against this, Twain writes a tale exclusively bound to realism and materialism, one where reconstructing American history instills the footing required to begin steps for a better future.

A third aspect of "Secret History" worthy of study includes Twain's questioning of authorship and translation, which appears in the earliest of the Christian Science writings. In "Secret History," however, Twain playfully works with the concepts within the narrative whereas in *Christian Science* the arguments are much more forthright. Twain cleverly inserts "Mark Twain," the author's infamous pseudonym, as an ancient recorder of history and the only reliable source that has not been destroyed by Christian Scientists. Twain's fictional author takes on the task of translating the ancient writings of the "Father of

History" in attempt to reconstruct what he thinks is an actual picture of America's past. The carefully constructed interplay between characters who write back-and-forth letters, the unique representation of Twain himself as a character, and his imbedded comments on translation can be easily paired with the author's same concerns about Mary Baker Eddy's authorship and alleged translation of *Science and Health*, as presented in the *Christian Science* materials. According to Twain, the reception of information second-hand and the distance or time through which information travels causes a communicative break down, which is a dominant theme within the tale. The lack of communicative clarity and accuracy in the Christian Science texts is also arguably one of Twain's strongest objections.

Christian Science and "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes"

While the previously mentioned avenues are not an exhaustive list of scholarly possibilities in "Secret History," they are significant points that still need investigation if a holistic picture of the influence of Christian Science on Twain's writings is to ensue. Like "Secret History," Twain's unfinished narrative "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes" also offers stimulating scholarly opportunities.[6] The work may not be as overtly entangled with a Christian

[6] "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes" appears in "*Which Was the Dream?" And other Symbolic Writings of the Later Years*, edited by John S. Tuckey.

Science plot framework as in "Secret History," but "Among the Microbes" still presents a narrative setup that has been profoundly influenced by Christian Science and Twain's perceptions of Mary Baker Eddy.

Written in 1905, "Among the Microbes" is about a character named Huck who finds himself turned into a cholera germ inside the body of a tramp named Blitzosky. As a cholera germ, Huck adopts the new identity while also retaining his old human understanding, forming a complex duality within the character. Examining Huck's strange role as a vibrant human consciousness inside a seemingly healthy disease germ (and a world of disease germs) in relation to Christian Science healing doctrines and practices would be one rewarding pursuit. The investigation would bolster other studies in this vein, like Patrick K. Ober's *Mark Twain and Medicine*, because "Among the Microbes" causes its readers to redefine the notion of sickness and health as a matter of perspective, an obvious connection to the author's study of Christian Science. Ironically, Twain originally wrote the tale with Mary Baker Eddy as the one who turned Huck from a man into a microbe. The named role, however, was later changed to an unnamed magician, masking the influence for readers.

In addition to examining the double consciousness and the irony of healthy disease germs as characters, the epistemological crisis Huck faces as both man and microbe would be a fascinating study, particularly in how it relates to

Twain's evolution of thought on Christian Science. Huck's epistemological crisis culminates in his dealings with Christian Science character Catherine of Aragon. After encountering a group of unbelievers himself, Huck surprisingly comes to validate Catherine's belief system and acknowledge its benefits, in spite of the young microbe's alleged oddities. Huck does not become a Christian Scientist, but he sympathizes with Catherine as he questions the roles of faith and reason within epistemology. Twain's unforgettable first line in the article "Christian Science"—"Let us consider that we are all partially insane"—and its subsequent explanation seems a fitting parallel to Huck's change in thinking in "Among the Microbes." Huck comes to realize the common ground he has with Catherine in spite of his inability to believe in Christian Science as she does.

In another final way, "Among the Microbes" offers further scholarly pursuits when coupled with Twain's earlier fragment "Secret History," especially when considering "Among the Microbes" is written several years later. The two stories voice similar concerns, particularly in regard to Twain's questioning of history—the recording of it, the revision of it, and even the reception of it by others. "Among the Microbes," however, is a more personal envisioning of history; Huck is writing his autobiography while he also reconstructs in a thought-recorder the grander narrative of human life for the microbe world. Pairing "Among the Microbes," Huck's autobiography, with

Eddy's autobiography *Retrospection and Introspection* would also make for an fascinating study because both Huck and Eddy seem to persuasively argue in favor of a certain perspective on reality much more than simply recording their own personal stories. Twain's skepticism toward Eddy's autobiography in *Christian Science* also creates an interesting parallel to the microbes' skepticism of Huck's life story in "Among the Microbes."

Surprisingly enough, both the fragments "Secret History of Eddypus" and "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes" are quite significant for Twain scholars in spite of their fragmentation. Both works of literature put on display characters healthy and thriving in burlesque worlds that on the surface seem disastrous. For these stories, in particular, the ambitious structural layering and the long-winded authors' histories within the stories may be what get out of hand, leaving Twain unable to bring each story to a sufficient close. Nevertheless, "Secret History" and "Among the Microbes," written during and after the *Christian Science* materials, provide a broader understanding of Twain's unprecedented literary interest in Christian Science.

Christian Science and What is Man?

Probably the most profound of Twain's literature influenced by Christian Science is the deterministic essay *What is Man?*. *What is Man?* is Twain's self-proclaimed "gospel," which should be seen as a reactionary piece, written in

contradiction to Eddy's conception of spiritualized man in her own gospel, *Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures*.[7] Twain began writing a first draft of *What is Man?* in Vienna in April and July of 1898, near the same time he composed the first of the Christian Science articles. Much of his 1898 material appears in the final draft of *What is Man?* with little change (Baender 11). Twain, however, resumed work on the piece in late 1901 and early 1902, and he continued to tinker with it at least through 1905, doubling its size by then. Twain considered *What is Man?* a private interest during this entire time; he finally printed it anonymously and as a limited edition in 1906 (14). Twain's safeguarding of *What is Man?*, thought to be "too dangerous to his reputation for public knowledge," makes the piece a necessary complementary study to the *Christian Science* materials if a holistic picture of his thinking on Christian Science is to be achieved (13). Arguably, *What is Man?*, even on its own, cannot be fully understood without making the influential connection.

What is Man? deserves examination of both its form and content in relation to the author's study of various editions of *Science and Health*, particularly in conjunction with Twain's marginalia in volume two of the 1884

[7] Twain referred to *Science and Health* as Eddy's "gospel" in *Christian Science* and elsewhere. Eddy, however, would most likely have frowned upon this labeling. Christian Science was a spiritualized scientific Christianity built on the existing sacred gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Eddy did consider *Science and Health* a textbook for followers but not a new gospel in itself.

edition.[8] Both Eddy and Twain expound upon their understandings of the identity of mankind and the creation of Adam in many writings, like *What is Man?* and *Science and Health*. Twain's annotations, however, demonstrate that he clearly thought about these subjects while reading Eddy's textbook. For example, one of Twain's most intriguing annotations included in *Science and Health* is his underlining of Eddy's word "Adamn." Eddy discusses Adam as a signification of sin or error, and her use of this word "Adamn" makes a strong emphatic point (150). Twain's interest in this word in particular, the entire passage, and other similar passages about Eddy's symbolic Adam can shed light on the author's often ambiguous or sympathetic view toward this biblical figure in his writing.[9]

Along with examining Twain's marginalia, *What is Man?* should be paired with *Science and Health* when considering Twain's clever use of Socratic form. The question-and-answer dialogue between the Old Man and the Young Man is

[8] Twain referenced the 1881, 1883, 1884, 1898, and 1899 editions of *Science and Health* in the *Christian Science* materials. The 1884 volume, however, is available to the public at the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkley. Twain also annotated extensively Eddy's *Manual of the Mother Church* and *Retrospection and Introspection*. Alan Gribben in *Mark Twain's Library* provides a more detailed list of the Christian Science texts Twain read and annotated, the ones available for viewing, and the ones that have been either lost or stolen. With this evidence and more, Twain clearly thought about the creation and identity of man alongside his reading of Christian Science texts.

[9] In two other annotations, Twain places brackets around the following passage, "the explanation of man and his origin rest on a spiritual basis, and none other (103), and marks another passage discussing the idea of Adam as a dream (104). These passages, along with Twain's underlining of "Adamn," can serve as examples of the marginalia that appears in this 1884 edition of *Science and Health*.

most likely influenced by the author's readings of the chapter "Recapitulation" in *Science and Health*.[10] Within this chapter Eddy uses the Socratic method to answer philosophical questions, including "What is God?," "What is Mind?," and "What is Man?," a possible source for the title of Twain's own gospel. Eddy also uses the same Socratic form in a section of *Miscellaneous Writings*, in order to define other multifaceted spiritual abstractions for readers. The didactic nature of the particular Socratic form used as well as the cogency and dogmatism present are important similarities in "Recapitulation" and *What is Man?*.

The ideas conveyed within *What is Man?*—that man is machine, man seeks only self-approval, and man is trained by environment—should also be studied in light of *Science and Health*.[11] On the surface Twain's gospel appears entirely contradictory to the Christian Science doctrine laid out in *Science and Health*. Twain may have even been trying to correct what he thought to be the errors of Christian Science theology in *What is Man?*. With further study, however, the deterministic nature of *What is Man?* and *Science and Health* may prove quite similar. Both *What is Man?* and *Science and Health* (more accurately the author's understanding of *Science and Health*) champion a doctrine where *all* things are

[10] Eddy's chapter was originally titled "The Science of Man" but was changed to "Recapitulation" in the 1881 edition and all subsequent editions of *Science and Health.*

[11] Twain addresses these same ideas in limited ways throughout the *Christian Science* materials as argumentation against Christian Science spiritual ideals.

bound to laws: Twain's laws are material while Eddy's laws are spiritual. Both *What is Man?* and *Science and Health* also expel man's own capacity to reason and to be moral. For Eddy, faith without the reasoning of Mortal Mind brings healing and an accurate understanding of the identity of man. The spiritualization of reality also renders void traditional nineteenth-century morality, even to the point of questioning the sanctity of marriage. For Twain, on the other hand, man is nothing more than machine controlled by external forces alone. In addition, no such thing as being "good for the *sake* of being good" exists in Twain's philosophy of man (*What is Man?* 623). Eddy and Twain may voice differing opinions on the spiritual or material makeup of man, but their discussion of man's identity, at least in part, can confirm some striking resemblances.

Christian Science and No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger

While *What is Man?* may exhibit the most profound of the influences of Christian Science in the later literature, Mark Twain's use of Christian Science in *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* is probably the most perplexing.[12] *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* has continually bewildered scholars since its earliest appearances in print. The story's compelling moral ambiguity, its blend of

[12] *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* can be found in *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*, edited by William M. Gibson.

supernatural, natural, and alternative dream selves, and even the many previous drafts worthy of their own study has kept *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* in the scholarly limelight. As with *What is Man?*, Twain wrote a draft of the tale around the time he composed the *Christian Science* materials and continued work on different versions of his story of Satan arguably until 1908.[13] *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* was never completed and never published during Twain's lifetime, but the manuscript presents an abundance of the author's unusual philosophical questioning, enough to fascinate any reader.

In spite of its scholarly success, *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* has yet to be examined for its plentiful inclusion of Christian Science ideology and caricatures of Mary Baker Eddy. Three main facets of the fragment show a significant reliance on Christian Science: Twain's characterization of Satan, the education of the narrator August Feldner, and the dream elements that are intertwined with questions regarding consciousness and the miraculous. First of all, Twain's characterization of Satan in the narrative shows marked similarities to the author's portrayal of Eddy in the *Christian Science* materials. For example,

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[13] Twain most likely began the first draft, entitled "The Chronicle of Young Satan," in 1897 before composing the Christian Science articles. He worked on the second draft "Schoolhouse Hill," however, in 1898 during his stay in Vienna. The majority of the final draft *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* was written sometime between 1902 and 1905, although evidence suggests that Twain continued to work on it as late as 1908. All three manuscripts were left unfinished. Alfred Bigelow Paine, Twain's biographer, published a version of the last fragment, which he completed himself, in 1916. That version has since been judged incongruent with Twain's overarching plans for the story.

memories of Satan's youth and education expressed in *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* greatly resemble reflections Eddy expresses about her own childhood in *Retrospection and Introspection*.[14] The qualities of Satan's character as a pious, innocent, and Christ-like lad mirror Eddy's self-characterization as well as her idealism of youth. In addition, the supernatural power both Satan and Eddy espouse illustrates the control each has on his or her environment. The most puzzling aspect of Satan's character, however, is the seeming good fruit that he bears, producing a moral quandary about the traditional definitions of good and evil and their relationship with one another in the novel. In the *Christian Science* materials, Twain similarly portrays Eddy as having an evil disposition, yet he believes the rudimentary and unadulterated postulations of Christian Science healing can bring immense good for people of faith. A closer look at Twain's ambiguous stance—a bad tree can bear good fruit—in both the *Christian Science* materials and *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger*, can solve at least this mystery about the source for his peculiar portrayal of Satan.

In addition to the complexity of Satan's character in *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger,* the education of August Feldner at the hand of Satan is another perplexing aspect that has ties to Twain's study of Christian Science. The main

[14] These elements concerning Mary Baker Eddy are the same ones Twain mentions in the early part of Book Two of *Christian Science.* Twain's own assessments of Eddy's character should be juxtaposed with Satan in *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* and not her own portrayal in other works or even her perception of herself.

plot of the story involves the young and impressionable narrator's slow conversion as he comes to accept the things Satan teaches him and apply them to his understanding of life. What Satan teaches August surprisingly coincides with Christian Science doctrine—the idea that all is Mind or Thought, that heaven is not an actual place but a spiritual state of being, and that evil is not real but merely a wrong belief. August's learning and practice of these Christian Science tenets liberates and empowers him within the narrative, particularly as he conjures up his duplicate dream self Emil who has a personality of his own. The actions of both Satan and his protégé (and dream self) reflect Twain's literary application of Christian Science, yet his use of its doctrine is curious. In *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger*, the version of Christian Science ideology that Satan teaches August is detached from optimism, which is a dominant theme in Eddy's writings. The spiritualization of life in *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* may bring greater mobility to characters, but the warped state of reality comes to be seen as a curse and not a blessing.

This Christian Science postulation that all is Mind or Thought deserves greater scholarly attention on its own apart from the relationship between August and Satan. This single idea overpowers the others, culminating in the fatalistic conclusion of *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* where August realizes that Satan is only a figment of his imagination and that he himself is nothing more

than a thought. Satan declares, "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!" (622). The troubling nature of this ending, in which the entire narrative along with its characters are nothing but a mere dream, can be clarified only in light of its relation to Twain's study of Christian Science. *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger* is undeniably a tale where Twain puts this staple of Christian Science doctrine into practice, albeit in a skewed way. Twain has his characters live a spiritualized reality out to the fullest in order to unveil its grotesqueness, much like when he asks in the Christian Science articles, "Is that picturesque?" ("Christian Science" 760). In spite of an underlying sympathy for believers of Christian Science as seen with Huck and Catherine in "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes," Twain's opinions on this one doctrinal statement never change throughout his writings influenced by Christian Science. Mark Twain, entrenched in his realism, is ceaselessly like the narrator of his first Christian Science article who cannot swallow the spiritualized conception of reality about which Mrs. Fuller (and Eddy) unrelentingly preaches. While Mary Baker Eddy may call the material world and the mortality of humanity an "Adam-dream"—"this Adam-dream is what we term mortal and material life"—that physical

world is the stuff of Twain's literary reality (104).[15] Twain's adaptation of the beautiful, rugged landscapes around him and the vivacious yet imperfect people he encounters is what makes his literature tantalizing, accessible, and timeless.

As seen in these four specific works, Mark Twain's thinking about Christian Science and Mary Baker Eddy has unprecedented influence on the author's literature. In fact, all the works that are written during and after 1898, the year the author began to pen the *Christian Science* materials, should be read in light of the influence. These four particular works, if pursued further, can fully illustrate the profundity and complexity of the connection Twain has with Christian Science. Moreover, when they are examined altogether, the *Christian Science* materials, "The Secret History of Eddypus," "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes," *What is Man?*, and *No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger*, along with other minor works, can present a unparalleled depiction of this enduring writer's evolutionary thinking about a controversial subject of great importance not just to him but also to the late nineteenth century reading public.

Twain's composition of the *Christian Science* materials begins his literary exploration of Eddy, her Christian Science doctrine, and The Church of Christ, Scientist, making the articles and book of paramount significance. *Christian*

[15] This passage has been taken from the 1884 edition of *Science and Health*. Twain underlines the term Adam-dream and marks a line in the left margin to highlight the latter half of the paragraph.

Science is indeed a necessary piece of the Twain canon, which is arguably incomplete without it. Reading *Christian Science* "right" by placing it in its cultural context and by pairing it with its serialization, as this study does, is a first step to turning the tide in a favorable scholarly direction. However, more work clearly needs to be done. The merits of the *Christian Science* materials on their own are valuable, but bringing them into conversation with Twain's other later work influenced by Christian Science can only further elucidate their enormous literary contribution.

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