

---

**Theses and Dissertations**

---

Spring 2014

## **War in the margins: illustrating anti-imperialism in American culture**

Katherine Elizabeth Bishop

*University of Iowa*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd>



Part of the [English Language and Literature Commons](#)

Copyright © 2014 Katherine Elizabeth Bishop

This dissertation is available at Iowa Research Online: <https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/5419>

---

### **Recommended Citation**

Bishop, Katherine Elizabeth. "War in the margins: illustrating anti-imperialism in American culture." PhD (Doctor of Philosophy) thesis, University of Iowa, 2014.  
<https://doi.org/10.17077/etd.vrmg2rym>

---

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd>



Part of the [English Language and Literature Commons](#)

WAR IN THE MARGINS: ILLUSTRATING  
ANTI-IMPERIALISM IN AMERICAN CULTURE

by

Katherine Elizabeth Bishop

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the Doctor of  
Philosophy degree in English  
in the Graduate College of  
The University of Iowa

May 2014

Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Harilaos Stecopoulos

Copyright by  
KATHERINE ELIZABETH BISHOP  
2014  
All Rights Reserved

Graduate College  
The University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

---

THESIS

---

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

Katherine Elizabeth Bishop

has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for  
the Doctor of Philosophy degree in English at the May 2014 graduation.

Thesis Committee:

---

Harilaos Stecopoulos, Thesis Supervisor

---

Garrett Stewart

---

Claire Fox

---

Naomi Greyser

---

Loren Glass

To my partners in art, love, & life—  
may you always find a semicolon when you need one.

In memory of Marsha.

The critique of colonial discourse, contained within the structures it opposes...must become itself an object of investigation, must be willing to look at itself looking, without abandoning its ethical imperative: to dismantle Western practices of othering.

Robert Aguirre, *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture*

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I have been exceedingly fortunate in financial, intellectual, and moral support throughout my time at the University of Iowa. It is with deep gratitude that I thank the entrance committee and Graduate College for my Presidential Fellowship, the support of which has been invaluable. So, too, was the Andrew Mellon Narrative Theory workshop and its follow up, under the direction of Garrett Stewart. I have continued to benefit from the weeklong Futures of American Studies workshop at Dartmouth I attended through the support of the University of Iowa English Department. I am grateful as well to Yale University for the funding and opportunity to participate in the American Literature in the World colloquium.

The members of my committee have all played large roles in my time in the graduate program, most from the very beginning. My advisor, Harry Stecopoulos, tirelessly encouraged my interests in visual culture and empire from our first meeting. His kindness, patience, and enthusiasm are only matched by his insightful guidance, brilliant scholarship, and incredible mentorship. I thank Naomi Greyser for working with me, both in the Rhetoric Professional Development Program and in my project. She is always at the ready with a reference, or a steady perspective. From my first days at the University of Iowa, Garrett Stewart has been an instrumental guide and scholarly model. His dedication, wit, and creativity are constant inspirations. Director of Graduate Studies when I began graduate school, later my comprehensive exam guide, and always my cheerleader, I thank Claire Fox for all her good advice. I failed to take it instead of fourteen credits my first semester in the program (which I don't rue as I might given the classes I took) but I am glad of all the times I did follow it, from reading recommended

sources to revising essays per her comments. Loren Glass, fellow Twainiac, opened my eyes to many of the realities of and possibilities afforded to academia from “Introduction to Graduate Studies” onward. Thank you all.

Though not officially on my committee, I owe a debt to many other faculty at the University of Iowa, in and out of the Department of English. Chief among them are Lena Hill, Corey Creekmur, Laura Rigal, Miriam Thaggert, and Aimee Carillo Rowe, all of whom have been incredibly generous with their time and advice. Adam Hooks and Matthew Brown, my thanks for attending my SHARP presentation, for your feedback on an early draft of my third chapter, and for sharing your insights into book history, publishing, and photography. Last, but certainly not least, thanks to Kathleen Diffley, who led me to study periodicals, in my comprehensive exam article, and in several summer doctoral workshops.

I have many to thank for their constructive comments and solidarity from various formal and informal workshop groups. The Pauline Hopkins section of my fourth chapter in particular owes a great due to Craig Carey and Blake Bronson Bartlett. The insights and generous comments born of the Andrew Mellon Narrative Theory workshop sharpened my understanding of the issues pertaining to narrative theory and neoformalism as well as the direction of my first two chapters. From those two summer groups of intensive study of narrative and fellowship, I particularly wish to thank Beth Shane, James Lambert, and Brenton Thompson for their lent acuity. There and elsewhere, Dan Boscaljon’s generous scholarly practices, hospitality, and friendship have been as unrelenting as his inquisitive nature. From the weeklong workshop at Dartmouth University, I am especially indebted to Angela Allen, Lisa McGunigal, and Greg Laski,

whose comments strengthened several sections of this project.

Many professionals, librarians, and scholars aided me in the completion of this project. I have shared versions of most of these chapters at various conferences and owe much to my fellow panelists and audience for their feedback, questions, and support. For taking time to discuss visuality and the Congo after his presentation at the Getty, I thank Adam Hochschild. David Assersohn of Anti-Slavery International has been a wonderful correspondent and commenter. I thank him for reading a draft of my third chapter, for his assistance with photographic permissions, and for putting me in touch with Judy Pollard Smith, a scholar who shares my interest in Alice Harris's photography in the Congo. I am grateful to Gill Boehringer who shared drafts of his work on black soldiers in the Philippines and offered his eye to my project. Thanks, too, to Terry Snyder at Haverford College for pointing me to Haverford's exhibit on photography in the Philippines. I am grateful to Thomas Chao for corresponding with me about U.S. currency and for his willingness to share images from his collection with me. I also wish to express my gratitude to Jay Satterfield of Dartmouth College's Rauner Library, both for discussing Twain ephemera with me and for discussing my work on the Rauner Library blog. There are a number of faculty at the University of Wisconsin-Madison to whom I owe thanks for supporting my earliest research projects and for encouraging me toward graduate school, chiefly Henry Turner, Jane Collins, and Trish Devine of the University of Wisconsin-Madison—but no one more than Jeff Steele, who has been a true mentor and friend, shaping my work from its earliest twinkles.

The library and research staff at the University of Iowa, University of Texas at Austin, Briscoe Center, University of Pennsylvania, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee,

the Getty, and elsewhere have been unfailingly helpful. Likewise, I owe thanks for their generous sharing of resources to the Boston Public Library, the University of Connecticut Libraries, the New York Public Library, the Indiana University Libraries, the American Museum of Natural History, the University of Pittsburgh Library, the New York Public Library, Anti-Slavery International, Middlebury College, Brown University, University of California at Berkeley, the Mark Twain Archives, the Fenimore Museum, the Hathi Trust, the Internet Archive, and Google. I particularly wish to thank Neda Salem at the Mark Twain Archive for her consistent cheer, alacrity, and assistance. Also, I owe a debt of thanks to Tom Blake at the Boston Public Library, Sherri Michaels of Indiana University Libraries, and Michael Pollard and Grainne Martin at the University of Iowa for the time they took to discuss the intricacies of permissions and copyright law with me.

Richard and Marsha Bishop had me hooked on words early on—thanks for all the books, stories, love, encouragement, and glasses along the way. Special thanks go to David Bishop and Michael Varihue, my first co-authors and continued comrades, and to Clarissa Varihue, always a centering, positive force; Elizabeth Bishop, my first Shakespeare guide, who has always been ready and willing to discuss pedagogy, poetry, books, and birds; and Maxine Bakke whose faith and generosity continue to astound me. Kathy and Eric Newton, Kent Bakke and Wanda Foster, and Deanne Bishop, thank you for the love, support, and belief. Karl, Laura, and Kurt Simmons, sages, mentors, and bakers, I salute you. I wish to thank Nathan Humpal, Daniel Davis, Carolyn Hall, Nicole Grant, Sangeet Kumar, Wanda Raiford, and Matt Lavin, who are always up for bouncing ideas; Will McDonald, a rock of support (especially when both backups of my dissertation failed); Jill Donelan, who reminds me to keep the glitter in my work; and Jill

Iacchei, who reminds me a little glitter goes a long way. Thanks, too, to Kathy Lavezzo and Nina, for your support and friendship. I owe much to Cherie Hansen-Rieskamp, who supported this project in so many ways from advice to gentle nudges and encouragement. For her unflagging willingness to discuss ekphrasis, art theory, and visual culture, I thank Deb Manion, whose work has been a beacon of inspiration to me and her friendship an incessant source of warmth. Anna Stenson Newnum, friend, editor, adventurer, thank you. I owe so much more than I can say here to my most constant reader, faithful editor, running companion, and dear interlocutor, Adele Holoch. Adele, you got me through. Scott Newton, my partner in words and life, who has been with me every step of graduate school and every syllable of this project, you never fail to push me to think more deeply, differently, and more generatively; thank you.

;

If, after all these acknowledgements, you are still reading, and if, at some point, this dissertation serves you, please consider donating to the National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI), the Sierra Club Foundation, or Planned Parenthood.

## ABSTRACT

As the United States began to expand imperially beyond the continent, conflicts grew over control of what terms such as “America” and “American” represented—and how to depict them. The so-called “Golden Age of American Imperialism” spawned excited, jingoistic texts that asserted an American identity predicated on exceptionalism and beneficence. Meanwhile, protests arose from, and in, the margins of American literature. Though scholars have rigorously examined the fingerprints left by empire in U.S. culture and literature, we now need to dust for its protestors: the elements and aesthetics of the forces resisting it require further examination. “War in the Margins: Illustrating Anti-Imperialism in American Culture” demonstrates the interplay of grapheme, graphics, and propaganda integral to the anti-imperialist movement in American literature and culture. It argues that hybrid media was essential to anti-imperialist propaganda in the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Beginning with Mark Twain’s adventure novels and ending with W. E. B. Du Bois’s work with the *Crisis*, “War in the Margins” analyzes intermedia dynamics to highlight how currents of empire play out between aesthetics and imperial politics across and through the page. Each chapter considers intergroup dynamics central to the annexation debates, relying particularly on visual theory, neoformalism, and humor studies, but also attending to book history, especially in the development of imaging technologies. I open by discussing the fluctuating space of home created by narratives in Mark Twain and Daniel Carter Beard’s *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. The second chapter addresses the impact of humor and empathy on intergroup dynamics in Ernest Howard Crosby and Daniel Carter Beard’s *Captain Jinks, Hero*. I move beyond the domestic in

my third and fourth chapters. The third examines the use of photography and hybrid media in the battle between Mark Twain and King Leopold II, a conflict exemplified in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* and its response, *An Answer to Mark Twain*. The final chapter returns to the United States through the proto-modernist periodical work of Pauline Hopkins and W. E. B. Du Bois. I emphasize the ways textual aesthetics articulate national and international dynamics central to conceptions of what it means to be an American, concentrating on the ways aesthetic concerns amplify currents and voices that would ordinarily be marginalized. I contend that a close attention to multimodal aesthetics significantly contributes to discourses surrounding narratives of national and transnational communities and provides a deepened understanding of the struggles surrounding constructions of American citizenry.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES .....	xiii
INTRODUCTION .....	1
Fissures in the National Narrative .....	9
Breaching the Divide .....	22
Chapter Précis .....	25
CHAPTER	
I. COUNTERVISUALIZING NARRATIVE EMPIRES IN <i>TOM SAWYER ABROAD</i> .....	29
“Red-Hot” Imperialism.....	33
Vexed Authority .....	41
Temporal Rhymes and Tropospheric Distortions.....	47
Narrative Legerdemain .....	49
Coda: Mapping Empire.....	61
II. AESTHETIC THIRD SPACES AND HUMOR IN <i>CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO</i> .....	66
Comedic Effects on Social Dynamics .....	69
Social Identity Theory and Satire .....	80
Beyond Satire .....	85
“Benevolence” Abroad, Lynchings at Home.....	87
Activism, Animals, and Animetaphors.....	93
Conclusion.....	106
III. ‘PHOTOSHOPPED’ FRONTIERS AND MANIPULATED VISIONS: MEDIATED PHOTOGRAPHY IN TEXTUAL AND TERRITORIAL DISPUTES.....	110
From the AIC to the CRA.....	112
“You Press the Button – We Do the Rest” .....	119
Photography in Pro-Imperial Propaganda and Popular Culture .....	119
Twain and Photographic Transformations .....	125
Photographic Postvisualization .....	136
King Leopold’s Soliloquy, Satire, and Media Hybridity.....	140
Media Activation Through Mediation.....	147
Coda: An Answer to Mark Twain .....	156
IV. ALONG THE COLOR LINE OF AMERICAN PERIODICALS: FROM THE <i>COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE</i> TO THE <i>CRISIS</i> .....	167
THE <i>COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE</i> .....	171
The Stakes of Expansion .....	174
“Talma Gordon” .....	183
Casting “Talma Gordon” .....	186
W. E. B. Du Bois and the <i>Crisis</i> .....	196

Spectres of War .....	196
Du Bois and the Synesthetic Quest .....	201
Humorish .....	206
The Voice of the Congo in New York City.....	209
Foreign Comment.....	213
Conclusion .....	218
 EPILOGUE.....	219
“The Uncertain Balance Delighted!”.....	219
Making it New Media.....	224
 BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	227

## LIST OF FIGURES

### Figure

1.	One U.S. Dollar, 1880 .....	19
2.	Lecture Notes.....	37
3.	Title Page from <i>Tom Sawyer Abroad</i> .....	43
4.	Tom Lectures on Crusades .....	45
5.	“Jim Standing a Siege.” .....	54
6.	“Rescue of Jim.” .....	56
7.	“Map of the Trip Made by Tom Sawyer Errornott, 1850.” .....	62
8.	“Aunty Democracy.”. ....	69
9.	Ludic “O.” .....	77
10.	“One Day.”.....	78
11.	“On the Following Morning.”.....	79
12.	“By the Next Morning’s Mail.”.....	90
13.	Devoted Paternalism .....	95
14.	“Cluck! Cluck! Cluck!” .....	96
15.	Slavering Wolves.....	101
16.	Equine Empathy.....	105
17.	“Harmless.”.....	108
18.	1850 daguerreotype by G. H. Jones of Samuel Clemens Holding a Printer's Stick Spelling "SAM." .....	127
19.	“Painting My Great Picture.” .....	131
20.	“My Picture of the Matterhorn.”.....	132
21.	Composite Photograph of Twain by T. S. Frisbie. ....	135
22.	Leopold vs. the Kodak.....	147
23.	Nsala of Wala with His Daughter's Hand and Foot.....	148
24.	“Nsala of Wala in the Nsogo District (Abir Concession).”.....	150

25.	“Imagine the Output of the Whole Vast State!” .....	151
26.	A Photographic Montage.....	153
27.	“From Photograph, Ikoko, Congo State.”.....	156
28.	“A Photographic Proof”: Morel Pasted Near a Boar.....	158
29.	Front Cover of <i>An Answer to Mark Twain</i> .....	160
30.	“The Kodak Has Been a Sore...” .....	161
31.	“...Calamity to Us.”.....	162
32.	Back Cover of <i>An Answer to Mark Twain</i> .....	163
33.	Front Cover of L'Assiette au Beurre, June 1908.....	165
34.	Front Cover of <i>New Negro for a New Century</i> . ....	182
35.	“Mrs. Booker T. Washington” .....	183
36.	“The Young Colored American.” .....	189
37.	“Charles Byron Smith.” .....	192
38.	“Mrs. Johnson.” . .....	193
39.	“Voice of Congo.” .....	210
40.	“I was born October 27, 1858 in the midst of indescribable enthusiasm.” .....	216

## INTRODUCTION

The aesthetic can have its revenge upon ideology by revealing  
a power to complicate that is also a power to undermine.

Murray Krieger, *Ekphrasis*

Paratexts, as Gérard Genette explains, are "a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text" (*Thresholds* 1). From this marginal, and often marginalized space, textual aesthetics, including but not limited to embedded imagery, humor, and paronomasia, can accentuate the fluctuating space between the word and image, between what seems natural, but may not be, and the space within and around the signs that comprise the text. The drawn lines that constitute visual paratexts embody as much meaning as diction and syntax. Certainly paratexts can reflect leitmotifs and cultural conceptions of nation and race. Moreover, the graphic line "epitomizes the challenge of a narrative mode that uniquely *never* lets us forget, in which the kind of immersive magic that seeks to demystify simply cannot happen"—the very essence of narratology's aim to make visible what "the majority of narratives work to make us forget" (Gardner 66). The juxtaposition of text and graphics in many works allows these elements to function as Michel Foucault found René Magritte's work to do, "to show what cannot be pictured or made readable, the tissue in representation, the bands, layers, and fault-lines of discourse, the blank space between the text and the image," (qtd. in Mitchell *Reconfigured* 69). Graphic and nongraphic textual aesthetic elements allow authors and artists to make visible the compression of history in the

present, of signified in signs, obfuscated yet employed by the ideologies surrounding them in literature and life which are largely unreadable from a too-near perspective. Thus, the visual provides one area in which to examine the inner workings of cultural and social imperatives; by the same logic, this same space provides opportunities for its resistance.

Visual dissensus and countervisuality can subvert the status quo of visuality: not only in producing the “right to look where none technically exists,” as Nicholas Mirzoeff articulates, but also in “a dispute over the situation itself, a dispute over what is visible as an element of a situation, over which visible elements belong to what is common, over the capacity of subjects to designate this common and argue for it...the division of perceptible givens themselves,” as Jacques Rancière writes (6). The right to look, Mirzoeff maintains, “is not simply a matter of assembled visual images but the grounds on which such assemblages can register as meaningful renditions of a given event” (“The Right to Look” 477). By reading closely and paying heed to textual aesthetics, we extend the potency of close reading. Joseph Boone argues:

to free ourselves from the often invisible grip of power of ideology, we need first to see—which is to say *read*, and read closely and well—the discursive strategies that imprison us within their prescribed meanings. Only then can we begin to unravel the regulatory logic by which more visibly oppressive social institutions keep us in ‘our place’—which is to say, the place that has been discursively assigned to or textually inscribed upon us. (qtd. in Thaggert 25)

It is through paratexts and other forms of textual aesthetics that authors and artists can find additional room for expression, direct or indirect. As textual aesthetics frequently

augment the quieter voices of history, often saying as much or more than the rest of the text's content, it can be a particularly rich region for what Murray Krieger calls aesthetic revenge upon ideologies, including imperial ideologies. From burgeoning photographic modes to the increased circulation of images of all kinds, visually-constructed perceptions of social groups, political events, and national issues were proliferating in fictional and nonfictional forums alike. Growing readerships and consumer groups had increasingly similar experiences as products ranging from newspapers and books to branded products were nationally traded. Additionally, a nascent visual modernism coming into play from the middle of the nineteenth century, impacting the ways these artifacts constructed meaning, textually and visually. "That images often created a space for a dialogue about empire that words alone could not nurture," as David Brody maintains, works both to support and to counter empire (6). The complicating power of textual aesthetics makes it an ideal lens through which to view the "Golden Age" of U.S. empire from 1880-1917, particularly its anti-imperialist reactions.

Scrutinizing representations of empire in popular culture, mainly books and periodicals, from what Foucault calls "reverse discourses," or angles of resistance, in this project I examine a variety of paratexts and aesthetic markers in predominantly anti-imperialist texts from sentence-level disruptions to "traditional" adventure novel illustrations, inhabited initials, photographs, cartoons, and hybrid media. Just as their more pro-jingoistic compatriots often furthered their causes with aesthetics, anti-imperialist authors and artists such as Mark Twain, Ernest Howard Crosby, Pauline Hopkins, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Daniel Carter Beard used the realm of aesthetics, best activated through close reading, to mediate constructions of racial, cultural, and national

identities and complicities as they worked to quell the growing tide of imperialism in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Illustrated texts were not the only means by which anti-imperialists wove synesthetic narratives of resistance, but visually-appended texts were among the most common. Illustrated texts were not new to Mark Twain's lifetime, nor are they uniquely American, are not always humorous, and are not always worthy of study.<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup> Many illustrations add little while others unhinge the limits of the text, opening a series of further interpretations from word to image to world. They can give a character flesh or serve as proxies for the routes of transnational travel, a theme particularly popular in late-nineteenth-century travelogues. Of course, as Roland Barthes writes in "The Photographic Message," paratexts can also serve to contradict as much as amplify the text with a "compensatory connotation," his name for softening the blow of a negative message (27). Additionally, the text can add meaning to an image (especially to photographs), particularly when the text reveals information that occurs after the photograph was taken.

---

<sup>1</sup> I want to pause here to briefly clarify my terms. While colonialism and imperialism are interlinked and

<sup>2</sup> Not all authors were as pleased to have their works illustrated. In discussing what was likely a common feeling of despair among authors, Julia Thomas quotes George Eliot as she wrote to an illustrator of one of her novels, Frederic Leighton: "'illustrations can only form a sort of overture to the text. The artist who uses the pencil must otherwise be tormented to misery by the deficiencies or requirements of the one who uses the pen, and the writer, on the other hand, must die of impossible expectations'" (9).

<sup>3</sup> Illustrations sell and sold books and were common in novels, particularly subscription books. In "Illustrators and Illustrations in Mark Twain's First American Editions," Beverly R. David and Ray Sapirstein remark that "to justify the relatively high price and to reassure buyers that they were getting their money's worth, books published by subscription had to offer sensational volume and apparent substance." They quote Frank Bliss of the American Publishing as noting consumers, especially those of subscription books "'would not pay for blank paper and wide margins. They wanted everything filled up with type or pictures'" (17). But the raw fact that these illustrations' existences may have been justified by their net worth does not dismiss their cultural value.

In his theorizations of the function of illustration, Barthes failed to comment on illustrations that added meaning unspoken in the text—the way William Makepeace Thackeray’s vignettes added meaning to *Vanity Fair*, implicating Becky Sharp in murder in a way the text proper does not.<sup>4</sup> Thackeray’s illustrations of Becky Sharp picture her as “the notorious husband-slayer” Clytemnestra and implicate her in a murder more strongly than the ambiguous text of *Vanity Fair* proper.<sup>5</sup>

Collaborative images like those in Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair*, images that have lives of their own rather than only shadowing the text they accompany, images one could describe more as styptic than reflective, are central to this project. For example, in my second chapter I discuss how illustrated letters, inhabited initials, bring a significantly darker mode to the satirical work of *Captain Jinks, Hero*. Using what I call “anti-humor,” a form that steps beyond black humor into despair within a comedic environment, the paired works of Ernest Howard Crosby the author and Dan Beard the illustrator function on multiple levels to dislodge the pro-imperial ideology imbued in many levels of U.S. society.

---

<sup>4</sup> When used to describe graphic images, as I am doing here, the term “vignette” denotes either a decorative design, often used to separate chapters or sections, or a borderless picture that shades off, blending into the rest of the page. This second meaning lends itself to photography, in that the central point is highlighted in its contrast to blurriness around the edges. In literature, the term vignettes follows this focalization, meaning short, descriptive scenes that give insight into a character or story.

<sup>5</sup> *Vanity Fair* is wholly Thackeray’s brainchild: no illustrator mediated, edited, or fouled up his authorial visions. Some announced his drawings “merely grotesque caricatures” and “others, including Charlotte Brontë, have found in it the perfection of anatomy and form” (Ellis “Thackeray” 403). However, few would disagree with Verlyn Klinkenborg that “compared with the way we moderns get to read “Vanity Fair,” with an almost puritanical lack of ornament, the Victorians may have been better off.” She writes:

As it was originally published -- illustrations intact -- Thackeray met his readers more than halfway. He is an interlocutor in his novel as much as its narrator. He patrols the scenes of “Vanity Fair” -- London high and low, the battle of Waterloo, the prosperous ducal town of Pumpernickel -- happy to intervene when a point needs clarifying, eager to field readers’ comments even as the novel is unfolding. Thackeray is always present as an illustrator, too. Each chapter begins with an ornamented initial. The capital “I” of Chapter XVII, for instance, shows a painting of the immense Jos Sedley -- collector of Boggley Wollah -- seated upon an elephant, a painting that has a role to play much later in the book. (n.p.)

Many of the works I consider, such as Mark Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, embrace a multivalent approach to marrying text and image, a mixture of types and sources comprising their paratexts. I theorize that this is in part because media hybridity ensures that the reader achieves a certain level of defamiliarization by preventing emotional adaptation and notional or even semantic saturation. Frequently the textual aesthetics in anti-imperialist works function as many of Thackeray's did, "giving the reader a moment to linger over a critical episode" (Klinkenborg 18). Judith Fisher names this effect "intratextual narrative irony" and posits that it can provide a pause in the text and in its consumption (qtd. in Capuano 171). This is especially salient, as I discuss in my third and fourth chapters, in the wake of what I call ideational saturation, the blunting of an idea with repetition, a not uncommon reading occurrence.<sup>6</sup>

Attention to form and textual aesthetics can be pleasurable, productive, and generative. Henry Turner claims that in light of the transformative properties of form, its constantly fluctuating impact on value between an artifact and its interlocutors, "form" may be better understood as a verb, rather than as a noun (582). Susan Wolfson quotes art historian T. J. Clark on the dynamic power of form to activate a piece: "the work of art may have an ideology (in other words, those ideas, images, and values which are generally accepted, dominant) as its material, but it *works* that material; it gives it a new form and at certain times that new form is in itself a subversion of ideology" (2). In the same vein, Russ Castronovo and Christopher Castiglia concede that "aesthetics reactivate and defamiliarize the social forces and political possibilities that are ends or horizons of

---

<sup>6</sup> Ideational saturation is similar to semantic saturation, a term coined by psychologist Leon Jakobovits James. Semantic saturation is a psychological process through which repetition causes a word or phrase to lapse in meaning. Egaeus, the obsessive narrator of Edgar Allan Poe's 1835 short story "Berenice" often repeats "monotonously, some common word, until the sound, by dint of frequent repetition, ceased to convey any idea whatever to the mind."

cultural analysis,” requiring first and second looks as well as different registers of taste (424). What Castronovo and Castiglia call the “second look” and Gardner names making visible, I situate in the “third space” of a text.

I use the term “third space” here fully loaded with the connotations of hybridity, productive connection, and frictiveness which come to it through postcolonial theory, a close relation of U.S. empire studies.<sup>7</sup> For Homi Bhabha, who converted the social psychology term for use in social criticism, the third space marks the indeterminate spaces in-between subject positions which, though “unrepresentable in itself...constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew” (*Location of Culture* 55). In other words, the third space is a place of meeting. It is where hegemonic colonial narratives of cultural structures and practices press upon those whose positions they would usurp; it is a space of impartial negotiation and “productive capacities.” It is there in the in-between that hybridity finds a “space intrinsically critical of essentialist positions of identity and a conceptualization of ‘original or originary culture’” (56). In it, terms such as “colonizer” and “colonized,” “ruling class” and “oppressed” are invested with “the transgressive irritation of binary structures as a potential for liberation and emancipation” (Brosch

---

<sup>7</sup> The notion of a ‘third space’ traditionally indicates a space alternative to dualistic ideologies. It comes to postcolonial studies by way of social psychology, having been instituted by psychologist Lev Zygotsky to promote learning. Zygotsky’s notion of a third space has been primarily used in education. In Zygotsky’s rendering, a third space is a realm wherein students’ primary discourses, those found at home and in their communities, overlap with their secondary discourses, those of formal settings. The resultant space scaffolds students’ prior experiences and schema into official curriculum. Bhabha revised the term “third space” for use in postcolonial theory as a means of underlining the competing social forces and hybrid articulations of self and culture inherent to colonialism. Inspired by Homi Bhabha’s theory of the “Third Space of Enunciation” first demarcated in *The Location of Culture*, the notion of a third space has gained immense popularity in postcolonial circles and beyond. Studies such as *Communicating (in) the Third Space* (2009) have attempted to clarify and expound upon Bhabha’s kernel of an idea but critical consensus still wavers as to a specific definition and utilization of his term.

281). For Bhabha, colonizer and colonized are interdependent and hybrid, rather than isolated, invariable bubbles. It is in the third space that Bhabha suggests that we can “elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves” (56). Similar to the ways textual twists can both complicate and undermine an understanding of surrounding ideologies, as Murray Krieger argues, so too can the textual aesthetics of illustrated works create a generative third space. This space is neither of the verbal text nor entirely of the visual one, but is one in which the reader can trip upon the “tissue” connecting the two.

Examining these “third spaces” fostered by textuality is particularly important in the study of imperialism and anti-imperialism because visuality has been central to Western hegemony’s foundations and legitimization in plantation slavery, imperialism, and the military-industrial complex—after all, as Nicholas Mirzoeff writes, “the ability to assemble a visualization manifests the authority of the visualizer” (“Right to Look” 474). Likewise, as David Brody argues, agreeing with Edward Said that late nineteenth-century imperialism was founded on earlier cultural and aesthetic creations of Oriental “Others,” imperialism is a “visually mediated experience” in that “how we look (or visualize) is integral to the machinery that helps run the colonial engine” (3). Possession through perception, repeatedly articulated in adventure and travel novels, disrupts what art historian Angela Miller has named “the empire of the eye,” a term which Jeremy Wells succinctly summarizes as “an act of surveillance wherein the viewing subject beholds the landscape, perceives in it signs of a glorious personal and national destiny, and imagines himself somehow, someday possessing it” (135).

This “empire of the eye” has been a key, if contested element of the United States and its national narrative since before its foundation. National narratives, like those presented everywhere from currency to adventure novels can be unifying, making “a concept of ‘home’ for ‘a people’ appear intrinsic and natural rather than contingent and, ultimately, fictive” (Wald 299). Such narrative conceptions often consign individuals to communities, homogenize peoples, and require complicity and conformity in sets of values and ideals, in official histories, and “in shared symbolic systems in relation to national frontiers” leaving fissures between lived and imagined narratives (Wald 307). For Homi Bhabha, these fissures and margins of the modern nation become the conditions for its existence; he calls them “scraps, patches, and rags of daily life” which “must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a coherent national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subjects” (209).

### **Fissures in the National Narrative**

Before I continue further, it is necessary to more explicitly cover what both imperialism and anti-imperialism looked like during this period, the “fissures,” “scraps, patches, and rags,” and warring arguments in play that provide context for my project. Expansion, exceptionalism, and the foundational ideas of manifest destiny have been dominant elements of the U.S. national narrative since before its inception, from John Winthrop’s famous 1630 sermon “A Model of Christian Charity” to the many excited, jingoistic texts that represent the dominantly pro-imperialist mindset of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States and which have in recent decades been central to American Studies and the study of American literature.<sup>8</sup> They contributed

---

<sup>8</sup> The centrality of empire to American Studies and American Literature prompted Susan Kay Gillman to ask “have American Studies gone imperial?” in a 2005 *American Literary History* article by a similar title.

to a political environment that was overwhelmingly pro-expansionist, as imperialists constructed from these ideologies widely circulating self-identifications as Christian liberators of ideal manhood and womanhood: pro-imperialist identities were bound to idealized versions of an American “us” which was staunchly in place on the North American continent by the Spanish-American War, an “us” in which many had a difficult time including themselves.

Long before the “Golden Age” of American empire, there were moves to support U.S. hegemony, military strategy, economic expansion, and cultural handholds that particularly coalesced in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Monroe Doctrine prevented (non-U.S.) intervention in North or South America, stating that additional European moves in the Western hemisphere would be considered acts of aggression. This declaration of U.S. hegemonic control would only grow more concentrated with the Roosevelt Corollary of 1904, which asserted the rights of the United States to protect its hemispheric interests. The Corollary justified actions in Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic before World War I. Through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the mid-century U.S.-Mexican War granted the United States territory above the Rio Grande including much of California, New Mexico, and Texas. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 inspired then-Secretary of State Richard Olney, much to Theodore Roosevelt’s delight, to proclaim that the British had no rights in Venezuela, writing that the United States “is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition” (qtd. in Young 252). England’s refusal to leave the gold-rich area incited President Cleveland, a firm supporter of the Monroe Doctrine, if

not U.S. expansion, to describe the British response as “a willful aggression” of which he was fully aware (qtd. in Layne 973).

The financial advantages of increasing the U.S. footprint paramount for a number of expansionist strategists. Anti-slavery senator and Secretary of State William Henry Seward, for one, strove to create an American empire predicated on commerce, seeing imperial actions as central to global power. His work to dominate the Caribbean and the Pacific was unsuccessful in that he only managed to acquire Alaska (“Seward’s Folly”) and the uncontested Midway Island out of nearly a score of territories (including Canada and Mexico), but the vision of Western hemispheric hegemony to which he aspired remained the watchword of American imperialists until World War I. Following his death in 1872, many of his territorial dreams were realized including the annexations of Hawai’i, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines in 1898.

President Grant, never a fan of Seward, found the opportunity to annex the Dominican Republic in 1870 too great of a military and abolitionist advantage to turn from. While most of the Senate agreed with Grant that a military presence in the Caribbean was desirable, opponents such as Senator Carl Schurz maintained that annexing the Dominican Republic would be more trouble than it was worth, requiring costly military dominance there. Moreover, Schurz found Grant’s abolitionist agenda off-putting; he cited fears of heightened racial tensions within the United States as a major factor behind his opposition. Echoes of Schurz’s racial anxieties would loudly reverberate later in the century as issues of annexation loomed large on the political horizon.

Race was a major, and majorly divisive, issue in the annexation debates, particularly those leading up to the Spanish-American Wars. Anglo-Saxonism and white

supremacy motivated those such as Carl Schurz to shy away from expansion as they feared losing power in the acquisition of land. Politicians such as Senator Tillman of South Carolina, authors including Thomas Dixon, and socialites such as Varina Howells Davis feared that increased associations with people of color through expansion would lead to racial contamination as well as a dilution of (their idealized version of) American citizenship, eventually reducing the privileges of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant Americans.<sup>9</sup> Would the citizens of annexed nations become full U.S. citizens, they asked? What kinds of rights would they have and what kind of access to the continental United States would they be given? And how would these changes affect the status quo stateside?<sup>10</sup> For this camp, responsibility for large numbers of non-white citizens trumped any and all counter arguments for the benefits to Christianity, commerce, and status opened by the (annexed) door to the East.

Reverend Josiah Strong headed the opposing side of Anglo-Saxonists who believed white Protestant Americans needed to press the democratic ideals of the United States forward. His immensely popular *Our Country* (1885) heralded the coming of a new world order led to greatness by a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority and their replicable ways and norms. Though he, like a number of those who opposed anti-imperialism because they feared racial “contamination,” saw immigrants as a major threat to the supremacy of the United States, he felt that the arm of white leadership was so great as to be able to carry out his expansion without the process undermining white

---

<sup>9</sup> Some pro-imperialists, like Thomas Dixon, as Jeremy Wells writes, were at heart for controlling other areas but anti-colonialist as they supported a white supremacist U.S. empire (123-24). Wells contests Walter Benn Michaels's long-held view propounded in his 1993 *Critical Inquiry* article “Race into Culture: A Critical Genealogy of Cultural Identity” that Dixon as a racist who opposed colonialism was also anti-imperialist.

<sup>10</sup> Eric T. Love cogently and thoroughly takes up how race and racism complicated U.S. imperialism rather than simply promoting it in *Race Over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900*.

supremacy or power. He led a faction of imperialists who believed white Protestant Americans were manifestly destined to control first the Western hemisphere and then the world—at least the nonwhite regions of the world.

Strong's plan for world domination was vocally seconded by writers and strategists such as Alfred Mahan. Mahan's book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*, outlines the economic and political necessities of tapping into the geopolitical opportunities provided by the sea. Arguments for military tactics of this sort underpinned the 1898 annexation of Hawai'i, for example, despite over one half of native Hawaiians having signed a petition protesting annexation and the government vocally protesting it.<sup>11 12</sup>

The immensely popular ideas of Anglo-Saxonism militancy influenced the anti-imperialist sentiments of those who feared the ramifications that increased valuation of white, Protestant values (and concomitant devaluation of non-white and /or non-Protestant individuals) would have both abroad and within the United States.<sup>13</sup> Where the

<sup>11</sup> Disagreeing with the 1887 Bayonet Constitution, so-called because of the threat of force used to convince her brother the then-king to sign it, Queen Lili'uokalani sought to reinstate the monarchy's veto power as well as suffrage for Asians and Native Hawaiians disenfranchised by the agreement. Relinquishing her throne to the United States in the face of a subsequent Marine invasion, the Queen became a member of the protectorate, presided over by "President" Sanford Dole, until Grover Cleveland's presidency passed and the Republic of Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898 by William McKinley.

<sup>12</sup> The lengthy list of 21,269 signatures can be viewed in the National Archives' digital repository (Onion).

<sup>13</sup> As the annexation debate gained renewed fervor—and public favor—in the 1890s, the anti-imperialist movement was haunted by their previous, silent complicity. The colonialist treatment of Native Americans and the theft of their land served as a precedent for the treatment of Filipinos and Puerto Ricans. Walter Williams convincingly argues that "an examination of United States Indian policy during the nineteenth century reveals a clear pattern of colonialism toward Native Americans" serving "as a precedent for imperialist domination over the Philippines and other islands occupied during the Spanish-American War" (810). The stereotype of Native Americans as passively "vanishing" from the frontier removed the United States from responsibility for this literal and political vanishing: as William writes, with the passage of the frontier, native groups passed from being recognized as "nations" with sovereignty to "domestic dependent nations....in a state of

ungentle handling of native peoples disgusted Mark Twain, it incited Howard University professor Kelly Miller. Articulating the view that supporting American expansion was tantamount to participating in race-based atrocities abroad—and eventually would have a detrimental effect upon the progress toward equality achieved in the United States—Miller stormed against a movement which he saw as “the rape of Filipino liberty” which, he felt, “promised to open blacks up to new indignities and institute under the American flag a new slavery” (n.p.). How could the United States purport to spread liberty abroad when civil rights were denied to so many of their citizens at home, Miller and those of a similar mindset asked. “Can the nation which can hardly be said to have done justice to its 7 millions of black citizens at home, do justice to 10 millions of black, yellow, and brown men 6,000 miles away?” queried the *Economist* in a similar vein in November of 1898, as Susan K. Harris reports (138).

As I discuss at more length in my fourth chapter, the issue of U.S. expansion and imperialism was a contentious one for people of color in the United States. As Roger Bresnahan writes, “No doubt the amicable arrangement between the Americans and the Sultan of Jolo which permitted human slavery was a bitter pill for blacks” (27). Still, there were those, including Booker T. Washington, who believed that black Americans should actively support U.S. military action, flourishing patriotic militancy to better assert U.S. citizenship and inclusion.

---

pupilage” according to Chief Justice John Marshall in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) (qtd. in Williams 811). Citizenship was not required for the United States to govern “alien” peoples, Marshall decided, thus providing “the United States with a model for governing colonial subjects” (811). This model was later used, Williams shows, in the governance of annexed territories such as Hawai’i and the Philippines.

By 1898 when the United States became engaged in the Spanish-American War following the mysterious explosion of the *Maine*, it had been seeking to become involved with Cuba, for example, for decades, and actively pressing against other nations for control of lands for centuries, most recently in the U.S.-Mexican War.<sup>14</sup> The often-cited economic panic of 1893 might have played some part in the fervor with which expansion was largely held, but as J.A. Hobson wrote in his study of the subject in 1902, the development into the United States into a full-fledged imperial power was no “mere wild freak of spread-eaglism” (79). Following the defeat of the Spanish, the Treaty of Paris granted the U.S. the former Spanish territories of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam. This victory led to the United States involvement in what was locally known as the Philippine War of Independence. The Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars, which officially ran from 1898-1902 (though hostilities continued until 1913 in the Philippines) and the annexation of Hawai’i, Puerto Rico, and Guam firmly launched the United States as an imperial world power.

The press by and large followed the American majority’s fervor for the Philippine-American War and was commonly saturated with overt and covert pro-imperial texts and images. The conflict was buoyed by the mindset that it was a “splendid little war” against a small, ignorant faction who wrongly opposed the U.S. right to sovereignty. Staunch U.S. censorship of the extent of Filipino demands for independence and associated oppositions to U.S. annexation and salacious “yellow journalism” produced the effect of a popular, exciting, righteous conflict. President McKinley asserted that he’d realized, after nights of prayer, that the Philippines could not be left to

---

<sup>14</sup> President Franklin Pierce approved the Olmstead Act in 1854, a piece of legislature that threatened Spain with war if they refused to sell Cuba to the U.S. This act was later blocked.

Spain or to their own devices and “that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God’s grace do the very best we could by them” (Rusling 17). It was common for the Philippine-American War to be promulgated as a conflict if not for the liberation of the Filipino people, as they desired, then for their own good: the U.S. as a nation of stalwart men, one argument ran, would serve as better stewards of the Filipino people than they themselves or the “effeminate” Spanish could (Hoganson 26).<sup>15</sup>

The majority of those in favor of expanding the United States through annexation believed doing so was part of what was classified as the God-granted, manifest destiny of the United States. Doing so would allow missionaries, doctors, and other U.S. human rights activists greater access to people they believed required their help.<sup>16</sup> Senator Albert Beveridge, who worked closely with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and President Theodore Roosevelt on expansionist, imperialist policies, in fact decried the category. In spite of claiming that the “Philippines are ours forever,” Beveridge gave an entire address on the subject, “For the Greater Republic, not for Imperialism,” stating that “imperialism is not the word for our vast work” (11006, 11012). Representative of those who supported expansionist policies in the names of paternalism, the “advancement of the flag,” and race-based supremacy, Beveridge was fond of announcing things such as “the spoiled child, Aguinaldo, may not stay the march of civilization. Rebellion against the authority of the flag must be crushed without delay, for hesitation encourages revolt; and without

---

<sup>15</sup> Kristin Hoganson unpacks the intersection of masculinity and American empire at length in her 1998 *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*.

<sup>16</sup> For more on the causes and effects of U.S. imperialism see William Appleman Williams’s essay, “Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America’s Present Predicament Along with a Few Thoughts About an Alternative.”

anger, for the turbulent children know not what they do” (11006). He writes that “American manhood to-day contains the master administrators of the world, and they go forth for the healing of the nations (11011-12).

“It is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would enclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny”: so begins Albert Beveridge’s 1898 speech, “March of the Flag.” In addition to spiritual and economic benefits, Beveridge maintained that it was imperative to American pride to oversee extraterritorial populations. “If England can govern foreign lands, so can America. If Germany can govern foreign lands, so can America. If they can supervise protectorates, so can America,” he states, refusing to be outdone. Kristin Hoganson sums this competition up: “even tiny Belgium had overseas colonies, it appears that a kind of empire envy underlay” some pro-expansionist beliefs (10).

Even U.S. currency was a bastion of expansionist rhetoric imbued with fiduciary and cultural values. The official dollar bills circulating during the nineteenth century emphasized the “discovery” motif central to the mythos surrounding the provenance of the United States. Similar to today’s bills in typography and in the oval portrait of George Washington taken from Gilbert Stuart’s portrait of the president, the upper left corner of the 1880 bill features a vignette engraved by H.B. Hall based on John Vanderlyn’s 1846 painting, *The Landing of Columbus* (see fig. 1).<sup>17</sup> This congressionally-commissioned image “came to be the prevailing representation in the American imagination of

---

<sup>17</sup> John Gast’s 1872 painting *American Progress* numbers with Vanderlyn’s in common representations of Manifest Destiny: in it, an angelic Columbia unfurls telegraph wires across the continent as she leads (white) settlers westward.

Columbus's discovery of the New World," according to the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American history, and was hung in the capitol building, used in advertisements, featured on postage stamps, and used on currency from the early 1860s through World War I ("Landing").<sup>18</sup> In this example bill, Columbus's party begins, as the reader does, at the top leftmost quadrant of the bill. The image of the explorers, inset as a vignette with blurred edges, is unencumbered by a border or margin, allowing the figures to imaginatively spread across the white space of the bill, mirroring the eventual exploration across and beyond the continent.

---

<sup>18</sup> Territorial currency (specie and notes alike), as Eric Helleiner and Michael O'Malley argue, are one easy example of repositories for social valuations as well as focal points for how nations present, identify, and write themselves—the images on them provide one central means of disseminating that image. The imagining of nation and national values are naturalized in currency and passed along as imbued discourses when money circulates. O'Malley posits that for a gold standard in the 1890s linked race and intrinsic/biological traits, as the "tension between the ideal of freedom in self-making and the comfort of fixed identity" (371). This perception influenced national developments such as the failure of Reconstruction and the upholding of Jim Crow laws. Money, O'Malley opines, exists as the sign of the meaning of difference and markets exist in part to value difference. Currency represents national and territorial ideologies while negotiating social and economic boundaries. The text and images (sometimes even vignettes) of currency, like other illustrated cultural artifacts, reify the imagined communities that they represent and solidify them in the social imaginary. For an account of the impact of trade on American Indian life, see Martha Blue's *Indian Trader: The Life and Times of J. L. Hubbell* (2000). See also her 35-page monograph, "The Navajo Witch Purge of 1878," in which she recounts the impact of life post-reservation for the Navajo people, including a hitherto unknown disparity of wealth: "the freedom to return to their homeland had come at the expense of traditional Navajo ways of balancing social inequities and rationalizing inequalities of wealth and well-being."



Fig. 1: One U.S. Dollar, 1880.

Source: Courtesy of Thomas Chao.

Reflective of these expressions of American identity, Frederick Jackson Turner cogently sums up the widespread belief that expansion was central to American identity in his 1893 paper “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.” He argues that it was from the American frontier, the territorial margins of the nation, that what he saw as a specifically American environment of democracy and innovation sprang: further expansion was necessary for continued advancement. President Roosevelt commended Turner for his summation of the zeitgeist, stating in a letter written on 10 February 1894 that Turner “put into definite shape a good deal of thought which has been floating around rather loosely” and acknowledging that Roosevelt meant to “make use of it in writing the third volume of my ‘Winning of the West,’ of course making full acknowledgement.”

But just as the American imperialist movement did not spontaneously appear, or appear cohesively, neither did the anti-imperialist movement. Less popular than Turner’s

conceptions of a nation premised on expansion were individuals who believed imperialism would threaten their concentration of power, violate the nation's predication ideologies, or weaken its moral exceptionalism. From Northern Federalists who opposed the purchase of the Louisiana Territory to Whigs and later Republicans, opposition was rife, if varied. In addition to the reasons mentioned above, some anti-imperialists found American imperial policies to be unconstitutional and maintained that in its annexations, the United States was seeking to preside without the consent of the governed. Finding that the United States meant to have a heavy hand in the ruling of Cubans and Filipinos, instead of granting them independence, a number of once-staunch supporters of U.S. intervention turned vehemently against the Philippine-American War, finding its potential economic, military, and racial gains not worth what they saw as the bastardization of the nation's core values. Anti-imperialist leagues grew regional chapters in Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, and New York. Boston "mugwumps" particularly encouraged black Americans to oppose imperialism and did have some luck, but the Colored National Anti-Imperialist League saw only a fraction of the numbers and involvement of the national American Anti-Imperialist League or its subsidiaries. Finding imperialist policies to oppose those dealing with the Philippine-American War, American anti-imperialist leagues took on other issues, including the Congo, until pressures from World War I for national unity, and the moderate successes in the Philippines such as the Jones Act which promised "eventual" self rule, influenced President Moorfield Storey and the rest of the remaining league members to dissolve the organization.

The far more popular and saturated social and cultural cache of imperialists has been more frequently studied than have been the rhetorical struggles of their opposers.

From currency to literature, the pervasive leavings of empire have been examined in depth for the past few decades; from advertisements offering to “lighten” the “White Man’s Burden” with soap to popular ethnographic comparisons perpetuating concepts of white superiority and the extension of cultural cooptation in women’s fashion, both the literary and cultural leavings of empire have been sampled, plated, scrutinized, and taxonomized. Visibility has been a popular font for empire studies as during the fin de siècle “different visual mediums furthered empire while concomitantly fostering a space where debates about empire could take place,” as Brody argues in *Visualizing American Empire* (2). Brody, however, like many current scholars of U.S. empire, mostly examines artifacts that facilitated imperial culture—even unintentionally, or with what Laura Wexler calls an “innocent eye,” the eye that sees, records, and shares power structures such as ideologies without intentionally reconstructing these abstract national ideals. Continuing work begun by Gisele Freund, Roland Barthes, and Susan Sontag on the intersection of photography and ideology, in *Tender Violence*, Wexler covers the work of early female photojournalists whose work replicates domestic and imperialistic motifs through this “innocent eye,” not just in its contents but its forms. The “objective” and “neutral” eye of the camera is skewed by the photographer’s “averted eye.” Wexler defines the latter as the refusal, or inability, to see beyond one’s own constructed reality. The camera does not care for photographers’ denial and, Wexler argues, leaves a record of what was seen, unseen, and omitted. The innocent and averted eye and other theories of ocularity are part and parcel with the interlocked steps of domestic and imperial cultures that Amy Kaplan details in *The Anarchy of Empire* (2002).

But the texts left by those who oppose the strongest currents of history have been pushed ever further into the margins by time than they were when they were produced. In recent decades, anti-imperialist cultural nuances have not garnered the same level of attention as the traces of empire because anti-imperialism was a less powerful force, but it was still a complicated and many-branched dynamic. Judging the amount of resistance to U.S. empire only by its strongest trappings has left us with a false sense of scale and impact. Territorial expansion was a major issue in U.S. society from presidential debates to animal welfare societies and, although anti-imperialism was less popular than pro-imperialism, it is critical to dust for its marks as well. Failing to examine anti-imperialism in the same arenas that imperialism has been considered has only increased the disparity with which the two sides of history are remembered. Put another way, this omission has amplified empire's own cultural empire. This elision has left a curtailment to understanding U.S. history and that history's consequences—even in shaping our own times.

### Breaching the Divide

An attention to form is critical to appreciate the whole of a text, to contemplate the forces that can be generated in the combustion of text and image. My sustained close reading of anti-imperialist works derives from my critical focus on the impact of empire on the construction of American identity. To look at this construction, the aesthetic elements in tension around it must be closely considered. If nations are narrations as Homi Bhabha posits, then the telling of U.S. territorial expansion was doubly constructed between art and prose on the page. The participatory verve required by textual aesthetics (i.e., through close reading) can raise questions of where our own positions are drawn.

The tools of aesthetic inquiry magnify and reframe how nations, history, and citizenship are and have been constructed, the relative values of varied affiliations, and degrees of complicity. It is here that the quaking, revolutionary heartbeat of resistance can often be heard—even when the text’s face remains composed. In other words, attention to textual aesthetics can reveal the sharp, jagged teeth of anti-humor just behind the surface-level wry smile of parody and reframe how nations, race, history, and citizenship were constructed in the “Golden Age” of American empire.

In what follows I refer to racist anti-imperialist and pro-expansionist works and arguments, but the majority of my study seeks to better understand how anti-imperialists used textual aesthetics in their arsenal to fight an uphill battle against the dominant socio-geographical in-group. For these groups, racial identity predicated and reinforced national identity. Walter Benn Michaels writes: “citizenship in the ‘new nation,’ produced out of resistance to an ‘African’ empire, became *essentially* racial; the legitimacy of the state (its identity as a nation rather than empire) was guaranteed by its whiteness” (658). That the racist anti-imperialists and the pro-imperialists’ arguments shared vast sequences of rhetorical DNA (e.g. the constitutionality, financial cost, and morality of imperialism) made changing the conversation even more imperative for the other band of anti-imperialists including Mark Twain, Ernest Howard Crosby, Pauline Hopkins, and W. E. B. Du Bois. Though a few works subscribing to what Walter Benn Michaels determines as the “racist” camp (anti-imperialists promoting white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant values) are undoubtedly more complex than this easy categorization would convey, more work has been done examining how anxieties pertaining to white hegemony than has been

done to unravel the more complicated mechanisms running the arguments of the second and third groups.

It is with this intent that I turn to artifacts from the other groups of anti-imperialists, concentrating on those who predominantly felt imperialist policies dirtied the foundations of the United States Republic for the first three chapters before turning to those who worried about the exacerbation of racial inequality in the fourth, though there are threads from each of these rationales in all of the works in my project. This unequal distribution comes about primarily because of the unequal distribution of available sources, not as an indication of the value of one predominating mindset over another. If the work of white anti-imperialists, headed by Mark Twain, Ernest Howard Crosby, and William Dean Howells, has received only a modicum of attention in the shadow of empire on the frontier of American literary and cultural studies, the legacy of black anti-imperialists such as Du Bois and Hopkins have received even less.

One of the major challenges anti-imperialists faced was the prevalence of expansionists' propaganda: anti-imperialists had to fight the more widely circulating literary, visual, and cultural currency of empire. Textual aesthetics supplemented their arguments and vociferations, fighting fire with fire (or art with art, as the case may better be put) in their attempt to change the conversation. It is this turning of the conversation in which I am most interested: not just the whys (already covered in great detail by historians) but the more slithery hows comprising their rhetoric. How the second branch of anti-imperialists sought to wedge their arguments into the monumental wall of racial and cultural superiority coming at them from all sides tells alternate stories of national identification, belonging, and exclusion. Textual aesthetics provide just one such "how."

## Chapter Précis

Central to the issue of belonging is the space of “home,” an idea increasingly contested as “home” was progressively dispersed across the continental territory and then internationally. My first chapter, “Countervisualizing Narrative Empires in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*,” examines how, in an era vexed by expansion, the circuitous, border-crossing movement of narrative genres accentuate the limits of national boundaries. I consider the ways textual elements dilate and satirize the monoglossic voice of expansionist rhetoric, contracting American identity and literature to reveal the power structures sustaining them. By extracting his own authority and presuming the role of “editor” in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, Twain questions the idea of a totalizing “master narrative” common to colonialism and apparent in the romantic illustrations and stories of adventure literature.

Continuing to question issues of belonging in narratives of nation and national expansion, in chapter two, “Aesthetic Third Spaces and Humor in *Captain Jinks, Hero*,” I draw on social identity and comic theories to consider how multiple narrative spaces in *Captain Jinks* created by the introductory vignettes, text proper, and links between the two hail the reader to a realm outside of their ken and aslant to quotidian discourses. In addition to providing another narrative dimension for the deployment of humorously forged social critiques, the illustrative spaces offer a place to readers who must assess their contesting identification with Crosby’s bumbling hero, the predominantly pro-war sentiments of mainstream media, and Beard’s trenchant illustrations. Through satire, black humor, and anti-comedy (distinctly unfunny and didactic moments in a humorous context) the illustrations, paired with Crosby’s more playful satire, alienate the readers from expansionists, members of their social in-groups on many levels. This alienation

was key to countering the expansionist rhetoric supersaturating U.S. mainstream culture at the time of the Spanish- and Philippine-American Wars.

I focus more deeply on the constructed self in my third chapter. In the late-nineteenth century the ability to visualize and revisualize one's self and others combined and played out in American literary realms. This had, in part, to do with a growing technology revolution. Aligned with the luxury of "enjoying" the wars from home, more Americans were participating in photography in general as the nineteenth-century blurred into the twentieth: the camera was becoming more portable, more personal, and more invested in the potential tourist/ photographer. Photography came to saturate the normalizing of cultural hegemony part and parcel with newly acquired territories, American and otherwise: periodicals such as *National Geographic*, *Harper's*, and *Leslie's Illustrated* joined touring lanternslide lectures, travelogues, novels, and even government census reports in making visible the foreign and domestic. "'Photoshopped' Frontiers and Manipulated Visions: Mediated Photography in Textual and Territorial Disputes," focuses on how Twain's use of mediated photographs in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* illuminates the way the rise of the "incorruptible Kodak" rived the nineteenth-century reader's notion of self as consumer and creator of legitimate visions of imaginatively extended domesticated territories. It also looks to how such image manipulation interrogated popularly circulating, authoritative photography, contesting the Western perspective from which touristic and missionary photography was often shot.

The constructed self expands upon racial lines again in my fourth chapter. There, I look at the interrelated perceptions of race and empire threaded through my other chapters from the vantage point of black rather than white authors and artists. In

"Along the Color Line of American Periodicals: From the *Colored American Magazine* to the *Crisis*" I point to earlier instantiations of the New Negro movement's consideration of representation than are commonly discussed, concentrating on Du Bois's work on the *Crisis* in conjunction with texts by his contemporaries, including Pauline Hopkins, to better understand connections between aesthetics and anti-imperialist propaganda in early twentieth-century African American texts and forums. I stress the need to consider intranational effects of extraterritorial expansion as well as the role that the continuing struggle between word and image, particularly as influenced by incipient modernism, played in formations of American identity after the initial anti-imperialist movement waned.

Just as examining the form and aesthetics of pro-imperially tinged cultural artifacts has deepened our understanding of the interlinked domestic and international impacts of empire, the study of anti-imperialist works can reveal how competing narratives pertaining to race, gender, nation, and empire central to these debates were deployed. More than that, they can enlighten us about rhetorics of resistance, from the subtle rifts created by the intersection of visuality and textuality to the subversive power of laughter. It is important to recall that quiet and subtle are not synonymous with unimportant and that in counterpublic forums, such as anti-imperialist texts, ripples may have been the biggest waves creators felt it was possible to make due to the bounds of race, gender, propriety, or other social constraints. Pauline Hopkins, an African American woman breaking new ground in her work at the *Colored American Magazine*, for example, stood to lose more in her vociferousness than she did to gain. But, as I discuss in my fourth chapter, she was not silent. Her use of generic riffs, textual frames, and

intermedial imagery evolved a whole more powerful than any one of its parts. The life of a text, as Hopkins's novella "Talma Gordon" reveals through its many layers, comes from multiple facets. Form, paratexts, and other aesthetic markers can render in Technicolor what otherwise appears muted. If we are to see the intricacies of literature, or of culture for that matter, we must begin where the signifieds butt heads with the signifiers, as Joanna Newsom euphoniously explains—we must consider the aesthetic markers that render a text visible.<sup>19</sup> This is especially invaluable in the study of empire, the tracks of which were—and still are—so deeply marked upon American literature and culture.

---

<sup>19</sup> This line comes from "This Side of the Blue" on Joanna Newsom's 2004 debut album *The Milk-Eyed Mender*.

## CHAPTER ONE

### COUNTERVISUALIZING NARRATIVE EMPIRES IN *TOM SAWYER ABROAD*

Famously, at the end of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), the eponymous narrator decides to "light out for the Territory" because, as he puts it, "Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me, and I can't stand it. I been there before" (366). Huck Finn's adventuring lasted until *Tom Sawyer Abroad* appeared in 1894. In the follow-up, Tom, Huck, and Jim light out for a (transnational) territory in a flying machine through a series of chance kidnappings and lost courses. The novel is difficult to pigeonhole (perhaps this helps to explain the barest ripple of attention it received when it was first published in 1894).<sup>1</sup> Besides the (accidental) deaths of native peoples the trio encounters and fleeting, erstwhile plans to get rich off of the lands to which they travel, none of the plot points of a true edisonade, romance of manhood, or adventure novel are realized.<sup>2</sup> There are no "foreign oppressors" from which the novel's

---

<sup>1</sup> However, it ranked fifth in sales amongst Twain's works in 1930. *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is in some ways an adventure story, though it is not a romance of manhood like Sir Walter Scott's works, Richard Harding Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune*, or even a direct parody thereof as is *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. It could be more accurately called an illustrated parody of boys' adventure novels, such as Jules Verne's *180 Days Around the World* and his "Five Days in a Balloon." *Tom Sawyer Abroad* also nods to the technology-heavy edisonades of the nineteenth century such as Edward Ellis's *The Steam Man of the Prairies* (1868) and Robert Toombes's Electric Bob series, as Mark Twain riffs on edisonades in parodying the *invention* of a nation. Jess Nevins defined the edisonade's generic elements in 2002 in *Victorian Archetypal Heroes and The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen*: often a youth "used a machine, usually some kind of ship, to transport himself to the Western frontier and make his fortune by 'civilizing' it, usually by slaughtering great numbers of natives" (Cooney).

<sup>2</sup> A debate has surged for decades amongst Twain scholars regarding Twain's adherence to Howellsian principles of realism. A simplified version of the argument is this: one group of critics maintains that Twain's dislike of romance in the style of Sir Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper is evidence for his support of Howellsian realism; others suggest that correlation does not necessarily equal causation and that it is irrational to impose the neatness of hindsight onto sympathetic patterns. The second school of thought,

central figures must save themselves, particularly once the airship's inventor falls to his death. Tom, Huck, and Jim's preoccupation with the places they visit, beginning with their occupation of the balloon, is questionably heroic at best. The main action comes from internarrative tension. Each character attempts to conquer the land below, and with it, their own relationships to power and American identity, by controlling the narrative.

Internarrative tension accentuates the way escalating extraterritorial expansion affected the space of "home" in relation to the late-nineteenth century American identity. How annexed spaces were to be integrated into the American polity was one issue key to the expansion debates. So, too, were anxieties about cultural and racial influences on American culture (though the opposite issue, the impact of U.S. culture internationally, was less of a concern). In *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, a novel in which the threads of the national narrative are laid bare and examined both in the text and in its illustrations, Tom Sawyer's is the voice of the empowered, of the ruling class who proscribes the ruling ideas, as Marx might say. Instead of directly imposing narratives of his supremacy onto Jim, Huck, and the people they meet, he compels his audience to agree with his perspective. This narrative coercion represents a classically Gramscian formulation of

---

led by Bruce Michelson, reasons that "Mark Twain may have been a realist, but realism by no means limits him": it is the imposition of dangerous fantasies for self-aggrandizement, greed, and deception on people and places that Twain most objected to, not the accoutrements of romance itself (*Mark Twain on the Loose* 111-14). Some of Twain's best explorations of who and what we are come from "romantic" scenes and set-ups: *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, for example, uses the frame of a historical romance with girders of science fiction to comment on Twain's own time from a safe distance. Thus, he employs elements of romance to make visible romance's "bully" nature. Michael Davitt Bell's stance is that Twain, while grouped retroactively with Howells, James, et al., was less formally restrained by the precepts of what we now call realism than by a desire to find truth by any means necessary. Sydney Krause argues "self-deception" was at the heart of a U.S. importation of Walter Scott and that it wasn't the romance but the bad cover version of it in Scott and Cooper that so riled Twain.

hegemony at work.<sup>3</sup> Huck Finn allows Tom's way of seeing is “a curious thing, that the more you hear about a grand and big and bully thing or person, the more it kind of dreamies out, as you may say, and gets to be a big, dim, wavy figger made out of moonshine and nothing solid to it” (183-84).<sup>4</sup> Through such comments, Twain points repeatedly to the distortion of understanding that unthinking metaphors, the underlying foundation of Tom's romantic worldview, can produce in and of their doubled “bully” nature.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Tom's interlocutors resist Tom's blanketing domination through the text and especially in the space of illustration—until he overwrites that, too. The illustrations focalize the work differently than the text does and in that recentering, serve to question Tom's legitimacy. In its exploration of the impact of narrative and envisioning on identity, Twain's *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, as Wlad Godzich writes of de Certeau, “recovers an agential dimension for us inasmuch as [he] recognizes that

---

<sup>3</sup> The precepts undergirding Tom's crusading are much the same as those spoken and unspoken by American expansionist rhetoric of the 1890s: the contestations for citizenship, built on the exclusion of “paynim” who are viewed as less worthy of the land than the white colonizers.

<sup>4</sup> Literary realism was not a catch-all panacea for Twain who thought it could easily “sour” into a “breed of romance” that hazed over of facts. This distortion of acuity due to “impressionistic reading” of “what is *not* an impressionist picture” often creates a “rational sort of irrationality,” Twain explains in his last travelogue *Following the Equator* (1897) (573, 577). In “impressionistic reading,” the reader assigns each tidbit an imaginative value which he applies the wrong figuring, overriding reality with overexpansive visions, giving rise to “a large splashy, general effect—an effect which is not correct, and which is not warranted by the particulars placed before [them]” (577) which is far “finer than reality, and is therefore a great deal better and more valuable than the reality,” he states sardonically. Even the use of strictly scientific terms leads to this abiding sense of misinformation—the “gems” of the Taj he sees while on his *Following the Equator* tour are technically gems, for example, but not the blazing precious stones readers expect upon reading the word “gem.”

<sup>5</sup> “Bully” is a term that at once calls to mind Theodore Roosevelt, who frequently used it in the positive sense, and who Twain often lambasted for embodying it in the international arena. Teddy Roosevelt not only frequently used the term “bully” as an adjective meaning “superb” but also coined the term “bully pulpit” to mean a position of authority that allows the holder to speak and be listened to on any matter. Twain's fame acted as his own bully pulpit, from whence he could use his writing to bring his personal concerns to the forefront of American debates and discussions. See William Gibson's *Teddy Roosevelt and the Humorists: W. D. Howells, Mark Twain, and Mr. Dooley*.

discursive activity is a form of social activity, an activity in which we attempt to apply the roles of the discourses we assume” (xxi).

Previous discussions of this novel have largely held to its plot, such as it is, and avoided its textual aesthetics.<sup>6</sup> Bernard DeVoto has been one of the few vocally enthusiastic readers of this work, praising the novel as a “deliberate exploration of the provincial mind and its prejudices, ignorances, assumptions, wisdoms, cunning. It memorably differentiates three stages of that mind, by way of the familiar” Tom, Huck, and Jim (32). He concludes that in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* “Mark Twain’s deliberate effort was to explore the mentality of the common man,” finding in this hypothesized intention a rationale for the frequent, philosophically-tinged conversations that comprise a great deal of the novel (302). Earl Briden augments DeVoto’s argument by considering how externally determined social stratifications intersect with epistemological understanding. Arguing that Jim, Huck and Tom are each of and defending the truth of his own “distinct social class,” thus reifying “the abstractions in which they have been conditioned,” Briden measures the dialectic between selfhood and otherness that shape the “political follies” of the day (44). But Briden and DeVoto’s insights, I find, elide too lightly what “social stratification” means in this expansionist satire, glossing over issues of race, indigeneity, and the role of history makers. They also do not pay close enough attention to the whole of the text, the parts of which participate in the debates over expansion and identity taking place within the novel and nod to the function of aesthetics in the construction and perpetuation of the same.

---

<sup>6</sup> The criticism that *Tom Sawyer Abroad* is a “witty but elementary” work that feels “arbitrarily contrived,” and, damningly, “collapses in a shamelessly perfunctory ending” in Gerber, Baender, and Firkins’s fourth volume of *The Works of Mark Twain* reflects the opinion of many of their fellows (“Introduction” 241).

The interplay between text and image in Twain's 1894 *Tom Sawyer Abroad* investigates the complicated dynamics of citizenship, drawing the intersection of international and domestic issues tied to imperialism. They also create a heteroglossic disruption of romantic conceptions of a Tom Sawyer-style "home." Using humor and visuality, Twain and his illustrator Dan Beard draw attention to mediations of American territorial and ideological expansion in the romances of "home" and "self" in circulation on the cusp of the turn of the century's outright imperialism. Their collaboration decenters the monoglossic voice of expansionist rhetoric contracting American identity in travelogues and adventure fiction, revealing, and at times countering, the power structures sustaining them. Aided by Beard's illustrations, *Tom Sawyer Abroad* unites strains of Twain's protests against imperialism and the flattening of discourse inherent to colonizing narratives. The syncretized text teases out the power relationship between stories and their telling, linking narrative power to territorial and interpersonal power, language to land theft. Through the textual aesthetics of *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, Twain makes an early foray into the cultural and political implications of narratives to nations, nation building, and, as he came to see in American imperialism, national destruction.

### **"Red-Hot" Imperialism**

In *God's Arbiters* Susan K. Harris contends that at the end of the nineteenth century, the representative American citizen was a white male Protestant whose self-reflective values shaped colonial ventures and the perception of in- and out-group boundaries.<sup>7</sup> Naming Mark Twain as the measure of these marks and thus a cultural

---

<sup>7</sup> For a taste of studies on Twain's engagements with imperialism, see John Carlos Rowe, "Mark Twain's Rediscovery of America in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*," in *Literary Culture and U.S.*

barometer of American political sentiment, she writes that Twain “embodies the conflicting assumptions held by most white Americans...his stinging criticism of his country’s course was founded in his fervent embrace of its special mission” (7). I disagree. Although Twain represented and understood many of these in-group elements better than most, and was a major mouthpiece for his time, with his understanding came skepticism and resistance.<sup>8</sup>

Harris relies on Twain’s “red-hot imperialist” phase, as he called it in a 1900 article published in the *New York Herald*, as evidence of his quotidian nature. But it is not so simple as that. Though the onset of Twain’s famous anti-imperialist sentiments, and near-decade term as vice-president of the American Anti-Imperialist League, are typically tied to the Philippine-American War and the 1898 Treaty of Paris, it can be argued that Twain’s interest in the politics and dynamics of empire extend to his earliest writings. Twain was fervently against the economic exploitation and dispossession he saw in both colonialism, as in Australia, and in imperialism, as in Hawai’i, throughout his literary career.

Twain’s ruminations on global dynamics influenced his writing from his first trek to the Sandwich Islands. In *The Anarchy of Empire*, Amy Kaplan argues that “Twain’s career, writing, and reception as a national author were shaped by a third realm beyond national boundaries: the routes of transnational travel, enabling and enabled by the changing borders of imperial expansion” (52). Focusing on the effect on Twain’s purview

*Imperialism: from the Revolution to World War II*; Amy Kaplan, "The Imperial Routes of Mark Twain" in *The Anarchy of Empire*; and Jim Zwick’s *Confronting Imperialism: Essays on Mark Twain and the Anti-Imperialism League*.

<sup>8</sup> Although he did end *Christian Science* with the comment, “the public is merely a multiplied ‘me,’” that does not mean his beliefs truly represented those of the average American citizen of his day (66).

in her important examination of Twain's fiction, Kaplan finds, "Twain wrote about an internally divided America in his most famous fiction of the 1880s and 1890s only after writing about Hawaii, Europe, and the Near East; he wrote about travel on the Mississippi only after crossing the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. His famous 'homespun' qualities were thus woven from the tangled threads of imperial travel" (52).

In his initial support of the Spanish-American War, Twain envisioned policies allowing "the American Eagle to go screaming in to the Pacific" to help "a people who have suffered for three centuries" become "as free as ourselves" (qtd. in Zwick 5). He found aiding oppressed peoples, the purpose of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars as he understood them, as "the highest moral position." Yet after reading the 1898 Treaty of Paris, Twain realized that "we do not intend to free, but to subjugate the people of the Philippines. We have gone there to conquer, not to redeem.... And so, I am an anti-imperialist" (qtd. in Zwick 5).<sup>9</sup> "When she [the United States] snatched the Philippines and butchered a poverty-stricken priest-ridden nation of children, she stained the flag," Twain lamented, "That's what we have today—a stained flag" (qtd. in Foner *Social Critic* 256).<sup>10</sup>

Twain's use of textual imagery to describe his anti-imperialist sentiments gets "beyond appearances and penetrates to the 'essence of things,'" to quote Gérard Genette on metaphor (qtd. in Bird 1). This is no surprise as the palpable visuality of his writing has been much discussed from Gladys Bellamy's *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist* to

---

<sup>9</sup> To admit that he once was an "imperialist" but was now changing his tune could well have been a rhetorical tactic deployed to help recruit others to his cause. He might have seen modeling a change of heart as a more effective rhetorical strategy than an "I was always right" stance; there is less stigma in shifting one's opinion if it is in vogue to do so and if one needn't be the first to change allegiances.

<sup>10</sup> Twain frequently propounded that with the Philippine-American War and related annexations, the United States had become "kin in sin" with imperialist European nations (Fatout 368-69).

Curtis Dahl's exploration the influence of panoramas on Twain's writing in "Mark Twain and the Moving Panoramas." Sometimes, to help him say something, Twain drew it. A dabbler, Twain provided rough illustrations for numerous works dating back to nearly his first publications in 1852. Moreover, sometimes he created rebus-like pictographic lecture notes for himself, performing his part from a script of sketches (see fig. 2). Beverly David, one of the few scholars who have looked deeply at illustrations in Twain's works finds "illustration...serve as a counterpoint and accompaniment to his words; his narrative would become more than it would have been without illustration (II 4).<sup>11</sup> Certainly in his later works, Twain came to rely on images, verbal and literal, to accentuate the circuitous machinations of humor embedded in the text as he explored the internal and external, the intranational and international, in questions of American identity and the production of a national narrative. Riddled with images as Twain's travel literature, and many of his novels, are, and as invested in the production of his books as he was, visual and verbal illustration worked together in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, the two mediums syncretizing in the seen and the written scene.

---

<sup>11</sup> The first volume of David's works annotate Twain's illustrated novels from 1869-1875 and the second, 1875-1883, leaving over thirty years of Mark Twain's life uncovered. *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, published in 1894, is not covered in her volumes, or in any other in-depth examination of Twain and his illustrators, skant, though they are. However, David collaborated with Ray Sapirstein on a two-page note for the 1996 Oxford Press edition of *Tom Sawyer Abroad* which has a few useful comments on Beard and Twain's collaboration, most especially on the map that ends the novel. Most studies of illustrations and Twain's works cover *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, also illustrated by Dan Beard, and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, illustrated by E.W. Kemble. See M. Thomas Inge "Mark Twain and Dan Beard's Collaborative *Connecticut Yankee*" and Everett Carter's "The Meaning of *A Connecticut Yankee*" for some of the finest work on the subject.



Figure 2: Lecture Notes.

Source: Courtesy of the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library. Image reproduced from the University of California at Berkeley Bancroft Library website with permission.

One reason for his reliance on images was that Twain was particularly sensitive to the freedom with which a visual artist could work. In the closing pages of *A Tramp Abroad*, he at length discusses the "indecent license" allowed to art but denied to contemporary literature:

Fielding and Smollett could portray the beastliness of their day in the beastliest language; we have plenty of foul subjects to deal with in our day, but we are not allowed to approach them very near, even with nice and guarded forms of speech. But not so with Art. The brush may still deal freely with any subject, however revolting or indelicate.... But suppose a literary artist ventured to go into a painstaking and elaborate description of one of these grisly things, the critics would skin him alive. Well, let it go, it cannot be helped; Art retains her privileges, Literature has lost hers. (577-79)

Art and illustrations, Twain knew, could sneak around some of the constraints put upon literature, avoiding the censure, to some extent, with which words themselves were pressed.

This is not to say that Twain subscribed to positivist conceptions of visuality. He understood its limitations as much as its possibilities—and so do his characters, frequently. Early in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, for example, Huck claims they can't have gone too far east as the land below is still green and “Indiana is pink”; he knows this because he’s “seen it on the map” (42). This leads to a discussion the way a painter uses different colors for similar things to “keep you from deceiving yourself”; presupposing that Huck’s carefully-studied cartography, the aestheticization of the world, is not colored by time, history, or individual authors. The symbolic painting of the map, meant to differentiate the land areas, simplifies the similarities and differences between regions to that of color, drawing the nation together in a false, flat rainbow of homogeneity with no room for historical topography.

Understanding as he did the impact of visuality on texts, Twain worked closely with artist Daniel Carter Beard quite often. Their collaboration produced some of the most richly complicated arguments against empire in Twain’s repertoire including *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* and *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. Beard added

dimension to Twain's texts through his images and provided a sounding board. Aiding their collaboration, the two men had a unique relationship, one that impacted their jointly-produced works: they shared political stances and a lasting friendship. Twain would share drafts, including his most political works such as "The War-Prayer," with his confidant and neighbor Beard. Twain let Beard contribute what he would, believing that the illustrator was able to get beyond the text and into his intent and was loath to guide him. No other illustrator with whom Twain worked enjoyed such praise or freedom.<sup>12</sup> In a 1905 speech at the Dinner of the Society of Illustrators, Twain publically praised Beard's contributions to his works. He particularly emphasized the interpretive salience of Dan Beard's editorial illustrations to *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*:

Beard got everything that I put into that book and a little more besides. Those pictures of Beard's in that book—oh, from the first page to the last is one vast sardonic laugh at the trivialities, the servilities of our poor human race, and also at the professions and the insolence of priest-craft and kingcraft—those creatures that make slaves of themselves and have not the manliness to shake it off. Beard

---

<sup>12</sup> Twain was not so confident in the work of all of his illustrators. He often commanded changes and edits from his illustrators and was, in the end, frequently still not satisfied. E.W. Kemble, the much-discussed illustrator of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, had a more difficult time than Beard earning Twain's praise and was made to re-draw many of the his illustrations. After choosing the relatively pricy Kemble, Charles L. Webster had to "sooth the humorist's dissatisfaction and persuade the artist to rework many illustrations" (*Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers* 174). For example, on 23 May 1884 he sent Twain seventeen drawings, commenting that they "are much better than the last...Kemble has fixed the last lot so that they are all right" and on 29 May, he promised Twain, "in regard to Kemble's pictures, I think they will come out all right.... However, I shall not relax my efforts to get better work out of Kemble" (qtd. in *Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers* 174). Indeed, Twain had Franklin Whitmore record his dissatisfaction with Kemble in 1889: "This time I want pictures, not black-board outlines and charcoal sketches. If Kemble illustrations for my last book were handed to me today, I could understand how tiresome to me that sameness would get to be, when distributed through a whole book, and I would promptly put them in the fire" (qtd. in *Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers* 254). Part of the reason Twain was so hands-on with his work could have been an everlasting paranoia after a "printer's devil" phallically ornamented a drawing of Uncle Silas in the first edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, much to Twain's everlasting embarrassment. See Franklin J. Meine's article "Some Notes on the First Edition of *Huck Finn*" in *American Book Collector*. Having dealt with "backroom drama replete with the tipsy habits of artists, the procrastinations of engravers, the double-set of accounting books, and the disappointments in the unillustrated English editions" (David I.3), Twain began paying more attention to his illustrators and found at least partial relief when he began working with Dan Beard.

put it all in that book. I meant it to be there. I put a lot of it there and Beard put the rest. (“Joan of Arc” 243)

Echoing this sentiment, in his autobiography Beard quotes Twain as having remarked, “Dan Beard is the only man who can correctly illustrate my writings, for he not only illustrates the text, he illustrates my thoughts” (*Hardly* 345). Twain’s compliment grows under scrutiny as the impersonal article “the” defining “text” transforms into the personal pronoun “my” to describe Twain’s thoughts, ascribing to Beard an unusual intimacy with the author’s mind. That the author and illustrator had similar politics, particularly in regards to anti-imperialism, only strengthened their mutual output.

Beard has not left as traceable and direct a route to his politics as Twain, active and nominal member of many organizations as the writer was. Beard was not, by all counts, as officially opposed to the occupation of foreign lands by the United States as Twain; however, his scathing editorial illustrations, images that add to rather than reflect the text, in works including Twain’s *Following the Equator* and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* are strong indications his politics were oriented against imperialism and colonialism.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, in many such editorial illustrations and in the policies he supported for the Boy Scouts of America, a group Beard helped to found, he stood against militarism, a crux of imperial conquest—despite fellow founder (and major player in several South African Wars) Sir Robert S. S. Baden-Powell’s inclinations.<sup>14</sup> Beard and fellow Boy Scouts founder and artist, Ernest Thompson Seton, “were careful to

---

<sup>13</sup> By “editorial illustrations,” I mean illustrations which Thomas Inge classifies in his third and fourth categories of Beard’s works (the first two are directly representative or reflective of textual matters): interpretive illustrations that draw in material not in the text but reasonably related to it and illustrations that have no direct textual corollaries, likely illustrating Beard’s own beliefs (80).

<sup>14</sup> See my third chapter for more on Beard’s anti-militaristic editorial illustrations.

emphasize that American Scouting was not to be tainted by militarism,” writes David Shi (209).<sup>15 16</sup>

### Vexed Authority

Twain and Beard’s collaboration is epitomized in the frontispiece of *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. From the top down, the frontispiece reads as follows: *Tom Sawyer Abroad* by Huck Finn, edited by Mark Twain, illustrations by Dan Beard, New York, Charles L. Webster & Company, 1894 (see fig. 3). This authorial maze highlights the blurred line of collaboration between Twain and his illustrator Beard; it also shows the vexed relationship between the creator and the consumer of the text, a theme central to *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. Like *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *Tom Sawyer Abroad* claims authorship by Huck Finn on the frontispiece (if not on the book’s cover) and relegates Mark Twain to editorship of the adventurous romp.<sup>17</sup> This authorial suturing strikes the

---

<sup>15</sup> Beard’s foundation of an ideal self in white masculinity predicated on the pioneer settlers of the United States is at odds with modern conceptions of anti-imperialism, perhaps, but not so out of touch with those of his time. His idealization of American pioneers had more to do with ecological conservation and a halcyon existence untrammelled by the “softening” of modernity than it had to do with dominance, might, or territorial usurpation. Others have read other malignant factors in Beard’s devotion to patriotism: Philip Deloria, for example, accuses Beard of anti-American Indianism though the quote he derives such a stance from does not uphold his reading: “When you go to camp this summer,” Beard wrote in *Boys’ Life* on the cusp of World War I, “see that you are under a patriotic American camp director. He may possibly be of foreign birth or parentage, but he MUST BE A PATRIOTIC AMERICAN. No others have the right to guide and instruct American youth in these trying times” (qtd. in Deloria 110). This statement does not, as Deloria maintains, “reimagine” American Indians “as the antithesis of American patriotism” or posit that “only an Indian or a traitor...would claim that the noble American pioneers were scalawags and low types” (110-11). It merely emphasizes patriotism—even within non-U.S. born individuals.

<sup>16</sup> It bears mentioning that Beard’s autobiography, particularly in regards to his time with the Boy Scouts, was greatly modified by Baden-Powell’s forces. Edward Rowan reports James West wrote to Baden-Powell, the leader most interested in creating a movement similar to Hitlerjunge of the three original leaders, on the lengths to which Baden-Powell sought to suppress Beard and Seton’s ideals, even in hindsight: “we have had almost as much trouble with Uncle Dan as we have had with Seton, based on material submitted in his biography. Thanks to our relationship to Colonel Roosevelt, Vice President of the publishing firm of Doubleday, Doran which handled Uncle Dan’s book the material related to Scouting was considerably modified, although it is still inaccurate in spots” (qtd. 178-79).

reader from the novel's first page. By displacing his own authority in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* and presuming the role of "editor," Twain questions the validity of crediting a "master narrative" to a single voice.

The question "who speaks?" in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* can be answered "Huck Finn"—mostly. Jim and Tom's dialog cuts in upon and complicates Huck's narration. He is more of a mouthpiece than a narrator. "Who sees?" becomes an even more difficult question. Most of the illustrations are from a vantage point impossible to any in the airship—but as the narrative is told retrospectively, the possibility that they are meant to be Huck's visualizations of the episodes exists. Does the perspective shift with the dialogue?<sup>18</sup> Can the reader unsee the nation as she knows it, or as drawn in the 1890s, for that of the 1850s? This problematic issue of the gaze is present to a degree in most illustrated works, it is true; however, the question of authorship and narrative construction inherent to colonialism in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* makes it quite salient here.

---

<sup>17</sup> Of course, Mark Twain is the fictional, self-twin of Samuel L. Clemens that already represents the author's intrasubjective split. See Susan Gillman's *Dark Twins* for a lengthy explication of Clemens's pseudonym. I use the name "Mark Twain" throughout this essay because it is commonly known, is the name listed on the cover, and because it is an extension of the question of "truth" that this novel worries.

<sup>18</sup> In Twain's text, the three adventurers ride in a balloon. Dan Beard, however, found this mode of conveyance ridiculous: "Mark Twain hadn't made an exhaustive study of aviation, bless his soul," thus taking it upon himself to right Twain's "error" (qtd. in "Reading the Illustrations" 21). The disparity between these realities, the vehicular heterogeneity, emphasizes the polyglossia at work in the entwined voices of satire, parody, and paratexts.

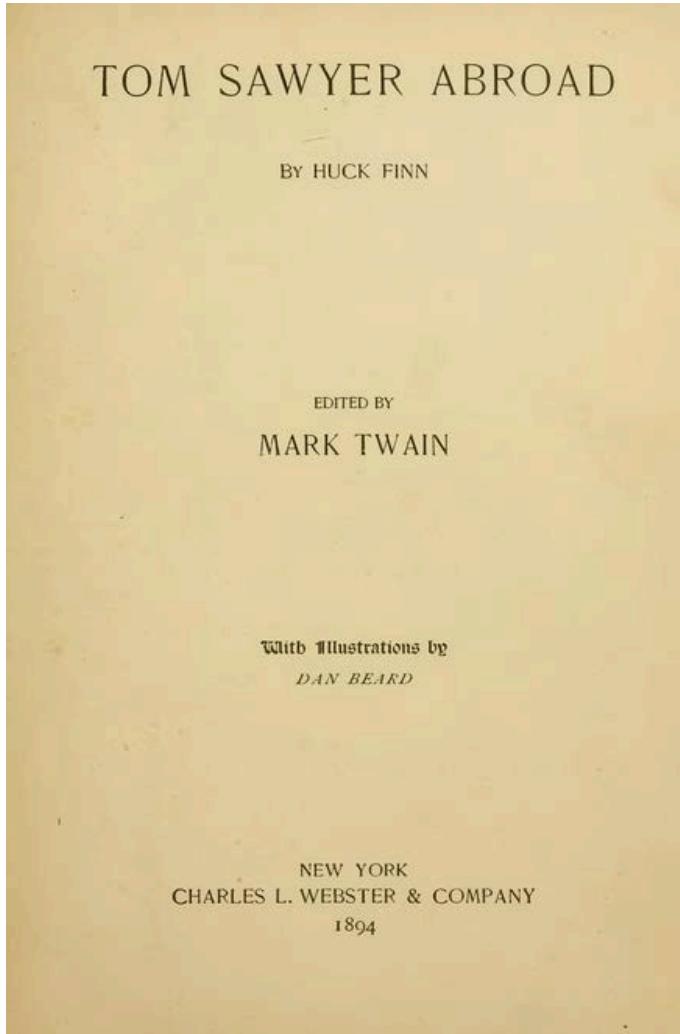


Figure 3: Title Page from *Tom Sawyer Abroad*.

Source: Twain, Mark. *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. New York: Webster, 1894. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library.

The complex nature of authorship laid out from the first in the novel is mirrored in literal and textual considerations of authority, particularly over disputed narrative and geographic territories. Mark Twain begins *Tom Sawyer Abroad* with Tom Sawyer's discontented claim that the world is too balanced. Upset because there are "no wars breaking out and no way of making a name for himself that he could see" to once and for

all secure his fame as the most adventured man in his region, Tom Sawyer undertakes a “crusade,” dragging along Huck and Jim as unwilling witnesses on his quest (17). Tom’s romantic vision of his planned crusade includes imaginary knights and religious fervor, but in the image accompanying this scene, the reader can see through to the “crusades” happening under his own nose (see fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> The open, pictured adventure book, one source of Tom’s authority, is a readerly text whose unchanging codes ossify meaning. This unquestioned source of “reality” is abstracted in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* as its authoritarian position is parodied by its appearance as a sketch of a book within a book. Without really knowing what a “Holy Land” is, Sawyer considers a crusade to be a war fought to protect land from the “paynim,” or non-Christians, though they “always had it” because, Tom says, “it’s our duty to take it away from them.... They own the land, just the mere land, and that’s all they *do* own; but it was our folks, our Jews and Christians, that made it holy, and so they haven’t any business to be there defiling it” (21).

Considering if a truer claim to land stems from “mere” and perpetual ownership or the circulating stories surrounding a land, that which makes it “holy,” Huck queries if it is “religious to go and take the land away from people that owns it?” (22). This quickfire back-and-forth on what constitutes the right to land precedes most of the novel’s action and foregrounds many of the thematic reverberations of “ownership” and “rights” throughout as Jim and Tom each try to maintain a hold on the narrative and, with

---

<sup>19</sup> In the illustration captioned “[w]e went out in the woods in the hill, and Tom told us what it was. It was a crusade,” the three heroes sit with a book spread in front of them, Jim partitioned off from the boys by a tree, the segregation as seemingly natural as the divider – except for the way the trees dissolve into the ether above the boys. The natural-seeming segregation is denaturalized in the illustration. The caption further distances the three as the italics underline Tom’s control of the situation: it was a “crusade.” But what the illustration, not Tom, reveals is that race is also at the crux of “it,” the crusade, in many of its modern versions.

it, to claim authority over the lands from which they come, those to which they travel, themselves, and one another.

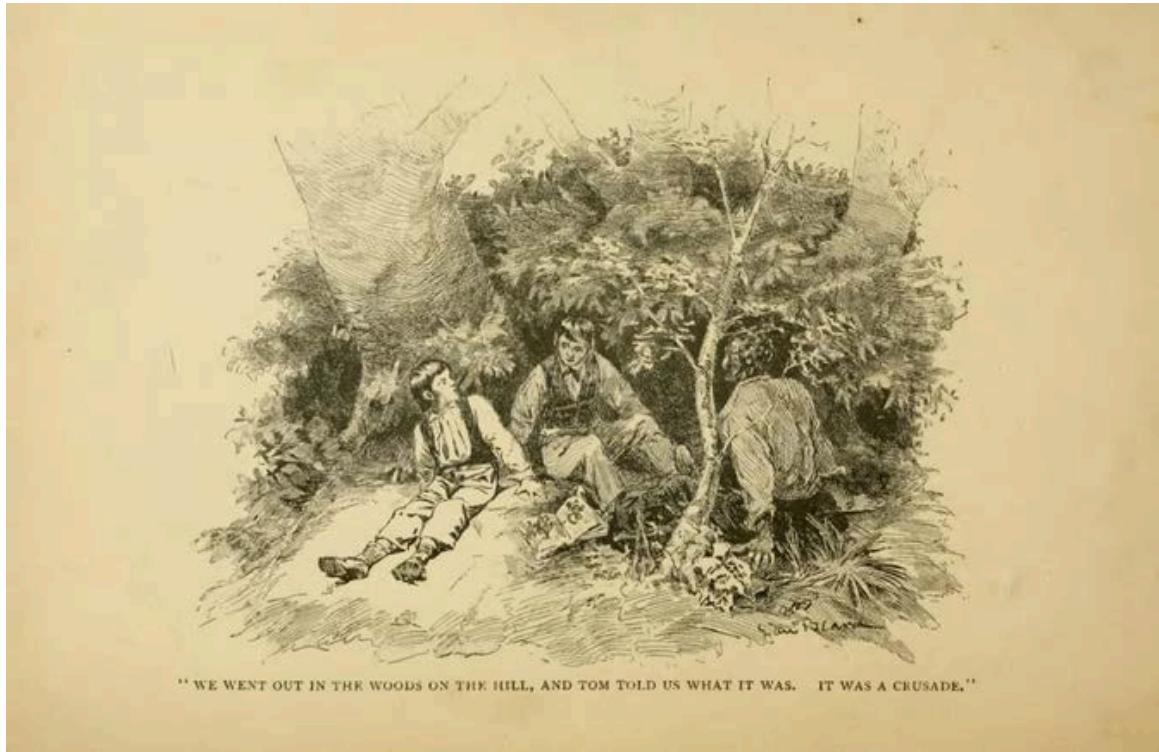


Figure 4: Tom Lectures on Crusades.

Source: Twain, Mark. *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. New York: Webster, 1894. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library.

Enmeshed seemingly incongruously with the opening discussion of land use and ownership—and Tom’s decision to emancipate land from “paynim” for his self-glorification—is an aside about a local man, Lance Williams, who “learned how to talk Choctaw here till one come and dug his grave for him” (18).<sup>20</sup> This anecdote implies that

---

<sup>20</sup> Choctaws fed the stragglers to their shores, aided the Irish during the great famine, fought in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, and were essential to the codification of language in World War I. They were one of the “Five Civilized Tribes” interested in integration and assimilation—but few remained even in Twain’s time in their home in the Mississippi valley. The Choctaw’s lands and language, his history

Lance Williams pretended to know or promoted himself as knowing how to speak Choctaw, falsely acting as an expert and thus stand-in for native peoples until a true Choctaw revealed the man's farce. Lance Williams's very name points to the (pointed) chivalric precepts shaping the expansionist rhetoric Twain is satirizing through Tom's espousal. The unnamed Choctaw won a symbolic victory by besting Williams linguistically and thus "digging his grave for him," burying him under the disputed earth, his mastery of his own language redeeming his claim to the land.

While this anecdote is the only explicit reference to Native Americans in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, the whole of the book in a way extends from this reference to Lance William's presumption of the right, or authority, to master a language and culture not his own. Expansion, slavery, reconstruction, and land theft in the contiguous United States reverberate multiply through this text (as they do in several of Twain's other works) as Tom, Huck, and Jim vie to overshadow the land below them with their chosen narratives.<sup>21</sup>

---

even, were swept aside as the Choctaw people were swept west as "models" of Jacksonian Indian removal, the first on the Trail of Tears.

<sup>21</sup> Mistranslations and misleading explanations of deeds and treaties were a large element in the dispossession of the native peoples of the United States, an effect which snowballed as the concept of individual American Indian nations was translated out of existence, the word "nation" coming to mean, in this context, "dependent." Susan Kalter, Kerry Driscoll, and Joseph Coulombe, among others, have already convincingly argued "how Twain's ideological paradigms for understanding Native Americans intersect with his ideologies of blackness and form an important foundation to the architecture of his racial and international thinking" (Kalter 29). "It is not without significance," Susan Kalter expounds, that the predecessors to *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, *Tom Sawyer* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* were set "precisely in between two extremely significant events in Midwestern history: the end of the Black Hawk War (1832) and thus of concerted Sauk and Mesquakie resistance to U.S. land theft and the annexation of Texas by the United States (1846)" (27). More directly, Joseph Coulombe maintains that Huckleberry Finn's treatment of Jim in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* connects to Twain's treatment of Native Americans in texts like *Roughing It*. Likewise, African American enslavement and personal dispossession mingle with Native American territorial dispossession in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* as Jim, Tom, and Huck tussle for narrative and historical supremacy as well as the power that goes with both. Such "romantic" visions after all undergirded not just territorial occupation but slavery. Popularly, pro-slavery representatives often

## Temporal Rhymes and Tropospheric Distortions

Lance Williams's fate is a rare one: normally, the story goes the other way. Colonial rhetoric often has an amnesiac flavor, conveniently forgetting historical eras before its own and favoring its own inevitability, its "manifest destiny" as the saying goes, in stories of itself. In *Tom Sawyer Abroad* discordant events are arranged in concordance, refiguring time narratively. This convenient narration of time is brought to the surface where it falls apart. Though, or perhaps because, time and temporality come up frequently in *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, the novel is buoyed by a sense of timelessness as the 1850 setting merges with the 1894 publication date. We know the novel progresses not necessarily because action is accruing, a goal is being actively sought (except for Tom's quest for glory), or any character is undergoing massive personal change but because Tom, Jim, and Huck roundly discuss time passing as they float above the land and sea: they use the impact of the (anachronistic to the novel) 1892 introduction of railroad chronometers and time zones to the United States to figure when and thus where in the world they are.<sup>22</sup>

In the novel, Twain's readers are brought back to the parallels between Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Policy and the 1894 annexation of Hawai'i; the Three-Fifths

justified their claims of ownership over others' bodies through biblical categorizations that, they argued, left those born of Africa, damned to slavery because of their supposed descent from Ham.

<sup>22</sup> In one such scene, Jim performs horror that the day of judgment would be spread out around the world, holding to the last day in one place literally needing to be the last day in another. This may have been inspired by Samoa changing its time zone in 1892 to three hours behind California so that the 4<sup>th</sup> of July occurred twice, an ironic duplication of a day of independence for a group of islands the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom had long been fighting to control. Samoa was partitioned amongst the three world powers in 1889 with the Treaty of Berlin, but the Samoan king elected in 1881 was restored to the throne. This peace was superficial; the three western powers fed a bloody civil war that raged until the 1899 Tripartite Convention. As a result of the convention, the United Kingdom ceded its territories to Germany and the islands were split between American and German Samoas.

Compromise merges nearly seamlessly with the Jim Crow laws and burgeoning imperialist ventures of the 1890s. The novel hangs in the historical moment just after the Mexican-American War, the moment historians such as Philip S. Foner mark as crucial to American imperial policies, and the year of the Compromise of 1850, a major event determining the nation's political cartography.<sup>23</sup> Both events were marked with questions of how expanded areas would support or abolish slavery. In 1894, nearly thirty years after the abolition of slavery and the declaration of equality in the United States, black Americans like Jim still stand in an ideological limbo, confronted with second-class status. In 1850 and 1894 sister questions loomed: how would territorial expansion influence the face of the United States and its citizenry? How would expansionism influence the morality of the United States, its integrity, and its relation to its founding principles?

The novel's temporal displacement brings to mind a quip frequently attributed to Twain: "history doesn't repeat itself, but it does rhyme." Situating most of the narrative in the lowest portion of Earth's atmosphere, the troposphere, or "welkin" as Tom Sawyer calls it, sets the novel in a timeless, placeless realm. This placement, or displacement, allows time and space to merge in a chronotope, to employ Mikhail Bakhtin's term, "as space and time merge in narrative, 'Time thickens...[and] becomes... visible; likewise space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history'" (Stevens 17). The chronotope is the place where "knots of narrative are tied and untied"

---

<sup>23</sup> Following the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845, which despite the Texas Revolution of 1836, Mexico considered its territory, the United States and Mexico fought over the region from 1846 to 1848. The Compromise of 1850 determined how slavery would be allotted in the new territories and, was, like most compromises, dissatisfactory to all parties concerned. However, it served to quell the impending civil war for a handful of years.

Bakhtin maintains. In this in-between space the time of the novel, the 1850s, and the time of its creation, the 1890s, enfold one another. Just as the novel's central characters, Tom, Jim, and Huck, cannot escape their home—they take it with them and narratively impose it on those they meet—Twain's readers, too, cannot escape to or from their time entirely.

### Narrative Legerdemain

Though disenfranchised by discriminatory laws in 1850 as his future projection is in the readerly time of 1894, Jim asserts authority in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* by claiming allegiance to Africa and thereby forging black internationalist solidarity—a move which highlights his American dispossession. Jim's international claims are central to Eric Sundquist's castigation of *Tom Sawyer Abroad* as a “burlesque travel book” (“Introduction” 13). Sundquist writes, “Jim professes absurd humility at visiting the land of Egypt and Moses....whatever the moral imperative of Twain's farce, the ugliness of such a scene, given the inestimable power of the Exodus in African American cultural history, is severe” (13). In this vaguely-supported denunciation, Sundquist's declaration that Jim “professes absurd humility” deserves reclamation. The term “professes” connotes an insincere, feigned, and almost disreputable element to Jim's reaction to seeing the cradle of civilization. Yet, given the “inestimable power of the Exodus in African American cultural history,” is Jim's humility not well placed? It serves to remind Twain's largely white readership that the United States and Europe are not isolated in their innovations, that they owe much to civilizations that predate those they hold dear. A close reading of the text will show that there is little absurd about Jim's respect for Africa. Jim unites his claim to the land to biblical heroes, thus recalibrating his status in the adventurers' hierarchy. Jim reclaims his ancestral rights to the landscape along with

his inclusion in biblical narratives, asserting in them his alignment with the heroes of the Bible. Thus, when on entering Egypt, Jim “just broke down and cried, he was so thankful” because “the land was so full of history”; he claims he’s not worthy to enter a land so teeming with time, referring to “Joseph and his brethren, Moses in the bulrushers, Jacob coming down into Egypt to buy corn, the silver cup in the sack, and all them interesting things” (186).

Threatened by Jim’s nearly-genomic homecoming to timeless mythic heroism and concomitant claim to narrative fortitude and mastery, Tom sets about narratively co-opting the land, by declaring “we was right in the midst of the Arabian Nights, now” (110). He positions himself as an expert on translating the tales to the land below, attempting to rewrite the land—and people—below as part of his retelling and dominance over it.<sup>24</sup> This dominance extends to Jim. Tom’s narrative grappling attempts to realign the color line in his favor and put Jim back in what Tom would consider Jim’s place. Not to be undone by Jim’s reclamation of the geographic space or the narrative, Tom regales his companions with tales from the Arabian Nights, translating their fantasies onto the geography they hover above, and eventually imposing historical narratives of racial inequality on his companions. Using romance, he wrests the narrative back to a neverland of treasure-filled caves and flying carpets rather than a place of real history and advanced civilization that Jim could then claim. By keeping the land below, like that of their home, linked to romantic fairy tales with generic conventions limiting “paynim’s” rights, Tom,

---

<sup>24</sup> Tom’s narrative perception of the land works according to Edward Said’s analysis of Orientalism in which the West essentializes other societies and in doing so creates cultures that can be related to favorably.

like his adventure novel and policy-writing forbearers, repeatedly generates a romance-driven world that blocks the possibility of nascent black internationalism.

Out of Tom's fantastic reterritorialization of the land below, his romanticization of geographic space, springs a fog, not unlike the famous one of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. This fog blocks navigation, covering everything but the immediate "welkin" of narrative space. While so engulfed, the fantasy-blinded travelers suddenly come face to face with the Sphinx. Finding the moment portentous, Tom lands Jim atop it with an American flag and makes him perform a one-man vaudevillian show (see fig. 5):

We landed Jim on top of the head, with an American flag to protect him, it being a foreign land; then we sailed off to this and that and t'other distance, to git what Tom called effects and perspectives and proportions, and Jim he done the best he could, striking all the different kinds of attitudes and positions he could study up, but standing on his head and working his legs the way a frog does was the best. The further we got away, the littler Jim got, and the grander the Sphinx got, till at last it was only a clothes-pin on a dome, as you might say. That's the way perspective brings out the correct proportions, Tom said; he said Julius Cesar's [sic] niggers didn't know how big he was, they was too close to him. (189-90)

Tom's remark that "Julius Cesar's [sic] niggers" couldn't gauge his size has a meaning unintended by Tom. The enslaved peoples Tom refers to here are key: he conflates the reign and empire of Julius Caesar with that of the Egyptians, indicating by syntactical proximity that Caesar had been responsible for the wonders of the pyramids and thereby once more subsuming black history with white and conflating the present with the past.<sup>25</sup> Tom takes Huck—and the reader—a distance from Jim to "correct" their perceptions,

---

<sup>25</sup> That those Caesar enslaved (who were historically rarely black, giving Tom's use of "niggers" added connotation beyond its racial denotation) couldn't perceive Caesar's greatness due to their proximity raises an interesting point: those who live in and are used by a historical moment can rarely sense its blossoming gravitas—particularly when one serves the daily needs of, and is thus oppressed by, "greatness." But who would know better than those who toiled to build the pyramids of their magnitude?

rendering Jim first animal- and then object-like. Not only do Huck's verbal descriptions of Jim mutate, so does the language with which he describes him, his pronouns collapsing from "he" to "it." The narrative even suggests the reader try out the personal pronoun: "it was only a clothes-pin on a dome, as *you might say*" (emphasis added).

The image tied to this scene is captioned "Jim Standing a Siege" (see fig. 6)<sup>26</sup> Jim does indeed "stand a siege," as the image's caption marks, but a siege by whom, is left ambiguous. Is it Tom's reenvisioning of him or is it the natives rushing in on him who pose him the greatest threat? In the image, Jim holds a flag as big as himself, the triangular lines of the Sphinx narrowing until they reach him, this elevated imagery mirrored in the pyramid behind him. He does not, contrary to Tom's narration, stand on his head. In the illustration, he stands planted on his feet, hands in the air. Thus, contrary to their dismissal by Twain-scholar Thomas Inge as a pale shadow of those in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, "in style, detail, or dramatic action; they settle for reflecting the text rather than interpreting it," the illustrations in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* complicate the text, presenting alternative perspectives on the action

---

<sup>26</sup> Jim's connection to the land calls upon the then popular theory of Ethiopianism, a school of thought which predicted the fall of Western empires and the phoenix-like rise of African peoples. Derived from a passage in Psalms, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch her hands onto God," (qtd. in Moses 58), the tenets of Ethiopianism were widespread, even being written into the 1858 constitution of the African Civilization Society, Wilson Moses notes. Popular with enslaved and disenfranchised African Americans particularly in the nineteenth century, Ethiopianism linked African history to the achievements of the classical era—a rhetorical association Tom's quick jump from the Sphinx to Julius Caesar and his "niggers" seems aimed to prevent. It also connected Africa to a long history predating European colonizers' own; proponents claimed that this legacy of organized religion and organization epitomized African achievements and ability for self-rule. Moses writes that the term is derived from a biblical prophecy interpreted to imply that "Africa would 'soon' experience a dramatic political, industrial, and economic renaissance. Others have insisted that the real meaning of the scripture is that some day the black man will rule the world" (58). Many other texts reference Ethiopianism including Paul Laurence Dunbar's triumphantly predictive "Ode to Ethiopia," Daniel Alexander Payne's reclamation of God and justice for African Americans in the speech "To the Colored People of the United States," and Alexander Crummell's 1846 *Eulogium on the Life and Character of Thomas Clarkson* (Moses 57-59).

(“Afterword” 8). From the reader’s perspective, Tom’s reimaginings, not the minuscule weapons of the native peoples, loom most dangerous to Jim.

In the illustration following the “siege,” “Rescue of Jim,” Jim shares a knowing look with the noseless Sphinx above which now flies a battered American flag (see fig. 6).<sup>27</sup> He stands above Tom and Huck, dominating the scene completely. Why choose this tableau to represent Jim’s “rescue”—and why the oddly worded, passive caption? *Whose* rescue of Jim is being pictured and how does this scene show his salvation? Instead of showing Tom and Huck helping Jim into the airship or any other variant on the action of “rescue,” it depicts a smiling man facing a surly youth—the power dynamic has changed as Jim singularly entered the tableau with the icons of Egypt.

---

<sup>27</sup> The Sphinx was, in classical Greek mythology, a gatekeeper. Her riddles, “which creature walks on four legs in the morning, two legs in the afternoon, and three legs in the evening?” and “There are two sisters: one gives birth to the other and she, in turn, gives birth to the first. Who are the two sisters?” both point to the cyclical nature of history. The answers, “man” (he crawls, walks, and then in old age ambulates with a cane) and “day and night,” indicate, like Percy Bysshe Shelley’s 1818 poem “Ozymandias,” that all people must die and all empires must fall, themes in tandem again with Twain’s displacement of narrative monopolies—and the Ethiopianist theories of the rise and fall of empires. In historian John Stoddard’s 1898 words, the Sphinx “stands solemn and silent in the presence of the awful desert—symbol of eternity. Here it disputes with Time the empire of the past; forever gazing on and on into a future which will still be distant when we, like all who have preceded us and looked on its face, have lived our little lives and disappeared” (2).

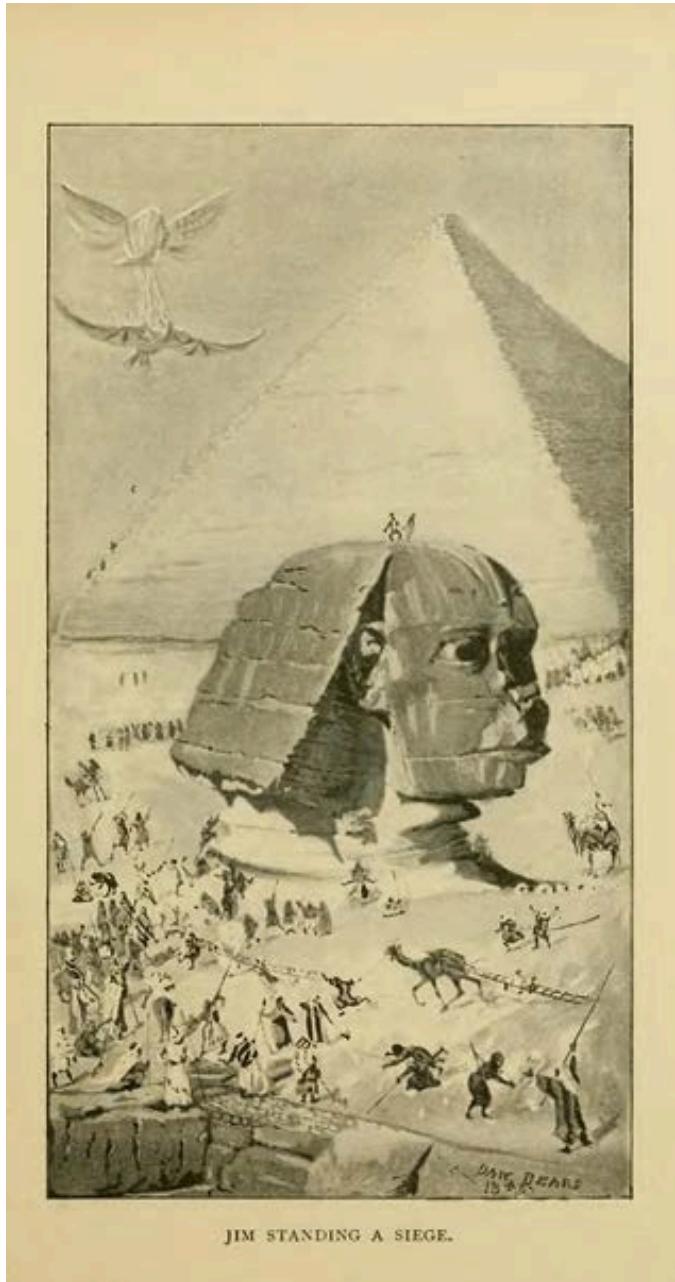


Figure 5: "Jim Standing a Siege."

Source: Twain, Mark. *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. New York: Webster, 1894. Courtesy of Boston Public Library.

Jim's understanding of the machinations of narrative, evidenced by his ability to play on them, slipping mastery slyly into the narrative both textually and in the illustrations, provides hope for his emancipation from Tom's exclusionary rendering of history.<sup>28</sup> At the sentence level, too, Jim twists the text upon itself. Often, this turning provides a reflection upon and refusal of Tom's attempted authority. In one such instance while they are in Egypt, Tom decides to sell the sand that fills the flying machine's basket, a movement in which he at once asserts control over the land and Jim's labor. First, he excitedly proposes, "we can keep coming back and fetching sand, and coming back and fetching more sand, and just keep it a-going till we've carted this whole Desert over there and sold it out; and there ain't ever going to be any opposition, either, because we'll take out a patent" to prevent others from using or selling the sand (172). Though a more appropriate word may be "deed," the traditional means of showing that land is property, in this context, "patent," may be more apropos.<sup>29</sup> Patents denote intellectual property, most often for an invention, process, or product. Unlike the heroes of true edisonades who use real inventions to conquer lands, Tom's use of "patent" here is somehow more nefarious: to patent a desert would allow the patent-holder the right to exclude others from selling, making, importing, or using the patented good. The problem of "patented" land would give license to those like Tom Sawyer whose romantic and self-serving narratives "improve" the territory and thus, by the same logic, confer its

---

<sup>28</sup> In fact, he is the only character who is able to successfully return home and back to the fantasy land again. Following Tom's orders, Jim goes, leaving Huck and Tom on Mount Sinai, where they believe the remains of Noah's Ark to be, mistakenly, as Twain points out in an interjectory, handwritten footnote. In the final master move within the plot, Jim comes bearing a note from Tom's Aunt Polly, demanding Tom's immediate return. Unable to control Tom directly, Jim ostensibly does as bid by fetching the pipe, but harnesses the power of a paratextual device, Polly's letter, to end the "crusade" abroad.

<sup>29</sup> Early in the novel, Huck Finn had asked Tom Sawyer if a crusade was a kind of patent, to which Tom replied emphatically in the negative. It appears he changed his mind.

ownership. It is this sort of conflation of “patent” and “deed” that enmeshes literary with literal use. Such conflations are the fuel behind the precept at the heart of imperializing narratives that took up the “burden” of “civilizing” lands in the nineteenth century.

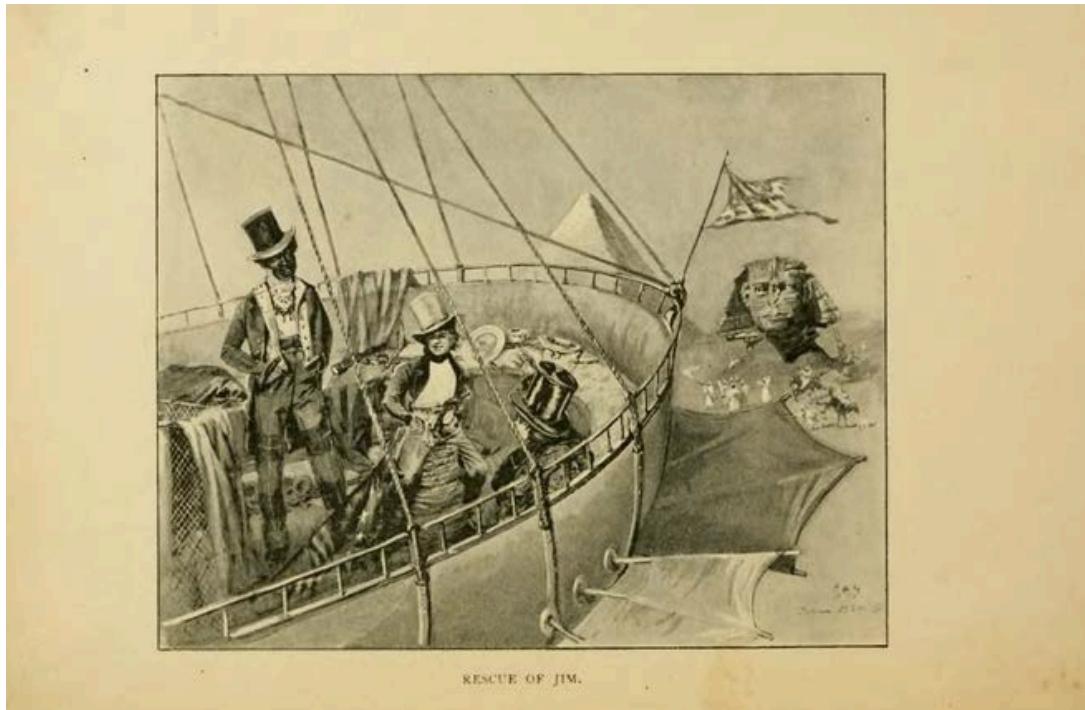


Figure 6: “Rescue of Jim.”

Source: Twain, Mark. *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. New York: Webster, 1894. Courtesy of Boston Public Library.

Continuing to discuss the feasibility of patenting the desert to become rich off of its sand, Jim and Tom argue over notions of “duty” and “honesty.” When Tom reluctantly admits that importation duties might lessen their profits, Jim inquires, “what *is* our duty, Tom? Because if we can’t git around it, why can’t we just *do* it? People often has to” (174). Stumped, Tom decrees that they shall have to dump the sand. And to put Jim back

in his place, Tom divides the work “according to fairness and strength”: Jim is to push three-fifths of the sand out, each boy one-fifth (180). After the ludic use of “duty” and “honesty” just preceding this decree, Tom’s use of “fairness” is cast in a similar semantic shadow.

This moment of “patented” land-as-commodity in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* connects the Three-Fifths Compromise and the Jim Crow laws of the 1890s with the labor involved in imperial ventures. The native peoples were frequently pressed into the service of colonizing and imperial forces. Tom’s “fair” division ironically emphasizes Jim’s “separate but equal” place, punishing him for his socio-narrative and his physical mobility.<sup>30</sup> It also conflates his reclaimed connection to the African landscape below with his former enslaved status within the United States, jointly disempowering him.

Jim protests Tom’s plan, but obliquely. Jim argues that Tom and Huck should do a tenth of the work, not a fifth, a protestation which makes him appear to believe a tenth is a greater share than a fifth. Jim’s redistribution of labor is more than a pointed jab at Tom’s invocation of oppressive past and present policies. Jim, in taking a greater percentage of labor takes control of the contested landscape, re-broaching the issue of “paynim’s rights” from the novel’s opening and asking just who is intruding in Africa

---

<sup>30</sup> The Three-Fifths Compromise of 1787 set an enslaved person’s worth at three-fifths of a free white man’s—it was not enough of a human quotient to earn the vote, but enough to increase the power of slaveholding states in the United States government: as a result of the Three-Fifths Compromise, southerners dominated most of the branches of government before the Civil War. In addition to its psychological and legal ramifications, the Three-Fifths Compromise may have allowed Jefferson to have won the presidential election of 1800, it may have facilitated the spread of slavery to the lands won in the Mexican-American war and Missouri, it may have pushed along the Kansas-Nebraska bill and Jackson’s Indian removal policy, and it probably blazed the path for the 1840 gag rule that banned anti-slavery petitions in the House of Representatives, at least, so hypothesizes historian Garry Wills. Though African Americans have the vote in 1894, the year *Tom Sawyer Abroad* was written, natives of Hawai’i, a place close to Twain’s heart, lost it as they lost their land to the United States. Additionally, Jim Crow laws were still passing, segregating swaths of land within the contingent United States into “separate but equal” divisions and reinforcing race-based oppressive practices.

and who has the right to be calling the shots in this contested space. In doing so, he also redistributes the currency of ridicule at play in the scene's literal and historical reverberations. His hesitation to accept Tom's definition of land ownership has especial consequence: he himself was once considered property until he declared self-ownership in the trio's former adventures. As an ex-enslaved man with fewer direct claims to American terra firma than the dispossessed Choctaw discussed in the opening to *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, Jim knows he cannot win against Tom and Huck's combined senses of authorial superiority. However, Jim can, by performing as a minstrel version of himself, use the fabric of the text to turn the tables on who is, in the end, cleverer than whom. He snags the narrative, making its textual and visual narrative overlays visible.

Rather than correcting Jim's seeming error in his figuration of percentages, "Tom he turned his back to git room and be private, and then he smole a smile that spread around and covered the whole Sahara to the westward, back to the Atlantic edge of it where we come from," expansively covering the whole of the land with his derisive glee and connecting this act of ridicule and oppression to the American past (180). If this smug contempt spreads to the reader, it grows as the boys are in hysterics; though Huck repeatedly proves himself as bad at figures as Jim here appears to be, Huck joins Tom in laughing. Tom and Huck are united in their white wholeness; Huck's laughter functions to seduce the reader to join in. Because Huck is a largely sympathetic figure, his laughter expunges the readers of the guilt of laughing at Jim's ignorance. Huck's laughter, like Twain's admission of once having been a "red-hot imperialist," allows the readers to admit common sentiments. In this case, it allows them to join in the mirth fueled by their

own conjoined senses of mathematical, racial, and thus, by this logic, territorial superiority.

In this episode, the only scene in the text in which Jim is externally, rather than self-referentially, named a “nigger,” Huck explicitly refers to him so several times, allowing the referent to build from the “joke” that Jim is three-fifths of a man who should do eight-tenths of the work. The boys’ mirth increases at their thought that through his own ignorance, Jim didn’t realize he is being laughed at but merely is “as thankful as he could be” to Tom and Huck for helping him, missing the doubled meaning of Jim’s ambiguously threatening assertion that he “wouldn’t ever forgit us” (182).

The growing sense of superiority Huck’s alliance with Tom lends him causes his words to run together in convoluted, clause-building rushes.

Then we laid into it. It was mighty hot work, and tough; so hot we had to move up into cooler weather or we couldn’t ‘a’ stood it. Me and Tom took turn about, and one worked while t’other rested, but there warn’t nobody to spell poor old Jim, and he made all that part of Africa damp, he sweated so. We couldn’t work good, we was so full of laugh, and Jim he kept fretting and wanting to know what tickled us so, and we had to keep making up things to account for it, and they was pretty poor inventions, but they done well enough, Jim didn’t see through them. At last when we got done we was ‘most dead, but not with work but with laughing. By and by Jim was ‘most dead, too, but: it was with work; then we took turns and spelled him, and he was and thankfull [sic?] as could be, and would set on the funnel and swab the sweat, and heave and pant, and say how good we was to a poor old nigger, and he wouldn’t ever forgit us. He was always the gratefulest nigger I ever see, for any little thing you done for him. He was only nigger outside; inside he was as white as you be. (181-82)

Once he gets to Jim’s performance of humility of “set[ting] on the gunnel,” swabbing himself, panting, and declaring himself lucky to have such friends, Huck breaks his syntax down into clauses hinged on the irregular verb “was.” “He was the gratefulest nigger” transforms to a narrative embrasure of the reader’s present in “He was only nigger outside; inside he was as white as you be.” This sentence begins by limiting

the effects of the derogatory term and then questions what it really means, confronting the construction of race and racial valences, including the precepts of white superiority on which Tom and Huck hang their power over Jim and the land below. The conflated domestic and international precepts of exceptionalism upon which Tom's romantic worldview are based falter in the chapter-closing declaration that Jim is "as white as you be." The final clause of the sentence then incorporates the reader, moving from the past ("was") to the present tense ("be") and giving the comparison immediacy. Tom's obviously exclusionary national narrative relies on a foundation of "otherness"—which Jim pandered to in a sort of minstrel act until, still performing as Tom's underling, his clever manipulation of the szujhet of history reasserts his place in the American narrative at the novel's close. Jim's performance transforms the characters' and the reader's own laughter into a self-examinatory and damning moment. The laughter dies as the abusive "punch line" of Tom's authoritarian "joke" turns and drives home. In this scene, then, the negative connotations of "nigger" have been transferred to the once-contemptuous reader who has been "blackened" by his own shame, his own presumed superiority, connoted by whiteness or white-adherence, departed. Jim is thus displaced as the object of derision (for being black, ignorant, and coercible) and replaced by the (presumed) reader. In laughing with Huck and Tom, the reader proved more ignorant and coercible than Jim whose performance of tractability is, in the end, part of the joke. This alteration sweeps away many tenets of supremacy, and with them, the foundations of expansionist rhetoric to which Tom, Huck, and at least momentarily the reader, subscribe through their laughter.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> A distinction must be made between the actual, presumed, and constructed readers. If the actual reader

## Coda: Mapping Empire

The motion quite literally ceases in Twain's final adventure for the trio with a map of the world. Tom and Huck sit on a mountainside, sated with exploration, while Jim returns to the U.S. to fetch Tom his pipe. An inserted map, allegedly drawn by Tom Sawyer, actually illustrated by Beard from a sketch Twain had submitted to him, accompanies them (see fig. 7).<sup>32</sup> The map, showing Tom reigning over the land, is both the only decisive notation of the novel's setting in time (1850) and the only illustration seemingly inserted from within the narrative. Each line of the drawing "Map of the trip made by Tom Sawyer Errornott (1850)" bespeaks Tom's (misguided) authoritarianism: the novel is backset as a "map" or a cartography of "truth" of the land below, a factual work that informs. This first term sets the tone for the rest of the depiction of the trip (solo, Tom would have us believe) and matches the last, "Errornott" (errors not), setting up his authorial stamp, Tom's "self-portrait" of himself alone, with wings, holding a giant American flag, and flying off to the side above the map's title.<sup>33</sup> With his drawing, Tom attempts to map his romance onto the world, to frame his fiction as fact, just as he'd been attempting to do narratively throughout. With his hybrid, winged body, Tom's romantic vision of his adventure subsumes even the technology that permitted his adventure: the exploratory flying machine becomes secondary to his body. Tom's drawn map ends the

does not laugh with Huck Finn, superiority and ridicule do much the same work of sobering shame.

<sup>32</sup> Though Twain was known to interject illustrations of his own into his works, and with *other* illustrators provided detailed instructions for images, this is the only case I can find in which he drafted an illustration for Beard.

<sup>33</sup> The term "Errornott" comes from a letter Tom writes to his Aunt Polly early in the narrative. "In the Welkin, approaching England," he begins and signs off "From Tom Sawyer, the Errornort" (38). Tom the Aeronaut, flies high on his metaphors and travels by his mistakes, using language he had little grasp of – like the ill-fated Lance Williams.

novel by drawing into itself not just romantic novelizations of manhood, adventures of boyhood, or expansionist rhetoric, but the very mapping of narratives.

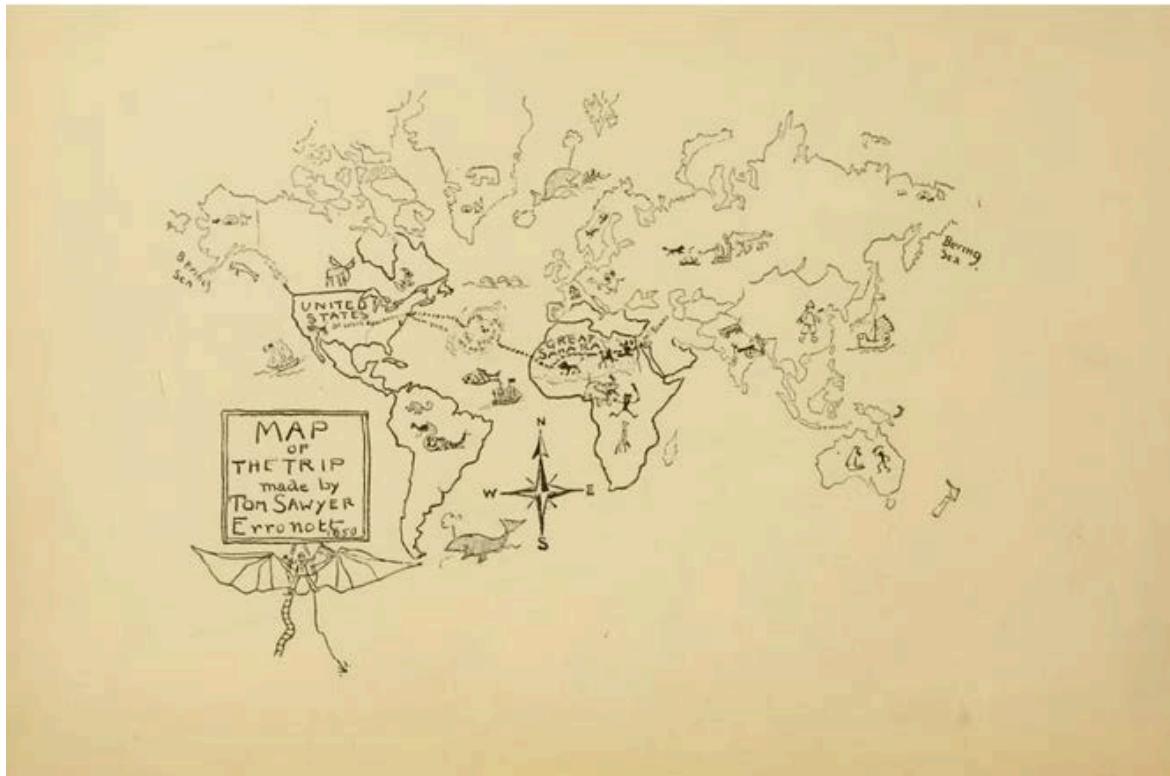


Figure 7: “Map of the Trip Made by Tom Sawyer Errornott, 1850.”

Source: Twain, Mark. *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. New York: Webster, 1894. Courtesy of Boston Public Library.

Tom Sawyer, continually bested by Jim from within the narrative, turns to expanding his voice into the visual. Throughout *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, the space of illustrations had been a place of resistance to a romantic hegemonic claim to lands, narrative supremacy, and authority, and this turn leaves the novel’s end less optimistic than it would be without it. Through tweaking power over the narrative with humor and via a co-optation of the illustrations, Jim seemed to have broken Tom’s monopolizing hold on the storytelling of their travels and selves and yet “Tom’s” map is a reminder of

the insidious nature of empire, its saturation into images, cartography, and domestic spaces.

Notably, “Tom” fills in the map.<sup>34</sup> The territorial outline of what was the United States in 1850 balloons from the Atlantic to Pacific Ocean, overlaying the nation’s “destiny” over its shape in the time of the novel. Moreover, he adds images and figures to places he did not travel. The obvious reflections of things and people seen on his trip lend credence to the other spaces he imaginatively fills in: the lions of Africa lend credence to the giant beast-eating python of South America and ship-eating whale off of Iceland. The imagined places are undifferentiated from the images of colonial anxiety, the lion, Sphinx, and figure on a camel glimpsed on his voyage.

The narrative thus concludes abruptly, which translates in most critical readings as “unsatisfactorily.” The novel, premised on tension from within the narrative, has no reason to continue once Tom’s foray into the visual marks his “victory.” Instead of lighting out for the territory, as Huck Finn intends to do at the end of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *Tom Sawyer Abroad* sees him on the cusp of returning home, converted to Tom’s “civilizing” influence. But Huck Finn is no longer anxious about escaping the “sivilizing” effects of “home”: he has succumbed to a belief in Tom’s fantasy of estrangement of the other from the “Territory.” Home is everywhere and nowhere he looks. The issue of going home becomes more vexed because, by the end of the novel, no one is quite sure whose version of home is being returned to—is it the author Huck’s, the would-be author Tom’s, or the narratively-authorized Jim’s? Home

---

<sup>34</sup> Contrary to Twain’s sketch, the final illustration is a map full of creatures and peoples. This is a subtle example of Beard taking Twain’s direction and creating additional meaning.

has been destabilized as its narratives have been drawn apart and then drawn in Tom's map, further displaced from a true place by its tripled rendering.

Though the adventure rests on the map in some subsequent editions (others conclude with an illustration of the flying machine, lights on, headed back to the United States, or just with text), the first edition ends with an ambivalent upturned top hat, illuminated by a full moon and floating in its reflection, in a sea, turned fancifully upward at the sides, enclosing the whole scene, a meditation on the artifice of narrative mastery, even Twain's own "edited" presentation of representation. Tom's map and the final image lack the borders that enclose most of the illustrations: the implication is that Tom's fantasy narrative has taken over, become naturalized, and the polyvocality of the novel, like the airship's creator, has been drowned. Because the travelers dress themselves in the (former) owner's left-behind garments, every character in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* wears such hats. Have Tom, Huck, and Jim gone home, or have one or more of them drowned in a world of their own making—a place like that of Tom's map in which all the borders of difference have been erased, making everything, and thus nothing, "home"? How do we find firm footing in our home, the text asks, when it has been mythologized to the point that it becomes impressionistic, or "dreamies out"?

Thus, through humor, visuality, authorial separation, and narrative slippage, Twain draws apart the fused, homogenous-seeming elements of romanced realism. In doing so, he critiques the subsuming narratives of nation, race, and validity used to promote individual and group dominance, foreshadowing his later, more strident anti-imperialist work.

Group identity and humor feature prominently again in my next chapter as I continue my investigation of in- and out- group coherence and resistance. Continuing to consider the role of visuality in anti-imperialist propagandistic texts, I move to one of the most popular works countering the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars. Whereas in this chapter I examined how ways of seeing function in tandem with homogenizing national narratives, in my next chapter I reflect further on issues of in- and out-group renderings in anti-imperialist literature. I look to how visualization shapes and subverts in-group allegiances key to the rhetoric of expansionists. The art and text of *Captain Jinks, Hero* like that of *Tom Sawyer Abroad* and *Following the Equator*, diffuse claims to expansionist paternalism, popular in the annexation debates and imperial rhetoric in general, by highlighting the unfitness of those who would deem themselves fit to rule through the spread of narration and empire.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **AESTHETIC THIRD SPACES AND HUMOR IN *CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO***

Similar to the way illustrative art functions in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* to question the fantasy of imperialism, so too does it question the boundaries of American citizenry in *Captain Jinks, Hero* (1902), written by Ernest Howard Crosby and illustrated by Daniel Carter Beard. Beard and Crosby together wield humor in the “third space” of the page, a place where meanings grow from the juxtaposition of the text and images.<sup>1</sup> This liminal space creates a fertile breeding ground for resistance to common conceptions of what it is to be a patriotic American in a global setting. Embedding humor in and with visual paratexts allowed anti-imperialists to counter the largely pro-imperial romantic fog seeping through the pores of mainstream culture via newspapers, periodicals, and films, stacking the deck against anti-imperialists. Pro-imperialist imagery was a dominant visual force in Western cultures: from Pear’s Soap claiming to ease the White Man’s Burden by making the world a cleaner place to U.S. currency, as I discussed in my introduction, imperialism was a cultural force to be reckoned with. Pairing images and humor provided anti-imperialists with traction in their conjoined tasks of raising their social cache and

---

<sup>1</sup> As I define it in my introduction, I use the term “third space” fully loaded with the connotations of hybridity, productive connection, and frictiveness which come to it through postcolonial theory. The third space is a place of meeting. It is where hegemonic colonial narratives of cultural structures and practices press upon those whose positions they would usurp; it is a space of impartial negotiation and “productive capacities” (Bhabha 56). It is there in the in-between that hybridity finds a “space intrinsically critical of essentialist positions of identity and a conceptualization of ‘original or originary culture.’” It is in the third space that Bhabha suggests that we can “elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves” (56).

lowering that of the expansionists, perhaps even causing their audience's identification with the positively-valenced imperialists to weaken.

In *Captain Jinks, Hero*, the most popular satirization of American militancy and imperial policies of its day, aesthetics and humor work together to change the conversation about what imperialism means to and in the United States. The satiric narrative and Beard's incisive illustrations become more than Foucault's calligram, a portmanteau term that unifies the word and image as "two hunters" closing in on the same prey, in synergized tandem like wolves (Mitchell *Picture Theory* 69-70).<sup>2</sup> The reader must, at least on some level, join with the author and artist as they participate in the act of imaginative creation. This unification serves as a first step in dividing readers from the text's targets: imperialists. In *Captain Jinks*, graphic and verbal elements work independently and together to counter the dominant propaganda of the "Golden Age" of American imperialism, attempting to shift the resonance of expansionists' branding, breaking apart their vision of themselves in a way that not only belied the veracity of expansionists' political claims but also their nobility.

Perspectival intervention is, in part, the lifeblood of the inhabited initials and many illustrations throughout *Captain Jinks, Hero*. Beard's illustrations take uncomfortable issues and confront them alongside Crosby's overall softer, though still scathing, satire. The imagistic space, especially Beard's chapter-heading vignettes which blend his images with Crosby's words, provide a neither-nor textual place for the jack-in-the-box

---

<sup>2</sup> Mitchell quotes Foucault's beautifully-wrought description of what those in the world of comics name the "gutter": "on the page of an illustrated book, we seldom pay attention to the small space running above the words and below the drawings, forever serving them as a common frontier. It is there, on these few millimeters of white, the calm sand of the page, that are established all the relations of designation, nomination, description, classification" (qtd. in Mitchell *Picture Theory* 69).

of unsettling humor to pop out from the relative safety of the text. This space of shock can diffuse expansionist propaganda by rendering its dark side real. Brutal international interrogation techniques, domestic violence, the dehumanizing effects of war are but a few of the issues attached to imperialist politics in the intertextual and chapter-heading illustrations of *Captain Jinks, Hero.*

For Crosby and Beard, the third spaces of their novel where humor and illustrations meet, both literal and abstract, are spaces of possibility. This liminal zone was particularly useful to Crosby and Beard, who, as anti-imperialists, had wavering in-group statuses in relation to their political agonists, the expansionists. Anti-imperialists were commonly known as “aunties” in expansionist rhetoric, a term meant to emasculate them. This nominalization heightened the already constructed associations of imperialism with “proper” masculinity (see fig. 8).<sup>3</sup> Pro-imperial rhetoric granting expansionists more stereotypically valorized gender identities, benevolence, and democratic natures than anti-imperialists was common, popular, and deeply rooted in American culture in 1902: to simply refute imperialist rhetoric would have been largely futile. The positive identity formed around supporters of imperialism made effectively swaying new fighters to the cause difficult and weakened ties with those who were on the fence about their alliances. The ruling notion of “us” tied to expansionist logic had to be cracked, questioned, and, if possible, demolished for the anti-imperialists’ tactics to gain major inroads. To budge a myth of empire so deeply entrenched, Crosby and Beard made use of the exothermic reaction catalyzed by humor and aesthetics.

---

<sup>3</sup> Henry Blake Fuller reappropriates the term “aunties” in his scathing *The New Flag: Satires*, attempting to turn the common nickname into a positive term: the historical record suggests his efforts were largely unheeded.



Figure 8: "Aunty Democracy."

Source: Bartholomew, Charles Lewis. *Expansion! Being Bart's Best Cartoons of 1899. Taken from the Minneapolis Journal*. Minneapolis: Journal Printing Company, 1900. Courtesy of Google.

### Comedic Effects on Social Dynamics

A satire, *Captain Jinks, Hero*, is, at its core, an indictment of the effects of war and imperialism on society. *Captain Jinks, Hero* tells the story of one man, Sam Jinks, and his transformation from nature lover to war aficionado. It is the story of his fall from humanity to object, from participant to pawn, from man to toy soldier. Jinks travels from his farm to the military academy East Point to the “Cubapines” (Crosby’s portmanteau of

Cuba and the Philippines), quickly becoming a celebrity and war hero thanks to nepotism and media manipulation. On his travels, he comforts himself of his differences from natives he meets by becoming ever more the “perfect” soldier. As he does so, he becomes increasingly rigid in his self-identification with his idealized vision of himself. Before long, however, he realizes that he could not kill his fiancée if called to and thus is, in his mind, imperfect—a realization that drives him mad. He is utterly inflexible in his self-perception; it is this complete adherence to calcified group identification that is his undoing.

*Captain Jinks, Hero* is successful as a satire because Crosby and Beard took on real events. From actual figures such as General Funston, the man behind Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo’s capture and the end of the Philippine-American War, to the production and circulation of war photographs and stories ahead of the battles they “depict,” the novel does more than abstractly lampoon concepts of war and empire. lambasting Secretary of State Elihu Root’s censorship of news from the Philippines in order to uphold the (false) image of the popularity of American military action and annexation, as well as Admiral Dewey’s dredging up and cutting of the telegraph wires in Manila to suppress enemy news, Captain Jinks upholds extreme censorship in the Philippines, going so far as to ban copies of the U.S. Declaration of Independence from being printed and circulated, for example. Jinks’s betrayal of the native peoples who had come to his aid mirrors the dirty dealings by which General Funston captured Aguinaldo and won the war.

The anti-militaristic elements of the novel are no accident; Crosby was a firm believer in pacifism. He consistently opposed expansion and militancy. Ernest Howard

Crosby was born into money in New York and married into more. He graduated from Columbia Law School in 1878, succeeding his friend Theodore Roosevelt in the New York Legislature after less than ten years in law. Soon thereafter, President Harrison sent Crosby to Alexandria, Egypt to sit as a judge on the International Court—a lifetime appointment which came to grate on Crosby when he made righting economic injustice a priority. Upon reading Count Leo Tolstoy's *Life*, Crosby proceeded to give up his judicial seat in favor of reform work in America. Much to his aristocratic family's dismay, Crosby followed the work of the Russian count and his American disciple, Henry George, as he promoted non-resistance, a single-tax, vegetarianism, social welfare, labor unions, and more. He also began to write, becoming the most prolific anti-imperialist poet and writer of the period according to Fred H. Harrington, and one of “the most eminent of those Americans who devoted their energies to peace” (Gianakos 13).<sup>4</sup>

Peace was one of Crosby's driving interests, but he pursued organized activism beyond his membership in the American Peace Society. He also served as president of the American Anti-Imperialist League and the New York Anti-Imperialist League. He wrote voluminously on his pet topics in formal projects, letters, and editorials. In addition to *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Crosby was the author of several volumes on social reformers Tolstoy and Garrison; *Swords and Ploughshares* (1902), a book of anti-imperialist poetry also published by Funk and Wagnalls; and numerous poems and pamphlets. Still, Crosby always considered *Captain Jinks, Hero* his finest work.

---

<sup>4</sup> Crosby's family was so embarrassed by his passions that when he died his notes were shut in an Egyptian sarcophagus, his name was dropped from conversation, and his heiress granddaughter was kept unaware of her grandfather's activism until she discovered his notes and papers in their history-laden tomb (Gianakos 16).

The literary merits of the novel are debatable, but it did become “the best-known work of anti-imperialist fiction of its day,” according to Susan Harris (120).<sup>5</sup> Fellow anti-imperialist Mark Twain began a review of *Captain Jinks, Hero*, but, inspired by Crosby’s cutting portrayals of the questionably-moral antics of General Funston, a Spanish-American War figure, left off to pen his own satirical “Defense of General Funston” (1902). Even without Twain’s contribution to the conversation, reviews appeared in disparate sources including anarchist Emma Goldman’s *Mother Earth*, *The New York Times*, the *International Socialist Review*, and the *Advocate of Peace*. The vast differences in forums discussing the book indicate that *Captain Jinks, Hero* reached and enflamed a wide audience. Commenting on the novel’s impact, an anonymous writer for the *Missionary Review of the World* states that the novel “aroused every important newspaper in the country, and thousands of lines of discussion were printed” (“Literary Notes” n.p.).<sup>6</sup>

Today, despite its moment of notoriety, *Captain Jinks, Hero* rarely garners more than a passing mention in discussions of American imperialism.<sup>7</sup> That Beard’s charged

<sup>5</sup> *Captain Jinks, Hero* has been republished several times. In 1969 Gregg Press reprinted it in a series of 39 American reform novels that had been originally published between 1836 and 1917. It was again revitalized in 1986 in *The Anti-Imperialist Reader: A Documentary History of Anti-Imperialism in the United States* two-volume anthology edited by Philip Sheldon Foner and Richard C. Winchester (47).

<sup>6</sup> The reviewer continues without specificity, “Mark Twain rallied to the support of Mr. Crosby himself, and, in his inimitable way, threw a vein of humor into the controversy” (n.p.). How Twain “rallied to” Crosby’s support is not clarified in the article.

<sup>7</sup> Though *Captain Jinks, Hero* was widely read in activist circles, it is unknown how effective its tactics were for facilitating the polarization of feelings across lines of empathy rather than nation and for fostering revolutionary crossings across activist lines—or how effective it would have been had the Philippine-American War or a strong anti-imperialist movement continued. Though organized anti-imperialist work did continue until shortly after the end of the First World War, its magnetic core lost its pull once the (officially) short-lived Philippine-American War ended. With the official end of the war went the intensity surrounding the annexation debates. Further, Ernest Howard Crosby, a major force within the movement, died suddenly of pneumonia in 1907. Future acts by the U.S. drew some ire, but nothing that matched the

illustrations have been cut from reprints of the novel is somewhat surprising as they were roundly noted at the time of its publication.<sup>8</sup> A representative comment from a review of the novel published in *The Advocate of Peace* in 1902 states, “the story is illustrated by Dan Beard, whose cartoons are even more intensely satirical than Mr. Crosby’s writing. Some of them are droll, some painful, some sickening, some awe-inspiring, some awakening shame and indignation,—but all true to the conditions which they portray” (80).<sup>9</sup>

Rather than tightening the author-artist/ text-image relationship and solidifying their overlap, as is the case in most illustrated works (or is, at least the conventional take on the topic of illustration), Beard’s illustrations often act independently. As such they pull the narrative in directions aslant to Crosby’s plotted course at times, yet the hybrid nature of both the illustrations proper and the inhabited initials headlining each chapter tugs the graphic and textual elements of the work back together, and achieves new depths

fire of the American Anti-Imperialist League or the interconnection of advocacy movements under Crosby’s presidency.

<sup>8</sup> One of the few scholars to have discussed it critically, Walter Benn Michaels finds it is “virtually the only anti-imperialist text I know that deals explicitly with the events in the Philippines,” though he argues it is “concerned primarily to burlesque as a ‘peculiar kind of insanity’ the ‘preoccupation with uniforms and soldiers, and the readiness [of Jinks] to do anything a man in regiments tells him to,’” and therefore is more anti-militaristic than anti-imperialist (657). Yet part of the novel’s critique of the military is that it attempts to create objects out of its subjects—both the conquered and the conquerors. Michael’s critique of the novel is based on the *Anti-Imperialist Reader*’s 1986 reprint, devoid of Beard’s illustrations. Without the illustrations, *Captain Jinks, Hero*’s anti-imperialism, like its use of humor, are dulled. Viewing the novel as a whole clears the way to a better understanding of how it captures frequently overlooked key anti-imperialist tones and moves.

<sup>9</sup> I discuss Beard’s history at length in my first chapter. Best remembered for his role in the development of the Boy Scouts of America and his work with *Boys’ Life*, Daniel Carter Beard was a naturalist, writer, artist, and great friend to Mark Twain with whom he worked on many occasions. Their most famous, or infamous depending on whom one asks, collaboration, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* (1889) contains illustrations that so scathingly depicted contemporary figures such as Jay Gould the “railroad baron” that Beard had trouble finding work for a time after its publication. On the boycott, Beard wrote to Cyril Clemens on 28 April 1936, “You know, Mark Twain once said that I not only illustrated the stories, but I illustrated the thoughts of the author when he was writing the story, and that may be where the shoe pinched” (qtd. in Inge “Mark Twain and Dan Beard” 179).

of meaning. Without Crosby's developed world, for instance, many of Beard's scathing images would only be as powerful as editorial cartoons. With Crosby's novel behind them, however, the images, even those not directly tied to events in the novel, gain more immediate value. Instead of reflecting events the reader is aware of from his or her larger, but abstracted world, they grow from the (barely) fictional people and places Crosby's text makes familiar. The reading experience immerses the reader into Crosby and Beard's world, making the issues in Cuba and the Philippines more present than did the reader's daily life.<sup>10</sup> Beard's dark illustrations deepen the critique of Crosby's lighter satire. The push-me-pull-you nature of Beard and Crosby's collaboration unsettles the group dynamics and assumptions of each they take on.

Beard's illustrations, particularly those opening each chapter, both interpret and visualize the accompanying novel while adding additional information to the text as a whole: themes of racial violence, mistreatment of animals, and hypocrisy mostly absent in Crosby's half of the text surface in Beard's contributions. In the inhabited initials, grapheme and graphic interlace the written and visual, layering the frames of social critique embedded through the text(s). Beard's illustrations are in and of themselves the first "word" of the chapter. But they also commingle with the first literal word of every chapter, moderating how the characters, situations, and even ideas themselves take shape while pointing to how words shape meaning. The words of the text-proper are part of the illustration and the illustration part of the text-proper. They form a sort of comic with

---

<sup>10</sup> Humor was an effective tool within critiques of the Spanish-American War "and its Philippine sequel," because the conflicts, and their price, were so distant from the daily lives of most U.S. citizens (Bresnahan 34). Roger Bresnahan comments: "Northrop Frye's elaborate schema places satire as a hiatus between the avoidable human misery which constitutes tragedy and the society of fools which is the context of comedy" (34).

Crosby's words acting as a littered photonegative "gutter" between them.<sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> As the chapter-heading illustrations all include the first letter of the chapter's first word in them, much like illuminated manuscripts of yore, the words on the page also serve, most of the time, to lead the reader from one image to the next, winding like a path from image to image, a path that can provide sign posts and errata along the route but one which is ultimately a nearly separable level of text. Jinks travels constantly, ever restless. In fact, eleven of the sixteen chapters begin with a preposition indicating a movement through time and space while rushing us through the narrative. Opening lines such as "By the next morning mail"; "At the reveille the next morning"; "During the next few days"; and "On the following day" push Captain Jinks through his narrative, refusing him comfort in stasis or even the time to reflect on the meaning behind his actions or his words.

---

<sup>11</sup> By "comic," I mean a series of cartoons, separated by white space, that form a relatively cohesive story. Sequential visual art, in other words, often with a humorous cast. Though single module cartoons have widely circulated for several hundred years, the modern notion of comic requires more than one panel. Whether "true" comics must be an admixture of words and images, or "co-mix" as Art Spiegelman was known to call them is a matter of debate. Richard Outcault began creating comic panoramic vistas in 1895 for the *New York World*, adding yellow to the yellow journalism debate with his Yellow Kid, who literally wore his thoughts on his sleeve. Sequential narration rather than single cell or panoramic cells became the norm around 1900.

<sup>12</sup> In his seminal work on the form, *Understanding Comics*, Scott McCloud explains that the space in-between comic panels, the gutter, forces the reader to participate in transitioning from one moment to the next. This act of "closure," or "observing the parts but perceiving the whole," (63) requires readerly participation and imagination; the reader must work to connect the first image to the second, to determine how things fit together; the reader must provide his or her own details regarding the hows and whys of that connection. McCloud reasons that "closure allows us to connect these moments and mentally construct a continuous, unified reality" in a "silent, secret contract between creator and audience" (emphases deleted 67). This "silent, secret contract," even more than text-only based acts of reading, promotes certain (even if temporary) allegiances. Just as the gutter in traditional comics forces readers to imaginatively construct unpictured actions, the often interpretive chapter-heading illustrations in *Captain Jinks, Hero* require readers to use the text itself as this place of implied action. It becomes a space imbued with implied meaning and shadows of actions. Activating the panels requires leaps by the reader. As such it frequently entails generating connections which may or may not be contrary to their expectations or the expectations or their in-group. It is the work of humor to make these connections last longer than the moment needed to honor the contract of reading.

In *Captain Jink, Hero*'s inhabited initials, we see moments of hybridity and mutation born of inevitable cultural exchange occur. The contested nature of the visual/textual space at work in the novel is rendered pellucid in the portal-like "O" opening chapters 8, 10, and 12. In the first of these even-numbered chapter openings, the Moritos (Crosby's alternative name for the native Moros of the Philippines, a diminutive that burlesques expansionists' common tactic of paternalism), get "even" with the American explorer soldiers, catching them literally and at their own game, playfully bifurcating the letter and controlling the space (see fig. 9). In the next chapter's heading, which sprawls through the entire page, top to bottom, a suited arm reaches from the dusty book of war, a crown of laurels tunneling through the center of the letter so that the reader/spectator isn't sure where the letter "O" begins or ends. Two chapters later, the American soldier has reclaimed the writerly territory, rewriting the air with a bloody letter "O" swung from a decapitated non-white head to doubly mark his position of authority. This move pauses the reader, swirls her in its loop, and, finally, catches her in the victorious "O" (see fig. 10 and fig. 11). Crosby and Beard's readers cannot laugh at the natives' supposed ridiculousness or playful swings though "O's" without laughing at their own disassembled cultural traces, their own national identification with the lampooned agent of civilization playfully writing a bloody "O" upon the page. The playfulness of the first image becomes darker in its subsequent iterations, the humorous context and aesthetic modes emphasizing the consequences of taking such issues so lightly. This sort of development of meaning across pages in a secondary space of illustration and through layered humor is common in *Captain Jinks, Hero*.

---

*CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO*

---

## Among the Moritos

### CHAPTER VIII

---



N the following day headquarters were moved into San Diego. Sam was lodged in the town hall with the general, and Cleary got rooms close by. There were rumors of renewed activity on the part of the Cubaninos, but it was thought that their resistance for the future would be of a guerrilla nature. There was, however, one savage tribe to the north which

---

[ 185 ]

Digitized by Google

Figure 9: Ludic “O.”

Source: Crosby, Ernest Howard. *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Illus. Daniel Carter Beard, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Courtesy of the University of California. Digitized by Google.

---

*CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO*

---

## A Great Military Exploit

CHAPTER X

---



NE day while Sam was still waiting for Cleary to carry out his designs, his secretary told him that a sergeant wished to see him, and Sam directed him to show him into his office. The man was a rather sinister-looking individual, and his speech betrayed his Anglian origin.

"Colonel," said he, after the door was closed and they were alone, "I'm only a sergeant

---

[ 240 ]

---

Digitized by Google

Figure 10: "One Day."

Source: Crosby, Ernest Howard. *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Illus. Daniel Carter Beard, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Courtesy of the University of California. Digitized by Google.



Digitized by Google

Figure 11: “On the Following Morning.”

Source: Crosby, Ernest Howard. *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Illus. Daniel Carter Beard, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Courtesy of the University of California. Digitized by Google.

## Social Identity Theory and Satire

Humor is key to the interaction between the graphic and textual layers at work in *Captain Jinks, Hero*, not least because of its potential for impacting group dynamics.<sup>13</sup> Ridiculing others, the satisfaction of “getting” the joke (rather than being a “bad sport” with “no sense of humor”), and the superiority of being privileged to laugh at rather than being related to the joke, are three elements of humor often used to shift an audience’s associations with a target. Moreover, comedy can provide a safe haven of similarity, promoting normalization, but can also serve as a safe outlet for rebellion, grief, ridicule, and anxiety: its ability to critique society strikes both ways. As Cynthia Willet writes, humor “can offer a democratic equalizing of the discursive terrain” against an otherwise stacked deck, sometimes revealing hitherto hidden beliefs, prejudices, or concerns (3).

---

<sup>13</sup> As the will of the people, both in the United States and internationally, was perceived to grow stronger in shaping their respective nations at the end of the nineteenth century, the study of group dynamics was burgeoning within the infant field of psychology at the beginning of the twentieth. Just a few years before Crosby wrote *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Gustave Le Bon’s influential *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1895) widely influenced major thinkers of the era. Le Bon’s initial forays into the study of group minds, Theodor Adorno writes, are marked by contempt and study more the symptoms of rather than causes behind hive behavior and group dynamics. In a typical statement, Le Bon declares, “To-day the claims of the masses are becoming more and more sharply defined, and amount to nothing less than a determination to utterly destroy society as it now exists, with a view to making it hark back to that primitive communism which was the normal condition of all human groups before the dawn of civilisation. Limitations of the hours of labour, the nationalisation of mines, railways, factories, and the soil, the equal distribution of all products, the elimination of all the upper classes for the benefit of the popular classes, &c., such are these claims” (xvi), yet, he concedes, “The destinies of nations are elaborated at present in the heart of the masses, and no longer in the councils of princes.” Sigmund Freud extended Le Bon’s analyses in *Civilization and its Discontents* to explore motivations for out-group aversion, coming to explain that narcissism and the pleasure principle promote a sense that “simply through belonging to the in-group, is better, higher and purer than those who are excluded” (qtd. in Adorno 145). The growth and iterations of social identity theory are useful to my study because they help to elucidate the conversation surrounding these issues to which Crosby and Beard would have been privy, especially in assessing how humor aids low status in-group members, such as the less popular anti-imperialists, to associate anti-imperialism with a positive social identity while devaluing their opponents. For a thorough summation of social identity theory past and present see Matthew J. Hornsey’s 2008 article “Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory.”

As social psychology has long shown, automatically produced associations can be difficult to break unless one is aware of them and of their production. Interrupting a metaleptic chain is one way to make it visible. In *Captain Jinks, Hero* Crosby and Beard emphasize what Adorno and Horkheimer call “reconciled laughter,” which acts as a form of resistance. “Reconciled laughter” is an escape from power, a complement to what they call true rather than thought-reducing art (112-14). It can, they write, heighten awareness and the renunciation of what was once veiled (112). Similarly, Simon Critchley writes, “humour does not *save* us from that folly by turning our attention elsewhere...but calls on us to face the folly of the world and change the situation in which we find ourselves” (18).

One form of humor most associated with social formation, and which is central to *Captain Jinks, Hero*, is satire. Satire has always been at the heart of *Captain Jinks, Hero*'s interventionist strategies. According to a review of Crosby and Beard's novel in the *Advocate of Peace*, *Captain Jinks, Hero* grew out of an address Crosby presented at a meeting of the American Peace Society in Boston entitled “The Absurdities of Militarism” in which the author jocularly suggested that “some humorist might do a great service to the world by a satirical work on war, as Cervantes had done in the case of knight-errantry” (“Rev. of *Captain Jinks*” 80). Finding no eager takers but many prompts to make manifest his vision, Crosby wrote *Captain Jinks, Hero* in six weeks.

Satire, so often deep caricature reaching beyond parody, opens vantages into social critique and breaks out of the calcifying rigidity of social mores, incisively slicing into the violence of laughter and creating entry into otherwise desensitized or normalized

traumatic events or issues.<sup>14</sup> As Charles Knight observes, satire “provides an ironic translation of texts whose language has been so perverted by the special intention of the users that it could not otherwise be understood by the readers outside of the exploited linguistic community to which it is addressed” (35) and, the majority of the time, is brought in to uphold the status quo. However, like all forms of humor, satire can also be a means “for moving beyond simple response and critique, and toward locating possibilities for social transformation” (Holoch 29).<sup>15</sup>

Crosby makes the use of humor in the dialectic of power quite explicit from the outset, commenting on the crucial role of satire and laughter in developing and maintaining group dynamics directly in the text itself. In an especially anti-militaristic section of the novel, the natives of a contested territory begin to laugh at a German general when he dons the militaristic garb of his allies in a show of military power.<sup>16</sup> The native people’s outburst surprises Jinks:

The Porsslanese are not a laughing people. They had never been known to laugh ore except in the most feeble manner. The events of the past year had not been especially humorous, and the coming of the great war-lord was far from being a laughing matter. Yet with the perversity of heathen they had selected this impressive occasion for showing their incurable barbarism and bad taste. (315)

Jinks, who pines for an Emperor of the United States “to embody the ideal of the State, to picture us to ourselves, to realize our aspirations,” regards the colonized people’s laughter

<sup>14</sup> In *Laughter and Ridicule: Towards a Social Critique of Humour* (2005), Michael Billig has focused on the dark but functional side of humor. He argues, “ridicule lies at the core of social life, for the possibility of ridicule ensures that members of society routinely comply with the customs and habits of their social milieu” (2).

<sup>15</sup> Holoch determines the markers of satire as a mode to be “an aim toward a morally corrective purpose,” “a spirit of aggression” or “a literature of power and attack,” as well as judgment and play (36).

<sup>16</sup> The Porsslanese of the Cubapines represent Crosby’s conflation of Filipinos and Cubans.

as “sacrilege” and declares that “nothing short of extermination will reclaim this unhappy land” (314-15).<sup>17</sup>

Laughing at the German emperor in nationally transvestive drag functions severally. First, laughing at the empowered, making them the object of ridicule, is a means for the disempowered to enact superiority, even for a moment. Second, by laughing publicly, the Porsslanese drew together as a unified people who shared a sense of humor, one which lifted them, at least momentarily, above the symbol of empowerment at which they laughed. Third, it functions as “reconciled laughter,” renouncing the systems in power. As such, here it marks the performance of military might *as* performance, the power the Emperor wields, it suggests, is donned with a costume. Fourth, Jinks’s dismissal of the Porsslanese as a people who do not laugh situates him, and, by extension, the imperial powers he represents, as ignorant of the very people he seeks to rule based on his (false) knowledge of them.

The anti-militaristic bent of this episode and many of the facets of humor drawn out in it are repeated later in a direct confrontation with the predication of American nationalism on militarism. Chung Tu, a “Porsslanese literatus” who was a delegate to “Whoppington” banquets with Jinks and his friends aboard their homeward voyage. During the voyage the “martial hymns of all nations were played” (344). Upon commencement of “Yankee Doodle,” Crosby writes, “it was impossible to resist the impulse to laugh as this national jig brought up the rear, and Sam was much displeased that the foreigners on board, and there were many, should have laughed at his country” finding that it “holds us up to ridicule” (344-45). But for whom it was impossible to resist

---

<sup>17</sup> To Jinks’s desire for an emperor, Cleary drolly replies, “the President is doing his best.” (314).

laughing and who, exactly, is being held up to ridicule by the laughter is ambiguous. Where does the reader fit into the action? This ambiguity allows the reader to see both sides of the humor, that of the laugher and of the target of laughter, without feeling personally attacked, the latter especially necessary for humor to be effective.<sup>18</sup>

“The style of the language and of the music is most noteworthy,” Chung Tu notes, continuing, “it is highly comical, and its object evidently is to provoke a laugh” unlike the other, more solemn national hymns “from which the element of humor was rigidly excluded.” The philosopher explains:

I am convinced that he [Yankee Doodle] was a Porsslanese who had the good fortune to sow in your literature the seed of truth. You think that as a nation you have a sense of humor. I have studied your humorous literature. You laugh at mothers-in-law and messenger-boys and domestic servants, and many other objects which are altogether serious and have no element of humor in them, and at the same time you are blind to the most absurd of spectacles, the man who dresses up in feathers and gold lace and thinks it honorable to do nothing for years but wait for a pretext to kill somebody. You look down on your hangmen and butchers. We look down on our men-butchers, the soldiers, in the same way...It is we who have a sense of humor...when our common people laughed at the Emperor in his uniforms, they showed the same sound sense that appears in ‘Yang Kee.’ (351)

In this scene, Chung Tu transposes Porsslanese origin onto Yankee Doodle, highlighting the immigrant origins of the “native” American people and the imported underpinnings of American ideology. In this way he questions the exclusionary vision of a homogenous, white American identity promoted in many examples of expansionist rhetoric. His critique does not stop at white supremacy: he also calls out the systems that keep those in power in power: gender (the mothers-in-law), class (messenger boys), and race, class, and gender (domestic servants).

---

<sup>18</sup> The self-insulation of satire either allows the audience to laugh or breaks down entirely, causing the audience to find the satire offensive rather than humorous and thus rendering it ineffective.

By satirizing the German emperor and even paratextual elements of the American mythos like “Yankee Doodle,” and highlighting them with widespread laughter, Crosby defamiliarizes figures of (normally) unquestioned power, revealing their vulnerabilities and fallibilities, destabilizes the saturated “common sense” notions of power dynamics and civility that frequently favored them, and explicitly calls his readers’ attention to the processes of humor afoot in his satiric work. This meta reference to the serious work of humor is in keeping with Crosby’s own didactic use of the comic.

Satire, for all its reputation for brio and verve, is most effective as a corrective when aimed at an audience that agrees with its dismissals, slurs, and burlesque machinations. An ideal audience already thinks in similarly norm-affirming codes. In his *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, H.W. Fowler deems satire’s audience to be “the self-satisfied” type who “amend” “morals and manners,” altogether a more gentle social sense of amelioration than satire, with its reputation for biting ire, often accrues (n.p.). That satire alone is enough to “throw light on” a subject, as Fowler declares wit does by “surprising” “the intelligent,” or if it can “discredit” “misconduct” as he argues “invective” does is a matter of great critical debate. So while satire, such as that discussed above, can be an effective tool when served to a like-minded audience, additional forms of humor including black comedy and anti-humor may be necessary for reaching wider audiences or audiences firmly inculcated in codes opposing what one wishes to mend.

### ***Beyond Satire***

Ernest Crosby’s textual elements rarely step beyond the bounds of satire on their own. As in Dan Beard’s illustrations for Mark Twain’s *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*, in *Captain Jinks, Hero* the illustrations take the novel further than the

text-proper, pushing the work beyond the relative safety of satire on the Likert Scale of humor. Unlike satire, which eminent satirist Jonathan Swift denotes as a "sort of glass, wherein beholders discover everybody's face but their own" (qtd. in Winston "Ethics" 279), black humor allows beholders to discover the "Others" and the uncanny in their own reflections. Black comedy, common today, was rather rare in late nineteenth-century America, and anti-comedy a rarer still form of humor, then and now.<sup>19</sup><sup>20</sup> Whereas black comedy thrives on hoaxes, anti-comedy is itself a kind of hoax: it is the antithesis of a joke where one is expected to be. Anti-comedy doesn't even try to be funny. In fact, it stands against a humorous background, and is intentionally jarring, upsetting, and decidedly *not* funny. It disrupts the comedic narrative environment, juxtaposing the expectation of humor with a ringing absence of any traces of humor: comedian David Rees describes anti-comedy as a type of humor that can "hit people over the head with a hammer made of despair and didacticism." In short, black humor is like a traditional jack-in-the-box: the toy's packaging and reputation prepare those who interact with it for the pleasure of a benign shock, funny for its eventual harmlessness; the laughter elicited by it is the laughter of relief.<sup>21</sup> Anti-comedy, however, comes as a corpse-in-the-box: a dead joke in a humorous wrapper.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Black humor can be broken down further, Mathew Winston finds, into absurd black humor and grotesque black humor – the former is more rife with violence and senselessness, the latter focuses more bluntly on corporeal mutations, deformation, and abjectness ("Humour Noir" 277). Wolfgang Kayser further fragments grotesque black humor into the fantastic and the comically grotesque, leading Winston to posit that grotesque black humor emphasizes more darkness than absurd black humor; it is harder on the protagonist and on the emotionally-invested reader (282).

<sup>20</sup> Black humor was on the rise in the nineteenth century as shown in works by Mark Twain and Ambrose Bierce in particular. Koji Numasawa suggests that good manners and a fear of social ostracism may have kept audiences from frequently acknowledging darkly humorous situations in the age of Stendhal (180).

## “Benevolence” Abroad, Lynchings at Home

Employing black humor and anti-comedy, collaborators Beard and Crosby situate imperialism with domestic violence and racism, demolishing their readers’ connections to the imperialists. The subject of lynching further nullifies imperialists’ claims that the U.S. was a superior civilization, far more moral and democratic than the purportedly less advanced, disputed territories.<sup>23</sup>

Here, events such as lynchings, largely accepted as everyday occurrences, even entertainments, are captured in the aesthetic “third space” of the text.<sup>24</sup> In the chapter titled, “Off for the Cubapines,” Crosby and Beard read a newspaper accounting of a lynching over their breakfast as they prepare to leave for active duty. This “preparation” suggests that the domestic, race-based violence to which they are immured is as important a preparation for going to war as getting their kit together; the day-to-day atrocities at home serve as a mundane boot camp for becoming active imperialists in the field, the text suggests. In this context, the text, inset illustration’s iconography, and chapter heading’s inhabited initial blend into very dark humor indeed. They wend

<sup>21</sup> To continue this analogy, absurdism is a jack-in-the-box without a crank: the humor is in its futility. Existential nihilism is like a jack-in-the-box in a world without toys: it has no presupposed significance. Surrealism can be likened to a banana-in-the-box: not what you were expecting, but hardly menacing. Of course, a metaphysically nihilistic jack-in-the-box’s whole existence would be questioned. There *might* not be any jack-in-the-box at all.

<sup>22</sup> It is tempting to lump the chaotic world of black comedy with the bizarre world of absurdism, the bleak world of existential nihilism, and the trapdoor of blackness that is anti-comedy (and some do); however, even senseless violence fits into the universal pattern of chaos found in black comedy, and in the world of black comedy, there is relief in laughter. Likewise, nihilism and existentialism breed stoicism or a sense that things are inconsequential, whereas in anti-comedy, seemingly “senseless” violence shocks the audience with no warning and with no built-in coping mechanism.

<sup>23</sup> Crosby was flabbergasted, Bresnahan writes, “at the colossal presumption of a country which intended to ‘civilize’ other peoples while it allowed its own citizens to be lynched” (41).

<sup>24</sup> I continue this discussion of lynching imagery and its connections to racist anti-imperialist rhetoric in my fourth chapter.

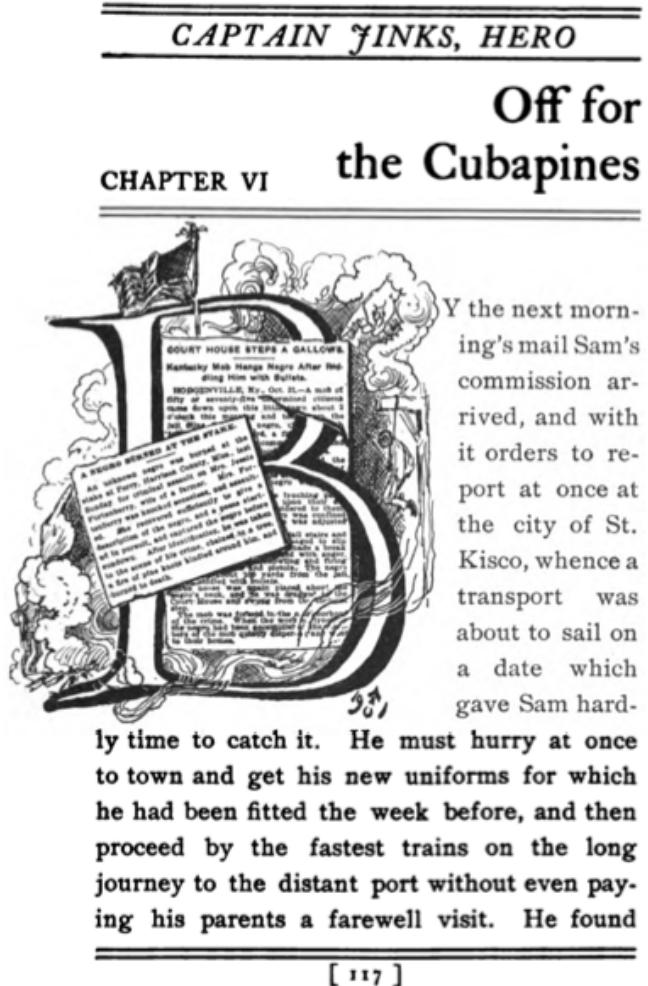
through relatively benign and comfortable humorous stratum until the layers crumble into a visceral, horrible reminder of the ramifications of the imperialists' failings. As a united front hammering home the connections between foreign and domestic violence, the chapter-heading illustration, editorial cartoon-like illustration, and scene of reading, the entirety of the chapter form a much more complex whole. More than being a *mise-en-abîme*, the chapter-heading image and intermediary image unite the domestic brutality of the story-in-a-story to the atrocities committed in contested territories. In linking their depiction of U.S. imperialism with domestic atrocities, Crosby and Beard complicate the narrative of exceptionalism struck by pro-imperialists.

The inhabited initial opening the chapter metatextually complicates the act of reading. The letter "B" illuminated in the chapter-heading illustration extrapolates the interconnectivity of letters, words, and jingoistic journalism with violence in the United States (see fig. 12). Beginning with the capital letter "B" beginning the word "by," the chapter graphically and prepositionally lunges forward. It is via or "by" propaganda that much of the war's ends are achieved. Through the opening illustration the chapter indicates how politics are conjoined with the mundane, drawing in the reader who is at that moment reading a cultural product and must engage with other printed materials. A first glance shows a smoky background, an American flag, and two violently skewered newspaper clippings pointed at by a manicule emerging from the clouds and acting as the hand of God.<sup>25</sup> Below that hand is a hung corpse, echoing the clipping pierced by the letter "Court House Steps a Gallows: Kentucky Mob Hangs Negro After Riddling Him

---

<sup>25</sup> The pointing hand is technically a *manicule*, a typographical convention standard in book margins from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Generally, the *manicule* is used to draw the reader's attention to an important point in the text.

with Bullets" (the other skewered newspaper reads "Negro Burned at the Stake"). The brutal causal words "bullets and burned" transform the typographic function of the letter "B" in the narrative; taking over the first word of the chapter "by" from the seemingly innocuous phrase "by the morning mail" – "by" becomes a means of murder rather than (just) of circulating news. The mail, the newspapers Jinks and Cleary read, the very grapheme "B" are implicit and complicit with the corpse. The lynched man reflects the "B" with his corporeal positioning, forming with his body a reflected grapheme, the spaces between his body and the gallows mirroring the spaces in the "B," the gallows, the straight line of the letter.



Digitized by Google

Figure 12: “By the Next Morning’s Mail.”

Source: Crosby, Ernest Howard. *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Illus. Daniel Carter Beard, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Courtesy of the University of California. Digitized by Google.

In this chapter, the non-hero Sam Jinks breakfasts with his friend Crosby and together they read a newspaper, discussing an image in it, before Jinks goes on to pose for proleptic photographs of his soldierly heroism.<sup>26</sup> When Sam opens a newspaper, Cleary cries, “Good Lord! what’s that frightful picture?”, though his original repugnance is assuaged immediately: “Oh, I see; it’s that lynching yesterday. Why it’s from a snapshot; that’s what I call enterprise!” After commenting, “My! how he squirms. It’s fearful, isn’t it” in reference to “the darkey tied to the stake” with the flames “just up to his waist,” he makes a banal remark about the “handsome” church in the background, one he knows well. Crosby writes “no one could have guessed what he [Jinks] was reading from his expression, for his face spoke of nothing but a guileless conscience and a contented heart” (122-23).

There are several levels of humor at work in this scene. The first level of humor at work in this episode is at the level of the narrative in one man’s jokingly blasé response to the other. They use understatement, a classic marker of humor according to Henri Bergson, even if the subject matter itself is markedly not. The next level of humor is misunderstanding. Does Cleary describe the quality or the contents of the picture as frightful? After that comes satire: the presumed reaction to the “frightful” newspaper photograph (horror, revulsion) suggested by the judgment in the inhabited initial beginning the chapter contrasts to the men’s nonchalant reading. The characters’ ignorance fosters a sense of superiority to and thus difference from those who, like Jinks and Cleary, so easily accept lynchings. This essence of satire momentarily softens the

---

<sup>26</sup> This preoccupation with the presentation, fabrication, and consumption of war is particularly concentrated in this chapter. It bears mentioning that posed and invented scenes of heroism were not uncommonly circulated during the Spanish-American War, as scholars including Susan Moeller have well documented.

scene by focusing on the characters rather than the characters' reading material's contents.

But then the third level of humor hits: Cleary's description of the supposedly pictured "squirming" as "fearful" in the context of his blasé reaction implies a "great degree" whereas its second meaning, "out of fear," applies as well. Cleary's "fearful" remark trivializes the victim and his suffering in a classic exhibit of black humor as he makes light of a dark situation. However, the remark additionally serves as a kind of pun to demonstrate one of the text's darkest exhibits of humor: the description makes real a still photograph, animating it with "squirming." Although the telltale leavings of movement can result in photographic blurriness, exact descriptions of precise movements such as "squirming" require more than a still shot to capture.

In describing the pictured victim as "squirming," the black humor of the moment collapses on itself, revealing a deeper level of significance: a rare textual example of anti-comedy. The realism created by the animating word and the newspaper story's real life corollaries, coupled with the still figure from the accompanying chapter-heading illustration, remove the veneer of humorous fiction from the scene, shifting it to the readers' world. As the immediacy of the newspaper story that Jinks and Cleary read becomes obvious to Crosby and Beard's readers, both because of the lynching's accessibility in their schema (as opposed to the abstracted violence of expansion) and because of the animating descriptors such as "squirm" in play, the act of reading portrayed to the reading audience further highlights their own participation in the moment. Do they, it asks, sit calmly reading, like Jinks and Cleary? Are they culpable for such inhumanity?

If their readers were self-aligned with many of the parameters comprising the imperialist ethos, such as white supremacy, would even satire or black humor be enough to intervene in the annexation debates? Perhaps, if yoked to the right propellants. The rise of animal rights movements in the United States and Europe provided just such an additional layer for the serious work of humor to attack components of the expansionists' constructed ethos such as paternalism, benevolence, and moral superiority. Animals and animality appear in a good deal of expansion-affirming humor, predominantly in the comparison of colonized people to animals and in self-references to "masters," or stewards really, of those Othered "animals." As imperialists used animals and animetaphors to justify their policies, so, too, did Beard and Crosby employ similar tactics to delegitimize the same.<sup>27</sup>

### **Activism, Animals, and Animetaphors**

Animetaphors paired with satire and the grotesque were a particularly popular motif for imperially-leaning cartoonists, who tended to rely heavily on superiority and ridicule in their arguments for U.S. empire.<sup>28</sup> In cartoons representing U.S. relations with

<sup>27</sup> As I discuss in my introduction, racism was not merely the tactic of those for imperialism. However, as I make clear there, in this chapter I contend primarily with imperialists who were racist and anti-imperialists who were not for a number of reasons. For one, this divide was more common than not. Two, the anti-imperialist author and illustrator on whom I focus were both staunchly opposed to racist policies and actions and in this way were fairly representative of the most vocal faction of anti-imperialists. Three, Beard and Crosby's text caricatures imperialist propaganda that heavily relies on such bigotry.

<sup>28</sup> Due to what Steve Baker labels their "symbolic availability," animals frequently serve as malleable canvases for human traits and sentiments "in popular culture and the popular imagination" (5). According to W.J.T. Mitchell, "animals stand for all forms of social otherness: race, class, and gender are frequently figured in images of subhuman brutishness, bestial appetite, and mechanical servility" (*Picture Theory* 333); Michael Chaney finds animals in comics to represent "a ludic cipher of otherness. Its [an animal's] appearance almost always accompanies the strategic and parodic veiling of the human" (130). In addition to serving as animal metaphors, or animetaphors, that evoke certain associations, animals can also provide a means to get "around the culture's naturalization of itself" and can be a "kind of chink in the culture's armour," Baker asserts (8). Imagining animals can allow a reflected gaze, one that picks up trends and tendencies in ourselves and in others that we might ignore otherwise.

demographics affected by territorial expansion, artists frequently depicted indigenous peoples and regions as animals, children (see fig. 13), or animal children who were unable to self rule and Uncle Sam, as a stand in for the United States government, as a paternalistic father. For example, in an 1898 cartoon by the artist “Bart” (Charles Lewis Bartholomew) in which the United States is embodied as a fully-grown eagle and the outlying territories as eaglets: the implicit message is that the territories-as-eaglets will grow their pin feathers and fledge—eventually—but that for now they are dependent on the largess of the United States, here shown as their parent eagle (see fig. 14).

Delegitimizing targeted nations via pedomorphism allowed mainstream American readers to ignore the long histories and complex cultures of nations such as Cuba, Hawaii, and the Philippines. Further, deploying zoomorphism allowed readers to “forget” the human component of the elided governments, people, and long histories of annexed lands. They could instead associate themselves with the positively-valenced “good” animal, a self-affirming connection, while laughing at the dual child-animal awkwardness affixed to the territories. Such animalistic connections allowed those associated with the dominant group, the fully-grown eagle in this case, to laugh at the inferiority of the eaglets and thus feel safe in their superior social identity. This selective amnesia and perspectival filtering facilitated the circulation of the popular American self-conception of being a country of “liberators,” “democratizers,” and “righteous leaders” exceptional in their destiny to spread across and saturate certain areas on the North American continent and beyond. In this way, animalization often merged with humor in images supporting imperial expansion to blur the people and issues otherwise in plain sight.

*Captain Jinks, Hero’s* illustrations work counter to the majority of animal-centric

imagery related to expansion produced in the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century in that they deploy animetaphors to *counter* rather than support arguments for expansion.



Figure 13: Devoted Paternalism.

Source: Bartholomew, Charles Lewis. *Expansion! Being Bart's Best Cartoons of 1899. Taken from the Minneapolis Journal*. Minneapolis: Journal Printing Company, 1900. Courtesy of Google.

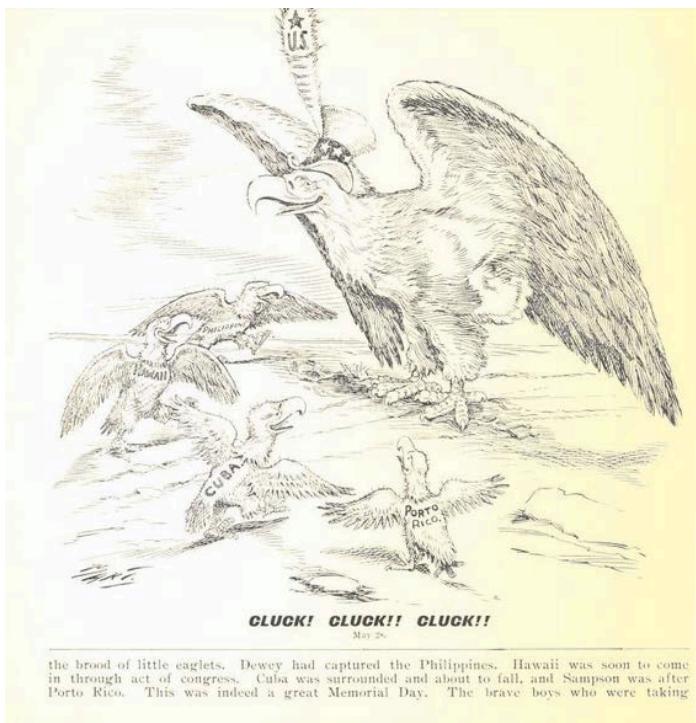


Figure 14: "Cluck! Cluck! Cluck!"

Source: Bartholomew, Charles Lewis. *Cartoons of the Spanish-American War: By Bart With Dates of Important Events from the Minneapolis Journal*. Minneapolis: Journal Printing Company, 1899. Courtesy of University of California.

Anti-vivisection and animal advocacy work were gaining in prevalence at the end of the nineteenth century and attention to how animals were treated was increasingly in the public eye.<sup>29</sup> Protests over transport conditions for animals, the use of feathers and fur

<sup>29</sup> Tensions were so strong that the scientific community pathologized animal-empathizers and anti-vivisectionists. W. W. Keen diagnosed them with the now defunct “disease” zoophil-psychosis, and called thwarting their efforts “a professional, a moral, and a Christian duty” (36): out of the ether of defensive rhetoric, zoophil-psychosis, a psychological diagnosis denoting “incurable insanity,” “delusional convictions,” and obsessive affection for animals was born (Buettinger 281-82). Popularized by Charles Loomis Dana, the “dean” of American neurologists, zoophil-psychosis remained in the vivisectionists’ arsenal until the close of World War I, often coupled with condescending, sympathetic phrases but no further explanation, denoting its common parlance. Zoophil-psychosis emerged from the 1890s’ heyday of neurasthenia, or “brain strain”-related disorders, and, though it was not an official diagnosis until 1909, its tenets had been bandied about in conjunction with hysteria for years, often in conjunction with women, the majority of members in “Zoophilia” societies.

for fashion accessories, and the conditions in the meat-packing industry were joined by concerns for individual animals. The plight of horses was an especially common cause, set in war as the U.S. was in the late nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> In the *Journal of Zoophily* from 1898 - 1900 alone there were at least ten articles on the treatment of horses and mules during war, twelve if one counts the movement to incorporate Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* into Cuban schools, a book Diane Beers calls the animal advocacy movement's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.<sup>32</sup> Several pieces from this sample feature graphic descriptions of horses dying in aimed at to arousing public sympathies and promote action against abusive treatment of horses in battle. Clara Barton's Civil War-era diatribe against cruelty to horses in war was frequently reprinted during the Spanish- and Philippine-American Wars through World War I in journals such as *Zoophily* and the *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association*: she writes, "I have often said...that among the shocking and heart-rendering scenes of the battlefield the screams of the wounded horses lingered more painfully in my ears, if possible, than the moans of the wounded men" (qtd. in Schwartzkopf 64). Such quotations override the typically human-dominated visual and sonic imaginary of the battlefield and draw its animalian components to the foreground. Clearly, horses were fighting the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars in

---

<sup>30</sup> For example, Clara, daughter of the anti-imperialist and anti-vivisectionist Mark Twain, was proud of her blue Society for the Protection of Animals (SPCA) card which enabled her to make citizen's arrests of sorts for observed mistreatment of animals, even when abroad.

<sup>31</sup> Moreover, the anti-imperialist movement found much common ground with animal advocates and shored up their effect by appealing to an increasing number of animal activists: the movements shared powerful members including Ernest Howard Crosby and Mark Twain, used elements of animal advocacy rhetoric to further their cause, and depended on the increasing interest in animal welfare to enhance the efficacy of their crusade against imperialist expansion.

<sup>32</sup> This number grows to at least thirty articles if one counts general items on cart horses, docked tails, and so on.

more than one way: they were used as transportation by soldiers and as purveyors of empathy and sympathy in propaganda such as Barton's letter. This was not an opportunity that animal lovers Crosby and Beard missed.

Animals aren't central to the text-based narrative of *Captain Jinks* but play prominently in the illustrations, serving as a bridging mechanism between the readers and the anti-imperialist movement as well as as a distancing mechanism between the readers and pro-imperialists. Rather than standing in for native peoples in *Captain Jinks, Hero*, as they so often do in pro-imperialist rhetoric, they instead act as a united front to dissolve the claims of benevolence and superiority made by those on the side of empire: animals become a means of communicating Beard and Crosby's theme of the dehumanization of war—both for imperialists and for the people residing in contested territories. Crosby and Beard use the visual realm in tandem with comic strategies to unmask expansionists and their rhetoric as barbaric through empathetic tactics and unsympathetic zoomorphism.<sup>33</sup> These connections echo Anti-Imperialist League member (and animal activist) Mark Twain's quip in *Following the Equator* (1897) that "there are many humorous things in the world; among them the white man's notion that he is less savage than the other savages" (213).

Crosby and Beard denied the "natural order" of manifest destiny and power hierarchies frequently touted in popular pro-expansionist texts represented in the Bart

---

<sup>33</sup> Zoomorphing expansionists, or metaphorizing them as animals, served to represent the inhumanity of humankind in its dealings with one another and was not uncommon to the anti-imperialist movement, as Mark Twain's long-unpublished short story "The Victims," and as Henry Blake Fuller's privately published short pamphlet against President McKinley and the annexationists, *The New Flag: Satires*, exemplify. "The Victims," written in the style and cadence of a folk tale, ends with the punch line that, for all the shocking, yet formulaic and repetitive violence of the animal kingdom, only humans give nothing in the exchange of life for life, instead trading in death and slavery to "extend" their "noble civilization" (144).

cartoons mentioned above. But they riffed off of them. In the inhabited initial introducing a chapter entitled “The War Lord,” foreign capitalists are depicted as wolves scavenging on human babies. This inhabited initial plays on the negative constructs of wolves as big, bad, and evil that predominate culturally (see fig. 15).<sup>34</sup> In the background of the vignette, predatory American capitalists have set up shops, the fore and backgrounds tied symbolically and linked spatially through the large, industrialist “A” running through the image. Moreover, the wolf mirrors the “A,” the thick line of the right-most stroke of the letter is repeated in the wolf’s body, the cross line of the “A” in its legs, and the flesh dangling from the wolf’s mouth to the body below mimics the narrow, final leftward stroke. Invectives against annexationist greed coalesce in this image, creating an alphabet of gore between the wolf and the storefronts. Beard’s drawing style plays up to these stereotypes of wolves, using sharp lines and deep shadows to make them look unsavory, dangerous, mean—and the babies the wolves feast on appear round, simple, and light-saturated; moreover, they graphically mirror the skulls near the wolf’s hind legs, literalizing the metaphor for the anthropophagistic elements of imperialism. This criticism of capitalists is too dark to really be considered satire. Using what can only be described as black humor corroded into anti-humor, this image suggests that the militant capitalist-expansionist wolf’s tendency to rely on stereotypes to dehumanize and pedomorph those outside his in-group brings devastation to everyone involved, recalling the actual deaths of native peoples. The humorous veneer of expansionists’ rhetoric, it implies, covers a grisly reality.

---

<sup>34</sup> It is this inhabited initial which heads the chapter in which Jinks feels threatened by the laughing Porslanese.

The wolf image serves to overshadow positive characterizations of annexation with a concrete, negative, and memorable vision that is hard to shake. In this illustration, the devoured victims, representing the cultural consumption of negative caricatures, are clearly the sympathetic figures —however, the aim of this illustration seems to be not to engender sympathy but revulsion, to cause the readers not feel for the capitalists qua wolves but, through their own national neocolonialist interests, *as* the wolves, and guiltily so. These anthropomorphized wolves, like most of the creatures and narratives in the inhabited initials, do not directly appear in Crosby's text. Instead, they are the wolf in sheep's clothing in Crosby's readers' own yards, own hearts, their own commercial complicity and capitalistic ventures, their own industrialized and expanding notions of "civilization." That the wolves literally weren't bothering with sheep's clothing suggests their sense of entitlement from the top of the food chain, as it were. In addition to eliciting sympathy, if not empathy, and disgust, illustrations like this one serve to draw to the fore uncomfortable truths like the commercial interests undergirding "civilizing missions" which satires such as *Captain Jinks* criticize.

**CAPTAIN JINKS, HERO**

---

## The War-Lord

---

**CHAPTER XIII**

---



S soon as Sam was well enough to be moved the doctors sent him down to the coast, and Cleary, who had been up and down

the river several times in the course of his newspaper work, went with him. Sam still felt feeble, and altho he could walk without a crutch, he now had a decided limp which was sure to be permanent. They arrived at the port a few days before the expected arrival of the Emperor, and the whole place was overflowing with excitement. The Emperor, who had never seen a skirmish, was notwithstanding

---

[ 310 ]

Digitized by Google

Figure 15: Slavering Wolves.

Source: Crosby, Ernest Howard. *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Illus. Daniel Carter Beard, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Courtesy of the University of California. Digitized by Google.

Just as the pictured wolf in *Captain Jinks* is imbued with negative human characteristics which distance his readers from the allegorical expansionists, Dan Beard uses horses, traditionally positively valenced animals, to awaken in his readers a recognition of the disjuncture between the idealization of U.S. liberators in action and in actuality. Where satire-turned-to-anti-comedy images like the anthropophagic wolf may have awakened a general population and kindled in-group distanciation through revulsion, other images harnessed the widespread and growing movement cohered by sympathy for “good” animals such as horses and rejection of those who mistreat them.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> The focus on animals and animetaphors in *Captain Jinks, Hero* is not surprising as both Crosby and Beard were known for their work with animals. Beard, a renowned naturalist, offered “the first organized class in animal drawing in the world” taking for the first time animals as a subject in their own right (*Encyclopedia Americana* 380). As his 1905 essay “The Meat Fetish” indicates, Crosby’s strong beliefs in universal humanitarianism extended to animals. Written nearly twenty-five years after the world’s first national animal protection law passed and nearly fifty after acts “to prevent malicious and wanton Cruelty to Animals” were first introduced in national forums (Shevelow 234). “The Meat Fetish” was born into a world increasingly articulate upon the connections between animal and human treatment. In “The Meat Fetish,” Crosby denounces the production and consumption of meat as cruel, unhealthy, and unnecessary, a theory propagated since at least 1701 by Dr. Cheyne, a British physician (14). Vegetarianism had become a household term in 1847 when the first Vegetarian Society formed, Kathryn Shevelow reports (284). Crosby’s essay comprises half of the pamphlet named for his text; “The Meat Fetish” is followed by “On Vegetarianism” by Élisée Reclus, the esteemed French geographer, writer, and anarchist whose ideas are often considered to anticipate later animal rights and social ecology movements. Peter Marshall deems Reclus the “Geographer of Liberty” in *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (43). In his essay, Reclus focuses on his personal transformation into a vegetarian as well as the way meat eating promotes deceit and war. He writes that humans denounce animals in order to avoid consuming anything considered too like themselves: “animals sacrificed to man’s appetite have been systematically and methodically made hideous, shapeless, and debased in intelligence and moral worth” (25). The anarchist geographer connects meat eating to larger issues such as war, stating that “it is not a digression to mention the horrors of war in connection with the massacre of cattle and carnivorous banquets. The diet of individuals corresponds closely to their manners. Blood demands blood” (28). Thus, Reclus argues that eating meat requires a mental distance from one’s food, a process which facilitates distancing oneself from other humans to the point of seeing them, like animals, as less than oneself. Many of the precepts Crosby and Reclus touch upon in their pamphlet—with the exception of a plant-based diet—crop up in *Captain Jinks, Hero*. Particularly notable are the connections between the treatment of animals and humans as well as in the construction of a hierarchy of “humanness” and worth for the convenience of those in power. The pairing of an anarchist (Reclus) and an aristocrat (Crosby) was less unusual than it may appear: advocacy work drew disparate figures together constantly during this period. For example, a number of radical activists agreed with Henry Salt that animals’ conditions were analogous to that of enslaved peoples and therefore abominable: Diane Beers argues in *For the Prevention of Cruelty* (2006) that abolitionists’ fight against exploitation and oppression based on a belief in biological inferiority strongly influenced the animal advocacy movement.

With his readers primed by the fervor surrounding the treatment of horses during war, Beard's depiction of Captain Jinks's superior officer in the "Cubapines," a corrupt and corpulent American general, whose weight, incompetence, and sloth are jokes in the text, is more effectively transformed into a figure who is less sentient and sympathetic than the screaming horse he crushes to ride. He is oblivious to the ungulate's pain as he seeks to save himself the effort of locomotion (see fig. 16). The general is pictured in the far background, a bare outline that is notable both for its cartoonish style and for the narrative it provides for the foregrounded horse. It might have been closer to funny in another context—the slapstick humor of a grotesque and exaggerated human figure was and is popular, after all. The background image is drawn in quick, cartoonish strokes—imitating the simplicity of the rhetoric which allows the general to be at once a comic and still heroic figure. However, all potential laughter dries up in context. The foregrounded horse is drawn in a realistic style that contrasts the background image unflatteringly, highlighting the general's superficiality with the horse's immediacy. Screaming, steaming, and dripping with sweat, the horse catches the viewer's eye from the near middle of the image; his shattering hoof and anguish convincingly rendered. The horse's immediate pain reduces the humor in the mirrored image to ashes, the general to a monster.

Few of Crosby's readers would have questioned the paired horse and rider motif alone—they would likely even have appreciated the humor of the buffoonish background image—until seeing the harm done by the thoughtless figure to the horse, his obliviousness drawn as cruel rather than ridiculous, his use of the horse, selfish and abusive. That the treatment of horses and other animals was already a by-word for human

ills in many circles, particularly activist ones, increased the efficacy of such images as anti-imperialist propaganda.

“Good” animals like horses were employed to ensure readers’ sympathies against figures like the general who are even more reviled for their ignorant buffoonishness. Rather than siding with the rider, the reader sides with, and feels for, the horse. In doing so, despite the rider’s likely connection to the reader’s social in-group across at least a few parameters such as sex, nation, or class, the reader questions the rider’s moral supremacy. Negative characters like the general become associated by extension with the slavering wolves in the earlier image who represent other facets of expansionism in *Captain Jinks, Hero*. As such, the general’s social illiteracy takes on an increased air of maliciousness as the novel progresses. If figures like the general mistreat “good” and “noble” animals like the horse so egregiously, what claims do they have to govern people, particularly people that they tend to represent as “bad” or “inferior” animals in popular culture? The people the expansionists would rule, these images suggest, would be better off without such “masters.”



Digitized by Google

Figure 16: Equine Empathy.

Source: Crosby, Ernest Howard. *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Illus. Daniel Carter Beard, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Courtesy of the University of California. Digitized by Google.

## Conclusion

The end of *Captain Jinks, Hero* leaves the now-mad Captain in an asylum faced by a triumvirate of mice. The label “harmless” attached to Jinks is how his doctors and friends describe him, but it has an ironic valence that casts a shadow over his renewed toy soldier play and dreams of war, leading the reader to ask how “harmless” are war games, really, even for those for whom the game seems rigged (see fig. 17). Is “benevolent assimilation” so benevolent? Faced with Jinks’s end, Crosby and Beard’s readers must ask themselves if it is actually better to side with mice or men in times of war and imperialism. Like many of Beard’s illustrations, such a question is not born directly of the text but from the juxtaposition of the text and Beard’s interpretive images. Nowhere in the text does Crosby discuss wolves, screaming horses, mice, or any of the other animals which appear in its pages, but through Beard’s illustrations, the silent and silenced others in the scene rise up, both sympathetically and empathetically. Instead, Beard makes Crosby’s critique at once immediately visible while chiming in with his own, slightly tweaked argument, thereby bringing a second voice to the fray and creating a chorus: it is, after all, easier to side with a crowd than a lone dissenter.

The deployment of humor and anti-humor in the text and images in *Captain Jinks, Hero* functions to fight fire with fire. As Koji Numasawa quips, “to put Barnum in his place, one of the assured means is simply to enlist another Barnum” (191). In other words, to ridicule ridiculers, to bully bullies, use their own tricks. Crosby and Beard’s collaboration draws parallels between the colonized and those being colonized. They turn the expansionists’ jokes about colonized peoples back on the jokers. In doing so, they make the expansionists butts of their own jokes while ameliorating the expansionists’

own superiority-based arguments for dominance. Frequently because of the hybrid media at work, these jokes expand and do more than ridicule expansionists: they shift from satire to black humor and through to anti-humor, evoking horror and revulsion in their final mutations. In doing so, they loosen the connections to positive traits such as “benevolent” and “exceptionalist” commonly saturating the imperialists’ constructed identification, thereby widening avenues to resist and subvert imperial rhetoric.

The textual aesthetics of *Captain Jinks, Hero* work to band together a readership who is drawn together through shared humanity—in contrast to the less-than-human figures caricatured in the text such as the general—thus paving the way for Crosby’s satire to function without the crossed beams of intergroup bound, empathy muddying up its social critique. Suzanne Keen theorizes that some types of empathy are “bound” to certain group memberships through in-group connections like flags which represent that group (39). The text’s visual humor creates a window of opportunity for the reader to reject self-identifying with the targeted expansionists and thus diminish feelings of cognitive dissonance arising from the negation of American exceptionalism, manifest destiny, and superiority in the text. By using animal imagery in conjunction with its other iterations of satire, black humor, and anti-humor, anti-imperialists like Crosby and Beard unharnessed their audience’s bound empathy to expansionists. This detachment allowed their readers to join the author and artist in ridiculing the wolfish American annexationists, instead furthering their associations with the anti-imperialist cause.



Digitized by Google

Figure 17: "Harmless."

Source: Crosby, Ernest Howard. *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Illus. Daniel Carter Beard, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Courtesy of the University of California. Digitized by Google.

“The United States of Lynchingdom,” as Mark Twain calls it, is hung in the balance and found wanting. Certainly not subtle, the inhabited initial resembles an acerbic

editorial cartoon, but one which goes beyond the humorous expectations of its setting. Together, the text and images implicate jingoistic media in the intraAmerican colonialist atrocities occurring in the territorial United States at the same time, suggesting that a country that treats its own citizens thusly ought not believe it can provide a more civilized system for a nation that does not behave so.

Having discussed the mediation of in- and out-group divisions in this chapter through the interplay of humor and illustrations, including ekphrastic photographs, I next turn to focus on the way the rise of the “incorruptible Kodak” rived the nineteenth-century reader’s notion of self as consumer and creator of legitimate visions of imaginatively extended domesticated territories. I look at how image manipulation and hybrid media interrogated popularly circulating, authoritative photography, contesting the Western perspective from which touristic and missionary photography was often shot, concentrating on Twain’s *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* and King Leopold II of Belgium’s response, *An Answer to Mark Twain*.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **‘PHOTOSHOPPED’ FRONTIERS AND MANIPULATED VISIONS: MEDIATED PHOTOGRAPHY IN TEXTUAL AND TERRITORIAL DISPUTES**

“The double-coding of the illustrated book, its suturing of discourse and representation … across an unobtrusive invisible frontier,” W. J. T. Mitchell argues, “exemplifies the conditions that make it possible to say ‘this is that’” (*Picture Theory* 69). But where does one end up when the double-code is disrupted, when the realism inspired by photography (even as illustrations in literature) is drawn into question by the obvious mediation of a human hand and its narrative rendered unreal? Writing of photography’s corollary, literary realism, Bruce Michelson queries, “what if that ‘real world,’ in other direct or imagined encounters, is seen to be saturated with delusion, pretense, fantasy? The task of a realist in such straits may not call for box-cameras, but rather for dynamite” to deal with the “disorienting and even violent breakthroughs into the concealed truth about the human experience” (*Loose 7*). Satire acts as one such form of a textual explosive, and the form of muckraking journalism rising to prominence, another, but are there visual equivalents of dynamite? To best answer those questions, I explore how photography was being used, manipulated, and combined with humor, especially satire, in American literature and culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, focusing in the latter half of the chapter on Mark Twain and King Leopold II of Belgium’s visually-fueled battle over the Congo.

Analyzing Mark Twain’s 1905 anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist pamphlet, *King Leopold’s Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*, I examine how the manipulation

of visual textual elements in pro- and anti-colonialist works functioned in the battle for disputed, distant territories. The text's form as well as its content protest the Belgian king's private colony and what Twain believed was the United States's support of his holdings. Additionally, Twain's pamphlet reenvisions photographs commonly circulating in activist circles as drawings. In doing so, his work of protest comments upon not just Leopold's use of the Congo but also the objectification of subjects in documentation by missionaries. Through the mediated text of his anti-Leopoldean work, Twain asks, what factors shape our sense of perspectival and literal control over photographic subjects? How do these issues impact a viewer's sense of self and relation to the photographed subject, be it human or land? Twain uses hybrid media, one means of visual "dynamite," to refute the ways of knowing that dominate both his missionary allies and his political enemy Leopold's own overtly transformative gaze, suggesting that artifacts created with even the most anti-colonialist of intentions sometimes serve to highlight the same notions of cultural, racial, and territorial superiority undergirding colonialism and imperialism. Twain's pamphlet, and King Leopold II's response, *An Answer to Mark Twain*, are not just fascinating accounts of the uses of straight and mediated photography in literature and propaganda at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they are also important artifacts of American anti-imperialist literature.<sup>1</sup>

Though photographs, mediated and straight, have been recording wars and conflicts for the medium's entire existence, photography's place in the conflict over the

---

<sup>1</sup> Although the United States was not directly involved with the Congo to the same degree or kind as King Leopold II, Twain's and others' perception of the United States's role in establishing his rule in the Congo (and benefit from it) inflected their work, making their activism an American anti-imperialist, not just generalized anti-colonialist, stance.

Congo is exceptional, if underexplored. Its role in the struggle for the Congo has been “invariably underplayed,” according to Sharon Sliwinski. She clarifies that the Congo Reform Association (CRA) was “the first humanitarian movement to use atrocity photographs as a central tool. Crimes occurring in far-away places were made publicly visible for the first time in history” (334). Emphasizing the importance of photography to this iteration of colonialism, its perpetuation and its resistance, Sliwinski argues that photography was used extensively in the activist sphere for the first time during the Congo Reform campaign to raise awareness by forcing spectators to witness “traumatic violence” while being “compelled to judge that crimes against humanity are occurring to others” (335). I extend her statements to reconsider, within a larger discussion of photography in literature in the late nineteenth century, *how* photographs of atrocity were being utilized by humanitarian organizations beyond their prolific circulation as well as to begin to consider how aspects of photography, especially mediation and manipulation, were being used in a wider political context.

### **From the AIC to the CRA**

In 1885 the Berlin Act placed the Congo under the control of the philanthropic Association Internationale du Congo (AIC), an association which Leopold headed and summarily dissolved. In this way, he gained complete personal sovereignty over the region.<sup>2</sup> At the time, rubber, ivory, and other resources were common to the Congo and quite profitable elsewhere: it is estimated that in the twenty years he profited from his holdings, Leopold extracted over 220 million francs—which is worth about 1.5 billion

---

<sup>2</sup> Of the AIC, Twain writes in the unpublished “On Leopold,” “When Leopold appointed the commission it was “like Satan selecting a committee of his own family to inquire into his own hell.”

dollars today.<sup>3</sup> He made so much, his detractors claimed, because he and his proxies enforced a quota system to maximize revenues: those who violated it, it was reported, often lost hands, sometimes feet, and frequently their lives—the latter to the tune of between 3 and 12 million.<sup>4</sup> The exact details of his profits and his means are still smoky as Leopold burnt records—supposedly for eight days—after being forced to sell the Congo to the Belgian government in 1908: "I will give them my Congo," the king is reported saying, "but they have no right to know what I did there" (Kakutani). Despite his secrecy, he claimed until his death that his reign benefited the Congo.<sup>5</sup>

Not everyone was swayed by Leopold's protestations of beneficence. Christian missionaries, social leaders, and other activists joined together in the Congo Reform Association. A long-time detractor of Leopold's brand of philanthropy, Twain privately called him the "pirate king of Belgium" before his active participation in the organization began. He would go on to serve as the association's vice-president. His ire toward Leopold continued until the end of his life. Writing to fellow C.R.A. activist Sir Arthur

<sup>3</sup> According to my calculation, updated from an amount provided by Leopold in a 1906 *New York Times* interview, "King Leopold Decries Charges Against Him." In it, he maintained that the Congo provided him with "revenues increasing from nothing to \$10,000,000 annually." This number has been validated by historian Adam Hochschild.

<sup>4</sup> This number, impossible to pinpoint, has been greatly contested. Louis and Stegner argue that no number is better than a "wild guess" and estimates are "necessarily futile" because of the lack of records before and after Leopold's acquisition of the Congo (253). In the first edition of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, Twain published an estimate of 12 million, which E. D. Morel modified to 3 million for the second edition. Adam Hochschild, after analyzing census reports, oral histories, many records, genealogies, diaries, and other data, concludes Twain was nearer the true number.

<sup>5</sup> This sentiment was echoed at least as late as the late 1950s by the Belgian government. In *Mark Twain: Social Critic* Philip Foner reports that the New York *Herald Tribune* ran a large advertisement on 20 March 1957 in which the "Belgian government boasted of its role in the history of the Congo," declaring, "All the Congolese have, *first and foremost* a feeling of gratitude toward the nation which, sparing neither pain nor blood, brought them the blessings of civilization" (qtd. and emphasis in Foner 392). The title of the advertisement is "BELGIUM—faced with African Nationalism," as if Belgium is under threat. It begins by reminding its readers that "the Belgian Congo owes its unity to ... the political circumstances which have surrounded its creation in the last quarter of the last century" ("BELGIUM").

Conan Doyle in 1909, six months before his death, Twain argued that the worst events in human history “are the merest trifles compared with King Leopold’s bloody doings in the Congo State to-day” and wondered why, after thirty years of Leopold’s “atrocious crimes,” “all Christendom” hasn’t been roused “to a fury of generous indignation” (qtd. in Foner *Social Critic* 384-85, Hawkins “Generous Indignation” 150). In the exceedingly derisive (unpublished) “On Leopold,” Twain describes the king as “the most elaborate and limitless villain that has ever worn a human skin.” He clarifies, “I do think he is the most bituminous, incandescent, radio-equilateral astronomical scoundrel in the whole earth. That is my opinion of him.”

Enraged by the belief that the United States was endorsing, supporting, and propagating King Leopold II’s exploits in and of the Congo, Twain visited with Theodore Roosevelt and brandished his pen to counter Leopold’s seduction of the United States.<sup>6</sup> Many, including Twain, believed that the United States was to be held responsible for Leopold’s hold over the Congo and was therefore also responsible for ending his reign.<sup>7</sup> For one, the United States led official recognition of Leopold’s puppet association as an “independent state,” allowing Leopold to gain control of the region. As the spokesperson

<sup>6</sup> At least two additional pieces on the Congo were never published: “The Thanksgiving Sentiment” and “On Leopold” are held by the Mark Twain Archives in the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley.

<sup>7</sup> When he realized, annoyed, a bit embarrassed, and very tired, that the United States was not as involved in imperialistic works in the Congo as he had once believed, Twain severed ties with Morel and the C.R.A. and resigned his vice-presidency for good, claiming “I have said all I can say on that terrible subject. I am heart and soul in any movement that will rescue the Congo and hang Leopold, but I cannot write anymore” (*Mark Twain’s Letters* 1231). In 1906, he wrote to clergyman Thomas Barbour “I have retired from the Congo .... If I had Morel’s splendid equipment of energy, brains, diligence, concentration, persistence—but I haven’t; he is a ‘mobile, I am a wheelbarrow’” (qtd. in Wuliger 237). He left passionately championing reform in the region to the likes of activist E. D. Morel, author Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and chocolate magnate William Cadbury. Before he departed, however, he produced one of the most widely circulated pieces of anti-Leopoldean propaganda used by the C.R.A, *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*.

for the Congo Reform Association, Edward Dean Morel wrote in a pamphlet entitled *The Congo Slave State* (1903): “America...has a peculiar and very clear responsibility in the matter, inasmuch as the American Government was the first to recognize the status of the International Association (which subsequently became the Congo State) and thereby paved the way for similar action on the part of the European Governments,” concluding, “it is to be hoped that President Roosevelt and the American people may help to undo the grievous wrong which was thereby unknowingly inflicted upon the natives inhabiting the Congo territories” (qtd. in Cocks 98). It is for such reasons that in the long-unpublished “A Thanksgiving Sentiment” (1904), Twain declared the United States “the official godfather of the Congo Graveyard” (qtd. in Foner *Social Critic* 385). Further, American magnates including J.P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Thomas Fortune Ryan, and Daniel Guggenheim had arranged with Leopold to “cut into the profit derived from exploitation of the Congo,” profiting indirectly (389). These financiers used their resources to subvert the Congo Reform Association’s attempts at publication and to fund professional justifications of Leopold’s rule by professors and clergymen.<sup>8</sup> Going beyond a sense of financial and political responsibility and involvement in the Congo, Leopold’s Congo holdings helped to spur the United States on to its own turn-of-the-century imperialist actions in the Philippines and beyond. As Kristin Hoganson argues, as “even tiny Belgium had overseas colonies, it appears that a kind of empire envy underlay” some pro-expansionist beliefs in the United States (10).

As “empire envy” pushed the United States into its “Golden Age” of imperialism, photographs catalyzed Twain’s official involvement with the Congo Reform Movement,

---

<sup>8</sup> Foner reports that one, Cardinal Gibbons, later recanted.

inspiring him to write beyond private correspondence on the issue.<sup>9</sup> Like many others, Twain fell under the spell of the C.R.A.'s widespread visual campaign of illustrated literature and exceptionally popular lantern slide shows.<sup>10</sup> It was after meeting E. D. Morel and, crucially, seeing photographs largely taken by missionary Alice Harris, which he described as "terrible illustrations" in a letter to Morel 15 October 1904, that Twain at last agreed to join and write for the C.R.A. He was so swayed by the power of the photographs that he wrote a friend, "I have been arranging for Leopold with St. Peter," continuing that "he would see to it that St. Peter would register as Leopold's trademark, 'the photograph of a little black boy with a hand & foot cut off,' and force the king 'to wear it in hell'" (qtd. in Foner *Social Critic* 384).

Considering the effect of the C.R.A.'s images on Twain and the context provided by his personal correspondence it is surprising that the few scholars who have discussed the illustrations in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, the most widely circulated anti-Leopoldean document of its age, tend to merely account for its images rather than analyze them. Beverley David and Ray Sapirstein's short note appended to the 1996 edition of Twain's *Following the Equator and Anti-imperialist Essays* is the most detailed study of the subject. In it they maintain that "in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, photography brought

<sup>9</sup> Bruce Michelson concurs, "there is no question that photographs had forced [Twain] ... into literary and political action" with the C.R.A. (*Printer's Devil* 200).

<sup>10</sup> Both Kevin Grant and Sharon Sliwinski write at length about the C.R.A.'s visual tactics including phantasmagoric lantern shows and widely reprinted photographs. The Reverend W. D. Armstrong and Alice Harris were famed missionary photographers of the mutilations taking place in the Congo but predicated by African American Presbyterian missionary William Henry Sheppard. Sheppard first went to the Congo as a missionary in 1890, less than a decade after Leopold's rule began. An (unauthorized) account of his findings was published in *The Missionary*, an American Presbyterian periodical, in 1900 (Thompson 19). As T.J. Thompson writes, "Mark Twain was clearly aware of Sheppard's report when he came to publish his King Leopold's Soliloquy...and twice included reference to Sheppard's account of the massacre in his booklet as well as mentioning him by name" (19).

readers to the sites of atrocities, with little apparent mediation or manipulation of the information” (26).<sup>11</sup> Additionally, they claim that “the illustrations in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* (1905) operate in a very different manner” than those in his other photographically-illustrated works, such as *Following the Equator*, arguing that “without commercial motive, inspired purely by a moral imperative, they [the photographs] were calculated to heighten the impact of Twain’s words by providing incontrovertible proofs of brutality and genocide” to an audience unused to being “inured to the steady stream of images of depredations” (26-27). They extend this reading of Twain’s earnest belief in the power of photography to his text, writing, “Twain, through Leopold’s resentful words, presented the camera as an ‘incorruptible’ witness and ‘the most powerful enemy’ of injustice because it captured the terrible crimes committed in secrecy and opened them to public scrutiny” (26-27).

I find these assertions problematic. Although photographs of the Congo, as Sharon Sliwinski writes, were among the first to make far-flung brutalities visible globally, and the images in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* are impactful, the issue is not as clear cut as she or David and Sapirstein indicate. While Twain’s readers were less frequently exposed to violent images than consumers in our age, many of the photographs in Twain’s pamphlets had been circulating for several years both in the lantern slide show circuit and in activist literature such as E. D. Morel’s *King Leopold’s Rule in Africa* (1904). By the time they were reprinted in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*, it is not unlikely

---

<sup>11</sup> David and Sapirstein seem to contradict themselves a few scant pages later when they vaguely conclude their essay, “in the service of an undeniably noble effort in this case, the images of the Congo, photographic and otherwise, were manipulated in a sophisticated manner to produce a calculated response, despite Twain’s portrayal of the Kodak as an incorruptible instrument of disinterested reportage” (28). However, from the context it seems they are referring to the C.R.A.’s use of “stock photos” kept “on hand to be used for publicity purposes” rather than the types of mediation I will discuss throughout this chapter (28).

that many of its readers would have seen a number of the more horrifying images before.<sup>12</sup> The images had already been “opened to scrutiny” for much of Twain’s audience. To claim that Twain’s readers would have been unused to being exposed to violent images and thus entirely vulnerable to their shock value may presume too much. Also, Twain’s pamphlet incorporates hybrid media, not just straight photography, as David and Sapirstein flatten the matter.<sup>13</sup> Images that were previously published as largely untouched photographs reappear in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* but often as drawn versions of the original, an important difference which I will elucidate shortly. Finally, while it’s true that in the satirical pamphlet, Mark Twain has Leopold call the Kodak “infallible,” in doing so Twain ridicules that perspective: through the form and content of *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*, even while harnessing its power for his own purposes, Twain questions the objectivity and uses of photography within propaganda, imperialist and anti-imperialist both. Twain’s treatment of the photographs in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* speaks to his career-long cognizance of the propagandistic power of images, of the colonializing effect of creating an object from a photographic subject, and understanding which I will briefly discuss in the following pages. While some of the illustrations in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* do expose his readers to the goings-on in the Congo, they

---

<sup>12</sup> In “Christian Critics of Empire: Missionaries, Lantern Lectures, and the Congo Reform Campaign in Britain,” Kevin Grant reports that Dr. Guinness of the Congo Balolo Mission began giving lantern shows in the 1890s; in 1903 he developed one for a “series of ‘Congo atrocity meetings’ in Scotland entitled ‘A Reign of Terror on the Congo’ which was seen by ‘thousands of people’” (37). Soon, Guinness and E. D. Morel teamed up, speaking and presenting their lantern slides to thousands across the United Kingdom, where the Congo reform movement was headed (39). The missionary photographer couple, the Harrises, “gave over 300 lectures and arranged many others in the London auxiliary’s first year of operation” in churches and town halls, and, despite recruiting other speakers to take some of the engagements, were still “overwhelmed by requests from chapel congregations for lantern lectures” (45).

<sup>13</sup> A rare exception, Philip Foner mentions the illustrations as “drawings and photographs of mutilated Negroes—men, women, and children” included “at Twain’s advice” (*Social Critic* 388). However, this is all he has to say on the paratexts and his phrasing does little to edify his meaning.

include renderings of fictional events: the images and their presentation bespeak a nuanced discussion of the battle over the Congo and are far more complicated than has been previously recognized.

To clarify the work of the photographs in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* and *An Answer to Mark Twain*, Leopold's response, I first turn to a short overview of Twain's and his readers' relationship to photographs and photographic illustrations. The quotidian, touristic, and propagandistic uses of photography at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century illuminates how Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy* critiques the "incorruptibility" of the photographic medium and comments on its effect on power dynamics, imperialist and otherwise. To provide context for this photographic melee, I next turn to *Cannon and Camera: Sea and Land Battles of the Spanish-American War in Cuba, Camp Life, and the Return of the Soldiers*, published in 1898 by John Hemment, to illustrate the way pro-imperial rhetoric dealt with photography as a propagandic medium. I then consider Twain's relationship to photography throughout his lifetime to show what he understood its potentials and limitations to be before returning to my discussion of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*.

### **"You Press the Button - We Do the Rest"**

#### ***Photography in Pro-Imperial Propaganda and Popular Culture***

Beginning in 1888, the Kodak camera became widely available. The Eastman Kodak Company began selling its product with the slogan "You press the button - we do the rest." As the 1890s rolled on, darkrooms became obsolete for the amateur photographer and cameras became increasingly convenient to use. As photographic technology became more widespread, readerly transposition became more palpable; no

longer was reproduction only the privilege of the long-tutored, the masters: anyone could feel he or she could have been the eye behind the lens and the finger on the button. By 1900, the one-dollar Brownie camera with its fifteen-cent film had democratized quotidian photography. Americans were viewing, posing for, and taking their own photographs. Further, reading material with photographs was becoming more readily available.

Photographs carried a sense of truth too big to be easily disrupted—a sense of objective, obtainable truths. And that “truth” was often presented in a way that complimented the viewer, particularly when foreign peoples and places were concerned. From its inception on the popular market, the Kodak camera was sold aggressively to tourists, a group on the rise in this period, whose act of photography was likened to that of hunting, capturing and subduing subjects made objects.<sup>14</sup> Photography-riddled travel books often contained a sense of vicarious adventure, one which anti-imperialist writers were hard-pressed to match or subvert: inaction and anti-action simply are not as kinetic as active exploits.

The conflation of tourism and hunting in Kodak advertisements also came to bear on pro-expansionist American literature of the period, often even overtly speaking to the varied levels of masculine satisfaction to be gotten from war, photography, and war photography. For years before *King Leopold's Soliloquy* was published, war-related literature tended to align the satisfaction of shooting film with the healing powers of war,

---

<sup>14</sup> Tied to the governmental move to other territories, Americans were increasingly interested in tourism, both as an abstract, as Mark Twain’s wild success as a travel writer shows, and as actual travelers.

both for the nation and for America's manhood.<sup>15</sup> For example, in the introduction to John Hemment's *Cannon and Camera: Sea and Land Battles of the Spanish-American War in Cuba, Camp Life, and the Return of the Soldiers* (1898), a merger of images and text in favor of the Spanish-American War, the accepted beginning of extraterritorial American expansion, the presidentially-named W.I. Lincoln Adams declares the camera "is more effective and satisfactory than the sketching pad," two factors he links to the camera's rise and the sketching pad's fall (ix). Yet, where does this nebulous "satisfaction" come from? Is it that it is faster? Does he mean cameras replicate a scene or face more faithfully than a drawing can and thus satisfy a need for veracity? Perhaps. But his next line renders his satisfaction in much more corporeal terms: "the camera has long been a favourite implement of the chase," he writes, "capturing the image of game which it did not kill" (x). The camera indulges in both meanings of venery, Adams implies: the chase of hunting and of sexual gratification conclude together in the phallic mount's shutter click and ocular possession. For an age when war and masculinity proved one another, the camera, with its ability to augment its subjects, was a fitting mate for both.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> The fervor for American expansion and the associated Spanish and Philippine American Wars at the end of the nineteenth century were composed of many parts. For one, these wars were supposed to "heal" the rifts left behind by both the Civil War and by the shadows of Reconstruction—but the national convalescence was more complex than that straightforward optimism would denote. In addition to serving as a national salve, many, like Theodore Roosevelt, promoted American expansion because he felt keenly his generation's lack of war-borne glory, especially compared to the generation before them, and worried that their dearth of war was leading to sapped manhood and a concomitant lack of vitality: "I wish to Heaven we were more jingo about Cuba and Hawaii! The trouble with our nation is that we incline to fall into mere animal sloth and ease, and then to venture too little instead of too much," he ruminated in 1897 (qtd. in Linderman 200). Yellow journalism, the "jingo" Roosevelt endorsed, too, played a part in Americans' eagerness for war, though some like William Randolph Hearst decried a causal relationship, instead finding that his voluble style and photographs merely filled a niche opened by a desire for the "people's war" (Moeller 67).

And mate them, Adams claims, Hemment did: “Mr. Hemment was not satisfied to photograph only those scenes which could be caught without danger to himself; he made some of his most successful pictures to the thrilling accompaniment of Spanish Mauser bullets,” Adams begins, concluding, “It is therefore to his courage as a man as well as to his skill as a photographer that we owe this very satisfactory pictorial account of the war for Cuba’s independence” (xi). Skill is not enough for a photographer, according to Hemment and Adams: he needs to epitomize male-valenced values as well. Hemment’s account of the Spanish-American War seems to proleptically strain to live up to Adams’s description: as is frequently the case in related works, the narrative is laden with adventure tropes, the nation replacing fair maidens in an otherwise classic chivalric narrative.

*Cannon and Camera: Sea and Land Battles of the Spanish-American War in Cuba, Camp Life, and the Return of the Soldiers* is not just written by John Hemment but is “Described and Illustrated by John C. Hemment War Artist at the Front.” This signatory appellation, “War Artist,” creates a chiasmus with the overlying idea of the “art of war,” a romanticization-heavy trope found in most Spanish-American texts and paratexts, which renders obtuse whether Hemment is an artist whose muse is war or an artist who creates war. The ambiguity is especially fitting in this heyday of yellow journalism when creating—and selling—a war with paper and photographs was an exciting and profitable notion. There were battles and territories that did change hands at the end of the nineteenth century; however, how much of the wars’ presentations were

---

<sup>16</sup> Adams’s praise of Hemment is also underlined by his admiration for the famed photographer’s prowess at shooting sports and as an athlete himself. On the masculine imperative of the Spanish- and Philippine-American Wars, see Kristin Hoganson’s *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*.

composed, captioned out of context, or otherwise manipulated has been hotly discussed in their aftermaths.

From the chapter summary heading the first chapter, Hemment's book is rife with the common, positive motifs related to the expansionist self-image. The summary encapsulates Hemment's hero's welcome by war celebrities, ending with a first person flourish unusual to chapter headings but in keeping with the bravado of individual valor: "My arrival in Havana...Insults to Americans —An arrest and escape ... The camera in the bull ring...Brutal Spanish soldiers — Our train attacked by insurgents — I bribe the custom-house officers *and depart with photographs of the forts*" (emphasis mine 1). The last clause resounds with a gleeful ownership of derring-do and with photographs standing in league with hostages, prisoners of war, and war secrets. The insinuation is clear: Hemment's adventure casts him as a photographer-hero whose role in the war is as important, maybe even more so, than anyone else's, a role underlined by his adopting of the title "captain" (he was ostensibly dubbed so by a general for his importance to the war efforts) and by his opening self-styling.<sup>17</sup> Photographers' abilities to propagate information was depicted on par with, or above, the parts played by soldiers in the shaping of the nation and its future globalized identity.

For every book like Hemment's that extolled the virtues of photography, there were others that held onto older illustrative practices or that explored the innovations of photography textually.<sup>18</sup> As illustrating books increasingly became the norm, many

---

<sup>17</sup> In this Hemment mirrors Ernest Howard Crosby's Captain Jinks.

<sup>18</sup> The first commercially-published book illustrated with photographs came out in a small run of installments between June of 1844 and April of 1846. *The Pencil of Nature* by H. Fox Talbot, a founder

cultural dons injected their evolving perceptions of the intersection between drawn and photographed images and literature into their work.<sup>19</sup> William Dean Howells, Twain's anti-imperialist comrade-at-arms, for one, played with the idea of recording impressions and looking to photographs, cinema, and other visual technologies as early as 1888 to enhance the perception of reality available to the reader in his books.<sup>20</sup> Owen Clayton argues Howells strove to test the limits of realism in *London Films* (1905).<sup>21</sup> In *London*

of photography, explains photography and its uses to the reader. Parts of the rare book can be viewed at the National Media Museum website.

<sup>19</sup> Henry James found photographs preferable to paintings for illustrations and cover art as, he maintained, photography as a form differed more from writing than other visual arts. Downtight threatened by the notion of combining illustrations and text, James believed it was the work of the novel to put "forward illustrative claims (that is producing an effective illustration) by its own intrinsic virtue," or "to bristle with immediate images" (331). J. Hillis Miller writes that James believed, "a novel with pictures is like a garden growing two incompatible crops. It is a frame enclosing not only its own shapely design but also an alien parasitical plot, plot as garden and plot as artistic design or story" (69). Several of James's works were illustrated; despite his famously crotchety attitude toward illustration in novels, "ambivalent" is a better descriptor of his stance toward illustration than "dismissive." Until the mid-1890s, James accepted illustration as part and parcel of the nineteenth-century literary trade, even actively participating in the illustration of several of his works, including *Washington Square*, though he considered that collaboration "a small disaster"—others, especially those done by his friend C.S. Reinhart he was more pleased with, at least publicly (qtd. in Gneiting 391).

<sup>20</sup> Though Howells's wife and daughter illustrated some of Howells's works, none bore as many paratexts as Twain's nor worked so in tandem with photographic illustrations. This can be partially explained by the differing audiences for which Twain and Howells were writing. Many of Twain's books were sold by subscription and were largely considered more humorous/ less high-brow than Howells's—and thus more likely to benefit financially from illustrations. In addition, the *Atlantic Monthly* where Howells housed his Editor's Study was a largely anti-illustration periodical, a bit of an oddity for its time. Aside from a woodcut on the title page of some issues, rare appearances of tables, charts, or music such as the transcription of a song, apart from advertisements, illustrations were quite rare in the 1857-founded journal, even into the early half of the twentieth century. A few of Howells's shorter pieces such as "Editha," his only overt work against the Spanish- and Philippine-American Wars (1905), were illustrated when they first appeared in periodicals but his longer works were marked by his interest in their form and subject matter rather than paratextual interjections. A *Hazard of New Fortunes*, for example, was illustrated when it appeared as a serial in *Harper's Weekly*, the realistic images juxtaposing with real events, people, and the serialized form increasing the realist elements. However, when it was reprinted in book form, William Allen Rogers's illustrations soon disappeared from all but the "cheap" or "popular" editions" (Prettyman "Serial Illustrations" fn.2 193).

<sup>21</sup> *London Films* is in many ways the literary equivalent of Eugène Atget's photographic archive. Atget's collection is so vast that the Museum of Modern Art decided to show it in four installments. Rosalind Krauss questions if it has exceeded the bounds of the word "oeuvre" (316). Museum director John Szarkowski, noting the collection's unevenness, explains that Atget's desire was to "delight and thrill" multiple audiences, himself, a public, and customers: of course he would fail to hit the mark at times (qtd.

*Films* Howells creates a filmic, shimmering, moving path built of words rather than images, what Howells called “the photographic school of fiction” and what Clayton has come to call a “Kodak school in fiction” (Clayton 394).<sup>22</sup> Howells’s emulation of photography in writing insinuates he, like many of his day, supported the idea of the irrefutability of photography, of its ability to enhance the realism of literature. Photography was clearly being looked to as a way to influence audiences’ perspectives in the period Twain wrote *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*, both formally, as in Howells’s writing, and literally, as shown by Hemment’s jingoistic memoir of photographic heroism.

### ***Twain and Photographic Transformations***

Like many of his generation, Twain’s relationship to illustration and to photography is not a simple one. Even in his first daguerreotype, he played with the sense of duality and reality, using the imagic reflection known to occur during the photographic process to his benefit. Holding up three pieces of type to his belt buckle, he spelled “SAM”: with a wink to the printerly reversal of the daguerreotyping process which would render legible his signifier, Mark Twain showed from his first photographic statement his ability and desire to play with what others took for granted as unadulterated reality (see fig.18). Photography intrigued Twain, as much for its ability to lie as to tell the truth. Early in his travels, Twain wrote a letter to the Sacramento *Daily Union* 1 July 1866 bemoaning the dearth of veracity in photography, complaining:

---

in Krauss 316). Szarkowski reasons Atget likely improved as he aged—though the complicated ordering of his archive has stimulated more academic discussions on his chronology than the works of most artists (Krauss 316).

<sup>22</sup> In a February 1890 “Editor’s Study” article, Howells describes the process as “writing that is committed to recording external reality accurately, through a combination of speed, visuality, physical being-in-the-world, and unpredictable internal impressions” (qtd. in Clayton 394).

No photograph ever was good, yet, of anybody.... It transforms into desperadoes the meekest of men; depicts sinless innocence upon the pictured faces of ruffians; gives the wise man the stupid leer of a fool, and a fool an expression of more than earthly wisdom. If a man tries to look serious when he sits for his picture the photograph makes him look as solemn as an owl; if he smiles, the photograph smirks repulsively; if he tries to look pleasant, the photograph looks silly; if he makes the fatal mistake of attempting to seem pensive, the camera will surely write him down as an ass. The sun never looks through the photographic instrument that it does not print a lie. The piece of glass it prints it on is well named a "negative"--a contradiction--a misrepresentation--a falsehood. I speak feeling of this matter, because by turns the instrument has represented me to be a lunatic, a Soloman, a missionary, a burglar and an abject idiot, and I am neither. (*Letters from the Sandwich Islands* 130-31)

This is not an opinion that entirely changed as technology improved: Twain maintained a discomfort and a fascination with photography throughout his life.<sup>23</sup>

The issue of truth in representation also crops up early and often in Twain's works and private correspondence. Writing to Joseph Twitchell in 1906, Twain thanked him for a photo: "I did get the photograph, Joe, & am glad to have it, though, in my opinion it slanders you. This is a common fault of photographs." Twain himself for the most part attempted to avoid photographic slander. In 1908, during one of his frequent trips to Bermuda, the author befriended Elizabeth Wallace, a dean at the University of Chicago, an event which launched her book on the subject, *Mark Twain and the Happy Island* (1913). Amidst her recollections, Wallace relates having noticed the much-photographed man's habit of "assum[ing] a dignified pose ... with a serious, almost severe expression

---

<sup>23</sup> The discussion over Twain's stance on realism and romance extends to his person and his bifurcated nomenclature. Through his names, a kind of duel between realism and romance plays upon the surface of the man himself. In my own scholarship, I took the frequented path of using the moniker "Mark Twain" to describe the author also known as Samuel Clemens partially because it is custom but more so because it seemed more fitting. It is impossible for us, perhaps it was even for the man himself, to separate "Mark Twain" from "Samuel Clemens" especially in his writings; as "Mark Twain" was the writing hand, however, it makes the most sense to me to stick wholly with the nom de plume. It is as true, perhaps truer than the author's legal, "real" name when discussing his works. Much has been made of Mark Twain's duality: books have been written on the subject, on the play of his name, the twinship redolent in his books, his preoccupation with strangers and alienation (as corollaries to self).

of face" (34). When asked about his propensity to pose so, Wallace reports Twain said, "I think a photograph is the most important document, and there is nothing more damning to go down to posterity than a silly, foolish smile caught and fixed forever."<sup>24</sup>



Figure 18: 1850 Daguerreotype by G. H. Jones of Samuel Clemens Holding a Printer's Stick Spelling "SAM."

Source: Courtesy of the Mark Twain Project, The Bancroft Library  
University of California, Berkeley.

In addition to his fear of photography's ability to misrepresent or inadvertently caricature its subject, Twain was intrigued by its ability to capture different truths. In a letter to Thomas Bailey Aldrich and his wife at the end of the first year of the new

---

<sup>24</sup> This mindset did not stop Twain from being caught in a bonnet mid-jig during a reenactment of a family charade with Susy. One should note, however, he was not smiling. Clara Clemens later recalled, "Father wore a bathing-suit, a straw hat tied under his chin, and a hot-water bottle slung around his chest" in their reenactment of Hero and Leander (qtd. in Hirst 6-7).

century, Twain paused from news of his family to relate that of their mutual friend W. D. Howells. But, oddly for the man who had earlier in his life railed about the imperative properties of captions for images, Twain deferred to the photograph rather than his pen to communicate Howells's state, cutting himself off to allow the photograph to speak.<sup>25</sup> Less surprisingly, he did not allow it to finish alone but continued on:

Howells [is] looking—but I enclose his newest photo; it will tell you his condition. He thinks it a libel, I think it flatters. The thing that gravels him is, that the camera caught his private aspect, not giving him time to arrange his public one. I have never seen such a difference between the real man & the artificial. Compare this one with the imposter which he works into book-advertisements. They say, Notice this smile; observe this benignity; God be with you Dear People, come to your Howells when you are in trouble, Howells is your friend. This one says, Bile! give me more bile; fry me an optimist for breakfast. (*Twain-Howells Letters* II.723)

Twain remarks not a discussion of his friend's health, as expected. Instead, he muses upon the camera's ability to capture the essence of a man, the “real” man vs. the “artificial,” the “public,” the “impostor.” He would return to this theme repeatedly in visually-complicated satires such as *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. Before that though, the

<sup>25</sup> Captions and explanations are often required to explain an image, Twain argues, lest, as he famously jests in *Life on the Mississippi*, one cannot tell an execution from a bout of hay fever. Of a painting of Generals Lee and Jackson, he writes, “the picture is very valuable, on account of the portraits, which are authentic. But, like many another historical picture, it means nothing without its label. And one label will fit it as well as another” including first or last interviews between the two men, introductions, a dinner invitation being proffered, accepted, or politely declined, Jackson reporting a defeat or a victory, or simply, “Jackson Asking Lee for a Match.” He continues:

It tells *one* story, and a sufficient one; for it says quite plainly and satisfactorily, 'Here are Lee and Jackson together.' The artist would have made it tell that this is Lee and Jackson's last interview if he could have done it. But he couldn't, for there wasn't any way to do it. A good legible label is usually worth, for information, a ton of significant attitude and expression in a historical picture. In Rome, people with fine sympathetic natures stand up and weep in front of the celebrated 'Beatrice Cenci the Day before her Execution.' It shows what a label can do. If they did not know the picture, they would inspect it unmoved, and say, 'Young girl with hay fever; young girl with her head in a bag.' (448)

veracity of photography informed his consideration of the imposition of the tourist and his culture upon the places he visits.

In the same vein, satirizing the expectation that travelogues simply contain truth, Twain produced several altered images for *A Tramp Abroad*, the text which bears the greatest number of his own illustrations including manipulated images and photographs.<sup>26</sup> The book begins with an imagistic hoax, which Beverly David supposes, "sets the tone for the rest of the book, warning us that this will not be a scholarly treatise on the fine arts. If the reader "reads" the engraving correctly his reaction will be to smile at Twain's idea of "art" (II.155-56.).<sup>27</sup> Later in *A Tramp Abroad*, "My Picture of the Matterhorn" (448) shows a realistic image of a mountain with a crude donkey hovering monstrously in the foreground (see fig. 19). This donkey had appeared earlier in the book in the background of the illustration, "Painting My Great Picture," which immortalizes Twain at an easel (101, see fig. 20). Of this roving artwork Twain appends the following:

Note — I had the very unusual luck to catch one little momentary glimpse of the Matterhorn wholly unencumbered by clouds. I leveled my photographic apparatus at it without the loss of an instant, and should have got an elegant picture if my donkey had not interfered. *It was my purpose to draw this photograph all by myself for my book*, but was obliged to put the mountain part of it into the hands of the professional artist because I found I could not do landscape well. (emphasis mine, 448).

---

<sup>26</sup> Twain's hand features prominently in the construction of this travel book, even taking over the job of providing the illustrations supposedly by his imaginary traveling companion, Mr. Harris.

<sup>27</sup> The first edition of *A Tramp Abroad* opens with Twain's famed play with Paul Delaroche's "Miriam and Moses" included in Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1873 *Women in Sacred History* as a frontispiece newly entitled, "Titian's Moses": "It is a thing which I manufactured by pasting a popular comic picture into the middle of a celebrated Biblical one --shall attribute it to Titian. It needs to be engraved by a master," Twain explained to publisher Frank Bliss in 1879 (*Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers* 116-17). The composite image was meant both to trick some of his readers and to ridicule the sixteenth-century painter's "Venus of Urbino." For more on the subject, see Barbara Schmidt's "Brief Overview of Volumes 3 and 4: *A Tramp Abroad*" from *A History and Guide to Uniform Editions of Mark Twain's Works* on twainquotes.com as well as Beverly David's excellent commentary in her volumes on Twain and his illustrators.

It is obvious that Twain's donkey interfered in post-production rather than as the original image was composed and shot. His previous artwork interposed upon the created photograph, Twain points to the artistic encumbrances with which even photographers come to supposedly objective scenes such as the Matterhorn. What he means by his intent to "draw" the photograph is unclear — if he means take or etch, why use "draw"? Twain was far too exacting in his wording for such slippage to be unintentional.<sup>28</sup> The idea of *drawing* photographs is a dissonant one; even though Twain's readers, then and now, knew the photographs in the book were copied and etched by artists, the genre of photography still denies the human element of "drawing" in its production and even reproduction. Photography's collocations and lexicons had been largely set by 1880 — Twain's readers would have known that to "draw a picture" is a different animal than to "take a picture." In replacing the word "take" with "draw," the correct usage, with all its connotations of seizure, grasping, and capture, looms larger than it would have if the correct usage had been deployed. In doing so, he deflates the notion that "what is written about a person or an event is frankly an interpretation, as are handmade visual statements, like paintings and drawings. Photographed images do not *seem* to be statements about the world so much as pieces of it, miniatures of reality that anyone can make or acquire"

(emphasis my own, Sontag 2).

---

<sup>28</sup> One of the most famous adages about writing comes from a letter from Twain to George Bainton, 15 October 1888, in which he wrote, "The difference between the almost right word & the right word is really a large matter --it's the difference between the lightning bug and the lightning" (Bainton 87-88).

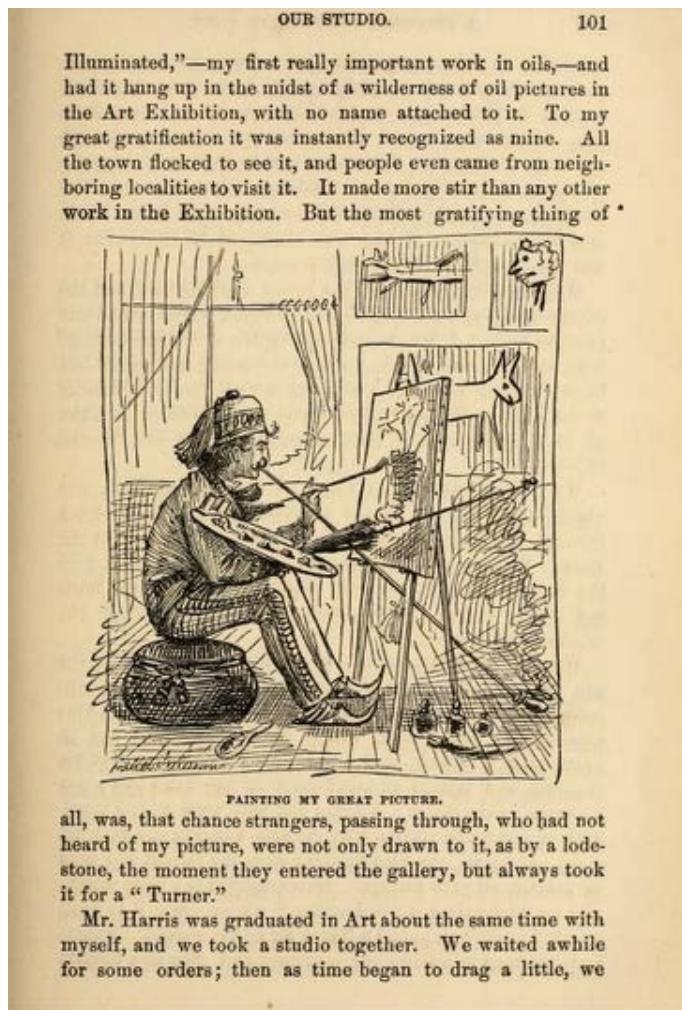


Figure 19: "Painting My Great Picture."

Source: Twain, Mark. *A Tramp Abroad*, Illus. William F. Brown, True Williams, Benjamin Day, et al. Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1880. Courtesy of the University of Pittsburgh.

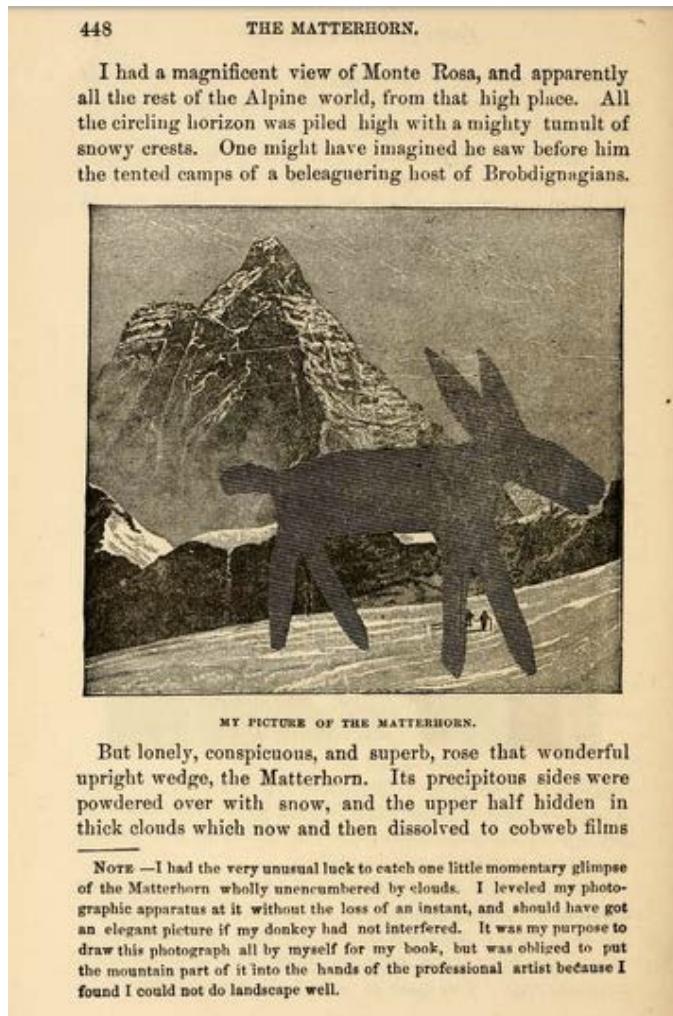


Figure 20: "My Picture of the Matterhorn."

Source: Twain, Mark. *A Tramp Abroad*, Illus. William F. Brown, True Williams, Benjamin Day, et al. Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1880. Courtesy of the University of Pittsburgh.

The lexical and media mash-up does much to unsettle the scene as Twain's roving donkey: his note reinforces the constructed and fictional nature of tourism and authority, important corollaries of empire particularly of cultural imperialism, of his narrative and of art including photographs in general. This scene also acts as a protest against what

Sontag would call a means “of certifying experience, taking photographs is also a way of refusing it—by limiting experience to a search for the photogenic, by converting experience into an image, a souvenir” (9) She writes that “travel becomes a strategy for accumulating photographs. The very activity of taking pictures is soothing, and assuages general feelings of disorientation that are likely to be exacerbated by travel. Most tourists feel compelled to put the camera between themselves and whatever is remarkable that they encounter” (6): Twain’s donkey literalizes the imposition of self upon the landscape and the experience, the negation of the Other from the scene. Tourists bring themselves to places, this montage insinuates, and use photography to assert their dominion, for better or worse. Mostly worse, if the donkey blocking the Matterhorn is to be applied across the board.

If *A Tramp Abroad* plays with notions of objectivity, Twain’s next, and last, travelogue *Following the Equator* (1897) rips into them, textually and photographically; Twain’s worldview had become increasingly vexed by 1897 and his politics bubbled nearer the surface of his works more frequently and hotly than ever before.<sup>29</sup> As Fred Kaplan writes, “the American imperium...became the focus” of Twain’s final travelogue, both overtly through the American traveler and through such reflected images of the imperial resonances in American domestic spaces (“Afterword” 14). Like *A Tramp Abroad*, *Following the Equator* opens with a surreal image; a special first edition, however, bears a second oddity with a formal resemblance to the “drawn” Matterhorn photograph. Tipped into the author’s signed edition of *Following the Equator* along with a letter to the photographer T. S. Frisbie is a photographic foray into the explosive

---

<sup>29</sup> This change in tone is denoted in the title Twain scholar Bernard DeVoto chose for a collection of Twain’s late, previously unpublished pieces, *Twain in Eruption* (1940).

possibilities of technology (see fig. 21). The image is of Twain in a horse and ox-drawn cart best described as functional with a black driver and rider. The caption reads, “Mark trying to be good. His best ride on his trip around the world,” and is accompanied by the lines “some knowledge, though humorous is heavy. The team could carry no more” below the copyright information. This striking image was created from two unrelated photographs, one an iconic photograph of Twain leaning back in a steamer chair that is usually associated with the scrawled phrase—“be good and you will be lonesome.” Regarding the composite, Twain wrote to the photographer from Vienna on 25 October 1897:

Dear Sir: The picture has reached me, & has moved me deeply. That was a steady, sympathetic & honorable team, & although it was not swift, & not showy, it pulled me around the globe successfully, & always attracted its proper share of attention, even in the midst of the most costly & fashionable turnouts. Princes & dukes & other experts were always enthused by the harness, & could hardly keep from trying to buy it. The barouche does not look as fine, now, as it did earlier—but that was before the earthquake.

The portraits of myself & uncle & nephew are very good indeed, & your impressionist reproduction of the palace of the Governor General of India is accurate and full of tender feeling.

I consider that this picture is much more than a work of art. How much more, one cannot say with exactness, but I should think two-thirds more.

Very Truly Yours,

Mark Twain (*Mark Twain's Letters* 648-49)

In a postscript, initialed “SLC” Twain suggests that “you ought to sell the picture through all the canvassers,” though evidence suggests that it was not widely purveyed or purchased.

The composite photograph is comedic, of course, but to what end? Twain refers to the two men with him in the cart as his uncle and nephew. Because of the claims’ obvious untruth, this statement is an easy joke playing on surprise and absurdity. Even with a

caption, what Twain once maintained was a clarifying necessity, the photomontage's meaning is ambiguous. The three men are as likely related as the cart is a barouche brought low by an earthquake — or the two negatives which created the image.



Figure 21: Composite Photograph of Twain by T. S. Frisbie.

Source: Courtesy of the Mark Twain Project, The Bancroft Library  
University of California, Berkeley.

Delving further into the eccentricities of the photomontage, Twain calls the structure in the background an “impressionist reproduction” yet “accurate and full of tender feeling,” an oxymoronic description of a medium touted for its objective veracity, its “incorruptibility.” As photo-editing software had not yet appeared on the scene to digitally alter photographs into Monet-like blurs of color, the odd juxtaposition of

descriptors in “impressionistic reproduction” is as comically ironic as the figures juxtaposed in the presented scene. Further, Twain’s description begs the questions: how can impressionism be a reproduction rather than a representation and how can that reproduction be “accurate”? Perhaps Twain truly did have a different idea of accuracy and veracity than his good friend Howells, the dean of realism, particularly if he would give this picture, even in jest, “two-thirds more” value than a “work of art.” What kind of value does he mean? Monetary? Humorous? Critical? It is possible he is implying that this image, in being valued above a work of art is itself not a work of art but something else. But, if it’s not art, what is it? The reader would do well to wonder if the categorical uncertainty of this image extends to all photographs in Twain’s estimation, and if so, what that might mean.

The notions of accuracy in impressionism and truth in obvious untruths bring into relief Twain’s wide-ranging use of visual paratexts in his books. Like this picture, they seem more than marketing tools: they act as portals into ways of seeing oneself through the way one envisions others, nationally and internationally. The absurdity of the photomontage and letter-caption in *Following the Equator* points as much to the racial schema of the United States and of his readers as the illustrations, photographic and otherwise, which construct the place in the world Twain is performing through his travels (and his readers are enacting in their participation therewith). One wonders if such loaded elements were what Twain referred to when he wrote the team could “carry no more.”

### ***Photographic Postvisualization***

Twain’s donkey and Frisbie’s cart are proto-postmodern masterpieces in their own right though there have been “faked” and edited photographs for nearly long as

photographs have existed.<sup>30</sup> Some images were changed to deceive, some to comfort, some to justify pseudo-scientific nonsense, and some to make up for technological shortcomings in the early days of photography.<sup>31</sup> By 1885 when Walter R. Furness was credited as being “the first in the world...to use Composite Photography analytically, for the creation of a reliable historic likeness” in work on Shakespeare portraiture (Taylor 73), composite photography was a well-enough known technique that periodicals like *Century Magazine* and *Godey’s Lady’s Book* as well as more technical journals such as the *Journal of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania, for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts* frequently ran articles on photo-editing, manipulation, reproduction, and composite photography for entertainment, the circulation of information, and the propulsion of scientific endeavors. We may forget in these heady days of digital humanities that Walter Benjamin was not alone in the debate over mechanical reproduction.<sup>32</sup> By the First World War, manipulated photographs were common: family

---

<sup>30</sup> In 1840 Hippolyte Bayard, angered that the French government recognized Daguerre and Talbot while ignoring his independently derived photographic advances, posed as a corpse and histrionically blamed the French government for his supposed demise with a note on his back. His message was received and he was later handsomely recognized.

<sup>31</sup> The famous image of General Ulysses S. Grant on his horse in front of legions of soldiers at City Point, Virginia during the Civil War (circa 1864), for example, was complied from three photographs. Researchers at the Library of Congress discovered that his head was planted onto Major General Alexander M. McCook’s body, conveniently astride a horse, and the fused figure was placed in front of a group of Confederate prisoners at the battle of Fisher’s Hill, VA. He was not the only figure whose past likeness was altered to better fit someone else’s idea of what he should look like: after Lincoln was assassinated, new pictures of the dead president were created by pasting his head onto what was deemed a more appropriately statesmanlike full-body portrait in an ironic marriage of North and South. Though the head was Lincoln’s own, taken from a well-known Mathew Brady photograph (the one engraved on the five-dollar bill), the body belonged to Southern politician John Calhoun. To fit his new body, Lincoln’s head was reversed. The resulting hybrid figure is nearly convincing as a forgery except that the late president’s trademark mole is now on the wrong side (Mitchell *The Reconfigured Eye* 3). One of the most well-known hoaxes concerning composite photography enhanced the domestic space with purported exotica that was either quite convincing or in step with the desires of the zeitgeist: in 1917 two little girls pulled fairies over the eyes of many, including Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

portraits, for example, brought missing members “together,” cutting out absent members from other photos, floating them into the scene, and re-photographing the whole as a composite image.<sup>33</sup>

The history of manipulated photographs has a more insidious side than these anecdotes suggest. The onset of photography was of great use to eugenicists and other proponents of theories of racialized types and hierarchies. Sir Francis Galton, Charles Darwin’s cousin, divulged that he and Herbert Spencer had been working on composites in his 1877 presidential address to the Anthropological Subsection of the British Association.<sup>34</sup> The theoretical bases which Galton and Spencer followed provided neat rationalizations for later imperialists who credited territorial expansion with bringing “civilization” to the world’s masses, masses who happened to live in fertile areas or along convenient trade routes. In a search for racial and social types a movement began that

<sup>32</sup> With Henry Peach Robinson (1830-1901) and Oscar Rejlander (1813-1875), photographers famous for their photomontages—layered photonegatives used to create one image—composite images became more than a way to validate global domination or to fool one’s audience, they became an art form. Robinson, for one, used photographic manipulation to enhance his photographs, adding in clouds through layered negatives where none had originally been captured, either because of the state of the sky or the difficulty in differentiating white and blue in early photography. Blue irises, likewise, had to be carefully added back into the eyes of subjects lacking ocular melanin. Paint was also often used to recapture or artistically create clouds in cloudless skies. Searching for beauty rather than what he derided as “mechanical copying of dull map-making,” Robinson defended his practice, “in some cases, indeed, art excellence possesses a wider and a more permanent value than verisimilitude” (4). In *Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaro-oscuro for Photographers. To Which is Added a Chapter on Combination Printing* (1869), Robinson remarks in a section on the sky, “it will be difficult to name a class of landscape in which the sky is not the key-note, the standard of scale, and the chief organ of sentiment” (49-50). Robinson here added a few chapters such as the headlining feature on combination printing to this edition; however, the added sixty-odd pages were removed from an 1881 American printing without explanation or apology. It may be that combination printing was less in vogue, particularly in America, in the 1880s, due in part to the push for realism in and as photography winning the argument as to how photography could be perceived as art in itself rather than a crutch or aid for artists.

<sup>33</sup> Twain, as I will discuss shortly, more than once created or used manipulated photographs himself.

<sup>34</sup> Galton was a polymath whose pioneering work is still felt in fingerprinting, weather mapping, and the less felicitous field of eugenics; the latter led to his development of composite photography as Charles Darwin’s cousin Sir Francis Galton strove to develop visuals of class, criminal, and racial “types.”

propounded changing the evidence to fit one's perception. If a specimen of a "type" couldn't be found, it could be made. This mindset heavily influenced photographers such as Charles Martin who upped the ante of commonly staged war photography of the Spanish- and Philippine-American Wars, relabeling photographs of Filipino tribesmen into "local police," "dancers," and so on as it fit the moment, for example, to better render the world according to his imperialist ideology.<sup>35</sup> Not everyone agreed with the validity of engineering images to match preconceptions based on race or otherwise but the practice became increasingly common; the conflict between "straight," what some call "pure," photography and "creative" or "experimental" photography goes on today. In other words, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the time of *King Leopold's Defense*, editing photography for personal use was common, and manipulating images to "better" represent someone's version of reality was not unheard of, though Leopold's use of manipulated photographs to defend his colonialism in *An Answer to Mark Twain* was rather unique for its time. Additionally, the manipulated images in Twain's works are worthy of note because frequently their promulgation of realism required underscoring the construction of perceptions, visual and otherwise. Likewise, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*'s photographic illustrations proffer an argument about the uses of photography as a propagandistic tool.

---

<sup>35</sup> My thanks to Terry Snyder for pointing me to Aaron Madow's curated event, "Seeing is Believing: Photographs of American Colonialism in the Philippines" at Haverford College, a documentation of Charles Martin's work. Martin worked extensively with Dean Worcester, the colonial officer whose travelogues and governmental reports somewhat merged. See particularly *The Philippine Islands and Their People* (1898). After the publication of his first book, Worcester, a professor of zoology, was promoted to the First Philippine Commission, a committee sent by President McKinley "to investigate conditions in the Philippines and to make recommendations about building up a civilian infrastructure and establishing local governments in the island" (Rice 5). Images from his book were also used to illustrate the 1903 Philippine census, which Rafael says acted as "a visual complement to the statistical tables, a distinct but related way of seeing native subjects as objects of knowledge and reform" (Rafael 37-38).

### ***King Leopold's Soliloquy, Satire, and Media Hybridity***

As I've discussed, Twain used mediated photographs to critique many issues but particularly tourism, the ability of an outsider to represent foreign lands and people. This becomes increasingly clear as his travelogues act as stepping stones to his later and even more political works such as *Following the Equator*, "The War-Prayer," "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," and *King Leopold's Soliloquy*.<sup>36</sup> The S.P.C.A., Anti-Imperialist League, Knights of Labor, and the Congo Reform Association (C. R. A.) are among the groups to have most benefited from his increasingly public and vitriolic opinions.

*King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule* (1905), the reflection of his passionate belief in the Congo Reform Association's work, is a key text that reflects Twain's destabilization of the conflation of seeming and being as well as the deflation of ideational saturation, the blunting of an idea with repetition, in his anti-imperialist work. In it, he questions the objectivity of photography as a record in general and in propaganda machines related to empire specifically. Similar to the way Twain uses illustrations in *Tom Sawyer Abroad* to challenge the role of visuality in constructing and opposing imperialism, in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, a heavily-illustrated pamphlet against Belgian colonialism and American imperialism, Twain employs hybrid media fueled with accompanying humor, both unusual for the activist form. In doing so he refreshes the horror of the Congo and makes the atrocities of King Leopold II's reign more present for his readers.

---

<sup>36</sup> Speculations as to the causes for Twain's increasingly political stance are many. Age, increased cynicism, paying down his debts and thus no longer needing to fear alienating his public, the deaths mounting around him, and the nation's overt movement into imperialism may have had something to do with the increased bite in his words.

Composed of fictional admissions, lengthy quotations from newspaper articles, and missionaries' findings, *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*, as one would expect, does more to indict its target than it does to justify his actions.<sup>37</sup> More than a manifesto and not quite a satirical one-man play, the soliloquy airs King Leopold's spoken thoughts along with dramatic cues and varied visual paratexts including some of the images that had moved Twain to action.

Although it was roundly applauded by major forums including *The Athenaeum*, *Punch*, and *The Bookman*, the first edition of *King Leopold's Soliloquy* was rejected by Harper and Brothers but released to the C.R.A., per Twain's request, and printed in mid-September of 1905, with the proceeds of the twenty-five cent pamphlet going entirely to the C.R.A. (Hawkins "Generous Indignation" 156). The second twenty-five cent edition of *King Leopold's Soliloquy* was sent out with a letter signed by the P.R. Warren Company of Boston, Massachusetts from New Year's Day 1906 simply stating that "the publishers desire to state that Mr. Clemens declines to accept any pecuniary return from this booklet, as it is his wish that all proceeds of sales above the cost of publication shall be used in furthering effort for relief of the people of the Congo State." Twain was so serious about maximizing the circulation of *King Leopold's Soliloquy* rather than obtaining profit from it that he offered to send copies to "one hundred prominent Protestant clergymen" at his own expense — and, as Leopold was a staunch Catholic, to "every Catholic priest in the country" (though the C.R.A., in the end, decided to cover

---

<sup>37</sup> *King Leopold's Soliloquy* was not Twain's only soliloquy. He had written the much shorter "The Czar's Soliloquy" in January of 1905 in response to the Russian czar's guards shooting strikers in St. Petersburg. However, as Everett Emerson writes, *King Leopold's Soliloquy* is a more masterful piece because "the characterization of the speaker is much fuller, and the gradual shift from a pose of wounded innocence to outright cynicism is skillful" (277). Moreover, I would argue, Twain more fully utilized the space of the page in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* than "The Czar's Soliloquy," incorporating textual shapes and images.

the costs of the first statement themselves and to take the second offer a bit less seriously) (qtd. in Hawkins “Generous Indignation” 160).

Published in both America and England, like most of Twain’s works, *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* is frequently directed at a specifically American audience. This is partially because C.R.A. spokesman E. D. Morel had impressed upon Twain the need to rally his fellow Americans to the cause: quite a number of Britons were working against Leopold at the time of *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*’s publication. Twain’s text asserts the United States, here personified by Uncle Sam, did ill in its involvement with the Congo but did not do so maliciously. On the second page of text, “Leopold” links his “horde of officials —‘pals’ and ‘pimps’ of mine, ‘unspeakable Belgians’” with the American government, crowing he ““took in’ a President of the United States, and got him to be the first to recognize” and salute his flag, smugly noting, “it is a deep satisfaction to me to remember that I was a shade too smart for that nation that thinks itself so smart. Yes, I certainly did bunco a Yankee –as those people phrase it. Pirate flag? Let them call it so – perhaps it is. All the same, they were the first to salute it” (7). He reflects a few pages later, “[With evil joy] Yes, I certainly was a shade too clever for the Yankees” (13). The pamphlet thus situates the United States as having been tricked by someone who feels an “evil joy” at their mistaken beliefs, thereby freeing the nation to change course while saving face.

Throughout the defense, the Belgian king’s blindness to the harm he’s done is underlined. He rarely refutes the evidence circulating against him regarding mutilations and deaths but rather hubristically defends his right to do as he pleases as king—and becomes indignant that his hush money has been squandered, his good deeds untold:

In these twenty years I have spent millions to keep the press of the two hemispheres quiet, and still these leaks keep on occurring. I have spent other millions on religion and art, and what do I get for it? Nothing. Not a compliment. These generosities are studiously ignored, in print. In print I get nothing but slanders—and slanders again—and still slanders, and slanders on top of slanders! Grant them true, what of it? They are slanders all the same, when uttered against a king. (5)

Such statements play up Leopold's disregard for the moral compass shared by Americans, Twain implies, as the Belgian king equates the millions he'd ostensibly spent covering his tracks to the millions he'd spent on dubiously beneficial things.

The text's humorous tone makes the horrors Leopold describes more horrible for their juxtaposition to his levity about them. This is epitomized in a scene in which he plays contrite when reading reports of sixty crucified women. He is not sorry because he had them killed but because the manner of their deaths focused too much attention on him. After a lengthy build up of his remorse, he flippantly dismisses the error of his ways (for having not flayed them instead) as human error (33).

Pairing humor and tragedy is tricky as there is a thin line between efficacy and overkill, between promoting audience advocacy and appearing heartless. Yet, as I discuss in my second chapter, it can be an effective means of driving a wedge between an audience and a target while keeping the former on the author's side. Here, Twain's humor makes King Leopold appear more villainous for his ability to speak lightly of mutilations and murder. To render in caricature the slaughter and enslavement of a people under the guise of humanitarianism would have stretched the powers of the comic; King Leopold was a feasible target for satire, however. As a monarch, the king already stood out as a symbol of autocracy, a common subject of humor in the United States at the time. Rather

than functioning as a symbol of authoritarian ukase, through Twain's satirical voice King Leopold becomes even more monstrous for his ridiculousness.<sup>38</sup>

The at times irreverent paratexts, like Leopold's flippancy, make the king's callousness a tragedy second only to his actions' ramifications. The biting textual humor intermingles with cartoons of varying degrees of photorealism, woodcuts, and in many cases, entirely fictional images, some of which overlap in style with translated photographs, blurring the distinction between fact and fancy. The admixture of visual styles in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* begs the question: why mix media?<sup>39</sup> Relying solely on cartoon paratexts could have strengthened the sense of King Leopold's frivolous take on the Congo, but it may have taken away from the deadly serious aspects of the pamphlet underneath the thin façade of Leopold's glib and clueless mien. So why incorporate visual buffoonery with the vérité of photography which had worked so well thus far for the Congo Reform Association at all?

Though his participation in the movement is a testament to the persuasive powers of the C.R.A.'s propagandistic photographs, as I've discussed, for years before penning

---

<sup>38</sup> Twain tries to capture the tragicomedy of the situation again in the unpublished "On Leopold." In it, he writes, "Leopold made himself sole and absolute sovereign of the Congo State and all its belongings. How was this accomplished? You must not laugh—if you can help it. He was created sole and absolute sovereign of the Congo State by solemn act of the legislation of that wee little back-settlement called Belgium! Certainly it is the most comical thing to be found anywhere in the political history of the human race!" Twain uses visual imagery and exaggeration to expand upon this "comedic" event and to deflate Leopold's gravitas: "Think of that little Belgium, that wee little seventh-rate sardine, swelling itself up and spreading its jaws and swallowing that colossal Central African whale, all at one gulp, body, bones, and blubber!" Pictured as a sardine, Leopold has very little dignity. Twain continues to belittle Leopold in this vein. Claiming to comment on a poem a friend sent him, Twain compares Leopold's grasp for booty to the rude movements of a "measuring-worm" as "When he starts out for pelf/ He reaches to the limit, And then he humps himself."

<sup>39</sup> Twain had used media hybridity before, most recently in his biting travelogue *Following the Equator* due to the impossibility of illustrating scenes included in a narrative created after a voyage. Moreover, it is probable that the farrago of visuality like the anecdotal bricolage of *Following the Equator* combined to destabilize Twain's critique of colonialism, to keep his reader a bit unbalanced and therefore less likely to feel they were reading a polemic. But *Following the Equator* is not the confession of a dictator as *King Leopold's Soliloquy* is meant to be.

*King Leopold's Soliloquy* Twain had written voluminously of photography's tricky relationship with reality. Like many before him, he wondered how to get at the truth of a moment captured on celluloid. Photographs, as Twain well knew, are not infallible and the lack of emphasis on straight photographic paratexts in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* highlights this fallacious stereotype. To hammer this point home, late in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, an image of King Leopold facing down a hovering, sentient camera turned monstrous appears above the caption, "the only witness I couldn't bribe," described in the text as the "infallible Kodak" (see fig. 23). In its hyperbolic animation, it reminds the reader that machinic reproduction is not, in fact, an independently manifesting and operating subject but an object always second to the eye behind it or in front of it, even in photojournalism, and for seemingly scientific or objective images. By using primarily translated photographs qua illustrations in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, Twain refuses to subordinate his authorship to mechanical reproduction.

Further, the hybrid status of media in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* makes the images more inescapable as their protean shifts constantly require new modes of interpretation. In doing so they avoid the ideational saturation that can occur upon over exposure to an idea or image.<sup>40</sup> The rendering of photographs by hand and juxtaposition with stick figures and cartoons acts to keep the experience from going tame in *King Leopold's*

---

<sup>40</sup> As Susan Sontag writes in *On Photography*, "the quality of feeling, including moral outrage, that people can muster in response to photographs of the oppressed, the exploited, the starving, and the massacred also depends on the degree of their familiarity with these images. Don McCullin's photographs of emaciated Biafrans in the early 1970s had less impact for some people than Werner Bischof's photographs of Indian famine victims in the early 1950s because those images had become banal, and the photographs of Tuareg families dying of starvation in the sub-Saharan that appeared in magazines everywhere in 1973 must have seemed to many like an unbearable replay of a now familiar atrocity exhibition" (14). The constantly shifting media styles in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* prevented this kind of banalization from occurring on the microlevel of the pamphlet and the macrolevel of the movement.

*Soliloquy*; as Roland Barthes claims in *Camera Lucida*, one can dull a photograph by banalizing “it until it is no longer confronted by any image in relation to which it can mark itself, assert its special character, its scandal, its madness” (118). Additionally, the varied illustrations imply that, despite his best intentions, King Leopold’s conscience cannot lie. His words can twist and comfort themselves, they can snake and bend, dissembling and reassembling the Congo—but the paratexts that crop up between the pages of his words flash like the after-images of PTSD: the mix of shocking photographic “memories” with nightmarish cartoon “thoughts” resonate.

Humor, like Twain’s hybrid media, repeatedly presents the material in surprising ways, keeping the readers’ interest piqued and their emotions raw. The mixture of media in *King Leopold’s Soliloquy*, along with the humorous tone, prevents the text’s horrors from becoming commonplace and, therefore, nearer to acceptable by diffusing perspectival control, underlining the multiplicity of the gaze, and thereby estranging colonization, voyeuristic and otherwise, while revealing the impossibility of envisioning the human and geographical whole of a people and a nation. In doing so, the text acts as a protest against not only the Belgian despot’s brutal regime and what Twain believed was the United States’s support of it but also the totalizing, ethnographic view often provided by the missionary photography commonly used by the C.R.A.

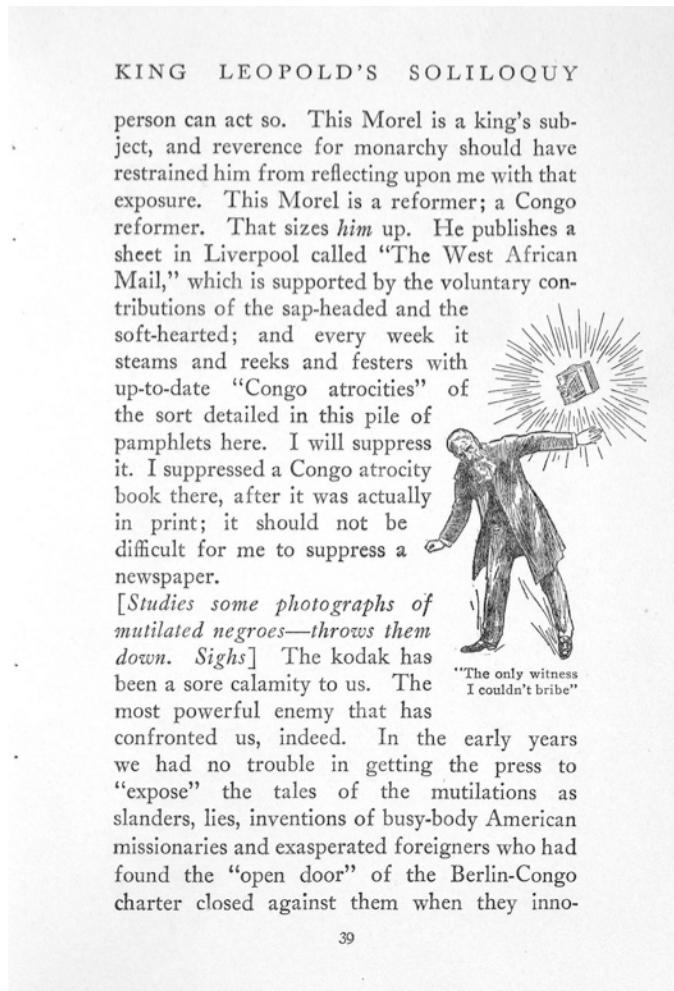


Figure 22: Leopold vs. the Kodak.

Source: Twain, Mark. *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Boston: P. R. Warren, 1905. Courtesy of the American Natural History Museum.

### ***Media Activation Through Mediation***

What past scholars have referred to simply as photographs in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* are instead almost always drawings made from photographs. They have been translated triply through a human lens: once by the photographer, once by the artist, and

at least once by the reader. This mediation underscores the centrality of *witnessing* to activist literature and the effect witnessing has upon images. One changes it in not looking but seeing and is thus changed by it.

One example of the differences mediation makes is this image of a Congolese man labeled Nsala that Alice Harris convinced to pose with his daughter's hand and foot, an image that the Harrises showed roundly and which Twain, Morel, and various periodicals re-printed (see fig. 23).<sup>41</sup>



Figure 23: Nsala of Wala with His Daughter's Hand and Foot.

Source: Reproduced with permission of Anti-Slavery International.

In Morel's *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*, an incredibly detailed caption and subcaption seems to cover all the bases:

---

<sup>41</sup> William Henry Sheppard predated the Harrises in photographing the atrocities in the Congo, but he died on his return trip from Africa, leaving behind only a letter and notes for a book. His work still touched many, including Mark Twain who referenced Sheppard several times in his own work.

NSALA OF WALA IN THE NSONGO DISTRICT (ABIR CONCESSION):  
 (Photographed by Mr. John H. Harris in May, 1904, with the hand and foot of his little girl of five years old — all that remained of a cannibal feast by armed rubber sentries. The sentries killed his wife, his daughter, and a son, cutting up the bodies, cooking, and eating them. See letter from Mr. Stannard in the Appendix). (144, facing).

All of the participants in the image are given active verbs: Stannard writes, Harris photographs, even the anonymous sentries kill, cook, and eat — all but the photographic subject, a man named Nsala who is only named and placed. His placement is complex, it should be noted: Wala is a city and the Abir concession, a parcel of land granted to the Anglo-Belgian India Rubber Company (later known as the Abir Congo Company and the Compagnie du Congo Belge) (see fig. 24).<sup>42</sup> Morel's original text gets so caught up in the details that it nearly excludes the sorrow from the moment and makes a passive object of the photographic subject; the captions are so detailed that little seems left to the imagination. The unpictured actors in the scene crowd the subject from his own frame.

When Harris's image appears in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, the caption reads “Imagine the output of the whole vast state!”: a blackly humorous reference to the pain, body parts, and an uncovered whole which the reader must imagine to fill in (see fig. 25). Like much of the black humor in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, the seeming lightness of the caption through its play on “output,” its informal phrasing, and its irreverent phrasing becomes suddenly heavy as one does imagine the “output of the whole vast state”—an output not of rubber, for which the Congo was already famous, but of human misery and mutilation. Any laughter comes from the tragedy of the situation, and is, as Brenda Carpio writes of much black humor, not a relief but a form of ululation (197). But that is

---

<sup>42</sup> Nsongo is both a place and a language but to which “Nsongo District” refers, I am not sure. As for the Anglo-Belgian Rubber Company, by 1898 there were no longer any British shareholders of the company.

short-lived. The humor here, like the visual form, is hybrid: it transforms through the act of imagining from black humor, a play on death, to tragicomedy, mirthless laughter, and finally, to anti-humor, a realm of despair where the comic shadows have been eradicated, the didactic message made more resonant for its former juxtaposition to humor.

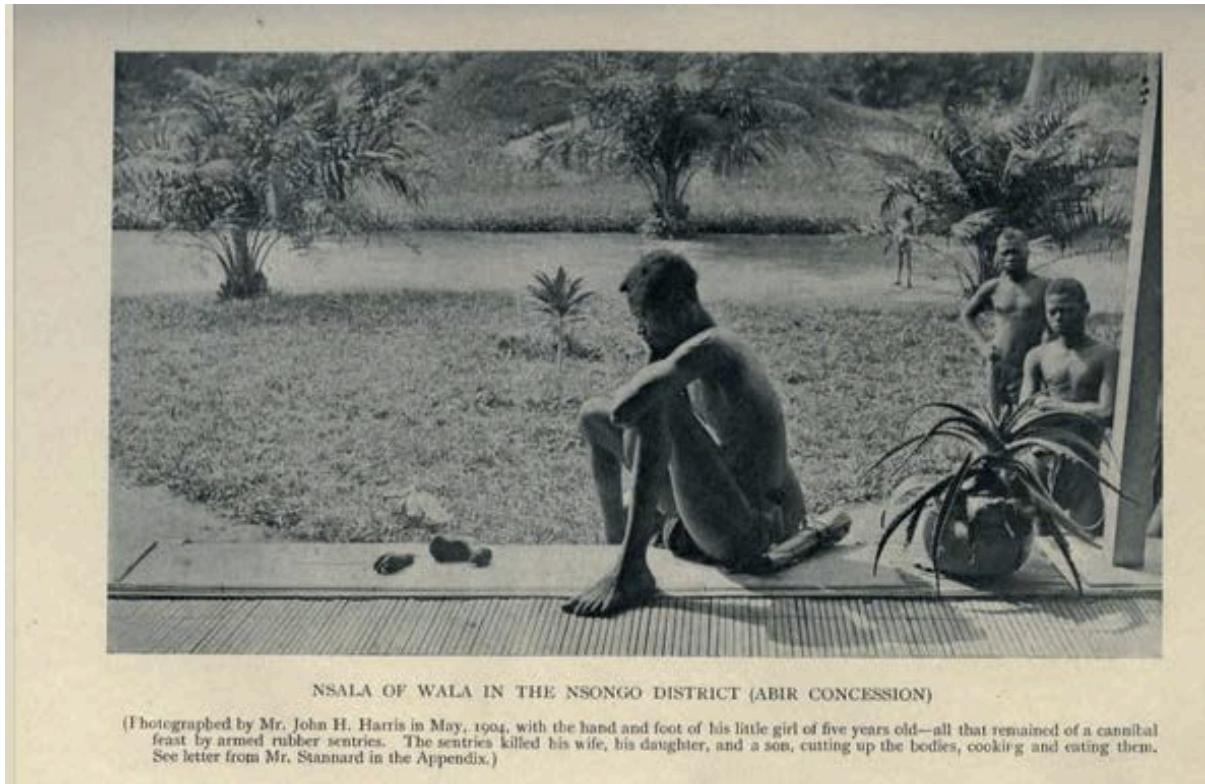


Figure 24: “Nsala of Wala in the Nsogo District (Abir Concession).”

Source: Morel, Edmund Dean. *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*. London: William Heinemann, 1904. Courtesy of University of Toronto.

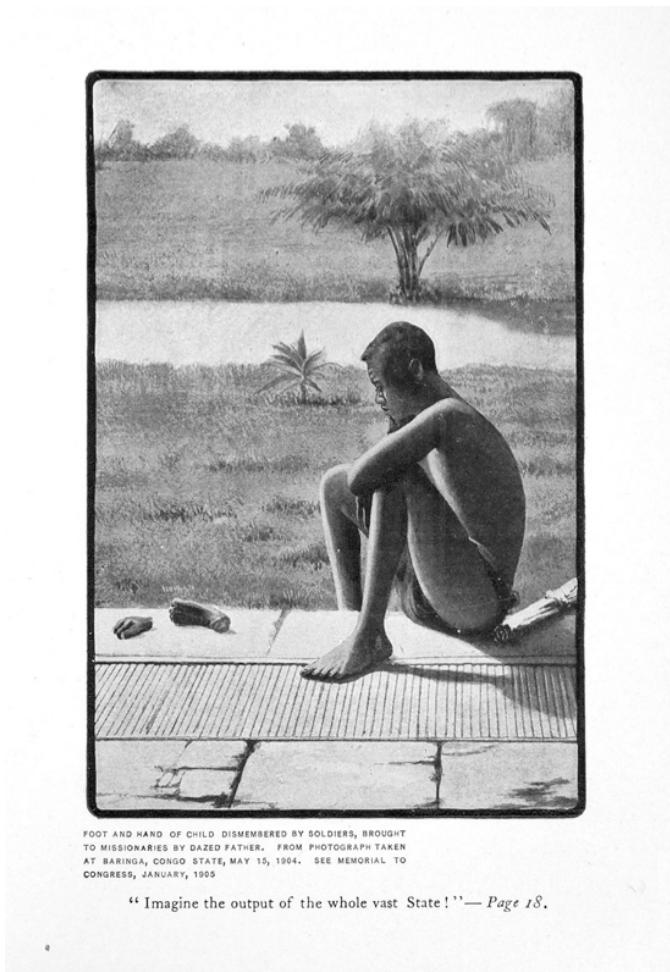


Figure 25: "Imagine the Output of the Whole Vast State!"

Source: Twain, Mark. *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Boston: P. R. Warren, 1905. Courtesy of the American Natural History Museum.

Already a striking image, the difference between the original and the altered version of Nsala with his daughter's hand and foot magnifies details in the edited image softened by the photographic process. The version in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* is ironically sharper in every way. Though there are shadows still, the contrast between light and dark is stark, the lines of Nsala's face, magnified. There is no escaping his

emotions in gradated tones or in the rest of the scene. In the original, Nsala foregrounds a group of four trees, a potted plant, and a line of figures to the side who join his vigil. In *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, Nsala sits alone but for the company of his lost child's appendages, the natural world cropped to mirror the human. In both, only one of Nsala's hands and feet are visible; the visual metaphor accentuating and making corporeal his loss. Only Twain's version reverses this process both in its caption which implores the reader to "Imagine the output" (thus underlining the emotional components produced with rubber and other resources). Instead of the camera's so-called objectivity, a human hand translated this machinic reproduction. Conversely, the "infallible Kodak" fails in capturing the truth of a moment, this change insinuates.

Any distance provided by the mediation of such images suddenly collapses with the "one" "true" photograph in the pamphlet, which appears toward the end (see fig. 26). However, that one is a montage of pictures of mutilated Congolese commonly circulated by the C.R.A.<sup>43</sup> They face the page as a caesuric corporeal wall rendered surreal by its ornate framing as well as by the way the figures' mutilated limbs' bends match the lines of their black and white borders. The abruptly-ending limbs are highlighted against the white cloths in which the subjects are dressed. In this photographic illustration, disjunctions in the images —like the pictured Congolese people's missing parts—disrupt the sense of white space on the page, transforming it into space that slips from the would-

---

<sup>43</sup> Allegedly, Leopold's forces had to account for every bullet spent and human appendages were most often used as evidence. As not every bullet kills, many people were disfigured for the sake of accounting. A rival theory maintains that a large number of Congolese were mutilated additionally for failing to submit their rubber "quota."

be cartographer's pen or tourist's eye.<sup>44</sup> Those pictured, all but one of whom stare directly at their interlocutors, are the corporeal legacy of manipulated frontiers, the bodily equivalent of lands and people edited to fit a colonizer's revision.

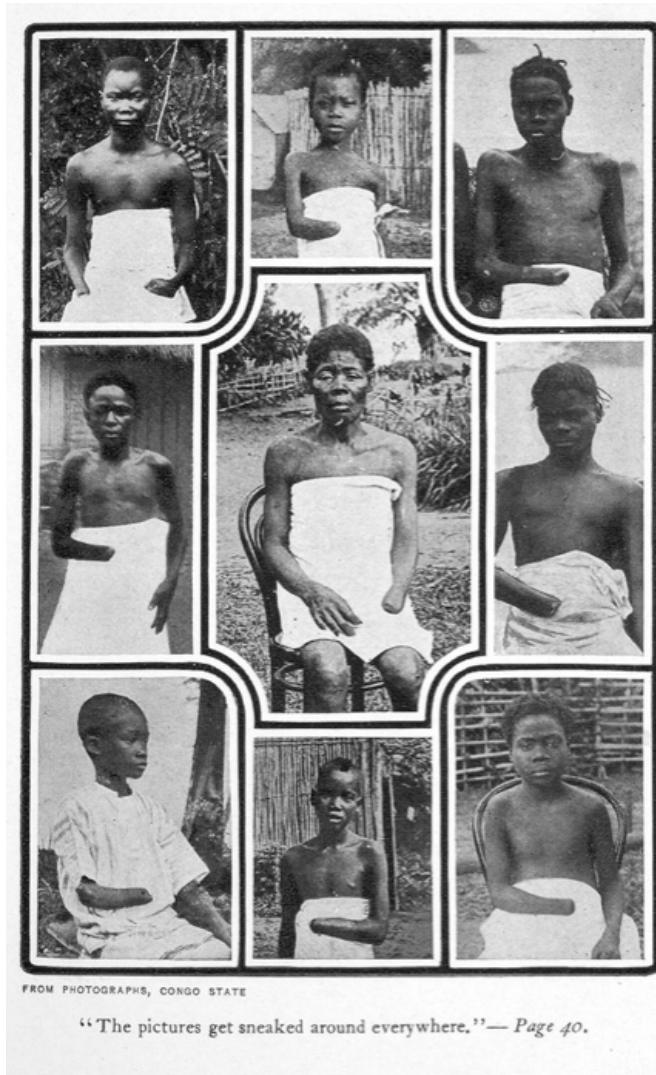


Figure 26: A Photographic Montage.

Source: Twain, Mark. *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Boston: P. R. Warren, 1905. Courtesy of the American Natural History Museum.

<sup>44</sup> This photomontage went on to serve as the frontispiece for Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *Crime of the Congo*, 1909. It was there captioned “Some of the Victims.”

The presence of this montage of true photographs at the end of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, even ones so obviously mediated by their staging and production, jolts the reader —both with its power to bear witness as well as with the questions of how trustworthy is this (is any) image? And what is taken with the photograph? Is the photographing, arrangement, and circulation of people-as-mutilations as predatory, as much of a violation, as the mutilations themselves? These question seems to be at the heart of the visual carnival in *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, questions with ramifications not just for Leopold's perspective, but for the similarly rationalized lust for power and domination Twain saw in pro-imperialist texts in America, too, and even in the power plays of the activist missionaries.<sup>45</sup> This montage, like the rest of the pamphlet's hybrid media, forces Twain's readers to revise their reading as the kinesthetic forms on the page demand a different mode of reading than do static textual elements.

In the text accompanying the montage, Leopold reads from a newspaper clipping which blames him as “*sole master*” of the Congo, the destruction of which is “the work of *one man alone*” (41). The italicized text resonates with the remainder of the excerpted “article” which turns to blame not just Leopold but those who refuse to look at things that make them uncomfortable:

Being democrats we ought to jeer and jest, we ought to rejoice to see the purple dragged in the dirt, but—well, account for it as we may, we don't. We see this awful king, this pitiless and blood-drenched king, this money-crazy king towering toward the sky in a world-solitude of sordid crime, unfellowed and apart from the human race, sole butcher or personal gain findable in all his caste...but *we do not*

---

<sup>45</sup> By and large, much missionary photography of local peoples in the late nineteenth century in Africa was aimed at contrasting the old and the new, the traditional and the modern, the pre-Christian and the Christian—and at furthering missionary work in Africa, an objective which required the photographic revelation of spiritual, and cultural, disparities in the missionaries' favor. Twain had an ambivalent relationship with missionaries, writing to C. F. Moberly Bell 9 July 1910 that “the missionary has always been a danger, & had made trouble more than once” continuing that in terms of the Boer War “he has surpassed all his former mischiefs.”

*wish to look; for he is a king, and it hurts us, it troubles us, by ancient and inherited instinct it shames us to see a king degraded to this aspect, and we shrink from hearing the particulars of how it happened. We shudder and turn away when we come upon them in print.* (emphasis in the original 41-42)

To which Leopold rejoins, speaking to the reader, “Why, certainly—that is my protection. And you will continue to do it. I know the human race” (42). And so the text proper of *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* ends with a directive to not just look but to see and then to act, to not let the veneer of expectation or the twinge of revulsion redirect the gaze, which as “democrats” have a responsibility to hold. Leopold’s smug confidence in “the damned human race” that he credits with allowing him to continue to get away with murder, literally, is followed by the pamphlet’s last image, a stark line drawing, taken from a photograph, of a small, mutilated child. He haunts the page like an afterimage (see fig. 27).<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> The drawing is credited to “Photography, Ikoko, Congo State” and is just above an inverted triangle of text which tunnels away like a line of sight: “TO THEM it must appear/ very awful and/ mysterious.”—/ Joseph Con-/ rad” (capitalization in the original). The quote is slightly misquoted from a letter from Doyle to British Consul to Africa Roger Casement 21 December 1903 in which he states that the Congolese must be baffled by their treatment by the Belgians, “worse than the seven plagues of Egypt,” but which, unlike the plagues, was preceded by no transgressions. He compares the slave trade, “an old established form of commercial activity” almost favorably to the situation in the Congo as “it was not the monopoly of one small country established to the disadvantage of the rest of the civilized world in defiance of international treaties and in brazen disregard of humanitarian declarations. But the Congo State created yesterday is all that and yet it exists. This is very mysterious” (qtd. in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad* 96).

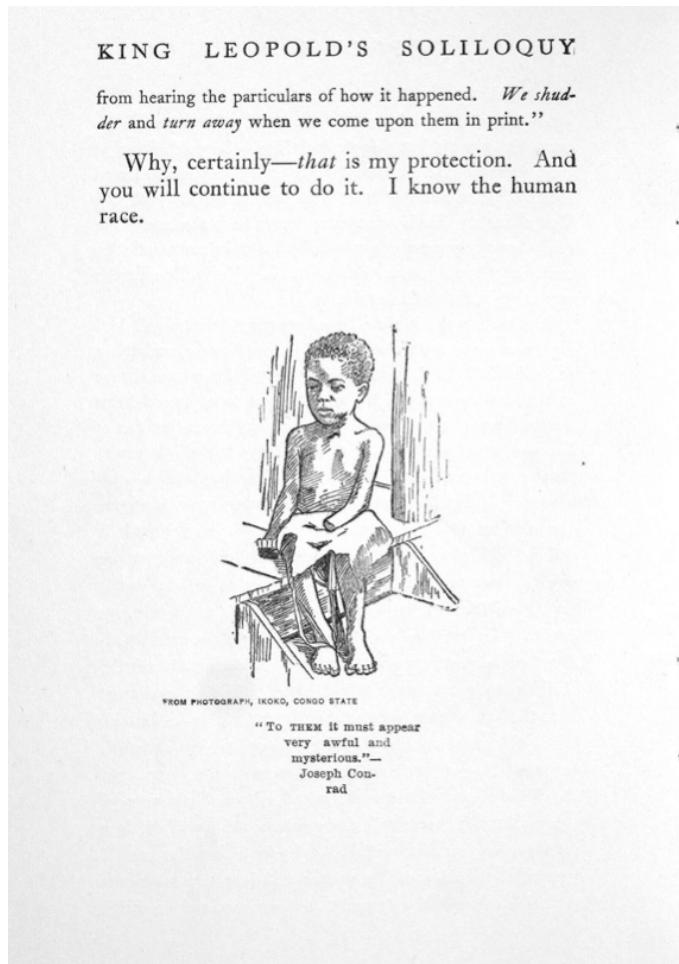


Figure 27: "From Photograph, Ikoko, Congo State."

Source: Twain, Mark. *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Boston: P. R. Warren, 1905. Courtesy of the American Natural History Museum.

### Coda: An Answer to Mark Twain

Like his Twainian caricature, the real King Leopold II took advantage of photography's reputation for pure truth in his response to *King Leopold's Soliloquy An Answer to Mark Twain* (1907) and in *La Vérité sur le Congo* (in English, *The Truth*

*About the Congo*). *La Vérité sur le Congo* was a regular periodical published in three languages: German, French, and English. It was distributed on mainly European train lines in which Leopold held a large financial stake, proselytizing to the captive travelers. The periodical frequently refuted claims made against Leopold's rule in the Congo. In one issue, *La Vérité sur le Congo* appropriated a popularly circulating image of a boy named Epondo in their counterclaims against the C.R.A.'s use of photographic evidence of atrocities in the Congo. Leopold's camp claimed Epondo had had his hand bitten off by a boar, not cut off in the king's quest for wealth.

In addition to reinterpreting well-known photographs in their defense, Leopold's team also doctored photographs. One such image in *La Vérité sur le Congo* shows E. D. Morel, the head of the C.R.A., with the caption, "A photographic proof—Mr. Morel has just killed Epondo's wild boar" (455) (see fig. 28).<sup>47</sup> If this creation is satirical, as Kevin Grant claims, or merely misleading as I believe is more likely as humor was not the paper's prevalent tone, it marks Leopold's foray into manipulating photographs in his tussle for control of his image and the Congo (43).<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Grant notes that this image was first published in the periodical *Petit Bleu* 17 Oct. 1905 (44).

<sup>48</sup> Though done on a more minor scale, Leopold's use of altering photographs to promote his official party line is reminiscent of the editing Stalin's team would do per his diktats. Leopold appears to have been the first dictator to use the manipulation of photographs to revise history. See *The Commissar Vanishes: The Falsification of Photographs and Art in Stalin's Russia* by David King for a documentation of "how the Communists cropped history," as Robert Conquest quips in his review of the book.



Figure 28: "A Photographic Proof": Morel Pasted Near a Boar.

Source: *La Vérité sur le Congo*, 15 Nov. 1905, 455. Courtesy of Indiana University Libraries.

*An Answer to Mark Twain* is another example of Leopold's propaganda machine's "spin control." Belgian agent Henry I. Kowalsky notified Leopold that, because of Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, a new, well-organized, and visible movement against the king was flourishing: he wrote, "I can assure [sic] you that you cannot afford to turn a deaf ear to what I am saying" (qtd. in Foner *Social Critic* 389). Soon after, the king's agents published and widely circulated *An Answer to Mark Twain*.

A largely pictorial text, it uses the medium in an attempt to reroute public notions of Leopold and the Congo. Its bright red cover features E. D. Morel and Mark Twain as serpents whose tails are entwined about one another. Neither caricatured head meets the reader's gaze (see fig. 29). Morel's head is shadowed in an opening frontispiece, his snakeskin left behind. They hover over a utopian depiction of "The Present Belgian Congo," a scene light with industry, marks of religion on church steeples in the foreground and in cross-like masts of ships in the background.

*An Answer to Mark Twain* proceeds quickly into 32 pages of photographic refutations of allegations made in Mark Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. These are accompanied by terse matter-of-fact captions which center largely on the benefits the Belgian king brought to the land (see fig. 30 and fig. 31). Quotations from *King Leopold's Soliloquy* are severed as headers, the refutational photographs filling the pages contesting Twain's accusations. On the subject of photography, the pamphlet's authors write that, like Twain's claims, the photographs in Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy* were taken out of context and used slanderously. To show the ease with which images can be manipulated, the back cover of *An Answer to Mark Twain* (see fig. 32) shows pots convincingly converted into skulls in women's laps, a surreal and absurd swap which suggests that, by extension, the images in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* and other anti-Leopoldean texts like C.R.A. and missionary pamphlets are bizarre and absurdly fake. Of course, the back cover suggests that no photographs are thus to be trusted and calls the entire work into question—a price Leopold's proxies seemed willing to pay to discount the visual rhetoric of the C.R.A.—yet a strange move to make for a king attempting to

strengthen his hold over the disputed area of the Congo through largely photographically-illustrated means.

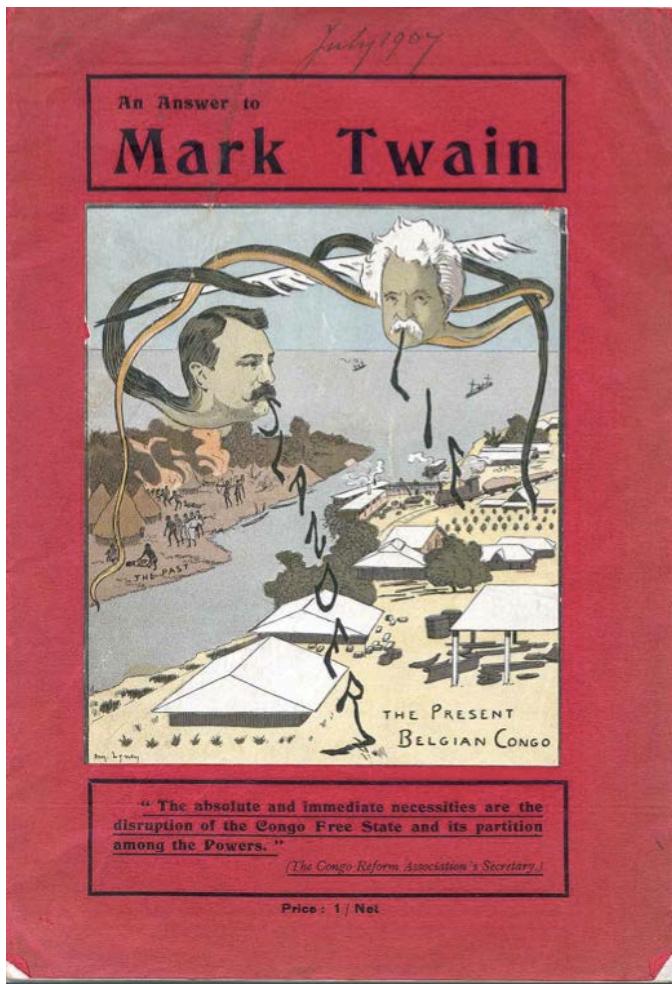


Figure 29: Front Cover of *An Answer to Mark Twain*.

Source: *An Answer to Mark Twain*. Brussels: A. G. Buhleens Brothers, 1907. Image courtesy of Special Collections, Middlebury College. Image source the American Natural History Museum, with permission.

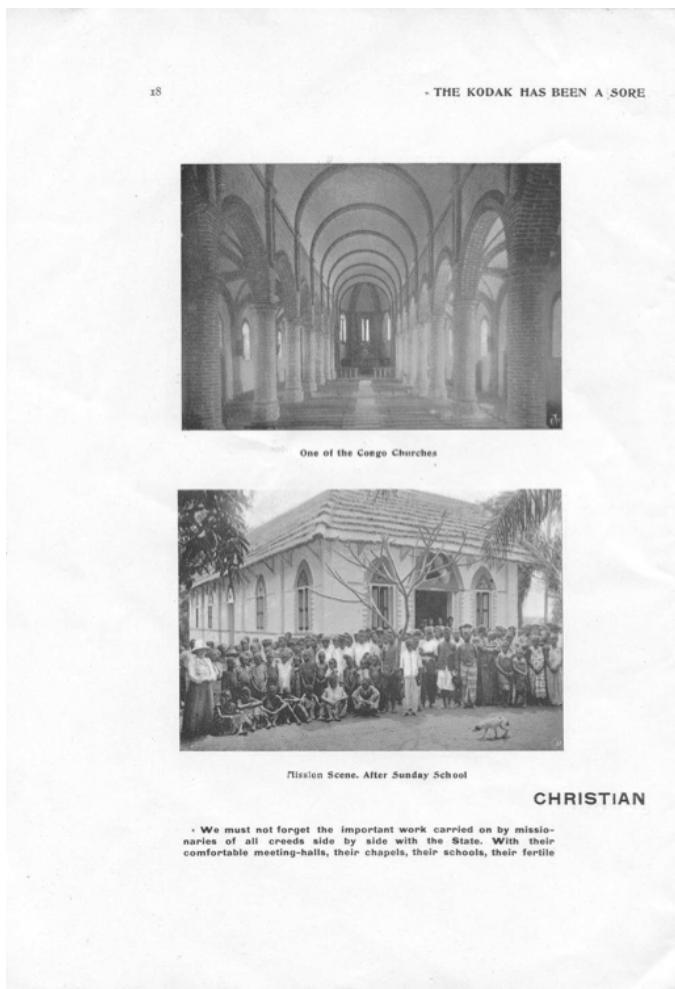


Figure 30: "The Kodak Has Been a Sore..."

Source: *An Answer to Mark Twain*. Brussels: A. G. Buhlens Brothers, 1907. Permission of Middlebury College. Image reproduced courtesy of the American Natural History Museum



Figure 31: "... Calamity to Us."

Source: *An Answer to Mark Twain*. Brussels: A. G. Buhlens Brothers, 1907. Permission of Middlebury College. Image reproduced courtesy of the American Natural History Museum

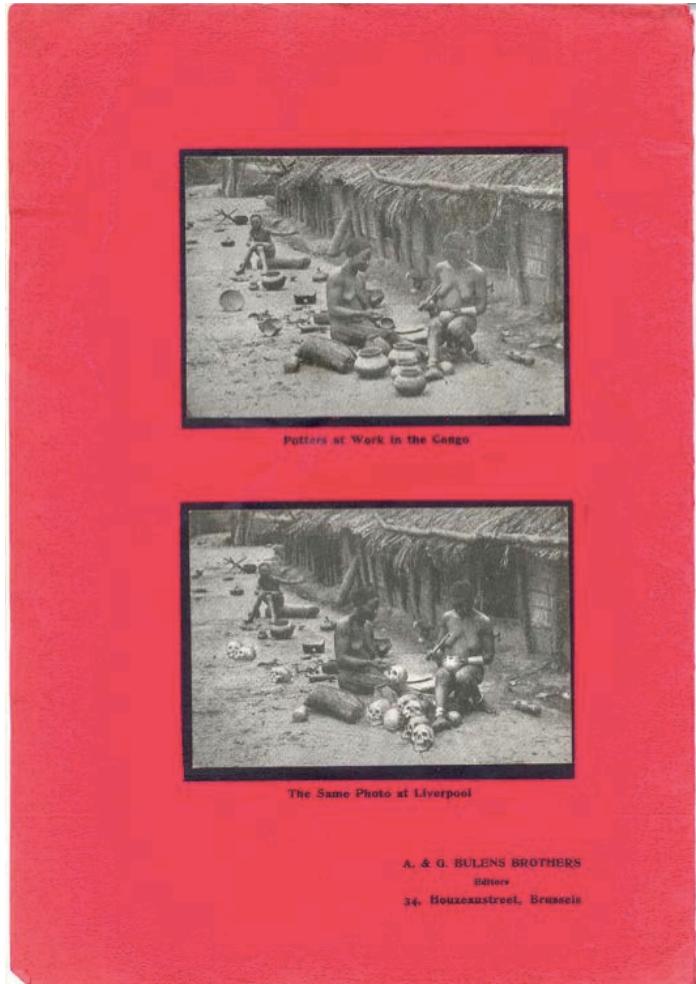


Figure 32: Back Cover of *An Answer to Mark Twain*.

Source: *An Answer to Mark Twain*. Brussels: A. G. Buhleens Brothers, 1907. Image courtesy of Special Collections, Middlebury College. Image source the American Natural History Museum, with permission.

All of Leopold's best public relations efforts were for naught, however. The attention of the world was caught by the work of authors including Twain and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, missionaries including the Harrises, and the tireless efforts of E. D. Morel. A nigh constant stream of media followed Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. Responses

to Twain were, apart from Leopold's own, largely in sync with Twain's scathing tone.

One indicative artifact is the June 1908 volume of *L'Assiette au Beurre*, a satirical, bilingual French publication, titled bilingually *Le Cimetiere Libre Du Congo / The Congo free Graveyard*. Featured on the cover is a visual answer to the question Twain asks at the end of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*: "ought King Leopold to be hanged?" (see fig. 33).<sup>49</sup> The cover image graphically, emphatically answers, yes.<sup>50</sup> Leopold abnegated his personal hold on the colony in 1908, shortly after the *L'Assiette au Beurre*'s publication. He was forced to sell his holdings to his government, in part because of the pressures brought about by the rallying of individuals and their governments, largely due to the constant work of the visually-powered C.R.A. and other satirical propaganda aimed at him. Though it is impossible to assign responsibility wholly to *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, *L'Assiette au Beurre*, or other visual works for Leopold's downfall, given the amount of work Leopold put into rebutting such texts, they were surely great thorns in his side.

---

<sup>49</sup> The so-titled article is included in the supplementary materials concluding *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. Twain notes at the page's bottom, "The above article which came to hand as the foregoing was in press is commended to the king and to readers of his Soliloquy.—M.T." (51).

<sup>50</sup> The images comprising the issue were no less graphic than the cover image. The nod to Twain is made pellucid in one image especially which is captioned with a quotation from *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (190).



Figure 33: Front Cover of *L'Assiette au Beurre*, June 1908.

Source: *L'Assiette au Beurre*, June 1908. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

Photographic manipulation was not new by the time the media battle over the Congo took off: by 1905, it was widely used by famed photographers like Mathew Brady and even more amateur photographers who wanted to show blue eyes or clouds. But Leopold's rewriting of photographic images for political ends was rather unusual—as Michiko Kakutani writes, King Leopold II's “effort to exert ‘spin control’ over his actions was “peculiarly modern” (n.p.). So too was *King Leopold's Soliloquy*'s merger of real and mediated photographs, cartoons, and textual visuals, which center the character

“Leopold’s” mind’s eye (and with it the reader’s) on the “ambivalence and undecidability” of the photographic object, to borrow a phrase from Kobena Mercer.

Considering the use of paratexts in the fight for perspectival and actual control over contested territories represented in Twain and Leopold’s texts sheds light on previously unexplored elements of the importance of visuality to the battle for domination in colonial and imperialist rhetoric. In my next and last chapter, I look to charged textual/visual eruptions in black periodicals as I examine how W. E. B. Du Bois and Pauline Hopkins experimented with form to heighten their works’ anti-imperialist tendencies.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **ALONG THE COLOR LINE OF AMERICAN PERIODICALS: FROM THE *COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE* TO THE CRISIS**

In his introduction to Corcoran Gallery of Art's catalogue for the 1990 fine arts exhibition "Facing History: The Black Image in American Art, 1710-1940," Henry Louis Gates Jr. stated that words, not counter images, were the weapons of choice for black intellectuals fighting the negative, racist imagery saturating American culture from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> While Gates does admit that some black individuals sought portraits and photographs of themselves, he finds their rarity to be "an effective critique of the visual arts as a medium for constructing images of black identity," concluding that overall "black intellectuals rejected the premise of visually structuring a black identity" (xxx). Discussing high and low art, Gates determines that "until the 1920s there was virtually no black counterpoint to the hegemony of racist visual images that dominated the popular arts and more subtly infiltrated the fine arts" (xliv). The cache of portraits of black leaders that does exist is, admittedly, limited and skewed, but it must be recalled that visual representation was not democratic for any race, class, or social group at the beginning of the twentieth century. Photographs were on the rise but portraits proper remain rarities, even today. To claim that the dearth of portraits of black leaders itself provides "commentary" on the inability of visual arts to join the conversation on black identity is to miss a world of discourse.

---

<sup>1</sup> Michele Wallace maintains that the "exhibition's organizers sought to ensure a pacified audience" by first, focusing on fine art and second, by "deliberately minimizing or suppressing angry or racist images" (341).

Visuality was more widely and flexibly deployed to counter negative stereotypes and to assert black identity than Gates allows, particularly within the black periodical movement. Photographs, illustrations, fine art, and advertisements are just a few of the means by which black modernists worked to reframe African Americans in media and culture. But works predating the Harlem Renaissance have been, by and large, left out of this discussion.<sup>2</sup>

Many black leaders before the recognized visual revolution of the Harlem Renaissance were adept with ocular aesthetics, interspersing identitarian and political visual elements of their writings and editorial work. I look specifically to two author-editors, Pauline Hopkins, prolific author and editor at the *Colored American Magazine* from 1900-1904 and W. E. B. Du Bois, co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and editor of its mouthpiece, the *Crisis*, from its inception in 1910.<sup>3</sup> Both the *Colored American Magazine* and the *Crisis* were premier periodicals and widely read, both editors politically driven. Du Bois was among the group of black intellectuals who often equated intranational oppression with imperialist and colonialist oppression abroad, and his work on the “problem of the color line” fought racism and imperialism at once. Hopkins’s novels, non-fiction work, and shorter writings

---

<sup>2</sup> The impact and importance of Du Bois’s photographic exhibit at the Paris Exposition to visualizing blackness cannot be under emphasized as a key moment in black visual culture. I do not do more than mention it because, important as that exhibit was, I am dealing with images that circulated as part of larger texts. See Shawn Michelle Smith’s *Photography of the Color Line* for more on this subject. For interesting takes on visuality in the *Crisis*, see Amy Kirschke’s *Art in Crisis*, which discusses the artists and art of the periodical, and Amy Elizabeth Carroll’s *Word, Image, and New Negro: Representation and Identity in the Harlem Renaissance*.

<sup>3</sup> Both served as editors and published their own work frequently in their respective magazines. Hopkins did so under her own name and a few pseudonyms.

place her politics in a greyer area, though, I maintain, still within the realm of anti-imperialism.<sup>4</sup>

I first concentrate on how Hopkins's work at the *Colored American Magazine*, distilled in her novella "Talma Gordon," confronts accommodationist and assimilationist policies from gender to race and nation. I add a discussion of Hopkins's merger of non-fiction, canonical fictional texts, graphic dimensions, and form to the accepted view of Hopkins as a writer and editor who strove to rewrite history from a black American female perspective in her work at the *Colored American Magazine*. I then turn to the challenges W. E. B. Du Bois poses to white supremacy and normativity through his work at the *Crisis*, particularly in its reactions to U.S. imperial forces.

The dynamic between (and surrounding) visuality and textuality seen in both periodicals complicates our understanding of reactions to U.S. imperialist ventures at the beginning of the twentieth century from within black print culture. Both editors frequently used visual strategies to reconfigure social and political categories and to reflect on how international politics influence those closer to home. Hopkins and Du Bois, painfully aware of the political climate in which they were working, experimented

---

<sup>4</sup> Amid the complicated spectrum of responses nationally and internationally, Du Bois's and Hopkins's feelings about U.S. imperialism have been hotly debated. Hopkins and Du Bois were politically outspoken: both at times argued that expansionist policies reified the merger of race- and class-based social stratification, connecting racism at home and racism abroad. Contested though Du Bois's and Hopkins's personal stances may have been on the subject of U.S. empire, their textual legacies provide insight into the complicated reactions to U.S. imperialism, particularly iterations of anti-imperialism and subversions of white-normative discussions of U.S. empire which often excluded black perspectives. For myriad reasons, Pauline Hopkins's stance has been read diversely, from complicit in "an accommodationist production of 'white bourgeois desire,'" to cautiously pro-imperialist (Gaines), to a socialist anticapitalist (O'Brien) who recognized that "U.S. imperialism is an evil that makes international cooperation among the dark races imminent because it unites geographically disparate peoples against a common enemy" (Gruesser 255). I maintain, like John Cullen Gruesser, that, as shown in her periodical work as editor and as a writer, Hopkins's sentiments toward U.S. territorial aggressions are more cautiously anti- than pro-imperialist. And though Du Bois is remembered as a leader of Pan-Africanism, little attention has been paid to how his earlier periodical work syncretizes with the accompanying art on the issue of empire—despite the recognized importance of anti-imperialism and visual culture to his later theories, novels, and publications.

with the space of the page and generic hybridity to circumvent silencing institutional factors. They broke with periodical culture frequently predicated on racism and inequality, using intermedial illustrations (that do not directly reflect, reinforce, or expand upon the page's contents) to enmesh and disrupt text with images that puncture the static, existential narratives commonly flattening black American representation, to reveal the complexities undergirding institutionalized racism, and to discuss the stakes of U. S. expansion for readers who were already, some argued, intranationally colonized. It is under their editorial eyes that the *Colored American Magazine* and the *Crisis* develop aesthetics that are powerfully modern, refracting culture into counterculture by setting the simulated nature of fiction to quiver in the presence of these intermedial images—the imagined, real, and “Real” world made to bleed, uncomfortably, one over and into the other.

Though it could be argued, as Peter Nicholls does, that modernism is grounded in “the aesthetic of an objectification of the other” (4) as it certainly later was, the modernist modes which are here in play is that modernism which at its heart rejects “realism” because realism, at least in terms of blackness in America, was hardly in the realm of lived experience: the grotesque stereotypes of blackness abounding at the beginning of the twentieth century and held up as real hardly need limning. Moreover, the “realism” of Hopkins and Du Bois’s black contemporaries often neared a like stage of exaggeration. Photographic exhibits and collected literary and graphic portraits were so middle-class as to become, like the activist photography I discussed in my last chapter, ideationally saturated. The images and their contexts could preach to the choir or be rejected flatly by disbelievers. This is the “visual crisis of culture,” to borrow Nicholas Mirzoeff’s phrase,

to which Gates alludes. This “crisis” was part and parcel with society’s failed visualization of blackness (Mirzoeff “What is Visual Culture?” 4). To ameliorate, or at least take a stand in this debate, both periodicals employed intermedial textual strategies that reframed the stakes articulated in separate pieces, complicating focalizations from within their pages, and questioning singular narratives of representation through radical formal restyling.

### **The *Colored American Magazine***

To understand how, why, and to what end Hopkins used hybrid media to propagate anti-imperial sentiment, one must look to the *Colored American Magazine*, her place there, the context of its production, and the conflicts that eventually tore it apart. A bit of background is necessary to contextualize the complexities of Hopkins’s use of hybrid media. I will first cover a brief history of the *Colored American Magazine*, her place there, and the inner conflicts that eventually tore it apart.

Costing subscribers \$1.50 per year or fifteen cents per issue, the *Colored American Magazine*, founded in 1900 by the “black-owned, Boston-based” Colored Co-Operative Publishing Company, was priced competitively with its more familiar counterparts like *Munsey’s*, *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, and *Harper’s Monthly*. Despite its current obscurity, the *Colored American Magazine* was the most important periodical by and for black Americans at the turn of the century (Mott 214). Part and parcel of the early *Colored American Magazine*’s mission was its exploration of African Americans’ position within a larger American schema as well as a global community of people of color. One of the goals of the magazine was to keep subscribers “in close touch with the various social movements among the colored race, not only throughout the country, but

the world,” according to the regular “Here and There” section’s heading. Success stories and affirmative portraits of black individuals from around the globe flooded the periodical’s pages alongside notes on decorum and home furnishings, stimulating an educated class of black readers—as well as the white readership that made up thirty percent of its sales. The nascent twentieth century’s *Colored American Magazine* strove to portray African American role models and leaders as well as to act “as a stimulus to old and young, the old to higher achievements, the young to emulate their example” (“Announcement”). With its initial focus on literature and culture as a means to bring about social change and its cooperative financing scheme as a way to involve the masses in the production and dissemination of literature, the magazine spoke for more than the “talented tenth.” Before she left it, Hopkins envisioned the *Colored American Magazine* as a periodical that could facilitate a “black renaissance in Boston” (Carby xxxi), one that would promote cultural equality, protest oppression, and showcase fine works.

After financially stumbling, the magazine was kept afloat until 1909 by funding from Booker T. Washington, a black intellectual who headed the charge for industrial education and John C. Freund, a white man bent on racial reconciliation. The *Colored American Magazine*’s early approach to addressing social issues through arts and literature had been antithetical to Booker T. Washington and Freund who saw fiction and short stories as less useful and less respectable than non-fictional, didactic works. In the place of fiction and arts, the pair of men pushed the *Colored American Magazine* toward business-oriented stories and away from fiction. Though Washington and Freund agreed with Hopkins that the *Colored American Magazine* should function as a “mouth-piece and inspiration of the Negro race throughout not only this country, but the world” for

“soul-growth and mind-enfranchisement” in the quest for equality, they criticized her valuation of literary protestation and her support of egalitarian gender politics (Elliott 45). Their means simply diverged widely.

In 1905, Hopkins sent William Monroe Trotter, editor of the *Boston Guardian*, a ten-page letter and twenty-seven pages of documentation on the subject of Freund and Washington’s policies.<sup>5</sup> In these pages, she explains how the once-fiery periodical was fizzling. Citing her discussion of U.S. expansion as a prime point of dissent, Hopkins quotes at length from a proscriptive letter from Freund in which he demands she cut literature and politically charged articles. She writes that the magazine’s financial backer requires the suppression of “anything that may create offense; stop talking about wrongs and a proscribed race”; he goes so far as to insist that Hopkins eliminate critical references to the Philippine-American War in her writing and in the magazine at large (qtd. in Brown *Black Daughter* 550). “If you people, therefore, want to get out a literary magazine, with article [sic] ON THE FILIPINO, I refuse to work one minute longer with you,” Freund threatens, continuing, “That is my ultimatum and I shall say no more on the subject.”

Freund’s strongly worded embargoes on political texts did not stop Hopkins from working polemical issues into her contributions and into the periodical at large from any angle. The periodical shifted its focus from literary and cultural writing to coverage of current events and business—and to a swiftly diminishing reading public. Eventually, Hopkins was demoted, then dismissed. As John Cullen Gruesser states, “It was just a

---

<sup>5</sup> “A purposeful woman,” Lois Brown concisely sums up Hopkins in *Pauline Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution*, “she used her writings to facilitate both private and public agendas” (16).

matter of time before Hopkins's tenure as editor and thus its engagement with international issues would come to an end" (114).<sup>6</sup>

Freund's rhetoric suggests cracks in his solidarity with the staff of the magazine and an abstraction from his readers. It also highlights his attitude that *discussing* situations like that of the Philippines didn't just offend readers but stirred up trouble where there had been none, "creating" offense.<sup>7</sup> This stance was incredibly blind to the conversations taking place in the pages of the *Colored American Magazine* and other black press forums. The Spanish- and Philippine-American Wars, and related expansionist policies, were particularly divisive within African American communities, becoming, for example, major issues during the presidential election of 1900.

### ***The Stakes of Expansion***

Race was central to the expansion debates, was especially personal for black Americans. As has been roundly noted, some anti-imperialists, white and black, believed that expansion as it was being handled was unconstitutional or falsely premised. A group of black Bostonians published a protest addressed to the President in the *Boston Post* on 18 July 1899, maintaining that "while the rights of colored citizens in the South, sacredly guaranteed them by the amendment of the Constitution, are shamefully disregarded; and, while frequent lynchings of Negroes who are denied a civilized trial are a reproach to Republican government, the duty of the President and country is to reform these crying

---

<sup>6</sup> Hopkins claimed that as a result of this shift in politics, sales sunk to two hundred issues a month, which would have been fatal to the enterprise had it not been for the largess of "Mr. Washington's private purse" (*Brown Black Daughter* 554).

<sup>7</sup> One need only glance at other black periodicals for his argument's lack of legs to become clear. An excellent source of such an overview can be found in *The Black Press Views American Imperialism, 1898-1900* by George Marks III (1973).

domestic wrongs and not attempt the civilization of alien peoples by powder and shot” (qtd. in Schirmer and Shalom 33).

The issue of expansionist politics made many black Americans feel that they had to choose between race and nation. The racial elements of the wars were too saturated (some said catalyzing) to avoid seeping into domestic territory: negative perceptions and treatment of people of color abroad could generalize and impact their lives within the United States, sweeping away the advancements that had been made since the Civil War.<sup>8</sup>

Du Bois's co-founder of the *Crisis*, Howard University professor Kelly Miller, was among those who felt the annexation debates forced black Americans to choose between racial and national solidarity. In his often-reprinted 1900 article “The Effect of Imperialism Upon the Negro Race” he contended that the color line was so thick that nothing could prevent the stigmas applied to the Filipinos, for example, from bleeding through to people of color stateside, revitalizing racial prejudices and socioculturally manufactured stigmas. Miller argues that black Americans should not blindly follow the pro-imperialist and pro-expansionist Republican party as they had in the past but must instead patriotically stand against imperialism. In his article, Miller writes, “the United States is attempting to force, *vi et armes* [sic], an alien government upon a unanimously hostile and violently unwilling people. Acquiescence on the part of the negro in the political rape upon the Filipino would give ground of justification to the assaults upon his

---

<sup>8</sup> Many white anti-imperialists were against U.S. expansion because they, too, feared losing status. Theirs was a different bugbear, predicated on annexation creating a greater involvement with people of color. They believed that the proximity gained by annexing lands such as the Philippines would threaten white supremacy in the contiguous United States and in their new territories. Their main concern was that they might lose their majority or “racial purity.” Although some white anti-imperialists were concerned about how the treatment of peoples in annexed and contested lands were treated or visualized would impact people of color in the United States, few worried that their own whiteness would be conflated with the many stereotypes applied to people of color abroad.

rights at home. The Filipino is at least his equal in capacity for self-government.”<sup>9</sup> Miller asks “how, with consistency, could the despoilers of the brown man’s rights in Manila, upbraid the nullifiers of the black man’s rights in Mississippi? The pill of imperialism may be sugar-coated to the taste, but the negro swallows it to his own political damnation,” continuing, “it is infinitely better for the black man that he be, for the present, violently deprived of his rights in the South than that he should be lulled into acquiescence with the suppressive policy which must ere long steal away his own liberty.”<sup>10</sup>

Similarly combining global with domestic concerns, Du Bois’s 1900 essay from the *Southern Workman* begins with the observation, “the Spanish war and its various sequels have gravely increased some of our difficulties in dealing with the Negro problems,” and concludes, “for half the cost of an ironclad to sail about the world and get us into trouble we might *know* instead of *think* about the Negro problems” (309). In 1904, Du Bois wrote in *World Today* that “[t]he ideals of human rights are obscured” as “the nation has begun to swagger about the world in its useless battleships looking for helpless peoples whom it can force to buy its goods at high prices” (qtd. in Lewis 329), continuing the thought in “The Atlanta Conferences.” Therein he juxtaposes colonial expansion, capitalism, and American racism: the United States “can go to the South Sea Islands half way around the world and beat and shoot a weak people longing for freedom into the

---

<sup>9</sup> “Vi et armis” translates from the Latin to “by force and arms.” It is commonly used in lawsuits under which an action trespasses upon a person or place in a harmful manner, with or without malicious intent.

<sup>10</sup> It is unknown if Miller’s article, which went on to be roundly republished in forums such as the *New England Anti-Imperialist Bulletin*, was actually read by Hopkins before or after she wrote “Talma Gordon.” However, it is probable that such a controversial and popular piece written in her region by someone invested both in politics and literature would have caught the attention of an ambitious woman dedicated to the promotion of black literature (among other literary acts, Miler worked with Du Bois to edit the *Crisis* from its inception).

slavery of American color prejudice at the cost of hundreds of millions" ("The Atlanta Conferences" qtd. in Green and Driver 55).

While one side was skeptical that sacrificing international solidarity would lead to benefits for black Americans in the long run, another believed that active participation in imperialist politics would help to secure for African Americans a visage of patriotism—and with it a fuller acceptance and inclusions in visions of citizenship. An anonymous writer of the latter opinion expressed this view in the *Indianapolis Freeman* when he urged his readers "to quit claiming kindred with every black face from Hannibal down. Hannibal was no Negro, nor was Aguinaldo [leader of the Filipinos]. We are to share in the glories or defeats of our country's wars, that is patriotism pure and simple" (qtd. in Marks 150). This group maintained that fighting and distancing themselves from "less civilized" peoples such as Filipinos in contested regions would allow black Americans to achieve greater respect from white Americans.

Exemplifying its investment in these debates, the *Colored American Magazine* was politicized from the first page of the first issue: the magazine opened with a formal shot of "Company "L" of the Sixth Regiment, M.V.M., an all-black regiment, reviewed at the Massachusetts State House in 1900 on its return from action in Cuba. As indicated by the primacy of this image, American expansion and the war in the Philippines were constant topics in the first few years of the *Colored American Magazine*'s publication.

Two views of American expansion predominated in the *Colored American Magazine*'s early years: those who felt it could only hurt black Americans and those who felt imperialism provided black Americans with an opportunity did to improve their lot within the United States far better than Reconstruction policies. For example, on the last

page of the October 1900 issue in which Hopkins's "Talma Gordon" appears, an article, "Negro and Filipino," was reprinted from the *Lewiston Journal* (334). A quiet castigation of Americans who protested an American imperial presence in the Philippines yet failed to see or to care about the stamp of imperialism on their own soil, "Negro and Filipino" admonishes its readers to see the relationship between American attitudes of colonialism abroad and at home. "Negro and Filipino" underscores the need for egalitarianism rather than subjugation. It asks what the result will be in the United States if people of color in other nations are not independent yet not citizens of the United States. Additional pieces show a converse view. One such text, "From Our Friends in the Far East," a letter sent from Manila by Captain W.H. Jackson, an African American soldier featured in the *Colored American Magazine*-opening image of Company "L," extols expansion for putting him on the side of America rather than that of the enemy. He writes, "the insurgents even sent out placards to the colored officers and men, asking us not to fight against them, because we were of the same color. But we only laugh, for we are U.S. soldiers, and all the enemies of the U.S. government look alike to us, hence we go along with the killing, just as with other people" (149).

As the above shows, when Freund attempted to stopper Pauline Hopkins—and through her the polemical discussions in the *Colored American Magazine*—he appears oblivious to the depths that contending forces such as the Philippines had already had on his readers. The debates, and the *Colored American Magazine*'s readership, were already raging.

Prior to Freund and Washington's censoring project, the *Colored American Magazine* featured fiction and editorials nodding to the necessity of not only unifying but

of creating historical counter-narratives. Rarely one to mince words, in a Pan-Africanist call-to-arms, Pauline Hopkins petitioned “all Negroes, whether Frenchmen, Spaniards, Americans, or Africans” to take charge of history, “the sole possession of the Negro race in America,” privileging transnational over national alliances and bolstering a quintessential Andersonian imagined community (“L’Overture” 10; Anderson 6-7).<sup>11</sup>

Generic hybridity was one of Hopkins’s main means of accessing this shared history. As C.K. Doreski finds, “by conflating discourses of history, biography, fictional narrative, race, and gender in order to shape a rhetorical self to counter the absence of a reliable race history,” Hopkins takes the approach that “history for black America is what *is not what was*” (73; 84, emphasis in original). This difference, though subtle, marks her divide from many black leaders like Washington. While both focus on the present, their approach to what comprises those threads differs.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to their gender and genre politics, another crucial difference between Hopkins’s and Washington’s approaches to navigating black American identities can be

<sup>11</sup> The importance of history—and of controlling one’s image—to Pauline Hopkins could not be put more clearly than in the first article in the series on “Famous Men of the Negro Race.” Writing of Toussaint L’Overture, the revolutionary Haitian who fought slavery and colonialism, Hopkins states, “[t]he voice of history is the voice of God” (10). The series ends, as Gruesser notes, with a disparaging assessment of Booker T. Washington, whom Hopkins compares to Napoleon, Toussaint L’Overture’s betrayer (117). After L’Overture’s power grew to threatening magnitudes, Napoleon offered him peace and a formal recognition of Haitian independence in exchange for L’Overture’s retirement. L’Overture was invited—under Napoleon’s aegis—to complete the negotiations. However, Napoleon reneged on his promise of immunity and ordered L’Overture imprisoned and assassinated. When later asked about this broken vow Napoleon is said to have dismissed the charge by asking, “What could the death of one wretched Negro mean to me?” (qtd. in Feam 390). For Hopkins to align Washington with Napoleon, particularly as the last in a series of portraits begun with a focus on L’Overture, is to make a very subtle but very serious condemnation of the American leader and American leadership.

<sup>12</sup> To concretely assign her agency in the transmedial presentation of her story is impossible but not far-fetched. It is likely Hopkins was aware of the inner workings of the small enterprise though it is unknown exactly how much control she had over the magazine’s layout. The envisioning of representations of political issues and people. Despite the universal acknowledgement that Hopkins, as editor of the Women’s Department from 1901-1903 and literary editor in 1903 until she fell from favor, was crucial to the overall success and the day-to-day functioning of the *Colored American Magazine*, the “what and when of her duties ...remain somewhat unclear” (McKay 4).

seen in their use of the sort of portraits to which Gates alludes. As I will show, Hopkins uses these portraits somewhat unexpectedly, as intermedial illustrations for fiction. Washington's use was much more straightforward. As seen in the anthology of portraits, *A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of The Upward Struggles of the Negro Race*, he helped to edit in 1900, Washington's vision of black America was militant, upper class, and industrially-oriented. Indicating the primacy of place that empire had for his vision of progress, the title page of this book demarcates black militarism as the topic of the first two parts of the volume: "The Spanish-American War, Causes of It; Vivid Descriptions of Fierce Battles; Superb Heroism and Daring Deeds of the Negro Soldier" and "'Colored Officers of No Colored Soldiers': The Closing of the War and the Peace Treaty." In fact, eight of the 18 chapters explicitly center on black Americans' heroism in American wars.<sup>13</sup> Co-editing the book were historian N. B. Woods, who headed the section on industry and "club woman, writer, and author" Fannie Barrier Williams, who wrote on the importance of the club woman to racial "regeneration."

Washington's anthology, bookended by portraits of himself and his wife as epitomes of vision, combines portraits, literary and visual, of abolitionist, artistic, military, and social leaders (fig. 34 and fig. 35). A photograph of Washington himself, stitched to the red, white, and gilt cover, hovers between two crossed American flags. Likewise, throughout the anthology, headshots and drawings of men and women take full

---

<sup>13</sup> Gates posits that the anthology's "apparent emphasis on military accomplishments" was a concerted effort to "refute claims made by Theodore Roosevelt in *Scribner's Magazine* in 1899 advocating mandatory command of black soldiers by white officers because of inherent racial weaknesses which prevented black officers from commanding effectively" (xxxviii).

pages, fulfilling the promise made on the title page to the readers that the anthology is “magnificently illustrated.”<sup>14</sup>

The vision of blackness promoted in *A New Negro* does not exponentially differ from that which Pauline Hopkins crafted or that which is available to the superficial reader of the early *Colored American Magazine*: as Gates writes, there were only so many images of black Americans available for circulation at the beginning of the twentieth century, and very few that met the standards of class proscribed for print. They differ in that, for Hopkins, the consumable presentation of the near and distance past has a greater impact on the present than whatever the truth may be. Central to her editorial work were issues pertaining directly to and loosely with hegemony, from gendered oppression to American imperialism. While never quite whimsical, Hopkins wove together written and visual genres in the *Colored American Magazine* and in doing so, created layered narratives of blackness and Americanness that reach far beyond Washington’s more constrained categories.

---

<sup>14</sup> No women’s visages appear before Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams on page 378 but luminaries including Sojourner Truth are discussed before that point. From Mrs. Williams on, the images are only of women. The section on women takes only about an eighth of the total pages, but about 20 of the 60 images (one is of the Tuskegee Institute) are of women.

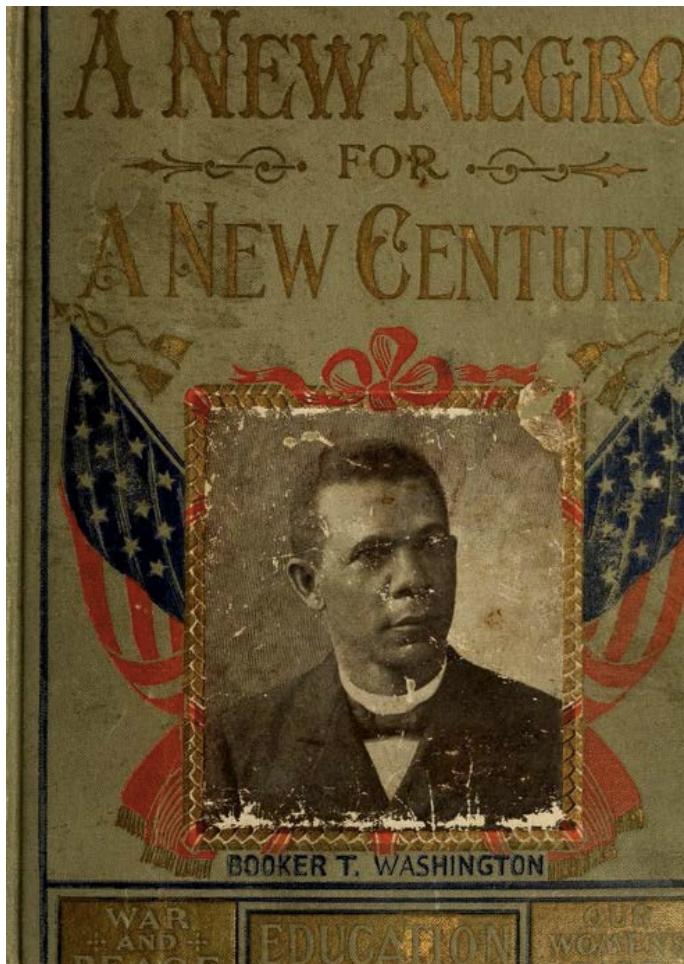


Figure 34: Front Cover of *New Negro for a New Century*.

Source: Washington, Booker T., N. B. Woods, and Fannie Barrier Williams, eds. *A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race*. Chicago: American Publishing House, 1900. Courtesy of the University of Connecticut.



Figure 35: "Mrs. Booker T. Washington."

Source: Washington, Booker T., N. B. Woods, and Fannie Barrier Williams, eds. *A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race*. Chicago: American Publishing House, 1900. Courtesy of the University of Connecticut.

### ***“Talma Gordon”***

An example of a contribution that focused on reclaiming and personalizing the “voice of history” in form and content—and which might have displeased Freund nearly as much as Hopkins’s later insubordination—is her 1900 novella, “Talma Gordon,” a frame tale representative of the complex dynamics at play in the *Colored American*

*Magazine*. Set out from the hazy realm between journalism and popular culture that the *Colored American Magazine* in its entirety straddled, “Talma Gordon” interrogates the stories of Hopkins’s time as they solidify into circulating history and “truth.” Looking at dynamics of power, she merges issues of class, race, colonialism and empire, gender, the production and consumption of culture, and nation.

“Talma Gordon” quickly moves from the first frame, a white club’s smoky inner circle debating the impact of expansion on the Anglo Saxon to its next layer, the story of the murders of Captain Gordon, his second wife and their infant son, and then into the Captain’s daughters’ lives. Their struggles after the sudden revelation of their matrilineal African American heritage in the face of their assumed whiteness parry with the murderer’s motivations before the novella returns to the tale’s present. There, it is revealed that Talma Gordon has become the wife of Dr. Thornton, the opening narrator. In one of the central layers, Jeanette, the title character’s sister, enraged that she and Talma were disinherited of their deceased mother’s fortune in favor of their white half-brother, patricidally takes up an “East Indian dagger.” To cut a short story shorter, Jeanette was beaten to the job by the pseudonymous Simon Cameron who slit the necks of her father, usurpatious stepmother, and baby half-brother as they slept. The Gordon girls’ separation from their rightful estate parallels the retributive and ethnically ambiguous Cameron’s severance from his patrilineage. Simon Cameron, one soon finds, is the son of a man Captain Gordon betrayed and murdered in his East Indian tradings. Captain Gordon purportedly shot Cameron’s father after the two had gone to bury treasure. This action, unexpected for an ostensibly reputable representative of the East Indian Trading Company, drives to the heart of the web composed of colonialism, piracy,

class, and race at play in the novella. In particular, Simon's story highlights the human fallout of imperialist greed, a topic not lightly trod in Hopkins's oeuvre.

"Talma Gordon" could have been titled "Expansion: Its Oppressive and Exploitive effects on People of Color Throughout the World"; like most of Hopkins's work at the *Colored American Magazine*, "Talma Gordon" serves to remind Hopkins's readers of their own importance in the writing of their future, the act of seeing themselves and one another, and the connections between politics abroad in colonized spaces and racially motivated oppression at home.

Personifying those excluded from the group of relevant players in the Club's discussion of expansion, the "heroine" Talma Gordon is silent throughout the story. Unlike other characters, including Jeanette and Simon, Talma Gordon does not break into the doctor's narrative to compete with his voice as an historical authority. Talma's story is told for her. This is accentuated by the way her husband introduces her to his club (and the readers) as "*nee* Talma Gordon" instead of Talma Thornton *nee* Gordon as the French adjective is more properly used ("*nee*" rudely translating to "born.") This linguistic slip puts her entire name and thus self and history (barring her role as "wife") into the past while failing to bring forward her new identity. By so introducing, or rather erasing, the voiceless Talma Gordon through syntactical agility, Hopkins suggests the price of the very assimilationist accommodation that Washington and Freund strongly support. This deft move also reminds her readers to pay attention not simply to the text itself, but to all elements of it: layout, syntax, word choices, and silences. "Freedom of speech" wasn't exactly the motto for black female magazine editors at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the United States, after all.

### *Casting “Talma Gordon”*

Readers faced Hopkins’s groundbreaking work alongside images testifying to the fraught relationships between race and nation reverberating in so much of the *Colored American Magazine*. The *Colored American Magazine*’s readers might have, as so many readers do, flipped through the story to “pre-view” the illustrations. In this case, they would have come across the intermedial images and texts now bound to the novella by their proximity (and, in reading, through their thematic correlations). Portraits, advertisements, and other transmedial supplements augment the novella’s many frames while bringing the magazine into the story; at the same time, the images draw the text outward into the wider world.<sup>15</sup> Put another way, the stypic illustrations of “Talma Gordon” bear no direct reflection on the story. They do not technically follow any of Thomas Inge’s categories of illustrations as they do not reflect or directly comment upon the text which they accompany. However, they butt into and participate in the narrator Dr. Thornton’s telling and the prime frame’s “discussion” of expansion, race, representation, and nation, reverberating with implications of empire for the African American community, from soldiers to women, and for the larger community of people of color throughout the world.

The mixture of story and images in the novella was not entirely unusual for the *Colored American Magazine*, per se, but it does provide an excellent example of a form not commonly found in other early black periodicals. Taken in context, “Talma Gordon” demonstrates how dynamic textuality opens and complicates the frames of deceptively

---

<sup>15</sup> John Cullen Gruesser covers the structure of “Talma Gordon” adeptly in the coda to *The Empire Abroad and the Empire at Home*.

simple narratives and shows some of the innovative uses to which visuality was being put at this time.<sup>16</sup>

Three of the four textual intermissions in “Talma Gordon” explicitly focus on Americans variously affected by internationalist imperatives and thematic continuations from the novella fuse the seemingly independent inclusions to Hopkins’s text. These pairings face the text with the realms of inequality specific to African American lives and bind American expansion with American objectification and oppression.

The effects of the intermedial paratexts on the reader’s experience are all the greater because there are no illustrations proper in this novella. There are no rendered scenes or abstracted vignettes, no woodcut of Jeanette seeking her murder weapon nor a simple view of one of the many important letters. As was frequently the case in the *Colored American Magazine*, in keeping with the later philosophy of imaginative austerity, fiction rarely rated reflective art. Non-fiction, conversely, was regularly bedecked with visual illuminations, some even taking on elements of whimsy.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Sigrid Cordell has argued that the novella’s frames (she does not delve into the visual or intertextual elements of the piece) “both illuminate and complicate her ideology of racial uplift, as well as the magazine’s relation to its audience” while this “multiply-embedded structure...explicitly reveals three aspects of social history: first, the historical reality of violence against black women in the United States; second, the extent to which white, upper middle-class identity depends upon perpetuating and hiding that violence; and third, that this situation creates enormous potential for rage on the part of the oppressed” (53).

<sup>17</sup> It was far more common for photographs, in the *Colored American Magazine* and in its contemporaries, to be fit with the stories they accompany than to be wedged in with other pieces. One possible explanation for misalliances (like that between Smith and “Talma Gordon”) is that they were intentionally created as teasers to entice readers to consume more of the issue, especially as the caption accompanying Smith’s image directs the reader to “See page 293” (283). Inserting a lead that invites the reader to flip to another story keeps readers immersed in the world of the magazine longer. It is a similar strategy to the marketing technique that frontloads issues of newspapers and magazines with stories only to continue them in small packets in the back pages of a number. I do not find this theory wholly convincing in the case of the Smith photograph, though, because “Talma Gordon” ended a mere three pages before “Paris and the International Exposition” began: teaser tactics logically require greater “browsing” than three short pages to maximize their full marketing potential.

“Talma Gordon” opens with a facing image in which issues of race, citizenship, and nation, topics focal both to the magazine at large and to the novella, are condensed. Though published here first, “The Young Colored American,” as the image is titled, would become iconic, often advertised for sale as “an art work that should be in every home” (fig. 36).<sup>18</sup> What is striking about this image is its complicated depiction of patriotism and its repeated placement as a commodity in the periodical. The child wavers between being an object of the magazine and a figure for the idealized reader to identify with (as much as any home furnishing becomes an extension of the self), all the while being connected to “Talma Gordon.” The accompanying novella is part of the *Colored American Magazine*, yes, but like most contributions, a discrete entity with a plotted beginning, middle, and end. Like many such stypic illustrations, “The Young Colored American” adheres the reader’s world to the fictional worlds of the story and the liminal world of the periodical forum, sticky with its layered reality and fantasy. In the image, a nearly nude child on a pedestal is looking forward, waving to welcome an American future, wrapped in the American flag that cuts diagonally across the frame, bringing to mind the tilted flags blazing across Washington’s *New Negro*. The child is controlling this icon yet the ends are wrapped around him, transformed into clothing, creating borders around his identity.<sup>19</sup> The child replaces the flag’s usual upright presentation with

---

<sup>18</sup> In the November 1900 issue “The Young Colored American” again appears, this time with the headline “An Art Work That Should Be in Every Home” and the caption, “owing to the widespread interest aroused by the publication of this picture in our October number we have made arrangements to issue a large reproduction of same as art work. It will be in the highest grade of photogravure reproduction size 18 x 24 inches with India tint on the best plate paper. Price, \$1.00, postpaid (n.p.)” Blended into the advertisement is a call for subscription agents “wanted in every town.”

<sup>19</sup> I have chosen to use masculine pronouns when discussing the ambiguously sexed child for the sakes of clarity and readerly ease.

his body: he is elevated, elated, and victorious, one fist raised in the air, pointing to the sky. But is he idolized or isolated?



*Photograph by T. Brady, Boston.*

THE YOUNG COLORED AMERICAN.

Figure 36: "The Young Colored American."

Source: *Colored American Magazine* 1.5 (Oct. 1900). Courtesy of Google.

The image appears to postulate a future where this child of color controls an American mythos instead of being obscured by it. But *Colored American Magazine* readers were likely to ask what was at stake or compromised by his interpellation. The “photogravure” implies that he can be both proudly black and proudly American, but this doubled nature was not as easy to come by as the child makes it appear—as the debates around participation in expansionist ventures filling so many issues of the *Colored*

*American Magazine* and other forums in the black press make clear. The flag contains him, the pedestal renders him immobile and so reduces the threat he may pose to the nation at large with any race-based international alliances. As an image advertised to decorate the home, he highlights national and racial tensions and the way they are sold, consumed, traded, interpellated, and naturalized. “The Young Colored American” image captures the figuratively contested terrains of domestic spaces, nationhood, and citizenship that haunt both the *Colored American Magazine* and “Talma Gordon” and literally or imaginatively hangs them in the homes of the *Colored American Magazine*’s readers.

In the eighteen pages between “The Young Colored American” and the conclusion of “Talma Gordon” are photographs of the uniformed Charles Byron Smith, “one of the United States Guards at the Paris Exposition,” and a headshot of Mrs. Johnson, “one of the social leaders of Pueblo, Col.” (283-84, see fig. 37 and fig. 38). Such portraits are reminiscent of the biographies of major and minor historical players integral to Hopkins’s works at the *Colored American Magazine* and comprising a large portion of works such as Washington’s *New Negro*. Positive portraits of black figures were often interspersed within the magazine but rarely accompanied fiction. It was not that the *Colored American Magazine* was entirely without woodcuts or decorative (if subdued) frills. These were mainly reserved for serious pieces, cover art, or to separate sections. Used as they are here, they mutate, taking on elements of the novella which in turn takes on pieces of them. Moreover, the use of inserted, intermedial images here indicates how important individual lives are to larger issues.

Dressed in military garb, Charles Byron Smith was not, as it appears at first glance, being celebrated for his part in recent actions in the Spanish-American or Philippine-American Wars but was a guard at the photographic exhibit organized by Du Bois featured at the Paris Exposition, an event with which Hopkins's readers would have been familiar. This exhibit was a celebration of African American advancement and culture. Shawn Michelle Smith argues Du Bois's exhibit was used to "emblematize the complicated visual dynamics of double-consciousness," disrupting "the images of African Americans produced 'through the eyes of others,'" a theme integral both to "Talma Gordon" and to the *Colored American Magazine* as a whole (581). It seems doubly strange that Charles Byron Smith's photograph was inserted in "Talma Gordon," rather than the article *directly following* the novella in which he is mentioned. As he is present in the novella, the guard's image and caption reify these motifs, bringing the imperatives of the Paris Exposition to "Talma Gordon"; his figural placement within the story ties his article to the novella, affecting with tendrils of association how the multiple layers of "Talma Gordon" are consumed.



CHARLES BYRON SMITH.

One of the United States Guards at the Paris Exposition.

(See page 293.)

Figure 37: “Charles Byron Smith.”

Source: *Colored American Magazine* 1.5 (Oct. 1900).

The third stypic image is of the Western socialite. In lieu of a synchronized illustration of Talma, the picture of Mrs. Johnson seems to stand in for the silent (silenced) title character, Talma Gordon, a society maven herself. In so doing, she gives Talma Gordon a face with which to confront the male-dominated frontline abroad with the work that black women were doing in America—even without the pomp of their more vocal and *visible* male counterparts.



MRS. JOHNSON.  
One of the leaders of social life in Pueblo, Col.

Figure 38: “Mrs. Johnson.”

Source: *Colored American Magazine* 1.5 (Oct. 1900).

The end of the novella is buttressed by a poem by Benjamin Griffith Brawley entitled “New Wars.”<sup>20</sup> “New Wars” pauses upon the wars that build upon one another, losing all meaning except domination in the end. Moreover, it criticizes the “Christian host” whose sense of exceptionalism is exceptional only in its delusions of grandeur: “Hurl on the lance! Break up the ancient peace! . . . Sound forth the call to wars that never cease!” The narrator sneers, animalizing the abstracted war-mongerers, “Ye hoot

---

<sup>20</sup> The story proper begins on the right of the page, the left taken up by “The Young Colored American” and ends on the right, thus, with its paratexts, folding together neatly as a whole

the yellow Mongol from your land; / But forth to regions all his own ye go/ To reap the riches of his overflow, / And just ye call the working of your hand!,” scoffing at the hypocrisy of the “Christian host”: “this, *this* the enlightened freeman’s boast!” (290, emphasis in original). With discussions of the policies surrounding the Philippines, Cuba, and other geographical annexations abounding through the issue, it is nearly impossible for these implicit, immediate events not to surface as referents.

Both the text of “Talma Gordon” and its paratexts illustrate the mission of the *Colored American Magazine* by drawing together the tensions between fiction and reality, public and private, and domestic and international spheres, further disrupting Dr. Thornton’s narrow-minded narration with visual/textual interactions. They serve, like Du Bois’s Paris Exposition’s, to reconstitute “the contours of institutional knowledge, refocusing photographic meaning and visual identification out from the archival margin”; but where Du Bois’s archive shifts “the apex of normalcy” to “an African American middle class,” to borrow Shawn Michelle Smith’s words, Hopkins’s work unfurls that apex, and extends that “apex of normalcy” just a bit (9). Unlike Washington’s polarized portraits which hypersaturate the image of black middle class respectability he promoted, Hopkins’s editorial ripples desaturate similar portraits. Because “Talma Gordon” is a frame tale, these extratextual disruptions function as an additional frame, questioning the binary of truths presented in the story, and, frequently, in the media at large, while *reframing* the murder-mystery as a whole. In doing so, they ask the question often at the heart of the *Colored American Magazine*, how does expansion affect people of color? “Talma Gordon” also poses the more polemical and ambiguous questions: what is the *real* crime presented in the narrative? Who are the true criminals? The real victims?

From its early attention to a wide array of genres to its innovative use of portraiture, the *Colored American Magazine* greatly influenced its literary descendants. Its pioneering attention to international issues, black internationalism, and its homage to the arts were held up in later iterations of the black press; so, too, were its divorce from those things and subsequent castration, its enervation held up as a warning to other periodicals daring to write outside of the accepted forms. Eventually, Washington and Freund moved the *Colored American Magazine* from Boston to New York. This move and Hopkins's dismissal have been considered portents of the *Colored American Magazine*'s demise.<sup>21</sup> In a November 1912 article entitled "The Colored Magazine in America" in *Crisis*, W. E. B. Du Bois reports that though the *Colored American Magazine* was once widely distributed, the "magazine was bought by friends favorable to the conciliatory attitude, and transferred to New York, where it became so conciliatory, so innocuous and uninteresting that it dies a peaceful death almost unnoticed by the public" (33). Pauline Hopkins's diatribe on Freund and Washington also achieved notoriety. As Alisha Knight points out in *Pauline Hopkins and the American Dream*, Du Bois quotes exactly from Hopkins's letter to Trotter in his 1912 article on the fall of the once great magazine (47). The word-for-word sentences Hopkins herself quoted from a 1904 letter read as follows: "As a white friend said: 'If you are going to take up the wrongs of your race then you must depend for support absolutely on your race. For the colored man to-day to attempt to stand up to fight would be like a canary bird facing a bulldog, and an angry one at that'" (qtd. in Knight "Furnace Blasts" 47). Clearly,

---

<sup>21</sup> For a closer examination of the revolutionary under and overtones in Hopkins's work, I recommend Ira Dworkin's *Pauline Hopkins: Daughter of the Revolution* and Lois Brown's *Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution* and Nellie McKay's introduction to *The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins*.

Hopkins's letter continued to have an effect on Du Bois nearly a decade after it was penned. So, too, it seems, did her embrasure of the modernist (and postmodernist) possibilities of visuality.

### **W. E. B. Du Bois and the *Crisis***

#### *Spectres of War*

Fittingly, like Du Bois's other writings, the *Crisis* frequently dealt with the domestic effects of extraterritorial imperialism and the matters of black internationalism. The still-running monthly mouthpiece of the NAACP was formed in 1910 when it cost ten cents per copy or a dollar per year, its stated mission to pursue "the world-old dream of human brotherhood" by revealing the "danger of race prejudice" and "the great problem of inter-racial relations" throughout the world. Like the early *Colored American Magazine*, the *Crisis* touched on issues such as education; labor; women's rights and suffrage; and wars. It also similarly promoted visual and literary arts. Its first issue was edited by W.E.B. Du Bois "with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, J. Max Barber, Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller, W. S. Braithwaite and M. D. Maclean." Notable authors and artists including Jessie Fauset, Charles Chesnutt, Langston Hughes, Angelina W. Grimke, Laura Wheeler, Lorenzo Harris, and Aaron Douglas published in its pages. Like the *Colored American Magazine*, it opened not with a mewl but a yawp.

The leanings of the magazine can be, in part, explained by editor Du Bois's sympathies. Du Bois stood with his professor from Harvard University, William James, against the United States's treatment of Filipinos in the Philippine-American War. This war, among other things, contributed to Du Bois's declaration: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line" (*Souls* 9). This incredibly visual

statement was first delivered in March of 1900, seven months before “Talma Gordon” appeared in print, as part of a talk entitled “The Present Outlook for the Dark Races of Mankind” at the American Negro Academy’s third annual meeting. Both the talk and the meeting converged upon the “new imperial policy” the United States was implementing in Cuba and the Philippines (qtd. in Gruesser 2).

Anti-imperialism continued to influence Du Bois’s politics throughout his life.<sup>22</sup> Du Bois, David Levering Lewis writes, “felt that the announced policies of the Democratic Party—its anti-monopoly stand, its denunciations of imperialism, especially as this affected the brown and black people of the West Indies and the Philippines, its pledge to support organized labor—merited the Negro’s support,” particularly when the election of 1908 underlined for him how little regard he felt William Taft had for black workers (484).<sup>23</sup> Not only did Taft believe people of color could be “treated like dogs,” according to Du Bois, but Du Bois believed that Taft’s support of labor inequality favored corporation-backed racism which would, if left unchecked, further crush the

---

<sup>22</sup> If Du Bois was anti-imperialist from the early days of the twentieth century, as John Cullen Gruesser and Roger Bresnahan assert, and as the evidence here implies, why didn’t he leave a legacy of more strongly worded texts condemning the United States for its hegemonic actions? In *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography*, David Levering Lewis suggests an answer. He proposes that after Du Bois’s scathing 1904 article in Collier’s predicting the end of “white supremacy,” publishers of major periodicals were less keen to publish Du Bois’s more ire-laden articles—this skittishness is, in part, what kept Du Bois from following through on his intention to use the information he gathered for a scathing critique of U.S. imperialism (244). This suggestion, though partial, along with the evidence that other American icons such Mark Twain feared being condemned by the nation as “unpatriotic” if they wrote too strongly against the popular conflict supposedly healing the nation of rifts left by the Civil War, and the difficulties Pauline Hopkins faced for even her veiled takes on these issues may partially satisfy why Du Bois may not have explicitly connected the United States’ interneccine bloodshed to externally imperialist actions in the early days of his editorship at the *Crisis*.

<sup>23</sup> Later recalling that he was less involved in American politics at the turn of the nineteenth century than later, Du Bois stated he stepped “toward independence in politics” after a series of unfortunate alliances to which he attributes his Harvard training (“From McKinley” 483).

black worker globally. This corporate racism was a key thread tying together conditions in the United States and in the Philippines in Du Bois's anti-imperialist articulations.<sup>24</sup>

Case in point: his "Profit and Caste" speech.<sup>25</sup> "Profit and Caste," like many of Du Bois's anti-imperialist arguments, hinges racial and economic arguments together. He maintains that the Filipinos are not being denied independence because they are incapable of it, but because it is more profitable to keep them in subjugation. Blaming corporations for funding the pseudo-scientific propaganda which "make the mass of people in civilized countries think that yellow people and brown people and black people are not human in the same sense that white people are human and cannot be allowed to develop or to rule themselves," he concludes that the disenfranchisement of workers and constant sensational diversions distract the people with "spectres of war with Japan, of competition with China" and keeps the worker voiceless and invisible. He suggests that one must fight propaganda with propaganda to be "able to put the real facts before the masses of the working people of the world, not only will the Filipinos be freed, but Asia

---

<sup>24</sup> Du Bois also later wrote that issues of labor sparked the world wars more than any other catalyst, and if left unchecked, would lead to further conflict: "It was this competition for the labor of yellow, brown, and black folks that was the cause of the World War. Other causes have been glibly given and other contributing causes there doubtless were, but they were subsidiary and subordinate to this vast quest of the dark world's wealth and toil" ("White Folk" 461). Du Bois's politics had become plainly visible by 1915 when in "The African Roots of War" Du Bois finds that the recent wars have been spurred by greed as "more and more, the Imperialists have concentrated in Africa" (711) and in oppressing people of color across the globe, an issue he warns that will only lead to "the War of the Color Line," a dystopian prediction that he argues "will outdo in savage inhumanity any war this world has yet seen. For colored folk have much to remember and they will not forget" (714). Though he focuses on the problems of imperialism in the Congo and African land theft by other Europeans, he parallels the issues in the United States with those of Africa: "the white man is ruling black Africa for the white man's gain, and just as far as possible he is doing the same to the colored races elsewhere" (713). The disparity of wealth was at the root of expansion for Du Bois, thinly veiled in the rhetoric of benevolence and democracy.

<sup>25</sup> Du Bois helpfully sent a précis of his speech ahead of himself. Edwin Seaver wrote Du Bois on 13 February 1925, "in reference to your speech for the Philippine Independence Demonstration in Cooper Union, February 23, could you send us beforehand about four or five hundred words covering some of the points you may make or things you will say so that we could send it to the papers to use in conjunction with their own stories?" (*Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois* 302). Du Bois complied just shy of a week later, enclosing what he called a "digest" of his speech (303).

and Africa will follow and the working people of Europe and America will finally achieve a real freedom, of which they have today but a shadow" (303). The answer for Du Bois lay not in Washingtonian militancy and division along national lines but in international solidarity. But how best to fight "propaganda with propaganda"? The solution begins to take shape in Du Bois and Moorfield Storey's correspondence.

Of their relationship, Herbert Aptheker, Du Bois's editor, writes, "the relationship between Moorfield Storey (1845-1929) and Du Bois was among the most significant in United States history" (*Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois* 136). Aptheker ambiguously continues, "it was through his anti-imperialist work that Du Bois was first attracted to [Moorfield] Storey, and the opening of their relationship is recorded in two letters they exchanged in 1907."<sup>26</sup> David Levering Lewis helpfully explains that Du Bois "gathered information about the atrocities committed by American forces in the Philippines from the Anti-Imperialist League, apparently intending to write a critical piece on America's new membership in the club of empire" (244).

Storey and Du Bois first corresponded over Storey's *Philippine Policy of Secretary Taft*, an undated work published by the New England Anti-Imperialist League that Aptheker theorized was published in 1904, "sometime after April" (137).<sup>27</sup> Specifically, Du Bois wrote Storey in mid-October of 1907 to request an enlarged reproduction of a photograph of the Moro Massacre from Storey's book to frame: "the illustration to which Du Bois referred showed a veritable mountain of corpses and

---

<sup>26</sup> Aptheker introduces Storey's letter with this tantalizing statement though he frustratingly does not expand upon this assertion or clarify whose anti-imperialist work drew Du Bois to Storey, relying instead on an indeterminate referent (136). As to the significance of their relationship, it is likely Aptheker is referring to their partnership in forming the NAACP and *Crisis*.

<sup>27</sup> However, the First Battle of Bud Dajo, or the Battle of Mt. Dajo, also known as the Moro Crater Massacre, and the Moro Massacre, a central event discussed in Storey's book, took place in March of 1906, making Aptheker's dating rather dubious.

skulls—one of the trophies of United States 'pacification'" (*Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois* 136).<sup>28</sup>

It was with this letter that Du Bois and Storey, former secretary to Senator Charles Sumner, future president of the NAACP, and president for the Anti-Imperialist League until the association dissolved in 1921 came to become intimates.<sup>29</sup>

Along with the request, Du Bois wrote (with no other mention of the book), "I have your pamphlet on the Philippine Policy and the accompanying picture entitled 'After the Battle of Mt. Dajo.' I think that picture is the most illuminating thing I have ever seen. I want especially to have it framed and put upon the walls of my recitation room to impress upon the students what wars and especially Wars of Conquest really mean" (*Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois* 137).<sup>30</sup> Du Bois continues, "would it not be

<sup>28</sup> Although President Roosevelt had proclaimed in 1903 that "the insurrection against the authority and sovereignty of the United States is now at an end and peace has been established in all parts of the archipelago," he had included the addendum, "except in the country inhabited by the Moro tribes, to which this proclamation does not apply" (qtd. in *Elihu Root* 48). The Moros, so called by the Spanish (after the Moors), were tribes of native peoples living on the Sulu archipelago. Though they amounted to only five percent of the country's population, they controlled a large proportion of the land and remained as intractable for the American forces as they had been for the Spanish. The Spanish had largely left the Moro alone, but the United States decided that pacification and social integration was in order. Creating the Moro Province, a large tract of land, the Army was given free reign to make the Moro peoples recognize the Commission's authority; Major General Leonard Wood, the first governor of the Moro Province, and a founding member of the Rough Riders, was given standing orders to eradicate resistance. Some of the tribe's people capitulated under Wood's harsh rule but others resisted more strenuously, eventually fleeing to the volcanic crater, Bud Dajo. There, under Wood's orders, the Americans killed every single insurgent: men, women, and children. Initial responses to the battle were positive as few Americans had died, but as the news leaked that women and children, too, had been killed, headlines for newspapers such as the Washington Post's changed from 10 March's "Gen. Wood Tells Thrilling Story of American Valor" to "No Moro Survived—Battle on Mount Dajo Was One of Extermination-Criticism of Gen. Wood—Siege of Crate, It Is Declared, Would Have Forced Surrender" on 11 March 1906. Critics such as Mark Twain quickly responded with comments such as "'Slaughter' is a good word" to describe "pen[ning] six hundred helpless and weaponless savages in a hole like rats in a trap and massacre them in detail during a stretch of a day and a half from a safe position on the heights above" (*Autobiography* 405).

<sup>29</sup> Storey came to serve on the board of the *Crisis* when it formed.

<sup>30</sup> Storey forwarded Du Bois's request to Erving Winslow, the Anti-Imperialist League's secretary, whose reply suggests the controversial nature of the image as well as exchanging a confidence with Du Bois. After stating that enlarging the image without destroying its clarity would be impossible, Winslow added to his reply a side note that it was fortunate the image survived at all, given that General Wood "saw that the photographer had taken a picture of this awful scene and asked to see the negative which, strangely enough, (!), he dropped and let break while handing it back to the photographer who fortunately had, unknown to General Wood, another negative from which this picture was taken" (*Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois*

a splendid thing to distribute them throughout the United States?... It is needless to say how much I sympathize with you in your work, and I only [wish] that I could help the matter more" (136-37).<sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> Their correspondence demonstrates how powerful Du Bois felt such images were and the world changing ends to which they could be put, as ornaments (or decorative paratexts) and as book illustrations.<sup>33</sup>

### ***Du Bois and the Synesthetic Quest***

Sadly, there is no record of Du Bois going on a tour with Storey's image. Still, Du Bois and Storey's correspondence over the Moro Massacre image highlights how drawn Du Bois was to the power of visual arts to facilitate change. This was not the first time the political power of aesthetics had struck the writer, however. As revealed in his displayed portraits of black Americans at the Paris Exposition, Du Bois was strongly invested in using the power of the image to create and alter existing narratives, especially those pertaining to race. Part and parcel with that investment, Du Bois often parlayed his

137), indicating that had the general known another image had been taken, that would have been allowed to break as well. Well he might have, had he been able to predict the public's response to the event. The infamous image was excised from the second edition of Storey's book but had a strong effect as anti-war and anti-imperialist propaganda, circulating widely within other documents and independently as a postcard. Despite, or perhaps because of, his role in the massacre, Woods was named Governor-General of the Philippines in 1921, a post he held until 1927.

<sup>31</sup> The book by Storey to which Du Bois refers was published by the Anti-Imperialist League in Boston and bears several intriguing marks. First, it is promoted as an analysis of Taft's Philippine Policy as denoted by the attribution "analyzed by Moorfield Storey" on the title page and "examined by Moorfield Storey" on the first page of the first chapter, granting Storey expert status and distancing him from the authorship of the policy. Second, above the title in small print the reader is hailed: "You are earnestly asked to hand this, after reading, to some other person who will also give it careful consideration," indicating a limited availability in traditional venues and a strong hand-to-hand circulation.

<sup>32</sup> When, exactly, Du Bois was first drawn to the annexation debates and to American involvement in the Philippines is unclear, but he was an initial point of contact for H. M. Butler, an English teacher in the Philippines who sought the sociologist's help in increasing the number of teachers of color in Philippine schools as a safeguard against Booker T. Washington-style industrial education in 1902.

<sup>33</sup> The profound effect of Storey's book's illustration on Du Bois is reminiscent of the impact Morel's illustrated Senate Memorial had on Mark Twain and his flurry of work against King Leopold II.

arguments through varied aesthetic avenues. Aesthetics, Castronovo acknowledges, “provided [Du Bois] a form to reconstruct social and political categories” (113) and to question the dominant power structure’s way of envisioning itself and those outside of it.

W. E. B. Du Bois's contention that art and propaganda are indivisible is one of the most famous positions to come of his prolific writing.<sup>34</sup> Yet these twinned notions of art and propaganda have rarely been brought to light in conjunction with his political and periodical work. Art, to Du Bois, was a means of connection and of creating meanings that could puncture the veil, as he called it, between white and black experiences. In what is now one of his best-known speeches, at a 1926 celebration for the recipient of the Twelfth Spingarn Medal, Carter Godwin Woodson, Du Bois connected art and propaganda, maintaining that art is a medium through which black voices can best enter a public dialogic space.<sup>35</sup> “We who are dark,” he maintained, “can see America in a way that white Americans cannot” and as such can see to the heart of “what America really is.” Ergo, “it is the bounden duty of black Americans to begin this great work of the creation of Beauty, of the preservation of Beauty, of the realization of Beauty, and we must use in this work all the methods that men have used before.” This clear-sightedness, he argues, gives non-white Americans the responsibility to aid the country in realizing “Beauty,” which for Du Bois includes grace, civil liberties, and righteousness. It is

---

<sup>34</sup> Along with his notions of the veil, double consciousness, and the gravitas that the problem of the color line would have in the twentieth century. Du Bois's concepts are related: the “veil” was the mark of dark skin that not only set black people apart from white, but kept people, black and white, from seeing black people without this physical demarcation, often inscribed upon by society. “Double consciousness” Du Bois writes, is a “sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others.... One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” Watt clarifies the term “propaganda” as Du Bois uses it as “the local discursive space from which we all necessarily speak” (183).

<sup>35</sup> This speech was published as the “Criteria of Negro Art” in the October 1926 issue of the *Crisis*. It was there flanked by juxtapositional illustrations merging the space of the *Crisis* and Du Bois's words: the pictures connected to this 1926 piece are some of the few to have been critically discussed in conjunction with their context.

"unseparated and unseparable" from the capitalized ideas of Goodness ("in all its aspects of justice, honor and right"), Freedom, and "Truth and Right." Beauty, to Du Bois, "can set the world right" like nothing else. He writes that the white public "demands from its artists, literary and pictorial, racial pre-judgment which deliberately distorts Truth and Justice, as far as colored races are concerned." Du Bois dismisses this distorted lens, imploring his readers to seek Truth instead of the positive evaluation of a "white jury" as too often "propaganda is confined to one side while the other is stripped and silent." He maintains that through art and the grace of Beauty black artists will be recognized as human—but not before. So it is through art—pictorial, literary, acoustic, and otherwise—that Du Bois sees the door to being recognized without a qualifying veil of race before it.

Synesthetic elements strongly stand out from Du Bois's earlier work. Du Bois's relationship to sound has been amply discussed, but his relationship to and use of art in the *Crisis* less so. The musical epigraphs in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) are some of the most widely discussed elements of the book. In *Wake the Nations*, Eric Sundquist suggests that the musical epigraphs beginning each chapter are "an example of a cultural 'language' ...that cannot be properly interpreted, or even 'heard' at all, since it fails to correspond to the customary mapping of sounds and signs that make up the languages of the dominant ... culture," and that "the bars of music posed a pointed challenge to their contemporary audience, for they demanded a familiarity with a cultural language that most whites did not have and that an increasing number of middle-class blacks renounced as an unhealthy reminder of slavery" (470). Similarly, Alexander Weheliye argues that Du Bois's *Souls* is "a model of modern black temporality and cultural practice rooted in and routed through the sonic.... Du Bois's central aesthetic achievement in this epochal

text appears in bars of music placed before each chapter” (320). The sorrow songs are underpinned graphically and in the content, Weheliye finds: “this injunction to imagine blackness sonically provides a phono-graphic guidepost for reading and hearing *Souls*” (320).

Written music and other graphic illustrations are entirely different animals on one hand. Yet they are equals in that both demand to be translated by the reader and in the process of translation are read as part of the text. As textual additions, both, as Jonathan Flately writes of Du Bois’s *Souls* allow “his [Du Bois’s] readers to recognize their own subjectivities as examples of broader social formations, and thus to see their commonality with others in the same situation” (106). Though Du Bois is rarely held up as a frontrunner of modernism in any of its inceptions, this ability to do what the “realism” of other aesthetic avenues like “objective” photography could not sufficiently portray Du Bois’s sense of social alienation.

Musical epigraphs and, crucially to my argument, other paratexts in Du Bois’s works seem intended to press between the layers of the veil, to serve as a liminal mediation between whiteness and blackness, to express what he termed “double consciousness.” As Du Bois reports in *Souls of Black Folk*, one of those extratextual moments spurred his subjective sense of self, including a sense of division from the wholeness of the world: he establishes that his moment of racial awareness came as a child during a card exchange—or rather a failed one:

In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into the boys’ and girls’ heads to buy gorgeous visiting cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card,—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. (12)

This moment wasn't simply a rejection of Du Bois through epithets, a common medium which other authors have stated triggered their awakening of racial awareness. It was a rejection of him as proffered through an external text, personalized and marked by his graphemes, a paratext of self that illustrated race for Du Bois. This greeting card marked a threshold between self and not self, a zone of transaction both for readers of *Souls* and for Du Bois. It became, as Gerard Genette partially defines the paratext, "a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text" (*Thresholds* 1): Du Bois's inability to deliver his card, he then discovered, was caused by the "veil" of race which kept his peers from truly seeing him; his greeting card, a "fringe" of himself, utterly altered his interactions with his world. Though he failed to deliver his card in the anecdote described above, it conveyed his sentiments and feelings to his readers, the "dead letter" in his hand conducting his experience.<sup>36</sup> This "dead letter" was ideationally saturated with his blackness and thus, to his intended audience, unreadable.

So how to avoid passing along dead letters as a writer and as an editor? By fighting "propaganda with propaganda"—publishing paratextual images and content that challenged preconceptions at the fringe of perception. However, harnessing the power of visuality appeared more contentious than publishing bars of music. While music, particularly the sorrow songs, were recognized as black bailiwicks, the realm of visual representation was more avidly contested. Du Bois struggled with the mores limiting visions of blackness—and whiteness—in the United States in the early twentieth century.

---

<sup>36</sup> But *Souls* was not the lone illustrated text in Du Bois's oeuvre that uses aesthetics and illustrations to push through the veil, to translate an idea into a shared moment of doubled consciousness. Du Bois's first novel *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (1911), and some of his work with the *Crisis* are heavily mediated with illustrations and others like *Dark Princess* (1928) deal strongly and resolutely with art, propaganda, and social activism. Though *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* and *Dark Princess* both provide valuable insight into Du Bois's conjoining of art and propaganda, I omit discussion of them here primarily because they have been more critically discussed than the use of aesthetics in the *Crisis*.

In *Dusk of Dawn*, his autobiography (1940), Du Bois reflects upon his relationship to visual arts during his time as editor of the *Crisis*:

I sought to encourage the graphic arts not only by magazine covers with Negro themes and faces, but *as often as I could afford*, I portrayed the faces and features of colored folk. One cannot realize today how rare that was in 1910. The colored papers carried few or no illustrations; the white papers none. In many great periodicals, it was the standing rule that no Negro portrait was to appear and that rule still holds in some American periodicals. Through our ‘Men of the Month,’ our children’s edition and our education edition, we published large numbers of most interesting and intriguing portraits. (emphasis added 271)

There was a cost to representing black people in and on the face of the *Crisis*—at least to representing them in ways outside the stereotypes soaking American society. That the rest of his perseveration has nothing to do with the literal dollars and cents cost of acquiring and printing art leads me to suspect that he was talking about the *social* cost of black representation for himself and his magazine.

### **Humorish**

If portraits were “costly” to publish, editorial images, particularly direct ones, came with exorbitant price tags. Russ Castronovo asserts that Du Bois’s colleagues at the *Crisis* were uncomfortable with outright references to and aestheticizations of lynching and violence (110). Dan Beard could never have served on the staff of the *Crisis*. That being said, in rather revolutionary feats of daring, Du Bois did publish some editorial images.<sup>37</sup> Like the images discussed in the earlier section on the *Colored American Magazine*, many of these images used their context to their advantage, growing from independent entities to multiply refracted texts.

---

<sup>37</sup> The term “humorous” really doesn’t apply to these works. Hence the use of the somewhat odd term “humorish,” captures the bleakness of anti-comedy and the dark wryness of black humor.

If portraits and photographs asserting black viewpoints were rare at the turn of the century, appearances of comic texts (visual or literary) in early black periodicals are even more so. Considering how periodicals like the *Colored American Magazine* eschewed even the “frivolity” of literature, humor stood little chance. It was never prevalent in the *Crisis*, though later the periodical did dip occasionally into didactic comic cartoons or quips.<sup>38</sup> The closest the *Crisis* gets to lighthearted before the First World War are a few dark animal fables or its annual children’s issue, a showcase of photographs of young children, usually smiling.<sup>39</sup>

There are several reasons for the dearth of humor in the black press at the beginning of the twentieth century. First among them is cost. The periodicals, trying as they were to deflate the social construct of black people as entertainers, simply did not have the luxury of levity. Those who had the opportunity to voice their opinions wished to avoid rather than feed the already bloated negative stereotypes surrounding blackness in America.<sup>40</sup> Already the butts of too many jokes, many African Americans sought to be

<sup>38</sup> It’s possible that the decade separating the two periodicals’ runs loosened the strictures against humor, that the different periodicals and their policies affected the amount of levity represented in each, and that the editors’ preferences differed because of class, sex, and experiences. It’s also plausible that Hopkins, as a black woman, felt an added layer of oppression, a triple consciousness, which influenced her editorial policies. Du Bois, though a very serious man, could claim more of a sense of humor than Booker T. Washington.

<sup>39</sup> Even the fables are somewhat wry and dark: the 1912 short story “Mr. Hare: a Tale for Children,” for example, retells the fable of the tortoise and the hare as a story with African roots. Instead of racing, the tortoise and hare decide to share an anthill. The hare repeatedly cheats the tortoise out of the agreed upon shared feast, so the tortoise pretends to, and then really plots to, kill and eat his competitor instead.

<sup>40</sup> Though black comedians are now common, this anxiety has not entirely dissipated. Many black comedians have voiced concerns about doing more damage than good by concretizing further stereotypes encasing blackness when lampooning the same. Dave Chappelle, a contemporary comedian, still worries that his comedy, meant to show the ridiculousness inherent to stereotypical depictions, sells immensely well even a decade into the twenty-first century because it openly shows ridiculous stereotypes, the kind racist currents consciously and unconsciously keep alive in American culture. He worries that white and black audiences laugh at his comedy for different reasons: black audiences laugh with him and white audiences laugh at him, expunging the relief of their deeply held convictions. The taboo, in the air, is a relief to face—and is then validated by the laughter of like others.

taken seriously rather than being flattened in the mold of racist simulacra, a practice that was not only humiliating but oppressive and deadly. On the other side was whiteness, but it was a dangerous target, indeed. It was an age when “humorous” texts such as lynching postcards and comic caricatures featuring racist stereotypes diffused their brutality with a veneer of levity while perpetuating the conditions of oppression.

Beyond that, black illustrators were rarely hired by periodicals and newspapers that *could* afford art. The few that may have gotten freelance work—or even full time positions—rarely found steady work beyond the *Crisis*. Elmer Simms Campbell, born in 1906, four years before the birth of the *Crisis*, is considered by many to be the first African American cartoonist to publish widely on a regular basis.<sup>41</sup> To get his job, Campbell won a national art contest, studied at the University of Chicago and the Art Institute of Chicago—and even then worked as a railroad dining car waiter until a passenger, amused by Campbell's caricatures, gave him a job as a commercial artist. That led to an advertising agency, a bit of freelance work, and then, in 1933, a permanent job at *Esquire* magazine as their first cartoonist.<sup>42</sup>

Still, a few tufts of humor, carefully deflated and/or juxtapositionally ignited, made their way into the black press. This rhetorical legerdemain allowed the *Crisis* to use the power of comedy while still shielding the image of blackness from popular

---

<sup>41</sup> Technically, George Herriman, born in 1880, beat Elmer Simms Campbell to the punch; famed Krazy Kat cartoonist, Herriman was the comic darling of a highbrow crowd and of William Randolph Hearst, the man who kept Krazy Kat running from 1913 until Herriman's death in 1944 despite its low popularity. Unlike Campbell, Herriman, a light-skinned man, usually wore a hat to promote his colleagues' perception that he was Greek; his death certificate listed his race as “Caucasian.” Chester Commodore, like Campbell, was dismissed because of his race. Despite having been hired for a job as a cartoonist in 1938 for the *Minneapolis Star* sight-unseen based on his skill and strong connections, he was denied the position upon his relocation to Minneapolis. Instead, Commodore joined the *Chicago Defender* in 1948, continuing the long-running “Bungleton Green,” and creating “The Sparks” and “Ravings of Prof. Doodle” cartoon strips.

<sup>42</sup> *Esquire* is not known for its liberal politics—it is supposed that Lafcadio Hearn lost his job there when word of his inter-racial marriage surfaced.

stereotypes and pastiches. The cartoons in the *Crisis* range from didactic to becoming anti-comedic in context.<sup>43</sup> Few of the “cartoons” in the *Crisis* could even be labeled satire or black humor—the majority appeared as evidence of social ills, reprinted from other sources. Rare though they are, these moments of visual humor are invaluable to understanding the often-hushed areas of black anti-imperialism. They are especially pertinent to my overall project in that my earlier chapters have all discussed uses for the comic in the forms of contemporaneous imperialist and anti-imperialist rhetoric I cover. These examples help me to extend my examination of pointed humor in the expansionist debates.

### ***The Voice of the Congo in New York City***

One such anti-comedic “humorish” image appeared in a section of the *Crisis* called “Ghetto” in March of 1917. This cartoonish illustration by famed artist E. A. Harleston merges the oppression in the United States with that of the Congo, echoing Du Bois’s contemporaneous article “The African Roots of War,” which explains the centrality of race and capitalism in Africa to other conflicts. Harleston was a master of realism and modern styles, but this piece has many of the earmarks of a cartoon, including being accompanied by a caption (fig. 39).<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> As I discuss in my second chapter, anti-comedy is a statement, often visual, that is expected to be funny because of the context or form but is quite the opposite: instead, it usually features a tragedy, using the comic expectation and subsequent deflation to underscore its didactic aims.

<sup>44</sup> For more on Harleston, see Robert L. Nelson’s brief report “A Negro of Genius Who Should Most Certainly Be Widely Known: Harleston! Who is E. A. Harleston?” (1936). It is accessible through the WPA’s website.

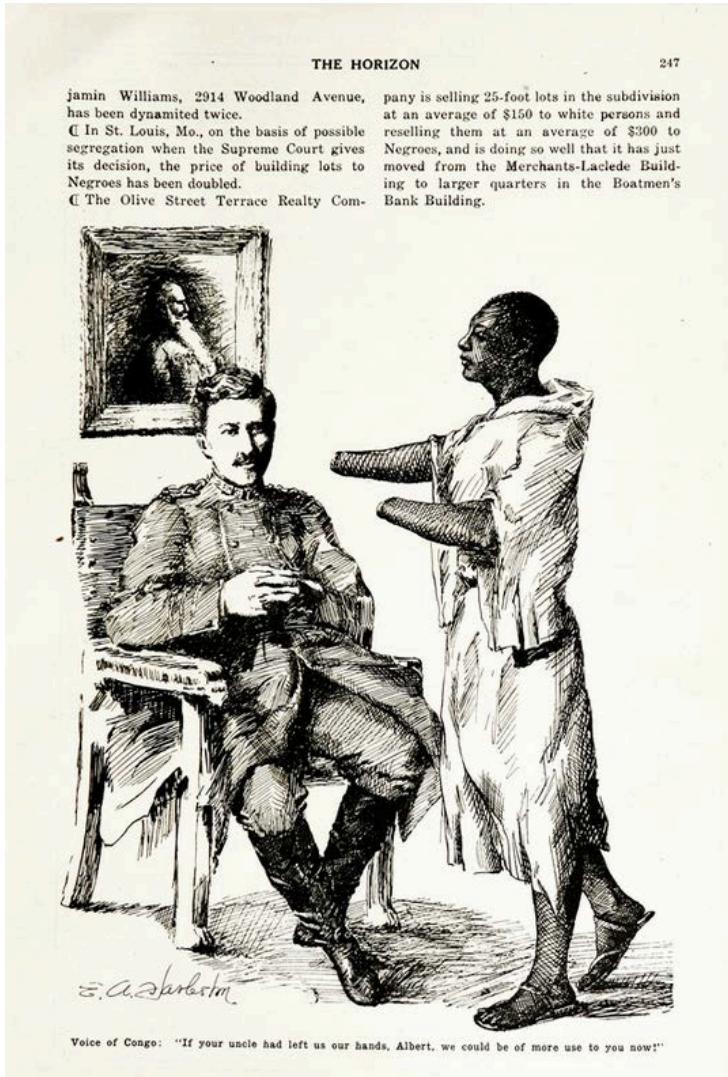


Figure 39: “Voice of Congo.”

Source: Harleston, E. A, Illus. *Crisis: Record of the Darker Races* 13.5 (Mar. 1917). Courtesy of the Modernist Journals Project.

In the image, Prince Albert, Leopold II of Belgium's heir, gazes toward the reader instead of his interlocutor, the “Voice of the Congo.” Albert’s hands are prominently crossed over his stomach, a gesture mirrored by his crossed feet. A framed portrait of

King Leopold II hovers above his nephew and heir; he fittingly faces the handless Congolese. However, the portrait-within-a-portrait cannot speak and Albert refuses to engage with the symbolic figure or his handless limbs. Albert faces forward, the Voice of the Congo to his left, Leopold to his right, and the reader faces them, forming a square of gazes that doubly integrates the textual space of the *Crisis* into the multiply framed cartoon. Albert is framed by his chair and the approaching figure, visually paralleling Leopold's picture frame. Moving outward, the imagined casing of the image engulfs the Congolese figure while the space of the page creates the last framing.<sup>45</sup> The indication of balance suggested by the angles of the heads implies that if Albert and Leopold are paired as oppressors, the Voice of the Congo and the reader are paired as the oppressed. At the same time, they are paired as the only truly active members of the quadrant: the Voice of the Congo speaks, while the reader reads. But will she take up the Voice of the Congo's active participation?

In Harleton's image, the violence of the punch line is literalized as it balances between black humor and horror. In it, the Voice of Congo ostensibly intones, "If your uncle had left us our hands, Albert, we could be of more use to you now!"<sup>46</sup> The joke, if there is indeed one, is dark. Very dark. It is the kind of joke used for survival rather than

---

<sup>45</sup> The Standard Life Insurance Company had a fortuitously (or cleverly) placed advertisement on the following page.

<sup>46</sup> The uncle to whom the Voice of the Congo refers is the infamous King Leopold II of Belgium, one of Mark Twain's and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's most acerbically attacked targets. Under the auspices of humanitarianism, Leopold took over the Congo Free State in 1885 as his personal plantation, literally bleeding it dry. Ultimately, because of the scandal caused by the millions of Congolese who lost their lives under his rule (and the countless others who were manually amputated), Leopold was forced to relinquish his personal hold on the Congo in 1908, ceding control to Belgium's parliament. Leopold died less than a year later and the crown passed to his nephew. Leopold's rule was so brutal that it catalyzed the first large-scale human rights movement, embodied in the Congo Reform Movement. Barbaric though Leopold was, Adam Hochschild reports, many of his practices were inspired by similar labor practices in the rubber fields controlled by the Dutch in the East Indies and other imperialist states. Chapter Three expands on this history more extensively.

levity. "Black American humor," Carpio suggests, "began as a wrested freedom, the freedom to laugh at that which is unjust and cruel in order to create distance from what would otherwise obliterate a sense of self and community" (4). It became a way of reasserting a sense of self and community and of enunciating through ululation. The specter of a handless Congolese figure waving his stumps oddly close to the visibly uncomfortable face of Prince Albert specifically harnesses elements of the grotesque, as it evokes both empathy and disgust, and black humor, with its basis in death and torture. Both subcategories of humor are often tied to tragicomedy, the comic engine on which Carpio argues black American humor runs, though both, in the context of the *Crisis*, deflate to anti-humor.

The caption's sarcasm blossoms in its casual delivery. The Voice of the Congo calls the prince Albert, the dropped title suggesting intimacy—or contempt. Such familiarity on the surface is comic—and yet, not. What has Albert done to deserve fealty or even respect? Why *not* address him as an equal? Still, the line cannot hold its humor—it is too real. "If your uncle had left us our hands, Albert, we could be of more use to you now!", pulls severally on the image's comedy: it is both unexpectedly frank yet not at all sincere in its implication that the main purpose of hands is to serve their king.

As there is no actual border but white space surrounding Harleston's drawing, the caption works in tandem with the text from "Ghetto," a series of reflections on economic inequalities in 1917 America, to merge the entirety of the page together, further converting the comic tone to a flattened anti-comedic one.<sup>47</sup> The compression of time and space from the Congo to the *Crisis* resonates with the pervasive racial conflicts infused in

---

<sup>47</sup> The hindsight of history supplements the horrific connotations appended to the merger of the section of domestic grievances and "Voice of the Congo," as the term "ghetto" would all too soon take on new meanings during World War II.

the quiddity of the real. The 1917 complaints on economic inequalities and territorial segregation in the United States, summed up in the comment that "the price of building lots to Negroes has doubled," merge with the enslavement and massacre of the Congolese central to the image. The parallels between the two issues, frequent topics of Du Bois's writings, are brought to the fore: the colonialism of the Congo can be seen in the economic and institutional handicapping in practice in the United States. Together "Ghetto" and "Voice of the Congo" indicate that the economic oppression in and historically of the United States is mutilating its citizens much as Leopold's policies severed the economic viability of the Congolese people. They suggest that oppressive racist policies, a history of subjugation, and the devaluation of black labor have as surely cut off African Americans' self-sufficiency: the juxtaposition implies that the disadvantages black Americans face are no fault of their own, but due to being treated similarly to the Congolese under Leopold's rule. Although the United States did not, as many believed, directly participate in Leopold's debauched rule of the Congo Free State, this juxtaposition suggests they had might as well have, as the implications of overseas imperialist ventures echo at home. Read in context, the "Voice of the Congo" comedically blooms and then withers in the intermedial environment of the *Crisis*, the deflation driving home even more deeply the complaints being lodged against local segregation and oppression.

### ***Foreign Comment***

Another example of humor being deployed to criticize pan-stratic economic exploitation appeared in the magazine's second issue in December of 1910. It was published facing "Foreign Comment," a direct republication of the London *Nation*'s

scathing response to Booker T. Washington's "glowing picture of the progress, industrial, intellectual and moral, made by his colored fellow-citizens in the United States during recent years" and his stance that industrial education, not political assertions, is the proper path for African Americans. The exclusion of franchise and concomitant justice, the critical article declares, keeps black Americans in a posture of subjugation, both "disabling" African Americans and American democracy. The *Crisis* introduces the *Nation*'s article by stating that Washington's "glowing picture" has been "repudiated by a strong body of educated opinion in America, which finds expression in a remarkable letter published this week in the Press":

The signatories point out that the withholding of the franchise, in the States where most Negroes live, is attended by a refusal of criminal and civil justice, a denial of equal opportunities of education, a caste proscription which practically excludes from most skilled trades and other grave disabilities. All aware of the current tendencies of American sentiment recognize that race feeling with all that it imports is growing more intense in all sections of the country, and that *in various subtle ways it is eating into the very spirit of democracy.* (emphasis added).

The reprint's ridicule of Washington, somewhat distanced and blanketed as reportage by the *Crisis*, is made flesh visually in a juxtaposed French cartoon by George d'Ostoya (fig. 40). D'Ostoya's cartoon was published, ostensibly, to reveal "prevailing European opinion of America."<sup>48</sup> Together, the two European pieces ironize Washington's "picture of progress," as the *Nation* sarcastically calls it, bouncing referents off of one another. The cartoon, whose legitimizing squib reads in its entirety, "the following cartoon from

---

<sup>48</sup> Very little information on George d'Ostoya is available. Even his entry in *French Satirical Drawings from "L'Assiette au Beurre,"* edited by Stanley Appelbaum admits "no biographical information available." However, it is recorded that d'Ostoya was one of the most frequent contributors to the French satirical magazine. The entry also notes that "though his subject matter is quite varied and his style eclectic, it is easy to recognize a frequent borrowing, sometimes amounting to plagiarism, from the German artist Eduard Thöny, who specialized in military drawings for the Munich magazine *Simplicissimus*. On one occasion only does an acknowledgment "d'après Thöny" appear on one of d'Ostoya's pieces" (ix).

L'Assiette au Beurre [sic], Paris, illustrating the life of Mr. Roosevelt, shows something of prevailing European opinion of America.”<sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup>

The main subject of the “cartoon” is a black man, hung over a fire. An eager man dressed as a Rough Rider faces front from behind him. Similarly dressed figures surround the edges of the image. The lengthy caption below the cartoon describes the narrator's natal scene in which a great potluck feast was held: everyone brought a comestible except the poor who “decided to burn a Negro alive under our windows” (see figure 7).<sup>51</sup> The implication is that the burning is for the entertainment of the other guests. At least that is how art historian Amy Kirschke, one of the few scholars who has analyzed the art of the *Crisis*, understands the proffering; yet, given that it is not explicitly so designated and, as all of the other gifts were of comestibles, I believe it can be presumed that the “gift” had a double purpose: to provide entertainment *and* food. Put simply, the guests are “playing with their food.”

---

<sup>49</sup> As a source for a straight look into European opinion, *L'Assiette au Beurre* may not have been the most trustworthy as one of the most famous of the “Belle époque” satirical newspapers. It featured contributions by anarchists and revolutionaries including Anatole France and ran from 1901-1912. Each issue had sixteen illustrations that centered on a particular social problem such as “Beasts and People” or “Prostitution.”

<sup>50</sup> This cartoon comes from issue 500 (1910) which focuses on Teddy Roosevelt, the narrator whose birth celebrations are pictured. The cover of this dedicated issue shows Roosevelt idiotically grinning in front of a dead donkey, clearly “game,” which he had just run through with bloodied sword. Further accessorizing Roosevelt are a blunderbuss, a shotgun slung across his back, and a bandolier across his chest.

<sup>51</sup> In full it reads, “I was born October 27, 1858, in the midst of indescribable enthusiasm. A great banquet was given. Each guest brought a present of ale, whiskey, mutton chops, ginger ale, or corned beef. The poor people having nothing of this sort to offer decided to burn a Negro alive under our windows.”

## OPINION

15

his progress. It is to be hoped that the legislators will give serious consideration of the early establishment of this greatly needed institution and the story related by the Dispatch should furnish not a little food for thought."

## BULLDOZING NEGROES.

The Louisville, Ky., Post, in an attack upon the police department, says: "Running along with this failure to detect crime and apprehend criminals was the systematic process of bulldozing the Negro population of Louisville. Causeless arrests were made. Provocations of every character were given by the police to the Negroes. Offensive and illegal commands were thrown at quiet, inoffensive citizens on the street. The policemen acted upon the assumption that the Negro had no rights, civil or political, that a police bully was bound to respect. The result was seen on registration days. Intimidation had been most effective. From four to five thousand Negroes were kept away from the polls. When that report went in there was great rejoicing in the Buckingham green room."

## THE PANAMA EXPOSITION.

New Orleans Times-Democrat remarks: "The action of the Negro Baptist Convention in attaching to its resolutions indorsing New Orleans for the Panama Exposition a proviso demanding suspension or repeal of the 'Jim Crow' laws, not only in this city, but in the Southern States, requires, we think, a brief but emphatic reply. Even if the securment of the Exposition, important and greatly desired as it is, depended absolutely upon the abrogation of laws devised for the protection of both races, the people of New Orleans would never consent to a programme so fatuous and dangerous."

## FOREIGN COMMENT.

The London Nation comments as follows on Mr. B. T. Washington's words in Europe:

Mr. Booker T. Washington recently gave us a glowing picture of the progress, in-

dustrial, intellectual and moral, made by his colored fellow-citizens in the United States during recent years. His policy, "Let politics alone and acquire efficiency," is, however, repudiated by a strong body of educated opinion in America, which finds expression in a remarkable letter published this week in the Press. The signatories point out that the withholding of the franchise, in the States where most Negroes live, is attended by a refusal of criminal and civil justice, a denial of equal opportunities of education, a caste proscription which practically excludes from most skilled trades and other grave disabilities. All aware of the current tendencies of American sentiment recognize that race feeling with all that it imports is growing more intense in all sections of the country, and that in various subtle ways it is eating into the very spirit of democracy. The doctrine of "equal rights for all civilized men" is definitely contravened by the constitutions and laws of most Southern States. Among the signatories of this powerful appeal to Europe, we find the names of many of the most influential teachers and professional men among the colored people.

The following cartoon from *L'Assiette au Beurre*, Paris, illustrating the life of Mr. Roosevelt, shows something of prevailing European opinion of America:



"I was born October 27, 1858, in the midst of indescribable enthusiasm.  
A great banquet was given. Each guest brought a present of ale, whisky, mutton chops, ginger ale, or corned beef. The poor people having nothing of this sort to offer decided to burn a Negro alive under our windows."

Figure 40: "I was born October 27, 1858 in the midst of indescribable enthusiasm."

Source: *Crisis: Record of the Darker Races* 1.2 (Dec. 1910). Originally printed in *L'Assiette le Beurre* 500 (1910). Courtesy of the Modernist Journals Project.

The cartoon's narrator is revealed to be Theodore Roosevelt, one of the leading forces of U.S. expansion, by the birth date and by the Rough Rider-like garb worn by all

those but the “offering.” Adding a layer of anti-imperialism to the “joke” converts the first-level (physical) gag of the cartoon into a biting satire of a nation. The satire implies that Roosevelt’s policies are cannibalistic.<sup>52</sup>

The themes of consumption between the image and the letter on Washington may be coincidental, but the juxtaposition does further the *Nation*’s overt critique of Washington. More than just wrong, Washington is painted as a traitor. His treachery is race-treachery. It’s bad enough when the white folks burn black men for entertainment and as “fuel” for their fires, the juxtaposition implies; the horror of anthropophagically consuming his black brothers is that much worse. Washington’s “glowing picture of progress” becomes Dorian Grey’s portrait as he and his policies, “eating into the very spirit of democracy,” as the *Nation*’s letter reads, are reflected in the cartoon’s consumption.

The image’s entry-level racist humor, based as it is on empty husks of white privilege and grotesque violence, crumbles into satirical black comedy as the reader realizes the cartoon is subverting just such humor. It transforms again into anti-comedy (which, of course, it always already was) as the didactic message that hate crimes like the one pictured are not only performed in reality: the direct, terrified gaze of the revelers’ victim allows no escape from this. Through its juxtapositional interactions, the anti-comedic elements suggest such “jokes” powered by “race treachery” by pro-industrial, pro-militant black intellectuals are destroying the fabric of the nation, not just for black

---

<sup>52</sup> Such inhumanity within the contingent United States is further connected to d’Ostoya’s cartoon by the other articles on the page, “Bulldozing Negroes” and “The Panama Exposition,” articles on the literal and legal bulldozing of black citizens through widespread racial profiling and arrests and the maintenance of Jim Crow laws. None of these texts explicitly comment on connections between U.S. territorial imperialism, but as I have shown, to Du Bois, intranational oppression and brutality was not so far from Leopold’s brand of colonialism.

Americans but for all Americans. In the syncretization of image and text, the vestiges of black humor recognizable in the image disappear, leaving only didacticism and despair.

## Conclusion

These examples are but a few of the textual markers aligning the travesty of benevolence, democracy, and humanity being practiced in U.S. expansion and interjecting often-excluded black voices from the annexation debates. In "Criteria of Negro Art," Du Bois argues against "one side" having all of the propagandistic power and works to rectify that disparity in the *Crisis* using not just art proper but the connective ether of the space of the periodical to do so. Both Du Bois and Hopkins as authors and editors widen the discussion of race and exceptionalism with paratexts serving to take back some of the propagandistic power wielded by popular literature, reinscribing expanded visualizations of the global and domestic implications of labor and capitalism, land, education, and repressive violence. The embattled discussions in black print culture that forged links between U.S. empire-building at home and abroad used modernism-inflected juxtapositions, illustrations, and additional texts to participate in and criticize the United States' foreign and domestic policies without seeming to distance, or make traitors of, the authors, publications, or readers from the culture and society as a whole.

## EPILOGUE

Emphasizing the importance of looking beyond the logocentric means through which visual culture is often attended, I have analyzed the productive tension caused by textual aesthetics pertaining to questions of citizenship, belonging, and in-group cohesion in anti-imperialist narratives. In doing so, I have complicated the picture of the discursive tracks pertaining to what it was to be of or to represent the United States leading to and away from the “Golden Age of Empire.” In this conclusion, I briefly return to issues of modernism I raised in my fourth chapter, suggesting the trends I analyzed can also be found in the texts of the Harlem Renaissance and beyond. Considering how the developing conventions related to the rapidly gelling mode complicated and challenged the media hybridity and synesthesia through which anti-imperialism was conveyed as the twentieth century deepened, I look at Richard Bruce Nugent’s “Geisha Man,” a text wavering between the debates over form that had been and those that could come to be in our own digital age. Though not explicitly anti-imperialist in the way Crosby’s *Captain Jinks, Hero or Du Bois*’s “The African Roots of War” are, “Geisha Man” contends with the rigidity of identification that is central to rhetorics of Western territorial as well as cultural imperialism, specifically the handling of African and Asian cultures.

### **“The Uncertain Balance Delighted!”**

In the decades following the 1855 publication of Fernand Desnoyers’s manifesto “On Realism,” first artists then writers increasingly followed Desnoyers’ imperative to “be ourselves, even if we are ugly” under the morphing modes of realism, impressionism, naturalism, and, eventually, modernism (87). Desnoyers was not the first or only artist or author to politicize aesthetic form, or to capture the correlation between form and culture.

However, his manifesto does succinctly and capacious weave together a number of the elements that would remain touchstones to the modernist movements and prophesized later struggles with identity so central to modernism.

Providing new lenses through which to reflect and deflect identity, modernism rose to prominence as the world responded to the increased pace of progress: industrialization, globalization, technology, and wars rapidly fueled identity-based anxiety and with it alienation. Artists from Pablo Picasso and Paul Gauguin to Alain Locke and T. S. Eliot used photography, painting, and literary images to shape notions of identity including race, gender, sexuality, and nationality. The modernist mode's concentration on experimentation provided authors and artists the expressive space they needed to push back against constraining stereotypes.<sup>1</sup>

However, within discussions of this space of avant-gardism, empire rarely comes up. Despite modernism's preoccupations with Primitivism and space, analyses of the impact of colonialism on the form are rare, as Nigel Rigby and Howard Booth point out in their introduction to *Modernism and Empire: Writing and British Coloniality, 1890-1940* (2). They contend that the impact of colonialism, indeed of all the emanations of thought pertaining to empire, pro and con, deserve to be viewed in relation to modernism. While their volume of essays begins a discussion of the intersection between colonialism and modernism, they come at the topic from a decidedly British perspective, and for the most part only discuss how modernism and empire were mutually supportive.

---

<sup>1</sup> Modern art was the mode favored by artists working with the French satirical magazine *L'Assiette au Beurre* I discuss in my third and fourth chapters. In fact, it was through that forum that many modern artists such as Jean Gris rose to fame.

In addition to arguably playing a crucial role in imperial culture, modernism also fostered unprecedented cultural exchange and opportunities for re-presentation. The rise of modern art as an aesthetic form aided artists and authors alike in repositioning themselves in relation to their subjects and in redefining their perspectives. For many black interlocutors in particular, as scholars such as Miriam Thaggert and Shawn Michelle Smith have argued, modernism opened wide transnational avenues of identification and liberation against cultural and aesthetic oppression. Just as the fruits of empire can be found in modernism, so, too, can a resistance to imperialism.

Many artists used African and Asian styles, standards of artistic modernism, to move away from the formats of shadowing, depth, and focal centering traditionally found in Western art. Van Gogh and his cadre's intrigue with Japonisme lies in the lack of depth and shadow they saw in traditional Oriental art. This sort of stylistic borrowing also found its way into works by authors of the Harlem Renaissance to a different effect. Richard Bruce Nugent is one artist and writer of the Harlem Renaissance who complicates the intersection of race, sexuality, gender, and transnationality through direct international intersections and imagined interstices. Nugent adopts stylistic elements from Orientalism to aid him in breaking away from Western conventions, while individualizing his own compositional structures, detaching the reappropriated "floating worlds" of *ukiyo-e* from the mores to which they had been recently moored in Western art and literature. In many of his works, but particularly in "Geisha Man," Nugent perseverates on the aesthetics of production and consciousness, relying on synesthetic suggestions to confound commonly-held expectations. While doing so, he defuses the imperial tendencies commonly redolent in modernist forms and refuses the flattening of

identity with which so many other black intellectuals had struggled as I discussed in chapters one and four: instead of choosing a national or international identity (American or a person of color), Kondo Gale represents a pluralistic, neither-nor option rarely discussed as an option.

While Richard Bruce Nugent may be best known for his work on the short-lived but luminous periodical *Fire!!* and his short story “Smoke, Lilies and Jade,” he also worked with graphic and performance pieces, especially in his more experimental phases during the Harlem Renaissance. “Geisha Man,” a short story centered on Kondo Gale, a protagonist as protean as the text’s intended state, is one such performative text.<sup>2</sup> Although “Geisha Man” does not include image-texts of the sort I have been discussing, Nugent interjects Japanese and includes liner notes that ask the reader to *imagine* the text infused with color. But Nugent’s are not the “adjectives of every color” which so enraged Desnoyers: instead, Nugent’s chromatic undulations unfix the filter with which readers view the pages of his works. This reader activated text-as-illustration matches the protagonist’s own shifting national, racial, and gendered association and sexual identities. In his aesthetic maelstrom, Nugent, like expressionism’s catalyst, Gustave Courbet, redefines the standards of textuality to produce “living art.” Similar to the way many “[m]any marginalized women saw themselves in alliance with the racially oppressed, geopolitically dominated, socioeconomically exploited peoples of the colonies” and in this alliance “voiced their anti-imperialist positions,” Nugent uses internationalism to

---

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to date “Geisha Man” as it went long unpublished, but it is safe to say Nugent was working on it as early as 1932 as Wallace Thurman references it in *Infants of Spring*, published that year.

adjust the visions and spaces afforded to black (particularly black and gay) individuals in the 1930s (Yoshihara 193).

Nugent continuously unbalances his reader in his kaleidoscopic text. Kondo Gale's parents were a white American man and a Japanese woman; however, Kondo states, "I was the first Negro ever to have written a ballet (109)." His very name disrupts the reader's ability to hold or master either the text or Kondo Gale: the character's forename "Kondo" fittingly translates elusively to "this time," "next time," and "confusion" in Japanese; his surname "Gale" means "strong wind" in English. He is described as "a pale green apparition" with a "pale green, oval face" (103) which, as Tyler Schmidt notes, "forces the reader out of conditioned responses to racial codes; conventional assumptions about whiteness and blackness are little help here (168)." Gender, like race, does not hold in "Geisha Man." Gale also dresses as a woman, "La Maitresse de Pavots d'Argent," for a masquerade as "[t]he uncertain balance delighted" (100).<sup>3</sup> Rather, like his national and racial identities, in the aesthetics of the text, the possibilities for gender expand. In the heyday of Modernist essentialism, Nugent created a character who is at once multiply exoticized and multiplicatively refracted, bursting the seams of being.

Kondo's fluid racial identity is reified by the very paper on which the story is written—at least from inside the narrative: prefixing each section are parenthetical markers describing the color of the paper and the ink. For example, the section in which Gale records having been "the first Negro ever to have written a ballet" is delineated

---

<sup>3</sup> At the masquerade, Gale marries his probable father "in the sight of man and God," stepping across gender roles and, as Schmidt finds, across familial roles: son becomes daughter becomes wife and lover.

“(Written with cerulean blue ink on orange paper)” (102). Liner notes like this one shift the readers’ experiences and relations to the text, literally, yet impossibly, coloring each word.<sup>4</sup> Such notations entwine notions of textual and social constructedness along with the impact of African arts on Western aesthetics, underscoring the two-way street that is cultural exchange, one so often ignored in modernism.

### **Making it New Media**

Were Nugent writing in the digital age, or even in a period in which colored printing was more advanced and less expensive, his legacy might, very literally, look different. But his concerns surrounding the power of aesthetics and form on the political are still germane today. Perhaps even more so.

In this age of increasing digitality, we are inundated more and more with the visual; under the digital age, the line previously bifurcating textuality from its aesthetic connections will become further faded and blurred just as the borders of communities will continue to bend and pixelate. In recent years, scholars of literature, culture, and history have, if rather abashedly, returned to an appreciation for the impact of form upon a text for just those reasons. With memes and gifs flying in cultural exchange markets, we must question ever more the cost and value of the aesthetics we construct and circulate. Digital cultures, like modernism, provide areas for redefinition and revisualization on the one hand, but are regions in which problematic sociocultural taxonomies persist.

---

<sup>4</sup> This attention to detail reminds the reader of the letters Clare Kendry sends to Irene Redfield in Larsen’s *Passing*, the first, memorable enough to make the second immediately recognizable two years later, “out of place and alien.” “Purple ink. Foreign paper of extraordinary size” (143). Mary McAleer Balkun discusses the physical details of Clare’s letter in *The American Counterfeit: Authenticity and Identity in American Literature and Culture*.

Scholars such as Adeline Koh, Alan Liu, and Lisa Nakamura have begun to critically interrogate the way areas of privilege such as exceptionalist and supremacist thinking in the physical world, not unlike that in expansionist rhetoric, seeps into the digital sphere.<sup>5</sup> Pioneers the field of postcolonial digital humanities, these scholars draw the impact of globalization, oppression, imperialism, and colonialism upon nexuses of identity and identification such as race, disability, gender, and class within the digital humanities. They consider how pernicious hegemonic forces can and cannot replicate in the codes of technology and explore effective means to intervene upon them; in doing so, such scholars seek to implement anti-colonial imperatives, reaching from the physical to the digital and back again.

Though an attention to textual aesthetics does not always provide an easy, perfect, or direct route to understanding the competing narratives within national, transnational, and international discourses, it does enrich our ways of seeing our schemas. Not only do textual aesthetics provide deep lenses into culture and history, they are also able to incite unexpected reactions in readers and circumvent ideational saturation. As such, they can benefit many areas of study, particularly postcolonial digital humanities scholarship, as we navigate the increasingly pixelated terrain of representation.

The major issues central to this dissertation, many of which I only begin to answer, include the place of aesthetics (from visual artifacts to satire and paronomasia) in resistance to U.S. imperialism, both at home and abroad. What is the relationship

---

<sup>5</sup> Technology's liberatory potential from the structures of colonization and imperialism (yet commonly oppressive reality) is being increasingly discussed beyond academia, appearing in popular culture with regularity. In one recent example, in "AbOriginal" Frank Waln, a Sicangu Lakota, raps that "digital blankets give us spiritual smallpox," indicating that the continued oppression of native peoples in the United States is more often perpetuated than ameliorated through digitality.

between aesthetics and politics? Can quotidian or “low” art in novels, magazines, or a ledger book function in dialogue with “high” art and official productions and histories? Do textual and visual aesthetics intentionally intersect generatively with politics, or does the intersection reveal only the rumbling unconscious of the work? Does intentionality matter or do unconscious aesthetic markers signify with or in place similarly to ones more deliberately planted? How does a rejection of the constraints of a dominant narrative look or circulate in the digital age? I invite scholars to join me in taking up these queries in future studies.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, W.I. Lincoln. "Introduction" to *Cannon and Camera: Sea and Land Battles of the Spanish-American War in Cuba, Camp Life, and the Return of the Soldiers*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898. Print.
- Adorno, Theodor. "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda." *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*. Eds. Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt. 1951. New York: Continuum, 1985. Print.
- Aguirre, Robert. *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2005. Print.
- An Answer to Mark Twain*. Brussels: A. G. Buhlens Brothers, 1907. *American Museum of the Congo Expedition*. Web. 05 January 2012.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991. Print
- Andrews, Steve. "Toward a Synaesthetics of Soul: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Teleology of Race." *Re-cognizing W.E.B. Du Bois in the Twenty-first Century: Essays on W.E.B. Du Bois*. Ed. Mary Keller and Chester J. Fontenot, Jr. Macon: Mercer UP, 2007. Print.
- "Announcement." *Colored American Magazine* 1.1 (May 1900): 2. Print.
- Altman, Rick. *A Theory of Narrative*. New York: Columbia UP, 2008. Print.
- Anthony, David. *Paper Money Men: Commerce, Manhood, and the Sensational Public Sphere in Antebellum America*, 2009. Print.
- Appelbaum, Stanley, Ed. *French Satirical Drawings from "L'Assiette Au Beurre"* New York: Dover, 1978. Print.
- Azuma, Eiichiro. *Between Two Empires: Race, History and Transnationalism in Japanese America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Print.
- Bainton, George. *The Art of Authorship: Literary Reminiscences, Methods of Work, and Advice to Young Beginners, Personally Contributed by Leading Authors of the Day*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1891. 87-88. *Internet Archive*. Web. 04 Aug. 2013.
- Baker, Steve. *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity, and Representation*, 1993, Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001. Print.

- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida—Reflections on Photography*. Trans. Richard Howard. 1980. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981. Print.
- . “The Photographic Message.” *Image-Music-Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath. New York: Hill and Wang, 1978. Print.
- “Beard, Daniel Carter.” *The Encyclopedia Americana: A Library of Universal Knowledge*, Vol. 3, New York: The Encyclopedia Americana Corporation, 1918. 380. Print.
- Beard, Daniel Carter. *Hardly a Man is Now Alive*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1939. Print.
- Becker, George J. *Documents of Modern Literary Realism*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963. Print.
- Beers, Diane L. *For the Prevention of Cruelty: The History and Legacy of Animal Rights Activism in the United States*. Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 2006.
- “BELGIUM—faced with African Nationalism.” *New York Herald Tribune*. 20 Mar. 1957. Print.
- Bell, Michael Davitt. *The Problem of American Realism: Studies in the Cultural History of a Literary Idea*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1993. Print.
- Bellamy, Gladys. *Mark Twain as Literary Artist*. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1950. Print.
- Bergman, Jill. “‘Everything we hoped she’d be’ ‘Contending Forces in Hopkins Scholarship.’” *African American Review* 38.2 (Summer 2004): 181-199. Print.
- Bergson, Henri. *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*. Trans. Cloutesley Brereton and Fred Rothwell. New York: Macmillan, 1914. Internet Archive. Web. 03 Feb. 2011.
- Beveridge, Albert. “For the Greater Republic, Not for Imperialism.” (1899). *Orations from Homer to McKinley*. Vol. 25. Ed. Mayo W. Hazeltine. 1002-13. Unz.org. Web. 28 Feb. 2014.
- . “The March of the Flag.” *Fordham University*. Web. 13 Jan. 2014.
- Blue, Martha. *Indian Trader: The Life and Times of J. L. Hubbell*. Walnut, CA: Kiva, 2000. Print.
- . *The Witch Purge of 1878: Oral and Documentary History in the Early Navajo Reservation Years*. Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College P, 1988. Print.

- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1994. Print.
- Billig, Michael. *Laughter and Ridicule: Towards a Social Critique of Humour*. London: Sage, 2005. Print.
- Bird, John. *Mark Twain and Metaphor*. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 2007. Print.
- Booth, Howard J. and Nigel Rigby, eds. *Modernism and Empire: Writing and British Coloniality, 1890-1940*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000. Print.
- Booth, Wayne. *A Rhetoric of Irony*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974. Print.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Market in Symbolic Goods." 1971, Trans. Rupert Swyer. In *The Critical Tradition: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ed. David Richter. Boston: Bedford, 1998. 1231-1253. Print.
- Brawley, Benjamin Griffith. "New Wars." *Colored American Magazine*. 1.5 (Oct. 1900): 290. Print.
- Braxton, Lieutenant. "Company 'L' in the Spanish-American War." *Colored American Magazine* 1.1 (May 1900): 19-25.
- Bresnahan, Roger J. *In Time of Hesitation: American Anti-Imperialists and the Philippine-American War*. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1981. Print.
- Briden, Earl. "Twainian Epistemology and the Satiric Design of "Tom Sawyer Abroad." *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910* 22.1 (Fall 1989): 43-52. JSTOR. Web. 20 Apr. 2011.
- Bridgman, Richard. *Traveling in Mark Twain*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1987. Print.
- Brody, David. *Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines*. University of Chicago P, 2010. Print.
- Brosch, Renate. "Vernacular Landscape: Narrative Space in Peter Carey's *True History of the Kelly Gang*." *Word and Image in Colonial and Postcolonial Literatures and Cultures*. Ed. Michael Myer. New York: Rodopi, 2009. Print.
- Brown, Lois. *Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins: Black Daughter of the Revolution*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2008. Print.
- Brown, Lois Lamphere. "'To Allow No Tragic End': Defensive Postures in *Contending Forces*." *The Unruly Voice*. Ed. John Cullen Gruesser. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996. 50-70. Print.

- Budd, Louis J. "Mark Twain's Visual Humor." *A Companion to Mark Twain*. Ed. Peter Messent and Louis J. Budd (eds). Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. *Blackwell Reference Online*. 18 April 2013
- Buettinger, Craig. "Women and Antivivisection in Late Nineteenth-Century America." *Journal of Social History* 30.4 (1997): 857-72. *ProQuest*. Web. 02 Aug. 2012.
- Butler , H. M. Letter to W. E. B. Du Bois 28 Aug. 1902. MS 312. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers . Special Collections and University Archives, University ofMassachusetts Amherst Libraries. *University of Massachusetts Amherst*. Web. 07 Mar. 2012.
- Carby, Hazel V. "Introduction." *The Magazine Novels of Pauline Hopkins*. New York: Oxford UP, 1988. xxix-xlix. Print.
- Carpio, Brenda. *Laughing Fit to Kill: Black Humor in the Fictions of Slavery*. New York: Oxford UP, 2008. Print.
- Carter, Everett. "The Meaning of A *Connecticut Yankee*." *American Literature* 50.3 (1978): 418-40. Print.
- Castiglia, Christopher and Russ Castronovo. "A 'Hive of Subtlety': Aesthetics and the End(s) of Cultural Studies." *American Literature* 76.3 (Sept. 2004): 423-35. Print.
- Capuano, Peter J. "At the Hands of Becky Sharp: (In)Visible Manipulation and Vanity Fair." *Victorians Institute Journal* 38: 1 (2008): 167-91. Print.
- Castronovo, Russ. *Beautiful Democracy: Aesthetics and Anarchy in a Global Era*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2007. Print.
- Chaney, Michael. "Animal Subjects of the Graphic Novel," *College Literature* 38.3 (2000): 129-49.
- Clayton, Owen. "William Dean Howells and the Shift to Instant Photography." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 65.3 (Dec. 2010): 374-94. *JSTOR*. Web. 21 Apr. 2012.
- Cocks, F. Seymour. *E. D. Morel: The Man and His Work*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1920. Web. *Internet Archive*. 10 Apr. 2013.
- Conrad, Joseph. *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad: Volume 3, 1903-1907*. Eds. Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988. Print.
- Conquest, Robert. "Inside Stalin's Darkroom." *The Hoover Digest* 2 (1998) *The Hoover Digest*. Web. 27 Oct. 2011.

- Cooney, C.J. "Edisonade." *The Death of Fissiparous and Other Words*. 19 Mar 2014. Web.
- Cordell, Sigrid Anderson. "'The Case Was Very Black Against' Her: Pauline Hopkins and the Politics of Racial Ambiguity at the *Colored American Magazine*." *American Periodicals*. 16.1 (2006): 52-73. Print.
- Coulombe, Joseph. *Mark Twain and the American West*. Columbia: U Missouri P, 2003. Print.
- "The Crisis." *Crisis: Record of the Darker Races* 1.1 (Nov. 1910): 10. Print.
- Critchley, Simon. *On Humour*. London: Routledge, 2002. Print.
- Crosby, Ernest Howard. *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Illus. Daniel Carter Beard, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1902. Print.
- . "The Meat Fetish," *The Meat Fetish: Two Essays on Vegetarianism*, London, A.C. Fifield, 1905. 5-22. Print.
- Crump, J. Irving. "Dan Beard: The Friend of Youth." *Boys' Life*. XV.2 (1925): 5. Print.
- Da Ponte, Durant. "Some Evasions of Censorship in *Following the Equator*." *American Literature* 29.1 (Mar., 1957): 92-95. *JSTOR*. Web. 25 Feb. 2013.
- Dahl, Curtis. "Mark Twain and the Moving Panoramas." *American Quarterly* 13.1 (1961): 20-32. *JSTOR*. Web. 25 Mar 2013.
- David, Beverly. *Mark Twain and His Illustrators: Volume I (1869-1875)*. Troy, NY: Whitston, 1986. Print.
- . *Mark Twain and His Illustrators: Volume II (1875-1883)*. Whitsun: Albany, 2001. Print.
- David, Beverly R. and Roy Saperstein. "Reading the Illustrations in *Following the Equator* and *King Leopold's Soliloquy*." *Following the Equator and Anti-Imperialist Essays*. By Mark Twain. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. 23-28. Print.
- . "Illustrators and Illustrations in Mark Twain's First American Editions." *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. 1894. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. 17-20. Print.
- Deloria, Philip Joseph. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. Print.
- Desnoyers, Fernand. "On Realism" *Documents of Modern Literary Realism*. Ed. George J. Becker. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963. 80-88. Print.

- DeVoto, Bernard. *Mark Twain's America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1932. Print.
- Doreski, C. K. "Inherited Rhetoric and Authentic History: Pauline Hopkins at the *Colored American Magazine. The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins*. Ed. John Cullen Gruesser. Champaign: U of Illinois, 1996. 71-97. Print.
- Doyle, Arthur Conan. *Crime of the Congo*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1909. *Internet Archive*. Web. 30 Aug. 2012.
- Driscoll, Kerry. "'Man Factories' and the 'White Indians' of Camelot: Re-reading the Native Subtext of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*." *Mark Twain Annual* 2 (2004): 7-23. Print.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. "The African Roots of War." *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*. Ed. David Levering Lewis. New York: Holt, 1995. 642-51. Print.
- . "The Atlanta Conferences" *W.E.B. Du Bois: On Sociology and the Black Community*. Eds. Dan S. Green and Edwin D. Driver. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1978. Print.
- . "The Colored Magazine in America." *Crisis: The Record of the Dark Races* 5 (1912): 33. Print.
- . *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois*: Volume I, Selections 1877-1934. Ed. Herbert Aptheker. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1973
- . "Criteria of Negro Art." *Crisis: The Record of the Dark Races* 32.6 (Oct. 1926): 290-97. Print.
- . *The Souls of Black Folk*. 1903. Rockville, Maryland: Arc Manor, 2008. Print.
- . *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept*. 1940. Piscataway, N.J.: Transaction, 2011. Print.
- . "The Twelfth Census and the Negro Problems" *The Southern Workman* 29.5 (May 1900): 305-09. Google EBook. Web.
- . "From McKinley to Wallace: My Fifty Years as an Independent," *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*. Ed. David Levering Lewis. New York: Holt, 1995. 482-94. Print.
- . "The Souls of White Folk." *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*. Ed. David Levering Lewis. New York: Holt, 1995. 453-65. Print.
- Durden, Fred. "The Aesthetics of Bitterness in *Following the Equator*." *American Literary Realism* 14.2 (1981): 277-85. JSTOR. Web. 10 Dec. 2011.

- "Editorial and Publishers' Announcements." *Colored American Magazine* 1.1 (May 1900): 60-64. Print.
- Elliott, R.S. "The Story of Our Magazine." *Colored American Magazine* 3.1 (May 1901): 43-77. Print.
- Ellis, S. M. "Thackeray's Illustrations: Their Personal and Topographical Interests." *The Athenaeum* 4609 (Sept. 1916): 403-406. Print.
- Emerson, Everett H. *Mark Twain: A Literary Life*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2000. Print.
- English, Daylanne. *Unnatural Selections: Eugenics in American Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2004. Print.
- Fahs, Alice. *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861-1865*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2001. Print.
- Fatout, Paul, ed. *Mark Twain Speaking*. Iowa City: Iowa UP, 1976. Print.
- Feam, Robert. *Amoral America: How the Rest of the World Learned to Hate America. Amoral America*. Web. 30 May 2013.
- Firkins, Terry, ed. "Note on the Text." *Tom Sawyer Abroad / Tom Sawyer Detective*. By Mark Twain. Berkeley: U of California P, 2004. Print.
- Flately, Jonathan. *Affect Mapping: Melancholia and the Politics of Modernism*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2008. Ebrary. Web. 20 Oct. 2012.
- Foner, Philip S. *Mark Twain: Social Critic*. 1958. New York: International Publishers, 1973. Print.
- Foner, Philip Sheldon & Winchester, Richard C., eds. *The Anti-Imperialist Reader: A Documentary History of Anti-Imperialism in the United States*, Vol. 2., New York, Holmes and Meier, 1986. Print.
- "Foreign Comment." *Crisis* 1.2 (Dec. 1910): 15. Print.
- Fowler, H. W. "Satire." *A Dictionary of Modern Usage: The Classic First Edition*. 1922. Ed. David Crystal. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009.
- Fulton, Joe B. *Mark Twain's Ethical Realism: The Aesthetics of Race, Class, and Gender*. Columbia and London: U of Missouri Press, 1997.

- Gaines, Kevin. "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology as 'Civilizing Mission': Pauline E. Hopkins on Race and Imperialism." *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Eds. Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease. Durham: Duke UP, 2002. 433-455. Print.
- Gardner, Jared. "Storylines." *SubStance* #124 40.1 (2011): 53-69. Print.
- Gates, Henry Louis Jr. "The Face and Voice of Blackness." *Facing History: The Black Image in American Art, 1710-1940*. San Francisco: Bedford Arts, 1990. Print.
- Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Trans. Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997. Print.
- . *Figures of Literary Discourse*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Columbia UP, 1984. Print.
- Gerber, John C., Paul Baender, and Terry Firkins, eds. *The Works of Mark Twain: The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, Tom Sawyer Abroad, Tom Sawyer, Detective. Vol. 4* By Mark Twain. Berkeley: U of California P, 1980. Print.
- Germana, Michael. *Standards of Value: Money, Race, and Literature*. Iowa City, Iowa: U of Iowa P, 2009. Print.
- Gianakos, Perry. "Ernest Howard Crosby: A Forgotten Tolstoyan, Anti-Militarist, and Anti-Imperialist." *American Studies* 13.1 (Spring 1972): 11-29. Print.
- Gibson, William M. *Theodore Roosevelt Among the Humorists: W. D. Howells, Mark Twain, and Mr. Dooley*. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1980. Print.
- Gillman, Susan. *Dark Twins: Imposture and Identity in Mark Twain's America*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1989. Print.
- Gillman, Susan Kay. "Have American Studies Gone Imperial?" *American Literary History* 17.1 (2005): 196-214. Print.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London: Verso, 1993. Print.
- Gneiting, Teona Tone. 1977. "Picture and Text: A Theory of Illustrated Fiction in the Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles. Pro Quest. Web. 27 Apr. 2013.
- Godzich, Wlad. "Foreword: The Further Possibility of Knowledge." *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*. Michel de Certeau. Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1986. vii-xxi. Print.

- Grant, Kevin. "Christian Critics of Empire: Missionaries, Lantern Lectures, and the Congo Reform campaign in Britain." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29.2 (2001): 27-58. Print.
- Green, Martin. *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. New York: Basic Books, 1979. Print.
- Gruesser, John Cullen. *The Empire Abroad and the Empire at Home: African American Literature and the Era of Overseas Expansion*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2012. Print.
- Harding, Kerri. "Post-Visualization and Combination Printing: The Influence of Photographic Process on Contemporary Photography." *University of Alabama McNair Journal* (2008): 63-85. *University of Alabama*. Web. 21 Jan. 2012.
- Harris, Susan K. *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902*. Oxford, Oxford UP, 2011. Print.
- Hawkins, Hunt. "Joseph Conrad, Roger Casement, and the Congo Reform Movement." *Journal of Modern Literature* 9.1 (1981-1982): 65-80. JSTOR. Web. 19 Dec. 2011.
- . "Mark Twain's Involvement with the Congo Reform Movement: 'A Fury of Generous Indignation.'" *The New England Quarterly* 51.2 (1978): 147-75. JSTOR. Web. 12 Sept. 2011.
- Helleiner, Eric. *The Making of National Money: Territorial Currencies in Historical Perspective*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2003. Print.
- Hemment, John. *Cannon and Camera: Sea and Land Battles of the Spanish-American War in Cuba, Camp Life, and the Return of the Soldiers*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898. Print.
- Hirst, Robert H. "Mark Twain Swims the Hellespont!" *Bancroftiana* 83 (Apr. 1983): 5-7. *Bancroftiana*. Web. 16 Oct. 2012.
- Hobson, J.A. *Imperialism: A Study*. London: James Nisbet, 1902. Google Ebook. Web. 1 Apr. 2014.
- Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven, Yale UP, 1998. Print.
- Holoch, Adele Marion. "The Serious Work of Humor in Postcolonial Literature." Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa. 2012. Print.

- Holt, Thomas C. "The Political Uses of Alienation: W.E.B. Du Bois on Politics, Race, and Culture, 1903-1940." *American Quarterly* 42.2 (June 1990): 301-23. *JSTOR*. 11 May 2012.
- Horkheimer, Max and Theodor W. Adorno. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002. Print.
- Hornsey, Matthew J. "Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory: A Historical Review." *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2.1 (Jan. 2008): 204-22. Print.
- Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston: Mariner, 1999. Print.
- Hopkins, Pauline. "Talma Gordon." *Colored American Magazine* 1.5 (Oct. 1900): 271-290. Print.
- . "Toussaint L'Overture." *Colored American Magazine* 2.1 (Nov. 1900): 9-24. Print.
- Ikas, Karin and Gerhard Wagner, eds. *Communicating (in) the Third Space*. New York: Routledge, 2009. Print.
- Inge, M. Thomas. "Mark Twain and Dan Beard's Collaborative *Connecticut Yankee*." *Author-ity and Textuality: Current Views of Collaborative Writing*. Eds. Leonard, J. S. et al. St. Louis: Locust Hill Press. 169-227. Print.
- . "Afterword." *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. 1894. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. 1-14. Print.
- Jackson, W.H. "From Our Friends in the Far East." *Colored American Magazine* 1.3 (Aug. 1900): 145-49. Print.
- James, Henry. "Preface to 'The Golden Bowl'." *The Art of the Novel: Critical Prefaces*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. 327-48. Print.
- Johnson, Edward A. *History of Negro Soldiers in the Spanish-American War, and Other Items of Interest*. Raleigh: Edward A. Johnson, 1899. *Project Gutenberg*. Web. 7 Dec. 2012.
- Kakutani, Michiko. "Rev. of 'King Leopold's Ghost': Genocide with Spin Control by Adam Hochschild." *New York Times*. 1 Sept 1998. Web. 09 Oct. 2013.
- Kalter, Susan. "A Savagist Abroad: Anti-Colonial Theory and Quiet Violence in Twain's Western Oeuvre." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 53.1 (Spring 2011): 26-113. Project Muse. 33 Apr. 2011.

- Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge, Harvard UP, 2002. Print.
- . *The Social Construction of American Realism*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988. Print.
- Kaplan, Fred. Afterword. *Following the Equator and Anti-imperialist Essays*. By Mark Twain. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. 1-16. Print.
- Keen, W.W. "Early Days of Anti-Vivisection." *Science* 65.1672 (1927): 35-36. Print.
- Keen, Suzanne. "Empathic Hardy: Bounded, Ambassadorial, and Broadcast Strategies of Narrative Empathy," *Poetics Today* 32.2 (Summer 2011): 349-89. Print.
- "King Leopold Denies Charges Against Him." Publishers Press. 11 Dec. 1906. *New York Times*. Web. 06 Mar. 2013.
- King, Charles. *Found in the Philippines: The Story of a Woman's Letters*. 1899. New York, Grosset, 1901. Print.
- Kirschke, Amy Helene. *Art in Crisis: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Struggle for African American Identity and Memory*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2007. Print.
- Klinkenborg, Verlyn. "Editorial Observer; Reading Thackeray's 'Vanity Fair' With the Illustrations Intact." *New York Times*. 30 Aug. 2004. *New York Times*. Web. Apr. 2011.
- Knight, Alisha. *Pauline Hopkins and the American Dream: An African American Writer's (Re)Visionary Gospel of Success*. Knoxville, U of Tennessee P, 2012. Print.
- . "Furnace Blasts for the Tuskegee Wizard: Revisiting Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins, Booker T. Washington, and the *Colored American Magazine*." *American Periodicals*. 17.1 (2007): 41-64. Print.
- Knight, Charles. "Satire, Speech, and Genre." *Comparative Literature* 44.1 (Winter 1992): 22-41. JSTOR. Web. 08 Mar. 2012.
- Kramer, Paul. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2006. Print.
- Krause, Sydney. *Mark Twain as Critic*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1967. Print.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View." *Art Journal* 42.4 (1982): 311-19. Print.
- Krieger, Murray and Joan Krieger. *Ekphrasis: The Illusion of the Natural Sign*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992. Print.

- La Feber, Walter. *Inevitable Revolution: The United States of Central America*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Norton, 1993. Print.
- “Landing of Columbus, 1492.” *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*. Web. 20 Jan. 2014.
- Larsen, Nella. *Quicksand and Passing*. Ed. McDowell, Deborah E. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2006. Print.
- Layne, Christopher. “Kant of Cant: the Myth of the Democratic Peace.” 1994. *International Relations: Critical Concepts in Political Science*. Vol. 3. Ed. Andrew Linklater. London: Routledge, 2000. 961-1000. Print.
- Le Bon, Gustave. *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Macmillan, 1897. Print.
- Levinson, Marjorie. “What is New Formalism?” *PMLA* 122.2 (Mar. 2007): 558-69. *JSTOR*. Web. 27 Feb. 2014.
- Lewis, David Levering. *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography*. New York: Holt, 2009. Print.
- Linderman, Gerald. *The Mirror of War: American Society and the Spanish-American War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974. Print.
- “Literary Notes.” *Missionary Review of the World* 30.2 (Feb. 1907): n.p. *Google Ebook*. Web. 13 Mar. 2012.
- Lorini, Alessandra. “Cuba Libre and American Imperial Nationalism: Conflicting Views of Racial Democracy in the Post-Reconstruction United States.” *Contested Democracy: Freedom, Race, and Power in American History*. Eds. Manisha Sinha and Penny Von Eschen. New York: Columbia, 2007. 191-214. Print.
- Love, Eric T. *Race Over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2004. Print.
- Liu, Alan. “The Power of Formalism: The New Historicism.” *ELH* 56 (1989): 721-71.
- Lloyd, Sheila. "Du Bois and the Production of the Racial Picturesque." *Public Culture* 17.2 (2005): 277-97. *Duke UP*. Web. 5 Nov. 2012.
- Lwin, Sandra Mayzaw. “‘A Race So Different from Our Own’: Segregation, Exclusion, and the Myth of Mobility.” *AfroAsian Encounters: Culture, History, Politics*. Eds. Heike Raphael Hernandez and Shannon Steen. New York: New York UP, 2006. 17-33. Print.

- Lye, Colleen. *America's Asia: Racial Form and American Literature, 1893-1945*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2005. Print.
- Marks, George P. III. *The Black Press Views American Imperialism (1898-1900)*. Stratford, N.H.: Ayer Company Publishers, 1971. Print
- Marshall, Peter. *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*. 1992. Oakland, PM, 2010. Print.
- McCloud, Scott. *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*. New York: Harper Collins, 1994. Print.
- McKay, Nellie Y. Introduction. *The Unruly Voice: Rediscovering Pauline Elizabeth Hopkins*. Ed. John Cullen Gruesser. Champaign: U of Illinois, 1996. 1-20. Print.
- Meine, Franklin J. "Some Notes on the First Edition of *Huck Finn*" in *American Book Collector* 10 (1960): 31-34. Print.
- Mercer, Kobena. "Skin Head Sex Thing: Racial Difference and Homoerotic Imaginary." *Art Matters: How the Culture Wars Changed America*. Eds. Julie Ault, Brian Wallis, Marianne Weems, and Philip Yenawine. New York: New York UP, 1999. 83-208. Print.
- Meyer, Michael. *Word and Image in Colonial and Postcolonial Literatures and Cultures*. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2009. Print.
- Michaels, Walter Benn. "Race into Culture: A Critical Genealogy of Cultural Identity." *Critical Inquiry* 18.4 (1992): 655-685. JSTOR. Web. 02 May 2011.
- Michelson, Bruce. *Mark Twain on the Loose: A Comic Writer and the American Self*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1995. Print.
- . *Printer's Devil: Mark Twain and the American Publishing Revolution*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2006. Print.
- Miller, Joseph Hillis. *Illustration*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992. Print.
- Miller, Kelly. "The Effect of Imperialism Upon the Negro Race" *Anti-Imperialist Broadside* 11 (1900). *American Memory: An American Time Capsule: Three Centuries of Broadsides and Other Printed Ephemera*. Web. 10 Nov. 2013.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. "Introduction: What is Visual Culture?" *An Introduction to Visual Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1999. Print.
- . "On Visuality." *Journal of Visual Culture* 5.1(2006): 53-79. Print.

- . "The Right to Look." *Critical Inquiry*. 37.3 (Spring 2011): 473-496. Print.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. "The Commitment to Form; or, Still Crazy after All These Years." *PMLA* 118 (2003): 321-25.
- . *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representations*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chicago: U of Chicago P. 1995. Print.
- . *The Reconfigured Eye: Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era*. 1994. Cambridge: MIT P, 2001. Print.
- Moeller, Susan. *Shooting War: Photography and the American Experience of Combat*. New York: Basic Books, 1989. Print.
- Monteiro, Anthony. "Race and Empire: W. E. B. Du Bois and the US State." *Black Scholar* 37.2 (Summer 2007): 35-52. *JSTOR*. Web. 10 Dec. 2010.
- Morel, Edmund Dene. *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*. London: William Heinemann, 1904. *Google Ebook*. Web. 23 Feb. 2012.
- Moretti, Franco. "The Slaughterhouse of Literature." *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly* 61.1 (Mar. 2000): 207-27. *Project Muse*. Web. 28 Feb. 2014.
- Moses, Wilson J. "The Poetics of Ethopianism: W. E. B. Du Bois and Literary Black Nationalism." *W. E. B. Du Bois*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Infobase. 57-70. Print.
- Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1930*. 1958. *ACLS Humanities*. Web. 04 Dec. 2007.
- Moy, James S. *Marginal Sights: Staging the Chinese in America*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1993. Print.
- "Mr. Hare: A Story for Children." *Crisis: Record of the Darker Races* 4.6 (Oct. 1912): 292-94. Print.
- "Muckraker." *American Library Association Bulletin* 63.6 (1969): 749. Print.
- Murphy, Gretchen. *Hemispheric Imaginings*. Durham: Duke UP, 2005. Print.
- Newsom, Joanna. "This Side of the Blue." *The Milk-Eyed Mender*. Chicago: Drag City, 2004. MP3 file.
- "Negro and Filipino." *Colored American Magazine* 1.5 (Oct. 1900): 334.

- Nelson, Robert L. "A Negro of Genius Who Should Most Certainly Be Widely Known: Harleston! Who is E. A. Harleston?" (1936). *South Caroliniana Library WPA Federal Writers' Project*. Web. 10 Feb. 2012.
- Nicholls, Peter. *Modernisms: A Literary Guide*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1995. Print.
- Nugent, Richard Bruce. "Geisha Man (excerpt)." *Gay Rebel of the Harlem Renaissance*. Ed. Thomas H. Wirth. Durham: Duke UP, 2002. 90-111. Print.
- Numasawa, Koji. "Black Humor: An American Aspect." *Studies in English Literature* 44 (1968): 177-193. Print.
- O'Brien, Colleen. "'Blacks in All Quarters of the Globe': Anti-Imperialism, Insurgent Cosmopolitanism, and International Labor in Pauline Hopkins's Literary Journalism." *American Quarterly*. 61.2 (June 2009): 245-270. Print.
- O'Malley, Michael. "Specie and Species: Race and the Money Question in Nineteenth Century America." *The American Historical Review* 99.2 (Apr. 1994): 369-395. = Print.
- Ohmann, Richard. *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and the Class at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Verso, 1996. Print.
- Onion, Rebecca. "The 1897 Petition Against Annexation That More Than Half of All Native Hawaiians Signed." *Slate*. Web. 1 Apr. 2014.
- Otten, Thomas J. "Pauline Hopkins and the Hidden Self of Race." *ELH* 59.1 (Spring 1992): 227-256. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Sept. 2010.
- Otter, Samuel. "An Aesthetics in All Things." *Representations* 104.1 (Fall 2008): 116 125. *JSTOR*. Web. 28 Feb. 2014.
- Paine, Albert Bigelow. *Mark Twain, A Biography: The Personal and Literary Life of Samuel Langhorne Clemens*. Vol.3. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912. Google Ebook. Web. 10 Mar. 2012.
- Peyser, Thomas. *Utopia and Cosmopolis: Globalization in the Era of American Literary Realism*. Durham, Duke UP, 1998. Print.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. "Berenice." *The Literature Network*. Web. 10 Jan. 2014.
- Posnock, Ross. "The Distinction of Du Bois: Aesthetics, Pragmatism, Politics," *American Literary History* 7 (1995): 500-24. Print.
- Prashad, Vijay. *Everybody Was Kung-Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity*. Boston: Beacon, 2001. Print.

- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge, 2008. Print.
- Prettyman, Gib. "The Serial Illustrations of A *Hazard of New Fortunes*." *Resources for American Literary Study* 27.2 (2001): 179-195. *Project Muse*. Web. 10 Aug. 2012.
- "A Photographic Proof." *La Vérité sur le Congo* 15 Nov. 1905, 455. Print.
- Quint, David. *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993. Print.
- Rafael, Vincente L. *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*. Durham: Duke UP, 2000. Print.
- Rancière, Jacques. "Introducing Disagreement." Trans. Steven Corcoran. *Angelaki: A Journal of Theoretical Humanities* 9.3 (Dec. 2004): 3-9. Print.
- Reclus, Élisée. "On Vegetarianism," *The Meat Fetish: Two Essays on Vegetarianism*, London, A.C. Fifield, 1905. 23-32. Print.
- Rees, David. "Fun: Pro and Con." MMLA Annual Convention. St. Louis Union Station Marriott. St. Louis. 04 Nov. 2011. Keynote.
- "Rev. of *Captain Jinks, Hero*." By Ernest Howard Crosby. *Advocate of Peace* 64.2 (Apr. 1902): 80. *Google eBook*. Web. 21 Jan. 2012.
- Rice, Mark. "Colonial Photography Across Empires and Islands." *Transnational American Studies*. 3.2 (2011): 1-22. Print.
- Robinson, Forrest G. "The Innocent at Large: Mark Twain's Travel Writing." *The Cambridge Companion to Twain*. Ed. Forrest G. Robinson. New York: Cambridge UP, 1995. 27-51. Print.
- Robinson, H. P. *Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaro-oscuro for Photographers. To Which is Added a Chapter on Combination Printing*. London: Piper & Carter, 1869. *Internet Archive*. Web. 15 Nov. 2012.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. "By the President of the United States—A Proclamation" 1903. *Elihu Root Collection of United States Documents Relating to the Philippine Islands. Google E-Book*. Web. 26 Nov. 2012.
- . Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Frederick Jackson Turner. 10 Feb. 1894. Letter. MS AmW 104 (1). Theodore Roosevelt Collection. Houghton Library, Harvard University. Theodore Roosevelt Digital Library. Dickinson State University. Web. 30 Mar. 2014.

- Rowan, Edward L. *To Do My Best: James E. West and the History of the Boy Scouts*. Exeter, NH: Publishing Works, 2005. Print.
- Rowe, John Carlos. "Mark Twain's Critique of Globalization (Old and New) in *Following the Equator, A Journey Around the World*." *Arizona Quarterly* 61.1 (2005): 109-37. *Literature Online*. Web. 1 Dec. 2012.
- Rusling, James. "Interview with President William McKinley." *Christian Advocate* 22 Jan. 1903: 17. Print.
- Sagaser, Elizabeth Harris. "Flirting with Eternity: Teaching Form and Meter in a Renaissance Poetry Course." *Renaissance Literature and Its Formal Engagements*. Ed. Mark David Rasmussen. New York: Palgrave, 2002. 185-206. Print.
- Schueller, Malini Johar. *U.S. Orientalisms: Race, Nation, and Gender in Literature, 1790-1890*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1998. Print.
- Schwartzkopf, Olaf. "The Changed Status of the Horse in War," *Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association* 49 (1916): 59-70. Print.
- Schoultz, Lars. *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy toward Latin America*, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998. Print.
- Schmidt, Barbara. "Brief Overview of Volumes 3 and 4: A Tramp Abroad." *A History and Guide to Uniform Editions of Mark Twain's Works*. Twainquotes. Web. 22 Oct. 2011.
- Schmidt, Tyler T. "'In the glad flesh of my fear:' Corporeal Inscriptions in Richard Bruce Nugent's *Geisha Man*." *African American Review*. 40.1 (2006): 161-74. Print.
- Shevelow, Kathryn. *For the Love of Animals: The Rise of the Animal Protection Movement*. New York: Henry Holt. 2008. Print.
- Shell, Marc. *The Economy of Literature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1978. Print.
- . *Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophical Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1982. Print.
- Schirmer, Daniel B. and Stephen Rosskamm Shalom, eds. *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance*. Cambridge: South End Press, 1987. Print.

- Shi, David E. *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture*. Athens: U Georgia P, 2007. Print.
- Smith, Shawn Michelle. *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture*. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2004. Print.
- Sliwinski, Sharon. "The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo." *Journal of Visual Culture* 5.3 (2006): 333-363. Print.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Picador, 1973. Print.
- Stewart, Garrett. "The Foreign Offices of British Fiction." *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly* 61.1 (Mar. 2000): 181-206. *Project Muse*. Web. 27 Feb. 2014.
- Stevens, Sharon McKenzie. *A Place for Dialogue: Language, Land Use and Politics in Southern Arizona*. Iowa City, IA: U of Iowa P, 2007. Print.
- Stoddard, John. *John L. Stoddard's Lectures*. Vol. 2. 1898. Chicago: Geo. L. Shuman, 1911. Print.
- Storey, Moorfield. *Philippine Policy of Secretary Taft*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Boston: New England Anti Imperialist League, n.d. *Internet Archive*. Web. 22 Feb. 2012.
- Streeby, Shelly. *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2002. Print.
- Sundquist, Eric. *To Wake the Nations*. Cambridge: Belknap, 1993. Print.
- , ed. Introduction. *Mark Twain: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hill, 1994. 1-14. Print.
- Takaki, Ronald. *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century America*. New York: Knopf, 1979. Print.
- Taylor, W. Curtis. "Composite Photography." *Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts* 120.2 (Aug. 1885): 73-79. Google Books. Web. 12 June 2011.
- Thaggert, Miriam. *Images of Black Modernism: Verbal and Visual Strategies of the Harlem Renaissance*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 2010. Print.
- Thomas, Jula. *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image*. Athens: Ohio UP, 2004.

- Thompson, T. Jack. "Capturing the Image: African Missionary Photography as Enslavement and Liberation." Yale University Divinity School. Web. 03 Jan. 2010.
- Turner, Henry. "Lessons from Literature for the Historian of Science (and Vice Versa): Reflections on "Form." *Isis* 101.3 (Sept. 2010): 578-89. Print.
- Twain, Mark. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. 1885. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.
- . *Autobiography of Mark Twain*. Vol. 1. Eds. Harriet Smith, Benjamin Griffin, Victor Fischer, et al. Berkeley: U of California P, 2010. Print.
- . *Christian Science*. 1907. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.
- . "The Czar's Soliloquy." *The North American Review* 180.580. (Mar. 1905): 321-26. JSTOR. Web. 08 Oct. 2012.
- . *Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World*. 1897. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.
- . "Joan of Arc." *Mark Twain's Speeches*. New York: Harper, 1910. 241-248. Print.
- . *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of His Congo Rule*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Boston: P.R. Warren, 1905. Print.
- . Letter to Charles Frederic Moberley Bell. 9 July 1910. TS UCCL 05828. Mark Twain Project Online. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. Web. 21 Mar. 2013.
- . Letter to Edmund Dean Morel. 15-16 October 1904. TS UCCL 06930. Mark Twain Project Online. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. Web. 21 Mar. 2013.
- . Letter to Joseph Twitchell. 1906. TS. Mark Twain Project. Bancroft Lib., Berkeley.
- . *Life on the Mississippi*. 1883. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.
- . *Mark Twain-Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William Dean Howells*. Vol.2. Eds. Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson. Cambridge: Belknap, 1960. Print.
- . *Mark Twain's Letters*. Ed. Albert Bigelow Paine. Vol. 2. New York and London: Harper, 1917. Print.

- . *Mark Twain's Letters from Hawai'i*. Ed. A. Grove Day. Honolulu: Hawai'i UP, 1975. Print.
- . *Mark Twain's Letters from the Sandwich Islands*. Ed. G. Ezra Dane. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1938. Print.
- . *Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers: 1867-1894*. 1967. Ed. Hamlin Hill. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U of California P, 1974. Print.
- . *Mark Twain's Notebooks and Journals, Volume 1 (1855–1873)*. Eds. Frederick Anderson, Michael B. Frank, and Kenneth M. Anderson. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California UP, 1975. Print.
- . "On Leopold." 1906. MS. Mark Twain Project. Bancroft Lib., Berkeley.
- . *Tom Sawyer Abroad*. 1894. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.
- . *A Tramp Abroad*. 1880. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.
- . "The Victims." *Mark Twain's Book of Animals*. Ed. Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Berkeley: U of California P, 2010: 141-44. Print.
- Waln, Frank. "AbOriginal." *AbOriginal – Single*. Parmelee, SD: Sicangu Sounds, 2013. MP3 file.
- Wald, Priscilla. *Constituting Americans: Cultural Anxiety and Narrative Form*. Durham: Duke UP, 1995. Print.
- Wallace, Elizabeth. *Mark Twain and the Happy Island*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1913. Print.
- Wallace, Michele. *Dark Designs and Visual Culture*. Duke UP, 2004. Print.
- Washington, Booker T., N. B. Woods, and Fannie Barrier Williams, eds. *A New Negro for a New Century: An Accurate and Up-to-Date Record of the Upward Struggles of the Negro Race*. Chicago: American Publishing House, 1900. Print.
- Watt, Eric King. "Cultivating a Black Public Voice: W.E.B. Du Bois and the 'Criteria of Negro Art'." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 4.2 (2001): 181-201. *Project Muse*. Web. 01 Nov. 2012.
- Weheliye, Alexander. "The Grooves of Temporality." *Public Culture* 17.2 (2005): 319-38. Duke UP. Web. 05 November 2012.

- Wells, Jeremy. *Romances of the White Man's Burden: Race, Empire, and the Plantation in American Literature, 1880–1936*. Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 2011. Print.
- Wexler, Laura. *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. Print.
- Willet, Cynthia. *Irony in the Age of Empire: Comic Perspectives on Democracy and Freedom*. Bloomington: U Indiana P, 2008. Print.
- Williams, Walter L. "United States Indian Policy and the Debate Over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism." *Journal of American History* 66.4 (1980): 810-831. Print.
- Williams, William Appleman. *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament Along with a Few Thoughts About an Alternative*. 1980. New York: Ig, 2007. Print.
- Winston, Mathew. "The Ethics of Contemporary Black Humor." *Colorado Quarterly* 24 (1976): 275-88. *ProQuest*. Web. 27 June 2012.
- . "Humor Noir and Black Humor." *Veins of Humor*. Ed. Harry Levin. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1972. 269-84. Print.
- Wills, Garry. 'Negro President': *Jefferson and the Slave Power*. Boston: Mariner: 2005. Print.
- Wolfson, Susan. "Reading for Form." *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly* 61.1 (Mar. 2000): 1-16. Project Muse. Web. 28 Feb. 2014.
- Worcester, Dean. *The Philippine Islands and Their People*. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Print.
- Wuliger, Robert. "Mark Twain on King Leopold's Soliloquy." *American Literature* 25.2 (1953): 234-37. *JSTOR*. Web. 01 May 2012.
- Young, George B. "Intervention Under the Monroe Doctrine: The Olney Corollary." *Political Science Quarterly* 57.2 (Jun. 1942): 247-80. *JSTOR*. Web. 1 Apr. 2014.
- Yoshihara, Mari. *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003. Print.
- Zwick, Jim. *Confronting Imperialism: Essays on Mark Twain and the Anti-Imperialism League*. West Coshohocken, PA: Infinity, 2007. Print.