

## Twenty-First Century Hucksters: *Huckleberry Finn* and Trumpism

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How did America get here? How did it become a place where 20 percent of Americans believe violence is needed to keep the republic together?<sup>1</sup> Where a movie set in the near future titled *Civil War* finds an audience instead of derision? Where 58 percent of conservatives believe the January 6 insurrection was “legitimate political discourse”?<sup>2</sup> Where a Supreme Court Justice at a private gala can argue that America’s cultural divisions are so entrenched that “One side or the other is going to win”?<sup>3</sup> Where a presidential candidate, in response to a question about supporting violence after the 2024 election, answers “it depends”?<sup>4</sup>

Of course, the proximate cause is Trumpism, a word capturing the loose ideological baggage of the former president’s base: an embrace of authoritarianism and white supremacy, nurtured by a grim mixture of entitlement, aggrievement, conspiracy, and violence. This “movement” takes its cues from the celebrity politician and shapeshifter that is its namesake and leader. The raft of books and essays examining this political and social malaise<sup>5</sup> usually looks to the (relatively)

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1. Garen J. Wintemute et al., *Views of American Democracy and Society and Support for Political Violence: First Report from a Nationwide Population-Representative Survey*, medRxiv, July 19, 2022, p. 2022.07.15.22277693, <https://doi.org/10.1101/2022.07.15.22277693>.

2. Robert Draper, “Far Right Pushes a Through-the-Looking-Glass Narrative on Jan. 6,” *The New York Times*, June 23, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/23/us/politics/jan-6-trump.html>.

3. Quoted in Abbie VanSickle, “In Secret Recordings, Alito Endorses Nation of ‘Godliness.’ Roberts Talks of Pluralism,” *The New York Times*, June 11, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/10/us/politics/supreme-court-alito.html>.

4. “Read the Full Transcripts of Donald Trump’s Interviews With TIME,” *TIME*, April 30, 2024, <https://time.com/6972022/donald-trump-transcript-2024-election/>.

5. This is a rapidly expanding field: see Jason Stanley, *How Fascism Works: The Politics of Us and Them* (New York: Random House, 2020); Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century* (New York: Crown, 2017); Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Random House, 2019); David Frum, *Trumpocracy: The Corruption of the American Republic* (New York: Harper, 2018); Arlie Russell Hochschild,

recent past for historical antecedents. This obscures the cultural demons that fueled similar attitudes in nineteenth-century America, making its current problems seem more phenomenon than feature—more accident than inevitable. But as Jon Grinspan’s *The Age of Acrimony* recounts, in the 1890s these demons led to a “brutal fight over the nature of democracy that raged across” America.<sup>6</sup> He argues that our current “angry partisanship and obsessive campaignism [...] seems ‘unprecedented,’” only because of America’s historical amnesia.<sup>7</sup> In the waning years of the nineteenth century, the satiric social commentary of Mark Twain’s *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* captured this “acrimony” in fiction, offering insights into the partisan divisions and bitterness of his own times—and our own.

These divisions come to the fore through the lens of sociological criticism, defined by Kenneth Burke as a search for assumptions, observations, and critiques which “apply both to works of art and to social situations outside of art.”<sup>8</sup> Such an approach provides readers with “situations and strategies” that could be applied to “contemporaneous” attitudes and cultures.<sup>9</sup> In *The Limits of Critique*, Rita Felski echoes these ideas, affirming that “past texts have things to say on questions that matter to us.”<sup>10</sup> This essay builds on the past and present, bringing sociological criticism to bear on questions that matter, looking to *Huckleberry Finn* for explanations of our current social situation. It demonstrates how the insights of history, sociology, public opinion, and cognitive psychology, when applied to a nineteenth-century literary text, create an interpretive bridge, illuminating and informing the bitter debates roiling contemporary America.

For some critics, *Huckleberry Finn*’s derogatory language and Jim’s treatment

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*Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York: New Press, 2016); Anne Applebaum, *Twilight of Democracy: The Seductive Lure of Authoritarianism* (New York: Anchor Books, 2021); Adam Serwer, *The Cruelty Is the Point: The Past, Present, and Future of Trump’s America* (New York: Penguin, 2022); Carol Andersson, *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016); Jonathan Metzl, *Dying of Whiteness: How the Politics of Racial Resentment Is Killing America’s Heartland* (New York: Basic Books, 2020); Carlos Lozada, *What Were We Thinking: A Brief Intellectual History of the Trump Era* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020); and Sarah Bartlett Churchwell, *Behold, America: The Entangled History of “America First” and “the American Dream”* (New York: Basic Books, 2018).

6. Jon Grinspan, *The Age of Acrimony: How Americans Fought to Fix Their Democracy, 1865–1915* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021), 7.

7. *Ibid.*, 9.

8. Kenneth Burke, “Literature as Equipment for Living,” in *The Critical Tradition: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends*, ed. David H. Richter (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1989), 516.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 160.

at the end of the novel mean it should be canceled instead of studied.<sup>11</sup> But understanding Twain's satiric approach reveals his scathing criticism of the cultural forces arrayed against equality. Jocelyn Chadwick-Joshua makes this a central point in *The Jim Dilemma*, arguing that "misconceptions about Twain's work generally, and Jim in particular, result as a failure to recognize and acknowledge the conventions of satire at work in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*."<sup>12</sup> This emphasis on satire, combined with the sociological approach of Burke and Felski, reveals the predictive power of the novel.<sup>13</sup> America's current tribulations—our embrace of racism, love of the easy lie and attachment to false narratives and the con-men who perpetuate them, and a turn toward grievance and victimization—were set in print by Twain in 1884. Their resurgence suggests that nineteenth-century hucksters, and the grift they peddle, are born again in the twenty-first century.<sup>14</sup>

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11. For an early overview of this criticism, see 1992's *Satire or Evasion? Black Perspectives on Huckleberry Finn* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992) eds. S. Leonard, Thomas Asa Tenney, and Thadious M Davis. The opening essay, John H. Wallace's "The Case Against Huck Finn," asserts that "[i]n this day of enlightenment, teachers should not rely on a book that teaches the subtle sickness of racism to our young and causes so much psychological damage to a large segment of our population" (Wallace, 23). The collection calls into question such blanket assertions with, among others, Charles Nichols's "'A True Book—With Some Stretchers'—Huck Finn Today," which argues that the novel portrays the "conflict, contradiction, paradox, and ambivalence" of America "through irony and satire" (208). Jocelyn Chadwick-Joshua, in *The Jim Dilemma: Reading Race in Huckleberry Finn* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), writes that critics "need to distinguish a richly positive and generous humanity from the confusing crosscurrents of prejudice that obscure it" (xiv). More recently, Thomas Quirk's notion that "we have been looking for the greatness of *Huckleberry Finn* in the wrong places" probably best captures my approach in this essay, though unlike him I do see in the novel a "veiled cultural critique" (see "The Flawed Greatness of *Huckleberry Finn*," *American Literary Realism*, vol. 45, no. 1 (2012), 38, 46; JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.5406/amerlitereal.45.1.0038>). In keeping with this vein of cultural critique, Andrew Spencer uses critical race theory to argue that Twain's satire attacks the racial privileges that supported white supremacy (see "'A Fiction of Law and Custom': Mark Twain's Interrogation of White Privilege in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," *The Mark Twain Annual*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2017), 126–44).

12. Jocelyn Chadwick-Joshua, *The Jim Dilemma: Reading Race in Huckleberry Finn* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), xviii.

13. Consider Shelley Fisher Fishkin's observation that "Indeed, it would be difficult to find an issue on the horizon today that Twain did not touch on somewhere in his work" in *Lighting Out for the Territory: Reflections on Mark Twain and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 9. It is doubtful that Fishkin imagined in 1998 when she published these words that such issues could include an insurrection to overturn an election led by a president who was not reelected.

14. Taking a cue from Twain, this essay eschews the usual academic detachment in favor of a more satiric voice; the upending of societal norms and utter contempt for democracy

The connection between Twain's depiction of racial divisions and the world we live in today is made most clear in his rhetorical method: satire. And this satire begins with Huck's narrative voice. Much like the character Stephen Colbert in the *Colbert Report*, it presents itself as one of "them" (in the novel's case an average, white, nineteenth-century Southerner) and then ironically exposes the hypocrisies and cruelties they traffic in: that people could be property. A short passage midway through the novel tellingly illustrates this satiric method. Huck recounts how Jim just came "right out flat-footed and [said] he would steal his children—children that belonged to a man I didn't even know; a man that hadn't ever done me no harm."<sup>15</sup> Nineteenth-century readers gladdened that the war against secession had ended slavery (and who could detect irony and satire) might breathe a sigh of relief that slave fathers no longer had to resort to theft to keep their families intact. Those still bitter about the War of Northern Aggression (and who had trouble with irony) might get a bit riled up, sharing Huck's indignation as they remembered a time when state's rights ruled and blacks knew their place: in chains and on the farm. This satirical double-dealing is educative; through it, readers experience the moral journey of Huck's gradual—though ultimately limited—acceptance of Jim's humanity. That limitation? The color line. At the end of the novel, Huck offers what he thinks is the highest nineteenth-century compliment to Jim: "I knowed he was white inside."<sup>16</sup> In the next century, James Baldwin's *Notes on a Native Son* captured the endurance of this reality, noting that when white Americans "accept" blacks, "they at once cease to be Negroes."<sup>17</sup>

Huck's renunciation of Jim's identity is part of the much-maligned final chapters where the differences between realism and satire leave many modern critics and readers chafing at the portrayal of Jim's prolonged enslavement at the hands of Tom Sawyer and Huck. Yet it is in these chapters that Twain's lesson becomes most relevant.<sup>18</sup> Just as the *Colbert Report* was a metacommentary on the irrationality of *FOX News* talking heads, the final third of the novel is a metacommentary on the irrationality and tragedy of life in Jim Crow America: black people are "free," but still imprisoned by people like Tom and Huck who could not separate fact (blacks have equal rights) from fiction (they only have the rights whites want to give them). This fiction was soon enshrined, via *Plessy v.*

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exhibited by those who embrace Trumpism deserves a correspondingly indignant response.

15. Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Ebook. Norton Critical Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, fourth edition, 2021), 123.

16. *Ibid.*, 316.

17. James Baldwin, *The Price of the Ticket: Collected Nonfiction: 1948–1985* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2021), 76.

18. For a similar argument on the final chapters of *Huckleberry Finn*, see Charles H. Nichols, "A True Book With Some Stretchers' - Huck Finn Today," in *Satire or Evasion? Black Perspectives on Huckleberry Finn*, eds. J. S. Leonard et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 16–24.

*Ferguson*, into legal doctrine. Through that 1896 decision establishing segregation as the law of the land, Jim's fictional treatment became reality for blacks in post-bellum America. Of course, life for blacks was not exactly equal before *Plessy*. In 1874, ten years before the novel was published, the Crescent City White League assembled a paramilitary force of around five thousand and asserted their racial privilege by taking over parts of New Orleans to protest a pro-Reconstruction governorship.<sup>19</sup> And in the same Southern city, just a few years after *Plessy*, Ida B. Wells-Barnett recounts in *Mob Rule in New Orleans* the savagery of a white mob which left twenty-eight dead and over fifty wounded.<sup>20</sup>

In this the novel captures the creeping tide of racial hatred that led Twain to write—but never publish—“The United States of Lyncherdom.”<sup>21</sup> This 1901 essay sheds light on Huck's complicity in Jim's treatment. Twain argues that most people are intrinsically moral but lack the courage of their convictions: in his telling, “each man is afraid of his neighbor's disapproval—a thing which is more dreaded than wounds and death.”<sup>22</sup> This emphasis on social cohesion over morality foreshadows Huck's own logic when he finds Jim imprisoned at the Phelps's farm. His instinct is to alert Miss Watson. What stops him? As Twain notes, “his neighbor's disapproval.” Huck worries that once someone finds out that he helped a slave to freedom, “I'd be ready to get down and lick his boots for shame.”<sup>23</sup> For Huck, the fear of abasement, at first, triumphs over morality. In this Huck exemplifies the current understanding on group affiliation and decision-making. As the bluntly titled “Tribalism Is Human Nature” makes clear, “groups are particularly prone to giving status to individuals who conform to and vocalize support for moral norms and deducting status from individuals who rebel and vocalize dissent against those norms.”<sup>24</sup> Huck, living in a liminal state between the starch and polish of Widow Douglas and the “smooth and lovely” freedom of the raft, is at first more starched—more interested in maintaining his status as a

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19. In 2017 a plaque and monument commemorating “The Battle of Liberty Place,” as it came to be called, was the first of several removed in the clearing of Confederate monuments in the city. See Avi Selk, “New Orleans Removes a Tribute to ‘the Lost Cause of the Confederacy’ — with Snipers Standing By,” *Washington Post*, [www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/04/24/new-orleans-removes-a-tribute-to-the-lost-cause-of-the-confederacy-with-snipers-standing-by/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/04/24/new-orleans-removes-a-tribute-to-the-lost-cause-of-the-confederacy-with-snipers-standing-by/).

20. Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *On Lynchings: Southern Horrors, A Red Record, Mob Rule in New Orleans* (Salem, NJ: Ayer, 2006).

21. Mark Twain, “The United States of Lyncherdom,” *Huck Finn; Pudd'nhead Wilson; No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger; and Other Writings*. Library of America, 2000. Internet Archive, [http://archive.org/details/isbn\\_2901883011887\\_754-61](http://archive.org/details/isbn_2901883011887_754-61).

22. *Ibid.*, 757.

23. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 251.

24. Cory J. Clark et al., “Tribalism Is Human Nature,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, vol. 28, no. 6 (December 2019): 5883. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721419862289>.

white, racist, “sivilize[d]” Southerner.<sup>25</sup> This leans on the realism of Huck as a character sharing perverted moral beliefs—and thus conforming to the tribalism—of his Southern brethren.

The social pressure to fall into line that Huck ultimately rejects (famously deciding instead to “go to hell”)<sup>26</sup> was aided and abetted by a news media that preyed upon white anxieties of blacks asserting their rights. These anxieties fueled the nineteenth-century equivalent of clickbait: pamphlets and newspaper articles spreading false narratives. Readers greedily consumed this steady stream of vitriol and portraits of American carnage served up by publishers eager to capitalize on the fear of a black planet. The leaders of the White League, a highbrow KKK, fashioned their own tales of urban apocalypse, including gangs roaming New Orleans’ streets and endangering their women. James Buckner, the self-identified creator of the League, reported that “there were outrages committed on the street, day after day; houses were robbed two or three times a winter; our ladies had no protection on the streets, particularly in the daytime, [with] the absence of the gentleman during business hours.”<sup>27</sup> News articles painted these fears in distinctly racial colors. “Negroes,” warned the Louisiana *Franklin Enterprise* in 1874, “have no record but barbarism and idolatry [...] nothing since the war, but that of error, incapacity, beastliness, voodooism, and crime.”<sup>28</sup> These fictions fueled racism, then and now. The fears underlying *Mob Rule* and the White League returned to Louisiana just over one hundred years later as false narratives of a post-Katrina black crime wave in New Orleans became standard news fare.<sup>29</sup> More recently, they appeared in the myth of cities looted and burning after Black Lives Matter protests.<sup>30</sup> In both centuries, the media pedaled fear fiction which became a violent reality for the very citizens who were being oppressed.

False narratives serve as both comic relief and warning in *Huckleberry Finn*. These narratives are spread by Tom—and by extension all unreconstructed Southerners lost in an imagined past. Tom wants to make America great by

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25. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 12, 152.

26. *Ibid.*, 252.

27. The White League in Louisiana, 2. <https://digitallibrary.tulane.edu/islandora/object/tulane%3A13208>, Tulane University Digital Library, John Minor Wisdom collection, 1710–1960, Manuscripts Collection 230, Box 13, Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University, 2021.

28. *Ibid.*, 10.

29. James Ridgeway, “The Secret History of Hurricane Katrina,” *Mother Jones*, <https://www.motherjones.com/environment/2009/08/secret-history-hurricane-katrina/>.

30. Grace Hauck et al., “‘A Fanciful Reality’: Trump Claims Black Lives Matter Protests Are Violent, but the Majority Are Peaceful,” *USA TODAY*, October 24, 2020. <https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/nation/2020/10/24/trump-claims-blm-protests-violent-but-majority-peaceful/3640564001/>.

transforming it into the fictional world of historical romance and adventure tales. The novel satirically illustrates the problems of living in such a fantasyland. Early in the book, Huck recounts his disillusionment with Tom's "reality," a reality that centers on an all-too-familiar racist trope: a caravan of brown-skinned people invading America. As Huck recounts it, Tom tells his gang

that next day a whole parcel of Spanish merchants and rich A-rabs was going to camp in Cave Hollow with two hundred elephants, and six hundred camels, and over a thousand "sumter" mules, all loaded down with di'monds [...] I wanted to see the camels and elephants, so I was on hand next day, Saturday, in the ambushade; and when we got the word we rushed out of the woods and down the hill. But there warn't no Spaniards and A-rabs, and there warn't no camels nor no elephants. It warn't anything but a Sunday-school picnic, and only a primer-class at that. We busted it up, and chased the children up the hollow; but we never got anything but some doughnuts and jam, though Ben Rogers got a rag doll, and Jo Harper got a hymn-book and a tract.<sup>31</sup>

So here we find a leader imposing his fantasy world of riches and success if only an invasion of dusky foreigners could be routed. Instead of gold and elephants, his followers end up with junk food and dross. More pointedly, behind the comedy lies a warning: delusion and prejudice can override seemingly impregnable cultural walls. Tom is so blinded that even in this most religious of times and locales—nineteenth-century America—he persuades his gang to (1) attack a Sunday school class; and (2) steal religious texts. This may help explain how, in the twenty-first century, a modern president leading a hedonistic lifestyle—running casinos, serial marriages, bragging about groping women—could find support from Evangelical Christians.<sup>32</sup> Twain, getting the jump on cognitive theorists, understood that for people like Tom the power of a story—particularly one you want to believe—trumps reality.<sup>33</sup>

Psychologist Nassim Nicholas Taleb notes that narrative fallacies, such as Tom's tale of riches and excitement, exploit "our vulnerability to overinterpretation and our predilection for compact stories over raw truths," and

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31. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 24–25.

32. Michael Lipka and Gregory Smith, "White Evangelical Approval of Trump Slips, but Eight-in-Ten Say They Would Vote for Him," Pew Research Center, July 1, 2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/07/01/white-evangelical-approval-of-trump-slips-but-eight-in-ten-say-they-would-vote-for-him/>.

33. It also helps explain why thirty-four million Americans would support a Trump party over the GOP. "Suffolk Poll Shows Trump Voters Would Favor New Trump Party More Than GOP." Suffolk University News and Features, February 22, 2021, <https://www.suffolk.edu/news-features/news/2021/02/22/01/51/suffolk-poll-shows-trump-voters-would-favor-new-trump-party-more-than-gop>.

he adds that this vulnerability “severely distorts our mental representation of the world.”<sup>34</sup> The core American fallacy that Twain exposes in *Huckleberry Finn* is the distorted belief that blacks are not citizens (actually, not even fully human) and thus should not be accorded the same rights as white Americans. His parade of narrative deceptions throughout the novel—the attack on the Sunday school picnic, Huck’s preternatural “evasions” (i.e., the lies he tells to get out of trouble), the Duke and Dauphin’s scams—all illustrate the sheer gullibility of nineteenth-century Americans and how easy it is to fool some of the people most of the time. They point to Twain’s understanding that the string of “compact stories” in the picaresque adventure tale that is *Huckleberry Finn* create a perfect vehicle to expose America’s distaste for the “raw truths” of life for black Americans (both pre and post reconstruction) and of the difficult moral and cognitive work, and thus the ultimate rejection, of racial acceptance.

The connections to contemporary America are fairly direct. In Trump, America had a president who came into office peddling wild tales about a brown-skinned immigrant crime wave. How did his audience react? Since their reality is mediated through Trump, they see Mexican immigrants as “rapists,” and constructed a narrative to fit it. Consider Ivan Green, an upstate New York factory worker. On the border wall he’s “100 percent” behind the president: in fact he “pretty much like[s] everything [... Trump’s] done.”<sup>35</sup> His rationale? It’s straight out of *Game of Thrones*: “I’d hate for somebody to come over here and rape my daughter, murder her, murder my mom and then go back over there and not get caught. So yeah, I think the wall’s a great idea.”<sup>36</sup> Safe in small town New England where South and Central American immigrants are few and far between, Green fabricates a lurid narrative that echoes the lurid narratives he has been fed.

The fervid inventions of Green—a person rapes and then murders his daughter; somehow identifies his mother and (for some unexplained reason) kills her too, and then makes it back (undetected) to Mexico—reveals the pernicious effect of another cognitive fallacy: the difference between possibility and plausibility. This difference is one of the most powerful cognitive errors (and a gateway bias to conspiracy theory), and it generates logical confusion by imbuing the ridiculous with a patina of credibility. Yes, Green’s fantastical tale of murder and mayhem is within the realm of possibility, but the likelihood of a Mexican immigrant crossing the border, traveling almost two thousand miles, committing a rape, double murder, and then escaping back to Mexico without being captured tilts toward the

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34. Nassim Nicholas Taleb, *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2010), 63.

35. Quoted in Brian Mann, “Trump Voters In Upstate New York React To End Of Government Shutdown,” NPR.Org, January 28, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/01/28/689473999/trump-voters-in-upstate-new-york-react-to-end-of-government-shutdown>.

36. Ibid.



impossible. Behavioral economist Daniel Kahneman's description of "availability bias" comes into play here. With a steady stream of stories about MS13 or Antifa<sup>37</sup> coming soon to a town near you, Green's guard is up (it is all over the news; even the president says it is true!); it is "available" and thus at the forefront of his mind. He cannot see that his fear narrative is not in the realm of plausibility. Kahneman explains that "availability cascades inevitably lead to gross exaggeration of minor threats, sometimes with important consequences."<sup>38</sup> The statistical fact that immigrants and undocumented workers commit less violent crime than native-born citizens makes no impact in the ring of fear: when the amygdala and frontal lobe duke it out, it is instinct in a knockout.<sup>39</sup> Rational thought is left spread-eagled on the mat.<sup>40</sup>

Even without the benefit of modern psychology, Twain was aware that narrative fallacies can have "important consequences." And these consequences go far beyond spoiling a Sunday school picnic. In chapter 12, Jim and Huck leave the wrecked and sinking *Sir Walter Scott*. With a bound gang member and his two confederates doomed to drown on the steamboat, the ship becomes a floating coffin. The connection between the boat's name and those like Tom who traffic in dangerous make-believe is made clear in *Life on the Mississippi*, completed while Twain was working on *Huck Finn*. Here Twain connects Tom's infatuation with an idealized fictional world to the wider antebellum Southern society that shared it. He writes that an embrace of the lifestyle depicted in Sir Walter Scott's novels

sets the world in love with dreams and phantoms; with decayed and swinish forms of religion; with decayed and degraded systems of government; with the sillinesses and emptinesses, sham grandeurs, sham gauds, and sham chivalries of a brainless and worthless long-vanished society.<sup>41</sup>

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37. MS13 is a criminal gang operating in the United States and Central America; Antifa is shorthand for Anti-Fascism, the name used by a loosely organized American group dedicated to, as the name suggests, opposing fascism, particularly of American nationalists. Both have been used as bogeymen by the American Right.

38. Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 144.

39. Alex Nowrasteh, "Immigration Myths - Crime and the Number of Illegal Immigrants," Cato Institute, March 20, 2017. <https://www.cato.org/blog/immigration-myths-crime-number-illegal-immigrants>.

40. Since lies spread more quickly than the truth on social media, the spread of false narratives is a particularly pernicious modern version of an age-old phenomenon. See Soroush Vosoughi et al., "The Spread of True and False News Online," *Science*, vol. 359, no. 6380 (March 2018), 1146, [science.org](https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aap9559) (Atypon), <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aap9559>.

41. Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi. Mississippi Writings*. Library of America, 1982, 500. *Internet Archive*, <http://archive.org/details/mississippiwriti00twai>.

Our imagined past today? Complete with “decayed and swinish forms of religion [...] decayed and degraded systems of government.” Sure, let’s make America great again. But what is the setting for the time machine? Just when do those upset with America think we *were* great—as opposed to being great all along? The years are all over the map, but many of those who think Jim would look best in an orange jumpsuit believe that the mid-1960s were the best—and that it has all gone downhill from there.<sup>42</sup>

Pop culture captured this “high point” with the enshrinement of Mayberry, North Carolina, as the iconic American small town. And of course, it is fiction. In *The Andy Griffith Show* (1960–1968), Mayberry is whitewashed, drained of the 30 percent of blacks living in Mount Airy, North Carolina, the town the series is based on.<sup>43</sup> Where are the sit-ins at the diner? The spitting on blacks as they integrate schools? The fire hoses and German Shepherds? They are all conveniently offstage, leaving the audience to bask not in the complexity of a world where the oppressed were beginning to rattle the bars of their cages, but in the simplicity of a feel-good simulacrum. The popularity and social capital of the show then (a top-rated program at the end of its run) and now (in perpetual syndication) contrast with its utter unreality. It suggests that Tom was (and is) not the only American lost in a mythic past. The potency of its political strength is seen in twenty-eight-year-old Dane Davis, who looks fondly back on his childhood in rust-belt Newton Falls, Ohio, as “a working-class Mayberry”—and Trump is the man he believes can turn back time.<sup>44</sup>

Twain demonstrates how easily Americans are fooled by false narratives through the Duke and Dauphin’s deceptions. In the Wilks’s chapters, the Dauphin, despite a ludicrously cornpone “British” accent, succeeds in convincing Peter Wilks’s daughters (and most of the townspeople) that he and the Duke are their father’s long-lost English brothers. All it takes to deceive is a surface familiarity with names and an audience primed for an expected narrative: two English accented strangers who readily exhibit grief. But given the holes in their presentation (“ain’t” was a well-known Americanism and Huck is obviously not a British “valley”),<sup>45</sup> the episode exposes the odd mixture of illogic and confusion between possible and plausible which fuel false narratives. In this case they undermine friendships, but writ large, their lies generate the misunderstanding,

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42. “Campaign Exposes Divisions Over Issues, Values and How Life Has Changed in the U.S.,” *Pew Research Center - U.S. Politics & Policy*, March 31, 2016, <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2016/03/31/campaign-exposes-fissures-over-issues-values-and-how-life-has-changed-in-the-u-s/>.

43. U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1961*. Section 1. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961, 31.

44. “Vision, Chutzpah and Some Testosterone,” *The New York Times*, January 17, 2018. NYTimes.com, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/17/opinion/trump-voters-supporters.html>.

45. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 209.

resentment, and aggrievement that undermine democratic society. Twain captures the populist bent of these deceptions by singling out “the elites,” Dr. Robinson and the lawyer Levi Bell, as the only holdouts.

There in the parlor, with Wilks’s body lying close at hand, Dr. Robinson sees through the “tears and flapdoodle” of the Dauphin and warns the sisters, “He is the thinnest kind of an impostor—has come here with a lot of empty names and facts which he picked up somewhere, and you take them for proofs, and are helped to fool yourselves by these foolish friends here, who ought to know better.”<sup>46</sup> The Wilks’s daughters and the townspeople’s response to this revelation of the truth? They called it fake news and handed the farm to the fraudsters. Mary Jane thrusts the bag of gold coins into the Duke’s arms, telling him “Take this six thousand dollars, and invest for me and my sisters any way you want to, and don’t give us no receipt for it.”<sup>47</sup> In case modern readers miss the *What’s the Matter With Kansas* relevance of voters acting against their own interests,<sup>48</sup> consider Twain’s gloss on the power of anti-intellectualism in America. In the following chapter he makes clear how the hucksters feel about the rubes. The Dauphin, knowing how the working class feel about the educated, rejects the Duke’s concerns: “Cuss the doctor! What do we k’yer for *him*? Hain’t we got all the fools in town on our side? And ain’t that a big enough majority in any town?”<sup>49</sup>

“Majority” brings us back to twenty-first-century America, particularly to electoral majorities who resent and reject the advice of those they believe hold them in contempt. The continuity of this contempt is illustrated by Barbara Ehrenreich’s working-class father (ca. 1950) who “could not say the word doctor without the virtual prefix quack. Lawyers were shysters [...] and professors were without exception phonies.”<sup>50</sup> Joan C. Williams sees a similar animus in Trump supporters who feast on the “comfort food” of his attacks on elites and envision a land where “men [are] men and women [know] their place.”<sup>51</sup> Take, for example, sixty-year-old retiree Pam Schilling, profiled in a 2017 *Politico* article. Like the Wilks sisters, she is suffering from a recent loss: a son dead from a heroin overdose. And like the Wilks sisters, Schilling supports a huckster. Asked about Trump, she replied “I think he’s doing a great job, and I just wish the hell they’d leave him alone and let him do it.”<sup>52</sup> In true American fashion, she takes it a step

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46. *Ibid.*, 208.

47. *Ibid.*, 208.

48. Thomas Frank, *What’s the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004).

49. *Ibid.*, 216.

50. Quoted in Joan C. Williams, “What So Many People Don’t Get About the U.S. Working Class,” *Harvard Business Review*, November 10, 2016, <https://hbr.org/2016/11/what-so-many-people-dont-get-about-the-u-s-working-class>.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Quoted in Michael Kruse, “Johnstown Never Believed Trump Would Help. They Still

farther. Echoing the rejection and disdain of those Huck dubbed “the quality” (but putting a distinctly twenty-first century scatological spin on it), Shilling adds “He shouldn’t have to take any shit from anybody.”<sup>53</sup> Those anybodies? They look suspiciously like Dr. Robinson and Levi Bell. Or as New York farmer and hardcore Trump supporter Maurice Bertrand snorts, “smart-asses with their college degrees.”<sup>54</sup>

Twain embodies the white grievance exhibited by Trump supporters such as Schilling and Bertrand in Pap. The toxic nature of this grievance and specific identification with white supremacy is seen in Twain’s description of Pap’s skin color: it was “a white to make a body sick, a white to make a body’s flesh crawl—a tree-toad white, a fish-belly white.”<sup>55</sup> Piling the negative connotations of illness, revulsion, poison, and cowardice with the word “white” undercuts the prevailing notion of whiteness as the apex of human development. This description suggests that those who most identify with their skin color are, like Pap, “drunk” on their perceived power. Instead of supremacy, an exaggerated focus on whiteness becomes poison, more reptile than human. This picks up on the denigrating trope of dirt eaters (the poverty-stricken who supposedly ate dirt to fill their stomachs) in mid-nineteenth-century depictions of the rural South. Historian Nancy Isenberg reports that people like Pap were “barely acknowledged as members of the human race, these oddities with cotton-white hair and waxy pigmentation were classed with albinos [...] [T]hey ruined themselves through their dual addiction to alcohol and dirt.”<sup>56</sup> Through this description and his reprehensible behavior, Pap becomes a poster child for contemporary associations of white grievance with ignorance, cognitive dissonance, suspicion, and bigotry.

This becomes clear in the appropriately titled “Political Economy” chapter, where Pap excoriates American democracy when he finds out that a black “p’fessor” who “could talk all kinds of languages, and knowed everything” could vote when he was at home in Ohio.<sup>57</sup> Twain replicates here the dilemma facing American electoral politics in the Jim Crow era. Even “white trash,” to borrow the title of Isenberg’s book, could vote. But black citizens, even obviously intelligent and productive members of the community, could be barred from voting—or even murdered for attempting to vote. Twain rightfully places race at the center of this debate; Pap does not want to prevent the professor from voting because of his education. Even though Pap shares, along with contemporary

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Love Him Anyway,” *POLITICO Magazine*, <http://politi.co/2zs8Vna>.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 32.

56. Nancy Isenberg, *White Trash: The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America* (New York: Viking, 2016).

57. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 41.

Trump supporters, a distinct distrust of the educated (the professor is a “nabob,”<sup>58</sup> a favorite epithet of vice president and proto-Trumpist Spiro Agnew), the deciding factor for Pap is that he is black. A white professor, as reprehensible as such a specimen might be in Pap’s eye, could still vote. But he snarls, “when they told me there was a State in this country where they’d let that nigger vote, I drewed out. I says I’ll never vote agin.”<sup>59</sup> For Pap, and for many Americans then and now, pigmentation should determine franchise. State laws and federal mandates to ensure voting rights are part of a system that he believes works against good old boys like himself. Even self-inflicted wounds, such as when he bangs his foot into a tub, are laid at the foot of race and the “govment”: Pap reserves his strongest curses—“the hottest kind of language”—mostly for them.<sup>60</sup>

Pap’s racialized rejection of the government’s duty to administer a stable and just society for all speaks to Twain’s indignation over the South’s rejection of this duty which first led to the Civil War and then to the failure of reconstruction. That rejection is reflected today in Tom Cotton<sup>61</sup>, Republican Senator of Arkansas, who looks back on slavery not as an injustice but as “a necessary evil,”<sup>62</sup> and more generally by the post-2020 election flurry of Republican voting restrictions that target black voters.<sup>63</sup> And of course, Pap’s politics and angry grievances align with the hordes storming Congress at the January 6 insurrection. The picture of Kevin Seefried in the Capitol Building with the Confederate battle flag offers visual evidence of the endurance of Pap’s white grievance.<sup>64</sup> While it is easy to dismiss Pap’s exaggerated characterization as satire, he openly articulates the racist sentiments many felt. The *Washington Times*, a pro-Trump newspaper, in a 2015 editorial, captures this Pap/Trump mirror, writing that Trump is “only saying

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58. *Ibid.*, 41.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, 42.

61. Twain would relish the irony of a twenty-first century Southern senator named Cotton offering such an apologia for slavery yet avoiding the modern equivalent of the Duke and Dauphin’s punishment: tarred and feathered, and riding out on a rail (Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 269–70).

62. Frank E. Lockwood, “Bill by Sen. Tom Cotton Targets Curriculum on Slavery,” *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, July 26, 2020. <https://www.arkansasonline.com/news/2020/jul/26/bill-by-cotton-targets-curriculum-on-slavery/>.

63. See Zach Montellaro, “State Republicans Push New Voting Restrictions after Trump’s Loss.” *POLITICO*, January 24, 2021. <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/01/24/republicans-voter-id-laws-461707>; Michael Wines, “In Mississippi’s Capital, Old Racial Divides Take New Forms,” *The New York Times*, February 20, 2023. [NYTimes.com, https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/20/us/jackson-mississippi-policing-plan.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/20/us/jackson-mississippi-policing-plan.html).

64. Robert Legare and Scott MacFarlane, “Kevin Seefried, Jan. 6 Rioter Who Carried Confederate Flag through Capitol, Sentenced to 3 Years in Prison,” CBS News, February 9, 2023, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/kevin-seefried-confederate-flag-january-6-capitol-sentenced-3-years/>.

in a coarse way what millions of Americans think.”<sup>65</sup> Twain’s satire is particularly relevant here. He creates a reprehensible character who white readers then and now can point to and say, “I’m not as bad as *him*.” The irony is that Pap actually represents white America—he is, as noted above, the whitest person in the novel. In this, Twain mocks those who support the messenger while ignoring the message.<sup>66</sup> The connection to today? Trump supporters observe and often share the obvious racism of his statements and actions, but vehemently reject that they or Trump are racist.

And what of Twain’s early readers? Did they identify with the townspeople who were duped or with the Duke and Dauphin? With the shills or the con men? Did they understand that the scams of the Duke and Dauphin, Pap’s toxic white identification, and the “evasions” of Huck himself satirize American’s complicity in the larger nineteenth-century scams and evasions—chattel slavery, the Convict Lease system, Jim Crow laws—many still supported? I do not think Twain was expecting a great awakening: he knew that people will endure painful afflictions to nourish their imaginations and nurse their grievances. After all, he was looking back to the carnage of the Civil War, when poor white Southerners (whose wages were artificially depressed by a slave economy) convinced themselves that it was worth dying to prove that negroes were fit only for slavery and to reject laws and interventions from the “smart-asses” in the federal government. In fact, much like those today who embrace the “deplorable” label, Tom, the character most lost in delusions, revels in his masochism. By the end of the novel, half dead from a rifle ball in his calf, he is “gladdest of all.”<sup>67</sup> Reality had caught up with him at the point of a gun—and he rejoices because it was what he wanted all along. Tom illustrates the masochistic tendencies of white nationalism: once such a fantasy takes hold, even a bullet will not dislodge it.

How do Trump “readers” deal with their own fantasy world? A December 2017 Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI) poll found that 37 percent of supporters “say there is almost nothing the president could do to lose their approval.”<sup>68</sup> His

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65. “Donald Trump Saying What American’s Think,” *The Washington Times*, December 9, 2015. <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/dec/9/editorial-donald-trump-saying-what-americans-think/>.

66. In fact, given his persuasive abilities and love of self-pity, Pap poses an interesting thought experiment. Imagine the same person, without the alcoholism, and with a \$1 million stake from a Klansman father and a world of business connections in the New York real estate market, becoming a self-proclaimed self-made real estate tycoon. After a string of bankruptcies, imagine this person challenging the legitimacy of the first African-American president of the United States by claiming that said president was not born in the country. Could such a person ever become president himself?

67. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 315.

68. Alex Vandermaas-Peeler, Daniel Cox, Molly Fisch-Friedman, and Robert P. Jones, “One Nation, Divided, Under Trump: Findings from the 2017 American Values Survey,” PRRI,

remarkably consistent approval ratings throughout his presidency and successful 2024 presidential campaign<sup>69</sup> show that Trump, like the Dauphin, has his marks in the palm of his hand; hence his oft-quoted phrase, “I could stand in the middle of 5th Avenue and shoot somebody and I wouldn’t lose voters.”<sup>70</sup> Apparently Trump knows that his supporters, like Tom, would welcome a bullet in the leg. And this is not just hyperbole. When asked to choose between government funding to provide clean water for his town or the Mexican wall, Jim Fink of Strong City, Kansas, told a reporter “If you ask me would I rather see the money go for our water plant, or to possibly try to control our borders and the security of our nation, the security of our nation is more important to me.”<sup>71</sup> When choosing between unrealized, xenophobic, free-floating anxiety and potable water, false narratives of violence leave Trump supporters dry.<sup>72</sup>

And fear makes people do strange things. A 2022 poll by the University of California, Davis, found that 50 percent of Americans believed that “in the next few years, there will be civil war in the United States.”<sup>73</sup> Bald fictions, such as those appearing daily in social media feeds from misinformation sites disguised as “news,” explain how people can believe in clearly fabulist claims. As Taleb warns in his chapter on narrative fallacy, stories “can be lethal when used in the wrong places.”<sup>74</sup> After the Tree of Life, El Paso, and Buffalo mass shootings and the January 6th insurrection at the nation’s capital, Americans no longer need to look to countries like Rwanda for examples of weaponized fictions leading to bloodshed. Twenty-first-century hucksters have fully absorbed Twain’s insights into the power of narrative and how it can stoke grievances. Veteran propagandist Christopher Ruddy, proprietor of *Newsmax*, a conspiracy and white nationalist misinformation mill, chirped that “In this day and age, people want something that

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<https://www.prii.org/research/american-values-survey-2017/>.

69. RealClearPolitics - Election Other - Trump: Favorable/Unfavorable, [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/trump\\_favorableunfavorable-5493.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/trump_favorableunfavorable-5493.html).

70. *Trump: I Could Shoot Somebody and Not Lose Voters*, CNN, *YouTube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iTACH1eVIAA>.

71. Quoted in Frank Morris, “Rural Trump Voters Embrace The Sacrifices That Come With Support,” NPR.Org, <https://www.npr.org/2017/03/30/521779563/rural-trump-voters-embrace-the-sacrifices-that-come-with-support>.

72. Jonathan Michel Metzler’s data-driven *Dying of Whiteness: How the Politics of Racial Resentment is Killing America’s Heartland* (New York: Basic Books, 2019) moves this argument from the anecdotal to the pathological. In his chapter on white resistance to healthcare, Metzler could be referring to Tom when he describes how “white men gained group cohesion by ‘fighting back’ against health care reform or retaining their own notions of status and privilege, even as they themselves suffered from conditions that required medical assistance. Putting their bodies on the line created categories of us versus them, defenders versus invaders” (168).

73. Garen J. Wintemute et al., *Views of American Democracy*.

74. Taleb, *Black Swan*, 80.

tends to affirm their views and opinions.”<sup>75</sup> For almost seventy seven million Americans, that something in 2024 was Donald Trump.<sup>76</sup> Given the increasingly dark view of humanity in works after *Huckleberry Finn* such as *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* and “No. 44, the Mysterious Stranger,” which recount the love of violence, rejection of social norms, and nationalism that Twain believed infected the American experience, this electoral result, propelled by the cruel “narrative” of Trump’s presidency, revealed his predictive insights.

Indeed the final lines of the novel, with Huck famously “light[ing] out for the Territory,” embraced the electoral mood of 2016.<sup>77</sup> Instead of fully engaging with and thus comprehending the decay of representative democracy captured in the fear mongering and authoritarianism of Trump’s “I alone can fix this,” almost 40 percent of voters stayed home.<sup>78</sup> Read in this vein, Huck’s line is an abnegation of his moral responsibility, a continuance of the hear, see, and speak no evil trope he hides behind in the final chapters. This casts Huck in his most predictive role; much like some of today’s voters, he observes the horrors of the American experience, but remains trapped in a desire to avoid reality, the vastness of the nineteenth-century West replaced by the digital distractions of a Wi-Fi enabled wasteland.

The power of narrative is well understood by the alt-right; the founders of one of its first websites, *The Right Stuff*, focused on developing “narratives” to bend reality toward white nationalism and then spread them through social media.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, long-form narrative is a central feature of the domestic terrorist mindscape. According to court documents, William Pierce’s 1978 *The Turner Diaries*, an apocalyptic novel depicting an Aryan takeover of the world, provided the incentive and method for a white nationalist attack on America almost twenty years later: the Oklahoma City bombing.<sup>80</sup> And its influence remains; readers of the novel were not surprised by post-January 6 revelations about right-wing

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75. Quoted in Ben Smith, “The King of Trump TV Thinks You’re Dumb Enough to Buy It,” *The New York Times*, November 30, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/29/business/media/newsmax-chris-ruddy-trump.html>.

76. “US Election Results 2024,” *Reuters*, November 21, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/graphics/USA-ELECTION/RESULTS/zjqnemxwvx/>.

77. Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*, 334.

78. See Jonathan Freedland, “The End of Republicanism?” *The New York Review of Books*, <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2016/07/24/end-of-republicanism-after-cleveland-party-division/>; “2024 General Election Turnout,” University of Florida Election Lab, last modified December 10, 2024, <https://election.lab.ufl.edu/2024-general-election-turnout/>.

79. Andrew Marantz, *Antisocial: Online Extremists, Techno-Utopians, and the Hijacking of the American Conversation* (New York: Penguin Publishing Group, 2019), 5.

80. Rob McAlear, “Hate, Narrative, and Propaganda in *The Turner Diaries*,” *The Journal of American Culture*, vol. 32, no. 3 (2009): 192. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1542-734X.2009.00710.x>.



infiltration of law enforcement and the military as well as an embrace of “shock and awe” violence to foment white nationalist revolution: they are lifted from its pages. While clumsily written and appalling in its subject matter, like Sir Walter Scott’s works in the antebellum South, *The Turner Diaries* casts a narrative spell on like-minded readers. Scholar Rob McAlear notes the novel’s distinctly tribalist aim: “It is not interested in trying to open up discussion or encourage deliberation and ‘undecidability,’ but instead seeks to trap its reader within its ideology, persuading through identification and imposing its ideological authority.”<sup>81</sup>

In a related (though antithetical) vein, Sinclair Lewis’s 1935 novel *It Can’t Happen Here* was regularly evoked during the Trump years as a warning of how a dedicated group of fascists can subvert the American political system; its warning was potent enough to push it into the bestseller category.<sup>82</sup> With eerie accuracy, the novel demonstrates how, by manipulating the levers of power and media to create, persecute, and prosecute the usual suspects—the intelligentsia, socialists, and anyone deemed insufficiently patriotic—a surprising number of Americans can embrace fascism, yet still wrap themselves in the red white and blue.<sup>83</sup> *Huckleberry Finn*, as a work of satire, is a much subtler form of propaganda, demanding more of a cognitive lift from its readers, a lift that requires Americans to see the country, according to Shelley Fisher in *Lighting Out for the Territory: Reflections on Mark Twain and American Culture*, as a “strange and complicated place, filled with promise and pitfalls, beauty and barbarity” including “challenges and conflicts we are still negotiating today.”<sup>84</sup> The 2020 elections revealed the beauty of America; the 2024 election revealed its barbarity.

Reading *Huckleberry Finn* with one foot in the past and the other in the present shows that hucksters such as the Duke and Dauphin are alive, well, and successfully peddling their grift in America. The novel, as a touchstone of American literature and culture, provides the bedrock for contemporary sociological constructions such as structural racism; it shows that the ideas and language supporting these structures are found not only in the discriminatory language of real estate covenants, penal codes, and social media algorithms, but in the pages of our most celebrated novels. Brian Boyd, in *On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction*, echoes these views on the power of narrative; he argues, much like Burke, that stories look forward and backward, allowing readers to “search for clues to the future in the past, or test sequences of imminent

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81. *Ibid.*, 193.

82. Brian Stelter, “Amazon’s Best-Seller List Takes a Dystopian Turn in Trump Era,” *CNNMoney*, January 28, 2017, <https://money.cnn.com/2017/01/28/media/it-cant-happen-here-1984-best-sellers/index.html>.

83. Alexander Laban Hinton, *It Can Happen Here: White Power and the Rising Threat of Genocide in the US* (New York: NYU Press, 2021), 16–17.

84. Fisher, *Lighting Out*, 202.

possible actions and outcomes, or imagine still longer-term futures.”<sup>85</sup> Twain, with his appeals to the best (Jim, and despite his flaws, Huck) and the worst of our natures (Tom Sawyer, the Duke in the Dauphin, Pap and his ilk), provides contemporary readers with “clues” and “test sequences” to sketch the sociological outlines of *homo trumpi*. Through the scarifying lens of satire, the “futures” implied in *Huckleberry Finn* capture America’s contrarian impulses—anti-democratic and redemptive—then and now.

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85. Brian Boyd, *On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 283.