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Migration in Times of Pandemic: Mark Twain's "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" (1905) and the Prospective of Planetary Health

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Introduction: Migration in Times of a Pandemic

As the COVID-19 crisis has shown, migration and epidemic or pandemic events can sometimes enter a fatal relationship. Migrants are often particularly exposed to the threats of infectious diseases. For many of them, the desolate health care systems of their home countries, due to war, famine, economic, or other crises, was often one of the reasons for leaving in the first place. However, both during transit and on arrival at their (temporary) destinations, they are exposed to situations that are no less precarious.¹ They may lack a social network or insurance coverage; some even are without a roof over their heads or are crowded together in cramped quarters and under disastrous hygienic conditions. Thus, even in the twenty-first century, migrant communities are still highly vulnerable to the general threat of diseases, particularly during pandemic times. However, they are often perceived as being a threat themselves. This notion is no novel phenomenon but rather a long-standing topos of migrant experience, especially during pandemics, as the recent example of COVID-19 has shown.

In this essay, I want to take a look back and explore the complex entanglement between migration and pandemics, using the example of Mark Twain's employment of cholera—the great pandemic of the nineteenth century. Twain's experimental and darkly satirical novel fragment "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" constantly shifts perspective between the microbial and macrobial level, thus featuring two deeply interconnected immigrant figures: the microbial first-person narrator and protagonist Huck Bkshp, a cholera bacterium, and the Hungarian immigrant and "tramp"

Blitzowski, who himself homeless, becomes host and home to Huck, and a disease carrier and health hazard to the US nation.

Against the backdrop of lived pandemic experience, the text depicts the hardships of migration in an extraordinary literary way. Unparalleled in American literary history, the text takes the perspective of a microbial more-than-human entity to reflect on the deep and often disastrous entanglements of migration and pandemics. In doing so, the narrative allows for a comparative analysis of past and present pandemic events and points towards future challenges of global, even planetary cohabitation that strive “for high-level wellness.”²

People on the move often not only became the bearer of new forms of knowledge, practices, or patterns of behavior but also of invisible yet powerful nonhuman entities that eventually profoundly influenced the course of human history.³ Since the core definition of a pandemic is “an outbreak of an infectious disease that occurs over a wide geographical area, and that is of high prevalence, generally affecting a significant proportion of the world’s population,”⁴ pandemics are always transnational phenomena driven by transnational movements of humans and their microbial cohabitants. However, neither the individual humans nor the microbes they carry are the source or parties at fault; historical as well as the current pandemic experiences dramatically reveal how in public perception—often driven by media portrayals and (hidden) political agendas—a demonizing conflation of humans and microbes is all too quickly carried out, turning the geographical as well as physical alien into a deadly threat and thus ever reviving long-established discourses of pandemic xenophobia, especially regarding migrants.⁵

I argue that by focusing on the circulation processes in which microbes and migrants are inextricably entangled, transgressing bodily and national borders, Twain’s text can be read as a paradigmatic literary manifestation of the meeting point of transnational American studies and the medical humanities. In my essay, I attempt to apply the theoretical and methodological framework of transnational American studies to central questions of migration studies⁶ to shed light on the complex interplay of transnationalism and migration, especially in times of medical crises, such as pandemics. Reading Twain’s microbial narrative against the backdrop of past and present pandemic experiences, I particularly want to critically address the long-standing, xenophobic stereotype of migrants as health hazards. By exploring current microbiome research from a medical humanities perspective, I aim to connect the discourse of migration in times of pandemics to the emerging field of more-than-human studies. In doing so, I ultimately want to show that despite the bleak picture Twain’s text paints of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century immigration to the US, the narrative also points towards the challenges and opportunities of a prospective planetary health that rethinks the entanglements of human and more-than-human migrations in the face of current and future states of crisis.⁷

“One More Version of Death on the American Frontier”: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Cholera

Cholera had already occupied Europe’s politics, science, culture, and society for a year in an unprecedented manner when it reached the US shore in 1832. Since then, it became increasingly present in reports of the American press about fearfully anticipated arrival in North America. Therefore, cholera had become deeply anchored in the lives and imagination of Americans. Policymakers, medical practitioners, and scientists were utterly helpless in the face of the socially as well as physically disruptive power of the pandemic.⁸ For the people of the nineteenth century, cholera was a veritable revenant of the plague, or even worse.⁹ It was highly infectious, took an extremely rapid course, and, if untreated, had a high mortality rate. Those affected lost most of their body fluids within hours due to violent vomiting and severe diarrhea. Thus, cholera could lead to death in a very short time, accompanied by convulsions, great pain, and in a manner considered to be decidedly repulsive. The disease spread worldwide in five major pandemic waves from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century. It did not distinguish between social classes, striking the rich and the poor with the same severity. It was a metropolitan phenomenon, moved preferentially along major travel and trade routes, and often occurred in the wake of wars and revolutions. Conspiracy theories followed. Cholera was one of the century’s great mysteries, and, as such, it also became the driving force behind modern microbiology. As “the most recent and acute consequence of man’s chronic inhumanity to man”¹⁰ and in the imaginations of many as “a consequence of sin an inevitable and inescapable judgment,”¹¹ the disease generated enormous political, religious, social, theological, epistemological, and media attention. The disease led to the collapse of the hitherto established medical system, filling the daily press with ever-changing horror stories and spreading unprecedented panic among the US population. This fateful complex of fear, anxiety, and failing knowledge in the face of cholera also found its way into the literary work of Mark Twain.¹²

As Patrick Ober writes in his monograph *Mark Twain and Medicine*, cholera also loomed large in the concern of Twain’s mother about the health of her children. “As Jane Lampton Clemens worried about the health and survival of their children, one concern overshadowed any anxiety ... Her dominating worry was cholera.”¹³ In 1835, a few months before the birth of Samuel, the expectant parents John and Jane Clemens decided to take up residence in the village of Florida in the state of Missouri, where Twain was born later that year, due to news of a cholera outbreak in St. Louis. Especially along the major rivers, cholera was a constant threat, “one more version of death on the American frontier, an undeniable and inescapable fact of life.”¹⁴ The year 1849 was a particularly disastrous time during the pandemic when not only the US but also the rest of the world suffered from the second devastating pandemic wave of the nineteenth century: “Those were the cholera days of ‘49. The people along the Mississippi were paralyzed with fright. Those who could run away, did it. And many died of fright in the flight. Fright killed three persons where the cholera killed one.”¹⁵

When the first news of the cholera outbreak in Europe reached the continent, many Americans were sure that the US would be spared, being “the best educated, the freest, and the most pious of people” and distinguished by “clean persons and clean consciences ... prepared to meet the disease without trembling.”¹⁶ However, they were soon disabused. The fear of cholera triumphed in the US, where it became a breeding ground for social destabilization, political unrest, medical–epistemological and praxeological crises, and xenophobia in its various forms. The particular xenophobia fueled by the cholera fright was the fatal result of an amalgamation of race and disease that had already determined the prehistory of the American cholera narrative. Cholera “was aggressively defined as an [South Asian] ‘Indian’ disease, attacking a white population.”¹⁷ Like epidemic and pandemic diseases in general, cholera was also imaginatively transferred to the ‘foreign’ bodies of the “immigrant, non-white or generally impoverished.”¹⁸ In “3,000 Years Among the Microbes,” it is no coincidence that the cholera microbe’s habitat should be a Hungarian immigrant who ekes out an existence as a homeless “vagrant.” Already in connection with the first cholera wave that reached the US in 1832, immigrants were feared to be particularly predisposed to the epidemic because “even if they did not carry the disease, the dirty and crowded conditions in which they lived and moved provided the perfect soil in which to germinate the seeds of pestilence.”¹⁹

Irish immigrants, together with African Americans, were disparaged as “the most filthy, intemperate and imprudent portion of the population.”²⁰ However, as Mita Banerjee has pointed out, even though Irish immigrants, “given their mooring in whiteness, may fare significantly better than the African Americans,” “their hold on Americanness is nevertheless a tentative one.”²¹ Especially in times of pandemic threats, long-standing stigmatizations and xenophobic resentment, like associating immigrants with infectious diseases, have been and still are frequently revived. Thus, Irish immigrants were accused of bringing cholera via the Canadian border to US American soil.²² African Americans were thought to be the most susceptible to the disease.²³ However, when Twain wrote “3,000 Years Among the Microbes,” the US faced another wave of mass immigration, bringing more than eighteen million people to the US between 1891–1920.²⁴ Most of these “New Immigrants” came from Eastern Europe. Being young, male, and poor, they constituted the “unwashed masses.”²⁵ They were simultaneously “infected” by the ‘America fever’²⁶ and became a menace to individual and national health themselves.²⁷ While emigration to the US “threatened to destroy individuals, families, and nations,” immigration to the new homeland was perceived as a process of infection, not only metaphorically.²⁸ As the first cholera outbreak within the US borders was blamed on immigrants, in 1892, when the last major cholera outbreak in the western hemisphere sent waves of panic around the globe once again, Russian Jews who passed through Hamburg on their way to America were accused of having carried the disease with them to the German port city.²⁹

Consequently, the US authorities put emigration on hold while German authorities promptly installed strict measures of disinfection and delousing at the

borders of Russia and Austria-Hungary.³⁰ Interestingly, these close entanglements of pandemic and migrant experiences, as well as each phenomenon per se, have, despite Twain's interest in them, have received little attention in Twain research.³¹ Immigration was perceived as a peripheral theme in Twain's works.³² Twain's literary discussion of the traumatizing cholera experiences has likewise scarcely been studied, as I have discussed in detail elsewhere.³³ In "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," however, they become central narrative elements that shed light on the highly charged contemporary issues of pandemic and migrant experience. In doing so, I argue that Twain's microbial narrative of migration is a key text at the meeting point of transnational American studies and the medical humanities.

Pandemic Migration in Mark Twain's "3,000 Years Among the Microbes"

Mark Twain himself was on the move for much of his life.³⁴ He traveled widely within and beyond the borders of his American home country and gained his first reputation as an author, specifically through his travelogues. His national and transnational experiences on the road are famously recorded in his semi-autobiographical works such as *Roughing It* (1872) or *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). His bankruptcy in 1894 forced him to go on lengthy lecture tours across the globe, resulting in yet another record of the adventures and challenges of being abroad with the telling title *Following the Equator* (1897). Maybe not surprisingly, "tramps" and "vagrants" populate his literary worlds, Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn being the most famous among them.³⁵ In his semi-autobiographical travelogue, *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), Twain even stylized himself as a "tramp," even though a gentleman-like one.³⁶ While Twain's intense interest in being (forced) on the road and abroad has brought forth a considerable body of research, surprisingly, as mentioned before, the topic of his interest in (im)migration has not.³⁷ This fact is even more astonishing, as in "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," Twain makes an immigrant who lives his life in this "new world" as a "tramp" the protagonist of his textual universe and, at the same time, renders him a genuine universe himself.

Mark Twain's novel fragment "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" was written in 1905 but remained unfinished and unpublished during his lifetime. It was only in 1967 that the text was published posthumously in John S. Tuckey's compilation of mostly unpublished material *Which Was the Dream and Other Symbolic Writings of the Later Years*. In the years before writing "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," Twain experienced several vicissitudes. After his bankruptcy in 1894 and the subsequent year-long lecture expedition followed a stay of several years in Europe during which Twain lost his daughter Susan, who had remained in the US, to meningitis in 1896. During another stay abroad, his wife, Olivia, died of heart failure in 1904. Biographical readings of Twain's works from this period thus regard them not only as "strikingly modern experiments in fiction" but also as "assertions of personal despair."³⁸ They have become known as Twain's "great dark writings."³⁹ However, as I will argue below, by

making the body of the Hungarian immigrant Blitzowski the site of the narrative's plot, Twain extensively and ingeniously deals with another "dark" reality of his life: the devastating pandemic experience of cholera.

"3,000 Years Among the Microbes" tells the story of Huck as a human turned into a cholera bacterium due to a failed magical experiment. Physically a bacterium but equipped with both microbial and human consciousness, the microbial first-person narrator reports from the retrospective of three thousand years of microbial time on the challenges of existing as a microbe in the body of the Hungarian immigrant Blitzowski, who "was shipped to America by Hungary because Hungary was tired of him."⁴⁰ As a cholera germ, the human-microbial protagonist Huck carries one of the deadliest pandemic threats of the nineteenth century. When immigrating to his host's body, Huck turns Blitzowski, an immigrant himself and perceived as one of the least desirable kind, also into a disease carrier. As Kym Weed has pointed out, "[i]mmigrants from Austria-Hungary, like Blitzowski, were seen as undesirable because of a common belief that their government conspired to get rid of them."⁴¹ The political upheavals caused by the process of *Magyarization* are held to be one of the leading causes for this massive migration movement from Austria-Hungary⁴² that made the country "a top supplier of American immigrants."⁴³ Moreover, in the context of the "collaboration between the Cunard Steamship Company and Austria-Hungary to establish a direct line between Fiume and New York," people thought that the Hungarian government "encouraged the emigration of their most undesirable citizens to the United States "because the deal guaranteed thirty-thousand Hungarian immigrants annually."⁴⁴ With the brief statement that Hungary was tired of Blitzowski, Twain points towards a core issue of migration processes, the importance of the living conditions of the emigration country, and the causes for emigrating in the first place. In Twain's text, as in too many historical immigration accounts and fictional immigration narratives, these backstories remain a blank space. Shelley Fisher Fishkin has argued that transnational American studies allows us to "pay ... attention to the ways in which ideas, people, culture and capital have circulated and continue to circulate physically and virtually."⁴⁵ Stefan Maneval, Jennifer A. Reimer, and Ikram Hili have recently stressed that "[t]o learn about migration and its effects ... through innovative storytelling or visual material, is a chance to see things differently, to grasp the complexity of these processes, and, thus, to differentiate more."⁴⁶ Especially within the frame of transnational American studies, the many blank spaces of lived migration experiences should move into the center of our interest.

Priscilla Wald has argued that "[h]overing on the border between sickness and health, the carrier turns the focus on other borders as well: the porous and permeable borders of the body and the equally permeable borders between social units—among classes, neighbourhoods, municipalities, and even nations."⁴⁷ Huck and Blitzowski become reciprocal figures of reflection, mirroring the various discourses surrounding pandemics and migration down to the microbial level. Thus, with Blitzowski as an immigrant from Austria-Hungary into the US and Huck as an immigrant into the body

of Blitzowski, Twain creates a double representation of migration. The deep entanglements of these two immigrants who are united through their shared pandemic experience of porous borders and porous bodies resound what Laura Otis—though in the context of nineteenth-century European imperialism and colonization—called the “membrane model.”⁴⁸ Referring to early cell theory, the “membrane model”⁴⁹ bases (national) identity formation “on exclusion” and “resistance to external forces.”⁵⁰ In this line of thinking, membranes become borders that are supposed to shield the individual (human) cell from invasion, as borders on a more-than-cellular level are supposed to shield the respectively enclosed nation. However, the semantic crossing of borders and membranes exposes the inevitable porousness of these borders, as membranes never hermetically seal what they surround but are selectively permeable. In the metaphor of the “membrane model,” the selective permeability of the border allows for unwanted border-crossing, making immigration, in analogy to the unwanted intrusion of a cell, a process of infection. As I will show in the following, the problematic historical and metaphorical conflation of immigration and infection is at the core of “3,000 Years Among the Microbes,” both in terms of content and aesthetics. Moreover, the novel fragment’s textual boundaries are highly permeable. As diverse living entities and life worlds merge into each other in the same way that languages, nations, and even textual and extratextual levels do, the narrative becomes a manifesto for the multifaceted hybridity of migrant experiences and an emblem of one of the most potent American myths, the idea of US society as a melting pot.⁵¹ This notion of the melting pot, which evokes “a vision of national unity and cohesion through participation in a harmonious, quasi-organic community that offers prospective members a second chance and a new beginning and molds them into a new ‘race,’ a new people,” takes a dark turn.⁵² By melting nations, languages, texts, the human, and the nonhuman that Twain narratively carries out on the site of Blitzowski’s body, he yet again points towards the predicaments of the melting pot as a “symbol of American unity” that were inherent to the melting pot concept from the very beginning and gained new momentum around 1900.⁵³

The American Nightmare of a Contaminated Melting Pot

Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur’s (1735–1813) version of the American Dream imagined in the ur-text of the melting pot notion, his semi-autobiographical *Letters from an American Farmer* from 1782, was supposed to be reciprocal. On the one hand, it carried the promise for a better—even the best—life in the “most perfect society” for those who had chosen America for their new home⁵⁴: “What a train of pleasing ideas this fair spectacle must suggest; it is a prospect which must inspire a good citizen with the most heartfelt pleasure.”⁵⁵ On the other hand, those “individuals of all nations” seeking the “great American asylum” were an asset for the young US American nation, where they were “melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world.”⁵⁶ However, as noted, this

prototypical melting pot vision was fairly exclusive, and the range of the “individuals of all nations” who desired to be part of this specific union was rather limited. Although Crèvecoeur, as Heike Paul notes, “also includes Native Americans in his melting pot” and severely critiques the abhorrent practices of slavery as a “shocking insult offered to humanity,” generally Indigenous peoples of the Americas, African Americans, and Asian Americans were mostly banned from his idealized melting pot society.⁵⁷ This also holds true for the millions of people that headed off to the “great American asylum” almost two hundred years after the publication of Crèvecoeur’s initial melting pot narrative. As the discourses of racial hygiene and eugenics became more and more prominent, the immigration question, ultimately, also became a question of national health, and the respective immigrant was rendered as a potential “public charge,” morally and physically contaminating the American melting pot.⁵⁸

Blitzowski, the Hungarian immigrant and likewise new home to the microbial immigrant Huck Bkshp, is described by his part human, part bacterial habitant as very likely to become precisely this ever-feared public charge, as he is a “hoary and mouldering old bald-headed tramp” who “never shaves, never washes, never combs his tangled fringe of hair; he is wonderfully ragged, incredibly dirty, he is malicious, malignant, vengeful, treacherous, he was born a thief and he will die one, he is unspeakable profane, his body is a sewer, a reek of decay, a charnel house, and contains swarming nations of all different kinds of germ vermin that have been invented for the contentment of man.”⁵⁹ As a human person and part of US American society, Blitzowski seems an outcast, a threat to the “healthy” nation, a “pulpy old sepulchre,” thus becoming a specific American version of Jack London’s “people of the abyss”⁶⁰: “He tramps in the summer and sleeps in the fields; in the winter he passes the hat in cities, and sleeps in the jails when the gutter is too cold; he was sober once, but does not remember when it was.”⁶¹

One of the most powerful narratives of US nation-building has been the one of the American Dream. Even before the coinage of the term by James Truslow Adams in 1931, the promise of a better life, including economic security, property of land, and security from religious persecution was at the core of American Dream narrative and “prime motivating factor in immigrating.”⁶² However, Blitzowski seems to have left a good life behind. When Huck reaches Blitzkowski’s oral cavity, by examining the status of his teeth, he observes that Blitzowski “had almost certainly seen better days, at some time or other, for he had the dentist-habit. Among the poor and defeated, none but people who have been well off and well up, have that expensive habit.”⁶³ As Huck wanders through the vastness of the Blitzowski planet, traversing different nations and experiencing their diverse landscapes and geological formations, he becomes more and more acquainted with (t)his new world and learns to appreciate his host: “Our tramp is mountainous, there are vast oceans in him, and lakes that are sea-like for size, there are many rivers (veins and arteries) which are fifteen miles across, and of a length so stupendous as to make the Mississippi and the Amazon trifling little Rhode Island brooks by comparison.”⁶⁴

Huck, “when the soul of the cholera-germ possesses” him, is proud of Blitzowski: “I shout for him, I would die for him.”⁶⁵ In tune with his microbial part, he asserts that for the “swarming nations of all different kinds of germ vermin” that inhabit Blitzowski’s body, Blitzowski is “their world, their globe, lord of their universe, its jewel, its marvel, its miracle, its masterpiece” and that it is only “a pity that this poor forlorn old tramp will never know that, for compliments are scarce with him.”⁶⁶

A stark contrast becomes apparent in juxtaposing the microbial and the human perspective on Blitzowski. From the human perspective, the Hungarian immigrant is unwanted from where he came from and unwelcome where he headed to find a new home. However, from the microbial perspective, Blitzowski is a rich and fertile habitat, and “not a microbe in all this Microbe-stuffed planet of Blitzowski ever suspects that he is a harmful creature!”⁶⁷ Henry Wonham has argued that the dichotomous description of Blitzowski mirrors a “fluid conception of human identity ... that allows ... to see behind the apparently unitary ethnic mask.”⁶⁸ Twain first creates “the impression of a knowable, unitary type, in this case the type of the morally and physically degenerate immigrant vagabond.”⁶⁹ He relies on common stereotypes and a few powerful clichés to paint a picture of Blitzowski, which he assumes the reader is already familiar with. However, this notion is dramatically challenged when Blitzowski’s microbial more-than-human existence is revealed “as a complex of different entities and energies.”⁷⁰ Consequently, the fixed image of an Eastern European “tramp,” Wonham argues, crumbles as the narrative shifts to the internal perspective of Huck’s microbial perspective, ultimately rendering Blitzowski’s ethnicity irrelevant.⁷¹ In a similar vein, Kym Weed stresses the positive aspects of “Twain’s imaginative experiment in ethics.”⁷² She argues that “to see the world on a nonhuman scale is to see the world differently. The same is true of humanity. The shift in perspective from human to microbe allows Huck to perceive an otherwise unappealing human body as beautiful” and valuable.⁷³ However, this microbial appreciation is twisted, taking into consideration that the praise is issued by a microbe that describes himself as “the germiest of the germy”⁷⁴ and belongs to one of the deadliest bacterial strains, the *Vibrio cholerae*. While Blitzowski’s migration experience is marked by hardship and gradual social and health decline, Huck’s immigration into the body of Blitzowski is a story of success, a microbial American Dream narrative. His beginnings in the new world are prototypically humble; as Huck remembers, “[w]hen I first arrived in Blitzowski I was poor and a stranger; and as all could see that I was a foreigner, my society was not sought after.”⁷⁵ However, these humble beginnings do not hinder Huck to “become instantly naturalized, instantly endowed with a cholera germ’s instincts, perceptions, opinions, ideals, ambitions, vanities, prides, affections and emotions; ... a real cholera germ, not an imitation one; ... intensely, passionately, cholera-germanic.”⁷⁶ Immediately after having arrived in the new world, he even feels that he “indeed, ... out-natived the natives themselves.”⁷⁷ The process of Huck’s successful assimilation does not only speak for the potency of the cholera strain but also for the environmental conditions perfectly adapted to the needs of the microbe,

which Blitzowski's body provides. As recent microbiome research stresses, "disease is as much about the host as it is the infectious agent," and a "microbe cannot cause disease without a host"; it is of utter importance to handle this twenty-first-century knowledge with care in order not to reproduce the long-standing prejudices regarding disease origins and susceptibilities that are also prevalent in Blitzowski's story of pandemic migration.⁷⁸ In the nineteenth-century contemporary perception, infectious diseases were often tied to particular social or ethnic groups, marking the Other as the diseased and the disease(d) as the Other. Especially the history of naming infectious diseases testifies to this mindset that lasts until today. Disease names such as the "French Disease," the "Spanish Flu," or "Ebola" marked their origins as distinctly foreign. They are striking examples of how this denomination practice led to nationalist propaganda, stigmatization, and demonization of collectives and individuals. In Blitzowski's case, his foreign Hungarian immigrant body is portrayed as a perfect breeding ground for many of the most threatening diseases of the time, such as cholera. In the narrative's logic, Blitzowski's alleged susceptibility to disease and decay that allowed Huck to "out-native[d] the natives" also allows him to become "instantly naturalized."⁷⁹ At the same time, the alleged susceptibility refuses Blitzowski ever to achieve this status himself. Against this backdrop, the readings by Henry B. Wonham and Weed, who tried to promote the microbial perspective as offering an alternative, more benevolent perception of the Hungarian expat "tramp," seem less convincing. Although Twain decidedly critiques the notion of America as the land of plenty, abundance, and endless opportunities—the most prolific republic in the Blitzowski universe, Getrichquick, can easily be identified as a caricature of American capitalism and is located in his intestinal tract—the text still reproduces (pandemic) stereotypes that sealed the fates of many prospective immigrants to the US around 1900. Here again, the pandemic threat, manifested in the body of Blitzowski, a human immigrant from Hungary, home to many diverse microbial immigrants, comes from the (imagined) "East" to endanger Western culture, civilization, and moral and physical health. The supposedly "oriental" origin of infectious diseases is a common stereotype in the context of pandemic outbreaks that date back to the first plague outbreaks in classical antiquity, was a core topos in cholera discourses, and even gained new momentum during the COVID-19 pandemic.⁸⁰ Thus, the portrayal of Blitzowski is caught up between the two extremes of deification and degradation, both leading to the dehumanization of the Hungarian immigrant. For the microbes, Blitzowski is "their globe, lord of their universe," a "marvel," and a "miracle."⁸¹ For the humans, he is a "pulpy old sepulchre" and we learn little about Blitzowski's fate, which likely was a very common one during the times of the great wave of the "new immigrants." We never get to hear his voice telling us in his own words how he came to America and experienced his life abroad and on the road. A "melting pot" that "contains swarming nations of all different kinds," Blitzowski is reduced to being "a basketful of festering, pestilent corruption, provided for the support and entertainment of microbes," a

veritable nightmare version of the melting pot, and thus fated to remain at the melting pot margins himself.⁸²

Quo vadis Pandemic Migration?: Medical Humanities, Transnational American Studies, and Planetary Health

Twain's rendering of Blitzowski impressively demonstrates how specific groups of immigrants to the US were mainly perceived as health hazards.⁸³ However, although "3,000 Years Among the Microbes" seems to paint a dark picture of human-human and human-nonhuman entanglements, especially during pandemics, it points to the inextricable interconnectedness of everything and everyone. The "awareness of the interconnectedness that exists within Nature" and "that human health is firmly attached to the vitality of the larger environment is part of the traditional knowledge that has been passed on by Indigenous cultures since time immemorial."⁸⁴ In this sense, as Nicole Redvers et al. argue, especially "[t]he microbial microcosm is a compelling narrative that situates our human biome in the biome of the planet, and in doing so, provides a common language to bridge efforts across and between movements, humans, and our natural environments."⁸⁵ As these complex interactions are today intensively researched in the field of microbiome science, "[c]urrent Indigenous-led [*sic*] initiatives" state that microbial communities have "sentient purpose with diverse habitats represented from the soil to the human body."⁸⁶ Twain's text is astonishingly well-situated within the imaginary world of human and nonhuman entities, globally and inevitably connected through ever-circulating microbial lifeforms. In its ambiguity—oscillating between stereotypical depictions of the Hungarian immigrant Blitzowski as a health threat and his quasi-deification as he becomes a new home and universe to the once human, now bacterial Huck—the text offers a third reading, that is, a radical change in perspective regarding human exceptionalism.⁸⁷ In the face of the present time's multiple crises, this more-than-human perspective gains new momentum, as it is highly alert to the fact that the "complex ecological interactions and relationships with each other, the environment, and across generations is a solid foundation upon which to create a unifying meta-narrative for our time."⁸⁸ Thus, it is no surprise that microbiome science is a core issue in the newly emerging field of planetary health.⁸⁹ According to the *Canmore Declaration*, "[p]lanetary health, inseparably bonded to human health, is defined as the interdependent vitality of all natural and anthropogenic ecosystems," including "the biologically defined ecosystems (at micro, meso and macro scales) that favor biodiversity," and "the more broadly defined human-constructed social, political, and economic ecosystems that favor health equity and the opportunity to strive for high-level wellness."⁹⁰ The perspective of planetary health thus tries to acknowledge the deep planetary interconnectedness of human and nonhuman living beings and the consequences and responsibilities these more-than-human entanglements imply by playing it out down to a microbial, even molecular level. Especially in times of pandemics, when

microbes again are seen primarily as the harbinger of death and disease and people on the move as their potential carriers, however, the planetary interpretation of *E pluribus unum* reveals its vulnerability by making us aware again that “there is no innocence in ... kinstories.”⁹¹

The notion of (im)migrants bringing with them fatal diseases is a topos not only in the (hi)story of the US but is constantly revisited and has been revitalized during the COVID-19 pandemic.⁹² Border closures and entry bans have been and usually still are the first measures taken in the event of disease outbreaks.⁹³ However, recent events (again) have shown and continue to show that the transnational and transcorporeal circulation processes of humans and microbes cannot be contained in a highly globalized world.⁹⁴ Recently it has been pointed out that global migration is one of the factors “[c]hief among the new determinants of health, ... that fits directly under the new framework of planetary health,”⁹⁵ and Stefanie Schütte et al. have argued that “[p]lanetary health demands new coalitions and partnerships across many different disciplines to meet ... pervasive knowledge failures.”⁹⁶ With this essay, I argue that reading Mark Twain’s “3,000 Years Among the Microbes” at the interface of transnational American studies and medical humanities critiques past and present political and social practices regarding global migration processes and, at the same time, points towards the opportunities of a more-than-human, planetary health, especially in the face of the Anthropocene in constant crisis.

Notes

- ¹ Alfred Hornung, “Out of Life: Routes, Refuge, Rescue,” *A/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 32, no. 3 (2017): 606. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08989575.2017.1339999>
- ² Susan Prescott et al., “The Canmore Declaration: Statement of Principles for Planetary Health,” *Challenges* 9, no. 2 (2018): 31. <https://doi:10.3390/challe9020031>
- ³ William Hardy Mc Neill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Anchor Books, 1989).
- ⁴ Kara Rogers, “Pandemic,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last modified August 14, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/science/pandemic>.
- ⁵ See Davina Höll, *Das Gespenst der Pandemie: Politik und Poetik der Cholera in der Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: frommann-holzboog, 2021); Monika Pietrzak-Franger et al., “Narrating the Pandemic: COVID-19, China and Blame Allocation Strategies in Western European Popular Press,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 25, no. 5 (2022): 136754942210772, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494221077291>; and Davina Höll, “Zu einer Ethik der Ästhetik in pandemischen Zeiten,” *Zeitschrift für Praktische Philosophie* 8, no. 1 (August 2021): 181–208, <https://doi.org/10.22613/zfpp/8.1.8>

- ⁶ Peter Scholten, Asya Pisarevskaya, and Nathan Levy, “An Introduction to Migration Studies: The Rise and Coming of Age of a Research Field,” in *Introduction to Migration Studies*, ed. Peter Scholten (IMISCOE Research Series. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 3–24, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92377-8_1
- ⁷ Hakan Kilic, “Migration Studies: A 21st Century Scholarship Shaping Human and Planetary Health,” *OMICS: A Journal of Integrative Biology* 23, no. 8 (July 2019): 369–70. doi:10.1089/omi.2019.0110
- ⁸ In his work *Knowledge in the time of cholera*, Owen Wholley shows how the search for the causes, possibilities of prevention and cure of cholera plunged the medical system of the USA into a profound epistemological crisis, which erupted in an “epistemic contest” lasting almost a hundred years, from which orthodox medicine, represented by the *American Medical Association*, emerged as the victor, the basis of the American health care system that is still specific today.
- ⁹ Olaf Briese, *Angst in den Zeiten der Cholera. Auf Leben und Tod: Briefwelt als Gegenwelt; Seuchen-Cordon III* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2003).
- ¹⁰ Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), 40.
- ¹¹ Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*, 59.
- ¹² For a detailed discussion of the influence of cholera on nineteenth-century literature see Davina Höll, *Das Gespenst der Pandemie* and “The Specter of the Pandemic: Politics and Poetics of Cholera in 19th-Century Literature--An Introduction,” *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 13, no. 2 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.5070/T813257303>
- ¹³ Jane Lampton Clemens (1803-1890) was the mother of Mark Twain. Twain was born Samuel Langhorne Clemens and later adopted his pen name, Mark Twain. I use Clemens’s pen name, Mark Twain, for better comprehensibility in this paper. Patrick K. Ober, *Mark Twain and Medicine: “Any Mummery Will Cure”* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 45.
- ¹⁴ Ober, *Mark Twain and Medicine*, 46.
- ¹⁵ Mark Twain, *Autobiography of Mark Twain*. Vol. 1, ed. Victor Fischer et al. (University of California Press, 2010), 352.
- ¹⁶ Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*, 16.
- ¹⁷ Pamela K. Gilbert, *Cholera and Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England*, SUNY series, studies in the long nineteenth century (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 107.

- ¹⁸ Priscilla Wald, *Contagious: Cultures, Carriers, and the Outbreak Narrative* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 82.
- ¹⁹ Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*, 37.
- ²⁰ Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*, 55.
- ²¹ Mita Banerjee, "Hygiene, Whiteness, and Immigration: Upton Sinclair and the "Jungle" of the American Health Care System," in *JTAS Special Forum on Diagnosing Migrant Experience: Medical Humanities and Transnational American Studies*, ed. Mita Banerjee and Davina Höll, *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 14, no. 2 (2023): 165–191.
- ²² Christopher Hamlin, *Cholera: The Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 47.
- ²³ Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*, 60. For a detailed discussion of cholera, race and pandemic injustice see Davina Höll, "Perfect Scene of Horror": Cholera, Race, and Pandemic Injustice in Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp" (1856)," *Amerikastudien/ American Studies* 67, no. 4 (2022): 443–46. <https://doi.org/10.33675/AMST/2022/4/6>
- ²⁴ Heike Paul, *The Myths That Made America: An Introduction to American Studies*. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 274.
- ²⁵ Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016), 5.
- ²⁶ Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 5.
- ²⁷ Alan M. Kraut, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the "Immigrant Menace,"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 4; Howard Markel, and Alexandra Minna Stern, "The Foreignness of Germs: The Persistent Association of Immigrants and Disease in American Society," *The Milbank Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2002): 761.
- ²⁸ Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 5.
- ²⁹ Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 36.
- ³⁰ Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 36.
- ³¹ In fact, in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic, a number of studies have emerged that address Twain's critique of contemporary massive resentment against Chinese migrants, particularly against the backdrop of often xenophobic, anti-Asian reporting in the context of the emergence and spread of the SARS-COV-2 virus (see Hsu 2020).

- ³² Thomas Peyser, "Mark Twain, Immigration, and the American Narrative," *ELH* 79, no. 4 (2012): 1013, <https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.2012.0031>
- ³³ Davina Höll, *Das Gespenst der Pandemie*, 265–318.
- ³⁴ Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Transnational Mark Twain," in *American Studies as Transnational Practice: Turning Toward the Transpacific*, eds. Yuan Shu and Donald E. Pease (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2016), 109.
- ³⁵ Jeanne Campbell Reesman, "Tramps and Hobos: Adventure and Anguish in Mark Twain and Jack London," *The Mark Twain Annual* 15, no. 1 (Nov. 2017): 71, <https://doi.org/10.5325/marktwaij.15.1.0071>
- ³⁶ Reesman, "Tramps and Hobos: Adventure and Anguish in Mark Twain and Jack London," 74.
- ³⁷ Notable exceptions being Peyser, "Mark Twain, Immigration, and the American Narrative," John S. Park, *Illegal Migrations and the Huckleberry Finn Problem* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), and Richard Hardack, "The Tragic Immigrant: Duality, Hybridity and the Discovery of Blackness in Mark Twain and James Weldon Johnson," *ELH* 82, no. 1 (2015): 211–49, <https://doi.org/10.1353/elh.2015.0001>
- ³⁸ Kathleen Walsh, "Rude Awakenings and Swift Recoveries: The Problem of Reality in Mark Twain's "The Great Dark" and "Three Thousand Years among the Microbes," *American Literary Realism, 1870–1910* 21, no. 1 (1988): 20.
- ³⁹ John Sutton Tuckey, "Introduction," in *The Devil's Race-Track: Mark Twain's Great Dark Writings: The Best from Which Was the Dream? And Fables of Man*, ed. John Sutton Tuckey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), ix–xx.
- ⁴⁰ Mark Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," in *Mark Twain's Which Was the Dream? And Other Symbolic Writings of the Later Years*, ed. John Sutton Tuckey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 436.
- ⁴¹ Kym Weed, *Our Microbes: Imagining Human Interdependence with Bacteria in American Literature, Science, and Culture, 1880–1920*, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill University Libraries, 197, <https://doi.org/10.17615/CYAV-3R92>
- ⁴² Thomas Peyser, "Mark Twain, Immigration, and the American Narrative," 1016.
- ⁴³ See Zahra, *The Great Departure*, 4.
- ⁴⁴ Weed, *Our Microbes*, 198.
- ⁴⁵ Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Crossroads of Cultures: The Transnational Turn in American Studies—Presidential Address to American Studies Association, November 12, 2004," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2005): 17–57.

- ⁴⁶ Stefan Maneval, Jennifer A. Reimer, and Ikram Hili, "Introduction and Forms of Memoir: Four Case Studies in Movement, Migration, and Transnational Life Writing," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 13, no. 2 (2022): 7, <https://doi.org/10.5070/T813259645>
- ⁴⁷ Priscilla Wald, *Cultures and Carriers: "Typhoid Mary" and the Science of Social Control*, *Social Text* 52/53 (1997): 185.
- ⁴⁸ Laura Otis, *Membranes: Metaphors of Invasion in Nineteenth-Century Literature, Science, and Politics* (Baltimore; MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 3.
- ⁴⁹ Otis, *Membranes*, 3.
- ⁵⁰ Otis, *Membranes*, 7.
- ⁵¹ As I have argued elsewhere, the name of the narrator microbe Bkshp, with Huck as an abbreviation for its former human middle name Huxley, is a speaking one, as it, like the microbe itself, is a hybrid. The intertextual connection to one of Twain's most famous characters, Huckleberry Finn, is obvious, but both name components, Huck and Bkshp, refer to each other as well as beyond themselves. In the realm of "3, 000 Years Among the Microbes," only microbial nobilities are granted vowels in their names. If these are added, the result clearly points to "Blankenship" and marks the transition from the intertextual to the extratextual level. Blankenship is the name of Twain's real-life childhood friend, Tom Blankenship, who served as the model for the literary character Huckleberry Finn. Blankenship is also central concerning Twain's discussion of cholera in "3, 000 Years Among the Microbes" as he died of cholera, a fact that has been ignored by previous research. Moreover, Tuckey noted in his annotations that in an earlier version of the text, the nickname for the cholera bacterium was "Mark Twain" instead of Huck (Mark Twain, "3, 000 Years Among the Microbes," in *Mark Twain's Which Was the Dream? And Other Symbolic Writings of the Later Years*, ed. John Sutton Tuckey [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968], 472). The name of the cholera microbe even transcends textual boundaries, as the microbial narrator merges with the fictional translator and the author Mark Twain as well as with his literary creation Huck Finn and its real-life model Tom Blankenship into a meta-poetological, pathogenic hybrid (Höll, *Das Gespenst der Pandemie*, 312–13). On the melting pot concept, see Stacy Warner Maddern, "Melting Pot Theory," in *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, ed. Immanuel Ness (Wiley, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm359>
- ⁵² Heike Paul, *The Myths That Made America*, 258.
- ⁵³ Heike Paul, *The Myths That Made America*, 259.
- ⁵⁴ St. John de Crèvecoeur, J. Hector, *Letters from an American Farmer*, ed. Susan Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 41.

- 55 St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 40.
- 56 St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 42; 433.
- 57 Paul, *The Myths That Made America*, 262; St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 434.
- 58 Desmond King, "'A Very Serious National Menace': Eugenics and Immigration," in *Making Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 166–96. <https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674039629-008>. For a detailed discussion of the public charge provision see Hannah Zaves-Greene, "Stuck in the Middle With(out) You: How American Immigration Law Trapped "Defective" Immigrants Between Two Worlds," 2023. 193–215.
- 59 Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 436.
- 60 Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 437. In 1903, Jack London (1876–1916) published his account of the disastrous living conditions of the London poor, especially in the Whitechapel district, as *The People of the Abyss*. For a detailed discussion of Jack London's "medical migrations," see Alfred Hornung's contribution "Jack London's Medical Journey to a Pan-Pacific Alliance" in this special forum.
- 61 Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 436.
- 62 Tom M. Lansford, "American Dream," in *Encyclopedia of American Studies*, ed. Simon J. Bronner (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press). <https://eas-ref.press.jhu.edu/view?aid=401>.
- 63 Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 548.
- 64 Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 437.
- 65 Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 437.
- 66 Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 436, 437.
- 67 Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 504.
- 68 Henry B. Wonham, *Playing the Races: Ethnic Caricature and American Literary Realism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 70–71.
- 69 Wonham, *Playing the Races*, 71.
- 70 Wonham, *Playing the Races*, 71.
- 71 Wonham, *Playing the Races*, 71.
- 72 Kym Weed, "Microbial Perspectives: Mark Twain's Imaginative Experiment in Ethics," *Literature and Medicine* 37, no. 1 (2019): 219–40, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lm.2019.0008>

- ⁷³ Weed, "Microbial Perspectives," 232-233.
- ⁷⁴ Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 435.
- ⁷⁵ Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 461.
- ⁷⁶ Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 345.
- ⁷⁷ Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 345.
- ⁷⁸ Arturo Casadevall and Liise-anne Pirofski, "Microbiology: Ditch the Term Pathogen," *Nature* 516, 7530 (2014): 165, <https://doi.org/10.1038/516165a>
- ⁷⁹ Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 435.
- ⁸⁰ See Höll, "'Perfect Scene of Horror'"; Eben Kirlsey, "Genealogy, Virality, and Potentiality: Moving beyond Orientalism with COVID-19," *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry* 18, no. 3 (2021): 382, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11673-021-10121-3>
- ⁸¹ Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 436.
- ⁸² Twain, "3,000 Years Among the Microbes," 436; Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, A Biography: The Personal and Literary Life of Samuel Langhorne Clemens* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912), 1362.
- ⁸³ See for detailed analysis, Mita Banerjee, "Hygiene, Whiteness, and Immigration," 165–91; and Hannah Zaves-Greene, "Stuck in the Middle With(out) You: How American Immigration Law Trapped 'Defective' Immigrants Between Two Worlds," in *JTAS Special Forum on Diagnosing Migrant Experience: Medical Humanities and Transnational American Studies*, ed. Mita Banerjee and Davina Höll, *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 14, no. 2 (2023): 195–215.
- ⁸⁴ Nicole Redvers et al., "The Determinants of Planetary Health: An Indigenous Consensus Perspective," *The Lancet Planetary Health* 6, no. 2 (2022): e159. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196\(21\)00354-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196(21)00354-5); Susan Prescott et al. "The Canmore Declaration: Statement of Principles for Planetary Health," *Challenges* 9, no. 2 (2018): 31, <https://doi.org/10.3390/challe9020031>
- ⁸⁵ Nicole Redvers et al., "Molecular Decolonization: An Indigenous Microcosm Perspective of Planetary Health," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17, no. 12 (2020): 4586, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17124586>
- ⁸⁶ Redvers et al., "Molecular Decolonization." The term *microbiome* dates back at least to the 1950s (see John L. Mohr, "Protozoa as Indicators of Pollution." *The Scientific Monthly* 74, no.1 (1952): 7–9.) but was popularized by Nobel Prize winner Joshua Lederberg (Susan L. Prescott, "History of Medicine: Origin of the Term Microbiome and Why It Matters." *Human Microbiome Journal* 4 (2017): 24–25. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.humic.2017.05.004>). It was first coherently defined by Whipps

et al. as “a characteristic microbial community occupying a reasonably well defined habitat which has distinct physio-chemical properties,” whereby, “the term thus not only refers to the microorganisms involved but also encompasses their theatre of activity” (John M. Whipps et al. “Mycoparasitism and Plant Disease Control Fungi,” *Fungi in Biological Control Systems*, ed. M.N. Burge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 176). Today, the *Oxford Dictionary* offers the two, however fundamentally different, standard definitions: Firstly, as a “population of microorganisms inhabiting a specific environment; a microbial community or ecosystem, now esp. that of the body” and secondly as “the collective genomes of all the microorganisms inhabiting a specific environment, esp. that of the body” (Microbiome 2020).

- ⁸⁷ Weed, “Microbial Perspectives,” 230.
- ⁸⁸ Redvers et al., “Molecular Decolonization.”
- ⁸⁹ Redvers et al., “Molecular Decolonization.”
- ⁹⁰ Prescott et al., “The Canmore Declaration: Statement of Principles for Planetary Health,” 3.
- ⁹¹ Donna Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucen* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 144.
- ⁹² Peyser, “Mark Twain, Immigration, and the American Narrative,” 1015.
- ⁹³ See Eileen Boris, “Vulnerability and Resilience in the Covid-19 Crisis: Race, Gender, and Belonging,” in *Migration and Pandemics*, ed. Anna Triandafyllidou (Toronto: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 65–84, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-81210-2_4; and Matiangai Sirleaf, “Entry Denied: COVID-19, Race, Migration, and Global Health,” *Frontiers in Human Dynamics*, vol. 2 (Dec. 2020): 599157, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fhumd.2020.599157>
- ⁹⁴ See Stacy Alaimo, *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment, and the Material Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2010).
- ⁹⁵ See Hakan Kilic, “Migration Studies: A 21st Century Scholarship Shaping Human and Planetary Health,” *OMICS: A Journal of Integrative Biology* 23, no. 8 (2019): 369, <https://doi.org/10.1089/omi.2019.0110>
- ⁹⁶ Stefanie Schütte et al., “Connecting Planetary Health, Climate Change, and Migration,” *The Lancet Planetary Health* 2, no. 2 (2018): e59, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196\(18\)30004-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196(18)30004-4)

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