

John Harrison Mills: Twain's Unsung *Buffalo Express* Illustrator

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SUNY BUFFALO STATE

On the afternoon of August 30, 1862, the soldiers of the Twenty-First Regiment from Buffalo, New York, charged out of the Virginia woods with bayonets fixed toward a Confederate enemy securely entrenched behind a railroad embankment in the Second Battle of Bull Run. Amid the hellish smoke-filled scene, bullets whistling by and deafening cannon fire roaring in his ears, 20-year-old private John Harrison Mills saw the color bearer fall beside him and then witnessed two other comrades who took turns raising the flag shot dead. Private Mills continued his advance, clambered over a rail fence, and headed with his troop for a ditch, where hand-to-hand combat was under way.

He never got there.

A .58 caliber bullet from a Confederate musket ripped into his groin, spiraling up his pelvis, a blow that seemed to tear him in two, as he later wrote.¹ Little did he know that seven years later, he would be illustrating newspaper stories for America's most famous humorist, Mark Twain.

John Harrison Mills was born in 1842 on the family farm in Bowmansville, New York, just 13 miles east of Buffalo. At the age of 15, he moved to Buffalo as an apprentice to bank note engraver John P. Jamison and also learned sculpting under stone carver William Lautz and painting from famed Buffalo artist Laurentius "Lars" Gustaf Sellstedt in his Kremlin Hall studio. One of Mills' first works was a portrait of his father, Aaron, in 1859.²

Three days after Confederate forces opened fire on the Union garrison at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, in April 1861, Mills, 19, was one of the first 100 men to enlist at Buffalo's Court House in the Twenty-First Regiment of New

York State Volunteers, an outgrowth of the 74th Regiment of the New York State Militia. Two weeks later, the fresh recruits marched through the streets of Buffalo toward the Exchange Street train depot to be shipped out for advanced infantry training in Elmira, New York. Amid the sounds of church bells, choirs, and patriotic bands, surrounded by flags and buildings decorated in red, white, and blue bunting, the military parade was escorted by former President Millard Fillmore (by now an esteemed civic leader and lawyer in Buffalo) and the Reverend Grosvenor Heacock, who had volunteered and was commissioned as chaplain. When Mark Twain lived in Buffalo and worked at the *Buffalo Express* from 1869 to 1871, he became somewhat acquainted with Fillmore, and he attended Heacock's Lafayette Presbyterian Church, where Mills was also a member.

Following his devastating combat wound at Second Bull Run, Mills spent four months recovering at Mansion House Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia, after which he was discharged from the Union Army for his disability. He returned to Buffalo, hobbling on crutches for a couple of years. In 1864 he published a history of his regiment that includes his drawing of regiment commander Colonel William Findlay Rogers (who later would serve as mayor of Buffalo when Twain



Private John Harrison Mills in winter gear, Company D 21st New York Volunteers
(Courtesy of the Lancaster Historical Society)

first arrived in 1869). On April 19, 1865, Mills stood as a uniformed honor guard by the coffin of President Abraham Lincoln while thousands of mourners passed by at St. James Hall in Buffalo. Fifty years later, Mills recalled standing at the head of Lincoln's coffin "in my faded soldier suit and fatigue cap, with my gun on my shoulder and my crutch against a pillar, looking neither to right or left."³ Working from sketches he made of Lincoln's face, Mills molded a bust of the assassinated president a few months later.

In 1865 he married Henrietta Fell, of Chippewa, Canada, a match that lasted over 50 years. Soon he was hired at the *Buffalo Express* as a jack-of-all-trades: proofreader, reporter, editorial writer, assistant city editor, and illustrator.

Mills was present in the *Express* office at 14 East Swan Street in early August 1869 when Twain joined the newspaper as co-owner and managing editor and was "formally introduced by the chief editor," presumably political editor and co-owner Josephus Nelson Larned. Mills missed out on another more casual, but legendary, first encounter between Twain and the usual gang of third-floor editorial room hangers-on. Several local Republicans and businessmen, including Rodney W. Daniels, Dan Post, and Dewitt Clinton Welch, habitually smoked and lounged around the room, occupying the available chairs. Mills' secondhand version of Twain's dramatic entrance helped stamp that moment into Western New York newsroom lore for the next 70 years:

That story may still be true about his coming in in that quiet way of his and finding the place occupied by a group of ward politicians, with their feet on the tables, and one of them asking in an encouraging way: "Well! What can we do for you, young fellow?" and how he replied, with a drawl, of course:

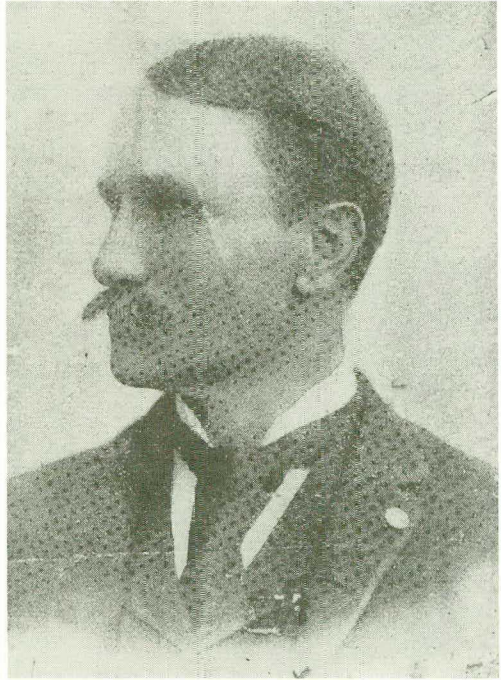
"Why—if you can spare a chair and a little room at this table—the editor would like to get to work."

I can imagine that convention breaking up very quickly and the courteous dismissal.⁴

Twain's negative first impression of the lollygagging in his new newsroom may have inspired his June 25, 1870, *Express* story, "The Editorial Office Bore," a few months later.

During September and October of 1869, Mills developed a close personal

and professional relationship with Twain. They were both members of the Nameless Club, a literary circle that met in the second-floor library room of the Young Men's Association. Their evening get-togethers consisted of debates, speeches, and essay and poetry readings, capped off by a supper and series of (sometimes nine!) toasts with wine, bowls of steaming punch, or lager. Other Nameless Club members included *Express* colleagues Larned and George Selkirk, and David Gray of the *Buffalo Daily Courier*.



Mills was familiar with *Mills in his late 20s, Buffalo Times, October 23, 1904*

summer Buffalo evenings of taking a leisurely stroll from his 39 East Swan Street boarding house to the foot of Michigan Street, which led to a sandy beach on Lake Erie's shore. Here Twain occasionally took a dip, and once declined a swimming race challenge by Gray and James N. Johnston, a poet.⁵ Twain's typical route to the beach, as described by Mills, was to head out of his boarding house east on Swan, cross Ellicott, Oak, and Elm, and then walk south on Michigan toward the lake. Twain's itinerary down Michigan to the water took him past tinsmiths, taverns, smokehouses, lumber yards, offices, warehouses, sheds, and the intersecting Seneca, Carroll, Exchange, Elk (now South Park), and Ohio streets. At Michigan and Ohio, there were seven saloons in one block, at least one of which may have beckoned Twain for a cool 5-cent glass of lager on his trip back home. Once he crossed the city ship canal and sea wall, Twain would finally access the unobstructed sandy strip and enjoy a panoramic waterfront view of the lake and the majestic Steinberg grain elevators.

At the *Express* office, Mills' artistic talent was quickly enlisted to provide sketches for Twain's new series of humorous Saturday feature stories. The stories and illustrations were an innovation by Twain meant to rekindle reader interest in the paper. He earned \$25 (from his own newspaper) for each Saturday story.

Along with his juicier "People and Things" column, livelier coverage of the police blotter, and cosmetic changes to typeface and headlines, the Saturday features were part of Twain's plan to overhaul the editorial product and appearance of the *Buffalo Express*. Within a few short months, Twain's zeal flagged and his editorial brainstormings fizzled. The Saturday feature stories flamed out by the beginning of October 1869 and were replaced through the end of January by his equally short-lived "Around the World" letters. Furthermore, only four Saturday stories—in August and September—were accompanied by a total of six Mills drawings. No stories in the *Buffalo Express* before or for months after that had staff-drawn illustrations.

The illustrations themselves may not have been entirely Twain's idea. He implies in a letter to his mentor Mary Fairbanks that the suggestion may have come from co-owners Selkirk and Larned: "But as they cost nothing, my partners thought we might as well have them."⁶ Nevertheless, the Twain-Mills collaboration began on Saturday, August 21, and concluded on Saturday, September 18. Twain was 33 years old; Mills was 27.

Decades later, Mills remembered his role with Twain at the *Express* as making "the first illustrations for Mark Twain's Sketches, engraving them upon wood in 1869."⁷ In another account, Mills referred to being "in consultation with him [Twain] about those illustrations he let me make for the sketches and stories."⁸

After finishing his Saturday features, Twain would typically give Mills rough drawings of what he wanted the accompanying illustrations to look like. Mills then used his engraving tools—likely a lozenge graver, a V-shaped graver, or a spitsticker for hatching and fine, undulating lines—to create an illustration on wood-engraved blocks that enhanced Twain's text. These blocks were then used on the printing presses in the basement of the *Express* building. The blocks were made to be the same height as—and composited alongside—moveable type in page layouts so printers could produce the pages. The quality of Mills' illustrations varied, probably depending on how much advance time Twain gave him for the job. Earl Berry, a young *Express* reporter, recalled how Twain

and Mills worked together on the “illustrated funny article every Saturday”:

All of the illustrations were drawn in the rough by Mr. Clemens and finished off by the woodcut artist in the composing room. There was no such thing as electrotyping in Buffalo in those days.⁹

This team approach reflects Twain’s *modus operandi* for working with his illustrators. Beverly R. David, for example, writes that Twain gave artist Truman W. “True” Williams “a number of suggestions . . . on at least four of the stories” in *Sketches, New and Old* (1875).¹⁰ It is worth noting that David does not mention Mills, nor do other biographers or entries in Twain reference works and encyclopedias when they cite Twain’s illustrators. David also points out that for *Some Learned Fables* (1874), Twain sketched doodles in his text to guide the illustrator.¹¹

Twain began his position at the *Buffalo Express* two weeks after *The Innocents Abroad* had been released, in mid-July 1869. His elbow-to-elbow relationship with *Innocents*’ illustrator was fresh in his mind. Twain and that illustrator—again, True Williams, one of Elisha Bliss’ favorite artists at American Publishing—worked closely to create drawings and captions that would dramatize key elements of the text. They labored especially on the character of Jack, in order to stress his traits in the drawings. One humorous caption, “Rear Elevation of Jack,” raises the question of who exactly designed the sketches and composed the captions, Twain or Williams:

This comical caption, along with other humorous legends scattered throughout the edition, poses interesting questions of authorship—how many of the humorous captions on these illustrations were supplied by Mark Twain, and how many whimsical ideas did the author contribute to the illustrations themselves?¹²

Twain’s Saturday features in the *Express* were well advertised, with front-page column-long promotions days before publication touting “a humorous sketch, illustrated.” Each of the four illustrated Saturday features was placed on the front page, a break from the *Express*’s policy of printing only items of national and world interest on Page One. Twain’s features and illustrations

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 Buffalo Express,
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 OPPOSITE PAGE,
 TOP, *Advertisement*
 for second Niagara
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 Express, August 23,
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 August 28, 1869



"GOT A MATCH?"



THE CHILD OF THE FOREST.

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Twain's first Saturday story, on August 21, appeared with the major headline and two stacked sub-headlines in descending type size, all in uppercase, "A Day at Niagara. Concerning the Falls. The Tamed Hackmen." In this satirical story, Twain pokes fun at the

commercialism rampant at this natural wonder in the form of Irish vendors disguised as Tuscarora Indian women known for selling handmade beadwork and carvings on the Falls grounds. Tourists and Twain are duped by several hucksters, including a coroner who refuses to lend a hand to Twain when he is swirling around the whirlpool after being thrown over the Horseshoe Falls. Although the story has several satirical targets, two were pulled out for Mills' accompanying illustrations. The first carries the caption "GOT A MATCH?" and depicts an indifferent coroner trying to light a pipe on shore while Twain cries out for help from the raging lower Niagara River. The caption is lifted directly from the text of the story and highlights one of Twain's pet peeves and running gags in Buffalo—the greed of local coroners.

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THE PRESS.

"MARK TWAIN"

IN

THE BUFFALO EXPRESS.

MARK TWAIN'S

FIRST VISIT TO NIAGARA FALLS.

CONTINUED.

A humorous sketch, illustrated, together with other entertaining reading matter will appear in the

BUFFALO EXPRESS.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 28TH.

FOR SALE BY ALL NEWS DEALERS.

The second illustration by Mills, "THE CHILD OF THE FOREST," is less well executed. (Dixon Wecter called the illustrations "rather crude."¹³) It shows a rotund Irishman posing as a Native American peddling fake moccasins and dolls to unsuspecting visitors.

A follow-up to Twain's comic exposé of the corruption of Niagara Falls was published the next Saturday, August 28, "English Festivities. Minor Matters. Fishing." In it, Twain lambastes gullible and arrogant tourists who pay one of the hordes of high-priced photographers to snap a picture of them with the Falls as a backdrop. Twain also gives a hilarious account of being tricked by a guide at the Cave of the Winds into taking a peril-

ous tour—until Twain wises up and physically threatens the guide (a theme straight out of *The Innocents Abroad*).

Like the previous week's story, this Niagara Falls piece also has two drawings by Mills. The first illustration is of Twain in the rain gear distributed to Cave of the Winds customers to protect them from the fierce Falls water spray. He is attacking his tour guide in frustration at being led on such a dangerously windswept, wet,



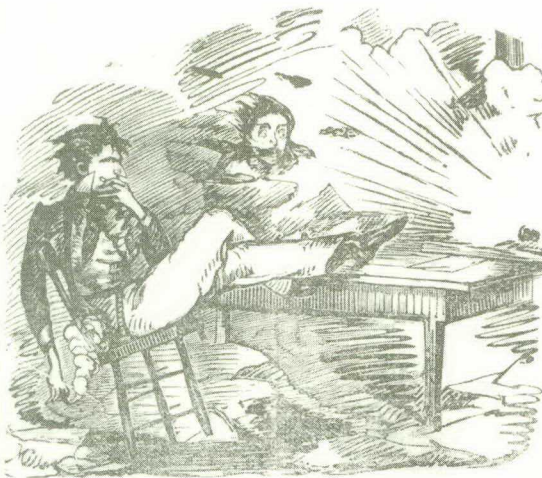
"I THEN DESTROYED HIM."

RIGHT,
Buffalo
Express,
August
28, 1869;
BELOW,
September
4, 1869



NIAGARA AS A BACKGOUND.

and slippery path. The caption, "I THEN DESTROYED HIM," is the snapper line concluding that segment of the story. Mills' second illustration is more fully rendered, almost a work of early folk art. It echoes the previous week's condemnation of carriage drivers overcharging tourists. In the foreground are clueless men and women crammed into a carriage near one of the Falls, wearing goofy grins and doffing their hats and parasols to the viewer. In the background is another carriage shuttling tourists, and several photographers with their hooded cameras on tripods aimed at a typical family grouping. The caption, "NIAGARA AS A BACKGROUND," summarizes Twain's swipe at the hubris of tourists who think they are more important than the mighty Falls.



"THAT STOVE IS UTTERLY RUINED."

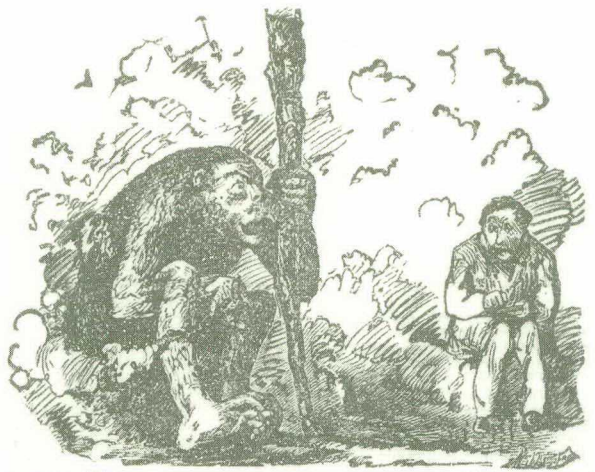
The third Saturday story by Twain that was paired with a Mills illustration was "Journalism in Tennessee" on September 4. This spoof of sensational journalism ends with irate readers of a small southern newspaper assaulting the editorial staff and building by dropping an explosive device down the stovepipe. Mills illustrates the de-

struction rather elaborately, with a reporter and editor sitting at the news table, dodging debris, their hair blown back by the force of the bomb emanating from the stove. The ironic caption: "THAT STOVE IS UTTERLY RUINED." Forty-five years later, Earl Berry remembered that story and drawing. He believed that Twain may have been inspired by "the big planetary coal-burning stove" in the *Buffalo Express* newsroom, although their old-fashioned stove was "not in danger of being wrecked by a bomb dropped down the stovepipe."¹⁴

Express readers looking forward to another installment of an illustrated story on Saturday, September 11, were let down with comic ease. Twain's "The Last Words of Great Men" parodies death-bed utterances by celebrities, including Napoleon, Cleopatra, and Red Jacket. Twain closes his facetious story with a witty postscript that explains why Mills' talents weren't needed: "P.S.—I am obliged to leave out the illustrations, this time. The artist finds it impossible to make pictures of people's last words."

The last Twain story with an accompanying Mills sketch was "The 'Wild Man' Interviewed" on September 18. Here again, Mills supplied just one drawing. In this fantasy piece, Twain once more targets sensational journalism. An immortal, protean creature named Sensation is hounded by the press and obliged to join the controversy raging that fall of 1869 over Harriet Beecher Stowe's scandalous accusations that Lord Byron had fathered a child with his half-sister. Mills portrays the hairy beast

armed with a club, sitting face-to-face with a reporter who is taking notes. In the story, when the reporter asks which historic event the wild man is bound for next, the creature utters: "TO DIG UP THE BYRON FAMILY!" The compositors cleverly arranged this line to be positioned in column



peon," said the wild man; "I am willing to | "TO DIG UP THE BYRON FAMILY!"

Buffalo Express, September 18, 1869



Illustration by True Williams for Twain's "A Visit to Niagara," Mark Twain's Sketches, New and Old (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1887)

two, just below the illustration, so that it also serves as the caption.

Even though Mills wrote of consulting with Twain, and Earl Berry remembers that Twain gave rudimentary visual outlines to Mills, it is impossible to know how much latitude Mills was given or who decided on the wording of the captions. It is curious, however, that two illustrations done by True Williams to accompany Twain's "A Visit to Niagara" six years later in *Sketches, Old and New* are virtual copies of Mills', in concept and execution. Twain must have been fond of Mills' visual interpretations—or they were Twain's to begin with.

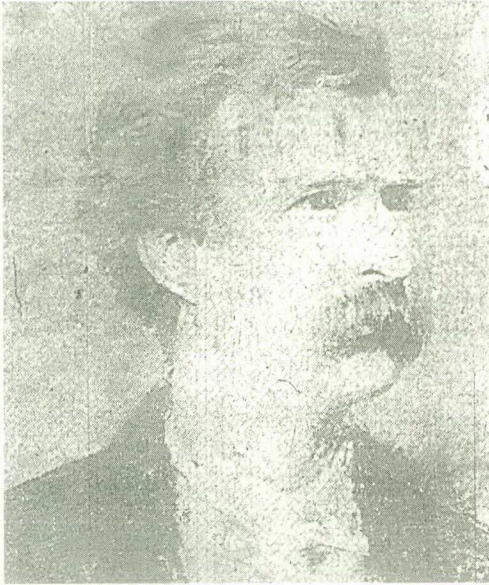
One thing is certain—Mary Fairbanks did not appreciate the drawings. Although her letter to Twain is lost, Twain addressed her complaint on September 27 and apologized for the experiment: "You have about made me give up the 'pictures.' I hate pictures like these, myself."¹⁵ Probably bending to the pressure exerted by Fairbanks, the writer-artist partnership between Twain and Mills in the *Express* abruptly ended.

Their friendship, however, continued.

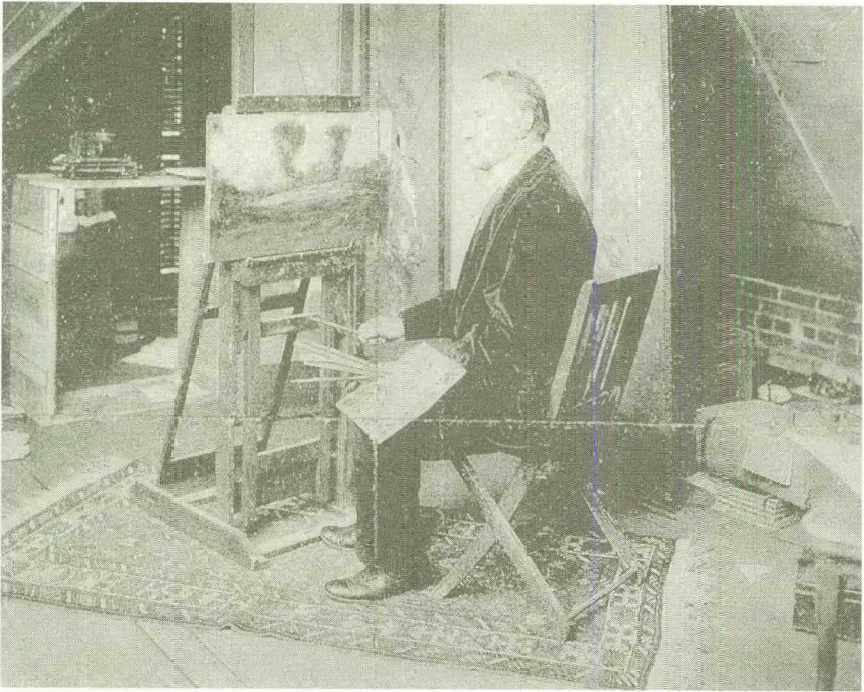
At some point in 1869 or 1870, Mills painted Twain's portrait. Twain may have visited Mills' studio at Bloomer's hotel, where Mills and his wife boarded. Or perhaps Twain sat for Mills in the comfort of Twain's Delaware Street mansion, a wedding gift from his in-laws. Either way, Twain posed in the straight-back mahogany "sitter's chair" that Mills asked his portrait subjects to sit in.¹⁶ At the time the portrait was completed, according to Mills, Twain "said it was his most favorite likeness."¹⁷

Twain left Buffalo in March 1871. The next year, Mills and his wife left for Colorado, where he earned a living as an illustrator and wood engraver. He also painted landscapes and portraits of many well-known Coloradans, and served as president of the Colorado Academy of Fine Arts. While in Colorado, Mills occasionally published illustrated articles in *Scribner's Monthly*. In 1883 he returned east to New York City, where he was elected secretary and manager of the New York Art Guild. He continued to paint and to write poetry. One poem, on the Battle of Gettysburg, won a prize from the *New York Herald*. Two of his poems appeared in a collection of works by Buffalo poets.¹⁸ While living in New York in 1887, Mills wrote Twain, evoking "the many kind memories" he had of their friendship.¹⁹ He was one of sixty-seven sculptors to have his work accepted and exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.

Not long after Mills and his family moved back to Buffalo in the early 1900s, while walking near his 494 Elmwood Avenue home, he was bitten on the legs and arm by a rabid dog. The attack prompted an emotional letter to the editor by his former *Express* boss from the Twain era,



Portrait of Mark Twain by Mills, Buffalo Illustrated Times, April 24, 1910; right, Mills's portrait "sitter's chair" (Photograph by Lucas A. Reigstad)



Mills in his early sixties, painting in Buffalo studio, Buffalo Daily Courier, March 19, 1905

Larned, who warned of “a dangerous outbreak of hydrophobia in the city.”²⁰

Upon Twain’s death, in April 1910, Mills placed a floral wreath around the large portrait he had painted of Twain, which was hanging in Mills’ home in Buffalo. The *Buffalo Times* published a photo of the portrait on Sunday, April 24, 1910.²¹

Three weeks later, Mills shared his memories of working with Twain at the *Express* in a 2,400-word reminiscence published in the *Buffalo Sunday Morning News*.²² He gave insights into daily work routines at the newspaper and provided rare glimpses into the interior of Twain’s Delaware Street home. The *News* memoir was understood to be an extract from a larger manuscript. Shortly thereafter, in 1912, Albert Bigelow Paine quotes from a different 123-word segment of Mills’ unpublished reminiscences. Mills provides a rhapsodic, artistic description of Twain’s physical appearance, saying Twain’s eyes had “an indescribable depth of the bluish moss-agate, with a capacity of pupil dilation

that in certain lights had the effect of a deep black . . .”²³ The *Buffalo Sunday Morning News* and Paine biography snippets are all that is known to exist of Mills’ recollections of Twain.

The full manuscript is lost.

None of the Mills descendants knows its whereabouts. Nor does the Mark Twain Project or any archivists in Buffalo or Elmira, New York.²⁴ Perhaps after Mills died at the Spencer Kellogg estate, just south of Buffalo, in October 1916, at the age of 74, it was discarded or misplaced. My dear friend William Loos, former Rare Book Room curator at the Buffalo Library, once wistfully speculated to me that, like Twain’s long lost *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* manuscript, Mills’ *Reminiscences* might also someday turn up in an attic trunk.

Notes

- 1 Mills provides a first-person account of his Civil War experiences and an eyewitness description of the Second Battle of Bull Run in his *Chronicles of the Twenty-First Regiment, New York State Volunteers* (1864). Excerpts of *Chronicles* also appear in Nelson A. Rieger’s *John Harrison Mills: Pioneer Painter of Colorado* (Colorado Springs, CO: Pikes Peak Heritage Art Gallery, 2009).
- 2 For biographical facts of Mills’ life, see Benedict Maryniak’s “From Bowmansville and Back: The Odyssey of John Harrison Mills,” *The Lancaster Legend*, 6.6. (November/December 1999): pp. 1–2, 4; and “One of Buffalo’s Distinguished Men: The Brilliant Work of J. Harrison Mills in the Fine Arts and Belles Lettres,” *Buffalo Morning Express*, October 23, 1904.
- 3 “Fifty Years Ago Lincoln’s Body Lay in Buffalo,” *Buffalo Evening News*, April 27, 1915.
- 4 Mills provides many insights into Twain’s journalistic and domestic spheres in Buffalo, in a fragment that apparently was part of a complete, unpublished reminiscence (now lost). The fragment, “When Mark Twain Lived in Buffalo: Reminiscent Aspects of the Humorist’s Brief Life in This City, as Recollected by One Whose Work Brought Him Into Close and Daily Association With Him” (Extract from “Mark Twain in Buffalo, As Recollected by a Fellow Workman,” was published in the *Buffalo Sunday Morning News* on May 15, 1910, a few days after Twain’s death.
- 5 “When Mark Twain Lived in Buffalo.”
- 6 SLC to Mary Mason Fairbanks, 26 and 27 September 1869 (*Mark Twain’s Letters* 3: 358).
- 7 Mills gives a synopsis of his art career in Buffalo in “Memories of a Buffalo Artist,” *Buffalo Express*, November 5, 1916.
- 8 “When Mark Twain Lived in Buffalo.”

- 9 "Mark Twain as a Newspaperman," *Illustrated Buffalo Express*, November 11, 1917.
- 10 Beverly R. David, *Mark Twain and His Illustrators, Volume 1 (1869–1875)* (Troy, NY: Whitson, 1986), p. 207.
- 11 David, p. 209.
- 12 David, p. 29.
- 13 *Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks*, ed. Dixon Wecter (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1949), p. 106.
- 14 "Mark Twain as a Newspaperman."
- 15 SLC to Fairbanks, 26 and 27 September 1869.
- 16 In an unpublished paper dated March 22, 2012, "The Mark Twain Chair," Sally Stone Cook Fisk writes that her father, Donald Davis Cook, took art lessons in Mills' Buffalo studio, in the attic of his Elmwood Avenue home. According to Fisk's father, Mills told him that the professional sitter's chair on which he sat during lessons was where Twain sat for his portrait by Mills many years earlier.
- 17 "Mark Twain is on the Road to Last Long Ride," *The Buffalo Illustrated Sunday Times*, April 24, 1910.
- 18 "Booths" and "The Flag of the Twenty-First" were in *The Poets and Poetry of Buffalo*, ed. James N. Johnston (Buffalo, NY: Matthews-Northrup, 1904). Much of Mills' poetry was on subjects related to the Civil War.
- 19 David H. Fears, *Mark Twain Day by Day, Volume II* (Banks, OR: Horizon Micro Publishing, 2009), p. 141. According to Fears, Mills also writes that "he rejoiced whenever he heard about Sam."
- 20 "Mad-dog Peril," by J.N.L., *Buffalo Morning Express*, September 3, 1906.
- 21 Author's phone conversation with Ellsworth Mills II, July 25, 2013. Mills' portrait of Twain is owned by his great-grandson, Ellsworth Mills II, whose grandfather (Mills' son Harry—Harrison Winthrop Mills) had a business with Mills in New York City packing and mailing paintings. When Mills returned to Buffalo, his son Harry kept the business going in New York.
- 22 "When Mark Twain Lived in Buffalo."
- 23 After quoting from Mills' reminiscences on page 388 of his 1912 Twain biography, *Mark Twain*, Volume 1 (New York: Chelsea House, 1980), Paine also acknowledges in a footnote that Mills had apparently lent him the complete unpublished reminiscences manuscript: "From unpublished *Reminiscences* kindly lent to the author by Mr. Mills." Until my own 2013 book on Twain in Buffalo, *Scribblin' for a Livin': Mark Twain's Pivotal Period in Buffalo* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books), no other Twain biographer besides Paine, to my knowledge, has ever mentioned Mills.
- 24 In a September 21, 1992, phone conversation with the author, Bob Hirst of the MTP said they do not have Mills' *Reminiscences*. My discussions with the Rare Book Room officials at the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library, staff members

at the Buffalo History Museum, and the archivist at Elmira College's Center for Mark Twain Studies have shown they do not possess *Reminiscences*. Last, my talks and correspondence with Ellsworth Mills II and his son, Ellsworth Luther "Chip" Mills III, have confirmed that Mills' descendants do not have it, either.

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