

**Imperial Therapy: Mark Twain and the Discourse
of National Consciousness in *Innocents Abroad***

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“It may be thought that I am prejudiced. Perhaps I am. I would be ashamed of myself if I were not.”¹ When Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens, 1835-1910) undertook correspondence for San Francisco’s *Alta California* on a \$1250 trip to Europe and the Holy Land in 1867 he had an established reputation as a humorist and was on the cusp of making the transition from journalist to author. *Innocents Abroad*, “an unvarnished tale”² published in 1869 and sewn together with questionable regard for coherence or thematic consistency, sold thirty-one thousand copies in one year. Only *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* had done better, as Twain himself noted. What made his work such a success? “This book is the record of a pleasure trip” (I, xxi), Twain declared, yet there had already been innumerable pleasure trips and by more established authors than he.

The multiplicity and seemingly contradictory narrative stances in *Innocents* makes any essentialist reading hard to establish and what one stance purports is as likely and easy to prove as any other. In the main though, two bodies of criticism have prevailed hitherto, one seeing the text as flawed by internal discontinuities, the other perceiving that disjointed narration need not preclude a unified authorial consciousness.³ It is my contention that Twain most likely wrote with at least five entirely separate purposes in mind, none of which coexisted simultaneously:

- i. The profit, reputation and contractual fulfilment to be had in writing c. 1500 words to newspapers daily.
- ii. The demonstrable acquisition of high society vocabulary and cultural regard commended by Mrs. Fairbanks and Olivia Langdom.⁴
- iii. An arrant attack upon Presbyterianism.
- iv. A break with the codified genre of travel writing.
- v. The promotion of Twain as healer of a wounded nation.

Point v) has gone largely neglected by critics. Yet Twain's role as a unifier in post Civil-War society, as projector of national identity abroad for the benefit of domestic patriotism, and as healer of war-torn America is a cornerstone to our understanding *Innocents*. As shall be seen, shades of mental/national injury coexist in the text, alongside a humorous (and sometimes not-so-humorous) denigration of foreigners. The resultant implied superiority of America and Americans, notwithstanding Twain's passing jabs at them and in spite of their bloody internecine conflict, is what I term "imperial therapy."

This idea involves not the erection of a new multidisciplinary socio-political construct, but more a counter-reaction to the prevalent Eurocentric world view already in place. In other words, it is a revisionist stance. The reader's recognition of European hegemony with regard to cultural discourse is taken for granted by Twain, or rather he seeks to displace its apparent immovability in the American social mindset. As Edward W. Said notes, "to have knowledge of ... a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it,"⁵ and Twain, unrepentantly prejudiced, is the self-acknowledged purveyor of authoritative, possessive standpoints. In *Innocents*, as we shall see, humour becomes the all-powerful tool of the seer viewing the seen, playfully mulling the object's importance and ultimately redirecting it to the narrator's area of perceived (and most often lowered) importance. "Imperial therapy" indicates something of the reason for this in terms of national identity at home and the comfort to be had in patriotism reflected upon the extra-American world (along with encompassing the process itself as one of objectifying Europe a propos America).

Forrest G. Robinson usefully notes that "movement toward the 'positive' pole of one cultural axis inevitably involves simultaneous movement toward the 'negative' pole of another."⁶ In other words, one cannot compliment or criticise a foreign people without implying either deficit or surplus in one's own culture. A realignment such as this concerned Twain very much, carrying with him as he did the knowledge that Europeans had long passed judgement upon his "rapacious and ruthless developing nation"⁷ both mor-

ally and culturally. To him fell the task of re-evaluating the American psyche and satisfying a readership which was “avid, newly lettered, newly leisured, the beneficiaries of a democratised culture.”⁸

Yet equipoise between a culturally arrogant Europe and resurgent America was never on the literary agenda; Lynn asserts that *Innocents* gives us “the American: newborn, not yet come of age, but nevertheless prepared to ... judge all the nations of earth by his own.”⁹ In *Innocents*, Europe as perceived through Twain undergoes a readjusted interpretation via realism coupled with satirical exaggeration. The reviewer writing under the pseudonym Folio notes that Twain “saw things as they were, not as they [had] been described by poets and romancers”¹⁰ and yet Twain wholly redefines what is seen, as shown in the episode with the guide in Rome:

We came very near expressing interest, sometimes – even admiration – it was very hard to keep from it. We succeeded though. Nobody else ever did, in the Vatican museums. The guide was bewildered – nonplussed. He walked his legs off, nearly, hunting up extraordinary things, and exhausted all his ingenuity on us, but it was a failure; we never showed any interest in anything. (I, 306)

In this passage, the self-other dyad is most apparent. For Twain and his group are cultural insiders, privy to “the subtleties of the American joke” involving an imposition of humour inevitably lost on European minds. Thus the group’s own identity is maintained and enforced through their isolationist bantering and consequent refusal to engage in cultural reciprocity. This humour has the added effect of reversing standard roles – it is the guide, not they, who becomes the cultural outsider: “If he does not enjoy it, so much the worse for him. We do” (I, 302). Any reader would have sensed this barrier of comical yet calculated difference and “the implication that the history of Europe is but a burden to be cast off by the man of the new world.”¹¹ Humour, then, becomes a codified tool of amendment in redressing Europe’s suffocating cultural dominion, refusing to accede to it, and promoting “an attitude of national assurance and confidence which neither the nation nor its travellers had had before the war.”¹²

Such apparent levity represented Twain’s subtlest manifestation of imperial therapy. Robert A. Wiggins puts it plainly when he reveals Twain’s eulogising of the noble savage:

The humour in *The Innocents Abroad* is founded upon this assumption of folk superiority. The elemental mind is somehow superior to the more complex but morally corrupt civilised mind.¹³

This is all too apparent when Twain declares: “These creatures [guides]

never suspect – they have no idea of a sarcasm” (I, 301). In other areas his role as travel writer allows him to dispense with humour altogether and a crass cultural narcissism usurps the comedy. Ultimately, in the aftermath of Civil War, the capacity to comprehend historical meaning (through memory) becomes the property of Americans, and guides, as delegates of old pre-U.S. European society, become unwelcome impostors:

If they would only show you a masterpiece of art, or a venerable tomb, or a prison-house, or a battle-field, hallowed by touching memories ... it would not be so bad. But they interrupt every dream.
(I, 180)

Guides, under the universal cognomen of “Ferguson,” are perceived not only as functional illiterates but as divorced from all that they seek to represent. This is clear in Twain’s refusal to divulge his admiration for artwork except, of course, to his readers. We alone are privy to what his “shrewd pair of American eyes”¹⁴ fixates upon and the intimacy established is directly relative to the distance – i.e. negative difference – between Twain and his host cultures. The humorist has made a smooth transition to the imperialist, appropriating all that is deemed essentially American – humour and historical appreciation – and, by the time he reaches Constantinople, Twain no longer has need of even a peripheral dialogue with the people but begins at once with an attack on indigenous appearance: “There was no freak in dress too crazy to be indulged in; no absurdity too absurd to be tolerated; no frenzy in ragged diabolism too fantastic to be attempted” (II, 67).

A transition in cultural evaluation takes place throughout the trip, with the textual journey paralleling the journey itself. J. DeLancey Ferguson states that “the continuity of the *Innocents* is the continuity of the tour it records, nothing more.”¹⁵ However, I would hold that there is a unity to *Innocents* and it rests in the replacement of the humorist’s banter with the franker prejudices of the travel writer as a tool of imperial discourse. While Twain starts from an amusingly superior stance, he shifts toward the disparagingly aloof and finally, at Endor, all pretence at impartiality is shrugged away:

They do not mind dirt; they do not mind rags; they do not mind vermin; they do not mind barbarous ignorance and savagery; they do not mind a reasonable degree of starvation, but they *do* like to be pure and holy before their god, whoever he may be. (II, 227)

Implicit is the idea of America as unpolluted, fully enlightened and graced with a clean bill of health sadly lacking in the Old World. By this time, the narrator’s voice is free of any semblance of relative thinking (i.e. suspend-

ing judgement and recognising “other” criteria for self-evaluation) and his judgements fall hard and severe, a fact which sits uncomfortably with Near Eastern critics even to this day.¹⁶ Such totalising depreciation is earlier predicted in the imperialist paradigm employed in Morocco:

I have caught a glimpse of the faces of several Moorish women (for they are only human, and will expose their faces for the admiration of a Christian dog when no male Moor is by), and I am full of veneration for the wisdom that leads them to cover up such atrocious ugliness. (I, 75)

As Blunt notes, the unveiling of a woman is symbolic of a country acquiescing in colonisation and the influx of Western civilisation.¹⁷ This action, or the encouragement of it by Twain, must be seen in the established tradition of colonialist discourse.

References to the veil were typically constructed around the topos of the sensual Orient and therefore, by implication, loaded images redolent with sexuality and allurement. William Dean Howells had stated that “there is very little to say of *The Innocents Abroad* which is not of the most obvious and easy description.”¹⁸ Yet Twain’s unmasking of the Oriental woman (and, by default, the Orient itself) to find only disappointment sets up a paradigm shift loaded with undertones which were anything but obvious. No longer is the veil seen as masking anything desirable – no longer is the Old World itself desirable – and, in speaking of the inferiority of French women as opposed to American women, Twain concludes: “I feel, now, like a man who has redeemed a failing reputation” (I, 148). One might point out the necessity to distinguish between perceptions of Europe and the Near East, yet Twain’s destruction of such topos comes early on in the European (i.e. pre-Holy Land) stage of his journey and can therefore be contextualised as a theme applicable to the European region as much as any. Much of *Innocents* is constructed around this redemption of the homeland through despoiling foreign myths, and, by reversing the established topos of revered Old World sophistication, Twain effectively moves one step further toward asserting the positive pole of his native culture.

Synchronous with this idea comes a disengagement with associationism, “the notion that a writer could endow a landscape [and people] with aesthetic value by evoking images of past events connected with it.”¹⁹ Twain made this break clear by crafting *Innocents* as “an act of irreverence toward Europe and the past.”²⁰ Writers such as “Cooper, Hawthorne, and Emerson ... had seen and lamented the American tendency to stand in impotent awe of Europe, and they particularly resented the European affectation of superiority to Americans.”²¹ Responding to this, *Innocents* recounts

the entry to Horta thus:

A swarm of swarthy, noisy, lying, shoulder-shrugging, gesticulating Portuguese boatmen, with brass rings in their ears, and fraud in their hearts, climbed the ship's sides. (I, 35-6)

Any romantic idealism is at once discounted, Twain's sceptical tone making a complete break with the sentimentalism we might have presumed forthcoming. Clearly one of the great attractions of *Innocents* to contemporary readers was the book's complete upending of traditional idealisation.

The inferiority of Horta's defences relative to American naval power is focused on next. This projection of America as technologically superior and of Europe as industrially/technologically backward is a running theme. For example, in regard to France, Twain states that "we are not infatuated with these French railway-cars" (I, 98) and later it is presented as wondrous that many American streets are twice as wide as the Jordan (II, 342). Should Europe present cutting-edge industry, then Twain is complimentary but incredulous: "As for the railways – we have none like them. The cars slide as smoothly along as if they were on runners" (I, 262). That Europe could possess such transportation systems is deemed hardly credible but, unconvinced that such discoveries imply shared national qualities, Twain later re-establishes the perceived contrast:

The Popes have long been the patrons and preservers of art, just as our new, practical Republic is the encourager and upholder of mechanics. In their Vatican is stored up all that is curious and beautiful in art; in our Patent Office is hoarded all that is curious or useful in mechanics. (II, 8)

The reader is thus assured that while Europe monopolises history, America is the pioneer of progressive mechanisation. Here, being the beneficiary of industrialisation is seen as incompatible with boundless heritage. One cannot have both and, by deemphasising this possibility, Twain once more reassures his readership that America is modernising while anything vaguely similar or better in Europe is an abnormality. Much later, there also comes a telling description of Galilee:

If these unpeopled deserts, these rusty mounds of barrenness, that never, never do shake the glare from their harsh outlines, and fade and faint into vague perspective; that melancholy ruin of Capernaem; this stupid village of Tiberias, slumbering under its six funereal plumes of palms ... if these things are not food for rock me to sleep, mother, none exist, I think. (II, 239)

That the land is negatively described in terms of absence rather than presence, and the village as dormant and apathetic, touches upon the “capitalist vanguard”²² rhetoric of the type that sees no worth in landscape beyond industrial potential or the lack of it. At an extreme, this viewpoint highlights raw materials over appreciation of the aesthetic and although Twain never goes this far, his geographical comparisons betray overt colonialist language. Leslie A. Fiedler reminds us that Twain “had lived in a landscape so terrifyingly beautiful ... that beside it the scenery of the Old World was bound to seem pallid, domesticated, dwarfed.”²³ It is indeed likely that “what is said is most naturally said”²⁴ and that Twain recounted these details out of genuine bemusement, yet they occur frequently:

The Tiber, that celebrated river of ours [sic], which stretches its mighty course almost two hundred miles, and which a lad can scarcely throw a stone across at Rome, is not so long, nor yet so wide, as the American Mississippi – nor yet the Ohio, nor even the Hudson. (I, 280)

Innocents, meant less for the educated and well-travelled, was “bought and read and laughed over by ‘the belly and members,’ as [Twain] put it – Americans in small towns and farms all over the country.”²⁵ These people needed clear points of comparison (e.g. Samaria to Rhode Island: II, 283) and, as long as associationism, with all its implied romanticism, was cast aside, Twain was free to indulge in purely dimensional comparisons. This he does a great deal. At Como, considering the lake, he exclaims: “how dull its waters are compared with the wonderful transparence of Lake Tahoe” (I, 203). Then, speaking of the Arno: “It would be a very plausible river if they would pump some water into it” (I, 253). When he describes Magdala as “thoroughly Syrian ... thoroughly ugly, and cramped, squalid, uncomfortable, and filthy” (II, 233), the colonial dominance over the foreign is observed. America, by contrast, must be sanitary, new, Anglo-Saxon and spacious. Here, Twain is not only “applying the standard of Nevada to historical Europe,”²⁶ but establishing a clear-cut difference favouring American geography in every way. Upon entry into the Holy Land, relative thinking has entirely departed from Twain’s culture-shocked discourse: “Such roasting heat, such *oppressive* solitude, and such *dismal* desolation cannot surely exist elsewhere on earth” (II, 352, my emphases). As to why such extreme language should be employed at this point, one may speculate that a combination of factors came into play. The disparity between his expectations and the reality, the taxing climate and the duration of the journey itself must all have contributed.

Despite his apparent break with associationism, Twain resorted to lit-

erary pastiche by inserting passages which clearly *were* ascribing historically romantic images to landscapes. It has been noted that “the poses the narrator strikes ... vary so widely that no single one can be called typical of all the rest”²⁷ and that “*Innocents Abroad* has over nine thousand words borrowed from books, letters and notices of various sorts.”²⁸ Thus the passage concerning Venice is clearly reliant upon cultural familiarity:

Under the charitable moon her stained palaces are white again, their battered sculptures are hidden in the shadows, and the old city seems crowned once more with the grandeur that was hers five hundred years ago. It is easy, then, to fancy, to people these silent canals with plumed gallants and fair ladies. (I, 223)

The oft-quoted Sphinx passage (II, 382-3), as with the above, was later added and is strongly influenced by sentimentalist writing such as that of William C. Prime. Bret Harte noted that “when Mark Twain is not simulating indignation, he is *really* sentimental.”²⁹ This is clear when Twain describes Vesuvius as “a circular ditch” but then seems to switch register by noting how “the sun burst through the morning mists and ... topped Vesuvius like a jewelled crown!” (II, 30). Such anomalous insertions arise elsewhere and yet it is likely that these inconsistencies are not representative of the style originally intended. Indeed, since the American Publishing Company of Hartford required a book of two volumes, Twain had to fill out his correspondence with additional material³⁰ and “the changes he made in revision were dictated ... by his effort to become the kind of writer he thought [his wife Livy] wanted him to be.”³¹ Of necessity then, Twain “is committed to a series of exaggerated poses,”³² ranging from realism/colonial discourse for the purposes of readership to associationism/padding to please his future wife and publishers. There is also the possibility that, despite his humorist’s mandate to destabilise conventions, Twain may have had a genuinely ambivalent response to the scenes he encountered.

Whatever the intent, such disjointed stances create a “nervous, at times even frantic rhythm”³³ which Henry B. Wonham believes part of a “game of juxtaposition.”³⁴ Robinson, however, criticises Wonham, who

has nothing to say about the numerous, much more mingled, and often baffling passages – eruptions of anger, dismay, disenchantment, and horror – in which the traveller’s feelings are evidently less controlled and much less easily brought into alignment with critical schemes featuring self-conscious authorial design.³⁵

But literary intentionality is not incompatible with the mental instability suggested by Robinson. We have already seen how Twain employed and

lapsed into colonialist rhetoric for the purposes of aggrandising America and that this was especially welcome and/or necessary following April 1865, when U.S. citizens were ready to receive “an American point of view toward Europe as opposed to a Southern, Western or New England point of view.”³⁶ The instances of disequilibrium can be seen as both indicative of post Civil-War shock *and* as literary techniques in their own right. Robinson’s argument rests on the premise that mental disturbance leads to a total disability in authorial design. I propose that Twain may indeed have undergone serious psychic disturbance during and following the Civil War. While, later in the century, Stephen Crane was able to compose harrowing scenes in *The Red Badge Of Courage* without having taken any part himself, Twain was able to fully incorporate both his childhood experiences and morbid fixations as textual elements with which his readership would likely have identified. Indeed, the abruptness of the grim passages seems very much akin to a type of shellshock flashback, e.g. his visit to the Paris morgue:

On a slanting stone lay a drowned man, naked, swollen, purple; clasping the fragment of a broken bush with a grip which death had so petrified that human strength could not unloose it – mute witness of the last despairing effort to save the life that was doomed beyond all help. (I, 127)

Such imagery would have been familiar to the veteran section of the American population and Twain’s pondering hardly an uncommon experience in much of the rest. Later, speaking of a gondola, he writes, “it was more like a hearse than anything else” (I, 219) and, looking at a tear jug in Pisa, holds that “it spoke to us in a language of its own; and with a pathos more tender than any words might bring” (I, 259). Twain is clearly identifying with life-departure imagery and the bond between author and reader is a private one – as distanced from people in the locality as it is from us today.

A type of transcultural appropriation takes place at these moments. Scenes of pathos and morbidity, viewed through Twain, are perceived in terminology uniquely self-referential. Twain becomes, in the main, alone in his reactions and, by extension, so is the reader. Just as humour had erected a difference between the American and the European, so the scenes of despondency do likewise. A system of transference is erected whereby Europe presents to Twain various images which invite a sorrowful free association. He interprets these, sometimes personally – as in the memory of the corpse in his father’s office (I, 173-4) – but more often in generally dolorous language with which the contemporary reader, through

the immediacy of the Civil War, can equate and thus appropriate as a personally resounding image-emotion-memory. That Europe does not and cannot experience such thoughts is indicative of the erection of difference in Twain's discourse and, accordingly, the narrative employs an image-based acquisition. America no longer takes art or culture from Europe on European terms, but reinterprets the proffered experiences to accord with American history. This is best shown at Jerusalem when, in the midst of scepticism about the crucifixion's locality, Twain suddenly switches tone to one of acceptance based on the War of Independence: "there will be no vestige of Bunker Hill Monument left, but America will still know where the battle was fought" (II, 313). Only war can make the improbable seem wholly likely and, in this sense, becomes a currency which lends credence to anything.

In conjunction with this is the deprecation of Twain's sycophantic companions, "the pilgrims," for here too he chooses a portrayal with a fixed meaning for his readership. Much has been said on Twain's antipathy toward religion but such critiques have been more concerned with Twain vis-à-vis the established church than to religion in general.³⁷ The pilgrims – made distinct, by literalist religious belief, from the pilgrimage in which Twain himself was on – according to my reading, are literary devices in which the America/Europe divide is embodied. The act of despoliation, a key element to this, is focused on in many areas: "The incorrigible pilgrims have come in with their pockets full of specimens broken from the ruins" (II, 196). It is shortly after this that Twain appends: "The ruins here are not very interesting." From this we may gather that it is less the damage to the monuments than the act itself which annoys him. In other words, it is the deed, not the damage, which he abhors. Later, prior to detailing the ultimate sacrilege of defacing the Sphinx, Twain says:

There are some things which, for the credit of America, should be left unsaid, perhaps; but ... for the real benefit of Americans, ought to have prominent notice. (II, 384-5)

We are therefore to understand his comments as instructive. Undoubtedly there is, in Twain, a real sense of righteous outrage but, coincident with this, is the symbol of the pilgrims as part of latter-day America. This polarity is summarised as follows:

America	vs.	Old America
"Sinners"	vs.	Pilgrims
U.S. Patriotism	vs.	Veneration (of the Old World)
Observation	vs.	Participation

Put simply, the act of exporting things from Europe, of filling the void in one's own civilisation by taking specimens/cultural pointers from another, is too indicative of historical vacancy in America for Twain to feel comfortable. The pilgrims' expropriation of religion and Old World culture, itself epitomised in the specimens, causes the pilgrims to represent an outdated mode of veneration in place of patriotism. For Twain, art in Europe is not to be automatically hallowed but to be downplayed as ignoble, as Harriet Beecher Stowe had written before the war:

There are more pretty pictures, and popular lithographs, from France than from any other country in the world; but it produces very little of the deepest and highest style of art.³⁸

The absolute idolatry espoused by the pilgrims, along with their characteristic need to take Europe back to America, is shunned in *Innocents* as an obsolete style. The symbolism of pilgrims as the antithesis of national allegiance deepens when we note how they quote from books discarded by Twain: "The pilgrims will tell of Palestine ... not as it appeared to *them*, but as it appeared to Thompson" (II, 244).

The pilgrims, then, do not observe except to confirm and conform. They have, in short, come to personify the old formula of unquestioning veneration and, in Twain's world, such fawning is unbecoming to the revived nation. Viewed this way, the scene of their haggling for passage across a river and subsequent argument becomes an allegory for the Civil War itself: "how the pilgrims abused each other! Each said it was the other's fault, and each in turn denied it" (II, 227). Economics is a key motivation; they lose sight of their goal and lapse into internecine struggle. All of this is hypocritical: just as America had attempted to distance itself from European corruption so the pilgrims attack avarice. Each proves guilty of the selfsame faults and, as a consequence, innocence is lost. Twain's group represent the New World: distanced from Europe, objectifying it and critiquing it from the point of view of unlearned "innocents" as bold in their rejection of literary influences as they are in their espousal of patriotic prejudice. In this context, *Innocents* forms "a very lively portrait of the uncultivated American tourist"³⁹ who, by his rejection of antebellum humility, frees the readership from the conventions of the United States as cultural suppliant and allows for the transparent and unabashed partiality we have seen thus far.

Remarks in Summary

Mark Twain, as I have argued, had no single narrative purpose *per se*

but employed a broad spectrum of knowledge, reactions, prejudices and punch lines all contributory and complementary to their own separate vignettes. The humour, overall, is “at the expense both of the Old World and the New”⁴⁰ and yet is frequently less an end in itself than a method for shifting the interpretation of American culture markedly toward the favoured. Said notes that “culture is a sort of theatre where various political and ideological causes engage one another.”⁴¹ In this vein, we may state that no intercultural commentary is free of ulterior motive, and imperial therapy, founded upon a conscious interpretive readjustment of all things European and dispensing with literary conventionalism, celebrated an “innocent” perspective free of all constraints, even impartiality.

This revisionist position may be seen as both conscious and unconscious. Where Twain undermines the European/Old World cultural hegemony he is overtly nationalistic. Where the observations call up resonances from home this seems a different, more faltering kind of appropriation. Overall, both approaches resulted from and addressed the impact of the Civil War which “produced a vast impatience with rhetorics that bore no relation to experience.”⁴² *Innocents*, though humorous, cannot be categorically branded as such; in Twain’s “pleasure tour through modes of narration,”⁴³ a travelogue develops which employs the subtlest imperial impulses in conjunction with such comical declamations as: “We always took care to make it understood that we were Americans – Americans!” (II, 401). The comical elements both promote and mask the imperialist inclination at work and, where humour leaves off, symbolism, interpretative geography, sombre contemplation and the [America as] technology vs. [Europe as] history dialectic take over.

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NOTES

¹ Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad*, Vol. II (New York: Harper, 1929), p. 19. All in-text parenthetical references are to Twain’s *Innocents Abroad*.

² Anonymous, Review of *The Innocents Abroad*, *Nation* (New York), IX, September 2, 1869, p. 194.

³ Forrest G. Robinson, “Patterns of Consciousness in *The Innocents Abroad*,” *American Literature*, 58:1 (1986), *passim*.

⁴ Robert Edison Lee, *From West To East* (Illinois: U of Illinois P, 1966), *passim*.

⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, [1978] 1995), p. 32.

- ⁶ Robinson, "Patterns of Consciousness," p. 58.
- ⁷ Shirley Foster and Sara Mills, *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002), p. 19.
- ⁸ Justin Kaplan, *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), p. 57.
- ⁹ Kenneth S. Lynn, *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humour* (Massachusetts: Little, Brown & Company, 1959), p. 151.
- ¹⁰ Tom Folio, *Evening Transcript* (Boston), p. 1.
- ¹¹ Henry Nash Smith, *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* (Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1962), p. 31.
- ¹² James M. Cox, *Mark Twain: The Fate Of Humour* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1966), p. 38.
- ¹³ Robert A. Wiggins, *Mark Twain: Jackleg Novelist* (Washington: U of Washington P, 1964), p. 85.
- ¹⁴ Anonymous, Review of *The Innocents Abroad, Buffalo Express* (Buffalo), October 16, 1869, quoted in Louis J. Budd, *Critical Essays on Mark Twain, 1867-1910* (Massachusetts: G. K. Hall & Co., 1982), p. 20.
- ¹⁵ J. DeLancey Ferguson, *Mark Twain: Man and Legend* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), p. 137.
- ¹⁶ Muhammed Raji Zughoul, "The Emperor and the Sultan in Mark Twain: How Innocent were the 'Innocents'?" *Journal of American Studies of Turkey*, 11 (2000), Passim.
- ¹⁷ Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender & Imperialism* (New York: Guilford, 1994), p. 29.
- ¹⁸ William Dean Howells, "Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad*", *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), XXIV, December 1869, p. 764.
- ¹⁹ Smith, *Mark Twain*, p. 26.
- ²⁰ Smith, *Mark Twain*, p. 37.
- ²¹ Cox, *Mark Twain*, p. 38.
- ²² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 148.
- ²³ Leslie A. Fiedler, "An American Abroad," *Partisan Review*, (Winter, 1966), p. 47.
- ²⁴ Anonymous, Review of *The Innocents Abroad, Packard's Monthly: The Young Men's Magazine* (New York), II, October 1869, p. 318.
- ²⁵ William H. Gibson, *The Art Of Mark Twain* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1976), p. 34.
- ²⁶ Anonymous, Review of *The Innocents Abroad, The Athenaeum* (London), No. 2239, September 24, 1870, p. 395.
- ²⁷ Robert Regan, *Uncompromising Heroes: Mark Twain And His Characters* (California: U of California P, 1966), p. 50.
- ²⁸ Minnie M. Brashear, *Mark Twain: Son Of Missouri* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), p. 197.

- ²⁹ Bret Harte, *Overland Monthly* (San Francisco), IV, January 1870, p. 100.
- ³⁰ Philip S. Foner, *Mark Twain Social Critic* (New York: International Publishers, 1966), p. 24.
- ³¹ Smith, *Mark Twain*, p. 24.
- ³² Henry B. Wonham, *Mark Twain and the Art of the Tall Tale* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), p. 87.
- ³³ Robinson, "Patterns of Consciousness," p. 51.
- ³⁴ Wonham, *Mark Twain*, p. 88.
- ³⁵ Forrest G. Robinson, "'An Unconscious and Profitable Cerebration': Mark Twain and Literary Intentionality," *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 50:3 (1993), p. 373
- ³⁶ Cox, *Mark Twain*, p. 38.
- ³⁷ Foner, *Mark Twain*, p. 102.
- ³⁸ Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* (London: Sampson Low, 1854), p. 354.
- ³⁹ Anonymous, Review of *The Innocents Abroad*, *Saturday Review* (London), XXX, October 8, 1870, p. 468.
- ⁴⁰ Margaret Drabble, *English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), p. 502.
- ⁴¹ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993), p. xiv.
- ⁴² Lynn, *Mark Twain*, p. 152.
- ⁴³ Bruce Michaelson, "Mark Twain The Tourist: The Form of *Innocents Abroad*," *American Literature*, 49:3 (1977), p. 395.