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『赤毛布外遊記』：マーク・トウェインのヤヌスの
文明批評

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Mark Twain as a Janus-faced Critic of the Old and New Worlds in *The Innocents Abroad*

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I

During his long journalistic and literary career, Mark Twain traveled frequently and extensively both at home and abroad.¹ As early as in 1861, Mark Twain, then twenty-six years old, traveled overland to the West, where for about five years until 1866, he was in and around Nevada mining camps and the San Francisco area, working mainly as a newspaper reporter or correspondent. In subsequent years, he went abroad on a number of occasions as a traveler-journalist or lecturer. His first foreign travel in 1866 was to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), which was followed by the famous *Quaker City* excursion to Europe and the Holy Land from June 8 through November 19, 1867. Later in 1873, 1878-79, and 1891, Mark Twain revisited Europe and stayed there for many years, and in 1895-96, he made a successful lecture trip around the world, encompassing Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, and England (Ferguson 265-68).

The fruits of these travels appeared in such books as *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), *Roughing It* (1872), *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), and *Following the Equator* (1897). The critic Donald Richie suggests that Mark Twain's early travel books are characteristically an "odd mixture of journalism, humorous sketch-work, satire, implied social criticism and romantic fiction" (77). They are successful books, because they demonstrate Mark Twain's early genius as a writer of humorous stories and droll anecdotes. More importantly, Mark Twain in these books is an emergent realist sincerely and

honestly writing about things as they are. *The Innocents Abroad* may well be the most important of all his travel books, for it explicitly tells us his reactions against and attitudes toward the Old World including Europe, the Mediterranean area, and especially the Holy Land. Daniel M. McKeithan states that the book has been “the most popular book of foreign travel ever written by any American” (xi).

The announcement in February 1867 that the steamship *Quaker City* would leave New York for Europe and the Holy Land with a large group of passengers aboard was an almost irresistible temptation to the then young traveler-journalist Mark Twain, who had recently completed his successful and memorable material-gathering and lecturing trip to the Sandwich Islands. Promptly, he wrote to the San Francisco *Alta California*, asking them to give him a commission as their traveling correspondent. The *Alta* gave him the commission, agreed to accept his travel letters, and paid the \$ 1, 250 fare on the *Quaker City* voyage, thus enabling him to join the cruise (McKeithan viii).

Although many of the celebrities, such as the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, who were originally listed as passengers later canceled,² Mark Twain's participation alone, as it turned out, was sufficient to make the cruise famous among his contemporaries and memorable for later generations. Mark Twain, then thirty-one years old, was certainly unaccomplished as a writer. However, his personal views of life and sense of values should have been formed by that time, for he had undergone various hardships and experiences as a soldier, river pilot, miner, and news reporter. Mark Twain wrote a total of fifty-eight letters about the excursion, which became the basis for *The Innocents Abroad*: fifty for his sponsor *Alta California*, six for the *New York Tribune*, one for the *Naples Observer*, and one for the *New York Herald*. The last one was written upon his return from the excursion (McKeithan vii - ix).

The purpose of this record of a "pleasure trip" or "pic-nic," according to the author's preface, is "to suggest to the reader how *he* would be likely to see Europe and the East if he looked at them with his own eyes instead of the eyes of those who travelled in those countries before him" (3). Among "those who travelled in those countries before him" were presumably such American authors as Irving, Longfellow, and Hawthorne who wrote idealized accounts of Europe that helped create among people of their times favorable myths concerning the Old World (Pauly 284). Mark Twain's account of his travel in Europe and the Holy Land was unique and original in that, to say the least, it was the result of a realist's observation and description. Norman Foerster, pointing out that Mark Twain clearly demonstrates his realism in his early travel sketches, writes :

If one dates American romanticism from 1819, with the publication of Irving's *Sketch Book* recounting the worshipful musings of an American dreamer in the Old World, one may date realism from 1869, with Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*, recounting the irreverent observations of a fact-finding American in the Old World. (110)

As Dixon Wecter writes, *The Innocents Abroad* in the main helped to "belittle our [the Americans'] romantic allegiance to Europe, feeding our emergent nationalism" (921). The publication of this book in 1869, therefore, can be regarded as an American declaration of cultural independence. The book became the best seller of the year in 1869 (Mott 309). The conscious effort that Mark Twain made through his trip was admirable, for he was always among those who "always took care to make it understood that we were Americans—Americans !" (*The Innocents Abroad* 515 ; ch. 61). He was "every inch an American" (Blankenship 465). The European antiquity and the wretched poverty Mark Twain saw in the Holy Land are

exposed with his unsparing satire as an American realist.

Equally important as Mark Twain's sharp satirical commentary on the things he saw in the Old World is his ridicule at those fellow American travelers who behaved in a strange manner. Mark Twain calls them the "pilgrims" (31 ; ch. 4). Since they were much influenced by popular guide books, they were inclined to look at foreign scenes in ways they were expected to view such scenes. He sneers at the "pilgrims" whose hypocrisy he cannot tolerate. The main point of Mark Twain's satire is directed at the almost inhuman formality and hypocritical behavior of these "pilgrims." His critical comments on the American ways and civilization are also noteworthy. Mark Twain weaves his criticism of Americans, their ways, and civilization into his running commentary on the foreign scenes (Bellamy 167). In short, Mark Twain is a Janus-faced critic who can look at both the Old and New Worlds at the same time. The purpose of this study, then, is to see how effective Mark Twain is as a critic of the American ways and civilization as well as the behaviors of American travelers, and how successful he is in pointing out the superiority of the New World, particularly America, as seen in contrast with the Old World.

II

As is clear from the book's subtitle *New Pilgrims' Progress*, there was among the sixty-seven passengers of the 1, 800-ton *Quaker City* (Paine 325-26) a group of those who thought that a visit to the Holy Land was a blessing. There was, however, another group of passengers who did not particularly care for the religious significance of the excursion. Mark Twain belonged to the latter group together with his mischievous companions who become, as it were, the main characters of the book. The latter group frankly admit their irreverence and simplemindedness, calling themselves the "unregenerated"

(32; ch. 4) or the "sinners" (392, ch. 47; 407, ch. 48) to distinguish themselves from the members of the former group whom Mark Twain named the "pilgrims" (31; ch. 4). It is the "pilgrims" that become Mark Twain's laughstock and the target of his humorous satire.

After the *Quaker City* sets sail from New York, the "pilgrims" have daily prayer meetings and song rehearsals in the saloon of the ship, which is ironically called the "Synagogue" by the "unregenerated" (32; ch. 4). The executive officer of the ship declares that these "pilgrims" are quite selfish and have no charity for others: they can pray with "cold blood" for a fair wind that might invariably mean a headwind to the thousands of ships coming from the other direction (37; ch. 4).

The tendency to emotional pretense which the "pilgrims" have is one of the main targets of Mark Twain's satire. Twain exposes the fact that all the "pilgrims" have read the travel books of an idealized Europe, and that they are reacting according to the prepared verdicts on the falsely romanticized histories and facts of Europe and the East. Mark Twain describes the situation which he observed in Constantinople (Istanbul):

The people who go into ecstasies over St. Sophia must surely get them out of the guide-book (where every church is spoken of as being "considered by good judges to be the most marvelous structure, in many respects, that the world has ever seen.") Or else they are those old connoisseurs from the wilds of New Jersey who laboriously learn the difference between a fresco and a fire-plug and from that day forward feel privileged to void their critical bathos on painting, sculpture, and architecture forever more. (287; ch. 33)

Mark Twain satirizes the travelers who pretend to be completely overwhelmed by Da Vinci's "Last Supper," which to him is too old and now

"battered and scarred in every direction, and stained and discolored by time" (150; ch. 19). Hearing all sorts of praises from the "pilgrims," Mark Twain wonders how they can see what is not visible (151; ch. 19). He sees only what he can see with his own eyes and despises preconceptions and prepared verdicts, all of which the "pilgrims" evidently have in common.

At the Sea of Galilee, the group has the sacred privilege of riding a boat on the sea. To look upon this New Testament scene and to sail upon the sea, they have journeyed thousands of miles, in weariness and tribulation. And yet, what they do is haggle over the price of the boat ride, saying that the price charged is just "too much" for them (393; ch. 47). Mark Twain shows us how people's religious beliefs and motives are subsided and how their stinginess shows itself when confronted by a fear of material loss. This is one example of Mark Twain's satire on the "pilgrims" whose shallowness and hypocritical pretense he observes with much disgust. In part he writes: "We [the "sinners"] took an unworthy satisfaction in seeing them [the "pilgrims"] fall out, now and then, because it showed that they were only poor human people like us, after all" (395; ch. 47). He moans when later he sees these "poor human people" turn into merciless "image-breakers" (390; ch. 47), "relic-hunters" (489; ch. 57), "memento-seekers" (500; ch. 58), and "tomb-desecraters" (390; ch. 47). To his great surprise, many of the "pilgrims" carry hammers about with them, and they try to break a fragment or two off the tombs, monuments, temples, and walls wherever they go. As an American, Mark Twain feels ashamed and morally responsible for the follies and foibles of these "pilgrim" members even while he is ridiculing them. Mark Twain's basic stance underlying his satire is evidently shown in the following comment:

There are some things which, for the credit of America, should be left unsaid, perhaps; but these very things happen sometimes to be

the very things which, for the real benefit of Americans, ought to have prominent notice. While we stood looking, a wart, or an excrescence of some kind, appeared on the jaw of the Sphynx. We heard the familiar clink of a hammer, and understood the case at once. One of our well-meaning reptiles—I mean relic-hunters—had crawled up there and was trying to break a “specimen” from the face of this the most majestic creation the hand of man has wrought. (503; ch. 58).

In this way Mark Twain calls the readers’ attention to the shameful behavior of the traveling Americans who in effect seem guided by the old Japanese saying, “There’s no need to worry about manners while traveling,” and at the same time, admonishes them to watch their behavior while traveling abroad.

American ways and civilization are also criticized in this book. Although Mark Twain does not like the old shabby streets of Italy, he envies the Europeans the comfort they take. He states that the main charm of life in Europe lies in comfort. He observes that the Americans hurry too much and that they carry their business-cares to bed with them, thinking about losses and gains. They “burn up their energies with these excitements,” and, as a result, either “die early” or “drop into a lean and mean old age” (146-47; ch. 19). Mark Twain believes that the Americans ought to learn to have more comfort in their life.

The visit to the Roman Coliseum reminds him of the history of a tyrant who fed convicts to the beasts for pleasure. In ancient Rome, they “combined religious duty with pleasure.” Mark Twain compares these to convicts in America: “We farm them out and compel them to earn money for the State by making barrels and building roads,” thus combining business with retribution (218; ch. 26). The American way of treating the convicts does not seem

right to Mark Twain, either. His negative view of American civilization is further expressed at Pompeii, Italy. He is amazed at seeing the ruins of the once highly developed civilization of the excavated city of Pompeii. He wonders what a volcano would leave of an American city, if it once rained its cinders on it. He answers his own question: "Hardly a sign or a symbol to tell its story" (264; ch. 31). Mark Twain believed that America still had no cultural development comparable to the ancient civilization of Pompeii. Under his satire and irony lurks his admiration for old civilization and an inferiority complex that he unconsciously bears as a citizen of a young nation.

Mark Twain is conscious of the basic inferiority of his country, but at the same time he can brag about the American superiority he recognizes in some areas. This point is important in understanding his reactions at seeing the historic monuments and the Old Masters' paintings. As he admits, America was then still young and did not possess such old values as can only be accumulated by generations of efforts. What he does not understand he sometimes only jeers at. However, Mark Twain points out to the people of America the superiority of their material wealth and youthfulness of their vast country. He measures everything that comes into his ken, at home or abroad, by his personal standards. This pattern of Mark Twain's many reactions to the Old World, particularly to the Holy Land, is vividly seen in his satire and criticism.

III

Brander Matthews points out that Mark Twain never lacks reverence for the things that really deserve it (xviii). He honestly exhibits his admiration for architectural beauty and historical sites that he visits. He appreciates their values and is ready to acknowledge their worth (McCloskey 140). Mark Twain's America was still a frontier in a far corner of the world.

Although the country was undergoing rapid expansion and extensive development, its culture had not attained the higher stages of those of the older nations. In Mark Twain's day there were many foreigners who knew America only as "a barbarous province away off somewhere, that had lately been at war with somebody" (516; ch. 61). When Mark Twain named this book *The Innocents Abroad*, admitting that the American passengers were ignorant and innocent, he no doubt expected to learn something from his overseas experiences. He did learn a great deal.

The beauty of the palace at Versailles moves Mark Twain to the point of aesthetic exaltation. He honestly acknowledges its excellence, while bitterly satirizing its deficiencies. The "sumptuous" Versailles, with its palace, statues, gardens, and fountains, is enchanting and striking to his eyes. He writes: "I know now that the pictures never came up to the subject in any respect, and that no painter could represent Versailles on canvas as beautiful as it is in reality" (123; ch. 16). He is overwhelmed when he sees the Grand Canal of Venice at night reflecting magnificent pictures of people and places (182; ch. 23). And the moonlit Parthenon of Greece is the most striking sight that he has ever seen. He utters a series of praises for the scene: "Overhead the stately columns, majestic still in their ruin—under foot the dreaming city—in the distance the silver sea—not on the broad earth is there another picture half as beautiful!" (275; ch. 32). Again, commenting on a parting view of the same scene, he writes: "As it looked then, solemn, grand, and beautiful, it will always remain in our memories" (276; ch. 32). Mark Twain is quite sensitive to the beauty of nature, of which he comments favorably everywhere he visits. He often expresses his excitement at seeing what he believes to be the objects of real beauty. However, his attitude as a staunch American is relentless and consistent. Mark Twain does not forget to think and act as an American and keeps his American-consciousness intact, so that he more often satirizes the antiquated civilization of the Old World than he

praises its beauty.

Another main attitude of the book is that Mark Twain regards the European civilization and its now-extinguished prosperity as valueless compared with the newly-born America and its material prosperity. Mark Twain's satire on Europe and the Old World in general points out the superiority of the new America and represents his disappointment at seeing the ragged civilization of the Old World. Albert Bigelow Paine describes the characteristics of Mark Twain's original letters that went into the book as follows:

Vivid, fearless, full of fresh color, humor, poetry, they [Mark Twain's original letters from Europe and the Holy Land] came as a revelation to a public weary of the driveling tiresome travel-letters of that period. They preached a new gospel in travel-literature: the gospel of seeing with an overflowing honesty; a gospel of sincerity in according praises to whatever seemed genuine, and ridicule to the things considered sham. It was the gospel that Mark Twain would continue to preach during his whole career. It became his chief literary message to the world—a world waiting for that message. (341-42)

There seems to be in Mark Twain a demon whose temper did not endure affectations and falsifications, and also, there seems to be in him the spirit of the child evoked in Andersen's famous fairy tale "The Emperor's New Clothes," whose ingenuous honesty made him shout out that the Emperor in the parade was naked (Hamamura 102-03). Mark Twain confirms his honesty and integrity when he repeatedly says that he refuses to tell about what he has not actually seen (504-05; ch. 58).

Sincerity and honesty are two of the chief merits of Mark Twain in the book. The book appealed to his contemporary readers, who rejoiced when

Mark Twain pronounced that Lake Tahoe was much prettier than Lake Como and that the Old Masters were all overrated (158-60, ch. 20; Richie 78). While he was in Tangier, the "second oldest town in the world," Mark Twain observed the political and economic corruptions of a land which no longer evinced the prosperity of ancient time. He describes the Moors of the city as follows: "They carry their children at their backs, in a sack, like other savages the world over. . . . The Moors, like other savages, learn by what they see; not what they hear or read." He stresses that the once-civilized city is now a land of savage people. He ends with a jeering comment: "I would seriously recommend to the Government of the United States that when a man commits a crime so heinous that the law provides no adequate punishment for it, they make him Consul-General to Tangier" (69-71; ch. 9). There is a condemnation of the country which has an ancient civilization but lacks economic security and moral integrity. As early as in 1866, traveling in the Sandwich Islands, Mark Twain arrived at a formula with which he would measure civilization throughout his life. His standard was the "economic and moral state of masses" (Bellamy 164), a value which he always kept with him throughout his life. This standard is apparent in many of his criticism on civilization.

In "magnificent" Paris, Mark Twain goes through a series of disillusioning experiences. His "cherished ambition" since boyhood to be shaved someday in a "palatial Parisian barber-shops" has to be abandoned, because the barbershop he went in was not only quite shabby, but "skinned" rather than shaved his face (91-93; ch. 12). The guide that Mark Twain's company hired in Milan was a gross personality who spoke peculiar "guide-English" (144; ch. 19), and all the European guides he met during his excursion spoke English well enough to "tangle every thing up so that a man can make neither head or tail of it" (229; ch. 27). These humorous incidents generally coincide with Mark Twain's profound disillusionments. With keen satire and effective

language Mark Twain tells us that one can meet with disappointment if he expects too much in Europe.

IV

Mark Twain constantly used the objects he had seen in America, especially in the frontier of the American West, as gauges or criteria for measuring the sizes and values of what he saw in the Old World. Chief among them are the Capitol, the Mississippi, and Lake Tahoe. Mark Twain and his people had been thinking of Palestine only in terms of its long history, and they had imagined that it was a country as large as the United States (385; ch. 46). Mark Twain illustrates how small it actually is: "Palestine is only from forty to sixty miles wide. The State of Missouri could be split into three Palestines, and there would be enough material left for part of another—possibly a whole one" (379; ch. 46). This son of America, Mark Twain, who had seen the vast stretches of the American Continent, is here obliged to halt and ponder. He is just as much perplexed as Swift's Gulliver in Lilliput (Hamamura 101). "The celebrated Sea of Galilee is," writes Mark Twain, "not so large a sea as Lake Tahoe by a good deal—it is just about two thirds as large" (402; ch. 48). Previously, he compared Lake Tahoe with Lake Como in Italy, and concluded that the former was much better than the latter in its scale and beauty (158-60; ch. 20). Mark Twain's frequent reference to this particular lake was only natural and is explainable in terms of his former experiences—he had seen it and been struck by its beauty (402; ch. 48).

Jerusalem is surprisingly small, Mark Twain feels. He writes: "A fast walker could go outside the walls of Jerusalem and walk entirely around the city in an hour. I do not know how else to make one understand how small it is" (445; ch. 53). There is more evidence which shows Mark Twain's perplexity in the unexpectedly small Holy Land. He had a boyhood impression

that the river Jordan was “four thousand miles long and thirty-five miles wide,” but in reality, he says, it is “not any wider than Broadway in New York” (476; ch. 55). Mark Twain knew that the technique of comparing things he saw abroad with similar American scenes with which he was familiar would appeal to his American readers. Jerusalem itself is now a “pauper village” and the ancient grandeur has gone: the riches of Solomon are no longer there to compel the admiration of visitors. Palestine is “desolate and unlovely” (486; ch. 56). Mark Twain’s disappointment is certainly not small. The main idea of the book is explicitly expressed in the following statement of his:

Travel and experience mar the grandest pictures and rob us of the most cherished traditions of our boyhood. Well, let them go. I have already seen the Empire of King Solomon diminish to the size of the State of Pennsylvania; I suppose I can bear the reduction of the seas and the river. (477; ch. 55)

Mark Twain’s strong impulse to express his own feelings about the things he sees often leads him to the verge of being irreverent. His even sharper satire is seen in his descriptions of his visits to churches and cathedrals in Europe. In Italy, he finds a piece of the Cross, some of the nails that held it together, and the crown of thorns in virtually every church he visits. He says in effect that all gathered, there would be a keg of these nails and pieces of the Cross for more than one Cross (131; ch. 17). He has to point out the improbability of these ostensible facts, although he does not go so far as to deny the deep faith of the believers and the solemnity of the churches that display such relics.

Italy’s talked-about prosperity, Mark Twain complains, is not equally shared by the “masses.” He is amazed at the sharp contrast between the sur-

prising grandeur of the churches and the helpless poverty of the people. He believes that it is an unnatural and unhealthy state of civilization. Because his formula with which he measures civilization is, as mentioned above, based on the "economic and moral state of masses," he could not approve of a country where the extreme wealth of churches exists aloof from its overflowing poverty-stricken people. He observes:

All the churches in an ordinary American city put together could hardly buy the jeweled frippery in one of her hundred cathedrals. And for every beggar in America, Italy can show a hundred—and rags and vermin to match. It is the wretchedest, princeliest land on earth. (202-03; ch. 25)

Although he no longer believes in the grandeur of the Holy Land after seeing it with his own eyes, Mark Twain is compelled to say that he believes the miracles and biblical histories that occurred in the area, thus barely keeping himself from expressing serious irreverence. Mark Twain's irreverence is not an attack on religion itself—he only tells us about the true appearance of things as he sees them. He is not trying to negate the authenticity of the Bible at all; he always remains sincere and honest; and his descriptions are very "authentic," as Mrs. Fairbanks, one of the passengers and herself a correspondent for her husband's newspaper, once commented on his original letters (Wecter 922; *Mark Twain's Letters* 189).

A fact that really amazes Mark Twain is the incredibly long history of the lands he visits, especially of the Holy Land. To Americans who took the two hundred years after the Declaration of Independence as immensely long, the antiquity and long-cherished history of thousands of years that the countries along the shores of the Mediterranean have is quite unimaginable. In Tangier, he saw a crumbling wall which was old "when Columbus discov-

ered America" and "when Christ and his disciples walked the earth" (63; ch. 8). The oldest city in the world, Damascus, dates back to the day of Abraham (361; ch. 44). After his visits to Rome, Greece, Palestine, and Egypt, Mark Twain is awe-struck. He duly praises the long-lasting cities with a deep bow. Yet, Mark Twain continues to have a far deeper faith in modern prosperity than in past grandeur, and he prefers the vitality of his new country to the traditional mannerism of the Old World. It is evident that the journey through Syria and Palestine left him quite disillusioned and cynical. When he witnesses the fact that the ancient lands of past grandeur are now replaced by rough ruins with beggars, lepers, and cripples, he becomes depressed and then keenly aware of the happiness of being an American.

V

One of Mark Twain's benefits resulting from *The Innocents Abroad* is that he made his fellow Americans realize that their fine civilization, though incomplete, abounds with material wealth. The land's prospect was promising and the American's patriotism was justified. It is speculated that the book contributed a great deal to the reuniting of all American people, Yankees and Southerners, by giving them a common point of view and a pride that they could share.

Although, as Donald Richie points out, the "proud philistinism of this book makes it rather painful to modern American readers who no longer feel so inferior to Europe that they must deliberately pretend an ignorance of culture" (78), Mark Twain's manner of presentation is equally acceptable to the people of the present time without much embarrassment. Many of his remarks on the Old World can still be taken as a gospel, and his satire directed against the "pilgrims" can still be painful to many like them. Basically what Mark Twain ridiculed was not the historic past but the sentimental pilgrimage

of persons whom he regarded as the shame of America. On the whole, Mark Twain was a satirist of the more enduring types of folly, American as well as European (McCloskey 151).

Mark Twain was an honest and sincere observer of life and a hater of sham and pretense, as can be seen in *The Innocents Abroad*. He scorned “those things in human scheme which did violence to his concepts of right, justice, decorum, decency, reality, and honesty” (McCloskey 151). It is important to note that these tendencies of Mark Twain brought him closer to truth than the stony-eyed reverence of the more conventional pilgrims in the group did. *The Innocents Abroad* thus represents a true revelation of Twain’s attitude toward the Old World and his conception of human nature. The book is both an exposé of human pretense and an authentic picture of the lands he visited. It is neither the scorn of the Old World nor the disclosure of human follies alone. It is an account of the author who recorded what he saw without any pretense or prejudice.

It can be said, in retrospect, that many of Mark Twain’s comments and expressions were prophetic in foretelling the future state of America. Mark Twain takes a Janus look at both shores of the Atlantic and presents to us the true pictures of whatever he saw in the old civilizations of Europe and the Holy Land and in the young civilization of America. One could imagine Mark Twain standing upright on the deck of the *Quaker City* in the center of the Atlantic Ocean looking forwards at Europe and the Holy Land and backwards at his own country. This duality attests to his capability for objective analysis and self-criticism, and to his potential as a first-rate critic and writer of realism.

Notes

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¹ The chronological and biographical facts on Mark Twain have been drawn mostly from Guy Cardwell, chronology, *The Innocents Abroad/Roughing It*, by Mark Twain (New York: The Library of America, 1984) 987-94.

² Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad, or The New Pilgrims' Progress*, rpt. in *The Innocents Abroad/Roughing It*, ed. Guy Cardwell (New York : The Library of America, 1984) 22. All citations in this paper are from this edition.

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論文要旨

『赤毛布外遊記』：マーク・トウェインのヤヌスの文明批評

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1869年に出版された *The Innocents Abroad* (『赤毛布外遊記』) は、作者マーク・トウェインが1867年6月から11月までの約5か月間、蒸気船クウェーカーシティ号によるヨーロッパと聖地巡礼の旅にサンフランシスコのアルタ・カリフォルニア紙の特派員として同行し、旅先から書き送った58通の手紙を基に書き上げた旅行記である。マーク・トウェインは、本作品の他にも、*Roughing It* (1872)、*A Tramp Abroad* (1880)、*Following the Equator* (1897) 等の旅行記を書いているが、ベストセラーとなったのはこの *Innocents Abroad* のみで、本作品が彼の旅行記の中でも最も高い評価を得ており、「アメリカ人が書いた海外旅行記の中で最も人気のある本」と評されている。本作品の重要な特徴は、作者自身も序文で公言しているように、ヨーロッパと東洋を先人の目、つまり当時広く読まれていたガイドブックを通じて、ではなく「自分の目」で見るという作者のリアリストとしての自覚と視点にある。このことは、ノーマン・フォスターが、1869年を、本作品が出版された年という理由から、アメリカン・リアリズムの出発点としていることでも裏書きされている。マーク・トウェインは、訪問する各地での見聞記の中に、ヨーロッパを中心とした旧世界のみならず新世界アメリカの人間と社会、文明全般についての正鵠を射る批判を行っている。アメリカについては、まず同行者の中の「巡礼者」と呼ばれる人々の、訪問先での先入観に影響された誤った価値判断や宗教的偽善を風刺する一方で、アメリカ人一般の物欲に根差したゆとりのない生活ぶりを批判している。旧世界については、彼の文明評価の尺度である「庶民の経済的、道徳的水準」を当てはめて、イタリアにおける貧困にあえぐ庶民と栄華をきわめる教会との間の断層、聖地パレスチナでの庶民の貧困などの厳しい現実と直面して味わう幻滅の悲哀が語られている。マーク・トウェインは、アメリ

カ人としての誇りを前面に押し出し、旧世界の風物に対するアメリカの風物の優位、例えばイタリアのコモ湖やパレスチナのガリラヤ湖よりもカリフォルニア、ネヴァダ両州にまたがるターホー湖の方がはるかに美しいし、ヨルダン川よりもニューヨーク市のブロードウェイ通りの方が大きいことなどを自慢する。しかし、彼の手法は、基本的にはリアリストの手法であり、新旧両世界に向けた彼の風刺や批判には客観性がある。本作品でもマーク・トウェインは、過去の文明と将来の文明の間に立って双方を鋭い眼差しで見透す、いわば双面神ヤヌスのような批評家であり、本作品は、彼自身のみならずアメリカン・リアリズムの発展の前ぶれ又は先駆けとして重要な意義と内容をもつものであると言えよう。