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DEDICATION

To my grandmother Ana Lukic

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1. Introduction

The nineteenth century was the century of national thought, of the Grand Tour and with it, of travelling and travel writing. In 1897 Mark Twain came with his family to Austria and produced several works about Austrian national identity during his Austria sojourn. My thesis will attempt to investigate in which ways Mark Twain portrayed Austria through the representative work from his Austria episode, *Mysterious Stranger*.[1] I will focus on Twain's role in presenting Austria and its culture primarily to Americans, and to the rest of the world. Some of the questions I want to go into are: What kind of Austria does Twain present, and does 'his Austria' conform to the clichés of a country of music and culture or is 'his Austria' rather a country condemned to remain in the Middle Ages, as he states in the opening passage of *MS*.

Throughout my thesis I shall apply a cultural studies approach in order to come to conclusions about the ways in which cultural meaning and cultural identity are produced. In this respect I will investigate latent processes which take place when a national identity is constructed in a literary work. The leading focus throughout my work shall be the investigation of Twain's role in defining American national identity and the presence of the binary opposition of Old World versus New World in *MS*, as well as in the social discourse of the nineteenth century. The issue of American national identity was of crucial importance in the nineteenth century, because it was under construction. Therefore, it was necessary to present other national identities so that the American can define itself in contrast to the 'other' culture.

The construction of the national images incorporates aspects of national stereotyping and national characterization. Being aware of the differences in approach to national stereotypes of Leerssen, and of imagologists, I will base my analysis on Leerssen's essay "The Rhetoric of National Character" (2000). I will undertake an analysis of the discourse of national stereotyping and national characterization in *MS*. The goal

[1] From now on I will use short for *MS* to refer to *Mysterious Stranger*.

of the analysis will be to uncover deep-seated patterns in the mechanism of stereotyping and construction of images such as the “us-them” dynamics and binary opposition. I shall be scrutinizing which of these latent processes Twain used in *MS*, and for what purpose he used them.

My analysis will further follow Leerssen’s suggestion and “move from textual analysis and intertextual inventory to a pragmatic/rhetorical study of national characterization and national stereotyping” (Leerssen, 2000, 268) with a special emphasis on a text’s audience function. Moreover, I will analyse *MS* from the perspective of Leerssen’s claim that national stereotypes have an ironic potential. I will therefore try to gain insights as to how irony functions when applied to national stereotypes.

Before scrutinizing Twain’s work, I want to provide a short overview on Twain as a literary artist, his sojourn in Vienna, as well as present the socio-cultural background of the nineteenth century in which *MS* is embedded, and which is thus crucial to the understanding of the work.

2. Mark Twain

Who was Mark Twain? He was an American born in Florida on November 30th, 1835. Carl R. Dolmetsch, Carmen G. Bellamy, Albert B. Paine and several other writers draw a parallel between his birth and the appearance of the Halley's Comet[2] in the sky. They ascribe importance to this happy coincidence and see in it something like a sign from heaven that indicates the birth of a great personality. Twain himself predicted and wished to go out with the comet:

> I came in with Halley's Comet in 1835. It is coming again next year, and I expect to go out with it. It will be the greatest disappointment of my life if I don't go out with Halley's Comet. The Almighty has said, no doubt: 'Now here are these two unaccountable freaks; they came in together, they must go out together (Paine, 1912, 1511).

His wish was fulfilled - he died in 1910 one day after the comet's closest approach to Earth. In this respect, A.B. Paine stressed that Twain was a being from another planet "a visitant from some remote star" (Bellamy, 1950, 3). Not only did he come from some star but he was and remained a star himself up until this day. Bellamy asserts that Twain is still very much present in the American public mind and that he is almost every day somewhere being referred to: "[…] few are the days when one does not somewhere see his name in the print" (Bellamy, 1950, 3). When talking about Mark Twain one simply has to use superlatives. Carmen G. Bellamy stresses that Twain remains "to this day America's most picturesque literary figure", Dolmetsch calls him "America's greatest humorist" (Dolmetsch, 1992, vii) and on the official Mark Twain website we read that he is "America's most famous literary icon".[3] Interestingly enough, Bellamy sees Twain as the embodiment of "the American dream": starting from commonplace and reaching the peak of long-lasting fame. She argues that this might be one of the reasons for his popularity in America (Bellamy, 1950, 3). Twain is also Americas "most written about author" (Dolmetsch, 1992, vi). Dolmetsch opens his book on Twain, entitled *Our Famous Guest,* with the following question: "Another Mark Twain book?"(Dolmetsch, 1992, vii) and explains:

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[2] For a detailed account of Halley's comet see http://www.solarviews.com/eng/halley.htm
[3] http://www.cmgww.com/historic/twain/about/bio.htm

> After scores of dissertations, hundreds of books, thousands of articles, not only in English but in every other major and many a minor tongue, is there anything left to be written about America's most written about author? (Dolmetsch, 1992, vii)

Very much indeed has been said on Mark Twain but there is still much to say. There is no way of exhausting the potential of any author let alone someone like Twain. It is preposterous to pose such a question in the fist place. Even more so, to announce, as Doris Grumbach has, that "it was time to close down the Mark Twain industry" (Dolmetsch, 1992, vii). Speaking from a purely economic perspective, it is evident that the Mark Twain industry is still a profitable enterprise which should not be closed. Apart from this economic aspect there are always new angles from which Twain and/or his writing can be approached. Grumbach's suggestion is thus rather myopic.

2.1 Biography of Mark Twain

Mark Twain grew up near the town of Hannibal which was at the time a growing port city along the banks of the Mississippi.[4] Both locations, Hannibal and the Mississippi, were later to become places of action in Twain's writings. At the age of thirteen he started working as a printer's assistant and later joined his brother as a printer and editor. This turned out to be a perfect starting point for the development of an incredible carrier. Bruce Michelson dedicated a book to Mark Twain as a printer's devil. He "makes the connections between Mark Twain and publishing, identity, authorship, the function of books and the role of literature […]" (Lynn, 2007, 1).[5] Moreover, Michelson sees in Twain "America's first true media icon, with a dream of power in every phase of the publishing industry" (Lynn, 2007, 1).[6] This is definitely an interesting thing to bear in mind especially, as Michelson emphasises, for our moment in time, that is, the age of media industry. At the age of seventeen Twain left for his first extended trip.

> Over the next fifty-seven years he crisscrossed the globe […]. He visited five continents, steamed across the Atlantic twenty-nine times, and crossed the Pacific and Indian oceans as part of one complete round-the-world circuit (Salamo, 1998, 1).[7]

[4] http://www.cmgww.com/historic/twain/about/bio.htm
[5] http://www.news.uiuc.edu/news/07/0315twain.html
[6] http://www.news.uiuc.edu/news/07/0315twain.html
[7] http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/Exhibits/MTP/foreword.html

In 1858, Twain became “a licensed river pilot”[8] and the nom de plume “Mark Twain”, he later adopted, comes precisely from the field of navigation. It is a river term which means that is safe to navigate.[9] Twain later also worked as a newspaper reporter and won fame with his story “The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calavaras County” in 1865. Four years later, 1869, his first book *The Innocents Abroad* was published. Twain had further great success with *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* in 1876, and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in 1885. He married Olivia Langdon in 1870 and they had four children.[10] One child died in infancy and after his eldest daughter Susy died in 1896, he fell into a deep depression. At the time, Twain had invested huge sums of money in a new type-setting machine. Its inventor was James W. Paige, who “during ten years of persistent experiment had created one of the most marvellous machines ever constructed”.[11] But the perfect machine turned out to be a complete failure. Twain’s biographer Paine states:

> By the end of 1890 Mark Twain had put in all his available capital, and was heavily in debt. He had spent one hundred and ninety thousand dollars on the machine, no penny of which would ever be returned (Paine, 1916, 112).[12]

This was neither the first nor the last time Twain had invested his money in experiments. According to Peter Krass, Mark Twain was “a tireless businessman”. He made and lost a pile of money inventing and investing (Ryssdal, 2007).[13] Krass wrote a book on this issue of Twain’s life. He further emphasizes that Twain was always smitten with technology:

> When the phonograph came out he had to have one right away. When the typewriter came out he had to have one right away. So now there’s this new typesetting machine invented by James Page. Has 18,000 moving parts and Clemens falls in love with it, or I should say Mark Twain falls in love with this typesetter. And over the next 12 years he invests literally hundreds of thousands of dollars into it. And it ends up failing (Ryssdal, 2007).[14]

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[8] http://www.cmgww.com/historic/twain/about/bio.htm
[9] http://www.cmgww.com/historic/twain/about/bio.htm
[10] http://www.cmgww.com/historic/twain/about/bio.htm
[11] http://www.authorama.com/boys-life-of-mark-twain-50.html
[12] http://www.authorama.com/boys-life-of-mark-twain-50.html
[13] http://marketplace.publicradio.org/display/web/2007/07/06/mark_twain_author_investor_inventor/
[14] http://marketplace.publicradio.org/display/web/2007/07/06/mark_twain_author_investor_inventor/

In 1897, Twain, a citizen of the world, decided to leave with his family for Austria, that is, for Vienna. My major concern in this work is precisely Twain's Austria episode. How fruitful was Twain and his 'literary business' in Vienna and how was he received in the Austrian capital?

2.2 Mark Twain's Austria episode

Mark Twain's final writing phase (1890-1910), which includes his Austria experience is a matter of dispute among critics. One of processes in Mark Twain criticism is a reevaluation of his final phase (Salomon, 1980, 485).[15] On the one hand, there are critics who support the claim that Twain's final writing phase is his least productive one. It is the "despairing" Twain phase. Some of the critics who support this claim are V.W. Brooks, B. de Voto, H. Hill and H. N. Smith. On the other hand, there are those who support the claim that Twain was as productive in the final as in other phases. W. Macnaughton, C. Dolmetsch and S. Kahn make the case "for the more positive critical point of view" (Salomon, 1980, 485). The focus of my attention will be on the analysis of Twain's most important and representative work from his Austria episode: *MS*. Other works from this episode are *The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg,* "Stirring Times in Austria" and "The Memorable Assassination". All of these texts are generally considered to be good works.

Although Twain is "America's most written about author" (Dolmetsch, 1992, viii), his final writing phase lacks some of the basic information and should be closely scrutinized anew, as Dolmetsch suggests. Dolmetsch discovered that notwithstanding the fact that there is plenty literature on Twain's other writing phases, there is not much information on his 'Austria episode'. He stresses even that many "otherwise well-informed Twainiacs" (Dolmetsch, 1992, ix) did not know Twain spent eight months in Vienna and another five months in Kaltenleutgeben in Lower Austria (Lunzer, 1997, 220). It is thus not surprising that one of Twain's best plays *Is He Dead: A Comedy in Three Acts*, which he wrote precisely in Vienna, was completely unknown until 2003, when it was first

[15] For a more detailed account see http://www.jstor.org/stable/2933550?seq=2

published by S. F. Fisher.[16] My own brief investigation showed that very few Austrians were familiar with this information. Dolmetsch attempted to investigate how Twain's Vienna and Austria experience on the whole, influenced his final writing phase without addressing the issue of how Twain through his writings influenced the perception of Austrian culture. Dolmetsch's endeavour appears to me to be somewhat one-sided. If Austria experience influenced Twain's final writing phase, then it is clear that Twain as a world-famous author must have exercised at least some influence on the perception of Austrian culture through his literary creations. From a cultural studies approach, processes do not happen in one direction only and a certain issue should be studied from different angles in order to come to new conclusions and open new perspectives rather than just one-sided ones which consequently result from a 'one way street approach.' Cultures in general encounter itself and this is clearly a mutual, two-way process. Twain encountered Austrian culture and the Austrian culture and people of Vienna encountered American culture in Twain. The way in which Dolmetsch approaches Twain's Vienna experience is thus both partial and biased for he obviously explores only one side of the coin neglecting the existence of the other.

2.3 Mark Twain family in Vienna

2.3.1 Vienna in 1897

Although Dolmetsch is not interested in investigating how Twain's sojourn influenced the image of Vienna, he portrays the atmosphere in Vienna before the arrival of the Twain family as follows:

> Early in September, 1897, a good three weeks before his coming, Vienna was aflutter with the news that "distinguished American humorist" Samuel L. Clemens ("Mark Twain") intended to spend several months in the city. Bookshops quickly sold out their stocks of both the English and German editions of his works, and in intellectual circles his impending visit was a prime topic of conversation. […] For the moment, Byron, Milton, and even Bard of Avon were put on a back shelf (Dolmetsch, 1992, 1).

[16] http://www.ucpress.edu/books/pages/10118.php

In 1897, Vienna was Europe's third largest city (Fisher, 2003, ix). To mention stereotypical characteristics of Vienna at the turn of the century, three following are indispensable: it was considered a city of music, medicine and mountains. Apart from that, Dolmetsch stresses that Vienna was "the political and commercial capital and cultural centre of a vast polyglot domain sprawled across the map of central Europe […]" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 7). But at the same time, Vienna was a city of paradox, so Dolmetsch: "at once most advanced and most backward of the great urban cities" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 7). The other side of Vienna, which is "not all waltzes and whipped cream for the proletarian" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 7) is what makes Vienna look like a "gleaming gold crown on a badly decayed tooth" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 8).

Yet, Vienna was very much aware of the great happening and Twain was received "with all the attention appropriate for a world-famous author" (Lunzer, 1997, 220). The question arises: Why were Viennese so excited about Twain's arrival? Not only because Twain was a world-famous author but I think that Austrians were aware of his importance in presenting Austria and its culture to the rest of the world. As soon as Twain family settled at the Hotel Metropole, journalists found the occasion to get an answer to an intriguing question, namely what was the reason for Twain's arrival? Twain knew what people wanted to hear and he gave a flattering answers. He said, that he needed new inspiration for his writing so he came to study Viennese people and Austrian culture in general. That was the official reason he gave for his arrival. However, the real reason was that he wanted his daughter Clara to study music with Theodor Leschetizky, "the renowned Viennese instructor" (Fisher, 2003, ix). Dolmetsch mentions, in this respect, an interesting detail:

> He [Twain] knew the true reason for his Vienna sojourn […] might be less caressing to civic pride and less likely to ensure his peregrinations in the Austrian capital would henceforth be fully reported in the press (Dolmetsch, 1992, 1).

At this point, it is intriguing to consider Bellamy's assertion that Twain was "much more the conscious craftsman than is generally believed" (Bellamy, 1950, vii). In examining this assertion, it is important to consider the significance of the creation of the Mark Twain image and its industry, for the Mark Twain industry was definitely not a case of

coincidence but carefully constructed. This becomes more evident if one tries to answer questions like: Who, or what is Mark Twain and what is this character's function? Mark Twain is "a literary character, a pseudonymous mask, a persona or in L. J. Budd's phrase 'a public personality'" (Dolmetsch, 1992, x). Michelson argues that

> Clemens was a genius in the craft of media celebrity. When he invented Twain, he transformed his alter ego into "a brand and a trademark," which he would use to become "the first American master of the international public image" (Lynn, 2007).[17]

With "Mark Twain", an industry started which is profitable and pretty much alive till this day. He looked for and found ways for his character, to be in public, in the newspapers, and on everyone's lips, wherever he came. It was thus very important what he had to say. He was considered an authority. Finally, Twain and his whole, family lived on the Mark Twain industry for he "so skilfully maintained and so successfully marketed that character" (Dolmetsch, 1992, x). Twain was obviously not an "unconscious artist working by impulse" (Bellamy, 1950, vii) but quite contrary a businessman who knew how to make use of the press, public and even truth. "Truth is the most valuable thing we have. Let us economize it", he wrote (Dolmetsch, 1992, 1). This is precisely what he did. Consequently, his stay in Austria enabled him to pay back huge depths he had.

The Viennese undoubtedly liked Twain's flattering answer and they wanted to show themselves in the best light. Dolmetsch stresses that "Viennese press paid an inordinate amount of attention to Mark Twain, a renowned celebrity when he lived there" (Dolmetsch, 1992, xi). Moreover, Twain was invited to give lectures, numerous interviews, to meet the Viennese intellectuals such as "the pacifist Bertha von Suttner, the piano virtuoso Alfred Grünfeld and the writer Eduard Pötzl" (Lunzer, 1997, 220). Moreover, it was precisely the Viennese theatre life "that pulled him into its orbit with a force greater than any he had encountered before" (Fisher, 2003, 151). Max Burkhardt, the manager of the Burgtheater, gave Twain a private V.I.P. tour of the theatre and the theatre's new electric lights, which were usually turned on only for visiting royalty, were turned on for Twain. This extraordinary 'theatre experience' was fruitful. Twain started collaborating with Viennese playwright Sigmund Schlesinger. He translated plays which

[17] http://www.news.uiuc.edu/news/07/0315twain.html

were popular in Vienna and wrote a comedy of his own: *Is He Dead* (Fisher, 2003, ix).[18] Last but not least he was granted an audience by the Emperor even.

Twain's writings had a significant function: presenting Austrian culture to Americans and the rest of the world. H. N. Smith maintains that Twain was "accredited spokesman for American society" (Smith, 1962, vii). He was considered accredited to speak for American society but more intriguingly to American society. An American, who is considered to be an authority, an accredited spokesman engages, directly or indirectly, in the task of presenting Austrian culture to (Americans) by writing fiction. He knew that he would be heard for he was not just any person. According to L. S. Salamo, H. N. Smith, and R. P. Browning, Twain became over time "the representative American humorist [who] transformed himself into an international figure […] whose opinions powerfully influenced public sentiment […]" (Salamo, 1998, 2).[19]

Dolmetsch assigns himself with a comparable task. He wants to "explain and illustrate the relevance, indeed importance, of Mark Twain's Vienna years to Americans" (Dolmetsch, 1992, xii). In order to do this, Dolmetsch has to mediate Austrian culture to Americans. Dolmetsch points to a crucial fact, namely that although he often visited Vienna and sometimes even stayed for long period, his own knowledge of the history of Vienna was limited to what he had read in three books which he finds indispensable. This means that the main source of knowledge about alien culture is usually literature. The books Dolmetsch refers to are *The Austrian Mind* (1983) by W. M. Johnston, *Wittgenstein's Vienna* (1973) by A. Janik and S. Toulmin and *Fin-De-Siécle Vienna* (1981) by C. E. Schorske. Of the four mentioned authors, only Allan Janik is Austrian. S. Toulmin is British and C.E. Schorske and W.M. Johnston are American. Dolmetsch, himself an American, reads about a foreign, Austrian, culture from the books written by Americans. Both Twain and Dolmetsch, though in different manner, want to mediate and present a foreign culture. What kind of Austrian cultural identity do they present? My endeavour is not to prove that the image of Vienna presented by these authors or the one Twain constructed, corresponds to a "true Austrian cultural identity", whatever that may

[18] This comedy was for the first time performed on Broadway in December, 2007. For *The New York Times* review of the play see http://theater2.nytimes.com/2007/12/10/theater/reviews/10dead.html
[19] http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/Exhibits/MTP/foreword.html

be. Rather, I want to point out to the fact that a cultural identity is a product of cultural discourse and complex cultural processes. Cultural meaning and cultural identity are established through the practice of representation. In other words, the meaning does not arise directly from the thing itself but from the way in which an object, in this case, identity, is represented in language (Du Gay, 1997, 4). Thus, Twain did not simply reflect "the true Austrian cultural identity" in his works, because there is no such a thing as "a true Austrian identity". Rather, he presented his construct of Austrian identity as if it were the reflection of the authentic state of things. Identity, as seen from the post-structuralist point of view, is dependent on the context and not authentic and fixed in an originating moment. It is either produced by, or it is the result of a particular negotiation of difference, such as class, race, sex, gender, ethnicity, age, etc., in the respective context. There is not any authentic, fixed set of characteristics that belongs to a particular group. Moreover, cultural constructs are productive, they serve specific purposes and necessary incorporate stereotypes.[20]

Twain communicated via literature. He was pretty much aware of the power of literature especially in the time of American Publishing Revolution. Michelson traces in his book, *Printer's Devil: Mark Twain and the American Publishing Revolution* (2006)

> how profoundly the new information age of the 19th century and its maelstrom of technological changes affected the publishing industry and this backwoods boy from Missouri, who first learned the tricks of the trade as a teenage "printer's devil," an assistant in an old-fashioned print shop. Twain spent the rest of his life bedeviling printers and publishers, investors and readers, as he exploited and subverted these new technologies in the stories he wrote and the books he published with his own company (Ryssdal, 2007).[21]

Here comes in the role of literature which of all art forms is the most explicit, as Leerssen puts it, in reflecting, shaping and formulating the awareness of a society towards a specific culture (Leerssen, 2000, 268). This means that Twain shaped Austrian culture via literature. What is more, he formulated Austrian society's cultural identity, the way he saw it and triggered his construction into America and the rest of the world. The industrializing media and the print which overwhelmed the United States, that is, the

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[20] More about stereotypes in chapter five.
[21]http://www.news.uiuc.edu/news/07/0315twain.html

New and the Old World, made it possible for literature to spread quickly. Twain was pretty much aware of the potential of literature. Michelson argues that Twain's

> writing is energized and informed by his response to a cataclysmic expansion and transformation of publishing, a turmoil of innovation. He wrote about the impact upon culture and public life and upon the nature of the American self (Lynn, 2007).[22]

The question arises: why was it important at the turn of century to 'present' Austrian culture to Americans and to the rest of the world? American national identity was under construction. 'Other' identities are necessary in order for an identity to come into being. In other words, an identity forms itself in contrast to some other identity, to the 'Other'. The Austrian culture was the 'Other' against which the American identity could form itself. In this respect, Twain's travels to the Old World were an opportunity both to familiarize himself with and confront other cultures. After a great success of his first travel book, *The Innocents Abroad*, "Clemens realized that his experiences and insights as a traveller could be transformed into lucrative publications" (Salamo, 1998, 3).[23] He then shared his experiences and views on other countries and cultures with large readership in the form of writings, either travel letters or travel writings in general, sketches, narratives in newspapers and magazines.

3. Travelling and travel writing

Why do people travel? People generally travel for several reasons. They have a desire to explore new locations, to move and experience change or get to know other people's cultures. Moreover, people travel for pleasure, for work or both. By travelling people define their identities and explore their selves. The history of travelling in the New World goes back to the early explorers and settlers like Christopher Columbus, John Smith, William Bradford and many others. What is the relation between travelling and travel writing, and how did travelling come to be reported in the form of travel writing? What kind of function did travel writing have and how did the genre of travel writing develop from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century?

[22] http://www.news.uiuc.edu/news/07/0315twain.html
[23]http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/Exhibits/MTP/foreword.html

3.1 Travelling and travel writing from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century

3.1.1 Travelling and travel writing in the sixteenth and seventeenth century

In the Introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (2002), Hulme and Youngs note that writing and travel are

> intimately connected [and] that societal attitudes to travel have always been ambivalent. Travel broadens the mind, and knowledge of distant places and people often confers the status, but travellers sometimes return as different people or do not come back at all (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 2).

In other words, travelling is a good means of education, but at the same time the possibility of returning home as a changed person or even of not returning at all should also be taken into consideration. Henry James was a famous traveller who did not return home. He was an American who after visiting Europe decided to stay for the rest of his life in Great Britain. He devoted many of his books precisely to the topic of the encounter between America and Europe.

Hulme and Youngs trace the motif of the journey back to the Christian tradition which often symbolizes life as a journey. Most famous in this respect is John Bunyan's allegory of travelling: *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678). It was precisely the centrality of the pilgrimage to Christianity which "produced much of the medieval travel writing" (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 2). During the sixteenth century, interest in reporting travels emerged. Writing then became an essential part of travelling. Politicians and merchants sponsored travel accounts, reports and maps. William Sherman points out that the publication of travel accounts had an important role in the process of construction of imperial histories. It was "often a semi-official business in which the beginnings of imperial histories were constructed" (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 3). The public interest which had been aroused by stories of far-off places had a function, namely "to attract investment and – once colonies started – settlers" (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 3). Spain and Portugal were home to the first travellers and with it the first colonisers. It is thus no surprise that "the first English travel publications were translations of foreign works (Sherman, 2002, 19). Richard Hakluyt, the English editor also began by translating foreign texts. His collection

Principle Navigations (1598) was a challenge for European perceptions of English in action and a promotion of English as “man of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world” (Sherman, 2002, 20). Hakluyt gathered in two editions innumerable accounts of his countrymen on voyages.

Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516) is seen as “the greatest impact of the new world of America on English writing in the early sixteenth century” (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 3). *Utopia* “became a foundation for subsequent travel writing” and formed the background against which Richard Hakluyt “argued for a history of travel which relied on the testimony of travellers themselves” (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 3). What he wanted were eyewitness accounts, because he saw the importance of distinguishing fact from fiction. Hulme and Youngs stress, however, that Hakluyt was in this respect inconsistent in the second edition of his most famous work *Principal Navigations* (1598). He excluded Mandeville for being false but kept the Arthurian legends.[24]

The real power of travel writing lay in “its independence of perspective” (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 4). The claim to truth based on experience and observation “laid the foundations for the scientific and philosophical revolutions of the seventeenth century” (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 4). Instructions were issued to travellers on how to observe and how to write down their observations. Alexander von Humboldt’s travels to Americas at the beginning of the nineteenth century then marked a turning point in travel writing. The example he set was later followed by major figures such as Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace. Still, many travellers instead followed their instincts rather than directions from home. Precisely the aspect of travel writing inspired by instincts, attracted many readers to the genre of travel writing (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 5).

Travellers, by coming in contact with new cultures, religions and peoples have “put the world on paper for the new print marketplace at home” (Sherman, 2002, 19). Travel writing was thus the medium of cultural transfer and as such an important genre.

3.1.2 The genre of travel writing

[24] For more detail see Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 3.

Travel writing is “best considered as a broad and ever-shifting genre, with a complex history. One of the reasons for this is the fact that “the ways and means of travel writing are constantly changing and will continue to change” (Hulme and Youngs, 2002, 10). In his essay “Stirrings and searchings” Sherman elaborates on the full range of travel writing from 1500 to 1720. Although he concentrates primarily on travel writing produced in England, he provides important information on the development of the genre of travel writing in general. In this respect, he offers a typology of travel writers starting with editors, most prominent of which is clearly R. Hakluyt, then pilgrims, errant knights, merchants, explorers, colonisers, captives and castaways, ambassadors, pirates and finally scientists.[25] As a result he concludes that it may not be appropriate to describe the genre of travel writing as a single genre: the style and tone of texts could vary widely and their organization was often haphazard like the nature of the travels (Sherman, 2002, 30).

Most travel writings began with a tribute to a patron and address to the reader, that is, a sort of justification for both travelling and travel writing. Then followed the travellers' experiences in the form of letters, essays, sketches, plays and poems. The narrative voice was either strongly first-person or third-person. Maps were an adjunct to travel writing but because they were expensive to produce and in the sixteenth century still handled as state secrets, they were very often not included. This later changed, and even illustrations with harbours, main cities, native customs, flora and fauna accompanied travel writing (Sherman, 2002, 31). Moreover, travel writing became a genre marked by rather complex rhetorical strategies. The reasons for this are manifold. The authors of travel writing had to balance “the known and the unknown, the traditional imperatives of persuasion and entertainment, and their individual interests with those of their patrons, employers, and monarchs” (Sherman, 2002, 31). Travel writers had thus acute problems of “authenticity and credibility”. It was, therefore, often difficult for the reader of travel writing to distinguish between fact and fiction. Sherman stresses that travel writing was not only “a form for new knowledge but a vehicle for satire, […] actual and imaginative voyages were used to criticise foreign habits, domestic conditions, and even travel itself“ (Sherman, 2002, 32). However, in the second half of the seventeenth and especially in

[25] For a more detailed account on the typology of travel writers, see Sherman, William: “Stirrings and searchings” (1500-1720), In: *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 2002.

the eighteenth century travelling and travel writing became increasingly popular and the genre of early modern travel writing emerged.

3.1.3 Travelling and travel writing in the eighteenth century

The eighteenth century was a century associated with travelling: travelling either in reality or in imagination. In this respect, Buzard emphasises that "almost every author of consequence' produced one overt travel book" (Buzard, 2002, 37). Paul Fussell maintains that the reason for a special appeal of travelling had something to do with the new understanding of human nature, influenced by John Locke's "Essay Concerning Human Understanding". According to Locke, human consciousness is a 'blank slate' and all knowledge is "produced from the impressions drawn through our five senses" (Buzard, 2002, 37). It was thus no longer enough to read about distant countries and foreign cultures. Travelling became an obligation for all those who wanted to collect knowledge. Apart from Locke, it has to be stressed that during the period from 1660 to 1840 there emerged a body of literature which emphasized the value of travelling (Buzard, 2002, 38). Personal experience of places was important. What is more, in the eighteenth and later in the nineteenth century, with European technological superiority came presumed intellectual superiority over all non-Europeans (Bridges, 2002, 53). Europeans claimed that because they were superior they were "able to understand and interpret not only the terrain they entered but the inhabitants as well" (Bridges, 2002, 53). This was one of preconditions for imperialism. Travel writing generally became more "precise and scientific but also more obviously utilitarian, more explicitly concerned with issues of trade, diplomacy and prestige" (Bridges, 2002, 53). 'Old powers' Spain and Portugal were replaced by France, Britain and the Netherlands. Among these three, Britain was the strongest in the eighteenth century. It had direct rule in Canada and Australasia, and West Indian islands. Moreover, it had control over large parts of India and America. In addition to this, the potential of West Africa as a valuable market was discovered. Britain was very much interested in reports about travels all around the world. James Cook's voyages set the pattern of "government demanding scientific investigation" (Bridges, 2002, 54). Although many aristocrats travelled for 'pleasure' only, the number of those who travelled at the demand of the government was higher.

In his essay “Exploration and travel outside Europe (1720-1914)”, Bridges uses the term travel writing to mean a “discourse designed to describe and interpret for its readers a geographical area together with its natural attributes and its human society and culture” (Bridges, 2002, 53). Travel writers experience the new, the unknown, and they try to describe newness in a way that is understandable; they try to find the appropriate form to describe new experience. Finding the appropriate form for describing new experiences is what J.P. Stout calls the “representational dilemma” (Stout, 1984, 30). The usual way of describing the new is by comparing it to the old experience, or putting the unknown in a binary position to the known. This is a way of constructing the new in relation to the old. Travel writings ‘mirror’ the situation which the travellers experienced in the way they experienced it and construct them for those at home. Travel writings were furthermore considered to be factual writings since they were primarily based on factual journeys. In this respect, Stout argues that ”(…) the explorer’s account or geographical account (…) reveals ways in which these supposedly factual writings reflect both pre-existent rhetorical formulas and the intellectual presuppositions of their times” (Stout, 1983, 30-31). This quote makes transparent the fact that travel writings were considered to be factual, when in fact they are not. What is travel writing then?

3.1.4 Travel writing defined by cultural studies

Travel writing is, in cultural studies terms, the product of a discourse which ‘unites’ both language – the pre-existent rhetorical formulas – and practice – the intellectual presuppositions – and refers to the production of knowledge. Travel writing is therefore, a discourse which stands in “a complex relationship with the situation in which it arose” (Bridges, 2002, 53). What is crucial, however, is that travel discourse is a means of taking possession of and constructing the ‘discovered’ areas. Moreover, travel writing is a medium of cultural transfer which enables a sort of a cultural discourse, in the sense of “the production of knowledge through language which gives meaning to material objects and social practices” (Barker, 2004, 224). What does this practically mean? Material objects and social practices are given meaning by language and are discursively formed. In addition, discourse constructs the objects of knowledge, for instance that Americans

are privileged by birth and called to visit the Old World. This ‘object of knowledge’ is the product of discourse which further excludes other forms of reasoning as unintelligible.” (Barker, 2004, 224) That is to say, it is unintelligible to think that the Old World is privileged and called to visit the New World. As already mentioned, discourse operates through language. The Old – New World distinction dressed in a suggestive value laden language, is presented as a ‘natural’, self-evident distinction while it is actually a pure construction. It is, in Foucault’s terms a specific “regime of truth” (i.e. what counts as truth) (Barker, 2004, 20). Foucault indicates, that it is thus important to analyse “the surfaces of discourse and their effects under determinate material and historical conditions” (Barker, 2004, 19). What were the material and historical conditions in the eighteenth century under which travel writings were written? The late eighteenth century saw the rise of new means of transportation and with it new ways of ‘discovering’ and conquering the world. What is more, there emerged literature which advocated the importance of the European or the Grand Tour. In the next chapter, I will look into the preconditions for the emergence of the Grand Tour.

3.1.5 The European Tour or the Grand Tour

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the new means of public transport, like the train network and the steamship gradually developed. With increase in transportation, travelling time was reduced enormously and thus people could travel more. The Grand Tour was according to Buzard “an ideological exercise” (Buzard, 2002, 38). The fixed objective of this ‘ideological exercise’ was education and enrichment achieved by visiting European artefacts and getting to know noble European society. The Grand Tour tourist was expected to mingle with the élite and cultivate his manners and tastes. In its beginning the Grand Tour was a privilege of mainly rich men. Later on, when the transportation improved and became less expensive, middle class men and women were able to afford this trip too. The Grand Tour was “a well-defined expedition, with fixed itineraries” which consisted of prescribed routes to France, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands (Grounidou, 2005, 70). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, other European countries like “Switzerland, Spain and Austria were added to the tour” (Grounidou, 2005, 71).

'Grand Tour' was in the beginning a French phrase, 'le grand tour' which Richard Lassels then introduced as a term into English (Buzard, 2002, 41). Buzard gives a detailed account of the common itinerary of the "young British men".[26] He explains, for instance, that a traveller on the Grand Tour had to stop "in the Loire Valley, where the purest French accent was supposed to have its home" (Buzard, 2002, 39). Here a young Briton could prepare his tongue and his manners for the next destination - the French capital. After France, Italy was the next route. The enterprise of the Grand Tour was generally considered without purpose if the two most important destinations were left out: France and Italy and the cities Paris, Rome, Florence and Venice. These cities were considered the home of "classical civilization, (...) refined manners and gracious behaviour" (Buzard, 2002, 39), which were regarded as necessary to acquire. Towards the end of the second half of the eighteenth century, the behaviour of Grand tourists attracted criticism and called into question the aims of the 'enterprise'. This was the beginning of the criticism on the Grand Tour. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was one of those who complained that the silly British boys and the stupidity of their governors gained "us [the British] the glorious title of Golden Asses all over Italy" (Buzard, 2002, 42). In other words, the young aristocrats were out of the sphere of parental care and the tutor or governor often did not manage to fulfil his or her role properly therefore, many returned home less cultivated than they left.

Around the end of the eighteenth century, the number of Grand Tourists increased enormously and kept on increasing. Apart from that, the Grand Tour ceased to be only a privilege of male aristocrats. It opened up for less well-educated male and female tourists.

3.1.6 Travelling and travel writing in the nineteenth century

In the nineteenth century, travelling experienced an evolution through technological and institutional development. On the one hand, "steam power […] greatly increased the speed and decreased the cost of travelling and, on the other, new institutions and facilities appeared in the market place" (Buzard, 2002, 47). These facilities eased the financial

[26] For more information on the fixed routes of the Grand Tour itinerary, see Buzard, James: "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)", 43.

burdens of travellers. Steam vessels which were put into use in 1821 brought as many as 100,000 people a year by 1840 (Buzard, 2002, 47). The cultural practice of the Grand Tour, which used to be a privilege of single rich men, was slowly transformed into an activity accessible to a “de-individualized, metaphorically liquid mass” (Buzard, 2002, 47). In addition to the steam vessel, railways spread across Europe. All these changes influenced the further development of travel “into the domain of mass tourism” (Buzard, 2002, 48).

The travellers of the nineteenth century had tourist guides and travel guide books available to them. The first travel guide book in Europe was *Rheinreise von Mainz bis Köln* published by Friedrich Röhling in 1828.[27] But the most famous tourist guidebooks, to which Mark Twain also refers, were those founded by Karl Baedeker, popularly known as Baedekers. Baedeker guidebooks were printed in several languages and provided valuable historical information.[28] Apart from Baedeker, John Murray III also invented modern tourist’s guidebooks in England. What is more, Baedeker and Murray through their guidebooks effected a ‘sharpening’ of the definition of travel writing in opposition to their guidebooks. According to Buzard, Baedeker and Murray are “responsible for the generic distinction […] according to which the impersonal, objective ‘guidebook’ stands apart from the highly personal, impressionistic book of ’travel writing’” (Buzard, 2002, 48). Guidebooks are authoritative, regularly-updated texts of standard appearance and format which have an exclusive ‘guide’ function. Travel writing as a highly personal text, “freed from the guidebook burden could now specialise in recording an individual traveller’s distinctive reactions to the stimuli of the tour” (Buzard, 2002, 49). However, writers of travel literature, though freed from the guidebook burden, had to face other difficulties: first, they were surrounded by ‘hordes’ of tourists and second, they were at pains to find anything new to say about sites and scenes which had been described many a time before them. Modern travellers and travel writers thus emphasized their difference or even superiority as travellers to other touristic beings (Buzard, 2002, 49). Two romantic authors who were the most influential in this respect were Germaine de Staël and Lord Byron. The latter became almost “a necessary counterpart to the Murray or Baedeker guidebook” (Buzard, 2002, 50). Apart from

[27] http://www.bdkr.com
[28] http://www.britannica.com

tourist guides and tourist guidebooks, F. R. Dulles points to two other innovations that "added fresh dimensions to tourist travel": the development of the Kodak in 1880 and the appearance of picture postcards a few years later (Dulles, 1964, 108).

The changes in the sphere of travelling consequently brought changes in the discourse on travelling. In the early nineteenth century, as Bridges states, travel writing was characterised by an emphasis on science and precision. Science was the field through which Europeans claimed their superiority over non-Europeans. The traveller's information gathered was of utilitarian importance and had to be 'scientific'. It was falsely believed that the 'scientific' information was necessarily objective and unprejudiced information. Why was the scientific exploration important? According to Mary Louise Pratt, scientific exploration was a "part of a process of territorial surveillance, appropriation of resources and administrative control" (Bridges, 2002, 57). Bridges, however, argues that Pratt's judgement is anachronistic and that governments were actually reluctant to take 'administrative control' over large areas. Bridges does not comment on the issue of territorial surveillance and appropriation of resources. Even if the governments, as Bridges claims, were not interested in taking administrative control over newly 'discovered' areas, they used 'scientific exploration' as a means of construction, surveillance and appropriation of the 'Other' in relation to the 'Self'. Travel writing thus served as the medium of the so-called scientific exploration which was in fact a process of construction of non-Europeans as 'innocent primitives' or 'noble savages' (Bridges, 2002, 57). However, at the end of the eighteenth century Europeans experienced a wave of American travellers on the Grand Tour around Europe. What were the objectives of the American Tour, and how did these objectives influence the image of Europe and the Europeans in America?

3.1.7 The American Tour

The American Tour started to develop in the last decades of the eighteenth century. It became increasingly popular after the 1850s. F.R. Dulles mentions that in the mid-nineteenth century as many as 30,000 Americans went abroad annually (Dulles, 1964, 107). The American Tour was based on the English format and it followed the same

prescribed routes and destinations. The itineraries were also similar to the British ones, and generally included the same countries. It has to be emphasised though that the itineraries of Americans were also governed by means of transportation across the Atlantic. The development of the steamers played a significant role in this respect. Apart from that, in the nineteenth century, travel tours were well organised and economical. Thomas Cook was well-known for his organised tours. In terms of objectives and intentions, however, the American Tour differed considerably from the European Tour. While the fixed objective of the European Tour was education and enrichment, the Americans primarily visited Europe "in an effort to define their personal and national identity either in relation to their European roots or in contrast to them" (Grounidou, 2005, 72). According to Stowe,

> early American travellers such as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were eager to define themselves in transnational terms as ex-Europeans with a special relation to European culture, whereas their successors in mid-century - Fuller, Greeley, and Twain, - were more concerned with asserting a uniquely American identity (Stowe, 1994, xi).

As was the case with the European tourists, American tourists in the beginning tried to cultivate their manners according to the European model. Grounidou talks of two types of American travellers: those who tried to imitate the European manners and those who entertained more nationalistic ideas. The first type of American travellers, who were thrilled by the rich European culture gradually started to concern the patriotic Americans. American patriots perceived this thrill for European culture as posing a real 'danger' to travellers, of losing their American identity by becoming too European. Just as Europeans felt superior to all non-Europeans, so many Americans felt superior to non-Americans – that is, Europeans. More nationalistic American travellers were proud of their modern political system, and values of liberty and progress as opposed to the "outmoded political systems of the Old World and European institutions like the Catholic Church and the Monarchy" (Dulles, 1964, 4-5). Dulles further points out that Americans were convinced that there was something corrupt and decadent about Europe. They even feared that by crossing the Atlantic they "somehow risked moral infection in exposing themselves to the profligacy and vice of the Old World" (Dulles, 1964, 2).

In addition to moral infection, there also came the fear of the spread of Roman fever to America, a disease rather pervasive in Europe in the nineteenth century. A case of an American fatally infected by the Roman fever is Henry James' *Daisy Miller*. Daisy Miller is an American on the Grand Tour with her family who gets infected with the Roman fever and dies. Apart from Henry James, Edith Wharton also addressed the issue of the disease in the work entitled precisely *Roman Disease*. Malaria or the Roman fever was already present in America at the turn of the century. Robert S. Desowitz, the author of the book *The Malaria Capers* (1991) talks of the Roman fever as "the American disease" (Kakutani, 1992).[29] He speculates that the "European settlers and the slaves they imported, helped bring malaria to the New World, and malaria remained "the American disease" until the 1940's (Kakutani, 1992). This is to say, the Europeans brought both the moral infection and the disease to the 'innocent' New World.

Mark Twain significantly entitled one of his travel books *The Innocents Abroad.* Twain as an American is the embodiment of the innocence in the American character. On the whole, Americans felt that Europe was corrupt and as such a threat to American innocence. However, Americans were also aware that they lacked art and history, which Europe was pregnant with. This paradoxical 'European situation' - Europe being perceived on one side as advanced in artistic culture and history and, on the other, backwards in the political system, motivated many American travellers to take the best of Europe's artistic culture and transfer it to the New World (Grounidou, 2005, 58). There, in the climate of democracy and values of liberty and progress the best of the European culture would flourish. But the advanced New World needed the Old World with all its cultural primacy and its political backwardness to define itself.

3.2 The Old versus New World

The habit of naming places has a long history and it is inextricably bound to imperial history. In his book *Imagined Communities* (1991), Benedict Anderson states that already in the sixteenth century, Europeans had begun with the "strange habit of naming remote places, first in the Americas and Africa later in Asia, Australia, and Oceania, as 'new'

[29] http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9D0CEEDD1F3EF93BA25753C1A967958260

versions of (thereby) 'old' toponyms in their lands of origin" (Anderson, 1991, 187). That is, the naming of places was based on the dichotomy 'old' versus 'new'. Moreover, sites like, for instance, New York, New Orleans and New Zealand were termed as 'new' while they were in itself not so new. On the contrary, Andersons notes that some towns of reasonable antiquity include a term for novelty: Chiangmai (New City), Kota Bahru (New Town), Pekanbaru (New Market). The term 'new' thus does not stand for novelty of a particular site, it has rather the meaning of "'successor' to, or 'inheritor' of, something vanished" (Anderson, 1991, 187). Anderson further states that 'new' and 'old' were "understood synchronically, coexisting within homogenous, empty time" (Anderson, 1991, 187). Thus Vizcaya is there *alongside* Nueva Vizcaya and New London alongside London. This new synchronic novelty as Anderson puts it was one of competition rather than of inheritance.[30] The crucial question here is: under what conditions did this new synchronic novelty arise? Anderson explains that a huge change had to take place in modes of apprehending time in order to make new concepts thinkable. He argues

> This new synchronic novelty could arise historically only when substantial groups of people were in a position to think of themselves as living lives *parallel* to those of other substantial groups of people […] (Anderson, 1991, 188).

The conception of simultaneity and parallelism is not static but rather one that has been a long time in the making. The concept of time in the medieval time was wholly alien to our own today (Anderson, 1991, 24). Christians for instance "had no conception of history as an endless chain of cause and effect or of radical separations between past and present" (Anderson, 1991, 23). They thought that they were near the end of time. However, a fundamental change took place in modes of apprehending time and made possible the rising of new concepts of thinking. The medieval conception of simultaneity was replaced by "an idea of homogenous, empty time" in which simultaneity was marked by "temporal coincidence, measured by clock and calendar" (Anderson, 1991, 24). This

[30] Competition remained a keyword between the Old and the New World throughout centuries. Norbert Finzsch in *Atlantic Communications* (2004) emphasise precisely the issue of competition between the two worlds especially in the nineteenth century: "During the nineteenth century, the technological competition between the old and the new world became a driving force for the history of transatlantic relations. This competition developed new dimensions with the invention of the telegraph and the emergence of news agencies. Information became commercialized". (Finzsch/Lehmkuhl, 2004, 120).

transformation was crucial for the birth of what Anderson is known for “the imagined community of the nation” (Anderson, 1991, 24). He therefore, sees a direct relation between the conception of simultaneity and the genesis of nationalism.

The two forms of imagining most popular in Europe in the eighteenth century were the novel and newspaper and they “re-presented the kind of imagined community that is, the nation” (Anderson, 1991, 25). Anderson explains:

> The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history (Anderson, 1991, 26).

An American can never know the names of all other Americans but he still has full confidence in their simultaneous activity.

Apart from the new concept of simultaneity several other conditions had to be met in order for this new sense of parallelism or simultaneity to arise. As in the quote above, substantial groups of people had to be constructed as wholly different from the other groups so that the discrepancy between them was great. Moreover, the ‘new’ had to be subordinate to the ‘old’, permanently settled and substantial in size (Anderson, 1991, 188). All these conditions were met in the Americas[31] which were then termed the New World.

W. Siemerling in *The New North American Studies* addresses the Old – New World dichotomy with a special emphasis on North America. In his words “[t]he ‘new‘ is, […] a term of relation; […] an incomplete translation of the unknown, limiting it to articulation of difference with respect to the old” (Siemerling, 2005, 2). The unknown is thus ‘translated’ via ‘old’ language which displays contradictions. Siemerling further sees such “doubleness” as “a longstanding feature of the emergence of the new […], from the irruptions of the difference and radical otherness of the New World […] (Siemerling, 2005, 2). In other words, the new exists only in relation to the old, as its double, as the ‘Other’. This “doubleness” is thus related but at the same time

[31] For a detailed account, see Anderson, Benedict *Imagined Communities*, 1991, 188-189.

contradictory. Siemerling, however, not only acknowledges the existence of contradictions but also detects and emphasises "a structure of translation that articulates the contradictory mode by which the 'new' surfaces first through the structures of the 'old'" (Siemerling, 2005, 3). Contradictions are thus both inevitable and necessary. Siemerling discusses in this respect Du Bois' attempt to think "doubleness" and contradiction. He suggests "recognition" as it is restricted to the known and blurs the newness of the new as such. Siemerling, just as Anderson, stresses that it is paradoxical to think of the New World in terms of newness. There is nothing really new about the so-called New Wold. It is much more the product of sameness of the Old World, that is, its failed replica. Siemerling uses a term 'meme' for the 'New' World being "the combination of sameness (fr. *méme*), memory, and repetition, that seems to guarantee the replication of circular return and certainty" (Siemerling, 2005, 4). By circular return Siemerling refers to the fact that 'discovery voyages' were undertaken with expectations of return to the port of departure. He further points to the decisive role of colonial texts, especially travel literature, which constructed, interpreted and projected the New World. It was therefore, as much 'discovered' as it was constructed through such texts (Siemerling, 2005, 4).[32] What was the New World like then? Siemerling answers this question by saying that it was never a *tabula rasa* but rather a production of European languages and discourses - a "ruthless re-inscription of the known (soon-to-be-called 'Old' World)" (Siemerling, 2005, 6). In other words, the New World was the product of representation or a linguistic construct in (national) narratives. Literary history in general or (American) national literary history in particular, plays in this respect an important role. Siemerling notes that emergence and constitution of national subject, as well as, border cutting appears frequently in narratives of cultural description and literary history (Siemerling, 2005, 9). National subjects as representative of national cultures were constituted by internal diversity or difference and this difference which was actually always present, "marked the moment of European contact" (Siemerling, 2005, 12). Interestingly enough, new "ethnos" and the grounds for national literary stories and

[32]Mary Louise Pratt in her book *Imperial Eyes* (1992) emphasises the crucial importance of travel writing as "one of ideological apparatuses of empire" and treats colonial texts as "symptoms of imperial ideologies" (Pratt, 1992, 34). She argues that travel writing produced "the rest of the world" for the Old World, that is, Europe. Pratt is generally known for the concept she introduced and which is of great significance for the old – new dichotomy: transculturation. Transculturation questions the modes of representation and appropriation of the new through the available cognitive maps.

histories" were created by "processes that de-emphasised internal difference" (Siemerling, 2005, 12). A writer of national literary histories could thus present the other cultures as both similar and different at once or as belonging to a world of their own. This means that because the 'Other' belongs to a world of its own or because it is different, it resists incorporation. This sense of alterity and incompleteness is central to the 'newness' of the 'New World.' just as incommensurability which questions alterity. (Siemerling, 2005, 17)

3.2.1 The Old versus New World in the travel writing of the 19th century

The Old and the New World were important terms for the nineteenth century. They appear frequently in literature of the nineteenth century, particularly in travel writing. Those who did not travel participated in the experience of travel by reading travel writings. In this respect, Stowe stresses the importance of travel literature:

> East and west, north and south, for business or pleasure, exploration or rediscovery, many nineteenth-century Americans travelled, and many more participated vicariously in the experience of travel by reading travel letters, sketches, and narratives in newspapers, magazines, and published volumes (Stowe, 1994, 3).

The travel writing of the nineteenth century was a very productive means of producing the Old and the New World as natural opposites and thereby providing material for the discourse around it. The discourse around the 'two worlds' in the nineteenth century did not serve the purpose of forming a bridge between them in the sense of mutual exchange of culture, even though this was sometimes presented as the purpose of the endeavour. To the contrary, this discourse contributed to the ever greater discrepancy between the Old and the New World, presenting the New as superior to the Old World through some kind of a natural right. Apart from that, the Old World seemed to have 'a natural obligation' to supply the New World with the best of what it had to offer. This reasoning can be seen in the following quote. "Americans have a special call to travel. It is the peculiar privilege of their birth in the New World that the Old World is left them for visit" (Dulles, 1964, 56). The author's assertion is that Americans have a special call to travel. The evidence she brings in support of this assertion is "the peculiar privilege of their birth in the New World […]." It is absurdly condescending to present the Old World

as an entertainment for the New World. Moreover, the above assertion relies on the basis of binaries. The Old-New binary opposition can be turned the other way round. Hence someone born in the Old World could in the same way claim to be privileged by the birth in the Old World and thus have a special call to visit the New World. The New World stands and defines itself in relation to the old, that is, in opposition to the Old World.

From a cultural studies point of view, these supposed opposites do not stand in logocentric interdependence to each other. (Miller, 2001, 7) That is, words do not have an inherent relation to the object they represent and they do not have a determinate meaning. Binary pairs function exactly on the basis of the opposite belief, namely that words do have an inherent relation to the object they represent. What is more, binary opposition hides non-existence of the inherent relation and presents itself, to be quite naturally existing. Talking about logos and logocentrism, it is interesting to consider the role which language plays in the process of discourse. The way something is labelled, that is, the language we use to label something, contributes to the way in which it will be evaluated. From a cultural studies approach, language is

> not a neutral medium for the formation of meanings and knowledge relating to an independent object world outside of language, but rather is constitutive of those very meanings and knowledge (Barker, 2004, 45).

That is, the New World was a linguistic construct produced via (travel) narratives as different from and in relation to the Old World. But the New World's alterity was especially significant for giving rise to nation, nationality and nationalism.

3.2.2 Nationalism in the New and Old World

Nation, nationality and nationalism are terms that are extremely difficult to define. For present purposes I will primarily concentrate on the rise and the beginnings of nationalism in America as seen from the perspective of B. Anderson.

I have mentioned that nation, according to Anderson, is an imagined community which rose under certain cultural conditions significantly first in the New World and then in Europe. The nation is imagined as limited, as sovereign and as community. It is limited

in the sense of finite boundaries, sovereign because the nation's dream is one of freedom and the sovereign state stands for freedom. Lastly, the nation is imagined as a community in the sense of deep comradeship.

Nationalism appeared in the New World towards the end of the eighteenth century. It came into being out of and against two relevant cultural systems: the religious community and the dynastic realm. Apart from that a significant role played a fundamental change in modes of apprehending time – parallelism and simultaneity - which made it possible to think the nation in the first place. Finally, print-capitalism enabled masses of people to think of and relate to themselves in completely new ways. Print-capitalism was thus a commodity, which generated new ideas of simultaneity (Anderson, 1991, 36). Yet, all these changes received a new meaning after the events of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. This independence was a republican independence and as such it was felt to be something absolutely unprecedented and reasonable for incorporating some universal truths and values. Anderson states that this revolution was paralleled in Europe by the French Revolution, which was in turn paralleled in the New World by the "outbreak of Toussaint L'Ouverture's insurrection in 1791" (Anderson, 1991, 192). Although the revolutions of the New World were paralleled by revolutions in the Old World, the new nationalisms in Europe imagined themselves as 'awakening from sleep'.[33] This trope was very popular in Europe although wholly foreign to the New World (Anderson, 1991, 195). Anderson suggests two reasons for the popularity of this trope. The first being the fact that the trope took

> into account the sense of parallelism out of which the American nationalisms had been born and which the success of the American nationalist revolutions had greatly reinforced in Europe. It seemed to explain why nationalist movements had bizarrely cropped up in the civilized Old World so obviously later than in the barbarous New (Anderson, 1991, 195).

Europeans regarded these revolutions as the first really important political events in the New World. The second reason for the popularity of this trope was the metaphorical link which the trope provided between the new European nationalisms and languages (Anderson, 1991, 196). Languages in the beginning of the nineteenth century became

[33] Mark Twain in *MS* significantly refers precisely to this trope in describing Austria "as far away from the world and asleep." (MS, 3).

thought of as belonging to a territorially defined group and vernaculars began to function politically. Languages thus separated national communities off from ancient dynastic realms. Moreover, literate people who were leading nationalist movements in Europe had to explain a sudden emphasis on the vernacular language as opposed to Latin, which used to be the language of the intelligentsia. This is where the trope of 'sleep' comes in. The intelligentsia stressed that people need to 'awake from the sleep' and emphasised the importance of 'rediscovering' the vernacular as a 'component' of nationality. In this respect, Anderson states that there are few things which seem as "deep-rooted as languages, for which no dated origins can ever be given" (Anderson, 1991, 196).

In the Americas, the situation was somewhat different. Language, as Anderson argues, was never an issue in the American nationalist movement. Sharing a common language with the metropole made the first national thinking possible in the first place. However, it has to be stressed that although the language was the same[,] a different lineage (English versus American) of the shared language was emphasised by Noah Webster, whom Anderson calls 'second generation' of nationalist movement. Language was thus used to give historical depth to nationality which was counterproductive in the Americas: "The linguistic lineages threatened to blur the memory of independence which it was essential to retain" (Anderson, 1991, 197). The solution applicable to both the Old and the New World was history presented in particular ways.

Among five geniuses of European historiography Anderson mentions Michelet, who was the first "self-appointed historian of the Revolution" (Anderson, 1991, 197). Michelet wrote as an authority on behalf of the dead as if he knew their intentions and thoughts better than they did themselves. History thus became important and emphasised. Linguistic lineages lost significance because it was both impossible and undesirable to establish a linguistic connection with the dead. Historians claimed to know what the anonymous dead did not understand themselves.[34] Michelet, like many other historians, was concerned with remembering and saving from oblivion specific historical events.

[34] According to Anderson, there are five geniuses of European historiography Ranke, Michelet, Tocqueville, Marx and Burckhardt.

Some others like, for instance, E. Renan in his book *Questione Nationale* in 1882, was more preoccupied with the need for forgetting.[35]

Anderson states that forgetting or amnesia is a natural process which gives rise to narratives. He uses a helpful comparison between the birth of a child and the birth or the biography of a nation. When a person reaches adolescence, he or she forgets early childhood. Documentary evidence like birth certificates, medical reports and others, are records of a certain apparent continuity which forms identity. What is forgotten has to be narrated. Anderson stresses that these narratives just as nation narratives, novels and newspapers are set in "homogenous empty time" (Anderson, 1991, 204) which means that their frame is "historical and their setting sociological" (Anderson, 1991, 204). But the crucial difference between narratives of person and nation is in employment. That is, nations different than persons, do not have a clear date of birth or of death and if they happen, they are not natural.[36] In the birth of nation, there is further no Originator, so the nation's biography is written in the "up time fashion" and not down time from the date of birth as in the biography of persons. The "up time fashion" starts from present and structures nation's biography by naming violent deaths "which must be remembered/forgotten as our own" (Anderson, 1991, 206).[37]

3.2.3 American exceptionalism

One of five geniuses of European historiography is Alexis de Tocqueville (Anderson, 1991, 205). Alexis de Tocqueville was a French politician and writer sent by his government to America to study its penal system and apply it in France. His two-volume work *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840) grew out of his stay in America from 1831 to 1832.[38] He was convinced that the old authoritarian system would soon be replaced by some form of democracy so he wrote for a French audience hoping that they would learn something from his observations and interpretations of America and its democracy

[35] For a detailed account on Renan, see Anderson *Imagined Community*, 199.
[36] Anderson mentions in this respect genocide, see Anderson *Imagined Communities,* 204.
[37] For a detailed account, see Anderson *Imagined Community*, 205-206.
[38] The work is about the social conditions in the U.S. as well as about the governmental and administrative systems. For more detail on this work see Hart, James. 1983. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*, 688.

(Kemp, 2004, 195). Tocqueville coined the concept of American exceptionalism in this work. According to him, Americans are exceptional in that they have a distinct and special destiny which no other nation has. As S. M. Lipset explains, America is exceptional in the sense that it is "qualitatively different from all other countries" (Lipset, 1996, 18).[39] American exceptionalism is further an old and complex notion which is linked to another significant concept, that is, the American Creed. In *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville emphasised that law, liberty and egalitarianism are values crucial for the success of America as a democratic republic (Tocqueville, 1998, 127). Precisely these values constitute the American Creed. William T. Page was the man who employed a language of faith in formulating the American creed or what Americans are said to believe in – democracy.

> I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed, a democracy in a republic, a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I therefore, believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies (Page, 1917).[40]

The first settlers to America believed they were an exceptional nation chosen by God so they established a very close relation between religion and state. This special relation was and still is frequently emphasised. The origin of this belief goes back to the Puritans who had a strong tendency to interpret and see God's providence in their arrival to America. In their hunger for religious freedom they saw America as the Promised Land. It was thus both important and effective to use a language of faith in formulating the basic American values and beliefs. In this respect, it is interesting to mention Forrest Church's book *The American Creed. A biography of the Declaration of Independence* (2002). He opens his book by quoting J. Locke: "In the beginning all (sic!) the world was America"(Church, 2002, 1) and goes on in the tone and language of the Bible, giving account of creation of

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[39] The notion of American exceptionalism indicates that American difference is to be understood as its superiority towards all other nations. However, Lipset in his book *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (1996) argues that the notion of American exceptionalism is a double-edged sword which reveals America to be both the worst and the best of nations. For more information on this issue see the above mentioned book.

[40] http://www.ushistory.org/documents/creed.htm

America. F. Church establishes a clear relation between religion and state and implies a powerful metaphor of the Garden of Eden:[41]

> In the beginning when God created heaven and earth, all the world was wilderness. […] To European eyes, however, America was a second Eden. Long since driven from the garden, the first white (sic) settlers brought to America their own ancestral legends of creation and fall as contained in the Bible, together with a script for redemption (Church, 2002, 1).

It is significant to note that F. Church by "European eyes", or Europeans thinks specifically of Puritans who left England. Moreover, F. Church identifies religion as the ultimate source of the Anglo-American society and refers to Tocqueville whose observation after almost two centuries still has the same validity:

> It must never be forgotten that religion gave birth to Anglo-American society. In the United States, religion is therefore mingled with all the habits of the nation, and all the feelings of patriotism, whence it derives a peculiar force (Church, 2002, 2).

Yet, apart from this religious understanding, the notion of exceptionalism has also other meanings.

In her book *American Exceptionalism* (1998) Deborah L. Madsen offers her perspective of the notion of exceptionalism and traces this powerful theory to its origins, that is, to Puritan and Revolutionary - era writing. She also states that Puritans believed that God's providence led them to the chosen land, New England or in J. Winthrop's words "city upon a hill".[42] Madsen argues that this notion is "the single most powerful force in

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[41] The Garden of Eden is a biblical motif which Shakespeare used in Richard II. In this drama John of Gaunt introduces this metaphor to compare England to a garden. The garden of Eden, also implied the idea of paradise which in MacKenzie's words was "the archetype of harmony and order". This idea further goes hand in hand with 'a myth of England as an isolated island divided from the rest of the world. (MacKenzie, 1986, 319). Yet in Richard II, it turns out that this other paradise, the myth of England, is rather a paradise lost, an anti-myth. Puritans left England, which became paradise lost for them, in such for a new paradise: America. There they also established a new, American myth.

[42] J. Winthrop's "City upon a hill", Crevecoeur *Letters from an American Farmer* and Thomas Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, are three American writers who greatly contributed to the spread and development of the notion of American exceptionalism. Apart from them, two European thinkers, Hegel and Tocqueville, thought of and described America as exceptional. There is a number of other (American) thinkers who wrote about America's exceptionalism: such as Henry Adams (*The Education of Henry Adams*) and Frederick Jackson Turner (*Significance of the Frontier in American History*), Constance Rourke (*Corn Cobs in Your Hair*), Vernon Parrington (*Main Currents in American Thought*), etc.

forming the American identity" (Madsen, 1998, 186).[43] Moreover, this concept gave the New World a legacy of superpower as opposed to the Old World. Madsen further points to an important fact: the complexity of the notion as well as its relevance in shaping American culture to this day. In this respect, she stresses that exceptionalism is a "way of talking about American history and culture, it is a form of interpretation with its own language and logic" (Medsen, 1998, 2).

Another crucial aspect of American exceptionalism has been discussed by Dorothy Ross in her book *The Origins of American Social Science* (1991). She establishes a clear relationship between the notion of American exceptionalism and the origins of American social science in her work. Moreover, she argues that social thinkers turned to science not for its sake but, rather, because of exceptionalism, or in her words Americans' 'exceptionalist mentality'. By this she means Americans' belief in their institutions as unique and beyond change because they were rooted in nature. She further indicates that precisely this mentality has led social thinkers "to seek answers to their questions in nature rather than history" (Hilts, 1993, 589).[44] The thesis of her book could be summed up as follows:

> In the beginning Americans believed that America had been founded according to unchanging laws of nature and Divine Providence and that this conviction although often challenged and greatly transformed never entirely disappeared (Hilts, 1993, 589).[45]

Ross's book is further interesting because she argues that there are three generic varieties of American exceptionalism:

> They are (1) supernaturalist explanations which emphasize the causal potency of God in selecting America as a "city on a hill" for the rest of the world to admire and emulate, (2) genetic interpretations which emphasize racial traits, ethnicity, or gender, and (3) environmental explanations such as geography, climate, availability of natural resources, social structure, and type of political economy. (Tilman, 2005).

[43] http://www.upress.state.ms.us/books/25
[44] http://www.jstor.org/stable/235700?seq=1
[45] http://www.jstor.org/stable/235700?seq=2

This quote makes transparent the fact that exceptionalism is a complex tripartite notion which is both explained and understood differently by different scholars. The first explanation is of religious nature, as I have already mentioned: America as chosen by God to be superior. The second explanation is of genetic nature and in this respect emphasises race, ethnicity and gender. The third explanation uses the supposed environmental differences to support claim of difference between America and the rest of the world - difference necessarily meaning superiority. But there is also another view on exceptionalism, the economic exceptionalism. This view has been supported by Thorstein Veblen and his contemporaries. Thorstein was an American writer who had an "exceptionalist" view of America, America being significantly different from Europe. According to Thorsten and other exceptionalists

> American capitalism, an economic system based on private property, sanctity of contract, and free exchange, was less conducive to class consciousness, class struggle, and ideological politics than Europe (Tilman, 2005).[46]

The notion of American exceptionalism has also some other meaning like, for instance, the so- called Marxist variant of exceptionalism (Tilman, 2005). However, the meanings I have mentioned appear to be three main uses of the notion of American exceptionalism. Byron Shafer poignantly defines American exceptionalism as the "notion that the United States was created differently, developed differently, and thus has to be understood differently - essentially on its own terms and within its own context [...] (Tilman, 2005).

3.3 Mark Twain travelling and travel writing

Mark Twain travelled considerably. He travelled for business, pleasure, exploration, rediscovery. However, he was also aware of the prospect and indeed significance of transmitting his travel experiences in the form of travel writing. He wrote five travel books, three of foreign travel – *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), *A Tramp Abroad* (1880) and *Following the Equator* (1897) and two of domestic travel – *Roughing It* (1872) and *Life on the Mississippi* (1883).

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[46]http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst;jsessionid=KcxG1pJHV5H57ZKSphfR48WGxmRZ2YJtgr9yR1YwgMJXpVmGRxQn!-229138872!-1934322800?docId=5009094826

Americans in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century were very much concerned with defining their national heritage. In this respect, J.A. Melton mentions, that America after the Civil War

> could no longer define itself through its frontier alone – its ample geography waiting for poetic maters. The new American had to travel, to move outside that vastness and around the rest of the world, and this new American, true to the new age, could only go as a tourist (Melton, 2002, 15).

Mark Twain was one of the first and most important American tourists, or as F. R. Dulles emphasises, “a first chronicler for the American tourists in the years stretching from the Civil War to the close of the century” (Dulles, 1964, 110). He knew the potential of travel writing and he used it to the full. I argue that Twain, through the discourse of travel writing, contributed to the definition of an American national heritage. Apart from that, he used the discourse of travel writing to foster the idea of “American exceptionalism” and nationalism both being notions of great relevance for American national heritage. Moreover, Twain’s writing in general, and his travel writing in particular, had a great impact on the assertion of “a uniquely American identity” (Grounidou, 2005, 72). How did Mark Twain contribute to what is considered “a uniquely American identity”? The following quote by Dulles indirectly answers this question: “In his iconoclastic approach to Europe, Twain […] gave his readers a comforting sense of the New World’s superiority to the Old World and delighted them with his humor” (Dulles, 1964, 110). In plain language, Twain supported the absurd belief that Americans were superior to Europeans and he used the Old World as the object of ridicule. In order to define their national identity, Americans had to apply some kind of useful ‘illusion’ such as the notion of exceptionalism, to feel better than the rest of the world. Furthermore, Twain, through his travel writing, contributed to the construction of a collective American “we”. It was natural to revolt against Europe and this revolt was a characteristic of American literary history as well as part of American culture (Cox, 1999, 343). But Europe was not just being revolted against; it was also a projection screen,

> a crucial touchstone from which to explore the meaning of American democracy, individualism, community, religion, and art, in principle and practice, while developing uniquely American literary voices (Cox, 1999, 344).

It is intriguing at this point to mention J. D. Stahl's book *Mark Twain, Culture and Gender: Envisioning America Through Europe* (1994). Although in this book Stahl primarily investigates gender issues in Twain's writings, he also comes to some interesting conclusions about tensions between the Old and the New World. He states that "Mark Twain's constructions of European culture [...] were a significant part of his [Twain's] construction of American culture" (Stahl, 1994, 187). Moreover, Twain translated elements of European culture into American terms and approached certain "issues and questions that were deeply rooted in his American experience through the appropriation of European symbols [...]" (Stahl, 1994, 179). In other words, Twain represented American themes through European images. There is, however, a significant difference in the method of depicting America and Europe. Stahl notes that Twain envisioned America "in terms of perpetual social conflict and change" (Stahl, 1994, 186). Europe however, is frequently associated with tradition in Twain's writing and

> tradition for him signifies stasis, oppression, even the annihilation of the self. He does not image characters, in the European setting at least, who are the product of subtle interactions between social influences and personal character [...]" (Stahl, 1994, 187).

Stahl, like Cox, talks of Europe as a projection screen for America. He states that Twain's writings about the European past became

> a screen upon which he projected his American vision. [H]is selective interpretation of European culture was a process of finding and shaping images of his American consciousness" (Stahl, 1994, 180).

That is, Twain envisioned America through Europe and Americans saw Europe through Twain's eyes. Stahl also stresses that the drama of cultural encounter between the Old World and America is necessarily one of "combat, conquest, and appropriation. Occasionally new experience reveals a process of immersion and education, but this experience is largely an adversarial one" (Stahl, 1994, 184). Stahl thus regards Twain as a cultural authority and emphasises that Twain's writing should be examined "in a

manner that recognizes a relationship among audience, text, author, and society" (Stahl, 1994, 183).[47]

There were, apart from Twain, many other American writers who in the nineteenth century, visited Europe and produced travel writings which were primarily targeted at an American audience.

3.3.1 Twain - an expatriate

An Expatriate is "a person who voluntarily withdraws from his or her native country or renounces his or her national allegiance" (Cox, 1999, 343).[48] According to Linda Cox, Twain was an American expatriate. I want to stress that Twain was an expatriate who withdrew from his native country in order to define the nature of America's national identity. However, Twain by no means renounced his national allegiance, to the contrary, he as one of the first national authors showed allegiance to American national identity, through his writing.[49] American expatriates who spent some time in Europe made use of the new perspectives gained through confrontation with European cultures and produced a body of (travel) writing which served the purpose of the formation of American national identity. As Cox explains,

> The long series of American writers living and writing in foreign lands […] formed a distinctive literary tradition characterized by intensely individualistic artists who discovered the nature of their Americanism from the perspective of another country (Cox, 1999, 343).

Expatriates in general gained a new perspective of the cultural identity of foreign countries but more importantly of their own identity. An American traveller was thus at the same time enriched by the Old World's culture and he or she was able to discover the nature of their Americanism as representative for the collective American "we". What is

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[47] Later in Chapter Five, I will emphasize this relationship and note, in recognition of J. Leerssen's proposition of pragmatic analysis that the role of audience should be given a special consideration when analyzing the mechanism of national stereotypes.

[48] The term expatriate, in the 18th century, also referred to a person driven or banished from his or her native land. The term is thus still used interchangeably with "exile". For a more detailed account on this term see *Encyclopedia of American Literature*, 343. s.v. "expatriate".

[49] According to Cox, other significant expatriates were: W. Irving, J.F. Cooper, H. Melville, R. W. Emerson, N. Hawthorne, H. James and others.

the origin of expatriation and why is this term of special significance for Americans? Cox points out that the issue of expatriation has its roots in the history of Americans because they were expatriates from Europe:

> Expatriation has been an issue in American writing precisely because Americans themselves were expatriates from Europe, bringing European culture with them only to rebel against it (Cox, 1999, 343).

Twain went back to Europe, to his roots, and produced travel writings which constituted simplified versions of the Old World, an opposition to the superior New World. J. D. Stahl notes Twain's tendency to simplify reality and exclude certain kinds of recognition while lending added emphasis to others. He thus argues "This process of simplification is inseparable from Twain's American cultural presuppositions about differences between Europe and America [...]" (Stahl, 1994, 184).

In her book *Lighting Out for the Territory* (1997), Shelley Fishkin Fisher, sees Twain in his travelling abroad as a representative of his nation. What is more, throughout the world he is the most distinctively American of American authors (Fisher, 1997, 8).[50] Fisher argues that Twain played the role of mediator between the Old World and America. Twain, as Fisher states, had a unique role in explaining, a century after the American Revolution, both to Americans and Europeans what that revolution had wrought. Furthermore, Twain was the one who

> probed the significance of this new land and its citizens identified what it was about the Old World that America abolished and rejected. The founding fathers had thought through the political dimensions of the making of a new society; (Fisher, 1997, 8).

Twain interpreted the social and cultural life of the United States for the Old World as well as for Americans and he became "the voice of the new land, the leading translator of who and what the "American" was and still is" (Fisher, 1997, 8). Fisher also notes that Twain enabled Americans to

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[50] S. F. Fisher notes that Twain himself once jotted in his notebook: "No, I am not an American. I am *the* American" (Fisher, 1997, 8).

> stand before the cultural icons of the Old World unembarrassed, unashamed of America's lack of palaces and shrines, proud of its brash practicality and bold inventiveness, unafraid to reject Europe's models of "civilization" as tainted or corrupt (Fisher, 1997, 8).

Twain attacked Europe and insisted that the rich picture galleries, churches and "dull decaying monuments" of Europe should not be perceived as "Europe's superior civilization", which is in an outstanding and precious heritage of a rich European past. He stressed that Europe's superior civilization was a "superstition [...] imposed upon the world" (Dulles, 1964, 110). In his travel writing, he mockingly demonstrated European cultural traditions and remarked that he would not accept such a culture. The 'innocent' from across the Atlantic - Mark Twain - was puzzled by what he experienced in Paris. He went to a performance of the famous can-can dance and had to place his "hands before his face for very shame" but he added that he looked through his fingers. He also mentions that he

> searched Paris for the *grisettes* of whom he had heard so much. They were a disappointment, another of Europe's romantic frauds. His overall impression was that it would be "base flattery to call them immoral" (Dulles, 1964, 111).

Twain's stories about strange and unfamiliar European customs are highly amusing and humorous. However, the message is in spite of his humour or maybe precisely because of it even more transparent: Europe's cultural supremacy is only a "superstition".

As I have already noted, Twain himself travelled considerably, but advised other Americans to stay at home and read travelogues rather than travel themselves. In general, Americans believed the Old World to be decadent, and that they were better advised to stay at home and not run the danger of becoming 'infected'.

Europe was considered impure and infectious and as such dangerous for Americans. What is more, this preposterous belief was supported by the disease called Roman fever. In the eighteenth century, one of the Grand Tour's obligatory routes, Rome, increasingly began to be associated with the disease called Roman fever which is another term for malaria. The disease was so pervasive in Rome that it became known as Roman fever. It was a serious infection and a huge problem for Italy and the Grand Tourists. A *New York*

Times article from 1901 entitled "Maleria no longer flourishes in Rome" gave evidence of the seriousness of the problem but also of the 'achievements in conquering the disease'. It contained information on the death rates which showed a clear decline: from 21,035 in 1887 to 7,838 in 1905. The article was definitely pro-Rome. It praised Rom's sanitary conditions as "the best" and stated that there has been a law passed providing for quinine "specific remedy against malaria" (Egidi, 1907, 1).[51]

3.3.2 Twain's travel writing

J. A. Melton stresses that for readers in the late nineteenth century, Twain was "first and foremost a travel writer" (Melton, 2002, 1) and he earned his fame as an author of travel books rather than as the author of *Huckleberry Finn* (Melton, 2002, 1). Moreover, Melton, just as Bruce Michelson, comments on Twain's sensitiveness to lucrative perspectives:

> It was no coincidence that Twain made such extensive use of the genre or that so many readers loved these narratives. Twain recognized early the lucrative sales potential of travel books and capitalized on it throughout a varied and formidable career. Consistently, his travel books proved to be his best-sellers, especially in his formative years as a professional writer (Melton, 2002, 1).

Twain was obviously a talented businessman, very conscious of "the desires and expectations of his reader" (Melton, 2002, 2).

In his essay "The Innocent at Large: Mark Twain's Travel Writing", F. G. Robinson proposes that there can be glimpsed a specific pattern within the flow of Mark Twain's associations in his travel writing (Robinson, 1995, 27). Robinson explains that "a specific pattern", is "a rough kind of index to the topics that gripped his [Twain's] moral imagination" (Robinson, 1995, 27). Moreover, Robinson argues that Twain's reflections are primarily concerned with either the success or failure of American civilization. The major preoccupation of Twain's writing however, was the knowledge that "all mortal things are fraud" (Robinson, 1995, 28), and that the impulse to deceive and to be deceived is universal. Bearing this in mind, Robinson refers to Peter L. Berger and

[51] http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9D00E3DE173EE233A25754C2A9669D946697D6CF

Thomas Luckmann's book: *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967). These two authors basically argue that the everyday world, which we take for granted or regard as natural, is actually a fabrication or construction that we inherit and pass along to our successors. In other words, the reality is a social construct. Furthermore, social reality is a fiction presented as a fact (Robinson, 1995, 28). There are specific processes at work through which a version of reality can be constructed and taken for granted. Yet, Mark Twain was very much aware that a taken-for-granted-reality is a construct of fiction and he had put this potential to use. I want to argue that he constructed a version of social reality of European cultures in general and Austrian culture in particular, as opposed to American culture for the purpose of the definition of the American self. Needless to say, these versions of social reality have no claim to truth whatsoever. They are significantly, however, fiction which passes as fact. It is thus not uninteresting to mention that Twain in his essay "On the Decay of the Art of Lying" insisted that "Lying is universal [...] we all do it, we all must do it" (Robinson, 1995, 29). Apart from that, Twain insisted that "Truth is stranger than fiction because Fiction is obliged to stick to possibilities; Truth isn't" (Robinson, 1995, 29). Twain's travel narratives are thus "a record of his approach over time to a reckoning with his entanglement in the fabrication web of reality" (Robinson, 1995, 29). It is also significant to stress that Twain did not approve of blind patriotism, for he was critical of many things in his own country. Much more importantly, Twain was a connoisseur of human nature and he knew how to make use of this knowledge. He was aware of the human thrall to fiction, so he produced the fiction of America as an exceptional and superior country inflated by national pride.

> In the equatorial world of predators and prey he [Twain] found confirmation of the belief that humans are everywhere in thrall to fictions of their own devising. He saw as well that the collapse of those fictions, especially those that express and reinforce national pride, was fatal in the relentless struggle for territory and domination. [...] Real truth and justice and progress had small place in it; false, inflated pride was at a premium (Robinson, 1995, 50).

4. Humour in the United States

4.1 Exceptionalism of American humour

As I have noted in Chapter 3.2.3, Americans believe themselves to be exceptional according to the notion of exceptionalism. That is, there is a discourse of exceptionalism which suggests that America has a distinct and special destiny which no other nation has, or that America is exceptional in the sense that this country is "qualitatively different from all other countries" (Lipset, 1996, 18). This discourse affects all strata of American culture including American humour.

In his essay "Humour in the United States" (2002), M. Thomas Inge emphasises that humour has an "abiding presence in American culture" and quotes from Faulkner: "We have one priceless universal trait, we Americans. That trait is our humour" (Van O'Connor, 1954, 23). I do not completely agree because Americans frequently make claims about their 'universal traits' and they are all said to be priceless. Moreover, Inge notes that "the spirit of comedy is all-pervasive in American literature [...]" and continues

> Humour is found in the works of major authors, such as Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau, Whitman, and Emily Dickinson and, in the case of Twain and Faulkner, comedy is central to their styles and artistic visions (Inge, 2002, 478).

What follows is an interesting relation which Inge establishes, namely between humour and the democratic system in America. He argues that American humour is "encouraged by our [American] democratic system in which we often posit higher ideals than we can live up to" and adds "It is the incongruity between the ideal and the real, between the dream and the failure to achieve it, to which much American humour is addressed" (Inge, 2002, 478). It can be observed that the recurrent theme behind the arguments which Inge establishes is precisely the discourse of expectionalism. He goes on with the argument: "Few nations so willingly celebrate their failures and foolishness through hilarity and the horse laugh as do Americans" (Inge, 2002, 478).

The exceptionalism of all that is American, including humour, can be observed as well in Louis J. Budd's essay on humour in the United States from 1870 to 1920.[52] Budd states:

> American humour could itself travel far because it meshed with basic human nature. But its offhand egalitarianism and its quickness to ridicule snobbery and pomposity was stronger than that of any other country with print culture (Budd, 2006, 473).

American humour indeed travelled far and significantly ridiculed not just American failures and foolishness but also European ones. One of those who travelled far, and ridiculed the cultures and customs with which he came in touch, was Mark Twain.

4.2 Twain's humor

Mark Twain is known as a distinctly American humorist and he has been celebrated as such. Yet what makes Twain's humour deserve the appellation of being distinctly American? Inge explains the distinctiveness of Twain's humor:

> Samuel L. Clemens would emulate, draw together, and build on all the major strands of American humour up to his time and improve on them. He cut his journalistic teeth on the boisterous humour of the frontier, contributed his first literary efforts as comic letters and sketches to the newspapers of his day, and turned to the lecture platform and book publishing as lucrative sources of income (Inge, 2002, 480).

Moreover, Clemens, just like literary comedians before him, created a literary persona – Mark Twain – which became "the best-known personality of his time" (Inge, 2002, 480). He achieved this through "expert manipulation of the media" (Inge, 2002, 480). Twain's mastery of (media) manipulation made it possible for his persona to remain so powerful that even today we more comfortably refer to Twain than to Clemens. Inge further refers to Twain as a humorist who has set "a high standard for literary humour and made it more respectable by incorporating its techniques into mainstream American fiction" (Inge, 2002, 480). Finally, he sees

[52] L. J. Budd's essay on humour is a contribution to the reference book *American History Through Literature* (2006).

Twain's major works – *Huckleberry Finn* (1885), *The Innocents Abroad* (1865), *Roughing It* (1872), *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889) and *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) – as "the masterworks of American fiction and literary humour (Inge, 2002, 480).

Twain definitely holds a paramount position as a humorist in American culture. Many critics agree on this point. F. G. Robinson states that Twain was "the nation's premier humorist" (Robinson, 1995, 27). Louis J. Budd notes that "by far, the humourist of the late nineteenth century who has the most prolonged appeal is Mark Twain, [...]" (Budd, 2006, 478) and goes on to say: Mark Twain was "king of the humorists until his death in 1910" (Budd, 2006, 477). The question arises: what is so extraordinary about Twain's humour and what is concealed behind it? Critics offer different answers to these questions.

In *Critical Essays on Mark Twain, 1910-1980* (1983) Robert Herrick explains Twain's sense of humour as follows:

> his humour was a form, often a cloak for his deep earnestness. [...] The sternness within his soul deepened with age [...] His burlesque, his buffoon manner lessened, his irony deepened (Herrick, 1983, 30).

In the "Prefice" to *Mark Twain, King Leopold's Soliloquy. A Defense of His Congo Rule* (1907) E. D. Morel gives the following answer to the above question:

> Behind Mark Twain's humour pulsates a passion for human liberties, a fierce opposition to autocracy, a hatred for every form of injustice, a detestation of conventionality, cant & humbug (Morel, 1907, xi).

This is one of many possible answers to the question. There are probably no wrong answers and the range of different approaches to Twain's humour is large and cannot be encompassed by this thesis. It is, however, evident that humour is an intriguing issue over which a large number of critics have pondered and critics are sure that Twain's humour has a direct origin- the Southwest.

4.3 Twain and Southwestern humour

The term Southwestern humour stands for humour which writers from the American Southwest developed and which was popular between 1831 and 1861.[53] Kenneth S. Lynn explains in some detail what the 'ideal' Southwestern humorist was like:

> The ideal Southwestern humorist was a professional man – a lawyer or a newspaperman, usually, although sometimes a doctor or an actor. He was actively interested in politics, either as a party propagandist or as a candidate for office. He was well educated, relatively speaking, and well travelled, although he knew America better than Europe. He had a sense of humour, naturally enough, and in surprising number of cases a notoriously bad temper. [...] [T]he ideal humorist was a Southern patriot – and this was important. Above all he was a conservative, identified either with the aristocratic faction in state politics, or with the banker-oriented Whig party in national politics, or with both (Lynn, 1959, 52).

Moreover, Southwestern humorists exaggerated in their stories, used fantasy and ridiculed the wild men of the frontier. Their favourite topics were "fights, gambling, drinking and drunks, trades and swindlers, eccentrics, the hunt, sickness, [...]" (Mandia, 1991, 11).

Twain was highly influenced by Southwestern humour. He grew up with it, read it and heard it told orally. In *Comedic Pathos. Black Humour in Twain's Fiction,* Patricia M. Mandia underlines that Twain's acquaintance with Southwestern humour influenced both his "interest in mixing humour and pain, and [...] affected his choice of topic" (Mandia, 1991, 11).

Aside from this, Twain was familiar with the writers who defined the literary humour movement in the 1850s and 1860s and they influenced his development as a writer. Twain also used the favourite devices of literary humorists: irony, parody, burlesque, and other "comic debate wit forms that were popular in eighteenth-century American and British literature" (Mandia, 1991, 11).

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[53]According to David Sloane, these writers were Artemus Ward, Petroleum V. Nasby, and Orpheus C. Kerr (Sloane, 1979, 11).

4.4 Twain's use of rhetorical figures

Satire, irony, parody, burlesque and other rhetorical figures make up a powerful 'arsenal' of a humorist which enable him to criticize, expose and consequently effect change with a smile on his face.

In his article "Satire, Burlesque, and Parody"[54], Richard Fusco explains that 'satire' has a Latin root, satura, which means "medley", and that it attests to "the multiple rhetorical weapons available to the writer" (Fusco, 2006, 1004). The goal of a satirist is to ridicule

> human folly and corruption in order to raise public awareness about a salient problem, ostensibly to a point where the resulting controversy forces a reluctant authority to address the issue" (Fusco, 2006, 1003).

The satirist's weapon is thus the pen, and his goal is either social, political or aesthetic change. Ideally, the reader will realize that there is a specific problem and will be spurred to act. Moreover, irony "invites readers to fathom hidden meaning below superficial images and statements" (Fusco, 2006, 1004). Sarcasm is used when the author's "true meaning is obviously opposite to the rhetorical content of the sentence" (Fusco, 2006, 1004).

Fusco further sees burlesque and parody as two suborders of satire. 'Burlesque' derives from the Italian word for mockery and usually has a broad target such as, for instance, "the practices and aesthetic virtues of a rival literary tradition" (Fusco, 2006, 1004). Parody, on the contrary, specifies a target, which is usually a "particular literary work or an author's style" (2006, 1004). On the whole, Fusco notes that parody, burlesque and satire "have the same goal - to empower an outsider to influence attitudes toward commonly accepted cultural institutions" (Fusco, 2006, 1004).

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[54] In: *American History through Literature 1870-1920.*

When it comes to Twain's works, it can be observed that in, for example, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) he "lampoons American bravado against the backdrop of European hypocrisy" (Fusco, 2006, 1005). Twain frequently ridiculed American failures compared to European ones, and vice versa. There is another interesting parallel between America and Europe. As John Samson stresses in "Wealth", in the late 1800s rich Americans "demonstrated their status by showing a connection to European nobility" (Samson, 2006, 1183). This was one of Twain's favourite targets. He satirized such pretensions in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) and in *The American Claimant* (1892). This aside, travel to Europe was *condicio sine qua non* for the upper class. According to Samson, the display of wealth was an inevitable part of such travels. Americans on the Grand Tour had maids, nurses and twenty or thirty pieces of luggage to increase their visibility (Samson, 2006, 1183). Twain not only took part on a Grand Tour through Europe, but also ridiculed it in *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), and *A Tramp Abroad* (1880).

In *Mark Twain Humour on the Run* (1994), S. Hutchinson emphasises that Twain, together with Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Dickinson and Henry James, "proposed and enacted New World identities" and these identities "encountered the Old World" (Hutchinson, 1994, 8). In Hutchinson's opinion, what is evident, is that behind this binary which Twain frequently made use of and established in his works, there is "the American question of identity for the self and for the nation" (Hutchinson, 1994, 10).

4.5 Twain and the function of audience

Humour is dependent on an audience, that is, on the reader. I want to argue that Twain, by using rhetorical figures in writing about Austrian culture, left the ambivalence deliberately open for the reader to interpret which necessarily means that Twain was 'dependent' on his audience. James Cox emphasises precisely the audience aspect. He states that especially as a lecturer and a performer, Twain sought "absolute control of his audience" and that he "was utterly dependant on the audience, desperately requiring a response" (Cox, 2002, ix). In my opinion, Twain,

put the emphasis on the importance of audience function, not only as a lecturer and a performer, but also as a writer (Cox, 2002, ix).

In the article "The Rhetoric of National Character: A Pragmatic Survey" (2000) J. T. Leerssen underlines the audience function in national stereotyping. For the time being, I simply want to highlight the interplay between national stereotype, irony and the reader's function, as Leerssen describes it. He claims, that the mechanism of national stereotyping should include a pragmatic aspect, that is, the role of the reader should be given importance. Moreover, Leerssen stresses that stereotype has an ironic potential or ironic duality. Ironic potential or duality result from the utterances that "simultaneously affirm and undercut a proposition" (Leerssen, 2000, 285). This is what Twain made use of - the ironic potential of stereotype in writing Austrian culture. He employed, at that time, the current national stereotypes and gave his contribution to their growth and spreading through his works.

One of the major national stereotypes, around which a series of other stereotypes were constructed, is the superiority of Americans towards Europeans. Twain both supported this belief and contributed to the practice of adopting a condescending attitude towards the Old World. He achieved this, I would argue, primarily by implying stereotypes in combination with rhetorical figures.

5. Stereotypes

Stereotypes exist to fit every nation. That is, specific personality traits are ascribed to particular nationalities. For instance, the French are known for their gaiety, Italians for jealousy, the Spanish for bullfights. These and similar stereotypes rely on the essentialist concept of (national) identity; that is, on a set of true, authentic, and fixed characteristics which are shared by all members of a particular group. Stereotypes further rely on 'essential' character traits according to which people are typecast. In cultural studies, however, critics reject an essentialist approach to stereotypes and argue for a non-essentialist approach to stereotypes. In this respect, Chris Barker defines stereotype as

> a vivid but simple representation that reduces persons to a set of exaggerated, usually negative, character traits and is thus a form of representation that essentializes others through the operation of power. That is, a stereotype suggests that a given category has inherent and universal characteristics and that furthermore these characteristics represent all that such a person is or can be. (Barker, 2004, 188)

Stereotype involves the "us-them" dynamics and binary opposition. In other words, stereotyping is a tool for creating the other as being different from us, i.e. negative. This process of attribution of the 'other' as negative, "points to the operation of power in stereotyping" (Barker, 2004, 188). Hence, by creating the other as 'different' or negative, we automatically exclude them from the 'usual' or normal order of things. The category of the 'normal', just as 'apparent unity', as Campbell and Kean state, obscures the fact that the 'different' is needed in order to define the self. The role of stereotyping is to establish who constitutes the dominant group – us; and who the subordinate group – them. J. T. Leerssen draws a connection between cultural and social patterns on one hand and statements that stereotype on the other. He argues that statements that stereotype are "concerned with explaining cultural and social patterns from a purported character" (Leerssen, 2000, 282).

Cultural studies furthermore, seek to answer questions such as why there are stereotypes and what functions and effects stereotypes have. Most significantly, critics attempt to analyze the ways in which stereotypical thinking can be dissolved especially when engaging in intercultural encounters. As I will show in chapter 5.3.[55]

In contrast to cultural studies' approach, imagology, at its beginnings, advocated an essentialist approach to national stereotypes and images.

5.1 Imagology

Imagology studies literary images. Two terms which are basic in the field of imagology are image and stereotype. The definition of the two, as well as the aims and principles of imagology, have varied over the years.

[55] Leerssen offers answers to these questions. I will go into more detail with Leerssen in chapter 5.3.

At an early stage, the aim of imagology was to restore true images and to locate the wrong ones. This principle relied on the belief that a national character as such exists. The French school of comparative literature, with two of its main representatives, Jean-Marie Carré and Marius Francois Guyard, supported this notion of the existence of a national character. They believed that "every nation is characterized by a number of traits which are typical for every one of its members" (Groundiou, 2005, 11). Moreover, they claimed that some images of nation found in literary texts are true while the others are "only the writer's invention" (Groundiou, 2005, 11). Principally there was a basic distinction between 'images' and 'mirages'. 'Images' being 'the true representations of reality (wahre Bilder) and 'mirages' being the false, artificial images (Scheinbilder) (Dyserinck, 1966, 108). Contrary to French comparatists, Dyserinck, used "images" and "mirages" - almost synonymously and criticised the notion of a national character. For him, the national character was 'something fictive, an ideological construction' (Swiderska, 2001, 24). His student Syndram maintained that both mirages and images were false because the images found in literary texts are always 'only representations of reality as seen through the eyes of the author' (Grounidou, 2005, 12). Accordingly, authors can never be objective. They translate personal experience which is subjective. Since these images are part of a fictional text they should be consequently treated as fiction.

According to Syndram, images are actually 'mirages'; that is, imagined patterns and views of the author - fiction. Syndram thus argues that

> The imagologist's working ground is that of discourse: s/he studies statements and texts, and keeps aloof from making, or entering into an argument with real-world truth claims - for these (e.g. climatological[56] or biological determinism[57]) are usually essentialist reifications (Syndram, 1991, 183-4).

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[56] Klimatheorie is "a kind of imagological study based on the assumed climatic differences between northern and southern Europe" (Grounidou, Maria "Mountains, castles, superstitions: Images of Austria in British and American Gothic fiction,"12-13). For a more detailed account on Klimatheorie, see W. Zacharasiewicz *Klimatheorie in der englischen Literatur und Literaturkritik von der Mitte des 16. bis zum 18, Jahrhundert* (1977).
[57] See Fischer, Manfred. 1981. "Scheideweg". In *Nationale Images als Gegenstand Vergleichender Literaturgeschichte. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der komparatistischen Imagologie.*

Furthermore, the imagologist's goal is to "examine the origin, development, and function of images in literary texts" (Groundiou, 2005, 13). Another student of Dyserinck, Manfred Fischer also underlines that comparative imagology is not investigated as to whether an image is true or false. Much more, comparative imagology is interested in "das Wie und Warum seines Funktionierens im Rahmen literarischer und transliterarischer Kommunikationsprozesse und Bedingungen" (Fischer, 1981, 57).

On the whole, it can be said that images have three characteristics: fictionality, manifoldness, and the ideological character. The writer has a certain ideology which influences his or her perception of reality. Therefore, the images produced will consequently be a product of his or her ideology. Moreover, images can be seen as "the basis for the formation of an ideology" (Grounidou, 2005, 14). In this respect, Dyserinck believes that imagology can be used to free images from the ideological constraint.[58] This is a rather utopian endeavour, as Grounidou observes, for it is a fact that no one is "free of a subjective point of view" (Grounidou, 2005, 15).

Apart from ideology, historicity plays also an important role when it comes to the analyses of images. Historicity, as Grounidou states, refers to "the genesis and to the development of national images through the centuries" (Grounidou, 2005, 16). Moreover, a specific historical period gives rise to specific national images, which then disappear and reappear throughout time. Images change over the years but some resist time and historical change. This is, as Fisher notes, another characteristic of images, namely their 'Konstanz', that is, "a temporary invariability", which means that "some elements of the image of a country are more stable and consistent, while others appear only for a very short period of a nation's history (Grounidou, 2005, 18). However, there are also images which are not temporary but are nearly omnipresent. The images of countries that "persist in the minds of another nation, by appearing repeatedly in its literature, "so dass man da von einer Omnipräsenz sprechen kann"

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[58] Dyserinck is of the opinion that imagology is not a part "eines ideologischen Denkens, sondern vielmehr ein Beitrag zur Entideologisierung" (*Komparatistik* 131). He thus argues that imagology can be use for the "Entideologisierung der Methoden der Literaturwissenschaft" ("Zum Problem 119"). For a more detailed account on this issue see Grounidou, M. "Mountains, castles, superstitions: Images of Austria in British and American Gothic fiction", 2005, 15.

(Grounidou, 2005, 18) become stereotyped images. Although many imagologists use the terms ‘stereotyped images’ and ‘national stereotypes’ synonymously, there is a clear distinction between the two. Fisher defines an image as „a strukturierte Gesamtheit von Einzel- und Kollektivaussagen, […] ein äußerst komplexes Zusammenwirken von ’Vorstellungen’ über Andersnationales“ (Grounidou, 2005, 18). Yet how do imagologists distinguish between these two notions and how do they define national stereotype?

5.1.1 Image and (national) stereotype

In his essay “Ethnic and national stereotypes: A social identity perspective”[59], Marco Cinnirella defines stereotypes as “belief systems which associate attitudes, behaviours and personality characteristics with members of a social category or in our case national category”. The difference between the notions of ‘image’ and ‘stereotype’ can basically be observed in the following points: ‘image’ is a word which is more comprehensive notion and may contain a stereotype. Moreover, image is more flexible and changes with time and circumstances while stereotype tends to last longer and is almost immune to time and change of circumstances. Stereotypes are further common beliefs and not a personal invention of an author. However, a stereotype may influence an author’s image of another nation (Grounidou, 2005, 18). Finally, Manfred S. Fisher explains the most important difference between an image and a stereotype: “stereotype is only an intellectual entity, a set of non-changing ideas about a nation, while an image is both an intellectual product and a textual construct about the other nation“ (Fisher, 1979, 56).

5.1.2 Imagology and national stereotype

There is one book, among others, that is of special significance for a better understanding of imagologist approach to national stereotypes. This is *Images of Central Europe in Traveloques and Fiction by North American Writers* (1995) by Waldemar Zacharasiewicz.

[59] In: Beyond Pug's Tour, ed. Barfoot (see Barfoot 1997 above), 37-52.

In the introduction to this book, Zacharasiewicz emphasises that different types of stereotypes can serve as useful tools:

> "auto-" and "heterostereotypes" or "ethnocentrism," can become valuable tools for "Imagologists" unrevealing the complex forces shaping the depiction of foreign nations, regions and countries in literary texts [...] (Zacharasiewicz, 1995, xii).

He notes the need for collaboration between historians and literary scholars. Moreover, the analysis of literary scholars brings out "the blurring of the borderline between factual and fictional texts, history and literature" (Zacharasiewicz, 1995, xiii). Imagologists apply diachronic analysis of "the emergence and dissemination of stereotypes in and through literature" (Zacharasiewicz, 1995, xiv) and they benefit from systematic comparison of a certain genre (Zacharasiewicz, 1995, xvi).

F. K. Stanzel's contribution to the collection of essays *Images of Central Europe in Traveloques and Fiction by North American Writers* is an essay entitled "National stereotypes in Literature". He gives an overview of the genesis and the development of national stereotypes over the centuries, starting with the sixteenth and ending with the nineteenth century. Stanzel follows a general trend of literary studies in imagology and stresses that the subject of his essay, and with it of imagology, is not national character as such but rather national character in literature, i.e. national stereotypes. Moreover, Stanzel distinguishes between the positive and negative sense or usage of stereotypes. Stereotyping in its positive usage implies a generalization that requires revision. In its negative usage, however, stereotype is "a generalization which resists revision" (Stanzel, 1995, 1). Stanzel, just as Leerssen, notes that stereotypes are persistent in time and that there is no such a thing as an objective observer: "The innocent eye is a myth" (Stanzel, 1995, 1). The same is true of a traveller who visits a foreign country and carries a mental luggage of his own. The traveller's observations of a foreign country are not objective, for he or she already has ideas and notions about the foreign country he is visiting. Sources for the mental luggage people carry around are literature, historical and ethnographic studies, travelogues, etc. This is also what Leerssen stresses in a somewhat different manner.

Reduction of national character to one representative feature of the whole nation constitutes a stereotype and in the sixteenth century stereotypical clichés were organized in storehouses. These storehouses were available to authors and they made us of them. Stanzel, as well as Leerssen, points out that the rich arsenal of national stereotypes underwent a process of nationalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. He illustrates this with recourse to the example of the Seven Deadly Sins. Each of the sins was assigned to one particular nation as its essential characteristic, e.g. "superbia (pride) to Spain, gula (gluttony and drunkenness) to Germany and so one. This attribution was later on adapted to the theory of the climatic zones[60] which had formative influence on the temperament of a specific nation. According to the climatic zones, the Northerners were generally considered to be "hardy but dull" and Southerners, to be "lively and witty but lecherous" (Stanzel, 1995, 3). The seventeenth century was a period of dictionaries of national epithets like *Thesaurus* of Ravisius Textor and *Gradus ad Parnassum* by Joshua Poole. What the authors of such dictionaries believed to be a characteristic of a specific nation was in fact a "sociological phenomenon, typical of behaviour of the well-to-do-classes everywhere" (Stanzel, 1995, 3).

The eighteenth century added method to traditional catalogues of national characterizations. Around 1700, an Austrian devised a board with a list of the "outstanding features of the main nations of Europe in a strictly systematic way" (Stanzel, 1995, 4).[61] The board consisted of seventeen areas which the author believed to identify in a highly systematic way. The uppermost aim of the author was completeness and comprehensiveness, and the 'Systemzwang' which is apparent produced attributions which are outright inane. Systematic completeness has thus precedence over plausibility.[62]

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[60] For a more detailed account on climatic zones and climatic theory see W. Zacharasiewicz's book *Die Klimatheorie in der englischen Literatur und Literaturkritik von der Mitte des 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (1977).

[61] This board is known as "Völkertafel" and it bears the subtitle "Kurze Beschreibung der In Europa Befintlichen Völckern und Ihren Aigenschafften". For a more detailled discussion of the „Völkertafel" see F. K. Stanzel, "Das Nationalitätenschema".

[62] For an illustration of this board as well as a more detailed account on this board see Stanzel "National Stereotypes in Literature", 1995, 4.

The most persistent image of Germans in the sixteenth- and seventeenth century literature is that of dispomania, that is, “love of excessive drinking” (Stanzel, 1995, 4) and this characteristic was included in the table as well. Stanzel observes that this image proved much stronger than personal experience of authors like, Thomas Coryat, which proved little or no evidence of the plausibility of this ‘national characteristic’ of Germans (Stanzel, 1995, 4). Moreover, in the imagologist manner, Stanzel traces back the origin of the image of the drunken German to the “rediscovery of a Latin book on the Germanic tribes, namely Tacitus’ *Germania*, around the year 1500” (Stanzel, 1995, 6). The history of the image is, for an imagologist, evidence of “the literary origin of national stereotypes of Germans in this case” (Stanzel, 1995, 6). However, Stanzel further notes that

> Classical scholars were able to show that Tacitus himself had borrowed the stereotype of drunkenness as a national characteristic from earlier ethnographic writers. In fact, drunkenness was often attributed by Graeco-Roman ethnographers to those tribes, peoples or races whose culture was considered as primitive by Graeco-Roman standards, like the Scythians, Persians, Illyrians or Celts (Stanzel, 1995, 6).

It is significant to notice that the apparent origin of the image, which imagologists tend to look for, cannot actually be traced back. This is what Leerssen emphasises in the above-mentioned essay.[63]

However, both Stanzel and Leerssen note that national stereotypes are by their nature revision-resistant and that they are usually activated when there is a necessary occasion for it. The example Stanzel uses to illustrate his claim is that during the two World Wars

> [a]ppellatives like “perfidious Albion,” “Boche” or “Hun” were ultimately derived from that old storehouse of national clichés simply by substituting a new word for an older term, as, for instance, “Hun” for “Goth” or “Scythian” (Stanzel, 1995, 6).

In conclusion, the main arguments of the imagologist’s approach to national stereotypes in literature can be summed up as follows. Literature is one of chief

[63] See chapter 4.2. J. T. Leerssen: “The Rhetoric of National Character: A Pragmatic Survey”.

sources of national stereotypes and it is precisely literature which perpetuates them. Europeans who migrated to America brought with them national stereotypes. The ideology of the New World reinforced these stereotypes and foregrounded the vices of the Old World in order to elevate the virtues of the New World. Stanzel, in this respect, quotes W. Zacharasiewicz and highlights that stereotypes of the Old and New World can be found with "colonial and early American authors" (Stanzel, 1995, 7).[64] Stanzel also maintains that stereotypes which are originally European are persistent in America and illustrates this with reference to James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922). The work was banned both in Britain and the United States for its "frankness in presenting bodily functions and sexuality" (Stanzel, 1995, 7). The ban was, however, lifted for American readers in 1933 because, among other arguments, the scene of the action was not America but Ireland. This is to say that American readers could be allowed to read it because the bad image which the book promoted was related to Ireland and as such was of no harm to the American reader.

In the nineteenth century, numerous Americans undertook a Grand Tour to the Old World and brought with them their 'knowledge' of the traditional national stereotypes of Europeans. What Stanzel emphasises in this respect, is the importance which authors like Erasmus of Rotterdam, Shakespeare, G. E. Lessing or E. M. Forster play, in helping us to see "our [European] own image in the otherness of the foreigner" (Stanzel, 1995, 7). Additionally, Stanzel sees the service of literature in "the process of enlightenment, turning negative stereotypes into positive ones or dissolving them altogether" (Stanzel, 1995, 7).

Mark Twain was one of Americans, or the American, who visited Europe - the Old World - in the 19th century. He came to Austria in 1897 and brought with him his mental luggage, that is, knowledge of national stereotypes of Austrian culture. What did this knowledge comprise of and what was Austria's image in America like in the nineteenth century?

5.1.3 Austria's image in America

[64] For an additional example of authors from colonial and early American literature, who compare images of the Old and the New World, see Stanzel, "National Stereotypes in Literature", 1995, 7.

On the whole, it can be said that Austria's image in America in the nineteenth century was rather negative. It comprised mainly of "images of absolutism, Catholicism, and narrow-mindedness" (Grounidou, 2005, 65).

American public opinion was very prejudiced against the Habsburg Monarchy for several reasons. The Habsburg government strove towards keeping the status quo, or in Twain's words, the condition of tranquillity.[65] Moreover, the "Cabinet of Vienna professed openly its distaste for rebels and refused to receive the agents of the revolting colonies in a diplomatic capacity" (Horn, 1967, 138). Therefore, the basis of Austro-American relations was rather unfavourable and remained frigid throughout the whole of the nineteenth century (Grounidou, 2005, 65). Americans rejected Austrian tranquility and Austrians rejected the American Revolution and change. Being against such a government policy, most Americans were in favour of Austria's subjects and enemies, especially of Hungary.[66] Grounidou notes that the Austrian tyranny against Hungarians was a frequent topic in American magazines and newspapers, so that "the stereotype of the despotic Habsburg Monarchy oppressing Hungary" (Grounidou, 2005, 66) developed. With frequent negative reports, the American media gave rise to a negative image of Austria; it gave rise to "the image of Austria as a despotic, backward, Catholic land, with no respect for freedom of all sorts, stricken from superstition and ignorance" (Grounidou, 2005, 69). This image of Austria persisted through the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

When it comes to Catholicism, is has to be emphasised that most Americans were prejudiced against the Catholic Church (Grounidou, 2005, 68). The Habsburg Monarchy was strictly catholic and Austrian people believed in saints' relics and miracles, and attended pilgrimages. Americans regarded this as absurd, naïve and superstitious. Apart from that, after 1855 when Emperor Francis Joseph "signed the Concordat accepting the union of the Pope and the Austrian Emperor, American public opinion turned even more against the Roman Catholicism in Austria" (Grounidou,

[65] Twain terms the government's status quo policy, the policy of tranquility and dedicates his essay "Stirring Times in Austria" to this Austrian 'problem'. More about the issue of tranquility in chapter 6.
[66] Twain, as representative of Americans, favours Austria's subjects in "Stirring Times in Austria". I will go into detail with this in the next chapter.

2005, 69). Catholicism and catholic beliefs were for many Americans the source of Austrian superstition, naivety and intellectual depravity because the flow of new ideas, like the American Revolution with its political innovations, was rather deficient. Additionally, the image of intellectual depravity of Austrians was backed up by the image of a lacking education system and deficient intellectual life (Grounidou, 2005, 68).

However, Austria was at the same time well known as a country of music, and the centre of culture. It was regarded as “the capital of European music, and was called the “Mecca of musicians” (Conway, 1873, 842). In addition, Austria had the epithet of a country with an oriental character due to geographical proximity to the East. This oriental character of Austria bestowed upon it the image of a mysterious and exotic country (Grounidou, 2005, 67). Lastly, in spite of the stereotype of a country of a lacking education system and deficient intellectual life, Austria was considered “a country with very developed arts, and mostly music and theatre” (Grounidou, 2005, 67).

Leerssen suggests a new approach to national stereotypes and explains the nature of the mechanism of stereotyping.

5.2 Leerssen: “The Rhetoric of National Character: A Pragmatic Survey”

Leerssen’s article “The Rhetoric of National Character: A Pragmatic Survey” is a study of the notion of national character in literature. Leerssen starts from the insights of imagology, or image studies, and approaches national thought as one of the most pervasive and enduring cultural ideologies which should be critically and systematically studied in their literary manifestations (Leerssen, 2000, 267). Being aware of the two existing literary practices – the constructivist and structuralist – he draws two conclusions:

> (1) It is possible to make an analytical distinction based on cogent textual observation, between the discursive registers of factual reporting and stereotyping. [...] (2) “Deep structures” in national stereotyping, involving the

> construction of binaries around oppositional pairs such as South/North, strong/ weak, and central/peripheral [...] should be addressed diachronically and historically (Leerssen, 2000, 267).

The oppositional pairs South versus North, strong versus weak, and central versus peripheral are, according to Leerssen, patterns that constitute “a grammar of stereotypes” (Leerssen, 2000, 275). This grammar reflects the oppositions as being ‘in the nature’ of stereotypes rather than being a construct. Apart from that, as Leerssen notes, national characteristics exhibit a binary nature and are “capable of attributing contradictory characteristics to any given national group” (Leerssen, 2000, 267). What Leerssen proposes is a new approach to national stereotypes, an approach which has grown out of close observation and the insights gained through the constructivist and structuralist approach. It is a new agenda for the study of national stereotypes according to which

> national stereotyping be studied at a more fundamental level as a pattern of Janus-faced “imagemes”, stereotypical schemata characterized by their inherent temperamental ambivalence and capable of being triggered into different actual manifestations (Leerssen, 2000, 267).

He wants to move away from the analysis of texts and to move the emphasis to a text’s audience function. His ambition is thus to address national characterization and national stereotyping as a “historical, audience-oriented praxis rather than as a textual feature” (Leerssen, 2000, 268).

According to Leerssen, literature plays a crucial role in shaping societies and their cultural identity. Literature is a field of national confrontation and a factory of national identity. Literary texts present characters according to conventions and stereotypes which accompany their national background. Leerssen notes that the category of nationality in world literature occupies a paramount and taxonomical status (Leerssen, 2000, 2), so he suggests that the attention should be turned to “the role of literature in national and ethnic stereotyping” (Leerssen, 2000, 268). In other words, cultural stereotyping and identity constructs offer a fruitful ground in literary texts and they should be analysed as such. Leerssen points to the fact that scholars in their approach to literary sources have often neglected the fact that nationality is not a

"preexisting, autonomous and objective thing [...] which is in the second instance represented, manipulated, or distorted in literary mimesis" (Leerssen, 2000, 269). In other words, literary sources are not objective representations of a thing called nationality. On the contrary, literary mimesis has often constructed a given nationality. Leerssen states that M-F. Guyard and other comparative studies scholars in his wake, became aware of the subjective and manipulative nature of stereotypes so that imagology moved into a constructivist paradigm. Comparatists thus started referring to national images not as "mimetic representations of empirical reality, but as *objects discursifs* or as objects of World-3" (Leerssen, 2000, 270)[67]. Imagology thus was no longer concerned with inventorizing typological vocabulary of national prejudice but rather with structural analysis or the links between the discourse of literary texts around national identity construction.

5.2.1 A History of National Characterization

How did national characterization develop in the first place, and how can it generally be divided in periods? Leerssen notes that "a systematically diversified and particularized assignation of characters to specific ethnic groups" goes back to European written culture in the early modern period (Leerssen, 2000, 272). In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, European attitudes towards nationality were systematized so that specific character traits and psychological dispositions were ascribed to various nations. These were then poetically distributed so that character and nation were more and more seen in the sense of essential nature, which is still current in today is notion of "a fundamental predisposition that motivates behaviour"(Leerssen, 2000, 272). This is the essentialist approach which relies on fixed character traits which are said to regulate behaviour and acts. In this period, the term "nation" significantly gained new meaning. It became a taxonomical category or a category of "human aggregation that linked culture and polity" (Leerssen, 2000, 273). The term nation as a taxonomical category increased even more in relevance

[67] Leerssen underlines that Lipiansky borrowed the term *objets discursifs* from Foucault and Dyserinck the term"objects of World-3" from the ontology of Karl Popper. For a more detailed account on *objects discursifs,* see Lipiansky, Marc E.1979. *L´âme française ou le national-libéralisme: Analyse d'une representation sociale*. Paris; Anthropos and on "objects of World-3" see Dyserinck, Hugo. 1982. "Komparatistische Imagologie jenseits von 'Werkimmanenz' und 'Werktranszendenz,' *Synthesis* 9, 27-40.

with the enlightenment philosophy of the 18th century. Several authors of importance, including Montesquieu, Hume, Voltaire, Herder, Rousseau, Diderot and others wrote about this issue. But the heyday of national thought was the 19th century. Fichte and Hegel began a tradition according to which each state should "incorporate the nationality or Volksgeist of its inhabitants" (Leerssen, 2002, 274). Moreover, a new attitude to human diversity was obtained so that the differences were stratified into

> a biological "family tree" model of descent and genotype, classing languages and literatures into the ethnic vocabulary of "Germanic," "Slavic," "Celtic," "Semitic" and so on. The conflated vocabulary of race and culture helped to lay the basis for a virulent ideology of the nation-state and of the ethnic-racial purity of the state's citizenry (Leerssen, 2000, 274).

In other words, the foundation of the nation-state and the ideology of the homogenous, that is, of ethnic-racial purity, were being laid. What is more, nationality "became a touchstone for literary praxis" so that literature became more and more "the manifestation of the nation's character by means of verbal art" (Leerssen, 2000, 274). Literature had the function of adherence to nationality and literary artists strove to communicate their commitment to nationality. National characterization became thus a characteristic of Western thought and writing. Moreover, Leerssen argues that national characterisation in the 20th century gained a new twist: its ironic usage. Leerssen notes that authors tend to be

> ironically equivocal as to whether the national characteristics they invoke are to be taken seriously or as a jocular reference to trite commonplace. [...] [I]f such stereotypes are used half-mockingly they are by the same token also used half-seriously, and they at least acknowledge and reinforce the currency of the prejudice they claim to transcend (Leerssen, 2000, 274-275).

5.2.2 A Grammar of National Characterization

Leerssen stresses several important aspects of stereotypes. First, he suggests that stereotypes should be looked at "in terms of their grammatical patterning rather than merely in terms of their "vocabulary" (what they said about whom)" (Leerssen, 2000, 275). The reason for this 'new' approach is the insight that national characterization is variable, and its variability is not determined by "empirical reality but by the way

in which the discourse regarding them is constructed" (Leerssen, 2000, 275). Thus the determining force in national characterization is the discourse around a specific nation and not the empiric reality of the nation in question. The examples Leerssen provides are stupidity jokes, which are said to feature Belgians, East Frisians, Irish people and others. This attribution of stupidity is not the result of an observation but it is rather the product of the discourse around the groups in question. Stereotyping is thus clearly the product of discourse and because discourse is an instance which is constantly in flux, it frequently happens that in one century a nation is depicted as suicide-prone splenetics and then in the next century as self-controlled phlegmatics. There then arises the question: "what governs such discursive shifts and volarity?" (Leerssen, 2000, 275)

The mechanism of character attribution is clearly one of volarity. Leerssen, however, argues that it is possible to extrapolate three structural factors of invariant opposition: the invariant opposition between South and North, between strong and weak and between central and peripheral (Leerssen, 2000, 275). When it comes to the opposition between North and South regardless of the empiric reality of the conditions of the countries in question, the North will be depicted as "cooler" and its counterpart South as "warmer". This oppositional pair "cool North/warm South" consequently involves other characteristics which can be combined with coolness and warmness. For instance, the coolness of the northern part produces characteristics like less pleasing but trust-worthy while the warmness of the southern part 'consequently' produces opposite characteristics like more pleasing but less trust-worthy. This North-South opposition is also productive in

> international terms, regional terms as well as between countries. [...] As result, any given point on the European map can be contradictorily constructed as "northern" or southern; any given country, region, or nation can be juxtaposed either with a northern or a southern counterpart and can accordingly be invested with contradictory sets of characteristics (Leerssen, 2000, 276).

The weak versus strong opposition makes use of images of powerful nations to justify ruthlessness and cruelty. The weak nations, however, are characterised either by the sympathy felt for their position of subordination to the strong or as condescension.

The discourse around Spain in the seventeenth century was centred on its power and it provoked fear throughout Europe. This discourse was strongly marked and was held upright until the end of the seventeenth century when Spain declined as a world power. This decline made possible an amelioration and with it the emergence of a new image of Spain. The decline of one nation brings the rise of another one, as was the case with Spain and Germany during the 19th century (Leerssen, 2000, 277).

The third structural opposition is between centre and periphery. If a nation or a region is constructed as central or peripheral, there is a set of attributes available for each of the opposites. The set of attributes, which 'grows out' of centrality is "historical dynamism and development", whereas peripheries are stereotypically "timeless", "backward", or "traditional" (Leerssen, 2000, 277). It is commonplace that a region which is somewhere on the periphery is backwards, while the region which is central is advanced and as such the point of societal activity. The logic of this opposition can be understood in following terms: "journeying away from the centres of societal activity means metaphorically journeying backward in time" (Leerssen, 2000, 277).

5.2.3 The Ambivalence of the National Imageme and its Unfalsifiability

I have already emphasised that the nature of various national characterizations is highly variable. Apart from that, national characterization is also dependent on "context, historical moment or discursive configuration" (Leerssen, 2000, 278). Whether a given nation is presented as northern or southern, central or peripheral, strong or weak, will call specific predicates into play. Bearing this in mind, it is to be expected that the images of different nations undergo remarkable changes, from a strong nation to a weak one, from periphery to centre and so on. The crucial thing, however, is that "[t]hese changes do not occur by way of falsification. Old images are not abrogated by new developments; they are merely relieved from their duties pro tem" (Leerssen, 2000, 278). In other words, the old images do not disappear from the social discourse once the circumstances change. Quite contrary, the images remain present and what is more, they 'wait' for the next opportunity to be reactivated. They are like viruses that wait for an occasion to be activated. The predicates of national characterization can be said, just like viruses, to be ineradicable. The specific national

attributes which appear currently in the social discourse remain subconsciously present in the mind of the public. It is thus easy to reactivate them when the occasion arises. The national imagery which is stored in the unconsciousness of the public is highly productive. Leerssen gives the following example:

> After a century of English imagery centred around a phlegmatic dandy with a "stiff upper lip," Churchillian war propaganda in the period 1939-45 could effortlessly reactivate a gruff John Bull of eighteenth-century vintage (Leerssen, 2000, 278).

What happens when current stereotypes are no longer adequate? They are not forgotten but rather they give rise to their very opposites according to the matrix of opposition, mentioned in the previous chapter. The opposites are activated according to the needs of the given situation. What does change are the circumstances; what remains in spite of the changed circumstances, are stereotypes. Once a stereotype is formulated, it remains in flux long after the circumstances which gave rise to it have changed. Moreover, the old stereotypes give way to their new counterparts. This interplay is, as can be expected, one of a strongly ambivalent imagery. It is thus not surprising that, as the social discourse changes, the 'character' of a give nation changes and often turns out to be even highly contradictory.

Leerssen detects a pattern which arises out of the ambivalent nature of national stereotypes. He suggests that national images can be collapsed into the term "imageme". An imageme is

> a blueprint underlying the various concrete, specific actualizations that can be textually encountered. [...] An imageme is the bandwidth of discursively established character attributes concerning a given nationality and will take the form of the ultimate cliché, which is current for virtually all nations: nation X is a nation of contrasts (Leerssen, 2000, 279).

There definitely is a certain blueprint according to which national stereotypes are embedded into the texts. Moreover, the ambivalent polarity seems to be an inherent characteristic of imagemes. As Leerssen states: "National imagemes are defined by their Janus-faced ambivalence and contradictory nature" (Leerssen, 2000, 279). The above-mentioned comparison between imageme and viruses can again be used to underline another characteristic of imagemes. According to Leerssen, imagemes are

"highly impervious to historical obsolescence or desuetude" (Leerssen, 2000, 279). They are immune to historical change or a change in the social discourse and they and their opposites are latently present in the minds of people.

The question now arises as to what kind of an effect the ambivalent polarity and the contradictory nature of the imageme have in practice. The following example answers this question:

> Once the idea that [...] Irish are sentimental [...] fails to meet with a given audience's concurrence, the effect will be that the opposite pole of the selfsame imageme will be activated: that of [...] Irish violence [...] which is considered to complement rather than contradict the stereotype in question (Leerssen, 2000, 279).

In other words, the presence of attributes of a national imageme in the social discourse automatically implies the presence of its possible opposites. Leerssen argues that this is one of the reasons why the affirmation of national clichés has a special relation to the trope of irony (Leerssen, 2000, 280). He maintains that the following utterance: "What tender-hearted people the Germans are!" is ironic and as such it "simultaneously asserts and denies that which it proposes" (Leerssen, 2000, 280). This utterance makes transparent the fact that irony works on the basis of radical ambiguities just as imagemes. What is more, Leerssen suggests, and I agree, that there is a "privileged relationship between irony and national stereotypes" (Leerssen, 2000, 280). He also stresses the rhetorical effectiveness of interplay of irony and national stereotypes.

5.2.4 A Typology of the Discourse of National Stereotypes

Through frequent reiteration, national characterizations and other stereotypes become commonplace. As result they become familiar and are recognized. Their strongest rhetorical effect, as Leerssen argues, thus lies precisely in their familiarity and recognition, which has nothing to do with the empirical value of a given nation. Moreover, a special concord or a high intertextual cohesion of national images can be observed. Each of the national images has a special semantic register, which has been established through frequent reiteration in texts and social discourse. The then-

established register is further echoed, cited or referred to in other texts and so it becomes also part of the social discourse (Leerssen, 2000, 280). Leerssen emphasises that authors, even if they claim so, in general do not write from a direct experience or observation of a given nation. Their texts usually transpose the ‘empiric’ observation or experience and encompass previously read or heard national imagemes. Hence, national imagemes “in their function as commonplaces refer primarily not to the nation in question but to the currency of other, previous images about that nation” (Leerssen, 2000: 280). In other words, authors repeat and thus reinforce already echoed national images in their literary works.

Imagologists have often opted for the study of literary texts from “the aspect of their intertextuality, recognisability, and *vraisemblance*[68] [...] against a whole tradition of texts” (Leerssen, 2000: 281) about a given nation. Yet Leerssen criticizes the imagologist’s approach for taking only the text and the given nation into account, and disregarding the significant role which the audience plays in national stereotyping. He draws the following conclusion:

> If national characteristics work on the basis of *vraisemblance* rather than *vérité*, [...] then such recognisability necessary calls the comprehension of an audience into play. [...] [T]he audience’s acceptance of utterances as valid plays a cardinal role in the process of national image formation, and a “pragmatic turn” may be in order to address the functioning of national imagery in terms of audience recognition (Leerssen, 2000, 281).

What Leerssen maintains is that national stereotyping does not takes shape in a binary polarity between the text which represents a given nation and the nation which is being represented. Rather, it contains a third important ‘constituent/dimension’ - the audience. He suggests, therefore that the analysis should start from “a grammatical, structural analysis of the discourse of national characterization toward a rhetorical, pragmatic analysis” (Leerssen, 2000, 281). How does Leerssen define a discourse of national characterization?

[68] Leerssen borrows the term *vraisemblance* from Gérard Genette. For a more detailed account on this term, see Genette, G. 1969. “Vraisemblance et motivation”. In *Figures II:* Essais. Paris: Seuvil, 71-100.

It is obvious that literary genres like the novel, drama and poetry play an important role when it comes to formulation and dissemination of national stereotypes. What is more, national stereotyping is embedded in "fictive conventions and in the context of narrative characterizations" (Leerssen, 2000, 282). But narrative characterization does not consist only of affixation of certain psychological traits to a given nation. More particularly, certain actorial roles are being attributed to a certain nationality in the process of national stereotyping.

Leerssen further puts a special emphasis on literary texts which have the status of canonicity. Such texts enjoy prestige for having been formulated by famous authors, and they are widely read. National images produced in canonical texts will consequently become part of the cultural system and will have an extended currency. Leerssen points out, however, that "the discursive modalities peculiar to national stereotyping are relatively genre-dependent" (Leerssen, 2000, 282). For this reason, he sees the importance of distinguishing the "textual-discursive mechanics of stereotyping as opposed to other forms of representation" (Leerssen, 2000, 282). He summarizes the modalities as follows.

First, stereotypes explain cultural and social patterns from "a purported character" (Leerssen, 2000, 282). In other words, stereotyping has nothing to do with reporting facts about a given nation, even though authors occasionally claim to do so. National stereotyping is primarily concerned with defining a nation's character. This happens via the discourse of national stereotyping which ascribes specific personality traits to nationalities. A nation's character is, furthermore, exclusively understood in an essentialist manner. It is seen as "central set of temperamental attributes that distinguishes the nation as such from others and that motivates and explains the specificity of its presence and behaviour in the world" (Leerssen, 2000, 283). That is, national stereotyping is operative if a character trait is perceived to be typical and characteristic or a psychological *proprium* (Leerssen, 2000, 283).
Factual reporting and national stereotyping are two discursive registers which are in actual practice closely intertwined. The difference between the two is consequently much less obvious. However, Leerssen clearly distinguishes the line where factual

reporting shades into (national) stereotyping. The crucial moment in the mechanism of stereotyping occurs when a specific fact is perceived as 'characteristic' of a given nation and is accorded symbolic meaning.

Secondly, the mechanism of stereotyping usually positions a quality or a feature as typical (*effet de typique*) of a given nation. Yet, *effet de typique* should be thought of in a double sense. First, *effet de typique* is a quality which is termed as typical of being marked and as such representative of a given nation. Such a quality is remarkable and it strikes the observer as something out of the ordinary. Thus, salient features are seen as representative and are as such collected in nationality character sets. For instance, German lederhosen, French berets, Dutch wooden shoes, etc.

Finally, Leerssen states that precisely *effet de typique* is a clear marker of the discourse of national stereotyping, as opposed to other discourses or modes of representation. He uses two example sentences to illustrate this difference: "Spaniards are mortal" and "Spaniards are proud". The first proposition does not contain *effet de typique* because mortality is not a 'quality representative' of Spanish only. The second proposition however, relies on the *effet de typique* proud, which seems to be a quality remarkably representative of Spanish.

5.2.5 The Pragmatics of Commonplace

How do stereotypes function, and how can they be described? Since stereotypes seem to function primarily because of their

> intertextually established recognisability, they can be described in the cognitive terms of schemata being activated by triggers, and an entire dynamics of the way that certain texts serve to affirm or deny current stereotypes, echo them or ironically subvert them, contradict them or endorse them, becomes describable (Leerssen, 2000, 285).

If a stereotype relies on intertextually established recognizability, then there is the possibility that readers of one and the same text may not activate or recognize the same schemata, that is, the same stereotype. However, readers who share the same social discourse tend to 'recognize' stereotypes in a similar way. The aspect of

recognisability puts the emphasis on the reader and with it, on possible varieties of 'decoding' the stereotype.

Moreover, Leerssen argues that stereotyping has an ironic potential or ironic duality. What does he mean by that? According to him, ironic potential or duality results from the utterances that "simultaneously affirm and undercut a proposition" and from a "ventriloquistic quality in the utterance" (Leerssen, 2000, 285). Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson emphasise, in this respect, that a *quality de typique* mentions rather than really uses a given proposition.[69] In other words, irony which is activated by a certain *quality de typique* or a certain stereotype is an echo of an intertext of earlier statements made by other authors. Stereotypes have the quality of ironic repetition which presupposes the reader's ability to recognise the echoed stereotype and decode it in a certain manner. In this respect, Leerssen follows Ruth Amossy and maintains that this 'ironic' quality accounts for the fact that

> clichés, once they are established as such, become peculiarly suited to ironic echoic mention, and it explains why so often the deployment of national stereotypes will drift to the genre of caricature, humor, and not-wholly-serious perpetuation (Leerssen, 2000, 285).

Yet the intertextuality which establishes national clichés or stereotypes as commonplaces is unspecific because, as I have already mentioned, it relies on the reader's general knowledge based on the collective-anonymous hearsay or ideology (Leerssen, 2000, 286). A textual utterance relies on the reader who decodes or activates a stereotype on the basis of the collective hearsay. The hearsay is in turn the product of the social discourse based on the long-term referral by authors to the stereotypical schemata established textually by their predecessors. What is more, the real source of a textually established stereotype is never specified.
The question thus arises: What kind of information or notion is being activated? If, as I have stated, the activation of stereotypes relies on hearsay knowledge, then what is activated is not an

[69] For a more detailed account see Sperber, Dan and Deirdre Wilson. 1981. "Irony and the Use-Mention Distinction", in *Radical Pragmatics*. Cole, P (ed.). New York: Academic, 295-318.

> empirically verifiable hard-core information about the real world nor a textual construct linked to any specific source but rather a set of amorphous, inchoate notions that are widely known and current in their broad flavour but unspecific as to clear authorship (Leerssen, 2000, 286).

This being the case, Leerssen defines stereotypes and prejudices as being the kinds of things where we cannot specify where precisely we have heard or learned them. They have become part of our collective knowledge through social discourse based on different texts, jokes, comic strips or movies. The result is that, step by step, prejudice or stereotypes become a part of the people's cultural knowledge and have the appearance of empirically verifiable information for which however, the source is unknown. There are of course representative texts of prominent authors who are known for using a general schemata to which a cliché's *vraisemblance* refers, but the origin of clichés as commonplace is vague (Leerssen, 2000, 286).

5.2.6 Conclusions

Leerssen draws the following conclusion from his analysis. Individual textual samples are not appropriate for pragmatic analysis. In order to arrive at contextualization of a textual sample or utterance which the text itself activates in terms of the discursive schemata, one must relate it to a broad inventory of intertextual connections established through other texts dealing with the character of a given nation. That is, the pragmatic analysis of texts remains closely related to and dependent on

> a broad and inclusive inventory of related texts, and the historical typological gathering of the intertextual "tradition" representing a given nation remains as important now as it was fifty years ago (Leerssen, 2000, 286).

Literature is precisely in this field most closely "intertwined with other forms of discourse" (Leerssen, 2000, 287). The contextualization of a literary text implies social discourse and tradition from which the text derives the national imagery. The spectrum of fields which are intertwined with literature reaches from "history writing to political discourse and from cultural criticism through to entertainment 'pulp'" (Leerssen, 2000, 287).

Another significant conclusion which Leerssen draws is that the spectrum of possible reactions and activations triggered by texts cannot be encompassed. Therefore, it is not possible to hypostatize "an ideal-typical, generalized reader" (Leerssen, 2000, 287). Readers of one and the same text will activate different sets of schemata. Yet Leerssen argues that precisely this divergence should be the core issue of the pragmatic-rhetorical analysis. The example Leerssen uses to illustrate his argument is the entry in the *Encyclopaedia* on French national character, formulated on the eve of the French Revolution. It says that the French nation is characterized by a "love of their kings and of the monarchy as such" (Leerssen, 2000, 287). This statement will probably raise a smile on the face of a contemporary reader. The question of what makes this statement ironic cannot be answered in any clear-cut manner because of the complexity of features which play a role in this respect. The complexity of features accounts for the fact that "interpretations and possible modalities of irony are by no means clear-cut" (Leerssen, 2000, 287). Apart from that, one of major challenges remains the "historical distance between text and reader" (Leerssen, 2000, 288).

Literary historicity is an important aspect which has to be taken into consideration in relation to national characterization since it develops and changes over centuries. Leerssen thus suggests that the utterances from between the years 1600 and 1900 should, on the one hand, not be conflated, even though they may have superficial similarities but, on the other, they are contemporary "in that they are both simultaneously available in the here and now, albeit to a heterogeneously composed readership" (Leerssen, 2000, 288). This is the fruit of a pragmatic, reader-based perspective. Both the historical distance and the range of reception or heterogeneous understanding and interpretation, are significant factors which should be given consideration. A very diverse reception of texts is reader dependent and it is determined by our inability to transcend our own position in time and history. Therefore, Leerssen argues that historicity of literary production and its reception are two contradictory modes which he does not wish to explain or resolve. Rather, such factors should point us toward a "more precisely informed appreciation of the two contradictory modes of literary historicity: the historicity of its production and of its

reception" (Leerssen, 2000, 288). What does this practically mean? The temporal order of literary production and the temporal order of reader's literary socialization should be kept in mind. Leerssen thus goes a step further and adds a third dimension to multiple historicity - temporal order of "readers' literary socialization", which plays a significant role for the purpose of informed pragmatic analysis. As he maintains, the process of "becoming a reader", of acquiring the various schematas and literacies that make up a reader's competence, cannot be reconstructed in detail" (Leerssen, 2000, 288) nor can they be generalized. Still, he underlines that certain patterns are meaningful for the purpose of the previously mentioned informed pragmatic analysis. Leerssen thus entertains the possibility that "the acquisition of conventional representations tends to precede that of counter-stereotypical representations" (Leerssen, 2000, 288). Children's classics establish and fix conventional national attributes.

Finally, Leerssen is aware that a reception-oriented and reader-oriented approach to national stereotyping will both enable new insights but also raise some methodological and procedural problems. He also states that the audience function of the stereotype cannot be gained "from anecdotal empiricism dealing with decontextualized in vitro (in an artificial environment) reading experience" (Leerssen, 2000, 288). But he sees the pragmatics of the national stereotype as an exciting future prospect for literary studies, although it is a departure that should be added to the historical and text-grammatical study of that discourse.

5.3 My approach

Having treated Leerssen's approach and the imagologists' approach to (national) stereotypes, I have come to following conclusions for my analysis of Twain's works. Cultural studies advocates a non-essentialist approach to stereotypes,[70] and stresses that the basic principle which underlies the mechanism of stereotyping is the "us-

[70] The non-essentialist approach to national stereotypes has been however, also the approach of scholars of imagology over the past few decades. Leerssen states: "scholars [of image studies] have [...] studied the literary invocation and citation of national stereotypes in a critically anti-essentialist way, as representational conventions" (Grounidou, 1005, 24, Leerssen, 174).

them" dynamic and binary opposition. This is of special significance because it "points to the operation of power in stereotyping" (Barker, 2004, 188). It is interesting to consider this statement in light of Leerssen's observation. He states that the mechanism of character attribution is one of volarity, but that it is possible to extrapolate three structural factors of invariant opposition: structural factors of invariant opposition between South and North, between strong and weak and between central and peripheral. These oppositions function as binaries which in turn point to the operation of power. I will, therefore, in my analysis of *MS* look for the three oppositional pairs - South versus North, strong versus weak, and central versus peripheral – which are, as Leerssen calls them, "patterns or a grammar of stereotypes" (Leerssen, 2000, 275).

Leerssen further suggests an analysis of "Deep structures" in national stereotyping which displays the hidden grammar of stereotypes. This grammar reflects the oppositions, of, in this case, Austrian culture, as being 'in the nature' of stereotypes rather than being a construct. I will apply this analysis of deep structures in order to come to construction of binaries around the oppositional pairs in Twain's texts on Austrian culture. By doing this, I will bring in my own reactions to the texts mentioned and compare them with reactions of critics. This will be my contribution to the "divergence of possible reactions to a specific text" (Leerssen, 2000, 287), which according to Leerssen should be the core issue of the pragmatic-rhetorical analysis.

Humour plays an important part in the mechanism of national stereotyping and should therefore be part of the pragmatic analysis. The pragmatic analysis which Leerssen advocates stresses both the role of the reader and the role of stereotype with its ironic potential. According to him, "[i]ronic potential or duality result from the utterances that "simultaneously affirm and undercut a proposition" (Leerssen, 2000, 285). I will look at "utterances" from Twain, through which he was formulating national stereotypes of Austrian culture. Moreover, I will investigate the validity of my claim that Twain, by using already available stereotypes and by building on these

in his works[71], contributed to the formation of a national imageme[72] of Austrian culture.

Imagemes are characterised by ambivalent polarity, and their various manifestations are highly impervious to historical obsolescence. Consequently, the national imageme of Austrian culture as a country whose political system is backwards, in which social conditions are like those in the Middle Ages and whose inhabitants are highly superstitious and naïve, belongs to the 'good' of Austria for indefinite time. The national imageme of Austria is defined in terms of the polarity within which it is held to move; that is, there are two poles within which the imageme moves: the negative or the backward pole of Austria of Middle Ages, and the positive pole of Austria as a country rich in culture.

In the analysis of the texts, I will try to display some of the positive and negative stereotypes which belong(ed) to the imageme of Austrian culture at the turn of century but which are still present in the minds of the people today. However, the focus of my attention will not primarily lie on these stereotypes but rather on the deep-seated patterns which emerge from behind these stereotypes. In this respect, I will verify the validity of my argument that Twain constructed the imageme of Austrian culture as a negative pole of the major binary opposition: New World versus Old World - for the purpose of the definition of the American self.

6. Twain's *Mysterious Stranger*

As I have already mentioned, Mark Twain came to Austria in 1897, penetrated alien culture and brought with him a vast knowledge of national stereotypes of Austrian culture. His impressions of this culture during his Austria sojourn are known as the Austria episode and include already mentioned works: *MS*, "Stirring Times in Austria", "The Memorable Assassination" and some other essays. I will concentrate

[71] I will from here on refer to Twain's works in the sense of the works from his Austria episode, that is, *MS*, "Stirring Times in Austria" and "The Memorable Assassination".

[72] I use the term imageme in the meaning "the brandwidth of discursively established character attributes concerning a given nationality [...]" (Leerssen, 2000, 279).

primarily on *MS* because it is a representative work of Twain's Austria episode and the most important and the most controversial one.

According to Dolmetsch, Mark Twain's "intellectual and creative responses to these [Austrian] experiences form the sub-text of *MS*. Moreover, almost all of the works from the Austria episode are Twain's critique of Habsburg Austria, that is, "of the social, political and religious milieux of *fin-de-siécle* Vienna" (Dolmetsch, 2003, 97). In "Stirring Times in Austria" Twain criticizes "the chaotic political events in the Reichsrat in November 1897 [...]" (Dolmetsch, 2003, 97) and in "The Memorable Assassination" "the funeral procession of the murdered Kaiserin Elisabeth" (Dolmetsch, 2003, 97). In *MS*, Twain gives an overview of all the three crucial problem areas of Habsburg Austria as seen through the eyes of an American: the backwardness of the people, the Catholic Church and the Monarchy.

In *MS*, Twain built upon already available stereotypes, that is, he added a breath of 'fresh air' to the 'old' stereotypes by commenting on and criticizing happenings and (political) problems in the Austria of the nineteenth century. Leerssen explains this as a process in which old stereotypes give way to new counterparts and stresses that this process is one of strongly ambivalent imagery. Moreover, a discourse concerning a given nation's character tends to be highly contradictory. Leerssen therefore introduces the term 'imageme' to mean "the bandwidth of discursively established character attributes concerning a given nationality" (Leerssen, 2000, 279). Furthermore, national imagemes are defined by their Janus-faced ambivalence and contradictory nature and they "define a polarity within which a given national character is held to move" (Leerssen, 2000, 279). I will, therefore, analyse the imageme which Twain established in *MS* in order to define a polarity within which Twain's construct of Austrian national character moves. In other words, I will look for positive and negative stereotypes in *MS*. What is more, I will investigate whether Twain incorporated in his *MS* the stereotypes which were part of the 'official' negative image of Austria in America. This is of crucial significance because, as Leerssen notes, imagemes as a result of their ambivalent polarity and their various manifestation are highly impervious to historical

obsolescence (Leerssen, 2000, 278). In other words, Twain's negative imageme of Austrian nation is as well highly impervious to historical obsolesce.

Twain's comments on Austria are rather contradictory. This is not surprising because Twain could be said to be a man of paradoxical and contradictory statements. He summed up his impressions of Vienna after he left it in a rather contradictory manner: "Vienna was a wonderful city where one could not throw a stone without crippling an interesting person" and "Vienna was the most corrupt nest on the surface of the earth" (Horst and Jarka, 2006, 349). These two utterances form oppositional pairs and can be seen as a prime example of the principle of opposition upon which Twain presented his view of Austrian culture and contributed to the formation of a negative national imageme of Austria.

6.1 Three versions of the text

MS is a work which was published after Twain's death in 1916 by Albert Bigelow Paine and Frederick A. Duneka, the editors at Harper & Brothers.[73] Twain had actually left three different manuscripts. Two are well known: "The Chronicle of Young Satan" which Twain wrote between 1897 and 1900, and the second, "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger", written between 1902 and 1905. The third manuscript is set in America and as Grounidou notes, "concerns three school boys in Schoolhouse Hill, but the main plot is similar, as it presents the acquaintance of the boys with young Satan" (Grounidou, 2005, 175).[74] The stories of the first and second manuscripts are set in Austria, however, the first one in the year 1702 and the second in 1490. The opening scenes of both manuscripts are almost identical. The differences appear later and concern changes in "characters, names, places and subplots" (Grounidou, 2005, 175). Although some critics condemn Paine's and Duneka's edition, there are many others who accept it, and this edition is still "the most available and well-known one to the reading public" (Grounidou, 2005, 175). Hutchinson is one of those critics who

[73] A. B. Paine and Frederick A. Duneka created their own version of two different manuscripts "The Chronicle of Young Satan" and the second manuscript "No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger".
[74] For more information about the manuscripts of *MS*, see Gibson's *Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts*, Tuckey's *Mark Twain's Mysterious Stranger and the Critic,* and Sholom, J. Kahn's *Twain's Mysterious Stranger: A Study of the Manuscript Texts.* I will refer to Harper & Brothers edition.

accepts Paine's and Duneka's edition. He even pleads for it and argues that this edition is "a more satisfying work than anything Twain himself had been able to put together from this material" (Hutchinson, 1994, 116). Being aware of the differences of the three manuscripts, I will base my analysis on Paine's and Duneka's version.

6.2 The plot of *Mysterious Stranger*

The story takes place in 1590 in an Austrian village named Eseldorf. Theodore Fisher, the narrator of the story, describes the inhabitants of Eseldorf, the landscape and their religious life. Fischer and the other two boys - Nikolaus Baumann and Seppi Wohlmeyer - spend their time playing in the idyllic landscape of woods and hills around the village. Felix Brandt is the servingman to the nearby castle whom the boys visit and who tells them tales of the supernatural. One day, the boys encounter a strange but handsome young man who is not from their village and who introduces himself as Philip Traum, or Young Satan. He says he is a nephew of Satan and performs tricks to please the boys. In the course of the story, Traum explains that he is an angel, but not fallen himself because he possesses no moral sense and is thus not able to sin. In order to prove this, he performs many miraculous deeds which shock the boys. He makes many little people from clay and kills them for trivial reason. The boys regularly spend time with Traum and they are both frightened and fascinated by him, his stories and his tricks. Every time Traum performs a shocking trick and kills someone, the boys decide to leave him, but they never manage it. Traum's music works its magic and makes the boys forget the atrocious tricks for which they planned to leave him. Soon Young Satan enters the live of other inhabitants of Eseldorf. He gives money to a priest, Father Peter and causes him to be accused of theft. Moreover, he causes Father Peter's sister, Margeret and his housekeeper Ursula to be accused of witchcraft. Furthermore, Traum predicts that Nikolaus is going to drown while trying to save a girl Lisa from drowning. In spite of the death of their good friend, the boys still enjoy Young Satan's companionship and he even takes them on trips to different continents. After a year of regular visits, Traum tells the boys that he will not come again, that life is meaningless, that there is no God and finally that everything is just a dream.

6.3 Austria - the inspiration for Twain's *Mysterious Stranger*?

The opinions of critics on the issue of Twain's inspiration for *MS* are as usually divided. Generally speaking, there are two groups of critics. On the one hand, there are those who argue that the inspiration for Twain's *MS* came during his Austria sojourn. This group ascribes significance to Austria as a location for Twain's story. On the other hand, there are those who think that *MS* was already in Twain's mind before he came to Austria. This group of critics ascribes no importance to Austria as a location for Twain's story. I would argue that Twain's sojourn in Austria had at least some influence on his *MS*, and that Twain thought precisely Austria to be suitable for his story for several reasons.

Twain, together with his wife and their two daughters Clara and Jean, spent a little more than a year in Austria, from September 1897 to May 1899. Most of this time the Twain family was in Vienna and Kaltenleutgeben – "a small village on the south-east side of the Viennese woods" (Grounidou, 2005, 172). Some of the critics of the former group claim that precisely this village was the inspiration for Twain's *MS* (Grounidou, 2005, 202). Yet Twain did not keep the name of the village - Kaltenleutgeben - but changed it significantly into Eseldorf – Jackassville - indicating the naïve stupidity of its inhabitants. Within this group, there are again critics who agree that the inspiration came in Austria but cannot agree which village or town resembles Eseldorf. Some say that Salzburg, and not Kaltenleutgeben, was the actual inspiration for *MS*. Grounidou is one of those critics who stresses that "the image of Eseldorf rather reminds us of Salzburg and is probably based on the notes he [Twain] had taken while visiting Salzburg on his way to Vienna in September 1897" (Grounidou, 2000, 179). What is, in my opinion, crucial is that the inspiration for Twain's *MS* came during his Austria sojourn. Whether or not it was Kaltenleutgeben or Salzburg which inspired Twain does not make a difference to this argument. This is also what Grounidou argues: "Twain's vision of the book started to materialize during his stay in Austria" (Grounidou, 2005, 176). The fact that Twain chose the names of the characters for his *MS* from the political and social scene of Vienna is an argument in favour of this claim. In *Our*

Famous Guest, Carl Dolmetsch notes that several characters from *MS* have names taken from the political and social scene of Vienna. As he states,

> Theodor Fischer and his two friends – Nikolaus Baumann and Seppi Wohlmeyer – have names of deputies in the Reichsrat, the sessions of which Mark Twain was just attending, Father Adolf, the villainous priest of the story, was originally father Lueger, named for Dr. Karl Lueger, the new Oberbürgermeister (lord mayor) of Vienna whom Twain disliked, but after changing the priest's name as being perhaps a bit too obvious, he named one of his minor characters Marie Lueger (Dolmetsch, 1992, 287).

Twain's notebook during his stay in Kaltenleutgeben was a source of information for *MS*. It was a collection of Twain's impressions, thoughts and ideas about Austrian culture, which he regarded as worth noting. The entries were thus valuable material for Twain's later works on Austrian culture and the following quote from the notebook seems to be the blueprint for the Satan character which appears in *MS*:

> A person (Satan) who for untold centuries has maintained the imposing position of spiritual head of 4/5 of the human race, and political head of the whole of it, must be granted the possession of executive abilities of the highest order. In his large presence the other popes and politicians shrink to midgets for the microscope. [...] Some men worship rank, some worship heroes, some worship power, some worship God, and over these ideals they dispute – but all of them worship money" (Twain (Notebook), 1935, 343-4).

Satan plays a crucial role in *MS* – he has the power over simple Austrian village inhabitants. Twain was very interested in metaphysical questions of good and evil, of "helplessness of human beings, of the power of Satan in the world" (Grounidou, 2005, 176), and Austria, as a remote, mystical place and an exotic country was the perfect setting for the story of *MS*.

Hutchinson is one of the critics who ascribes no importance to the real Austria as a location for *MS*. He argues that the village Twain describes in *MS* is simply his [Twain's] "usual community of this kind, full of human foolishness. It earns the title 'Eseldorf', Esel being the German word for ass" (Hutchinson, 1994, 116-7). Like Hutchinson, many other critics argue that the story came into Twain's mind long before he came to Austria because it contains his main beliefs about life, human nature

and God. Masters thinks that Twain's *MS* is simply his final - for being one of Twain's last works - confrontation with questions which had occupied him all his life. In *Mark Twain: A Portrait* (1938) Masters notes that Twain had to

> take a finial filling at the littleness of man, at the incompetence of his mind, at the failure of man's civilization, at a race of beings with nothing but a moral sense, as he [Twain] expresses it, who were nothing but automatons acting entirely through outside influence (Master, 1938, 229-300).

According to Masters, the location of the story is completely secondary. It does seem probable that questions of littleness of man, the failure of men's civilization and similar, existed in Twain's mind long before he travelled to Austria. These questions occupied Twain throughout his whole life. It is, however, not a coincidence that Twain thought precisely Austria to be the appropriate setting for the story of the primitiveness of human creatures, of the condition of tranquility and the negative influence of the Church which, according to him, was so pervasive in Austria.

Furthermore, Bellamy maintains that Twain initially intended to set the story of *MS* in the U.S. but "later changed Hannibal to Eseldorf, in the Austria of 1590, and made the scene far off and forgotten in both time and space, thus lending perspective to the story" (Bellamy, 1950, 354). I do not agree that Twain intended to set the story in America. He started writing the story in Austria and expressed many of his ideas and attitudes concerning Austria. *MS* is in my opinion clearly a critique of Austrian culture. Dolmetsch emphasises the same in his essay "Mark Twain's *MS* as a Critique of Habsburg Austria" (2003). However, I do agree with Bellamy that making the scene of the story forgotten in time and space lends perspective to the story. But Bellamy does not state what kind of perspective and more importantly, what kind of image the aspect of timelessness gives to Austria. Grounidou notes that Twain sensed that the curious events he wanted to include in the story "would be more plausible to happen in a secluded place, not familiar to his reading audience" (Grounidou, 2005, 177). In my opinion, both the remoteness of the location and the time of the story had special effects on Twain's reading audience and contributed to a negative image of Austria. Macnaughton underlines that Twain was aware of the value of remoteness. Twain wrote in his notebook in April 1896:

> [...] The mysterious and the fabulous can get no effects without the help of remoteness; and there are no remotenesses any more. Certainly "The Chronicle of the Young Satan" was to be "mysterious and fabulous", and certainly Austria of the early eighteenth century[75] was more remote than St. Petersburg around 1840. [...] (Macnaughton, 1979, 73).

Twain knew that for the American reading audience, remoteness has a special value because it excites readers' interest and imagination. I therefore claim that Twain primarily intended the story for Americans. Apart from that, Austria was a suitable location for *MS* because the current image of Austria in America was one of a mysterious and "exotic country where all kinds of strange incidents can happen" (Grounidou, 2005, 177). Twain based his *MS* primarily on the existent common stereotypes of Austrian culture and on his own experiences. He thus relied on his American audience to decode these national stereotypes of Austrian culture.[76]

In conclusion, Grounidou maintains that Twain's stay in Austria had certainly at least some influence on Twain, and some impact on his text. What is more, I claim that Twain deliberately chose to set his story in Austria to exert critique and to point to problem areas in Austria of the end of the nineteenth century. Aside from this, the story gets a completely new meaning when set in Austria. I therefore do not agree that the location of the story is irrelevant, and that it could have been set anywhere in the U.S. Dolmetsch sums up as follows:

> Regardless of sources – whether from Hannibal days, recent experiences in Salzburg and Kaltenleutgeben, or an amalgam of them all with his memories of other Central European towns (e.g., Heidelberg, Weggis in Switzerland, et al.) thrown in for good measure – it is clear that Mark Twain intended Eseldorf as an Austrian microcosm" (Dolmetsch, 2003, 99).

6.4 Structural factors of binary opposition in *Mysterious Stranger*

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[75] Macnaughton refers to the eighteenth century because the first manuscript of "Little Satan" is set in Austria in 1702.

[76] I will go into the issue of audience function in national stereotyping in chapter 6.1.4.

Mark Twain opens his *MS* by introducing, through the mouth of the narrator – Theodore, the place, time and social conditions of the country of the action, that is, Austria, in following words:

> It was in 1590 - winter. Austria was far away from the world, and asleep; it was still the Middle Ages in Austria, and promised to remain so forever. Some even set it away back centuries upon centuries and said that by the mental and spiritual clock it was still the Age of Belief in Austria. But they meant it as a compliment, not a slur, and it was so taken, and we were all proud of it. (*MS*, 3).

What is worth noting is that Twain through Theodore utters his own opinions and articulates his critique, ideas and attitudes concerning Austria. Theodore is the representative of the inhabitants of Eseldorf and he thus frequently uses the collective "we" to refer to himself, the inhabitants of Eseldorf and generally to Austrians.

I argue that Twain, through the binary opposition centre versus periphery indirectly employs another opposition: strong versus weak. Twain constructs Austria as a region on the periphery. As such Austria is automatically the weak one while the nation which is constructed as central is the strong one. Leerssen stresses that the nature of the relation between a strong and a weak nation is a peculiar one. The strong nations have a condescending attitude towards the weak nations, so that the weak nations "can count either on the sympathy felt for the underdog or on that mode of benevolent exoticism that bespeaks condescension" (Leerssen, 2000, 277). This is what can be read between the lines in *MS*. Twain feels sorry for Austrians who are backwardish, on the periphery and as such weak. The real irony, however, is that Austrians are not aware that their condition is pitiful. On the contrary, they are proud of it. Twain shows a degree of sympathy for Austrians and expresses condescension. The pitiful state of mind of the inhabitants of Eseldorf grows out of, among other things, a lack of education. Lack of education was one of the problem areas of Austrian culture and Twain frequently criticized it.

Theodore and the other two boys, Seppi and Nikolaus, are sons of respected citizens from the village. Theodore explains:

> Three of us boys were always together, and had been so from the cradle, being fond of one another from the beginning, and this affection deepened as the years went on – Nikolaus Bauman, son of the principle judge of the local court; Seppi Woohlmeyer, son of the keeper of the principle inn, the "Golden Stag, " [...] and I was the third – Theodore Fischer, son of church organist.

The boys therefore belong to the so called 'upper'class of the village and it could be expected that they should get the best education. However, Theodore stresses that they were not 'pestered' with schooling. They spend their time in the hills and the woods playing, swimming and fishing. Theodore boasts of their 'knowledge' of the woods:

> We knew the hills and the woods as well as the birds knew them; for we were always roaming them when we had leisure – at least, when we were not swimming or boating or fishing, or playing on the ice or sliding down hill (*MS*, 8).

Moreover, the boys are privileged because they have the "run of the of castle park, and very few had that. It was because we were pets of the oldest servingman in the castle - Felix Brandt" (*MS*, 8). Felix Brandt 'educates' the boys by telling them stories of supernatural, encouraging them not to be afraid of the ghosts and teaching them how to smoke. "[...] and often we went there, nights, to hear him [Felix] talk about old times and strange things, and to smoke with him (he taught us that) and to drink coffee" (*MS*, 8). Interestingly enough, the boys visit Felix often at night and especially when there were storms. "When it stormed he [Felix] kept us all night; and while it thundered and lightened outside he told us about ghosts and horrors of every kind, and of battles and murders and mutilations [...]" (*MS*, 9). All the established elements - an old servingman, the castle, the woods in the night, ghost stories, storm, lightening - contribute to a mysterious, Gothic[77] atmosphere and prepare the reader for the coming happenings. The score of knowledge of the boys is restricted to the supernatural, to the nature and most importantly to religion.

> We were not overmuch pestered with schooling. Mainly we were trained to be good Christians; to revere the Virgin, the Church, and the saints above everything. Beyond these matters we were not required to know much; and, in fact not allowed to (*MS*, 4).

[77] More about Gothic elements in chapter 6.1.4

The boys, and generally the inhabitants of Eseldorf, are superstitious and ignorant, and the Catholic Church seems to be responsible for their state of mind, which belongs to the Age of Belief.

The binary opposition of strong versus weak can be applied according to the level of education. The uneducated are not in pace with time and they are consequently the weak ones.

In *MS* Twain created an obvious discrepancy in time. It is well-known that he undertook his Austria sojourn in 1897 and that he started writing *MS* during his sojourn, that is, in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the state of conditions which Twain described in *MS* corresponds to Austria of the nineteenth century. Yet he declared this state to belong to year 1590[78]. Why did he think it appropriate to introduce this obvious discrepancy in time in *MS*? Grounidou emphasises that what Twain indicates by the Middle Ages is "not only a chronological period, but [...] a state of mind and existence" (Grounidou, 2005, 179). I think that in Twain's eyes Austria as it was in the nineteenth century was a considerable way behind the rest of the world. Apart from that, Twain must have thought that the state of conditions which he witnessed in Austria gave no prospect of change in the future. Twain adds emphasis to this "time issue" by stating that time stands still and that the Middle Ages will remain forever in Austria. Apart from that, the observation that Austria is asleep amounts to its backwardness because it implies passiveness.

After constructing Austria as backwardish, Twain goes on with a portrayal of a village: "Yes, Austria was far away from the world, and asleep, and our village was in the middle of that sleep, being in the middle of Austria" (*MS*, 3). As can be noted, this village significantly has no name at the beginning of the book. It is "our village" – a village which is then representative of Austria and its nation, that is, a prototypical Austrian village with prototypical Austrian inhabitants. Later on, this village gets a name that is aptly suited to village inhabitants - an aptronym: Eseldorf. "Eseldorf was

[78] In other two manuscripts Twain sets stories in the year 1702 and in 1490 (Grounidou, 2005, 175).

a paradise for us boys" (*MS*, 4). Furthermore, what is worth noting is that Twain places Eseldorf in relation to the rest of the world by stating that it is actually cut off from it. Eseldorf exists on its own, untouched in time and space[79]. "It drowsed in peace in the deep privacy of a hill and woodsy solitude where news of the world hardly ever come to disturb its dreams, and was infinitely content (*MS*, 3"). Eseldorf is divided from the rest of the world by "a hill and woodsy solitude" (*MS*, 3). This village seems to be 'protected' from any news that could 'disturb' it, that is, cause its awakening[80]. What is more, the village was "infinitely content" with its state of being asleep and backwards.

Another aspect of special significance in the mechanism of binary opposition and the "us-them" dynamics is the function of the reader[81]. As I have mentioned before, Twain relies on the reader because the reader is the one who decodes an opposition or a stereotype. I argue that Twain relies especially on the American reading audience. In the quote "Austria was far away from the world and asleep (*MS*, 3)", Twain positions Austria in relation to the world, that is, he contrasts Austria to the world. For an American reader Austria belongs to the Old World, while the U.S. is a world on its own. Moreover, Austrians seemed to Twain to be in the Middle Ages because they rejected any change, and were against any form of revolution in general. Last but not least, Austrian tranquility was outright counter to American culture, which was at that time the epitome of change and progress. By introducing the reader as an important constituent in the mechanism of binary opposition and the "us-them" dynamics, a deep-seated pattern of another binary opposition - America versus Austria - becomes transparent.

6.5 National stereotypes and national characterization in *Mysterious Stranger*

The nineteenth century was the heyday of national thought and national characterization. In this respect, literary artists, as Leerssen stresses, "felt that the highest artistic pinnacles

[79] I will go into more detail with the construction of Eseldorf in chapter 6.4.1.
[80] In "Stirring Times in Austria", Twain also stresses Austrian passivity: "Thing have happened here recently which would set any country but Austria on fire from end to end, and upset the government to a certainty; but no one feels confident that such results will follow here", 1.
[81] I will go into more detail with reader, that is, audience function in the next chapter.

were to be achieved only by commitment to one's tradition and culture" (Leerssen, 2000, 274). I argue that Twain followed this 'Volksgeist'. Through writing *MS* he constructed his version of Austrian culture - the 'other' culture. Against this 'other' culture Americans defined their identities. Dolmetsch notes that Twain at that time became "the voice of the new land, the leading translator of what and who the American was" (Dolmetsch, 1992, xii). I agree with Dolmetsch, insofar as Twain gave his contribution to the formation of a uniquely American identity by putting it in relation to European, or in this case, Austrian culture.

Apart from relying on binary oppositions, Twain clearly established a mechanism of national stereotyping and national characterization in *MS*. Backwardness, passivity, naivety and superstition are some of attributes Twain uses in the mechanism of national stereotyping of Austria. This is the basis of the national stereotyping construct of Austria which Twain established in the opening quote and further extended throughout *MS*. This is what can be observed on the surface of Twain's text. The deep-seated patterns lie however, behind the surface of national characterization and stereotyping and they are especially interesting.

In general, national stereotyping is specifically concerned with defining the character of a nation. In other words, the discourse of national stereotyping ascribes to nationalities specific personality traits. This set of temperamental attributes distinguishes Austrians as such from others and it is held to be typical, a psychological proprium of Austrian nation. This psychological proprium of Austrians is a quality that is, on the one hand, marked and characterized, and on the other, salient, that is, remarkable and it strikes the observer as something out of the ordinary – *effet de typique* (Leerssen, 2000, 283). Thus backwardness, passivity, tranquility and other are salient features which are presented as representative propria of Austrian nation.

The origin of the image of Austria as a backward country can not be specified. Leerssen states that the crucial role in shaping a specific image plays a ring of familiarity through frequent reiteration. Certainly, through frequent reiteration the media spread such images so that these became part of the social discourse of Americans. Twain incorporated in his

MS the negative image of Austria which he brought with himself as mental luggage from America. Even though Twain had direct experience of Austrian culture his construct of this culture in *MS* transpires that experience and it is transparent that his view of this culture was heavily influenced by everything he has read and heard about before he penetrated it. The currency of other, previous images about Austrians plays the cardinal role and not the experience of this culture by the author itself. The image of backwards, despotic Austria was part of the social discourse of Americans in the nineteenth century. Twain relies primarily on his American reading audience and reiterates this image of Austria in *MS*. In this respect, Dolmetsch notes: "A large body of Mark Twain's writings in Vienna are reportage, journalistic essays intended for American newspapers or magazines" (Dolmetsch, 2003, 97). In all three versions of *MS* Eseldorf is depicted as belonging to Middle Ages. By establishing this image, Twain triggers a current "everyone knows" consensus as to the nature of Austrian character. He refers to general knowledge or a reader's competence which rests on the collective-anonymous hearsay (Leerssen, 2000, 286). American readers will read the above utterances and automatically decode stereotypes on the basis of their competence, familiarity and recognition value. This shows that national characteristics and stereotypes work on the basis of recognisability or in Leerssen's terms of *vraisemblance* and not the 'empiric' observation – *vérité* - of a nation. Twain's construct of backward Austria is simply a reiteration of an image already known to American reading public. Again, this image has no claim to 'empiric' observation. Twain, in the process of national image construction, counts on the audience's acceptance of utterances as valid. It is therefore obvious that audience has an important function in the mechanism of national stereotyping which according to Leerssen takes place "in the triangular situations of texts, represented nations and an audience's *Erwartungshorizont* (Leerssen, 2000, 281).

6.5.1 Gothic imagery and negative stereotypes in *Mysterious Stranger*

According to Leerssen, national stereotyping is usually engaged "under the cloak of fictive conventions and in the context of narrative characterizations rather than in nonfictional, referential prose" (Leerssen, 2000, 282). Twain followed this scheme and engaged national stereotyping in *MS* under the cloak of Gothic fiction. In "Mountains,

Castles, Superstitions: Images of Austria in British and American Gothic Fiction", Grounidou explains why Gothic fiction is especially suited to national stereotyping.

Grounidou analyses images and different stereotypes of Austria from an imagological approach. She establishes, through the analyses of several texts - Mark Twain's *MS* being one of them - typical markers of images of Austria in Gothic fiction. First of all, she explains that "a Gothic story can have various settings, a castle, a valley, a forest, a river, but most often it takes place near or in a village" (Grounidou, 2005, 170). Moreover, the "Gothic village", as Grounidou argues, often presents some recurrent characteristics:

> it is usually isolated and far away from civilization, inhabited by poor, naïve and superstitious people and sometimes plagued by ghosts, vampires and other supernatural catastrophes (Grounidou, 20005, 170).

All these attributes can be applied to Eseldorf and Grounidou identifies Eseldorf as a typical Gothic village. She states that the Gothic

> in its relation to the medieval brings with it connotations of backwardness in social behaviour and of a primitive state of mind. Therefore, images of deficient social and technological development, poverty and naivety of the people can be characterized as gothic (Grounidou, 2000, 98).

Moreover, Grounidou emphasises that Gothic imagery consists "not only of landscape and scenery, but also of images of people and situations" (Grounidou, 2000, 98). In other words, Gothic imagery implies a certain amount of backwardness, both of the region and of its inhabitants. What is more, such a setting consequently 'produces' inhabitants who are superstitious, naive and unaware of the rest of the world. As such, the village and its inhabitants are a fruitful ground for supernatural creatures. These are expected to happen, as Grounidou notes,

> in remote, backward villages, especially if these villages are in a exotic, mysterious land with curious traditions and superstitions, as Austria was seen by many English and American people in the nineteenth century (Grounidou, 2005, 170).

Furthermore, Grounidou identifies four sets of stereotypes which accompany Gothic imagery. The first two sets of stereotypes concern the image of people: poverty, backwardness and superstition; the second set comprises ignorance, pleasure and immortality. The other two sets of stereotypes concern general social and political conditions of a specific country or village. These are monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy and church, supernatural and superstition (Grounidou, 2000, 108).

Twain's *MS* is very Gothic and the location, landscape and inhabitants resemble those usually found in Gothic texts (Grounidou, 2005, 177). Eseldorf is depicted as a very lonely, isolated place with a river, a forest, a castle. These elements reappear in Gothic stories.

> At its front flowed the tranquil river, its surface painted with cloud-forms and the reflection of drifting arks and stone-boats; behind it rose the woody steeps to the base of the lofty precipice; from the top of the precipice frowned a vast castle, its long sketch of towers and bastions mailed in vines; beyond the river, a league to the left, was a tumbled expanse of forest-clothed hills cloven by winding gorges where the sun never penetrated [...] (*MS* 11).

Such imagery implies inhabitants who are rather superstitious. All the established Gothic elements are in the story to introduce the coming of the mysterious stranger – the Satan. Theodore explains that the first encounter with Satan happened precisely after a sleepless night spent with Felix, talking about the supernatural.

> It was after that kind of a talk one May night that we got up next morning and had a good breakfast with him [Felix] and then went down and crossed the bridge and went away up into the hills on the left to a woody hill-top which was a favourite place of ours, and there we stretched out in the grass in the shade to rest and smoke and talk over these strange things, for they were in our minds yet, and impressing us. But we couldn't smoke, because we had been heedless and left our flint and steel behind (*MS*, 10).

The Satan then appears: "Soon there came a youth strolling toward us through the trees, and he sat down and began to talk in a friendly way" (*MS*, 10) and he performs his first trick by furnishing fire out of nothing to light the pipe. He wins over the boys and impresses them. "I was so astonished I couldn't speak; [...] He [Satan] took the pipe and blew his breath on it, and the tobacco glowed red, and spirals of blue smoke rose up " (*MS*, 11). The stranger says that he is an angel, that his name is Satan and

that he is a nephew of the fallen angel. He even convinces the boys that he comes from a good family: "It is a good family - ours, said Satan; there is not a better. He [the fallen Satan] is the only member of it that has ever sinned" (*MS*, 15). However, he warns the boys not to call him Satan in front of others.

> [...] and he told us Satan was only his real name, and he was to be known by it to us alone, but he had chosen another one to be called by in the presence of others; just a common one, such as people have – Philip Traum (*MS*, 22).

From this time on, the boys frequently spend time with Satan and Satan slowly enters the lives of the inhabitants of Eseldorf, causing them many troubles. Apart from that, Satan replaces Felix and takes over the 'education' of the boys. The purpose of Satan's education is to persuade the boys that life is only a dream for which his name stands – Traum. Dolmetsch pointedly notes that Satan's main cause is to convince the boys that

> the human race is contemptible if not actually beneath contempt, that life is meaningless, and that God, the universe, and existence itself are mere chimeras, delusive aspects of an absurd dream (Dolmetsch, 2003, 95).

Twain reveals his nihilism and expresses a general critique of the strong role of the Catholic Church, which is "deemed another reason for Austria's backwardness" (Grounidou, 20005, 182).

6.5.2 Positive stereotypes in *Mysterious Stranger*

Although Austria's image in America in the nineteenth century was primarily a negative one, it also comprised few positive stereotypes such as music. Interestingly enough, Twain incorporated 'music' as a positive stereotype in *MS* in a significantly negative sense.

During his sojourn, Twain was closely involved with "the whole Viennese musical world" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 107) and he was pretty much aware of the crucial role which music played for Austrian culture. In a letter to his financial advisor Twain wrote that the sole purpose of his

> "Austrian exile" [...] was to enable his daughter, the twenty-three-year-old Clara Clemens, to prepare for a music career by studying with renowned piano pedagogue Theodor Leschetizky and the Wagnerian contralto Hofkammersängerin Marianne Brandt (Dolmetsch, 2003, 96).

To Viennese interviewers who wanted to know the reason for the arrival of the Clemens family, Twain had a more pleasing answer. He told them that he had come there "deliberately in search of material for new stories" (Dolmetsch, 2003, 96). According to Dolmetsch, this was a "blatant lie that turned out to be more prophetic than the liar intended" (Dolmetsch, 2003, 96). Twain occasionally lamented that he was an 'exile' in Austria and he felt homesick, among other reasons, probably because Austrian culture was so much different from his own. Notwithstanding Twain's lament and homesickness, Dolmetsch stresses that it is a fact that Twain during his "twenty-month Austrian sojourn actually wrote more and in a greater variety of forms than at any comparable stretch of time in his long, richly diverse career (Dolmetsch, 2003, 96). Therefore, whether Twain wants to admit it or not, Austria, as backward as it was, had at least been a rich inspiration for him as a writer. Dolmetsch notes that Vienna had enjoyed hegemony since about 1750 "as Europe's musical capital" and "one of those who made it so was Professor Leschetizky, a one-man institution aspiring pianists from across the map of Europe, Great Britain, and North America" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 91). This great musician was a close friend of Clemens' family which means that Twain, as well as his family, received the best of music experiences.

When it comes to Twain's music competence, Dolmetsch states that Twain "taught himself to play the piano by ear, [...]" and goes on "Mark Twain's music proclivities were, to say the least, unexceptional" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 95). Moreover, Twain was closely involved not just with Leschetizky but also with other "luminaries like Johann Strauss, Hans Richter, Gustav Mahler, Karl Goldmark, Eduard Hanslick, Alexander von Zemlinsky, and Antonin Dvorák" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 108). It is thus rather strange that Twain failed to include this important aspect of Austrian culture more often in his writings. As Dolmetsch comments:

> Considering how closely Mark Twain was involved with Leschetizky and his circle, and indeed the whole Viennese musical world, for two seasons, his failure to make more of it literary is puzzling (Dolmetsch, 1992, 107).

MS is one of few literary works from Austria episode in which Twain writes about music. Dolmetsch observes that Twain knew how to write "discerningly and appreciatively, not just satirically, about music and musicians" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 107). I argue that Twain wrote very critically about Austrian culture in general and he implied even the image of Austria as a centre of music in a more negative than positive sense. Apart from that, the fact that he wrote so seldomly about positive aspects of Austrian culture is peculiarly intriguing.

According to Dolmetsch, Twain uses music "thematically and as a catharsis" (Dolmetsch, 1992, 108) in *MS*. I rather claim that Twain uses music in a negative sense even though he states that it is beautiful. There are several passages in which music is mentioned. The first mention of music is in connection to Theodore Fischer. Twain states that Theodore is a connoisseur of music because he is

> son of the church organist, who was also leader of the village musicians, teacher of the violin, composer, tax-collector of the commune, sexton, and in other ways a useful citizen, and respected by all (*MS*, 8).

Theodore's father is respected by everyone in the village, primarily because of his musical competence which means that the inhabitants of Eseldorf, were very much aware of the value of good music and they showed respect for musicians. Music plays an important role in the life of simple Austrian villagers. The second time Twain introduces music is in connection to Philip Traum (Young Satan). Theodore explains that Satan had killed many people and that he and his friends wanted to "let the law take its course" (*MS*, 18) over Satan yet Satan worked enchantments upon them "with that fatal music of his voice" (*MS*, 18). Satan's voice seems like music to boys and it works its magic on them so that they forget everything. "He made us forget everything; we could only listen to him, and love him [..] (*MS*, 18). In another scene Satan once more kills people. The boys are shocked but cannot do anything because Satan starts playing and makes them forget everything:

> It was no trouble to him; he did whatever he pleased with us. [...] and he was playing to us on a strange, sweet instrument which he took out of his pocket; and the music - but there is no music like that, unless perhaps in heaven [...] It made one mad, for pleasure [...] (*MS*, 22).

Satan's music has in all scenes a rather negative undertone. Every time when the boys are spurred to action, music sets in and makes them forget everything. Music, therefore, has a negative function in *MS*. It is so beautiful that it works like drugs. It makes people forget, supports their tranquility and enables them to continue dreaming their dream. What is more, through his music Satan has power over the people of Eseldorf and he can do even something positive through it: he cheers people up who are depressed. Depression seems to be the antipode to music and it elevates depression. On one occasion, Satan makes Marget's depression go away and cheers her up:

> He [...] began to talk and rattle on about all manner of gay and pleasant things: and next about music – an artful stroke which cleared away the remnant of Marget's depression and brought her spirits and her interests broad awake. (*MS*, 75-6)

On another occasion he makes the three boys happy – Nikolaus Bauman, Seppi Wohlmeyer and Theodore Fischer. Satan sings a romantic ballad and plays on an old spinet which he has magically put in tune. The boys are completely fascinated by his music. Theodore says:

> I was in raptures to see him show off so, for this was no music such as they had ever heard before. It was not one instrument talking, it was a whole vague, dreamy, far-off orchestra – flutes, and violins, and silver horns, and drums, and cymbals, and all manner of other instruments, blending their soft tunes in one rich stream of harmony. (*MS*, 80)

But this positive characteristic of music has a negative undertone: it makes people forget. Eseldorf lives in the Middle Ages and its inhabitants are in a state of dream and tranquility. They need something that will wake them up and spur to action. Yet, music does not activate them. To the contrary, it supports their passivity and it makes them neglect the existence of problems which should be solved.

The analysis of *MS* has shown that Twain used music in a rather negative sense. On the one hand, he stresses that music in Austria is beautiful and that it has a special importance for inhabitants of Eseldorf. On the other hand, music seems to support Austrians in their tranquility and their condition of passivity so that the social and political conditions of the Middle Ages have no prospect of changing.

In conclusion, it can therefore be said that the imageme which Twain establishes is defined by almost exclusively negative stereotypes. Thus the polarity, within which Twain's construct of Austrian national character moves, is a negative one. It consists of only one positive stereotype – that of music. This positive stereotype is, however, implied also in a negative sense because it supports Austrian mentality of passivity. In this text Twain definitely incorporated the stereotypes which were part of the 'official' negative image of Austria in America and contributed significantly to a negative imageme of Austrian culture which is highly impervious to historical obsolesce.

6.5.3 National stereotypes and irony in *Mysterious Stranger*

Leerssen establishes a clear relation between the nature of imageme and irony. National imagemes are defined by ambiguities and irony calls precisely these ambiguities into play. Therefore, he maintains that "the ironic deployment of national stereotypes in 20th c. novels seems to be rhetorically effective in part because it partakes of the ironic potential that is inherent in cliché" (Leerssen, 2000, 280). This means that national stereotypes have an ironic potential as well. This potential of stereotypes lies in utterances that affirm and undercut a proposition simultaneously so that we can talk of an ironic duality which as Leerssen argues "results from a ventriloquistic quality in the utterance which "mentions" rather than "uses" a given proposition" (Leerssen, 2000, 285). Another emphasis on the ironic potential of stereotypes is given by authors who tend to be equivocal so that it is not clear whether the national characterizations they invoke are to be taken seriously or not. In this respect, Leerssen points out that stereotypes which are used half-mockingly are "by the same token used half-seriously, and [...] they at least acknowledge and reinforce the currency of the prejudice they claim to transcend" (Leerssen, 2000, 275). This again calls the function of audience in national stereotyping into play whose role is to recognize a stereotype that a certain text activates.

Twain was known as a humorist and in *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humour* (1959) Kenneth S. Lynn notes that "America persisted in regarding him [Twain] as a jokesmith who was not to be taken seriously [...]" (Lynn, 1959, 207). This is true, but it is also obvious that Twain's humour was "a form for his deep earnestness" (Herrick, 1983, 30).

Generally speaking, a humorist's goal is not just to make people laugh but more importantly to criticize, expose and effect a change. Therefore, I argue that generally a humorist should be taken seriously for several reasons. Twain used the ironic potential of stereotypes massively and it seems as if most of his utterances in this late work of his were deployed with irony. Fusco rightly points out that irony "invites readers to fathom hidden meaning below superficial images and statements" (Fusco, 2006, 1004). By using irony in describing Austrian culture, Twain left the ambivalence deliberately open for the reader to interpret. Moreover, Twain knew about the ironic potential of stereotypes and he affirmed, echoed, denied and subverted them. This way he acknowledged and reinforced prejudices about Austria.

The following quote from *MS* is pregnant with stereotypes which are deployed in ironical fashion.

> We [the inhabitants of Eseldorf] were trained to be good Catholics, to revere the Virgin, the Church and the saints above everything else, to hold the Monarch in awful reverence, speak of him with bated breath, uncover before his picture, regard him as the gracious provider of our daily bread and of all our earthly blessings, and ourselves as being sent into the world with the one and only mission, to labor for him, bleed for him, die for him when necessary. Beyond these matters we were not required to know much, and in fact, not allowed to. The priests said that knowledge was not good for common people [...] This was so, for the priest got it of the Bishop (*MS*, 4).

In the first part of the utterance, Twain employs the stereotype of Catholicism in Austria. An American reader will automatically decode this stereotype and Twain's irony. It is evident that here Twain asserts and denies simultaneously that the inhabitants of Eseldorf are good Catholics. The decoded meaning is that Eseldorf inhabitants are by no means good Christians. They are rather superstitious and they do not seem to know what faith really is. Moreover, Twain criticizes the Austrian's veneration of the Virgin Mary, "to revere the Virgin" (*MS*, 4). Americans being mostly Protestants regarded this as over-exaggerated (Grounidou, 2005, 183) and could not understand it. The second stereotype which Twain uses ironically is the alliance of church and state, that is, of "Roman Catholicism with post-Metternichian Habsburg absolutism" (Dolmetsch, 2003, 99). Twain describes the Monarch deliberately as God to show the intermingling of church

and politics. The use of Biblical vocabulary " [...] gracious provider of our daily bread and of all our earthly blessings" (*MS*, 7) has a rather comic effect on the reader because it makes clear that the Austrians treat the Monarch like God. The inhabitants of Eseldorf are further described as owing reverence to the Monarch and accepting anything told them by authorities – an unquestioning loyalty to dynasty is the highest rule. They are very gullible and so passive that they simply accept anything told without questioning it. The credulity of Austrians is based on a lack of education - the third stereotype which Twain deploys with irony. "Beyond these matters we were not required to know much, and in fact, not allowed to" (*MS*, 4). Here Twain accuses the church indirectly of brainwashing, lack of education and superstition of its people. The concluding remark of Theodore is especially humorous: "The priests said that knowledge was not good for common people [...] This was so, for the priest got it of the Bishop" (*MS*, 8). The logic of reasoning is simply astonishing: the priest is definitely right in saying that knowledge is not good for ordinary people because he has heard it from the Bishop who is an unquestionable authority. The reader must stop at this point and laugh but also conclude that such a logic of reasoning and such conditions really belong to the Middle Ages. An American reader must laugh even more at Austrians and their naivety, because Twain gives him or her a sense that the New World is superior to the Old World, and as a result the American reader laughs at the European underdog. Moreover, Twain, through constructing a negative projection of Austrian culture, also constructs American culture. He associates Austrian culture with tradition, Catholicism and Monarchy. As Stahl underlines, tradition for Twain signifies stasis and oppression (Stahl, 1994, 187). Therefore, an American reader defines his or her culture in contrast to the European tradition.

In the above quote, Twain portrays Austrians as superstitious, naïve, uneducated and finally as very passive. Twain's general critique aims at the mentality of passivity or in his terms, tranquility which was so counter to American culture and the American spirit of revolution. Thus Austria will remain forever in the Middle Ages, because the inhabitants of Eseldorf, that is, Austrians in general are afraid of revolution.

It is furthermore, significant to mention that Twain's depiction of the European characters is as well rather static, as further analysis will show. According to Stahl, Twain's characters in European settings show no development and they are significantly not the product of interactions between social influences and personal character (Stahl, 1994, 187).

Twain establishes the character of the priest, Father Adolf as a very static one. Moreover, he ridicules him by employing the stereotype of religion. Father Adolf is "the stereotype of a hypocritical priest, who is egotistic and power thirsty" (Grounidou, 2005, 183). Theodore humorously describes the character of Father Adolf as follows:

> Father Adolf, was a very zealous and strenuous priest, much considered. There may have been better priests, in some ways, than Father Adolf, but there was never one in our commune who was held in more solemn and awful respect. This was because he had absolutely no fear of the Devil. He was the only Christian I have ever known of whom that could be truly said. People stood in deep dread of him on that account; for they thought that there must be something supernatural about him, else he could not be so bold and so confident (*MS*, 4-5).

In the first utterance, Father Adolf is presented as having great energy for faith and being very respectful. In the second utterance, the established assertion is then undermined by giving a trivial reason for Father Adolf's extraordinariness: he had no fear of the Devil. Significantly enough, the respect which the inhabitants of Eseldorf have for Father Adolf results from their credulity and is grounded in superstition, which the reader might find ridiculous. Twain produces this humorous effect by asserting and denying a statement. The rest of Theodore's explanation is even more humorous, because it presents the village inhabitants as naïve and ridiculous and as such accepting all kind of superstitions about ghosts, the devil etc. Grounidou notes that Twain introduces the people's belief in the existence of the devil because it is important for the story and it prepares the reader for the appearance of Satan (Grounidou, 2005, 184). Moreover, it makes transparent the fact that religion, that is, superstition, heavily influenced the life of the village. Such an environment sustains the appearance of ghosts, and the inhabitants of Eseldorf treat the Devil in a special way. However, Father Adolf has a 'significantly different' way of treating the devil. As Theodore explains

> All men speak in bitter disapproval of the Devil, but they do it reverently, not flippantly; but Father Adolf's way was very different; he called him by every name he could lay his tongue to, and it made everyone shudder that heard him; and often he would speak of him even scornfully and scoffingly, then the people crossed themselves and went quickly out of his presence, fearing that something fearful might happen (*MS*, 56).

Father Adolf is obviously so courageous that he is not afraid to call the Devil different names. This 'extraordinary quality' deems him superior among the whole congregation. However, this assertion is in the second instance denied. Theodore concludes his portrayal of Father Adolf by giving a final comment on his person.

> Father Adolf had actually met Satan face to face more than once, and defied him. This was known to be so. Father Adolf said it himself. He never made any secret of it, but spoke it right out. And that he was speaking true there was proof in at least one instance, for on that occasion he quarrelled with the enemy, and intrepidly threw his bottle at him; and there upon the wall of his study, was the ruddy splotch where it struck and broke (*MS*, 67).

The reasoning of Theodore and obviously other village inhabitants is rather naive. That Father Adolf met Satan must be true, for it was known to be so and the priest confirmed it himself. This is then generally accepted as true without being questioned. Father Adolf is respected by everyone in the village and even deemed superior because of his 'fearlessness of the Devil'. However, Theodor's last statement is the most humorous one. He states that there is clear proof of Father Adolf's and Satan's encounter – the stain on the wall from the bottle Father Adolf threw at the devil. The ambiguity of this statement is left for the reader to interpret, because there seems to be no one in the village who questions Father Adolf's words and the 'function' of the bottle in Father Adolf's study. He must have met Satan in one of his hallucinations while being drunk. The reader recognizes that the character of the priest is ridiculed. He is respected by the congregation while he is actually an alcoholic. The above quotes are prime examples of the ironic deployment of national stereotypes in *MS*. They incorporate the most significant stereotypes of the imageme of Austria and reinforce the currency of negative prejudice about Austria.

7. Conclusion

In the nineteenth century, Twain was "the voice of the new land, the leading translator of what and who the American was" (Fisher, 1997, 8). Moreover, he was also a journalist and a travel writer who came on a trip to Europe to write about the Old World; that is, to mediate Austrian culture to Americans through his works.

In 1900, American national identity was under construction. For a cultural identity to develop, there have to be other identities against which it can form. In other words, in order to define a 'Self', the 'Other' is needed. Twain presented Austrian culture as the 'Other' against which American identity could form itself. He thereby made his contribution to the formation of a uniquely American identity by putting it in relation or contrasting it to European, or in this case Austrian culture.

As has been shown at various points in this thesis, Twain's construction of Austrian cultural identity is a product of complex cultural processes which consist of the production of cultural meaning and cultural identity. These are further established through the practice of representation. Consequently, meaning does not arise directly from the thing itself, but from the way in which identity, is represented in language (Du Gay, 1994, 78). Thus, even though Twain had directly experienced Austrian culture, he did not reflect "the true Austrian cultural identity" in his works, because there is no such a thing "a true Austrian identity". However, he presented his constructed version of Austrian identity as if it were the reflection of the authentic state of things.

This analysis has shown that Twain's construction of Austrian culture relies on the mental luggage and on the social discourse which he brought from America, and which consisted of an imageme of Austria consisting mostly of negative and a few positive stereotypes. Austria was, on the one hand, considered to be a country of absolutism, conservatism, Catholicism and backwardness, and on the other, a mysterious country of music and culture. Twain had experienced all the facets of Austrian culture during his sojourn. Significantly enough, his construction of Austrian culture in *MS* comprises all of the negative stereotypes known to the American reading

public. The only positive music stereotype utilised is, in *MS*, implied in a negative sense.

Leerssen's claim that national stereotypes have an ironic potential proved correct in my analysis of *MS*. It became evident that Twain successfully implied irony with national stereotypes to ridicule and exert his critique. What is more, by using stereotypes, he half-mockingly and half-seriously acknowledged and reinforced the currency of a negative image of Austria.

The name of the village in *MS* is, significantly enough, Eseldorf – Jackassville. Eseldorf is a microcosm of Austria. The socio-political conditions which Twain described in *MS* are those he witnessed in 1897, but he emphasised that these belong to the Middle Ages. Eseldorf, that is, Twain's Austria, is cut off from the rest of the world and consequently lost in time and space. People are passive, superstitious and backwards but shockingly content with such a state. They are dreaming a dream from which they do not want to awaken and the beautiful Austrian music is like a drug which supports the state of Austrian tranquility. Austrians are, furthermore, ridiculously naïve. The unholy alliance of Church and state is the main point of Twain's critique and ridicule. What is more, the Catholic Church is responsible for the superstition of the people, their backwardness and lack of education.

The analysis of *MS* has further shown that Twain massively used an "us-them" dynamic and binary opposition in his usage of stereotyping. I was able to identify two of three structural factors of invariant opposition which Leerssen extrapolates: the binary opposition between strong and weak and between central and peripheral. These oppositions are significant because they point to the operation of power in national stereotyping. Moreover, the analysis of "deep structures" in *MS* displayed the hidden grammar of stereotypes which reflected oppositions of Austrian culture, as being 'in the nature' of stereotypes rather than being a construct. Through a deep-structure analysis, I have arrived to the construction of a latent binary around the oppositional pairs: Austria versus America.

Another interesting topic within the analysis was a pragmatic approach to national stereotyping in *MS*, which puts special emphasis on the function of the audience. The reader's function in national stereotyping turned out to play an important role insofar as the reader recognizes a stereotype and accepts it as valid on the basis of his or her general knowledge. By establishing a negative image of Austria, Twain triggered a current "everyone knows" consensus as to the nature of Austrian character which (American) readers decoded in a similar way. What is more, American readers did not just decode stereotypes similarly but, more significantly, they perceived and judged the culture which Twain constructed as Austrian against the background of their own culture.

It remains to be said that Twain's construction of the national imageme of Austria is defined in terms of negative polarity. In other words, his version of the imageme of Austria consists of all the negative stereotypes which were part of the 'official' negative image of Austria in America. What is crucial, however, is that this negative imageme is impervious to historical obsolesce and will thus remain a part of the image of Austria for an indefinite time. Finally, Twain's image of Austria seems to form a negative pole in the major binary opposition: New World versus Old World - a binary that in itself brings another set of stereotypes that will continue to be popular in the 21st century.

8. Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit behandelt die Rolle die Mark Twain im Prozess der Herausbildung einer amerikanischen nationalen Identität gespielt hat. Als einer der führenden Schriftsteller Amerikas im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, kam Twain nach Österreich, d.h. in die „Alte Welt", und konstruierte seine Version der österreichischen Kultur im *Mysterious Stranger*.

Den theoretischen Ausgangspunkt der Arbeit stellt Joep Leerssen's Aufsatz „The Rhetoric of National Character" (2000) dar. Die Konstruktion nationaler „images" (Bilder) umfasste sowohl nationale Stereotypen als auch nationale Charakterisierung. Leerssen plädiert für einen neuen pragmatisch rhetorischen Zugang zu diesen. Dieser neue Zugang legt latente Formen der Machtausübung im Prozess der Konstruktion nationaler Stereotypen dar. Der pragmatisch rhetorische Zugang zu *MS* offenbarte die „verdeckte Grammatik" der Stereotypen. Diese machte die verborgene binäre Opposition: Österreich versus Amerika offenbar.

Die Kulturwissenschaft sieht die Konstruktion nationaler Identität als Produkt komplexer kultureller Prozesse an. Diese kulturellen Prozesse bestehen aus der Herstellung kultureller Bedeutungen und Identitäten. Die Bedeutung geht jedoch nicht aus einer Identität als solcher hervor, sondern aus der Art und Weise in der sie dargestellt wird. Mit anderen Worten, die Sprache ist im Konstruktions-Prozess einer Identität von immenser Wichtigkeit. In diesem Sinne definiert sich eine Identität im Gegensatz zu einer anderen wie z.B. die binäre Opposition „Self" versus „Other". Twain stellte das Österreichbild her als das „Other" gegen das sich die amerikanische nationale Identität - das „Self"- herausbilden konnte. Das Österreichbild das Twain konstruierte, war daher von großer Bedeutung für die Definition der amerikanischen nationalen Identität. Die binäre Opposition die allen anderen zu Grunde liegt, ist jedoch die zwischen der Alten Welt - Europa - und der Neuen Welt – Amerika. Diese Opposition birgt in sich Stereotypen die bis heute aufrecht erhalten werden und die im 21. Jahrhundert wenig an Popularität einbüßen werden.

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