MARK TWAIN AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

AURELE A. DUROCHER

In the late 1880's, Mark Twain wrote: "In two or three little centuries it [the Roman Catholic Church] had converted a nation of men [England] to a nation of worms."[1] Not a decade later, he remarked again that the Church "is doubtless the most peace-giving and restful of all the religions."[2] Surely a man who could say such things about the same Church must have been impressed by it. The purpose of this paper is to determine Mark Twain's basic attitude toward this Church, as revealed in The Innocents Abroad [1869], A Connecticut Yankee [1889], Joan of Arc [1896],[3] and other miscellaneous writings.

We turn our attention first to the early years before Innocents Abroad. Alexander E. Jones, in his study, "Mark Twain and Religion,"[4] states that Mark Twain changed his attitude toward the Catholic Church from hostility in his early life to something more nearly approaching understanding and tolerance in his later years. Now, it is impossible to state definitely how hostile Mark Twain was toward the Church before 1867, as Innocents Abroad was being written. Two remarks, however, show that he may have held certain unfriendly attitudes about the Church in his early life. During the course of some comments with regard to the Convent Fathers in Palestine, he said that "I have been educated to enmity toward everything that is Catholic, and sometimes in consequence of this, I find it much easier to discover Catholic faults than Catholic merits."[5] Six years after Innocents Abroad, he again observed, while on a visit to Ireland: "A week ago a vast concourse of Catholics assembled at Armagh to dedicate a new cathedral; and when they started home again the roadways were lined with groups of meek and lowly Protestants who stoned them till all the region round about was marked with blood. I thought that only Catholics argued in that way, but it seems to be a mistake."[6]

Collateral evidence from the early years suggests that Mark Twain probably absorbed some hostility toward the Catholic Church from the Protestants in Hannibal, where the religious atmosphere was largely puritanical and evangelical. Here young Samuel Clemens attended the church of the Presbyterians, who responded most enthusiastically to appeals for an anti-Catholic crusade. The rising spirit of nativism in the 1830's and 1840's, says Ray Allen Billington, fanned to a degree the potential ill will toward

Catholics dammed up among the Protestants. "Nearly all of the Protestant denominations in the United States responded . . . [to appeals for an anti-Catholic crusade] but none with more enthusiasm than the Presbyterians, whose heritage of antagonism toward Rome fitted them to take full advantage of the excitement . . . ."[7] Since the Presbyterians constituted the most influential congregation in Hannibal by the late 1840's, when young Sam Clemens was to come under their influence at Sunday school, they must have heard, and probably acted upon, anti-Catholic advice from higher authority: ". . . the Roman Catholic Church has essentially apostatized from the religion of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ . . . [and] all in our communion [are] to endeavor by the diffusion of light by the pulpit, the press and all other Christian means to resist the extension of Romanism . . . ."[8]

These sentiments, of course, were echoed in the local press. A writer in the Hannibal Journal characterized the Papal states as the "worst administered government on the globe." In a later issue, a letter signed by "Delta" fired this salvo: "[The Roman Catholic Church] endures Protestantism here now--because it is 'expedient'--because 'she must'--because she has not the physical power to destroy it; but . . . as certainly as there is a God in heaven, just so certainly will the Roman Catholic Church, if she ever gets the power in America, 'destroy,' exterminate Protestantism of every form--annihilate Religious toleration, and bind the physical energies of our descendants to the ponderous car--and confine the labors of their immortal minds within the iron-bound circle prescribed by the Pope of Rome. . . ."[9]

It is clear, therefore, that young Sam Clemens was reared in an atmosphere hostile to Catholicism, but it is impossible to state conclusively whether the prevailing sentiment influenced him or his family to any great extent. That a nativist bias was present in Sam's thinking at this time is indicated in a letter written by him in November, 1853, in Philadelphia, when he commented upon the "abominable foreigners here . . . who hate everything American . . . ."[10] Edgar M. Branch states that Sam's ". . . political views at this time [1855] seem to have been tinged with the nativism then exploited by the Know Nothing party. He reported from St. Louis [to the Hannibal Journal?] in February, 1855, that a 'new Catholic paper (bad luck to it) is . . . soon to be established, for the purpose of keeping the Know Nothing organ straight.'" With regard to this statement, Branch rightly comments that while it does not indicate positive approval of the Know Nothing platform it may suggest a preference.[11]

In the latter part of the 1850's Samuel Clemens was touched by another influence which probably shaped, in part, his opinions of the Roman Catholic Church--his reading of various eighteenth-century writings, those of Paine, Hume, Voltaire, and Gibbon. That Sam absorbed much eighteenth-century skepticism and moralism is, of course, well known.[12] Eighteenth-century

ideas were, moreover, known on the western frontier, where Twain's character and art were formed, and he himself shared the later eighteenth-century distrust of established institutions. A reading of Tom Paine alone would have provided him with a remarkably lucid attack upon the Roman Catholic Church. There is no doubt, without tracing direct influences, that Twain, when in Europe in 1867 gathering materials for Innocents Abroad, and later when writing A Connecticut Yankee and Joan of Arc, already was predisposed to hostility toward the Roman Catholic Church and ready to condemn what he considered its excesses. His earlier extensive reading in the eighteenth-century deists undoubtedly played an important part in the formation of his opinions and the setting of his mind.

In 1861, just after his abortive experience in the Confederate service, Sam joined the Masonic lodge in St. Louis. From this short-lived attachment there is no evidence of his absorbing any anti-Catholic prejudices. Whether hostile remarks made by fellow Masons influenced him is, of course, a moot question. However, his brief acquaintance with Masonry led him to consider certain liberal ideas in religious matters, and later helped him to make a clean break with evangelical Protestantism. He wrote in his Autobiography: "I have never belonged to any church from that day [referring to his early break with orthodox Christianity] to this. I have remained absolutely free in those matters. And in this independence I have found a spiritual comfort and a peace of mind quite above price."[13] Moreover, about the same time as his Masonic experience, he began to speak approvingly of certain phases of Catholic activity. On his visit to the Sandwich Islands in 1866 he had occasion to observe the missionary activity there--Catholic and Protestant--commending the former and condemning the latter (in his criticism of a minister by the name of Harris, for example): "The Catholic clergy are honest, straightforward, frank, and open; they are industrious and devoted to their religion and their work; they never meddle; whatever they do can be relied on as being prompted by a good and worthy motive."[14]

In this remark we see a foreshadowing of one aspect of his attitude toward the Church that Mark Twain exhibited in Innocents Abroad. In this book his attitude is not unqualifiedly hostile; it consists of three main factors: an incredulity regarding miracles and relics, hostility toward what he considered unjust activities of the Church and some of its clergy, and a certain amount of understanding and approval of other members of the Catholic clergy.

His reaction to relics is that their ubiquitous existence showed that "Jesuit humbuggery" (p. 35) flourished; he could not find them impressive. The hundreds of pieces of the "veritable cross [with nails 'amounting to as much as a keg'] upon which our Saviour was crucified" (pp. 109, 87, et passim) stretched Mark Twain's belief in them to the breaking point. Other relics and evidences of miraculous occurrence appeared in such numbers

and in so many places that he was bewildered. He mused over the small lamp in the chapel of the cathedral in Fayal, kept lit with funds left by a good lady at her death and intended to indicate that unlimited masses were being said "for the repose of her soul": "It is a very small lamp, and a very dim one, and it could not work her much damage, I think, if it went out altogether" (p. 35). The ashes of various good saints, preserved by the clergy, he found a cause for jocularity: "The main point of interest about the Cathedral [of San Lorenzo] is the little chapel of St. John the Baptist [where there is]. . . a marble chest, in which, they told us, were the ashes of St. John; . . . . We did not desire to disbelieve these statements. . . because we had seen St. John's ashes before, in another Church. We could not bring ourselves to think St. John had two sets of ashes" (p. 108). When he described St. Peter's in Rome, his skepticism was reinforced as he was shown Peter's ashes, a relic now become common: "We stood reverently in that place; so did we also in the Mamertine Prison, where he was confined, where he converted the soldiers, and where tradition says he caused a spring of water to flow in order that he might baptize them. But when they showed us the print of Peter's face in the hard stone of the prison wall and said he made that by falling up against it, we doubted" (p. 176). Mark Twain applied the same skepticism to the stories of other miraculous relics and feats he heard of, like those of Veronica's handkerchief, the imprint of Christ's elbow in solid stone, of Gabriel's grip and Mohammed's footprints in other stones, the miracle of the silver cross of the Archbishop of Paris, and many others--all to him "a monkish humbug and fraud" (pp. 334, 337, et passim).

When he turned his attention to some of the clergy, his comments became even more caustic. He asserted, when the members of the Quaker City excursion were in Italy, that "We were in the heart and home of priest-craft--of a happy, cheerful, contented ignorance, superstition, degradation, poverty, indolence, and everlasting unaspiring worthlessness" (p. 132). This Italy is a "priest-ridden Italy" (p. 165), which condition has kept this unhappy country in a state of hampering stagnation. The clergy consisted of "well-fed priests . . . fat and serene" (p. 108), a very graphic contrast to the poverty-stricken masses of Italians he commented about. Twain implied that the hunger of these poor people was in direct ratio to the gastronomic surfeit of the clergy whom he saw. The close juxtaposition of nouns in the sentence, "beggars, Princes and Bishops . . . jostle each other in the street" (p. 191), is more than just coincidental; they represented the picture as he observed it in Italy.

And the Church, as an owner of vast properties and untold wealth, he severely condemned. In commenting on the anomaly of a bankrupt Italy and a fabulously wealthy Church, whose property was untaxed, Mark Twain put his finger on a sore spot: "As far as I can see, Italy . . . is today one vast museum of magnificence and misery. All the churches in an ordinary Ameri-

can city put together could hardly buy the jeweled frippery in one of her hundred cathedrals. And for every beggar in America, Italy can show a hundred--and rags and vermin to match. It is the wretchedest, princeliest land on earth. . . . 'Oh, sons of classic Italy, is the spirit of enterprise, of self-reliance, of noble endeavour, utterly dead within you? Curse your indolent worthlessness, why don't you rob your church?'" (p. 167). He then referred to the Inquisition. In contrasting the methods of imperial Rome toward the early Christians with those of the leaders of the Inquisition in medieval Europe, Mark Twain saw only that the Inquisitors showed greater subtlety in malevolence. He remarked:

> . . . when the Christians came into power, when the holy Mother Church became mistress of the barbarians, she taught them the error of their ways . . . --first by twisting their thumbs out of joint with a screw; then by nipping their flesh with pincers--red-hot ones, because they are the most comfortable in cold weather; then by skinning them alive a little, and finally by roasting them in public. They always convinced those barbarians. The true religion, properly administered, as the good Mother Church used to administer it, is very, very soothing. It is wonderfully persuasive, also. There is a great difference between feeding parties to wild beasts and stirring up their finer feelings in an Inquisition. One is the system of degraded barbarians, the other of enlightened, civilized people. It is a great pity the playful Inquisition is no more (p. 176).

Lest one might think that Mark Twain was only abusive, it is fair to point out that he spoke also as a compassionate humanitarian, who bestowed approbation where he felt it was deserved. When in Paris, he had occasion to visit the cemetery of Père la Chaise, the last resting place of those who belong to a "nobler royalty, --the royalty of heart and brain. . . ." He cited some grand names, like that of the "Abbé Sicard [who] sleeps here . . . the first great teacher of the deaf and dumb--a man whose heart went out to every unfortunate, and whose life was given to kindly offices in their services . . . ." (p. 93). Later, when in Milan Cathedral, he paid tender respects to the "good St. Charles Borroméo, Bishop of Milan . . . a warm-hearted, unselfish man; a man whose whole life was given to succouring the poor, encouraging the faint-hearted, visiting the sick; in relieving distress, whenever and wherever he found it. His heart, his hand and his purse were always open" (p. 115). When it is recalled that in this same book the Protestant ministers and pilgrims on the excursion were dealt with harshly at times for their activities, Mark Twain's singling out of good Catholic clerics points up his essential fairness and kindliness toward anyone who performed like a real Christian.

The catalogue of virtues in various members of the clergy he continued to recount. He remarked that the charity of the Dominican friars in Italy was most impressive and praiseworthy (pp. 169-170). The rather long account of the most hospitable treatment accorded Mark Twain and his companions by the monks of Mars Saba in Palestine likewise indicated that credit must be paid where due. After the small company had been fed, made at ease, and bedded, ". . . we were new men. For all this hospitality no strict charge was made. We could give something if we chose; we need give nothing, if we were poor or if we were stingy. . . ." (p. 353). Twain continued:

> The pauper and the miser are free as any in the Catholic Convents of Palestine. . . . Their doors are always open, and there is always a welcome for any worthy man who comes; whether he comes in rags or clad in purple. The Catholic Convents are a priceless blessing to the poor. A pilgrim without money, whether he be a Protestant or a Catholic, can travel the length and breadth of Palestine, and in the midst of her desert wastes find wholesome food and a clean bed every night, in these buildings. . . . Our party, pilgrims and all, will always be ready and always willing, to touch glasses and drink health, prosperity, and long life to the Convent Fathers of Palestine (p. 354).

The remarks above show, in the writer's opinion, that Mark Twain viewed some Catholic practices and activities of the Catholic clergy as a good reporter does. On the whole, he was willing to observe the Catholic Church with a fair mind and a full heart, he was not hostile toward it except for what he considered good reason, and he was positively friendly toward it when he found something or someone to approve. This position regarding the Church was basically the stand to which he adhered for the rest of his life.

Twenty years elapsed between the publication of Innocents Abroad and A Connecticut Yankee. What was his attitude in this interim? It is not qualitatively different from that already referred to. In a letter to Livy late in 1881, Mark Twain praised the heroism of some Jesuit missionaries: ". . . you must read about the early Jesuit missionaries in Canada. Talk about self-abnegation! heroism! fidelity to a cause! It was sublime, it was stupendous. Why what these men did & suffered . . . makes one adore & glorify human nature . . . . In endurance and performance they were gods, in subordination to authority they were swine." One notes again Twain's ambivalent attitude. Mark Twain struck a new note, however, in the attraction he felt for the spiritual comfort experienced by sincere Catholics, as he wistfully observed in the same letter: "But for the shame of it, the indignity to my pride, I would like to be a priest's slave, & glide in with my basket or my bundle, & duck my head & crook my knee at a painted image, & glide out

again with my immortal part refreshed and strengthened for my day's burdens."[15] These two comments do not indicate any fundamental change in his thinking about the Church, as he had observed it in 1867.

The aspect of the Roman Catholic Church which Mark Twain condemned most severely in A Connecticut Yankee is that of its established character in medieval Europe. Though the Boss spoke, the real voice was Mark Twain's, for the appraisal of the Church, its power, authoritarian pronouncements, and the skulduggery of some of its clerical servants closely accords with the judgment of it already traced in Innocents Abroad. As an established church its spirit and program were a denial of the political liberalisms, humanitarian social impulses, and technological advancement that the Boss associated with contemporary America; as a result, to him it must remain anathema.

The unfavorable references to an Established Church so far outweigh any other types of reference to it that it seems unmistakable that any established church--Catholic or Protestant--would have earned the Boss's ire.[16] He said: ". . . I was afraid of a united Church; it makes a mighty power, the mightiest conceivable, and then when it by and by gets into selfish hands, as it is always bound to do, it means death to human liberty and paralysis to human thought" (p. 694). Had he dared to introduce his inventions to the public too suddenly, ". . . I should have had the Established Roman Catholic Church on my back in a minute" (p. 695). And so, throughout the book, the indictment was rounded out: the Established Church was the implacable enemy of democratic government, of progress in bodily cleanliness and sanitation, of public education, of freedom, of enlightened penology, of equitable taxes (pp. 709, 720, et passim). The Church moreover punished anyone who challenged the tremendous authority by which it maintained its prerogatives by the imposition on a whole nation of the interdict, a terrible penalty for a people wishing to remain sincere Catholics and members of the Established Church (p. 865). Clearly nothing short of a political and religious revolution, a project which the Boss earnestly contemplated, could destroy such irresponsible power (pp. 730, 859).

The Boss also found much to condemn in the rapacity of church officials, especially the prelates. He told the story of a man who ". . . had ten children; and he said that last year when a priest came and of his ten pigs took the fattest one for tithes, the wife burst out upon him . . . ." (p. 743). The story of the legal decision to turn over the property of the poor engaged girl to her lord, the Bishop, is another example. When the poor girl pleads her case, her helplessness is contrasted to the power and greed of the Bishop. The case was decided by the King (as a mere puppet for the Bishop, Twain makes clear), who decreed that her property reverted to the Bishop because of a trivial legal technicality (pp. 774-775). In the medieval economy, the Boss discovered, there was a sizable group of people ironically called freemen, who

> could not leave the estates of their lord or their bishop without his permission; they could not prepare their own bread, but must have their corn ground and their bread baked at his mill and his bakery, and pay roundly for the same; they could not sell a piece of their own property . . . they had to harvest his grain for him gratis . . . they had to smother their anger when his hunting-parties galloped through their fields . . . when the harvest was at last gathered, then came the procession of robbers to levy their blackmail upon it: first the Church carted off its fat tenth . . . finally, if the freeman, grown desperate with his tortures, found his life unendurable under such conditions, and sacrificed it and fled to death for mercy and refuge, the gentle Church condemned him to eternal fire, the gentle law buried him at midnight at the cross-roads with a stake through his back, and his master the baron or the bishop confiscated all his property and turned his widow and his orphans out of doors (pp. 707-708).

In this entire book the only favorable reference to Church personnel is as follows: ". . . not all priests were frauds and self-seekers, but, . . many, even the great majority, of these that were down on the ground among the common people, were sincere and right-hearted, and devoted to the alleviation of human troubles and sufferings" (p. 730). Twain had made a similar observation in Innocents Abroad; it reminds us of Chaucer's treatment of the Parson. Even in the Established Church, there were individual priests who were real humanitarians, laying up stores for themselves in heaven. Nevertheless, the indictment of the Established Church is so overwhelming in A Connecticut Yankee that this story represents a high point in Twain's condemnation of that which he found blameworthy in the Church. In it he scored the same princes of the Church that he had condemned in Innocents Abroad; he also called attention to some worthy and charitable priests. Mark Twain's judgment of the Church in 1889, then, was fundamentally the same as he had expressed it in 1867.

At the time of the publication of A Connecticut Yankee, Twain had already begun research on a book, whose heroine, Joan of Arc, was a source of considerable fascination to him. The book in final form was published in 1896. In a letter to Livy in the early 1890's, he wrote: "I am very, very glad Jean is in a convent. I was astonished at myself that I had never thought of a convent. And away deep down in my heart I feel that if they make a good strong unshakable Catholic of her I shan't be the least little bit sorry. . . . If I had it I would not trade it for anything in the earth. If I ever change my religion I shall change to that."[17] Such a comment came out of the depths of his heart, when Mark Twain was stricken by the personal and family calamities that crowded his last years. They also show his recognition that, re-

gardless of the historic Church's alleged shortcomings and the "fraud" and "humbuggery" of a section of its clergy, it also offered spiritual comfort, an observation he had made before, in 1881. Nevertheless, we should not conclude from the foregoing remark that his attitude toward an authoritarian church and his conviction of its political activity and unwholesome hold on men's allegiance had changed in any appreciable degree.

Examining the attitudes toward the Church in Joan of Arc, we read that the Catholic Church as such was not responsible for the martyrdom of Joan; rather, some evil geniuses in the Church of North France were to blame. One Sieur Louis de Conte, Joan's page and secretary, tells her story; his references to the Church in his account of Joan's career are those of a Catholic of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, many unflattering references to certain ecclesiastics were those of Mark Twain, since the attitude revealed in this book is similar to that in Innocents Abroad and A Connecticut Yankee. Twain, therefore, as well as Sieur Louis de Conte, was speaking in this story.

He described the worthy priest of Domremy as the "good priest, Guillaume Fronte [who] . . . had a most kind and gentle nature" (i, 5 and 15). One of the priests of the Inquisition, a representative of which had to question Joan according to ecclesiastical law when she was before the final court, "was a brave and righteous man" (ii, 116), according to the narrator. Furthermore, even the "sour and sarcastic" Brother Seguin, professor of theology and a member of the illustrious doctors of the University of Poitiers who examined Joan, "was a manly man, and honest, as you can see by the histories; for at the Rehabilitation he could have hidden those unlucky incidents [as, for example, Joan's besting of her Inquisitors in her replies to them] if he had chosen, but he didn't do it, but spoke them right out in his evidence" (i, 164 and 165). These remarks, though probably part of the "official history" of Joan of Arc, suggest similar references to worthy priests whom Twain met on the Quaker City excursion and to whom the Boss referred in A Connecticut Yankee. And it was the parish priests who actually did something concrete about Joan's plight: "Everybody knew that in various towns patriot priests had been marching in procession urging the people to sacrifice money, property, everything, and buy the freedom of their heaven-sent deliverer" (ii, 112). Clearly "not all priests were frauds and self-seekers" (A Connecticut Yankee, p. 730).

In Joan of Arc Twain showed respect for features of the Church he had not considered in Innocents Abroad and A Connecticut Yankee. Evidently, in his research regarding Joan he had met some facts (probably new to him) about the canon law and ecclesiastical procedure of the Church. This knowledge may have caused a shift in his attitude more favorable to the Church as a medieval institution. References, for instance, are made to Joan's power of faith in God, a faith that Twain did not ridicule but admired (i, 71 ff.). He faithfully described the conduct of the ecclesiastical court which considered

Joan's alleged crimes, finding the court's concern for fairness, orderly procedure, and the reaching of sound conclusions (ii, 123). The canon law of the Church, basis for interpretations of the meaning of evidence and findings of innocence or culpability, caused Twain to regard the Church as an institution of men many of whom wanted justice to prevail given the data they were able to collect (ii, 119, 120). Of significance, too, is the fact, as Twain pointed out, that Rome, after Joan's trial and condemnation, declared her innocent (ii, 286).[18]

In Joan of Arc, then, Mark Twain's attitude toward the Church is clear. He discriminated between what appeared to him to be an authoritarian, established Church with many callous and greedy ecclesiastical princes, and a Church which also had many praiseworthy lesser clergy. He recorded evidence, too, that the faith of one Catholic saint was not to be ridiculed and that the legal administration of the Church was not so harsh as he described it in A Connecticut Yankee. In addition, he several times called attention, in other writings, to the spiritual sustenance derived by Catholics from the Church's symbols and customary practices.

From the time of the publication of Joan of Arc until his death in 1910, Mark Twain suffered several personal tragedies that deepened his gloom and culminated, toward the end of his life, in three pessimistic works. His attitude in these later years is difficult to determine, since he hardly mentioned the Catholic Church in his writing. He did retain his spirit of magnanimity toward certain representatives of the Church. He expressed regret at not being able to contribute an article to Christ's Poor, a Catholic publication directed by some nuns, though he felt "honored by being requested" to contribute something "to an unassailably good cause."

Cyril Clemens, who reported this remark, continued: "When Mark Twain was in his last illness, my mother wrote him that she was having some nuns pray for him. In the course of his reply, he said: 'I am grateful for the prayers of those good nuns and for yours; they have already answered themselves in giving me a deep pleasure.'"[19] Thus, at the end of his life, Mark Twain still held to a disposition of graciousness regarding certain practices of the Catholic Church.

The foregoing evidence indicates that Mark Twain's attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church does not represent a gradual development from hostility to tolerance. On the contrary, his attitude is quite consistent from the days of his young manhood to those of his old age. He saw the Church as a very human institution which had made many grave mistakes but had also several redeeming features--both of which he referred to in his writings. Despite his early background in a region hostile to Catholicism, his avid reading of various eighteenth-century writers who were no friends of the Church, his brief experience with the Masons, some of whom may have harbored an animus against the Church, and his travels throughout some of the most Catholic sections of Europe, Mark Twain, in the writer's opinion,

maintained a balanced judgment toward the Church that is at once unusual and interesting.

Northern Michigan College

Footnotes:

[1] A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, in The Favorite Works of Mark Twain (New York, 1935), 687.

[2] Clara Clemens, My Father, Mark Twain (New York, 1931), 200.

[3] The editions of these works used by the writer are The Innocents Abroad (London, Collins Clear-Type Press, n. d.); A Connecticut Yankee, cited in note 1; and Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc (New York, 1924).

[4] Unpublished thesis (University of Minnesota, 1950). The subject of Mark Twain's relations with Catholicism is covered on pp. 238-285. Jones traces a gradual lessening of hostility toward the Roman Catholic Church on the part of Mark Twain. My own findings, as shown in this paper, do not bear out this judgment.

[5] Innocents Abroad, 354.

[6] "'Party Cries' in Ireland," in Sketches New and Old (n. p., 1875), 318. Cited by Jones, "Twain and Religion," 265.

[7] The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism (New York, 1938), 173.

[8] Taken from a set of resolutions proclaimed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1835. Additional resolutions to implement this program were subsequently issued to Presbyterian congregations. See Billington, Protestant Crusade, 175-176.

[9] Both quotations, from the Journal for May 27, 1852, and July 1, 1852, cited by Jones, "Twain and Religion," 244 and 242-243, respectively.

[10] Mark Twain's Letters, i, 29. Cited by Edgar M. Branch, The Literary Apprenticeship of Mark Twain (University of Illinois, 1950), 37.

[11] Mark Twain's Letters in the Muscatine Journal (Chicago, 1942), 36-37.

[12] See, for example, Minnie M. Brashear, Mark Twain, Son of Missouri (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934), 213 ff.; Earl Hilton, "Mark Twain's Theory of History," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, xxxvii (1951), 445-453.

[13] See Autobiography, ii, 15. Cited by Jones, p. 339. This "spiritual comfort and a peace of mind" were referred to again by Mark Twain as he spoke of his reassuring conviction that he had discovered a nobler religion, after breaking with Christian orthodoxy, with "a Diety of a dignity and sublimity proportioned to the majesty of His office and the magnitude of His empire." Cited by Jones, p. 125, from Mark Twain's "Aix, Paradise of Rheu-

matics," a sketch written in 1891 included in Europe and Elsewhere (n. p., 1923), 97.

[14] Mark Twain, in a letter to the Sacramento Union. Cited by Walter F. Frear, Mark Twain and Hawaii (Chicago, 1947), 139.

[15] The Love Letters of Mark Twain, ed. Dixon Wecter (New York, 1947), 206 and 205.

[16] See Jones, 280, for Mark Twain's fears concerning Christian Science's becoming an established church.

[17] Clara Clemens, My Father, Mark Twain, 100.

[18] These new insights, however, did not cause Twain to temper his ire at the crafty clerics whose descriptions may be found throughout Joan of Arc. There were "that plotting fox, the Archbishop of Rheims" (i, 126); the "great bunch of priests and monks . . . a company of holy hair-splitters and phrase-mongers . . . rats . . . devouring the house" (i, 160); . . . also "that forever infamous Pierre Cauchon" (ii, 105) and [the] ecclesiastic "Nicolas Loyseleur . . . full of . . . treachery and hypocrisy" (ii, 120-121)--all of them like the scoundrel priests who Twain in Innocents Abroad said infested Italy and the rascally and casuistic bishops whose characters Twain described in A Connecticut Yankee. In Joan (ii, 104) he referred to the Inquisition in terms similar to those employed in Innocents Abroad and to the Established Church (ii, 214) in judgments like those delivered in A Connecticut Yankee.

[19] Mark Twain's Religion (Kirkwood, Missouri, 1935), 11-12. Cited by Jones, 283-284.

AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
JOINT SESSION

Friday, December 30, 1960, 10:40 a.m.
Crystal Room, Sheraton-Jefferson Hotel
St. Louis, Missouri

TOPIC: CARICATURE IN AMERICAN CULTURE
Presiding: J. Jeffery Auer, Indiana University
Papers: "Caricature as Persuasion," Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, St. Louis; "Caricature in the Novel," William Peden, Director, University of Missouri Press; "Caricature in Public Address," Richard Murphy, University of Illinois, Editor, The Quarterly Journal of Speech.