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# **A Connecticut Yankee in the Hawaiian Kingdom:**

Mark Twain's Encounters with Other Cultures

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## I. Introduction

Beyond his stature as a novelist, Mark Twain (1835-1910) has justly-deserved fame for his humorous travel writings. Twain produced these writings in the mid-nineteenth century cultural context of what has been termed the “touristic age” in the United States, a time when travel writing enjoyed tremendous popularity.<sup>(1)</sup> During this period, Edgar Allan Poe’s *A Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838), Herman Melville’s *Typee* (1846) and Richard Henry Dana’s *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840)—many of pseudo-nonfiction adventure stories based on their authors’ experiences—appealed to contemporary readers’ curiosity of about exotic, unseen places such as Polynesia, the South Pacific, and fantastic alternative realities. Such adventures stories by Poe, Melville, and Dana were received as authentic travel stories despite their fictional artifice.

Mark Twain intended his first major piece of travel writing, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), to appeal to the interest in the reportorial aspect of travel writing that was characteristic of the touristic age. Indeed, *The Innocents Abroad* documents a pilgrimage Twain made around the Mediterranean aboard the steamship *Quaker City* as a working journalist.

Pilgrimages and package tours were representative of that era, but in his preface to the book Twain emphasized the unique goals of his travel writing strategy as follows:

Yet notwithstanding it [*The Innocents Abroad*] is only a record of a pic-nic, it has a purpose, which is, to suggest to the reader how he would be likely to see Europe and the East if he looked at them with his own eyes instead of the eyes of those who traveled in those countries before him. (*The Innocents Abroad* 3)

Despite the popularity of tourism at the time, travel to “uncivilized” destinations was limited, and this created an interest in such destinations that gave travel books the potential to become bestsellers. Twain’s strategy of looking “with his own eyes,” rather than the eyes of previous travelers, however, amounted to a method of overturning fixed ideas rather than a commercial strategy.

That is, in viewing the traditional monuments of Europe through the eyes of “the innocents,” Twain attempted to overturn traditional values through the power of humor. Through the eyes of “innocents,” history or tradition has no value. By excluding such fixed ideas as history and tradition, Twain in *The Innocents Abroad* puts Europe and the United States on the same level as a basis for comparing their cultures. This radical viewpoint at times can nullify common sense.

That this viewpoint is evident not only in *The Innocents Abroad* but in Twain’s novels—in much the same manner as *The Innocents*, the author’s first novel, *The Gilded Age* (1873), satirizes the authority of fixed ideas—raises the question of how Twain came to his radical perspective. Twain’s first encounter with an/other culture merits consideration as a turning point contributing to the development of this perspective.

As a correspondent for the Sacramento *Union*, Twain was sent to the Sandwich Islands (as the Hawaiian islands were then known) in the 1860's. At the time, the Hawaiian islands were in transition from an economic and social culture based on native tradition to one shaped by Western tourism. In Twain's reports on Hawaiian culture, this dramatic transition was clearly evident. Yet Twain himself experienced culture shock in his encounter with Hawaiian culture that changed his way of thinking and looking.

Famous on the world lecture circuit later in life as a travel lecturer and writer, Twain often made use of a favorite travel piece, "The Sandwich Islands," which was based on his formative experience with Hawaiian culture. The following passage is suggestive of how this experience influenced Twain:

The natives do everything wrong end foremost. When you meet one on horseback he turns out on the wrong side; they cinch a horse on the wrong side and mount him from the wrong side; their lineage and rank come down from the female ancestor instead of the male; the women smoke more than the men; the natives' English "no" generally means "yes" [...]. ("The Sandwich Islands," *Mark Twain's Speeches* 15)

As an American, Twain saw Hawaiian culture as presenting a way of life "opposite" to his own, pursuing this notion even to the point of humorously using the word "wrong." For the young Twain, Hawaiian culture—despite its intense impact on his views—provided with its "uncivilized" ways the occasion for making "civilized" Western audiences laugh. Twain may be understood to look down on Hawaii from an identifiably Western perspective in his correspondences. As an American journalist, Twain exploited Hawaiian culture to appeal to the curiosity of his readers. In writing about

Hawaii's natural resources and future, moreover, Twain linked the islands to the national interests of the United States.

Yet Twain's reports from Hawaii also convey the author's anxiety over the destruction of native traditions by Westernization and tourism. This anxiety brings to mind Twain's political concerns in his later years with American expansionism at the turn of the century, and indeed, Twain's letters from Hawaii can be understood as early expressions of the perspective on civilization that he developed more fully in his later years.

Twain's early Hawaiian experiences were moreover a significant influence on his creative works, particularly in his motif of strangers in such early works as "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras Country" (1865), and later works such as "The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1899), and *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* (1897-1908). In these works, the appearance of the stranger from elsewhere signals upheaval in the order of the community; this motif of the strangers can be related to Twain's Hawaiian experiences.

This essay explores Mark Twain's encounter with Hawaiian culture, examining in particular the relationship between his real experiences and his fictional narrative of cultural encounter, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). In his extensive travels, Twain was himself often a stranger in other cultures, and this role can be understood to have affected his creative career. With reference to theoretical understandings of travel writing, for example, Mary Louis Pratt's study, this essay finally offers a more general reconsideration of the function of Twain's encounters with other cultures in his works.

## II. A young stranger in the Hawaiian kingdom: Twain and tourism, exoticism, and primitivism

Mark Twain's journey to the Sandwich Islands on a commission from

the Sacramento *Union* extended from March 18 to July 19, 1866, during which Twain wrote twenty-five letters from Hawaii. This Hawaiian correspondence comprises the earliest works Twain published under his famous pseudonym, which first appeared in print in 1863. Though not collected in book form during the author's lifetime, the letters from Hawaii were included in an appendix of Walter F. Frear's 1947 volume on Twain's Hawaiian experiences, *Mark Twain and Hawaii*. During the centennial year of Twain's Hawaiian experiences, Hawaii University Press published *Mark Twain's Letters from Hawaii* (1966), edited and with a preface by Globe Day in which Day deplored the relative neglect of the letters even among Twain scholars compared with the author's other travel writings. Even today Twain's Hawaiian correspondence has not received the attention it merits, though it is among Twain's earliest published work, and clearly represents an important turning point in the development of his thought and work; certain of the letters, for instance, bear indications of how important a writer Twain was to become. Let us therefore examine *Letters from Hawaii* in view of his later thought and works.

First, Twain's creation of a fictitious companion, Brown, in the correspondence is a significant landmark in his development as a novelist. Beyond demonstrating that the boundary between fiction and non-fiction was more ambiguous in Twain's time than in our own, Twain's use of Brown as a character is interesting because of the complex structure it provides for the correspondence. Brown's "innocent" voice serves as a subjective viewpoint for Twain through which the author can introduce varied opinions and perspectives. Many of Brown's views are off the point, and some are blasphemous or indecent. Through comical dialogue with Brown, Twain as a reporter creates the necessity of conveying his real intentions in an easily understandable form—that is, a form even the "innocent" Brown can comprehend. Notably, this dialogue technique can be related to that of

the old man and young man in Twain's later work, "What Is Man?" (1906). Moreover, Brown provides an effective means for Twain to satirize and critique missionaries without having to do so in his own voice. The complex structure afforded by the fictitious character Brown may be understood as an early version of the opposing viewpoints Twain sets up between Tom and Huck. Through Brown's eyes, Twain thus rendered the standpoints of the inner "others" in his own consciousness.

Secondly, as in *The Innocents Abroad*, the letters from Hawaii employ the technique of asserting an essential equality as the basis for comparing different cultures. However, the problem of "civilization" introduces complexities to the Hawaiian case that distinguish it significantly from that of Europe in Twain's cultural comparison. At the time of Twain's visit, the Hawaiian kingdom was in crisis due to challenges presented by foreign powers including England, France, and the United States, as Twain's description of the flags of the Hawaiian kingdom reflects. In some regards, Twain viewed power issues in the kingdom from the perspective of American national interests, suggesting the advantages Hawaii's ports and natural resources might afford the United States, and the American whaling industry in particular; Honolulu, for example, provided an especially important port of call for whaling vessels. Twain describes Hawaii's natural resources minutely in the correspondence, and ultimately insists on the necessity of America's annexing the islands.

Through the early nineteenth century, contact with foreigners—particularly through the visits of whaling vessels—had dramatically changed the way of life of natives of the Sandwich Islands, and had moreover reduced the population of the islands due to diseases foreign visitors had introduced. Twain refers to this history in the letters, commenting on information that a native informant had provided about the importation of disease as follows: "I am truly sorry that these people are dying out, for they

are about the most interesting savages they are” (*Complete Essays of Mark Twain* 16). Twain’s use of the word “savages” here reflects a Western bias, and in view of his concern for the national interests of the United States, Twain must be understood to have looked down on Hawaiian culture. Ignoring the native culture, Twain states that “We America must annex those people. We can afflict them with our wise and beneficent government” (*Complete Essays of Mark Twain* 27). As Twain predicted, the islands were annexed by the United States in 1898, and Hawaiian culture was destroyed by tourism, disease, and politics.<sup>(2)</sup>

In his early years, Twain believed in the salutary effects of civilization. As the following passage reflects, missionaries brought civilization which in turn, in Twain’s view, elevated the Hawaiian natives from savagery, bringing the native monarchy to an end:

They were a rusty set all round, those Kanakas, in those days. But the missionaries came and knocked off the shackles from the whole race—broke the power of the king and the chiefs and set the common man free and elevated his wife to an equality with him, [...]— and now I suppose there is not an uneducated Kanaka in the kingdom. (*Mark Twain’s Speeches* 17-18)

Although criticism of missionaries as corrupting influences from both moral and religious standpoints had already appeared by the time of Twain’s Hawaiian experiences, Twain himself thus implicitly advocated for civilization and Christianization, in keeping with the mainstream Western point of view.<sup>(3)</sup>

Nevertheless, Twain at times also conveyed an ambivalence towards civilization, as in comments he made regarding the murder of Captain James Cook. In general, Cook’s death had long been viewed as a demon-



stration of the cruelty of the “savage” natives who killed him, and many used the killing as a justification for the program of civilization imposed upon colonized nineteenth-century indigenous peoples. But in the following passage, Twain calls such reasoning into question by noting that Captain Cook himself attacked the natives before they offered violence, and that in killing Cook, the natives were only defending themselves:

Small blame should attach to the natives for the killing of Cook. They treated him well. In return, he abused them. He and his men inflicted bodily injury upon many of them at different times, and killed at least three of them before they offered any proportionate retaliation. (*MTH* 378)

This idea may seem unsurprising today, but at that time it was a radical proposition, one that might have been understood to problematize the discovery and colonization of America itself.<sup>(4)</sup> Twain thus demonstrated a capacity to move beyond conventional Western ways of thinking, rather than simply to borrow other people’s views. Such a capacity is essential to moving beyond fixed Western ideas in general. The letters from Hawaii reflect this tendency only rarely, but Twain may not yet have settled on his project of upsetting fixed ideas by the time of.

Thirdly, Twain’s writings afford insight into his later thought and writing in relation to exoticism and tourism. In the nineteenth century, the Polynesian islands were focuses not only of geopolitical interest but also of Western exoticism. Twain demonstrated a typical Western curiosity towards native Hawaiian girls and women. Coming across a group of native girls in the act of bathing nude, he approached to watch—a reaction that Twain himself would doubtless have regarded as ill-mannered had it happened in the United States, where he might instead have averted his

eyes. However, on the “savage” islands, Twain examined the girls closely if disparagingly, observing their way of undressing and comparing their physical traits—such as their narrow hips—to those of American girls.

This incident may be understood a representative reflection of the sexual curiosity that the Polynesian islands attracted in Victorian America, wherein the “genteel tradition”—in which sexuality and sexual expression were severely repressed—held sway. That is, insofar as the “savage” islands lay beyond the expectations of the “genteel tradition,” the girls and women of these islands served as acceptable focuses of repressed Western sexual curiosity. Indeed, Polynesian girls and women had long been exploited in this manner by Westerners in the course of Christianization and Americanization, and with the progression of tourism in Twain’s era, the Pacific islands came to be viewed as a sexual paradise. Photographs of nude Polynesian girls served as common souvenirs among turn-of-the-century tourists, and the use of Polynesian cultural practices as objects of Western sexual curiosity intensified.

The cooptation of the traditional Hawaiian hula dance for tourism is typical in this regard, and was witnessed by Mark Twain as it was occurring. Twain attended native parties at which girls danced the hula, and found the dance attractive and harmonious. Yet even in Twain’s time, the custom of hula dancing was already in the process of being destroyed. Traditionally, Saturday had been a day of rest for native islanders, when no work was performed and people gathered to hold parties; Western employers tended to suppress this Hawaiian custom, however, out of a perception that it encouraged laziness.

Moreover, as tourism developed, the hula dance came to be seen as a representative entertainment for tourists. The transformation of hula dancing from custom to entertainment began much earlier, with the entertainment of sailors from whaling vessels making port calls in Honolulu. This

marked the point in the development of tourism in Hawaii at which hula dancing became an entertainment, and indeed a business. Missionaries subsequently regulated hula dancing purportedly to prevent corruption, and a system of permissions, fees, and regulations was instituted by the authorities. As these changes took hold, the practice of native girls dancing the hula as a cultural tradition began to disappear. As Twain reported;

The demonstrating hula was forbidden to be performed, save at night, with closed doors, in presence of few spectators, and only by permission duly procured from the authorities and the payment of ten dollars for the same. There are few girls now-a-days able to dance this ancient national dance in the highest perfection of the art.  
(*MTH* 298)

The licensing system controlling hula dancing went into effect around 1851, during the age of *Moby-Dick*, and was typical of the efforts of missionaries and colonial authorities to suppress the “savage” customs of native “heathens.” Witnessing a historical moment of cultural colonization as a journalist, Twain reported the reality of what was occurring with an awareness of the destructive impact of Christianization on native culture. This experience of the problematic encounter of two different cultures may well have influenced Twain’s writings in his later years.

Hence, Twain’s perspective on Hawaii reflected both conventional and more radical understandings of cultural interaction. On one hand, undeniably informed by conventional Western views, Twain’s letters from Hawaii at once appealed to American readers’ attraction to the exotic, and rendered native Hawaiians as stereotypical “savages.” On the other hand, the letters—in discussing the death of Captain Cook or the destruction of native traditions such as hula dancing—also suggest Twain’s awareness of

the problems that result from tourism, exoticism, primitivism, and colonialism. The beginning of a shift in Mark Twain's thought away from a Western-oriented way of thinking can thus be witnessed in the Hawaiian correspondence, a transition that plays out in Twain's novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), revealing the author himself to be a figure of the "Connecticut Yankee" in the Hawaiian kingdom.

### III. A Connecticut Yankee in the Hawaiian kingdom: medievalism, colonialism, and imperialism

Twain returned to the theme of the encounter with a different culture in his novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), in which the protagonist, the American Northerner Hank Morgan, travels back in time to the Arthurian court. In a number of senses, Morgan's journey through time is analogous to travel to an "uncivilized" culture in the real world. As Western missionaries have attempted to introduce Christianity and technology to such cultures, Hank Morgan tries to bring modern technology to sixth-century England. As Americanization has destroyed native cultures, the encounter of a present and past culture in *A Connecticut Yankee* threatens to destroy both cultures at the end of the novel. A profound meditation on the nature and function of civilization, the novel is a landmark work of Twain's.

Originally, Twain conceived of *A Connecticut Yankee* as a burlesque rather than a serious novel. Arthurian legend enjoyed great popularity at the time among Americans, who have no Medieval history of their own and consequently tend to find historical origins and explanations interesting—and the Medieval age in particular fascinating. Twain engaged in an appeal to this fascination in creating a fantasy world of Medieval romance in the novel, but in so doing he also created a substantive satire contrasting King Arthur's monarchy with American democracy. For comic effect,

Twain's main strategy in the novel is anachronism; for instance, at the climax of the novel, Lancelot and his men appear riding on bicycles as they come to the aid of King Arthur and Hank Morgan.

However, contrary to Twain's original conception of the novel, the laughter that *A Connecticut Yankee* provokes tends to be cynical and ultimately destructive. Cultural comparison necessarily raises serious problems including colonialism, exoticism, primitivism, and tourism—issues which Twain encountered in his experiences in Hawaii. Interestingly, the author similarly conceived of his letters from Hawaii as humorous sketches, but the letters themselves nonetheless unavoidably concern serious problems since their ultimate interest is the conflict of two colliding civilizations.

This raises the question of whether or not Mark Twain's Hawaiian experiences can be understood to have directly influenced *A Connecticut Yankee*. As a successful novelist, Twain was active on the lecture circuit, and frequently spoke about his youthful experiences in Hawaii. The contrast Twain drew between Western and Hawaiian culture provoked great laughter, and Twain may have begun considering writing a comedy of cultural contrast based on this reaction. Nostalgic feelings may also have inspired the author to revisit the experiences of his younger days. In any case, Twain was making preparations to write a story set in Hawaii around 1884. He produced no such novel during his lifetime, but *A Connecticut Yankee* was written after his preparations for the Hawaii story. In 1889, the year *A Connecticut Yankee* was published, Twain's essays and sketches continued to reflect a particular interest in Hawaii, which at the time—as Twain had predicted in his early years—was in the process of being annexed by the United States (the annexation was completed in 1898).

In view of these circumstances, Twain's idea for a story about Hawaii can be understood to have led to *A Connecticut Yankee*, the plot of which is

indeed related, in key respects, to the author's Hawaiian experiences. Beyond the horizons of time and space, a Connecticut Yankee travels to the Arthurian court in the novel, much as the Yankee Twain himself traveled to the "savage" land of Hawaii. To reverse the analogy, Hank Morgan as a Connecticut Yankee can be interpreted as having traveled to some uncivilized culture of the nineteenth century, rather than to the legendary Arthurian past. Moreover, much as Hank Morgan felt upon encountering King Arthur's court, the young Mark Twain in the Sandwich Islands felt the native islanders to be savage, uncivilized, and primitive from his substantially conventional Western perspective—as reflected in Twain's comment, "the natives do everything wrong end foremost," cited above. Like Morgan, the young Twain journeyed from a future world to a "primitive" land of an earlier age.

This analogy can be extended as well to Morgan's comfort in his own sense of superiority to the natives of the Arthurian court. As described in the following passage, Morgan relished the opportunities his relative super-powers afforded him in Arthur's time:

After that, I was just as much at home in that century as I could have been in any other; and as for performance, I wouldn't have traded it for the twentieth. Look at the opportunities here for a man of knowledge, brains, pluck and enterprise to sail in and grow up with the country. The grandest field that ever was; and all my own; not a competitor nor a shadow of a competitor; not a man who wasn't a baby to me in acquirements and capacities: whereas, what would I amount to in the twentieth century? (*A Connecticut Yankee* 63)

This passage describing the fantasy setting of the traveler in *A Connecticut*

*Yankee* might equally well describe the perspective of the nineteenth century Western traveler to an “uncivilized” culture.

Yet the world of the past, though under-developed technologically, possesses much in *A Connecticut Yankee* that has been lost in the civilized future. This fictional reality mirrors the conception of Twain and his contemporaries of “primitive” Hawaiian culture as a kind of lost paradise. As in the attacks at the end of *A Connecticut Yankee* that threaten the world of the past, the Westernization of Hawaii into a kind of Disneyesque artificial paradise threatened to destroy native Hawaiian culture.

With these analogies in view, it is significant that Hank Morgan’s perspective undergoes fundamental change as a result of his encounter with the “other” culture of Arthurian England. At the outset of his adventure, Hank looks down on the natives of the past, despising what he perceives as their savage behavior. Yet Hank comes to doubt his fixed idea that as civilization progresses, the human race does as well. On the contrary, he comes to believe that humanity will degenerate as it moves into the future, a radical notion against the backdrop of Darwin’s *The Origins of Species* (1859), which itself, needless to say, overturned fixed ideas concerning progress.

In the Darwinian cultural context, Hank Morgan reasoned about extremely different things from a view of their essential equality, as in the following passage:

If we look at it another way, we see how absurd it is: if I had an anvil in me, would I prize it? Of course not. And yet when you come to think, there is no real difference between a conscience and an anvil. I mean, for comfort. I have noticed it a thousand times.  
(CY 163)

Hank’s comparison of a conscience and an anvil in this passage reflects the

fundamentally Darwinian perspective of Mark Twain, which is exemplified by his questioning of the superiority of the human race to the animal world. Hank's comparison must also be understood to result from the intense culture shock he experiences in passing between cultures. Like the values of different cultures, conscience and an anvil can not be considered equivalent. Even though Hank believes civilization to progress, he views the improvement of humanity as occurring in a different dimension. Hence, although the behavior of native peoples—whether the natives of Arthurian England or Hawaii—may not seem polite to nineteenth-century Americans, the differences between the behavior of natives and Americans is superficial in the deeper dimension where a conscience and an anvil can be compared.

This way of thinking enables the overturning of fixed ideas. A republican who came from democratic America, Hank Morgan saw the social hierarchy as a superficial “costume”:

Dear, dear, it only shows that there is nothing diviner about a king than there is about a tramp, after all. He is just a cheap and hollow artificially when you don't know he is a king. But reveal his quality, and dear me, it takes your very breath away to look at him. I reckon we are all fools. (CY 347)

In this passage Hank Morgan is of course satirizing Medieval monarchy, and Twain employs similar satirical devices in *The Innocents Abroad* in contrasting the cultures of Europe and the United States. Yet Hank cannot laugh heartily at the king, but rather must cynically resign himself to the foolishness of the entire human race. From a perspective that is intermediate between the cultures of the Middle Ages/Hawaii and Western civilization, Hank/Twain thus stood at a loss. Hank's encountering with an/other



culture led to his ruin; Twain's led him into deep pessimism a sense of values as being unreliable.

#### IV. Conclusion

Mark Twain's early encounter with Hawaiian culture—his first experience of a foreign culture—must have influenced his later thought and art. This essay has examined Twain's real experiences in Hawaii and considered their role in his work, focusing in particular on his novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. Two decades after his encounter with Hawaiian culture, Twain considered writing a story set in Hawaii based on his youthful experiences. However, Twain was no longer able to create the light humor of such early writings as his letters from Hawaii or *The Innocents Abroad*.

Beyond Twain's maturation, moreover, larger cultural changes also shaped the possibilities for the author's work. Most significantly, the touristic age came to an end as the age of imperialism progressed. By the turn of the century, Mark Twain had come to doubt the relationship between Christianity and civilization, and to criticize America's expansionist foreign policy. Even a travel writer of Mark Twain's national stature could no longer write humorous travel pieces, particularly from this perspective. Yet the commercial failure of Twain's last travel book, *Following the Equator* (1897), is perhaps most significant as a signal that the touristic age had ended.

Twain's perspective continued to evolve beyond that suggested by the tragic ending of *A Connecticut Yankee*, in which the different civilizations between which the protagonist has journeyed is crushed. In his later years, Twain created other strangers with superpowers, including Satan in *The Mysterious Stranger Manuscripts* (1897-1908) and the aliens in *Letters from the Earth* (1909). These strangers do not worry about the crushing of

civilizations, and hence they escape the failure of Hank Morgan.

Rather than introducing new technology, or remodeling a native culture into an artificial paradise, Satan uses his supernatural powers only to tease the natives. The alien correspondent in *Letters from the Earth* reports as follows on the “wrong” behavior of Earth’s inhabitants, much as Twain reported on Hawaiians as a journalist in his early years:

First of all, I recall to your attention the extraordinary fact with which I began. To-wit, that the human being, like the immortals, naturally places sexual intercourse far and away above all other joys—yet he has left it out of his heaven! (*Letters from the Earth* 887)

In this passage, Twain is apparently parodying his own letters from Hawaii. Yet it is noteworthy that in adopting the standpoint of aliens, Twain here employs the perspective of the total outsider to escape the crisis into which Hank Morgan fell.

#### Notes

- (1) Jeffrey Allen Melton characterizes the era before Mark Twain’s emergence as a travel writer as the “touristic age” in his critical study, *Mark Twain, Travel Books, and Tourism*. Melton highlights the popularity of travel books in the 1850’s in discussing this era.
- (2) The Hawaiian kingdom was overcome by the whites in 1893, and Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898. At that time, Mark Twain planned to visit Hawaii on a globe-spanning world lecture tour he had undertaken. Twain and the Hawaiian people were looking forward to his lecture, and the tickets were sold out, but unfortunately the lecture had to be canceled due to an epidemic. Aboard ship just off the Hawaiian coast, Twain looked back on his youthful experiences in Hawaii, reconsidering the meaning of Americanization as an American national writer. Twain based his last travel book, *Following the Equator*, on this world lecture tour; in this work he deplored the

reality of imperialism he witnessed on the tour.

- (3) Twain justified missionaries as improving the morals of native peoples using much the same rhetoric as King Leopold of Belgium, who governed and exploited the Congo at the turn of the century. Yet in Twain's work, "King Leopold's Soliloquy" (1905), Twain attacked King Leopold as deceitful. Twain should have recognized his contradiction. In any case, the author came to doubt the morality of the human race and Christianity in his later years, and he never resolved these doubts.
- (4) In the later years, Twain became interested in colonialism. In his travel book, *Following the Equator*, Twain considered the process of colonization in Australia and other islands. Twain's interest extended to the origins of America in Christopher Columbus's "discovery," though he never questioned the validity of the America as a country per se.

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