

of drifting about the outskirts of the world, battling for bread. If I were in the east, now, I could stop the publication of a piratical book which has stolen some of my sketches.³

I saw the American Minister today & he says Edwin McCook, of Colorado Ter. has been appointed to fill his place—so there is an end to that project.⁴

It is late—good-bye, Mollie.

Yr Bro
Sam.

¹In 1906 Clemens gave this account of Orion and Mollie's return to Keokuk, Iowa:

I came East in January, 1867. Orion remained in Carson City perhaps a year longer. Then he sold his twelve-thousand-dollar house and its furniture for thirty-five hundred in greenbacks at about 30 per cent discount. He and his wife took first-class passage in the steamer for New York. In New York they stopped at an expensive hotel; explored the city in an expensive way; then fled to Keokuk, and arrived there about as nearly penniless as they were when they had migrated thence in July, '61. (AD, 5 Apr 1906, CU-MARK, in *MTA*, 2:322)

In fact, Orion and Mollie left Carson City on 13 March 1866 and, after a stopover in Virginia City, arrived at Heaton's Station (in Placer County, just inside the California border) on the seventeenth of the month. There they separated, Mollie going on an extended excursion to Sacramento, San Francisco, and other points, while Orion settled in at Meadow Lake, in the Excelsior mining district of Nevada County, California. When Mollie joined him on 16 June, he had still not been able to sell their house in Carson City. Through most of that summer Orion tried to raise money for their journey home. Under the pen names "Noiro" and "Snow Shoe" he wrote articles about local mines for the Meadow Lake *Morning Sun* and corresponded with the San Francisco *Morning Flag* (see OC 1866a-n), while simultaneously attempting to practice law and prospect. He tried to liquidate part of his holdings in the Mount Blanc Gold and Silver Consolidated Mining Company, explaining that he intended to use the capital "to go to the States on the next Steamer, with my wife, to attend to our Tennessee land" (OC to J. A. Byers, 12 July 66, CU-MARK). He and Mollie finally left for San Francisco on 26 July, presumably having disposed of the Mount Blanc stock or the Carson City house, or both. They sailed from San Francisco on 30 August aboard the steamer *Golden City*, which made connections in Panama for New York (OC to JLC and PAM, 19 and 20 Mar 66, ViU; MEC, 15-17; OC to MEC, 7 June 66, 12 June 66, and 13 June 66, CU-MARK; "Sailing of the 'Golden City,'" San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, 29 Aug 66, 5).

²The reference is to Orion's rejection of Herman Camp's proposal for the Tennessee land (see 13 Dec 65 to OC and MEC, n. 2).

³*Beadle's Dime Book of Fun No. 3*, copyrighted on 19 April 1866 by Beadle and Company of New York, had reprinted a condensed and edited version of "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog," all of "Fitz Smythe's Horse," and part of "Mark Twain' on the Launch of the Steamer 'Capital'" (see *ET&S* 2, 282-88, 343-46, 359-66).

⁴Edward M. McCook (1833-1909) was commissioned on 21 March 1866 to replace James McBride as United States minister resident to Hawaii. McCook, a distinguished Union general, was governor of Colorado Territory from 1869 to 1875 (U. S. Department of State, 46). Clemens's frustrated "project" probably was a scheme to secure the ministerial office for Orion.

To Jane Lampton Clemens and Pamela A. Moffett
21 June 1866 • Honolulu, Sandwich Islands
(MS: NPV)

Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, }
June 21, 1866 }

My Dear Mother & Sister—

I expect I have made Mollie Orion mad, but I don't care a cent. He wrote me to go home & sell the Tenn. land & I wrote him to go to thunder & take care of it himself. I *tried* to sell it once & he broke up the trade.

I have just got back from a hard trip through the Island of Hawaii, begun on the 26th May & finished on the 2^d 18th of June—only 6 or 7 days at sea—all the balance horseback, & the hardest mountain roads in the world. I staid at the Volcano 4 days & about a week & witnessed the greatest eruption that has occurred for years.¹ I lived well there. They charge \$4 a day—but the for board & a dollar or two extra for guides & horses. I had a pretty good time. They didn't charge me anything. I have got back sick—went to bed as soon as I arrived here—shall not be strong again for several days yet. I rushed too fast. I ought to have taken five or six weeks on that trip.²

A week hence I start for the Island of Kauai, to be gone 3 weeks—& then I go back to California.³

The Crown Princess is dead, & thousands of natives cry & wail & dance the dance for the dead around the King's palace all night & every night. They will keep it up for a month, & then she will be buried.⁴

Hon. Anson Burlingame M U S. Minister to China, & Gen. Van Valkenburgh, Minister to Japan, with their families & suits, have just arrived here *en route*.⁵ They were going to do me the honor to call on me this morning, & that accounts for my being out of bed now. You know what condition my room is always in when you are not around—so I

climbed out of bed & dressed & shaved pretty quick & went up to the residence of the American Minister & called on *them*. Mr. Burlingame told me a good deal about Hon. Jere Clemens & that Virginia Clemens who was wounded in a duel. He was in Congress years together with both of them.⁶ Mr. B. sent for his son, to introduce him—said he could tell that frog story of mine as well as anybody⁷ I told him I was glad to hear it, for I never tried to tell it myself, without making a botch of it. At his request I have loaned Mr Burlingame pretty much everything I ever wrote. I guess he will be an almighty wise man if, by the time, he wades through that lot.

If the new United States Minister to the Sandwich Islands (Hon Edwin M^cCook,) were only here, now, so that I could get his views on this new condition of Sandwich Islands politics, I would sail for California at once. But he will not arrive for two weeks yet, & so I am going to spend that interval on the island of *Kauu Kauai*⁸

I stopped 3 days with Hon. Mr. Cony, Deputy Marshal of the Kingdom, at Hilo, Hawaii, last week, & by a funny circumstance, he knew everybody that ever I knew in Hannibal & Palmyra. We used to sit up all night talking, & then sleep all day. He lives like a Prince.⁹ Confound that island, I had a streak of fat & a streak of lean all over it—got lost several times & had to sleep in huts with the natives & live like a dog.¹⁰ Of course I couldn't speak fifty words of the language. Take it altogether, though, it was a mighty hard trip.

Yrs aff^y

Sam

¹Clemens had arrived at the Volcano House, the three-month-old hotel near Kilauea crater, on Sunday, 3 June, and remained until Thursday, 7 June. The eruption he witnessed had begun on 22 May and continued throughout his stay in the Sandwich Islands. Clemens described his visit to Kilauea in letters published in the *Sacramento Union* on 25 October and 16 November (SLC 1866h, 1, and SLC 1866i, 1). Moreover, even before seeing the volcano, he had used it as the setting for "A Strange Dream," written in April, a sketch about an imaginary search for the bones of Kamehameha I (1737?–1819), the conqueror of the Hawaiian Islands (*New York Saturday Press*, 2 June 66, *ET&S3*, no. 189). Later Clemens made a description of Kilauea a set piece in his Sandwich Islands lecture and redescribed his visit to it in chapters 74 and 75 of *Roughing It* (*MTH*, 72–74, 117–22; *Honolulu Pacific Commercial Advertiser*: "Volcano Hotel," 10 Mar 66, 2; "The Volcano in Eruption Again," 9 June 66, 3; "Ho for the Volcano!" 4 Aug 66, 3).

²Clemens was suffering a severe case of saddle boils.



Volcano House, Island of Hawaii, 1866
Lyman House Memorial Museum, Hilo, Hawaii

³The trip to Kauai was canceled; Clemens remained on Oahu until his departure from the Sandwich Islands on 19 July.

⁴Victoria Kaahumanu Kamamalu (b. 1838), heir presumptive to the Hawaiian throne, had died on 29 May (Korn, 302–3). In his notebook Clemens wrote, "Pr. V. died in forcing abortion—kept half a dozen bucks to do her washing, & has suffered 7 abortions" (*NC&J1*, 129). He attended her funeral in Honolulu on 30 June and described the month-long mourning period and the funeral procession in his letters published in the *Sacramento Union* on 16 July, 30 July, and 1 August (SLC 1866c, 1; SLC 1866e, 1; and SLC 1866f, 1). He later used some of this material in chapter 68 of *Roughing It*.

⁵Anson Burlingame and Robert B. Van Valkenburgh had arrived in Honolulu on 18 June. Van Valkenburgh (1821–88), former Republican congressman from New York (1861–65) and commander of the 107th Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry, at the battle of Antietam (1862), was on his way to Japan to take up his duties as American minister resident there. He had been commissioned on 18 January 1866 and served until 11 November 1869. Burlingame (1820–70), former American party and Republican congressman from Massachusetts (1855–61) and minister resident to China since 1861, was returning to his post after a leave of absence in the United States. He held his ministerial office until 21 November 1867. On 1 December of that year the Chinese government appointed him its ambassador to negotiate treaties with foreign powers (*Honolulu Pacific Commercial Advertiser*: "Passengers," 23 June 66, 2; "Our Diplomatic Guests," 30 June 66, 2; *BDAC*, 631, 1750; U. S. Department of State, 42, 47). Clemens was much impressed by Burlingame and after his death on 22 February 1870 published a

long tribute to him in the *Buffalo Express* (SLC 1870a, 2). In 1906 he remembered Burlingame as a “wise and just and humane and charming man and great citizen and diplomat” who had offered this advice, “which I have never forgotten, and which I have lived by for forty years”: “Avoid inferiors. Seek your comradeships among your superiors in intellect and character; always *climb*” (AD, 20 Feb 1906, CU-MARK, in *MTA*, 2:123, 125).

⁶Jeremiah Clemens (1814–65), an Alabaman, was a lawyer, army officer, Democratic senator from Alabama (1849–53), newspaper editor, and author of several historical romances. Sherrard Clemens (1820–80), a Virginian, was a lawyer and a Democratic congressman from Virginia (1852–53, 1857–61). He was seriously wounded in the thigh in a duel he fought on 17 September 1858 with O. Jennings Wise, one of the editors of the *Richmond Enquirer*, after Wise accused him in print of political trickery. Anson Burlingame served in Congress with Sherrard Clemens, but not with Jeremiah. Both men were third cousins to Clemens (*BDAC*, 706; “Duel,” *Richmond Dispatch*, 18 Sept 58, 1; “The Late Duel,” *Richmond Dispatch*, 28 Sept 58, 1; “Sherrard Clemens,” *New York Times*, 3 June 80, 5; Bell, 31, 34, 36, 37).

⁷Edward L. Burlingame (1848–1922) accompanied his father to China as his private secretary. He later became the first editor of *Scribner’s Magazine* (1887–1914).

⁸In fact McCook did not arrive in Honolulu until 22 July, three days after Clemens left for San Francisco (“Passengers,” *Honolulu Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 28 July 66, 2).

⁹Clemens’s host probably was John H. Coney, sheriff of the island of Hawaii (Parke, 95, 103). “A tall handsome man, who carried himself like a soldier,” he was “titular executive head of government next to the Governess of Hawaii and her Lieut Governor” (Austin, 203–4). Coney’s Missouri connection has not been documented.

¹⁰Edward Howard, an Englishman who met Clemens at the Volcano House at Kilauea, complained of one such “streak of lean”:

Before leaving the Volcano . . . I suggested that we have a guide. He [Clemens] wouldn’t hear of it, said the trail was so plainly worn on the rocks that we couldn’t miss it, but before noon we were lost in the forest, following goat and cattle trails in every direction, riding around great cracks, some of which we nearly fell into. . . . When it came night, even he thought we had better not go on for fear of falling into a lava crack. He pulled his saddle off his horse and made a pillow of it after scraping up some leaves, as if he were used to this sort of thing, and put his raincoat over him. Even then the man wanted to tell me a story, that he was reminded of, hungry as we were. This most improvident man had thrown our lunch away, that had been given us at the Volcano House, early in the day; said we’d be at the Half Way House before noon.

Next morning, fortunately, a native came along with a gun, hunting goats, and we persuaded him to lead us to the Half Way House. It was only a few miles away. Here we got something to eat . . . roast pig and boiled taro and some nasty paste he [the native] called “poi” which Sam seemed to relish (Austin, 253).

To Jane Lampton Clemens and Pamela A. Moffett
27 June 1866 • Honolulu, Sandwich Islands
(MS: NPV)

P. S.—Now *please* don’t read this to anybody—I am always *afraid* to write to you—you always show my letters.

Honolulu, June 27, 1866

My Dear Mother & Sister:

I enjoy being in the Sandwich Islands because I don’t r

[*three-fourths MS page (about 80 words) missing*]

& Gen Van Valkenburgh, the United States Ministers to China & Japan say that California is proud of Mark Twain, & that some day America will be too, no doubt.

[*four and three-fourths MS pages (about 530 words) missing*]

tub, with a gill of water a day to each man. I got the whole story from the third mate & ten of the sailors. If my account gets to the Sacramento Union first, it will be *published* first all over the United States, France, England, Russia and Germany—all over the world, I may say. You will see it. Mr. Burlingame went with me all the time, & helped me question the men—throwing away invitations to dinner with the princes & foreign dignitaries, & neglecting all sorts of things to accommodate me¹—& you know I appreciate that kind of thing—especially from *such* a man, who is acknowledged to have no superior in the diplomatic circles of the world, & obtained from China concessions in favor of America which were refused to Sir Frederick Bruce & the Envoys of France & Russia until procured for them by Burlingame himself—which service was duly acknowledged by those dignitaries.² He hunted me up as soon as he came here, & has done me a hundred favors since, & says if I will come to China in the great first trip of the great mail steamer next January & make his house in Pekin hi my home, he will afford me facilities that few men can have then there for seeing & learning.³ He will give me letters to the chiefs of the great Mail Steamship Company which will be of service to me in this

matter. I expect to do all this, but I expect to go to the States first,—& from China to the Paris World's Fair.⁴

*Don't show this letter.*⁵

Yrs aff^y

Sam.

P.S. The crown Princess of this Kingdom will be buried tomorrow with great ceremony—after that I sail in 2 weeks for California.

¹On 3 May 1866 the clipper *Hornet*, en route from New York to San Francisco with a cargo of candles and kerosene, burned and sank in the Pacific Ocean. The fifteen survivors of the disaster reached the Sandwich Islands on 15 June after a harrowing journey of four thousand miles in a longboat (*MTH*, 102–5; Brown, 9). Clemens gave a brief, secondhand account of their ordeal in his letter dated 22 June to the Sacramento *Union* (SLC 1866c, 3). The following day *Hornet* third mate John S. Thomas and ten other survivors arrived in Honolulu, and Clemens, still suffering from saddle boils, managed to obtain an interview. Anson Burlingame, he later recalled,

came and put me on a stretcher and had me carried to the hospital where the shipwrecked men were, and I never needed to ask a question. He attended to all of that himself, and I had nothing to do but make the notes.

We got through with this work at six in the evening. I took no dinner, for there was no time to spare if I would beat the other correspondents. I spent four hours arranging the notes in their proper order, then wrote all night and beyond it; with this result: that I had a very long and detailed account of the *Hornet* episode ready at nine in the morning, while the correspondents of the San Francisco journals had nothing but a brief outline report—for they did n't sit up. The now-and-then schooner was to sail for San Francisco about nine; when I reached the dock she was free forward and was just casting off the stern-line. My fat envelop was thrown by a strong hand, and fell on board all right, and my victory was a safe thing. All in due time the ship reached San Francisco, but it was my complete report which made the stir and was telegraphed to the New York papers (SLC 1899b, 77).

Clemens's scoop appeared on the front page of the Sacramento *Union* on 19 July (SLC 1866d, 1). No New York printing of this report has been located, but a condensed version of it did appear in the Stamford (Conn.) *Advocate* on 17 August ("The *Hornet*," 2).

²Burlingame had first arrived in Peking as United States minister resident in July 1862. He enlisted the cooperation of the other foreign ministers in the "Burlingame plan" of noninterference and goodwill toward the Chinese government. He also redefined the trade concessions due to foreign powers. "Under his monition the 'Four B's,' as they were called,—Balluzeck [L. de Balluzeck, Russian minister], Berthemey [Jules François Gustave Berthemey, French minister], Bruce [Frederick William Adolphus Bruce, English minister], and Burlingame,—constituted a self-appointed committee of safety for China, and insured her passage into a peaceful period of internal reconstruction which endured for twenty years" (Frederick Wells Williams, 36, 20–37; Morse, 2:50; Cordier, 1:69 n. 1).

³The Pacific Mail Steamship Company inaugurated its Japan-China mail route on 1 January 1867 with the sailing of the *Colorado* from San Francisco (San Francisco *Morning Call*: "The Grand Banquet," 1 Jan 67, 1; "For Japan and China," 1 Jan 67, 3).

⁴The Paris Universal Exposition opened on 1 April 1867. Clemens visited it briefly in July that year, while on the *Quaker City* excursion, and subsequently gave it passing mention in chapter 13 of *The Innocents Abroad* (see Ganzel, 102–3, 112–13).

⁵Conceivably Jane Clemens and Pamela Moffett excised "sensitive" passages from this letter—the missing five and one-half manuscript pages—before ignoring Clemens's admonition.

To Samuel C. Damon
19 July 1866 • Honolulu, Sandwich Islands

(*The Friend*, 1 Aug 66)

HONOLULU July 19, 1866.

REV. MR. DAMON:¹—Dear Sir—I return herewith the last book I borrowed, with many thanks for its use and for all your kindness. I take your Jarves' History with me, because I may not be able to get it at home.² I "cabbage" it by the strong arm, for fear you might refuse to part with it if I asked you. This is a case of military necessity, and is therefore admissible. The honesty of the transaction may be doubtful, but the policy of it is sound—sound as the foundation upon which the imperial greatness of America rests.

So just hold on a bit. I will send the book back within a month, or soon after I arrive.³

¹Samuel Cheney Damon (1815–85) was pastor of the Oahu Bethel Church and chaplain of the Honolulu American Seamen's Friend Society. Since 1843 he had published and edited *The Friend: A Monthly Journal, Devoted to Temperance, Seamen, Marine and General Intelligence*. Clemens became friendly with Damon and for "part of his sojourn . . . roomed on the corner of Fort Street and Chaplain Lane next to the Damon home" (Damon, 61). This gave him easy access to the chaplain and his large library, important sources of information about the Sandwich Islands (see *NC&FI*, 199–203, 215). Damon prefaced Clemens's letter with these words: "This noted correspondent of the Sacramento *Union*, has left for the coast, but we may expect he will continue to write about the islands and people. On his departure, he sent us the following epistle."

²Clemens was preparing to depart from Honolulu aboard the clipper *Smyrniote*, which sailed the day he wrote this letter ("Passengers," Honolulu *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 21 July 66, 2). The borrowed book was the third edition of *History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Charles Edwin Hitchcock, 1847), by James Jackson Jarves (1818–88), a journalist, historian, art critic, and art collec-