CHAPTER V

TWAIN ON IMPERIALISM
The last phase of Twain's writings is especially marked for its satiric vein and the writer's growing distrust of humanity in the abstract. However, Twain was not content with merely hurling invectives on 'the damned human race'; rather, the great social reformer that he was, he greatly involved himself in the political activities of his times to carry out his crusade against the forces of injustice, oppression and tyranny. A number of his writings published after 1890 highlight Twain's role as a reformer on a number of political issues, more importantly imperialism which reappeared at the turn of the century in four different parts of the world: China, South Africa, Philippines and Cuba. In a number of essays, pamphlets, letters and public speeches Twain discussed, analyzed and also attacked the imperialism of different countries in an effort to expose its true nature.

However, critics' response to these writings has been very lackadaisical. These works have been ignored for their crudeness, lack of artistry and their propagandist style. For example, Bernard De Voto, a major critic of Mark Twain, does not give any importance to the treatment of the theme of imperialism in Twain's writings. Charles Neider also completely ignores Twain's anti-imperialistic
Twain's very famous essays like "United States of Lynch-Jom," "A word of encouragement for our Blushing Exiles" and, quite strangely, "To the person sitting in Darkness" do not find any place in Charles Neider's index of Twain's autobiography. It is interesting to note that the true worth of these writings was first appreciated not by the American or British critics but by the Russian critics.

Nevertheless, these works are historically very valuable and hence cannot be dismissed so easily. Any worthwhile study of Mark Twain, the writer and the reformer, necessitates a close reading of these polemical pieces because they show the development of Twain's views on a number of issues, notably imperialism. In the present chapter an attempt has been made to present the gradual development of Twain's views on imperialism and also his attitude towards the major imperialist powers of his time. The discussion of various theories of imperialism as implied in these writings and the dreadful results of imperialist policies on the weak countries will also be analyzed during the course of the chapter.

A cursory glance at the life and works of Mark Twain's last years would suggest that he was against the policy of imperialism. However, he himself admitted once
that he had not been an anti-imperialist all his life; at one time he had even been a red-hot imperialist himself. This admission on his part has led critics like Philip Foner to divide his life in two broad periods: the brief pro-annexation period of his early life and the later period showing his hatred for imperialism. However it would be a mistake to approach his writings on imperialism in such a simple way. The fact is that even in his late life Twain did not hide his praise for some of the policies of Britain which were unmistakably imperialistic. It appears that he was ready to approve of the activities of the imperialist powers if they really did good to the life of the common people and not merely 'meant' good. But if the imperialist powers typified injustice, tyranny and exploitation, as they did in almost all the cases, Twain spoke against them very forcefully as the great bulk of his anti-imperialist writings would testify.

Neither is it true to say that he raised his voice against imperialism only in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The fact is that Twain was a man whose works have a direct bearing on his times and the time that saw the production of these works was the period of the rise of imperialism. Otherwise, he was talking about imperialism as early as 1873 when he spoke on the question of annexing the
sandwich islands. In a letter first published in *New York Tribune* Twain wrote:

We must annex these people. We can afflict them with our wise and beneficent government. We can introduce the novelty of thieves, all the way up from streetcar pickpockets to municipal robbers and government defaulters and show them how amusing it is to arrest them and try them and then turn them loose — some for cash, and some for "political influence." We can make them ashamed of their simple and primitive justice... We can give them juries composed of the most simple and charming leatherheads. We can give them railway corporations who will buy their Legislatures like old clothes, and run over their best citizens... We can give them Tweed... We can furnish them some jay Goulds who will do away with their old-time notion that stealing is not respectable... We can give them lecturers! I will go myself....1

Later Twain was to take up these ideas in *Following the Equator* in his analysis of the results of the contacts of imperialist rulers with the native population of Australia, Newzealand and South Africa.

However, the fact remains that Twain's important works on imperialism appeared at the turn of the nineteenth century when almost all major European countries as well as the Unites States turned imperialist. The U.S.-Spanish war broke out in 1898 on the question of Cuba's independence with U.S. winning it easily and taking control of Philippines.
apart from some other islands. This was a clear case of imperialism but strangely Mark Twain supported this war. At this time Twain was living in Vienna and hence he perhaps did not have any access to unprejudiced news. In a letter written to his friend Joseph Twichell he wrote that he had "never enjoyed a war... as I am enjoying this one because it was a war fought with lofty purposes for the liberation of a weak nation from the clutches of an imperialist power."^2

However, from the end of 1898 to 1900 Twain began to have second thoughts about his country's involvement in Cuba. The reason why he started viewing imperialism in a new light include his reading of unprejudiced news and also his frank discussion with friends like William Dean Howells. He also read the treaty of Paris closely and was convinced of the imperialist nature of this war.

It was this conviction about the true nature of imperialism that made Twain produce a number of articles, speeches and pamphlets on imperialism between 1900 to 1902. He also liked talking about this subject in his interviews. In an interview, given to The New York Herald, Twain gave his well-formulated views on imperialism. He said:

I left these shores at Vancouver, a red-hot imperialist. I wanted the American eagle to go screaming into the
pacific. It seemed tiresome and tame for it to content itself with the Rockies. Why not spread its wings over the Philippines? I asked myself? And I thought it would be a real good thing to do.

I said to myself. Here are a people who have suffered for three centuries. We can make them as free as ourselves, give them a government and country of their own, cut a miniature of the American constitution afloat in the Pacific, start a brand-new republic to take its place among the five free nations of the world. It seemed a great task to which we addressed ourselves.

But I have thought some more, since then, and I have read carefully the treaty of Paris, and I have seen that we do not intend to free but to subjugate the people of the Philippines. We have gone there to conquer, not to redeem.

We have also pledged the power of this country to maintain and protect the abominable system established in the Philippines by the Friars.

It should, it seems to me, be our pleasure and duty to make those people free and let them deal with their own domestic questions in their own way. And so I am an anti-imperialist. I am opposed to having the Eagle put its talons on any other land.

Twain also gave his hearty support to that significant minority in the United States that was raising its voice against imperialism. This group of anti-imperialists had in its ranks almost all the important men of letters of the time: William James, William Graham Sumner, Charles Eliot Bierce, Thorstein Veblen, George Santayana, George W. Cable,
William Dean Howells and many other important writers. Twain's support to their cause was extremely important because he was the most famous writer of the time and people were curious to know the great humorist's viewpoint on the burning issue of the period, i.e., imperialism. William R. Macnaughton has rightly pointed out that though it is impossible to evaluate the precise influence of the statements Mark Twain made on a variety of issues during this period; yet it is almost certainly true that — at least with respect to the American involvement in the Philippines — many people too timid to express their opinions before the publication of "To the person sitting in Darkness" gained courage after the essay appeared in the North American Review in the winter of 1901." His articles influenced the American foreign policy for the better and also helped to make the missionaries do some kind of soul-searching.

The presidential election of 1900 presented before Mark Twain a real dilemma. In this election the republicans fielded McKinley who was a pro-imperialist while democrats' candidate Bryan was also known for his active support to the treaty of Paris. Twain did not exercise franchise in this election as both the candidates were in favour of imperialism. Later he talked about the formation of "Anti Doughnut Party,"

a party which will think and act independently of the Republicans and the Democrats. Thus he recorded in a public speech: "Not long ago we had two men running for the president. There was Mr. McKinley on one hand and Mr. Bryan on the other. If we'd have an 'Anti-Doughnut Party' neither would have been elected."  

In February 1902, a large group of American citizens presented to the Congress a "petition from Sunday citizens of the United States favouring the suspension of Hostilities in the Philippine Islands and a Discussion of the situation between the government and the Filipino Leaders." This petition was very enthusiastically signed by Mark Twain. However, by this time the anti-imperialist movement had fallen through mainly because of the reelection of McKinley on an openly imperialist platform. But Twain continued writing with the same fire and venom. His last published attacks on imperialism "In Defence of General Funston" and "King Leopold's Soliloquy" will convince anyone that he had not quite given up the hope to reform the world with his 'mightier than sword' pen. Louis J. Budd aptly says that "his anti-imperialist writings alone should kill the notion that his old age was fogged with unrelieved and unreliieving gloom."  

The scope of Twain's anti-imperialist writings is
tremendous. The whole subject of imperialism is viewed from different angles and the conclusion that the writer arrives at often points to the modern theories of imperialism. He finds that the state, missionary organisations and significantly some individuals also are the chief agents that spread this menace in the world. Other theories of imperialism as implied in his work include imperialism as the logical extension of capitalism; imperialism as a means of bringing the ‘blessings’ of civilization to the uncivilised people of the world and imperialism as the result of the natural urges of man and by extension of nations as explained by social Darwinists. At times his analysis turns sociological noting the disastrous results of the self-proclaimed ‘superior’ race’s contact with an ‘inferior race’.

Twain was very critical of the nations’ efforts of manipulating the missionaries. The link between the missionaries and the gunboat was too obvious to be missed by a perceptive observer like Mark Twain. Some of the missionaries like the Spanish friars who worked in Philippine were truly the secret agents of the army. In fact Twain identified the game of imperialism not only with missionaries or with one country but rather with the whole of Christendom.

The main motive why Christendom was playing this game
was the lust for huge profits to be gained by exploiting the weak countries. The individual capitalists, states and various other organisations with missionaries acting as their tools most of the time were mainly interested in cheap labour, raw materials, enforceability of favourable terms of trade, job opportunities, coal mines and the new lands suitable for exploitation or settlement.

Analyzing the colonial process of the theft of lands, Twain feels that no country occupies even a foot of land that was not stolen. The major powers of the earth, England, France and Spain, have stolen each other's land so many times that now they do not mind the loot of each other's territories. The territorial possession of America also consist of other people's land. Some of the lands like Africa and China have been looted by Christian nations in such a manner as if they had bought them. However, all these misdeeds and crimes are forgotten over the years because the law of custom, which is decidedly the strongest, inures everyone to these crimes because "A crime preserved in a thousand centuries ceases to become a crime, and becomes a virtue. This is the law of custom, and custom supersedes all other forms of law. Christian governments are as frank today, as open and aboveboard in discussing projects for raiding each others' clothlines as they were before the
Golden Rule came smiling into this inhospitable world and could not get a night's lodging anywhere."\(^7\)

In a very powerful satiric piece "To the person sitting in Darkness" Twain takes to task the whole Christendom for exploiting the poor nations relentlessly. Before the publication of this essay in the *North American Review* in February 1901, Twain wrote a preface to it entitled "A Greeting From the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century", which appeared in the *New York Herald* of December 30, 1900. Twain wrote:

I bring you the stately nation named Christendom, returning bedraggled, besmiched, and dishonourable from private raids in Kiaochou, Manchuria, South Africa and Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle, and her mouth full of hypocrisies. Give her soap and towel but hide the looking glass. \(^8\)

In "To the person..." Twain takes specific examples of missionaries looting in China. The texture of the essay consists of various reports taken from newspapers, quotations from members of the American Board of foreign missions and Twain's own comments on the nature of the imperialistic lust. He especially dwells on the loot masterminded by Rev. Mr. Ament of the American Board of foreign missions who very cruelly collected indemnities from Chinese people for damages done by the boxers.
Twain's use of italics for certain details concerning the glaringly criminal activity of Mr Ament makes this essay all the more powerful. This is also Twain's method of making a dull newspaper report full of ironical connotations. Thus quoting from the _Sun_ of New York Twain gives the following description:

_Everywhere he went he compelled the Chinese to pay._ He says that all his native Christians are now provided for. He had 700 of them under his charge, and 300 were killed. He has collected 300 taels for each of these murders, and has compelled full payment for all the property belonging to Christians that was destroyed. He also assessed fines amounting to THIRTEEN TIMES the amount of indemnity. This money will be used for the propagation of the Gospel.

Mr Ament declares that the compensation he has collected is moderate when compared with the amount secured by the Catholics, who demand, in addition to money, head for head. They collect 500 taels for each murder of a Catholic. In the Wenchiu country, 680 Catholics were killed and for this the European Catholics here demand 750,000 strings of cash and 680 heads. 9

However, Twain is not convinced by Mr Ament's arguments. To him this is simply a case of brutal exploitation of the poor. He comments:

Mr Ament's financial feat of squeezing a thirteenfold indemnity out of the pauper peasants to square other people's
offenses, thus condemning them and their women and innocent little children to inevitable starvation and lingering death, in order that the blood money so acquired might be "used for the propagation of the Gospel", does not flutter my serenity; although the act and the words, taken together, concrete a blasphemy so hideous and so colossal that without doubt its mate is not findable in the history of this or of any other age (p.597-598).

Twain is really enraged to see the greed of the Christian nations in acquiring the vast wealth of China. In doing so they have been completely oblivious of the miseries of the common people of China who just cannot afford their high civilization. His remarks are full of ironical overtones:

The blessings-of-civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered, is a Dairy. There is more money in it, more territory, more sovereignty and other kinds of emolument than there is in any other game that is played. But Christendom has been playing it badly of late years and must certainly suffer by it, in my opinion. She has been so eager to get every stake that appeared on the green cloth that the people who sit in darkness have noticed it (p.599).

Twain lashes out at different European nations for carrying on this 'loot business.' Thus he blames English colonial secretary Chamberlain for starting the Boer War simply to acquire the vast wealth of diamond mines
and black slave labour. "Mr Chamberlain manufactures a war out of materials so inadequate... and he tries hard to persuade himself that it isn't purely a private raid for cash (pp.300-501)." On behalf of the person sitting in darkness Twain asks sarcastically: "What! Christian against Christian? And only for money (p.600)."

The German emperor Kaisar too partook of the loot after Germany lost two missionaries in a riot in Shantung. China had to pay heavy indemnities for it: a hundred thousand dollars apiece for them in money; twelve miles of territory containing several millions of inhabitants and worth twenty million dollars; and to build a monument and also a Christian Church. Twain's heart is full of sympathy for the underdog who saw this exploitation being carried out in a very helpless manner. Noting the reaction of the oppressed people Twain remarks: "He knows that a missionary is like any other man; he is worth merely what you can supply his place for and no more. He is useful, but so is a doctor, so is a sheriff, so is an editor; but a just emperor does not charge war prices for such (p.502)."

Russia is also guilty of playing the same ruthless and dishonest game simply to gain huge profits. Thus Russia robs Japan of her hard-earned spoil; seizes Manchuria and
raids its villages like a vulture — all with the moral assistance of other European nations. Twain very scornfully records the probable reaction of the exploited people: "It is yet another civilized power, with its banner of the prince of peace in one hand and its loot basket and its butcher knife in the other (p.604)."

Twain's portrayal of missionaries as the tools of imperialists in their pillage and plunder of China antagonised a great number of people in the United States. He received hundreds of letters accusing him of looting the pure Christian character and condemning him for arraigning Christianity and the missionary causes. He also received a note from Rev Dr Judson S. Smith, corresponding secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, asking him to apologise as "fines thirteen times the indemnity", was a cable error for "fines one third the indemnity."

Twain was irked by this unwarranted criticism and wrote "To My Missionary Critics," a defence of his attacks on William Ament and the activities of missionary board in China. In this essay Twain repeated all those charges that he had brought against the missionaries in "To the person sitting in Darkness." He put the American Board in very embarrassing position for justifying Mr Ament's action on
the ground that he had collected the fines only one and one third the correct amount and not thirteen times the indemnity. He very scathingly asks:

What was the "one third extra"? Money due? No. Was it a theft then? Putting aside the 'one third extra', what was the remainder of the exacted indemnity, if collected from persons not known to owe it, and without Christian and civilized forms of procedure? Was it theft, it was robbery? In America it would be that; in Christian Europe it would be that. I have great confidence in Dr. Smith's judgement concerning this detail, and he calls it "theft and extortion" -- even in China; for he was talking about the "thirteen times" at the time that he gave it that when you make guilty and innocent villagers pay the appraised damages, and then make them pay thirteen times, that besides, the thirteen stand for "theft and extortion."

Then what does one third extra stand for? Will he give that one third a name? Is it Modified Theft and Extortion? Is that it? The girl who was rebuked for having borne an illegitimate child excused herself by saying "But it is such a little one."

With the publication of this attack the reputation of the missionary board took a real nosedive but it won Twain many admirers. Thus Edward S. Martin, the noted reformer of his time remarked, "How great it is to feel that we have a man among us who understands the rarity of plain truth, and who delights to utter it, and has the gift of
One of Twain's most trenchant attacks on imperialism is *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense of Congo Rule* which appeared in 1905. Aided and abetted by Belgian parliament, King Leopold of Belgium took control of Congo free state to exterminate poverty and introduce civilization and trade into the centre of Africa. However he very shamelessly took in his personal possession all the vacant lands and their produce and started looting and killing the parallel of which can not be found in history. Twain is deeply disgusted to see the brutal exploitation of the Congo people for the sake of money. He notes:

> It seems strange to see a King destroying a nation and laying waste a country for mere sordid money's sake, and solely and only for that. Lust of conquest is royal... but lust of money — lust of shillings — lust of dirty coin, not for the nation's enrichment but for the king's alone — this is new. It distinctly revolts us, we cannot seem to reconcile ourselves to it, we resent it, we despise it, we say it is shabby, unkingly, out of character.12

The analysis of the imperialistic lust for money and the resultant exploitation of weak nations is not only to be found in Twain's prose pieces but also in his poetry written during this period. Thus in a twenty line "Battle Hymn of the Republic" Twain criticizes America's new imperialism:
Mine eyes have seen the orgy of the launching
of the sword;
He is searching out the hoardings where the
stranger's wealth is stored;
He hath loosed his fateful lightnings, and with
woe and death has scored;
His lust is marching on. 13

III

Another theory of imperialism based on moral grounds
and the one emphasizing the necessity of imperialist rule
for bringing the blessings of civilization to the inferior
races is also well treated by Mark Twain. Twain exposes the
hollowness of these moral arguments by showing the evil
efforts of the imperialist rulers' policies on the life of
the 'inferior races.' He discusses at length the civilizi-
zatory action of different Christian countries in Australia,
China, South Africa and India.

Twain describes the activities of the English and
French imperialist rulers in Australia in Following the
Equator. The imperialist rulers apparently trying to bring
light in the life of the ignorant people, make their life
hell with their 'superior civilization.' Their methods are
very cruel and they do not have any regard for the customs,
traditions and the institutions of the natives. The net
result is the race war, universal sacrifice and the extermin-
atation of the native population something which always
accompanies the colonizing process.

Twain notes the practice of slave-trading in Australia, New Caledonia and other islands of the South Pacific ocean. Writing about the recruiting of Kanakas, he rails against the Queensland government for forcing them to leave their profitable plantation in Hawaii and to work for them in their fields. Twain is enraged to see that the Queensland government exploits the cheap labour of the Kanaka by forcing him to work from dawn to dusk for a petty four shillings a week. Thus all the profit of this business goes to the white masters of the Kanaka who have gone there to civilize the native population.

With a sociologist's insight Mark Twain analyses the disastrous results of the imperialist ruler's policies on the social structure and the cultural patterns of the natives. The white imperialists' attempts at civilizing the Kanakas, Tasmanians and Maoris, the natives of New Zealand, have resulted in the breaking down of many of their institutions and customs. Twain feels that the close contact of the natives with their economically and militarily superior rulers has changed their simple society into a stratified society and the unfortunate natives themselves make a distinction between the superior white rulers and
the inferior natives. The imperialist master and his entire way of life is looked upon as something of immense value and he very often becomes a reference group for these natives. Their feeling of awe towards their white masters is further deepened by the ethnocentric behaviour of the latter. Moreover, Twain realizes, the willing adoption of many new ways by these natives means the abandoning of many accepted customs. He gives the example of Kanakas who never felt ashamed of being naked feel now ashamed after they came in the contact of the white. Thus the adoption of many new ways has brought about a socio-cultural schism in the society of these natives. Moreover the adoption of new ways resulted in the creation of new problems the solution of which could not be perceived by the native within their culture.

In The Mysterious Stranger also Twain describes how "Christianity and civilization march hand in hand leaving famine and death and desolation in their wake. (718)." The civilization that the whites are exporting looks attractive only on the surface and, as he points out in "To the person," inside "the bale is the actual thing that the customer sitting in darkness buys with his blood and tears and land and liberty (500)." The result is, he continues in the same vein, that these persons are "getting too scarce —
too scarce and too shy" (599).

The results of the imperialists' efforts to civilize the Boers in South Africa were also fatal. In a short piece "The Dervish and the offensive stranger," the stranger, very obviously the mouthpiece of Twain, comments: "By help of three hundred thousand soldiers and eight hundred million dollars England has succeeded in her good purpose of lifting the unwilling Boers and making them better and purer and happier than they could ever have become by their own devices." Then he adds sarcastically "But there are only eleven Boers left now." ¹⁴

Twain takes to task Cecil Rhodes, the man responsible for the extermination of the Boers. He very mercilessly robbed, murdered and enslaved the whole Boer population and his method of reducing the native population was a return to the old time 'slow misery' and 'lingering death system.' Twain's final portrait of Cecil Rhodes is full of ironical overtones: "There he stands, upon his dizzy summit... the marvel of the time, the mystery of the age, an Archangel with wings to half of the world, Satan with a tail to the other half: "I admire him,' I frankly confess it, and when his time comes I shall buy a piece of the rope for a keepsake." ¹⁵
But Cecil Rhodes is no match for King Leopold of the Congo in his cruelty, brutality and mercilessness. Twain describes how King Leopold got possession of the Congo Free State by pilgrimming among the U.S. and other European powers with his mouth full of the sayings of the Bible and his'pelt oozing piety at every pore. The reason that Leopold gives to become the agent of these powers is to "root out slavery and stop the slave raids, and lift up those twenty five millions of gentle and harmless blacks out of darkness into light, the light... that makes glorious our noble civilization(p.2)." But instead of bringing the blacks out of darkness, Leopold has made their life a hell and they face death in their life. Maxwell Geismer rightly considers Belgian reign in the Congo under King Leopold "as the dark rehearsal for the Nazi terror in Europe."15 King Leopold's act of reducing the native population can not be properly described in words. With the help of many reports published in various newspapers, Twain compares Leopold with such tyrants as Attila, Torquemada, Genghis Khan and Ivan the terrible. At last, Twain feels, he has only one match in history — the flood. Twain has King Leopold speaking in person to prove his charge. Reading from a newspaper report King Leopold says:
They go shuddering around brooding over the reduction of that Congo population from 25,000,000 to 15,000,000 in the twenty years of my administration; then they burst out and call me "the king with ten Million Murders on his soul." They call me a "record." Then most of them do not stop with charging merely the 10,000,000 against me. No, they reflect that but for me the population, by natural increase, would now be 90,000,000, so they charge another 5,000,000 against me and make my total death-harvest 15,000,000. (p.41)

All these examples of butchery made Twain a strong critic of the very idea of bringing the blessings of civilization. He expresses his contempt for this concept in very powerful words in "To the person."

Shall we? that is, shall we go on conferring our civilization upon the peoples that sit in darkness, or shall we give those poor things a rest? Shall we bang right ahead in our old time, loud pious way, and commit the new century to the game; or shall sober up and sit down and think it over first? (p. 598)

Twain does not believe in the inferiority of the 'less civilised races.' He rather takes a dig at the whole race for adopting a superior attitude towards the non-whites: "There are many humorous things in the world; among them the white man's notion that he is less savage than the other savages."17
In Twain's writings is also implied a critical discussion of the Darwinian interpretation of imperialism. Such universal human emotions as fear, the will to power, pride, prestige, pugnacity and predacity have been said to be instrumental in the subjugation of unoccupied and also weakly governed lands. According to this school of thought, as defined by *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, nature has made men unequal, and those endowed with superior qualities are destined to rule all others.¹⁸ Like men nations are also unequal in their strength, power and resources and they must try to gain control of more and more land if they want to ensure their own existence.

This social darwinism largely shaped the consciousness of Americans in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the form of the new manifest destiny. The time when *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur* was written (1889), the ideas of new manifest destiny were very much in the air. In America the adoption, of the idea of the 'survival of the fittest' to society had been first effected by Herman Spencer but was made popular by the writings of William Graham Sumner and John Fiske. Twain, however, it seems, viewed this idea with his characteristic scepticism. The protagonist of the novel *A Connecticut Yankee...* is an epitome of the concept of manifest destiny, yet Twain does
not wholly approve of his values. The point needs elaboration.

Hank Morgan, the Connecticut Yankee transported thirteen centuries back in time typifies almost all the characteristics of the new manifest destiny: sense of nationalism in the extension of the American system from coast to coast; the sanction of geographical predestination; individualism under the protective direction of the federal government; moral ambition delegated by the mission of expansion and finally a firm belief in the superiority of intelligence.  

Hank Morgan's superior intelligence is quite accidental as it is a result of his birth in the nineteenth century. With the help of this intelligence, he tries to impose the technological values of the nineteenth century America on 'an inferior race.' Acting like a true social darwinist he takes recourse to his intelligence to confront a hostile environment. After his initial success, he tries to extend the American system by expanding the territorial control which brings him in conflict with the Established church which enjoyed awful power in medieval times.

Two very distinguishing characteristics of the American Anglo-saxon race were its protestant christianity and its
unlimited suffrage. Hank Morgan points to both:

I had two schemes in my head which were the vasted of all my projects. The one was, to overthrow the catholic church and set up the protestant church on its runs — not as an Established Church, but a go-as-you-please one; and the other project was, to get a decree issued by-and-by, commanding that upon Arthur's death unlimited suffrage should be introduced, and given to men and women alike — at any rate, to all men, wise or unwise, and to all mothers who at middle age should be found to know nearly as much as their sons at twenty one. 

(pp. 263-64)

Hank Morgan is very conscious of the superiority of the Anglo-saxon race and he constantly tries to assert that superiority in his efforts to extend the American system. "The assertion by thinkers of the 1880s that the natural selection process had resulted in a superior race of Anglo-saxon is illustrated in Morgan's condescension toward the 6th century English who are not as yet infected with saxony blood which results in the superior Anglo-saxon mixture." He regards the Knights' the representatives of an inferior race and demolishes the institution of Knight-errantry with the advanced weaponry at his disposal.

However, as pointed out earlier, Twain does not fully approve of the reformist tendencies of the Yankee. At best, he regards him as an imperialist who wishes to translate his
ideas into reality without regard to the well-being of his subjects. Through the presentation of his character Twain is also trying to tell us what happens when a pre-industrial society comes into contact with the values of an industrialized nation even though the policies of the latter may be well-meaning and well-intentioned. Does it produce imperialism? Twain's answer seems to be in the affirmative. In fact, as Charles S. Holmes points out, "the extravagance of his (Hank Morgan) buffoonery suggests that Twain, like Swift, viewed his protagonist with some irony. The Yankee is full of missionary zeal yet he has only contempt for the people he intends to salvage." He wishes to establish a republic but he was also "beginning to have a base hankering to be its first president." He wants to dispel cultural darkness and bring light in the life of the common people but his methods of civilizing these people are very cruel and he never realizes his cruelty. Thus he establishes a total dictatorship; bosses the country ruthlessly; kills persons at will and ends knighthood in a very heartless manner. In James W. Gargano's opinion the Yankee "with the best intentions and every modern resource at his command turns into one of the worst butchers in history — beginning as a pacific revolutionary and a benign savior, he ends as an almost sadistic annihilator of his enemies."
The failure of Yankee's mission partly because of the contradictions inherent in his personality and partly because of the refusal of the human race to change also brings into focus Mark Twain's determinism. Perhaps the redemption of the human race is not possible because it is not amenable to reason and progress. The same deterministic outlook characterizes another of Twain's anti-imperialist writing, "In Defense of General Funston."

"In Defense of General Funston", his last anti-imperialist writing until 1905 was published during that dark period of his life when he was working on "What is Man" and The Mysterious Stranger. Funston was a very popular military figure after his capture of Aguinaldo, the Filipino leader whom Mark Twain held in high esteem. He achieved this victory by using 'forgeries and falsehoods.' However, Twain does not find fault with Funston the military general as much as with Funstons, or the human race that produces them. The disposition of man is not made by man himself and so he is morally irresponsible for his actions:

He did not make his own disposition, it was born with him. It chose his ideals for him, he did not choose them. It chose the kind of society it liked, the kind of comrades it preferred, and imposed them upon him, rejecting the other kinds; he could not help this; it admired everything that Washington did not admire, and
hospitably received and coddled everything that Washington would have turned out of doors — but It, and It only, was to blame, not Funston; Its moral sense, If It had any, was color-blind, but this was no fault of Funston's and he is not chargeable with the results; It had a native predilection for unsavory conduct, but it would be in the last degree unfair to hold Funston to blame for the outcome of his infirmity; as clearly unfair as it would be to blame him because his conscience leaked out through one of his pores when he was little — a thing which he could not help, and he couldn't have raised it, anyway. 23

V

In addition to various theories of imperialism discussed above, Twain's writings also provide an insight into the nature of some of the forces that precipitate imperialism. He especially singles out patriotism as the most important activating force behind imperialism. Twain was called a traitor for his support to the Anti-Imperialist League. He replied to this charge by making a pointed distinction between a patriot and a traitor. In his essay "As Regards Patriotism" he termed patriotism "merely a religion — love of country, worship of country, devotion to the country's flag and honour and welfare. While this kind of patriotism is furnished from the throne in absolute monarchies, in England and America "it is cut and dried, to the citizen by the politician and the newspaper." 24
The irony implied in the last sentence suggests that Twain seriously thought that the intense propaganda carried out by newspapermen — as was done by Hearts in the case of American-Spanish War — could cause wars. He was particularly very sceptical of the majority patriotism of his time. "The soul and substance of what customarily ranks as patriotism is moral cowardice." The average citizen neither reasoned out matters of moral right or wrong nor cared to hear the voice of his conscience but simply followed the majority. In another essay "Glances at History" Twain points out that "each must for himself alone decide what is right and what is wrong and which course is patriotic and which isn't. You cannot shirk this and be a man." Thus Twain's contemporaries who were supporting the unjust Philippines war were traitors and not patriots in the real sense of the word.

Although Twain talks of acting according to one's conscience he does make one concession about it. The people must support the country, if the life of the republic is in danger. But Philippines and China did not pose any threat to America and hence the support to America's action against them meant treachery and not patriotism. It was because Twain's type of loyalty was:
Loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing... institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags — that is a loyalty of unreason... under that gospel the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new shirt, is disloyal; he is a traitor (p. 69).

VI
A study of Twain's views on imperialism will remain incomplete if it does not take into account his attitude towards different imperialist powers of his time. A peculiar fact that emerges from his various writings is that he viewed American and English imperialism in a slightly different light. It is not to suggest that he did not oppose England or America — he in fact lambasted at the English and American imperialists in the most fierce language as the previous discussion suggests — rather he maintained a love-hate relationship with the imperialism of the English-speaking countries.

Twain never had any doubt about the evil nature of French imperialism, "the nation which gave us the Reign of Terror to read about." Spanish imperialism is also
analyzed in the same black and white terms. He considers Spain a nation which "drenched the New World in blood, and earned and got the name of the Nation with the Bloody Footprint... how her holy Inquisition imported hell into the earth; how she was the first to institute it and the last to give it up — and then only under compulsion."29 Viewing German imperialism in the same terms he is of the view that Germany will oppress only weak nations like China. He very bitterly asks in "To the Person": would Germany do like this to America, to England, to France, to Russia? or only to China, the helpless — imitating the elephant's assault upon the field mice (p.603)? Twain asks sarcastically.

But American and English imperialism is not viewed in these black and white terms. When he deals with French or Spanish imperialism he dwells at length on the history of these countries giving examples of their greed and rapacity. But American history always served him examples of liberty, equality and justice. In fact Twain was deeply upset when he realized that his beloved country had turned imperialist. He very painfully parted with one very cherished illusion of his life: his country stood for democracy and it was unaffected by the European lust of land-grabbing. What could he do in this situation? His answer
was in the form of scathing articles. "The main task as he saw was to convince Americans that their new empire was corroding the virtues of their old republic." He also had a strange and unscientific argument to account for the new U. S. imperialism: America had imported the whole spirit of patriotism and imperialism from monarchical Europe. He was also of the view that his country was gradually sweeping towards the monarchical system.

Unlike his analysis of French or Spanish Imperialism, Twain's analysis of American imperialism is characterized by his constantly revised opinions. Thus in the essay "to the person..." he compares American imperialism with European imperialism and makes a distinction between the two Americas: one America conforming to Twain's ideals of equality, justice and liberty and the other America — imperialistic, oppressor and one tainted by European frenzy of land-grabbing. Supporting America's involvement in Cuba and criticizing its interference in Philippines Twain observes: "There must be two Americas, one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's new freedom away from him, and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on, then kills him to get his land (p. 606)."
Another example of Twain's revisionism is suggested by his altered views about the role of the United States in the Congo after the publication of *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. At the time of writing this pamphlet Twain had thought that the United States was legally and morally bound by a treaty to help in the management of the Congo affairs. The pamphlet while criticizing King Leopold's brutalities in the Congo, accused the United States of not playing the role expected of it. However, Twain's visit to Washington to attend the state departmental conference made him see the role of his country in a new light. He realized that his country was not pledged to look after King Leopold's activities. However, this realization rendered many passages of the pamphlet pernicious as well as irrelevant.

The same ambivalence is reflected in his treatment of British imperialism. Though he could criticize Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes for their manufacture of the Boer War and could lash out at the British for their extermination of 'savages' in South Africa and Australia, he had a love-hate relationship with Britain and its ideals throughout his life. He somehow regarded English imperialism as lesser evil.

*Following the Equator* is full of passages reflecting Twain's pro-British stance. His praise of Kipling and
approval of British raj in India will hardly convince a modern reader of the book. He compares the India under Hindu and Mohammeden rulers with British India and concludes that instead of facing many miseries as Indians did under those rulers, they now enjoy protections and humanities. The establishment of British supremacy in India has been the most fortunate thing for Indians. He regarded the British very merciful people, the best kind to bring civilization to the savage peoples by colonizing the globe.

He did not find any fault with the Indian princes or their English masters and had great praise for Clive and Warren Hastings. "He seems to have envisioned Warren Hastings, back in the previous century, as a sort of modern messiah bringing enlightened government to a benighted people." Despite his many faults, Twain thought, the best service that Hastings did to Indians was that he firmly attached India to the British empire.

In this analysis of the mutiny of 1857 also, Twain is on the side of the British, not the Indians. He sounds almost anglophiliac in his praise of the British in suppressing this mutiny successfully:

The military history of England is old and great but I think it must be granted
that the crushing of mutiny is the greatest chapter in it... It would take months to inform England and get help, but they did not falter or stop to count the odds but with English resolution and English devotion they took up their task, and went stubbornly on with it... and won it thoroughly. 32

It is true that Mark Twain fully supported the Boers in their war against British imperialists spearheaded by Cecil Rhodes. However, the voice of his intellect was telling him that England should not lose this war. When William Dean Howells wrote to him that the last chapter of Following the Equator which contained the discussion of war, will not be well received by Twain's admirers in England, Twain replied:

This is a sordid and criminal war, and in every way shameful and excuseless. Everyday I write (in my head) bitter magazine articles about it, but I have to stop with that. For England must not fall; it would mean an inundation of Russian and German political degradation which would envelop the globe and steep it in a sort of Middle-Age night and slavery which would not last until Christ comes again. Even wrong — and she is wrong — England must be upheld. 33

In fact it may be conjectured from his overall response to the war, as gathered from many of his letters not meant for publication, that "had it not been for Cecil Rhodes, Mark
Twain might immediately have sided with the British." However, this particular Englishman did not have the traditional sense of honour, justice and fairplay which Twain associated with the British.

Mark Twain's stay in England in 1899 and 1907 when the Oxford University conferred doctorate degree upon him, and the hearty welcome accorded to him also contributed a lot to his favourable opinion of the British in the last years of his life. Thus he was very happy to see the unity of England and America as a result of the Spanish-American War. He very proudly announced that this kind of unity had always been his dream: "since England and America have been joined together in Kipling, may they not be severed in Twain."  

In 1907 in his last trip to England, Twain praised the British Colonialists for their love of liberty. In his opinion England should have got its due for being the first country to free slaves. He implored the Americans to respect their honourable mother country and spoke of England as "the venerable Mother of Liberties, the Champion and Protector of Anglo-Saxon freedom."
NOTES AND REFERENCES


9. Mark Twain, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" in *The Portable Mark Twain*, op.cit., p.595. (Further references to this essay are incorporated in the text).
10. Charles Neider (ed.), *Complete Essays of Mark Twain*, (New York, 1963), pp.304-5. (Hereafter this work is called *Essays*).


17. *Following the Equator 1*, *Collected*, p.216.


25. Mr. Hearst, printing as many as 40 editions of the *New York Journal* everyday, published false details of Spanish atrocities in Cuba and convinced the public opinion in favour of a war against Spain.


29. Ibid., p. 684.


31. Ibid., p. 198.


