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The *Hornet*: Mark Twain's Interpretations of a Perilous Journey

DRAMATIC TALES OF SHIPWRECKS and survival on the high seas would have had an empathic interest to the residents of Hawai'i in the nineteenth century, for everyone who traveled to or from the Islands did so by ship. On May 3, 1866, the U.S.S. *Hornet* burned and sank in the major shipping channels far off the coast of South America on its way to San Francisco from New York. All the crew members and passengers initially escaped into three lifeboats, but two of these boats were never heard of again. Then, on June 15, 1866, fifteen men within a few days of death from starvation were guided safely to shore by helpful natives at Laupahoehoe on the Island of Hawai'i. The thirteen sailors, including Captain Josiah Mitchell and two passengers, Henry and Samuel Ferguson, had managed to survive for forty-three days in the damaged ship's longboat and had journeyed over four thousand miles of open sea before reaching landfall in Hawai'i. This incredible tale of survival received widespread attention in the Hawaiian and mainland newspapers at the time; surprisingly though, interest in this long-past tragedy has never subsided. Numerous academic and popular articles, and even fictional renderings of the journey, continue to reinterpret this account of the human struggle to survive against indifferent forces and overwhelming odds.¹ Besides the tale

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of courage in this epic battle against death, there is one more reason why the *Hornet* incident might be remembered: the story is linked to the career of one of America's greatest writers, Samuel Langhorne Clemens, known to his readers as Mark Twain.

The author of enduring works, of which the two best known may be *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), Twain stands as a literary legend embodying the essence of the American spirit of the age in which he lived. Twain's fiction is primarily responsible for the legacy he left posterity, yet later in life the writer openly engaged controversy and maintained a conspicuous public presence that kept pace with the literary works he produced. The man in the trademark white suit with the wildly unkempt hair and bushy white mustache also contributed to the making of the legendary aura. At the time the *Hornet's* crippled longboat came ashore, a thirty-year-old Mark Twain was on assignment in the kingdom of Hawai'i writing travel letters for the *Sacramento Daily Union*. Twain arrived in Hawai'i on March 18, 1866. He spent four months in the Islands and produced twenty-five letters for publication in the *Union*. Even before he journeyed to Hawai'i, Twain was already regionally known as a humorous newspaper reporter, but the letters from Hawai'i and the newsbreaking report on the *Hornet* disaster spread his fame. Upon his return to San Francisco, Twain acted on the advice of a friend and used the Island adventure as the subject for his debut as a public lecturer. His long-running "Sandwich Island Lecture," which he claimed to have delivered about one hundred and fifty times over a period of seven years, rescued Twain from a career that seemed to be floundering. In those pre-transpacific-telegraph days, Twain's detailed account of the *Hornet* was published by the *Union* on July 19, 1866, before being picked up by newspapers across the country. This was Twain's first major scoop, and the event was so important to the writer's career that thirty-three years later he published a retrospective account of how he happened to get the story in "My Debut as a Literary Person" (1899).² In that essay, an established storyteller reminisces about an event that had impacted his future career as a writer of fiction. Twain confidently retells the three-decade-old tale as if it were still fresh in his mind, an attitude of which the reader should be wary, especially from a man who would

later confide to Albert Bigelow Paine, his official biographer, "When I was younger I could remember anything, whether it happened or not; but I am getting old, and soon I shall remember only the latter."³ In the long interval that separated the *Hornet* scoop and "My Debut as a Literary Person," Twain progressed from a regional reporter to one of America's most successful writers and humorous lecturers, and this prominent vantage point from which Twain surveyed the varied experiences of his life could not but obscure the reality of such distant memories. Building on Michael Kiskis's assertion that Twain "was aware of his tendency to fictionalize the events of his own life," this article will cull the facts from the fiction to better understand how Mark Twain actually produced his first widely read publication.

Mark Twain sailed for Hawai'i Island, the easternmost and largest island in the Hawaiian archipelago, on May 26 and spent a grueling three weeks touring the countryside on horseback. According to the passenger lists printed in the press, Twain returned to Honolulu on June 16, just one day after the *Hornet's* longboat came ashore at Lapaohoe. The interisland schooner *Kalama* delivered the news of the accident to Honolulu on June 22, and two similar accounts of the story appeared in the Saturday editions of the English-language weeklies, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and the *Hawaiian Gazette*, on June 23, 1866. With limited information, both newspapers made brief comments, then reprinted a letter dated June 16, 1866, from Hilo addressed to Walker, Allen & Company. That letter reads:

A gentle man named Gasting has just arrived at this place, from Lapaohoe, and reports that a boat landed there yesterday (15th) from the clipper ship *Hornet*, from New York, for San Francisco, with a general cargo of merchandise. She was burnt at sea in 2° N. Lat., and 135° 50' W. Long., on the 3d May. The long boat having been at sea 43 days with twelve of the crew, two passengers, named Ferguson, and the Captain, fifteen in all. The entire party were in a state of starvation. Two boats with the first and second mates, are yet out with about twenty souls on board. The boats were in company until the 19th day. The Captain says they had terribly heavy weather and rugged sea.⁴

In his fourteenth letter to the *Union*, dated June 22, 1866, Twain informed his California reading audience that he had just returned

from a tour around Hawai'i Island on horseback, but stated that he was "too badly used up" to tell about the trip at present, a fact that "My Debut" confirms.⁵ Twain was not merely "used up," he was sick in bed. A letter to his mother and sister corroborates that Twain was incapacitated. After briefly describing the journey, he wrote: "I have got back sick—went to bed as soon as I arrived here—shall not be strong again for several days yet."⁶ At the time he began the fourteenth letter to the *Union*, Twain appears to have not known about the survival of the *Hornet's* crew, yet by the time he finished writing the letter Twain had received news of the survivors. Even though he was confined to bed, Twain somehow obtained prepublication access to the information and attached an addendum to the "Fourteenth Letter to the *Union*," which the *Live Yankee* carried from Honolulu on June 23. Twain was already well-acquainted with Henry Martyn Whitney, the founder and editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and a recently hired reporter, Henry MacFarlane, so it is possible that either one of these men or the talk about town may have communicated the news to Twain. Most of the facts in the fourteenth letter mirror the accounts as published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and *Hawaiian Gazette*, yet Twain mistakenly credits Captain Mitchell with delivering nineteen men to safety. Although Twain corrected this error in his lengthy follow-up account on the survival of the crew, this inaccurate recording of the number of survivors suggests that Twain, instead of reading the original letter as it was to be printed, must have relied on hearsay for his information.

Much to his discredit, Twain pandered to the public's thirst for sensationalism in the "Fourteenth Letter to the *Union*." Apparently relying on nothing more substantial than his own imagination, Twain created a fictional scenario that exacerbated the suffering of these shipwrecked men and transformed their anguish into a desperate hopelessness that only the most wretched of human beings would ever consciously consider—cannibalism. Since many people in San Francisco would have been anxious about the long-overdue *Hornet*, the motives of Twain's account as printed in the *Union* must be questioned. Twain wrote:

When they had been entirely out of provisions for a day or two and the cravings of hunger became insupportable, they yielded to the ship-

wrecked mariner's final and fearful alternative, and solemnly drew lots to determine who of their number should die to furnish food for his comrades—and then the morning mists lifted and they saw land.⁷

Twain sandwiched this fatalistic fabrication between gossipy details of expatriate San Franciscans relocating to Hawai'i and, as if an afterthought, a brief announcement concerning a formal dinner being held in honor of two visiting dignitaries en route to their diplomatic posts in Asia, Anson Burlingame and General Van Valkenburgh, the U.S. ministers to China and Japan respectively. Twain must have counted on this casual lead-in of seamen driven to a process of randomly selecting one of their own to kill and eat as a sure-fire way of provoking interest in his next letter—the scoop on the *Hornet*.

In the June 25, 1866, "Fifteenth Letter to the *Union*," which tells the tale of the disaster as related by the third mate, John S. Thomas, Twain again veers from facts to discuss cannibalism. All through the article Twain recounts, of course in his own words, the tale as he supposedly received it from Thomas, but after explaining that the meager rations had been exhausted Twain takes poetic license and assumes an omniscient point of view to describe what he thinks happened.

The men seem to have thought in their own minds of the shipwrecked mariner's last dreadful resort—cannibalism; but they do not appear to have conversed about it. They only thought of the casting lots and killing one of their number as a possibility; but even when they were eating rags, and bone, and boots, and shell, and hard oak wood, they seem to have still had a notion that it was remote. They felt that some one of the company must die soon—which one they well knew; and during the last three or four days of their terrible voyage they were patiently but hungrily waiting for him.⁸

According to Twain, Thomas conceded that there was talk of eating anyone who happened to die, but at this time Twain could not have known that the diaries of the two passengers, Henry and Samuel Ferguson, would discuss the fear of a mutinous murder. The captain and the Ferguson brothers were armed, and these three with another crew member named Cox were on guard against any desperate reaction. In "My Debut" Twain published extracts from the brothers'

diaries then expanded on the idea of mutiny to provide nourishment. He speculated that it was fortunate Cox returned to the longboat from the chief mate's boat before the three boats separated, for "if he had not come back the captain and the two young passengers would have been slain by these sailors, who were becoming crazed through their sufferings."⁹

After reading "My Debut" in print, Henry Ferguson responded to Twain's publication of verbatim excerpts from the diaries replete with the names of people who were alleged to be engaged in the mutinous planning. Despite his surprise that Twain had copied passages from their diaries directly into the article, Ferguson gave the author permission to publish the story in permanent book form if certain conditions were met. Ferguson asked Twain to "omit, or substitute imaginary names or asterisks, for the following: 'Harry, Jack, and Fred'—page 85, first column, line 10 from foot of page; . . . I shall feel that the men, if alive, or their friends would not be able to identity the names."¹⁰ He also wanted Twain to amend the explanation of his brother's fatal illness. Samuel died shortly after returning to California. He had undertaken the *Hornet* sea voyage in the company of Henry with the hope that the air would improve his poor health. Unfortunately, he was not able to recover from the strain of the extended exposure to the elements and near starvation after the *Hornet* sank. Henry corrected Twain: his brother had not "been wasting away with consumption for some years."¹¹

Twain honored Ferguson's requests and revised the article. Even though evidence of the brothers' diaries verify that cannibalism was a distinct possibility, at the time the news of the crew's survival reached Honolulu Twain could not have known this for sure. The Ferguson brothers and Captain Mitchell did not arrive in Honolulu until the fourth of July, ten days after the sailors did. There was no opportunity for Twain to converse with either the brothers or the captain prior to writing his account of the *Hornet*. As the fictional reference to cannibalism in the "Fourteenth Letter to the Union" and the details from Thomas's interview reveal, Twain opted for shock value when retelling this tale of human tragedy, a practice that then as now helped sell papers.

It is important to consider why Twain distorted the facts and sensationalized the story. As the style and content of his letters to the

Union intimate, within the reporter was a creative writer pushing against the structural limits of the genre. Twain seldom did straight reporting, but always interjected opinion and imagination that made the reader cognizant of the reporter's private sentiments. In remarks following Twain's obituary, William Greer Harrison of the San Francisco Bohemian Club commented on Twain's writing style:

It was said of Clemens that, as a reporter here, he had not the slightest conception of the value of news. He would go to a coroner's inquest and report proceedings after the manner of a society wedding, and he would write up a wedding in the style of a prizefight. Only the ridiculous appealed to him, and he warped all his reportorial workings to strike that key.¹²

Twain knew he would not scoop the local papers with his story on the *Hornet*—the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* published a lengthy account of the mariners' journey on June 30, 1866—still he intended to get his copy to the mainland ahead of the others who were also writing the story. If several versions arrived in San Francisco on the same ship, what would distinguish one account from another? He needed an edge to attract interest in his story and obviously decided on the sensationalism of human beings suffering so ghastly an ordeal that they would sink to eating one another for survival. Twain may have believed humans in desperate conditions would resort to cannibalism, but by the time he wrote "My Debut," he had come to regard controlled starvation as a cure for illness and discoursed on this idea at length.¹³ On a symbolic level, the fictional rendering of this segment of the tragedy suggests a parallel between cannibalism and getting a scoop to the press: Only one reporter is entitled to a scoop and the glory, all the others must be content with the meager pickings left behind.

Even at this early stage in his career, Twain recognized the importance of the *Hornet* story. For him, it must have seemed as if "providence" had brought him to Hawai'i to record the breaking story on this newsworthy event, then tested his ingenuity by making him a temporary invalid. The incident was so important that Twain immediately intended to follow up the story. On the journey back to San Francisco, Twain traveled with the Ferguson brothers and Captain Mitchell. He copied liberally from the diaries of the brothers and wrote an

expanded version of the tale for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.¹⁴ Years later, Twain contemplated writing a fictional story of the *Hornet* accident; one notebook entry reads: "write the 'Hornet' wreck, putting in a sailor-man who gives birth to a child."¹⁵ For unknown reasons, this wild, but truly Twainian-type tale which would have had a woman impersonating a sailor was never produced, yet Twain did consider the *Hornet* story important enough to his career to write "My Literary Debut" thirty-three years later.¹⁶

In "My Debut" Twain credits Anson Burlingame with helping him get the story. Twain explains how Burlingame "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."¹⁷ After lauding Burlingame for his assistance, Twain contributed to his own legendary status by furnishing details about how he diligently applied himself to the task of writing all through the night to get the copy on board the next ship sailing for San Francisco. When contemporary evidence is analyzed, however, the significance of this momentous task appears less credible.

The June 30, 1866, *Hawaiian Gazette* announced that Thomas and some of the sailors arrived in Honolulu aboard the *Nahienaena* on Sunday, June 24, just nine days after safely reaching landfall.¹⁸ The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of the same day printed an extensive report on the heroic survival and stated that third mate Thomas and seaman Clough provided the information on which its account was based. Twain verified that Thomas was also the primary source for his interview, but added that he took the liberty to "weave into it [his "Fifteenth Letter to the *Union*"] such matters as the men mentioned in the way of incidents, experiences, emotions, etc."¹⁹ Twain acknowledged that Thomas's tale took three hours to tell. Even though the recuperating sailors may have luxuriated in their sudden celebrity, it seems unlikely that Thomas would have been physically capable of telling and retelling his tale. A comparison of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser's* account with Twain's reveals that even though there are differences in details, there are also striking similarities that tend to substantiate the possibility that the sailors conducted a single interview attended by numerous reporters.

The position of the ship and the time it caught fire as well as other specifics of how the accident occurred, and the sequence in which the tales are told, are the same in both versions. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* emphasizes different details of the cargo than Twain. It lists an exact count of the number of cases of kerosene (2,460) and boxes of candles (6,200), items that were definitely connected to the rapid spread of the fire; Twain, on the other hand, considered it more important to mention that four hundred tons of railroad iron and three large engines were on board. Major differences between the accounts surface in the discussion of the diurnal events. For Thomas and the crew, who kept no written record of the journey (in his notebooks Twain disclosed that many of the sailors were functionally illiterate), it was undoubtedly difficult to account for the events of each successive day, but if there was, in fact, only one interview, then the fault for the discrepancies must lie with the reporters who transcribed the details, not with the teller of the story.²⁰ Twain confessed in his letter that his interview notes contain a gap of ten days, an admission that should place the reader on guard against relying on him for accuracy.²¹

In a style uncommonly literary for a newspaper reporting a tragedy, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* asserted that by the thirty-eighth day the men were reduced to eating "pieces of this canvas [in which the ham had been wrapped] and the staves of a butter keg which had a saline relish to them, served as the main stand-by, while the leather of their boots was scraped off, soaked in water so as to make the leather soft. This served as their soup. For desert [*sic*], they ate pieces of cotton shirts and handkerchiefs."²² This astringent diet, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* wrote, was minimally supplemented on the thirty-eighth day when four flying fish flew into the boat, and on the fortieth another single fish that had come aboard was given to the captain. Twain also wrote that toward the end of the journey the men were reduced to eating "the canvas cover that had been around the ham. . . . The men broke up the small oaken butter tub and divided the staves among themselves, and gnawed them up. . . . The third mate chewed pieces of boots and spit them out, but eat [*sic*] nothing except the soft straps of two pairs of boots—eat three on the thirty-ninth day and saved one for the fortieth."²³ Twain, however, wrote that the

flying fish had flown into the boat on the twenty-eighth and thirtieth days, not the thirty-eighth and fortieth days as indicated in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.

Four little flying fish, the size of sardines of these latter days, flew into the boat on the night of the twenty-eighth day. They were divided among all hands and devoured raw. On the twenty-ninth day they caught another, and divided it into fifteen pieces, less than a teaspoonful apiece.

On the thirtieth day they caught a third flying fish and gave it to the revered old Captain—a fish of the same poor little proportions as the others—four inches long—a present a king might be proud of under such circumstances. . . .²⁴

Twain's referring to the flying fish earlier contributes to the anxiety of the human drama as it builds toward the climax that could make cannibalism a possibility in those last dangerous days. On the contrary, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser's* account of flying fish entering the boat on the fortieth night validates a reaffirmation of hope that would later be found by Twain in the diaries of Henry Ferguson. Although neither Twain's nor the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser's* version is entirely supported by sustainable proof, Henry Ferguson recorded that one fish did come aboard on the fortieth night and this fish was divided among all the men and not reserved solely for the captain as Twain asserted. Rather than assuaging their hunger, this small fish provided them only a taste of food. Two days earlier, Henry had written: "God send us birds or fish, and let us not perish of hunger, or be brought to the dreadful alternative of feeding on human flesh!"²⁵

Twain fully realized the value of getting the *Hornet* scoop, but whether or not he got the scoop was out of his hands. His letter had to get to the mainland first to secure this honor. Twain speculated on the celebrity associated with the scoop in a June 27, 1866, letter to his mother and sister: "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."²⁶ In "My Debut" Twain compounded the legendary importance of this newsworthy event by claiming that he worked through the night to get his story on the next San Francisco-bound vessel. Twain wrote about what occurred after the interview:

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 didn'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 her stern-line. My fat envelope was thrown by a strong hand, and fell on board all right, and my victory was a safe thing.²⁷

Twain's fifteenth letter to the *Union*, which deals solely with the *Hornet* story, was dated June 25, 1866. If the date on this letter is accurate, then that means his interview with the sailors would have taken place on the twenty-fourth, the very day they arrived from Hilo. It is reasonable to assume that Twain would have been eager in getting to the earliest interview for he recognized the potential significance of this story and would not have missed an opportunity like this.

In "My Debut," Twain maintained that the next departing ship, the *Milton Badger*, sailed the morning after he finished writing his detailed letter on the *Hornet*. However, in this case the herculean accomplishment of an infirm man who cannot even walk, yet manages to write all night without even taking dinner, then arrives at the dock as the ship pulls out of the harbor is the stuff of which legends are made. If Twain's letter was finished on the morning of June 25 and hurriedly taken to the harbor, Twain would have arrived there two days before the *Milton Badger* sailed! In news of weekly shipping, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* confirms that the *Milton Badger* did not sail until Wednesday, June 27. Even the assertion by Twain in the preceding quotation of someone's throwing the manuscript aboard the ship has a nonchalance that the Twain of 1866 did not possess—too much was at stake on this story. It seems unlikely that Twain would have trusted all his hard work to a stranger with a strong arm unless there was really no chance of failure.

Twain's was the first full account to get in the mainland papers, and the scoop did contribute to his career as a reporter as well as to his position as an unofficial spokesman who lectured widely on the Hawaiian Islands. There is no disputing that the success of the *Hornet*

story was crucial for Twain. For Twain the fiction writer, however, history was not solid facts: it was a series of events that could be reinterpreted and rearranged as needed. By the time he wrote "My Debut," the persona of Mark Twain had outgrown the young reporter who wrote from Hawai'i in 1866, and it is possible that the past life experiences of the latter had to be reinterpreted to fit the present social position of the former. As has been shown, Twain occasionally disregarded history as it happened, yet he did recognize at the time that the story of the *Hornet* survivors represented a landmark event in his career. And in "My Debut" he reinterpreted the *Hornet* episode so that it neatly fit into the legend Mark Twain had already built.

NOTES

- ¹ See William Roos, *The Hornet's Longboat* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940); Albert Stone, Jr., "Mark Twain and the Story of the *Hornet*," *The Yale University Library Gazette* (April 1961): 141-57; Alexander Crosby Brown, *Longboat to Hawaii: An Account of the Voyage of the Clipper Ship 'Hornet'* (Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1974); Jim Gibbs, *A Maritime History of Hawaii* (1977); and Alexander Crosby Brown, "Forty-Three Days in a Longboat," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* (January 1979): 78-80.
- ² "My Debut as a Literary Person," *The Century Magazine* LIX, no. 1 (November 1899): 76-88. All subsequent references to this article will be taken from "My Debut as a Literary Person," Mark Twain's Letters I in *The Writings of Mark Twain*, Volume 34 (New York: Gabriel Wells, 1923) 70-109.
- ³ Mark Twain, quoted in Michael Kiskis, *Mark Twain's Own Autobiography* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1990) xxxvi.
- ⁴ "Burning of the American Clipper Ship *Hornet*," *PCA* June 23, 1866, p. 3. In what appears to be an exact copy of the original letter from Alfred Caldwell, U.S. consul in Hawai'i, to William Seward, secretary of state, additional information is provided on the cause of the fire and why the ship burned so fast.
- ⁵ Mark Twain, "Fourteenth Letter to the *Union*," June 22, 1866, rpt. in Walter Francis Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* (Chicago: Lakeside P, 1947) 328. In "My Debut as a Literary Person," Twain writes of his incapacitation: "I had been in the islands several months when the survivors arrived. I was laid up in my room at the time, and unable to walk" (71).
- ⁶ Mark Twain, *Mark Twain's Letters, Volume I* (1853-1866), ed. Edgar Marquess Branch, Michael B. Frank, and Kenneth M. Sanderson (Berkeley: U of California P, 1988) 343.
- ⁷ Twain, "Fourteenth Letter to the *Union*," June 22, 1866, rpt. in Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* 334.

- ⁸ Mark Twain, "Fifteenth Letter to the *Union*," June 25, 1866, rpt. in Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* 344.
- ⁹ Twain, "My Debut as a Literary Person" 95.
- ¹⁰ Henry Ferguson [Hartford, Conn.] to Samuel L. Clemens, December 8, 1899; Mark Twain Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. See also Stone, "Mark Twain and the Story of the Hornet" 153.
- ¹¹ Ferguson to Clemens, December 8, 1899.
- ¹² "Clemens Funeral to be Marked by much Simplicity," *The Canton Evening Repository* April 22, 1910, p. 17.
- ¹³ Twain, "My Debut as a Literary Person" 90-91.
- ¹⁴ Mark Twain, "Forty-Three Days in an Open Boat," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* vol. XXXIV (December 1866-May 1867): 104-13.
- ¹⁵ Mark Twain, *Mark Twain's Notebooks and Journals, Volume II* (1877-1883), ed. Frederick Anderson, Lin Salamo, and Bernard L. Stein (Berkeley: U of California P, 1975) 446.
- ¹⁶ Twain wrote several stories about people switching positions in society or impersonating others; *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) and *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) are two examples.
- ¹⁷ Twain, "My Debut as a Literary Person" 72.
- ¹⁸ "Loss of the 'Hornet,'" *Hawaiian Gazette* June 30, 1866, p. 3.
- ¹⁹ Twain, "Fifteenth Letter to the *Union*," June 25, 1866, rpt. in Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* 335.
- ²⁰ Mark Twain, *Notebooks & Journals, Volume I* (1855-1873), ed. Frederick Anderson, Michael B. Frank, and Kenneth M. Sanderson (Berkeley: U of California P, 1975) 140.
- ²¹ Twain, "Fifteenth Letter to the *Union*," June 25, 1866, rpt. in Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* 339.
- ²² "Burning of the American Ship Hornet," *PCA* June 30, 1866, p. 1.
- ²³ Twain, "Fifteenth Letter to the *Union*," June 25, 1866, rpt. in Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* 344.
- ²⁴ Twain, "Fifteenth Letter to the *Union*," June 25, 1866, rpt. in Frear, *Mark Twain and Hawaii* 342-43.
- ²⁵ Henry Ferguson, quoted in "Forty-three Days in an Open Boat," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 111.
- ²⁶ Twain, *Mark Twain's Letters, Volume I* (1853-1866) 347.
- ²⁷ Twain, "My Debut as a Literary Person" 72.

