

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

An Historical-Materialist Reading of
A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court

by

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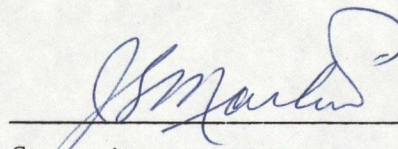
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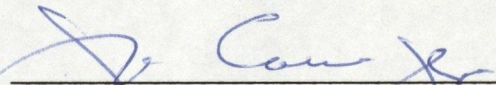
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "An Historical-Materialist Reading of A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" submitted by Michael Robert Whealen in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

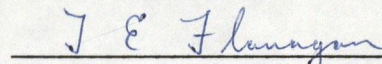


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ABSTRACT

This thesis applies Marx's and Engels's materialist conception of history as a method to produce one reading of Mark Twain's 1889 novel A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court as a realistic text. Chapter one begins with a retelling of Twain's lengthy--447 page--work. This retelling focuses on Hank Morgan, the "Connecticut Yankee" of the novel's title, and his adventures in the "Middle Ages" of his tale. In considering the Yankee's story, it becomes apparent that there is therein a problem of "means" and "end." This is only to say that what he does in his story, does not seem to lead consistently up to the way in which his tale ends. Having established this, the chapter moves on to a short review of the critical notice of "discontinuity" in the novel. It is shown that a lot of the critics who have written on the work have been vaguely disturbed by it, and it is suggested that the problem of "means" and "end" in the Yankee's tale is what has disturbed them.

Chapter two determines Hank Morgan's real socio-historical place, at a point that is in the text, but outside of his tale. His career is then explored as the material basis of his existence. This exploration establishes that the Yankee is highly representative of what was happening in the realm of the means of production in late nineteenth-century America.

The third chapter explores what it is that the Yankee does in the "Middle Ages" of his tale, and how he goes about doing what he does therein. It is demonstrated that his acts and his method in the "Dark Ages" can convincingly be explained by his reported position in the nineteenth-century means of production.

The fourth chapter, "The Unmasking of the Yankee," does just what the chapter's title suggests. Here it is shown that Hank Morgan is living in a fantastic, camera obscura world of ideological beliefs and values that reflect his nineteenth-century position as a head superintendent at the Colt Arms Manufacturing Company in Hartford, Connecticut. Hank Morgan, it is suggested, is blinded by his own ideological idealism to the reality of his position at the Colt plant, where his job--considered from one point of view--is to produce weapons, and turn men into things. Because the Yankee lives, in his mind, in an ideological fantasy-world of false-consciousness, it is suggested that the object of his perception must also be a "fantastic" reflection of reality. This "object," it is suggested, is the "Middle Ages" of Hank Morgan's tale; it is a device used by Twain to show the reader how a man who is a head superintendent at an arms-manufacturing company in the nineteenth century sees things. Hank Morgan's story--in this reading--offers the reader a faithful representation of reality as Hank Morgan sees it. It is thus a realistic account.

The last chapter deals with certain problems that arise as a consequence of reading the entire novel as a realistic text. I then briefly discuss the implications of Twain's consciousness of ideology, as this consciousness effects the possibility of representation in the novel. The conclusion is basically that, because all representations are in fact mediated, a number of readings may legitimately be applied to A Connecticut Yankee. But since "contradiction" is an implicit part of the novel, any particular reading must be conscious of the tendency that method has to do violence to a work of art.

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Chapter One

The Yankee, His Story, and its Problems

Mark Twain's novel A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889) is, as its title suggests, about a "Yankee" called Hank Morgan. If his name seems just a little prosaic, what happens to him in Twain's book certainly is not. For, knocked unconscious by a fellow called "Hercules" in the familiar world of late nineteenth-century Hartford, Connecticut, Hank Morgan regains consciousness only to find himself in a completely alien world. Understandably, the Yankee has considerable difficulty in adjusting to his strangely altered situation, and his confusion is evident from the words that he chooses in order to describe his new surroundings. For example, a knight that he first notices standing near him when he regains consciousness is described by the Yankee as "a fellow fresh out of a picture-book."¹ As he goes along with this "picture-book" knight, Hank Morgan observes that he fully expects to encounter the "circus" that he is sure the knight must be from (6). Eventually, he gives up the idea of a "circus," and comes to the uneasy and tentative conclusion that the knight is surely from an "asylum" called Camelot (6). Each of the terms that Hank Morgan uses to describe his curious new situation--"picture-book," "circus," and "asylum"--are attempts on the part

of this self-professedly "practical" "Yankee of the Yankees" to come to grips with the radically strange situation that he finds himself in (4, 17).

Moving along "as one in a dream" (11), the Yankee is taken prisoner by the strange knight and together the two of them set off for a place that the knight has called "Camelot" (6). After his arrival at "Camelot," Hank Morgan wastes no time in befriending a young page named Clarence, and it is not long before the page proffers the startling information that the two of them are in "'King Arthur's Court,'" and that the year is 528 A.D. (16). The Yankee finds it exceedingly difficult to accept Clarence's news about the date. So, being the very "practical Connecticut man" that he is, Hank Morgan devises a scheme in order to verify "for certain whether this boy was telling me the truth or not" (17). Relying on his knowledge of history and astronomy, the Yankee comes up with the following test:

I knew [he reflects] that the only total eclipse of the sun in the first half of the sixth century occurred on the 21st of June, A.D. 528, O.S., and began at 3 minutes after 12 noon. I also knew that no total eclipse of the sun was due in what to me was the present year--i.e., 1879. So, if I could keep my anxiety and curiosity from eating the heart out of me for forty-eight hours, I should then find out for certain whether this boy was telling me the truth or not. (17)

In other words, should the eclipse not take place, the Yankee will have conclusive, objective evidence that the year is 1879. However, if it

does occur, then this, too, will be something that is objectively verifiable--but this latter evidence will serve the purpose of demonstrating that Clarence can be trusted, and that the year really is 528 A.D. Whatever the outcome, Hank Morgan has all the bases covered. This self-styled "champion of hard, unsentimental common-sense and reason" (384)--feels that, no matter what happens, it is best to "make the most out of" "circumstances" (17). So, he develops a second scheme, or plan; one that will enable him to "play the thing for all it is worth" (17), as he so colorfully puts it. This is his plan:

I made up my mind to two things: if it was still the nineteenth century and I was among lunatics and couldn't get away, I would presently boss that asylum or know the reason why; and if on the other hand it really was the sixth century, all right, I didn't want any softer thing: I would boss the whole country inside of three months; for I judged I would have the start of the best educated man in the kingdom by a matter of thirteen hundred years and upwards. (17)

Decisive, methodical, and determined, Hank Morgan's plan--regardless of how his "test" of reality turns out--is to be the "boss" (17), to run the show. His singleness of purpose in this resolve might be redolent of a certain excessive and over-enthusiastic ambition, were it not for the fact that the Yankee was a boss of sorts in nineteenth-century Hartford. For there, in his own "proper" time, he was "head superintendent" (4) over "a couple of thousand rough men" at the "great Colt arms-factory" (4). Hank Morgan simply misses his work, and it is in this light entirely

understandable that he should wish to resume his old, familiar career in this curious new world that he finds himself in. Such is the power of custom and habit.

The Yankee quite shrewdly sees that knowledge is the tool that will be of assistance to him in resuming his former career. For if the eclipse does take place--thus demonstrating that the year is 528 A.D.--he astutely observes that he will then have "the start of the best educated man in the kingdom by a matter of thirteen hundred years and upwards" (17). Thus, consistent with his awareness of the advantage that his knowledge gives him, the ingenious Yankee builds still another scheme. This one, he hopes, is the one that will really make it possible for him to resume his former career as a boss:

You see [Hank Morgan reasons], it was the eclipse. It came to my mind . . . how Columbus, or Cortez, or one of those people, played an eclipse as a saving trump once, on some savages, and I saw my chance. I could play it myself, now. (40)

Since the Yankee is by his own admission "not a man to waste time after [his] mind's made up and there's work on hand" (17), he quickly acts to put his plan into practice. He has his friend Clarence tell King Arthur that he--the Yankee, that is--is a powerful "magician," who is able to "blot out the sun" if he so desires (39, 42). By this time in his story, such posing on Hank Morgan's part has become much more than a means whereby he can resume his accustomed career as a boss. For Clarence has told him that he is to be burned at the stake as an evil and dangerous sorcerer. So the mystification that the Yankee has planned has become a matter

of life and death for him. He expresses his awareness of the critical importance of success by referring to his eclipse-plan as his "saving trump" (37).

Much to Hank Morgan's relief, the eclipse does take place as predicted. This saves his life and demonstrates to his satisfaction that the year is, as Clarence had said it was, 528 A.D. Moreover, and smoothly in accordance with his plans, the Yankee takes full advantage of the eclipse to achieve his declared objective of bossing the country. Gambling for his very life, his manner is understandably theatrical as he proceeds to draw a complete correspondence between his will and the forces of nature for Arthur and his subjects:

The rim of black spread slowly into the sun's disc, my heart beat higher and higher, and still the assemblage and the priest stared into the sky, motionless. I knew that this gaze would be turned on me, next. When it was, I was ready. I was in one of the most grand attitudes I ever struck, with my arms stretched up, pointing to the sun. It was a noble effect.

You could see the shudder sweep the mass like a wave. (47)

The multitudes are understandably terrified by the Yankee's impressive show of strength. So, for that matter, is King Arthur. The good king petitions Hank Morgan with a royally generous incentive to bring back the light of the sun: "'Name any terms, reverend sir, even to the halving of my kingdom, but banish this calamity, spare the sun!'" (48). Reflecting that his "fortune was made" (48)--and no doubt trying hard to suppress his delight in the way things have turned out for him--the Yankee

proceeds to enumerate a few very reasonable "terms" in response to the king's plea:

These are the terms, to wit: you shall remain king over all your dominions, and receive all the glories and honors that belong to the kingship; but you shall appoint me your perpetual minister and executive, and give me for my services one per cent of such actual increase of revenue over and above its present amount as I may succeed in creating for the state. If I can't live on that, I shan't ask anybody to give me a lift. Is it satisfactory? (49)

Understandably, King Arthur is wholly amenable to the Yankee's demands. Hank Morgan utters a few magical words of power, the eclipse begins to wane, and things return to normal. What is worth noting in this episode is the extremely modest nature of the Yankee's terms. It is, after all, the king who has asked Hank Morgan to "'[n]ame any terms . . .'" (48) and despite the immense power that the Yankee has in terms of his modern knowledge, he wants only to provide "services" to Arthur as the king's "minister and executive" (49). Not only this, but in return for his services, the Yankee asks for only one per cent of the revenue that he himself is able to create over and above its "present amount" (49). Finally, should the modest sum that Hank Morgan has asked for not be adequate to meet his needs, he says that he will not even "ask anybody to give [him] a lift" (49). In the sheer reasonableness of his demands, the Yankee reveals some of the more positive characterological traits that he shares with his own nineteenth-century American countrymen. Self-reliance, independence, and

a certain forthright frankness are in evidence here. Hank Morgan could have the world, but a lesser amount will clearly suffice.

This man, a character who is, by his own realistic and not-unperceptive admission "born modest; not all over, but in spots" (145), quite understandably longs for his proper American home and all its little creature comforts. For in the very spartan world of sixth-century Britain there are, as he laments, "no books, pens, paper, or ink," and perhaps worst of all, no "sugar, coffee, tea or tobacco" (54). It is the absence of these little amenities that brings him to the conclusion that he is "just another Robinson Crusoe," and that if life is to be bearable in his new home, he will have to "invent, contrive, create; reorganize things" (54). This is exactly what the Connecticut Yankee sets out to do. And within only a few years time, he proudly records that he has "the civilization of the nineteenth century booming" in Arthur's Britain (82).

However it is not just the absence of creature-comforts that prompts Hank Morgan's industry. As an informed and progressive nineteenth-century man, he is obviously appalled by the ignorance in which the sixth-century Britons live. "[N]obody," he remarks at one point, "in the country could read or write but a few dozen priests" (55). And the Yankee--as a person "born in a wholesome free atmosphere" (63)--is equally revolted by what he calls the "tyrannical, murderous, rapacious, and morally rotten" character of the feudal nobility (148). He feels--for the peasantry in particular--since they are victims of oppression and injustice. In fact he feels so strongly for them, that he has an expression which he often uses on encountering cruelty and injustice in the medieval world. The express-

ion is "I caught a picture that will not go from me . . ." (155), and he almost invariably uses it when he is deeply moved by something. Hank Morgan, it would seem, has a well-developed social conscience. In fact, it is so well-developed that at one point in his narrative he wishes that he was without it:

If I had the remaking of man, he wouldn't have any conscience. It is one of the most disagreeable things connected with a person; and although it certainly does do a great deal of good, it cannot be said to pay, in the long run; it would be much better to have less. . . . (164)

Now since Hank Morgan is from Connecticut, "whose Constitution declares 'that all political power is inherent in the people'" (113), he thinks that "the most of King Arthur's British nation [are] slaves, pure and simple . . ." (65). Having no use for lordship, the Yankee wants above all to change things in Arthur's Britain, to offer the people a "new deal" (114). He sees quite clearly that the feudal order of things has reduced the medieval people to "groping and grubbing automata" (157) in comparison to his democratic and libertarian ideals:

You see, my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags--that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, it was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it. (113)

Hank Morgan has a dream that he wants to see realized in the Dark Ages, and this is the way in which he talks about this dream:

We should see certain things yet, let us hope and believe.

First, a modified monarchy, till Arthur's days were done, then the destruction of the throne, nobility abolished, every member of it bound out to some useful trade, universal suffrage instituted, and the whole government placed in the hands of the men and women of the nation there to remain. (300)

What Hank Morgan calls his "dream" (300) is above all to "banish oppression" from Arthur's Britain and "restore to all its people their stolen rights and manhood without disobliging anybody" (121). Predictably, as a man with a dream--as a man who has ideals--the Yankee encounters opposition from less enlightened beings in the Dark Ages. One of these enemies is the magician Merlin, who represents what Hank Morgan calls the stubborn "unreason" of the times (113). Another enemy--this one being a collective body--is the landowning aristocracy, who he perceptively speaks of as being "but a band of slave-holders under another name" (239). However, his most potent enemy is undoubtedly the Roman Catholic Church. In a very typical commentary, he says of that "awful power" (67) that

Before the day of the Church's supremacy in the world, men were men, and held their heads up, and had a man's pride, and spirit, and independence. . . . But then the church came to the front, with an axe to grind; and she was wise, subtle, and knew more than one way to skin a cat--or a nation: she invented "divine right of kings," and propped it all around, brick by brick, with the Beatitudes--wrenching them from

their good purpose to make them fortify an evil one; she preached (to the commoner,) humility, obedience to superiors, the beauty of self-sacrifice; she preached (to the commoner,) meekness under insult; preached (still to the commoner, always to the commoner,) patience, meanness of spirit, non-resistance under oppression; she introduced heritable ranks and aristocracies, and taught all the Christian populations of the earth to bow down to them and worship them. (67)

Throughout his tale, the Yankee engages repeatedly in fights against his arch-enemy, the Roman Catholic Church. He also faces sustained opposition from a wealthy, arrogant aristocracy, and the sort of ersatz, obfuscating mysticism that is personified by Merlin. If at times--as in his harangue against the Church--Hank Morgan seems to be waxing pontifical, it must be remembered that what he is objecting to is the terrible brutality of the times. The Yankee is addressing a reasonable and polite modern audience, and there are clearly some things that can only be hinted at for this reason. For example, at one point in his tale, he makes a passing reference to the fact that one of Arthur's subjects has received a "Damien's dose" for harming a member of the nobility (163). The Yankee clearly wants to say more about this episode, but he observes that it is something that is "properly unprintable," and refers his readers instead to Casanova's chapter "about the dismemberment of Louis XV.'s poor awkward enemy" (163).

Hank Morgan's reference is worth highlighting, if only to give the modern reader an idea of just why it is that the Yankee often seems to

grow angry and impatient with the brutality of the Church and the aristocracy in the Middle Ages. The following, from Michel Foucault's work The Birth of the Prison, is a summary of the sentence that was passed on Damien, and then carried out with the blessings of the Holy Roman Church:

. . . Damiens the regicide was condemned "to make the amende honorable before the main door of the Church of Paris," where he was to be "taken and conveyed in a cart, wearing nothing but a shirt, holding a torch of burning wax weighing two pounds"; then, "in the said cart, to the Place de Grève, where, on a scaffold that will be erected there, the flesh will be torn from his breasts, arms, thighs and calves with red-hot pincers, his right hand, holding the knife with which he committed the said parricide, burnt with sulphur, and, on those places where the flesh will be torn away, poured molten lead, boiling oil, burning resin, wax and sulphur melted together and then his body drawn and quartered by four horses and his limbs and body consumed by fire, reduced to ashes and his ashes thrown to the winds" (3)

In light of the frequency with which such punishments were carried out, it is remarkable that Hank Morgan remains as reasonable as he does when dealing with the medieval authorities.

But Hank Morgan's life in the Dark Ages is not just a constant war of reason against the cruel and reactionary forces that he meets there. For after a few years of fervent activity, he finally has the leisure to start thinking about starting up a family of his own. This comes about

because the Yankee is lonely, as he so plainly reveals:

In my dreams, along at first, I still wandered thirteen centuries away, and my unsatisfied spirit went calling and harking all up and down the unreplying vacancies of a vanished world. (407)

Perhaps as an anodyne to his loneliness, he courts and eventually marries a charming young sixth-century maiden named "Alisande le Carteloise" (90). This girl, who he calls "Sandy," for short, is a homeless orphan--how typical this is of the sensitive Yankee--and after a socially appropriate period of time has elapsed, they begin their little family with the blessed birth of a daughter. Hank Morgan dotes on his little girl, and this is quite apparent from what he says when she grows ill and then begins to recover:

Well, during two weeks and a half we watched by the crib, and in our deep solicitude we were unconscious of any world outside of that sick-room. Then our reward came: the centre of the universe turned the corner and began to mend. Grateful? It isn't the term. (408)

Due to the little girl's illness, the doctors suggest that Hank Morgan and Sandy take her away to France for a period of recovery. The couple readily agree to this suggestion, and the three of them depart from an England that is markedly improved from what Hank Morgan first encountered a number of years before:

Slavery was dead and gone; all men were equal before the law; taxation had been equalized. The telegraph, the telephone,

the phonograph, the type-writer, the sewing machine, and all the thousand willing and handy servants of steam and electricity were working their way into favor. (397-98)

England, under the influence of the enlightened Yankee, is now a "happy and prosperous country" (397). But once his little girl recovers, Hank Morgan becomes anxious to return to his "happy and prosperous" new country. To this end, he has arranged for a British ship to cross the English Channel and pick up himself and his family. The weeks pass and, when the ship does not appear, the Yankee begins to get concerned. Looking for the vessel on the French coast, he is considerably taken aback to observe that things are strangely quiet, and that his "great commerce" is missing (409).

Worried, the Yankee rushes back to England on the first ship that he is able to find. On his arrival, he finds Camelot covered in darkness, whereas before his departure for France the town had been "the best electric-lighted" place in the kingdom (410). The darkness seems prophetic to Hank Morgan and, seeing a church with its ". . . bell, shrouded in black, and its tongue tied back," the truth finally dawns on him. The Church has placed an "INTERDICTION" on the land (410). The Yankee begins to fear that the Church will ". . . snuff out all [his] beautiful civilization just like that" (410). Growing ever more apprehensive, he turns to his friend and aide-de-camp Clarence for some explanation as to the events that transpired while he was away in France. Clarence's response is succinct:

"Well, if there hadn't been any Queen Guenever, it wouldn't

have come so early; but it would have come anyway. It would have come on your account by and by; by luck, it happened to come on the queen's." (412)

From this point on--with just one exception--the subsequent events described by Clarence closely follow the last days of King Arthur as depicted by Sir Thomas Malory in his Morte d'Arthur. Ultimately, Arthur and Mordred meet in a final battle at Salisbury, kill each other, and England is left without a legitimate ruler. The exception to the Malorean version is that, in Clarence's account, the king is made aware of Guenever's infidelity with Launcelot as a consequence of what Clarence calls one of Hank Morgan's "'modern improvements--the stock board'" (413). Launcelot, as the Yankee learns from Clarence, has apparently tried to corner the market on some railroad stocks, squeezing out Sir Agravaine and Sir Mordred in the process.

Hank Morgan is "utterly stunned" by his friend's revelations (417), and he appeals to Clarence for a course of action. Clarence is decisive, and he says to the Yankee that their only remaining chance is to "'stake our lives and stand by them!'" (417). He then goes on to explain to the Yankee that "'The Church is master now,'" adding that that institution "'has gathered all the knights that are left alive, and as soon as you are discovered, we shall have business on our hands'" (418). In his use of the modern term "business," Clarence demonstrates that he has learned from Hank Morgan. And Clarence has taken advantage of his learning to make certain preparations, as he tells Hank Morgan:

"So this is what I did. From our various works I selected

all the men--boys, I mean--whose faithfulness under whatsoever pressure I could swear to, and I called them together secretly and gave them their instructions. There are fifty-two of them; none younger than fourteen, and none above seventeen years old." (419)

It is at this point in the Yankee's tale that something extremely interesting is revealed by Clarence. Speaking at greater length about the preparations he has made for what will become the final Battle of the Sand-Belt, Clarence tells Hank Morgan that

"Then I went out into the hills and uncovered and cut the secret wire which connected your bedroom with the wires that go to the dynamite deposits under all our vast factories, mills, work-shops, magazines, etc., and about midnight I and my boys turned out and connected that wire with the cave, and nobody but you and I suspects where the other end of it goes to." (420)

What Clarence reveals here--and the reader has not had an inkling of this--is that Hank Morgan has been holding his "beautiful civilization" hostage with "dynamite deposits" for an undisclosed number of years (410, 420). This terrorist activity seems wildly inconsistent with the Yankee's earlier declarations that what Arthur's subjects needed was "a better order of things," and a "new deal" (83, 114). And what about his wife, Sandy, and their beloved child? Admittedly, the latter two have remained behind in France, but all of a sudden it is as if they have ceased to exist.

The discrepancy deepens as it becomes increasingly apparent that Hank Morgan and Clarence have been preparing for this war for some time. Together with their fifty-two chosen boys, they take refuge in Merlin's ancient cave, where the handy Yankee has earlier installed a "great electric plant" and a "dynamo" (420). In this cave there is an entire arsenal of modern weapons--gatling-guns (421), torpedoes (422), dynamite (432) and electric fences (438)--stockpiled and ready for use. The Yankee tells his friend Clarence that they must now "'rise up and strike!'" (422), and from their armed fortress, Hank Morgan issues a final proclamation:

"PROCLAMATION.

"BE IT KNOWN UNTO ALL. Whereas, the king having died and left no heir, it becomes my duty to continue the executive authority vested in me, until a government shall have been created and set in motion. The monarchy has lapsed, it no longer exists. By consequence, all political power has reverted to its original source, the people of the nation. With the monarchy, its several adjuncts died also; wherefore there is no longer a nobility, no longer a privileged class, no longer an Established Church: all men are become exactly equal, they are upon one common level, and religion is free. A Republic is hereby proclaimed, as being the natural state of a nation when other authority has ceased. It is the duty of the British people to meet together immediately, and by their votes elect representatives and deliver into their hands the government."

(423)

Unfortunately, Hank Morgan's proclamation of the Great Republic has little effect among the people. At least it does not have the anticipated effect, for Hank Morgan records that "The Church, the nobles and the gentry . . . turned one grand all-disapproving frown upon" "the mass of the nation" and "shriveled them into sheep!" (427). "Yes," the Yankee adds, "it was now 'Death to the Republic!' everywhere--not a dissenting voice. All England was marching against us!" (427).

After delivering an inspirational address to his fifty-two loyal boys, the ostensibly inconsistent Yankee begins his devastating attack on the massed chivalry of Old England:

Down swept that vast horse-shoe wave [of attacking knights]--it approached the sand-belt--my breath stood still; nearer, nearer--the strip of green turf beyond the yellow belt grew narrow--narrower, still--became a mere ribbon in front of the horses--then disappeared under their hoofs. Great scott! Why, the whole front of that host shot into the sky with a thunder-crash, and became a whirling tempest of rags and fragments; and along the ground lay a thick wall of smoke that hid what was left of the multitude from our sight.

Time for the second step in the plan of campaign! I touched a button and shook the bones of England loose from her spine!

In that explosion all our noble civilization-factories went up in the air, and disappeared from the earth. It was a pity, but it was necessary. (430)

"It was a pity, but it was necessary" (430). Has Hank Morgan, the self-proclaimed champion of "common-sense and reason" (384) lost his mind here? What has happened to this enlightened champion of the people who, earlier in his tale, could say of the suffering of a medieval slave that ". . . I knew I should never get his picture out of my mind again, and there it is to this day, to wring my heartstrings whenever I think of it" (200)?

But the early centralised technological destruction described above pales in comparison to the havoc that follows it. In what one critic has called "one of the bleakest nightmares in literature" (Fraser 4), Hank Morgan and his boys engage in the systematic slaughter of every knight in England. The comparatively helpless knights are defeated as the result of a carefully executed strategy that leaves legions of corpses in waves of technological destruction around the Yankee's cave. At one memorable crest in his wave of mortality, after resorting to a very modern anti-personnel device--a highly-charged electric fence--the Connecticut Yankee even becomes something of an appreciating connoisseur of death:

He [a knight] stood a moment--no doubt wondering why the other [knight] didn't move on; then he said, in a low voice, "Why dreamest thou here, good Sir Mar--" then he laid his hand on the corpse's shoulder--and just uttered a soft little moan and sunk down dead. Killed by a dead man, you see--killed by a dead friend, in fact. (438)

Just prior to this gruesome account, Hank Morgan has delivered a sort of inspirational address to his small cadre:

"This campaign is the only one that is going to be fought. It will be brief--the briefest in history. Also the most destructive to human life, considered from the stand-point of proportion of casualties to numbers engaged. We are done with the nation. . . . English knights can be killed, but they cannot be conquered. We know what is before us. While one of these men remains alive, our task is not finished, the war is not ended. We will kill them all." (432-33)

In the Yankee's impassioned exhortation "We will kill them all," there echoes, prophetically, the "final solution" mentality espoused by another leader of men, Adolf Hitler. And also like this man, the Yankee reveals himself capable here of the most crass, instrumental objectification of human beings. For Hank Morgan's opponents, those very knights that he organised into "base-ball" teams in happier days (403), are simply reduced to mere statistical "yields" in his reference to them as being "considered from the stand-point of proportion of casualties to numbers engaged" (433). By the end of the very modern Battle of the Sand-Belt, "Twenty-five thousand" men lie dead around Hank Morgan and his loyal followers (440).

While the Yankee's story--called "The Tale of the Lost Land"--comes to a terrible end among the rotting corpses of a general carnage, there is a further addendum added to it by his old friend Clarence, in the form of a summary Postscript. Herein, the loyal Clarence records that Hank Morgan and his men are trapped in their cave and growing sick from ". . . the poisonous air bred by those dead thousands" (443). Morgan's friend then writes that Merlin the magician has appeared among them in

a disguise, with the supposed objective of assisting the ailing. However, it is not long before the magician gets near to the sleeping Yankee, and when Clarence challenges Merlin, the sorcerer cackles

"Ye were conquerors; ye are conquered! These others are perishing--you also. Ye shall all die in this place--every one--except him [i.e., Hank Morgan]. He sleepeth now--and shall sleep thirteen centuries." (443)

Clarence's Postscript is the last that the reader hears from the curious world of the Dark Ages. The scene shifts after this, and the setting is once more--as it was before the beginning of the Yankee's tale--England at the end of the nineteenth century. We are in fact comfortably seated by the fire with Mark Twain, in his room at the Warwick Arms. The author has been reading from Hank Morgan's manuscript all night. He then becomes aware of a curious "voice" issuing from the room of a "stranger" in another of the hotel rooms. (445). Twain goes to investigate, and the "stranger" turns out to be the Yankee. The author finds him ". . . thrashing] about, restlessly, as sick people do in a delirium" (446). Twain speaks to the mysterious stranger, and in the latter's reply there is "pleasure, gratitude, gladness, welcome"--everything, that is, but recognition (446). For Hank Morgan is a stranger; he is lost and wandering in the far-distant past. In fact, he thinks that Twain is really his companion Sandy. The novel ends with Mark Twain witnessing the death of the Yankee, and observing that "He [Hank Morgan] was getting up his last 'effect;' but he never finished it" (447).

This, in brief, is the story of A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's

Court. Despite some rather disconcerting inconsistencies of character, time and place--not to mention the very gruesome Battle of the Sand-Belt near its end--the novel has proven to be a popular and enduring story with both American adults and children alike. As Henry Nash Smith observed in his Introduction to A Connecticut Yankee, the novel has persisted in a number of forms:

A silent film version with Harry C. Myers as the Yankee was made in 1921, and sound versions were produced in 1931 (starring Will Rogers) and 1949 (a musical, with Bing Crosby). A musical comedy by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart, produced in 1927, was the first work of this team to run for more than four hundred performances; and in 1943 they produced another version of A Connecticut Yankee in which the Yankee was a lieutenant in the Navy and Sandy a WAC corporal. (30)

Unfortunately, though it now seems as if there is little chance of there ever being a film version with President Reagan starring as Hank Morgan--for the President is busy in a more commanding role--there is little doubt that the popularity of A Connecticut Yankee is an enduring phenomenon. One of the reasons for its wide appeal is doubtless the extremely positive way in which the novel presents--by way of what the progressive and enlightened Yankee says and does in the Dark Ages--so many of the beliefs and values that Americans hold dear. Speaking of a few of these beliefs and values in an article titled "The Meaning of A Connecticut Yankee," Everett Carter writes that

The available evidence, then, external and internal, suggests

that the meaning of A Connecticut Yankee is, as the author repeatedly said it was, that the American nineteenth century, devoted to politics and religious liberalism and to technology, was better than the traditional past. (452)

Such would indeed appear to be the broad message of the novel. At least, this would seem to be the case, up to the point where Clarence reveals that Hank Morgan has been holding his beautiful civilization hostage for a number of years. After this jarring disclosure--and more particularly in light of the apocalyptic Battle of the Sand-Belt--one begins to wonder whether Twain did mean that ". . . the American nineteenth century . . . was better than the traditional past." And conversely, if this is the meaning of A Connecticut Yankee, then the novel is simply a flawed work, since Hank Morgan's means in his story bear no logical relationship to the end that commonly ensues as a consequence of the means.

This fact--that the end of the novel seems to be wholly inconsistent with the means that bring about the end--does much to account for the fact that numerous critics have expressed a certain feeling of discomfort about the novel since its first publication in 1889. These vague reservations are usually articulated in notices of the work that are otherwise and for the most part quite laudatory. Twain's close friend William Dean Howells, for instance, said of the work in 1890 that "the scheme confesses allegiance to nothing; the incidents, the facts follow as they will" (qtd. in Smith 19). A.C. Ward, writing about the novel in his work American Literature, 1880-1930, refers to what he calls its

"ramshackle structure" (61); Bernard DeVoto calls the novel a "chaos" at one point (277); James D. Williams says that "ambiguities in tone" are a problem (363), and Warner Berthoff writes that "[t]he narrative intention flies all over the place" (67).

Clearly, then, there is a general sense of something that is disconcerting, something that is wrong with A Connecticut Yankee. The novel appears to be a very serious work, since it deals with certain beliefs and values that are close to the hearts of Americans. But--and this is an important qualification--people do not travel backwards in time from the nineteenth century to the Dark Ages. Least of all do they do this in a novel that--as Everett Carter has suggested in "The Meaning of A Connecticut Yankee"--makes an overt statement of preference for a particular system of beliefs and values. But if the novel is Twain's statement of preference for the political "drift" of the American nineteenth century, then what of the problem of "means" and "end" that I mentioned earlier? These two problems--the problem of "means" and "end" and the problem of time travel--find their conjunction in the novel's central character, Hank Morgan. Very plainly put, the Yankee is not exactly what he seems to be. As Susan K. Harris writes,

In recent years a critical controversy has raged about Hank Morgan, chiefly focusing on what Mark Twain intended by his character and which institutions--sixth-century feudalism or nineteenth-century industrialism--Twain was attacking. (44)

And indeed, in searching the text carefully, it becomes increasingly apparent just why controversy has raged about Hank Morgan. For even aside

from the discrepancy of "means" and "end," certain inconsistencies are a part of the Yankee's tale from its very beginning. For example, in the following passage, Hank Morgan describes his very first encounter with the feudal nobility at King Arthur's Court:

Mainly they were drinking--from entire ox horns; but a few were still munching bread or gnawing beef-bones. There was about an average of two dogs to one man; and these sat in expectant attitudes till a spent bone was flung to them, and then they went for it by brigades and divisions

(19)

What seems to be forthrightly a colorful description of the rich chaos of medieval life in the Yankee's description conceals the fact that Hank Morgan is looking at the medieval nobility in a most curious--and rather disturbing--way. Recalling his ability in the Battle of the Sand-Belt to see the medieval knights as things, it is apparent that the Yankee is doing something very similar here. In his description of the knights and damsels of Arthur's Court above, there is in fact a strong element of something that is quite akin to lycanthropy going on; something that--in Hank Morgan's eyes--transforms dogs into men, and men into dogs!

It is, of course, the dogs that the Yankee observes fighting over gnawed bones in the fourth and fifth lines of his account. But in the first and second lines, it is the men that are munching on the bones, while the dogs in line five are given the very specifically human configurations of "brigades" and "divisions" (19). So; does the pronoun

"they" in line five refer to dogs? Or does it refer to the men, who are "gnawing"--like dogs--on "beef-bones" (19)? For a brief moment, it is ambiguous, and one begins to wonder about just how the Yankee looks at things, what sort of a perspective he has on the world. One thing, however, is clear as day, and this is that the Yankee's "dogged" view of the medieval nobility is entirely consistent with his very democratic sentiments. Yet, puzzlingly, only a few pages later, Hank Morgan can observe of these very same people that

There was a fine manliness [he is speaking of the knights, of course] observable in every face; and in some a certain loftiness and sweetness that rebuked your belittling criticisms and stilled them. (23)

Now certainly, in the context of his entire story, the Yankee is far more censorious than complimentary of the medieval nobility. But every now and then, a veil is lifted, and paradoxical little uncertainties emerge from out of his story. His decidedly antagonistic attitude about the Roman Church would appear to be an area of the Yankee's thought where equivocation would be out of the question; there is after all, nothing paradoxical in his observation that "an Established Church . . . is an enemy to human liberty, and does no good" (161). Yet oddly, he is equally capable of observing on another occasion that ". . . often, in spite of me, I found myself saying, 'What would this country be without the Church'" (148).

Then there is Hank Morgan's rather dim view as to the worth of royalty. Thinking about kingship at one point, he declares that ". . .

any kind of royalty, howsoever modified . . . is rightly an insult" (64). But, later in his story, he can say of a king that "Here [in the person of the king] was heroism at its last and loftiest possibility, its utmost summit . . ." (285). Once again--as was the case with the Church--the Yankee for the most part is opposed to royalty. But every now and then, he has a change of heart.

Above all else, it must be said of Hank Morgan that he is certainly consistent in his inconsistency. For paradox is not only an important part of what he says--it is also implicit in what he does. There is, for example, his first appearance at Arthur's Court, where he is wearing the clothes that one would expect a democratic man of the people to wear--"an ordinary suit of fifteen-dollar slop-shops," or coveralls (32). Yet, only twenty pages later in his narrative, there has been a remarkable transformation, for he mentions in passing that he is decked out in "silks and gold" (52). Then again, there is the matter of his visit to the infamous Queen Morgan Le Fay, a woman who tortures her subjects for the mere joy of it. After dining with the Yankee with music in the background, she then takes a dislike to the music, and has the composer hanged (150). The democratic Hank Morgan objects strenuously to the queen's arbitrary exercise of authority, and he asks Morgan Le Fay to recall her musicians once more. She does so, the Yankee listens to them play, and then he comes to the conclusion that the queen "was right" (152). He then asks Morgan Le Fay to "hang the whole band" (152)! This is hardly the act of a man who wants to give an oppressed people a "new deal."

With each reading of A Connecticut Yankee, more and more of these inconsistencies become manifest, both in what the Yankee says and does in the Dark Ages. Yet, paradoxically, the drift of his tale does seem to suggest that by and large, Hank Morgan--as a representative nineteenth-century American man--does represent something of an improvement over the unconscious brutality of so many of his medieval companions. Yet, it is only possible to entertain this vision by ignoring the problem of "means" and "end" in his tale. So, the question is this: is it possible to read A Connecticut Yankee in a way that relates the novel's means to its end, while still retaining a consistent vision of Hank Morgan in all his inconsistency? This seems to be the question that must be answered.

Another word for "inconsistency" is "contradiction." Writing of the contradiction that seems to be so much a part of this curious novel, Richard S. Pressman says in a recent article that

The critical consensus is that an unresolved contradiction is inherent in the novel, apparently in Twain's vision. For James M. Cox the contradiction is between "nostalgia and irreverence"; for Roger B. Salomon it is between "Twain's predominantly optimistic theory of history and his personal pessimism." Thomas Blues sees it as a contradiction of "humanitarian impulses" and a "destructive lust for power and adulation"; to Gerald Allen, Twain's "boisterous assertion of the values of American culture" contradicts his "fundamentally pessimistic attitude towards human nature."

For Bernard DeVoto the contradiction is between "frontier humor" and "satire," while for Henry Nash Smith it is between agrarian ideals and industrial capitalist realities.

(59)

Pressman's conclusion is that contradiction is the structural component of A Connecticut Yankee that makes it ". . . a novel of great power and enduring reputation" (69). Pressman is correct in his assessment, but stopping at "contradiction" does little to weld together the discrepancy between the "means" and the "end" of the work. Nor does it serve to address the temporal problem of what the Yankee, a nineteenth-century man, is doing in the "Middle Ages."

There is, however, one way to read A Connecticut Yankee by means of which the entire novel can imaginatively be seen as a realist text--a work wherein the "means" lead up to the "end" in a convincing manner. This "way"--or method--of reading is the historical-materialist approach, and I will employ it in the following chapters in order to clarify one major group of notices in the text that have not been fully analyzed by most critics. At the same time, taking an historical-materialist approach will explain more thoroughly the literary problem of dealing with the contradictions that are so much a part of this novel. It is important to bear in mind that this particular reading is just that--a reading--and as such, it makes no claim to discovering any sort of final truth concerning the novel.

Chapter Two

The Material Basis of the Yankee's Existence

The true and the made are interchangeable.

(Vico, qtd. in Jay 35)

It is often precisely at the moment when the reader thinks that he has a firm grasp on the Yankee's character, that this character begins to shift, and a previously alien facet of Hank Morgan's personality is revealed. Indeed at times, the very contradictory nature of the Yankee's character can be quite jarring. As an example of the suddenness of his remarkable transformative capability, consider Hank Morgan's reflections below, as he sums up some of his more significant accomplishments in the sixth century:

Schools everywhere, and several colleges; a number of pretty good newspapers. Even authorship was taking a start; Sir Dinadan the Humorist was first in his field, with a volume of gray-headed jokes which I had been familiar with during thirteen centuries. If he had left out that old rancid one about the lecturer, I wouldn't have said anything; but I couldn't stand that one. I suppressed the book and hanged the author. (397)

The Yankee obviously takes his humor very seriously here. And as if

he is completely oblivious to the discrepancy of including a hanging among his progressive accomplishments, his very next sentence blithely resumes his catalogue of improvements: "Slavery was dead and gone; all men were equal before the law; taxation had been equalized" (397). But at the same time, it must be admitted that there is at least method in the Yankee's ostensible madness, for most of the accomplishments that he has outlined above are undoubtedly positive and humane achievements. The regicide Damien would certainly be of such an opinion. That is, he would be prior to Clarence's revelations about the dynamite mines that the Yankee has placed under his beautiful civilization, and the unprecedented slaughter of twenty-five thousand men in the Battle of the Sand-Belt.

Perhaps better than any other critic, Henry Nash Smith has summed up the overall effect on the reader of Hank Morgan's extremely contradictory character:

The book functions as if it were the ink-blot of a Rorschach test: it offered such an abundance of suggestions, it touched so many powerful drives, some of them evidently only half-conscious, that critics were compelled to discover in it, or rather to project into it, their own strongest feelings and beliefs about the course of human history and the nature of Occidental society toward the end of the nineteenth century. (29)

A Connecticut Yankee displays this mirror-like or reflective quality precisely because its central character--Hank Morgan--is realistically

presented as a contradictory character. This would suggest that if any real meaning is to be found among the welter of contradictions that constitute the Yankee's beliefs, opinions, and values, a methodology must be developed that will take into account that these aspects of his character are reflections.

First, then, let it be accepted that "[c]onsciousness acts as the reflection of the objective world" (Kharin 121). Approaching Hank Morgan's "character" as a "consciousness," it is possible to consider Marx's and Engels' observation that

Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life process. If in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down, as in a camera obscura, this phenomenon arises just as much from their historical life process as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life process. (qtd. in Feuer 247)

As the founders of the materialist conception of history suggest, it is entirely possible to construe Hank Morgan's "consciousness" as the camera obscura reflection of his historical life process. Thus, the Yankee's beliefs, values, and opinions--in a word, his ideology¹--is the always-contradictory reflection of what it is that he does. His ideology derives from his historical life process and, as ideology, it is reflected in what he says and does in his story. Hank Morgan's theory and practice interact dialectically--one upon the other--in the Tale of the Lost Land. The ground that is common to both of them is found

elsewhere, in his historical life process as the Yankee.

Not surprisingly, this "ground" is found outside of Hank Morgan's Tale of the Lost Land. For in Mark Twain's prefatory introduction to the Yankee's tale, this is what Hank Morgan tells the author about his life process--what it was that he did--in and around Hartford, Connecticut in the last few decades of the nineteenth century:²

I was born and reared in Hartford, in the State of Connecticut--anyway, just over the river, in the country. So I am a Yankee of the Yankees--and practical; yes, and nearly barren of sentiment, I suppose--or poetry, in other words. My father was a blacksmith, my uncle was a horse-doctor, and I was both, along at first. Then I went over to the great Colt arms-factory and learned my real trade; learned all there was to it; learned to make everything: guns, revolvers, cannon, boilers, engines, all sorts of labor-saving machinery. Why, I could make anything a body wanted--anything in the world, it didn't make any difference what; and if there wasn't any quick, new-fangled way to make a thing, I could invent one--and do it as easy as rolling off a log. I became head superintendent; had a couple of thousand men under me. (4)

Disregarding, for the time being, the Yankee's more evaluative statements in this account, it is possible to obtain a wealth of very concrete information about the material foundations of his existence from what he tells Twain about his life process here. For this is the common

ground that is reflected in Hank Morgan's theory and practice in the Dark Ages. First, he works as a combination "blacksmith" and "horse-doctor" in an agrarian setting (4). This agrarian setting--"just over the river, in the country" (4)--is surely a small town, or village, since the occupations that the Yankee is first engaged in are ones that exist primarily to serve an agricultural community. Now, in this early phase of his historical life process, Hank Morgan shares his occupation with his uncle and his father. This is a combination that suggests the rural, integral, extended family that was so typical of Thomas Jefferson's America in the nineteenth century.

Secondly--and this is where what the Yankee refers to as his "real trade" begins (4)--he moves over the river and into the city of Hartford, where he starts work at the "great Colt arms-factory" (4). Here, his occupation is that of a "make[r]" of "everything: guns, revolvers, cannon, boilers, engines, all sorts of labor-saving machinery" (4). The Yankee is also at this point in his career something of an inventor, for he says to Twain that he ". . . could make anything a body wanted . . . and if there wasn't any quick, new-fangled way to make a thing, [he] could invent one . . ." (4). Remaining in the urban-industrial milieu of the Colt factory, the Yankee enters into the third stage of his career. This is the position that he is in when he is knocked into the Dark Ages. Hank Morgan gets a promotion at the Colt factory, and becomes "head superintendent" to a "couple of thousand rough men" (4).

Consciousness is largely determined--or shaped--by the sort of work, or labour that an individual undertakes in a specific social body and

at a specific time in history. This is a fundamental premise of the approach known as "historical materialism." Now, since Hank Morgan's entire career has taken place prior to his emplacement in the Dark Ages, it stands to reason that his consciousness is already "shaped" in certain ways by what he has done prior to finding himself in Arthur's Britain. Thus, while he is in the Dark Ages of his tale, the Yankee will respond to things in a way that reflects--as in a camera obscura--his actual historical life process as it was in nineteenth-century America.

Camera obscura thinking can also be called ideological thinking. To the extent that such ideological thinking inversely reflects Hank Morgan's historical life process, it becomes crucial--in order to understand the way in which the Yankee thinks in the Dark Ages--to understand in depth what it is that he does in the nineteenth century. In light of the importance of this knowledge, the balance of this chapter will be devoted to becoming acquainted, in greater detail, with the "texture" of the Yankee's triune post-bellum career in and around Hartford, Connecticut.

In doing this, I accept--for methodological reasons of clarity--Marx's distinction of the determining "base," or "substructure," and the determined "superstructure" that is a camera obscura reflection of the "base."³ The concern, then, is with what the Yankee's career can reveal about the forces of production and production relationships as they really were in America in the last few decades of the nineteenth century.⁴ Once this base has been firmly established, it will then be possible to explore how it is inversely reflected both in what Hank Morgan says, and in what he does in the Dark Ages. Again, it is important to bear in mind

that the relationship between Hank Morgan's thoughts and actions in the Dark Ages of his tale is a dialectical relationship; consciousness is to being, as theory is to practice.

Hank Morgan's very earliest career move--the one from the country to Hartford--is in fact highly representative of actual demographic shifts in the American population at large during the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Citing early U.S. census statistics, the researchers Brian Lee and Robert Reinders write that

The urban population (measured as communities of 2,500 and over) grew from 14,130,000 in 1880 to 41,999,000 in 1910 In 1880, 28 per cent of the population lived in urban areas; by 1910, 44 per cent did so. Established cities grew at an unprecedented pace. (178)

This shift in population was largely due to a tremendous and unprecedented increase in the sheer magnitude of the forces of production--forces that were transforming the structure of American society in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Writing after Minerva's owl had taken flight, the historian Henry Adams spoke of a number of these forces in his Education:

. . . the new American--the child of incalculable coal-power, chemical-power, and radiating energy, as well as of new forces yet undetermined--must be a sort of God compared with any former creation of nature. At the rate of progress since 1800, every American who lived to the year 2000 would know how to control unlimited power. (496)

This great progress of the forces of production to which Henry Adams refers drove millions of Americans to the rapidly expanding urban-industrial centres of the East--centres like Hartford, Connecticut. The people moved by these forces--many of them from rural America like Hank Morgan, and still others from Europe--were in search of what they perceived as an opportunity to markedly improve their standard of living in the growing cities. The magnitude of the productive forces behind this migration is best appreciated by referring to production statistics for America at the end of the century.

The output of manufactured steel, for instance, increased in production (in units of 1,000 short tons) from 597 in 1876, to 6,785 in 1895 (Lee and Reinders 177). While much of this steel found use in the construction of bridges, factories, machinery, and the new skyscrapers, it was also employed in the manufacture of new steel rail, as Lee and Reinders note:

Although by 1880 the United States already had the longest railroad network in the world, this continued to expand from 115,547 miles of track in that year to 394,944 in 1915. (178)

Coal was the basic energy source for post-Civil War America. In the year 1880, America's entire production of this primary fuel amounted to 50 million tons; by 1915, this had grown to 443 million tons (Lee and Reinders 178). But by 1880, electricity began to compete with coal and, as Michael Spindler notes in his work American Literature and Social Change, ". . . by 1900 it [electricity] was supplying equal

amounts of energy with steam" (12). Not only was electric power cleaner and more reliable than coal/steam power, but with Edison's development of the incandescent light bulb in 1879, it became possible to effectively extend the duration of the working day into the night. Samuel Colt's great factory at Hartford was a perfect example of just such an extension, as the wording of a sign that he made up for his employees so clearly demonstrates. I have retained Colt's own spelling in this quotation:

"EVERY MAN EMPLOYED IN OR ABOUT MY ARMOURY WHETHER BY PIECE-
WIRK OR BY DAYS WORK IS EXPECTED TO WIRK TEN HOURS ON EACH
SHIFT DURING THE RUNNING OF THE ENGINE & NO ONE WHO DOES
NOT CHEARFULLY CONCENT TO DU THIS NEED EXPECT TO BE EMPLOY-
ED BY ME.

Hartford, March 12, [18]56

[Signed] SAML COLT."

(Wilson 75)

Throughout the period that conforms most closely to the second and third phases of Hank Morgan's career with Samuel Colt, there was also a definite shift taking place in the orientation of the means of production. Again, Hank Morgan's career conforms very closely to this economic change in the last decades of the nineteenth century, just as his career was representative of the earlier transition from a predominantly rural economy to an urban-industrial one. Spindler--following Marx--characterizes this change as being a shift from a production-oriented economy to a consumption-oriented one⁵ (6). What happens in the course of this transition is simply that the production of capital goods--things like

heavy machinery, factory buildings, railroad stock, etc.--gradually slows down, and the production of goods for consumer consumption gradually comes to dominate the industrial economy. The thing that causes this shift is that gradually, and over a period of time in the production-oriented phase, capital accumulates and is reinvested in upgrading the means of production. In turn, as the means of production--in the aforementioned shapes of heavy machinery, factory buildings, railroad stock, etc.--become increasingly efficient and established, new outlets must be found if the industrial economy is to continue its growth. The outlets become the modern consumer. It is important to bear in mind that these two phases are tendencies, rather than distinctly different periods--thus, the "creation" of the consumer in the consumption-oriented phase necessitates the means of production in order to produce commodities for the consumer; this, in turn, occasions the manufacture of production-oriented machinery such as packaging equipment. This is another dialectical relationship.

The move into the consumption-oriented phase also heralds the refinement of automation in the productive means. This is what Marx is referring to in his Preface to Capital where he speaks of ". . . two great and essentially different periods of economic history: the period of manufacture proper, based on the division of manual labour," and "the period of modern industry based on machinery" (1: 5). Where the labourer worked with his own tools in the production-oriented phase, these tools are increasingly appropriated by the machines in the consumption-oriented phase. The tools become appendages of machines. Again, Hank Morgan's

place of employment is an appropriate early example of just this tendency. At first, each gunsmith was responsible for the manufacture of an individual revolver. But, in Samuel Colt's own words, by 1854, his factory is automated

"Entirely, except [for] taking the burr off and passing the parts from one machine to another, and finishing and assembling the work." (qtd. in Wilson 66)

In fact, Hank Morgan's overall career with Colt is a perfect mirror of the change in orientation from production to consumption at both levels of the economic base. In the first part of his career with the Colt Manufacturing Company, the Yankee is a "make[r]" of "everything-- guns, revolvers, cannon, boilers, engines, all sorts of labor-saving machinery" (4). The things that Hank Morgan makes are precisely the kind of items that are manufactured during the early production-oriented phase of the American economy, when the means of production are first becoming established in the nation.

It is of course possible to take issue with the contention that items like "guns" and "revolvers" play a significant part in the production-oriented phase of economic growth, since they would appear to be items meant for consumer consumption. This is where the dialectical relationship between the two economic phases comes usefully into play. For, as early as 1843, the Colt plant was producing revolvers that were consumption-oriented in design (Wilson 46). Colt's model "Pocket Pistol," for instance, had an attractive etched cylinder engraving of a stage-coach being held up on the frontier. This revolver was designed to appeal

specifically to the traveller. His "Navy Pistol" model, on the other hand, depicted on its cylinder a stirring engraving of Admiral Perry's lake victory over the British in the War of 1812. This model was intended to appeal to the United States Navy (Wilson 50). Samuel Colt was practicing market specialization--something that is usually considered a key feature of the consumption-oriented phase of economic growth--in what was really the production-oriented phase of the American economy.

But in another sense, the "revolvers" that the Yankee makes early in his career with Colt are very much items that belong to the production-oriented phase of the nineteenth-century American economy. For, as far as use is concerned, Colt's pistols are famed for being "the guns that won the West." Land is a form of capital--and thus a component of the forces of production--and Samuel Colt's six-shooters made it possible for Americans to appropriate the frontier land occupied by the Amerindians. In this very practical sense, the "guns" and "revolvers" that the Yankee makes early in his career are as essential to the production-oriented stage of the economy as the "boilers" and "engines" that he also makes (4). Dialectically speaking, it is the use of the object that determines the object's form as either a production-oriented item or a consumption-oriented commodity.

In the first phase of his job with Colt, the Yankee is also something of an inventor. He brags to Twain that he can "invent" "anything in the world" (4). Now this is exactly the kind of skill that is in great demand at places like the Colt factory in the early, production-oriented phase of the economy. Writing about the contributions that Hank Morgan's

employer bequeathed to the modern world, Kennett and Anderson could very well be thinking of a man just like the Yankee when they note that

Samuel Colt's plant at Hartford was an especially fertile seedbed [of technological innovation]. One of his workmen, Christian Spencer, went on to develop the automatic turret lathe. Another, Charles Billings, perfected the technique of drop forging. In the 1850s Francis Pratt and Amos Whitney met in the Hartford plant, became friends and in 1860 went into business for themselves. Pratt & Whitney became a leading producer of machine tools and precision instruments. They played a critical role in the standardization of weights and measures. In the 1880s they built the Hollerith tabulating machine, the ancestor of the modern computer. (89)

So all in all, it should be quite apparent that Hank Morgan is, in his combined position as a maker-cum-inventor, highly representative of the state of the means of production in America at the close of the century. And just as this first part of his career at Colt corresponds--both in terms of what he works on, and the position that he occupies--to the production-oriented phase of the American economy, so the second phase of his career with Colt corresponds to the consumption-oriented stage of the economy. However, there is a difference, for it is at first not readily apparent that Hank Morgan works on anything in his later career as a "head superintendent" (4). His title begins to clarify his general position in the means of production--but what is it that he makes?

It is significant, in relation to this question, that the Yankee

refers to his first position at the Colt factory as his "real" trade (4). This is, it will be recalled, the point in his life where he is a maker and an inventor, and the point where the tools are still in the worker's hands. Now one's "real" trade is the trade that one is happiest in, and this is what is suggested by the Yankee's reference to his position as a maker and inventor as being his "real trade" (4). The implication, in turn, is that Hank Morgan felt uncomfortable and out of place--or alienated--both in his earlier, agrarian vocation and in his later position as a head superintendent. And from this, it may be concluded that, for most of his nineteenth-century career, Hank Morgan is alienated from what he does in order to exist.

This feeling of alienation, or estrangement from most of his work is a phenomenon that the Yankee shares with a large number of his nineteenth-century contemporaries. And this should not be surprising, for in the simplest sense of the term "alienation"--that of a distanced homelessness--the American has always been an isolate. The simple fact that most of the earliest settlers were exiles and expatriates confirms the validity of such a "reading" of the American character. Arriving in the New World, these exiles brought with them an "aura" of dislocatedness, a distinct restlessness, that continued to resonate in the American character long after the nation was settled from coast to coast.⁶

Reinforcing this deep-seated longing for ever-new horizons, it is also a fact that Americans have historically always been largely inclined towards capitalism in their dealings with nature and each other. Now "capital," as Spindler--and others before him--have pointed out,

tends to obey a certain "imperative of accumulation" (2). Another way of saying this is to say that capital is restless and fecund: as Benjamin Franklin was fond of saying, "Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on" (232). There is, then, a remarkably symmetrical closeness of fit between capital's accumulative imperative and the insistent lure of horizons ever-new that is so much a part of the American character. Mutually interacting and reciprocally reinforcing each other, these two orientations have produced a resonant echo of persistent alienation in the American psyche. This is something that has been a part of the American character from the beginning.

Yet since capitalism is "aboriginally" speaking an integral aspect of the American experience, so also is the kind of alienation that is characteristic of all labour in capitalist productive relationships. As Marx wrote, in capitalist production,

. . . the product of the labourer is incessantly converted, not only into commodities, but into capital. . . . The labourer therefore constantly produces material, objective wealth, but in the form of capital, of an alien power that dominates and exploits him; and the capitalist as constantly produces labour-power, but in the form of a subjective source of wealth, separated from the objects in and by which it can alone be realised; in short he produces the labourer, but as a wage-labourer. This incessant reproduction . . . is the sine qua non of capitalist production. (Capital 1: 571)

This fourfold alienation of the labourer--from the object of work, the labour process, other men, and himself⁷--is something that grows ever deeper in the Yankee's time. Such an increase in the intensity of alienation may constructively be explored in the context of three aspects of the forces of production, as these, in turn, interacted with productive relations in America at the end of the century. The three aspects of the forces of production are land, capital, and the machinery of production. In a world where utility increasingly determines the form that all things take, these three aspects are inextricably related to productive relationships wherein men have become things. What I mean by this will become more apparent over the next few paragraphs.

First, the land itself is increasingly parcelled out and divided up into private property. The "great frontier" becomes rationalized and reduced to the status of a thing, a commodity. Through this staking-out process--which in turn leads to exploitation in the form of mining, rental, etc.--it becomes reduced to the status of a thing, a mere means for generating capital in the hands of the owners of the means of production. Originally, this was the process of homesteading. But as the forces of production grew, the land was increasingly taken out of the hands of the settlers, coming to rest instead in the hands of a few, immensely wealthy capitalists. From a purely hypothetical standpoint, it may have been just this process that drove Hank Morgan from his early rural milieu to the city of Hartford. Whether this is the case or not, he is, in this move, representative of the effects of this appropriation as something that was actually taking place in America toward the end of the

nineteenth century. This process of land-grabbing represents the end of the Jeffersonian dream of a "land of innocence, a veritable garden of Eden" where America would fulfill its destiny (Carroll and Noble 167). The effect of this is an intensification of an already-existing state of individual alienation, since a man--especially a petty-bourgeois man like Hank Morgan--who is without land is a dispossessed man. He is divorced from the very means of his life.

Secondly, there is what is happening to capital through the last few decades of Hank Morgan's century in America. It becomes, as suggested above by what was happening to the land itself, concentrated in the hands of a few select and powerful men. Capital, in all its diverse, protean forms--land, money, gold, stocks, labour itself--is accumulating. Samuel Colt is a perfect personification of this tendency. As Wilson points out, his income for the years 1861 and 1862 was in excess of \$1,000,000 per year (111). Of course, in comparison to other American robber barons who acquired their fortunes during this period--men like Gustavus Swift, Henry Havemeyer, John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie (Carroll and Noble 260-61)--Samuel Colt's earnings are almost paltry. It is no exaggeration to say that America in Hank Morgan's time was becoming a polarised society of two classes--the possessors, and the dispossessed.⁸ Admittedly many of the workers who--again, like Hank Morgan--made the move from town to city did improve their means of subsistence--at least quantitatively. But for increasing numbers of men like the Yankee in the last decades of the century, disappointment and penury was often the most significant recompense that they received for their labours. Working at tedious, mon-

otonous jobs, and frequently paying exorbitant rents for terribly cramped urban lodgings, they seldom had much to show for a week of labour that could extend to seventy-two hours or more. The effect of this, too, is an increasing intensification of alienation.

Perhaps the most revealing contributor to the general increase in the intensity of alienation at this time is found in what was happening in the realm of the machinery of production qua machinery. As the means of production gradually became established in the last few decades of the century, specialization began to distinguish the industrial economy. At the Colt factory--to offer a general example of what is meant by specialization here--Hank Morgan has learned to make a whole constellation of often-intricate mechanisms. He refers to these early in a Connecticut Yankee as "guns, revolvers, cannon, boilers, engines, all sorts of labor-saving machinery" (4). In fact, once again, the Colt factory can be used as an absolute paradigm of the drift of the American economy in the nineteenth century. As far as specialization of the means of production is concerned, the Colt Manufacturing Company was the first mass-production, assembly-line type of operation in the United States to use standardized, interchangeable parts in manufacturing. Admittedly another ingenious Connecticut Yankee--a clockmaker named Eli Terry--developed a system of mass production based on interchangeable parts for clocks in 1808, but he did not utilize the assembly-line (Carroll and Noble 148).

Now just as Hank Morgan has "a couple of thousand men" working under him at the Colt plant (4), so the effect of this specialization

of machines is an ever-increasing division of the labour process. More and more--as this divided state of labour tends to become the rule, instead of the exception--the individual worker performs meaningless tasks with uniform parts on a continuous assembly line. The labourer, his tools appropriated by a machine, exists to serve the machine that has taken his tools from him. Here again, the cumulative effect is an increase in the fourfold alienation of men from the object of their work, the labour process, themselves, and other men.

Emerson perceptively wrote, apropos of this drift in the direction of the machinery of production that, ultimately, "[t]he weaver becomes a web, the machinist a machine" (qtd. in Lewis 68). This is a further effect of mechanical specialization at a very highly developed level. Marx wrote of this machine-related process of estrangement in 1857 that

Labour has become here [in the United States], not only categorially but really, a means of creating wealth in general and has no longer coalesced with the individual in one particular manner. This state of affairs has found its highest development in the most modern of bourgeois societies, the United States. It is only here that the abstraction of the category "labour," "labour in general," labour sans phrase . . . becomes realised in practice. (qtd. in McLellan 170)

Very simply put, Marx's point here is that the labourer, used more and more as a means to create wealth, and progressively alienated from the reality of his situation, becomes the equivalent of capital. He

becomes a thing, "belonging" more to the realm of productive forces than to the area of productive relationships. But this process of reification--or "thingification"--is not just due to the increasing specialization of the means of production. It is also something that is implicit from the beginning in the way in which capitalism transforms productive human relationships into economic, laissez faire exchange relationships. Georg Lukács writes of this process of reification that

Just as the capitalist system continuously produces and reproduces itself economically on higher and higher levels, the structure of reification progressively sinks more deeply, more fatefully and more definitively into the consciousness of man. (93)

What transpires at a superstructural level--in the realm of ideas, beliefs, and institutions--transpires as if in a camera obscura precisely because social relationships between men have become transformed by capitalism into relations between things. As Lukács writes, "The social relation is consummated in the relation of a thing, of money, to itself . . . we see here only form without content" (94). The historically unprecedented specialization of the means of production in America at the end of the nineteenth century serves to exacerbate this invisible transformation of men into things. And, since relations between men thus appear in a fantastic way as relations between things, the capitalist can best generate still more capital by relating to people as what they have become--things. Rational calculation becomes the means whereby the labourer is objectified and instrumentalized into a reified thing

in the means of production. All of this transpires in the realm of consciousness, but it is very much an effect of--and inextricably related to--developments in the real, material base of productive forces and relationships.

In light of this exploration of alienation and reification, it is now quite easy to answer the question asked earlier concerning just what it is that Hank Morgan makes in his career as a head superintendent at the Colt factory. In a word, his raw material is mèn, and a crucial part of his job is to assist in the efficient transformation of men into things, or integers in the vast and constantly expanding machinery of production that characterizes the Colt plant at the end of the nineteenth century. The Yankee does "assist"--rather than initiate--this transformation, because this process of alienation and reification is already well underway when he begins his career as a head superintendent.

Alienation-exacerbating specialization is also something that is highly characteristic of the shift from a production- to a consumption-oriented economy. Having seen what it is that Hank Morgan makes in the second half of his career with Colt, it still remains to explore just what it is that he does in his position as a head superintendent there. Considering specialization from the standpoint of the diversification that accompanies it does much to clarify what it is that the Yankee does at Colt.

This diversification is the result of a growing need on the part of capitalist manufacturers to cater to--and sometimes to create, as well--a perceived need for commodities on the part of the consumer.

Items like Colt's "Navy" and "Pocket" pistols become in a sense necessary in the consumption-oriented phase of the economy because less and less productive machinery is devoted to reproducing itself, as it did in the production-oriented phase. And as a result of the diversification of the means of production that is required in order to manufacture consumer commodities--things like two styles of revolver, where there was only one before--the owners of the means of production find it more and more difficult to oversee the totality of their vast operations. Accordingly, these owners--men like Samuel Colt--have to delegate certain responsibilities to others. In the process of doing this, a new position in the relationships of production comes into being. This position is an intermediary one, one that exists in a place that is between the owner of the means of production and his labourers. Neither wholly a capitalist, nor wholly a labourer, the man that occupies this position lacks "definition," or a firm sense of who he is.

Hank Morgan, in his role as a head superintendent at the Colt plant, is very representative of this new position. And since it is a position that only becomes possible when productive conditions have reached a certain definite stage of development at a specific point in history, Hank Morgan's position is also a unique one. The Yankee is a new type of man and, since his type is based on a productive position that is neither that of the capitalist or the labourer, it can be anticipated that his character will reflect such indefiniteness, or inconsistency. As we have seen, the Yankee is a contradictory sort of man, and the source of his contradictoriness is found here, in the amorphous white-

collar position that he occupies in the means of production at the Colt Manufacturing Company.

It has been said that if, in the production-oriented phase, the problem is the hardness of the material worked on, then in the consumption-oriented phase, the problem is the hardness--or intractibility--of men. Such stubborn intractability is precisely what Hank Morgan must break down in the men at the Colt factory, in order to get them to produce. This is what the Yankee does in his position as a head superintendent. Ideally, the labourer should be untrained and malleable even before he starts to work "under" Hank Morgan. Samuel Colt knew the importance of this; as he once said, "Do not bring me a man that knows anything, if you want me to teach him anything" (qtd. in Wilson 69).

At the same time, since Hank Morgan--as a head superintendent--is dealing with men that are alienated, it is certainly reasonable to expect that he will encounter considerable resistance in his efforts to mould the men into efficient producers. And such resistance is very much a part of the Yankee's story concerning what it was that he did prior to his curious fall into the Dark Ages. This is what Hank Morgan tells Mark Twain about the event that sent him back into the medieval world:

Well, a man like that [Morgan is speaking of himself], is a man that is full of fight--that goes without saying. With a couple of thousand rough men under one, one has plenty of that sort of amusement [i.e., fight, or resistance]. I had, anyway. At last I met my match, and I got my dose. It was during a misunderstanding conducted with crowbars with a

fellow we used to call Hercules. He laid me out with a crusher alongside the head that made everything crack, and seemed to spring every joint in my skull and make it overlap its neighbor. Then the world went out in darkness, and I didn't feel anything more, and didn't know anything at all--at least for a while. (4-5)

Metaphorically, the name "Hercules" is appropriate in this passage since in myth, Hercules was the god of "victory and commercial enterprise" who was compelled to undergo the famous Twelve Labours (Harvey 204). But more importantly, considering A Connecticut Yankee as a potentially realistic novel, Hercules in the work can also be seen as just what the Yankee says he is--one of the "couple of thousand rough men" that are "under" him at the Colt plant (4). Resisting Hank Morgan's efforts to objectify and instrumentalize him as a mere component in the productive apparatus, "Hercules" lashes out at his superior with a tool. Admittedly, while this constitutes only an "isolated" incident between two individuals, one way of seeing the conflict is to consider it as a struggle between labour and management. With such a reading, it is possible then to say that the event that sends Hank Morgan back into the Middle Ages is a paradigm of the class struggle. It is this struggle that makes the Yankee's story possible.⁹

Having explored the material basis of Hank Morgan's nineteenth-century existence, the question now becomes one of the extent to which this material base is reflected--as in a camera obscura--in what the Yankee does in the Middle Ages of his tale. And if it is true that the material

base determines the superstructure, then beneath all the words that constitute The Tale of the Lost Land, Hank Morgan will be very busy with a specific, determined task in Arthur's Britain. This task will be to reproduce in the Middle Ages the means of production as he knew them--and was shaped by them--in nineteenth-century America.

Chapter Three

The Yankee in the Dark Ages

As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production.

(Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, qtd. in McLellan 139)

As the above quotation suggests, the purpose of this chapter is to explore both what Hank Morgan does in the Dark Ages, and how he does what he does while he is there. When I say "how" he does what he does, I do not mean how he justifies his actions on the basis of his beliefs, values, and opinions. I mean simply the way in which the Yankee goes about getting things done in the Dark Ages, or his method.

Historical materialism makes it possible to predict two things about the Yankee's medieval activities. First, since labour, as Marx wrote, "is an eternal nature-imposed necessity, without which there can be no material exchanges between man and Nature, and therefore no life" (Capital 1: 42-3), it can be confidently anticipated that the Yankee's "occupation" in the Dark Ages will be to recapitulate therein the means of production as he knew them--and was shaped by them--in America at the

end of the nineteenth century. Secondly, since how men produce is determined by their place in the means of production, it can be expected that the way in which Hank Morgan works in the Dark Ages will be the same as the way in which he worked at the Colt factory.

Just before the Yankee enters the medieval world, he is the head superintendent at the Colt arms factory. Since this is the case, the skills that he employed in that position will be paramount in determining both what he does and how he does what he does in the Dark Ages. While this must be the case, it should be remembered that Hank Morgan has only arrived at the position of head superintendent as a direct consequence of his previous occupations. Accordingly, it can be anticipated that his careers as a combination of blacksmith, horse-doctor, and apprentice mechanic-inventor will also influence Hank Morgan's activities in the Middle Ages, albeit to a lesser degree.

There is, however, a problem here. The problem is that the medieval means of production are by no means "prepared" for the Yankee as a head superintendent. He finds himself in a primitive world that is organized according to customary feudal principles. Clearly, Hank Morgan cannot simply resume his accustomed role as a manager in this archaic world. If he is to proceed to establish the American means of production as he knew them in the Middle Ages, he will have to be in a position where he has some authority to act. Consistent with his very "practical" nature (4, 17), the Yankee sets out to obtain a medieval position of authority quite early in his tale. The means by which he accomplishes this are of considerable interest because of the extent to which they reflect his

triune nineteenth-century career. They are also worth considering due to the consistency with which he resorts to them throughout his stay in the medieval world.

One of the important things that the Yankee learned as a result of his move from a rural, agrarian occupation to the urban world of the Colt factory was what Karl Mannheim called "perspective" in his work Ideology and Utopia. Writing in general of the change in perspective that comes about as a result of just the move that Hank Morgan made, Mannheim notes that

For the son of a peasant who has grown up within the narrow confines of his village and spends his whole life in the place of his birth, the mode of thinking and speaking characteristic of that village is something that he takes entirely for granted. But for the country lad who goes to the city and adapts himself gradually to city life, the rural mode of living and thinking ceases to be something taken for granted. He has won a certain detachment from it, and he distinguishes now, perhaps quite consciously, between "rural" and "urban" modes of thought This type of knowledge presupposes a more detached perspective. (281-2)

The effect of this change in perspective as far as Hank Morgan is concerned, is that he is conscious of the fact that people do think in different ways, depending on their particular historical and social milieu. Predictably, this insight--which is a consequence of an early career change for the Yankee--is something that he demonstrates equally

early in his tale. On first arriving at Camelot, he stands apart and watches the nobility at Arthur's Court very closely.¹ After doing this, and after exchanging a few words with his new friend Clarence, Hank Morgan comes to a conclusion concerning the medieval people:

But finally it occurred to me . . . that these animals didn't reason; that they never put this and that together; that all their talk showed that they didn't know a discrepancy when they saw it. (40)

This is a very astute and, for the most part, correct insight into the structure of medieval "perspective" on Hank Morgan's part. His realization that the medieval people are deficient in their ability to reason instrumentally is also precisely the sort of perspectivist insight that could only occur to a man who--like the Yankee--had himself been exposed to differing points of view.

Once the Yankee has had this insight into the medieval mind, his own thinking begins to run in familiar, habitual grooves. He has learned from Clarence that he is to be burned at the stake as a sorcerer. Understandably, his first instinct is self-preservation: "'What shall I do; what can I say, to gain a little time?'" he asks himself (40). His first response to the danger is a practical response, combining both theory and practice, "doing," and "saying." And the critical factor--here, as on the assembly line at the Colt plant--is "time" (40). It is not long before the practical, time-conscious Yankee comes up with a plan:

You see, it was the eclipse. It came to my mind, in the nick of time, how Columbus, or Cortez, or one of those

people, played an eclipse as a saving trump once, on some savages, and I saw my chance. I could play it myself, now; and it wouldn't be any plagiarism, either, because I should get it in nearly a thousand years ahead of those parties.

(40)

As it turns out, Hank Morgan's "chance" is to draw a correspondence between his own will and the natural forces represented by the eclipse. He instructs Clarence to

"Go back and tell the king that . . . I will smother the whole world in the dead blackness of midnight; I will blot out the sun, and he shall never shine again; the fruits of the earth shall rot for lack of light and warmth, and the peoples of the earth shall famish and die, to the last man!" (42)

The forecasted day of the eclipse arrives and the king, no doubt taking the Yankee's histrionics with a grain of salt, has him unceremoniously carted out to the stake. In the meantime, Hank Morgan has been quite preoccupied with his own thoughts, and he has very practically decided that there is more to be got from the eclipse than just the saving of his skin:

I said to myself that my eclipse would be sure to save me, and make me the greatest man in the kingdom besides
I was even impatient for tomorrow to come [this is just before he is introduced to the stake], I so wanted to gather-in that great triumph and be the centre of all the

nation's wonder and reverence. Besides, in a business way it would be the making of me; I knew that. (44-5)

Then, on the next day, in a dramatic moment, as "[t]he rim of black spread slowly into the sun's disk" (46), the Yankee steps up to bat:

. . . the assemblage and the priest stared into the sky motionless. I knew that this gaze would be turned on me, next. When it was, I was ready. I was in one of the most grand attitudes I ever struck, with my arm stretched up, pointing to the sun. It was a noble effect. You could see the shudder sweep the mass like a wave. (47)

The medieval people are extremely frightened, and there are "appealing hands" and "supplications" everywhere (48). Arthur is so terrified that he blurts out to the Yankee that he can "'Name any terms . . . even to the halving of my kingdom,'" if only Hank Morgan will "'spare the sun'" (48). The Yankee, being a reasonable man, then relents, and finally "allows" the sun to return to its accustomed course. But in the process of executing this act of mercy, he also takes advantage of the offer that Arthur has made to name "any terms" (48). This is what Hank Morgan asks for, after having generously been offered half of Arthur's kingdom:

"These are the terms, to wit: you shall remain king over all your dominions, and receive all the glories and honors that belong to the kingship; but you shall appoint me your perpetual minister and executive, and give me for my ser-

vices one per cent of such actual increase of revenue over and above its present amount as I may succeed in creating for the state. If I can't live on that, I shan't ask anybody to give me a lift. Is it satisfactory?" (48)

King Arthur, being in no position to bargain--and probably not wanting to do so with a man capable of effecting the medieval equivalent of a modern nuclear winter--agrees wholeheartedly to the Yankee's modest demands. The result of all this is, as Hank Morgan observes shortly after the event, that he has become "the second personage in the kingdom, as far as political power and authority were concerned . . ." (52). Or, to use a figure of speech that is wholly appropriate in reference to the very bourgeois Yankee, he "has arrived."

While the eclipse-episode does not represent the final height of the Yankee's authoritarian power in the Dark Ages, there is more than enough in the episode to get a very clear picture of Hank Morgan's modus operandi--how he goes about getting things done. True to what the hypothesis that consciousness is determined largely by one's means of subsistence would predict, everything that Hank Morgan does in the eclipse-episode reflects skills that he developed while working for Samuel Colt.

First, there is the structure of the Yankee's thought. His very earliest behaviour in the Middle Ages--the way in which he observes and then evaluates the medieval people--displays a strongly empirical orientation to the "objective" world. This is even more evident in the concise way in which the Yankee sums up the medieval character with the

succinct conclusion that "these animals [don't] reason; that they never put this and that together" (40). No doubt the fact that this sort of thinking is very much a product of socially-conditioned habit is something that does not readily occur even to a modern reader. If it does not, this can only be for the reason that the Yankee's way of thinking is essentially a modern--and therefore familiar--form of thought.

Such an empirical approach presupposes a certain specific attitude toward nature and other men. It is an attitude that seeks, above all else, to determine the use-value of any situation. In Hank Morgan's case, this is precisely the sort of perspective that was honed by his occupations as an apprentice-mechanic and head superintendent at the Colt factory. In the former position, the problem confronting the worker is the hardness of the material. This hardness is penetrated by a consciousness that, like Hank Morgan's, observes the situation, isolates the problem, and then finds a theoretical solution that acts as a predicate to action.

This empirical orientation is equally of service to the Yankee in his later career as a head superintendent, where the problem is the obduracy of men. Invariably at this consumption-oriented stage of development, the effective manager of men must be able to isolate any human problem that presents an obstacle to the smooth continuity of efficient production. The team of production workers must be carefully scrutinized, the problematic individuals must be identified and isolated, and then an approach, or plan must be developed to deal with the problem in practice. With such an orientation, whether the "problem" is men or

materials, something must be done to correct the anomaly in a useful way.

In the eclipse-episode, the efficient Yankee wastes no time whatsoever in applying his empirical observation about the structure of medieval thought in a useful way. Since the Yankee knows that Arthur and his subjects "never put this and that together" (40), he comes up with what he calls a "plan" (56) that will "put this and that together" for the medieval people. This "plan" is realised in the eclipse-episode, where Hank Morgan draws an absolute correspondence between his own will and the forces of nature for the medieval people. Working with his observation that Arthur and his subjects are lacking in the facility of instrumental reason, he provides them with a powerful paradigm of this capability in himself. It works because what the Yankee does in the eclipse-episode is a sort of absolute archetype of the paradigm of lordship to which the medieval mind is habituated: even nature is in "agreement" with Hank Morgan's claim to authority, just as it equally appeared to be to the "savages" that were duped by Columbus or Cortez in their eclipse-episodes.

Neither is it a coincidence that the Yankee's practice in the eclipse-episode recapitulates the "primal," or archetypal act of labour; for what is "labour" if it is not--above all else--the ability to exercise one's will on nature? Whether the "nature" in question is "raw," inconscient material nature, or human nature; the hardness of material or the stubbornness of men, the Yankee attains to mythic proportions in his eclipse-episode.

Consistent with his empirical bent of thought, the eclipse-episode

also presupposes--as far as the Yankee is concerned--that the actualization of theory in practice will yield up a very concrete use-value. In other words, his behaviour is goal-directed. Certainly, the episode saves his life. But it also serves the very practical end of making him the "second personage in the kingdom, as far as political power and authority" are concerned (52). Just as with his career at the Colt factory, utility is the summum bonum of all theory for Hank Morgan. Perhaps nowhere is this fact made more transparent to the reader than in the Yankee's thoroughly bourgeois comment, apropos of the results that he expects from his eclipse-episode, that "Besides, in a business way it would be the making of me; I knew that" (45). In a preliminary summary, then, it is possible to say that Hank Morgan's thinking--the structure of his thought--exhibits its own particular perspective, just as does the thought of the medieval people. The Yankee's thought, conditioned as it must be by the means by which he subsists, is instrumental, rational, empirical, and practice-oriented.

One thing that is also impossible to miss in the eclipse-episode is Hank Morgan's obvious flair for the dramatic. At the height of the eclipse, he observes that he "was in one of the most grand attitudes [he] ever struck, with [his] arm stretched up, pointing to the sun" (47). "It was," the Yankee reflects, "a noble effect" (47). Predictably, Hank Morgan's dramatic abilities--his consciousness of the importance of what he repeatedly calls his "effect[s]" (47)--also reflect his positions in the nineteenth-century means of production. Considered as a means to the Yankee's desired end of "authority" (52), this concern

with just the right "effect" is entirely appropriate. Richard Sennett, in his absorbing work Authority, writes that "The work of authority has a goal: to convert power into images of strength" (165). This is what the Yankee's dramatic "effects" do for him in the eclipse-episode and several other places in his story. Not only does he appear to be strong because he can command the brute, unconscious powers of nature, as these powers are personified in the sun; he is also the image of strength because he is suitably dramatic and impressive in what he does. Hank Morgan has style, and charisma.

It is easy to see how the Yankee's flair for the dramatic "effect" derives from what he does at the Colt factory. In his role as an apprentice mechanic-cum-inventor, one of his central responsibilities is to find ostensibly "magical" solutions to difficult mechanical problems. "Why," the ingenious Yankee boasts to Twain,

. . . I could make anything a body wanted--anything in the world, it didn't make any difference what; and if there wasn't any quick, new-fangled way to make a thing, I could invent one--and do it as easy as rolling off a log.. (4)

Like Thomas Alva Edison--who not coincidentally was known as the "Wizard of Menlo Park"--much of the Yankee's success as a mechanic-inventor depends on showmanship, or mystification. In fact, this is a trait that he shares with another technological "wizard," Sam Colt. R.L. Wilson describes how the famous inventor of the gun that won the West got his start:

To finance further research and development, Colt embarked

on a novel four-year career as a showman, billing himself as "Dr. Coult of Calcutta," and he gave lectures on laughing gas in towns and cities throughout the United States and Canada. . . .

The "laughing-gas" years served not only for fund-raising, but launched Colt's celebrated career as a pioneer Madison Avenue-style pitchman. "Dr. Coult" indulged in advertising, public speaking, and public relations, and he was so convincing that his skills were pressed into service to cure an apparent cholera epidemic on board a Mississippi river boat. (4)

As Wilson suggests with his example of Sam Colt's "effects" on the river boat, if mystification is a desirable trait for a mechanic-inventor, then it is even more valuable when the object of one's work is men. Similarly, Hank Morgan is the "wizard" of Hartford Connecticut early on in his career, and he then transfers this skill into his work on men when he becomes head superintendent at the Colt plant.

In fact, Hank Morgan is such a capable actor--and such a canny judge of men--that in the eclipse-episode, he does not even have to ask for the authority that he is after. For it is King Arthur who, terrified and wholly taken in by the Yankee's "effects," begs him to "'Name any terms . . .'" (48). The Yankee has the king just where he wants him. But he has by no means finished using the king and, in the terms that he dictates, the Yankee continues to rely on skills that he developed at Colt. There is, for instance, the admirable modesty that

seems to be so much a part of the Yankee's terms. He is in a position where he can have half of Great Britain. Despite his powerful position, however, he tells Arthur that he--Arthur, that is--"shall remain king . . . and [continue to] receive all the glories and honors that belong to the kingship" (48). Hank Morgan wants only to provide "services" to the state (48). Such modesty makes it very difficult to dislike the Connecticut Yankee. In fact, his unassuming demands tend to make him a very likeable character.

But again, Hank Morgan's very "likeability" is also a deliberate instrument, and something that he has assuredly developed in the course of working for Samuel Colt. Speaking of the critical importance of such likeability for the modern manager or industrial superintendent, A.N. Welsh observes in his work The Skills of Management that

As a manager you will secure cooperation and understanding best if people like you. If they do not like you, or there is a tendency not to like you, there will be a tension which will cause a filtering of anything which you say to them and, in many cases rejection. It follows that you must have a pleasant speaking manner and say things in a likeable way.

(26)

In a word, Sam Colt's men must like Hank Morgan if they are to obey him and produce efficiently in their jobs. And of course, above all else, an apprentice mechanic--and therefore necessarily a man who must aspire to greater things--must demonstrate that he is likeable, and easy to get along with.

Something that also becomes apparent in the Yankee's very reasonable iteration of terms is his highly developed skills as a rhetorician. Notice, for instance, how he finishes off his list of demands with a question, thus politely implying that King Arthur has some choice in the matter: "'Is it satisfactory?'" he asks the king (49). In his book The Rhetoric of Doubtful Authority, Ralph Flores writes of the questioning illusion of doubtful authority that

As a pointing, auctoritas is semiotic, its discourse ambiguously giving and needing, like a question, energeia, or the power of language traditionally designated . . . as "rhetorical." (23)

Hank Morgan "gives" his list of demands to the king, and then solicits approval for them from the king with a question. This is exactly the rhetoric of ambiguous authority that Flores points to as giving and needing at the same time. However, practically considered, the question is a rhetorical trick, since Arthur really has no say in the matter at all. He must agree to the Yankee's terms. Unless--that is--he wants to be held personally responsible for the end of the world. Now, because Hank Morgan knows exactly how the medieval people think, he also knows that if he tells them that he can blot out the sun and end the world, they will believe him. They will, because, as the Yankee has observed, the medieval citizenry "didn't know a discrepancy when they saw it" (40). Henry Adams spoke the utter truth when he observed that the "new American" "must be a sort of God compared with any former creation of nature" (496).

The Yankee's rhetorical skills are also abilities that would have been finely honed in his career at Colt. As an apprentice-mechanic, he must utilize words as tools to project just the right image of himself. He must appear "aggressive"--but at the same time, he must not come across as obnoxious and over-bearing. He must appear to be very involved with his labours, but not so completely involved that he cannot spare the time to jest with his peers, the other "boys." And of course in his later position as head superintendent, words are the Yankee's most important tools for combating the recalcitrance of the men that are under him.

The means that Hank Morgan employs to obtain a position of authority in the Dark Ages remain remarkably consistent throughout his story. The very instrumental and utilitarian way in which he responds to events can be summed up in three simple steps that characterize the Yankee's "means":

- (i) a problem--considered as such--presents itself to Hank Morgan;
- (ii) he devises a "plan" that will capitalize on the problem--i.e., turn the situation to his advantage;
- (iii) he puts his "plan" into practice, using "effects" to achieve the desired ends.

His fidelity to these means can be demonstrated by considering the "tower-episode" (62) that follows shortly after the eclipse-episode. In the tower-episode, Hank Morgan learns from his friend Clarence that there is a "problem." This is how the Yankee describes the problem:

Next, Clarence found out that old Merlin was making himself busy on the sly, among those people. He was spreading a report that I was a humbug, and that the reason I didn't accomodate the people with a miracle was because I couldn't.

I saw that I must do something. (56)

The problem here is that the Yankee's authority is being threatened by Merlin. Acting predictably, Hank Morgan declares his reaction to the perceived threat: "I presently thought out a plan," he says (56). This represents the beginning of the methodical Yankee's stage two, where he devises a "plan." The completion of stage two--which discloses how he will turn the situation to his advantage with his plan--immediately follows:

Then I gave public notice by herald and trumpet that I should be busy with affairs of state for a fortnight, but about the end of that time I would take a moment's leisure and blow up Merlin's ancient stone tower by fires from heaven. . . .

Furthermore, I would perform but this one miracle at this time, and no more; if it failed to satisfy, and any murmured, I would turn the murmurers into horses, and make them useful. (56)

The jocularity of the Yankee's threat that he will "turn the murderers" into "horses" conceals the more instrumental purpose that is behind his "miracle" (56), which is to gain more authority by silencing any doubts that might remain as to his abilities after the eclipse-episode. For, as he has said just prior to announcing this new plan,

the people, the "multitudes" have begun to "agitate for another miracle" (55). Remaining entirely consistent with the method that was a part of the eclipse-episode, the Yankee then initiates stage three: he puts his "plan" into practice, once again employing his famous "effects":

I made about three passes in the air, and then there was an awful crash and that old tower leaped into the sky in chunks, along with a vast volcanic fountain of fire that turned night to noonday and showed a thousand acres of human beings groveling on the ground in a general collapse of consternation. (59)

Hank Morgan's assessment of the spectacle is that it was an "effective" miracle (59). Now not only does the tower-episode serve the end of giving the Yankee more authority by silencing any doubts as to his power--it also serves invaluablely to eliminate the competition. Merlin is the competition to Hank Morgan because like the Yankee, the magician is something of a mystifier and an actor. He also has King Arthur's confidence; something that the Yankee is very interested in obtaining as well. Morgan has eliminated the competition in the tower-episode, for as he observes after the dust has settled, "Merlin's stock was flat" (59). As was the case with the eclipse-episode, the tower-episode has a very concrete long- and short-term use value for Hank Morgan--he gets the most that he can out of the situation. And this should not be surprising for, again, this is an approach to things that would have had a high priority at the Colt factory. The Yankee is something of an efficiency expert, a man who knows how to get an optimum amount of

utility out of men and things before discarding them.

The Yankee's method in the tower-episode is remarkably consistent with his means in the eclipse-episode. As was the case with the latter, Hank Morgan gives Merlin a "choice" in the tower-episode. Only here, the "choice" offered to Arthur has become a "chance" for Merlin (57). Just before blowing up the magician's tower, the Yankee delivers the following speech to Merlin:

"You wanted to burn me alive when I had not done you any harm, and latterly you have been trying to injure my professional reputation. Therefore I am going to call down fire and blow up your tower; but it is only fair to give you a chance; now if you think you can break up my enchantments and ward off the fires, step up to the bat, it's your innings." (57-8)

The chance that the Yankee offers Merlin here is in reality no "chance" at all, since he has previously mined the magician's tower with gunpowder (57). But the "reasonable" offer is nevertheless there, just as it was when Hank Morgan asked the king if his terms were satisfactory in the eclipse-episode. The two episodes also share an approach on the Yankee's part that is based on his knowledge of the structure of medieval thought. For in the tower-episode, the Yankee draws a total correspondence between his own will and the forces of nature: he tells Merlin that he is going to "call down fire"--presumably from heaven above--to blow up the magician's tower (57). The Yankee once again knows that he can get away with this sort of mystification, because he

knows that Merlin, as a medieval man, will accept his declaration that he can call down fire, without ever "put[ting] this and that together" (40). And the modesty and likeability that the Yankee demonstrated in the eclipse-episode are present in the tower-episode, too. For how is it possible not to like a man who uses such plain, everyday metaphors as "step up to the bat, it's your innings" (58)? This is the modest speech of a man speaking to his fellow men in a likeable way.

Almost as if he were dealing with a refractory child, the Yankee's comments to Merlin exhibit the utmost clarity and simplicity. First, he explains, in short, simple words, exactly why he must blow up the magician's tower: "'You wanted to burn me alive when I had not done you any harm, and latterly you have been trying to injure my professional reputation'" (57). Then, the Yankee makes what he is going to do unmistakably clear: "'Therefore I am going to call down fire and blow up your tower'" (57). In fact, if the reader detects a certain hint of condescension towards Merlin in what the Yankee says to him, then this is no mistaken apprehension. For in what the Yankee says to the magician, he could just as well be giving one of his employees at the Colt plant a good "dressing down." Transposed to the Colt Manufacturing Company, Hank Morgan's speech to Merlin would go something like this:

Morgan, to Worker: "I have noticed lately that you have been having some problems with your work on the line. I must tell you in all honesty that the frequency of your difficulties is starting to make me look bad in the eyes of your fellow-workers."

In the text, this corresponds to "'You wanted to burn me alive when I had not done you any harm and latterly you have been trying to injure my professional reputation.'" (57)

Morgan, to Worker: "Therefore I am going to have to suspend you."

In the text, this appears as "'Therefore, I am going to call down fire and blow up your tower'" (57)

Morgan, to Worker: "But it is only fair to give you a chance."

In the text, this is the same: "' . . . but it is only fair to give you a chance'" (57)

Morgan, to Worker: "So: if you think that you can take care of this problem on your own, step up to bat, it's your innings."

In the text, this appears as "' . . . now if you think you can break my enchantments and ward off the fires, step up to the bat, it's your innings.'" (57-8)

The real truth is that neither the fictive labourer on the assembly line at Colt or Merlin have any say in the matter. The worker--unless he wants to lose his job--must return to the production line, and there he must at least make an effort to appear to be more diligent. In the same way, Merlin must at least try to avert the destruction of his tower by using his primitive magic. But in both cases, the Yankee gets what he wants--he accomplishes his ends--while appearing to be fair and reasonable, and offering a "chance" or a choice (57).

A lot of Hank Morgan's speeches in his tale are like this--they are monologues masked as "reasonable" efforts at dialogue.

Both in the eclipse-episode and the tower-episode, the Yankee's "means"--the ways in which he goes about doing things--are extremely methodical and goal-directed. And equally in both episodes, he demonstrates that he is an adroit rhetorician, who is a master at concealing the utilitarian nature of his "effects." This should not come as a surprise to the reader, since all of these "means" come directly from his position as a head superintendent in the nineteenth century. The Yankee is used to getting things done, and it is his job to get these things done efficiently and smoothly so production is not interrupted.

Effectively, when Hank Morgan's "means" are considered in aggregate in the two episodes, he stands revealed as an ingenious master of technique. The type is familiar to the modern reader, since Hank Morgan is a technician. He is a man who accomplishes in a cognitive--or wholly abstract--realm, what the machine achieved in the realm of labour in the nineteenth century. "Technique," as Jacques Ellul has written, "is the consciousness of the mechanized world" (6). Certainly the Yankee is not unique in his use of "technique"--in fact, as far as the medieval world is concerned, Hank Morgan's competitor Merlin is something of a technician. But there is a difference of several orders of magnitude between the magician's techniques and those employed by the Yankee. Hank Morgan's technique is wholly without illusions; it is an instrument for manipulating the totality of the world toward very specific ends. Both the eclipse-episode and the tower-episode serve a

higher, ultimate end for Hank Morgan as well. For after the dust from Merlin's tower has settled, the Yankee is able to boast that he is vested with "enormous authority," and that the tower-episode finally "solidified [his] power, and made it impregnable" (62).

What Hank Morgan actually does in the Middle Ages--once he is in this position of "enormous authority" and ready to act--gives the lie to the refrain that is so incessantly on his lips about how he wants to give the "childlike" and "savage" medieval people a "new deal" (120, 108, 167). In reality, the Yankee does what he does in the medieval world because he cannot do otherwise, because the very techniques that he employs are themselves wholly determined by the "mechanics" of his positions with Colt in the nineteenth-century means of production. It may seem to the reader that I have been somewhat over-zealous in my insistence that all of Hank Morgan's activities are determined by his position in the post-bellum productive world of the Colt Manufacturing Company. I do not apologise for this, however, since it remains a fact that everything that the Yankee does in the Dark Ages can be reasonably explained by referring to the modest little passage on page four of the novel where he tells Twain about his work. Hank Morgan is exactly what he tells Twain that he is in that passage: hence we see the truth of Vico's dictum that "[t]he true and the made are interchangeable" (qtd. in Jay 35). Certainly, as far as his "means" are concerned, the Yankee is one hundred per cent the head superintendent that he says he is. Admittedly, there is something just a little soulless and frightening about the very mechanical way in which Hank Morgan goes about getting things done, but

he can hardly be held accountable for the fact that he is shaped by the milieu in which he lives.

The acid test of my contention that the Yankee is wholly-understandable in terms of the material basis of his existence is found in what Hank Morgan does in the Middle Ages. Since, as Adorno wrote, "society is the objective determinant of mind" (Negative Dialectics 27), Hank Morgan's consciousness--as this finds expression in the "means" that we have been exploring--will be directed toward an ultimate accomplishment in the Dark Ages. This ultimate accomplishment will be the installation of the nineteenth-century means of production in the medieval world. This is what has made the Yankee what he is, and this is what Hank Morgan will make the Middle Ages into.

Prior to demonstrating that this is exactly what the Yankee does in this curious new world that he finds himself in, a word of caution is in order. Since Hank Morgan is from the future, he happens to have an acquaintance with all three phases of the developing American economy that were spanned by his career: the rural-agrarian world of his handicraft-oriented forefathers, the production-oriented phase, and the later consumption-oriented stage of economic growth and development. Moreover, this "acquaintance" is a practical, working acquaintance, since his careers in post-bellum America are so closely reflective of the characteristics of each individual period of development. These two factors, an ostensibly impossible knowledge of how things will develop in the future, and the related practical acquaintance with the economic realities of growth and development, mean that the Yankee will have

the unprecedented opportunity to make all the right developmental choices, and avoid all the wrong ones. Hank Morgan is in the enviable position of being able to rectify the mistakes of some thirteen centuries of Occidental history. Much as Marx did in Capital, the Yankee will be able to recreate the perfect capitalist society in Arthur's Britain. That his tale culminates in the Battle of the Sand-Belt, however, already begins to suggest that there is something drastically wrong with this ideal capitalist Utopia.

Hank Morgan's prophetic abilities also do much to clarify what at first seem to be wild improbabilities in his story. These improbabilities at first seem to suggest that Hank Morgan is acting in a completely arbitrary way as he goes about recreating the world of the nineteenth century in the sixth century. There is, for instance, his seemingly ludicrous activity of appointing Arthur's knights to go throughout Britain promoting a "stove-polish sentiment," in spite of the fact that--as the Yankee admits a sentence later--"there were no stoves yet" (181). Now, creating a perceived need for a product on the part of the consumer before that product is on the market is very much a strategy that reflects activity in the consumption-oriented stage of a capitalist economy, when the means of production have developed to the point where they can accomodate such marketing techniques. But with his retrospective experience of this technique as it was used in his own time, Hank Morgan is able to superimpose this strategy on the earlier, production-oriented stage of his developing new world. This accelerates development, and the Yankee, after all, is

"not a man to waste time after [his] mind's made up" (63).

But at the same time, since there is a certain internal coherence to the way in which the consumption-oriented phase develops from out of the production-oriented stage, it is possible to anticipate a fairly close symmetry of development in the work that Hank Morgan does in the Middle Ages in spite of his futuristic skills. The means of production must be established before production can become devoted to the manufacture of a plethora of consumer goods. Thus, there is a certain coherence to the way in which the Yankee goes about installing the means of production in the Dark Ages: the consumption-oriented phase of his economy seems to flow consistently out of the production-oriented stage. For instance, "telegraph" and "telephone lines" (84) are laid down by Hank Morgan before he sends his knights out to drum up a stove-polish sentiment (181). In this way, the whole impossible "effect" of what the Yankee does in his tale seems quite credible.

As Michael Spindler has pointed out, certain key activities distinguish both the production- and consumption-oriented stages of the American capitalist economy in the last few decades of the nineteenth century (27). Certainly the most important aspect of the early phase is the initial emplacement of the machinery of production. Shortly after his rise to power in the Middle Ages, this is what the Yankee says he has done:

I was pretty well satisfied with what I had already accomplished. In various nooks and corners I had the beginnings

of all sorts of industries under way--nuclei of vast future factories, the iron and steel missionaries of my future civilization. (80-81)

Consistent with what the hypothesis of social determination would predict, Hank Morgan's first activities in the medieval world--once he is in a position where he can act--correspond faithfully to the early, production-oriented phase of the nineteenth-century American economy. Here, specifically, he installs the machinery of production in the Middle Ages.

Another key characteristic of the production-oriented phase is a general consolidation and improvement of transportation and communication networks. This comes about as a consequence of the reinvestment of capital in increasing productive efficiencies by decreasing costs that accrue as a result of spatio-temporal distances between such production points as raw material sources and manufacturing locations, separate component-manufacturing plants, etc. In a word, the means of production become increasingly streamlined as the production-oriented stage advances.

Not surprisingly, the Yankee devotes considerable attention to upgrading both transportation and communication networks in Arthur's Britain. Retrospectively, the reader learns that Hank Morgan has had "several lines of railway" and "steamboats" in place in the Middle Ages for a number of years (398). One of the earliest improvements that he makes is the installation of both telephone and telegraph lines (84). Apropos of the latter two inventions, it is significant that the Yankee

refers to them as being specifically "for private service only, as yet," adding that they "must be kept private until a riper day should come" (84). That he says this indicates that his primary interest in improving communications in the Middle Ages lies in what these improvements will do to enhance the productive efficiency of his growing network of "vast factories" (83), rather than in any altruistic desire to improve human communications. Yet, even should the latter prove the case, then so much the better for Hank Morgan. For an improved public communications network can only have the effect of expediting the progress of the industrial society that Hank Morgan is building in the Dark Ages. A few of the other innovations that the Yankee comes up with that are again characteristic of the production-oriented phase of an economy are a patent office (72), a newspaper (74), electricity (412), and "mining on a scientific basis" (81). In terms of Hank Morgan's nineteenth-century existence, these activities correspond to his position at the Colt plant as an apprentice mechanic-cum-inventor.

Once the means of production are well established and streamlined, the production-oriented stage gradually takes a second seat to the consumption-oriented phase of economic growth. If there is one feature that--more than any other--is representative of this economic phase, it is advertising. Not just advertising in general, but advertising of a very specific type. Its characteristics are best defined, as Michael Spindler defines them, as they stand in antithesis to the advertising characteristic of the production-oriented stage of economic growth:

Advertising [Spindler writes] had been common in American .

newspapers since they began, but [prior to the consumption-oriented stage] it had been largely of a straightforward, informative character with little irrational impact, since pictorial display was either prohibited or discouraged.

(101)

If advertising prior to the consumption-oriented phase of the U.S. economy was of a "straightforward, informative character with little irrational impact," then advertising in the consumption-oriented phase will tend to be oblique and often irrational in nature. And if advertising is at first essentially conservative, with little emphasis on pictorial display, then advertising in the consumption-oriented phase will be loud and extravagant.

Hank Morgan demonstrates his awareness of the importance of advertising a number of times in his tale. At one point, he even goes so far as to declare that "[m]any a small thing has been made large by the right kind of advertising" (210-11). Predictably, the kinds of advertising that the Yankee comes up with for the Middle Ages are perfect paradigms of the sort of advertising that is encountered during the later, consumption-oriented phase of the American economy. His promotions are oblique, deceptive, and invariably loud and garish in nature. In one very typical campaign, he equips Arthur's knights with over-size "bulletin-boards" that trumpet the message "' PERSIMMON'S SOAP--ALL THE PRIME-DONNE USE IT'" (139). The Yankee then sends these knights out on a medieval version of the nineteenth-century promotional tour, in order to push the soap on the people. His advertising copy, it is easy to see,

makes the elitist, status-oriented and essentially irrational appeal to the people that they should use Persimmon's soap because the gentry--the "PRIME-DONNE"--use it (139).

In still another campaign, the Yankee equips the knights with "shining gold" bulletin-boards that loudly proclaim "'USE PETERSON'S PROPHYLACTIC TOOTH-BRUSH--ALL THE GO'" (180). Here the irrational and extravagant appeal is that the medieval citizenry should buy Peterson's toothbrushes simply because they are in fashion, or "ALL THE GO" (180). This is a classic instance of the fallacy of false appeal to the majority. But it is nonetheless an effective fallacy, since as the Yankee has already observed, the medieval people do not reason logically. It is also effective because if the Yankee can inculcate a sense of fashion in the medieval populace, commodities will then become outmoded before they wear out, thus necessitating the beginning of a journey down the long road to conspicuous consumption. With his obviously sophisticated, consumption-oriented promotional skills, Hank Morgan would be very much demand today on Madison Avenue.

It was mentioned earlier that if the central problem during the production-oriented phase was the hardness of the material worked on, then the challenge in the consumption-oriented phase is the intractability of men. This is a fact that has very specific implications for advertising, especially advertising in the late consumption-oriented stage of development. Writing about the intractability of men, as it pertains to consumption-oriented advertising, Spindler observes that

. . . the major problem in the consumption-oriented phase

was the resistance of the consumer. The need to maintain or increase market demand led to a heavy focus on selling, and the closely related need to overcome consumer resistance led to the adoption of three main strategies--ceaseless product innovation, consumer credit and intensive advertising. (100)

The Yankee quite consistently demonstrates an awareness of each of the three strategies that Spindler associates with promotions in the consumption-oriented stage of the nineteenth-century American economy. His awareness of the importance of overcoming consumer resistance by way of "intensive advertising" has already been demonstrated in the Yankee's campaigns for soap and toothbrushes. Hank Morgan is also equally sensitive to the importance of "innovation": at one point in his tale, he even articulates this awareness explicitly, saying that "[u]nquestionably, the popular thing in this world is novelty" (387). The third sales strategy referred to by Spindler is "consumer credit." Remaining remarkably true to Spindler's model, the Yankee also reveals his awareness of the importance of extended payment plans in a consumer-oriented economy:

They [the bulletin-board knights] went clothed in steel, and equipped with sword and lance and battle axe, and if they couldn't persuade a person to try a sewing machine on the instalment plan, or a melodeon, or a barbed wire fence, or a prohibition journal, or any of the other thousand and one things they canvassed for, they removed him and passed on. (398)

Hank Morgan, the ingenious Yankee, has come up with a particularly effective means of combating consumer intractability here. For if the people do not purchase the products proffered by his knights of commerce, these travelling men "remove" the dissenters, and pass on. But is this not just hyperbole on Hank Morgan's part? I think not. Reluctant consumers constitute a serious threat to the very means of production in the later, consumption-oriented phase of industrial capitalism. As the means of production are gradually established, new outlets must be found for manufactured goods if capital is to be kept circulating and growing. As the market is progressively saturated, it becomes more and more important to seek out and get to that one "eccentric" potential consumer who has so far resisted the growing pressure to consume, consume, consume. Hence the Yankee's "thousand and one [consumer] things" that his knights ceaselessly canvass for with their installment plans (398). Hence, also, the need to remove unproductive consumers. At the same time, his removal program also indicates that he is aware of the fact that a stubborn, nonconformist consumer who is eliminated constitutes, by his elimination, a powerful object-lesson for other potentially intractable consumers. It is, at any event, one less nonconformist to interfere with the relentless march of Hank Morgan's program of "soap and civilization" (140). In the Yankee's sophisticated marketing techniques, what Adorno called the "all-embracing commensurability of exchange relationships" gains a hold on the Dark Ages (Minima Moralia 129).

But if it is accepted--as I think it must be--that the Yankee is

entirely serious in his statement that he had the more stubborn potential consumers removed, then this presents something of a problem. For how can such brutal actions be reconciled with Hank Morgan's noble declaration that he wants above all to "banish oppression" from the Dark Ages, and restore their "stolen rights" to Arthur's subjects (121)?

What has been established in this chapter--and surely by now there can be little doubt about this--is that Hank Morgan is, in word and deed, the nineteenth-century American economic man par excellence. But, is the Yankee himself aware of the extent to which his thoughts and actions are shaped by his nineteenth-century material activities? In positing an answer to this question in the next chapter, it will at the same time be possible to suggest a reading of Hank Morgan's story that sheds some light on the discrepancy that exists between his very libertarian beliefs, and his sometimes repressive and brutal actions.

Chapter Four

The Unmasking of the Yankee

The fixed, inspecting, hypnotic and hypnotized stare that is common to all the leaders of horror, has its model in the appraising look of the manager. . . .

(Adorno, Minima Moralia 131)

If the lion had a consciousness, his rage at the antelope he wants to eat would be ideology.

(Adorno, Negative Dialectics 349)

Hank Morgan is such a consummate rhetorician, that he has managed to deceive even himself. As an example of the Yankee's skills at self-deception, consider the following speech, where he is meditating on the subject of legitimacy:

I couldn't have felt really and satisfactorily fine and proud and set-up over any title except one that should come from the nation itself, the only legitimate source; and such an one I hoped to win; and in the course of years of honest and honorable endeavor, I did win it and wear it with a high and clean pride. This title fell casually from the lips of a blacksmith, one day, in a village; was

caught up as a happy thought and tossed from mouth to mouth with a laugh and an affirmative vote; in ten days it had swept the kingdom, and was become as familiar as the king's name. . . . This title, translated into modern speech, would be THE BOSS. Elected by the nation. That suited me.

(68-9)

In the course of expressing a host of high-flown democratic sentiments, the Yankee has managed, here, to convince himself that he has been elected to his position of supreme authority by the people of Arthur's Britain. It is they--the people--who have made Hank Morgan "THE BOSS" (69). This title, which, as the Yankee reflects, "swept the kingdom" with "an affirmative vote" is equivalent in his mind to being "elected by the nation" (69). It is certainly not hard to see why the Yankee says that this "suited" him (69). And how quickly--and completely--he has forgotten his boast, expressed a mere seven pages prior to his democratic monologue, that the tower-episode "solidified" his "power," made it "impregnable," and vested him with "enormous authority" (62).

The only thing that would serve to explain such wild inconsistency on the Yankee's part is that he is, very simply, "telling himself stories." Hank Morgan has transformed his own self-achieved medieval rise to power into an illusion that Arthur's subjects have elected him THE BOSS. A conclusion literally forces itself on the reader as a consequence of this: the Yankee is an unreliable narrator in his tale. And since he is unreliable, where does this leave all his readers, in

view of the fact that almost all of A Connecticut Yankee is his story, told from his point of view?

Fortunately, the historical materialist approach to the Yankee and his times that has been developed in the last two chapters anticipates the possibility that Hank Morgan is an untrustworthy narrator. It does this by working on the assumption that what the Yankee says in the Dark Ages will necessarily be a fantastic, distorted reflection of what he has done in his own "proper" nineteenth-century world. Thus, having determined what it is that Hank Morgan does in order to obtain his livelihood in the nineteenth century, it is now possible to turn to a consideration of how these life-supporting activities are reflected--as in a camera obscura--at a superstructural level in his tale. This is the ideological realm, considering the latter very much as a form of fantastic, false consciousness.¹

Now Hank Morgan's historical awareness of "perspective" was an important constituent of the means he utilized in order to obtain a position of authority in the Dark Ages. By observing the medieval citizenry, and by listening to their discourse, the Yankee was able to come to the perspectivist conclusion that Arthur's subjects lacked the facility of instrumental reason, that they "never put this and that together" (40). The Yankee, however, does put this and that together as far as the medieval people are concerned, and his conclusion as to why they do not, is that they are suffering from something that Hank Morgan calls "training" (162). At one point in his story, he tries to convince the evil queen Morgan Le Fay that she should refrain from executing one of

her subjects who has been charged with the commission of a minor offense. Meeting with little success in his efforts to inculcate a sense of compassion in the queen, Hank Morgan attributes her imperviousness to her "training":

No, confound her, her intellect was good, she had brains enough, but her training made her an ass--that is--from a many-centuries-later point of view. To kill the page was no crime--it was her right; and upon her right she stood, serenely, and unconscious of offense. She was a result of generations of training in the unexamined and unassailed belief that the law which permitted her to kill a subject when she chose was a perfectly right and righteous one.

(162)

To Hank Morgan, the queen's problem is that she has never once examined her own "beliefs," beliefs that are the result--as he observes--of "generations of training" (162). But while he says that it is undoubtedly the queen's "training" that "made her an ass," he is very careful to add the qualification that this characterological assessment is made on the basis of a "many-centuries-later point of view" (162).

It would thus appear, in light of the qualification, that Hank Morgan is quite aware of the fact that his own "point of view" may be influenced by "training" to some extent as well. Elsewhere in his tale, he expresses the same insight even more directly, observing with seeming modesty that "still, this is only my opinion, and I am only one

man; others . . . may think differently" (164). Such admissions on the Yankee's part serve to convince his readers that the Yankee always tries to put things in perspective--that he always considers the possibility that he may be viewing things through the "spectacles" of perspectivism. Hank Morgan is, after all, such a practical and reasonable man, that the reader almost expects such disclaimers from him.

The truth of the matter is that there is a world of difference between the queen's "training," and Hank Morgan's "point of view" (162). For there is absolutely no doubt whatsoever in Hank Morgan's mind that the queen's "training" is wrong, and that his "point of view" is right. To the practical and confident Yankee, it is without exception the medieval people who see in a distorted way. But, while his point of view may be conditioned by his own, nineteenth-century milieu, it is without a shadow of a doubt the correct perception of things as they are.

This absolute dichotomy of the way in which Hank Morgan applies his perspectivist insight is even more apparent in the episode where the Yankee journeys out on a quest with his companion Sandy, in order to free some maidens who are being held captive in a castle. When the two of them reach their destination, Sandy beholds the "castle" that she has expected to see (183). Hank Morgan, on the other hand, is at first surprised to find that what appears as a castle to his companion, is "'nothing but a pig-sty'" to him (183). Some time later, the Yankee has the time to reflect back upon this curious discrepancy of vision:

Being awake, my thoughts were busy, of course; and mainly they busied themselves with Sandy's curious delusion. Here

she was, as sane a person as the kingdom could produce; and yet, from my point of view she was acting like a crazy woman. My land, the power of training! of influence! of education! It can bring a body up to believe anything.
(190-91)

There is no question whatsoever in Hank Morgan's mind as to who is suffering from a "delusion" (190) here: it is Sandy--even though she is deluded, as the Yankee is careful to add, from "[his] point of view" (190). What he sees in himself as just another point of view, he sees in Sandy--and in all the other medieval people as well--as a false consciousness that results from "training," "influence," and "education" (190-91). This is exactly what makes the Yankee an unreliable narrator. His perspectivism--the "point of view" that he repeatedly refers to in his tale--is necessarily just as much a form of false consciousness as the "training" that he blames for distorting the perceptions of the medieval folk. The great irony is that Hank Morgan does not have a ghost of an idea that he, too, is suffering from the effects of his own particular nineteenth-century training.

That the Yankee's beliefs, values, and opinions--his points of view--might be a form of false consciousness is probably something that would not even occur to a modern reader. This is because many of us still share a lot of Hank Morgan's ideological points of view in the twentieth century. As a total "field," Karl Mannheim identified these particular ideologies as the Weltanschauung of the "liberal-democratic bourgeoisie" (122). Whatever objections there might be to the reductive

and categorical approach taken by Mannheim in his "refinement" of the sociology of knowledge,² his designation of this ideological constellation provides a useful rubric under which to discuss Hank Morgan's Weltanschauung. Thus, the question to be answered is one of the extent to which the Yankee's points of view ultimately grow out of and serve his positions in the nineteenth-century means of production.

Hank Morgan's approach to reality is above all else an empirical approach. This coincides nicely with the picture of the liberal-democratic bourgeoisie as presented by Mannheim early in his work Ideology and Utopia:

In the mere preference for the empirical observations and genetic criteria which gradually became supreme, the will to the destruction of the authoritarian principle was revealed in operation. It represents a centrifugal tendency in opposition to the church as the official interpreter of the universe. Only that has validity which I control in my own perception, which is corroborated in my own experimental activity, or which I myself can produce or at least conceptually construct as producible. (15)

For Hank Morgan, truth has absolutely no validity whatsoever unless he can observe events empirically and in person. To cite a particularly appropriate example of this orientation to the objective world, at one point the Yankee is told that certain saints are able to heal the sick merely by touching them. This is how Hank Morgan reacts to this disclosure:

Of course when I was told these things, I did not believe them; but when I went there and saw them I had to succumb. I saw the cures effected myself; and they were [therefore] real cures and not questionable. (256)

The Yankee must personally observe events before he can accept the truth of them; after this empirical process, things are simply "real" and "not questionable" to him (256). This orientation toward the world--one that is based on the absolute priority of the empirically-observing subject--is something that the Yankee displays repeatedly in his story. At one point, for instance, he resolves that he must govern Britain "wisely" (194). As far as he is concerned, there is only one way to do this, and it is by becoming familiar with the "details" of the nation, "not at second hand but by personal observation and scrutiny" (194).

The difficulty with the empirical attitude that the Yankee relies on--and the reason why it is a form of false consciousness--is that it establishes an absolute, and false, dichotomy between the inquiring subject and the objects of inquiry. Just as Hank Morgan considers his beliefs and values as influenced by a "mild" difference in point of view--while the medieval beliefs and values are a form of ignorance--so reality comes to be construed in this dichotomous scheme of perception as the "evil other" that is in eternal antithesis to the a priori truth of the empirical subject. The subject, in turn, becomes the final repository of all authentic truths and values. Hank Morgan, as the self-styled "champion of common-sense and reason" (384), stands

in eternal antinomic antithesis to what he very revealingly castigates as the "stubborn unreasoning" of the Dark Ages (156). This is the real reason why the Yankee refers to the medieval people as "childlike," as "savages," and says of them that they are only "animals" (120, 108, 11). They are not people to Hank Morgan. Instead, they are representations, the "evil" others that stand in antithesis to the "truth" of Hank Morgan. People, here, have become instrumentalized, objectified, and reduced to things in the Yankee's mind.

It is not difficult to see how this peculiar orientation toward the world constitutes a reflection of Hank Morgan's position as a head superintendent at the Colt factory. There, his mandate is to maximize the productive output of Colt's men, always in consonance with an idealized future point of optimum efficiency. In the nineteenth-century world of the Colt Manufacturing Company, the "evil reality" of things is the productivity of Colt's assembly line workers as it appears to the Yankee in the "present" state of things--inefficient, intractable, and annoyingly human. As Marx observed, in a comment that could equally be applied to the way in which Hank Morgan sees the couple of thousand men that are under him at Colt, the capitalist as the personification of capital is "animated by the longing to reduce to a minimum the resistance offered by that repellent yet elastic natural barrier, man" (Capital 1: 403). Conversely, for the empirically-oriented Yankee, the final "truth" of things is to mould "that repellent yet elastic natural barrier, man" into a golem-like machine that will be the ne plus ultra of efficient productivity.³

This idealised "truth" of a future point of maximum productive efficiency on which Hank Morgan's career as a head superintendent is predicated, is called the "idea" as the utopia of the liberal-democratic bourgeoisie. As Mannheim writes,

. . . here the idea is . . . conceived of as a formal goal projected into the infinite future whose function is to act as a mere regulative device in human affairs. (219)

As Mannheim suggests, for Hank Morgan, the "idea"--his utopia--is something that exists as a sort of absolute theoretical point in the distant future. This almost begins to suggest that the Yankee is not living in his own nineteenth-century present--but in some other time. Irregardless of where he is, though, it remains a fact that everything that the Yankee does is ultimately teleological in orientation. For Hank Morgan, the ideal, the Idea-as-theory, takes absolute precedence over the actual state of things as they are in practice. How superbly ironic it is that the theoretical Yankee can call himself a "practical" man (4, 17). Predictably, in light of his preference for a cognitive reality, the Yankee's heroes are men with ideas, inventors:

With the spirit of prophecy upon me [Hank Morgan reflects],
I could look into the future and see her [England] erect
statues and monuments to her unspeakable Georges and other
royal and noble clothes-horses, and leave unhonored the
creators of the world--after God--Gutenberg, Watt, Arkwright,
Whitney, Morse, Stephenson, Bell. (323)

This variation of the fallacy of the Great Man approach to history

also neatly serves to legitimate the Yankee's position as a head superintendent, for it represents the ideology of individual initiative and success. It teaches the labourers at Colt to be obedient and remain at their jobs, for it suggests that if they have the "spark" of greatness in them, it will eventually be articulated. Great Men arise in this thinly concealed paradigm of lordship not because they are the products of social forces, but because they have ideas, and ideals like Hank Morgan. This sort of blindness to social conditioning neatly conceals the fact that all of Hank Morgan's "heroes" are--without exception--men that contributed to the means whereby mechanization was able to take over, providing the capitalist with powerful tools to maximize the extraction of surplus value from ostensibly "free" labourers.

Since there is a great, yawning gulf between things as they are to Hank Morgan, and things as they ought to be, he exhibits a tendency to construe history in a typically liberal-democratic bourgeois way. As Mannheim wrote, this particular perspective sees time as being essentially linear progress and evolution (222). There is no doubt whatsoever that the Yankee is a firm believer in "linear progress," for he is incessantly comparing the reasonable nineteenth century to the abysmal ignorance of the Dark Ages. Twice in his story, he refers specifically to the progress that he, as a nineteenth-century man, has brought to the medieval world: after only a few years in the Middle Ages, he is able to confidently observe that he has "made pretty handsome progress," and when he speaks of the way in which he has introduced decimal coinage to the sixth century, he is able to boast that "we were progressing,

that was sure" (81, 315). When it comes to a question of the Yankee's belief in evolution, he is equally specific. In fact, he attributes the fact that he is a "superior being" to evolution (224). Hank Morgan has "evolved" to the point where he is conscious of the comprehensive ignorance of everyone around him:

All that is original in us [he reflects, apropos of queen Morgan Le Fay's ignorance], and therefore fairly creditable or discreditable to us, can be covered up and hidden by the point of a cambric needle, all the rest being atoms contributed by, and inherited from, a procession of ancestors that stretches back a billion years to the Adam-clam or grasshopper or monkey from whom our race has been so tediously and ostentatiously and unprofitably developed. (162)

In the context of Hank Morgan's own time, both "linear progress" and "evolution" play significant roles as ideologies that serve to maintain the inequality of productive relationships. At a basal level, the ideology of linear progress serves to ensure that Colt's production workers will remain obedient and compliant as long as they believe that things are getting better and better for them. Conversely, they can only labour under this misconception as long as they believe that the past was worse than the present--that the Dark Ages were the Dark Ages. More and more commodities become the all-embracing measure of this progress.

Underneath these ideologies of linear progress and evolution, the ironic truth of things is that there is a certain advancement going on. It is a triune advancement: first, Samuel Colt is progressing finan-

cially, and he is becoming increasingly adept at maximizing the amount of surplus value that he is extracting from his workers. Secondly, the workers, largely as a consequence of Colt's exploitation, are becoming progressively more alienated from their labour. And thirdly, in a process that is closely related to the two above, the forces of production are growing at an unprecedented rate during Hank Morgan's time. As Henry Adams prophetically observed, apropos of the exponential growth of these forces in 1904, "[s]o long as the rates of progress held good . . . bombs would double in force every ten years" (494).

The ideologies of linear progress and evolution are founded on a utopian point that exists in the future--the world, in this scheme of things, is moving toward the New Jerusalem. This, in turn, means that the world "as it is" is the "evil reality" that I spoke of earlier. Now since it is "evil," freedom in this ideological constellation takes on a curious, twisted shape: it becomes solely an escape from the tyranny of things as they are. Hence in the tradition of the nineteenth-century liberals--men like John Stuart Mill--"freedom" presupposes the tyranny of the present. In the world of "evil reality," man exists in an eternal state of bondage, and "freedom" thus becomes freedom from some always-present form of oppression. Hank Morgan sees freedom in exactly this way. In his eyes, what the medieval people need is freedom from the ancient and persisting tyranny of "training," or "custom." In his very black-and-white way of seeing things, the "tyrant" is clearly defined. It is none other than the Roman Catholic Church, and he says of it that

In two or three little centuries it had converted a nation

of men to a nation of worms. Before the day of the Church's supremacy in the world, men were men, and held their heads up, and had a man's pride, and spirit, and independence; and what of greatness and position a person got, he got mainly by achievement, not by birth. But then the Church came to the front, with an axe to grind; and she was wise, subtle, and knew more than one way to skin a cat--or a nation: she invented "divine right of kings," and propped it all around, brick by brick, with the Beatitudes--wrenching them from their good purpose to make them fortify an evil one; she preached (to the commoner,) humility, obedience to superiors, the beauty of self-sacrifice; she preached (to the commoner,) meekness under insult; preached (still to the commoner, always to the commoner,) patience, meanness of spirit, non-resistance under oppression; and she introduced heritable ranks and aristocracies, and taught all the Christian populations of the earth to bow down to them and worship them. (67)

The Yankee clearly has little use for the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, it is a bête noire to him, and the personification of everything that Hank Morgan scorns. He blames it solely for the tyranny of absolutist monarchies, the sham of "heritable ranks and aristocracies" (67), and the groveling passivity of the very commoners to whom it ministers. As far as the very Protestant Hank Morgan is concerned, there is little wrong with the world that cannot be attributed directly

to the Catholic Church as the perpetrator of the tyranny of "training." But it is also clearly the Church as an institution to which the Yankee objects. For as he concedes elsewhere in his tale,

We must have a religion--it goes without saying--but my idea is, to have it cut up into forty free sects, so that they will police each other... . Concentration of power in a political machine is bad; and an Established Church is only a political machine; it was invented for that, it is nursed, coddled, preserved for that; it is an enemy to human liberty, and does no good which it could not do better in a split-up and scattered condition. (161)

Hank Morgan states again and again that he is "afraid of the Church" (81). But as this passage so plainly reveals, his fear really has nothing whatsoever to do with the fact that the Church has "converted a nation of men to a nation of worms" (67). Rather, the Yankee is opposed to the Roman Church because it is a "political machine," and "[c]oncentration of power in a political machine is bad" (161). In his position of "enormous authority" (62), Hank Morgan quite understandably feels threatened by the political power of the Church as the medieval institution responsible for maintaining social coherence. Accordingly, the methodical Yankee adopts the time-honored battle-strategy of divide and conquer, with the "Protestant faith" to be set up on the ruins of the Catholic Church (398).

Hank Morgan's uncompromising anti-institutionalism is an ideology that retains its appeal even today, some two hundred years after

Thomas Jefferson wrote that "It is not by the consolidation, or concentration of powers, but by their distribution that good government is effected" (qtd. in Hofstadter 36). This idea of the "distribution" of power can be seen as a classic statement of laissez faire capitalism. In both the Middle Ages and--admittedly to a lesser extent, the nineteenth century--the Catholic Church represents the "organic" unity of the social body, joined in a common bond of faith. Thus, the Church as an institution stands in the way both of the realization of Hank Morgan's ideals, and the growing spirit of isolation-producing individualism that makes the Yankee's ideals possible. For, in a capitalist society, both capitalist and labourer must meet on the premise that each contracts with the other as a "free agent." In this way, as Karl Marx pointed out, the illusion is perpetuated that the labourer is exchanging "equivalent for equivalent" with the capitalist in a "free" contractual change (Capital 1: 176). So, in the Yankee's tirades against the power of the Church, there stands revealed the first enabling condition of what Marx, in a well-known passage, called the "Eden of the rights of man":

There alone [in this "Eden"] rule Freedom, Equality, Property and Bentham. Freedom, because both buyer and seller of a commodity, say labour power, are constrained only by their own free will. They contract as free agents, and the agreement they come to, is but the form in which they give legal expression to their common will. Equality, because each enters into relation with the other, as with a simple owner of

commodities, and they exchange equivalent for equivalent. Property, because each disposes only of what is his own. And Bentham, because each looks only to himself. The only force that brings them together and puts them into relation with each other, is the selfishness, the gain and the private interests of each. (Capital 1: 176)

Hank Morgan's beliefs and values--as these emerge from his tale--all, without exception, serve to justify his position in the nineteenth-century means of production. In fact, on the basis of Marx's characterization of the "Eden of the rights of man," it is possible to draw a point for point correspondence between the Yankee's ideals and the capitalistic means of production that make these ideals feasible.

First, there is "Freedom." In his story, the Yankee refers to his nineteenth-century world as a place where "a wholesome free atmosphere" prevails (63). Very simply put, and brought "down to earth," the men that are subordinate to Hank Morgan at the Colt factory must be under the illusion that they are free to contract an equivalent exchange of labour for the means of subsistence with Samuel Colt. These men are in fact "constrained only by their own free will" since the Catholic Church is no longer the cohesive moral force in the nineteenth century world of Hartford, Connecticut that it was in the "Dark" Ages. The Protestant ethic has prevailed, and replaced the communality with the presence of an aggregate of isolated individuals who each have a personal relationship with their God that precedes obligations to others.

Then there is "Equality." Hank Morgan has a great deal to say con-

cerning "equality." He twice insists that one of his primary goals for Arthur's Britain is "universal suffrage" (300, 398). And in the Proclamation that he issues prior to the Battle of the Sand-Belt, he confidently announces that "all men are become exactly equal . . . (423). In the nineteenth century, the Yankee's ideal of equality of course perpetuates the necessary illusion that the labourer meets with Samuel Colt and exchanges "equivalent for equivalent," or labour for wages.

And then there is "Property." The Yankee is rather sly about his belief in the importance of private property--no doubt this is because property is something that seems very concrete, and is therefore difficult to rationalize into an ideal. But very inconspicuously in the Middle Ages, the Yankee nonetheless amasses a great deal of private property in the form of real wealth, thus justifying Marx's comment that a Bentham-like selfishness is the real basis of all these ideals.

First, there is Hank Morgan's "one per cent" of the state's revenue that he gets from Arthur as part of his terms in the eclipse episode (49). Then there is the matter of his soap-factory, an operation that exists in order to satisfy the consumer demands that the Yankee astutely creates with his advertising:

My soap factory felt the strain [created by advertising] early. At first I had only two hands; but before I had left home I was already employing fifteen, and running night and day (140)

The Yankee also starts up a lucrative insurance business, offering security to the medieval people in the form of coverage for fire,

life, and general accidents (292). But what is perhaps most revealing of all are his observations concerning the funds that King Arthur has set aside for the "king's evil" (252). This is the old custom whereby the king touches his subjects to cure scrofula--or tuberculosis--and then gives each of the afflicted a small piece of gold. In medieval Europe, this one of the ways in which the distribution of wealth was rendered more equitable--even if this "equity" was not the conscious intent behind the ritual. But Hank Morgan has other ideas. Since his idealism blinds him to the very real and practical purpose served by the ritual, he concludes that it is all a sham. Never mind the question of "faith," the possibility that the king's touch heals the sick because of the power of belief; for Hank Morgan it is a sham. And predictably, it can become something useful to the Yankee as a sham:

Up to this time the coin [that the king gave the afflicted] had been a wee little gold piece worth about a third of a dollar. When you consider how much that amount of money would buy, in that age and country, and how usual it was to be scrofulous, when not dead, you will understand that the annual king's-evil appropriation was just the River and Harbor bill of that government for the grip it took on the treasury and the chance it afforded for skinning the surplus. So I had privately concluded to touch the treasury itself for the king's-evil. (253)

Substituting nickel tokens for the gold, the Yankee proceeds to do just this--"touch the treasury" (253). And how smoothly he has

justified his greed. The gold can be appropriated because there is a chance that someone else will "skin the surplus," anyway (253). All in all, the Yankee must have amassed an impressive fortune in the Middle Ages.

There is also a very close relationship between the Yankee's obvious belief in private property, and the way that this idea serves the nineteenth-century means of production. As Marx and Engels wrote in The German Ideology, the division of labour presupposes the existence of the institution of private property:

The division of labour implies from the outset the division of the conditions of labour, of tools and materials, and thus the splitting-up of accumulated capital among different individual owners, and thus, also, the division between capital and labour, and the different forms of property itself. (qtd. in Tucker 154)

Hank Morgan, this extremely liberal-democratic bourgeois man recapitulates, then--both in theory and practice--the very historical processes that led up to the state of the means of production as he knew them in America in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Yet his recapitulation of these processes leads, inevitably, to the awful catastrophe of the Battle of the Sand-Belt. The reason why this is the case--why it must be the case--of course has a great deal to do with the very specific ideological way in which Hank Morgan sees the world as a liberal-democratic bourgeois man. And the best way to clarify this relationship--which is also ultimately the relation of

the means to the end--is by considering just what it is that the Yankee does not see as a result of the ideological obfuscation that, ironically, shapes his sight, allows him to see. A perfect example of this was revealed above, where the Yankee was unable to appreciate the fact that the ceremony of the king's touch was a means whereby a more equitable distribution of wealth was effected in the Middle Ages. Hank Morgan's own greed made him blind to this, but his greed, in turn, was masked by the fallacy of common practice--if he did not "skin the surplus," someone else would (258). Hank Morgan can employ the fallacy of common practice because he believes in the democratic ideology that says that the majority--or common practice--is always right.

One of the reasons why Hank Morgan is greedy is found in the fact that he is unhappy. Certainly he is not much of a complainer, but his unhappiness is nevertheless quite apparent from the way in which he looks at the world. Two examples from his tale demonstrate this:

And as for me, all that I think about in this plodding sad pilgrimage, this pathetic drift between the eternities, is to look out and humbly live a pure and high and blameless life, and save that one microscopic atom in me that is truly me: the rest may land in Sheol and welcome, for all I care. (162)

Or, again, as he reflects a few pages later:

I excused myself, and dropped to the rear of the procession, sad at heart, willing to go hence from this troubled life, this vale of tears, this brief day of broken rest, of cloud

and storm, of weary struggle and monotonous defeat; and yet shrinking from the change, as remembering how long eternity is, and how many have wended thither who know that anecdote. (197)

Now certainly it would seem that the unhappiness that is so plainly evident here could be attributed to the Yankee's dislocation in the Middle Ages; he is in this respect, the victim of an ultimate form of anomie. But to attribute his unhappiness to this would be to disregard the fact that the Yankee is--by his own report--more at home in the Dark Ages than he was in the nineteenth century:

. . . at last I was fully able to realize that I was actually living in the sixth century, and in Arthur's court, not a lunatic asylum. After that, I was just as much at home in that century as I could have been in any other; and as for preference, I wouldn't have traded it. . . . (62)

Rather than looking for the source of the Yankee's unhappiness in the Middle Ages, then, it is far more appropriate to look for it in the time that shaped his consciousness--the nineteenth century. And in that time, the only reason that Hank Morgan can be unhappy must have something to do with the sort of consciousness that the Yankee has--or, the way in which he thinks. Hank Morgan in fact comes so close to the real, nineteenth-century reason for his unhappiness at one point in his story, that the reader almost despairs when he fails to make an all-important connection. In a significant passage, the Yankee falls to thinking about the difference between manual and mental labour:

But I know all about both [intellectual and physical work] and as far as I am concerned, there isn't money enough in the universe to hire me to swing a pick-axe thirty days, but I will do the hardest kind of intellectual work for just as near nothing as you can cipher it down--and I will be satisfied, too. . . . The law of work does seem utterly unfair--but there it is, and nothing can change it. (279)

In the distinction that the Yankee makes here---between manual and intellectual labour---lies the root cause of the restless Yankee's unhappiness, if only he was conscious of it. For "unhappiness," like the technological "miracles" that Hank Morgan performs in the Dark Ages, is itself only an effect; its cause is the state of alienation. Writing about the historical relationship between alienation and the division of labour, Marx and Engels noted in The German Ideology that

The production of ideas, of concepts, of consciousness, is at first directly interlinked with the material activity and material intercourse of men, the language of real life Men are the producers of their ideas . . . but this changes with the separation between intellectual and physical labour: from this point on, consciousness can imagine itself to be something other than consciousness of existing practice, to have become "pure" theory. (qtd. in Jakubowski 37)

With Hank Morgan, the "pure" idea is always precedent to the act and, as "pure" theory, it dominates his consciousness from a point that

is above the reality of practice. In the past, this preeminence of the hypostatized "ideal" is evident in the Yankee's obvious belief in the Golden Age:

Before the day of the Church's supremacy in the world, men were men, and held their heads up, and had a man's pride, and spirit, and independence; and what of greatness and position a person got, he got mainly by achievement, not by birth. (67)

In the future, Hank Morgan's pure idealism discloses itself in the plan that he has for a utopian Republic in Arthur's Britain. The Proclamation that he issues--and he issues it, ironically, just before the Battle of the Sand-Belt--promises that "all political power has reverted to its original source, the people of the nation" (423). In this happy, albeit amorphous, futurity, all men will be "exactly equal," they will all be on "one common level," and religion will be "free" (423). Divorced from an ability to see the material basis of his existence as it really is, the Yankee cannot see that his ideals are rooted in that material base. His inability to see this is even more evident in his reference to the French Revolution as the "ever-memorable and blessed" Revolution (111). For Hank Morgan plainly construes the era of the French Revolution as a time in history when "ideas," or theory changed existing practice, when the long tyranny of "training" was overthrown by the Ideals of "freedom" and "reason." What he does not see is that his "ever-memorable and blessed" (111) Revolution really only gave tyranny a new mask--the mask of the bourgeoisie. His own mask.

Since the Yankee has thoroughly divorced theory from practice, he remains blind to the fact that his own ideals are forms of "training" that equally mask a "brutal" self-interest. But despite this blindness, he does read class relations in medieval Britain correctly, even though he "reads" them from a wholly-superstructural vantage point. There are "freemen" in Arthur's Britain but, as the Yankee correctly observes, they are "freemen" only "by a sarcasm of law and phrase" (109). Ultimately, as far as Hank Morgan is concerned, there are really only two classes in Arthur's Britain. There are the oppressors--comprising the aristocracy, royalty, knights and the clergy. And there are the oppressed--who are all, without exception, "slaves" (109).

But since the realm of the Ideal that is divorced from practice is a subtle and infinite country, the Yankee remains blithely unconscious of the extent to which the root cause of his own unhappy alienation resides at the practical level of material relationships. And since he has no insight into this, he transforms the medieval class struggle into a cognitive struggle of antinomic ideal forms. The ideals are ones like slavery versus freedom, oppressor versus oppressed, and reason versus unreason. Since these ideas have no real basis in reality to Hank Morgan, the medieval people that actually engage in the class struggle are unreal to the Yankee. They have become idealistic representations in his mind. People have become things for Hank Morgan.

Since Hank Morgan thinks about people in the highly abstractive way that he does, he also fails to consider the possibility that the medieval people might not be the "slaves" that he thinks they are. He

misses the fact that there is a qualitative difference in the relationship of domination that characterizes the Middle Ages in comparison to the same relationship in his own nineteenth-century world. As far as the Yankee is concerned, "any kind of aristocracy, howsoever pruned, is rightly an insult" (64). There are no exceptions, and no equivocation is possible. What he fails to see is that there is a difference between the texture of production relationships in his own time, and the same relationships in the medieval world. This difference is that the medieval "slaves" are in fact much less alienated from the reality of their labour than Hank Morgan's own nineteenth-century fellow-men. As Jakubowski wrote,

Under feudalism the serf still had his own piece of land and the necessary tools as a means of labour; he is able to use a part of his labour power for himself, while the lord of the manor receives the rest. (85)

The Yankee is oblivious to the fact that the serfs, since they are less alienated than he from the means by which they earn their subsistence--since they are not wage labourers--are in turn not as unhappy as he is. But this is very much a question of degree, and questions of degree--or qualitative difference--are not readily reducible to the sort of rigidly utilitarian and categorical way in which Hank Morgan perceives the world. Similarly, the Yankee is blind to the fact that there is a relationship between his own anomie and the material conditions of nineteenth-century existence that shaped him. What is perhaps worse is that he does not even understand his own unhappiness

at an ideal, or superstructural level. It never once occurs to Hank Morgan that there just might be a conflict between things as they are, and his lofty ideals as to what things should be like in his bourgeois utopia. This conflict is nevertheless present in his speech, and in the way that he articulates his angst. The Yankee's unhappiness is expressed in rigidly binary terms: life to Hank Morgan is a "pathetic drift between the eternities" (162), a "vale of tears," a "brief day of broken rest," a time of "cloud and storm," and of "weary struggle and monotonous defeat" (197). But his binaries remain just that to the Yankee; they are cognitive "substitutes" for reality--fantastic, inverted reflections of Hank Morgan's real problem, which is the conflict between things as they are in material practice, and things as Hank Morgan thinks they ought to be.

There are usually good reasons why people do not see things as they are, and the Yankee is no exception to this observation. For undoubtedly as far as Hank Morgan's real career in the nineteenth-century is concerned, there are some very unpleasant things going on at the Colt Manufacturing Company. And to the extent that the Colt operation is a microcosm of the general "drift" of the means of production in nineteenth-century America, the unpleasant things that are going on there are also tendencies at large in the body politic. First, in his anomalous position as a head superintendent, the techniques that the Yankee has learned in his earlier career as an apprentice-mechanic are now applied instrumentally on men, in the endless drive to extract a maximum amount of surplus value from them. "Technique" was an important

facet of the Yankee's career as a mechanic, of course, but then, the problem to be confronted was the "hardness of the material" worked on, and Hank Morgan still had his own tools to work with. This explains why he refers to his occupation as a "make[r]" as his "real" trade (4). At this stage in his career at Colt he is markedly less alienated from both his tools and the objects of his labour. But in his later occupation as a head superintendent, Hank Morgan has become the tool. He has, as it were, become the instrument of his own technique, since his sole purpose as a head superintendent is to extract labour from men in order to increase Samuel Colt's wealth.

This "job" that the Yankee does is a double bind. It is, because as a head superintendent, Hank Morgan must instrumentalize and objectify the workers under him, just as he, in turn, is instrumentalized and objectified by Samuel Colt's capital. Things have become more tenuous and abstract as they have become subordinated to technique to an historically unprecedented degree. In this late, consumption-oriented phase of the American nineteenth-century economy, machines are making machines, and the tools that the Yankee formerly used in his career as a mechanic have become mere appendages of the productive machinery. The whole process, a Weltanschauung of abstraction, instrumentality, and objectification, tends to exacerbate an already-alienated state of affairs.

The other unpleasant thing that is going on at the Colt factory is something quite blatant. To put it in the simplest way possible, the Colt Manufacturing Company exists in order to produce instruments

of death. And it does this on an historically unprecedented level. As far as immediate ends are concerned, all of the managerial skills that Hank Morgan exercises on Sam Colt's workers exist to one end--the efficient, highly automated and rapid mass-manufacture of the means of death. For death is what Samuel Colt deals in; death has made him a multimillionaire.

This macabre fascination that Americans have with guns--especially hand guns, the sort that Hank Morgan either makes or oversees the making of at the Colt plant--is certainly a gruesome and bizarre phenomenon. And like the Connecticut Yankee, many Americans are consummately adept at obfuscating the simple fact that a hand gun has but one purpose: they exist mainly to take human life. There is perhaps no example of the way in which Americans mystify the purpose of hand guns better than the text that goes with the picture of a Colt Police Positive Special revolver in R.L. Wilson's book The Colt Heritage. In the picture, the gun is shown resting on an expensive piece of luggage next to the author's monogrammed gold pocket-watch, and this is the text that accompanies the picture:

A traveller's companion fit for the Orient Express, an elegant Police Positive Special in medium scroll coverage, from the workbench of Cuno A. Helfricht. The mother-of-pearl grips sport [!] deep-set medallion inlays, as brought out at the time. (222)

As grotesque as this sort of mystification may be, there is nothing mysterious about its origins. The first condition for such a state

of things is that men must be alienated from their labour. Like Hank Morgan, people who are involved with the manufacture of instruments of death must certainly remain oblivious to what it is that they are doing in their work. They must not be able to see the actual reality of the material practice that engages them. An already-alienated general state of labour is a fitting prerequisite for such blindness, and when this is combined with a fascination over technique--how the trigger pulls the trip hammer, rotating the cylinder, poising the firing-pin over the cartridge--the result is the Saturday Night Special.

But the fourfold typology of alienation that was developed earlier goes even further toward explaining the distinctly American fascination with hand guns, and how it is that Americans do not see what hand guns are really for. One begins with the fact that the "craftsman" at Colt is alienated from the process of his work--this process being, say, the making of a Colt Police Positive Special revolver. The attendant "distancing" from this labour process means, in turn, that the object of labour--the hand gun--is thus easily seen as being something other than what it really is. So the object of labour, the gun, becomes in the mind of its maker, a metaphor, or an abstraction. It becomes an heirloom, an object of fine craftsmanship, a living piece of American history. Or, it becomes what it so plainly is in Wilson's adoring description, a trusted "companion," and a thing of beauty. The point is that, whatever it becomes in the mind, it always becomes something other than what it really is--an instrument of death. And since, simultaneously with the abstraction--or estrangement--of the object, the maker is

always-already alienated from his life process as a consequence of the fact that the object of his labour "moves away from him," is expropriated, his own life comes to take on the appearance of a fantastic, metaphorical thing to him. The worker's life becomes, just like the Police Positive Special revolver that he has made, anything other than what it really is. Thus estranged from his labour, the object of his labour, and his own life, it is but a small step to an equivalent abstraction of other men, and the "circle" of distanced fantasy is complete. And since alienation is a general condition of labour for most Americans in the nineteenth century, this process is repeatedly reproduced in the social body as a macabre theatre of the absurd wherein everything is either a stage-prop or an actor--or other than what it is. The stage is set for a tragic play of objectified abstractions, where any interference with the synthetic continuity of the illusion produced by alienation--in any of its proffered object-forms--will usually result in the abrupt elimination of the offending entity. This entity is invariably what Marx referred to as "that repellent yet elastic natural barrier, man," in all his intrusive humanness (Capital 1: 403). Predictably, this removal is accomplished by a "means"--the gun--which, already abstracted and objectified from the beginning in the capitalist order of things, is perhaps all too accurately called an "equalizer." The "equalizer" thus restores the integrity of the objectified illusion--and it is not a man who has died, because in the mind of the killer, this man has never been anything but a thing to begin with. And it is not even a "gun" that has removed this "man-

thing" in the first place, since the gun itself has always been something other than what it really is. This approaches the heart of the American nightmare, and it could only happen in a world wherein relationships between men have taken on the fantastic characteristic of relations between things.

Hank Morgan remains for the most part completely ignorant of this process of reification in his story, just as he is unconscious of the extent to which he is himself the victim of "training," "influence," and "education." But the fact that he is enmeshed in this unhappy process of turning people into abstract things is something that becomes apparent quite early in his tale. Now it is but a short step from seeing people as things, to seeing things as people, and this latter is the earliest indication the reader has that there is something very curious about the way in which the Yankee sees the world. Just shortly after his rise to power in the Middle Ages, Hank Morgan pauses from his labours in order to reflect on his medieval accomplishments:

My schools and [Protestant] churches were children four years before; they were grown-up, now; my little shops of that day were vast factories, now (82-3)

Notice how the Yankee has anthropomorphised his "schools" and his "churches" here into "children" and "grown-up[s]" (82). This anthropomorphisation is not merely a figure of speech. Rather, it is precisely the effect of the way in which inert objects come to be considered when life is cognitively reduced to the status of a thing. A type of fantastic, and inverse reification prevails, where things take on the odd quali-

ties of men, just as men have taken on the qualities of things. Hence R.L. Wilson's ability to see his gun as a "companion" in his book (222).

More importantly, Hank Morgan also demonstrates his ability to turn men into things in his tale. For in the world of the Middle Ages, the Yankee is repeatedly sending promising young men and women off to a place that he calls his "Man-Factory" (114). Now, Hank Morgan claims that this "Man-Factory" is a place where he "turns groping and grubbing automata into men" (157) by teaching them--among other things--to read and write (114). But by now it should be apparent that what Hank Morgan claims has little or no basis in actual, material reality: just as he turns the machinery of his new order into living beings when he describes his "schools and churches" as "children" (82), so he turns men into automatons at his "Man-Factory." The reader has been misled by the very baldness of Hank Morgan's claims--his "Man-Factory" is just what its name suggests--a place where men are made into things. And this is, of course, understandable, since this is no more than what Hank Morgan actually does as a head superintendent at the Colt factory. His job there is to turn men into surplus value-producing things.

These insights into the fantastic ideological world that Hank Morgan inhabits do much to clarify certain contradictions that are apparent in his story. There is, for instance, the episode where the Yankee encounters Saint Simeon the Stylite, a holy man who spends his days absorbed in prayer at the top of a pillar. Hank Morgan watches the hermit closely, and comes to the conclusion that a lot of power is going to waste as a consequence of the saint's ceaseless devotions. The Yankee

then devises a plan, in order to utilize this power. His plan is to hitch the saint up to a "sewing machine" with "elastic cords," so that his energy can be used (214). Hank Morgan sets the holy man to making shirts for him:

I afterwards carried out that scheme, and got five years' good service out of him [Saint Simeon]; in which time he turned out upwards of eighteen thousand first-rate tow-linen shirts, which was ten a day. I worked him Sundays and all; he was going, Sundays, the same as week-days, and it was no use to waste the power. (214)

Hank Morgan is adept at objectifying and using people in his job at the Colt factory, but this is usually an ability that he manages to conceal in the Middle Ages. Only here, with Saint Simeon, his utilitarianism breaks out. The reason why it does is suggested by his revealing characterization of the expression on the saints' faces as being one of "the last expression of complacent self-righteousness" (213) just before he meets Saint Simeon. What the Yankee perceives as a certain smugness on the part of the saints is more truthfully their happy absorption in their devotions--or their labours. For whatever we may think today in our own very practical consciousnesses about the use-value of gyrating ceaselessly on a pillar, such rapt devotion constituted the labour of medieval hermits and holy men. But since Hank Morgan is a profoundly unhappy man, who is completely alienated from his labours, he misperceives Saint Simeon's happy absorption in his work as something utterly worthless. The Yankee resents the saint's

contentment and, since the saint's occupation lacks an evidently demonstrable use value in Hank Morgan's view of things, his contempt is even further exacerbated.

At the same time, Hank Morgan recognises in Saint Simeon a man who--like himself--is obsessed by an ideal; driven by a fantastic abstraction. So, being the practical Connecticut man that he says he is, the Yankee knows just enough about himself to know that a man driven by an ideal--whether the ideal is "God," or "progress"--is a man who is possessed by a restless, energetic demon of energy. And in light of this knowledge, Hank Morgan uses the saint's power to make money for himself. After the saint dies, exhausted from spinning the Yankee's shirts, Hank Morgan shamelessly confesses that his death was a pity, for "[t]here was more money in the business than one knew what to do with" (214). Few episodes in Hank Morgan's story reveal more about the Yankee's real character than this one with Saint Simeon.

There is a very close correspondence between what the Yankee does at the Colt factory to the "couple of thousand men" that are under him (4), and what he does to Saint Simeon. In both cases, Hank Morgan's job is to extract an optimum use value out of men, to render them elastic as producing machines, and then to utilize them instrumentally as producers of surplus value. Hank Morgan is able to use people in this callous way because he is a capable technician. And as a technician, he can excerpt men from the actual conditions of their existence, transmute them into means, and then submit these means to the rule of an all-embracing process that reflects the "process" of existence.

Hank Morgan's ability to utilize people as means explains, as well, his more overtly violent acts in the Tale of the Lost Land. At one point, to cite an example of this violence, he blows up a company of Arthur's knights, and then proceeds to describe the "effect" as being like "a steamboat explosion on the Mississippi," with a "steady drizzle of microscopic fragments of knights and hardware and horseflesh" (272). In another episode with Arthur's knights that is even more revealing, the Yankee defeats a number of combatants in a tournament with a "dragoon revolver" (391). His choice of weapons is entirely appropriate since, as Wilson notes in The Colt Heritage, it was the dragoon revolver that really got Samuel Colt started in the mass production of guns (203). Such violent acts on the Yankee's part are wholly explicable in terms of his ability to reduce men to ideas, or things in the machinery of production.

The medieval knights that Hank Morgan grows so adept at dispatching are also impediments to the realization of the Yankee's productive utopia since, backed by the Church, they represent "evil reality," the unchanging ignorance of things as they are. He can remove these knights en masse for the simple reason that they are not human beings to him. They are--in one of the multiform guises in which reality appears to the Yankee--objective representations of the antithesis of Hank Morgan's ideals. As Hank Morgan himself revealingly says, the nobility is of "no sort of use or value in any rationally constructed world" (109-10).

However, if what has become, I must admit, a somewhat prolonged and relentless assault on the ideological ways in which Hank Morgan

sees the world seems all too abstract itself, then it is equally true that the knights are also a very concrete threat to the Yankee in his own, proper nineteenth-century world. This is not at all as ludicrous as it seems. For Hank Morgan lives--in his mind, in the way that he perceives things--in a fantastic castle of ideals in the nineteenth century, as well as in the Middle Ages. How else is it possible to explain the fact that Hank Morgan fails so thoroughly to see just what it is that he does at the Colt factory, and how this "influences" him? And this failure of vision on the Yankee's part means that what Hank Morgan has done to other men has come to pass with himself as well.

Living in an abstract realm, where utility is the measure of all things, Hank Morgan has become the "Yankee"--a type--himself. In one of a myriad of disguises, his "type" is that of the bourgeois man. And bourgeois men--considered as types--always have certain aspirations toward which they work while the future advances endlessly ahead of them, just out of reach. In this sense, Arthur's knights represent the nineteenth-century upper class, that rarefied realm of plutocrats towards which Hank Morgan aspires as the "Yankee" that he has become. As owners of the means of production in the medieval world, they are fantastic reflections in the Yankee's mind of the position that Samuel Colt really occupies in the nineteenth-century world. So in Hank Morgan's dreams as the Yankee--in his very indeterminate position at Colt as a man who is neither wholly a labourer, nor wholly a capitalist--it is entirely understandable that the Yankee should have certain aspirations to rise in the hierarchy.

But the "knights" have committed a sin that is absolutely unpardonable in the eyes of the self-made bourgeois man, for they have snubbed Hank Morgan. As he himself admits, "they looked down upon me--and were not particularly private about it, either" (69). His distinct class antipathy is even more evident in what he has said just before this observation:

But to return to my anomalous position in King Arthur's kingdom. Here I was, a giant among pigmies, a man among children, a master intelligence among intellectual moles: by all rational measurement the one and only actually great man in the whole British world; and yet there and then, just as in the remote England of my birth-time, the sheep-witted earl who could claim long descent from a king's leman, acquired at second-hand from the slums of London, was a better man than I was. Such a person was fawned upon in Arthur's realm and reverently looked up to by everybody, even though his dispositions were as mean as his intelligence, and his morals as base as his lineage. (67-8)

But if Hank Morgan can dismiss an earl as "sheep-witted," "mean" and "base" (67, 68), he is also equally capable of envying the nobility. His envy becomes quite apparent when his vision of the upper class is compared to his vision of the canaille early in his story. This is how Hank Morgan first describes the medieval peasants that he sees:

There were people, too; brawny men, with long, coarse, uncombed hair that hung down over their faces and made them

look like animals (11)

In striking, but now understandable contrast to the bestial way in which the Yankee depicts the commoners, there is his almost breathless admiration of the knights that enter into the village:

Presently there was a distant blare of military music; it came nearer, still nearer, and soon a noble cavalcade wound into view, glorious with plumed helmets, and flashing mail, and flaunting banners and rich doublets and horse-cloths, and gilded spear-heads; and through the muck, and swine, and naked brats, and joyous dogs, and shabby huts it took its gallant way. (11)

It is as clear as noonday that Hank Morgan has "aspirations" to emulate the medieval gentry. This explains why he can appear dressed in "silks and velvets and cloth of gold" after his rise to power in the Middle Ages (52). The Yankee's democratic rhetoric conceals this side of his character from the reader. Moreover, consistent with typological expectation, Morgan finally does in his tale what any self-respecting bourgeois man would do when snubbed by the gentry: he marries into the nobility. For Sandy, as the Yankee observes in passing, was a girl who "had been used to high life all her days" (174).

Very typically bourgeois comments are scattered here and there among Hank Morgan's more idealistic expostulations in his narrative. Sometimes these comments are of such a nature as to almost reveal the brutality that lurks just behind Hank Morgan's very reasonable mask. There is, for example, his extremely revealing comment to queen Morgan

Le Fay, concerning some prisoners who she has kept locked up in her dungeons for decades: "'I wish I could photograph them!'" the Yankee says (170). Or again, there is Hank Morgan's desire--so much like Willy Loman's--to be liked:

. . . a man must not hold himself aloof from the things which his friends and his community have at heart if he would be liked (72)

One of his most revealingly-bourgeois comments is aphoristically short and to the point. It is, simply, "I am not better than others" (100). Perhaps it never occurs to the very middle-class Yankee that, as Adorno once observed, "condescension, and thinking oneself no better, are the same" (Minima Moralia 26).

The typically bourgeois attitudes that Hank Morgan exhibits do little, however, to conclusively answer the question that was posed at the beginning of this thesis. This was the question of the ostensible lack of fit between the end of the Yankee's tale at the Battle of the Sand-Belt, and the means that led up to that end. It should now be remarkably easy to appreciate the consistency that exists between the two. Looking for a moment at the "level" of the means of production that the industrious Yankee has effected in the "Middle Ages" just prior to the Battle of the Sand-Belt, it is apparent that Hank Morgan has transformed the medieval world into an exact replica of America as he knew it in his position of head superintendent at the Colt factory. There is even a "stock-board" (413), a certain indicator that the means of production are in the late, consumption-oriented phase of develop-

ment. Thus, in a very real sense, the world that the Yankee declares war against is the world that actually made of Hank Morgan what he becomes in his story: a "boss," or a head superintendent.

Neither is this a fantastic assertion to make. It is not because the Yankee's actual nineteenth-century lifetime--as he reports this to Twain in his résumé on page four of the novel--has in fact spanned in America the entire incredible process of industrial growth that he puts the so-called "Middle Ages" through. America, in the short period of time from the Civil War to the close of the nineteenth century went from being a rural, predominantly agrarian society, to being a highly technologized, urban-industrial consumption-oriented society.

The one tremendous irony is that Hank Morgan has not really seen any of this process, since he is incapable of making a connection between the real world of material practice and his transcendental idealism. As far as the Connecticut Yankee is concerned, everything that has taken place in the United States since the eve of the American Revolution has happened as a consequence of just the sort of Ideals that he espouses in his tale. Yet, what has really been going on during the Yankee's actual lifetime--and it goes on largely because it is masked by idealism--is a very disturbing triune development in the realm of material practice: the combination of technique and the forces of production are growing exponentially; populist America is increasingly becoming a two class nation of the rich and the not-rich, and alienation is growing at an unprecedented rate. While each of these three trends is related to the others in an inextricable way, it will be useful for

the sake of clarity to consider them as separate phenomena.

First, technique and the forces of production. Hank Morgan is an absolute paradigm of what takes place when the old order of things begins to crumble under the assault of technique and the growing forces of production. What happens here, to the "old" technique and the "old" forces of production, is that with accelerating change, a sort of state of critical mass is reached, where quantitative changes lead to qualitative transformations. Or to put this in another way, accelerating changes in degree lead eventually to changes in kind. Speaking of this transformational process as it pertains to the exponential growth of "means," or "technique," Jacques Ellul observes that

The new factor is that the multiplicity of these techniques has caused them literally to change their character. Certainly, they derive from old principles and appear to be the fruit of normal and logical evolution. However, they no longer represent the same phenomenon. In fact, technique has taken [on] substance, has become reality in itself. It is no longer merely a means and an intermediary [between man and nature, and man and man]. It is an object in itself, an independent reality with which we must reckon. (63)

Technique, which appears originally--just as Hank Morgan does--as a champion of common-sense and reason, discovers the Forces that Henry Adams spoke of in his Education. Together, the two come to concentrate unequalled quantities of potential power in increasingly dense urban centers like New York. Transforming incessantly and growing exponentially beyond the point of critical mass, technique and force create the wilderness of the urban-industrial Leviathan.

Capital is very much one of these Forces, although one would not guess as much from reading Henry Adams' Education. And the accumulation and concentration of this Force in unprecedented quantities toward the end of the nineteenth century led to the second development that Hank Morgan never really saw. For this capital, proliferating, restless, and obeying only those men who allowed it free play in its relentless drive of accumulation, came increasingly to rest in the hands of a few immensely wealthy men: men like Gustavus Swift, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller. As a result of this tendency, America became, in Hank Morgan's lifetime, a nation of types; like Hank Morgan's vision of the "Middle Ages," the United States was increasingly polarized into a world of the dispossessors and the dispossessed.

The third factor that Hank Morgan remained oblivious to was the tremendous increase in the "intensity" of alienation that was one of the effects of the other two changes. This estrangement grew ever more profound, as the Robber Barons grew more adept at transforming the earth and its people into capital-producing things. Perhaps it even grew to the point where the thoroughly dispossessed--unable finally to hide in their fantastic, ideal kingdoms of false consciousness, and smothered by commodities--lashed out in retaliation against those that they perceived as the dispossessors.

And this, I would like to suggest, is exactly what Hank Morgan does in the Battle of the Sand-Belt. Alienated to the extreme point where he sees his own nineteenth-century world as a fantastic reflection--a "medieval" reflection--and goaded on by the phantoms of his

abstractive Ideals, the Yankee finally lashes out at the class of people who he perceives as being his oppressors in this illusory medieval world. Since Hank Morgan never once sees things as they are--since he has never really seen the material basis of his actual nineteenth-century existence at all--the oppressors take on the hallucinatory forms of bodies clad in iron plate. They become "knights" in a fictional "Dark Ages." For an essential conclusion that must be drawn as a consequence of the way in which Hank Morgan sees is this: if each subject perceives the world through the "spectacles" of ideology, then it also follows that each will necessarily perceive a different object, or world.

Indeed, I will go so far as to suggest that it is possible to read Hank Morgan's tale in such a way that the Yankee never really leaves his own nineteenth-century world at all. His story is a record of how Hank Morgan sees his own world; a record of what it is like to look at the world of the present through the eyes of a head superintendent at the Colt factory in Hartford, Connecticut. What the reader gets in the Tale of the Lost Land, then, is a faithful representation of nineteenth-century reality as Hank Morgan sees it through his ideological spectacles. This is what makes the Yankee's story a realistic account.

In light of this, it is no mere coincidence that every instrument of death used by the Yankee in his final battle with the "knights" was manufactured--at one time or another in Hank Morgan's lifetime--at the Colt factory. Neither can it be a coincidence that the knock on the head that sends Hank Morgan into the "Middle Ages"--that transforms his perception of the objective world--is delivered by one of the "couple

of thousand men" that are "under" the Yankee at the Colt factory (4). Thus, the historical-materialist reading of Hank Morgan's Tale of the Lost Land sees the Yankee's tale as an adventure that both begins and ends in what can imaginatively be construed as paradigms of something that is very much like the class struggle.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

There are three important difficulties with the historical-materialist reading of A Connecticut Yankee that was developed in the preceding chapters. First, while it does do much to shed some light on the problem of means and end that is a part of the Yankee's tale, it does this only by taking a very narrow view of Hank Morgan's beliefs, values, and activities in the novel. This restricted view misses the point that A Connecticut Yankee is also a humorous novel; as Twain himself observed, "The very title of the book requires fun . . ." (qtd. in Smith 9). More importantly, the historical-materialist approach neglects the specific notice that much of this evident "fun" is also a concerted attack on life in the British Middle Ages. As Martin Green wrote, apropos of this,

[A Connecticut Yankee presents] . . . a wholesale attack on the medieval romance and the aristomilitary caste (in the form of a parody on Malory). . . . (235)

Secondly, there is the problem of Hank Morgan's presence in nineteenth-century England at the beginning and end of the novel. For if the so-called "Middle Ages" of the text is in fact really a metaphor designed by Twain to indicate the extent to which the overly-idealistic Yankee misperceives the actual nineteenth-century milieu in which he exists, then how is one to explain the fact that Twain meets Hank Morgan in England, in the nineteenth century, at two points in A Connecticut Yankee?

The third problem involves the "class struggle" that I suggested Hank Morgan participated in as he battled the "medieval" knights in the Battle of the Sand-Belt. An orthodox historical-materialist reading would suggest that the "class struggle" involves a conflict between the existing owners of the means of production, and the "rising" class that aspires to the position of ownership--or at least control of--the means of production. Now Hank Morgan can legitimately be seen as an aspirant to ownership of the means of production, but what of the "knights"? Certainly in the medieval world, the knights are the owners of the means of production, but there are no knights in nineteenth-century America. Granted, the "knights," in a nineteenth-century context, may be Terence V. Powderly's "Knights of Labor"--a union that had close to one million members in the early 1880s (Carroll and Noble 263)--but this completely undermines the contention that Hank Morgan is an aspirant to ownership of the means of production. Equally, even if the "knights" are seen as nineteenth-century Robber Barons, the historical-materialist approach is untenable. For Hank Morgan would hardly declare war on the very class to which he aspires.

Only the second problem--that of the Yankee's "real" nineteenth-century presence in the text--can be adequately resolved. This resolution is best effected by considering the novel as a whole.¹ Regarding A Connecticut Yankee in this way, it is evident that the novel is, above all else, a representation. And as such, as a literary work, it unavoidably reflects certain ideologies--or perspectives--of its author. Writing about the relationship existing between literary representations and ideological

mediation, Edward W. Said notes that

. . . the real issue is whether indeed there can be a true representation of anything, or whether any and all representations, because they are representations, are embedded first in the language and then in the culture, institutions, and political ambience of the representer. (72)

As Said suggests here, one of the most intriguing implications of the discovery of ideology in the nineteenth century² is the discovery to which it, in turn, leads. This discovery, something that is appropriately exemplified by Mannheim's idea of "perspectivism," is the realization that all perception is in fact profoundly mediated by the milieu of the representer. And this, in turn, means that all representations are "colored" by the "ambience" of their creators.

Now, given Hank Morgan's very frequent meditations on the power of "training," "influence," and "education," it is clear that Mark Twain is himself quite conscious of this problem of ideological mediation and representation. Among the numerous statements he made concerning what A Connecticut Yankee was about, there is the following, in a letter to Mary Mason Fairbanks:

The story isn't a satire peculiarly, it is more especially a contrast. It merely exhibits under high lights, the daily life of the [imaginary Arthurian] time, & that of to-day; & necessarily the bringing of them into this immediate juxtaposition emphasizes the salients of both. (qtd. in Ensor 296)

Now if ideology is a constant presence in history, from what sort of base will Twain be able to develop the "contrast" between the sixth and the nineteenth centuries? This becomes even more of a problem when it is remembered that both the perceiving subject and the objects of perception are ideologically mediated.

One of the ways in which I think Twain attempted to deal with this problem was by creating a highly contradictory narrator for A Connecticut Yankee. By doing this, by making it possible to consider Hank Morgan's Tale of the Lost Land from a number of different perspectives, Twain is able to avoid the fallacy of assuming that the quality of life in his own time was superior to the quality of life in the Middle Ages. Needless to say, I chose in this thesis to read A Connecticut Yankee in a very selective way. But I also presented--in chapter one--what I must now confess is an equally valid reading of Hank Morgan's story. This latter reading tends to support Everett Carter's conclusion--cited earlier--that

. . . the meaning of A Connecticut Yankee is, as the author repeatedly said it was, that the American nineteenth century . . . was better than the traditional past. (qtd. in Ensor 452)

However, if we accept Carter's evaluation of the novel's meaning, we are once again faced with the discrepancy between the means and the end of Hank Morgan's tale. Final certainty, it would seem, is not a feature of either reading.

It is more useful to construe the contradiction that seems to be

so much a part of the Yankee's story as a warning to the reader—a device of Twain's design that is meant to jar his readers into considering Hank Morgan's tale with some caution. "Contradiction" is not the only warning device in this novel, either. Another warning is a part of the very structure of A Connecticut Yankee. The bulk of the novel is of course devoted to the Yankee's Tale of the Lost Land, which takes up pages 9 through 444 in the text. But on either side of Hank Morgan's story, there are deliberate authorial intrusions. These framing "intrusions" are Twain's "Preface" (xxi), his "Word of Explanation" (1-9), and a "Final Post Script by Mark Twain" at the end of the novel. These additions that surround the Yankee's tale can constructively be seen as bracketing devices. They invite the reader—as does the Yankee's very contradictory character—to question the authenticity of what Hank Morgan sees and says in his story.

When Twain's textual additions are seen as bracketing devices, the Yankee's ostensibly incongruous presence in nineteenth-century England ceases to be a problem. For it is in these provocative bracketing devices—and only in them—that Mark Twain meets Hank Morgan. And plainly, the Yankee could have travelled to England after the "American" events described in the Tale of the Lost Land. In this respect, the Yankee's story can still be considered as something that transpires entirely in the nineteenth century.

While identifying Twain's "intrusions" into the Yankee's tale as bracketing devices clarifies the problem of Hank Morgan's textual presence in nineteenth-century England, we are still left with the two

important problems of the identity of the "knights" in the Battle of the Sand-Belt, and the distinct way in which an historical-materialist approach tends to limit the "play of significance" in the text. These are closely related problems, since it would seem to be the case that any "final" way of reading A Connecticut Yankee is ultimately destined to founder on just the sort of contradiction that is represented by the problem of the identity of the knights in the text. A Connecticut Yankee is indeed, as Henry Nash Smith wrote, like "the ink-blot of a Rorschach test" (29); and it is this way largely due to the many contradictions that inform the work. These contradictions can be seen as contributing to the work on two levels. At what is perhaps the most important level--that of the work's meaning--the novel is contradictory in that it is anti-British, anti-medieval, anti-American, and anti-utopian, all at the same time. At another level, there are the smaller, but no less important, contradictions--ones like the problem of the identity of the "medieval" knights in the work. Pressman is absolutely correct when he writes that "contradiction" is the component of A Connecticut Yankee that makes it ". . . a novel of great power and enduring reputation" (69). For while one can choose, as I have, to focus on a particular "cluster" of meanings in the work, such a "choice" must be prepared to accept the contradictions that will arise from out of the novel as a result of the particular way in which it is read.

However, I do not see the existence of contradiction in A Connecticut Yankee as a shortcoming. Rather, it is surely a tribute to Twain's genius that he was able to write a novel that so steadfastly eludes any

final, authoritative reading. Quite possibly, learning to be comfortable with contradictions and uncertainty is a measure of authorial maturity. Certainly, it is a mark of humility--even though few, to my knowledge, have ever attributed such a trait to Mark Twain. This reading of A Connecticut Yankee would certainly suggest that he deserves it.

Notes to Chapter One

¹ This and all subsequent quotations from A Connecticut Yankee are from the 1983 edition edited by Bernard L. Stein (5). It appears under Twain's name in the list of works cited at the end of this thesis.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹ "Ideology" here is being used in the sense of a particular "set" of meanings and values specific to, and constitutive of, the consciousness of an individual existing at a specific time and in a specific social milieu. Thus, the definition includes--but must not be limited to--the more familiar idea of "ideology" as a "false consciousness."

² That it is sometime in the last few decades on the nineteenth century is apparent from what Hank Morgan tells his friend Clarence he thinks the "present year" is: "1879" (Twain 17).

³ This distinction between the "base" and the "superstructure" is a purely methodological one. Even though it constitutes a false dichotomy--since "base" and "superstructure" are reciprocally interrelated and mutually acting on each other--it is a useful distinction to make. My reader should nonetheless not expect me to carry such a rigid distinction out through the entirety of this thesis.

⁴ As was the case with the "base" and "superstructure," the further division of the "base" into "forces of production" and "production relationships" is also misleading. Clearly, without "production relationships," there can be no productive "forces." Or, rather, the forces may be there--as would be the case after a total nuclear war--but in a non-human world, it would be impossible to speak of them.

⁵ These two economic phases have a long history. Spindler credits Marx generally with the division. The closest that I was able to get to

Marx's distinction is from Capital:

The total product, and therefore the total production, of society may be divided into two major departments:

I. Means of Production, commodities having a form in which they must, or at least may, pass into productive consumption.

II. Articles of Consumption, commodities having a form in which they pass into the individual consumption of the capitalist and the working-class.

All the various branches of production pertaining to each of these two departments form one single great branch of production, that of the means of production in the one case, and that of articles of consumption in the other. (Capital 2: 395)

Spindler also gives credit to David Riesman and his colleagues, the authors of The Lonely Crowd. There is a reference to "a shift from an age of production to an age of consumption" in this work (6). But I have not used Riesman et al., since I feel that their "demographic" approach to the American character has borrowed from Marx, without having credited him with the distinction. No doubt I am being much too fastidious about this, since it is possible to see The Lonely Crowd as a Marxist analysis that is mainly concerned with superstructural phenomena. The other work that must have influenced Spindler in his discussion of the consumption-oriented stage of the American economy is of course Thorstein Veblen's The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899).

⁶ Abraham Lincoln's father, Thomas Lincoln, was a typical example of the sort of "restlessness" that persisted after initial settlement. As Oates points out in his work With Malice Toward None, the Lincoln family moved at least four times in the years 1809 through 1819 (5-10). That Thomas Lincoln had no real assurance that things would improve as a consequence of these moves suggests that such "restlessness" need not necessarily be reduced to an ideology that merely reflects an underlying economic imperative. But, see also Carroll and Noble, for an interesting discussion of how Thomas Lincoln's moves could have been economically determined (166-67).

⁷ I have adopted and adapted this idea of a fourfold scheme of alienation largely from Lukács's work History and Class Consciousness.

⁸ When I say that America was increasingly becoming a two class society, I mean that there are the very wealthy, and everyone else; the latter including the impoverished and the rising middle class.

⁹ It is Hercules's blow that interrupts the continuity of Hank Morgan's perception of the world, as the latter is determined by his place in the means of production as a head superintendent.

Notes to Chapter Three

¹ It is not at all difficult to prove that the Yankee actually does just watch the nobility early in his stay at Arthur's Court. From page 14 to page 44 of his tale, there is almost no action whatsoever on the Yankee's part, beyond lengthy descriptions of the medieval people. Hank Morgan is watching them, sizing them up.

Notes to Chapter Four

¹ "Ideology" here means that the beliefs, opinions, and values that are expressed by Hank Morgan will tend to justify his position as an exploiter in his position in the means of production at the Colt plant. They are ideological in nature--considering ideology as a false consciousness--because Hank Morgan does not see that his ideals serve his own selfish interests. As long as Hank Morgan remains unconscious of how his ideals reflect--as in a camera obscura--his position in the nineteenth century means of production, it can be said that the Yankee is the victim of "false consciousness."

² The rigidly categorical style of thought that informs Mannheim's Ideology and Utopia is just too much like the empirical way that the Yankee thinks. Adorno has a very worthwhile critique of this problem and the sociology of knowledge in Prisms (35-50). But Adorno must have missed the following passage in Ideology and Utopia:

. . . even the categories in which experiences are subsumed, collected, and ordered vary according to the social position of the observer. (130)

³ This "final truth of things" is Hank Morgan's future utopia, and at the same time, it is the standard by which he is judged as a head superintendent. He is, after all, accountable to Samuel Colt for the productivity of the few thousand men that are under him.

Notes to Chapter Five

¹ A Connecticut Yankee, considered in its entirety, is made up of several different structural components. Hank Morgan's Tale of the Lost Land is only a part of the novel as a whole. For a breakdown of the component parts, see page 135 of this chapter.

² As Raymond Williams points out in his work Marxism and Literature, Destutt de Tracy first coined the term "ideology" in 1801 (56). However, it is only fair to point out that much of what is known as "ideology theory" is, after all, only old-fashioned common sense: if a person spends a great deal of their time doing one particular thing, this will tend to be reflected in their character.

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