Jack London's Medical Migrations to a Pan-Pacific Alliance

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Jack London's life and career represent an exemplary case for the interrelation of transnational American studies and medical humanities. In the short period of the forty years of his life he traveled the world and encountered a great number of illnesses and diseases, those of others and his own, from his infancy in 1876 to his premature death in 1916. Although he was born in San Francisco and died on his ranch in the Sonoma Valley of California, he was constantly on the move in a series of national and transnational migrations to Asia, the Canadian North, Alaska, Europe, Hawai'i, the Pacific Islands, Australia, North and South America. The principal motive for these kinds of unusual migrations is the miserable conditions of life in isolation and poverty, considered a social disease, which he tries to overcome by seeking adventures on land and sea, trusting in his good stamina to improve his material situation.[1] It is the experience of these unhealthy conditions of physical and social conditions which brings about his career as a writer and makes him shift the contemporary Anglo-Saxon self-perception as possessing the superiority of "the inevitable white man" into a plea for the acceptance of diversity and the realization of the need for a safe environment in the biosphere. In this contribution I will focus on four decisive episodes in Jack London's adventurous life in which the combination of medical and social issues are stages on the road to his eventual vision and formulation of a healthy environment and an egalitarian alternative society. In my reading of these medical migrations he serves as a prime example of living transnational American studies.[2]

A first existentially decisive moment in London's life, unnoticed by the author and recognized only by few critics, is the fact that "he nearly died of diphtheria in infancy."[3] This first life-threatening case must be seen in the social conditions of a sin-

gle mother in San Francisco. Unable to take care of the baby herself, she had committed Jack into the care of Virginia Daphne Prentiss and her Black family. Virginia Prentiss, who had been enslaved in Tennessee, and her mixed-race husband migrated together with London's mother to the West in search of a new and prosperous life. The bond between Jack's helpless mother, Flora, and the host family came about in the hospital where both women delivered their babies. Jennie's third child had died in childbirth and Flora could not breastfeed, so the doctor suggested the patchwork family in which Johnny lived the first three years of his life. This was the crucial basis of a lifelong relationship with Jennie, who moved into the London family's household in 1901 as a nurse for his two daughters from his first marriage and lived with Jack's mother until Flora's death in 1922. Toward the end of his life, London would recollect a conversation with Jennie which inspired his mission for a transnational Pacific alliance in Hawai'i.

In the autobiographical story "The Apostate" (1906), London depicts the miserable conditions of protagonist Johnny's work in a factory at the age of seven, the devasting life of his mother's "chronic sickliness" and her two children, and the sick-making factory life that causes epilepsy and pneumonia. His description of the many infections suffered by the workers including the ailments of the autobiographical protagonist culminate in the deplorable state of the physical shape of a maltreated young boy: "He was a travesty of the human. It was a twisted and stunted and nameless piece of life that shambled like a sickly ape, arms loose-hanging, stoop-shouldered, narrow-chested, grotesque and terrible."[4] London recollects this childhood experience and publishes "The Apostate" as an autobiographical story in 1906 after he had become the first millionaire writer in the United States with the successful publication of his first stories and especially the release of his animal novel *The Call of the Wild* in 1903. This progressive turn back to his early life and its autobiographical rendition is also visible in the recollection of his hobo days in *The Road* (1907), in which he takes up his participation in the 1894 nationwide Hunger March of unemployed workers from the East and the West coasts to Washington, DC, and his riding on trains across America. During these travels he gets to know and practice solidarity with the working class of poor Americans and immigrants—an ethics which develops into his socialist beliefs, later pursued in autodidactic studies and his brief stay at the University of Berkeley. The recording of these personal experiences coincides with the now popular writer's role as a public advocate for socialism on a lecture tour in front of capacity audiences in the Midwest and on the East Coast. Both mark the critical moment in his life when he begins to realize the decisive difference between his fictional narratives written for a white mainstream audience to make his living and the personal accounts of his outsider position and socialist engagements which originate in his precarious and endangered existential situation.[5] I will exemplify Jack London's pursuit of this ambivalent writing practice with regard to four decisive medical migrations in his life, ranging from the gold fields in the Yukon as a young man to the

encounter with lepers on the Hawaiian island Molokai, the seven-month Pacific voyage with his second wife, and his final sojourns for health reasons in Honolulu.

Scurvy and the Gold Rush in the Yukon

Jack London's autobiographical writings combined with his socialist persuasion and activities, expressed in his personal and political essays, must have been triggered by the commercial and literary success of his Northland stories, which are connected to the first case of his medical migrations. A change of luck in his miserable condition was presented by the Klondike gold rush in the Canadian Yukon. From July 1897 to July 1898, the 21-year-old fortune hunter spent a year living in a hut south of Dawson City. Since his claim did not yield any gold, he returned back home to San Francisco, noting bitterly that he had brought back five dollars of gold dust and scurvy, the arctic lepra disease.[6] In medical history, scurvy is caused by malnutrition and a lack of vitamin C often occurring in sailors on board ships or to travelers in remote areas, such as the extreme conditions in the Far North. Apart from a general weakness, it was a gum infection that precipitated his lifelong teeth problems. In one of the first published Northland stories, "In a Far Country," he describes the life of the gold seekers, their frustrations and physical lethargy, their drinking habits in saloons and the spread of scurvy among them for lack of proper food: "In the absence of fresh vegetables and exercise, their blood became impoverished, and a loathsome, purplish rash crept over their bodies. Yet they refused to heed the warning. Next, their muscles and joints began to swell, the flesh turning black, while their mouths, gums, and lips took on the color of rich cream. Instead of being drawn together by their misery, each gloated over the other's symptoms as the scurvy took its course."[7] The danger of succumbing to this disease makes him leave the increasingly aggressive company after the winter and return to San Francisco, full of experiences about wildlife in extreme conditions in an unusual contact zone between Indigenous people and citizens of the former and new colonial powers of Russia, Great Britain, France, and the United States. These adventures and dangerous encounters represented the rich material for income, since he suddenly found himself the sole breadwinner in the family, as his foster father had died during his absence. The twenty-five dollars which he had earned for his first literary success, "Story of the Typhoon off the Coast of Japan" (1893), a description of his experience on a sealing schooner as a 17-year-old, instills the hope that storytelling could be a way to make money. After the paltry income from unhealthy factory work under hazardous labor conditions, he finds a new business model and resolves "to sell no more muscle, and to become a vendor of brains […] a brain merchant."[8] Hence he resolves to start a strict writing program of a thousand words per day, which he followed unfailingly all of his life.

The success of his vivid descriptions in the first published stories, "In a Far Country" in the *Overland Monthly* or of "An Odyssey of the North" in *The Atlantic Monthly* (1900) aligns with the spirit of the turn of the century and affirms the belief in

the superiority of the white race over the immigrant newcomers, people of color, and Native Americans. London's second wife, Charmian Kittridge, whom he happens to meet in 1900 in the editorial office of the *Overland Monthly*, seems to express this spirit in her review of the stories written at the instigation of her aunt Netta Eames, who edits the magazine together with her husband: "Jack London has the avowed belief in an ultimate democracy to be achieved by all peoples whose institutions, ideals, and traditions are ethnologically Anglo-Saxon. 'Not that God has given the earth to the Anglo-Saxon, but that the Anglo-Saxon is going to take the earth for himself,' he declares convincingly."[9]

This political evaluation of Jack London and of his Northland stories has become the standard interpretation in line with the genre features of American naturalist fiction. I would like to argue differently and claim that his encounter with scurvy in the Klondike must have triggered a political unconscious, which Frederic Jameson locates in the melodramatic mode and which Mita Banerjee has pursued in her reinterpretation of the relationship between the construction of ethnicity and the emergence of naturalism in *Color Me White*.[10] Although white supremacy in relation to Indigenous men continues to exist, a superior status, understood as an instinct of survival and proper adjustment to the wilderness, is repeatedly associated with Indigenous knowledge in the Northern biosphere. In two versions of "To Build a Fire" (I, 1901; II, 1907), the inexperienced newcomer lacks the knowledge of life in extreme environments and ignores the signals of his dog in order to accomplish his trip. While the man succumbs to his pitfalls, the dog completes the trip and rejoins the company. In the interaction of white men with the Indigenous communities, standard modes of discrimination become apparent. At the same time, the wisdom of Indigenous people who know best the conditions of life in the Northland display their acceptance of natural cycles and the end of human life in accordance with all organic beings. Rather than displacing the idea of death and hanging on to life, the Inuit chief knows that his end has come and willingly awaits his death in the isolation of wilderness in "The Law of Life" (1900).

More problematic is the relationship of white men to Indigenous women, or to their wives, often left behind in the US. In "The Son of the Wolf," Jack London thematizes the white desire to marry Indigenous women. After twenty-five years of life as a frontiersman in the Klondike, Scruff Mackenzie uses his gold for presents to Chief Thling-Tinneh of the Tanana tribe to marry his daughter Zarinska. "One maiden only had caught his fancy,—none other than Zarinska, daughter to the chief. In features, form, and poise, answering more nearly to the white man's type of beauty, she was almost an anomaly among her tribal sisters. He would possess her, make her his wife, and name her—ah, he would name her Gertrude! Having thus decided, he rolled over on his side and dropped off to sleep, a true son of his all-conquering race."[11] The American intruder into the lives of the First Nations peoples and his preposterous assumption to dominate their social relations reflect the arrogance of Anglo-Saxon hegemony. Although the young Indigenous men are opposed to this transgression of

white men stealing their women and potentially depleting their Indigenous life, the Chief ultimately honors the gifts and agrees to the marriage. In order to sanction this kidnapping of Indigenous women by white men, the narrator refers to Zarinska's sister Ruth, whose marriage to the musher Mason is the subject of "The White Silence." After he is hit by a falling tree and left to die, Mason asks his partner Malemute Kid to send his pregnant Ruth to the States for the birth of his hoped-for son: "'This country was not made for white men.'"[12] The stereotypical opposition between the white world and the Indigenous lands, symbolically rendered in the fight between the wolves and the ravens, informs the battle between the young men and Mackenzie, who eventually wins over Zarinski, and the victory for the allegedly superior race. The heroic battle of a young Indigenous chief against such abductions is shown in "An Odyssey of the North" (1899), in which Naas, whose bride is stolen by a white man, chases this offender across the vast expanse of the Northland until he finds him and cunningly fabricates a situation in which the abducter dies along with Naas's refound love, who was unwilling to return to him. Even though Nass's valiant battle against the abduction of his wife fails, the story exemplifies Jack London's intention to weigh the Indigenous perspective against the white fortune hunters' exploitation of Indigenous peoples and their lands.

The 1904 short story "Bâtard" best exemplifies Jack London's challenge to and questioning of the contemporary assumption of racial superiority, which London at first glance seemingly expresses in conformity with the contemporaneous belief system of a white hegemonic society.[13] The cruel mistreatment of the mongrel Bâtard by Black Leclère, a crude white master of French descent, and the animal's final victory clearly corroborate the superior moral behavior and the dog's "preternatural intelligence."[14] In the end, the offspring of "a great gray timber wolf" father and a domesticated husky mother becomes the executor of his evil master's death sentence for the alleged murder of a white man. While Leclère's judges, Anglo-Saxon representatives of law and order, try to capture the actual culprits, Indigenous Siwashes, Bâtard demonstrates powerfully the superiority of the black underdog over the degenerate white man by hurling his body against the box on which his tormentor stands manacled and roped awaiting his hanging. The sequence of Jack London's publications in this time period reflects his recognition of racial discrimination—maybe reminiscent of his own upbringing in a mixed-race family—evident in his conscious change of the 1902 title "Diable—A Dog" to "Bâtard" in the 1904 publication. The transformation of the French names "devil" into "bastard" turns the religious reference into a biological one and takes on a racial dimension with Leclère going by the epithet of "Black." In between these two versions of the short story, London lands the major success of *The Call of the Wild* (1903), in which the benevolence of master Thornton matches the good nature of Buck, who sheds the traces of his domesticated upbringing and recovers his survival features in readjusting to the original wilderness of his breed.[15]

Jack London's literary alliance with the social position of underprivileged Indigenous people in a multinational community of settlers and fortune hunters always asserts the physical fitness of the original peoples of the land and their superior living standards, while white sojourners succumb to the extreme conditions and suffer diseases. The sustainable lifestyle of Indigenous peoples actually becomes the counter-example by which the status of humanity upheld by mainstream societies is measured. Repeatedly the author calls upon this age-old standard when he reports on the misery of the poor in East London. After the aborted appointment as a correspondent of the situation in South Africa following the Boer War, in the summer of 1902, he decides to spend six weeks as an embedded journalist among the poor in the metropolitan capitol of the British Empire. Repeatedly, the author calls up the imperialist position and hegemonic effects of colonialism in *The People of the Abyss* (1903), juxtaposing it with the lot of the poor and their dismal living conditions: two million unemployed and starving people living in makeshift structures without proper sanitary installation causing diseases and a high mortality rate, especially among children. Recording the glaring difference between the rich West End, ostentatiously displayed at the time of King Edward's coronation, London compares the alleged state of European human standards with the perennial sustenance of Indigenous lives. Thus, he recalls his experiences among the Inuit "in Alaska, along the banks of the Yukon River," and these "very primitive" people's considerate use of natural resources as well as healthy lifestyles. As opposed to the moderate Indigenous conditions, ruthless attitudes among so-called civilized nations cause misery and disease.

> In a fair comparison of the average Innuit [sic] and the average Englishman, it will be seen that life is less rigorous for the Innuit; that while the Innuit suffers only during bad times from starvation, the Englishman suffers during good times as well; that no Innuit lacks fuel, clothing, or housing, while the Englishman is in perpetual lack of these three essentials. In this connection it is well to instance the judgment of a man such as Huxley. From the knowledge gained as a medical officer in the East End of London, and as a scientist pursuing investigations among the most elemental savages, he concludes, "Were the alternative presented to me I would deliberately prefer the life of the savage to that of those people of Christian London."[16]

Jack London's critical attitude toward the allegedly superior English civilization, which in his view causes social and medical diseases, extends to his fundamental ob–jection to the effects of capitalist industrialization and colonialism, which he had also experienced in his own country as a member of the 1894 Hunger March and his time

as a hobo illegally riding on trains across the US, recollected in his autobiographical account *The Road* (1907). The obvious contrast between the devastating results of imperialist and colonialist interventions of European civilization in the so-called uncivilized regions of the world and the sustainable lives of Indigenous tribes actually brings about the presumptuous attitude of superior white hegemony over the putatively inferior nonwhite world. While Jack London continues to write for the taste of white society, his work to preserve Indigenous lives and their different value systems begins to take shape. It will actually come to the fore in the course of his planned voyage around the world from 1907 to 1909, recorded in *The Cruise of the Snark* (1911), the second case of his medical migrations. The interconnections between the nefarious influences of Euro-American civilization and social as well as medical diseases affecting the author's own life will become obvious.

The Encounter of Lepra in Hawai'i

The ill-prepared voyage on a small and hardly seaworthy sailing boat with a crew of four people, plus Jack London and his second wife, Charmian Kittridge, led to a stop on the Hawaiian island O'ahu and a five-month break. The time needed for repair was also used for vacation, tourism, and official visits. Unexpectedly, it became a further stage in the life of Jack London as a writer gaining visceral knowledge of the disease-ridden effects of colonialism and the repression of Indigenous people. His visit to the EWA sugar plantation, established in 1890, provided the most glaring evidence of American colonialism. EWA was the most efficient outcome of the sugar business started by American colonialists from the 1830s on, often in collaboration with American missionaries. When Jack and Charmian visited the eleven thousand acre–plantation on O'ahu, it employed twenty-five hundred people from all over; as recorded in Charmian's recollection of her life with Jack in *Our Hawaii*:[17] "And more absorbing than these technicalities of the Plantation were the human races represented among the workers who live and labor, are born, are married, and die within its confines. Through a bewilder of foreign villages we wandered on foot—Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish, Korean; even the Russians were here but lately."[18]Although Charmian's report based on her journal entries matches in part the official ideology of the time about the superior position of white hegemony and the colonial rule of the United States, Jack translates his experience of the EWA plantation tour into the short story "The House of Pride" (1907), in which his narrator blames the American missionaries and sugar planters for their colonial exploitation of the land and people and has him take sides with the Indigenous Hawaiians by making the family doctor a spokesperson for the rights of the Indigenous son, who is the illegimate child of a Puritan minister's affair with a Hawaiian woman. The missionary's legitimate offspring, a son who follows his father's position but remains single, denies his unknown half-brother his birthright and recognition in line with the racial discrimination of the time.[19]

The final breakthrough in Jack London's evolution comes when the couple visits the leper colony on the Island of Molokai on the invitation of Lucius E. Pinkham, president of the Hawaiian Board of Health and later governor of the Hawai'i territory. Pinkham had hoped that the visit of the famous and popular American writer would rally support for the political program of the American authorities for upholding the quarantine for the multiethnic group of infected people and that London might write a favorable article to change the public perception of the location, which he quoted when his ship passed the island as "[t]he pit of hell, the most cursed place on earth."[20] Indeed, the five-day visit at the beginning of July is an increasingly direct encounter of the couple with infected people from many different countries, including some Americans. Guided by Superintendent Jack McVeigh and Dr. William J. Goodhue, resident surgeon of the colony, they receive a complete picture of the medical issues alongside their own perception of and reaction to the obvious signs of the disease and the cheerful and courageous way the lepers coped with it. They even observe surgeries being performed on patients with and without anesthesia, and both Charmian and Jack mention in their reports the fact that Jack read up on all information on the causes and effects of the lepra disease, falsely diagnosed by the public as the "Asian disease":[21] "Hours Jack spends 'cramming' on leprosy from every book on the subject that the doctors have in their libraries. And literally it is one of the themes about which what is not known fills many volumes. The only point upon which all agree is that they are sure of nothing as regards the means by which the disease is communicated. The nearest they can hazard is that it is feebly contagious, and that a person to contract it must have a predisposition."[22]

Jack in particular takes great efforts to distinguish his participatory observer status and report from the horrible accounts of "sensationalists … who have never laid eyes on [the Settlement]."[23] Charmian further authenticates his accuracy by mentioning the photographs taken with the same Kodak camera he had already used to photodocument the Japanese Russian war in 1904.[24] Although both insist repeatedly on the separation of the "clean" from the "unclean" people, they also blend into the scene and freely interact with the community. This is most obviously the case when the leper community celebrates the Fourth of July with competitive games expressing their joy of life despite not being citizens of the colonizing state: "the superintendent, the doctors, and the mixture of nationalities and of diseased and non-diseased were all engaged in an exciting baseball game."[25] Among them, Jack London not only de–velops a new form of identity: "I came to myself in a group of lepers," but he also recognizes the constitution of a multiethnic community which he calls "the democracy of affliction and alleviation."[26] The physical condition does not distract the community from enjoying life under the spell of a disease: "Clustered round a piano, one played with hands that were not hands—for where were the fingers? But play she did,"[27] nor do the missing fingers hinder anyone from participating in the competitions at the shooting range. It is here that Jack London sees the use of a revolver by leper patients

who were able to draw the trigger without needing fingers, a feat which becomes the final image of his protagonist's victory over the colonizing American army in London's short story "Koolau the Leper" (1908). This story, written after the Molokai visit, takes up the historical battle of the lepra war on the island of Kauai in 1893 when American troops tried to take the infected Hawaiians into the quarantine settlement on Molokai by force. In this story, Jack London renders the successful battle of his protagonist, the historical figure of Koʻolau, against the American invaders, living out his disease until the end. In these concrete historical references London exposes once again the colonization and illegal annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States and the disruption of Indigenous self-determination over life and death.[28] In the perception of a former judge disfigured by the disease, the lepra is a product of American colonization and the enslavement of Chinese people imported to work on the sugar plantations beginning in the 1830s: "We love Kauai. Let us live here, or die here, but do not let us go to the prison of Molokai. The sickness is not ours. We have not sinned. The men who preached the word of God and the word of the Rum brought the sickness with the coolie slaves who work the stolen land. I have been a judge. I know the law and the justice, and I say to you it is unjust to steal a man's land, to make that man sick with the Chinese sickness, and then to put that man in prison for life."[29] In the judge's attribution of the disease to imported Chinese workers, the narrator and possibly the author echo the familiar view of American authorities and American society that can be understood as a reinforcement of public opinion. But at the same time, London's factual and fictional treatment of the disease do not lend themselves in my analysis to a postcolonial implication of the author as a proponent and representative of American colonialism in the service of the "White Man's Medical Burden," here understood as the particular duty of Euro-American civilization to administer Western forms of health care putatively superior to the Indigenous traditions.[30] The disappointed reactions of the Hawaiian authorities, who had wanted to persuade Jack London to adopt their ideological position by showing him the operations of Molokai, clearly document their rejection of London's exposure of the workings of colonialism and disease-ridden enslavement. I would actually like to argue that his experience of the dismal effects of colonialism both in terms of politics as well as health prefigures his later impressions of the ravaging effects of white incursions into Indigenous habitats on his way through Polynesia and Melanesia. Likewise, his experience of the way in which people from different stations of life coped with devastating illnesses prepared him for his own battle with many different diseases, the third case of his medical migrations, which ultimately led to his premature death in 1916.

Diseases in the Pacific

The signs of the devastating influence of the politics and religions of Western civilization on Indigenous Pacific communities become most obvious when visiting several of the Pacific islands, increasingly cherished by tourists. Jack London highlights

them specifically with respect to one of his favorite American writers, Herman Melville, whose autobiographical accounts of encounters with Indigenous peoples in the South Seas London wants to relive. The London couple wants to recover Melville's experience of Indigenous life as a sailor stranded together with a comrade on the Marquesas Islands, rendered in *Typee* (1846), the first of his five autobiographical novels.[31] They actually want to reenact on horseback the incursion of Melville's autobiographical protagonist into the valley of the Typee tribe. In recollection of his juvenile experience of reading *Typee*, Jack London hopes to find the beautiful paradise in pursuit of the exotic gaze of descendants of Melville's clichéd rendition of Indigenous women. As they ride into the valley, the image of Melville's idyllic paradise disappears in the presence of a completely changed landscape and its inhabitants. Quotations from the novel, which London inserts on purpose into his chapter "Typee" of *The Cruise of the Snark*, jar with the real impressions observed. Melville's paradisical garden has turned into a wilderness; the beauty and strength of the islanders have been diminished through contact with foreigners, turning the valley of Typee into "the abode of some dozen wretched creatures, afflicted by leprosy, elephantiasis, and tuberculosis …. Life has rotted away in this wonderful garden spot, where the climate is as delightful and healthful as any to be found in the world. Not alone were the Typeans physically magnificent; they were pure. Their air did not contain the bacilli and germs and microbes of disease that fill our own air. And when the white men imported in their ships these carious micro-organisms of disease, the Typeans crumpled up and went down before them."[32] The Londons seemed to be unprepared for this sight and the deplorable signs of foreign interventions into the lives of the Indigenous islanders. Melville actually had included his criticism of the unwelcome attempts of conversion by Christian missionaries, corroborated in a preface in the British edition of the novel and left out from the censored American edition, which the young London had devoured. They were familiar with Melville's description of cannibalism practiced by the Typees, which made his protagonist flee from the island and which London alludes to in describing a banquet organized for them by Indigenous hosts. London explains the degeneration of life on the Pacific Islands as a result of the Indigenous peoples being forced to mix with a great variety of foreign intruders: "English, American, Dane, German, French, Corsican, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Hawaiian, Paumotan, Tahitian, and Easter Islander."[33] This multiethnic panoply of nationalities from East and West is considered a loss of "racial purity," which in London's opinion also accounts for the presence of diseases. The solution presents itself in a reiteration of the Darwinian principle of the survival of the fittest in the battle with micro-organisms: "When one considers the situation, one is almost driven to the conclusion that the white race flourishes on impurity and corruption. Natural selection, however, gives the explanation. We of the white race are the survivors and the descendants of the thousands of generations of survivors in the war with the micro-organisms. Whenever one of us was born with a constitution peculiarly receptive to these minute enemies,

such a one promptly died. Only those of us survived who could withstand them. We who are alive are the immune, the fit—the ones best constituted to live in a world of hostile micro-organisms."[34]

According to this account, the natural environment of the Pacific islands did not know any hostile micro-organisms and hence guaranteed the health of their inhabitants before the advent of Europeans, Asians, and neighboring islanders. Due to the transportation of disease-carrying microbes by foreigners to the islands, they have become resident sources of disease which now also infect visitors such as Jack London and his wife. Repeatedly he mentions being bothered by wasps "the size of small canary birds," which sting their horses as well as people, causing "pain and panic," or by a host of sand-flies, whose poison makes Jack feel like "a sadly neglected smallpox convalescent."[35] The infections contracted on the Marquesas were only a precursor of the medical ailments which befell Jack London, his wife, and the crew members on the *Snark*. Eventually it turned into a floating hospital ship while moving through the Melanesian Islands.

In the penultimate chapter of *The Cruise of the Snark*, "The Amateur M.D.," Jack London focuses summarily on a variety of medical issues, diseases, and their treatment. Given his long history of toothache, it does not surprise that he begins the chapter with an account of dental treatment. As an act of precaution, he had brought along from Honolulu "forceps and similar weapons" to extract teeth if needed and had practiced this operation on a skull secured on purpose, "from which I extracted the teeth swiftly and painlessly."[36] In the Marquesas, he actually started practicing on real people, such as an old "Chinaman," and turned his dental service into a scene photographed by Charmian and a crew member named Martin. Realizing fully that he is just a simple "quack," the great success of this first extraction leads to further treatments of a Tahitian sailor and a woman missionary as well as an aborted attempt on a "giant heathen" whose parents were cannibals. Overconfident and regardless of any medico-ethical concerns or of using non-white patients, he expects, "before the voyage of the *Snark* is finished, to be doing bridge work and putting on gold crowns."[37]

Early signs of illnesses in crew members and himself in the Marquesas and Samoa become predominant concerns and develop into serious symptoms when traveling in the Melanesian Islands. It is in the Solomons that all members on the ship are gradually infected by skin irritations diagnosed as yaws, caused by the bacterium Treponema pallidum pertenue, which easily develops into painful ulcers and a high temperature. Even Charmian comes down with high fever, although Jack seems to be worst infected, and he recommends and administers corrosive sublimate as a pain reliever. While most of his fellows eventually overcome the disease, his case is never resolved, forcing him to abandon the cruise and seek help in a hospital in Australia.

In trying to account for these infections on which he had read up and heard from fellow travelers, Jack London advances two ideas, a genetic and a civilizational one, both connected to effects of colonialism and its ideology of white supremacy. Repeatedly he refers to the importance of "pure blood" as a prerequisite for health

and survival. Thus, Charmian initially believed that the purity of her blood and having been raised as a vegetarian and a sanitarian would save her from infections.[38] Jack, whose skin did not heal anymore, affecting his muscles, diagnoses "an organic and corroding poison at work" causing the "malignant and excessively active ulcers that were eating me up," and he blames the impurity of his blood for his cruel condition: "Just because my blood was impure was no reason that I should think everybody else's was. I made no overtures. Time and microbes were with me, and all I had to do was wait."[39] Similarly, he attributes the degeneration of the Indigenous population of the islands to the loss of the original purity of their race caused by the intervention of foreigners and racial mixing, causing their infections and deaths. Most of these diseases brought by foreigners to the islands—as seen in the Marquesas and Hawai'i—have become permanent hazards for travelers as well as residents. Taking on board "one lone white man" by the name of Tom Butler badly infected and in the final stage of dying from the yaws, the crew is informed that the infection "was a common native disease on the island of Santa Anna" whose spread was quickly extended to the entire Solomon Islands. "Martin inquired about yaws, for here was a man who ought to know. He certainly did know, if we could judge by his scarred arms and legs and by the live ulcers that corroded in the midst of the scars. Oh, one got used to yaws, quoth Tom Butler. They were never really serious until they had eaten deep into the flesh. Then they attacked the walls of the arteries, the arteries burst, and there was a funeral. Several of the natives had recently died that way ashore."[40] Although the crew's encounter with several white businessmen or missionaries in the service of colonization leads to the repeatedly voiced statement that "[a]ll white men in the Solomons catch yaws," none of the nationalities, ethnicities, men and women or the Indigenous population are immune to the infection and its potentially fatal consequences. The dreadful microbes once brought to the South Seas by foreign agents have now become a resident disease associated with the exotic landscape and its people. The *Snark's* passage through the Solomons simply repeats—in London's account—"the history of every ship since the early discoverers" whose "Sailing Directions" report the inevitable infection and fever of new arrivals, their deaths as well as those of the natives.[41] Collecting this information and historical data is part of Jack London's new role as "an M.D., if only an amateur one,"[42] and along with his reading of medical reports he cares for his crew members and becomes his own patient: "Henry has begun to eat quinine in an expectant mood. And, since my attacks hit me with the suddenness of bludgeon-blows, I do not know from moment to moment when I shall be brought down …. Our Solomon sores are worse than ever, and more numerous. The corrosive sublimate was accidently left ashore at Penduffryn; the peroxide of hydrogen is exhausted; and I am experimenting with boracic acid, Lysol, and antiphlogistine."[43] The interrelation of these illness accounts and Jack London's daily writing program of a thousand words figures in his stories and is meant to function as a cure of his medical problems: "At the present moment of writing I have five yaws on

my hands and three more on my shin."[44] In line with the author's ambivalent position, evident in his illness-induced stories in the Yukon and on Hawai'i, London's Melanesian short stories oscillate between images of the superior racial qualities of the "inevitable white man" and the appreciation of Indigenous people. In support of the Indigenous way of life, London includes spokespersons such as the bartender in "The Inevitable White Man" (1908), who challenge the racial hierarchy and acknowledge the equality of nonwhite people against extreme racist attitudes and the ruthless actions of toxic white masculinity. For Jack London, life in the Solomons is particularly dreadful on account of the many dreadful diseases and the battle between white men and the Indigenous Black islanders. Both the chapter "Cruising in the Solomons" in the *Snark* narrative and several short stories thematize the viral deadly dangers of "The Terrible Solomons" (1908), the title of a short story. Both the alleged factual account and the fictional rendition take up the dual dangers of the omnipresent disease and the battle between white business agents and Black Indigenous people illegally and often forcefully recruited for work in the plantations on the islands. Implementing their business model of blackbirding, colonial companies practice a new form of slavery enforced by ruthless captains and managers who are allegedly faced with ferocious savages, cannibalism, and the omnipresent fatal diseases. The narrator of "The Terrible Solomons" opens his story:

> It is true that fever and dysentery are perpetually on the walk-about, that loathsome skin diseases abound, that the air is saturated with a poison that bites into every pore, cut, or abrasion and plants malignant ulcers, and that many strong men who escape dying there return as wrecks to their own countries. It is also true that the natives of the Solomons are a wild lot, with a hearty appetite for human flesh and a fad for collecting human heads. Their highest instinct of sportsmanship is to catch a man with his back turned and to smite him a cunning blow with a tomahawk that severs the spinal column at the base of the brain.[45]

This description of the dual danger of tropical diseases and reported cannibalism for white sojourners in the Pacific islands is presented from the perspective of a newcomer and innocent bystander, Bertie Arkwright. He is shocked by the scenes of violence accompanying the practice of blackbirding between white captains and kidnapped black workers onboard their ships enroute to their forced labor on plantations. In order to cover up their illegal killing of allegedly rebellious Black captives from authorities, they simply invent deadly diseases to which Indigenous islanders had succumbed or had drowned trying to escape. Bertie's decision to distance himself from these cruel activities in the end remains a minor position of sanity vis-à-vis the brutal blackbirding routine. But it balances the vivid depictions of the battle between the rule of white colonizers in dealing with cannibalistic natives, catering to the racialist

expectations of American mainstream readers. In his own account, London reports several instances of having encountered such destructive battles, including vestiges of cannibalism, and he cites the example of the 22-year-old German captain Keller who saves him and his crew from attacks, "the white man, the inevitable white man, coming to a white man's rescue."[46]

Yet, as in the case of his Northland stories, Jack London balances his fictional representations of imperialist and colonial repercussions by making the son of an Indigenous chief the victorious hero over his master, who is eventually infected by the Pacific disease in the eponymous story "Mauki" (1908). Again, it is the combination of Blackness, satanic forces and maladies which cause Mauki's torturous and eventual road to freedom and the restitution of his leadership. His abduction and enslavement by various masters and forced labor in the Moongleam Soap Company on Malaita reach its ultimate point of resistance when he is ordered to work as a house servant for Max Bunster in the remote Lord Howe Atoll. Bunster had been placed there by the company to get rid of his undue behavior and manners: "He was a strapping big German, with something wrong in his brain. Semi-madness would be a charitable statement of his condition. He was a bully and a coward, and a thrice bigger savage than any savage on the island."[47] Mauki becomes the object of Bunster's cruel mistreatment of the Indigenous folk, ranging from regularly extinguishing cigarettes on his body to the application of the skin of a ray fish which functions like a rasp on Mauki's body, removing the skin from its sensitive parts. Mauki endures these tortures until the hoped-for moment comes when the devilish Bunster falls ill, and he applies the same torture to Bunster, reducing him to "a hideous, skinless thing [who] came out of the house and ran screaming down the beach till it fell in the sand and mowed and gibbered under the scorching sun."[48] The final sign of victory is Mauki's removal of Bunster's head, which he takes along with him as a trophy to make his way back to his bush-villages and to resume power. As seen in *The People of the Abyss*, London sides again with Thomas Huxley's assessment of the life of Indigenous people over that of the so-called civilized ones.[49] This attitude also justifies the Indigenous means to overcome the colonial power position erected by the superior white man.

I have discussed elsewhere the challenge of Jack's and Charmian's representation of cannibalism in their reports and fiction in recent criticism.[50] Although Charmian reports in *The Log of the Snark* as confirmed in Kingman's research that they actually met with the young cook Mauki in 1908 in Lord Howe Atoll and that Jack planned to write a story of his experiences, William Arens sees "little empirical evidence of actual cannibalism; rather, cannibalism is largely a projection of Europeans who sought to justify their exploitation of Indigenous people by depicting them as the savage Other, as animals beyond the pale of civilization."[51] Once again, Jack London seems to be driven by his compulsive urge and routine to write a thousand words per day and to write for money, meeting the literary taste of readers interested in these adventure stories and the contemporary Anglo-Saxon ideology. At the same time, he

also tried to correct the public perception of white hegemony by revealing its ugly face in ruthless operations of masters and greedy companies destroying Indigenous lives.

It is London's encounter with diseases, those of others and increasingly his own which prepare the final stage of his decolonial efforts. The accumulation of serious diseases while cruising the South Seas forces Jack London to break up the cruise in November 1908 and commit himself into the care of doctors in Australia. The five-month stay began with an operation for two fistulas in a hospital in North Sydney, and while the Australian specialists could take care of his malaria and yaws, they could not find a cure for "the mysterious malady that afflicted my hands," resembling leprosy: "It was unknown in the literature of medicine. No case like it had ever been reported. It extended from my hands to my feet so that at times I was as helpless as a child. On occasion my hands were twice their natural size, with seven dead and dying skins peeling off at the same time. There were times when my toe-nails, in twenty-four hours, grew as thick as they were long. After filing them off, inside another twenty-four hours they were as thick as before."[52] To recuperate, the couple decides to move to the Island of Tasmania with a more moderate climate resembling the Californian temperature of their home in Glen Ellen in the Sonoma Valley. The "five months miserably sick [time] in hotels"[53] were interrupted by the important event of the boxing day on December 26, 1908, when he attends and reports the heavy weight fight of the African American Jack Johnson against the Canadian Tommy Burns in the Sydney Rushcutters Bay Stadium. Since African Americans could officially not participate in Boxing World Championships, Johnson challenged Burns in Australia and won the fight against all odds and white expectations. London, whose passion for the sport including almost daily boxing rounds also on board the *Snark* and against Charmian,[54] reported the fight both for *The Australian Star* and *The New York Herald* and had to recognize the superior quality of the Black boxer: "Personally I was with Burns all the way. He is a white man, and so am I. Naturally I wanted to see the white man win …. Because a white man wishes a white man to win, this should not prevent him from giving absolute credit to the best man who did win, even when the best man was black."[55] A new round of Johnson's challenge to white boxers takes place in Reno, Nevada, in 1910. This time London reports for ten days on the events preceding the fight on the Fourth of July. For the readers of *The New York Herald*, he adopts the position of white Americans who saw Jim Jeffries as "the great white hope"—until the day of the fight, when London in his report switches to the perspective of the Black boxer who "played and fought a white man in a white man's country, before a white man's crowd" and states in his first sentence: "Once again has Johnson sent down to defeat the chosen representative of the white race."[56] The increasing move away from the traditional role of white hegemony and the recognition of the underprivileged in a dominant white society, probably reminiscent of his own experiences at a young age, intensifies and becomes the writer's political program in the final stage of his life, determined by the battle with medical problems.

Transnational Cure to Western Civilizational Maladies

Jack London's statement on the final page of *The Cruise of the Snark* that "[w]ithout the use of drugs, merely by living in the wholesome California climate, my silvery skin vanished" and that he had "a spontaneous cure" dissimulates the fact that his past illnesses continued to bother him.[57] Nevertheless, the encounters with exotic conditions, tropical diseases, and Indigenous people had further shaped his change of attitude and motivated his realization of alternative solutions. In memory of his stay in Japan, Korea, and China he started reading about Asian agricultural techniques and began implementing these alternate ways of food production on his Beauty Ranch in Glen Ellen.[58] His campaign for healthy food was also a recognition of the many Asian immigrants on the West Coast and formed part of his ecological concerns for the preservation of nature and his long-held belief in a common basis of all organic life in the biosphere. The three-part, partially autobiographical novel, *The Valley of the Moon* (1913), offers the most explicit manifestation of Jack London's new orientation, having his protagonists, a newlywed couple, move from dismal industrial urban employment to a self-sufficient happy life as farmers in the countryside, following the fictional couple's model. It also includes his recognition of the multiethnic communities in California, surrounded by farmworkers from around the world who practice alternative forms of food production that set them apart from industrialized American bonanza farmers: "Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Portuguese, Swiss, Hindus, Koreans, Norwegians, Danes, French, Armenians, Slavs, almost every nationality save Americans."[59] The novel is both "a tutorial on agriculture" derived from allegedly inferior racial groups and the projection of "a new, postbonanza concept of large-scale organic American farming."[60] These visions set the stage for the final two stays of the Londons in Hawai'i meant to cure Jack's persistent ailments. The time in Hawai'i from March to July 1915, and from December 1915 to July 1916, only four months before his death in California, represent the culmination of Jack London's search for a cure by "going native." Early on in Charmian's summary of their Hawaiian stays in *Our Hawaii*, a final tribute and goodbye to her deceased husband, she mentions Jack's induction into the Hawaiian community as a "Kamaaina" in 1916 and explains that its significance "is that of old-timer, and more, much more. It means one who *belongs*, who has come to belong in the hearth and life and soil of Hawaii; as one might say, a subtropical 'sourdough.'"[61] Not only does he also get a Hawaiian name "Keaka Lakana," but is now fully recognized in the Hawaiian community. The couple's invitation by the deposed Hawaiian Queen Liliuokalani in March 1915 documents his firm commitment and public support for the Hawaiians against American annexation and colonization: "There was in Jack," Charmian recalls, "the widening gratification that he was advancing in his conquest of the heart and understanding of the people of Hawaii, Hawaii-born Anglo-Saxon and part Hawaiian, and the ever dear and dearer Hawaiians themselves."[62] A further sign of his vision for a multiethnic community is his invitation by the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Organization in Honolulu in May 1915 to give a lecture on "The

Patriotism of the Pacific," which was published as "The Language of the Tribe."[63] The lecture begins with Jack London's reflection on languages based on his encounters with foreign languages in Asia and the Pacific. He posits the idea of a "world tribe" and a world language which also includes his belief in the existence of animal language. In his explanation of the importance of such a "world language" which guarantees universal communication and excludes misunderstanding, he recalls a crucial episode from his early life with his African American surrogate mother. In line with my argument, it is significant that he reconnects at this time with his childhood experience of life in a Black mixed-race family, writing about Virginia Prentiss ("Jennie"), "who had been bought and sold upon the block before the Civil War," that "I loved her as I loved no one else, …. In her I had all faith. I thought that [she] could never tell a lie, but at the age of seven my heart was broken because I did not know her tribal language."[64] Wanting to know whether she had been born on the African continent without asking her directly in order not to hurt her feelings, he asks her whether she had ever seen "a gorilla." An affirmative answer to that question would correlate with his reading knowledge that the home of gorillas was Africa because they would not survive the transportation to either Europe or America and the respective change of climate. For the young Jack, Jennie's answer that she had seen "lots of dem, honey, down on the plantation down South" is an outright lie, and it was only five years later at the age of 12 that he read in a Civil War book about guerilla wars and realized the spelling difference between spoken and written language. Based on this misunderstanding, he proposes "the formation of a Pan-Pacific Club, where all men of all races can come, where they can eat together and smoke together and talk together." Hawai'i would be the ideal starting place for a "world language … where the people of all the countries that rest around the edge of the Pacific meet."[65] In *Our Hawaii*, Charmian recalls her late husband's enthusiastic engagement in the Pan-Pacific Club and discussions with his friend Alexander Hume Fort to start a movement of all Pacific peoples "'to work together for one another and for the Pacific'" based on the conviction that "'Hawaii, with her mixture of Pacific races, yet with no race problems, should be the country to take the lead.'" It was finally this activity for the Pan-Pacific Club, Charmian states, "that earned Jack London his kamaainaship."[66]

After their return to the Beauty Ranch in California in July 1916, Jack London's medical afflictions accumulated. Arthritis, rheumatism, diarrhea, nausea, sleeplessness, and kidney failures made life for him and his caregivers unbearable. Doctors diagnosed "uraemia following renal colic" as the cause of death on 22 November. At the simple funeral, Charmian took care to wreath the urn "with ferns and with yellow primroses from the garden. With the primroses, as a tribute to Jack's adopted home, Hawaii, I wound the withered rust-colored *leis of ilima* once given Jack in Honolulu."[67] She further supports the Indigenous references by explicitly pointing to the Native American origin of the location of the Jack London Ranch, in the Valley of the Moon, the English translation of Native American Sonoma Valley and the title of his novel, concluding *Our Hawaii*.[68] To what extent Jack London's embrace of a Hawaiian identity

translates into a form of cultural appropriation is a serious issue of current analyses. A complete account of his multiethnic and transnational encounters, based on his crucial childhood in a Black family and the series of social and medical diseases personally and vicariously suffered, would support his sincere mission for a pan-Pacific alliance and transindigenous relations. In my reading, Jack London does not only "fight for a better America"[69] but for the multiethnic constitution of a world community as a result of his transnational medical migrations, employing the power of autobiographical narratives.[70]

Notes

1 I use the term medical migration to account for Jack London's life-long travels in pursuit of personal and professional goals to and from different parts of the world with encounters of a variety of diseases. The trajectories of these migrations cover the multiple locations and repeated attempts of contemporary hobos and job seekers to improve their miserable conditions.

2 Alfred Hornung, "Living Transnational American Studies," *Journal of Keio American Studies* 0 (Summer 2020): 44–65.

3 Celia Ticchi, *Jack London: A Writer's Fight For A Better America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 25.

4 Earle Labor, Robert C. Leitz, III and I. Milo Shepard, eds., *The Complete Short Stories of Jack London*, 3 vols. (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1993), 1128–29. All quotations from London's short stories refer to this edition.

5 For his personal and political essays, see "How I Became a Socialist" (1903), "What Life Means to Me" (1905), and "Revolution" (1905). For a fictional rendition, see London's fictional autobiography *Martin Eden* (1909), started in 1906–07 in California and completed on his Pacific voyage, in which the protagonist's working-class narratives contrast with mainstream literary conventions. After many rejections of his personal manuscripts, Martin Eden lands a major commercial success with a fictional book. Rather than pursuing this successful form of inauthentic writing, he gives up on the false values of a bourgeois life and drowns himself in the Pacific Ocean.

6 Jack London, John Barleycorn, 1913, in Novels and Social Writings: The People of the Abyss, The Road, The Iron Heel, Martin Eden, John Barleycorn, Essays, ed. Donald Pizer, The Library of America (New York: Viking, 1982), 1054.

7 Jack London, "In a Far Country" (1893), *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. I, 216.

8 Jack London, *Revolution and Other Essays* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), 301, 303. London's formulation of his professional goal in this 1905 essay "What Life Means to Me" is the reaffirmation of his working-class background and a refutation of "the parlor

floor" of bourgeois society shortly after the commercial success of *The Call of the Wild* (London 1910, 307-308).

[9] Qtd. in Clarice Stasz, *American Dreamers: Charmian and Jack London* (New York: St. Martin's, 1988), 80.

[10] Fredric Jameson, The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981); Mita Banerjee, Color Me White: Naturalism/Naturalization in American Literature (Heidelberg: Winter, 2013).

[11] Jack London, "The Son of the Wolf" (1899), *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. I, 197.

[12] Jack London, "The White Silence" (1898), *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. I, 147.

[13] London's phraseology and language reflect the public discourse of his time considered offensive to non-white people and seen as racist today.

[14] Jack London, "Bâtard" (1902), *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. I, 730.

[15] This clearly supports my argument about Jack London's twofold strategy. On the one hand he writes to make money and adopts the political beliefs and literary taste of a mainstream white society. This renders him the first millionaire American writer. On the other hand, he subverts these beliefs by displaying forms of diversity and empowering mixed-race representatives. See Alfred Hornung, "Jack London," *Handbook of the American Short Story*, ed. Erik Redling and Oliver Scheiding (Berlin: deGruyter, 2022), 249–68.

[16] Jack London, *The People of the Abyss* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903), 311, 313.

[17] Throughout I follow the spelling of Hawaiian words used by Jack and Charmian Kittredge London.

[18] Charmian Kittridge London, *Our Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 90.

[19] See Jack London, "The House of Pride," (1908) *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. II, 1345–57.

[20] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark: A Pacific Voyage* (1911, London: KPI Limited, 1986), 97.

[21] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 111, 114–115. The author mentions the Crusade as the origin of lepra which according to this theory the crusaders brought back from the Holy Land to Europe, and which connects the attempts of a Christian Reconquista of Jerusalem with the conquest of the New World and the colonization of Hawai'i by American missionaries as a basis for bringing the disease to Indigenous peoples in the Pacific. Today lepra is known as Hansen's disease after the Norwegian physician Dr. Gerhard Armauer Hansen, who first researched the unknown bacteria in 1874. Cf. also Rüdiger Kunow's account of the disease and its relation to American colonialism in Hawai'i ("The White Man's Medical Burden: U.S. Colonialism and Disease Ecologies in Jack London's Hawai'ian Stories," *Journal of the Short Story in English*, 73 [Dec. 2019]: 83–96).

[22] Charmian Kittridge London, *Our Hawaii*, 135.

[23] Jack London, The Cruise of the Snark, 99.

[24] Charmian Kittridge London, *Our Hawaii*, 138.

[25] Jack London, The Cruise of the Snark, 102.

[26] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 98, 101.

[27] Charmian Kittridge London, *Our Hawaii*, 126.

[28] The historical Koolau lived in hiding until his death in 1897 together with his wife and son. In 1906 his wife wrote an account of the events in the Hawaiian language, translated into English in 2001: Pi'ilani Kaluaikoolau, *The True Story of Kaluaikoolau as Told by his Wife, Piilani: Translated from the Hawaiian Language by Frances N. Frazier* (Lihue, HI: Kausi Historical Society, 2001).

[29] Jack London, "Koolau the Leper," (1908), *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. II, 1444.

[30] In his poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899), the British writer Rudyard Kipling supported the American colonization of the Philippines, following the annexation of Hawai'i, as a civilizational obligation of imperial powers. In the "The White Man's Medical Burden," Rüdiger Kunow extends this political message of colonial rule and obligations to the field of medicine for his interpretation of two of Jack London's Hawaiian stories. This medical burden implies the demand to cure—by way of school medicine—diseases most of which were previously imported by foreign colonizers, ignoring traditional medical cures.

[31] See Mita Banerjee, "Civilizational Critique in Herman Melville's Typee, Omoo, and Mardi," Amerikastudien/American Studies, 48, no 2 (2003): 207–225; and Ethnic Ventriloquism: Literary Minstrelsy in Nineteenth-Century American Literature (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008).

[32] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 196.

[33] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 163.

[34] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 169.

[35] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 165, 171.

[36] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 281.

[37] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 285.

[38] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 293.

[39] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 289.

[40] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 291.

[41] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 294-95.

[42] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 293.

[43] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 299–300.

[44] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 294.

[45] Jack London, "The Terrible Solomons" (1908), in *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. II, 1519.

[46] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 267.

[47] Jack London, "Mauki" (1908), *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. II, 1539.

[48] Jack London, "Mauki" (1908), *The Complete Short Stories*, vol. II, 1544.

[49] Jack London, *The People of the Abyss*, 311, 313.

[50] Alfred Hornung, "Charmian Kittredge London's *Our Hawaii*," in *Women and U.S. Politics: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Essays in Honor of Hans-Jürgen Grabbe*, ed. Julia Nitz and Axel R. Schäfer (Heidelberg: Winter, 2020), 220; "Jack London," *Handbook of the American Short Story*, 262–63.

[51] Russ Kingman, *Jack London: A Definitive Chronology* (Middletown, CT: David Rejl for Jack London Research Center, 1992), 93–94; Charmian Kittridge London, *The Log of the Snark*, 445; William Arens quoted in Keith Newlin, "Among Cannibals and Headhunters: Jack London in Melanesia," *Journeys* 19, no. 1 (2018): 7.

[52] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 305.

[53] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 305.

[54] Charmian mentions this almost routine activity in her *The Log of the Snark*, a journal she kept of the Pacific voyage recommended by Jack (74).

[55] King Hendricks and Irving Shepard, eds., *Jack London Reports: War Correspondence, Sports Articles, and Miscellaneous Writings* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970), 258–59.

[56] Hendricks and Shepard, *Jack London Reports*, 293.

[57] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark*, 307.

[58] A major reference guide was Franklin H. King's *Farmers of Forty Centuries or Permanent Agriculture in China, Korea, and Japan*. 1911. Reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover, 2004. See Charmian's description of her husband's alternative methods in her two-volume biography *The Book of London*, vol. 2, 266–67.

[59] Jack London, *The Valley of the Moon* (1913; The Project Gutenberg EBook, 2018), Bk. III, ch. 12.

[60] Celia Ticchi, *Jack London*, 174, 176.

[61] Charmian Kittridge London, *Our Hawaii*, 25.

[62] Charmian Kittridge London, *Our Hawaii*, 318.

[63] Jack London, "The Language of the Tribe," *The Mid-Pacific Magazine* 10, no. 2 (August 1915), 117–20.

[64] Jack London, "The Language of the Tribe," 119.

[65] Jack London, "The Language of the Tribe," 119.

[66] Charmian Kittridge London, *Our Hawaii*, 336, 337.

[67] Charmian Kittridge London, *The Book of Jack London*, Vol. 2, 396.

[68] Charmian Kittridge London, *Our Hawaii*, 345.

[69] Celia Ticchi's subtitle of her Jack London biography.

[70] Mita Banerjee, *Medical Humanities in American Studies: Life Writing, Narrative Medicine, and the Power of Autobiography*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2018.

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