

# ernest howard crosby: a forgotten tolstoyan anti-militarist and anti-imperialist<sup>1</sup>

perry e. gianakos

When Ernest Howard Crosby died in 1907, he was eulogized in a memorial service at Cooper Union by the many friends he had made during his career as a reformer in New York City. Among the organizations sponsoring the service were The Social Welfare Club of New York, The Manhattan Single Tax Club, the Society for Italian Immigrants, the Central Federated Labor Union of New York, The Filipino Progress Association, the Anti-Imperialist League and others, some twenty in all.<sup>2</sup> This was quite a tribute for a man who had been engaged in reform for only about ten years. But then Crosby's reforming career, short though it was, was highly unusual.

Born into a patrician New York family in 1856—his father was the popular pastor of the 4th Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York and himself something of a reformer—he was educated in New York City at New York University and Columbia Law School, graduating in 1878. After a brief career as a practicing lawyer, he was elected to the New York Legislature in 1887 as the successor of his friend, Theodore Roosevelt. Two years later he was nominated by President Harrison to sit as a judge

These are great days, Colonel Jinks . . . .  
Great Days, indeed, for foreign missions.  
What would St. John have said on the island  
of Patmos if he could have cabled for  
half-a-dozen armies and half-a-dozen fleets,  
and got them too? He would have made short  
work of his jailers. As he looks down upon  
us to-night, how his soul must rejoice! The  
Master told us to go into all nations, and  
we are going to go if it takes a million  
troops to send us and keep us there.

Ernest Howard Crosby,  
*Captain Jinks, Hero*  
(1902), 270-271

on the International Court in Alexandria, Egypt, which nomination was later confirmed by the Khedive. Although this was a life-time appointment, Crosby remained in Egypt for only four years. Doubtless his work as a judge in the Egyptian Court, which involved the adjudication of disputes between foreigners within the country and between foreigners and natives, readied him for his later career at home; for during these four years he had become keenly aware of the economic injustice and exploitation so blatantly displayed in Egypt by the European powers.<sup>3</sup> But it was another event which precipitated his resignation and return to New York.

Through chance there came into his hands a copy of Count Leo Tolstoy's little book *Life*. Crosby was profoundly impressed:

For some reason it took hold of me with a strange power. . . . the simple teaching that it is man's higher nature to love—that if he would only let himself love and renounce his selfish aims, he would enter a wider sphere, find his immortal soul, and in fact be born again—all this struck me as a great new discovery. I leaned back in my study chair; I tried to love, and—could I believe my own sensations?—I did actually feel that I had risen to a loftier plane, and that there was something immortal within me. . . . Nor was the change merely temporary, for since that day the world has never looked to me quite as it used to.<sup>4</sup>

Converted to the Tolstoyan philosophy of love, Crosby resigned his post and prepared to return to America. Before returning to New York, however, he determined to journey to Russia to visit Tolstoy. Crosby was known to Countess Tolstoy as a result of his humanitarian acts during the Russian famine of 1892. And so it was through her that he arranged a meeting with her famous husband. After visiting the Countess in Moscow, Crosby then journeyed south to the Tolstoy estate at Toula, where he spent two fruitful days with the Count.<sup>5</sup> The original impact on Crosby of Tolstoy's ideas was greatly reenforced during this visit, for from the evidence of his subsequent writings Crosby was never to forget his brief stay at Yasnaia Poliana. Tolstoy was equally impressed with the young American, as is indicated by the extensive correspondence, which continued until Crosby's death in 1907.<sup>6</sup> In fact, Crosby became Tolstoy's chief defender in America, speaking and writing frequently on behalf of him and his ideas.<sup>7</sup> Upon his return to America, then, Crosby was, as B. O. Flower notes, "imbued as never before with the religion of humanity. Henceforth he could not be other than a democrat . . . and a lover of all his fellowmen."<sup>8</sup>

Taking Tolstoy's advice, Crosby sought out the man whom the Russian reformer had described as "the greatest living American," Henry George, and became an ardent advocate of the single tax. Following the Tolstoyan philosophy of doing service to others, he involved himself in

a number of reform movements: the child labor question, settlement work among immigrants, the labor question and industrial arbitration, and civil liberties (writing in defense of aliens arbitrarily detained for alleged anarchist beliefs). For his involvement in these activities Crosby paid a heavy price, since many of his former friends now regarded him as a "traitor to his class."<sup>9</sup> When the war with Spain came in 1898, he based his opposition to militarism and imperialism on the Tolstoyan doctrine of "non-resistance." It is this part of his career which holds the greatest interest for us today.

Crosby's anti-militarist and anti-imperialist writings—consisting of a number of published speeches and letters, essays, columns, three volumes of poetry and one novel—have received consideration in only one historical monograph on anti-imperialism, Fred H. Harrington's essay on "The Literary Aspects of Anti-Imperialism," which appeared in *The New England Quarterly* for 1937. Harrington acknowledges Crosby as the most "prolific" of the anti-imperialist poets and devotes one paragraph to a description of his novel.<sup>10</sup> In part, the neglect of Crosby's writings resulted from the fact that his caustic wit and Tolstoyan views were not representative of the anti-imperialist movement. In part, the neglect can also be traced to the general failure of the anti-imperialist movement itself, which, although it attracted the support of significant elements of the intellectual community, elicited little response from the masses. Though president during his lifetime of the Anti-Imperialist League of New York, Crosby never commanded the kind of attention given to such national figures as ex-Presidents Harrison and Cleveland, Mark Twain, William James, Carl Schurz, Andrew Carnegie and others. Except for short, appreciative works published at the time of his death, Crosby's public life remains unexamined.<sup>11</sup> But aside from William Dean Howells, Crosby was undoubtedly the most prominent of the American disciples of Tolstoy to oppose the war with Spain to free Cuba and the decision to retain the Philippine Islands. When his full career is assessed, he will undoubtedly rank among the most eminent of those Americans who devoted their energies to peace.

A preliminary review of his work seems especially appropriate at this time, since American society is passing through a cultural crisis much like that following the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, which also saw the initiation of the imperialist episode in this country.<sup>12</sup> The similarity between the two periods is most apparent, of course, in the protest movement that in Crosby's day was also directed against overseas involvement. Although dissent then was not nearly so effective nor so widespread as that of the present day, still, much of what Crosby had to say about war, militarism and imperialism has a topicality that is striking now. Consider this poem, published in 1902, one of a series entitled "War and Hell":

Who are you at Washington who presume to declare me  
the enemy of anybody or to declare any nation my  
enemy?

However great you may be, I altogether deny your author-  
ity to sow enmity and hatred in my soul.

I refuse to accept your ready-made enemies, and, if I did  
accept them, I should feel bound to love them, and,  
loving them, would you have me caress them with  
bombshells and bayonets?

When I want enemies, I reserve the right to manufacture  
them for myself.

If I am ever scoundrel enough to wish to kill, I will do my  
own killing on my own account and not hide myself  
behind your license.

Before God your commissions and warrants and enlistment  
rolls, relieving men of conscience and independence and  
manhood, are not worth the paper they are written on.

Away with all your superstitions of a statecraft worse than  
priestcraft!

Hypnotize fools and cowards if you will, but for my part,  
I choose to be a man.<sup>13</sup>

Substitute a few earthy Anglo-Saxonisms for some of Crosby's more gentlemanly words and the poem could very well pass for a contemporary production. But the sentiments expressed in this poem—familiar to us today—pervade Crosby's work, which suggests that arguments against war and militarism are universal and timeless. Crosby had lived through the Civil War (although he was a child of six at its beginning), the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, the Filipino Insurrection (the proper designation of which should be the Philippine-American War) and the Boxer Rebellion, in all but one of which American troops were involved. These wars and military engagements, their rationales and the behavior of the military became the subject matter of his poetry, his essays, speeches, columns and letters and his one novel, *Captain Jinks, Hero* (1902).

Crosby's novel is the best of the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist novels published during the expansionist period and is still effective as an antiwar document.<sup>14</sup> Since Crosby incorporated in it many of the ideas found in his poetry, essays and speeches, and since the novel is the most sustained prose expression of his views, it provides a useful vehicle for an examination of those of his ideas having contemporary significance. Although not always successful as a satire, the novel makes clever use of contemporary events to indict the militarist and imperialist sentiments supporting the expansionist program, not only in America but also in Great Britain and Germany. And since the novel is about an ostensible "hero," Crosby also makes brilliant satiric use of the highly publicized exploits of the so-called "heroes" produced by the war.

A year before its publication Crosby had attacked support for the war and imperialism in a speech in Boston entitled "The Absurdities of

Militarism," which was subsequently published by the American Peace Society. After General Funston had captured Aguinaldo, the Filipino patriot leader, by employing some highly questionable tactics, Crosby contributed an indignant essay entitled "The Military idea of Manliness,"<sup>15</sup> in which he attacked what appeared to be a new notion of military honor. It was this same incident which later provoked Mark Twain's explosive outburst, "In Defence of General Funston," wherein he scathingly denounced both Funston and American imperialism.<sup>16</sup> In that Boston speech and in a later poem Crosby had called for a new Cervantes to "prick this bubble of militarism" and "make the profession of war impossible by opening our eyes to the irresistible comicality of it."<sup>17</sup> He suggested that perhaps Mr. Dooley or Mark Twain might do the job:

Will not one of these gentlemen, or some other genius yet to be discovered, turn his winged shafts squarely against war and the war-maker? When another Cervantes shall have decked out another soldier Don Quixote in his true colors,—when he shall have laid bare the childishness of the paint and tinsel that have so long held us under their spell,—then indeed the twentieth century will be able to boast of a greater start in literature than has yet appeared, and bold indeed will be the "hero" who will thereafter select war as a career. Such a book would ring down the curtain upon the profession of the soldier.<sup>18</sup>

Doubtless Crosby was also reacting to the continuing flood of romantic war stories and novels (and military memoirs) that started in 1898 and continued well through the turn of the century. In varying degrees, most of the popular fiction (including nickel and dime novels) reflected the influence of Theodore Roosevelt's idea of the "strenuous life" and/or Kipling's notion of "The White Man's Burden." War was a noble endeavor and required all the "manly" attributes. Consequently, if one could meet the test (i.e., prove himself a man) he would return home covered with "glory." (This word occurs repeatedly in the fiction of the Spanish-American War.) Realist Stephen Crane, unreservedly the best of the American writers to cover the Cuban phase of the war, was atypical in that he dwelt on its inglorious aspects.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, it was writers like Richard Harding Davis who captured the public's imagination, since their dispatches and stories most completely mirrored the public's romantic view of the war.<sup>20</sup> William Dean Howell's short story, "Editha," published some years after the events, vividly portrays and bitterly indicts this romantic view of war as exhibited by American women of the period.<sup>21</sup>

Since neither Twain nor Finley Peter Dunne, the creator of "Mr. Dooley," chose to take up Crosby's earlier suggestion to expose war and the new heroism along the lines he had suggested, and since the fiction writers of the period continued to celebrate the continuing

American war effort in the Philippines, Crosby decided to attempt the job himself. *Captain Jinks, Hero* was the result.

## II

Following Cervantes' famous model, Crosby loosely shaped his novel into the picaresque form.<sup>22</sup> It most closely resembles Cervantes' work in that, as the title indicates, it satirizes the idea of the hero. But while Cervantes and readers of his novel are sympathetic towards Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, the same cannot be said about Crosby's characters. Nor can one say that Cervantes' satire of an out-moded chivalry reaches the level of violence that Crosby depicts in *Captain Jinks, Hero*. But, then, the object of Crosby's satire was an infinitely greater evil. And although Crosby appreciated the comic in the classic Spanish model and had originally called for an exposé of the "comicality" of the profession of war and the modern soldier, his depiction of them in *Captain Jinks, Hero* is grim and sobering. For although the reader can laugh at the absurdities and pomposities of Jinks and his fellow-officers, he cannot escape the blood, the cruelty and the destruction that followed in their wake. Herein lies the source of Crosby's biting wit and withering sarcasm, brilliantly combined in a satiric style that stands on their heads all the conventional pieties mouthed by the expansionists. And herein, finally, must lie the power of the novel, for Crosby gives the lie to the romantic and arrogant nonsense that somehow invariably American soldiers and political leaders are exceptions to the general rule applicable to countries that go to war.

Crosby also employs the characteristic picaresque device of telling a story through a series of adventures. From Sam Jinks' childhood, when he acquires his life-long ambition to become a "hero," Crosby takes him to "East Point," the Army academy, and thence to war. The stage for Sam's military adventures is ingeniously set: American intervention in Cuba and the attempt to subjugate the Philippines, followed by American participation in the Boxer Rebellion, are merged into the story of Jinks' search for "glory" in an American campaign to subdue the island nation of the "Cubapines." The last part of the novel depicts Sam's activities in "Porsslania" [China] and his eventual triumphant return to America as a "hero." In all his military exploits, Jinks is accompanied by his trusty companion (another picaresque convention) whose function it is to publicize his hero's deeds. But where Cleary, the companion, evolves from a hawk into a dove (or perhaps a wise owl) during the course of the novel, Jinks remains a committed hawk almost to the very end, when he winds up as something considerably less than a bird of prey.

The novel opens with an amusing and revealing incident, for in linking militarism to the idea of a saving mission Crosby reveals that his anti-imperialist views are inextricably linked to his Tolstoyan views

against militarism. Young Sam Jinks is introduced to the idea of militarism and the concept of the “hero” through a gift of some lead soldiers from his father. Determined as a consequence now to become a “hero,” young Sam joins the “John Wesley Boys’ Brigade” (what Crosby called “militarism in the flesh”), whose marching song, with words adapted by the local Methodist pastor, is sung to the tune of “Onward, Christian Soldiers”:

“Onward, Christian soldiers  
’Gainst the heathen crew!  
In the name of Jesus  
Let us run them through.” (p. 12).

This is the first of several attacks on organized religion’s complicity in war and imperialism.<sup>23</sup>

To those anti-imperialists who suggested that America should “haul down the flag” and give the Filipinos independence, the expansionists responded that once the American flag had been raised it should never be lowered. Crosby attacked this expansionist posture in the novel by linking blind patriotism to some dubious benefits of American civilization—prostitution and venereal disease. Sam Jinks, now a Captain in the Army, and his friend Cleary have arrived in “Havilla,” the capital city of the “Cubapines,” and are being shown around the town by a fellow officer. Sam inquires about a building which has just come into view:

“What building is that . . . with our flag over it and the nicely dressed young women in the windows?”

“That?” said Foster, laughing; “Oh, that’s the Young Ladies Home. We have to license the place. It’s the only way to keep the army in condition. Why, we’ve got about fifty per cent infected now.”

“Really?” cried Sam. “How our poor fellows are called upon to suffer for these ungrateful Cubapinos! Still they can feel that they are suffering for their country, too. That’s a consolation.”

“There’s more consolation than that,” said Foster, “for we’re spreading the thing like wildfire among the natives. We’ll come out ahead.”

“I wish, tho, that they wouldn’t fly Old Gory [sic] over the house,” said Sam.

“There was some talk of taking it down, but you see it’s the policy of the Administration never to haul down the flag when it has once been raised. It presents rather a problem, you see.”

Sam, the blind patriot, refusing to see the hypocrisy of the American mission or the absurdity of the slogan, consoles himself by suggesting that “It may wear out in time . . . altho it looks painfully new.” (pp. 140-141)

Later Sam and Cleary encounter the white commanding officer of a Negro regiment. Sam is curious about the fighting quality of the Negro

soldier and discovers from the colonel that they make much better soldiers than white men. And how does the colonel account for this fact, Sam wants to know.

Well, they're more impressible, for one thing. You can work them up into any kind of passion you want to. Then they're more submissive to discipline; they're used to being ordered about and kicked and cuffed, and they don't mind it. Besides, they're accustomed from their low social position to be subordinate to superiors, and rather expect it than not. They are all poor, too, and used to poor food and ragged clothes and no comforts, and of course they don't complain of what they get from us. (pp. 190-191)

The colonel's explanation is a damning illustration of the white American's inhumanity to Negroes. To Crosby, a disciple of Tolstoy, it is also damning proof of what militarism does to human beings.

The public relations aspect of heroism and yellow journalism are also satirized. Early in the novel, both Sam and his friend Cleary resign from the "Point" so they can get into the war, Sam as a Captain of Volunteers, and Cleary as a newspaper correspondent for the *Daily Lyre*, a yellow journal that is said to be "largely responsible for the war." The editor plans to publicize Sam's exploits and make him a public hero. But, Sam asks: "Why do you select me instead of one of the great generals at the front?"

Why, don't you see? . . . The people are half tired of the names of the generals already. They want some new name. It's our business to provide them. Then all the other newspapers are on the track of the generals. We must have a little hero of our own. When General Laughter [General Shafter] or General Notice [General Otis] do anything, all the press of the country have gotten hold of them . . . . We simply can't get ahead of them, and people are beginning to think that it's not our war at all. When we begin to boom you, they'll find out that we've got a mortgage on it yet. (pp. 80-81)

Sam goes on to distinguish himself at the "Battle of San Diego," and becomes the hero he always vowed he would be. The exertions of his publicist friend, Cleary, are crucial to his success. Crosby's account of this battle is a not-too-thinly disguised satire of the exploits of his friend, Theodore Roosevelt, at the Battle of San Juan Hill. While it is the longest of those accounts in the novel that have some basis in the actual events surrounding the actual "heroes" of the actual war, it differs sufficiently in detail from Roosevelt's exploits to allow the President some anonymity.<sup>24</sup>

Sam's greatest exploit is his capture of the rebel leader "Gomaldo." And here Crosby's novelistic account follows the Funston episode as he had outlined it in his earlier essay "The Military Idea of Manliness":



The facts of the [Funston] case are briefly these: Funston came into possession of a letter from Aguinaldo ordering 400 men to be sent to him as reinforcements. He forged,—or caused to be forged,—an answer to this in the name of the insurgent general, Lacuna, imitating his signature and making use of his seal, which he had found. In this letter he informed Aguinaldo that pursuant to his orders, he, Lacuna, was sending him his best company. Funston then organized his expedition, composed of 78 Macabebes, of whom 20 wore insurgent uniforms and the rest were dressed as workmen. General Funston, four American officers and four ex-insurgent officers accompanied the expedition . . . the native officers announcing that they had captured the Americans and were taking them as prisoners to Aguinaldo . . . after seven days' march [they] were so enfeebled by hunger that they had to send to Aguinaldo's camp for food, which was promptly furnished them, the Filipino general giving special orders that the American prisoners should be kindly treated. When they reached Aguinaldo's headquarters . . . the Macabebes were ordered to open fire on the Filipino bodyguard, . . . Aguinaldo meanwhile was seized by one of the ex-insurgent officers and made a prisoner. General Funston took command as soon as the firing began, and assisted personally in capturing Aguinaldo. The question upon this statement of facts is whether General Funston's conduct throughout was manly and creditable.

It was Funston's treachery against the man who had supplied him with food that so outraged Mark Twain in "A Defence of General Funston." Crosby develops the incident in his novel to make the same indictment. After a struggle, during which "Gomaldo" has been captured, Sam regretfully notes that the young rebel lieutenant who had brought him food has been killed. Upon the group's return to "Havilla" with their prisoners, Sam is again hailed as a hero. To his friend, Cleary, who rushes to congratulate him, Sam says: "Is it really a great and noble act? I suppose it is, for everybody says so, but somehow it has left a bad taste in my mouth." (pp. 248-249)

The pseudo-Christian missionaries in Porsslania [China] are scathingly satirized when Crosby moves the story to that embattled country. Ostensibly the Great Powers have intervened in order to relieve the besieged missionaries, and since, as Crosby puts it, the government in "Whoppington" felt that "it was necessary to make as good a showing in Porsslania as the other Powers," Sam, now Colonel Sam Jinks, is put in charge of a detachment and sent to represent the interests of his country. The barbaric behavior of the Great Powers is perhaps overdramatized and here perhaps Crosby's satire is flawed, but Crosby saves some of his sharpest thrusts for the missionaries. After a dinner, which includes representatives of all the allied powers, Sam is introduced to Canon Gleebe, a missionary:

“These are great days, Colonel Jinks,” he said. “Great Days, indeed, for foreign missions. What would St. John have said on the island of Patmos if he could have cabled for half-a-dozen armies and half-a-dozen fleets, and got them too? He would have made short work of his jailers. As he looks down upon us to-night, how his soul must rejoice! The Master told us to go into all nations, and we are going to go if it takes a million troops to send us and keep us there.” (pp. 270-271)

### III

It is perhaps the dehumanizing and brutalizing aspects of militarism which excite Crosby's strongest condemnation and which most clearly reveal him as a Tolstoyan. A recent Congressional investigation into “hazing” at West Point had revealed some of the shocking details, and Crosby saw an intimate relationship between “hazing” at West Point and the behavior of the Great Powers. In 1901, he had written:

The West Point concept of a fight, for instance, is to pick out a raw, untutored “plebe” who scarcely knows his right hand from his left, and stand him up against the best boxer in the corps, and let him take his punishment until he is knocked senseless. . . . We see in the Great Powers of the world an exemplification of the strict application of the new rule. Does any truly military nation ever tackle a nation of its size? Of course not. . . . Nations of peasants like the Boers, savages like Filipinos, may try conclusions with powers their equals or superiors in strength, but a Great Military Power? Never! They pass their time in searching the ends of the earth for little peoples to massacre and rob. . . . This is a part of the new ideal of manliness. . . .<sup>25</sup>

Crosby dramatizes this idea of “the new manliness” early in the novel when young Sam Jinks wins an appointment to “East Point,” the army academy. Sam willingly submits to two brutal hazings—which put him in the hospital for a total of three weeks—because he is told that all the military “greats” who have preceded him at the “Point” did the same thing. Assured that Generals “German and Meriden [Sherman and Sheridan] and all the rest were hazed here,” Sam tells his friend Cleary that “I wouldn't miss it for anything. It has always been done and by the greatest men, and it must be the right thing to do.” (p. 24)

It is Sam's willingness to do what the military has always done which later prompts him to tell the Tutonian Emperor, when asked what he thinks of expansion, “I beg Your Majesty's pardon . . . but I do not think. I obey orders.” (p. 323)

A candid evaluation of the troops of the Great Powers fighting in Porsslandia is provided by Cleary, who has lost some of his awe of the military since leaving “East Point”:

“Sam, it’s so long since I was at East Point that I’m becoming more and more of a civilian. You army people begin to amuse me. There’s always something funny about you. The Tutonians are the funniest of all. The little red-cheeked officers with their blond mustaches turned up to their eyes are too funny to live. You feel like kissing them and sending them to bed. And the airs they put on! . . . The officers jostle and brow-beat any civilian who will submit to it, and then try to get him into a duel, but I believe they’re a cowardly lot at bottom. No man of real courage would bluster all over the place so.” (p. 297)

Sam “admires their discipline,” however, but Cleary points out that “every army is down on the others. If you believe what they say about each other they’re a pretty bad lot.”

Sam is furloughed home shortly after sustaining an injury, and on the night before his ship is to dock at St. Kisco, the traditional captain’s banquet is held, at the end of which the martial hymns of all nations were played, ending with “Yankee Doodle.” This last tune provokes laughter among the foreigners present, which displeases Sam, who storms out. On deck, he finds Cleary conversing with Chung Tu [previously identified as a Porsslanese literatus], who, when apprised of the reason for Sam’s displeasure, begins a long dissertation on the essential wisdom in the song “Yankee Doodle.”

“The hero came to town riding on a pony. That was a very sensible thing to do. Remember that those lines were written long before the discovery of railways or tramcars or bicycles or automobiles. . . . In riding to town on a pony, then, he was acting like a rational man. But let us read the rest of the verse:

‘He stuck a feather in his cap  
And called it macaroni.’

For some reason or other which is not revealed, he put a feather in his cap, and immediately he begins to act irrationally and to use language so absurd that the reading itself has become doubtful. What is the meaning of this? A man whose conduct has always been reasonable and unexceptionable, suddenly adopts the language of a lunatic. What does it mean? It is very clear to me that it is an allegory. What is the feather which he puts in his cap? It is the most conspicuous feature of the military uniform, the plume, the pompom, which marks all kinds of military dress-hats. When he speaks of his hero of having assumed the feather, he means that he has donned the uniform of a soldier. He has come to town, in other words, to enlist. Then behold the transformation! He begins at once to act irrationally. The whole epic paints in neverfading colors the disastrous effect upon the intellect of putting on soldier-clothes. . . .”<sup>26</sup>

Chung Tu elaborates in great detail on the absurdities of the military, but sensing the growing displeasure of his auditors, soon excuses himself:

"Pardon me, my dear sirs. Perhaps I have spoken too plainly. I mean nothing personal but when I think of these wars, I can not control my tongue. Good-night." So saying the attache gathered up his robes and went below. "Queer chap," said Sam. "He must be crazy." "We've treated them rather badly, tho," said Cleary. (pp. 344-354)

At length, Sam, now a Brigadier, lands at St. Kisco and, thanks to the press agency of his friend Cleary, is hailed as the great "hero." Women rush to embrace him and shower him with kisses. This process is repeated in every town he visits.<sup>27</sup> At the same time, a popular new song sweeps the land:

I'm Captain Jinks, of the Cubapines,  
The pink of human war-machines,  
Who teaches emperors, kings and queens,  
The way to run an army. (p. 361)

But Sam's celebrity is short-lived, for his romantic, "glory-loving" sweetheart, whom Crosby has satirized early in the novel, insists on an immediate marriage in order to stop the promiscuous kissing. This turns the public against him,<sup>28</sup> and Sam, broken by the shock, ends his days in an insane asylum, where he sits for hours playing with toy soldiers. "Harmless, perfectly harmless," says the keeper to Cleary, who goes to visit him. "Perfectly harmless," repeats Cleary to himself, as he gets into his carriage. "What an idea! A perfectly harmless soldier!" (p. 393)

#### IV

The publication of Crosby's novel did not end his attacks on militarism and imperialism, for in the same year that saw the publication of *Captain Jinks, Hero*, Crosby participated in a symposium conducted by *The Arena* in which he summarized his reasons for opposing the militarist-imperialist course of the nation.<sup>29</sup> All five of his reasons found expression in his novel; they coincide remarkably with some present-day critiques of American policy and clearly reflect his Tolstoyanism. *Because it is based upon physical force.* Ideas, he insists are the real moving force in the world. Observing that the American "idea of political equality that we championed in the eighteenth century gave us for a time the right kind of leadership," he asserts that if Americans could solve the "problems of industrial democracy," we would find that the world would "follow in our train." To emphasize this relationship between ideas and leadership, he inserts an oblique reference to Theodore Roosevelt's navy mania: "to substitute a big navy for big ideas is stupid and puerile."<sup>30</sup> *Because expansion by force fills the world with hatred.* He finds that we have already made the Filipinos hate us as much in four years as did the Spaniards in four hundred. And no sooner did our troops enter Havana and Manila than they began calling the natives "niggers" and "monkeys." Pointing to the "two complicated race problems" we already have on our hands, which have implicated us in a

“course of crime and sin,” he asks if under the “pretence of uniting the world . . . are we lightly to sow the seeds of new race-hatreds [and] insure its lasting division?” *Because it is based on a false pride of race.* The American notion that they are a “chosen people,” he finds, is silly and out of place in the twentieth century. Asserting that “all races have their place,” he warns that the attempt to superimpose our ideas by force “must be disastrous.” *Because it is steeped in cant and hypocrisy.* When one country “steals the soil from under your feet and enslaves you,” while at the same time it “prates of Christianity and civilization and benevolent intentions, it turns the stomach of an honest man.” While lying to the Cubans and misleading the Filipinos, he asserts, the government has conducted a war “distinguished by the most astounding cruelties,” what General Miles has euphemistically called “marked severity.” Yet he finds that we continue to boast of our “philanthropic work as if falsehood were bred in our bones.” “Why,” he asks, as he has so often asked before and will continue to ask, “Why cannot a nation behave like a gentleman?” *Because it distracts our attention and our material resources from problems that beset us at home.* He sees a fundamental contradiction in our preaching to the rest of the world while we have grave problems at home: “. . . with our slums, our lynchings, our race and labor questions—how can we decently assume the right to teach mankind.” “True expansionism,” he concludes, “should spring from love for neighbor and its methods would be peaceful, democratic, and transparently sincere.”

Doubtless every pacifist, or non-resister in Crosby’s case, has been confronted with the question of the “just war” or the “good war,” as the Civil War was referred to in his day. Crosby did not shrink from the challenge, and in another of his “War and Hell” poems he answers the question and suggests that the roots of militarism and imperialism of his day are traceable to the Civil War.<sup>31</sup> In an essay entitled “If the South Had Been Allowed to Go,” published the following year (1903), Crosby expands on the ideas expressed in this poem and suggests that slavery could have been eliminated and the Union preserved without resort to warfare.<sup>32</sup> Crosby’s solution in this essay depends upon a continuing right of secession, but he overlooks the fact that the constitution of the Confederate States of America disallowed secession. In the concluding portion of the essay Crosby notes the consequences of the war: “the resuscitation of the spirit of war and imperialism, the laying of the foundation of the new plutocracy, and the realization that even after forty years the negro has yet to be emancipated.”

In at least two subsequent articles, “Wanted, a New Patriotism” (1903) and “Militarism At Home” (1904),<sup>33</sup> Crosby continued his attacks on militarism. In the first, Crosby contrasts the patriotism of President Roosevelt, who upon sighting the Pacific after a trip across the

country is reported to have exclaimed "What a splendid place for a big navy!", with a newer patriotism that he hoped would evolve in the land, a "new patriotism of affection and ideas, involving devotion to all that is best in our country and a determination to make her better." In the second, occasioned by the passage of the amended Militia Bill of 1904, Crosby viewed the original bill as part of a design by the War Department to build a "military empire" by "Junkerising" the state militias. Denying the need for such a centralization of military power in the War department, he asserts that we are not only arming against ourselves (Under its provisions "a Georgia regiment may be sent to put down a strike in Massachusetts."), but also "against the members of our 'set' in society—against France and Germany and Russia." Pointing to the unarmed border with Canada—"We have no navy on the Great Lakes. Why do we need one on the Atlantic?"—he asks, "if we can make a treaty with Canada to this end, why not with the other Powers?" He concludes by calling on the people to insist that the government end this military lunacy: "Let us, the people of the United States, insist on giving the world an example of national sanity, and let us beware of the complicated designs for a military empire which emanate from that storm center of military lunacy, our War Department."

In what is perhaps Crosby's last public statement on militarism (he was dead three months after its publication), he addressed a "suggestion" to the second Peace Conference called by the Tsar.<sup>34</sup> Pointing to the Rush-Bagot "Arrangement of 1817," which disarmed the Great Lakes and which he believed had successfully prevented armed conflict between Canada and the United States in spite of periods of ill feeling and disagreement, Crosby suggested that it might serve as a precedent for the disarming of the "Mediterranean, the Baltic, the Japan Sea," in time "the Atlantic and the Pacific"—and eventually, he hoped, "its principle could be applied to navies as a whole." By "removing, or reducing to a minimum, the instruments of strife," the treaty had eliminated the chief cause of war, and thus confirmed Victor Hugo's belief that "the chief cause of war is to be found in the armaments of nations." Consequently, Crosby urged that the American delegation carry with them this precedent of 1817, and he found it altogether fitting that Roosevelt, "the historian of the Naval War of 1812, should have a hand in applying its best lesson." Since the United States was not menaced by a mighty standing army at its doors, Crosby believed that it was, as he put it, "in a far better situation to take the initiative than any other great Power." Hoping once again that his country might serve as a model in this peaceful endeavor, Crosby's last wish was to see the American delegates "urge the extension of the principle to other international relations." The American delegates could thus take a leading part in the conference and, he concluded, "place the world under lasting obligations to them."

Crosby's Tolstoyan views will undoubtedly find a more widely receptive audience in America today than they did when he first expressed them. This fact is not unrelated to the American experience of the past ten years, which parallels in a remarkable manner much of that earlier American involvement about which Crosby wrote. In basing his opposition to war, militarism and imperialism on the Tolstoyan doctrine of non-resistance, Crosby was not unique, since his friend William Dean Howells also opposed war on the same grounds. Crosby was, however, the most direct, the most prolific and the most conspicuous of the public figures to be identified with Tolstoy's philosophy of non-resistance, that small minority within the anti-imperialist minority. He was unique in the wide variety of methods he employed to oppose the war and expansionism, and in that he produced the only anti-imperialist novel of merit. The satiric style that Crosby employed in *Captain Jinks, Hero* was distinctive and singularly powerful. Although Finley Peter Dunne and George Ade employed satirical styles that effectively juxtaposed American professions of altruism with contradictory actions, the effect they produced was neither so profound nor so unsettling as that produced by Crosby. That the image of the war still retains its *opera buffa* aspect is due in part to the writings of Dunne and Ade. For the impression of warfare and expansionism that emerges from their writing is a bloodless one, and in Ade's case, a passionless one. What is missing is Crosby's Tolstoyan abhorrence of war. Hence, both Dunne and Ade were tolerable to the expansionists.<sup>35</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that today's reader may regard both Dunne and Ade as quaint. But the same reader may recognize in Crosby a modern mind and, consequently, a more realistic view of war. Crosby does not avoid the blood, cruelty, destruction and inhumanity we associate with war. And because he called these facts to the attention of the largely war-approving American public of his day, along with their expansionist political leaders, he was largely ignored. He should not be forgotten.

Michigan State University

### footnotes

1. An earlier version of this paper was read at the American Studies meeting of the Michigan Academy, 1970. It has since benefited by the criticism of my colleagues Nora Landmark, Thomas Kishler and Robert Lumianski and of Charles Chatfield, guest editor of this issue of *American Studies*.

I wish gratefully to acknowledge a continuing Michigan State All-University Grant which greatly aided me in my research.

2. *Addresses in memory of Ernest Howard Crosby (1856-1907)* Cooper Union New York March 7, 1907. Ernest Howard Crosby Memorial Committee. Among the individual sponsors were such notables as Jane Addams, Felix Adler, Arthur Brisbane, William Jennings Bryan, Abraham Cahan, Bliss Carman, Clarence Darrow, Hamlin Garland, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry George, Jr., Samuel Gompers, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Frederick C. Howe, William Dean Howells, William James, Tom L. Johnson, Edwin Markham, George Foster Peabody, Samuel Seabury, Moorfield Storey, Booker T. Washington and Erving Winslow.

3. "British Egypt: Part I," *The Arena*, 35 (1906), 582-587; Part II, *The Arena*, 36 (1906), 41-45; Part III, *The Arena*, 36 (1906), 162-168.

4. Ernest Howard Crosby, *Tolstoy and His Message* (London, 1904), 43-44.

5. Ernest Howard Crosby, "Two Days With Count Tolstoy," *The Progressive Review*, 2, (August, 1897), 407-422.

6. During the 13 years of their friendship (1894-1907), Tolstoy wrote to Crosby at least 18 times, perhaps more. In the Crosby collection are xerox copies of 17 letters from Tolstoy to Crosby himself and one expressing condolences upon Crosby's death. There are also three letters from Countess Sophie Tolstoy. Tolstoy would often send long letters to his friends in England and America and authorize their being sent to newspapers for publication. In Crosby's "Mark Twain Scrapbook" are newspaper clippings of a number of such letters, one sent by Crosby to the New York *Tribune* (April 4, 1896). The whereabouts of the original of this letter is unknown. Since Tolstoy wrote his letters in English, and since they were rather long, Crosby doubtless merely forwarded the original letter with an introductory letter of his own. *Crosby Coll.* See note 9 below.

7. "Count Tolstoy and Non-Resistance," *The Outlook* (July 11, 1896), 52-53; "In Honor of Tolstoy," *The Critic*, 33 (Old Series), 856 (October, 1898), 282-284; "Count Tolstoy at Seventy," *The Coming Age*, 1 (February, 1899), 172-177; "Tolstoy et ses traducteurs," *L'Humanite Nouvelle*, 38 (1900), 193-200; "Count Tolstoy and His Philosophy of Life," *The Liberal Club, Buffalo: Addresses Delivered Before the Club During the Three Seasons, 1900-1903* (Buffalo, 1904), 17-58; "Count Tolstoy as Philosopher, Prophet, and Man," *The Arena*, 25, (April, 1901), 429-439; *Tolstoy and His Message* (London, 1904); *Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster* (Chicago, n.d.); *Tolstoy on Shakespeare* (New York, 1906).

8. B. O. Flower, "Ernest Howard Crosby: Prophet of Peace and Apostle of Social Righteousness," *The Arena*, 37 (March, 1907), 259-271.

9. Nor was Crosby's family sympathetic to his new career. Crosby's wife—the former Fanny Schieffelin—was the daughter of Henry M. Schieffelin, a wealthy and prominent New York importer. Both she and her mother disapproved of Crosby's reform activities. To get Crosby out of the city and thus, hopefully, to end his new career, the widow Schieffelin presented him with an estate at Rhinebeck-on-the-Hudson. The plan didn't work, for while Crosby accepted the gift, he continued his involvement in those reform and humanitarian activities which were regarded as embarrassments by his family. Crosby's behavior during the "Gorky affair" illustrates the depth of his conviction. The warm welcome that New York had given to the Russian writer and patriot cooled considerably when it was discovered that Gorky had traveled to the United States with his mistress. But while Mark Twain and William Dean Howells—two of the prominent New Yorkers who were sponsoring a gala banquet in his honor—were cowed by public opinion and backed out, Crosby remained unperturbed and boldly welcomed Gorky into his home. Needless to say, it was behavior such as this which served to exacerbate his relations with the Schieffelins. So embittered did the family become, in fact, that after Crosby's sudden death in Baltimore in 1907, his name was dropped from family discussions. Crosby's granddaughter and heiress, who visited her grandmother when she was growing up, was never told about her grandfather's career. Nor did her own father mention him, except to say that the family was afraid that "he was becoming a communist." At the same time he told her the Gorky story. Not until she had reached the age of 21, at which time she inherited the Rhinebeck estate, did she learn the full story when she discovered Crosby's books and papers in an Egyptian sarcophagus where they had been placed by the widow.

I am indebted to Mrs. Crosby Glendening for this account of her grandfather. Mrs. Glendening has graciously deposited Ernest Howard Crosby's papers and books with the Michigan State University Library. References to this as yet uncataloged collection are noted as *Crosby Coll.*

10. In an earlier article Harrington lists Crosby among those political leaders, reformers and intellectuals who supported the Anti-Imperialist League, "The Anti-Imperialist Movement in the United States, 1898-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 22 (September, 1935), 211-230. Merle Curti, in *Peace or War: The American Struggle* (1936), mentions Crosby only in passing, as does Peter Brock in *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (1968). E. Berkeley Tompkins most recent study, *Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate, 1890-1920* (1970) acknowledges Crosby as head of the Anti-Imperialist League of New York and quotes some of his poetry. David Healy's *United States Expansionism: The Imperialist Urge in the 1890's* (1970) mentions the Anti-Imperialist League but ignores Crosby. Robert L. Beisner's prize-winning *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists 1898-1900* (1968) does not mention Crosby at all. Nor is Crosby mentioned in Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire* (1963); William Appleman Williams, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire* (1969); Ernest R. May, *American Imperialism* (1969), *Imperial Democracy* (1961); Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother* (1961); Samuel Eliot Morison, Frederick Merk & Frank Freidel, *Dissent in Three American Wars* (1970). Nor is he mentioned in the diplomatic history texts of Alexander De Conde, Thomas A. Bailey, Richard W. Leopold, Wayne S. Cole or Robert H. Ferrell.



11. Leonard D. Abbott, *Ernest Howard Crosby: A Valuation and a Tribute* (1907).

12. Recent scholarship has revisited the economic thesis and places the origin of the imperialist impulse of 1898-1900 in earlier periods of economic depression or in factors implicit in the American capitalistic market system. More compelling, however, is Marilyn Blatt Young's conclusion that such monolithic views of American expansionism at the century's end are ill founded. See "American Expansion, 1870-1900: The Far East," *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (1969), 176-201. Recent scholarship in American intellectual history—E. L. Tuveson's *Redeemer Nation* and Martin Marty's *Righteous Empire*, among others—points the way to a much more comprehensive interpretation of American expansion and overseas involvement, since it acknowledges the presence of powerful cultural imperatives which transcend the exaggerated economic rhetoric of a given period. Unlike the approach of the neo-economic determinists, which may be said still to be tied to 19th-century mechanistic concepts, the newer approach of the intellectual historians more closely resembles the holistic approach of the new life scientists, especially as it is revealed in the "balanced systems" approach.

13. Ernest Howard Crosby, *Swords and Plowshares* (New York, 1902), 14-15. Crosby dedicated this collection of poems "To The Noble Army of Traitors and Heretics."

14. There were remarkably few written at the time. Raymond Landon Bridgman's *Loyal Traitors* (Boston, 1903) is the only other explicitly anti-imperialist novel. It is, in fact, a virtual tract against imperialism. Gertrude Atherton's *Senator North* (New York, 1903) couples racism and elitism to oppose the war to free Cuba. See my "The Spanish-American War and the Double Paradox of the Negro American," *Phylon* (Spring, 1965), 34-49.

Two well-known humorists satirized the imperialists during this period. See Finley Peter Dunne, *Mr. Dooley in Peace and War* (Boston, 1898) and George Ade's successful musical play *The Sultan of Sulu* (New York, 1903), which satirizes McKinley's program of "Benevolent Assimilation." In a later anti-expansionist musical, *The Sho-Gun* (1904), Ade models the leading character, an expansionist, after Theodore Roosevelt.

Mark Twain produced no imaginative works of fiction about expansionism at the time. Since he originally supported the war to free Cuba—parting company with his friend Howells on that issue—he confined himself to attacks on General Funston and on the imperialism of the Great Powers. See his "To a Person Sitting in Darkness," *North American Review*, 172 (February, 1901), 161-176.

15. Ernest Howard Crosby, "The Military Idea of Manliness," *The Independent*, 53 (April 8, 1901), 873-875.

16. *North American Review*, 174 (May, 1902), 613-634.

17. "War and Hell IX," *Swords and Plowshares*, 17-18.

18. *The Absurdities of Militarism* (Boston, 1901), 11.

19. Most of Stephen Crane's stories are collected in *Wounds in the Rain* (New York, 1899). Other stories are scattered through the volumes of his collected works. Crane's Spanish-American war dispatches are collected in *The War Dispatches of Stephen Crane*, ed. R. W. Stallman and E. R. Hageman (New York, 1964).

20. See Davis's collected works for "Blood Will Tell," "A Charmed Life," "A Derelict," "On the Fever Ship," "The Man With One Talent." Davis's war dispatches are collected in *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (1898). Both Frederic Remington and (Gen.) Charles King produced romantic stories and novels about the war: see Remington's *Men With Bark On* (New York, 1900) and King's *A Conquering Corps Badge and Other Stories of the Philippines* (Milwaukee, 1902). King also produced three novels: *Ray's Daughter* (Philadelphia, 1901), *Found in the Philippines* (New York, 1901), and *Comrades in Arms* (New York, 1904). Romantic war stories appeared in many periodicals, including *Munsey's Magazine*, *The Youth's Companion*, *Overland Monthly*, *The Argosy*, *Harper's Round Table*, *Scribner's Magazine* and *Cosmopolitan*. In addition, nickel and dime novels celebrating the war flooded the country. Upton Sinclair produced at least 64 such novels, all of which celebrate aspects of the war. Sinclair wrote at least 29 nickel novels for Street & Smith's "True Blue" series under the pseudonym of "Ensign Clarke Fitch"; at least 18 nickel novels for Street & Smith's "Starry Flag" series under the pseudonym of "Douglas Wells"; and at least 17 dime novels for Street & Smith's "Columbia Library" series in which he used both pseudonyms. Most of these are to be found in the Library of Congress' Dime Novel Collection.

21. William Dean Howells, "Editha," *Between the Dark and the Daylight, Romances* (New York, 1907), 124-143. The story was originally published in 1905. For confirmation of Howells' portrait, see Edith Elmer Wood, *The Spirit of the Service* (New York, 1903), wherein such a heroine is favorably depicted. See also Crosby's poem "Women and War," *Swords and Plowshares*, 43-44.

While "Editha" was the only antiwar fiction which Tolstoyan Howells produced, he was not inactive during the war years. See William M. Gibson, "Mark Twain and William Dean Howells, Anti-Imperialists," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1940).

22. In the Crosby collection are a number of letters from readers of the novel. One is addressed as follows:

Ernest Crosby Esq.  
The American Cervantes  
% Funk & Wagnalls' Co.  
New York City, N.Y.

23. See Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898, The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936), 279-316.

24. Material on Roosevelt's part in the Cuban campaign is voluminous. See Richard Harding Davis, *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (1898) and *The Notes of a War Correspondent* (New York, 1911). Davis's original dispatch about the Guasimas engagement is less flattering to Roosevelt than subsequent accounts he wrote of the same incident. Compare "The Rough Riders' Fight at Guasimas," *Scribner's Magazine*, 24 (September, 1898), 259-273. See also Annie Hale Riley, *Rooseveltian Fact and Fable* (New York, 1910). Roosevelt tells his story in *The Rough Riders* (New York, 1899). See also Hermann Hagedorn's novelized treatment, *The Rough Riders* (New York, 1927).

25. "The Military Idea of Manliness."

26. Crosby knew from personal experience whereof he wrote, for he served 8 years in the National Guard of New York, attaining the rank of Major: "I used to wear a cocked hat with an ostrich feather a yard long. I know what it is to prance up and down Fifth Avenue on a riding-school nag, feeling like a composite photograph of Washington and Napoleon; and I can testify, as far as I am concerned, that there is nothing but vanity at the bottom of the whole business," *op. cit.* "The Absurdities of Militarism." Crosby developed the Chung Tu episode from some of his observations in this speech.

27. Crosby here satirizes another of the "heroes" produced by the war, "Kissing Hobson." Lt. Richmond Pearson Hobson commanded the ill-fated Merrimac in the U.S. Navy's attempt to block the entrance to Santiago harbor and thus trap Cervera's fleet inside. The scheme failed, and Hobson and his men were taken prisoner. Hobson's exploit was blown-up in the popular press, and he became an instant hero. Upon his first appearance in the United States after the war, a number of impulsive young ladies and matrons rushed to kiss him. This practice became contagious, and from then on wherever Hobson went he was mobbed by women, all seeking to kiss the handsome, young hero. Hobson capitalized on his fame and won a seat in Congress, where he distinguished himself in the temperance movement, and thus, as Walter Millis notes, "he managed more or less to live . . . down" his reputation as a romantic object of female affection.

As a struggling young writer at Columbia University, Upton Sinclair, using the pseudonym of "Ensign Clarke Fitch, U. S. N.," published a nickel novel concerning a similar war hero who was overwhelmed with kisses: "Hobson Junior; or, The Kissing Cadet of Annapolis Academy" (March 11, 1899). This was volume 44 of the "True Blue" weekly series Sinclair wrote for Street and Smith, Publishers. The supposed humor in Sinclair's rendering of the story hinges on a racist climax.

28. Crosby doubtless was influenced by the fate of yet another of the "heroes" produced by the war, this time Admiral Dewey. Having hailed him as the great hero of Manila Bay, New Yorkers planned an elaborate Dewey victory arch over Fifth Avenue (an honor hitherto reserved only for George Washington), and in anticipation of his visit had erected a plaster replica of the arch over the famous thoroughfare. Meanwhile, a grateful nation had subscribed to a fund for a golden victory sword—to be presented by President McKinley—and a \$50,000 mansion in Washington, D.C. To the discomfort of the Republican administration, some of Dewey's more ardent admirers even began a presidential boom. Dewey's popularity plummeted, however, when the 62 year old bachelor married a 49 year old widow, Mildred McLean Hazen, daughter of Mrs. Washington McLean, who was more than wealthy enough to provide the newly-weds with several palatial mansions. Insult was added to injury when it was disclosed that the new Mrs. Dewey was a recent Catholic convert and that Dewey had presented the newly-acquired mansion to her. With the Dewey fiasco fresh in their minds, readers of Crosby's novel in 1902 needed no further elaboration. See Margaret Leech, *In The Days of McKinley* (1959), 428-429.

29. "Why I am Opposed to Imperialism," *The Arena*, 28 (July, 1902), 10-11.

30. That the reference is to Roosevelt is confirmed in a later article which Crosby wrote on Roosevelt's intervention in the coal strike: "Mr. Roosevelt deserves the highest praise for his courageous and successful intervention. What a grand tribune of the people he would make if he could only get the idea out of his head that we can become great by taking away other peoples' liberties and that big battle-ships are more valuable to a nation than big ideas . . . One of the greatest opportunities for strenuous life that were ever offered to man lies open before him, and it is sad to think that he will probably fail to see it." "Violence and Arbitration," *The Arena*, 29 (January, 1903), 21-25.

31. *Swords and Plowshares*, 19.

32. "If The South Had Been Allowed to Go," *North American Review*, 177 (December, 1903), 767-771.

33. "Wanted, a New Patriotism," *The Independent*, 56 (July, 1903), 1677-1679. "Militarism at Home," *The Arena*, 31 (January, 1904), 70-74.

34. Ernest Crosby [sic], "A Precedent for Disarmament. A Suggestion to the Peace Conference," *North American Review* (October 19, 1906), 5-6.

35. Dunne had paraphrased Henry Cabot Lodge's slogan as: "Hands acrost th' sea an' into somewan's pocket," and "Take up th' white man's burden an' hand it to th' coons." Roosevelt responded in a letter to Dunne: "As you know, I am an Expansionist, but your delicious phrase about 'take up the white man's burden and put it on the coons,' exactly hit off the weak spot in my own theory; though, mind you, I am by no means willing to give up the theory yet." Elmer Ellis, *Mr. Dooley's America: A Life of Finley Peter Dunne* (New York, 1941), 117, 147.

