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Farrell, John C.

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CHAPTER IX

PACIFISM

I little dreamed what was ahead of me when I cast my lot with pacifism. . . . I see more clearly now than ever before how fundamental the problem of peace and war is. When I started on the work, I had little appreciation of how vitally it affects our whole social fabric. It interested me as a scientific problem of getting the world better organized, but I did not see then, as I see now, how the problem of slums, of unemployment, of capitalism, of the submerged portions of our populations is connected with the question of war. I thank God that my first field of activity was Chicago where I had the privilege of coming under the influence of Hull House and its great leader.

LOUIS LOCHNER TO JANE ADDAMS, 1917

The modern world is developing an almost mystic sense of the continuity and interdependence of mankind. . . . It lies with us who are here now to make this consciousness—as yet so fleeting and uncertain—the unique contribution of our time to that small handful of incentives which really motivates human conduct.

JANE ADDAMS, 1929

The central concern of Jane Addams' life after the war was world peace. She believed that peace could exist only where justice existed, and she included the whole range of men's relations with each other in her demand for justice. All human experience, she wrote reflectively, was an "essential unity." Violence and coercion, which Jane Addams equated with injustice, destroyed this unity and balked the establishment of peace. The demand for peace based on measures to establish and extend economic and social justice filled her mature years.¹

The end of the war did not stop attacks on pacifists. During the Red Scare and all through the 1920's Jane Addams remained a prominent target. The American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, self-styled patriots, and ephemeral but noisy patriotic organizations joined in the hue and cry against subversion and Jane Addams' suspect patriotism. During the fears and alarms of the decade following the war, her name led many lists of persons supposed to be subversive. She figured prominently in the Lusk report's attempt to identify pacifism and socialism, and to label both as parts of a foreign conspiracy to subvert American ideals and institutions. Archibald E. Stevenson, the author of most of the Lusk Committee's report, wrote a very colorful and exaggerated story of the peace efforts from 1914 to 1918 in which he attempted to show how these various pacifist activities were interrelated and were dominated by Socialists. Rosika Schwimmer's 1914 visit and the overlapping membership of peace organizations were adduced as conclusive evidence of a conspiracy led by foreigners.

The spirit of the Lusk Committee's report was maintained and elaborated by the American Legion, which based its attacks on Miss Addams on her opposition to military training in the schools, opposition which she expressed only infrequently. The Legion's continuing public attacks nettled her because they consistently misquoted, misrepresented, or ignored what she had said and done. Members of the Legion perversely twisted every attempt to reply to their attacks until Miss Addams simply refused to make any public comment on the Legion's charges. These attacks

2. New York, (State) Legislature, Joint Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, Revolutionary Radicalism—Its History, Purpose and Tactics, with an Exposition and Discussion of the Steps Being Taken and Required to Curb It (4 vols.; Albany, 1920). This report also inspired many small patriotic organizations. The most troublesome of these for Jane Addams was the unofficial "Military Intelligence Association of the Sixth Army Area" which was founded in 1923 in Chicago. Sydney L. Smith, an engineer employed by the Portland Cement Association, headed the association. He continually attacked Miss Addams as both an anarchist and Communist; he interpreted her opposition to military training in the schools as the advocating of a Bolshevik take-over of American government, and so on. See Norman Hapgood (ed.), Professional Patriots (New York, 1927), pp. 176-7.

3. Mrs. Sarah Schaar recalled how the American Legion on one occasion in the mid-twenties stoned the train on which Miss Addams was returning to Chicago (Personal interview, 1960). In 1923 the American Legion invited Mussolini to address its national convention. The national commander said then: "Do not
came to a climax on November 10, 1926, when Captain Ferre Watkins, Commander of the Illinois Department of the American Legion, spoke to the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs. Captain Watkins branded Hull House "a hotbed of communism, and charged that the Communist 'pinks' [at Hull House] were trying to sell out America to international schemers for their own personal advantage." The Captain quoted Jane Addams as saying that through her White House influence she hoped to strip West Point cadets of their uniforms, deprive all colleges of military training, and leave America undefended.  

Sustained attacks on her patriotism were also launched by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Jane Addams found these less burdensome because more lunatic. "With his hand upon his heart," Weber Linn wrote in 1937, "this biographer testifies that to his knowledge the animosity of the D.A.R. against her personally never gave Jane Addams anything but amusement." Miss Addams explained that she had been the only woman on a jury at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 where the Daughters of the American Revolution exhibit won a gold medal. Subsequently she was made an honorary member of the organization. "I supposed at the time that it had been for life, but it was apparently only for good behavior . . . ." Members of the DAR circulated an infamous chart that attempted to show the overlapping membership of a number of un-American and unpatriotic organizations. Among the organizations was, as Jane Addams noted, the U.S. Congress. Miss Addams refused to reply publicly to the DAR charts, nor would she comment publicly on dossiers that the DAR circulated.  

Miss Addams' friends, however, went to her defense and encouraged her to sue for libel. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt published an open letter to the DAR in which she defended Jane Addams.  

Miss Addams is not a Bolshevik. 
She is not a Communist.

forget that the Fascists are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States." Cited in Hapgood (ed.), Professional Patriots, p. 62.  
4. New York Times, November 11, 1926, p. 11, col. 3. Miss Addams' friends countered this wild attack by tendering her a large civic banquet. Messages and tributes, solicited and unsolicited, arrived from many prominent Americans, see Linn, Jane Addams, pp. 369-73.  
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She is not a Revolutionist.
She is not a red.
She is not even a Socialist.

The fact is that Miss Addams is one of the greatest women this republic of ours has produced. . . . The literature distributed by you persuades the uninformed to believe what is not true about an honorable citizen.6

Jane Addams was skeptical of any good coming from such efforts. The DAR charges, she wrote Mrs. Catt, were “a very strange mixture of truth and fiction. . . . I personally do not believe that much can be done with the public in this state of mind.” The situation was so complicated, she observed, “that I think it would be honestly better not to try to make it clear to the DAR’s, but to let me be ‘thrown to the lions’ as it were.”

Like the strategy of progressive reform, Jane Addams’ peace strategy depended on an aroused public opinion. The last two chapters described the origins and disappointments of this strategy for peace and the revival of Miss Addams’ hopes in democratic opinion for peace after the first meeting of the League Assembly and the Washington Naval Conference. Continuing attacks by patriotic societies emphasized the urgency of winning over public opinion. In the 1920’s Jane Addams devoted special attention to the propaganda and publicity that would create an “international public” for peace. In devising her strategy she drew heavily on John Dewey’s The Public and Its Problems.8

Dewey conceived of a public as made up of those who realized the “indirect, extensive, and serious consequences of conjoint and interacting behavior” and who had “a common interest in controlling these consequences.” In her second autobiographical volume in 1930 Miss Addams referred to Dewey’s idea of a public and pled for the formation of a peace public, a public “stretched to world dimensions” to deal adequately with the problems of international life. Dewey asserted that technology

7. Jane Addams to Carrie Chapman Catt, May 31, 1927, SCPC.
had enormously complicated and extended the indirect consequences of behavior until the public had become inchoate, diffuse, and scattered. At the same time technology had increased the means of communication and joint activity. Tools of communication existed as never before, but the thoughts and aspirations congruous with such physical tools were not fully developed. In order to organize the public, to permit it to identify itself and hold itself together, symbols that could command men’s attention were needed. Symbols, Dewey asserted, controlled thought and sentiment. Without adequate symbols, conjoint activity could never become a community of interest and endeavor. Until aspiration and thought fit the techniques of communication, “the public will remain shadowy and formless, seeking spasmodically for itself, but seizing and holding its shadow rather than its substance.”

Jane Addams tried to use Dewey’s analysis to create a peace public in America. In analyzing the problem, she, like Dewey, emphasized the technical achievements in communication. She asserted that peace workers had never before had “the possibility of rapid and universal intercourse.” These technical achievements did not automatically support peace, but they did “make practicable a world organized for co-operation where war shall be eliminated.” Jane Addams thought she saw in the 1920’s a “widespread desire for peaceful solutions of difficulties, fair to both sides, and a willingness patiently to endeavor to find such solutions.” These feelings were the aspirations that she hoped to make appropriate to the techniques of world-wide, rapid communication.

Like Dewey also, Miss Addams appreciated the importance of language and symbols in the formation of public opinion. Before the war she had noted how social workers were infusing new words like prevention and social justice with vitality and warmth. She quoted Simon Patten’s remark that social workers had “coined words that reshaped the sentiments” of Americans regarding


social justice. In the years after the war, Miss Addams devoted a
great deal of attention to forging adequate symbols to express
the new feelings against war and to persuade men to act against
war. "Facts never move people very much," she said in 1926.
"People act when they have the sense of purpose, of impulse,
of conviction..." Men "had to be moved, persuaded, urged
on by an appeal to their emotions rather than merely by an appeal
... to a set of facts." She strove to create emotive symbols—
what she called motives and incentives—which would aid in form-
ing a peace public. Much of Miss Addams' work for peace con-
sisted of interpreting events, illustrating and illuminating the
consequences of these events, defining the ideals of international
life, and thus, she hoped, creating a language which would
express and persuade men to adopt international ideals. By these
imaginative means, she hoped to create a public committed to
international peace.

For Miss Addams peace had to be based on justice. The identifi-
cation of justice in all of man's relationships with peace was the
climax of her mature thought. Around this idea she organized a
complex group of beliefs. Her synthesis of peace ideals was
sometimes diffuse and occasionally unclear. The wide range and
radicalism of her pacifist beliefs were also their genius. As Francis
Hackett observed, "Miss Addams' is an inclusive genius... hers
is the great gift of synthesis, of bringing things to unity, by
'patience, subtlety and depth.'" She avoided the simplicity of
much interwar pacifism. She believed in the League of Nations,
disarmament, the outlawry of war, the codification of international
law, free trade, and other peace proposals, because she believed
that all these made men's relations more just. But she was never
convinced that any single proposal exhausted or completed the
necessary effort toward peace. No single reform, no single peace
strategy was adequate for Jane Addams' identification of peace
and justice.12

Jane Addams helped found, and led, a radical pacifist organiza-

11. Jane Addams, "Charity and Social Justice," in National Conference of
    Charities and Correction, Proceedings (1910), pp. 2-3; Jane Addams, Second
    Twenty Years at Hull-House, p. 26; Jane Addams, "The World Court," Republi-
    can Woman, III (February, 1926), 7.
12. Hackett, "Hull House—A Souvenir," p. 279; Jane Addams and Balch,
    "The Hopes We Inherit," p. 15.
tion that also identified peace with justice. The women who had gathered at The Hague in 1915 and at Zurich in 1919 organized permanently under the name of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Miss Addams served as president of the WILPF until 1929, and as honorary president thereafter until her death. It was she who had "‘the decisive voice’ in the organization's affairs. There is hyperbole but also truth in a letter from one of the women who had been at The Hague and Zurich—Lida Gustava Heymann—which urged Jane Addams to reconsider her resignation as international president. "‘We here in Europe are of [the] opinion, that our W. I. L. is so deeply connected with your personality, that it is quite impossible that the League keep on without your name. Neither in America, nor in Europe exists another woman’s name, who would give that flavour and that atmosphere to our League and work as your name does . . . do not leave your child and our League’.”

Under Jane Addams' leadership the WILPF took an uncompromising, radical pacifist position. In 1915 at The Hague the ladies had insisted that they did not want peace "‘at any price.'” Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence wrote: "‘The peace demanded was the peace that is based on reason, on justice. . . .’" The combination of peace and justice was "‘essential to the meaning of the Congress. . . .’" Or again, "‘international relations must be determined not by force but by friendship and justice.’" The Hague congress demanded that "‘the peace which follows [the war] shall be permanent and therefore based on principles of justice. . . .’”

13. Mary Sheepshank to Jane Addams, February 4, 1929; Heymann to Jane Addams, March 1, 1929, both SCPC. A Hull House resident once wrote that the settlement "‘was not an institution over which Miss Addams presided, it was Miss Addams, around whom an institution insisted on clustering.’” See Hackett, "‘Hull House—A Souvenir,'” p. 277. In the same way the WILPF was in many respects an organization of women who insisted on clustering around Miss Addams. It remained a small organization under her leadership without many young members. David A. Swope, "‘The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United States Section, 1919-1941’” (unpublished Honor's thesis, Harvard University, 1963), p. 28, cites his interview with an American executive of the WILPF who said that Jane Addams consciously neglected organizational matters because she feared an expanded membership would dilute dedication to peace.

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and Freedom wanted to embody pacifist ideals of peace and justice in actual experience rather than simply state them as abstractions and dogmas. One of the major purposes of WILPF congresses was "to receive the momentum and sense of vitality which results from encountering like-minded people from other countries and to tell each other how far we had been able to translate conviction into action." In opening the 1924 congress in Washington, the WILPF president asked the ladies "to speak from your hearts, from the depths of your own experiences. . . ." Jane Addams consistently appealed for peace in terms of experience rather than dogma. She reminded the delegates how abstractions had been used during the war, "how largely the war was kept going by abstract and theoretical slogans. . . ." These slogans had proved "an opiate to scruples as well as a stimulant to continued military activities," she said. Miss Addams believed that women's special concern for the nurture of living and growing things, the very opposite of abstract theory and mechanization, endowed women with their unique opportunity to establish peace. The uniqueness of a woman's pacifist organization was bringing humane impulses into international life and avoiding the abstract, mechanical, or dogmatic peace appeal.15

This opposition to dogmatic and abstract appeals effectively submerged religious pacifism in the WILPF. Although many Quakers belonged to the organization, especially to the United States section, the international congresses did not reflect religious ideas or religious formulations. One congress condemned the "passive assistance" of the churches in war, and Jane Addams wrote in 1927 that "the religious as well as the political organizations of our own time have been humbled and disgraced by the occurrence of the greatest war in history. The Church as well as the State stands indicted." When Miss Addams appealed for peace in religious language, she used the personal example of Jesus, rather than any dogmatic assertion. She never used religious belief to justify her own pacifism; she was probably an agnostic.16

16. Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, Congress Report, IV [1924], 139; Jane Addams and Balch, "The Hopes We Inherit," p. 18.
The most straightforward appeal for peace in religious terms was a Christmas message in 1923 that Jane Addams drafted to members of the WILPF after a round-the-world trip. She held up the counsel and example of Jesus as a solution to the political disorganization of the world. "Be just and fear not" was His message to the frightened statesmen of Europe. "Lend, hoping for nothing again and your reward shall be great" was His message to Americans who distrusted and disliked "foreign entanglements." For Japan and China, newly enamored of military preparations, Jane Addams recalled Jesus' rebuke to Peter, "Put up thy sword... for all that draw the sword shall perish by the sword." In this uniquely religious statement, Miss Addams held up the example of Jesus to criticize and heal the nations.¹⁷

Much more characteristic and more important in understanding Miss Addams' pacifism was the rejection of violence by her and by other members of the WILPF. Occasionally their discussions of the evils of violence, and the necessity of rejecting force, were dogmatic. But Miss Addams always condemned violence because, she said, experience showed that force was a failure. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, she said once, was "made up of people who believe that we are not obliged to choose between violence and passive acceptance of unjust conditions for ourselves or others; who believe, on the contrary, that courage, determination, moral power, generous indignation, active goodwill can achieve their ends without violence."¹⁸

Marcet Haldeman-Julius, Jane Addams' niece, recorded a conversation with her aunt in the early 1930's, during which she asked Jane Addams if she were an agnostic. "Instead of giving me a direct answer, she replied: 'I seldom think about it.' Then she added: 'Intolerance in religion has been responsible for more suffering than any other cause.' 'True,' I agreed. 'But what I want to know is, what do you think. Do you believe in a God?' 'Not a personal one.' 'But do you believe in any God?' 'Part of the time I do and part of the time I don't.' 'I should think that you fulfilled perfectly the definition of an agnostic.' " Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams As I Knew Her," Reviewer's Library, VII (1936), 29. Miss Addams, by her title, insisted that forceful, active, devoted lives achieved immortality, Jane Addams, The Excellent Becomes the Permanent (New York, 1932).

¹⁷. Jane Addams, Christmas Message for 1923 (n.p., n.d.), unpaged. For her explanation of the circumstances surrounding this religious appeal, see Jane Addams, Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, pp. 169–70.

¹⁸. New York Times, April 27, 1924, Section IX, p. 6, col. 1. In 1919 and again in 1921 the WILPF demanded immediate, total, universal disarmament—land, sea, and air. This demand was a central one for the ladies. In 1932 the
Dorothy Detzer, the talented Washington lobbyist for the WILPF, recalled her first experience with Jane Addams' "flaming indignation." Finding a crying child huddled on the Hull House steps—this was around 1913—Miss Detzer coaxed the child to come in, eat something, and tell her story. The child revealed that she was illegally employed, along with thousands of others, after school in nut-shelling factories that ran until eleven at night. So sleepy that she had fallen asleep at work, the child had failed to bring home enough pay to her father who had beaten her until she had run away to Hull House. Miss Addams came in while the child was telling her story, and twenty years later Miss Detzer could even yet hear the curiously furious voice, burning with indignation that this should happen to a child. . . . I remember that night chiefly as a long continuous ride in police patrols . . . led by the little girl, I went with the officers who raided twenty-three secret nut-shelling factories which employed and exploited children. And as we swept through the streets of that great sprawling city, Miss Addams' anger rode with me . . . that driving emotion stirred by injustice—which can change a world.

Hers was a "moral indignation, utterly free from the spirit of violence, that yet contains a dynamic power giving substance and a robust quality to mere spiritual force." 19

Jane Addams and other members of the WILPF searched for methods of nonviolent social change. Early in the 1920's they discovered Mahatma Gandhi's experiments with nonviolence, which permitted them to cite experience rather than dogma for their belief in this approach. The WILPF was one of the earliest organizations to discover and propagandize Gandhi's effort and his ideas of nonresistance. The 1921 congress was so enamored of his newly presented example that it resolved—in a vote that Jane Addams ruled was only an expression of personal opinion

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and purpose—to adopt the principle and practice of nonviolence under all circumstances. An English woman who had lived in India told how Gandhi and his followers used non-co-operation and passive resistance to overthrow the tyranny of English rule. Gandhi wanted to establish justice for men of every race in India and throughout the world, she explained. His rejection of Western culture was not mentioned, nor was his association of dietary and sumptuary prohibitions with nonviolence. An Indian woman connected Gandhi with previous leaders of nonviolence by describing him as a Tolstoy Christian. Members of the WILPF were told that Gandhi's power lay in his simple exemplification of his doctrine, the same appeal that Jane Addams had singled out in describing Tolstoy.20

Jane Addams talked about Gandhi throughout the decade of the twenties, but with decreasing enthusiasm. At the 1926 WILPF congress she emphasized the reactionary qualities of his movement. He stood "for an independent life outside western civilization. His teaching may be right or it may be wrong but it is not a mere sentimental thing. . . ." The real significance of Gandhi's movement was that the experiment of "running the world without violence" was actually being tried in India.21

Jane Addams and other members of the WILPF continued searching for ways to embody peace in the emotions and thinking and actions of large numbers of their fellow countrymen. Their conviction that men resorted to violence because there was no other way of remedying injustice spurred them to work for the widest kinds of social and economic reforms. Any proposal that promised to promote justice attracted their intelligent attention.

20. International Congress of Women, [Congress] Report, III [1921], 260, 95 ff. Jane Addams stressed the continuity between these two men in "Tolstoy and Gandhi," Christian Century, XLVIII (November 25, 1931), 1485–8. The WILPF newsletter carried articles by or about Gandhi in the issues of August and September, 1926, March, 1927, and January, 1932. In 1923 Miss Addams tried to see Gandhi and speak with him personally. But, she wrote, Gandhi received only two visitors every six months, and, since his wife was one of these, there was "no chance for the rank outsider." His spinning school and students suggested "a new holy man . . . founding his monastery." Jane Addams to Ida Lovett, February 7, 1923, SCPC.

21. Jane Addams, "New Methods of Procedure," Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Congress Report, V (1926), 64, 65. Gandhi wrote Miss Addams on October 7, 1932, after she had been awarded the Nobel prize for peace, "Dear Sister, My inner being tells me that spiritual unity can only be attained by resisting with our whole soul the modern false life."
After initial doubts, Jane Addams came to believe that the League of Nations could help in making international life more just, and therefore might aid in securing peace. The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom was divided over the issue of the League, however. Their congress at Zurich in 1919 considered whether the “unsatisfactory and iniquitous” peace of which the League Covenant was a part condemned the whole League of Nations to failure. The congress was unable to arrive at any clear decision. But after the first meeting of the Assembly in November, 1920, the WILPF began active co-operation with the League of Nations. Catherine Marshall, the WILPF international secretary, urged the 1921 congress to “resolve definitely that we will devote attention and energy to . . . following what the League of Nations had done, to answering the questions it brings up and getting questions on its programme, and do all the work necessary” to support our proposals. Then the “League will move in the way we want.” Miss Marshall readily admitted that the League of Nations was a thoroughly defective instrument—especially the undemocratic League Council. But she was enthusiastic about the possible usefulness of the League. And it was, she reminded WILPF delegates, the only existing international group: “You have got to compare the League not with the one we would like but with the world as it would be without it.”

The WILPF lobbied at Geneva, with some small success. Between May, 1920, and July, 1920, it presented eight memorials to League bodies. These petitions dealt with matters as diverse as the white slave traffic, atrocities, marriage laws, mandates, and the representation of women in League organizations. Visible success came when a woman—Mrs. Anna Bugge-Wicksell of Stockholm—became a member of the Mandates Commission.

22. Jane Addams, “Presidential Address,” International Congress of Women, [Congress] Report, III [1921], 2. Since the WILPF congresses could not agree on a unified position on co-operation with the League of Nations, each national section determined its own position. The American section was unable to adopt a single policy; several local branches of the United States section broke away so they could devote their full energy to advocating American entry into the League; other branches worked actively for reservations. These divisions were reported in ibid., p. 252.

23. See Miss Marshall’s report in ibid., pp. 57, 68. Miss Marshall’s recommendations were not passed, but were referred to the national sections for study; the international secretary was commended for her work and asked to continue it.
The WILPF was most interested in the activities of the specialized agencies of the League, such as the so-called Opium Committee, which League historian F. P. Walters noted became “the very advance guard of reform” under the secretariat leadership of Dame Rachel Crowdy. The Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children, the Refugees Organization, the Health Organization, and the International Labour Organization were all active in matters of economic and social reform, and these agencies attracted the women of the WILPF. Jane Addams noted proudly that the three American women connected with League commissions were all long-time Hull House residents. The WILPF never formally endorsed the League of Nations, however. Many of its members doubted that justice could be established by the threat of military sanctions, and they were discouraged by the failure of League efforts at disarmament.²⁴

Jane Addams did not share all of these fears about the League of Nations. She was most vocal in advocating American support, co-operation, and participation in all sorts of international organizations, and especially co-operation with League agencies. Miss Addams identified the aims of these organizations with the reform goals of social justice for which progressive Americans had striven prior to World War I. In backing Robert M. La Follette for President in 1924, for instance, Miss Addams recalled his struggle to protect seamen in the years before America entered the war. But now, Jane Addams asserted, sailors’ rights could only be secured through an international body—and the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations had already started to deliberate on the problem. Miss Addams believed that La Follette—and hopefully many of her fellow Americans—would find it natural and increasingly necessary to turn to international organizations, just as once Americans had discovered it natural and necessary to turn from state to federal agencies to achieve social justice. League activities provided new approaches toward justice in international life and therefore toward international peace; these activities embodied the same human approach that Progressives had called social justice.²⁵

Jane Addams endorsed American participation in the World Court for the same reasons. She reminded an audience of Republican women of America’s happy experiences with arbitration at The Hague tribunal. The World Court was the same kind of institution. It allowed men “to get at life, away from our preconceptions, to envisage our international relations with some sort of moral standards such as we have long tried to apply to our relations within the nations. . . .” The Court would enable groups of men to use the newest kinds of knowledge about international relations and to apply the latest standards of international life. Perhaps, Miss Addams concluded the chapter devoted to the topic of justice in the *Second Twenty Years*, the World Court could unite “Latin logic, Slavic idealism, Asiatic quietude and Anglo-Saxon common sense into . . . a wider conception of justice than any one nation has as yet been able to obtain.”

Jane Addams supported the Kellogg-Briand Pact because she believed it embodied a new sense of justice in international life. Her support was also affected by the fact that the leading propagandist for the outlawry of war, S. O. Levinson, was a fellow Chicagoan who contributed to the WILPF and participated in a WILPF summer school following the 1924 congress held in America. Miss Addams was not convinced that the Kellogg-Briand agreement would bring peace. She was not active in the movement for outlawry, but she did endorse the pact as a “great advance toward an organized and peaceful world,” and called it the “most significant event since [the] promulgation of the League of Nations covenant.” The special feature of the Kellogg-Briand Pact that Miss Addams singled out for praise was its reliance on world public opinion rather than military measures for enforcement. The pact, she wrote, showed the transformation from dependence on military security to dependence on political security rooted in a sense of civilized justice.

27. Jane Addams, “How To Build a Peace Program,” *Survey*, LXVII (November 1, 1932), 441; Jane Addams’ telegram to *Christian Science Monitor*, August 20 [1928], SCPC. Robert H. Ferrell has described the various motives and aims which brought about the Kellogg-Briand Pact in his *Peace in Their Time, the Origins of the Kellogg-Briand Pact* (New Haven, 1952); see also John E. Stoner, *S. O. Levinson and the Pact of Paris; a Study in the Techniques of Influence* (Chicago, 1942).
Jane Addams believed that world public opinion could establish, and also sustain, peace. Whenever international mediation or conciliation commissions had been tried, she noted, they had been "uniformly successful. No nation has ever gone back upon their findings, enforced only by the invisible power of public opinion." She urged the substitution of the power of public opinion for the military sanctions mentioned in the League of Nations Covenant. To associate military power with the purposes of the League was "an anachronism." As the League grew older and more experienced, "it is less and less probable that military sanctions will be used." In fact, she continued, "the use of military force is possible to the League of Nations only under such very remote and exceptional circumstances that it may never be invoked, as it never has been. The League would have been a thousand times stronger if the possibility were removed. . . ." 29 Miss Addams found confirmation for her belief that peace could best be guaranteed by public opinion in Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson's handling of the Manchurian crisis. She pointed with satisfaction to Stimson's note to Japan which refused to recognize conquests in Manchuria and insisted that armies would be useless when the organized opinion of the world stood ready to demand justice and to deny the fruits of aggression to the aggressor, as Secretary Stimson had done to Japan. "I firmly believe that nothing else will prevail but this gradual moralization of our international relations." 30

In the 1920's Jane Addams continued to work through voluntary organizations for domestic reform. These domestic reform efforts elaborated the concern for justice that underlay her pacifism. She became a member of a symposium on the prevention and cure of crime that William Randolph Hearst sponsored in Chicago in 1927. In discussing the growth of crime Miss Addams criticized both policy and judges. Law enforcement was "inefficient," she


said. "In a very real sense," she complained, "the people who represent the administration of the law are often as much a part of the criminal situation as the so-called criminals themselves." Speaking frankly to the lawyers and judges who dominated the symposium membership she wondered

why, in the minds of many good, simple people, you are believed to give your energies to the purely legalistic aspect of the case rather than to finding out the equity and justice involved. I am confident that this widespread belief brings a certain lack of respect for the courts, a certain willingness to get out of trouble in any way that is possible, by political pull and even by bribing because the whole thing is a legal game and acquittal for any reason is a victory.31

Miss Addams also spoke about the dual philosophy of punishment: whether it was better to punish the crime or the criminal. She applauded "the growing tendency to individualize punishments, to find out what the criminal needs to deter him from further crimes or to 'reform' him, . . . to try to fit the punishment to his needs." But she also noted a growing proclivity for harsher punishment, which Miss Addams called "a grave mistake."

"Human punishment after all is usually such a stupid, un-understanding ineffectual sort of thing. It remedies so few situations. It solves so few problems. And it multiplies so many tragedies."

The fact that there were many repeaters in jails indicated to her that the judicial system was not working as well as it might. The central problem, she charged, was "too much violence. If we could only disarm everybody we could do away with much crime and much incentive to crime. Disarm the criminals first, but eventually also disarm the police." 32

In addition to this effort to change judicial and legal attitudes, Jane Addams continued to work for reforms that she believed would promote economic and social justice among Americans. She tried to arouse those who had championed reform before the war

32. Ibid., p. 27; Jane Addams, "Rosa Stable," a National Education Association Service syndicated story appearing in various newspapers, e.g., New York Telegraph, March 31, 1927.
and criticized those whose reform fervor had become inhibited. In 1926 she complained directly to the National Conference of Social Work that by shying away from reform, social workers ignored the ethical side of their jobs. By failing to make clear to the public their "special human experience, the reactions which come to him who is brought close to ignorance, poverty, disease and crime," social workers failed to develop the ethical resources of the community. They were "living on accumulated capital in spiritual and ethical affairs." 83

For Jane Addams, growing professionalization among social workers was the villain. Professionalization sapped the emotional drive of the early settlement movement. Social workers of a later generation were more scholarly, more detached and scientific in approach, and might be better social workers, she admitted. But the nonprofessional approach, she said frankly, had her sympathy. Specialization deflected an individual from his natural generous impulses and imposed a professional sense of duty on him which "befogged and deadened" human relationships. A specialized and limited sense of duty "excludes the penetrating sense of the fundamental unity and interdependence of society." The specialist, Miss Addams told the guild, lost "the challenge to a wider and more human relationship—the lure of a fuller fellowship." Jane Addams used the newest and most exciting of these specialized techniques—psychiatric social work—as an example of the ill effects of specialization. She urged psychiatric social workers to go beyond individual to social psychiatric work. "We now ask them to get back a little from a purely individual study into something which considers the many," something that might provide the community with a creative and inventive program of social reform. 84

Even without the united support of old reform allies, Jane

34. Jane Addams, Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, p. 155; Jane Addams, "How Much Social Work Can a Community Afford?", p. 200. See also Jane Addams to Eva Whiting White, November 22, 1928: "I am a little distressed at some of the new schools of social service which pay so little attention to the group . . .", in White Papers, Radcliffe Women's Archives. A fine description of the social work guild and reform between the wars is Clarke A. Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, American Social Service and Social Action, 1918–1933 (Minneapolis, 1963), especially relevant here are pp. 89–97.
Addams tried to create an American public opinion that understood the basis of peace in social reform. She attempted to explain to Americans how their domestic policies disrupted efforts toward world peace. She confronted Americans with the consequences—in direct, extensive, enduring, and serious in Dewey's terminology—of American policy. The most incisive of her criticisms was her identification of a peculiar self-righteousness that characterized American policies after the war. This American self-righteousness was "responsible for the most subtle forms of lawlessness" and injustice and was "the essence of immorality" because it persuaded Americans to make an exception of America in international life. In all of this Miss Addams tried to create the symbols and aspirations to peace that would create a peace public in America.  

American policy toward the League of Nations had consequences that delayed and disrupted international life, Miss Addams said. After deciding not to join the League, America protested against the League's handling of the Assyrian and Mesopotamian mandates. When the League postponed action and invited the United States to join the negotiations, the American government refused to respond, thus delaying and complicating this important business. The disarmament plans and activities of the League were disrupted by a large American naval construction program. Miss Addams asserted that the attitude of the war years had become reversed: "While the United States went into the war asking no rewards and taking full responsibilities, in regard to the international organization since [the war], she takes no responsibilities but does ask for the reward..."  

American action vis-à-vis the Kellogg-Briand Pact provided another illustration of American self-righteousness, the consequences of which disrupted international life. Jane Addams pointed out that after outlawing war the United States had acted almost immediately in direct

36. Donna Frank Fleming, The United States and World Organization, 1920-1933 (New York, 1938), records America's attempts to ignore or subvert the League. Fleming describes the confusion and obstruction which Secretaries Hughes and Kellogg produced at Geneva, see especially Chaps. IV and IX.
contradiction to the spirit of the pact. "Other nations . . . could not in the least understand how Congress was able to ratify the Kellogg Pact and only a few weeks later make an astounding appropriation for increasing the United States navy." 38

Miss Addams interpreted the Sacco-Vanzetti trial as another example of American sanctimoniousness which delayed newer standards of international life. While she was abroad in 1926, Miss Addams discovered that people all over the world had become aroused over the trial. It was one of those cases that occurred "from time to time and take[s] shape in men's minds as an epitome of the problem of justice itself." Sacco and Vanzetti came "to embody a sudden warning that the universal sense of justice was imperiled." Miss Addams related that she had a "sinister foreboding" about the trial since it was held in a "New England court where, ever since the days of Anne Hutchinson, the bog of self-righteousness has so often mired fast the feet of good men." She appealed to Governor Alvan T. Fuller for commutation of the death sentences on the grounds that execution would bring American justice into disrepute all over the world, and she asked Senator William E. Borah, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to join this appeal because so many foreign nations had protested the courts' decisions. Borah rebuffed her efforts as unconstitutional meddling. His reply, Miss Addams wrote, was "so confident that our national judgement was supreme . . . [he] unhappily assumes that one's own country is always in the right and the other countries uniformly in the wrong—a sort of national self-righteousness." 39

The outcome of the trial persuaded her that a unique opportunity had been discarded for "demonstrating that we are here attaining a conception of justice broad and fundamental enough to span the reach of our population and their kinsfolk throughout the world." Americans could not be content with a narrow national justice. "The demands of a new world consciousness . . . [permit] no other conception of justice than that which is world-wide." Such justice promised security and stability, Miss Addams concluded, because it approached a "universal type." 40

40. Ibid., pp. 339, 343.
The reparations question was another area in which American self-righteousness frustrated the development of international peace. Jane Addams wrote in 1923 that America had failed to treat her war loans as part of her international responsibility. After 1929 this failure became more obvious. "If it had been taken for granted from the beginning that the United States sent supplies in the same spirit that it sent its soldiers, the public would not have gotten into this attitude of a righteous creditor claiming his own, irrespective of the debtor's ability to pay or the consequences to the creditor himself in case he did pay." The most handsome offer concerning reparations had been made by Senator Borah, Miss Addams said. The Senator suggested that America cancel the debts of those nations that would consent to reduce their armaments. Borah's proposition was flawed, Miss Addams said, only by the self-righteous failure of the United States to offer to disarm. This failure was "doubtless due to the fact that we are so sure that our own intentions are beneficent, that our army is small, and that no one could suspect us of unworthy ambitions." But such sanctimony might make the whole offer unacceptable to those nations. Miss Addams never suggested that the war debts simply be cancelled, but she insisted that generosity rather than self-righteousness was the way to overwhelm the suspicion and distrust that characterized international life. "A statement by the United States that the war debts were being considered generously and impartially . . . might go far toward dispelling that sense of depression with which most of the world is surrounded," she wrote.41

Through her analysis and interpretation of American attitudes toward the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and the reparations question, Jane Addams hoped to cultivate new impulses and incentives in international affairs. These issues provided her the opportunity to discuss new conceptions of justice and to try to establish new motives for the conduct of America's foreign relations. She hoped for an American public committed to peace, for a public that would understand how America's self-righteousness ignored the increasingly obvious

fact "that the welfare of all nations is interdependent." America's search for national advantage, if need be at the expense of others, conflicted with "the newer principle of [international] social welfare and the zeal for practical justice in our human affairs." American self-righteousness denied "the great political experiment of these later centuries, the supreme contemporary effort to make international relations more rational and human." 42

Miss Addams remained confident that men could establish peace and the justice upon which it had to be based. America was still, she is quoted as saying in 1928, "in the war period, from an intellectual point of view." Wartime passions had been modified, but "the moral power which directs the energies of the war" had not been applied to the problems of international life. The strengthening of the spirit of co-operation in international life "needs only that men have faith in one another and in their common purposes. . . . But," Miss Addams noted unhappily in 1934, "because faith in mankind and the resulting good will are exactly what war has always destroyed we must wait for the subsidence of the war psychology for the vigorous prosecution" of international tasks. 43 But this discouraging estimate was more than balanced by subdued confidence. Man had a "natural tendency . . . to come into friendly relationship with ever larger and larger groups and to live in constantly higher and more extended life," she wrote in 1921. Indeed, she continued, this progressive tendency for man "to widen the circle of his interest and sympathy . . . has been largely responsible for his development." It was as practicable "to abolish war as it was to abolish the institution of chattel slavery which also was based on human desires and greeds. These are still with us, but slavery has joined cannibalism, human sacrifice, and other once sacred human habits, as one of the shameful and happily abandoned institutions of the past. . . . A great Kingdom of Peace," she continued, "lies close to hand, ready to come into being if we would but turn toward it." 44

44. Jane Addams, "The Attack on War," Christian Century, XXXVIII (October
After 1929, when the economies of America and the rest of the world were plunged into depression, the "consciousness of the continuity and interdependence of mankind" which Jane Addams had tried to express and upon which she built her peace strategy became increasingly obvious. The last years before her death in 1935 were filled with awards, recognitions, and honors. In 1931 the Norwegian parliament awarded her the Nobel prize for peace. Named with Miss Addams to share the prize was Nicholas Murray Butler. In congratulating Miss Addams, Gilbert Murray wrote that "you, at any rate, have worked all your life for Peace—which can not be said of many of the Nobel Prizemen." 45 Miss Addams was praised in Oslo at the formal ceremonies as the American symbol of woman's protest against war. "In Jane Addams there are assembled all the best womanly attributes which shall help us establish peace in the world.... She was the right spokesman for all the peace-loving women of the world." This speaker at the Nobel ceremony called attention to the continuity between Miss Addams' earlier advocacy of progressive legislation based on women's special concern for the nurture of human life and the extension of this ideal to international life.46

Miss Addams endorsed Herbert Hoover's candidacy for re-election in 1932, but she enthusiastically supported most of the New Deal reforms. In 1932 she became chairman of the Illinois Committee for Old Age Security, and between 1933 and 1935 she was an active member of the Chicago Advisory Board on Housing under the Public Works Administration. She hoped that New Deal policies, like other reforms she advocated, would eventually aid the establishment of peace. In praise of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, she wrote that no one

45. Jane Addams, "After Sixty-Five," Survey, LXII (June 1, 1929), 303; Gilbert Murray to Jane Addams, December 16, 1931, SCPC. The Nobel award climaxd eight years of letter writing by Miss Addams' friends on her behalf. Julia Lathrop seems to have initiated this campaign. See copies of her letters at SCPC in 1923. Jane Addams never publicly commented on being coupled with Nicholas Murray Butler. In Peace and Bread, however, nine years before they were named to share the Nobel award, she had noted with emphasis that "everyone knew he [Butler] was for the war!" (see p. 128). The Christian Century, XLVIII (December 23, 1931), 1612, commented with some acerbity that the reasons for Dr. Butler's sharing the award were "perhaps more discernible to the eyes of the Norwegian parliament than at a nearer view. . . ."

46. Cited in Linn, Jane Addams, p. 390.
on the face of the earth is doing more in the direction of sane readjustment at the present moment than the President of the United States and the group about him. Conscious, as thinking men are everywhere, that the power of the human mind to make rapid reorganizations is tremendously strained; they still insist that it should be possible to continue the long effort made through the centuries for a well-ordered world.

New Deal efforts "to meet the requirements for food and shelter of the unemployed within the nation... may change the very conception of Nationalism... Under this interpretation of governmental obligation, human needs may in time become the basis for a sounder Internationalism..." 47

In May, 1935, the twentieth anniversary congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, meeting in Washington, turned into a personal tribute to Jane Addams. Eleanor Roosevelt entertained the women at the White House, and spoke at one of the banquets. "When the day comes when difficulties are faced and settled without resorting to [war],... we shall look back in this country upon the leadership you have given us, Miss Addams, and be grateful for having had you living with us." In a radio broadcast with speakers in London, Tokyo, Moscow, Paris, and Washington, Miss Addams was also acclaimed and honored. One of the American speakers was deeply stirred by "this unparalleled tribute to a rare human being and leader...

In his history of American peace movements, published the year after Jane Addams' death, Merle Curti emphasized the economic causes of war but also warned that "unless pacific means are found for securing a greater degree of justice in all categories of human relationships—racial, national, and economic... the struggle against war in America, in the world, probably will not end." In addition to endorsing this central idea in Jane Addams' pacifism, Professor Curti singled out for special praise

47. Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, Chap. VI and VII, emphasizes how housing reform and security against old age dependency connect progressive reform before the war and the New Deal. Reformers, especially social workers, hammered out a consensus in favor of these reforms during the 1920's. Jane Addams, "Exaggerated Nationalism and International Comity," p. 170.
those who had maintained a "complete and unequivocal opposition to all war, in wartime as in peacetime. . . ." These pacifists had preserved "the virtues so necessary for the successful waging of peace." 49

Jane Addams was one of those who remained faithful to her convictions about peace. When both her courage and conscience were tested, she refused to reject her beliefs in peace. And she was able to infuse these beliefs with passionate conviction. She insisted that men of "courage, determination, moral power, generous indignation, [and] active goodwill" were able to achieve positive ends without violence. Unlike many pacifists, she strove to understand those who supported war. It would be easy to discover evil motives in those who endorsed the World War, easy, she told Hull House residents during 1917, "to shirk the discussion of current issues under the plea of remaining impartial. It is a temptation to become a silent coward and think oneself a tolerant spectator . . . he alone can be impartial who has the courage of his convictions." A niece of Miss Addams, writing in the year following her aunt's death, told how "she maintained a relative appreciation of the value of her own feelings and the feelings and actions of the rest of the world." Jane Addams' ability to see differing sides of an issue and to appreciate the reasons why partisans differed from her enabled her to invigorate her intellectual analysis of peace and justice with a passionate emotional quality. For her the intellectual response was in the best sense an emotional one. 50

In the years after World War I, Jane Addams was one of America's most vital and impressive pacifists. Many other peace efforts were negative; other pacifists believed they could abolish or outlaw war and bring in a final changeless condition of peace. Miss Addams' identification of peace with justice and her commitment to reform in order to make justice more real made her pacifism dynamic and creative. Other pacifists in the 1920's labored to persuade individuals to pledge themselves to pacifism. Jane Addams looked beyond the conversion of individuals. She

tried to create social institutions and methods that embodied equivalents to war in actual experience. The humane reform ideals which Jane Addams meant by culture and democracy were the creative sources and bases for peace.

Jane Addams' identification of peace with justice and her ability to infuse this intellectual perception with compelling emotional qualities helped to rescue pacifism from the aftermath of a second world war. Revived hopes for peace in this generation center on a renewed concern for justice as the source and basis for peace. This generation affirms what Jane Addams wrote in 1907: the most modern, fundamental, and trenchant ideal of peace "founded the cause of peace upon the cause of righteousness"—righteousness in politics and economics and in all men's relations.51 This identification of peace with justice, set down in terms both passionate and disinterested, is Jane Addams' intellectual legacy to this generation's search for peace.

51. Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (New York, 1907), p. 237. Miss Addams cited the prophet Isaiah (32:17) in identifying peace and righteousness: "And the effect of righteousness will be peace; and the result of righteousness, quietness and trust forever."