



The U.S. Delegation at the International Congress of Women at The Hague, May 1915. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Courtesy Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

The Eagle and the Dove

THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

1900-1922

Second Edition

Edited and with an Introductory Essay by
JOHN WHITECLAY CHAMBERS II



SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Copyright © 1991 by Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York 13244-5160

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Second Edition 1991

91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 6 5 4 3 2 1

First Edition, copyright 1976, Garland Publishing, Inc.


About the frontispiece: This photograph was apparently taken in Washington, D.C., before the departure of the delegation. Among the forty-five persons in this picture are a number who are mentioned in this book, including:

Front row: Jane Addams, second from left.

Second row, standing: Alice Hamilton, second from left.

Third row, from left: Emily Green Balch, first; Sophonisba, P. Breckinridge, fourth and slightly behind the row; Julia Grace Wales, sixth.

Back row: Mary Heaton Vorse O'Brien, first and hatless; Juliet Barrett Rublee, third and with hat; Grace Abbott, fourth, next to Rublee and hatless; Leonora O'Reilly, fifth, diagonally in front and to the right of Abbott, with her chin concealed by the hat of the woman in front of her; Rebecca Shelley, second woman to the right of O'Reilly and wearing a light-colored outfit; and Louis Lochner, second from the upper right, a peace activist.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984. 

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Eagle and the dove: the American peace movement and United States foreign policy. 1900-1922/edited and with an introductory essay by John Whiteclay Chambers II.—2nd ed.

p. cm.—(Syracuse studies on peace and conflict resolution)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8156-2518-9 (cloth).—ISBN 0-8156-2519-7 (paper)

1. Peace Movements—United States—History—20th century—Sources.
2. United States—Foreign relations—20th century—Sources
3. World War, 1914-1918—Protest movements—United States—Sources.

I. Chambers, John Whiteclay. II. Series.

JX1961.U6E24, 1991

327.1'72'0973—dc20

91-26515

CIP

Manufactured in the United States of America

To the Memory of

WARREN F. KUEHL

(1924-1987)

CHARLES DEBENEDETTI

(1943-1987)

the creation and preservation of human life. Deep in the hearts of the women of the peasant and industrial classes of every nation, there lies beneath their readiness to endure their full share of their nations' toll of sacrifice and suffering, a denial of the necessity of war. There is a rooted revolt against the destruction of the blossoming manhood of the race. This revolt is now for the first time finding expression, as the race soul of the womanhood of the world comes in this twentieth century to consciousness. The woman's movement has awakened women to their great responsibilities as the natural custodians of the human race. It is vital to the interests of the human race itself that the mother half of humanity should now be admitted to articulate citizenship. The emancipation of women must be included in the program of those who would lay a broad foundation of constructive peace for the rebuilding of the modern world.

It would be a great thing if the woman's movement all over the world should enter now upon a great organized campaign of preparation for peace, allying itself with all the other forces now at work in the same direction and setting itself the task, first, in the great neutral nation of America, and then, in all other countries, of awakening and educating public opinion with regard to the supreme value of human life and of racial evolution. Peace movements in the past have been negative. That is where they have failed.

Since public opinion cannot be educated solely by words, such a campaign, if started, should be linked with certain definite propositions to be decided upon in conference between the men and women who should initiate it. These propositions should be urged as some of the conditions of constructive peace. I tabulate by way of illustration the following suggestions that civilized peoples should unite in demanding from their respective countries:

First, the broadening and strengthening of the democracies by the admission of the mother-half of the human race into the body politic.

Second, the creation, where none already exists, of some adequate machinery for insuring democratic control of foreign policy.

Third, the assurance that no treaty arrangement or undertaking be entered upon, in the name of the country, without the sanction of the people concerned expressed through their representatives.

Fourth, that the manufacture of armaments and ammunition be taken over by the nation itself, and that the export of armaments to other countries be prohibited.

Fifth, that at the termination of the war, the influence of the nation be used to discourage the transfer of any of the European provinces

from one government to another without the consent by plebiscite of the population of such province, and that the plebiscite should include the women who have borne the burden of suffering equally with the men.

Sixth, that there should be some representation of women at the Hague conference.

In addition to such concrete proposals as these, public opinion has to be enlightened and organized towards the ideal of international agreement. "We must labor," as says ex-President [Theodore] Roosevelt, "for an international agreement among the great civilized nations which shall put the full force of all of them, back of anyone of them, and of any well-behaved weak nation which is wronged by any other power."

By the initiation throughout the [United] States of a popular campaign carried out upon lines indicated by these suggestions, led by influential men and women, aided by the President, reinforced by great public meetings, America would give a much needed lead to the democracies of Europe.

The better, happier world that we hope for in the future must be built up by the people themselves, upon the foundations of a constructive, lasting peace. This task cannot be left to the detached and secret agencies of Governments. It should be begun now. There is not a moment to lose.

DOCUMENT 14

Formation and Platform of the Woman's Peace Party (1915)

Editor's Note: The Woman's Peace party (WPP) was organized on January 10, 1915, in Washington, D.C., by representatives of more than a dozen women's groups, including suffragist, social work, educational, genealogical, temperance, trade union, and peace organizations. Critical of seemingly ineffectual male-dominated traditional peace societies, the women formed the WPP in direct response to pleas by two visiting foreign feminists and peace activists, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence of Britain and Rosika Schwimmer, 1877-1948, of Hungary. The two visitors, one from the Allies and one from the Central Powers, urged the American women to organize a group which could discuss reasonable

peace terms, promote a conference of neutral nations to call for peace and perhaps help mediate an end to the war, and protest against war as a means of settling international disputes.

The leaders of the conference were Carrie Chapman Catt, 1859–1947, the preeminent leader of the American suffragist movement in the first two decades of the twentieth century and an active if moderate peace activist in the 1920s and early 1930s; and Jane Addams, 1860–1935, founder of Hull House in Chicago, leader of the settlement house and social work movement in the United States, and prominent pacifist. The conference elected Addams president of the WPP and adopted a platform similar to that of the liberal British Union for Democratic Control. The WPP platform adopted at the January 1915 meeting called for neutral mediation, limitation of armaments, democratic control of foreign policy, elimination of the economic causes of war, and extension of the vote to women.

Addresses Given at the Organization Conference of the Woman's Peace Party

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, of New York, presided over this meeting, which she opened with the following statement:

"This meeting has been called as a part of a conference of women held in Washington to review the general situation concerning the great problem of peace, and looking to a national, and probably international, organization among women. The women of this country were lulled into inattention to the great military question of the war by reading the many books put forth by great pacifists who had studied the question deeply and who announced that there never could be another world war. But when the great war came, and the women of this country waited for the pacifists to move, and they heard nothing from them, they decided all too late to get together themselves and to try to do something at this eleventh hour."

MRS. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER [educator and ordained minister, representing the American Peace Society] then presented the preamble with the platform.

Source: Addresses Given at the Organization Conference of the Woman's Peace Party, Washington, D.C., January 10, 1915 (Chicago: Woman's Peace Party Headquarters [1915]), pamphlet located in the Woman's Peace Party Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

PREAMBLE

WE, WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, assembled in behalf of World Peace, grateful for the security of our own country, but sorrowing for the misery of all involved in the present struggle among warring nations, do hereby band ourselves together to demand that war be abolished.

Equally with men pacifists, we understand that planned-for, legalized, wholesale, human slaughter is today the sum of all villainies.

As women, we feel a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and the waste of war.

As women, we are especially the custodians of the life of the ages. We will not longer consent to its reckless destruction.

As women, we are particularly charged with the future of childhood and with the care of the helpless and the unfortunate. We will not longer endure without protest that added burden of maimed and invalid men and poverty stricken widows and orphans which war places upon us.

As women, we have builded by the patient drudgery of the past the basic foundation of the home and of peaceful industry. We will not longer endure without a protest that must be heard and heeded by men, that hoary evil which in an hour destroys the social structure that centuries of toil have reared.

As women, we are called upon to start each generation onward toward a better humanity. We will not longer tolerate without determined opposition that denial of the sovereignty of reason and justice by which war and all that makes for war today render impotent the idealism of the race.

Therefore, as human beings and the mother half of humanity, we demand that our right to be consulted in the settlement of question concerning not alone the life of individuals but of nations be recognized and respected.

We demand that women be given a share in deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate—within the home, the school, the church, the industrial order, and the state.

So protesting, and so demanding, we hereby form ourselves into a national organization to be called the Woman's Peace Party.

.

PLATFORM

THE PURPOSE of this Organization is to enlist all American women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life and to abolish war. The following is adopted as our platform:

1. The immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interest of early peace.
2. Limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture.
3. Organized opposition to militarism in our own country.
4. Education of youth in the ideals of peace.
5. Democratic control of foreign policies.
6. The further humanizing of governments by the extension of the franchise to women.
7. "Concert of Nations" to supersede "Balance of Power."
8. Action toward the gradual organization of the world to substitute Law for War.
9. The substitution of an international police for rival armies and navies.
10. Removal of the economic cause of war.
11. The appointment by our Government of a commission of men and women, with an adequate appropriation, to promote international peace.

The following speakers were introduced by Mrs. Catt:

MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN, [1860-1935, leading feminist and socialist author and lecturer] of New York:

I think we are all of one mind as to the general purpose or purposes of this convention, but it is of even more importance that we settle upon some single immediate definite possible action, and that we then set in motion large, carefully planned, efficient measures to promote that one action. . . . [that is] the calling of an international conference and calling it quickly. . . . We want it done nationally, officially, governmentally. If at present it is not so done, it remains in the hands of the American people by millions and millions to express their definite will in the matter. To that end, the thing that I want to leave before this house is a suggestion as to active propaganda in the interests of our already established purpose. It is an interesting thing in this country to watch the nation-wide, swift, confident, efficient action of a political party when it wishes to influence public opinion, whether it is on free silver or a gold standard, or any other subject. There is an organized body whose business it is to distribute information, and not only information, but emo-

tional appeal. That sort of work is what has to be done now; to get together and start the definite machinery for distribution through the press, the platform, the pulpit, the college, the school, through every medium of reaching the public that is open to us of as much of this program as they will take, and most especially to have before them all one simple, definite and concrete proposition that no one can object to. Surely that proposition is the one that stands first with us all—the calling of the international conference to discuss measures for the ending of this war and the prevention of further wars. . . . Now, if this simple proposition can be brought before the American public all up and down the land, laid before the women's clubs and the men's associations, and all the great bodies of people, and backed up by the alliance of body after body, having for its signatories not merely individuals, but representative groups; if we can roll up millions upon millions of organized public opinion in America, then surely a representative government will express the will of the people and call as soon as it is humanely possible that conference of representative delegates which alone can take the further measures to promote the end for which we are all gathered here.

.

MRS. KATE WALLER BARRETT, President, National Council of Women [a sociologist and philanthropist from Virginia, also national chair of the Congress of Mothers and the Parent-Teacher Association]:

As you know, the National Council of Women of the United States was represented at the international conference at Rome last summer, at which were represented thirty-six national councils, representing all the nations that are now at war, and many of the neutral nations; and it has been my privilege in the last few weeks to receive letters from every one of those organized groups of women. . . . I bring to you the desire expressed by the National Council of Women of the Netherlands that the women of the United States join with them in trying to bring about a federation of Europe similar to the federation of the United States of America. I bring to you an expression of opinion from the women of Switzerland that we do everything possible to bring about the least possible suffering among the women and children and non-combatants and foreigners in the countries that are now at war with each other. I bring to you a plea from the women of Austria, from the women of Hungary, that we unite with them in an effort to stop this war, to end the needless suffering of women and children and non-combatants in the war zone. . . .

MADAME ROSIKA SCHWIMMER, of Budapest, Hungary:

... I wonder whether you realize how great this gratitude is which we feel for the American women who have taught us European women. . . . By adopting this platform of peace, then by adopting this program for action—for active, not theoretical peace—you have laid down the foundations for a new Europe, for a Europe which seemed to many of us European people as hopelessly broken down. . . .

Our old-fashioned idea was that a man must have the courage to face death, not only for something that is worth dying for, but even for a whim. It is a wonderful thing that you women of the United States are teaching us of the old world, teaching the men of the world that there is a greater courage than the physical one—the courage to stand for a principle, the high human courage.

.

MISS JANE ADDAMS, of Chicago:

... [T]here are certain things now being destroyed by war in which from the beginning of time women, as women, have held a vested interest, and I beg to draw your attention to three or four of them.

One thing war is now destroying, and which is being "thrown back" in the scientific sense, is the conception of patriotism gradually built up during thousands of years. Europe has had one revolution after another in which women as well as men have taken part, that a patriotism might be established which should contain liberty as well as loyalty.

At the present moment, however, thousands of men marching to their death are under compulsion, not of this higher type of patriotism, but of a tribal conception which ought to have left the world long since.

A state founded upon such a tribal ideal of patriotism has no place for women within its councils, and women have a right to protest against the destruction of that larger ideal of the state in which they had won a place, and to deprecate a world put back upon a basis of brute force—a world in which they can play no part.

Women also have a vested right in the developed conscience of the world. At this moment, because of war, the finest consciences in Europe are engaged in the old business of self-justification, utilizing outgrown myths to explain the course of action which their governments have taken.

And last, shall we not say that sensitiveness to human life so highly developed in women has been seriously injured by this war. . . .

I do not assert that women are better than men—even in the heat of suffrage debates I have never maintained that—but we would all admit

that there are things concerning which women are more sensitive than men, and that one of these is the treasuring of life. I would ask you to consider with me five aspects concerning this sensitiveness, which war is rapidly destroying.

The first is the protection of human life. The advanced nations know very accurately, and we had begun to know in America, how many children are needlessly lost in the first years of infancy. Measures inaugurated for the prevention of infant mortality were slowly spreading from one country to another. All that effort has been scattered to the winds by the war. No one is now pretending to count the babies who are dying throughout the villages and countrysides of the warring nations.

The second aspect is the nurture of human life. From the time a soldier is born to the moment he marches in his uniform to be wantonly destroyed, it is largely the women of his household who have cared for him. War overthrows not only the work of the mother, the nurse and the teacher, but at the same time ruthlessly destroys the very conception of the careful nurture of life.

The third aspect is the fulfillment of human life. Every woman who cares for a little child, fondly throws her imagination forward to the time when he shall have become a great and heroic man. Every baby is thus made human and is developed by the hope and expectation which surrounds him. But no one in Europe in the face of war's destruction can consider any other fulfillment of life than a soldier's death.

The fourth aspect is the conservation of human life; that which expresses itself in the state care of dependent children, in old age pensions, the sentiment which holds that every scrap of human life is so valuable that the human family cannot neglect the feeblest child without risking its own destruction. At this moment, none of the warring countries of Europe can cherish the aged and infirm. The State cannot give care to its dependents when thousands of splendid men are dying each day. Little children and aged people are dying too; in some countries in the proportion of five to one soldier killed on the field; but the nation must remain indifferent to their suffering.

And last of all is that which we call the ascent of human life; that which leads a man to cherish the hope that the next generation shall advance beyond the generation in which he lives; that generous glow we all experience when we see that those coming after us are equipped better than we have been. We know that Europe at the end of this war will not begin to build where it left off; we know that it will begin generations behind the point it had reached when the war began.

If we admit that this sensitiveness for human life is stronger in women than in men because women have been responsible for the care of the young and the aged and those who need special nurture, it is certainly true that this sensitiveness, developed in women, carries with it an obligation.

Once before in the history of the world, in response to this sensitiveness, women called a halt to the sacrifice of human life, although it then implied the abolition of a religious observance long believed to be right and necessary. In the history of one nation after another, it was the mothers who first protested that their children should no longer be slain as living sacrifices upon the altars of the tribal gods, although the national leaders contended the human sacrifice was bound up with the traditions of free religion and patriotism and could not be abolished.

The women led a revolt against the hideous practice which had dogged the human race for centuries, not because they were founding a new religion, but because they were responding to their sensitiveness to life. When at last a brave leader here and there gave heed to the mother of the child, he gradually found that courage and religion were with the abolition of human sacrifice, and that the protesting women had anticipated the conscience of the future.

Many of us believe that throughout this round world of ours there are thousands of men and women who have become convinced that the sacrifice of life in warfare is unnecessary and wasteful. It is possible that if women in Europe—in the very countries which are now at war—receive a message from the women of America solemnly protesting against this sacrifice, that they may take courage to formulate their own.

DOCUMENT 15

Alice Hamilton's Account of the International Congress
of Women at The Hague (1915)

Editor's Note: More than forty American women, most of them members of the Woman's Peace party, met with European feminists, suffragists, and pacifists from more than a dozen countries at an International Congress of Women at The Hague, Holland, April 28 to May 1, 1915.

As a prominent neutral citizen, Jane Addams was elected presiding officer. The conference adopted twenty resolutions, endorsing international arbitration, a society of nations, a peace settlement based on the principle of territorial integrity. The most controversial resolution (submitted by Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary and Julia Grace Wales of the United States) recommended the immediate creation of a continuous conference of neutral nations that would encourage the warring powers to clarify their war aims and that would actively seek to mediate a negotiated peace. Delegations took the resolutions to neutral and belligerent leaders during the next two months. Because they were received kindly at most capitals, the women became convinced that neutral mediation was possible; and several of them later tried, without success, to convince Woodrow Wilson to adopt their mediation plan (see document 18).

Alice Hamilton, 1869–1970, physician, medical professor, reformer, and one of the leading authorities on occupational hazards and industrial diseases in the early twentieth century, was a Hull House resident and a close friend of Jane Addams. In the letter below, she offered first hand reflections on The Hague conference to Addams' closest friend, Mary Rozet Smith.

Alice Hamilton to Mary Rozet Smith

Den Haag
May 5th [1915]

Dear Mary,

I am sitting in the parlor of this very pleasant hotel, surrounded by a crowd of Dutch people, whose language is guttural but whose voices are full and agreeable.

The Congress is over and since Sunday Miss [Jane] Addams has been in sessions of the Resolutions Committee, making the final draft. I wonder how much has been reported to you in the American papers. The Dutch papers are mostly contemptuous, the English sometimes quite nasty. To me it was intensely interesting and sometimes very moving. People are saying now that the German note predominated, that it was a pro-German Congress, but that is true only in the sense that the German women were there in goodly numbers and were an unusually

Source: Letter of Alice Hamilton to Mary Rozet Smith, May 5, 1915, in Barbara Sicherman, Alice Hamilton: A Life in Letters (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1984), 189–90.

fine lot of women, so able and so fair and so full of warmth and generosity. I wish Miss [Amalie] Hannig [of Hull House] could hear them talk, not only the real Germans, but the Hungarians and Austrians. The English were only three, and not even a united three, for Mrs. [Emmeline] Pethick Lawrence was ignored by the two legitimate suffragists, Miss [Kathleen D.] Courtney and Miss [Chrystal] Macmillan. There was a fine Canadian girl there, a niece of Sam Hughes, the Major-General of the Canadian forces. We expected the English delegation to welcome her with joy as an addition to their small numbers, but they were very thoroughly English and evinced no enthusiasm over a Colonial. The Norwegian and Swedish women impressed one very well, but they were the most cautious of all, being in fear all the time lest they do something to violate the neutrality of their countries. Finally there were the Poles and Belgians who were very moving and yet seldom over-emotional. Indeed what I felt all the time was the deep undercurrent of emotion, but an admirable self-control. Only Madam [Rosika] Schwimmer could sweep the Congress off its feet and she did it several times, notably at the end when she succeeded in having them pass the resolution which filled most of us with dismay and which you will have seen in the papers, that the resolutions passed by the Congress be presented by a committee to the various Powers. As you will have seen, J. A. [Jane Addams] is one of the delegates to visit all the countries except Russia and Scandinavia. She wants me to go with her and of course I will. To me it seems a singularly fool performance, but I realize that the world is not all Anglo-Saxon and that other people feel very differently.

J. A. was simply wonderful as president. She could not have been better. And Grace Abbott and Miss [Sophonisba] Breckinridge helped her as nobody else could have. I was really lost in admiration of their ability, their clearness and quickness. They are with her in Amsterdam tonight.

.

Yours ever
A.H.
[Alice Hamilton]

DOCUMENT 16

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson Differ over the Proper U.S. Response to the Sinking of the *Lusitania* (1915)

Editor's Note: On May 7, 1915, the giant British passenger liner, Lusitania, was torpedoed by a German submarine off the Irish coast. The ship sank within eighteen minutes. (It was rumored at the time that the ship carried munitions, and this was confirmed fifty years later when the manifest was released showing that the cargo included shrapnel, fuses, and four million rounds of ammunition). The sudden death of nearly 1,200 passengers and crew, including 128 U.S. citizens, in the Lusitania disaster brought home to Americans the brutality of modern war. Although former president Theodore Roosevelt and a few others wanted the United States to enter the war immediately, the public reacted more with shock than anger.

Woodrow Wilson decided to respond with diplomatic protests rather than threats of force. In a speech to newly naturalized citizens in Philadelphia, he inserted an impromptu paragraph indicating that the United States should be guided in its response by its moral rectitude and desire for world peace. The press and the president's hawkish critics, however, focused on one of Wilson's phrases about a man being "too proud to fight." From a different perspective, pacifist Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan resigned over what he considered Wilson's unneutrality in insisting on Americans' rights to travel on belligerents' ships in the war zone and in failing to hold the British surface naval blockade to the same "strict accountability" of the German submarine blockade. Subsequently, Wilson replaced him with State Department counselor Robert Lansing. The German government eventually pledged to stop sinking passenger ships without warning, apologized for the deaths of the Americans on the *Lusitania*, and paid an indemnity; but it continued to protest the British blockade of foodstuffs as well as munitions.

Roosevelt's Accusation
"Pure Piracy" Statement to Press, May 9, 1915.