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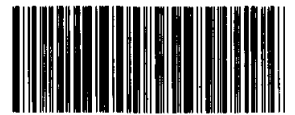
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Eastern Illinois University  
Department of Speech

A Rhetorical Analysis of 'Jane Addams'  
Speech of July 9, 1915

A thesis in  
Speech  
by  
Delvenia Gail Shadwell

Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements  
for the degree of

Master of Science in Education  
May 1961

Approved:

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## CHAPTER I

### Nature and Purpose of the Study

#### Introduction

If Jane Addams was not the greatest of American women, she surely personified the greatness of American womanhood. There were fused in this pioneer leader of women as a social force such qualities of warmth and vigor, of imagination and compassion, of idealism and energy as to make of her life a challenge and an inspiration to her countrymen.... As Oswald Garrison Villard said of her 25 years ago at a testimonial dinner here [Washington] just before she died, "We are surely met less to praise Jane Addams than to recite our own rare fortune that she has been and is of us, and that it has been our country that gave her to the world."<sup>1</sup>

#### Origin of the Study

While participating in undergraduate forensic activities, the writer attended the annual Illinois Intercollegiate Oratorical Association tournament and after competing in this tournament discovered that an eminent woman in Illinois history had participated in it the first time that members of her class were allowed to compete. Jane Addams competed representing Rockford Seminary in 1881 (as did another young unknown, William Jennings Bryan).<sup>2</sup>

The writer then became interested in Jane Addams as a pioneer in women's forensic activities in Illinois.

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<sup>1</sup>Washington Post and Times Herald, May 21, 1960.

<sup>2</sup>James Weber Linn, Jane Addams (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), p. 53.

See also:

A. Craig Baird, American Public Addresses, 1740-1952 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956), p. 193.

Further investigation of Miss Addams' career revealed that she was very influential (not only in her home state of Illinois, but throughout the nation and the world) in political, social, economic, and moral issues. As a student of speech and a native Illinoisan, the writer wanted to learn more about this outstanding Illinois woman.

Jane Addams espoused many worthwhile causes during her lifetime (child-labor legislation, social work, women's suffrage, juvenile delinquency prevention) but probably the "greatest effort of her life"<sup>3</sup> was in the advocacy of world peace. Therefore, when the writer decided to do a study of Miss Addams' oratory, the area of her speeches about peace seemed most worthy of consideration since peace was the most significant issue with which she worked and is still a major concern in our time. The historical-critical method was chosen as the most effective means of conducting the research in this particular type of study since the writer was seeking to discover the effectiveness of Jane Addams as a speaker which means value judgments will have to be made and probabilities and causations posited.

#### Review of the Literature

Before beginning the study of the oratory of Jane Addams as an advocate of world peace, it was necessary to ascertain whether such a study had been done before or

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<sup>3</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 282.

was in progress.<sup>4</sup>

In order to establish the originality of the study the indexes of research in the field of speech were checked.<sup>5</sup>

In order to further establish the originality of the study Trotier and Harmon's general index in graduate work was checked.<sup>6</sup>

Correspondence with Mr. Russell Ballard, Director of the Hull House Association;<sup>7</sup> The Illinois State Historical Society;<sup>8</sup> Mrs. Marjorie V. Edwards, Curator of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection (which contains the

<sup>4</sup>Homer Hockett, The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 88. Hockett states: "The essay [Masters] should be an original study. This does not mean that it must treat of a subject never before touched, but that it should be handled in an original way."

<sup>5</sup>J. Jeffery Auer, "Doctoral Dissertations in Speech; Work in Progress," Speech Monographs, Vols. XX-XXVII (1951-1960); Franklin Knowler, "Index of Graduate Study in the Field of Speech: 1902-1960," Speech Monographs, Vols. I-XXVII (1935-1960); Clyde Dow, "Abstracts of Theses in the Field of Speech and Drama: 1946-1960," Speech Monographs, Vols. XIII-XXVII (1946-1960); L. Thonssen and E. Fatherson, Bibliography of Speech Education (New York: The H.W. Wilson Co., 1939) and L. Thonssen, M. Rabb, and D. Thonssen, Bibliography of Speech Education Supplement (New York: The H.W. Wilson Co., 1950).

<sup>6</sup>Arnold H. Trotier and Marian Harmon (eds.), Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities (New York: The H.W. Wilson Co., 1953), Vols. 1-21 (1933-1954).

<sup>7</sup>Mr. Ballard wrote (October 18, 1960), "In response to your communication regarding the oratory of Jane Addams, I know of no writing on this subject either in print or in preparation."

<sup>8</sup>A Reference Report sent by the Illinois State His-

majority of the materials by and concerning Jane Addams);<sup>9</sup> and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress aided the determination of the originality of the study. From this investigation came the conclusion that no critical analysis of the oratory of Jane Addams as an advocate of international peace has been done or is being done except as it may have arisen incidental to historical studies or biographies.

#### Significance of the Study

From a review of the literature it would seem that there is a void in existing knowledge about Jane Addams at present for lack of a study of her "peace" speeches and other oratory. It would seem, then, that the general speaking ability of Miss Addams could be better understood after a study of her speeches advocating world peace, and that the study of one of her major speeches in this very important area would be a valuable first step toward such understanding.

Another significant value which could be ascribed to such a study would be its addition to the existing criticism of American orators. The values of studying American speakers have been outlined by many eminent rhetorical critics in America. Donald C. Bryant, W. Norwood Brigance,

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torical Society Library states (October 10, 1960), "We know of no paper that has been written concerning the oratory of Jane Addams. Nor do we know of such a study that is in progress."

<sup>9</sup>Mrs. Edwards wrote (October 11, 1960), "... to my knowledge a study of the oratory of Jane Addams has not been done or is not being done at the present time. Her talks have come up incidental to other works about her. I think you are alone in working on this angle...."



and Marie Hochmuth (Nichols) have stated as their editorial aim "to continue the examination of men and women who, by oral discourse, have helped shape American ideals and policy."<sup>10</sup>

Bower Aly wrote concerning a need for critical analysis of American oratory: "It should be possible... to join the clear need for an account of the uses, purposes, and practices of American oratory with the new interest in public address." [Italics mine]<sup>11</sup>

He also wrote that:

The emphasis on other approaches to the history of speech making should not obscure the value of the biographical approach exhibited in A History and Criticism of American Public Address. Only 26 American speakers were treated therein. [Vols. I and II] There is every reason why additional studies should be undertaken....<sup>12</sup>

Still another authority in American public address, the late Dallas Dickey, outlined the basic needs in future research in American public address in this manner:

First, we need to continue research on the obviously recognized speakers about whom we still know too little.... Second, we need to give attention to recognized speakers who have been neglected.... Third, we need most of all in the next few years to take up the study of

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<sup>10</sup>Marie Hochmuth (ed.), History and Criticism of American Public Address, (Vol. III; New York: Longman's, Green and Co., 1955), Preface.

<sup>11</sup>Bower Aly, "History of American Public Address As A Research Field," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXIX (October, 1943), p. 308.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 312.

speakers who are either completely unknown to many of us or unassociated with effectiveness in public address.<sup>13</sup>

If Jane Addams does not belong in the second of the categories listed by Dickey, she must certainly be placed in the third as a speaker who has been overlooked, probably because her deeds in so many areas of reform have been emphasized rather than the means by which she accomplished these ends, and therefore she has been "unassociated with effectiveness in public address." Thus, Miss Addams may be studied as a speaker who has been overlooked by rhetorical scholars in the field of speech.

Another reason for making a study of the speaking of Jane Addams was to offer a contribution to a growing corpus of studies of orators and oratory. This area of research for rhetorical scholars was stressed as worthwhile by the late Dr. W. Norwood Brigance.<sup>14</sup>

Aside from the values of this study to history and

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<sup>13</sup>Dallas C. Dickey, "What Direction Should Future Research in American Public Address Take?" Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXIX (October, 1943), p. 301.

<sup>14</sup>W. Norwood Brigance, "Whither Research?" Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XIX (November, 1933), p. 557.

to rhetorical criticism, such an effort can benefit the writer as an individual. Homer Hockett expresses this idea:

... a master's essay may make a real even if a minor contribution to historical knowledge and thus become a source of justifiable pride on the part of the author. More important ... is the discipline which should result from the use of the critical method.<sup>15</sup>

Wayne N. Thompson summarizes the values to the writer in this manner:

The preparation of the thesis can be a rich educational experience, which (1) provides training in research methods; (2) requires the integration of the knowledge and the skills of several fields...; (3) makes the student an 'expert' within a defined area; and (4) leads to conclusions regarding the theory and practice of rhetoric in our own time.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps one more important value might be attributed to this type of study, "the rhetorical value of placing on record analyses and sources of oratory on important issues...."<sup>17</sup>

That Miss Addams' speeches on international peace

<sup>15</sup>Hockett, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>16</sup>Wayne N. Thompson, "Contemporary Public Address," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXXII (October, 1947), p. 277.

<sup>17</sup>Jon J. Hopkins, "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Oratory of William Penn," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, Pennsylvania State University), p. 4.

were on an important issue is indisputable and may be supported by the fact that Aristotle divided the "main matters upon which all men deliberate"<sup>18</sup> into five areas, one of which was "war and peace." Therefore, this study could contribute to a record of the analysis and sources of oratory on an important issue.

Having examined these views, one finds that the values of this study would be of historical, rhetorical, and individual significance.

#### Isolating and Defining the Research Problem

The method which will be used in the evaluation of Miss Addams' speeches in behalf of peace is the "historical-critical" method. For a brief definition of this research method one might turn to J. Jeffery Auer:

Defined formally, historical research is the study of a period, person, or phenomena in human development, in order to record discovered facts in an accurate, coherent, and critical narrative that posits causations and probabilities.<sup>19</sup>

Auer recognizes six specific steps in the historical-critical research method: (1) isolation of a problem; (2) formulation of a working hypothesis; (3) development of a research design; (4) collection of evidence; (5)

<sup>18</sup>W. Rhys Roberts, Rhetorica, The Works of Aristotle, ed. W.D. Ross (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1946) XI, i. 4. 1359.

<sup>19</sup>J. Jeffery Auer, An Introduction to Research in Speech (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 28.

analysis or interpretation of evidence; and (6) generalization of causations and probabilities.<sup>20</sup>

Elements which should be included in a historical-critical study are: (1) a description of the historical causes behind the issue being discussed; (2) a reconstruction of the immediate speaking situation (audience and occasion analysis, the speaker's reputation and objectives both immediate and long-range); (3) a critical study of the speaker's style, choice of topics and the nature of proofs, judgment of his audience, drive of ideas, arrangement, mode of expression, and the authenticity of the text; (4) a study of the habits of preparation of the speaker (including personality, voice, manner of delivery, mental habits, attainments and shortcomings); and (5) a conclusion as to the effect on the audience (both immediate and ultimate effect).<sup>21</sup>

As indicated above ("Origin of the Study"), the writer will limit this study to Jane Addams' speaking in the area of world peace, and in recognition of the necessity for further delimitation of this broad area, the study will be centered on the speech given by Miss <sup>A</sup>addams at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Friday night, July 9, 1915. This speech was Miss Addams' attempt to "put before her

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-29.

<sup>21</sup>Brigance, op. cit., pp. 559-560.

fellow Americans the message she brought back from the countries at war"<sup>22</sup>after her attendance at The Hague Conference of Women and her mission with others to the warring nations of the world.

It will be the purpose of the study to formulate a conclusion as to Jane Addams' effectiveness and the abilities she demonstrates as a speaker in the selected speech advocating world peace by making use of the historical-critical method.

#### The Working Hypothesis

Having isolated and defined the research problem the second step, according to Auer, is to formulate a working hypothesis. Hockett describes the hypothesis as "a tentative conclusion about the facts observed,"<sup>23</sup>the truth of which must be tested by further observation.

It is assumed that by a critical analysis of the selected speech given upon Miss Addams' return from her tour, her effectiveness and abilities in this area of international peace advocacy may be evaluated and an indication of her "overall" effectiveness in speech-making discovered. The hypothesis in this study is that the speech-making of Jane Addams on the occasion analyzed probably played a significant role in her achievements in the promotion of international peace.

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<sup>22</sup>Jane Addams, "The Revolt Against War," Survey, Vol. XXXIV (July 17, 1915), p. 355. Editor's note.

<sup>23</sup>Hockett, op. cit., p. 7.

### Divisions of the Research Design

There are three important areas into which the references concerning Jane Addams' peace speaking may be placed: (1) those materials describing the historical and rhetorical atmosphere of the period; (2) biographical sources concerning Jane Addams and her historical importance; and (3) the references which concern Miss Addams' advocacy of world peace, including the particular speech which has been chosen for analysis.

In order to discover these materials, the following sources proved helpful: Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 1; Who Was Who in America; Speech Index; The Oxford Companion to American Literature; American Authors and Books; the card catalogue of the Eastern Illinois University Booth Library; "Preliminary Checklist For a Bibliography on Jane Addams"<sup>24</sup>; "Checklist of the Jane Addams Papers"<sup>25</sup>; and an interview with Mrs. Russell Ballard.<sup>26</sup> These sources were supplemented by bibliographies and textual references in related books, pamphlets, and periodical articles.

The first area to be investigated was that concerning

<sup>24</sup>M. Helen Perkins, "A Preliminary Checklist For A Bibliography On Jane Addams" (Rockford, Illinois: Rockford Area Jane Addams Centennial Committee, 1960).

<sup>25</sup>"Checklist of the Jane Addams Papers" (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; Swarthmore College Peace Collection, n.d.)

<sup>26</sup>Interview with Mrs. Russell Ballard, wife of the Director of Hull House, September 1, 1960.

the historical period in which Miss Addams' lived and worked. Brigance explained the necessity for this type of knowledge when he included in his list of elements of the historical-critical method the study of historical causes behind the issue being discussed.<sup>27</sup>

The reasoning behind the need for this element of research is found in this statement:

One cannot study the literature without studying the historical foundations on which it rests....we must bring that past before our eyes as though it were the living present.<sup>28</sup>

Bryant subscribes to the same theory in his comment that "rhetorical criticism... cannot do without rhetorical history, and full and accurate history at that."<sup>29</sup>

Marie Hochmuth (Nichols) also states the necessity for this background when she says that one aspect of the critical process is to recognize what is to be evaluated "as a cultural product of a particular time."<sup>30</sup>

In order to attain the necessary historical background for this period and for the "peace" movement, the following sources were chosen. First, for a general view of this period one history seemed particularly good. Covering the years 1865-1937, Samuel Morison and Henry Commager's

<sup>27</sup>Brigance, op. cit., p. 559.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 557.

<sup>29</sup>Donald C. Bryant, "Scope and Method in Rhetorical Scholarship," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXIII (April, 1937), p. 184.

<sup>30</sup>Hochmuth, op. cit., p. 4.



Growth of the American Republic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950) is almost identical with the period of Jane Addams' life (1860-1935).<sup>31</sup> That this text is considered a scholarly work may be illustrated by Bert Hoselitz' statement:

As in other fields of social science, textbooks in history varied much in general quality and scope. Some of the best texts, as for example, Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry S. Commager's The Growth of the American Republic (4th ed., 1950), approach the general level of a treatise....<sup>32</sup>

A second history of the United States was chosen since it is a scholarly work giving an excellent background of this period, that being Charles A. and Mary Beard's, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940). Charles Beard, a former president of the American Historical Association, has been termed "the dean of American historians."<sup>33</sup>

Concerning this source Hoselitz says,

Some "popular" histories have become important works in their own right. For example, Charles A. and Mary R. Beard's The Rise of American Civilization (1927) is a work primarily

<sup>31</sup>Dr. Donald Tingley, Social Science Department, Eastern Illinois University, recommended this source as one of the best for this particular period of American history.

<sup>32</sup>Bert Hoselitz (ed.), A Reader's Guide to the Social Sciences (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959), p. 57.

<sup>33</sup>Hockett, op. cit., p. 63.

addressed to a general reader which, because of its special interpretation of American history, has found a place on the shelf of the scholar also.<sup>34</sup>

Due to the varying degree of importance assigned to the peace movement throughout history, it was necessary to consult several other histories for only a limited amount of material and so they were used to supplement the two basic references just cited.

The second major area of investigation for sources involves the discovery of materials concerning the life of Jane Addams.

The importance of knowledge of the speaker to analysis of the speaking was stated by Marie Hochmuth (Nichols) when she said, "There is no gainsaying the fact that when speeches are being evaluated the speaker is of paramount importance."<sup>35</sup> Thus it is essential to gain knowledge concerning Jane Addams' education, family and parental influences, acquaintances, religious beliefs, and career in general. From the abundance of biographical material (much of which takes the form of periodical articles and pamphlets) it was necessary to choose the more reliable and informative works. In order to accomplish this, certain criteria were established by which to judge potential sources.

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<sup>34</sup>Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>35</sup>Hochmuth, op. cit., p. 9.

First, the biographer should be relatively free from bias (favorable or unfavorable) concerning the subject of the biography. Hockett says, "Hero worshipers make poor biographers...."<sup>36</sup>

Secondly, such a source should give some emphasis to the latter portion of Miss Addams' life, since this period was the time during which her advocacy of world peace was dominant.<sup>37</sup>

A third criterion is that the biographer must have had access to sufficient materials to make the biographical facts accurate. Obviously a writer must have access to materials providing the facts about the subject's life before he can adequately write about them.

Finally, such a study should present a substantial insight into the philosophy and ideals of the subject.

The one source which best met all of the four criteria was James Weber Linn, Jane Addams (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1935), Miss Addams' nephew. He was given access to all her personal papers as well as to conversations and consultations with Miss Addams. Linn satisfies the criterion for lack of significant prejudice, since he has not let his close personal relationship with his aunt dis-

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<sup>36</sup>Hockett, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>37</sup>Irving Dilliard, "The Centennial Year of Two Great Illinoisans: Jane Addams and William Jennings Bryan," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. LIII (Autumn, 1960), p. 244.

tort his presentation to any great degree. He presents both sides of the controversies involving Miss Addams. Naturally, he attempts to present his aunt in a favorable position, but the attacks on her and her work are not omitted. Having access to her papers and knowing the subject of the biography very well, Linn satisfies another of the list of criteria by providing much insight into her personal beliefs, philosophy, and ideals (often in her own works). The latter part of her life is treated extensively, thus meeting the last criterion for a source on the life of Jane Addams. One criticism of the book, however, would concern the lack of specific documentation by Linn. (He does not use footnotes or list a bibliography.) Mr. Allen F. Davis supports the choice of this biography as the basic reference on Miss Addams' life when he says that "the better of two biographies of Jane Addams is by her nephew, James Weber Linn...."<sup>38</sup>

The other book-length biography which seems relatively good for a view of Miss Addams' life is Winifred Wise, Jane Addams of Hull House (New York: Harcourt, 1935). With recognition of the general tendency of the biographer to "glorify" the subject of the biography, this book also meets the above criteria adequately. It is note-

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<sup>38</sup>Allen F. Davis, "Jane Addams Vs. the Ward Boss," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. LIII (Autumn, 1960), p. 247. Footnote.

worthy that Morison and Commager selected these two biographies for information about Jane Addams in addition to her autobiography.<sup>39</sup> The third basic source is Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (Limited and Autograph Edition; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910). The fourth source is The Second Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930), Miss Addams' account of the later years of her life. In using these autobiographies, it must be realized that the modesty of Miss Addams will cause some bias in reporting and that there is some loss of impartiality of viewpoint, but she has attempted to minimize these difficulties. These sources provide much insight into the personality and philosophy of Miss Addams, perhaps better than either of the other sources.

Further material concerning the life of Jane Addams was discovered in works of lesser length as well as through interviews and correspondence with those who knew or have studied Jane Addams. Unfavorable criticism is not lacking because of the many articles and pamphlets denouncing Miss Addams which will be incorporated as they apply throughout the study.

The final area in which sources were discovered deals with Jane Addams' advocacy of world peace, including

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<sup>39</sup>Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, Growth of the American Republic (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), Bibliography.

the speech chosen for analysis. This area includes books, articles, speeches, and pamphlets by Jane Addams in her efforts toward peace and the same types of materials written about her efforts by others. This area contains, also, a great number of short articles which will be consulted as they apply, most of which are listed by M. Helen Perkins in her checklist.<sup>40</sup>

The books by Jane Addams which were written primarily to explain her views on peace include: Newer Ideals of Peace (New York: Macmillan, 1915); Peace and Bread in Time of War (New York: King's Crown Press, 1945); Jane Addams, Emily G. Balch, and Alice Hamilton, Women at the Hague (New York: Macmillan, 1915). Also a substantial amount of material concerning her views on peace is found in Jane Addams' Second Twenty Years at Hull House and Jane Addams: A Centennial Reader (New York: Macmillan, 1960).

The particular speech chosen for analysis, usually entitled "The Revolt Against War," given by Miss Addams at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Friday night, July 9, 1915,<sup>41</sup> was chosen for a number of reasons: (1) it was given before an American audience, and Miss Addams' efforts began with and concentrated on her work in America; (2) it is a lengthy

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<sup>40</sup>Perkins, op. cit.

<sup>41</sup>Addams, "The Revolt Against War," op. cit., p. 355.

speech, which should give a good indication of Miss Addams' organizational powers, style, and invention which a shorter speech might not do; (3) it reported the results of one of the greatest efforts for world peace Miss Addams ever made--her tour of certain warring and neutral nations seeking peaceful settlement of war problems; (4) it later became the source of much adverse criticism of Miss Addams due to a remark made in the speech (and other speeches following it) concerning stimulants being given soldiers before bayonet charges; (5) the events surrounding the speech seem well reported, and there are several available sources to aid in reconstructing the particular speech situation and rhetorical atmosphere surrounding it.

#### Organization of the Study

The study will be divided into six chapters, each having a specific function: (1) nature and purpose of the study, (2) a rhetorical biography of Jane Addams, (3) rhetorical atmosphere in America (1914-1917), (4) immediate setting of the chosen speech, (5) analysis of the July 9, 1915 speech ("Revolt Against War"), and (6) the conclusion (containing the results of the study).

Within these six divisions are all the elements constituting analysis by the historical-critical method as described by Auer and Brigance above.

Chapter I treats the origin of the study, review of the literature, significance of the study, isolation and

definition of the research problem, working hypothesis, divisions of the research design, organization of the study, and criteria to be used in rhetorical analysis.

Chapter II is concerned with a biographical study of Miss Addams with an emphasis on her education and background having rhetorical significance. Since her youth and personal life are important to her later speaking, these matters are included with the study of her philosophy and ideals. Since her interests were in many fields of reform, the writer was led to include an "area-by-area" treatment of this phase of her life, with special emphasis given to her part in the peace movement. Religion, in the usual sense of the word, played little part in her life and has been included as it appears in her general philosophy of life. Brief mention of her acquaintances was made since these persons had some influence on her life.

Chapter III describes the rhetorical atmosphere during the beginning years of World War I, the time during which the selected peace speech was presented and emphasizes the attitudes toward peace held by the world.

Chapter IV contains a reconstruction of the speech situation on July 9, 1915, including audience and occasion analysis.

Integrating the preceding chapters, Chapter V undertakes the rhetorical analysis of the chosen speech in order to accomplish the purpose of the study in discovering the



speaking effectiveness of Jane Addams in the area of world peace.

Chapter VI attempts to draw the general conclusions resulting from the rhetorical analysis of this speech and to give some indication of the direction which further research on Miss Addams' speaking (or her peace speaking specifically) might take.

#### Criteria for Rhetorical Analysis

Before attempting to establish standards by which to carry on rhetorical analysis, it is desirable to get an idea of what "rhetorical analysis" or "speech criticism" actually is. Let us turn for such information to Elton A. Carter who says it is "exercising disciplined judgment in the process of evaluating speech events,"<sup>42</sup> or to Thonssen and Baird who define it in this manner:

The criticism of oratory involves three stages: the examination of the facts, the formulation of criteria, and the application of the standards to the facts for purposes of general evaluation.... The source of the basic canon of rhetorical criticism is found in the formula: A speech is the result of an interaction of speaker, subject, audience, and occasion. The end toward which the critic's efforts are directed largely is the determination of the effect of the speech.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Elton S. Carter, "The Analytical or Critical Method," "Research Methods in Speech," ed. Clyde Dow (unpublished manuscript, Department of Speech, Purdue University), p. 3.

<sup>43</sup>Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: Ronald Press, 1948), p. 23.

In seeking to accomplish the purpose of rhetorical criticism as stated by these authorities, it must be remembered that the criteria or standards used must be those representing the period in which the speaker spoke.<sup>44</sup>

W.C. Lang stated this idea when he said, "At the outset he [the critic] will seek to avoid the pitfall of judging the speaker in the light of current events rather than by his own time."<sup>45</sup>

It was therefore necessary to ask the following two questions: (1) What were the standards of rhetoric which Jane Addams was likely to know? and (2) Were these the standards of rhetorical criticism during her time?<sup>46</sup>

There would seem to be three areas of rhetorical standards to which Jane Addams was exposed (Cicero's classical rhetoric; Whately, De Quincey, the nineteenth century English rhetoricians; the elocutionists) and it will be one of the problems in this study to determine by the analysis of her speech which of these systems seemed to have had the greatest effect on Jane Addams' speaking.

<sup>44</sup>Hochmuth, *op. cit.*, p. 14. She states: "...The scale by which one determines persuasive effect must be a scale adjusted to the time in which the product was made."

<sup>45</sup>W.C. Lang, "Public Address As A Force In History," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, Vol. XXXVII (February, 1951), p. 34.

<sup>46</sup>These two questions were suggested by Dr. Karl Wallace in an interview at the Speech Association of America Convention in St. Louis, Missouri, on Thursday, December 29, 1960.

A second problem will be to use the same method to attempt to discover which of the two major schools of elocution she probably studied.

In order to solve these problems and to analyze the chosen speech, it is essential to know the basic ideas of each of these systems. To facilitate the listing of the principles of each system and the eventual analysis of the chosen speech, the canons are listed in question form.

The method of listing is cumulative, with the classical canons listed first and then any additions from the nineteenth century English rhetoricians, and finally the additional canons of the elocutionist school.

#### Cicero's Classical Rhetoric

Jane Addams studied the oratory of Cicero as well as other readings in Greek and Latin as shown by her grade reports from Rockford Seminary.<sup>47</sup> Thus, it may be assumed that she was aware of the principles of oratory expounded by Cicero which incorporate most of the ideas of the other classical rhetoricians (barring differences in the Atticist-Asianism dispute.)

De Quincey, Whately, and the Nineteenth Century

#### English Rhetoricians

The Second school of rhetoric to which Jane Addams

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<sup>47</sup>"Jane Addams' Grade Reports, Rockford Seminary," Stephenson County Historical Society, Freeport, Illinois. (In the files of the Stephenson County Historical Museum.)

was probably exposed was that of the English rhetoricians including Whately, Campbell, Blair and the comments upon Whately by De Quincey. Linn reports that, "Jane Addams at nineteen was flying high in the pathway of light radiated by Coleridge and De Quincey (of whose works she was for some reason particularly fond.)"<sup>48</sup> Since De Quincey analyzed Whately's Elements of Rhetoric, it is very likely that Jane Addams was acquainted with the rhetorical principles of these two men. It is even more likely that she was acquainted with the rhetorical principles of the English school since she attended Rockford Seminary during the nineteenth century and took courses in "Rhetoric" (1878), "Rhetoric Jun. Class" (1880), and "Criticism"<sup>49</sup> (1881), when, as Clarence Edney reports,

English theory thoroughly permeated instruction in public address in American colleges and universities during the nineteenth century. And the English treatises that dominated the field were those of John Ward, George Campbell, Hugh Blair, and Richard Whately.<sup>50</sup>

John Hoshor further states:

At the opening of the nineteenth century, rhetorical education in America was based largely on the classical

<sup>48</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>49</sup>"Jane Addams' Grade Reports," op. cit.

<sup>50</sup>Clarence Edney, "English Sources of Rhetorical Theory in Nineteenth-Century America," History of Speech Education in America, ed. Karl Wallace (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 80.

writings on the subject-principally the works of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian - and, more especially, on the works of certain English rhetoricians, notably Blair and Campbell. Their works, together with Whately's Elements of Rhetoric, published in 1828, were the most widely used textbooks in American colleges in the first half of the century, and continued to be an important influence throughout the century.<sup>51</sup>

It is necessary, then, to discern any differences in opinion upon rhetorical theory as expressed by these rhetoricians from those of Cicero's classical school. With John Ward this is no problem since his writings are "exclusively classical in tendency," and "for illustration he depends very largely upon Cicero."<sup>52</sup>

Blair, too, primarily restated classical theory,<sup>53</sup> and according to Thonssen and Baird, "Cox, Wilson, Campbell, Bacon and Whately helped to revitalize the classical tradition in rhetoric...."<sup>54</sup>

It is assumed, therefore, that the differences among these schools will not be major ones since "the English theories that controlled the classrooms in the nine-

<sup>51</sup>John Hoshor, "American Contributions to Rhetorical Theory and Homiletics," Wallace, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>52</sup>Edney, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>53</sup>Lester Thonssen, Selected Readings in Rhetoric and Public Speaking (New York: The H.W. Wilson Co., 1942), p. 251.

<sup>54</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., pp. 144-145.

teenth century were classical in basic tendency."<sup>55</sup>

#### Elocutionists

The fact that Jane Addams studied elocution is witnessed by an item dated June 19, 1881, in her carefully kept account book which notes her payment for elocution lessons.<sup>56</sup>

Since it is not known at present which of the two major schools of elocution Miss Addams studied, it was necessary to examine the basic ideas of each school briefly through the works of Thomas Sheridan and John Walker since "the men who best illustrate the two schools of thought within the elocutionary movement are Thomas Sheridan and John Walker."<sup>57</sup>

The elocutionists dealt with delivery or "elocutio" primarily, and both schools admired "naturalness." The essence of the difference between the two schools was that the Sheridan school felt that this "naturalness" came from the understanding and feelings of the speaker, whereas the Walker school assumed that "naturalness" had to be attained through study of an elaborate system of rules.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup>Edney, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>56</sup>Letter from Mrs. John Woodhouse, Curator, Stephenson County Historical Museum, Freeport, Illinois, December 29, 1960.

<sup>57</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>58</sup>Warren Guthrie, "Rhetorical Theory in Colonial America," Wallace, op. cit., p. 56.

Thus the Sheridan school differs little from the classical and English schools, but the Walker concept of delivery is somewhat different.

List of Rhetorical Canons in Question Form

I. Cicero's classical rhetoric<sup>59</sup>

A. The orator as a person

1. Was the speaker a person of great learning?
2. Did the speaker speak with a purpose?

B. His use of the parts of rhetoric

1. Invention

a. Ideas and subject matter

- (1) How well did the speaker determine the nature and the issues of the subject?
- (2) What idea was the speaker developing?
- (3) Were the speaker's ideas of importance to men and states?
- (4) Did the speaker deal with the determination of points of fact or the determination of expediency in proposed courses of action?

<sup>59</sup>These standards as viewed by Cicero are found in:

G.L. Hendrickson, Brutus, Cicero, eds. T.E. Page, E. Capps, W.H.D. Rouse (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 185, 139, 63, 93, 139, 143, 152, 140, 43, 49, 53, 117, 125, 163, 173, 247, 263, 188, 127.

H.M. Hubbell, Orator, Cicero, eds. T.E. Page, E. Capps, W.H.D. Rouse (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 47-48, 122, 50, 53, 347, 349.

Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., pp. 160, 82, 153, 333, 79, 83, 84, 89.

Wallace, op. cit., p. 5.

Thonssen, op. cit., pp. 66, 67, 80, 83, 84, 89, 90, 91.

(5) Did the speaker weigh his ideas carefully and select the best available ideas?

b. Means of persuasion

(1) Logical proofs

(a) Has the speaker supported the ideas with explanation, illustration (hypothetical or factual), specific instances, statistics, testimony, or restatement?

(b) Has the speaker employed evidence which is valid in terms of the standard tests?<sup>60</sup>

#### Tests of Evidence

1. Is the evidence consistent with human nature and human experience?
2. Is the evidence consistent with known facts?
3. Is the evidence consistent with itself?
4. Can the evidence pass the "hearsay" test?
5. Is the evidence of a kind that is exceptionally valuable?

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<sup>60</sup>These tests are taken from:  
 James McBurney, James O'Neill, and Glen Mills, Argumentation and Debate (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), pp. 86-95.  
 Henry Lee Ewbank and J. Jeffery Auer, Discussion and Debate (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951), p. 104.

See also:  
 David Potter (ed.), Argumentation and Debate (New York: The Dryden Press, 1954), pp. 97-98.  
 A. Craig Baird, Argumentation, Discussion, and Debate (New York: McGraw-Hill Book, Co., Inc., 1950), p. 112.



(Admissions and declarations against interest, casual or undesignated evidence, negative evidence, real evidence)

- 6.. Is the evidence adequate to support the conclusions drawn from it?
7. Is the evidence relevant to the argument which it is meant to support?
8. Are the sources of the evidence valid?
  - a. Witnesses of "fact" or ordinary witnesses.
    - (1) Is the witness physically qualified to testify?
    - (2) Is the witness mentally qualified to testify?  
(memory, accuracy of statement, thoughtless exaggeration)
    - (3) Is the witness morally qualified to testify?  
(Is there a deliberate perversion of truth due to a motive? Is the witness unduly interested in the outcome, or what is his general moral character?)
    - (4) Did the witness have an opportunity to get the truth?
  - b. Expert witnesses
    - (1) Is the case such that the introduction of expert evidence is warrantable?
    - (2) Is the witness possessed of the knowledge and experience necessary to justify his acceptance as an expert on the matter in question?
    - (3) Is his authority recognized by the audience?

- (c) Did the speaker argue from sign, causal argument, argument by example, argument by analogy, or argument by explanation?
- (d) Did the speaker use arguments that were valid in terms of the tests for argument?<sup>61</sup>

#### Tests of Argument

1. Argument from Sign
  - a. Is the sign relationship accidental or coincidental?
  - b. Is the sign relationship reciprocal?
  - c. Have special factors intervened which alter normal relations?
  - d. Is the sign reliable without the collaboration or concurrence of other signs?
2. Causal Argument
  - a. Is the connection between the cause and effect broken or incomplete?
  - b. Have other causes operated (or will they operate) to prevent or alter the cause under discussion?
  - c. To what extent is the effect the result of the cause?
  - d. Does the cause produce other effects?
3. Argument by Example

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<sup>61</sup>These tests were taken from:  
McBurney, O'Neill, and Mills, op. cit., Chapters VIII and X.

See also:

Ewbank and Auer, op. cit., pp. 171-177.

Baird, Argumentation, Discussion, and Debate, Chapters X, XI, XII.

- a. Are the specimens fair in respect to the point in issue?
- b. Has a large enough part of the class been observed to justify an inference regarding the whole class?
- c. Are negative instances accounted for?
- d. Is the relationship generalized apparent in the examples adduced?

#### 4. Analogy

- a. Are the compared cases alike in all essential respects?
- b. Are the differences in the compared cases accounted for?
- c. Is the argument from analogy cumulative?

#### 5. Explanation

- a. Has the speaker shown the properties, attributes, and relations of spatial objects in their proper order? (description)
- b. Has the speaker presented a proposition in its time relations, exhibited events in their proper order? (narration)
- c. Has the speaker exhibited a proposition as a logical thought whole independent of time or space relations? (exposition)

#### (2) Pathetic proof

- (a) What motive appeals were used by the speaker?
- (b) Did the speaker employ emotionally

stimulating words and phrases?

(c) Did the speaker choose materials to illustrate the audience relationships to the subject?

(d) Did the speaker have his feelings under control?

(3) Ethical proof

(a) Did the speaker make an effort to gain audience acceptance of himself (wisdom, character, good will)?

## 2. Arrangement

### a. Speech pattern

(1) Did the speaker employ a speech pattern?

(2) Did the speaker include the four specific parts of a speech (as listed by Cicero)?

(a) Introduction

(I) Does the introduction propitiate and attract the audience?

(II) Is the introduction well suited to the rest of the speech, derived from the essence of the cause?

(b) Narration

(I) Is the explanation or narrative part of the speech perspicuous?

(II) Did this part of the speech set forth the speaker's position?

(c) Proof

(I) Is the arrangement of materials in the body of the speech clear, concise, and orderly?

(II) Does the arrangement center around the speaker's purpose?

(III) Is the placement of material such as to strengthen the speaker's ideas and arguments?

(IV) Did the arrangement of materials follow one of the established methods (historical, logical, distributive)?

(d) Peroration

(I) Did the speaker attempt to "amplify" the points?

(II) Did the speaker attempt to excite or mollify the audience?

(III) Did the speaker attempt to incline the audience in his favor?

b. Total structure

(1) Did the arrangement of the material

reflect a seriousness of design?

### 3. Style

- a. Did the speaker adapt his style to make it appropriate to audience, subject, and occasion?
- b. Did the style of the speaker add to the desired effect of the speech?
- c. Characteristics of style
  - (1) Did the speaker use compact, correct language?
  - (2) Was the language clear, coherent?
  - (3) Did the speaker employ rhythm?
  - (4) Did the speaker use ornamentation?
  - (5) Did the language fit the period?
  - (6) Were the words chosen carefully for dignity, beauty, conciseness, etc.?
  - (7) Did the speaker employ variety in language and ornamentation?

### 4. Memory

- a. Was the speaker's memory sufficient to keep speeches free from suggestion of previous rehearsal?
- b. Was the memory sufficient to allow the speaker to deliver the material which he planned to deliver in the pattern in which he wished to present it?

### 5. Delivery

a. Movement and gesture

- (1) Were the movements and gestures naturally motivated?
- (2) Were the movements and gestures dignified and graceful?
- (3) Did the speaker avoid excess in movement and gesture?
- (4) Was the carriage of the speaker lofty, erect and vital?

b. Manner

- (1) Did the speaker's manner fit his personality?
- (2) Was his manner courteous, composed, natural?
- (3) Was the manner adapted to audience, occasion, and topic?
- (4) Did he adapt his delivery to the "circular response"?

c. Voice

- (1) Was the speaker fluent?
- (2) Did he use his voice to gain desired response?

C. Effect of the speech

1. What was the immediate effect of the speech?
2. What was the long range effect of the speech?

## II. Whately and the English rhetoricians<sup>62</sup>

### A. Emotional proof

1. Does the speaker have an understanding of the nature of his audience?
2. Did the speaker use probability as an expedient for enlivening the passions?
3. Did the speaker show the plausibility of his ideas in order to manipulate the passions?
4. Did the speaker add brightness and strength to his ideas by showing their importance?
5. Does the speaker emphasize proximity of time or the present status of an action (etc.) to influence the audience?
6. Did the speaker use pathetic appeal where it was proper and sensible to use it?
7. Did the speaker employ pathetic appeals in such a way that the audience was unaware that he attempted to use their emotions?
8. Was the speaker moved himself?
9. Did the speaker avoid interweaving anything of a foreign nature with the pathetic part of the discourse?
10. Did the speaker keep the pathetic appeal within a limit so as to avoid straining audience

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<sup>62</sup>The criteria of this school were taken from:  
 Wallace, op. cit., pp. 81-82.  
 Thonssen, op. cit., pp. 235,239,259,260,261,258,  
 295,296.



emotion too far, attempting to raise it to unnatural heights.

## B. Arrangement

1. What parts of an oration did the speaker include? (exordium, state and division of the subject, narration, reasoning, pathetic part, and conclusion)

### a. Introduction

- (1) Does the speaker avoid anticipation of any material part of the subject?
- (2) Is the introduction proportioned in length and spirit to the whole?
- (3) Did the speaker avoid alarming his audience with a great number of topics, preliminary considerations, etc.?

### b. State and division of the subject

- (1) Was the speaker's division of the subject and its background material stated clearly and logically?

### c. Pathetic part

- (1) Did the speaker choose the appropriate places for using the pathetic part?

## C. Memory

(omitted by English rhetoricians)

### III. Elocutionist school<sup>63</sup>

- A. Did the speaker speak naturally?
- B. If so, was the "naturalness" the result of the speaker's understanding and feelings or a study of rules and principles?

#### Summary of the Canons

In summary, then, the canons of rhetoric to which Jane Addams was exposed and which will be applied to her speaking are taken from three schools of rhetoric--the classical, the English (nineteenth century), and the elocutionist.

#### Conclusion

The purpose of the writer in the first chapter has been to clarify the nature and purpose of the study by treating (1) the origin of the study, (2) a review of the literature, (3) the significance of the study, (4) the isolation and definition of the research problem, (5) the working hypothesis, (6) the divisions of the research design, (7) the organization of the study, (8) the standards of rhetorical analysis in question form, and (9) a conclusion.

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<sup>63</sup>These standards were taken from:  
 Wallace, op. cit., p. 56.  
 Thonssen, op. cit., p. 216.  
 Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 130

## CHAPTER II

### A Rhetorical Biography of Jane Addams

Recent rhetorical studies stress the importance of studying the speaker's background in order to determine: (1) his personal resources for recognizing the pressing problems of his time, (2) his facility in making analyses of issues, and (3) his capacity for formulation of ideas.

The purpose of Chapter II, then, is to analyze the background and preparation of Jane Addams as an orator.

In order to fulfill this purpose an investigation is made of her: immediate ancestry; early childhood; formal education; travels; religious, philosophical and political beliefs; and the major issues with which she concerned herself as revealed in her rhetorical works.

#### Parental Influences on Jane Addams

It is apparent in a study of the life of Jane Addams that her father was the primary and dominant influence on her life. In the words of Mrs. Harry Barnard,

She was devoted to her father and was surrounded with love in her childhood. After her father's death she consciously and unconsciously emulated him in many ways. She adopted his penetrating type of thinking, his manner of speaking, certainly many of her ideas were formulated after the pattern of his thinking. Her memory of him,

was, she said, a constant inspiration to succeed.<sup>1</sup>

William L. Neuman says, "Her mother died before she reached the age of three, and it was her father who played the major role in her early training."<sup>2</sup>

In her autobiography Jane Addams gives some insight as to the depth of her affection for her father and the recognized influence which he had upon her:

...because my father was so distinctly the dominant influence...it has seemed simpler to string these first memories on that single cord. Moreover, it was this cord which first drew me into the moral concerns of life, and later afforded a clew there to which I somewhat wistfully cling in the intricacy of its mazes.<sup>3</sup>

Later in the book she writes,

...doubtless at that time I centered upon him all that careful imitation which a little girl ordinarily gives to her mother's ways and habits. My mother had died when I was a baby and my father's second marriage did not occur until my eighth year.<sup>4</sup>

Jane Addams was the eighth child of John Huy and

<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Harry Barnard, "Jane Addams" (Address given at the joint meeting of the Women's International League For Peace And Freedom and the Jane Addams Peace Association held at Hull House, May 14, 1955), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>William L. Neuman, "Prefatory Note on Jane Addams' Life," Jane Addams: A Centennial Reader, ed. Emily Cooper Johnson (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960), p. ix.

<sup>3</sup>Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910), pp. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

Sarah (Weber) Addams. John Addams was a strong man, respected and liked by his acquaintances. He served eight consecutive terms as state senator in Illinois, was a miller, banker, founder of the "Addams Guards" (a military company which he raised in 1861 for the Union army), and a friend of Abraham Lincoln.<sup>5</sup> This friendship with Lincoln became an important factor in Jane's life because, as she says, "I always tend to associate Lincoln with the tenderest thoughts of my father."<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps the depth of Miss Addams' devotion to her father may be summed up by the fact that when her father died, the nervous shock of his death caused a recurrence of her back trouble and she was hospitalized. A noted physician said that she wouldn't live a year, but with the aid of her brother-in-law (also a physician), she finally recovered.<sup>7</sup>

The importance of John Addams to his daughter will be seen later in the philosophies which she formulated. He was also important in that he gave her all the advantages of wealth and position (including influential friendships, an excellent education, and the respect of the community).

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<sup>5</sup>Albert J. Kennedy, "Jane Addams," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Harris E. Starr (New York: Scribners, 1944), p. 10.

<sup>6</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup>Winifred Wise, Jane Addams of Hull House (New York: Harcourt, 1935), pp. 92-93.

Perhaps the most important thing he gave her, however, was an example of a life devoted to serving others.

Since Jane Addams' mother had died in 1863, she could not have had much influence on her daughter. Five years later, however, John Addams married Mrs. Anna H. Haldeman, a "talented, forceful woman" who was a great reader and probably exerted much influence on Jane culturally.<sup>8</sup> It was with this step-mother and her new step-brother, George Haldeman, that Jane took short excursions and spent much time in reading and studying.<sup>9</sup>

Jane Addams' mother died too early to influence her daughter, but Mr. Addams had a considerable influence on her life and her speaking abilities providing: (1) an inspiration to succeed, (2) an excellent education, (3) a "penetrating type of thinking," (4) a manner of delivery, and (5) wealth, social position and influential friendships. Her step-mother contributed an influence toward study and other cultural pursuits.

#### Early Childhood

Jane Addams' childhood seems to have been a very happy one except for the illness which haunted her throughout her life. In her early childhood typhoid fever followed by tuberculosis of the spine "left her back crooked" so that she was a pale, thin child who "held her head slightly to

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<sup>8</sup>Kennedy, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p. 28.  
Linn, op. cit., pp. 34, 36, 79.

one side,"<sup>10</sup> Linn said she carried her head "a little forward,"<sup>11</sup> and in Miss Addams' own words she was an "ugly, pigeon-toed little girl, whose crooked back obliged her to walk with her head held very much upon one side...."<sup>12</sup> It is quite probable that Miss Addams has exaggerated slightly in her own estimate of her childhood appearance since pictures of her as a child do not reveal anything "ugly" or "deformed" in her appearance.<sup>13</sup> A sense of inferiority apparently accompanied this injury, as may be seen in Miss Addams' comment above which was written many years later.

George Haldeman was Jane Addams' primary playmate in her childhood, and they remained very close throughout the remainder of their lives. They explored nature and studied in "games and crusades" in their free country life.<sup>14</sup> On the whole, Miss Addams' childhood seems to have been a happy and interesting one, despite the illness and the feeling of inferiority which it probably caused in Miss Addams' estimate of her appearance.

<sup>10</sup>Wise, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>11</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>12</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup>See pictures:

Ernest Tucker, "Jane Addams' Love Story," Chicago's American, November 19, 1960, p. 9. (Age 7)

Linn, op. cit., facing pages 24, 32. (Ages 4,6, 16)

<sup>14</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, pp. 16-18.  
Linn, op. cit., pp. 34-37.

## Elementary Education

According to Dilliard, "Her public schooling was in effect supplemented at home with both parents joining in."<sup>15</sup> Jane Addams attended Cedarville (Illinois) Public School, but "did not start to school early because of her illness and at 8½ was printing crudely and spelling poorly."<sup>16</sup> Cedarville Public School was a "brick, two-story building," the first floor of which "was used as a classroom while the second floor was used as a public hall and opera house."<sup>17</sup> John Addams was a member of the school board and insisted on teachers from the school at Normal who, although they demanded more payment, were highly qualified for those times.<sup>18</sup> If one may judge by the school year 1874-1875, Jane Addams was a diligent student, since "Jennie Addams" was neither absent nor tardy the entire school year.<sup>19</sup>

Miss Addams apparently did not feel that anything of great significance happened to her during her elementary education since she rarely makes references to events at Cedar-

<sup>15</sup>Dilliard, op. cit., p. 240.

<sup>16</sup>Letter from Mrs. John Woodhouse, Curator, Stephenson County Historical Museum, Freeport, Illinois, February 8, 1961.

<sup>17</sup>"Historical Notes on Stephenson County Schools," I.E.A. Centennial Observance, 1953-1954. (In the files of the Stephenson County Historical Museum.)

<sup>18</sup>Woodhouse, op. cit., February 8, 1961.

<sup>19</sup>C.W. Moore, "Cedarville Public School-Report for the month ending June 9, 1875." (In the files of the Stephenson County Historical Museum.)



ville Public School. She did not attend a high school since, "There was not time between these events (grade school and seminary) nor was there any place she could have gone." There was no high school at Cedarville before 1889-90 and possibly not before 1902 according to the County Superintendent of Schools' office, and she did not attend Freeport High School.<sup>20</sup>

Evidently Jane Addams became a diligent student under the guidance of highly qualified teachers. Her ability to engage in diligent study of the issues she faced as an adult may well have been derived from her childhood experiences in school.

#### Life at Rockford Seminary

Concerning her attendance at Rockford Seminary Miss Addams says,

As my three older sisters had already attended the seminary at Rockford, of which my father was trustee, without any question I entered there at seventeen, with such meager preparation in Latin and algebra as the village school had afforded.<sup>21</sup>

She had been "very ambitious to go to Smith College" and was "greatly disappointed at the moment of starting to humdrum Rockford."<sup>22</sup> This attitude seemed to change, however, once she recovered from her homesickness and began to participate in seminary life.

<sup>20</sup>Woodhouse, op. cit., February 8, 1961.

<sup>21</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p. 43.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

Linn gives a summary of her studies when he says,

In the course of her four years at Rockford Seminary, Jane Addams studied Latin, Greek, Natural Science, Ancient History and Literature, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and French, which was "optional." She concentrated on the Greek and Natural Science, and on her own private exercises in English composition which were very dear to her.<sup>23</sup>

It was during her years at Rockford that Miss Addams' oratorical tendencies appeared. At least three speaking events seem to stand out as having some importance in her life at Rockford. In her junior year she gave a Greek oration, very carefully prepared.

The Greek oration I gave at our Junior Exhibition was written with infinite pains and taken to the Greek professor at Beloit College that there might be no mistakes, even after the Rockford College teacher and the most scholarly clergyman in town had both passed upon it.<sup>24</sup>

Another significant speech situation occurred when

... we applied for an opportunity to compete in the intercollegiate oratorical contest of Illinois, and we succeeded in having Rockford admitted as the first woman's college. When I was finally selected as the orator, I was somewhat dismayed to find that, representing not only one school but college women in general, I could not resent the brutal frankness with which my oratorical possibilities were discussed by the enthusiastic group who would allow no personal feeling to stand in the way of progress, especially in the progress of the Woman's Cause. I was told among other things that I had an intolerable habit of dropping my voice at the end of a sentence in the most feminine, apologetic

<sup>23</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>24</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p. 46.

and even deprecatory manner which would probably lose Woman the first place.

Woman certainly did lose the first place and stood fifth, exactly in the dreary middle, but the ignominious position may not have been solely due to bad mannerisms for a prior place was easily accorded to William Jennings Bryan, who not only thrilled his auditors with an almost prophetic anticipation of the cross of gold, but with moral earnestness which we had mistakenly assumed would be the unique possession of the feminine orator.<sup>25</sup>

The third major speaking experience at Rockford was in the presentation of the valedictory address for her graduating class, considered "the first honor" of the occasion.<sup>26</sup>

"As she stood up to speak," says one who was a Beloit undergraduate and came over to the Rockford commencement exercises, "she was slight and pale, spirited and charming. I have to confess that I fell in love with Jane Addams that day and never got over it."<sup>27</sup>

Linn also reports that,

She was more or less constantly a "debater." On one occasion she advocated no less unpatriotic a thesis than that "the English form of government tends to produce better statesmen than the American," and won the convictions of her audience.<sup>28</sup>

Not only was Miss Addams active forensically, but she was involved in many other seminary activities. She was

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 54-55.

<sup>26</sup>Rockford Register, June 22, 1881.

<sup>27</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

president of the junior class,<sup>29</sup> president of the senior class, and Editor-in-Chief of the Rockford Seminary Magazine.<sup>30</sup>

She seems to have been very active on the magazine staff earlier also, since Wise reports,

Jane was busy, too, selling advertising and being Home Items editor for the Rockford Seminary Magazine, a little quarterly with a gray-flecked cover whose subscription price was a dollar a year. If Marcia Nutting, editor-in-chief, tried to change the wording of her articles, Jane always insisted, "But this sounds well, Nuttie."<sup>31</sup>

Miss Addams and her classmates were not diligent suffragettes or prudes, but had a very active social life. Often the boys from nearby Beloit College visited at Rockford, and the girls kept school life from becoming boring by participating in exciting experiments.<sup>32</sup> One such experiment was related by Miss Addams:

At one time five of us tried to understand De Quincey's marvelous "Dreams" more sympathetically, by drugging ourselves with opium. We solemnly consumed small white powders at intervals during an entire long holiday, but no mental re-orientation took place, and the suspense and excitement did not even permit us to grow sleepy. About four o'clock on the weird afternoon, the young teacher whom we had been obliged to take into our confidence, grew alarmed over the whole performance, took away our De Quincey and all the remaining powders, administered an emetic to each of the five aspirants for

<sup>29</sup>Wise, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>32</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 49.

sympathetic understanding of all human experience, and sent us to our separate rooms with a stern command to appear at family worship after supper "whether we were able to or not."<sup>33</sup>

The years spent at Rockford Seminary appear to have provided Jane Addams with a working knowledge of several languages, natural science, ancient history, English composition and literature. It also provided her with several opportunities to exercise her skills as a public speaker. "Laura Jane Addams" or "Jennie Addams" ceased to exist when she received her coveted A.B. degree in 1882, and "Jane Addams" never used another name.<sup>34</sup>

#### Medical School in Philadelphia

After graduating from Rockford Seminary in 1881, "she went to Philadelphia to prepare herself for admission to the Women's Medical College."<sup>35</sup> (Although she graduated from Rockford in 1881, she did not receive her degree until 1882 since Rockford did not become a college until after she graduated, a change which came about partially because of Miss Addams and her classmates.)

Jane Addams describes the next two years thus,

The winter I left school was spent in the Woman's Medical School of Philadelphia, but the development of the spinal difficulty which had shadowed me from childhood forced me into Dr. Weir Mitchell's hospital for the late spring, and the next winter I was literally bound to a bed in my sister's home for six months.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p. 46.

<sup>34</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>35</sup>Neuman, op. cit., p. ix.

<sup>36</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p. 65.

After having been strapped to her bed for six months, she was placed in a plaster cast and later was forced to wear a leather, steel-ribbed jacket or corset until her back was strong enough to abandon it.<sup>37</sup> Thus, her medical school experiences were cut short by illness and never resumed since Miss Addams decided that, although her grades were good, she was not cut out to be a physician.

#### Early Travels in Europe

The years 1883-1885 were spent traveling in Europe, where she studied architecture, painting, languages, philosophy, history, etc., and wrote endlessly.<sup>38</sup> Upon her return from Europe in 1885 she spent some time in "unhappy indecision" and in December of 1887 returned to Europe where she planned her life's work, devoured literature on social reform, and visited social settlements such as Toynbee Hall before returning to the United States.<sup>39</sup> Her step-mother accompanied her on her first trip to Europe, and the second was made primarily with Ellen Gates Starr, who later was the co-founder of Hull House.<sup>40</sup>

The study of the literature on social reform and the visits to the settlement houses in Europe clearly influenced Jane Addams' selection of a career. Her speeches and written

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<sup>37</sup>Wise, op. cit., p. 94.

<sup>38</sup>Kennedy, op. cit.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

works in advocacy of social reform are abundant and references to her experiences abroad are found in this material as well as in many of her other works.

#### Founding Hull House

In September of 1889 Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr moved into the old Hull Mansion at the corner of Polk and Halstead streets which they had rented and cleaned after much searching for just the right house in the right neighborhood. They took care of the problems of their neighbors, gaining more and more helpers as the years went by (women such as Florence Kelly, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Julia Lathrop, Mary McDowell, and Grace Abbot).<sup>41</sup> Hull House became "a world wide beacon for humanitarianism and social work,"<sup>42</sup> or as Walter Lippman said, "a cathedral of compassion,"<sup>43</sup> and Jane Addams became "the symbol of the city's social conscience."<sup>44</sup>

#### Philosophy of Jane Addams

One cannot discuss the "religion" of Jane Addams in terms of a church or denomination, because as such she really had no religion. Her religious attitudes were a part of her general philosophy of life and while she did become a member of the Presbyterian Church in 1885 and later attended the Congregational Church which was near

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Chicago Daily Tribune, September 1, 1960.

<sup>43</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>44</sup>Chicago Daily Tribune, September 1, 1960.

Hull House, she did not actually "belong" to any one group.<sup>45</sup> She says of her joining the church, "While I was not conscious of any emotional 'conversion,' I took upon myself the outward expressions of the religious life with all humility and sincerity."<sup>46</sup>

Great influence toward becoming a missionary was exerted upon Jane Addams by the religious staff at the seminary, but in her words,

I was singularly unresponsive to all these forms of emotional appeal, although I became unspeakably embarrassed when they were presented to me at close range by a teacher during the "silent hour", which we were all required to observe every evening and which was never broken into, even by a member of the faculty, unless the errand was one of grave import... I suppose I held myself aloof from all these influences, partly owing to the fact that my father was not a communicant of any church, and I tremendously admired his scrupulous morality and sense of honor in all matters of personal and public conduct, and also because the little group to which I have referred [her close classmates] was much given to a sort of rationalism, doubtless founded upon an early reading of Emerson.<sup>47</sup>

An insight into Miss Addams' philosophy of life may be seen through an examination of several of her own statements. The influence of her father on her philosophy is

<sup>45</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>46</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, pp. 77-78.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 49-50.



important. Two instances of this influence are quoted from her childhood by Miss Addams:

...he then proceeded to say other things of which the final impression left upon my mind was, that it did not matter much whether one understood foreordination or not, but that it was very important not to pretend to understand what you didn't understand and that you must always be honest with yourself inside, whatever happened.<sup>48</sup>

And when she questioned her father's sadness at the death of Mazzini,

...in the end I obtained that which I have ever regarded as a valuable possession, a sense of the genuine relationship which may exist between men who share large hopes and like desires, even though they differ in nationality, language, and creed; that those things count for absolutely nothing between groups of men who are trying to abolish slavery in America or to throw off Hapsburg oppression in Italy.<sup>49</sup>

In these two examples can be seen the Shakespearian concept of, "To thine ownself be true" and the ideal of the brotherhood of man.

Jane Addams' philosophy concerning death, however, retains a touch of the agnostic. Her first contact with death (that of her old nurse) brought these reflections:

As I was driven home in the winter storm, the wind through the trees seemed laden with a passing soul and the riddle of life and death pressed

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., P. 15.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22.

hard; once to be young, to grow old and to die, everything came to that, and then a mysterious journey out into the Unknown.<sup>50</sup>

This statement might well have been taken from Robert Ingersoll's "Oration At His Brother's Grave" in its agnostic, poetic quality.

Further evidence of this agnostic tendency is found in this statement:

The difficulty is not in bearing our ills, but in knowing what ills are necessary to bear, not in doing what is right, but in discovering what is right to do. I suppose to say that I do not know just what I believe is a form of cowardice, just going on and trying to think things out instead of making up my mind, but then why am I happier when I am trying to decide? For I do not think there could be any happiness in being a coward.<sup>51</sup>

The humanistic tendencies of Miss Addams are further revealed when Linn states, "It was before she was eighteen that she wrote of one of her teachers, 'She does everything from love of God Alone, and that I do not like.'"<sup>52</sup> Thus, it is obvious that Miss Addams' philosophy was one of humanitarian ideals not necessarily linked with religious convictions. Linn quotes one of her classmates who writes,

At chapel exercises that day Jane took my hymnal and wrote on the fly-leaf,

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>51</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

"Life's a burden, bear it.  
 Life's a duty, dare it.  
 Life's a thorn-crown? Wear it,  
 And spurn to be a coward!"<sup>53</sup>

As far as her philosophy in regard to society, she said in her valedictory address: "We stand united today in a belief in beauty, genius and courage, and that these can transform the world."<sup>54</sup> And further,

In the unceasing ebb and flow of justice and oppression we must all dig channels as best we may, that at a propitious moment somewhat of the swelling tide may be conducted to the barren places of life.<sup>55</sup>

The type of political concept which she felt to best embody the ideals and philosophies to which she subscribed was democracy; to the ideals of which she confessed "an almost passionate devotion."<sup>56</sup>

#### Rhetorical Influences on Jane Addams

The two areas of rhetorical influence on Jane Addams are the authors she studied and the people she knew. Since the subject matter for speaking is drawn from knowledge and experiences, these influences are important to a study of Miss Addams' speech-making.

A partial list of the authors and books which Jane Addams definitely studied includes Coleridge, Carlyle,

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>54</sup>Woodhouse, op. cit., December 29, 1960.

<sup>55</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, p. 40.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

De Quincey; Pope's translation of the Iliad, Dryden's translation of Virgil, A History of the World, Darwin's Origin of Species and The Descent of Man;<sup>57</sup> Tacitus; the Bible, Virgil's Aeneid; Caesar; Iphigenia Auf Tauris, Zenophon, Faust; Cicero; Wilhelm Tell, Homer's Iliad; Horace; Homer's Odyssey;<sup>58</sup> Plutarch's Lives, Irving's Life of Washington;<sup>59</sup> Shakespeare;<sup>60</sup> Edward Caird's Evolution of Religion, Boswell's Johnson; Ruskin, Browning; Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; Emerson; the Greek testament, Jowett's translation of The Crito; Sombart and Loria; Gray's Life of Prince Albert; Mazzini, all of Tolstoy; Royce's Aspects of Modern Philosophy; Yeats, and Prince Peter Kropotkin.<sup>61</sup>

Besides these sources which she is known to have read, Jane Addams had access to her father's library which included Dickens, Thackery, Tennyson, bound magazines, geographies, and histories, and to all the books in the Cedarville Public Library since they were kept in the Addams' home.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Linn, op. cit., pp. 26,57,60, and 69.

<sup>58</sup>"Jane Addams' Grade Reports," op. cit.

<sup>59</sup>Wise, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>60</sup>Woodhouse, op. cit., February 8, 1961.

<sup>61</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, pp. 39,45,47, 50,52,53,58,74,77,260,347,394,402.

<sup>62</sup>Woodhouse, op. cit. February 8, 1961.  
Wise, op. cit., p. 51.

The particular sources which probably had the main influence on Miss Addams' speaking career are mentioned in Chapter I in the discussion of the principles of rhetoric which she probably knew.

The people Jane Addams knew were probably important also in her later speaking career and, again, this list is impressive. Among others she knew Lyman Trumbull, the Crown Prince of Belgium, John Dewey,<sup>63</sup> Henry James,<sup>64</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, John Altgeld, Clarence Darrow, Rev. Frank Crane, Julia Warde Howe, Calvin Coolidge, Harold Ickes, Herbert Hoover, Frances Perkins,<sup>65</sup> Sydney and Beatrice Webb,<sup>66</sup> as well as many other world famous persons. Miss Addams' father was responsible for providing many reliable and influential friendships for his daughter including that of Trumbull and of many civic officials.

Her acquaintance with Clarence Darrow is especially significant since, during the period when Miss Addams was under attack for her "pacifist" views and was fighting for the civil rights of "foreigners,"

Clarence Darrow, then at Hanover, New Hampshire, entering his son at Dartmouth, wrote at length...offering his services, adding: "I have stood in front of mobs

<sup>63</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, pp. 34,153,237.

<sup>64</sup>Wise, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>65</sup>Linn, op. cit., pp. 260,150,218,239,220,159.

<sup>66</sup>Harry Barnard, Eagle Forgotten (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1938), p. 150.

so long that my heart is weary, but I do not see anything else to do and shall not avoid what seems to be my duty."<sup>67</sup>

When the July 9, 1915 speech is analyzed later in the study an attempt will be made to determine and note the influences of the sources she read and studied, as well as the influences of the people with whom she was closely acquainted.

#### Areas in Which Miss Addams Worked

There are five basic areas in which Jane Addams spent her efforts: (1) Social Work, (2) Woman Suffrage and Politics, (3) Labor, (4) Civil Liberties, and (5) International Peace.

Miss Addams' efforts in social work may be subdivided into eight areas: (1) social settlements, (2) poverty and charity, (3) prostitution, (4) recreation, education and the arts, (5) health, (6) race, (7) juvenile delinquency, and (8) child welfare.

Since Miss Addams' activities have filled two autobiographical volumes and there is still much of her work not covered in them, this writer will attempt to give only the highlights of each of the issues or areas in which she was prominent.

#### Social Work

The first area of social work with which Miss Addams

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<sup>67</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 218.

was concerned was social settlements. Having studied Toynbee Hall and others in Europe, she decided to establish a similar system in Chicago and set out to find a place.

At Polk and Halstead Streets, surrounded by dirty, overcrowded shacks, stood a once-fine mansion built in 1856 by a man named Hull. The ramshackle area was now teeming with the poorest of the poor: newly arrived Italian and Greek, German, Russian and Polish immigrants. The streets were deep with mud; few houses had running water; three or four families shared a spigot in the yard. There were only three bathtubs for the jam-packed thousands in a radius of a third of a mile. Sewage disposal was sketchy, and garbage was rarely collected; a frightful stench pervaded the area. This, Jane Addams decided, was the place for her.<sup>68</sup>

The founding of Hull House in 1889 by Miss Addams and her friend, Ellen Gates Starr, was the culmination of a desire expressed by the "Saint of Halstead Street" on a trip into town with her father at the age of seven:<sup>69</sup>

On that day I had my first sight of the poverty which implies squalor; and felt the curious distinction between the ruddy poverty of the country and that which even a small city presents in its shabbiest streets. I remember launching at my father the pertinent inquiry why people lived in such horrid little houses so close together, and that after receiving his explanation I declared with much firmness when I grew up I should, of course, have a large house, but it would not be built among

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<sup>68</sup>Carl Detzer, "What We Owe to Jane Addams of Hull House," Reader's Digest reprint, September, 1959, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup>Kennedy, op. cit., p. 10.

the other large houses, but right in the midst of horrid little houses like these.<sup>70</sup>

It is probable that most people remember Jane Addams more for her connection with Hull House than anything else. Since Hull House served as her "base of operation," it was intimately connected with her activities in all other areas.

Miss Addams also worked with representatives of other settlements, both in the United States and with persons founding and operating social settlements in other countries<sup>71</sup> in their efforts to better conditions of slum areas.

The second area (not completely isolated from her settlement work, of course) is that of poverty and charity. Her compassion for the poor seems to have been one of Miss Addams' driving forces. Her work with the poor people of Chicago has been acknowledged as highly important in almost every article or book ever written about her. As one author says, "She scolded them and got mad at them and ordered them around, and they took it because they knew Miss Addams was on their side."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup>Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, pp. 3-4.

<sup>71</sup>See:

Linn, op. cit., p. 194, 330-331.

Jane Addams, Peace and Bread in Time of War (Anniversary Edition; New York: King's Crown Press, 1945), pp. 2-3.

Jane Addams, The Second Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), pp. 370-372.

<sup>72</sup>Ernest Tucker, "Jane Addams' Love Story," Chicago's American, November 19, 1960, p. 9.



She fought poverty in many ways, and through many organizations and charitable groups. When the Chicago Housing Commission was organized in 1934 Jane Addams was on the executive committee and in this position attempted to alleviate some of the physical aspect of poverty.<sup>73</sup>

Although she disliked the term "charity" and resented any attitude of condescending toward the poor, she did cooperate with charitable organizations. Perhaps the most important of her interests in these groups being in The National Conference of Charities and Correction. In 1909 she was elected National President of this conference and,

As the first woman president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, she presided at the St. Louis Conference and made a speech which "stirred the Nation to understanding," it was declared....<sup>74</sup>

One tribute to the effectiveness of Miss Addams in in the area of poverty was given by H. Addington Bruce:

...the most earnest, the most intelligent, the most public spirited of American women are in the most literal sense consecrating their lives to the twofold task of waging war on poverty and aiding the poor to rise above their poverty. Not readily could one overestimate the benign influence of these devoted and truly saintly women - women such as Julia C. Lathrop, Jane Addams, and Lillian D. Wald.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup>Linn, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

<sup>74</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 238.

See also:

Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 24.

<sup>75</sup>H. Addington Bruce, Woman in the Making of America (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1933), p. 312.

The next area within social work which was important to Jane Addams was the battle against the "white slave trade" or prostitution. She assumed this problem to be one of great importance to Chicago especially since the large immigrant population seemed to be a component of the "trade." Young girls who could not speak English were especially susceptible to the "white slave trafficker." The main problem as she states was "to finally break through that hard shell of self-righteousness which had for so long a time enabled good men and women to treat the prostitute with rank injustice."<sup>76</sup>

One of the major steps toward clearing up this problem was the League of Nations Commission on Traffic in Women and Children and one of Miss Addams' co-workers and a fellow Hull House resident, Grace Abbot, Chief of the United States Children's Bureau, was sent by the United States to make studies which led to improvements.<sup>77</sup>

Miss Addams herself dealt with the problem on the international level through the 1928 Pan-Pacific Women's Conference in Honolulu.<sup>78</sup>

The next area which claimed much of Miss Addams' attention during her forty years at Hull House was that of recreation, education, and the arts. These are grouped

<sup>76</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 320.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., pp. 326-327.

together because she felt that they were definitely related. Virginia Musselman, Director of the National Recreation Association Program Service for 1959, stated Miss Addams' importance to the "recreation movement" in these words,

The recreation movement owes her a great deal. She was one of the original founders of the National Recreation Association and served as a vice-president of its first executive board. At its first national Congress in Chicago in 1907, she was on the program and her speech was on "Recreation and Social Morality."<sup>79</sup>

Recreation was an integral part of Hull House and its vicinity under the direction of Jane Addams. She and her co-workers founded an art museum and studio, music and art classes, handicraft classes, little theatre, a marionette club, and many other activities as well as providing (through the financial aid of Louise de Koven Bowen) the recreational facilities of the Bowen Country Club in Waukegan, Illinois.<sup>80</sup> In addition to neighborhood activities, Jane Addams founded the Chicago City Women's Club in 1909<sup>81</sup> as a result of her interest in adult recreation.

Her primary interest, however, was in young people and her desire to have them know the freedom of uninterrupted play that she knew as a child and that city children playing in the streets missed. In this interest she opened the first public playground in Chicago on May 1, 1892 near Hull

<sup>79</sup>Virginia Musselman, "Jane Addams," Recreation, December, 1959, reprint.

<sup>80</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, pp. 343-379.  
"Hull House: Chicago's Oldest Social Settlement," The Hull House Association, 1949, pp. 22-23.

<sup>81</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 239.

House.<sup>82</sup>

She did not stop with attempts to provide after-school recreational facilities, but, also, "From 1905-07 Jane Addams served on the Chicago School Board and tried to promote recreation principles in the public schools."<sup>83</sup>

The way in which she inter-twined the concepts of recreation, education, and the arts is summed up in a pamphlet put out by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom:

In the clubs and classes of Hull House she recognized the need for teachers who not only were musicians or artists or athletes, but who also understood people and their possibilities for growth. And so there was established at Hull House the "Recreation School" which under the leadership of Neva Boyd became one of the first centers in the United States where social group work was taught.<sup>84</sup>

Another major interest area was that of Health and sanitation. This problem was one which faced Miss Addams and Ellen Gates Starr immediately when they opened Hull House. The situation is explained by Detzer:

Babies, dying by hundreds because of dirt, ignorance, and malnutrition, were their first concern. They invited mothers to bring their babies in for baths, and they went out to the tenements to fix decent places for children to sleep.... Tu-

<sup>82</sup>"Jane Addams," Jane Addams Centennial, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Hereinafter cited as W.I.L.P.F.), January, 1960.

See Also:

Jane Addams, The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1909).

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>"Jane Addams-Prophet and Contemporary in Social Work," W.I.L.P.F., 1960.

berculosis was rife in Chicago's food-handling trades; the milk supply was tainted; the crime and infant-mortality rates were soaring. Despite 12-hour days at Hull House, Miss Addams found time to tell this sordid story anywhere she could find an audience....<sup>85</sup>

In addition to the remedial steps listed by Detzer, Miss Addams also worked with H.S. Grindley of the University of Illinois College of Agriculture and wrote a pamphlet entitled, "A Study of the Milk Supply of Chicago" which led to more studies and better conditions.<sup>86</sup> Detzer also states that, "She pointed out the economic and ethical need for slum clearance two generations before any city in the land took the matter seriously. She launched a public health campaign almost singlehanded to clean up filthy bakeries and butcher shops."<sup>87</sup>

Seeing the seriousness of the garbage problem, Jane Addams bid for the contract for removing garbage (which she did not get) and was as a result appointed by Mayor George B. Swift in 1895 as "Garbage Inspector" at a salary of \$1,000 a year (the only paid job she ever had.)<sup>88</sup> Her connection with the garbage problem was illustrated by one of her later experiences:

<sup>85</sup>Detzer, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>86</sup>William Leonard, "Friend of the Friendless," Chicago Tribune Reprint, January 31, 1960.

<sup>87</sup>Detzer, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

<sup>88</sup>Leonard, op. cit.  
"Jane Addams," W.I.L.P.F., January, 1960.

I recall an incident connected with the City Club which when it was first built in Chicago was used as a meeting place for all sorts of organizations. We talked over all our causes as we ate luncheon under its hospitable roof. One day as I entered the elevator, the boy who knew me well said casually: "What are you eating with today - with garbage or with the social evil?" I replied: "Garbage," with as much dignity as I could command under the circumstances and he deposited me on the fourth floor where I found Mary McDowell, head of the University of Chicago Settlement, pinning on the wall blue prints of a certain garbage reduction plant.<sup>89</sup>

It would seem, then, that her work in the area of health and sanitation was of some importance and gained for her some recognition.

Miss Addams' involvement with race was one which caused much criticism of her and Hull House.

Jane Addams would not countenance racial segregation. The first house doctor had been a Negro. Negroes came as residents and guests, sat at the dinner table with Miss Addams. This made for turmoil, pro-and-con editorials - and for more and more visitors: Henry Ford, William Allen White, John Dewey, senators and Cabinet members, a British prime minister, professors from Heidelberg. They came to look and carried away inspiration.<sup>90</sup>

Her efforts for racial equality were a source of much criticism, but she persisted and in 1909 she was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 98.

<sup>90</sup>Detzer, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>91</sup>Dilliard, op. cit., p. 241.

Juvenile delinquency was another area of social work entered by Jane Addams and her followers. Detzer reports that she "organized one of the earliest campaigns against juvenile delinquency,"<sup>92</sup> and her interest in the protection of child delinquents as well as in their rehabilitation led her to participate often in this type of reform movement. She worked with Lucy Flower, Julia Lathrop, and Mrs. Bowen in their establishment of the first juvenile court in Chicago (and in the country).<sup>93</sup>

In 1909 she saw established in this juvenile court the first psycho-pathic clinic (opposite Hull House).<sup>94</sup>

Miss Addams' autobiographical materials are interspersed with notations about the needs in this area.

A closely allied area is that of child welfare. She has been cited as being responsible for the first Child Guidance Clinic and the "creation by Congress of the United States Children's Bureau in Washington" of which she could have been chief but preferred to give the recognition to one of her associates (Julia Lathrop).<sup>95</sup>

She was called, along with other important personages, by President Roosevelt in 1909 to "consider the best type of care to be given to dependent children. It brought the entire subject before the country as a whole and gave to social work

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<sup>92</sup>Detzer, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>93</sup>Leonard, op. cit.

<sup>94</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 305.

<sup>95</sup>Dilliard, op. cit., pp. 242-243.

a dignity and a place in the national life which it had never had before."<sup>96</sup>

Probably one of her greatest contributions to social work as a whole was her aid in founding the "Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy" which later became the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago in 1920.<sup>97</sup>

Through her efforts in these areas of social work (in addition to other activities) she became known internationally as "the voice of Chicago's social conscience."<sup>98</sup>

#### Woman Suffrage and Politics

Linn gives a brief indication of the position held by Jane Addams in the suffrage movement:

Among suffragists she came presently to be known as the intellectual leader of the movement for women's rights, her suggestions as to woman's place in the "household of government" to be called "the most sensible."<sup>99</sup>

It is noteworthy that she was Vice President of the National American Women's Suffrage Association,<sup>100</sup> and in 1913 was elected Vice President at Large of the National Council of Women Voters, at which time she introduced a resolution to have women voters plan the suffrage amendment.<sup>101</sup>

Her activities in Illinois were especially vigorous and

<sup>96</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 98.

<sup>97</sup>"Jane Addams- Prophet and Contemporary in Social Work," W.I.L.P.F., 1960.

<sup>98</sup>Chicago Tribune, November 20, 1960, p. 15.

<sup>99</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 294.

<sup>100</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 84.

<sup>101</sup>New York Times, August 14, 1913, p. 6.



The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association urged [1909] Jane Addams for U.S. Senator and male editors down-state remarked that "she has shown all the qualities Illinois senators should possess, but alas do not. The Senate has a lot of old women in it now; the advent among them of a live young one will have a beneficial effect."<sup>102</sup>

She was even nominated for President of the United States many times and "the humorless suffragists of Boston declared in a public meeting that she was their candidate for President in 1912."<sup>103</sup>

She refused any nominations for public office, of course, and restricted her office-holding to voluntary organizations and appointive positions. Maintaining her decision to avoid such nominations, she continued her work in Illinois where in 1913 she "saw the enactment of women suffrage in Illinois," and for the suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States because she felt that the women's vote was important for the sake of their children (better schools, sanitation, hospitals, and other improvements).<sup>104</sup>

On the national level her work for suffrage was primarily through the Progressive Party. Dilliard attributes the 1913 Illinois suffrage victory to Miss Addams and says, "She was a leader of women in behalf of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party in 1916 (sic)...."<sup>105</sup> She tells of her speaking experiences

<sup>102</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>104</sup>"Jane Addams," W.I.L.P.F., January, 1960.

<sup>105</sup>Dilliard, op. cit., p. 243.

in campaigning for the Progressive Party when she spoke in towns in the Dakotas, Iowa, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri.<sup>106</sup> She felt that all the good ideas and intentions of social service and social justice were of no use until they could be expressed in a governmental situation and the Progressive Party seemed to embody the fulfillment of this need.<sup>107</sup>

It is interesting that when Roosevelt was working out the platform for his party he requested that Jane Addams be put on the Platform Committee.<sup>108</sup>

Inevitably the suffrage amendment came through, and while it is not known how much influence Jane Addams had on the national level in attaining this victory, "She felt that the feminine vote was the only cause of the many in which she had enrolled where victory was complete and clear cut."<sup>109</sup>

Jane Addams voted in five presidential elections, voting twice Republican, once Democratic, once Socialist, and once Progressive.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>"Jane Addams-Prophet and Contemporary in Social Work," W.I.L.P.F., 1960.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>109</sup>Leonard, op. cit.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid.  
Detzer, op. cit., p. 2.

She supported Wilson the first time she could vote and apparently this meant much to Wilson's cause since newspapers made the point that this was bad for Hughes, and Wilson sent her several notes (accompanied by roses) thanking her for her support.<sup>111</sup>

Her political activities were not restricted to state and national level only, however, since she was most active in affairs in her ward and in Chicago as a whole.

For years she carried on a running battle with old Alderman John Powers of the 19th ward, in which Hull House was located....The long battle was a standoff. They even came to have a grudging respect for each other.<sup>112</sup>

She and Hull House fought Powers through three aldermanic elections in the 1890's, but through his ability to get his constituents on the city pay roll he was successful in each election. Finally Miss Addams decided to stop trying to oust Powers and to concentrate her energies on getting around the corruption of his office.<sup>113</sup> Her awareness of the political corruption in Chicago, especially as expressed in The Second Twenty Years at Hull House, is prophetic of the 1960 police force "clean-ups" experienced in the city, also.<sup>114</sup>

Thus, suffrage would seem to be one of the important issues about which Miss Addams spoke and wrote, and it would

<sup>111</sup>Linn, op. cit., pp. 320-321.

<sup>112</sup>Tucker, op. cit.

<sup>113</sup>Leonard, op. cit.

<sup>114</sup>See:

Addams, Second Twenty Years, pp. 315-318, 324.

seem that her political activities were significant in her belief in the eventual government support of the causes which engaged her time on many levels.

#### Labor

Jane Addams has been called "the first lady of labor"<sup>115</sup> and, indeed, her impressive career as a fighter for the rights of labor would support this title.

Tucker lists her accomplishments in this area among the others throughout her career:

The list of her accomplishments is awesome. Her 45-year fight for the down-trodden resulted in an impressive series of reforms:...an 8-hour law for women, factory inspection, workmen's compensation, child labor laws.<sup>116</sup>

"It was the peril of child labor that drew her first into politics and it was child labor that engaged her attention most completely until she turned to the great work of her later life for peace and international understanding," Linn states, and with her co-workers Miss Addams was quite active in this field.<sup>117</sup> Child labor, working hours and conditions for women, and industrial safety were all closely related in Miss Addams' work. She met much opposition, but she continued to demand decent hours and conditions for women and children as well as industrial safety for all workers.

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<sup>115</sup>"Jane Addams," Electrical Workers Journal, November, 1960, p. 76.

<sup>116</sup>Tucker, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>117</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 178.

"One manufacturer promised \$50,000 'to support the work of Hull House,' provided Miss Addams would halt her agitation for safety laws. The furor only made Jane Addams more steadfast."<sup>118</sup>

Tucker explains the conditions Miss Addams was fighting when he says,

Her real wrath was kept for the exploiters; the men who employed children to work 13 hours a day for a few pennies, the sweatshop owners who kept whole families slaving for just enough wages to keep them alive, the grafters and graspers and the ones who preyed on misfortune.<sup>119</sup>

Miss Addams was especially concerned with child labor and insisted that, "We are forced to believe that child labor is a national problem, even as public education is a national duty."<sup>120</sup>

Florence Kelley, another Hull House resident did much work with sweatshop conditions and after her investigations a bill was proposed. "Jane Addams spoke and lobbied for it, and it was made a law in 1893, but the Illinois Supreme Court ruled its eight-hour day provision unconstitutional."<sup>121</sup>

Miss Addams held positions on many committees and investigating groups and was Vice President of the American

<sup>118</sup>Detzer, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>119</sup>Tucker, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>120</sup>Jane Addams, Newer Ideals of Peace (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907), p. 167.

<sup>121</sup>Leonard, op. cit.

Association for Labor Legislation.<sup>122</sup> The "first lady of labor" was also instrumental in the unionization movement.

Jane Addams believed that "labor unions more than any other body have secured orderly legislation for the defense of the feeblest." She helped working girls to organize a club where they could live cooperatively and avoid eviction during strikes [Jane Club]. Many unions held organizing meetings at Hull House, among them the shirt and cloak makers.<sup>123</sup>

Her encouragement of the trade unions was important to the labor movement in Chicago especially. She provided space at Hull House for early meetings of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and protected the small peddler's union.<sup>124</sup> She did not disregard the difficulties faced by the benevolent employer in labor problems and even wrote a well-known article concerning his plight.<sup>125</sup> But she worked most diligently for the employee.

Miss Addams was active as an arbitrator in many strikes, and in 1910 she served as an arbitrator in the garment strike which involved some 90,000 workers. She refused to accept a settlement forbidding collective bargaining because she thought that more problems would probably result.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>122</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 20.

<sup>123</sup>"Jane Addams," W.I.L.P.F., January, 1960.

<sup>124</sup>"Jane Addams-Prophet and Contemporary in Social Work," W.I.L.P.F.

<sup>125</sup>Jane Addams, "A Modern Lear," Satellite Cities, ed. Graham Taylor (New York: Appleton-Century, 1915).

<sup>126</sup>"Jane Addams," W.I.L.P.F., January, 1960.

Leonard gives an indication of some of the other activities of Miss Addams in industrial arbitration when he says,

She became secretary of the Civic Federation Committee on Industrial Arbitration, but the civic federation just wasn't effective in settling labor disputes. She was appointed an arbitrator in the Pullman strike of 1894, the teamsters' strike of 1905, the garment workers' strike of 1910, and a dozen lesser embroilments.<sup>127</sup>

Despite much opposition, Jane Addams devoted her pen and her voice to labor reform.

#### Immigration and Civil Liberties

Newly arrived immigrants in Chicago could well look upon Jane Addams as the "Saint of Halstead Street." Approximately 50,000 immigrants from Poland, Greece, Bohemia, Russia, Italy, and elsewhere passed through Hull House in a single year. In the words of Frances Perkins:

She discerned and revealed the beauty of the cultural life and spiritual value of the immigrant at the time when nothing was so despised and unconsidered in American life as the foreigner....<sup>128</sup>

Harry Barnard, biographer of Illinois' Governor John Altgeld, said of immigrants in the period in Chicago a couple of decades before the founding of Hull House: "Understanding would have to wait until there arrived such

<sup>127</sup>Leonard, op. cit.

<sup>128</sup>"Jane Addams: A Tribute," Jane Addams Centennial Committee, W.I.L.P.E., 1960.

persons as Jane Addams, then 'a slender...rather quaint' girl of thirteen in Cedarville, Illinois...."<sup>129</sup>

Besides understanding the cultural needs of these immigrant peoples, Miss Addams fought for protective legislation for them. One example of her interest in this area was her action concerning the Quota Act of 1924. She and the Women's International League protested to Congress and the President the exclusion of Japanese and limiting of other peoples.<sup>130</sup> Further evidence of her work is the fact that she and her friends were the founders of the Immigrant's Protective League. (The chief purpose of this league originally was to fight "white slavery,")<sup>131</sup>

Closely tied to her work for immigrants were her efforts in the field of civil liberties, since these liberties were most difficult to obtain for the "foreigner."

Harold Ickes said,

She is the truest American that I have ever known, and there has been none braver. She actually believes that the guarantees of free speech, free press and free assemblage were not written in a dead language.<sup>132</sup>

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in a pamphlet stated,

<sup>129</sup>Barnard, Eagle Forgotten, p. 46.

<sup>130</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, pp. 284-285.

<sup>131</sup>Lois Wille, "A Friend to Chicago's Immigrants," Chicago Daily News, Saturday, March 11, 1961, p. 17.

<sup>132</sup>"Jane Addams: A Tribute," W.I.L.P.F., 1960.



To all who suffered under the injustices and cruelties of life she felt a special sympathy—for the anarchist in prison, for the socialist looking for a place to meet. She shared the views of neither; "incorrigible democrat" she called herself.<sup>133</sup>

In another pamphlet they continued the idea:

Jane Addams felt strongly that there must be equal justice for all. Complete freedom of speech was permitted at Hull House where the Working People's Social Science Club had socialists, anarchists, and single tax advocates among its speakers. Jane Addams arranged to furnish counsel for anarchists arrested in an atmosphere of hysteria.<sup>134</sup>

Her connection with anarchists often got Miss Addams into difficulty, especially with the press. She was connected with two presidential assassinations and was lucky that the press did not know of the first one. When Garfield was assassinated in 1881 it was Julius Guiteau, the brother of one of Miss Addams' closest friends, who did it. Jane spent the execution day in hiding with the Guiteau family. When Cyolgoz assassinated McKinley, an old man in the Hull House neighborhood was accused of being in on the conspiracy, and Jane went to help him out of jail. The press pounced upon this, and Miss Addams was, therefore, the object of much accusation and reproach, although she was later vindicated by the fact that the man

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<sup>133</sup>"Jane Addams-Prophet and Contemporary in Social Work," W.I.L.P.F.

<sup>134</sup>"Jane Addams," W.I.L.P.F., January, 1960.

was innocent of any connection with the plot.<sup>135</sup>

The famous Sacco and Vanzetti case was not disregarded by Miss Addams. Among her efforts for these men was an appeal to the Governor of the state trying them and an appeal to the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate.<sup>136</sup>

Thus she spoke and wrote to improve the general welfare of immigrants and to insure their civil liberties.

#### International Peace

In a letter this writer received from Dr. Alice Hamilton, personal physician and close friend of Jane Addams, Dr. Hamilton wrote,

It is interesting to hear that you are engaged in writing about Jane Addams' work for peace. Just now that seems to be the most important part of her life's work.<sup>137</sup>

Emily Cooper Johnson seemed to agree with Dr. Hamilton and she felt that Jane Addams recognized the great significance of the peace movement.

Jane Addams regarded as the two major undertakings of her life, Hull House ...and the organization to promote peace efforts of which she was international president for twenty years, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>135</sup>Linn, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

<sup>136</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, pp. 337-338

<sup>137</sup>Dr. Alice Hamilton, Letter, December 14, 1960. (Hadlyme Ferry, Connecticut.)

<sup>138</sup>Linn, op. cit., pp. 288, 291-292.

In Miss Addams' own words,

In my long advocacy of peace I had consistently used one line of appeal; contending that peace is no longer an abstract dogma; that a dynamic peace is found in that new internationalism promoted by the men of all nations who are determined upon the abolition of degrading poverty, disease and ignorance, with their resulting inefficiency and tragedy. I believed that peace was not merely an absence of war but the nurture of human life, and that in time this nurture would do away with war as a natural process.<sup>139</sup>

Her attitude toward peace was not a popularly accepted one, and she tells of President Theodore Roosevelt's attitude:

"Peace" was forever a bone of contention between us, although the discussions were never acrimonious and sometimes hilarious for he loved to remind me that it was he who had received the Nobel Peace Prize and had therefore been internationally recognized as the American authority on the subject.<sup>140</sup>

It seemed that she was destined to be in disagreement with Roosevelt (and other presidents of the United States) on her concept of peace, for after her Newer Ideals of Peace was published a friend of hers on an immigration errand introduced herself to Roosevelt by saying that Jane Addams sent her. Roosevelt replied, "Jane Addams-don't talk to me about Jane Addams! I have always thought a lot of her, but she has written a bad

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<sup>139</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 35.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

book, a very bad book! She is all wrong about peace." He then proceeded to listen to the woman's plea for the immigrants after showing an acquaintance with every page of Miss Addams' book and showing that despite their disagreements he still respected Miss Addams.<sup>141</sup>

She heartily supported Wilson until he took the United States to war in 1917 when she was unhappy with his change of attitude and felt that the "peace treaty of 1919 was 'disastrous.'"<sup>142</sup>

Jane Addams was very active in the peace movement despite this conflict of opinion and during and after the war (World War I) she worked with Hoover's Department of Food Administration, speaking and traveling (although, as she says, "Some towns would consider me too pacifistic to appear; others had never heard of my deplorable attitude and still others, bent only upon the saving of food, were indifferent.")<sup>143</sup>

She and Dr. Hamilton also worked with the American Friends Service Committee to help the starving peoples of Europe after peace had been established.<sup>144</sup>

The offices she held and the work she did in peace

<sup>141</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 294.

<sup>142</sup>"Jane Addams on Peace and War," W.I.L.P.F., June, 1959.

<sup>143</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, pp. 144, 145.

<sup>144</sup>"Jane Addams," W.I.L.P.F., January, 1960.

organizations form an impressive list. She was chairman of the first national peace convention held in Chicago which later formed a National Peace Federation over which she presided.

Miss Addams discusses another group she led:

The Women's Peace Party itself was the outcome of a two days' convention held in Washington concluding a series of meetings in different cities addressed by Mrs. Lawrence and Madame Schwimmer. The "call" to the convention was issued by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and myself, and on January 10, 1915, the new organization was launched at a mass meeting of 3,000 people.<sup>145</sup>

Shortly after its organization the Women's Peace Party was invited to send delegates to the International Congress of Women which was to be held at the Hague and Miss Addams was asked to preside. There were 1,136 delegates from twelve countries (both neutral and belligerent) present at this conference, over which she presided as the leader of women from the largest neutral nation.<sup>146</sup>

As a result of this International Congress of Women at The Hague in 1915, Jane Addams, Dr. Hamilton, and others were formed into two committees which sought an end to war by visiting the heads of government of warring and neutral nations to present the resolutions of this women's

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<sup>145</sup>Jane Addams, Peace and Bread in Time of War, p. 7.

<sup>146</sup>"Jane Addams," W.I.L.P.F., January, 1960.

congress and argue for mediation and negotiation of disputes. (An account of this effort was published in 1915 entitled Women at the Hague by Jane Addams, Emily Balch, and Dr. Hamilton.)<sup>147</sup>

It was at the Second Women's Peace Conference at Zurich in 1919 that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom officially came into being, and Jane Addams was chosen as its first president. She remained in that position for the rest of her life.<sup>148</sup>

At this Zurich meeting Jane Addams reported the influences of the 1915 resolutions on President Wilson:

I had the pleasure of presenting those Hague resolutions to President Wilson in 1915. He was very much interested in them, and when I saw him three months later, he drew out the papers I had given him and they seemed to have been much handled and read. "You see I have studied these resolutions," he said, "I consider them by far the best formulation which up to the moment has been put out by anybody."<sup>149</sup>

At the same time the women were meeting in Zurich, the Peace Conference was meeting in Paris. Being the first organization to receive and comment on the Treaty of Versailles, "They were deeply disturbed by the terms of the treaty which they felt violated 'the principles upon

<sup>147</sup>Neuman, op. cit., p. xii.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., p. xi.

<sup>149</sup>Emily G. Balch and Mercedes M. Randall, "Appendix," Peace and Bread in Time of War, Addams, pp. 255-256.

which alone a just and lasting peace can be secured," and because of this the Congress sent a delegation led by Miss Addams to present a set of their resolutions to the Peace Conference. It was the set of resolutions presented to Wilson from the Hague Conference of 1915 which was the basis of his Fourteen Points, as he later told Miss Addams.<sup>150</sup>

Her position in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom resulted in her participation in meetings in Vienna, Prague, The Hague, Zurich, and Washington, as well as many others throughout the world.<sup>151</sup>

Jane Addams made a great number of speeches related to peace. In 1913 she spoke at the celebration in recognition of Andrew Carnegie's gift of a "Peace Palace" to house the World Court of Conciliation and Arbitration at The Hague.<sup>152</sup> She delivered a series of lectures at the University of Wisconsin summer school in 1906 and later incorporated these lectures into her book, Newer Ideals of Peace.<sup>153</sup>

In 1907 she spoke with Governor Charles Hughes of New York, Elihu Root, President Eliot of Harvard, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, Felix Adler, Samuel Gompers, Archbishop Ireland, William Jennings Bryan, Edward Everett

<sup>150</sup>"Jane Addams," W.I.L.P.F., January, 1960

<sup>151</sup>Dilliard, op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>152</sup>Kennedy, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>153</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 293.

Hale, Seth Low and Mrs. Charles Henrotin at the first National Peace Congress in the United States.<sup>154</sup>

Her other speaking engagements connected with the W.I. L.P.F., the Women's Pan-Pacific Conferences, the Women's Peace Party, and other segments of the peace movement were spread throughout many years and many lands. She made scores of speeches about peace to thousands of people.

Most of the speeches which she gave, whether printed as such or not were eventually incorporated into her books and articles. She wrote thirteen books, at least five of which are concerned entirely with peace or put their main emphasis on peace.<sup>155</sup>

Miss Addams worked for peace on all levels until her death in 1935, and some of her major efforts were directed toward the era of World War I. She worked in other areas, however, with equal vigor; she was a member of the "Irish Commission" in Washington to negotiate between England and Ireland after World War I.<sup>156</sup>

It must not be assumed that her work for peace was always appreciated. As Justice William O. Douglas states, "Jane Addams walked a lonely road during and for some years following World War I, for she was deeply committed to the cause

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<sup>154</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>155</sup>Perkins, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

<sup>156</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 205.



of world peace, disarmament, and the conscientious objector."<sup>157</sup>

In 1935 James Weber Linn wrote:

Even today there are sour notes in the paean. In a volume published in 1933, listing the activities of such "dangerous" citizens as believe in tolerance and freedom of thought, more space was given to the "un-American" affiliations and ideals of Jane Addams than to those of anybody else. And the Daughters of the American Revolution and the more grossly ignorant of the members of the American Legion cannot forgive her for her establishment of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in wartime.<sup>158</sup>

The D.A.R. was, indeed, opposed to Jane Addams and the W.I.L.P.F. "which they asserted was:

1. One of two-hundred organizations operating in a world of revolutionary movement; or its members are
2. Dupes of the world revolutionary movement.
3. A factor in a movement to destroy civilization and Christianity and
4. Aiming to destroy the government of the United States."<sup>159</sup>

Miss Addams commented upon the D.A.R. opposition to herself:

I had myself belonged to the Daughters because my sister, who was devoted to them, had made me a member in the late nineties. I am afraid that I paid little attention to the membership at the time, but when as

<sup>157</sup>William O. Douglas, "Introduction," Jane Addams: Centennial Reader, ed. Johnson, p. xviii.

<sup>158</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>159</sup>Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 181.

a juror in social economics at the Paris Exposition in 1900 I was able to secure a grand prix for the D.A.R. exhibit there, they hastened to make me an honorary member. I supposed at the time that it had been for life, but it was apparently only for good behavior, for I am quite sure that during the war I was considered unfit for membership. The D.A.R.... with a certain prestige in governmental circles, persistently published black lists for the information of their members, and they also made use of the famous "Spider-web Chart".... with organizations described variously as "yellow," "pink," "red," and "part red," and "rose colored"; although they were obliged to add a sixth group marked Congress to accommodate the four Senators and twelve Congressmen who were on the list.<sup>160</sup>

Her relations with the American Legion were equally strained. As Detzer points out,

Always a pacifist, she objected to R.O.T.C. in schools. This brought her into conflict during World War I with "patriotic societies," and later with the American Legion which, in convention, booted her name.<sup>161</sup>

Captain F. Watkins, Commander of the Illinois Department of the American Legion denounced Jane Addams for founding Hull House which he termed, "A hot-bed of Communism."<sup>162</sup>

At one time, she even faced Congressional opposition:

Miss Addams' name appears on one of the earlier Congressional lists of subversives. This matter was disposed of by Secretary of War Newton Baker, who observed that the name of Jane Addams dignifies any list upon which it appears.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., pp. 180-181.

<sup>161</sup>Detzer, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>162</sup>New York Times, November 11, 1926, p. 16.

<sup>163</sup>Chicago Tribune, September 3, 1960.

In spite of all this animosity surrounding her peace activities, Miss Addams shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Nicholas Murray Butler in 1931<sup>164</sup> and was called by citizens of other nations, "America's Uncrowned Queen."<sup>165</sup>

#### Writing and Speechmaking

That Jane Addams wrote and spoke profusely has already been discussed relative to each of the issues with which she concerned herself, but further evidence of this fact may be obtained by investigating the extant speeches and writings as well as the reports of speeches which she gave.

Eighty-nine specific items are listed by Perkins in her checklist as being "Addresses By Jane Addams and Reports of Her Addresses" with very little duplication of titles being printed in different sources.<sup>166</sup> This same source lists 214 articles written by Miss Addams,<sup>167</sup> as well as 13 books,<sup>168</sup> approximately 40 different essays,<sup>169</sup> and one poem.<sup>170</sup>

This "Preliminary Checklist" does not contain all the extant speeches and writings of Miss Addams, and additions may be found in a bibliography of her works contained in the Swarth-

<sup>164</sup>Linn, op. cit., pp. 284-285.

<sup>165</sup>"Jane Addams - A Tribute," W.I.L.P.F., 1960.

<sup>166</sup>Perkins, op. cit., pp. 1-6.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., pp. 13-20.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-27.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

more College Peace Collection.<sup>171</sup> But from this summary it is obvious that the writing and speechmaking of Jane Addams was copious. As has been indicated in the discussions of the areas within which Miss Addams worked, she spoke and wrote constantly on all subjects and spoke wherever she could find an audience.

### Conclusion

The conclusions to be drawn from a study of the life of Jane Addams including parental influences, early childhood, elementary education, life at Rockford Seminary and medical school experiences, travels in Europe, people she knew and studied, philosophy and religion, political affiliations, main issues with which she was concerned, and writings and speeches are these: (1) She was greatly influenced by her father and by Lincoln through her father; (2) Many of her cultural interests were probably derived from contacts with her step-mother and step-brother, George; (3) She had an excellent education both formally and at home, delving into the classics and absorbing a "modern education"; (4) Her experiences in her European travels were probably significant in her later work; (5) The main issues with which she worked were bound together by the thread of service to humanity.

That her life was of great significance to Chicago may be seen in comments such as were made by the Chicago Record

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<sup>171</sup>"Bibliography of Books and Articles and Speeches by Jane Addams," Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. (Compiled by the staff of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection.)

Herald editors winding up the year editorially: "Who are the first five citizens of Chicago? Of course there can be no doubt of the first-- Jane Addams leads all the rest...."172

Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley remarked, "Chicago, of all cities, is indebted to this great woman."173 As further evidence of her significance to Chicago, the Chicago Association of Commerce elected her as an honorary member, the first woman to achieve this distinction.174

Irving Dilliard states her importance to the State of Illinois when he says, "Who are the two most distinguished natives of Illinois?.... The native son is William Jennings Bryan and the native daughter is Jane Addams...."175

Her significance to the United States is shown by the fact that she heads many lists of the "greatest citizens" of the United States,176 and that fifteen colleges and universities throughout the country chose to honor her with degrees or awards (including an LL.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1904; degrees from Smith (1910), Tufts (1923), Northwestern (1929), University of Chicago (1930), the first honorary degree ever offered a woman by Yale (1910); the Gold Medal of Military Merit of Greece, and the Bryn Mawr Achieve-

172 Linn, op. cit., p. 239.

173 "Dinner to End Centennial of Jane Addams," Chicago Tribune, November 20, 1960, p. 15.

174 Linn, op. cit., p. 237.

175 Dilliard, op. cit., p. 229.

176 Linn, op. cit., p. 380.

ment Award.)<sup>177</sup>

Another Illinoisan, Senator Paul Douglas, states her position in history quite simply when he says, "No person in our times has done so much for so many people."<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>177</sup>"Jane Addams," Who Was Who in America (Vol. I; Chicago: The A.N. Marquis Co., 1942), p. 9.

<sup>178</sup>Electrical Workers Journal, November, 1960, p. 77.

### CHAPTER III

#### The Rhetorical Atmosphere in America (1914-1917)

The period leading to the entry of the United States into World War I (1914-1917) was one of great tension and emotionalism. It is necessary to examine this period, as Brigrance suggested, in order to discover the causes behind the issues which were discussed by Miss Addams. This will enable us to recognize the speech "as a cultural product of a particular time...."<sup>1</sup>

#### Events Leading to World War I<sup>2</sup>

The threat of war in Europe was not a new thing as a continental war had threatened in 1905, 1908, and in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. The Balkan Wars, especially, were influential in the attitudes which were to lead most of Europe into war. It was in this Balkan conflict that the Central Powers lost prestige and the Balkan countries of Serbia and Rumania gained a feeling of power.

At this time probably the only thing keeping peace in Europe was the balance of power existing between two major alliances, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente.

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<sup>1</sup>Hochmuth, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>See:

Morrison and Commager, op. cit., p. 445.

Charles A. and Mary Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940, pp. 609-611.

Solomon Holt (ed.), New Unit Outlines in American History (Revised Edition; New York: College Entrance Book Co., 1954), p. 255.

The Triple Alliance (Central Powers) was composed originally of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. (Later Italy withdrew to become a neutral until finally joining the Triple Entente.) The Central Powers were later joined by Turkey and Bulgaria. The Triple Entente (Allied Powers) was composed initially of France, Russia, and Great Britain and was later joined by Italy, Japan, the United States, Rumania, Portugal, and Greece.

The event which triggered the animosities of the two alliances stemmed from the earlier Balkan-Central Powers conflict. On June 28, 1914, Archduke Ferdinand and his wife were murdered in Sarajevo in the province of Bosnia. This murder was attributed to a Serbian Revolutionary group, and Austria (with the support of Germany) made stringent demands for reparations to which Serbia could not acquiesce without losing her independence. Much diplomatic haggling accompanied these acts, and Serbia did make some concessions deemed insufficient by Austria. On July 28, 1914, Austria declared war on Serbia and began a chain-reaction of declarations. Russia, as a leader of the Slavic nations, could not abandon Slavic Serbia (which she had secretly encouraged), and so on July 30 Russia mobilized. This put Germany in a bad position since it was most likely that Germany would be caught between two of its enemies, France and Russia. (France would have come to Russia's aid in any case.) Germany's hope was to crush France quickly before cumbersome Russia could benefit from France's aid. In



order to accomplish this, Germany planned to invade through Belgium and had so warned Belgium on August 2, the same day Great Britain promised France the aid of the British navy in case of hostile demonstrations by German warships in the channel. On August 4 England broke off diplomatic relations with Germany after receiving a negative answer to a demand that the neutrality of Belgium be respected by Germany.

Thus, within a space of two and a half months, Europe had seen five virtual declarations of war involving six nations directly and World War I had begun.

As a student of international affairs and an advocate of world peace, Jane Addams followed these developments and reacted to them.

The United States in the Early War Years (1914-1917)<sup>3</sup>

From the beginning of the European conflict the United States was clearly tied to it in many ways. As the most powerful of the neutral nations she was the object of much propaganda and was most vulnerable to partisan views for several reasons. First, the population of the United States included groups from all nations involved in the war. Second, the United States had financial and commercial relations with all nations of Europe and especial-

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<sup>3</sup>See:

Morrison and Commager, op. cit., pp. 446-462.  
Beard and Beard, op. cit., pp. 610-611, 622-623.  
Holt, op. cit., p. 255.

ly with England and Germany. Third, there was a cultural bond between the United States and England and France. Finally, the eternal question of neutral rights was brought up by England's involvement in the war.

The fact that the United States received a barrage of propaganda from both sides of the conflict is indisputable and probably had some influence on the United States' part in the war. In 1914, however, the average American citizen did not really think it possible that the United States would be drawn into war. There was an isolationist viewpoint and despite the efforts of the National Security League, the American Defense Society, the American Rights Committee and other such groups, there was almost a universal desire to stay out of war.

It is evident, however, that public opinion was early in favor of the Allied Powers. There are many reasons for this, also: (1) Most of America was English speaking and regarded some part of the British Empire as the homeland; (2) The proximity of Canada was influential since she is a sister democracy; (3) There were ties with the Allies of a literary, linguistic, legal, and cultural, as well as personal nature; (4) There was a sentimental friendship with France going as far back as Lafayette and the American Revolution; (5) There was sentiment against Germany because she was militaristic, because she had declared war on France without apparent reason and caught her off guard, and because she took unfair advantage of France and violated

Belgium's neutrality; (6) there was much admiration for the desperate stand taken by France and this was popularized in the United States.

Throughout the years following the beginning of World War I this initial tendency toward the Allies was strengthened through propaganda. The propaganda of the Allied Powers was acknowledged as having been the most effective for several reasons: (1) It met a receptive public; (2) It was in the same language and used the same mode of thinking as the audience it reached; (3) The Allies controlled the significant means of communication (all but wireless telegraphy and special correspondence) and had ready access to American newspapers and journals as well as to the services of many American intellectuals and leaders of society.

One reason for the apparent failure of German propaganda was that it was composed of logical, technical, intellectual arguments as opposed to the emotionalism of most Allied propaganda. Also, certain incidents (such as the sinking of the Lusitania and the deportation of Belgians in 1916) nullified their propaganda.

The antagonism and suspicion toward Germany thus aroused was seemingly justified and intensified by every German act of violence thereafter, and the opinion that Germany was solely to blame for the war spread rapidly.

These emotional and cultural aspects of American attitudes and opinions were not the only things leading the United States toward support of the Allies. The United

States had quite an economic and commercial interest in the Allies in World War I. The trade with Germany had diminished while trade with England and France had increased greatly, saving the United States from depression. Within a year after the outbreak of war it would have been virtually impossible for the United States to break away from the Allies without facing ruin. This is the main reason Wilson opposed loans and was not able to enact an embargo on munitions. Wilson, by September, 1915, was forced to withdraw his opposition to loans, and the United States' investors became closely tied to the Allies' fortunes.

Actual events during the early war years led the United States toward war on the Allied side also. President Wilson had declared the United States neutral and asked to negotiate for peace but was rejected in the early part of the war. There was precedent for United States' neutrality through long tradition including the Franco-American Treaty of 1778, the War of 1812 to protect neutral rights, the Declaration of Paris in 1856, the Hague Conventions in 1899 and 1907, the United States' help in drafting the Declaration of London in 1909.

Theodore Roosevelt, three years before World War I started, said that if England could not keep the balance of power, the United States would have to step in temporarily to keep the balance no matter which countries it would mean alliance with or against. This statement of attitude preceded the United States' drift from neutrality.

Wilson recognized the need to try to bring understanding into the situation, and Colonel House told Wilson that the United States would have to settle things because no one in Europe could do it because of the hatreds and jealousies which had been aroused.

Despite these diplomatic attitudes, the United States encountered difficulties. The blockading tactics of England and Germany's disregard for neutral rights caused protest from the United States. In 1914 Germany planted mines, the beginning of their sea tactics which would eventually bring the United States into war. In February, 1915 Germany announced that the waters around the British Isles were a war zone for submarine warfare. This submarine warfare was to cost 209 American lives eventually. On May 7, 1915, the Lusitania was torpedoed and caused a clamor for war. On May 13 the United States demanded that Germany cease its submarine warfare, but on June 9 the United States had to repeat the demand because of German procrastination. On August 19 the Arabic was torpedoed, taking two American lives, but a month later Germany disavowed the sinking, and for six months there were no serious clashes between the United States and Germany. On March 24, 1916, however, the unarmed Sussex was torpedoed without warning, and the United States demanded a halt in this type of warfare and threatened severance of diplomatic relations. On May 4 Germany promised to stop if the United States would hold England to account for their acts against neutrality also. The United

States was glad to promise this and the agreement was made. William Jennings Bryan, Jane Addams' former college competitor, was Secretary of State under Wilson until 1915 when he had resigned because of the Wilson attitude which he felt would lead to war. Thus, Bryan was using his influence out of office to try to keep America out of the war and feared these actions of Wilson toward Germany.

In 1916 Wilson's party proclaimed, "He kept us out of war!" and through a policy of military preparedness won him another term of office.

The general attitude of Wilson (until war seemed inevitable to him) was "peace without victory." He said in a message to the Senate (January 22, 1917), "A World League for Peace,"

Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last....<sup>4</sup>

In January, 1917, however, Germany again started unrestricted submarine warfare, and the United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany. On April 6, despite the tireless efforts of Jane Addams and other pacifists in advocacy of international peace, the United States declared

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<sup>4</sup>Woodrow Wilson, Why We Are At War (New York: Harper and Bros., 1917, p. 9.

war against Germany.

### The Peace Movement

The "peace movement" had a good beginning in American society by 1914, since as Stow Persons states:

The proliferation of voluntary societies dedicated to various kinds of reform that was characteristic of nineteenth century America was in part an expression of emerging denominationalism. For reform societies were conveniently adapted to the peculiar relationship to the secular world that the denominationalist assumed....He could easily join with like-minded individuals of his own and other denominations to form a special reform society through which he could undertake to exert upon social life an influence essentially religious. Beginning with societies for Sabbath observance and Bible and tract distribution, the range of interests broadened to include moral reform, temperance, peace, education, and anti-slavery.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Persons lists as a beginning in the area of such societies for peace the founding of the American Peace Society in 1828.<sup>6</sup> The peace movement was not a popular one throughout much of its existence, however. By 1914, "The 'once despised' peace movement had made great progress...and found concrete form in numerous arbitration treaties."<sup>7</sup>

Beard further illustrates the popularity of the peace movement during this period (before the beginning of World

<sup>5</sup>Stow Persons, American Minds (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1958), pp. 165-166.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>7</sup>Morrison and Commager, op. cit., p. 446.

War I):

Even the political parties had thought the peace movement significant enough to receive a benediction. [1914] Only two years before, both the Republicans and the Progressives had approved the pacific settlement of international controversies. The latter, going up to Armageddon under the leadership of Colonel Rossevelt and Jane Addams, had deplored "the survival in our civilization of warfare among nations" and favored the substitution of civil means for settling disputes.<sup>8</sup>

Although the theory of pacifism probably began with the first war, the efforts toward peace were organized primarily in the middle of the nineteenth century. There have been five major lines of peace efforts throughout the peace movement: "international arbitration; a league of nations or international authority; codification of international law by tribunal such as WORLD COURT or INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE; sanctions or international coercion of state adjudged in wrong; and disarmament."<sup>9</sup>

The progress of the peace movement may be seen in a brief look at major conferences and events beginning with the first International Peace Congress in London (1843). Also in London was the Universal Peace Congress in 1851. The progress of the movement was halted for a while by the Crimean War and the American Civil War but was resumed

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<sup>8</sup>Beard and Beard, op. cit., p. 612.

<sup>9</sup>"Peace," The Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, ed. William Bridgwater (Vol. I; New York: Viking Press, 1953), p. 961.



after the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). In 1878 the Paris Congress was held, and the first Pan-American Conference occurred in 1889. The next important step for the peace movement was the First Hague Conference (1899) which was the source of the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.<sup>10</sup> Jane Addams was a leading spokesman for the cause of peace and as such it was necessary that she adapt her propositions and her proofs to the changing attitudes of her audiences toward the peace movement in a period of pending warfare. Unfortunately, with the entry of the United States into World War I, her peace efforts (and all others), which had been gaining some support, had to be severely limited.

#### Conclusion

It would seem that peace efforts on an international scale thrive when there is actual peace and are stopped or limited greatly during periods of warfare. It is not surprising, then, that the general attitude in the United States seemed to be favorable toward peace at the beginning of World War I but disintegrated throughout the war until at last peace efforts were suppressed, scorned, and even punished.

The July 9, 1915 speech by Jane Addams was delivered in an atmosphere almost neutral to peace efforts, but in an atmosphere which found the vines of opposition beginning to send out the tendrils which would later grow to throttle

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

the spirit of pacifism in the United States until some time after the end of World War I.

## CHAPTER IV

### Immediate Setting of the July 9, 1915 Speech

In order to analyze the July 9, 1915 speech, "Revolt Against War," in its proper setting it is necessary to reconstruct the speech situation. According to Thonssen and Baird there are four constituents of any speaking situation: the occasion, the audience, the speaker, and the subject.<sup>1</sup>

Since the speaker has been discussed at some length in Chapter II, and the purpose of Chapter V will be to analyze the speech (including the nature of the subject), the purpose of this chapter will be to study the occasion and the audience.

#### The Occasion

The essential facts concerning the occasion of this speech are these: (1) It was delivered on Friday night, July 9, 1915; (2) It was given by Miss Jane Addams upon her return from her tour of the warring nations of Europe; (3) It was delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York City, New York.

In analyzing the speech occasion there are four questions which must be answered: (1) What was the purpose of the gathering? (2) What rules or customs prevailed? (3) What preceded and followed the speech? (4) What physical conditions prevailed?<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of the July 9, 1915 meeting has been stated

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<sup>1</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 292.

<sup>2</sup>Alan H. Monroe, Principles and Types of Speech (4th edition; New York: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1955)

by several persons, but perhaps the best statement comes from Miss Addams herself:

Upon our return from the Woman's International Congress at The Hague in 1915, our local organization in New York City with others, notably a group of enthusiastic college men, had arranged a large public meeting in Carnegie Hall. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw presided and the United States delegates made a public report of our impressions in "war stricken Europe" and of the moral resources in the various countries we visited that might possibly be brought to bear against a continuation of the war.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the purpose of the gathering was to hear the report of the United States delegation to the Women's International Congress concerning their visits to "war stricken Europe," and their opinion of the possibilities for an end of hostilities.

The next question which must be asked deals with the rules or customs of the meeting and may also be answered (to some degree) by the quotation above from Miss Addams, since the occasion involved a report from Miss Addams in a meeting presided over by Dr. Shaw as a "Master of Ceremonies." There were other speeches given, also, in the program. This was a public meeting and it was not a strictly formal occasion, so that there were no rigid rules or unusual procedures at this meeting.

The third question inquires into the nature of the program. As has been mentioned above, Dr. Shaw presided over the program which contained speeches by Oswald Garrison Vil-

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<sup>3</sup>Addams, Peace and Bread in Time of War, p. 135.

lard, George Foster Peabody, George W. Kirchwey, and Congressman Meyer London, in addition to the main address by Miss Addams.<sup>4</sup> Although the exact speaking order has not been established, it is obvious from Miss Addams' comments in her speech that Dr. Shaw had given some preliminary remarks previous to the main address.<sup>5</sup>

It appears that Dr. Alice Hamilton was scheduled to be at this meeting as another United States delegate, but she could not appear. As she stated in a letter to this writer:

I am sorry to tell you that I never was present at the July meeting in New York at Carnegie Hall. When we landed I found waiting for me telegrams telling of serious sickness of my younger sister in far-off Mackinac Island and I took the first train for Michigan. So, except for its effect on Miss Addams, which was much deeper and more serious than I would have expected, I knew of it only at second hand.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, Jane Addams was the sole delegate on the program reporting the tour of the warring countries to her countrymen upon this occasion since Emily Greene Balch (the third member of the three American delegates on the committees which traveled throughout Europe) had gone with the second committee which had not yet returned from Europe. The first

<sup>4</sup>Paul U. Kellogg, "The Welcoming of Jane Addams," The Survey, Vol. XXXIV (July 17, 1915), p. 353.

<sup>5</sup>Jane Addams, "Address of Miss Jane Addams, Delivered at Carnegie Hall, Friday July 9, 1915," Supplement to The Christian Work, July 31, 1915, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup>Dr. Alice Hamilton, Letter, March 28, 1961 (Hadlyme, Connecticut).

delegation was made up of women from neutral nations who visited the belligerent nations, and the second committee was composed of women from belligerent and neutral nations who visited the neutral nations. Since Miss Addams lists only herself, Dr. Hamilton, Dr. Alletta Jacobs [Amsterdam], and a Madame Palthe traveling to the warring nations, Emily Greene Balch must have gone with the other committee since she definitely was a member of one of the two committees.<sup>7</sup> Since this second committee had not yet returned, however, she could not have been on the program with Miss Addams.

With these two members (Hamilton and Balch) of the United States delegation missing, the program would feature Miss Addams as the main speaker and representative of the United States delegation, with additional speeches given, and with Dr. Shaw presiding over the entire program.

The final question concerns the physical conditions of this meeting. The meeting was held Friday night, July 9, 1915, in the auditorium of Carnegie Hall. The Hall, located at 7th Avenue and 57th Street in New York City, is a historic concert hall and has been the home of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society for many years. The seating capacity of the auditorium in which Miss Addams spoke was 2,760, and upon this occasion the Hall was "filled from platform to roof."<sup>8</sup> The most

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<sup>7</sup>Addams, Peace and Bread in Time of War, pp. 18-19.

See also:

Addams, Second Twenty Years, p. 126.

"Jane Addams Back From Her Peace Tour," The Survey Vol. XXXIV (July 10, 1915), p. 327.

<sup>8</sup>Kellogg, op. cit.

distant seat from the platform from which Miss Addams spoke was 145 feet and the seat highest from the platform 74 feet.<sup>9</sup> The Parquet seats 996, the First Tier Boxes 264, the Second Tier Boxes 248, the Dress Circle 414, and the Balcony 838.<sup>10</sup> The stage from which Miss Addams spoke has a curtain line 63 feet wide and measures 40 feet from the edge of the apron to the back wall.<sup>11</sup> (See Charts pp. 108, 109.) The auditorium was "unusually plain, the only relief being provided by the rose and gilt furnishings of the two tiers of boxes around three sides."<sup>12</sup> At the time Miss Addams spoke there the Auditorium was painted ivory and rose.

The building itself is a six story brick structure, "reminiscent of Italian Renaissance architecture, with a fifteen-story tower...."<sup>13</sup> The Hall was only 24 years old when Miss Addams spoke there, having had its name changed from "Music Hall" to "Carnegie Hall" in 1898 in honor of Andrew Carnegie, who was primarily responsible for its construction. The architect for the construction of Carnegie Hall was William Bur-

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<sup>9</sup>"Philharmonic Hall Begun; Opening Planned For 1961," Musical America, Vol. LXXIX (December 15, 1959), p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>"Carnegie Hall," Stubs: The Seating Plan Guide (New York: Lenore Tobin, 1957), p. 15.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

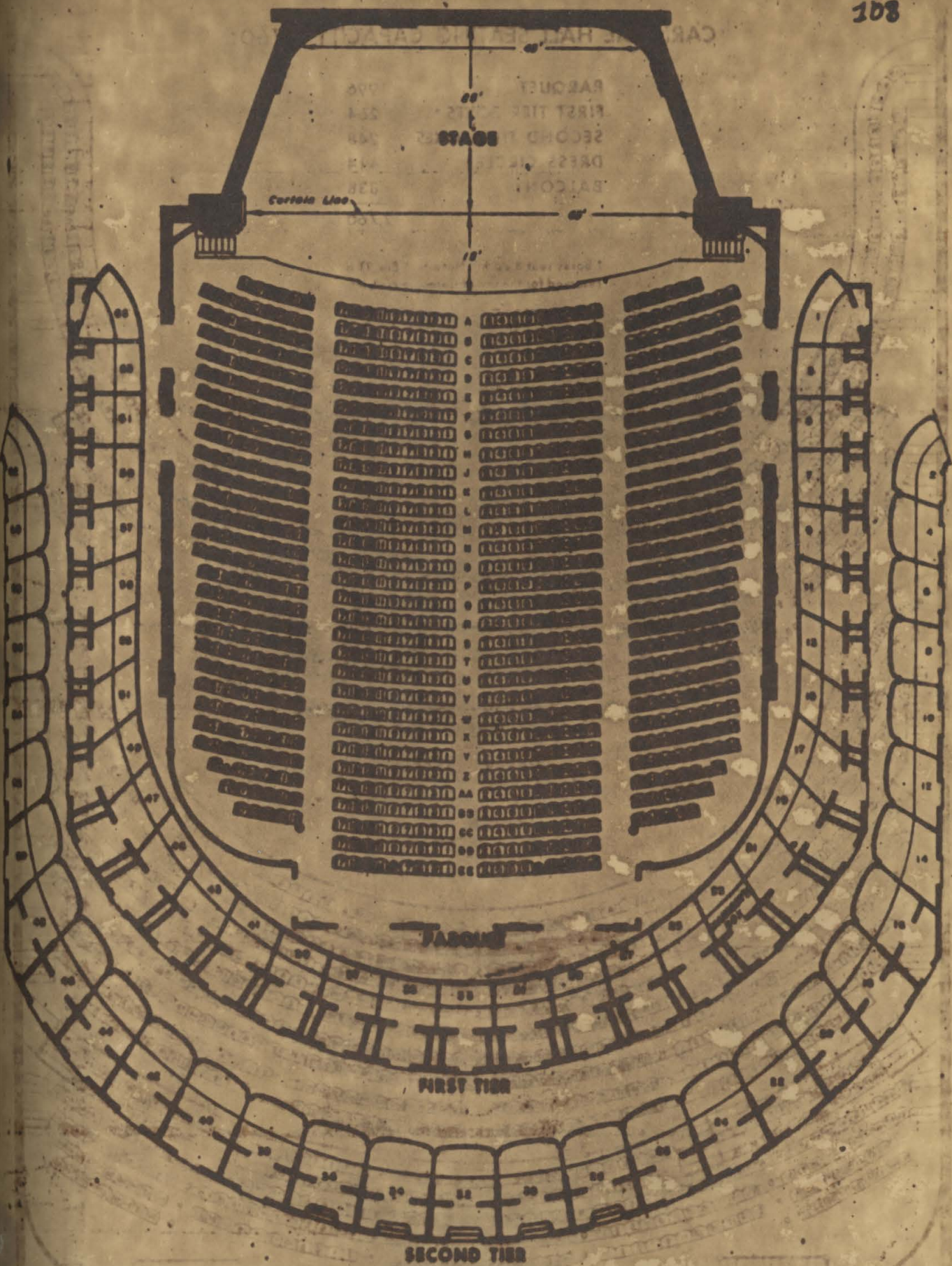
<sup>12</sup>Federal Writer's Project, The Works Progress Administration in New York City, New York City Guide (New York: Random House, 1939), p. 231.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

See also:

George W. Seaton (ed.), Cue's Guide to New York City (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 88.





SEATING PLAN OF CARNEGIE HALL 104 West 57th St., New York 19, N.Y. Circle 7-1330

TWO

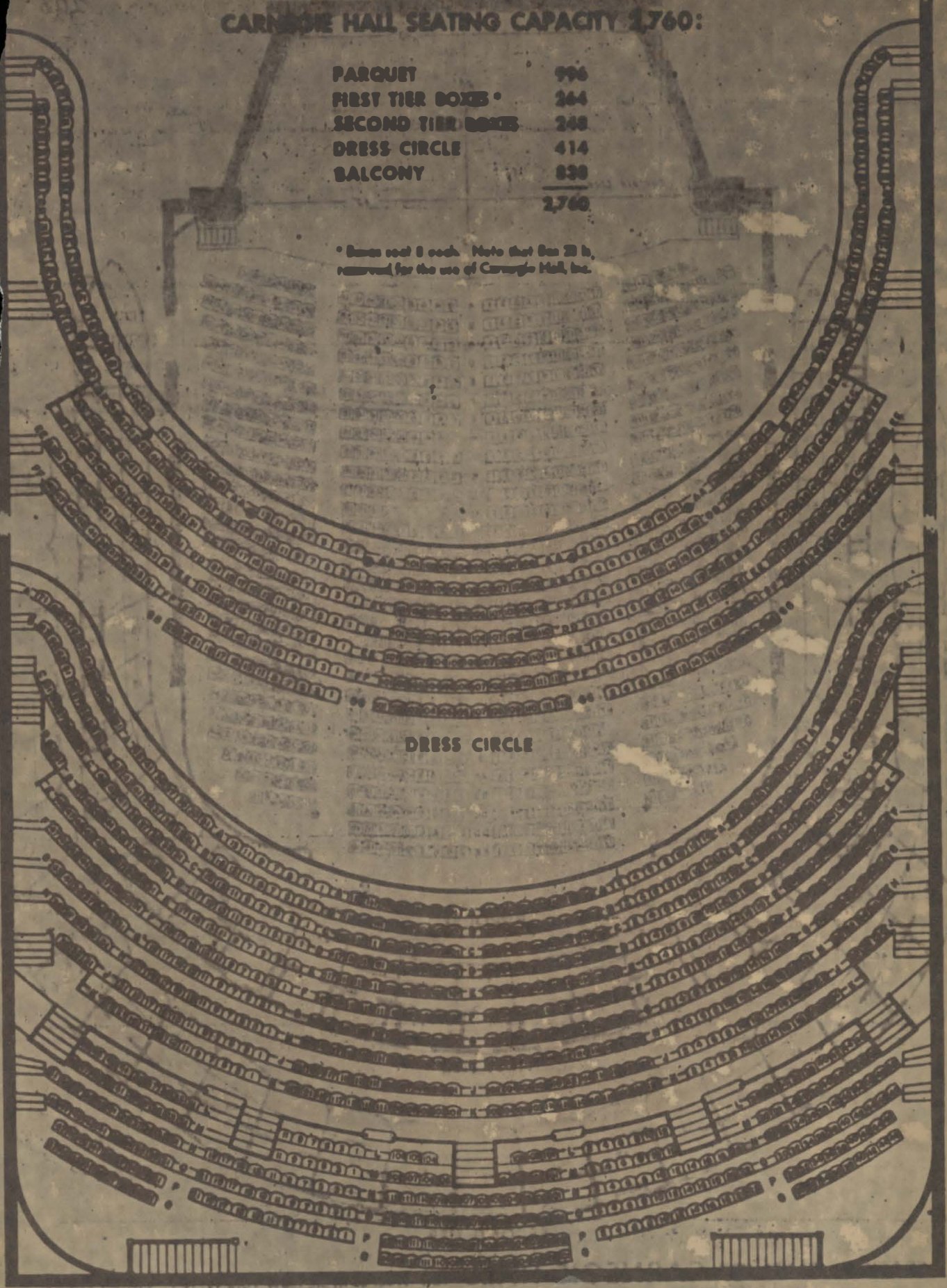
(See other side for Dress Circle and Balcony and Total Capacity)



# CARNEGIE HALL SEATING CAPACITY 1,760:

PARQUET	996
FIRST TIER BOXES *	264
SECOND TIER BOXES	248
DRESS CIRCLE	414
BALCONY	838
	<hr/>
	1,760

\* Boxes cost \$ each. Note that Box 28 is reserved for the use of Carnegie Hall, Inc.



DRESS CIRCLE

BALCONY

(See other side for Parquet and First and Second Tiers)

net Tuthill.<sup>14</sup> It is also noteworthy that, "Although it was constructed in the early days of acoustical engineering, few auditoriums have such excellent acoustics."<sup>15</sup> Also, the seats in Carnegie Hall are spaced comfortably,<sup>16</sup> so that it is probable that the physical conditions in this meeting were nearly ideal.

Since the physical conditions of the Hall were good, it is probable that the audience was able to concentrate its attention upon what Miss Addams had to say and could probably absorb most of her ideas well. This, in itself, would aid in the effectiveness of the speech.

#### The Audience

The next concern of this chapter is an analysis of the audience which had assembled in Carnegie Hall to hear Miss Addams' report on her visits to the various countries in Europe. The composition of this audience of nearly 2,800 people is indicated by Paul U. Kellogg when he mentions the college students in one balcony and also when he lists the groups sponsoring this mass public meeting:

A score of civic, labor, suffrage and peace organizations combined in holding the meeting in conjunction with the Women's Peace Party-- the College League

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<sup>14</sup>"Carnegie Hall," Encyclopedia Americana (Vol. V; New York: Americana Corporation, 1959), p. 637.

<sup>15</sup>New York City Guide, p. 231.

<sup>16</sup>See picture:  
Musical America, Vol. LXXVIII (February, 1958), p. 83.

of Common Sense; the Inter-collegiate Anti-militarism League; the American League for the Limitation of Armaments; International Polity Clubs; The Women's Universal Peace Society; the Missouri Peace Society; the New York Peace Society; the Chicago Peace Society; the Church Peace Union; the Cosmopolitan Clubs; the National Women's Trade Union League; the International Child Welfare League; the American Peace and Arbitration League; and the Anti-enlistment League.<sup>17</sup>

It would be impossible to make a specific enumeration or "break-down" of the persons in this large audience, and so it is necessary to generalize somewhat in this analysis.

The first generalization which can be made is that this audience contained people of almost all ages, with a goodly number of middle-aged persons and college students.

Second, this audience contained both men and women, probably with a slight majority of women due to the fact that so many women's organizations cooperated in sponsoring this meeting.

Third, it is obvious that religious affiliations, race, occupation, and social status were also varied. While the presence of so many college people would indicate a high intellectual and educational level, this level cannot be assumed to have been universal in this audience. It is probable, however, that the intellectual level was high due to the nature of the occasion and the participating organizations.

Since almost all the information regarding war conditions in Europe was distributed to the American public through the mass media of communication, the knowledge of those conditions

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<sup>17</sup>Kellogg, op. cit.

brought to this meeting would be fairly uniform throughout her audience. The audience's interest in Miss Addams' subject was keen since war is a subject which interests those effected by it and the war in Europe was having a decided effect on American life at this time (as Chapter III concludes).

The attitude of this particular audience toward Miss Addams would be varied, also, but would be predominantly favorable or friendly. Miss Addams was, by this time, a world figure and thus commanded a certain amount of respect even from those who opposed her violently. Her views on pacifism (which are discussed in Chapter II) caused some distrust and antagonism toward her in the minds of many people at this time, however. The differences of attitude which Miss Addams encountered in this audience (and in the American people as a whole at this time) may be illustrated by two different items which preceded her speech. The first is a favorable reaction as reported by Kellogg, editor of The Survey:

A group of college students in one of the balconies began it, and Carnegie Hall, filled from platform to roof, rang with three cheers and a tiger for Jane Addams, and those, who with her, had carried the resolutions from the Women's Peace Conference at The Hague to the war chancellors of Europe.<sup>18</sup>

The second item illustrating attitude toward Miss Addams and her project was written shortly after her arrival in New York on the American liner, St. Louis, by the editor of the New York Times:

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

On her return she is welcomed chiefly by those who think she has been doing a great work for peace. She has, in fact, been doing what she could for war, and not only for war, but for the ultimate downfall of democratic institutions in Europe and for the extinction of the "little peoples"; for more bloodshed, for more militarism, for the policy of conquest; for new Belgioms, more Serbias, for Lusitanias without end. It is well that the demonstration of the sad folly of peace-at-any-price should be given, but it is much to be regretted that it was JANE ADDAMS who gave it.<sup>19</sup>

It is likely that an editorial appearing in such a widely circulated newspaper would have been read by many in Miss Addams' audience, and possibly some of them were influenced by it. The existence of this antagonistic opinion and the enthusiastic greeting reported by Kellogg indicates the wide range of attitude and opinion facing Miss Addams at this time.

The major criticism of Miss Addams and her efforts toward world peace was to come after this speech, however.

Therefore, while the significant majority of her audience was friendly, even enthusiastic, there was a neutral and even a small antagonistic portion which listened to her message from the war torn countries of Europe. The fact that portions of the antagonistic and neutral element were present is evident by the fact that one of the statements made in this speech immediately became a violent issue between pacifists and militarists, even before copies of the speech were made available to the general public.

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<sup>19</sup>"Jane Addams Home," The Survey, Vol. XXXIV (July 17, 1915), p. 354.



On the whole, Jane Addams faced a friendly, interested, enthusiastic and cosmopolitan audience on July 9, 1915 in Carnegie Hall.

#### Conclusion

As Jane Addams stepped before almost 2,800 of her fellow Americans in Carnegie Hall on July 9, 1915, to tell them of the conflict which she had witnessed in Europe and to give her "general public statement of the outcome of the pilgrimage of delegates from The Hague Conference of Women to the capitals of six of the warring nations,"<sup>20</sup> she faced a predominantly friendly audience. These men and women of all ages, social positions, races, and creeds, of varying degrees of educational and intellectual attainment all waited to hear a woman whom most of them liked, and all respected, tell of the "Revolt Against War."

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<sup>20</sup>Kellogg (ed.), op. cit., p. 355.

## CHAPTER V

### Analysis of the Speech of July 9, 1915

It is our purpose in this chapter to make a rhetorical analysis of Jane Addams' speech of July 9, 1915.

The procedure to be used in making the analysis is to examine the speech in terms of our knowledge of Miss Addams as a person with some preparation as an orator, the rhetorical atmosphere and immediate setting in which she spoke, and the rhetorical canons established in Chapter I.

Before examining the speech, however, it is necessary to determine the authenticity of the text.

#### Authenticity of the Text

Three versions of the July 9 address by Miss Addams were published. Two of these were admittedly inaccurate. The account in The Christian Herald was presented as a shortened reprint of the one which appeared in The Christian Work.<sup>1</sup>

The text published in The Survey, bears the editorial comment that, "It has some of the infelicities of rapid delivery."<sup>2</sup>

The third version appeared in The Christian Work and has been accepted by the writer as most nearly authentic because it contains material not found in The Survey--material which Mr. Paul Kellogg (who was apparently present at

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<sup>1</sup>Mrs. Margorie V. Edwards, Letter, December 28, 1960 (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania).

<sup>2</sup>Addams, "The Revolt Against War," p. 355.

the meeting) quoted from the speech in an article on July 17, 1915. Specifically, he quotes Miss Addams as saying, "It's good to see that peace can be as rousing as war."<sup>3</sup> No such statement appears in The Survey, but in the Christian Work one finds: "It is very fine that peace can be as rousing almost as war."<sup>4</sup>

The latter reproduction will be used for analysis in this study.

### Analysis in Terms of Cicero's Classical Rhetoric

#### The orator

Miss Addams received a better education than was common for a woman in the 1800's. She held a college degree, had attended one year of medical school, had read widely, had traveled extensively, and had learned much from independent study throughout her life. Her education and career provided a good source of materials for her speech.

Miss Addams spoke with a purpose. Her goal on this occasion was to convince the audience that neutral men with a mature understanding of the value of life, experience in international affairs, and dedication to peace should go to the leaders of the nations at war and negotiate programs of peace because these leaders would be receptive to such proposals now.

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<sup>3</sup>Kellogg, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup>Addams, "Address of Miss Jane Addams, Delivered at Carnegie Hall, Friday July 9, 1915," p. 145.



## Her use of the parts of rhetoric

### Invention

An examination of the speech of July 9 reveals that Jane Addams analyzed well the nature of her subject. She listed as symptoms of an embroiled Europe: (1) much confusion, wild talk, and fanatic feeling; (2) a growing intolerance for the word "peace"; (3) a tendency on the part of the people to divide into two parties, military and civil; (4) requests for an end to the war; (5) the death of soldiers unable to kill in self-defense; (6) women perplexed and suffering in this situation; and (7) people at war beginning to reproach the neutrals for not helping to restore order. Her analysis led her to believe that the causes for these symptoms (effects) were: (1) the belief that militarism can be crushed by counter-militarism; (2) the failure of international law to regulate international issues; (3) the tendency to over-emphasize the outrages committed during the war; (4) the virtual impossibility of a nation at war initiating negotiations for a settlement; (5) the failure of neutral nations to provide a means for ending the war; and (6) censorship of the press. In addition to her presentation of the symptoms reflecting a seriously disturbed Europe and establishing several causes for the difficulties, Miss Addams set down several criteria for evaluating possible solutions leading to peace: (1) justice to all nations must be guaranteed; (2) the good of humanity must be the first consideration; (3) the solution just be applied before

militarism is too firmly entrenched; and (4) diplomatic means rather than military processes must be used to solve the problem. Further analysis by Miss Addams admits of only two possible courses of action to be followed by the leaders of governments in Europe, continued warfare or negotiations for peace. Naturally, the solution Jane Addams advocates is negotiation. A study of the speech of July 9 reveals that Miss Addams knew the nature of her subject.

Her analysis of the events she had witnessed in Europe, in part, led her to conclude that there were three central issues to be considered: (1) Is there a need for negotiations among the leaders of the warring nations of Europe? (2) Is there a workable means available for accomplishing this negotiation? and (3) Is this means the best and most desirable one available?

Although this analysis is not so openly laid out in the speech, it is there. Based upon her own experience, this critic feels that the classwork in rhetoric and criticism and the forensic experiences Miss Addams had as a student at Rockford Seminary made a contribution to her apparent ability on this occasion to analyze her subject well.

In this speech Miss Addams developed the theme: Whether we are able to recognize it or not, there has grown up a generation in Europe, as there has doubtless grown up a generation in America, which has found war revolting and they

have taken a firm stand against it.

The ideas which Miss Addams developed on this occasion were of utmost importance "to men and states" since they dealt with life and/or death of men and the ultimate success or failure of state governments.

In so far as the audience could determine Miss Addams was speaking to report to them the existing conditions in Europe as she had just observed them. Her actual, though suppressed, purpose was to suggest that they support a proposed course of action--the negotiation of peace by a group of selected neutral men.

From the many ideas appropriate to her purposes and the occasion which she might have used, she selected with care those which appear in the speech. Linn reports that she made a habit of preparing her speeches with the greatest care and often wrote out in full what she meant to say, four or five revisions being usual.<sup>5</sup> Wise reports that she had a unique way of collecting and choosing her ideas for a speech, writing the ideas on envelopes, newspaper margins, and stringing them over a long darning needle onto a long cord knotted on the end. Then she slipped off the papers when she began to write the speech and shuffled the bits of paper until she had the ideas she wanted in the order she wanted.<sup>6</sup> Thus, it may be noted that Jane Addams

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<sup>5</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>6</sup>Wise, op. cit., p. 144.

made it a practice to give careful consideration to the selection and arrangement of the ideas to be incorporated into a speech.

#### Means of persuasion

##### Logical proofs: evidence

Miss Addams supported her ideas in this speech with explanation, illustration (both hypothetical and factual), specific instances, testimony, and restatement. She did not make use of statistics. Miss Addams' desire to be perfectly clear resulted in her use of explanation as the dominant form of supporting evidence in this speech. She used explanation to clarify her reasons for not wanting "to add a bit" to the "already overwhelming confusion" in Europe, and to support her idea of two parties springing up in Europe--civil and military.

Testimony is also important in this speech as supporting evidence. Twelve of the twenty-seven ideas presented in this speech contain testimony, the most abundant usage being found in her argument that World War I was an "old man's war."

Illustration appears in both its forms (hypothetical and factual) in this speech. She uses hypothetical illustration more often than factual. Her major usage of the hypothetical illustration occurs in support of the idea that the war is being continued primarily because of the outrages committed within the war. One of the hypothetical illustrations in this argument concerns boys fighting within

a boys' club, very possibly a reference to Miss Addams' work with boys' clubs at Hull House.

Specific instances are important as supporting evidence in Miss Addams' speech, also. In one instance she cites England, France, and Germany as specific instances of countries whose soldiers are given stimulants before bayonet charges.

Restatement, which occurs almost as frequently as testimony, was used significantly in the same argument with the word "dope" being substituted for "stimulants" in a later restatement of the idea.

Miss Addams used all forms of evidence except statistics very frequently throughout the speech.

The evidence employed by Miss Addams in this speech was usually valid in terms of the tests. The evidence was always consistent with human nature and human experience, as well as with known facts. The evidence is inconsistent with itself in the explanation of the point that women do not oppose war simply because they are women. Here she made two statements which seem inconsistent: (1) The majority of women believe this war to be righteous; (2) These women formulate a "plaint" about war which men cannot formulate. She used "hearsay" evidence, but her reputation as a social worker and diplomat probably upheld any assertions she made as to what someone said. The chief value in Miss Addams' testimonials was that most of them were "casual or undesigned" evidence, even though she used two other exceptional-

ly valuable types of evidence, declarations against interest and negative evidence. Usually the evidence is adequate to support her conclusions drawn from it. Sometimes, though, she asserts the existence of more evidence than she gives and then draws a conclusion from the "unstated" evidence. The evidence is always relevant to the argument which it supports, as in the case of the argument that the young men revolt against war--she quotes young men opposing war.

The sources of Miss Addams' evidence were generally valid, her witnesses being physically, mentally, and morally qualified to testify, and in such a position that they had an opportunity to get the truth. The only witnesses about whose validity one cannot be certain are those cited in "group testimonials." It should be noted, however, that Miss Addams did not give the names of her witnesses but indicated their positions and qualifications. Her integrity was the audience's source of validity for these witnesses, in effect.

Miss Addams used the testimony of "expert witnesses" where it was warranted, using authorities who were possessed of the knowledge and experience necessary to justify their acceptance on the matters in question and who would be recognized as authorities by the audience. She quotes diplomatic and military men in high offices upon matters diplomatic and military.

Thus, evidence was abundant in the July 9 speech and was almost always valid in terms of the tests of evidence.

Logical proofs: Reasoning

Miss Addams employed sign and causal argument, argument by example, argument by analogy, and argument by explanation in the speech on July 9, 1915. The basic argument in this speech by which Miss Addams attempts to support the proposition is causal argument. The structure of this argument is "effect to cause" reasoning. Briefly, the argument appears thus:

- (Effect) I. Well trained neutral men should provide negotiations to end the war (for)
- (Cause) A. This type of negotiation would be accepted by the nations at war, (and)
- (Cause) B. A neutral nation can begin negotiations even though a warring nation cannot, (and)
- (Cause) C. The peoples of warring Europe wish the war to cease, (and)
- (Cause) D. The young men do not want this war; they contend it is "an old man's war," (and)
- (Cause) E. The women of the warring nations are opposed to this war, (and)
- (Cause) F. There is a generation in Europe (and in America) that revolts against war, (and)
- (Cause) G. The war is being continued primarily because of acts occurring within the war, and not because of the original disputes, (and)

- (Cause) H. Religious men are powerless to stop this conflict which so concerns them, (and)
- (Cause) I. Counter-militarism is unable to crush militarism, (and)
- (Cause) J. European people were grateful for the effort for peace made by the women at The Hague.

Her dominant mode of reasoning, then, is causal argument, as exhibited in her main line of argument in this speech. She did, however, make use of all the types of argument in her subordinate arguments in this speech. Perhaps her ability in the use of these forms may be illustrated by typical examples of each type as she used it.

A typical example of her use of sign argument appears in her conclusion that there must be many pacifists in the warring nations because (sign) she saw dozens of them herself in only a very brief visit.

Her usage of causal argument in subordinate points of her speech assumes several forms. Her first argument is "effect to cause" reasoning. She argues:

- I. It is difficult to formulate one's impressions when one is brought face to face with so much genuine emotion and high patriotism as is exhibited in Europe at the present time, and one becomes afraid of generalizing. (Effect)
- A. The situation is confused and many wild and weird things are said to which one does not want to add a bit. (Cause)



Another example of her use of causal argument is this "chain of reasoning":

- I. The longer war goes on, the more deeply militarism is entrenched.
- II. The more deeply militarism is entrenched, the more civil processes are broken down.
- III. The more civil processes are broken down, the harder it will be to revive them after war ends.

A third example of her use of causal argument is in the form of a "categorical syllogism" in support of her remark that she was not the leader of the Hague conference, but just happened to be chosen president:

(The women decided)

- I. The furthest neutral country should have the presidency.
- II. America was the furthest neutral country.
- III. Therefore, America received the presidency.

Her use of argument by example is not as extensive as that of causal argument, but she does employ it in several cases. Probably the most prominent and most typical usage of argument by example in this speech is in the argument that the young men are revolting against war. She gives the examples of the young German and the young Englishman (as well as several others), from which she generalizes that the young men on both sides are revolting against killing and against war.

Argument by analogy is found in the argument that war

is continued by the outrages committed during the war, rather than by the original cause of the conflict. The analogy is cumulative. She compared the conflict in Europe with (1) two boys fighting "because he did this and I did that," (2) two gangs of boys in a boys' club fighting in a similar way, (3) a strike which continues long after the original cause has been lost sight of by the strikers.

The final type of argument used by Miss Addams, argument by explanation, is one she used often. She used explanation especially well in support of her idea that at last human nature must revolt against war. She explained that sooner or later the fanatic feeling in Europe would cease and the people would begin to see the horrible things which had happened:

At last human nature must revolt. This fanatic feeling which is so high in every country, and which is so fine in every country, cannot last. The wave will come down of course. The crest cannot be held indefinitely, and then they will soberly see the horrible things which have happened and will have to soberly count up the loss of life and the debt they have settled upon themselves for years to come.

Of course, she included some analogy in this statement, but explanation often includes other forms of argument, and this example is typical of her use of this type of argument.

In summary, then, Miss Addams used all of the types of reasoning in this speech. Her main argument was cast in the causal form.

The arguments used by Miss Addams on this occasion

were almost always valid in terms of the tests for argument.

When arguing from sign, the relationships she made do not seem accidental or coincidental, but appear to be reliable without the concurrence of other signs. In the sign argument mentioned previously the relationship does not seem accidental because she concluded that there must be many pacifists in Europe because she met so many in her brief visit, and it seems logical that if her visit had been more extensive she would probably have met others, since she saw only the people of a few cities in each country.

Her causal arguments are valid, being perhaps her best form of argument.

The connections between causes and effects were not broken or incomplete in any of her causal arguments. In only two of these arguments could another "cause" have intervened to prevent or alter the effect under discussion. In her main causal argument the effect (the necessity for neutral men to negotiate) could have been altered only if the war had ended with a decisive victory on one side. This was highly unlikely at the time she spoke, however, and was not significant to this argument. In the syllogism presented as being typical of her causal argument the effect (Miss Addams' being chosen president) could have been altered if a neutral country from a greater distance had sent representatives.

The effects are definitely the results of the causes

in all of these causal arguments.

Thus, her causal argument was valid since the few things which fail the tests for sound argumentation are not significant enough to lead one to conclude that her use of causal argument was poor.

Miss Addams' use of argument by example was not as good as her causal argumentation. For instance, when she urged the audience to accept the generalization that "there is a generation of young men revolting against war" she supported this idea with unfair examples. A young man dying from a wound received in battle is likely to be bitter and, thus, will hardly reflect a typical young man's attitude toward war. Also, Miss Addams generalized from only seven examples and implied sources that a generation is revolting against war. The final reason for the conclusion that she used argument by example poorly is that she did not always account for negative instances. She did qualify her statements about this "generation revolting against war" later in the speech, but not in the argument itself.

The relationships generalized are apparent in most of her arguments by example. In only one argument is the relationship not apparent. She gave the example of an old Quaker and his sons to emphasize the difference of opinion between the older and newer generations.

Miss Addams' use of argument by analogy is almost as good as her causal argument. In all essential respects:

the cases she compared were alike--two groups of nations fighting as compared to two gangs of boys fighting over things done in the fight itself. Her argument from analogy is cumulative in the example cited, which made it a much stronger argument.

All three types of explanation (description, narration, and exposition) were used in this speech. Description was used only in a secondary manner, but she kept the facts in their "proper order." She exhibited the events in the Hague Conference in their proper time relationships in her use of narration. The example of her argument by explanation was in "exposition" form and was a "logical thought whole independent of time or space relations."

In all, her use of logical proofs was very acceptable. She was not infallible and could be somewhat confusing at times, but the overall logical structure was competent.

#### Pathetic Proof

In the July 9 speech Miss Addams used fifteen of the eighteen motive appeals which are listed by Monroe.<sup>7</sup> The Appeals used by Miss Addams were: acquisition and saving, adventure, companionship, creating, curiosity, fear, imitation, independence, loyalty (to nation), personal enjoyment (of beauty and order), power and authority, pride (reputation, self-respect), revulsion, reverence or worship (of leaders, institutions or traditions), and sympathy. The ones she

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<sup>7</sup>Monroe, op. cit., pp. 195-207.

used most often were "sympathy" and "companionship." She used appeal to sympathy approximately twenty times and appeal to companionship eighteen times. The three motive appeals which she did not use were destruction, fighting, and sex attraction. An example of her usage of the appeal to "reverence or worship of leaders" is in these statements: "We spoke with Cardinals. The Pope gave us an audience of half an hour," and "One of the leading men of Europe, whose name you would instantly recognize if I felt at liberty to give it, said...." To appeal to audience sympathy she said,

They nurse the men back to health and send them to the trenches, and the soldiers say to them, "You are so good to us when we are wounded; you do everything in the world to make life possible and to restore us; why do you not have a little pity for us when we are in the trenches; why do you not put forth a little of this same effort and this same tenderness to see what might be done to pull us out of those miserable places?"

Not only did Miss Addams use motive appeals, but she employed emotionally stimulating words and phrases such as "patriotism, human touch, pilgrimage, bloodshed, fair and square, death, kill, hate, plain mother, heart being torn, fanatic feeling, flower of youth lost," and "horrible things."

She chose her materials to illustrate the audience relationship to the subject, using a "humanitarian" approach to the problem of war in Europe. She made clear the

physical closeness of the conflict to the audience by showing the brief travel time to and from Europe and by explaining that she and her committee traveled to nine governments within five weeks. She related the problem to American people by showing the companionship of the American delegates at The Hague with the delegates from Europe.

Apparently Miss Addams always had her feelings under control in the eyes of her audiences. Dr. Jessie F. Binford, in a letter to this writer, expressed her impression of Miss Addams' platform manner, indicating that Miss Addams had a good control over her emotions: "She was very dignified...always great poise--warmth--and sincerity and conviction."<sup>8</sup> Another who heard Miss Addams speak, Carmelita Hinton, reports, "She was never emotional...she had great intellectual appeal."<sup>9</sup> In the speech itself no verbal outburst of emotion is present to indicate that her feelings were not under control.

Thus, Miss Addams used pathetic materials in the composition of her speech, but she did not capitalize on the possibilities of using the techniques of delivery to arouse the emotions of the audience through empathy.

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<sup>8</sup>Dr. Jessie F. Binford, Letter, March 11, 1961 (Hull House, Chicago, Illinois).

<sup>9</sup>Mrs. Marjorie V. Edwards, Letter, February 7, 1961 (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania).

### Ethical proof

Miss Addams employed much material which could be considered ethical in appeal, making an effort to gain audience acceptance of herself (her wisdom, character, and good will). For instance, she began her speech by attempting to give the audience the feeling that she is very logical and has only good will toward her audience and subject. She did this by saying she did not want to add any more confusion to the situation in Europe, that she will use only firsthand observation from which to draw conclusions, and that she plans to speak simply without "losing any more emotion" on the world. She spoke quite modestly throughout the speech, minimizing her part in this great peace movement. This would impress an audience favorably, as would the things she quoted herself as saying. Thus, she probably appealed strongly to the audience as a person of much wisdom, strong character, good will towards mankind, and high ethical standards.

### Arrangement

#### Speech pattern

Miss Addams employed a speech pattern which, although clearly evident in its major aspects, is less well drawn in its sub-points. She used the four Ciceronian parts of a speech: introduction, narration, proof, and peroration.

In her introduction the calm, sincere attitude and seemingly undesigned statements of Miss Addams would, indeed attract and propitiate an audience. By showing that



she intended to give her audience a first-hand account of what was happening in Europe she interested them and rendered them favorable to her purpose.

The introduction was well suited to the rest of the speech, being derived from the essence of the cause. The introduction was a statement of her basic attitudes--(1) an unwillingness to add any more confusion to the world, (2) an unwillingness to let loose any more emotion upon the world--and an expression of her basic analysis of the problem (an "emotionalism" in Europe and a need for some "human touch" and understanding). These things, and her statement of purpose (reporting her Hague experiences) were quite logically connected with what was to follow.

Next Miss Addams offered the narrative part of the speech which was perspicuous in its statement of the conditions of the Hague conference and its immediate result (the committees chosen to travel throughout the European nations). Miss Addams' specific position on the subject of her speech was not stated as such but a rather vague idea of her general position (that of a person greatly interested in international peace) was given.

The arrangement of materials in the body or "proof" of the speech was clear and orderly, but not always concise. Miss Addams sometimes "doubled back", stating some small point and then restating and elaborating on it when it was really unnecessary. One example of this occurred when she discussed the young German in a hospital in Switzerland.

Not only did she discuss the man's wound, she made a diagnosis which was hardly necessary even to stir sympathy in her audience. This type of thing was not common, however, and the clarity and orderliness of the rest of the speech compensated for the lack of conciseness in some cases.

The arrangement of materials centered around Miss Addams' stated purpose (a report on the situation in Europe) very well, but was less obviously centered about her real purpose (conveying the idea of a revolt against war in Europe and the need for neutral negotiations). Most of the impressions which she lists in her "report" of the situation in Europe are causes for the effect or solution pointed out in her real purpose, although the statement of this "plan" is near the middle of the speech and the supporting materials both precede and follow it, making it difficult to connect them.

The arrangement of materials is such as to strengthen her ideas and arguments because the materials are put in such a way that the listener must make the connection between the proposition and each argument for himself and thus may (perhaps) think the idea his own and accept it more readily. (This would not be good arrangement, however, for another audience of a lower intellectual level than that which apparently existed in this audience.)

The arrangement pattern followed by Miss Addams in the body of this speech was a combination of the logical and

distributive methods. She seems to have used the logical method most extensively in her sub-points and the distributive method in the main points of the speech.

The peroration, or conclusion, of the speech contains an effort on Miss Addams' part to amplify her points and to incline the audience in her favor. She centers the conclusion about two ideas: (1) "In the end human nature must reassert itself;" and, (2) The women's meeting at The Hague was a success. From these ideas she goes into the two main points of the speech: (1) The people of Europe are revolting against war; and (2) A neutral group of men should begin negotiations. She attempted to incline the audience in her favor by asking them to accept the achievements of these women "for what they are worth" and not to think that the women (and Miss Addams) were over-estimating their achievements abroad. This was probably because of Miss Addams' recognition of the rather "touchy" rhetorical atmosphere in which she spoke.

#### Total structure

The arrangement of materials in the July 9 speech reflects a seriousness of design which is quite consistent with Miss Addams' character. As seen in the rhetorical biography, she was very diligent in working for something in which she strongly believed. The fact that she was accustomed to revising and rearranging material for her speeches (sometimes through four or five revisions)<sup>10</sup>would

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<sup>10</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 116.

indicate that the speech was probably composed with close attention to purposeful structure.

### Style

Miss Addams seems to have been very much aware of the significance of what she would say and adapted to her audience (which contained some who would disagree with anything which seemed pacifistic), the subject (which was distasteful to some persons), and the occasion (which was her opportunity to get the message of the peoples of Europe to Americans).

The style of Miss Addams added to the desired effect of her speech. The humanitarian concern implied by her gentle, direct, simple style no doubt had some influence on the desired effect. The simplicity of Miss Addams' style and her "beautiful vocabulary" were the chief attributes of her style,<sup>11</sup> and added to the effect of the speech by making her meanings clear to her audience.

In this speech Miss Addams used compact, correct language, and displayed a large vocabulary (as is evident in her other works). This added to the impression of simplicity and grace in her style.

Her language was clear and coherent, which stemmed from her simplicity of statement. If anything seemed vague to her, she restated the idea in other terms, seeking per-

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<sup>11</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 117.  
Binford, Letter, March 11, 1961.

fect clarity and coherence. For example, she described the men who should negotiate by saying, "If some set of people could be gotten together who were international out of their own experience," and then broke off to explain just what she meant by "international out of their own experience."

This speech is not noticeable for its rhythm, but the rhythm is there. Her sentences, for the most part, could be scanned easily, sometimes approaching iambic construction.

Miss Addams used ornamentation in this speech, but rarely used "new or unusual words." Probably the closest she came to using an unusual term was in the slang term "dope" for "stimulants." She used simile, metaphor, and especially the analogy. Her use of exaggeration is unusual because she used exaggeration by minimizing in discussing her part in the Hague conference. She used interrogation often in quotations and in the form of rhetorical questions. Her transitions were often quite obvious. For example, "There is one more thing I should like to say and I will close," or "Now I would like to give my testimony from England, in order to be quite fair and square." She sometimes digresses, also, to explain little incidental happenings on her trip to Europe.

In all, Miss Addams' style seemed quite simple but was characterized by some ornamentation.

The language used by Miss Addams fitted the period in which she spoke, but was a little above the average

person's usage. Her vocabulary was so extensive that she spoke primarily within the range of understanding of the educated person, although she used few terms or phrases that were not within the reach of anyone of normal intelligence.

Probably Miss Addams deliberately chose her words for beauty, dignity, conciseness, and other such qualities, because she always wrote and rewrote carefully everything she presented. Also, since she had an extensive vocabulary, she had a choice of words with which to deliver her ideas, so that she probably chose the wording which she felt would be most effective.

#### Memory

Miss Addams' memory was apparently sufficient to keep her speech free from "suggestion of previous rehearsal." The comments which usually accompany a criticism of her performance include the terms "freshness," "directness," and "poise,"<sup>12</sup> which would indicate that her speeches generally seemed spontaneous and unrehearsed.

Apparently Miss Addams had no difficulty in this speech in remembering her material well enough to present it as she later wrote from the speech she planned to give follows the same pattern and wording as the report of the speech

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<sup>12</sup>Binford, Letter, March 11, 1961.

Wise, op. cit., p. 143.

Addams, "The Revolt Against War," p. 355.

she actually gave.

### Delivery

#### Movement and gesture

Since Miss Addams very rarely ever used gestures,<sup>13</sup> the rhetorical analysis of movement and gesture must be severely limited. The only times she moved or gestured were when she felt motivated by the thought she was expressing. Miss Addams was dignified and graceful in her movements. She stood with her hands clasped behind her back or sometimes fingering a string of beads or her eye-glasses--a dignified, quiet figure.<sup>14</sup> It might be argued that Miss Addams used too little movement in her delivery.

Miss Addams' carriage was hardly the Ciceronian concept of "lofty, erect, and vital," although this did not necessarily prove detrimental to her ability as a speaker. This description of her delivery was given by one who heard her often:

She is slightly stooped as she stands with her hands clasped behind her in a way touchingly childish, looking out at her audience....Her face is sad, although the eyes are luminous, and the lips adapt themselves readily to smiles.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Wise, op. cit., p. 143.

Linn, op. cit., p. 116.

Binford, Letter, March 11, 1961.

Miss Frances Molinero, Interview, September 1, 1960.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Henry Thomas and Dana Lee Thomas, 50 Great Americans (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Co., Inc., 1948), p. 330.

Linn states that she stood "with her head thrown a little forward, ... looking, even in the early days, a little weary." He goes on to say, "There was nothing dramatic about her appearance on the platform...."<sup>16</sup>

Kathleen Norris describes her as she appeared in 1916:

She was neither beautiful nor young; hers was an unobtrusive, settled, matronly figure.... There was something in the level, steady look of her beautiful eyes, something in the quiet authority of her voice, that so gently affected one. Every inch of her said strength, goodness, faith.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, while her carriage was neither lofty, nor erect, nor vital, she was probably very effective on the platform because of her dignified, staid, calm appearance.

#### Manner

Miss Addams' manner on the platform was very typical of her personality. She was dignified, unobtrusive, calm, and modest, and these traits were certainly personified in her platform manner. She was courteous of manner, composed, natural, and had good control of her facial features. Kathleen Norris, especially, emphasized the "level, steady look of her beautiful eyes." It can only be assumed from these generalized observations concerning

<sup>16</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>17</sup>Kathleen Norris, "Where Are the Women Geniuses?" Family Weekly, December 18, 1960, p. 1.



Miss Addams' platform appearance that she would have been singularly well suited in manner to the type of audience she faced upon this particular occasion--an intellectual, interested, inquisitive audience. There was little need for adaptation of her usual manner for the topic, either, since it was one which benefitted by a calm, dignified presentation.

#### Voice

Miss Addams was always fluent. She used her voice to gain the desired response in her speaking. Kathleen Norris mentions Miss Addams' voice ("the quiet authority of her voice") in 1916, and it probably had that quality upon the occasion of the chosen speech. There would seem to be some disagreement as to Miss Addams' voice quality, but since the over-whelming majority was affected pleasantly by her voice quality, it may be assumed that the opinion of Miss Ruth Hill (who said Miss Addams' voice was "high pitched, matallic--rather unpleasant")<sup>18</sup> would meet with much disagreement. Others seemed to feel that her voice was quite pleasant and Linn described it in this way:

Her voice was clear and agreeable. She never raised it, but she modulated it pleasantly in the lower registers, and she could be heard easily by large audiences.<sup>19</sup>

Miss Frances Molinero, who knew Miss Addams for

<sup>18</sup>Woodhouse, Letter, January 23, 1961.

<sup>19</sup>Linn, op. cit., p. 116.

many years, supported Linn's opinion and said that Miss Addams was always somewhat relaxed while speaking, which made her voice seem very natural.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, it would seem that Miss Addams had a pleasant voice which she used to gain "the desired response" in her speaking.

#### Effect

The immediate effect of this speech, in terms of the audience present, was favorable if one may judge from accounts in later publications.<sup>21</sup> The immediate effect in terms of reactions to the speech in the period immediately following it was unfavorable. Miss Addams made one comment in the speech (that soldiers were given stimulants before bayonet charges) which was to haunt her for months (and even years). Richard Harding Davis, an influential militarist, pounced upon this statement, leading those violently opposed to Miss Addams and the peace movement.<sup>22</sup> Davis wrote repeatedly that Miss Addams had cast aspersions upon the honor and courage of the soldier.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, the immediate effect of this speech was both enthusiastic acceptance and antagonistic rejection.

<sup>20</sup>Molinerro, Interview, September 1, 1960.

<sup>21</sup>Kellogg, "The Welcoming of Jane Addams," op. cit., p. 353.

Jane Addams Home," op. cit., p. 354.  
New York Times, July 10, 1915, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup>Hamilton, Letter, March 28, 1961.

<sup>23</sup>Richard Harding Davis, New York Times, July 10-17, 1915.

The long range effect of this speech must be carefully examined, since there are two actual "long range" effects. First, the specific proposals for peace in World War I were not accepted. Although persons in high places (such as Wilson) considered and agreed with Miss Addams' ideas as expressed in this speech, the war continued (with the United States entering) until at last there was a decisive victory. The second facet of the long range effect, however, was more favorable. In the years following the war (and up until World War II) the ideas and beliefs of Miss Addams were accepted by almost everyone. This intellectual victory cannot be attributed solely to this speech, of course, but this speech and the others by Miss Addams and her fellow pacifists had some influence on this change of attitude.

To summarize the long range effects of this speech, it must be said that in strengthening the morale of American pacifists and pacifistic organizations it was probably influential, but in its major result it was detrimental to Miss Addams and did not gain acceptance of her proposal (through no fault of her own, but because of the atmosphere, subject, and the misquotation of her comments which followed).

While the theories Miss Addams presented were finally accepted, their practice still seems unlikely. As Dr. Hamilton said concerning the peace movement and Miss Addams, "We seem farther away from the road to peace than we were in her lifetime. Then we had hope, now we seem almost acquiescent."

## Analysis in Terms of Nineteenth Century English Rhetoricians

## Pathetic proof

Miss Addams understood quite well the nature of her audience. She was aware of who the people were and why they had assembled.

She used probability "as an expedient for enlivening passion" in her audience, invigorating the acceptance of her ideas by making them seem probably true through the use of specific examples, testimony, and other evidence..

Miss Addams made her ideas seem plausible, also, to manipulate audience passions. Her ideas seem outwardly believable, in some cases, even though there is not much use of logical proof. One example of this is her plea that "fair minded men" disregard nationality, prejudices, and so on to arbitrate and negotiate for peace. She makes the rather illogical idea of men forgetting all national ties and prejudices seem quite plausible through explanation and emotionally loaded words.

She added "brightness and strength "to her ideas by showing their importance, relating them to the future of humanity through the concepts of peace and war, life and death.

Miss Addams used proximity of time to influence her audience, showing that she and her delegation had just returned from war-torn Europe and that other members of the American delegation would soon return. She also used the

idea that very soon European peoples would start reproaching the United States for not intervening and offering peace proposals. Another way in which she used proximity of time was in showing that every day time runs out for thousands of young men in the trenches.

The pathetic appeal in the July 9 speech was used where it was proper and sensible to use it, in support of her humanitarian ideas. These were the ideas which could best use these pathetic appeals.

Miss Addams used pathetic appeals in such a way that the audience was unaware that she attempted to use their emotions. Upon first reading this speech, one is not aware of the number of emotional appeals used. It is not likely, then, that the audience hearing the speech (with no opportunity to "retrace" Miss Addams' comments) was aware of the use of pathetic appeals.

It cannot be established that Miss Addams was deeply moved herself, but this can be assumed since she felt very strongly about the concept of world peace. A person who did not feel strongly the need for world peace would not have been a member of so many pacifist organizations, would not have traveled to so many distant conferences and meetings as she did, and would not have spoken and written so profusely as she did. Her sincerity was obvious in her speaking.

Miss Addams sometimes interweaves things of a foreign nature with her pathetic appeals, but since she did not use the section of a speech which the nineteenth century

English rhetoricians termed "pathetic part," the question concerning her use of the "pathetic part" does not really apply.

She kept the pathetic appeal within a limit in order to avoid straining audience "passion" or emotion too far. The appeals were subtle and, therefore, there were no great surges of emotion. Also, these appeals were interwoven with the logical and factual discussion of the situation so that the duration of emotional appeal was brief.

#### Arrangement

As has been mentioned earlier in this analysis, Miss Addams used the Ciceronian "parts" of a speech: introduction, narration, proof, and peroration.

In the introduction Miss Addams avoided anticipating any material part of the subject, and perhaps too little indication of her specific goals was given. She gave only a general indication of what she would discuss. The introduction was proportioned in length and spirit to the whole, being brief, but long enough to set forth her general purpose and her attitudes as she approached the subject of war in Europe. She brought out the importance of her topic by showing that the whole of Europe found itself in the midst of a state of confusion and high emotionalism. Miss Addams avoided alarming her audience with a great number of topics, preliminary considerations, and preparatory explanations, since the introduction was very simple and did not really tell the specific topic or theme

of the speech.

### Analysis in Terms of the Elocutionists

#### Delivery

Miss Addams spoke quite naturally, retaining her own personality and characteristics throughout her speaking and using nothing artificial by way of gestures and movement.

It would appear from all the evidence available to this critic that Miss Addams did not achieve her naturalness through the knowledge of the Walker school of studied movement and gesture. She seems to have thought only of her subject and let that supply any motivation for movement which was necessary.

#### Conclusion

There are several conclusions which can be drawn after this analysis of the speech of Miss Addams given in Carnegie Hall on July 9, 1915.

First, it is probable that the copy of the speech appearing in the Christian Work is the most nearly authentic copy available for criticism.

Second, Miss Addams was a person of considerable learning, speaking to convince a cosmopolitan audience that there was a revolt against war in Europe which would indicate a need for neutral nations to begin negotiations for peace.

Third, her use of the parts of rhetoric was generally quite acceptable, consisting of a keen analysis of the problem, adequate use of evidence and reasoning to support her

carefully selected ideas, and the use of pathetic and ethical appeals to support ideas.

Fourth, the arrangement in her speech was clear and logical, employing the distributive and logical method of arrangement within the four divisions of the speech (introduction, narration, proof, and peroration).

Fifth, her style was well suited to her audience, subject, and occasion. It was an extremely simple and clear style.

Sixth, her memory was apparently sufficient to allow her to give the speech she meant to give in the way she planned to give it without suggestion of previous rehearsal.

Seventh, her delivery was natural. She used very few movements and/or gestures, and had a pleasant voice and manner which suited the nature of the speech.

Eighth, the effect of her speech was of no discernable import in the long range sense, but was especially significant immediately as one cause of Miss Addams' long unpopularity during and immediately after World War I (due to the opposition of the nations's militarists).

Ninth, it is probably that Miss Addams was persuasively influenced by the classical school of rhetoric (since she used the classical divisions of the speech and fulfilled most of the classical criteria quite well), less influenced by the English rhetoricians (since she ignored their methods of dividing the speech) and least influenced by the elocutionist school (or at least the Walker school)



which advocates the study of a strictly complicated system of rules for movement and gesture which she certainly did not appear to use.

Tenth, it is probable that Miss Addams was a good speaker, influential and an important supporter of the issues she upheld, but was at a disadvantage in this speech situation because her subject was the object of growing unpopularity and she faced the hostility of the nation's militarists who opposed the pacifist movement as a misleading ideal and a detriment to the nation's preparedness and morale.

## CHAPTER VI

### Conclusion

#### Introduction

It is the purpose of this chapter to draw the general conclusions resulting from this study and to give some indication as to the direction which further research might take.

#### 1. The Problem

It was the stated purpose of this study to formulate a conclusion as to Jane Addams' capabilities and effectiveness as a public speaker in the selected speech advocating world peace.

#### 2. The Method

The method chosen to accomplish the stated purpose of this study was the historical-critical. Included in this method are six steps: (1) isolation of a problem; (2) formulation of a working hypothesis; (3) development of a research design; (4) collection of evidence; (5) analysis or interpretation of evidence; and (6) generalization of causations and probabilities.

#### 3. The Working Hypothesis

The working hypothesis in this study is that the speech-making of Jane Addams on the occasion analyzed probably played a significant role in her achievements in the promotion of international peace.

#### 4. The Research Design

In order to solve the problem of this study it

appeared advisable to: (1) formulate carefully and clearly the nature and purpose of the thesis, (2) piece together those events and experiences which constitute the rhetorical biography of Miss Addams, (3) determine the rhetorical atmosphere in America in 1914-1917, (4) reconstruct the immediate setting of the speech of July 9, 1915, (5) make a comprehensive analysis of that speech in terms of the rhetorical conons specified in Chapter I, and (6) draw such conclusions as appear to be justified by the evidence.

## 5. The Main Conclusions

### Rhetorical Biography of Jane Addams

An examination of the life of Jane Addams provides an insight into the sources of her attitudes; her reasons for selecting particular topics for discussion; her capacity for reasoning; her unique method for organizing the materials to be included in her speeches; her stylistic techniques; and her mode of delivery. More specifically: (1) Her attitude toward life was greatly influenced by her father and by Abraham Lincoln through her father; (2) Many of her cultural interests were probably derived from contacts with her step-mother and her step-brother, George Haldeman; (3) She had an excellent education, both formally and at home; (4) Her experiences and her European travels were probably significant in her later works; (5) The main issues with which she worked were bound together by the thread of service to humanity; and (6) Her life was of some significance to history (especially in the United States).

### The Rhetorical Atmosphere

Since efforts toward world peace seem to thrive during peace and are inhibited in time of war, the rhetorical atmosphere at the beginning of the war was good but began to deteriorate until, when Miss Addams spoke on July 9, 1915, the atmosphere had changed from friendly to neutral and had begun to become antagonistic toward pacifists and the peace movement.

#### Immediate Setting of the Chosen Speech

The speech chosen for analysis was delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York, on July 9, 1915, by Miss Addams. It was given before an audience of almost 2800 assorted people in a mass meeting for the purpose of hearing the report of the United States delegates returning from the tour of warring nations resulting from the Women's Conference at The Hague. The great majority of the audience was favorable to Miss Addams and to her cause.

#### The July 9, 1915 Speech

It is probable that the copy of the speech which appears in the Christian Work is the most nearly authentic copy.

Miss Addams should be considered a person of considerable learning for her time and spoke with a definite purpose-- to convince the audience that there is a revolt against war in Europe which could be met by neutral nations proposing peace measures.

Her use of the parts of rhetoric was generally good.

She made a keen analysis of the problem, supported her carefully selected ideas with fairly valid evidence and reasoning, and by the use of pathetic and emotional appeals. (Her emotional appeal is subordinate to her logical appeal and is less easily discerned.)

The arrangement of her speech was clear and logical. She used both the distributive and logical method of arrangement within the body of the speech, using four parts of speech in all: (1) introduction, (2) narration, (3) proof, (4) peroration.

Her style was well suited to the particular audience she addressed. She seemed well aware of audience, subject and occasion, and her style reflected this in its clarity and simplicity.

Her memory was sufficient to permit her to give the speech she planned to give in the way she planned to give it.

She was natural in delivery, employing few movements or gestures, speaking pleasantly.

The immediate effect of her speech was significant, since it was the resulting antagonism of certain militarists to this speech that later led Miss Addams to be so "martyred" during and after World War I. Since Miss Addams was a leader of the peace movement, the result was doubly significant, having a detrimental effect on the entire movement at this time. The long range effect, however, was not very significant. The ideas which she proposed in this speech

were later accepted, for the most part, but not necessarily because of anything said in this speech.

It is probable that the Ciceronian school of rhetoric was the one most influencing Miss Addams since she used the classical divisions of the speech and meets the classical canons quite well. She was probably least influenced by the elocutionist school led by Walker.

The purpose of this study was to formulate a conclusion as to Jane Addams' ability and effectiveness in the selected speech advocating world peace. It is certain that she gained results from the speech, but most of them were unfavorable to her and to her cause. This cannot be assumed to prove that she was not effective as a speaker in this case, however, because, in this case, she spoke on a very "touchy" subject and she was later misquoted which brought about the intense antagonism toward her. Her capabilities as a speaker in this speech are shown to be very good. She was probably not a "great orator" but she was a good one, quite capable of organizing and presenting a good speech.

Since Miss Addams dealt with a subject as significant as any that ever existed, peace (life vs. death), she did speak on ideas that were important to "men and states" and thus, the subject matter is worthwhile and would lead one to conclude that to the extent that Miss Addams made excellent choices, she was a good orator.

The working hypothesis of the study was that the speech-making of Miss Addams on the occasion analyzed probably

played a significant role in her achievements in the promotion of world peace. Based on the rather long speech analyzed, a limited generalization as to the part her speech-making played would be warranted. If this speech may be taken to be typical (and a comparison with several others indicates that it is typical of her speeches) her speech-making was important to her work in peace. She presented the message concerning Europe at war to the people of America in a clear, concise manner, without over-powering emotionalism, and with great sincerity and concern. This probably helped her to attain a position as the spokesman of the peace movement throughout the years in which she worked for international peace.

Should further research on the speech-making of Jane Addams be done? The reasons for continuing such studies are these: (1) More studies of Miss Addams' speaking in the promotion of world peace could further determine her actual effectiveness in this area; (2) The areas of social work, woman suffrage and politics, labor, and civil liberties could yield some interesting conclusions as to her effectiveness in each of these areas, as well as helping to determine her over-all speaking effectiveness; (3) The understanding of the methods, style, and other attributes of Miss Addams' speech-making could be beneficial educationally for those who study them; and (4) Further study is needed to know whether Miss Addams is really an important speaker who had been overlooked, or whether her part as a speaker is insignificant to history.

## APPENDIX



"Address of Miss Jane Addams,

Delivered at Carnegie Hall, Friday July 9, 1915"

Miss Addams: I am sure we would call all of this a tribute to the cause of peace. It is very fine that peace can be as rousing almost as war. It is very difficult to try to formulate one's experiences when one has been brought face to face with so much genuine emotion and high patriotism as Europe exhibits at the present moment, and one becomes very much afraid of generalizing. In the first place, the situation is so confused, so many wild and weird things are said about it, that one is afraid to add one word that is not founded upon absolutely first-hand impressions and careful experience, because for the world one would not add a bit to this already overwhelming confusion. And one does not come back--at least I do not--from these various warring countries with any desire to let loose any more emotion upon the world. I feel that what is needed above all else is some careful understanding, some human touch, if you please, in this over-involved and overtalked-up situation in which so much of the world finds itself in dire confusion and bloodshed. One gets afraid of tall talk; and one does not know where words may lead the people to whom one is speaking. They seem to have acquired such fearful significance and to have power over the very issues of life and death itself. And so I should like, if I might, for a few moments, to tell as simply as I can the experiences which we had at The Hague.

People are much too kind who call me the leader of that movement, for I was not that in any sense of the word. The meeting was convened and called together by a group of European women, and only after all the arrangements had been made did we know about it in America, and consent to go. They were anxious to have a woman from a neutral country to serve as president, and it was safer to have the neutral country as far away as possible, and America was the furthest away. Therefore, I think, America was chosen. But I beg of you to look at it, if we may, for a few moments together, in its simplest terms. After all, the women who called the Congress were sure that, although during this last year none of the great international congresses, in science or arts or the most abstract subjects, have dared to meet, yet the women who had been meeting during many years in such conventions as Dr. Shaw has described, at least a few of them, could come together and in all sobriety and in all friendliness discuss their common aims and the terrible stake which they all had together in this war. And, of course, that faith, as you know, was well grounded, and for three days and a half, with much less friction than is usual in the ordinary meetings of men or women, so far as I know them, the women met there at The Hague and formulated their series of resolutions. I will confess that the first day we were a little cautious. We skated, as it were, more or less on thin ice, because we did not know how far we dared venture in freedom of expression. One of the Dutch Committee came to

me and whispered almost in a stage whisper, "I think you ought to know that the hall is full of police, not only those supplied by The Hague, but some of them supplied by the Government itself, because they feared disorder." I said, "Very well, we will be very happy indeed to have the police hear our declarations, and if we need their services, we will be very glad to call upon them." It seemed as if every one were nervous, and I will admit that there was an element of risk, if you please, in asking these women to come, but they did come from twelve different countries, in the midst of the strain under which Europe is now laboring.

On the last day of that conference it was suggested that the resolutions be carried by committees to the various governments of Europe, and to the President of the United States. Some of us felt that the congress was ending very happily, that we had proceeded day by day in good will and understanding, and that it was perhaps unfortunate to venture further. But the resolution was passed, and two committees set forth. One committee, consisting of a woman from the side of the Allies, a woman from the side of the Germans, and two women from the neutral nations, went to the north, to visit the Scandinavian countries and Russia. We have had cables from them from time to time. They were received by the prime ministers and by members of the Parliaments in all the countries, as well as by the ministers of foreign affairs. In Norway they were received in addition by the

King himself. They have been reported in Italy and Holland, and will arrive in America, we hope, within a week or two. One cannot tell how long it takes to cross the ocean now, because one may quite easily be held up in the English channel or some other crucial trade route for ten or twelve days. The other committee, I hope, will make a report, and I am sure they will have a most interesting one to make. This second committee, consisting of the vice-president and the president of the congress, women from the two neutral nations, Holland and America, set forth to visit the other countries.

I should like, if I may, to reproduce in the minds of this audience, or in the minds of some of you--for, or course, it is too much to hope to reach the minds of every one in a huge audience like this--I should like to reproduce some of the impressions made by this pilgrimage of ours, if you choose to call it so, going from one government to another, to nine governments in all, as we did in the space of five weeks.

The first thing which is striking is this, that everywhere one heard the same phrases, the identical phrases, given as the causes and as the reasons for the war. Each of the warring nations, I solemnly assure you, is fighting under the impulse of self-defense. Each of the warring nations, I assure you, is fighting to preserve its own traditions and its own ideals from those who would come in to disturb and destroy those high traditions and those ideals.

And from one tongue or another it was translated--as most of the men in the foreign offices had to speak English, they translated it into English--and one heard the identical phrases, and going as rapidly as we did from one country to another, it was to me always a striking experience. I almost knew what to expect, what phrases were coming next, after a foreign minister had begun. We were received in each of the capitals, in London, in Berlin, in Vienna, in Budapest, in Rome, in Havre, where the Belgium government is now established, and we also took in Switzerland, although it was neutral, and Holland, although that was neutral, we were received in each of those countries in each case by the minister of foreign affairs, and by the chancellor or prime minister, and in all of the countries we saw members of Parliament and other men who are responsible for governmental policies.

It is, of course, difficult in any wise to sum up these experiences, but I will try to tell you another thing which we found very striking. In practically all of the foreign offices and especially in two of the foreign offices which I supposed to be leading, one on one side, and one on the other side of this conflict, the men said, again in very similar phrases, that a nation at war cannot make negotiations, that a nation at war cannot even express a willingness to receive negotiations, for if it does either, the enemy will at once construe it as a symptom of weakness, and under the terms which are made the side which first suggested ne-

gotiations will suffer as being considered the side that was weaker and was suing for peace. But they said in all of these different foreign offices that if some other power will present propositions, if neutral peoples, however they may be gotten together, peoples who will command the respect of the foreign offices to whom their propositions are represented, if a small group is willing to get together to study the situation seriously and to make propositions, one, two, three, even though they are turned down over and over again--they do not say turned down in diplomatic circles, but perhaps you will permit that free phraseology--I say, giving them all over and over again, even if it goes up to ten, until some basis is found upon which negotiations might commence there is none of the warring nations that would not be glad to receive such service. That came to us unequivocally. We presented to each of the chancelleries our resolutions, but we talked for the most part about the possibility of substituting negotiations for military processes. It is very easy for a minister to say, "This country will never receive negotiations. We are going to drive the enemy out inch by inch." But it is pretty hard for him to say that to one or two or three or four women who are sitting there, and who ask, "If a proposition were presented to you, which seemed to you feasible, if something were presented to you which might mean the beginning of further negotiations between yourselves and your enemies, would you decline such a proposition, would you feel justified to go on sacrificing the young men of your

country in order to obtain through bloodshed what might be obtained through negotiations, the very thing for which your foreign office was established?" No minister would be willing, of course, to commit himself for a moment to such a policy. That we found true everywhere.

Then there was another thing that was impressed upon us all the time, and this was that in all of the great countries which we visited, although the people are tremendously united within the countries at the present moment, although there is no break that can be seen or heard anywhere on the part of the people fighting together, still they wish the war to cease, or they are going to divide into parties, one party to oppose the other. While they are united in this tremendous national consciousness, there are in every single country two general lines of approach. One is through the military party, which believes that the matter can be settled only upon a military basis, and the other is through a civil party, which very much deprecates this exaltation of militarism, which says that the longer the war goes on, the more the military authorities will be established, as censors of the press are established in all sorts of places which they ordinarily did not occupy; the longer the war goes on, the more the military power is breaking down all the safeguards of civil life and of civil government, and that consequently it will be harder for civil life and for the rights of civil life to resuscitate themselves and regain their place over the rights and power

of the military. And that goes on through the mere continuation of the war, and the military becomes more strongly entrenched in these countries every month, and the longer the war goes on, and the more desperately the people cling to their armies for their salvation, the more absolute are the power and the glory of that army. And the people, who represent the civil view of life, in the midst of their patriotic fervor, in the midst of their devotion to the army see that, and long for some other form of settlement, for some other form of approach to this terribly confused situation, long for it in each succeeding month more than they did in the month before.

And one can only say as one goes from one country to another, one can only say for oneself and say it to the citizens as one has opportunity, that if this war is ever to be settled through negotiations, and some time it must be--heaven knows when, but some time men must stop fighting and return to their normal existence--one says to those men, Why not begin now before the military becomes even further entrenched? Why not begin now when you still have enough power to hold them to their own statements, to hold them to their own purposes, and not allow them to rule and control the absolute destinies of the nation.

I am quite aware that in every country we met, broadly speaking, the civil people and not the military people. I am quite aware that it was natural for us to see the pacifists, if you please--although they are hardly known under that name--it was more natural for us to meet and know the



people who were on that side of life, instead of those on the military side of life. But because we did meet dozens of them, I am willing to believe that there must be many more of the same type of mind in every country, quite as loyal as the military people, quite as eager for the growth and development of their own ideals and their own standard of living, but believing with all their hearts that the military message is a wrong message and cannot in the end establish those things which are so dear to their hearts.

That is something to work upon, and when peace comes it must come through the people within those countries having some sort of claim upon the same type of mind and the same type of people in other countries. At present they have no communication. They say under the censorship of the press one man cannot tell how many other men are feeling as he does or believing as he does. Although he is a comrade in mind, and may be living in the next town, may be living in the next street, he does not know how many there are; he cannot get them together because, as you know, in our large cities with their huge agglomerations of human beings, we can communicate largely only through the daily press. We cannot find out the public opinion in any other way. Poor method as it seems, it is all that we have worked out as yet--and in the warring countries nothing goes into the press excepting those things which the military censor deems fit and proper.

So, as we went about, people would say to us, in re-

gard to the press, "If you see so and so, say a word about lessening the censorship of the press." And we said, "No, we can talk about but this one thing. We cannot carry messages from the citizens to their governments." But over and over again this request was made. And as we got back to one country they would say, "Are people talking like that there? That is just the way we are talking here." But they do not know each other from one country to another, and the individuals cannot find each other within the country itself.

Another thing which seems to me very striking is this: in each of the warring nations there is this point of similarity; generally speaking, we heard it everywhere--this was not universal, but we heard it everywhere--that this was an old man's war; that the young men who were dying, the young men who were doing the fighting, were not the men who wanted the war, and were not the men who believed in the war; that somewhere, in Church and State, somewhere in the high places of society, elderly people, the middle aged people, had established themselves and had convinced themselves that this was a righteous war, that this war must be fought out, and, as a young man put it, in a certain country, "and we young fellows have to do the fighting."

This is a terrible indictment, and I admit that I cannot substantiate it, I can only give it to you as an impression, but I should like to bring one or two details before you to back it up, so to speak. I thought when I

got up I should not mention the word "German" or the word "Allies," but perhaps if I give an example from Germany and then an example from the Allies, I will not get into trouble.

We met a young German in Switzerland. He had been in the trenches for three months and a half. He had been wounded in the lungs and had been sent to Switzerland to be cured. A physician, I think, would hardly say that he was going to be cured. I think a careful physician would say he had tuberculosis and would die. But he thought he was being cured, and he was speaking his mind before he went back to the trenches. He was, I suppose, what one would call a fine young man, but not an exceptional young man. He had had a gymnasium education. He had been in business with his father, had traveled in South Africa, had traveled in France, England and Holland, in the line of business, and had come to know men, as he said, as "menschen." Good "menschen" might be found in every land. And now here he was, at twenty-eight, facing death, because he was quite sure when he went back to the trenches death awaited him. But this is what he said: never during that three months and a half had he once shot his gun in a way that could possibly hit another man; nothing in the world could make him kill another man. He could be ordered into the trenches; he could be ordered to go through the motions, but the final act was in his own hands and with his own conscience. And he said, "My brother is an officer"--he gave the name of his brother; he gave the name of his rank; he wasn't

concealing anything; he was quite too near death's door to have any shifting and concealing--"he never shoots anything; he never shoots in a way that will kill. And I know dozens and dozens of young men who do not."

We had a list given to us by the woman at the head of a hospital in one German city of five young Germans who had been cured and were ready to be sent back to the trenches who had committed suicide, not because they were afraid of being killed, but because they were afraid they might be put into a position where they would have to kill some one else.

We heard stories of that sort from France, while we talked with nurses in hospitals, with convalescent soldiers, with the mothers of soldiers who had come back on furlough and had gone again into the trenches; and in all of those countries there are surprising numbers of young men and older men who will not do any fatal shooting, because they think that no one has the right to command them to do that thing.

Now I would like to give my testimony from England, in order to be quite fair and square. This was published in the Cambridge Magazine at Cambridge University. It was written by a young man who had gone from Cambridge. I didn't go to Cambridge, but I did go to Oxford. The Universities are almost depleted of young men. The great majority of them have gone into the war. Here is what this young man wrote: "The greatest trial that this war has

brought is that it has released the old men from all restraining influences, and has let them loose upon the world. The city editors, the retired majors, the amazons"--women are included, you see--"and last but not least, the venerable archdeacons have never been so free from restraint. Just when the younger generation was beginning to take its share in the affairs of the world this war has come to silence us, permanently or temporarily as the case may be. Meanwhile the old men, are having field days of their own. In our name and for our sakes, as they imagine, they are doing their very utmost, it would seem, to perpetuate by their appeals to hate, to intolerance and revenge, those very follies which have produced the present conflict."

I am not going to tell of many things that were said, because I think there have been for the present too many things said, but the mother's said to us repeatedly, "It was hard to see that boy go, because he did not believe in war. He did not belong to the generation that believes in war."

One of the leading men of Europe, whose name you would instantly recognize if I felt at liberty to give it said, "If this war could have been postponed for ten years perhaps," he said, "I will be safe and say, twenty years, war would have been impossible in Europe, because of the tremendous revolt against it in the schools and the universities."

I am quite sure when I say that, that it is a partial

view. I am quite sure that there are thousands of young men in the trenches feeling that they are performing the highest possible duties. I am quite sure that the spirit of righteousness is in the hearts of most of them, at least of many of them. But I am also sure that throughout there are to be found these other men who are doing violence to the highest teachings they know. It seemed to me at times as if the difference between the older generation and the new was something which was apprehended dimly in each country; that the older men believed more in abstractions, shall I say, that when they talked of patriotism, when they used certain words, certain theological or nationalistic words, these meant more to them than they did to the young men; that the young men took life much more from the point of view of experience. They were much more pragmatic I suppose I could have said in Boston, I don't know how well it will go in New York; they took life much more empirically, and when they went to the trenches and tested it out, they concluded that it did not pay, that it was not what they wanted to do with their lives.

I saw an old Quaker in England who said, "My sons are not fighting, they are sweeping mines." They allow themselves to sweep mines, but they do not allow themselves to fire mines. "My sons are doing this, that and the other thing. It is strange to me, because they never went to Quaker meetings, but they are awfully keen now on being consistent." Now, there you are. I think it was the older

generation, the difference again between the older and the new. This again may be a superficial impression, but such as it is, we had it in every single country, one after the other.

I would like to say just a word about the women in the various countries. The belief that a woman is against war simply and only because she is a woman and not a man, of course, does not hold. In every country there are many, many women who believe that the war is inevitable and righteous, and that the highest possible service is being performed by their sons who go into the army, just as there are thousands of men believing that in every country. The majority of women and men doubtless believe that. But the women do have a sort of pang about it. Let us take the case of an artist, an artist who was in an artillery corps, let us say, and was commanded to fire upon a wonderful thing, say St. Mark's at Venice, or the Dome at Florence, or any other great architectural and beautiful thing. I am sure he would have just a little more compunction than the man who had never given himself to creating beauty and did not know the cost of it. And there is certainly that deterrent on the part of the women who have nurtured these soldiers from the time they were little things, who brought them into the world, and brought them up to the age of fighting, and then see them destroyed. That curious revolt comes out again and again, even in the women who are most patriotic, and who say, "I have five sons, and a son-in-law, in

the trenches. I wish I had more sons to give." Even those women when they are taken off their guard, give a certain plaint against the whole situation which very few men, I think, are able to formulate.

Now, what is it that these women do in the hospitals? They nurse the men back to health and send them to the trenches, and the soldiers say to them, "You are so good to us when we are wounded; you do everything in the world to make life possible and to restore us; why do you not have a little pity for us when we are in the trenches; why do you not put forth a little of this same effort and this same tenderness to see what might be done to pull us out of those miserable places?" That testimony came to us, not from the nurses of one country, and not from the nurses who were taking care of the soldiers on one side, but from those who were taking care of them upon every side. And it seems to make it quite clear that whether we are able to recognize it or not, there has grown up a generation in Europe, as there has doubtless grown up a generation in America, who have revolted against war. It is a God they know not of, and they are not willing to serve him, because all of their inmost sensibilities and the training upon which their highest ideals depend, revolt against the whole situation. Now, it seems to me this is true-- and I have no plan and the papers were much too kind when they said that I was going to advise the President. I never dreamed of coming home with any plan, for if any



plans are to be formulated, it will have to be when the others have returned. I should never venture alone to do anything of the sort. But this, it seems to me, broadly speaking, might be true, that if some set of people could be gotten together who were international out of their own experience--you know, of course, that the law is the least international thing we have. We have an international body of science. A man takes the knowledge of the science to which he is devoted, and deals with that knowledge, and he doesn't ask whether it was gathered together by Englishmen or Germans. We have an international postal system, a tremendous international commerce, and a tremendous international finance--internationalism in all sorts of fields. But the law lags behind, and perhaps will lag behind for a long time, just as many of our most settled customs have never been embodied in law at all. If men could be brought together who had international experience, who had had it so long and so unconsciously that they had come to think not in nationalistic terms, but in the terms of the generation in which they were living, whether concerning business or labor or any other thing which has become so tremendously international, if they could be brought together and could be asked to try to put the very best mind they had, not as they represented one country or another, but as they represented human life and human experience as it has been lived during the last ten years in Europe, upon the question of what has really brought about this situation--Does

Servia need a seaport? Is that what is the matter with Servia? I won't mention any of the other warring countries because I might get into difficulties, but is this thing or that thing needed? What is it from the human standpoint, from the social standpoint? Is it necessary to feed the people of Europe who are, as you know, so underfed in all of the southern portions of Europe. Is it necessary in order to feed them to get the wheat out of Russia? In Heaven's name then, let us have more harbors in order to get that wheat out of Russia. Let us not consider it from the point of view of the claims of Russia, or the counter-claims of some one else, but let us consider it from the point of view of the needs of Europe--I believe if men with that temper, and that experience, and that sort of understanding of life were to begin to make propositions to the various governments which would not placate the claims of one government and set it over against the claims of another government, but would look at the situation from a humane standpoint. I am quite sure, I say from the knowledge of dozens of men in all of the countries who talk about the situation, that that sort of negotiation would be received. That does not seem an impossible thing, does it?

Perhaps the most shocking impression left upon one's mind is this, that in the various countries the temper necessary for continuing the war is worked up and fed largely by the things which have occurred in the war itself. Germany has done this, the Allies have done that, somebody

else tried to do this, and we foiled them by doing that, and what awful people they are, and they must therefore be crushed. Now I submit that any, shall I say plain mother, any peasant woman who found two children fighting, not for any cause which they stated, but because he did that and I did this, and therefore he did that to me, that such a woman would say: That can't go on; that leads to nothing. but continued hatred and quarreling. Let us say that there are two gangs of boys in a boys' club who are fighting. Yes, we did this because the other fellows did that. You would simply have to say: "I won't go into the rights and wrongs of this; this thing must stop, because it leads nowhere and gets you nowhere." And let us go on with larger groups. We all know the strikes that have gone on for weeks with the original cause quite lost sight of. I submit that something of the same sort is happening in Europe now. They are going on because of the things which have been done in the war, and that certainly is a very curious reason for continuing the war. And what it needs, it seems to many of us, is a certain touch of human nature. The human nature in the trenches would be healed over, the kindly people in the various countries would not support the war longer, and foreign officers themselves would resume their own business, that of negotiation versus that of military affairs, if the thing could be released instead of being fed and kept at the boiling pitch as it is all the time by outrages here an there and somewhere else.

I do not know how that could be brought about, but I will submit it is a very simple analysis of a very complex situation. But when you go about you see the same sort of sorrow, the tremendous loss of life in these countries, and you can't talk to a woman on any subject, not on the subject of peace and war, not on the subject of the last time she traveled here or there, if you please, without finding at once that she is in the deepest perplexity, that she is carrying herself bravely, and going on with her accustomed activities because she thinks thereby she is serving her country. But her heart is being torn all the time. At last human nature must revolt. This fanatic feeling which is so high in every country, and which is so fine in every country, cannot last. The wave will come down of course. The crest cannot be held indefinitely, and then they will soberly see the horrible things which have happened, and they will have to soberly count up the loss of life and the debt they have settled upon themselves for years to come.

I could go on and tell you many things which we saw. We spoke with Cardinals. The Pope himself gave us an audience of half an hour. Those are men of religious responsibility, men who feel keenly what has happened in Europe. And yet there they all are apparently powerless to do the one thing which might end it. We did not talk peace as we went about; it would merely confuse the issue, but isn't it hideous that whole nations find the word

peace intolerable. We said, why not see what can be done to arrive at some way of coming together to discover what might be done in place of the settlement which is now being fought out by military processes. And that was as far as we were able to go with clearness and safety, and upon that platform we were met with the greatest--some one said courtesy--it was to my mind more than courtesy, it was indeed as though we brought a breath of fresh air, some one coming in at last to talk of something that was not of war. We went into the room of one of the prime ministers of Europe--and I never have a great deal of self-confidence, I am never so dead sure I am doing the right thing, and I said to him, "This probably seems to you very foolish, to have women going about in this way," and he said: "Foolish? Not at all. These are the first sensible words that have been uttered in this room for ten months." He said "That door opens from time to time and people come in and say, 'Mr. Minister, we must have more men, we must have more ammunition, we must have more money. We cannot go on with this war without more of something else,'" and he continued: "At last that door opens and two people walk in and say, 'Mr. Minister, could not negotiations be begun. ' After all I may not represent his country very worthily, but he is an officer of the government in a high place, and that is what he said. I give it to you for what it is worth. And there are other testimonials of the same sort from all kinds of people in office, and they are part of the peoples

who are at war and unable to speak for themselves.

There is one more thing I should like to say and I will close: that is, that one feels that the talk against militarism, and the belief that it can be crushed by a counter-militarism is, as has been uttered so many times, one of the greatest illusions which can possibly seize the human mind. England likes to talk and does talk sharply against what it calls militarism, but if they have conscription in England, the militarism which they think they are fighting will, at least for the moment, have conquered England itself, which had always been so proud that it had a free army, not a conscriptive army. All of the young men of France between certain ages come to their deaths in their effort to move people out of trenches from which they cannot be moved, because they are absolutely built in of concrete on both sides--and even military men say that you cannot budge these without tremendous loss of life--if these young men are convinced that France must arm as never before, that she must turn herself into a military nation, then, of course, the militaristic idea has conquered in France; and the old belief that you can drive a belief into a man at the point of a bayonet is in force once more. And yet it seems almost as foolish to think that, if militarism is an idea and an ideal, it can be changed and crushed by counter-militarism or by a bayonet charge. And the young men in these various countries

say of the bayonet charges: "That is what we cannot think of." We heard in all countries similar statements in regard to the necessity for the use of stimulants before men would engage in certain bayonet charges, that they have a regular formula in Germany, that they give them rum in England, and absinthe in France. They all have to give them the "dope" before the bayonet charge is possible. Think of that. No one knows who is responsible. All the nations are responsible, and they indict themselves. But in the end human nature must reassert itself. The old elements of human understanding and human kindness must come to the fore, and then it may well be that they will reproach the neutral nations and will say: "What was the matter with the rest of the world that they kept quiet while this horrible thing was happening, that men for a moment had lost their senses in this fanaticism of national feeling all over Europe." They may well say, "You were far enough away from it not to share in it, and yet you wavered until we had lost the flower of the youth of all Europe." That is what they said in various tongues and according to their various temperaments, and that is what enables them to fight for their countries when they are at war, believing as they did in the causes for which they were fighting. The women who came to the congress were women who were impelled by a genuine feeling of life itself, which compelled them to come and see if it could hold for three days and a half composed of women. Now they say: "Oh, yes, we see

it can be done; we thought it could not be done." Three or four scientific societies who saw it said, "Perhaps we can do it. We were not at all sure that, if we tried to do it, we could do it." But we women got there, and there it is standing for what it is worth. Now, please do not think we are overestimating a very slight achievement, or taking too seriously the kindness with which we were received abroad, but we do wish to record ourselves as being quite sure that the peoples in these various countries were grateful for the effort, trifling as it was. The people say, "We do not want this war." They say that the governments are making this war, and the governments say, "We do not want this war. We will be grateful to anybody who will help us stop it." We did not reach the military offices, but we did talk to a few military men, and we talked to some of them who said that they were sick to death of this war, and I have no doubt there were many others who, if they spoke freely, would say the same thing. And without abandoning their causes, and without lowering, if you please, the real quality of their patriotism, whatever it is which these various nations want, the women's resolutions said to them, and we said it to them as long as they permitted us to talk, "Whatever it is you want, and whatever it is you feel you ought to have with honor, why in the world can't you submit your case to a tribunal of fair minded men. If your cause is as good as you say it is, or you are sure it is, certainly those men will find



the righteousness which adheres within it." And they all say that if the right medium can be found the case will be submitted.

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