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Marilyn Fischer

University of Dayton, mfischer1@udayton.edu

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PACIFISM AND THE SCIENCE OF WAR:
JANE ADDAMS AND BERTRAND
RUSSELL ON WORLD WAR I

MARILYN FISCHER
Philosophy / U. of Dayton
Dayton, OH 45469, USA
MFISCHER1@UDAYTON.EDU

In July 1915, after hearing Jane Addams speak in London on her efforts for peace during wartime, Bertrand Russell wrote to an American friend, “You can gather what I think and feel by talking to Miss Addams. She seemed to me to have exactly the same outlook as I have.” In this paper I compare how Russell and Addams used the era’s scientific theories in formulating their pacifism. After recounting Addams’s and Russell’s experiences during the war, I show how Addams and Russell accounted for civilization’s “descent into barbarism” in parallel ways. I then contrast their conceptions of what counts as progress in civilization, and show how these differences shaped their critiques of war. In the final section I compare how their responses correlated with the forms their activism took during the war.

I. INTRODUCTION

*T*he Great War, as it was called before there was a second, began at the end of July 1914 and continued until the armistice of 11 November 1918. Four great empires collapsed—the German, Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman. The victors redrew the map of Europe and the Middle East. Some of the newly created states broke apart in the 1990s—Yugoslavia violently; Czechoslovakia peacefully. The Great War created millions of refugees throughout Europe, Russia, and the Middle East, desperate for food, shelter, and

medical care. Again today, Europe and the lands of the former Ottoman and Russian empires face overwhelming numbers of desperate people as the aftermath of Great War continues to unfold.

Jane Addams (1860–1935) and Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) were among a small number of people who worked actively for peace while the Great War was ongoing. By that time Bertrand Russell had already established his reputation as a foremost philosopher of logic and mathematics. Addams, best known as a social reformer and founder of Hull House, a social settlement in Chicago, was reputedly the most famous woman in the U.S. and her international reputation was already well established.¹ In 1911 English journalist W. T. Stead wrote a combined review of Addams's *Twenty Years at Hull-House* and the *Memoirs* of Austrian Nobel Peace Prize winner Bertha von Suttner so that he could honour them together as “The Greatest Women of Two Worlds”, the old one and the new.²

Russell and Addams met in London in June 1915. A few months earlier Addams had travelled to Europe to preside over the International Congress of Women at The Hague, where women from both sides of the war gathered to see what they could do to end the hostilities. After the meetings Addams travelled to the capitals of the warring and neutral countries and met with heads of state and foreign ministers, including in Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Rome, Paris, The Hague, and Bern. In London she met with Prime Minister H. H. Asquith and Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey and gave a number of public lectures, one of which Russell attended.³ A mutual friend, Mary Sheepshanks, invited them to dinner. In a letter to Ottoline Morrell, Russell described Addams as “massive and important”.⁴ In

¹ Among scholars Addams is now considered not only a social reformer and peace campaigner of great significance, but also one of the founders of American pragmatism, along with C. S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey. Over the past three decades Addams's intellectual work and feminist pragmatism more broadly have become significant areas of academic investigation. For a direct statement that Addams was one of the founders of American pragmatism, see SEIGFRIED, “On Writing *Pragmatism and Feminism*” (2022), p. 24.

² STEAD, “The Greatest Women of Two Worlds” (1911). See also Stead to Addams, 3 Feb. 1911; *Jane Addams Papers, 1860–1960* (1984) [hereafter “*JAPM*”], [reel] 8: [frame] 1,068.

³ ADDAMS, BALCH AND HAMILTON, *Women at the Hague* (2003 [1st ed., 1915]), p. 93.

⁴ 13 May 1915; quoted in *Papers* 13: 538. Mary Sheepshanks invited Addams to dinner, writing her that Russell “will be very pleased to dine here Wednesday at eight to

a letter to Lucy Donnelly he commented, "You can gather what I think and feel by talking to Miss Addams. She seemed to me to have exactly the same outlook as I have."⁵ At the war capitals Addams had presented the International Congress's resolution that continuous mediation, under the auspices of neutral countries, be initiated. All indicated their interest; participation by the American President, Woodrow Wilson, was key to bringing the resolution to fruition. In spite of Addams's and other Congress delegates' entreaties to Wilson and his close aides, Wilson remained non-committal.⁶ Russell's proposal in his open letter to Wilson was the same as the women had adopted at their Congress at The Hague, and as Addams likely presented at the lecture Russell attended.⁷

After the war Addams continued to keep Russell's peace work and his political writings in mind. Russell wrote to his wife, Dora, that Addams had sat on the stage during his lecture in Chicago on 16 April 1924 (17 April 1924, RA3 1,027). Addams invited Russell to give a lecture on 6 May at the 1924 Congress of the Women's International

meet you" (21 June 1915; *JAPM* 8: 1,068). Russell met Sheepshanks during his undergraduate days at Cambridge University (MOOREHEAD, *Bertrand Russell* [1992], p. 43). Addams and Sheepshanks knew each other from their work with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. See also Wilmarth to Addams, 28 July 1915 (*JAPM* 8: 1,226), with an attached list of people Addams met with in London. Russell is on the list.

⁵ 13 July 1915, RAI 710.049510. After her London lecture, Addams invited Russell to return to the U.S. with her to speak with President Woodrow Wilson. He accepted at first, but changed his mind. See VELLACOTT, *Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War* (1980), pp. 17–18.

⁶ Patterson gives a thorough account of the delegates' repeated attempts to present their proposal to Wilson. He granted some interviews, and cancelled others (*The Search for Negotiated Peace* [2008], pp. 115–36).

⁷ Russell's urgent public appeal to President Wilson (*Auto.* 2: 28–31, 2 in *Papers* 14), which was smuggled out of wartime Britain (see MOOREHEAD, pp. 266–7), appeared in a number of U.S. newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Washington Post* (see PATTERSON, *The Search for Negotiated Peace*, 401–2 n. 49). Shortly before the letter appeared in the press, Addams had sent a few clippings of Russell's writings to Paul Kellogg, editor of *Survey*, a journal for social workers and social reformers, and asked if the *Survey* could "make an item" out of them (Addams to Paul Kellogg, 17 Nov. 1916; *JAPM* 10: 287). He liked the idea and on 23 November asked Addams to contact Russell for permission to publish six of his lectures. On 2 December Addams replied that she did not think that was wise, as the lectures would be "much too abstract for the *Survey*". Kellogg replied to Addams five days later that he would "rely upon your judgment" (*JAPM* 10: 316, 367 and 379, respectively). The journal then published "An Open Letter to President Wilson" in its issue of 30 December 1916.

League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), of which Addams was the international president. Addams relished the possibility, writing, “He would be our greatest card, altho [*sic*] doubtless shocking some!” The Congress planning committee agreed he should be invited, in spite of the financial difficulties caused by his stiff fee.⁸ Addams refers implicitly to Russell’s critique of nationalism in *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922), and in *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1930) quotes a lengthy passage from his essay on “Science” (1928).⁹

Russell and Addams had both suffered consequences for refusing to support their nations’ war efforts. Russell was convicted twice under the Defence of the Realm Act. He lost his teaching position at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was denied a visa to lecture at Harvard. Following his second conviction Russell served several months in prison.¹⁰ After the United States entered the war in April 1917, Addams’s public reputation fell from being the most admired woman in the U.S. to being one of the most despised. She was placed under government surveillance and faced harassment from public officials and the general public until well into the 1920s.¹¹ After the war, the U.S. War Department created the infamous “Spider Web” chart of socialist-pacifist organizations with WILPF at the web’s centre. These organizations were alleged to be working with the Soviets to bring communist control to the U.S. The *Washington Post* reported that the War Department and the Justice Department were planning to “observe” the 1924 WILPF Congress (at which Russell spoke) and that protesters planned to disrupt the meetings. Police protection was provided.¹²

Addams and Russell shared many trenchant observations about the war. They refused to lay all blame on the Central Powers, stressing how both sides claimed to be fighting in self-defence. As she toured

⁸ Addams to Amy Woods, 20 Feb. 1924, Dulles to Addams, 10 April 1924; *JAPM* 16: 246, 528. Russell spoke at the Congress on 6 May (WILPF, *Report of the Fourth International Congress* [1924], p. 121).

⁹ In examining how nationalism had hardened during the war, Addams asked if it had become “so self-assertive that the creative impulse was submerged into the possessive instinct?” (*Peace and Bread in Time of War* [2002; 1st ed., 1922], p. 99). This was Russell’s position in “Individual Liberty and Public Control” ([1917]; 59 in *Papers* 14: 263–6), which had been widely adopted by others at the time. For the quotation from Russell’s “Science”, see *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1930), p. 191.

¹⁰ BONE, “Russell and the Other DORA, 1916–18” (2018), pp. 101, 111.

¹¹ KNIGHT, *Jane Addams* (2010), pp. 203–6, 244–7.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 246–7, 312 n. 40.

the war capitals following the meeting of the International Congress of Women at The Hague, Addams heard officials on both sides of the war lay blame on the other side for its aggression and affirm their own need to defend themselves.¹³ Addams and Russell refused to conceptualize the war as a fight of democracy against autocracy, as they watched their own nations become increasingly militarized. Russell noted the irony of Great Britain claiming to be fighting for democracy while maintaining its own imperial rule in India.¹⁴ Addams had severely criticized U.S. imperial ventures in the Philippines, and Great Britain's in the Boer War, as reversing civilization's progress away from democracy and back toward militarism.¹⁵

Addams and Russell spoke from first-hand reports of the war's effects on soldiers. Reflecting on letters from former students, Russell noted that even soldiers who are not killed or injured "will be brutalized and morally degraded by the fierce business of killing." Addams, after visiting military hospitals in Europe, recounted one soldier's description of trench warfare. "All the time you loathe the squalor, the brutality, the savages around you, and the savage you are yourself becoming."¹⁶ Civilians at home suffered as public funds were diverted to the war effort. Russell reminded his readers that wartime economic conditions thrust already impoverished citizens below the level of hope. Addams, who had dedicated her adult life to ameliorating conditions for the poor and working classes, watched as social reform efforts were abandoned.¹⁷ Both mourned as science, which offered so much hope for human progress, was turned to destruction. Russell found this "degradation of science ... one of the most painful aspects of the war." Addams personalized this point by placing it in the last letter a young German scientist wrote to his mother. When the gases he had calibrated to safe levels for manufacturing were turned into

¹³ RUSSELL, "On Justice in War-Time" (1915); 29 in *Papers* 13: 177–8; ADDAMS, "The Food of War" (1915), p. 430. For an account of the International Congress of Women at The Hague, see ADDAMS *et al.*, *Women at the Hague*.

¹⁴ RUSSELL, "On Justice in War-Time"; *Papers* 13: 178; ADDAMS, "The Revolt against War" (1915), pp. 36–8.

¹⁵ "Democracy or Militarism" (1899), "Miss Jane Addams Sees in Commercialism Preparation for Aggression" (1900).

¹⁶ RUSSELL, "The Ethics of War" (1915); 14 in *Papers* 13: 65; ADDAMS, "The Revolt against War", p. 34

¹⁷ RUSSELL, "The Ethics of War"; *Papers* 13: 65–6; ADDAMS, "What War is Destroying" (1915).

weapons, the son wrote, "It was literally a forced act of prostitution."¹⁸

These observations, based on personal experiences, were enlarged as Russell and Addams participated in organizations that worked for peace during the war. Addams was a member of two international organizations with members drawn from both sides of the conflict, the *Organisation central pour une paix durable* (Central Organization for a Durable Peace), headquartered in The Hague, and the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, later renamed The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).¹⁹ Russell belonged to the (British) Union of Democratic Control (UDC), which called for a negotiated end to the war and democratic control of foreign policy. For a time he chaired the No-Conscription Fellowship, an organization dedicated to defending conscientious objectors from compulsory military service.²⁰ Membership in these organizations overlapped considerably; Addams writes that the Woman's International Congress at The Hague incorporated many of the UDC's resolutions into their own.²¹

Russell and Addams were not absolute pacifists; they did not as a matter of principle oppose all forms of violence. At that time "pacifism" and "pacifist" were understood more loosely. These terms embraced not only those who condemned all violence, but also those who preferred to negotiate international conflicts before bringing out the

¹⁸ RUSSELL, "On Justice in War-Time"; *Papers* 13: 179–80; ADDAMS, *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (2002 [1st ed., 1916], p. 59).

¹⁹ For an account of the founding and first principles of the Central Organization for Durable Peace, see ANDREWS, "The Central Organization for a Durable Peace" (1916). For a history of the organization, see DOTY, *The Central Organisation for a Durable Peace* (1945). See also <https://www.wilpf.org>. WILPF continues to be a vibrant organization today.

²⁰ MOOREHEAD, pp. 212–16, 239–52.

²¹ *Peace and Bread*, p. 35. For example, the resolutions of the International Congress of Women at The Hague and the listed objectives of the Union for Democratic Control both included no transfer of territory without the consent of the people residing there, democratic control of foreign policy, nationalization of arms production, and formation of an organization of nations through which disputes can be settled peaceably. See ADDAMS *et al.*, *Women at the Hague*, App. 3 ("Resolutions"), pp. 72–7; Union of Democratic Control, "The Morrow of the War" (1915). President Wilson incorporated many of these resolutions into his Fourteen Points. Addams had known many of the key members of the UDC for many years, from before the war. Helena Swanwick, also a wartime associate of Russell's, was a central member of the UDC and of WILPF.

guns. Their definitions were not narrowed to signify an absolute opposition to violence on moral or religious grounds until after World War I.²²

Russell and Addams both understood questions of war and peace in terms of the accepted science of the day.²³ Intellectuals regarded human history as the story of human social evolution. They modelled their theorizing on Darwin, who had turned biology into a form of history by showing that species' character and structure are determined by their evolutionary past. The remainder of this essay gives a detailed comparison of how Russell and Addams utilized science to understand the war and to justify their opposition to it. Doing so reveals just where their thinking overlapped as well as the striking ways in which it diverged. These differences correlated with the forms their activism took during the war.

II. CIVILIZATION'S DESCENT INTO BARBARISM

The greatest source of overlap in Addams's and Russell's analyses of war comes from how they framed their critiques within the dominant intellectual paradigm of the day, that of social evolutionary theorizing. For evolutionists, all explanation is historical, whether the question is why birds fly or why humans fight. Evolution from amoebas to Einstein is a continuous process. In the words of biologist J. Howard Moore, humans are "promoted reptiles" and not "the offspring of flunky-loving celestials".²⁴ The notion that humans are autonomous, rational beings was an Enlightenment myth to which evolutionary science had given an expiration date. Social theorists placed primitive tribes at the early end of human history and European civilization at the pinnacle. Some used evolutionary principles to defend imperialism, white supremacy, male supremacy, and war. Other theorists used the logic and vocabulary of social evolution to argue against these things. To explore Addams's and Russell's writings, it is necessary to use vocabulary that is now offensive. One cannot understand their po-

²² See CEADEL, "Pacifism and Pacificism" (2003), especially pp. 474–5.

²³ FISCHER, in *Jane Addams's Evolutionary Theorizing* (2019), tracks how Addams from the beginning of her adult life worked out her ideas in light of then accepted scientific theories of human social evolution.

²⁴ MOORE, *The Universal Kinship* (1906), p. 107.

sitions without talking about “Civilization” with a capital “C” and using “savage” and “primitive” to describe those considered less civilized.

As the war broke out, Unitarian minister John Haynes Holmes spoke for many when he said, “Confident that we were at last civilized, we awakened ... to discover that we were still barbarians.”²⁵ Just before those fateful days of August 1914, educated Europeans and Euro-Americans thought they were living in an increasingly civilized world. Civilized people resolved disputes with law, not force. Legal regimes governed nations internally; the only remaining challenge was to bring international relations within the rule of law. Progress toward that goal was well under way as diplomats and international lawyers designed mechanisms for international arbitration and conciliation. Cooperation across international lines was made concrete in the more than 400 international organizations created in the decades before the war.²⁶ How then, to understand the moment when European powers turned their guns on each other and their citizens instantly rallied in exuberant support for slaughter? Economic rivalries and diplomatic failures pointed toward triggering events, but few intellectuals thought these could explain the deeper question: how could civilized people so quickly descend into barbarism?²⁷ For them, this was the most important question to address.

Scientists located the deepest explanations by connecting the war back to humans’ primitive instincts. The most primitive ones are for self-preservation and reproduction. Some animal species also developed social instincts, causing them to pull close together at times of external threats. By the time *homo sapiens* appeared, the list of primitive instincts was lengthy. Most lists included such instincts as “hunger, parental affection, play, pugnacity, sex, hunting, curiosity, fear, gregariousness, shyness, cleanliness, acquisitiveness, display, and constructiveness.”²⁸ Instincts, or impulses, as they were sometimes called, were considered the source of all vitality and growth. When activated by internal or external stimuli, they give rise to attendant emotions. In

²⁵ HOLMES, *New Wars for Old* (1916), p. 8.

²⁶ IRIYE, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (1997), p. 28.

²⁷ CROOK, *Darwinism, War and History* (1994), Ch. 5 (“The First World War: Man the Fighting Animal”).

²⁸ WALLAS, *The Great Society* (1914), p. 34. Also see JAMES, *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), Vol. 2, Ch. 24 (“Instinct”).

vertebrates, instincts can be modified by memory, habit, and imagination.²⁹ Because reason is a more recent evolutionary acquisition, it can guide and balance the instincts, but it lacks the strength to overrule them. Civilization advances as instincts are channelled into constructive pursuits.³⁰

Russell used this paradigm in his wartime writings. He was struck by how both sides claimed to be fighting against naked aggression. “This state of mind”, Russell claims, “is barbarous ... a return to the savage.”³¹ The perceived threat had activated the primitive instinct of self-preservation. Nations lashed out while their citizens instinctively pulled into their own herd for survival.³² It does no good to point out the irrationality of this reaction, Russell notes, as the fear response is deeply embedded in the psyche, where reason cannot reach. The nations’ hatred of each other “is as irrational and instinctive as that of dogs who snarl and fly at each other in the street.”³³ The warring nations wanted to crush and humiliate each other; only weaklings would agree to negotiate. Russell calls this attitude “childish and barbarous”.³⁴

When war breaks out “the wild man of the woods”, as Russell called it, breaks through centuries of civilization’s attempts to keep the pugnacious instincts at bay. This wild man experiences a moment of liberation as he is released from civilization’s restraints (*PSR*, p. 90). It is clear that the “wild man of the woods” is male. Russell’s rhetoric is vivid, but his anthropology was standard issue.³⁵ Among the earliest tribes, males’ chief responsibilities were to hunt big game and fight off aggressors. In males, habits of cooperation and competition developed in conjunction, as men cooperated with each other inside their own herd-pack in order to better compete against the enemy. Savages needed instincts of ferocity in order to survive, but Russell did not

²⁹ WALLAS, pp. 35–6, 38.

³⁰ MCDUGALL, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (1908), p. 44; JAMES, 2: 393. The relation between instinct and reason was much debated. See WALLAS, Ch. 3 for a review of some of these debates.

³¹ *War, the Offspring of Fear* (1915); **10** in *Papers* 13: 40.

³² “On Justice in War-Time”; *Papers* 13: 172–3, 176.

³³ “The Future of Anglo-German Rivalry” (1915); **26** in *Papers* 13: 137.

³⁴ “Is a Permanent Peace Possible?” (1915); **18** in *Papers* 13: 93.

³⁵ “On Justice in War-Time”; *Papers* 13: 178. Also see HAWKINS, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought* (1997), Ch. 10 (“Social Darwinism, Nature and Sexual Difference”).

think that war is inevitable. In the absence of appropriate stimuli, instincts can atrophy. Russell thought that given proper early education and moral guidance, the instinct for blood-lust could become “almost innocuous”.³⁶ Civilized men did not need such ferocious instincts any longer. War came because men’s instincts had not been brought into alignment with modern economic conditions.³⁷ Addams, testifying before the U.S. House Committee on Military Affairs, quipped that men’s panicked reaction to news of war illustrated how men are more emotional than women.³⁸

Russell here may have assumed the still popular Lamarckian theory of evolution, that heavily reinforced habits can become inherited instincts, and that inherited instincts can atrophy with disuse. Leading theorists of sexuality, such as Havelock Ellis, Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson, incorporated this Lamarckian assumption into their theorizing.³⁹ Russell writes that “the instincts of civilized men are those developed during this early stage”, i.e., the stage of savagery after *homo sapiens* made their appearance.⁴⁰ *Homo sapiens* had existed for an exceedingly long time in the stages of savagery and barbarism, before recorded history. According to Lamarckian assumptions, human genetics were not fixed; there had been enough time for new instincts to evolve and old ones to strengthen or weaken. Primitive women, who were in charge of everything other than hunting and fighting, developed instincts of steady industriousness and responsiveness to others’ needs. Their pugnacious instincts were rarely called upon, and were weaker than in males. Feminist theorists, including Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Olive Schreiner, and most likely, Addams, worked within these Lamarckian assumptions.⁴¹

³⁶ “Is a Permanent Peace Possible”; *Papers* 13: 93–4, “War and Non-Resistance” (1915); 28 in *Papers* 13: 167–8. Russell’s account is similar to those of psychologists JAMES (Vol. 2, Ch. 24) and MCDUGALL (Chs. 2 and 3).

³⁷ “Is a Permanent Peace Possible?”; *Papers* 13: 93.

³⁸ “Statement of Miss Jane Addams” (1916), pp. 203–4.

³⁹ ELLIS, *Man and Woman* (1894); GEDDES AND THOMSON, *The Evolution of Sex* (1890). The science of genetics was not developed enough to explain natural selection until the 1930s. Darwin himself admitted that he did not know how natural selection worked. See BOWLER, *Non-Darwinian Evolution* (1998), p. 3, and YOUNG, *Darwin’s Metaphor* (1985), Ch. 4, especially pp. 80–99, 112–13. See also DARWIN, *On the Origin of Species* (1859), pp. 51, 84.

⁴⁰ “Is a Permanent Peace Possible?”; *Papers* 13: 93.

⁴¹ GILMAN, *Women and Economics* (1898); SCHREINER, *Woman and Labour* (1911). For Addams and Lamarckianism, see FISCHER, “Uncovering Addams’s Feminism”

Addams's account of civilization's descent into barbarism is consistent with Russell's, although she emphasizes different dimensions. War had knocked us down civilization's ladder, Addams laments, back toward "the crude beginnings of human progress".⁴² Only primitive instincts remained. The hostile instincts had overwhelmed the social and sympathetic instincts, the very ones that make cooperation and mutual understanding possible. Speaking on behalf of settlement workers, Addams writes, "We revolted not only against the cruelty and barbarity of war, but even more against the reversal of human relationships which war implied."⁴³ Addams conceptualized internationalism in terms of the growth of cooperative relationships among disparate peoples. From 1889, when she founded Hull House, Addams had watched this sense of internationalism develop among immigrants representing dozens of nationalities crammed into her immediate Hull House neighbourhood. The war threatened this accomplishment. Addams had seen neighbourly relationships among Italian and Dalmatian immigrants turn hostile because their homelands were on opposing sides of the war.⁴⁴

Addams considered the question of whether war was inevitable. Scientists who supported the war and those who opposed it all found Darwin useful on this point. Some filtered his "struggle for existence" through Spencer's "survival of the fittest" and Tennyson's "red in tooth and claw" to argue that war was a biological necessity for evolutionary progress. Others paid attention to Darwin's statement that he had intended the struggle for existence "in a large and metaphorical sense".⁴⁵ In *Peace and Bread in Time of War*, Addams includes a long paraphrase from German scientist Georg F. Nicolai's *The Biology of War*. Nicolai argued that the earliest humans were essentially peaceful and cooperative. Their evolving methods of social cooperation contributed far more to human evolutionary survival and advance than did organized combat. Human intelligence evolved through using tools, not weapons. War, as mass combat, was a later evolutionary

(2016), pp. 22–4.

⁴² "What War is Destroying", p. 65, *Peace and Bread*, p. 3.

⁴³ *Peace and Bread*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ CROOK, pp. 12–16, 253 n. 14.

development that appeared in conjunction with “the property instinct”.⁴⁶ Nicolai’s manuscript was smuggled into Switzerland for publication. Nicolai himself was smuggled out of Germany into exile. According to Nicolai’s biographer, he and Addams had a “cordial relationship”.⁴⁷

Addams and Russell believed that history was the story of civilization’s growth; now they used history to mark how far civilization had fallen. Nationalism and patriotism had been thrown back, Russell claims, to the primitive, tribal morality of hostility toward those outside of one’s own group.⁴⁸ With war, Addams noted, nationalism had become “dogmatic and ruthless”, akin to the Medieval Church burning heretics and expelling Jews and Huguenots from Spain and France.⁴⁹ Russell writes that the willingness to sacrifice oneself for the nation is a version of religious devotion, based on ancient Greek and Old Testament myths of appeasing the gods.⁵⁰ Addams supplies the stories: the world’s most civilized nations were reenacting Agamemnon’s sacrifice of Iphigenia in ancient Greece and Jephthah sacrificing his daughter in Judea. War is blood sacrifice, a primitive expression of sacred obligation. Addams adds that it was women who first protested that human sacrifice was not sacred, but brutal.⁵¹ Addams and her colleagues at the international gathering of women at The Hague were following in their path.

Russell and Addams used Wilfred Trotter’s psychology of the herd instinct to understand people’s reactions to the war. Because humans are gregarious animals, it is normal to crave others’ companionship and to be highly sensitive to others’ cues. Trotter writes that for the herd to sustain courage and vigour when under attack, dissenters must be cast out. For those thus isolated, “loneliness will be a real terror,

⁴⁶ ADDAMS, *Peace and Bread*, pp. 83–4; NICOLAI, *The Biology of War* (1918), pp. 17–19.

⁴⁷ ZUELZER, *The Nicolai Case* (1982), pp. 319–21. Nicolai lectured in Salzburg at the 1921 Summer School sponsored by WILPF, of which Addams was the president. See WILPF, *Report of the Third International Congress of Women* (1921), pp. 187–8. For Russell’s review of Nicolai’s book, see 2 in *Papers* 15.

⁴⁸ “Why Nations Love War” (1914); 9 in *Papers* 13: 33–6.

⁴⁹ *Peace and Bread*, pp. 98–100.

⁵⁰ “Why Nations Love War”; *Papers* 13: 35; *PSR*, pp. 108–10.

⁵¹ “Address on War and Human Sacrifice” (1914); *JAPM* 47: 1,055, “What War is Destroying”, p. 65. Russell makes a similar point, also using the story of Jephthah (*PSR*, p. 108).

insurmountable by reason".⁵² John Dewey and Randolph Bourne had also used Trotter's herd psychology. In war, Bourne writes, the herd instinct is exacerbated into "mob fanaticisms, ... injustices and hatreds." Dewey cites Trotter to explain what he calls "constriction of thought". Because of the herd instinct, people accepted wartime suppression of thought and speech, and thus became intellectually "inert".⁵³ In these writings, Bourne and Dewey assume they are exempt from herd psychology.

By contrast, Russell and Addams knew by experience that no one is exempt from herd psychology. Russell thought his official punishments, including imprisonment, were trivial compared to the psychological difficulty of resisting the mass hysteria of the herd. That took as much effort as withstanding extreme hunger; he felt as if he were "going against instinct".⁵⁴ The pacifists, he later noted, had formed their own herd for self-protection. Since they had different reasons for their pacifism, they split into ever smaller herds.⁵⁵ Addams reports that she felt the "demons" of solitude and experienced "spiritual alienation" from her former colleagues. Trotter's theory helped her understand her own feelings and kept her from blaming those under the herd's sway. She understood that when the public accused pacifists of treason, and when state officials persecuted and imprisoned them, they were merely exhibiting traits based in their evolutionary inheritance.⁵⁶

In all of these ways, Russell's and Addams's thinking ran along parallel lines. Russell had good reason to think that Addams's analysis of the war mirrored his own.

III. WHAT MARKS CIVILIZATION'S PROGRESS?

Evolutionary history from savagery to civilization gave Addams and Russell the framework for thinking about war and peace, but there was considerable room for movement within that frame. They differed

⁵² See TROTTER, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (1916), pp. 16–17, 32–3, 97, 140, 143, quotation at 31.

⁵³ BOURNE, "Twilight of the Idols" (1917), p. 54; DEWEY, "Constriction of Thought" (1917), pp. 276, 279.

⁵⁴ "Some Psychological Difficulties of Pacifists in Wartime" (1935); 16 in *Papers* 21: 64.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 64–5.

⁵⁶ *Peace and Bread*, pp. 82, 84, 81.

in how they conceptualized what civilization meant. Russell's account is explicitly Eurocentric. Western Europe, with its heritage from Jews, Greeks, and Romans, Russell writes, has "contributed almost everything that has been added in historical times to creation and diffusion of what is permanently valuable in human life."⁵⁷ Russell understands civilization in terms of the pursuit of disinterested truth and knowledge, as manifest in the growth of science, literature, and the arts. When law replaces private revenge, creative innovators have room to flourish and their advances can be spread through education.⁵⁸ Truth lies outside the soil of inflamed passions in which war is rooted. The responsibility lies heavily on intellectuals to stay true to this disinterested pursuit of truth. When war broke out, however, many intellectuals rushed to aid the war effort. Russell's diagnosis is that, in them, "Thought has become the slave of instinct, not its master." Had they remained firm in their pursuit of truth, the horrors of war may have been averted.⁵⁹

In "The Ethics of War" Russell uses this conception of civilization in his analysis of when war is justified. He considers four types of war: wars of colonization, of principle, of self-defence, and of prestige. In the eighteenth century, wars of colonization such as those that swept across the continental United States, New Zealand, and Australia, were justified because two conditions were met. The invaders were at a significantly higher level of civilization than the Indigenous people they replaced, and the climate was such that the invaders could settle in the conquered territory. Russell acknowledges that these wars "are apt to be more ruthless than any other war".⁶⁰ Nonetheless, they are justified because through them "the civilized portion of the world has been extended ... to the greater part of the earth's surface."⁶¹ Second, wars of principle are justified, as long as war brings about the intended result, and that result could not be accomplished without war. Russell thinks this condition is rarely met, although he thinks the English and American civil wars were justified as wars of principle.⁶² Wars of self-defence are almost never justified. As every nation at war claims to be

⁵⁷ "The Danger to Civilization" (1916); 45 in *Papers* 13: 330.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ "On Justice in War-Time"; *Papers* 13: 170-1, 179-80, quotation at 171.

⁶⁰ "The Ethics of War"; *Papers* 13: 67.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

fighting in self-defence, self-deception is ubiquitous. The only exception is when “civilized communities” are “defending themselves against savages”.⁶³ Finally, wars of prestige are fought to defend one’s honour. These wars are never justified, particularly those between civilized nations, because they set back the level of civilization for victor and vanquished alike.⁶⁴

Thus, for Russell, whether a war is justified is determined by whether it advances or diminishes the level of civilization. The meaning of an act of war varies with the level of civilization of the belligerents. This is clear in his assessment of how the dominoes fell at the start of the Great War. Russell writes that the war began as “a great race conflict ... of Teuton and Slav.”⁶⁵ As Austria and Germany had attained a high level of civilization, they were right to respond aggressively against Serbia and Russia, both barbaric Slavic races. However, because France and Great Britain entered the war to defend their own honour, their participation was not justified. France entered the war because it felt humiliated by Germany’s 1871 acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine. Great Britain went to war because it irrationally feared that Germany’s recent naval build-up threatened its own naval supremacy.⁶⁶ Russell concludes, “This war is trivial, for all its vastness. No great principle is at stake, no great human purpose is involved on either side.”⁶⁷ Because the war would result in no advance in European civilization, but only its destruction, Russell had to remain a pacifist. He deeply regretted the soldiers and civilians who were killed and injured, as European civilization could only be passed on if those lives were lived with vigour and intelligence. In remaining a pacifist throughout the war, Russell was true to his principles as stated in “The Ethics of War”, odious though some of those principles were.

Addams valued the arts and sciences, the things Russell used to define civilization, but she did not regard them as the primary markers of civilization’s advance. She assessed progress in terms of the growth

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 70–1, “War and Non-Resistance”; *Papers* 13: 159.

⁶⁴ “The Ethics of War”; *Papers* 13: 71–3. MONK points out that although Russell’s defence of violence against “savages” shocks today’s readers, no one remarked about it at the time (*Bertrand Russell: the Ghost of Madness* [1996], pp. 382–4).

⁶⁵ *War, the Offspring of Fear*; *Papers* 13: 40.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–5.

⁶⁷ “On Justice in War-Time”; *Papers* 13: 177.

of sympathetic relations that bridged differences among people in social class and nationality. Addams's view had scientific backing. Many evolutionary scientists of the time correlated civilization's advance with the expansion of sympathy. In *The Descent of Man* Darwin writes that gregarious species develop their social instincts, and thus feel sympathy for other members of their species. Humans, as a gregarious species, had felt likewise from their earliest days. Since sympathetic ties strengthen the family and social groups, they have survival value and aid natural selection.⁶⁸ Darwin hypothesized that as humans' intellectual capacities increased, reason and experience would guide sympathetic impulses toward greater social well-being. He anticipated that as civilization advanced, humans would extend their sympathies from tribe, to the nation, and finally to all members of the species.⁶⁹ Other theorists whom Addams found useful, including Herbert Spencer and Wilhelm Wundt, offered similar accounts.⁷⁰

Thus, for Addams, civilization expands when people's primitive sympathetic instincts are channelled through concrete encounters toward mutual understanding. Internationalism increases through the same pattern. Addams had seen this pattern emerge in her multinational neighbourhood in Chicago, and it taught her the dynamics of war and peace. When Hull House was founded in 1889, immigrants and their children comprised over three-fourths of the city's population.⁷¹ Dozens of immigrant nationalities from Southern and Eastern Europe were crammed together in the neighbourhood's tenements and the city's workplaces. Their concerns became Addams's concerns; fostering sympathetic understanding among such disparate groups motivated all of her work.

Thus, Addams's image of an internationalism based on sympathetic relations was not a utopian one, but was rooted in concrete experience. In the Chicago stockyard strike of 1904, Addams explained,

⁶⁸ DARWIN, *The Descent of Man* (1871), I: 68–9, 81, 79.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I: 82, 96. Darwin used the term “natural selection” but did not know how it worked. Mendel's work on genetics was not known until after 1900 (STOCKING, *Race, Culture, and Evolution* [1968], pp. 253–5). Lamarckian assumptions, that acquired characteristics can become heritable, are present in Darwin's writings and in interpretations of natural selection up to the 1930s (HALE, *Political Descent* [2014], p. 306).

⁷⁰ See SPENCER, *The Principles of Ethics* (1892–93), Vol. I, Chs. 11 and 12; WUNDT, *Ethics* (1897), I: 280.

⁷¹ KNIGHT, *Citizen* (2005), p. 179.

Irish, German, and Bohemian skilled workers struck in solidarity on behalf of newly arrived, unskilled Slovaks, Poles, and Lithuanians. At union meetings, members waited patiently as speakers' remarks were translated into half a dozen languages.⁷² She tells of Chicago court scenes where the dispute was likely to be between persons of two different nationalities, brought before a judge of a third nationality, with a jury representing an additional twelve nationalities. Justice is achieved, Addams writes, when "they are brought to some sort of a conclusion which is in the main satisfactory to the sense of justice of those residing in the community."⁷³ Justice is not a transcendent ideal to aim at, but something to build up bit by bit, by making decisions that are more or less acceptable to the participants. For Addams and other evolutionary-minded intellectuals, sympathy was fundamentally an instinct, not warm feelings. Sometimes sympathetic bonds include love and friendship; sometimes they manifest in angry, verbal sparring with little more than cold tolerance underneath. The point is that participants have enough understanding and social cohesion to resolve conflicts without, in Addams's words, "the nonsense ... of going to war and flying at each other's throats."⁷⁴ Addams took the mode of reasoning she had developed through assessing events in her multinational neighbourhood and used it to analyze war and propose paths to peace.

Russell understood this. In May 1915 he was in a London audience of over 2,000 people, gathered to hear the women report on the previous month's International Congress of Women at The Hague. In his review of the meeting for the *Cambridge Magazine*, Russell described Addams's contribution this way:

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago—probably the most eminent and respected of American women—described some of her experiences in the great work of welding together the various races of immigrants who live together in peace in the United States, in spite of the ancient enmities which they bring with them from Europe.⁷⁵

According to Russell's report, Addams left it to others to talk about

⁷² *Newer Ideals of Peace* (2007 [1st ed., 1907]), p. 54.

⁷³ "Address on International Arbitration" (1912); *JAPM* 47: 335.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ "A Notable Gathering" (1915); 23 in *Papers* 13: 119.

the actual workings of the Congress. She wanted to stress that international understanding could be achieved among citizens of the nations then at war.



Illustration. Jane Addams (sixth from left) on the platform of the International Congress of Women at The Hague, April 1915 (LSE Library/flickr).

Addams and Russell both opposed their respective countries' late nineteenth-century colonial wars; their reasoning reflects their contrasting views on the meaning of civilization. Russell thought "European rule over uncivilized races is, in fact, a very sordid affair." Unlike eighteenth-century colonial wars, these later wars did not extend civilization's reach as few Europeans settled in the new colonies and native peoples were not exterminated. Colonial administrators as well as native people degenerated; the only beneficiaries were a handful of financiers and industrialists.⁷⁶ Addams had spoken out strongly against the U.S. imperialistic venture in the Philippines. She argued that coercion and war can never extend the sympathetic understanding upon which democracy must be based. When an outside power uses force to govern the Indigenous population, it breaks down the people's impulses toward democracy and destroys their moral energy

⁷⁶ "War and Non-Resistance"; *Papers* 13: 163, 166. Like Russell, Addams opposed the Boer War, in part because it aimed for commercial benefit through plunder. See ADDAMS, "Miss Jane Addams Sees in Commercialism Preparation for Aggression", a report of an address delivered at a protest rally in Chicago in 1900. For an analysis of Russell's turn from supporting to opposing imperialism in the Boer War, see BLITZ, "Russell and the Boer War" (1999).

and initiative.⁷⁷ Addams elaborated the point at the 1904 Universal Peace Congress, stating, “All progress must come from the native soil.”⁷⁸

Addams never denied that some cultural groups were more primitive than others; one winces when she mentions those “few spots of savagery” that had not yet joined the Universal Postal Union.⁷⁹ But Addams does not correlate people’s value with their level of civilization. She appreciated the “international mindedness” of literary and scientific elites, who Russell counted on to advance civilization.⁸⁰ But she identified other groups as also possessing international minds. In an address to the National Council on Foreign Relations, Addams told the audience that as migrant labourers travelled from Italy to South America and then followed the harvest as it moved up past the equator, their network of acquaintances fostered in them international minds. From this statement Addams quickly pivoted to call for international protection for rubber workers in the Congo, and diamond miners in South Africa, all exploited to a nearly genocidal extent by the European powers.⁸¹

Addams consistently looked for ways to advance civilization through channelling sympathetic instincts across barriers of class and country of origin. She brought to public attention the contributions that those regarded as inferior could make to this endeavour. Shortly before the U.S. entered the war, Addams and members of the Woman’s Peace Party organized a Conference on Oppressed and Dependent Nationalities. The speakers were immigrants to the United States of nationalities then under imperial control, such as Poles, Armenians, Ukrainians, and others. Their international experiences

⁷⁷ “Democracy or Militarism”, p. 38.

⁷⁸ “Address of Miss Addams” (1904), p. 121.

⁷⁹ “The World Court” (1926); *JAPM* 48: 755.

⁸⁰ “International Mind” was a frequently used trope at the time. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, who claimed to have coined the term, defined it thus: “The international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and cooperating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world” (Butler, *The International Mind* [1912], p. 102).

⁸¹ “Labor as a Factor in the Newer Conception of International Relationships” (1917), pp. 282–4.

would have much to contribute to what an eventual peace could look like.⁸²

IV. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES THAT FOSTER CIVILIZATION'S ADVANCE

Russell's and Addams's accounts of how civilization progresses were based in the psychology of the era and motivated the forms their activism took. Russell lays out the psychological processes that underlie the disinterested pursuit of truth in his defence of conscientious objectors. He argued vigorously that they should have absolute immunity from prosecution, without being required to perform alternative service. While his conclusions may sound like Mill's defence of the right to freedom of speech, his argumentation is firmly located in the evolutionary theorizing described above.

Like other theorists of the time, Russell begins with the principle of growth, found within the innermost source of biological life. It is, he writes, "an instinctive urgency leading them in a certain direction, as trees seek the light" (*PSR*, p. 24). Instincts, or impulses, propel the organism to life. Instincts are the energy behind the drive to war and destruction, and also the energy that fuels progress in civilization. These primitive urgings are themselves blind; Russell differentiates them from desires, which can be directed by will. Russell is very clear that instincts are too deeply embedded and too powerful to be controlled by will-power or reason, noting, "Only passion can control passion" (*ibid.*, pp. 22–4, 12–14, 7–8, quotation at 12). Fortunately, impulses are malleable; their relative strengths can be altered, in part by the circumstances they confront. Social institutions and the paths of people's lives need to be arranged to foster full expression of creative, constructive impulses. Doing so will diminish the strength of antagonistic ones (*ibid.*, pp. 36–8).

In defending absolute immunity for conscientious objectors, Russell places instincts into two categories: possessive ones and those that are constructive or creative. This type of categorization was typical. Theorists often grouped instincts around the two most fundamental instincts, for self-preservation and for reproduction. Egoistic or possessive instincts went with self-preservation. The reproductive instinct

⁸² *Peace and Bread*, pp. 14–15.

was understood expansively to include forms of social life through which future generations could thrive and thus express altruistic and creative instincts.⁸³ Russell writes that some liberties associated with the possessive instincts must be restricted to avoid social anarchy and prevent citizens from harming each other. Reining in these possessive instincts makes room for the vigorous play of creative instincts. From them the great artistic and scientific fruits of civilization issue, and these fruits belong to all. If these flourish, possessive instincts will atrophy.⁸⁴

An atmosphere of liberty is an absolute requirement for creative impulses to flourish. The state and all social institutions should be organized to sustain and encourage creative impulses, especially for those whose impulses are weak and easily crushed.⁸⁵ Those who object to military conscription are not acting on rational assessments or desire; their objection issues from strong creative instincts at the core of their personality. To suppress their freedom not only injures what is deepest in them as individuals, it also robs civilization of their potential gifts.⁸⁶

For Russell to remain a pacifist throughout the war, he must have had exceedingly strong inner creative impulses to keep at bay hostile responses from others, and the strong herd instinct within himself. His

⁸³ "Individual Liberty and Public Control"; *Papers* 14: 263–4. For Darwin's explanation of this point, see *The Descent of Man*, 1: 67–102, and for his agreement with Spencer, 1: 101–2. For an analysis of the growth of socialism, resting on this scientific theory, see WEBB, "Basis for Socialism" (1889). For a thorough discussion of Victorian readings of Darwin, Spencer, and British socialism that placed cooperation rather than competition at the heart of evolutionary processes, see HALE, Chs. 2–4.

⁸⁴ "Individual Liberty and Public Control"; *Papers* 14: 263–6.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 262–3.

⁸⁶ The question arises, if instincts and the passions arising from them are the ultimate fuel of all pursuits, and if passions can only be countered by other passions, how could Russell call on thought to master instinct and for intellectuals to seek truth as a disinterested pursuit? Psychologists of the time debated the relation between instinct and intelligence with much vigour. I believe Russell has an answer, although I can only allude to it briefly. In discussing all the irrational beliefs springing from impulses leading to war, Russell comments, "The only thought which is genuine is that which springs out of the intellectual impulse of curiosity, leading to the desire to know and understand" (*PSR*, p. 15). Russell doesn't mention English political theorist Graham Wallas—although he was certainly familiar with *The Great Society* (see, e.g., "Why Nations Love War"; *Papers* 13: 33)—but he may have been referring to Wallas's claim in *The Great Society* that intelligence is itself instinctive, an irradiation from the instinct of curiosity (WALLAS, Ch. 3).

dedication to the life of the mind expressed his deepest and strongest instincts and led him to defend men whose young age placed them within conscription's reach.

V. PACIFISM AND THE INSTINCT FOR REPRODUCTION

Here, though, is a critical difference in Russell's and Addams's understandings of humans' deep past that echoes throughout their analyses of pacifism and the forms their activism took. Both understood war as a growth from the instinct for self-preservation; both understood civilization as the flowering of the instinct for reproduction. Russell associated that with creativity as manifest in the arts and sciences, and particularly so as reason's reach and power expanded. His conception of progress through the unhindered flourishing of creative instincts led him to fight against conscription laws and work vigorously on behalf of conscientious objectors. Russell in 1950 was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature for "his varied and significant writings in which he champions humanitarian ideals and freedom of thought."⁸⁷

Addams constructed a different chain of reasoning from her understanding of the primitive instinct of reproduction. Unlike Russell, who held that "savage man, like the brutes, lies in bondage to matter", Addams, who was quite interested in the social lives of gregarious animals and of humans at various stages of civilization, considered savage tribes in terms of how they carried out the tasks necessary for any level of social organization.⁸⁸ While men and women in early tribes were assigned different responsibilities, all tasks were essential to sustaining tribal life across time. Addams adapted anthropologist Otis Mason's account in *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*. Men were responsible for big-game hunting and defence against outside threats. Women were responsible for everything else needed for survival. Their assigned tasks included education, health care, food collection and

⁸⁷ See <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1950/summary>.

⁸⁸ "On Justice in War-Time"; *Papers* 13: 180. Addams studied Darwin's writings on gregarious animals, as well as those by Peter Kropotkin, a naturalist before he became known as an anarchist. She was quite taken with his analysis of natural selection as favouring species that had learned to cooperate among themselves as benefiting the survival of the species as a whole (see KROPOTKIN, *Mutual Aid* [1902]). See also SMALL AND VINCENT, *An Introduction to the Study of Society* (1894), Bk. II ("The Natural History of a Society"). Small and Vincent were professors at the University of Chicago and worked with Addams on a number of civic reform projects.

preparation, textile production, birthing the young, and accompanying the old as they passed out of this life.⁸⁹ All of these responsibilities are the work of caretaking writ large. In her theorizing, regardless of the group's level of civilization, Addams gave caretaking responsibilities the place they deserved.⁹⁰ Russell's creative individuals must first eat before they can create.

Evolution, Addams notes, is a process, not a force, and human interventions do much to shape the direction in which morality evolves.⁹¹ The war had set civilization back to its primitive beginnings, its resources for progress reduced to primitive instincts. The reproductive instinct insists that offspring be cared for until they can assume responsibility for the species' survival. To do this, it enlists the sympathetic instincts so that relations of care and affiliation are created and sustained.⁹²

In the deep past the reproductive and sympathetic instincts had modified the instinct for self-preservation. The earliest instances of inter-tribal cooperation took place when enemy tribes realized that through cooperation both groups could have access to the food they needed. In the decades preceding the war, Addams had pointed out how the conception of government had evolved from self-protection against external threats to include humanitarian measures for the state's own people, for example, to ensure that working conditions in factories were safe, that tenement houses had an adequate air supply, and that the elderly had pensions. While Addams praised the efforts of international lawyers to extend the realm of law to govern international as well as intra-national relations, she understood the tasks of

⁸⁹ MASON, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture* (1892); ADDAMS, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, pp. 101–3.

⁹⁰ Addams understood industrialization of such tasks as textile and food production, and municipal reforms regarding sanitation, public health, and education, in terms of women's responsibilities moving out of the home and into the public sphere, where men took them over. She was happy to have men undertaking women's traditional responsibilities, but asserted that women should also participate in performing them in public arenas. She understood the Victorian division of labour as women allowing their sphere to shrink, and their sense of responsibility as citizens to atrophy. See FISCHER, "Uncovering Addams's Feminism".

⁹¹ *Newer Ideals of Peace*, pp. 117–18. In this passage, Addams paraphrases a passage from the British Liberal statesman and author John Morley, one she used on several occasions (see MORLEY, *On Compromise* [1874], p. 161).

⁹² *Peace and Bread*, pp. 43–52. Here Addams works with the version of early human life given in FRAZER, *The Golden Bough* (1912). See p. 125 below.

peacemaking as far broader than that. Now was the time to extend this humanitarianism across national boundaries and turn the path of moral evolution toward an international ethic based on sympathetic responsiveness.⁹³

In recognition of her unceasing advocacy for both national and international humanitarianism, Addams was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. The citation praised her “assiduous effort to revive the ideal of peace and to rekindle the spirit of peace in [her] own nation and in the whole of mankind.”⁹⁴ This citation captures well how Addams’s “assiduous effort” to create international ties of sympathy was the driving motivation for her activism and theorizing all throughout her adult life. Her work at Hull House was undergirded by her vision that the disparate members of her multinational neighbourhood could learn to live together companionably in spite of their historical hostilities. During and following the war, Addams was guided by the same vision, carried out in the international arena. She began the work of rebuilding civilization again by attending to humans’ most primitive need, the need for food.

Addams understood her work during and after the war as an extension of the work begun in 1914 by future U.S. President Herbert Hoover’s Commission for Relief in Belgium. After the U.S. entered the war in April 1917 and enacted censorship and espionage laws to prohibit open protest, Addams turned to food aid as her form of intervention. She gave speeches throughout the country on behalf of Herbert Hoover’s Food Administration, encouraging women to conserve food. Through these organizations the U.S. government and civilians provided 25 million tons of food to European civilians among the allied nations who faced extreme deprivation.⁹⁵ After the war the needs persisted and the work expanded as the American Relief Administration, International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Near East Relief, Friends Service Committee, and more, took up the task of meeting the needs of those made desperate by war, regardless of country of origin.⁹⁶

Addams worked with all of these organizations. Identifying these

⁹³ “The World’s Food Supply and Woman’s Obligation” (1918), pp. 261–3.

⁹⁴ See <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1931/addams/facts/>.

⁹⁵ WHYTE, *Hoover* (2017), pp. 174, 212.

⁹⁶ “Address by Miss Jane Addams [on the League of Nations]” (1919); *JAPM* 47: 1,850.

groups as a *de facto* League of Nations, she advocated for the official League of Nations to take on meeting humanitarian needs as its first task. This would give institutional solidity to efforts already in place. Perhaps this way, the conception of internationalism as based on diplomatic relations between sovereign states could finally be put to rest, as the war had been a tragic demonstration of its inadequacy.⁹⁷ If the League of Nations made meeting humanitarian needs its first priority, its representatives might be able to develop habits of relationship that strengthened their sympathetic instincts and helped their aggressive ones to atrophy.⁹⁸ WILPF, headquartered in Geneva, had official consultative status with the League of Nations. As WILPF's international president, Addams's words carried weight.⁹⁹

Addams, who had studied classical rhetoric, cast her appeals for sympathetic connection in idioms that would speak directly to various audiences. Addressing members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Addams appealed to then popular literature. She elaborated on how Scottish anthropologist James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* demonstrated that myths of the Corn Mother and the Rice Mother were universal, and always female. She encouraged her audiences to infuse their daily habits of preparing and preserving food with the power of their sympathetic instincts, and so to provide food for those starving in Europe.¹⁰⁰ After the war ended Addams asked Kansas farmers to assess their own agricultural surpluses in light of worldwide needs rather than domestic commercial demand.¹⁰¹

In an address to graduating nurses in Ohio, Addams focused on public health. She told the nurses about the four months she had spent in Europe the previous summer, as one of the first Americans to enter the countries of the defeated Central Powers. These countries faced a public health disaster. Children's bones were soft and permanently malformed by rickets, tuberculosis and typhus were epidemic, and older people made suicide pacts so their meagre food allotments could

⁹⁷ *Peace and Bread*, p. 115.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 119 and Ch. 10 ("A Food Challenge to the League of Nations"). For a discussion of Addams's efforts during and after the war to meet needs for food, see FISCHER, "Caring Globally" (2007).

⁹⁹ For an overview of WILPF's involvement with the League of Nations, see RUPP, *Worlds of Women* (1997), pp. 207–29, and ASHWORTH, "Women of the Twenty Years' Crisis" (2021), pp. 138–41.

¹⁰⁰ "The World's Food Supply", pp. 259–61; see also *Peace and Bread*, pp. 45–9.

¹⁰¹ "The Threat of World Starvation" (1922).

go to the young. To clarify what humanitarian aid meant, Addams told the nurses,

If the great war was fought to bring more democracy into the world ... the people themselves must give it stamina, moral energy and mental vigour before any of these things can be attained. The feeding of these millions of people is therefore important not only because it appeals to our humanitarian instinct, but because the present food situation may determine the entire future of Europe.¹⁰²

Full stomachs are a prerequisite to international stability.

VI. EPILOGUE

Addams died in 1935 and had been ill for several years before that. In 1929 she stepped down as president of WILPF, but continued on as honorary president. The organization had chapters throughout the world and was particularly active in the League of Nations. Members of WILPF in Germany and throughout Europe and in Japan kept Addams apprised as fascism and fear of war intensified. As early as 1934 the organization protested strongly against rising repression; the resolutions of their 1937 Congress protested Japan's incursions into China and addressed the plights of political prisoners and refugees in Europe.¹⁰³

With the advent of World War II Russell had to confront the question of whether to remain a pacifist, something he had grappled with throughout the 1930s. By then, the science Addams and Russell had relied on had become outdated. In the 1930s the science of genetics and Darwin's idea of natural selection had become merged and Franz Boas's cultural relativism had become widely known.¹⁰⁴ Russell, after

¹⁰² "Address on the European Food Shortage" (1920), quotation at p. 12.

¹⁰³ For samples of the correspondence Addams received on rising threats in Europe, see letters from Kathleen D. Courtney (British), 1 March 1933; Gertrud Baer (German), 20 May 1933; Alice Hamilton (American, writing from Germany), 1 July 1933 (*JAPM* 24: 906, 1,191, 1,409, respectively). Also see the strongly worded resolutions of WILPF's 1934 Congress in Zurich (https://wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/WILPF_triennial_congress_1934.pdf). For resolutions from the 1937 Congress in Luhačovice, Czechoslovakia, see https://wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/WILPF_triennial_congress_1937.pdf.

¹⁰⁴ BOWLER, p. 3.

agonizing over the question, decided that, regardless of the cost to civilization's advance, Hitler had to be stopped.¹⁰⁵

It is tempting to ask what Addams would have done had she lived. Addams was not an absolutist; she evaluated each situation in light of specific facts on the ground and in terms of the latest scientific theorizing. The facts on the ground in 1939 were different than in 1914. While Addams was an American by citizenship, she was an international humanitarian by conviction, based on long experience. She would not forget the silent, skeletal figures of the children at Germany's feeding stations in 1919, who did not chatter because they could not. How she would have weighed all these factors will never be known.

Russell and Addams were deeply honest in their pacifism; they held true to their understandings of the paths of war and peace. The saddest passages in their writings about the war attest to the pain of holding out against the fury of the herd. Using words from John Milton, Russell had feared that he would "lose, though full of pain, this intellectual being".¹⁰⁶ He had tried to hold onto himself by turning from the concrete to the abstract, and draining out all emotional content. He writes, "What kept me from war fever was a desire for intellectual sobriety, for viewing matters involving passionate emotion as if they were elements in a formula of symbolic logic." Even this was difficult, as trying to substitute *x*'s and *y*'s for the imprisoned conscientious objectors he cared for so deeply, left him thoroughly depleted.¹⁰⁷ Addams found words in H. G. Wells to match her grim mood. She closed her 1922 meditation on the war with this echo:

But I know that I believe so firmly in this great world at Peace that lies so close to our own, ready to come into being as our wills turn toward it, that I must needs go about this present world of disorder and darkness like an exile doing such feeble things as I can towards the world of my desire, now hopefully, now bitterly, as the moods may happen before I die.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ STEVENSON ("In Solitude I Brood on War" [2013], pp. 110–12) documents Russell's struggle in letters he wrote between April 1939 and May 1940.

¹⁰⁶ "Some Psychological Difficulties of Pacifism in Wartime"; *Papers* 21: 65. (The quotation is from John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bk. II, ll. 146–7.)

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–7.

¹⁰⁸ *Peace and Bread*, p. 143, quoting Wells's address to the Conference on the Limitations of Armaments, from his *Washington and the Riddle of Peace* (1922), p. 312.

It is a remarkable testimony to their courage that Russell and Addams would not let go of hope's slender thread, as they continued to work for peace for the remainder of their days.

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