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**Innovative Means to  
Promote Peace During World War I.  
Julia Grace Wales and Her  
Plan for Continuous Mediation.**

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## ABSTRACT

At the breakout of World War I many organizations for promoting peace emerged all over the world and in the United States as well, especially after the subsequent American declaration of war in April 1917.

Peace movements began to look for new means for settling the dispute, and a large contribution was offered by women. World War I gave women the chance to rise their public acknowledgment and to increase their rights through war-related activities. The International Congress of Women at The Hague held in April 1915, demonstrates the great ability of women in advocating peace activities. Among the resolutions adopted by Congress stands out the Plan for Continuous Mediation without Armistice theorized by the Canadian peace activist Julia Grace Wales (see Appendix II).

This thesis intends to investigate Julia Grace Wales' proposal for a Conference of neutral nations for continuous and independent mediation without armistice. After having explored women's activism for peace in the United States with a deep consideration to the role of women in Canada, the focus is addressed on a brief description of Julia Grace Wales' life in order to understand what factors led her to conceive such a plan. Through the analysis of her plan and her writings it is possible to understand that her project is not only an international arbitration towards the only purpose of welfare, but also an analysis of the conditions that led to war so as to change them for avoiding future wars. This thesis aims to reveal how innovative Julia Grace Wales' plan is by analysing in detail how it should be applied and the relevant advantages that it could offer. Her contribution to global peace can be considered a milestone in the history of pacifism.

This thesis is divided into two main parts.

The first part explores the scene of pacifism in the United States and Europe from the breakout of the World War I until the American declaration of War in 1917, with the particular focus on women's involvement in peace activities. In particular, this historical excursus tries to analyse how Julia Grace Wales' plan for the Neutral Conference of Continuous Mediations was taken into consideration and consequently developed across three of the most important events in the history of pacifism, the International Conference of Women at The Hague in 1915, the Ford Peace Ship in 1915-17, and the Unofficial Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation in Stockholm, 1916. Each of

these events tried to implement the plan, making a great contribution to the creation of a new world order. The first chapter gives an historical framework of pacifism, explaining why peace movements began to appear and the ways in which they were implemented. Peace movements were involved in a series of efforts based on justice, freedom and cooperation for the establishment of a new system based on these elements. A particular focus is dedicated to the women's condition in the pacifist scene, by underlining their new emergent responsibility that led them to reject the passive condition in which they were supposed to live and to organize themselves into movements for the promotion of welfare. Many important organizations led by women are described considering their efforts to promote peace. In this chapter the three important events already mentioned were briefly summarized, each of which was dedicated three sub-chapters in order to give them the right consideration. In chronological order, the analysis starts with the International Congress of Women that took place at The Hague in 1915. Women from Europe and America got together in order to find practical ways to stop the war and to avoid it in the future. The description begins with an analysis of the preliminary programme considering the influences from other program that affected it. After a series of enlisted rules of procedure Congress was able to adopted a series of resolutions concerning the role of women in international politics and their right to vote, the transfer of territories according to its acceptance from the inhabitants, the promotion of international cooperation and disarmament, adjustments in economic relations and a new kind of education for children. The most important resolution was based on Julia Grace Wales' plan for a conference in which a scientific commission composed by members from neutral countries should collect suggestions from warring nations so as to submit proposals to them and to settle terms of peace suitable for everybody. This is the way to reach an end of the war as soon as possible and to avoid disputes in the future. According to a resolution, delegations were sent through Europe in order to give notice of the congress and to promote the Neutral Conference. It is underlined how women coming from different countries and with different languages and parliamentary rules get together and cooperate for the promotion of a common cause. Peace advocates made efforts to implement the plan and found a valid aid in Henry Ford, who at the time was supporting an anti-

preparedness campaign. He organized at his own expenses an expedition on the steamship Oscar II with prominent women in the pacifist environment, directed to European capitals so as to propose the plan of the Conference for Continuous Mediation. In the middle of the expedition, he abandoned the trip because of an illness. Delegates did not find great support from the governments that they had visited. The Ford Peace Ship was able to break the censorship concerning the theme of the peace and gave it international relevance. However, the press ridiculed his mission due to Ford's eccentricity and his missed goals. During 1916, the idea of the Neutral Conference gained more and more acknowledgment and authority in the European capitals thanks to delegates' intense activity and it officially took place in February 10, 1916 in Stockholm led by delegates from neutral countries. Delegates studied issues involving national conflicts, freedom of the seas, colonies and a new international organization. The most important works concern were the creation of two Appeals. The Appeal to Neutral reminded neutral states that their duty the one of mediation. The Appeal to the Governments, Parliaments and People of the Belligerent countries focused on territorial adjustment and international law (see Appendix IV). Neither Appeal obtained support, however they attracted international attention. For the first time people were informed and suggested by an institution promoting peace about the current situation. Delegates were aware that mediation was a long and difficult process, but they carried on their activities for persuading governments to stop fighting. On May 1916, Pr. Wilson, who never committed himself to the mediationist cause, entered a new policy close to the pacifist one by proposing the establishment of the League of Nations. However, Germany did not accept the peace proposal and the United States entered the war. This marks the end of the pacifists' activities related to the promotion of the Neutral Conference. The first chapter ended with an examination of the Canadian women status at the breakout of the war. It appears necessary to focus on the situation of women in Julia Grace Wales' home country so as to comprehend which were the factors that have influenced her mind. On one hand, many Canadian women supported the cause of the war by assisting men's activities in trenches. On the other hand, other women were active in peace organizations showing that they could take care not only of their family,

but also of the whole world. World War I gave them public acknowledgment, political equality, superiority and more independence.

The second part of this thesis is centred on Julia Grace Wales' figure from her early pacifism to her support for the war. The analysis starts with a brief description of her life so as to understand the factors that had influenced her thoughts. Obviously, her family's roots from New England with a deep Christian faith are dominant influences so to push her to dedicate her early life in doing activities related to the welfare of her community. From her British heritage, Julia Grace Wales acquired the English ideals of citizenship and democracy. She attended University and undertook a teaching career. It is possible to understand how it could be unusual for a woman in that time to hold a similar career. The breakout of the war upset her serenity and during Christmas 1914, she began studying a possible way to restore peace as soon as possible. She was busy investigating the conditions that had led to the war and if it was possible to change and transform them into new way through which to constitute new world rules. She focused on the role of women in the peace advocacy and believed that their involvement in peace activities and their efforts to stop the war were necessary. Through her activities related to peace organizations, Julia Grace Wales represents the first generation of Canadian women involved in the peace cause. The outcome of her study was a plan for a Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation Without Armistice. The idea proposed by Julia Grace Wales' pamphlet was new according to its genre because it suggested developing a peaceful proposal while the war was in progress. Her plan attracted most prominent pacifists' attention, so to be called as a resolution at the International Congress at The Hague. However, she preferred not to reveal herself as the author of the proposal, due to the common narrow mind belonging to the governmental environment. Julia considers that the Neutral Conference should last as long as the war lasts without the permission of belligerents and with or without an armistice. Neutral governments should be persuaded to act immediately in order to formulate reasonable proposals followed by persuasive arguments to be submitted to belligerents. Even if proposals could be rejected by belligerents, in any case such a Conference of mediation is able to find a practical way to define and solve the issue also because the appeal of one government to another is the most considerable way to establish terms. Her plan offers

reflection on pacifist internationalism, since it was also devoted to the creation of a global community in which different people are involved in the cause of welfare. Julia Grace Wales' world is a place in which divisions among states could be overcome with dialogue and without arms. The establishment of permanent peace lies on the nation's ability to be on good terms with others outside of its borders. The promotion of international relations leads to a more peaceful, tolerant and interdependent world. The Neutral Conference can promote moral forces and increase the international spirit by its means like propaganda, press, public meetings, resolutions of peace societies, and appeals to people in authority. Women are particularly involved thanks to their qualities such as altruism, solidarity, sensibility that could hasten the reaching of an agreement for the establishment of terms of peace. The thesis does not forget to analyse also criticism of Julia's plan. Many critics consider her plan too visionary, however she replies that the conference is thought not to make decisions with political authority but it has only to think suggestions for belligerents. The chapter ends with the consideration of Julia Grace Wales' change of mind. At the breakout of the war the pacifist forces weakened and many peace advocates were influenced by Wilson's idealistic and persuasive policy concerning the creation of the League of Nations. The war was felt of as a necessary remedy by most Americans and, at the same time, it fascinated people. It became evident that pacifist organizations were not able to reach their purposes due to internal conflicts and governmental obstacles. Julia Grace Wales' was among pacifists supporting the war. She considered that often undertaking war is a duty for the nation for ensuring freedom for the future generations. After 1919, Julia Grace Wales' efforts for peace and internationalism were almost replaced by her dedication to the teaching of literature.

The last chapter is the conclusion of the thesis and as such, it proposes to clarify the evolution of peace activities until today underlying the heritage that peace organizations left us. In particular, the chapter emphasizes the great improvement of the women's condition thanks to their constant involvement in peace organizations and stresses their strong will to preserve this new emancipation until today. A substantial part is dedicated to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which is one of the most productive results of the International Congress of Women at



The Hague that today is still dedicated to the promotion of peace and non-violence. Catia Confortini, a distinguished member of the WILPF, provides through her works *Intelligent Compassion*, *Feminist Critical Methodology* in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an analysis based on how through several years the WILPF was able to adapt itself to historical and social changes by fighting for those principles that many female peace advocates sought to defend in the previous congresses at The Hague. In particular the analysis focuses on three main themes: the link between feminism, peace and women that emphasizes how women's contribution is necessary for peace; the theme of disarmament that gives reflection about the optimism for science and technology and finally the theme of the decolonization that points out the importance of ensuring independence and a best standard life style for colonies without the use of violence.

The chapter ends with an analysis of the aims that the thesis proposed to reach and the limits that emerged in reaching them.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

American Peace Society (APS)

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)

Independent National League for Woman's Service (NLWS)

International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP)

International Council of Women (ICW)

International Labor Organization (ILO)

National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA)

National Association of Colored Women (NACW)

National Committee of Women of Patriots and Service (NCWPS)

National Council of Jewish Women (NJC)

National Council of Women (NCW)

National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC)

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)

Woman Peace Party (WPP)

Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defence (WCCND)

Woman's Section of the Navy League (WSNL)

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)

World War I (WWI)

World War II (WWII)

## FOCUSING THE WOMEN'S DEMAND FOR PEACE

History is a sequence of heterogeneous human events, and as such, it presents an alternation between periods of war and peace.

Peace can be defined as a state in which there is no war, no disturbance; a state of freedom and tranquillity. How is it possible to restore peace in such a particular moment? Which kinds of means are required to guarantee a perpetual state of peace? Moreover, could the ideal of a perpetual peace come true? Or is it only a mere utopia? In order to find appropriate answers, it is necessary to take into consideration one of the bloodiest periods in history until then, World War I, and all of the principles and practical methods that were adopted to stop it. A lot of peace movements appeared in many countries and increased, led by their principal purpose of eliminating war. Since they had a worldwide nature, peace movements worked through various methods by taking different directions. However, their functions were similar: to organize the world on a peace basis and protect the immediate future against war by finding valid ways for peaceful settlements of international disputes. In general, peace movements were involved in a series of efforts inspired by justice in which cooperation played a key role. Cooperation must involve governments and public opinion at the same time in order to propose an effective peace plan. According to Sir Arthur Salter, a British economic expert, "Most governments will temper their action by considering any imminent risk of war which it may involve. What is necessary – and this is much more difficult – is that they shall deliberately guide their policy by considering whether it is likely ultimately to increase or diminish the world tendencies that make for peace."

On the one hand, it was necessary to catch the attention of governments upon peace problems and upon the demand for peace by the people. On the other hand, public opinion should support peace movements' activities. This was the best method to decrease the gap between theoretical principles of governments and effective practices of people. Moreover, cooperation must require international action.

In the wide range of countries in which peace movements were active, the United States gave a clear example of peaceful organization provided by its cooperative sovereignty.

At the beginning of the Great War, the peace movement appeared as a “vehicle through which Americans could express their concern about how the world could be made safe for the international emergence of a virtuous America<sup>1</sup>.”

The American peace movement born after the outbreak of World War I systematically differed from the pre-war peace movement. The diversity consisted of the new characteristics it had acquired: it was more innovative, active, and critical towards government acts.

The most relevant connotation of the new American peace movement was its large female participation. If the pre-war movements did not give enough authority to women, the new movements realized that particular women’s skills, such as leadership, enthusiasm and determination were required in order to make effective peace proposals.

Among the peace makers involved to abolish the war, women played a considerable part in the service of peace. For the first time in history women organized themselves to establish peace in the world, acted with idealism and courage, moved by their peculiar antagonism to war. Before World War I, no national or international formalized women’s organization existed with the only purpose of the promotion of peace. However, at the outbreak of the war, women’s responsibility for peace emerged and they became to be formally involved in the peace question, by overcoming the ways of thinking of a deeply patriarchal and narrow-minded society. They felt the necessity not to passively accept the acts of governments and to intervene directly by escaping from the lowest level in the procession of decision-making in which society used to confine them. Womanly compassion concealed a scientific and intellectual point of view rather than an emotional one and revealed that actions of individual women must be behind organization resolutions and conferences of leaders.

As a result, new women’s organizations, clubs and social reform movements prospered, in order to promote communication and facilitate the exchange of ideas for the purpose of peace, justice and cooperation.

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<sup>1</sup> Marchand, C. Roland, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898 – 1918*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1972, pp. 23.

Among different organizations stood out the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Woman Suffrage Alliance, and the National Council of Women (NCW), established as a section of the International Council of Women (ICW). It was composed of women from the National Council of Jewish Women (NJC), the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and the Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society<sup>2</sup>.

Suffragists supported these organizations in order to outline the differences between the feminine peaceful characteristics of women and the cruel and bloody connotation of the war.

A great result of women's peace organizations efforts was the New York Peace Parade. In 1914, women from a vast range of organizations got together in New York for a Peace Parade to demonstrate their intolerance towards the war. They were suffragists, women's club officers, and workers, all tied by a spirit of fraternity.

No American woman organized a specific and effective American women's peace movement. However, two European women, Emmeline Pethick of Great Britain and Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary had the merit of the promotion of a women's national peace movement. They realized the American women's deep horror of the war and decided to take advantage of women's high sentiments to stop the war in Europe. In the attempt to create the peace movement, they found aid from a prestigious American woman, Jane Addams. She can be considered the "architect of the modern women's peace movement and the leader of the first international effort to substitute arbitration for war<sup>3</sup>." Her way of operating based on pragmatism was an incessant effort to work for peace and make her the leader and a dominant influencer of the Woman Peace Party, (WPP).

The WPP found its roots in 1914 by a group of women primarily dedicated to peace and true internationalism. The group appeared as the perfect means to discuss reasonable terms of peace by promoting discussion and urging the protest against the war. It was

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<sup>2</sup> Spero Silver, Regene Henriette, *Jane Addams: Peace, Justice, Gender, 1860 – 1918*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, Rae Fuller, *Jane Addams: the Reformer as Pacifist*, Houston, University of Huston Clear Lake Press, 1997, p. 1.

based on the principle that “the duty to respect the sacredness of human life was paramount to the attainment of all other moral ideals and values<sup>4</sup>.”

During the same year, the Chicago Emergency Peace Federation, headed by Jane Addams, firmly claimed both the limitation of armaments and the use of an international police force. This and the WPP became the principal ways to spread peaceful activities and to help American peace movement.

The organizational conference of the WPP took place in 1915 in Washington and attracted women involved in different organizations such as the Congressional Union, the Washington Branch of the Movement for constructive peace, the National Council of Women, the General Federation of Women’s Club, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and the Daughters of the American Revolution<sup>5</sup>. Also suffragists joined the conference. Jane Addams played a key role during the conference; her prestige and influence caught the attention of all the participants who became aware of the peace cause. As a result, the conference produced a preamble that could be considered the first peace plan in America. It consisted of a platform of eleven planks:

1. The immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interest of early peace.
2. Limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture.
3. Organized opposition to militarism in our own country.
4. Education of youth in the ideals of peace.
5. Democratic control of foreign policies.
6. The further humanizing of governments by the extension of the suffrage women.
7. “Concert of Nations” to supersede “Balance of Power.”
8. Action towards the gradual re-organization of the world to substitute Law for War.
9. The substitution of economic pressure and non-intercourse for rival armies and navies.

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<sup>4</sup> Degen, Marie L., *The History of the Woman’s Peace Party*, in “*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*”, Vol. 27, n. 2 (September 1940), p. 335.

<sup>5</sup> Steinson, Barbara Jean, *Female Activism in World War I: the American Women’s Peace Suffrage, Preparedness, and Relief Movements, 1914-1919*, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1977, pp. 32-33.

10. Removal of the economic causes of war.
11. The appointment by our government of a commission of men and women with an adequate appropriation to promote international peace<sup>6</sup>.

There are two specific planks in the platform that need to be analysed. The first plank states that the plan had the specific purpose of calling an immediate unofficial neutral conference. Thus, it reveals that the WPP was intentioned to support an unofficial peace conference if the governments of the United States would not organize it officially. Finally, plank numbers five and ten are a clear demonstration of the difference between pre-war peace movements and the new ones.

The WPP mediation plank (as it had officially been called) were stated and supported by members of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance during the International Congress of Women at The Hague, in April 1915.

The International Congress of Women involved the participation of women from neutral and warring nations who planned “a courageous and daring demonstration for international reconstruction and peace<sup>7</sup>.” It could be considered as a propaganda mission led by representatives of selected countries. These representatives were more than 1100; mostly workers, suffragists, trade union women, authors, club women, educators and journalists. They came from twelve different belligerent and neutral countries, but all of them got together for a specific purpose: the settlement of international disputes by pacific means and the establishment of a permanent peace<sup>8</sup>.

The Congress started on April 28, 1915, held in Holland, at the suggestion of Dr. Aletta Jacobs, president of the Dutch suffrage society, and Chrystal Macmillan, secretary of the International Alliance, who became two members of its executive committee. They asked Jane Addams to preside at the Congress. She initially did not agree with them because she believed that an immediate conference could not stop the war. However, she realized that the International Congress of Women had a lot in common with the

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<sup>6</sup> Addams, Jane, *Peace and Bread in Time of War*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Schagerl, Jessica Ann, *Global Imaginaries: Reading the International Interventions, Interactions, and Imaginings of Women in English – Canada, 1899 – 1919*, Ontario, The University of Western Ontario London Press, 2006, p. 206.

<sup>8</sup> Addams, Jane, *Peace and Bread in Time of War*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922, p. 14.



WPP and was a good way of sharing information and ideas about how to stop the war. She accepted the two members' request and was appointed as chairman of the Congress. She considered the presence of Julia Grace Wales necessary, a Canadian woman who devoted every possible moment of her life to discover ways of restoring peace. She became famous for her manuscript called *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice*, the first proposal of a conference of neutral powers for the purpose of continuous mediation and establishment of permanent peace. Jane Addams really hoped that Wales' plan would be presented during the conference especially for its proactive spirit. Julia Grace Wales agreed to join the International Congress of Women at The Hague.

The International Congress of Women was the first step of a hard and continuative work led by different countries simultaneously for

changing the mind of Europe and making general the state of mind which does not desire to profit at the expense of other peoples, which desire to decide difficulties by reason and not by force, and which replaces national and social prejudices by mutual goodwill and understanding. This attitude will express itself in opposition to armaments and in a patient readiness to wait for the righting of wrongs by agreement. In the distress of mind that the war breeds in every thinking and feeling person, there is a poignant relief in finding a channel through which to work for peace<sup>9</sup>.

During the conference, there were no clashes and cruel misunderstandings; women felt the same sense of horror towards the war, all of them were tied by a sense of international friendship and considered each other as sisters in spite of different languages and divergent points of view. They worked for the promotion of an ordered human society and for the implementation of international cooperation and peaceful relations.

The Congress implemented an important act clearly influenced by Julia Grace Wales' proposal. It consists on convening an international meeting of women, the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, simultaneously with the conference of

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<sup>9</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 19.

powers at the end of the war. It was also committed to giving permanence to the International Congress of Women.

The resolutions adopted by the Congress included: the beginning of peace negotiations, the establishment of permanent peace, the right of all people to self-government, the arbitration for future disputes, the democratic control of foreign policy, equal political rights for women, the plan of Continuous Mediation without Armistice, the establishment of a permanent world organization, the general disarmament, the freedom of the seas and the education of children in the ideal of constructive peace<sup>10</sup>.

At the end of the Congress, two delegations of women were sent to different countries in order to promote the mediation plan. One delegation was assigned to the European Capitals, in particular England, Germany, Hungary, Italy, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Switzerland. The other delegation met with the leaders of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia<sup>11</sup>.

The two delegations were able to collect several impressive actions in a few weeks. The women met with important people such as ministers and presidents. On those occasions, they had the possibility to expose the matter of official continuous mediation by neutrals, to clarify the Congress resolutions, to discuss with them about causes that led to the war and the possibilities of negotiation. Delegates used to ask them: "If a feasible proposition were presented to you, which might mean the beginning of negotiations between your country and your enemies, would you decline to receive such a proposition? Would you feel justified to go on sacrificing the young men of your country in order to attain through bloodshed what might be obtained by negotiations<sup>12</sup>?"

For the first time in history women were welcomed kindly and their ideals were taken into consideration seriously. Their power and responsibilities emerged at an international dimension.

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<sup>10</sup> Steinson, Barbara Jean, *Female Activism in World War I: the American Women's Peace Suffrage, Preparedness, and Relief Movements, 1914-1919*, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1977, p. 59.

<sup>11</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 79.

<sup>12</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 93-95

Since neutral nations were firmly peace-minded they believed that, as neutrals, their duty was to stop the war, and soon proved to be interested in the mediation project and on the achievement of a lasting peace.

The question of peace is a question of terms. Every country desires peace at the earliest possible moment, if peace can be had on what it regards as satisfactory terms. Peace is possible whenever the moment comes when each side would accept what the other side would grant, but from the international or human point of view a satisfactory peace is possible only when these claims and concessions are such as to forward, not to hinder, human progress<sup>13</sup>.

However, neutral nations declared that they would accept to join the conference only if President Wilson of the United States called it. Wilson examined the resolutions adopted by the Conference, read reports by The Hague envoys and analysed mediation proposals. He seemed to be enthusiastic about an unofficial mediation, however he declared that the United States could not act in favour of an international conference for peace, thus he could not make a practical proposal at that time because he needed political flexibility in the international context. In spite of his decisions, he never rejected peace activists definitely.

Delegates did not give up and were extremely certain that a neutral conference for peace by neutral countries was necessary to study the causes of war and its cure.

Rosika Schwimmer in the attempt to organize the conference decided to appeal for Henry Ford's support, the automobile manufacturer, one of the most prominent and influent people at that time. Peace activists needed Ford's engagement in the projects not only for a financial aid but especially because the influence of his name would bring the project high resonance. Thus, Rosika Schwimmer decided to organize a mass meeting in Detroit in order to catch Ford's attention. Although Jane Addams and the WPP did not join the meeting, it met great participation. After high activity and efforts, mediationists were able to meet Henry Ford and ask for his support of the conference of neutrals, since they could not rely on Wilson's endorsement. They told him that "a

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<sup>13</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. 111-112.

mediation commission should be established, hopefully by governments, but if not, by private individuals<sup>14</sup>.” Ford was sure to involve himself in the mediation program. As mediationists have previously done, he had a private meeting with President Wilson in order to persuade him to call a neutral conference, however his answer was still the same, he did not want to commit himself to a specific plan, because in the future there could be better projects. Wilson essentially wanted to safeguard his freedom of action. After Wilson’s denial, Ford decided to put himself in charge of the realization of the neutral conference of private individuals by handing out his money. In an attempt to give relevance and publicity to his project, Ford delivered the idea to assemble on a peace ship a large number of qualified delegates who would address mass meetings in European capitals with the specific purpose of persuading neutrals to attend the conference. Delegates were representatives of neutral and belligerent countries, among them influent peace advocates, leaders in the academic community, social workers, state governors, public officials and students. All together for the promotion of the idea of continuous mediation between neutrals and the elimination of competitive armaments.

Delegates boarded the Oscar II on December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1915. On board there were several meetings and discussions. In particular, Rosika Schwimmer addressed the delegation several time with speeches concerning the purpose and hope of their mission. They had to collect delegates throughout neutral countries for an unofficial neutral conference, because no governments had called an unofficial one. Their supreme duty was to stop the war by submitting proposals based on justice and peace.

While the expedition was directed to Stockholm, Henry Ford was obliged to return home because of a terrible influenza. He appointed a Committee of Seven as Committee on Administration in which Rosika Schwimmer played a central role. Her authoritarian aspect emerged and soon all delegates realized that she was a belligerent subject. This Committee worked under Ford’s directions in order to carry out the mission.

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<sup>14</sup> Steinson, Barbara Jean, *Female Activism in World War I: the American Women’s Peace Suffrage, Preparedness, and Relief Movements, 1914-1919*, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1977, p. 78

During the month of January 1916, while delegates were working in European capitals, in the United States new relief organizations emerged by women efforts. They gained large membership; everyone was intolerant with the war. The WPP also improved by playing a big role in the promotion of peace in American countries. It was the first American organization to advocate neutral mediation. According to its members, "United States should demonstrate the principles of federation and perform in the international field as an interstate tribunal among separated nations in order to preserve the American patriotism and its commitment to peaceful inclination influencing every-day government<sup>15</sup>." In addition, its president, Jane Addams, considered that "The United States was committed not only to using its vast neutral power to extend democracy throughout the world, but also to the conviction that democratic ends could not be attained through the technique of war. In short, we believed that rational thinking and reasonable human relationship were once publicly recognized as valid in international affairs<sup>16</sup>." The WPP was generally an urban middle class organization, with active branches of vigorous and interested women on a national level. It substantially, was devoted to the promotion of social and economic equality. The underlying idea was that economic reasons linked to the war should be eliminated because they could lead to economic inequalities and, thus, to violence. The supreme values of human life and human relationship pushed the WPP members to ask the government to eliminate private profits concerning the armaments manufacturers. This request was combined with the opposition to Wilson's preparedness program providing military increases, and with the consequent establishment of the Anti-Preparedness Committee. Wilson did not seem to cooperate with them, stating that if possible, he could mediate independently. Jane Addams declared that the United States was the best country to call a conference of neutrals and to promote the end of the war, since it was the most outside of the countries and could operate without compromising itself. However, Wilson firmly rejected his commitment to this cause.

The Ford Expedition landed at The Hague on January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1916. They considered the Netherlands the most neutral of the countries they had visited. The Expedition declared

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<sup>15</sup> Addams, Jane, *Peace and Bread in Time of War*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922, p.52

<sup>16</sup> *Ivi*, p.59

to complete his mission, especially by several addressing to the crowd. It was able to emphasize the peace question in Europe and to guarantee a Neutral Conference.

The Conference was thought to be convened at the end of February. During this month, among the delegates' duties, the selection of permanent members for the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation needed urgency. Finally, the Committee on Administration withdrew the resolution with the nominees of permanent members.

A diagram provided by Henry Ford outlined the staff hierarchy for the conference personnel. Rosika Schwimmer and others most influential peace representatives were at the top. The rest of the staff included other members such as secretaries, experts, special agents and interpreters.

The Unofficial Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation convened in the Grand Hotel in Stockholm on February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1916. It was composed of five delegates from each of the Neutral Countries: the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. The United States had only two representatives because the rest of the American representatives had difficulties reaching The Hague due to the submarine warfare. One third of the personnel included women, many of whom were professionals and leaders in women's reform movement. Half of the female participants attended the Conference at The Hague, in 1915. During the conference three different committees were created with particular aims: an executive committee, a press committee and a committee of expert consultants. Furthermore, the formation of sub-committees were requested for questions of nationality and transfer of territory, the freedom of the sea, colonies, the international economics, the disarmament, propaganda and the development of peace proposals<sup>17</sup>.

Two divergent points of view prevailed over the conference, both set out means through which to stop the war. On one hand, Swedes, Danes and Swiss urged immediate armistice and the establishment of peace proposals inspired by human values like respect and membership. On the other hand, Dutch, Norwegians and members of the International Central Organization for a Durable Peace proceeded by examining political

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<sup>17</sup> Details concerning committees and sub-committees are provided by: Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, pp.450.

and economic reasons for war and identifying solutions for the creation of the right peace treaty.

However, these divergences were set aside because the conference should deal with more relevant issues. How to develop an immediate action, the definition of the rights of small nations and of minority nationalities in the final peace treaty and the improvement of solid guidelines to powers were matters of extreme urgency according to the conference.

The conference established the Neutral Appeal Committee, for the formulation of the appeal to neutral nations to call an official mediation conference and for the promotion of peace proposals to submit to the belligerents. It represented neither governments, nor official institutions; it was intended as a useful means through which people could express their will to stop the war.

On March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1916, the Neutral Appeal Committee presented the final version of the Appeal. It was addressed “ To the Governments and Parliaments of the Neutral Nations represented at the Second Hague Conference, “ and stated that “ the neutral nations had the responsibility to call a conference and offer a mediation as soon as possible, because the belligerents were determined to fight to a cruel end<sup>18</sup>.”

The significance of the issue urged the Neutral Appeal Committee to send delegations to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in three Scandinavian Countries. The President of the Norwegian Parliament explained something that previously Jane Addams had already declared, that he believed that the United States should lead the Neutral Conference since it is more neutral than the other European countries.

The Neutral Appeal Committee was also devoted to formulate the Appeal to the Governments, Parliaments and Peoples of Belligerent nations. It resulted from various nationalistic points of view and provided essential principles that can be considered the foreshadow of Wilson’s Fourteen Points, the forerunner of the League of Nations and of the United Nations. These seven principles<sup>19</sup> included:

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<sup>18</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p.465

<sup>19</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada’s Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, pp.264-265

- 1) The right of nations to decide their own fate. Examples: Belgium should be restored; occupied French territory should be returned; the question of Alsace-Lorraine should be reconsidered; the independence of Serbia and Montenegro should be assured; union of the Polish nation and its independence should be guaranteed; the frontier between Austria and Italy should be readjusted; Armenia's autonomy should be guaranteed; similar questions in the Balkans and Asiatic Turkey should be solved by international agreement.
- 2) The economic activity of all peoples should be afforded development on equal terms.
- 3) Freedom of the seas.
- 4) Parliamentary control of foreign policy, there should be no more secret diplomacy or secret treaties.
- 5) The creation of an international organization, founded upon law and justice, which would include an agreement to submit all disputes between states to peaceful settlement.
- 6) Disarmament by international agreement.
- 7) The need for a World Congress.

The Neutral Appeal Committee developed these principles to be submitted to the belligerent countries to ask their leaders to take part in the conference and expose their point of view in terms of peace negotiations.

The conference also provided the creation of the Provisional Committee, thought to act until the convening of the Committee of Twelve (two members from each of the six neutral countries). Soon the Committee of Twelve adopted the name of the Central Committee of the Neutral Conference on Mediation and produced a series of pamphlets; among them Julia Grace Wales' Plan for Continuous Mediation without Armistice was the most printed and distributed.

The Provisional Committee set up a resolution that asked neutral governments to convene an official neutral conference for mediation and to improve their efforts for the establishment of the World Conference at the end of the war.



We earnestly request the Parliaments and Governments of our country to take all necessary and possible measures to call a conference of neutral nations, or to urge one neutral nation

- a) To tender the belligerents their good offices for mediation, and
- b) To call a general conference of the nations of the world for the discussion of an international organization of justice and for the settlement of disputes concerning general, territorial, economical and legal questions<sup>20</sup>.

In the meanwhile, President Wilson during his speech to the League to Enforce Peace declared that the United States would abandon isolationism to adopt a new form of policy dedicated to internationalism. It was a clear statement of new international policy. "We are participants," he said, "whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interest of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest<sup>21</sup>." He indicated that a conference of neutrals would sit at the final peace conference and realized that his mediation depended on variables that escaped his control, such as attitudes of belligerent leaders, European public opinion and actual military situations. In order to make the situation clearer, he asked the warring nations to express why they were fighting, which aims they wanted to achieve and how they wanted to mediate. Everyone was waiting for Wilson's mediation, however he wanted to be sure that the American mediation would be successful, before undertaking any action.

The Neutral Conference achieved its goals through the promotion of the exchange of views between each government. It formulated peace proposals submitted to the belligerent countries in order to raise their reactions and settle disputes not on the basis of military conquest. The Neutral Conference could be considered an expansion of peace act, and as such, he attracted the attention of the whole world to the question of peace. Moreover, through the adoption of its resolutions, it provided the basis for future organization programs, and defined the principles of organizations such as the WILPF<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914-1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 269.

<sup>21</sup> Patterson, David S., *Woodrow Wilson and the Mediation Movement, 1914-17*, in "The Historian", Vol. 33, n.4, (August 1917), p. 550.

<sup>22</sup> "The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is an international non-governmental organisation composed by women from around the world who are united in working for

After years, congresses took into consideration these principles and adopted specific means to realize them; as a result they improved new organizations with similar purposes. Moreover, the Conference had promoted a fundamental value, membership. For their first time, women from the whole world got together in the same place to discuss, exchange their ideas and work together for the same aim. Through the provision of procedure rules the conference not only ensured a better cooperation among women, but it was also able to improve the sense of a shared identity and the responsibility to end the war. Consequently, new forms of communication, including cultural and intellectual exchanges, gave the opportunity to consider the conference as a promoter of internationalism. Therefore, different concepts from different women could co-exist simultaneously, as a hypothetical space that went beyond nations and could help them to create a common vision to promote peace.

The conference could still exist and perform as Julia Grace Wales had ideated it.

However, in February 1917 there was the cessation of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany. Consequently, on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. The war declaration of the United States struck women's peace organizations that had to review their anti-war and relief programs. In particular, the activities of anti-war groups turned out to be useless, while preparedness and relief groups expanded because a lot of American women desired to join them. Their desire came from not only helping their country, but especially their personal recognition. The more women involved themselves in peace activities, the more the importance of their public role increased. In this way they acquired authority in the public sphere. The awareness of American women to serve their home-country and their resulting social recognition was well illustrated by the Independent National League for Woman's Service (NLWS), the Woman's Section of the Navy League (WSNL) and the government-appointed Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defence (WCCND). After the Armistice on November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1918, although all women were relieved for the cessation of the war, many of them needed to carry on activities for their country. They continued to serve the United States and to support it, for the cause of peace, and for their

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peace by non-violent means and promoting political, economic and social justice for all." Definition provided by the WILPF web-site <https://wilpf.org>.

realization. A bloody chapter of history had just ended, however women with their efforts contributed to the creation of other chapters in which they will play key roles.

Now there are enough instruments to answer the question posed at the beginning of this dissertation. On the one hand there are doubts concerning how long a period of peace can last. However, on the other hand, women's peace activities could be considered a valid way to promote and protect peace over time.

Women's roles as peace-builders can be well represented by Julia Grace Wales' activities and through her plan for Continuous Mediation without Armistice she offers a clear example of the women's involvement in political and international affairs for the promotion of peace.

## THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN AT THE HAGUE, ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS AND RESOLUTIONS

At the outbreak of World War I, the International Congress of Women at The Hague acquired a particular valence on the scene of the European pacifist agitation, due to its important conquests. It was able to catch the attention of the international political sphere on proposals concerning mediation, control of armaments, private diplomacy, and women's emancipation. At a first glance, it could seem that this Congress took into consideration issues already promoted by other pacifist movements of that time. However, it is not how it looks like. The Congress proposed many innovative elements. The International Congress of Women at The Hague, held from April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1915 until May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1915<sup>23</sup>, found its preliminary origins in 1914, when the Emergency Peace Federation founded by Lochner, Dr Joned and Jane Addams was involved in several efforts to persuade President Wilson to call an immediate armistice. In particular, they asked him to call for an unofficial mediation conference of neutral nations<sup>24</sup>. This proposal was based on Julia Grace Wales' plan of the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation that was passed as the most important resolution of the Congress. Different activities occurred to promote this plan, such as Schwimmer's route to the United States with many conferences, meetings with political leaders and appeals to American women to join their European sisters in a protest against the war. Many American women like Jane Addams, took part to the American Union Against Militarism, but after the meetings with European peace advocates proposing the mediation to end the war, their will to promote peace initiatives implemented<sup>25</sup>. The idea of an International Congress of Women born during a small conference of Women from neutral and belligerent countries held at Amsterdam in February 2915 when Dutch suffragists reorganized a substitute conference for the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance convention that

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<sup>23</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 48.

<sup>25</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 45.

would have been held in Berlin the same year<sup>26</sup>. A preliminary program was set out during this meeting. The program was divided into three main issues concerning the principles upon which peace could be established, the relation between war and women and some general themes such as children's education. Furthermore, the program focused on the national responsibility for the war, the way to stop it and alternative ways to avoid it in the future.

As it is possible to deduce by the preliminary program, the Congress was willing to adopt a series of resolutions aimed at persuading belligerent governments to stop the war immediately and to settle the right terms of peace. It was difficult to submit such a proposal to someone who believed that the present war was necessary and rightful. In this way, the program wanted to avoid discussions about which country had started the war and how it was being conducted. On the contrary, the Congress tried to implement arbitration and negotiation used to solve disputes by asking governments for subscribing an agreement. Governments would feel responsible for the use of the force before considering that alternative peace methods like mediations could be applied for solving a dispute. This is a great demonstration of diplomacy.

The preliminary program had several points in common with the Woman Peace Party's one, in particular the point according to which international affairs would be settled through a democratic control<sup>27</sup>. This proposal was in contrast with the use of the secret diplomacy.

In this preliminary phase, the link between women and war was studied carefully. First of all, the program stressed its denouncement towards war, intended as men's authority over women. Therefore, it underlined the necessity to acknowledge women's right of vote through the women's protest against the common conviction that war was necessary for their protection.

Stava Heymann would write:

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<sup>26</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p.53.

<sup>27</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 50.

It seems ludicrous to imagine that there is one woman in the world presumptuous enough to believe that an international women's congress could end this maddest of all wars. What did we intend then? I hear our opponents ask. To protest against the useless destruction of the highest fruits of civilisation. To protest against this human slaughter. To protest against the mad national hatred. To protest against the war and all its accompaniment. To protest not only with words, but with deeds; and this Congress was a deed. . . . But what did the Congress give to those of us who took part in it? I cannot know what it gave to others, only what it gave to me personally. The days in The Hague were a rest after months of anguish a rest amongst those who felt the same. The days in The Hague gave me an answer to the question which I had asked myself since the outbreak of war in anxious days and weary nights : Where are the women ? They were here! united in energetic protest, penetrated with warm humanity, inspired by one thought to do their duty as wives and mothers, to protect life, to fight against national hatred, to guard civilisation, to further justice not only for their own country, but for all countries of the world. The days in The Hague gave fresh courage for new activity<sup>28</sup>.

The Congress should emphasize the importance for women to obtain the right to vote for opposing the war and should ask them to work on it incessantly. For this reason the Congress should draft a proposal stating that women should be represented in the future World Conference for settle the terms of peace. The Congress gave them the opportunity to demonstrate their real value and their large solidarity.

Women's role in the Congress was considered important not only for their contribution to end the present war, but especially for promoting a way of thinking based on peace through the constitution of a new international order. According to Jane Addams, " There is a certain obligation on the women who have had the advantages of study and training to take this possible chance to help out<sup>29</sup> ."

A sense of democracy, brotherhood and humanity should prevail over feelings of hatred. This is a matter of education.

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<sup>28</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 144 – 145.

<sup>29</sup> *Ivi*, p.54.

Finally, the program considered the moral education of children; it should be based on peace so as to induce them to think according to a sense of justice and humanity and to reject the use of arms to solve disputes.

On April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1915 at the opening of the Conference, 1136 women were present. English and Scotch, German, Austrian, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Belgian, Dutch, American, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish all were represented<sup>30</sup>. The French did not join the Conference. They did not like the proposal for the immediate cessation of the hostilities and considered the lack of detecting who was the responsible for war as inopportune. Furthermore, they believed that only the establishment of the old international law could settle peace. Overall, Austria sent 6 representatives, Belgium 5, Canada 2, Denmark 6, Germany 28, Great Britain 3, Hungary 10, Italy 1, Netherlands 1000, Norway 12, Sweden 16 and the United states 47<sup>31</sup>.

The international Committee of the Congress was composed by Leop Kulka and Olga Misar from Austria, Eugénie hamer and Marguerite Sarten from Belgium, Thora Daugaard and Clara Tybjerg from Denmark, Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann as secretary and Interpreter from Germany, Chrystal Macmillanas secretary and Kathleen Courtney as interpreter from Great Britain and Ireland, Vilma Glucklich and Rosika Schwimmer from Hungary, Rose Genoni from Italy, Aletta Jacobs, Hanna van Biema-Hymans as secretary and Mia Boissevain from Netherlands, Emily Arnesen and Louisa Keilhau from Norway, Anna Kleman and Emma Hansson from Sweden, Jane Addams as President and Fannie Fern Andrews from the United States<sup>32</sup>.

The chair was taken by Aletta Jacobs, Anita Augspurg, and Chrystal MacMillan respectively<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Ivi*, p. 147.

<sup>32</sup> *International Congress of Women, Report of the International Congress of Women, at The Hague, April 28th to May 1st, 1915, President's Address, Resolutions Adopted and Report of Committees Visiting European Capitals, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915*, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p.10.

The Palais de la Paix that would have accommodated the Congress was not vast enough for all these delegates, so another room in the zoological garden was necessary<sup>34</sup>.

On the financial side, the expenses of the Congress were guaranteed by British, Dutch and German representatives.

Women could take part in the Conference by agreeing with the preliminary program and the necessary condition to join the Conference was to adhere to the two following planks:

- a) That international disputes should be settled by pacific means;
- b) That the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women<sup>35</sup>.

This condition led to the homogenization of different opinions, to avoid continuous divergences and to ensure the fluid progress of the conference. Moreover, the Congress proceeded according to the two following rules:

1. That discussions on the relative national responsibility for or conduct of the present war,
2. Resolutions dealing with the rules under which war shall in future be carried on, shall be outside the scope of the Congress<sup>36</sup>.

The official languages of the congress were French, German, and English.

Although it could have been difficult to conduct a gathering with more than two thousand people, with different languages and different rules of parliamentary procedure, the Congress was successful and the proceedings were quiet enough without extreme clashes thanks to the great preparation and a series of preliminary courses behind the conference. The spirit of cooperation prevailed. The morning was devoted to business issues, the evening to public addresses, and the afternoon to free committee meetings and to exchanges of opinions<sup>37</sup>.

Worldly initiatives were excluded from the series of activities listed in the program; there were no elegant receptions, parties, and theatre shows since gathering humbly

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<sup>34</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 56.

<sup>35</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p.147.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ivi*, p. 8.



would have contributed to create more friendships and cooperation and to focus on the sad theme of the war.

A lot of telegrams were sent all over the world, so diffusing the preliminary program and favouring the birth of committee dedicated to propaganda in Austria, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Iceland, Hungary, Norway and Sweden<sup>38</sup> thanks to women's networks of international relations worldwide.

Congress received numerous letters supporting its proposals especially from women and peace movements. During the evening meetings, greetings especially from Bulgaria, Iceland, Portugal, Poland and Turkey were read. However, women received also thirty protests<sup>39</sup> by people who were not ready for their innovative activities. In fact, during the drawing up of the preliminary program, a wide discussion was dedicated to the issue of the immediate truce that if on one hand was largely supported; on the other, it did not meet consensus from all participants.

The press attended Congress, elaborating articles in which the Conference was represented as a funny event led by silly women, so without grasping the sense of their gathering.

On the opening of the Congress activities, Aletta Jacobs congratulated all women present who were able to take part in the meeting in the middle of the war, underlying how it could be difficult, and the necessity to call it at the beginning of the dispute and not at its end: "Although our efforts may not shorten the present war, there is no doubt that this pacific assemblage of so many nations will have its moral effect upon the belligerent countries...Those of us who have convened this Congress, however, have never called it a peace congress, but an International Congress of Women assembled to protest against war, and to suggest steps which may lead to a warfare become an impossibility<sup>40</sup>."

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<sup>38</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 56.

<sup>39</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, pp.12-13.

<sup>40</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 11.

Aletta Jacobs stressed the importance of the women's presence thanks to their dialogue capacity and she believed that only women were able to elaborate alternative solutions for international disputes:

We women of so many different nationalities, who, in order to express our feelings, have to use different languages, and who each one of us has her own national characteristics, have come here animated by the same spirit, the same hopes, the same desire, that our voice shall penetrate to the uttermost ends of the earth in its protest against war with its terrible manslaughter, and against the assumption that it is the one and only way whereby international disputes can be determined<sup>41</sup>.

According to her, it is important that women play an important role in the governments of all countries by assisting men on their international decisions because of women's different perception of war. Thanks to their solidarity and sense of motherhood, women considered the war as a loss of human life, a damage for humankind while men looked at the war just as an economical loss. Therefore, Jacobs confirmed that women could obtain voice at the parliamentary level only through the suffrage. The theme of suffrage is highly linked to the theme of the war; only by obtaining suffrage could women have had the possibility to prevent bloody disputes and to promote peaceful solutions for conflicts as the mediation,

the Governments of the world, based on the insight of the half of humanity, have failed a right solution of how to settle international disputes. [...] Only when women are in parliaments of all nations, only when they have a political voice and vote, will they have the power effectively to demand that international disputes shall be solved as they ought to be, by a court of arbitration or conciliation. Therefore on a programme of the conditions

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<sup>41</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 61.

whereby wars in future may be avoided, the question of women suffrage should not be lacking, on the contrary, it should have the foremost place<sup>42</sup>.

Women had the duty to save human lives and to find the correct way to do it, so promoting an age based on a new order, a new kind of civilization in which women lived close to men, overcoming barriers among nations. Women had the capacity to affect international politics through their vision of reality, in which gain and loss were replaced by life and death, the end of the disputes was not settled by the conqueror and the conquest but by peaceful international negotiations, and peace became the everyday reality and not the exception.

In this way, the Congress not only acted against war, but also promoted internationalism.

On the business section on May 1<sup>th</sup>, the Congress endorsed resolution involving international cooperation, with the establishment of an international court and a so-called Society of Nations, general disarmament, national self-determination and women's involvement in international affairs. In early May 1915, the resolutions were printed in English, French and German and distributed to European heads.

During the draft of the preliminary program, the week before the opening of the Congress, the committee was involved also in redacting the text of the resolutions. It was difficult due to the large number of delegates who proposed adjustments and suggestions. Everybody was waiting for the American delegation headed by Jane Addams who could help delegates on the redaction. Although the American delegation arrived later since the large involvement of maritime safety measure, it gave a large contribution to the drafting of the resolutions by adding points from the Woman's Peace Party's program<sup>43</sup>.

The Congress adopted the resolutions through which women could condemn the bloody war and support ideals of brotherhood and progress. There were divergences of

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<sup>42</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 64.

<sup>43</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 68.

opinions; nevertheless, women's cooperation prevailed since they firmly stated that international relations could be led by friendship, justice and could lead to the reconciliation of peoples. Women's feelings towards war were described in the resolutions collected under the title *Women and War*<sup>44</sup>.

Resolutions concerning women gave them the possibility to express their necessity to obtain suffrage so as to fight for a lasting peace and in general, to affect international politics. The Congress demanded their political acknowledgment because it considered that the combined efforts of women from all countries could be one of the most powerful actions to stop and prevent war. The demand of the women's presence on the public sphere was strongly needed since, facing war, men did not offer them the possibility to speak about it. In addition, women asked for their presence in future peace negotiations by setting the establishment of a second women's congress simultaneously to their diplomatic mission<sup>45</sup>, since traditional politics were not adequate for healing the damages caused by war.

The Congress also discussed women's sufferings in war. It referred to sexual harassment and mass rape, considered a crime of war under the international law. In the past, it was seen as an immoral act but at the same time as an individual problem. Resolutions revealed that it was an intentional cruelty against civilians.

The resolutions under the title *Action Toward Peace*<sup>46</sup> symbolized the end of efforts promoted by the WPP and by the previous Congress at The Hague. These resolutions

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<sup>44</sup> Women Protest

We women, in International Congress assembled, protest against the madness and the horror of war, involving as it does a reckless sacrifice of human life and destruction of so much that humanity has laboured through centuries to build up.

Women's sufferings in war

This international Congress of Women opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare. It protests vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war. And especially against the horrible violation of women which attends all war.

International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women, at The Hague, April 28th to May 1st, 1915, President's Address, Resolutions Adopted and Report of Committees Visiting European Capitals*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 70.

<sup>46</sup> Action Towards Peace  
The Peace Settlement

asked for the end of the fighting and the beginning of negotiations by settling terms of peace without winners and losers. The resolution was based on Julia Grace Wales' plan of Continuous Mediation without Armistice. She assumed that both sides involved in the war, belligerents and neutrals, were looking for the end of the disputes and only through a conference promoted by neutrals it could be possible to reach an end suitable for each of them. Indeed, the conference involved the exchanges of opinions and requests so as to achieve terms of peace in favour of belligerents and neutrals. According to these proceedings, it was possible to avoid that only the winner could settle terms of peace, terms that certainly produced prerequisites for future wars<sup>47</sup>, because his authority should be based on his ability to negotiate and not on his ability to frighten and impose his supremacy<sup>48</sup>. On the contrary, Julia Grace Wales proposed that a scientific commission composed by neutral members, with a scientific rather than diplomatic

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This International Congress of Women of different nations, classes, creeds and parties is united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, who are fighting for their country or labouring under the burden of war. Since the mass of the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors but in self-defence and for their national existence, there can be no irreconcilable differences between them, and their common ideals afford a basis upon which a magnanimous and honourable peace might be established. The Congress therefore urges the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed, and to begin peace negotiations. It demands that the peace which follows shall be permanent and therefore based on principles of justice, including those laid down in the resolutions' adopted by this Congress, namely:

That no territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it, and that the right of conquest should not be recognized.

That autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

That the Governments of all nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation and to bring social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms.

That foreign politics should be subject to democratic control.

That women should be granted equal political rights with men.

#### Continuous Mediation

This International Congress of Women resolves to ask the neutral countries to take immediate steps to create a conference of neutral nations which shall without delay offer continuous mediation. The Conference shall invite suggestions for settlement from each of the belligerent nations and in any case shall submit to all of them simultaneously, reasonable proposals as a basis of peace.

International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women, at The Hague, April 28th to May 1st, 1915, President's Address, Resolutions Adopted and Report of Committees Visiting European Capitals*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976.

<sup>48</sup> Schagerl, Jessica Ann, *Global Imaginaries: Reading the International Interventions, Interactions, and Imaginings of Women in English – Canada, 1899 – 1919*, Ontario, The University of Western Ontario London Press, 2006, p. 198.

function, could act as a court of mediation<sup>49</sup> to settle the dispute, without the permission of belligerents, and without detecting the guilty. A mediator group could help to reach an equilibrium because each side approved the terms of peace, in contrast to the common practice according to which extreme terms of peace were imposed by any power<sup>50</sup>. Suggestions from warring nations were collected and simultaneously proposals were submitted to all of them with the following words, “Will you.. if the rest will<sup>51</sup>?” Julia Grace Wales emphasized the importance of the dialogue suggesting that mediators should valorise the positive side of each adversary. On the contrary, the war generated a sense of isolationism of thoughts and grudges.

Was it not possible, Miss Wales increasingly wondered, that the nations now at war had been paralyzed by a conventional mode of thinking and were mistaken in supposing that they were helpless in the face of a calamity which they had brought upon themselves? Might there not be some human and simple solution to the difficulty if we could but clear our minds and sufficiently think out the problems? Over and over again she asked herself, what is the natural thing to do<sup>52</sup>.

The International Congress of Women called for this resolution to be implemented, neutral and belligerent countries were asked to make suggestions for peace in the framework of continuous mediation in order to promote a noble and intelligent civilization. Julia Grace Wales proposed to translate her plan in three different languages<sup>53</sup>. Her plan resonated through countries and institutions; the Wisconsin State Journal reported that someone suggested that the University of Wisconsin established a permanent Chair of Peace with Julia Grace Wales’ leading, a Chicago newspaper

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<sup>49</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Continuous mediation without armistice ; a development of the idea of a continuous conference of neutral nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the pamphlet*, Chicago, Woman’s Peace Party Press, 1915.

<sup>50</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 114.

<sup>51</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Continuous mediation without armistice ; a development of the idea of a continuous conference of neutral nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the pamphlet*, Chicago, Woman’s Peace Party Press, 1915.

<sup>52</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in “*Wisconsin Magazine of History*” Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 204.

<sup>53</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 51.

declared that the State Department and several diplomatic circles were interested in her proposal and they would have given the plan the right consideration as soon as copies arrived at the State Department from The Hague<sup>54</sup>.

Representatives from invaded countries, like the ones from Belgium, did not like the proposal of peace without winners and losers because they hoped for the defeat of Germany as a moral and material compensation. However, as already mentioned, Congress forbade discussions about the present war and did not accept protests from Belgian delegates. At the same time, it promoted the right peace<sup>55</sup>. Julia Grace Wales wrote, "You see, the neutrals here are scared to death; they don't dare to breathe, much less try to do anything," and continued, "In spite of the almost certain defeat of the resolution.. I do not feel discouraged in the least.. We are going to keep on and keep on keeping on<sup>56</sup>."

Under the heading Principles of a Permanent Peace<sup>57</sup>, the Congress worked out five principles necessary for the maintenance of the lasting peace. The first principle,

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<sup>54</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 207.

<sup>55</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 75.

<sup>56</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 207.

<sup>57</sup> Principles of a Permanent Peace

Respect for Nationality

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of the people to self-government, affirms that there should be no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women residing therein, and urges that autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

Arbitration and Conciliation

This International Congress of Women, believing that war is the negation of progress and civilisation, urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration and conciliation.

International Pressure

This International Congress of Women urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to unite in bringing social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country, which resorts to arms instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation.

Democratic Control of Foreign Policy

Since war is commonly brought about not by the mass of the people, who do not desire it, but by groups representing particular interests, this International Congress of Women urges that Foreign Politics shall be subject to Democratic Control; and declares that it can only recognise as democratic a system which includes the equal representation of men and women.

The Enfranchisement of Women

Since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war, and since women can only have full responsibility and effective influence when they

Respect for Nationality, considered that territories of defeated countries could not be transferred to the winners without the approval of their unwilling inhabitants. A peace involving the annexation of unwilling people could never be a lasting one<sup>58</sup>. The acquisition of a territory was an important matter; men and women inhabitants would have had the right to influence the destination of their territory since it was a natural human right. For this reason, all people urged the necessity for their self-determination and for the establishment of a democratically elected parliament. The equilibrium of peace could be secured by balancing unjust acquisitions or by balancing magnanimous concessions<sup>59</sup>. Furthermore, by promoting a democratic procedure, it was possible to preserve cultural and linguistic differences.

This principle was directly linked with the fourth one, Democratic Control of Foreign Policy that underlined how a democratic system should control the Foreign Politics and equally represent men and women.

The question about nationality and the transfer of territory emphasized the divergent positions between English and American women and women from countries that have been oppressed like Poland and Italy<sup>60</sup>.

The second principle, Arbitration and Conciliation, combined with the third one concerning the International pressure, asked governments to join an agreement promoting arbitration and avoiding the application of social, moral and economic pressure on states.

This kind of system could bring disadvantages to powerful states in terms of lack of their enforcement power.

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have equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement.

International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women, at The Hague, April 28th to May 1st, 1915, President's Address, Resolutions Adopted and Report of Committees Visiting European Capitals*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 12-13.

<sup>58</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 119.

<sup>59</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976.

<sup>60</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 77.



The fifth and last principle referred to the Enfranchisement of Women. As already stated, women should affect politics due to their strong ability to prevent the war, so they should have equal political rights, not only referring to the right of vote, but also to their equal representation in the governmental and judiciary level.

The resolutions collected under the title International Cooperation<sup>61</sup>, involved a series of statements concerning the establishment of a new international order. First of all, it

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<sup>61</sup> International Cooperation

Third Hague Conference

This International Congress of Women urges that a third Hague Conference be convened immediately after the war.

International Organization

This International Congress of Women urges that the organization of the Society of Nations should be further developed on the basis of a constructive peace, and that it should include:

- a. As a development of the Hague Court of Arbitration, a permanent International Court of Justice to settle questions or differences of a justiciable character, such as arise on the interpretation of treaty rights or of the law of nations.
- b. As a development of the constructive work of the Hague Conference, a permanent International Conference holding regular meetings in which women should take part, to deal not with the rules of warfare but with practical proposals for further International Cooperation among the States. This Conference should be so constituted that it could formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity and good will in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognized and the interests and rights not only of the great Powers and small nations but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion. This International Conference shall appoint :  
A permanent Council of Conciliation and Investigation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population and changes in social and political standards.

General Disarmament

The International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realizing that -it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.

Commerce und Investments

- a. The International Congress of Women urges that in all countries there shall be liberty of commerce, that the seas shall be free and the trade routes open on equal terms to the shipping of all nations,
- b. Inasmuch as the investment by capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims rising therefrom are a fertile source of international complications, this International Congress of Women urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments " shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government.

National Foreign Policy

- a. This International Congress of Women demands that all secret treaties shall be void and that for the ratification of future treaties, the participation of at least the legislature of every government shall be necessary.
- b. This International Congress of Women recommends that National Commissions be created, and International Conferences convened for the scientific study and elaboration of the principles and conditions of permanent peace, which might contribute to the development of an

proposed to convene a third Peace Congress and to organize a Society of Nations that should include an International Court of Justice and a series of regular meetings to promote justice, equity and good will and to defend interests of minorities and weaker countries. At the same time, it underlined the importance to acknowledge the women's responsibility at the international level. Other proposals concerned free trade, the opening of all trade routes, reduction of all tariffs, and the most-favoured-nation principle. Future peace depended also on economic activities. Furthermore, the Congress asked for the principle according to which foreign investments would be done at investor's risks without official governmental protection<sup>62</sup>.

This new economic system was followed by the proposal for universal disarmament. According to the Congress, only the government should have the monopoly of the manufacturing and trade of weapons. The resolutions also suggested the prohibition of secret treaties and the establishment of a National Commission to elaborate principles for permanent peace.

The resolution entitled Education of Children<sup>63</sup> paid attention to the rights of children to have free access to high-standard education because instructing children about a lasting peace is easier than persuading adults about it.

At the same time, the Congress presented a proposal for taking an immediate action through the resolution Women and The Peace Settlement Conference<sup>64</sup>. It asked neutral

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International Federation. These Commissions and Conferences should be recognized by the Governments and should include women in their deliberations.

Women in National and International Politics

This International Congress of Women declares it to be essential, both nationally and internationally to put into practice the principle that women should share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men.

International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women, at The Hague, April 28th to May 1st, 1915, President's Address, Resolutions Adopted and Report of Committees Visiting European Capitals*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 13, 15.

<sup>62</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 83.

<sup>63</sup> Education of Children

This International Congress of Women urges the necessity of so directing the education of children that their thoughts and desires may be directed towards the ideal of constructive peace.

International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women, at The Hague, April 28th to May 1st, 1915, President's Address, Resolutions Adopted and Report of Committees Visiting European Capitals*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 16.

<sup>64</sup> Women and The Peace Settlement Conference

governments to call a Conference based on continuous mediation so as to formulate the right terms of peace according to the requests from the belligerent countries. Representatives from all countries, including women, should take part in this conference so as to establish a peace suitable for everybody.

The Congress concluded with an action resolution called Action to be Taken<sup>65</sup>, to put their proposals into practice. An International committee initially called the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP) but later renamed as Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was established<sup>66</sup>. It promoted the constitution of new associations and organized a diplomatic mission to neutral and belligerent countries through which delegates would contact leaders to explain to them the resolutions approved by Congress.

After the establishment of the International Committee for Permanent Peace, with Jane Addams as chairman, the International Congress of Women at The Hague dissolved.

Between May 7<sup>th</sup> and July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1915, thirty delegates visited fourteen countries<sup>67</sup> (the Netherlands, the UK, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, the Holy See,

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This International Congress of Women urges, that in the interests of lasting peace and civilisation the Conference which shall frame the Peace settlement after the war should pass a resolution affirming the need in all countries of extending the parliamentary franchise to women.

This International Congress of Women urges that representatives of the people should take part in the conference that shall frame the peace settlement after the war, and claims that amongst them women should be included.

<sup>65</sup> Action to be Taken

Women's Voice in the Peace Settlement

This International Congress of Women resolves that an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the Conference of the Powers which shall frame the terms of the peace settlement after the war for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that Conference.

Envoys to the Governments

In order to urge the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed and to establish a just and lasting peace, this International Congress of Women delegates envoys to carry the message expressed in the Congress Resolutions to the rulers of the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of the United States. These Envoys shall be women of both neutral and belligerent nations, appointed by the International Committee of this Congress. They shall report the result of their missions to the International Women's Committee for Constructive Peace as a basis for further action. International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women, at The Hague, April 28th to May 1st, 1915, President's Address, Resolutions Adopted and Report of Committees Visiting European Capitals*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, pp. 16 – 17.

<sup>66</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 88.

<sup>67</sup> Group 1:

The Hague, May 7 – delegates: Jane Addams, Aletta Jacobs, Rosa Genoni, Chrystal Macmillan and Rosika Schwimmer; political representatives: Prime Minister Cort van der Linden and Foreign Minister Loudon.

Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, US), and met with presidents and ministers in order to discuss their resolutions and to advise them that women felt that it was the right moment to negotiate<sup>68</sup>. In this way, delegates could create ramifications in each village, church and organization they had visited so as to act simultaneously for the promotion of peace.

Julia Grace Wales travelled as secretary of the delegation to Scandinavia and Russia, accompanied by Chrystal Macmillan, Cor Ramondt-Hirschman, Rosika Schwimmer and

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London, May 13 – delegates: Addams, Jacobs and Genoni; political representatives: Foreign Minister Sir Grey.

London, May 14 – private meeting between Addams and the Prime Minister Asquith.

Berlin, May 21 – delegates: Addams and Jacobs ; political representatives: Foreign Minister von Jagow.

Berlin, May 22 – private meeting between Addams and the Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg.

Vienna, May 26 – delegates: Addams and Jacobs; political representatives: Prime Minister Sturgkh.

Vienna, May 27 – delegates Addams and Jacobs; political representatives: Foreign Minister Burian.

Budapest, May 30– private meeting between Addams and the Prime Minister Tisza.

Berne, June 2– delegates: Jane Addams and Aletta Jacobs; political representatives: President Motta and the Foreign Minister Hoffman.

Rome, June 4– delegates: Addams and Jacobs; political representatives: Foreign Minister Sonnino.

Rome, June 5– delegates: Addams and Jacobs; political representatives: Prime Minister Salandra.

Rome, June 8– private meeting of the two delegates with the Pope.

Paris, June 12– delegates: Addams and Jacobs; political representatives: Foreign Minister Delcassé.

Paris, June 14: delegates: Addams and Jacobs; political representatives: Prime Minister Viviani.

Le Havre, June 16: delegates: Addams and Jacobs; political representatives: Foreign Minister Belgian D'Avignon.

Group 2:

Copenhagen, May 28– delegates: Emily Balch, Chrystal Macmillan, Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann, Rosika Schwimmer; political representatives: Prime Minister Zahle and Foreign Minister Scavenius.

Cristiana, May 31– delegates: Balch, Macmillan, Ramondt-Hirschmann, Schwimmer; political representatives: Re Haakon and Foreign Minister Ihlen.

Cristiana, June 1– delegates: Balch, Macmillan, Ramondt-Hirschmann, Schwimmer; political representatives: Prime Minister Knudsen.

Stockholm, June 2– delegates: Balch, Macmillan, Ramondt-Hirschmann, Schwimmer; political representatives: Foreign Minister Wallenberg

Petrograd, June 16– delegates: Balch, Macmillan, Ramondt-Hirschmann, Ellen Palmstierna; political representatives: Foreign Minister Sasonoff.

On the way back:

Stockholm, May 26 – delegates: Balch, Macmillan, Ramondt-Hirschmann, Palmstierna; political representatives: Foreign Minister Wallenberg.

Cristiana, June 30– delegates: Chrystal Macmillan; political representatives: Foreign Minister Ihlen.

The Hague, July 7– delegates: Jacobs, Balch, Macmillan, Ramondt-Hirschmann, Schwimmer; political representatives: Prime Minister Cort van der Linden.

The Hague, 8 July – delegates: Jacobs, Balch, Macmillan, Ramondt-Hirschmann, Schwimmer; political representatives: Foreign Minister Loudon.

Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 94.

<sup>68</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976.

Emily Balch. Across different countries, she clarified that her planned conference of neutrals would have no power to decide anything; its function was also to think, as a world brain<sup>69</sup>.

The results of the meetings were summed up in a Manifesto, published by the New York journal *The Survey* (see Appendix I). It reported that delegations had the opportunity to make thirty-five official visits<sup>70</sup> and were well received with courtesy and sympathy for their project. Public meetings were arranged for them; the largest ones were held in London, Budapest, Stockholm and Berne<sup>71</sup>. Ministers expressed their approvals; neutrals would have called the conference if they were assured that the United States would have participated. The Prime Minister of Sweden was willing to establish the peace conference in Stockholm and he proposed to call neutrals if women would confirm whether any belligerents would oppose him and that the United States would participate<sup>72</sup>.

All the countries were in favour of initiating a conference of mediation, except France<sup>73</sup>. The British Foreign Minister affirmed that neutrals should stop the war. However, many leaders believed that taking the initiative towards negotiations would be seen as a sign of weakness and that it could become a disadvantage for them during the settling of the terms of peace. The European belligerents wished for peace as soon as possible, but first they expected the victory. In general, countries like Australia, Canada, England, Norway, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, and Denmark were mostly in favour with Julia Grace Wales' plan<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>69</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "*Wisconsin Magazine of History*" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 209.

<sup>70</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007.

<sup>71</sup> International Congress of Women, *Report of the International Congress of Women, at The Hague, April 28th to May 1st, 1915, President's Address, Resolutions Adopted and Report of Committees Visiting European Capitals*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 18.

<sup>72</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "*Wisconsin Magazine of History*" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 208.

She believed that “In the end, some such plan, if carried out, would tend to give speedy victory to the right, would tend to thwart wrong motives and to assist and reward right motives in every country<sup>75</sup>.”

According to Rosika Schwimmer the United States should take the initiative to promote an official conference or let the neutrals to do it. After the conference, delegates organized 8,000 meetings and sent 1,200 telegrams to the White House asking “Would the United States join a postwar league of nations designed to guarantee the peace treaty and prevent future wars<sup>76</sup>?” Although President Wilson carefully read resolutions of the conference and agreed with them, he could not endorse a so constrained decision in a multilateral context.

The most evident difference between the Congress of 1915 and the two previous ones of 1899 and 1907, involved the new international legal system promoted by the last conference. This system could avoid war by setting terms of peace requested by both neutrals and belligerents, while the previous conferences considered that it was not possible to avoid war, but just to restore peace. The International Congress of Women at The Hague was innovative because was led by women, considered politically weak at that time, who established a structured body aimed at endorsing proposals for changing the international system. The Congress contributed to the beginning of a long work focused on changing the mind of Europe<sup>77</sup>. Even if no institution or State ever adopted the Congress’ resolutions, it contributed to influencing the contemporary international system. The Congress through its resolutions taught us that it is not correct to win and gain at the expense of others, that it can be possible to solve matters with the use of the reason and not with the force, and that prejudices could be replaced with the will to know new people, cultures and traditions. These are the assumptions for an open-minded world. These are principles valid throughout.

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<sup>75</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in “*Wisconsin Magazine of History*” Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 209.

<sup>76</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 79.

<sup>77</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 19.

... The deliberations of the Congress of Women at The Hague was the appeal away from passion and insane hatred to balance of judgment and to truth inspired by reason. A visitor who sat in the gallery was impressed by the similarity in personality and dress of the delegates who occupied the body of the hall. There was nothing in general appearance to distinguish one nationality from another, and looking into our own hearts we beheld as in a mirror the hearts of all those who were assembled with us, because deep in our own hearts lies the common heart of humanity. We realised that the fear and mistrust that had been fostered between the peoples of the nations was an illusion. We discovered that at the bottom peace was nothing more or less than communal love. There could be nothing negative in the idea of peace. War is the negative. Peace is the highest effort of the human brain applied to the organisation of the life and being of the peoples of the world on the basis of cooperation. It cannot be secured with treaties or maintained by armaments; it must be founded ultimately on the public opinion of enlightened and free democracies knit together by organised association in common ideals and common enterprises. It was to the furtherance of such an ideal that the representatives of the Women's Congress pledged their strenuous and passionate endeavour<sup>78</sup>.

The principles expressed through the resolutions of the Congress were taken into consideration by the American Peace Society<sup>79</sup> that, in May 1918, developed a program urging the American Government to put it into practice. The program provided a list of rights and duties of the nation, such as the right to exist and to protect its existence, the right to pursue happiness, the right to territory<sup>80</sup>. At the same time the program called for the creation of an international council of conciliation, the employment of mediation

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<sup>78</sup> Quote by Emmeline Pethick Lawrence on Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915

<sup>79</sup> The American Peace Society (APS) born in 1828 by the efforts of the Massachusetts Peace Society (1815). Its principal organizers, edited its journal—*The Advocate of Peace*—proposing a league of nations with an international court of arbitration.

At the breakout of the World War I, it was involved in the promotion of arbitration and mediation with other local peace movements. However, the World War I weakened the APS and it never resumed its key role until its activity was limited to publication.

<sup>80</sup> The American Peace Society, *Beyond the Trenches, The Challenge to the Church, The Pan Slav Drive*, in *"The Advocate of Peace"* Vol. 80, No. 1, (January 1918), p. 131.

and arbitration and the creation of a new public opinion involved in the peaceful settlements<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> The American Peace Society, *Beyond the Trenches, The Challenge to the Church, The Pan Slav Drive*, in *"The Advocate of Peace"* Vol. 80, No. 1, (January 1918), p. 131.



## THE FORD PEACE SHIP: A MEDIA EVENT FOR A NOBLE CAUSE

The Ford Peace Ship could be considered as one of the most curious aspects in the history of American pacifism, due to its noble purpose and at the same time to its eccentricity. It was carried out with the aim of promoting Julia Grace Wales' plan "Continuous Mediation Without Armistice". However, the achievements and the consequences were deeply different from the ones awaited.

The Ford Peace Ship did not take its origins the day before the departure and without a specific purpose, but it was the final result of a very structured and already implemented plan. Ford's involvement in the peace cause found its roots during the summer of 1915, when Ford began to manifest his anti-preparedness view. In fact, he considered war "murderous and wasteful<sup>82</sup>." Initially, his approach to pacifism was only verbal, denouncing and declaring his contempt against war through one of the most effective means of propaganda of that time, the press. Ford denounced all those who intended the war as a source of income with fervour, particularly he raged against the money-landers, the absentee owners, and against those who worked in the Wall Street environment<sup>83</sup>. Furthermore, he used the press also to express his firm opposition against preparedness. He authorized Theodore Delavigne, the Detroit Free Press reporter<sup>84</sup>, to write an article based on Ford's anti-preparedness. The first article of this theme came out on August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1915 and reported the following quote by Ford: "The United States has spent a billion dollars on an army and navy to cope with an invasion that has never occurred and never will occur. The building of armaments by the United States is wasteful and war breeding<sup>85</sup>." Delavigne increasingly took care of Ford's interests in pacifism so much so that he became his personal peace secretary. Thus, all that is known about Ford's early pacifism come from Delavigne's articles.

Ford's ideas initially expressed only by verbal methods began to acquire a more practical aspect during the end of August 1915, so much so as to make all his fortune available for the peace cause. In a particular interview, he declared that he would invest

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<sup>82</sup> Merz, Charles, *And Then Came Ford*, New York, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929p. 155.

<sup>83</sup> Sward, Keith, *The legend of Henry Ford*, New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948, p. 83.

<sup>84</sup> Gelderman, Carol, *Henry Ford: The Wayward Capitalist*, New York, The Dial Press, 1981, p. 92.

<sup>85</sup> *Ivi*, p. 93.

\$150,000,000 for the realization of this project because “Money is only good for doing something with it. I want to stop the war<sup>86</sup>.” In these terms, he can be considered as the modern Don Quixote<sup>87</sup>.

As already mentioned, Rosika Schwimmer was looking for means to promote a conference for peace with the presence of delegates from neutral countries, and she soon realized that Ford could be a valid ally. On reaching this purpose, Rosika Schwimmer found a big problem: getting in touch with Henry Ford.

During the summer of 1915, it seemed to be impossible to arrange a meeting with Ford, even for a noble cause like the one of peace. He received about 600 letters per day reporting peace proposals, even Jane Addams’ one was among them.

In this case, two women who also joined the Women’s International Congress played a fundamental role. Indeed, Rosika Schwimmer asked Rebecca Shelley, a teacher from the Mid-West and the poet Angela Morgan to arrange the meeting between her and Henry Ford<sup>88</sup>. The two women organized events and meetings in Detroit, where Ford lived, so as to catch his attention. Effectively they succeeded in doing it.

A talk between Shelley and Rosika Schwimmer aroused the curiosity of Ford’s favourite reporter named Ralph Yanker<sup>89</sup>, who made the decision to arrange the meeting between them. Consequently, in November 1915 Rosika Schwimmer exposed her proposal to Henry Ford so as to convince him to offer his aid for the cause. He was very enthusiastic about the project and so struck by Rosika Schwimmer’s grit that he welcomed her plan and accepted to support her. Furthermore, he announced that he would sustain the International Committee of Women. Rosika Schwimmer and Henry Ford had attitudes towards peace with many common features: both were willing to move to action according to the desires of people, both hoped to promote diplomacy and to be able to lead the neutral nations to begin an adventure never done before<sup>90</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> Hershey, Burnet, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship*, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967p. 86.

<sup>87</sup> Sward, Keith, *The legend of Henry Ford*, New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948, p. 83.

<sup>88</sup> Wiltsher, Anne, *Most Dangerous Women. Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War*, London, Boston and Henley, Pandora Press, 1985, p. 157.

<sup>89</sup> *Ivi*, p. 158.

<sup>90</sup> Sward, Keith, *The legend of Henry Ford*, New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948, p. 84.

Ford translated Rosika Schwimmer's plan into a magnificent action so as to become a milestone in the history of the American pacifism, the creation of a ship with the purpose of promoting peace and with the duty to lead American delegates with the final destination in which the Neutral Conference would take place. The idea of a ship came from the Christmas Ship planned in 1914 by President Wilson to bring 7 millions gifts to European orphans of war. Ford stated "It is my earnest hope to create machinery to which those who so desire can turn to inquire what can be done to establish peace<sup>91</sup>."

Ford's assistance seemed a miracle to Rosika Schwimmer considering that she could not rely on the government. She considered Henry Ford as the perfect substitute for President Wilson who never wanted to commit himself to the pacifist causes proposed by several movements. She demanded: "If Pr. Wilson won't call a Neutral Conference, why can't you, Mr Ford? You're the man to do it<sup>92</sup>."

The Peace Ship needed an official sanction by the government, hence Ford proposed to Rosika Schwimmer to reach New York in order to hold meetings and interviews based on pacifism and in particular on their proposal, and the next day to go to Washington to meet President Wilson.

One of Ford's speeches held in New York was developed by Theodore Delavigne, Ford's new secretary concerning peace issues, and in this speech Ford pronounced a phrase that would become the motto of his pacifist cause: "Out of the trenches by Christmas<sup>93</sup>."

Through this maxim he promised that all men who were fighting would back home by Christmas.

Once he had met President Wilson, Ford asked him to appoint an official neutral commission so that Ford could finance the ship officially. President Wilson listened to them; however, as usual he avoided expressing his opinion about this issue so as not to commit himself to whatever decision. Thus, Ford and Rosika Schwimmer understood

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<sup>91</sup> Merz, Charles, *And Then Came Ford*, New York, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929, p. 152.

<sup>92</sup> Hershey, Burnet, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship*, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967, p. 69.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

that they could not rely on his help and at the end of that meeting Ford exclaimed to Pr. Wilson: "If you can't act, I will<sup>94</sup>."

The same day Ford made an appeal to the people of Washington asking for their consensus.

Various personalities belonging to different social classes and coming from different kinds of jobs were invited to join the Ford Peace Ship. Overall, 115 invitation telegrams were sent just one week before the departure with the following statement:

Will you come as my guest aboard the Oscar II<sup>95</sup> of the Scandinavian American Line sailing from New York December 4<sup>th</sup> for Christiania, Stockholm and Copenhagen? I am cabling leading men and women of the European nations to join us en route and at some central point, to be determined later, establish an international conference dedicated to negotiations leading to a just settlement of the war<sup>96</sup>.

Many telegrams were addressed to women active in the peace cause. Among them, Julia Grace Wales could not be missed since the project elaborated by Rosika Schwimmer was based exactly on Julia Grace Wales' plan *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice*. Her plan was able to approach many women's peace movements to the pacifist cause both in the United States and overseas. Wales had a particular personality, especially known for her spiritual mind. Rosika Schwimmer and Julia Grace Wales never were rivals; their relationship was always dominated by harmony, as the spirit of the conference requires, peace and harmony.

On receiving the invitation she admitted: "The sincerity earnestness, and generosity of the enterprise, was... of course, beyond question... It is the wisest next step in furthering the course of continuous-mediation<sup>97</sup>."

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<sup>94</sup> Hershey, Burnet, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship*, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967, p. 21.

<sup>95</sup> The Danish peace ship of the Scandinavian American Line.

<sup>96</sup> Gelderman, Carol, *Henry Ford: The Wayward Capitalist*, New York, The Dial Press, 1981, p. 101.

<sup>97</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 211.

Ford paid \$900 to the University of Wisconsin to compensate Julia Grace Wales' absence<sup>98</sup>.

Jane Addams was among the recipients of the telegram, as well. However, she rejected the invitation to the expedition both for health problems and above all because she did not agree with Ford about the establishment of the Peace Ship. She thought that the Ship was only a form of exhibitionism with not much content and so decreasing the value of the real purpose of the conference of neutrals, she claimed:

The offer of a crusading journey to Europe with all expenses paid could but attract many fanatical and impecunious reformers. With many notable exceptions, a group of very eccentric people had attached themselves to the enterprise, so that there was every chance of fiasco<sup>99</sup>.

Although many pacifist women declining the invitation, other famous women decided to take part in the expedition, such as Inez Milholland from the American Suffrage Movement, May Wright Sewall the co-founder of the National and International Councils of Women and Chair-woman of the Woman's Peace Party's Northern California Branch, Helen Ring Robinson the first woman ever to be elected to a state senate, Alice Park who travelled from Europe to Hawaii for suffrage and social justice, and a journalist Katherine Leckie<sup>100</sup>.

Ford decided to add to the list of guests some celebrities such as the inventor Thomas Edison, the perennial presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, the Treasury Secretary William McAdoo, Helen Keller and the United States Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis. Furthermore, he invited also President Wilson and his daughter Margaret. Many of them did not accept to join the ship. Only a governor replied

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<sup>98</sup> Wiltsher, Anne, *Most Dangerous Women. Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War*, London, Boston and Henley, Pandora Press, 1985, p. 160.

<sup>99</sup> Hershey, Burnet, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship*, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967, p. 68.

<sup>100</sup> Wiltsher, Anne, *Most Dangerous Women. Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War*, London, Boston and Henley, Pandora Press, 1985, p. 160.

positively to the invitation, the Governor of North Dakota since he had many relations in the pacifist environment<sup>101</sup>.

Not only members of the peace movements received the telegram, but as already mentioned also men and women coming from different realities such as publishers, notables, members of clergy, cabinet officers, state officials, students from university and college presidents. Once again, many of them decided not to board.

The congressional representatives were not invited because Ford considered that their presence was necessary in Washington in order to oppose the Wilson's will for armaments.

Overall, more than 160 peace delegates boarded<sup>102</sup>, followed by 54 reporters, 3 Ford employees to manage the group, 18 students<sup>103</sup>, 4 children, members of clergy, politicians, educators, businessmen, 34 journalists and 3 movie men<sup>104</sup>.

Ford described the members of his expedition according to the following words

This crowd suits me exactly. It's just like a community. In a community we have old folks and young folks, rich and poor, men and women and children. Some persons are more prominent and others less. Some have more ability and others less. Our ship is just like that. It's just as though I had scooped up an average American community and transferred it to a ship. That's why I like this crowd. It's representative<sup>105</sup>.

The Oscar II left the Hoboken Pier (New Jersey) at 2 p.m. on December 4<sup>th</sup> 1915. Most extremist groups of America such as pacifists, the Dry Party, the Industrial Workers of the World and other religious groups attended the boarding of the members<sup>106</sup>.

During boarding, delegates showed a manifest illustrating St. George and the Dragon that symbolized peace defeating war. On showing this one, they sang:

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<sup>101</sup> Merz, Charles, *And Then Came Ford*, New York, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929, p. 152.

<sup>102</sup> Lunardini, Christine A., *The American Peace Movement in the Twentieth Century*, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO Inc., 1994, p. 85.

<sup>103</sup> Gelderman, Carol, *Henry Ford: The Wayward Capitalist*, New York, The Dial Press, 1981, p. 112.

<sup>104</sup> Hershey, Burnet, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship*, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967, p. 81.

<sup>105</sup> *Ivi*, p. 75.

<sup>106</sup> Sward, Keith, *The Legend of Henry Ford*, New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948, p. 10.

There would be no more war,  
If every mother'd say,  
I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier<sup>107</sup>.

The Peace Ship left, crossing the Hudson River with blessings from the spectators and carrying to Europe "a kiss and a tear"<sup>108</sup>.

Aboard only 70 first and second class cabins were available for Ford's delegates because third class was reserved for the 450 Scandinavian-Americans who came back to their homes for the Christmas holiday. One of the only two state-cabins available was assigned to Ford. Each delegate received papers containing Ford's welcome. Moreover other papers necessary for the identification of the passengers were distributed, specifying the identity of each passengers due to the absence of known and famous people such as Jane Addams. Finally, copies of songs were consigned; the official song was titled Peace and Prosperity<sup>109</sup>.

Rosika Schwimmer elaborated plans about the organization of the trip and developed daily programs. Delegates were divided into several groups; every afternoon and every evening each group joined a meeting to discuss and formulate questions concerning their plan of peace. In this way they were working as if in a real conference. Students met together during the morning, the Ford Student Body<sup>110</sup> examined current matters and discussed them with different delegates so as to promote more opinions and ideas. Cooperation and freedom of expression were essential aspects of the *modus operandi* on board. The educators had several debates that on December 16<sup>th</sup> culminated in the Address to the Teachers of the World<sup>111</sup>.

Immediately Ford demonstrated to be always available for dialogue so much so that every morning he used to have breakfast with students. Twice daily, during the morning

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<sup>107</sup> Sward, Keith, *The legend of Henry Ford*, New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948, p. 10.

<sup>108</sup> Hugins, Roland, *The Possible Peace; a Forecast of World Politics after the Great War*, New York, The century Co. 1916, p. 177.

<sup>109</sup> Hershey, Burnet, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship*, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967, p. 82.

<sup>110</sup> *Ivi*, p. 81.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

and the afternoon he held a conference and gave interviews to reporters. Many among them who initially ridiculed the Peace Ship, after having interviewed him changed their mind, surprised by his spontaneity and sincerity. It is possible to understand it by the words of a report of the New York Times "I have learned in these few days an immense respect and liking for the character and abilities of Henry Ford<sup>112</sup>."

Delegates seemed to be always interested in his speeches and often they took note of his words. All of them loved him.

Unfortunately, Rosika Schwimmer did not enjoy the same reputation. Meetings often were characterized by a big confusion due to the high number of different proposals about conflicting statements that aimed to have the same purpose sometimes issued by the same person during the same day. For this reason, they tried to reconcile the contradictory points of views because then these divergent ideas would have be represented at the International Commission of Neutral Conference<sup>113</sup>.

However, the disputes were numerous especially because of Rosika Schwimmer's imperious presence. Most delegates did not have a positive opinion of Rosika Schwimmer mainly for two reasons. First of all, Ford conferred to her a big decision-making power. She wanted to handle each aspect of the enterprise without help. Her important personality and her autocratic methods could damage the success of the expedition. She was eloquent, educated, spoke English, French and German and was determined "to teach all nations of the world that you cannot defend or protect by armies and navies<sup>114</sup>."

The other reason that made Rosika Schwimmer little transparent was her inseparable black bag that contained a collection of state papers concerning the intention of some belligerent nations as Germany, Russia and Britain to promote a mediation for peace<sup>115</sup>. However, after few days of travel the attention of the whole expedition moved to President Wilson. On December 6<sup>th</sup>, the third day of travel for the Peace Ship, the

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<sup>112</sup> Gelderman, Carol, *Henry Ford: The Wayward Capitalist*, New York, The Dial Press, 1981, p. 119.

<sup>113</sup> Chatfield, Charles, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America 1914-1941*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1971, p. 19.

<sup>114</sup> Gelderman, Carol, *Henry Ford: The Wayward Capitalist*, New York, The Dial Press, 1981, p. 116.

<sup>115</sup> Wiltsher, Anne, *Most Dangerous Women. Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War*, London, Boston and Henley, Pandora Press, 1985, p. 161.



Congress assembled in Washington and on this occasion, President Wilson made a recommendation related to preparedness. The Congress asked President Wilson for the adoption of the program concerning the provision of 10 battleships, 6 battle-cruisers, 10 scout-cruisers, 50 destroyers, submarines and gun-boats<sup>116</sup>. This was a real proposal of armament. According to President Wilson, it was necessary to fight so as to ensure future independence.

After President Wilson's recommendation, there were a lot of debates aboard.

The same day in which the Congress assembled, Ford's letter was delivered:

We the citizens of the United states, now sailing to Europe on the steamship Oscar II, with the serious purpose to deliver the men from the trenches and the women from their suffering and agonies and restore the peace of the world upon a honourable and just basis which will stop the mod race of competitive armament, do hereby earnestly petition and entreat you to give the Peace Mission your support and encouragement<sup>117</sup>.

Aboard Ford suggested that each delegate should take his time to study and debate President Wilson's message and then after few days delegates would get together to elaborate an answer. Thus, delegates created two factions; one faction was in favour of opposing President Wilson's message, while the other one, whose delegates were named insurrectionists, did not want to contradict President Wilson's will. Delegates elected a committee of five members to formulate the Peace Ship anti-preparedness resolution against Wilson's recommendation. The resolution was open for five days for the scrutiny of delegates and then for signatures. Ford affirmed that was hypocritical to promote the disarmament of Europe while the United States enhanced the armament. After two days, Ford sent a letter to all the delegates declaring that he did not want to abolish differences of opinion and that all the delegates were his guests on board regardless of their ideas and thoughts. On December 12<sup>th</sup>, the White House claimed that

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<sup>116</sup> Hershey, Burnet, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship*, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967, p. 89.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

“Pr. Wilson has neither made suggestion for peace, nor intends to do so in the near future, unless there is an unexpected turn in the belligerent situation<sup>118</sup>.”

Once the Ship arrived at its first stop along the route, Christiania (now Oslo) in Norway, delegates did not receive a reception. This country was in favour of increasing the Army and Navy and thus, voted favourably for military preparedness. Indeed, the Norwegian cabinet members would accept Ford’s plan only if President Wilson endorsed it. This is the real reason for which the country did not give any official acknowledgement to the delegates. Only in the late afternoon did the delegates receive a reception of twelve members given by the Norwegian Section of the Women’s International Peace League. As soon as the delegates arrived, they made the decision to visit the country by train. They visited the mountain, which was really cold. Because of the low temperature, Ford felt ill and was not able to take part in the meeting held during the late evening at the University of Christiania. Many people joined the meeting because they wanted to meet Henry Ford and to understand the plan of the Peace Expedition. The Norwegian press was quite severe, reporting that no-one from Norway would take part in the Conference at The Hague, and that aboard there were no famous people because their names were not known in Europe.

Though Ford’s conditions did not get better, he had only one meeting with few Norwegian reporters, however they spoke only about tractors. It seemed that Ford’s interest in the expedition was decreasing.

Due to his bad conditions, Ford was recommended to attend a medical centre in Europe or to come back to the United States. He choose the second alternative. All members were warned about Ford’s departure and he promised them that he would come to Europe if he were elected as permanent delegate to the Conference of Continuous Mediation. Before leaving the Peace Ship, Ford thought about the administration of the expedition, and so decided to create an administrative committee of seven members. Rosika Schwimmer kept her role of expert advisor. However, the sharing of power between her and the seven was not durable due to her authoritarian attitudes already mentioned. Many members asked Ford to decrease Rosika Schwimmer’s leadership.

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<sup>118</sup> Hershey, Burnet, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship*, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967, p. 31.

The same day that Ford came back to the United States, the Ship left for Sweden. On December 29<sup>th</sup>, a reception was arranged in Stockholm at the Stockholm Circus and two thousand people joined it<sup>119</sup>. This reception was promoted outside of the governmental sphere but the members of the Swedish Parliament were in favour of the conference proposed by the expedition. Indeed the lower house of the Swedish Parliament approved the resolution to push the government to promote an official neutral conference.

In this meeting, there were also feminists, intellectuals and social democrats supporting the pacifist cause.

On December 30<sup>th</sup>, the delegates left for Copenhagen, Denmark. The Danish Committee organized a New Year banquet as a reception for the ship.

The delegates were told that at Copenhagen it was a prohibition against holding public meetings concerning peace issues; hence, they thought to organize private meetings at home so acquiring the opportunity to express their own point of view. Disputes and conflicting ideas were present but all agreed that the conference should be held in Holland, at The Hague, because many important people for the pacifist cause lived there. Furthermore, they concurred that the number of delegates should be decreased both for to reduce costs and to avoid numerous conflicting opinions.

Germany was one of the countries to be crossed to reach Holland, however, most of delegates' passports reported "not for travel in Germany<sup>120</sup>." Thus, the North Sea seemed to be the only way to reach Holland, but in this case it would cost \$50,000 to rent a steamer. Nevertheless, the German minister convinced himself to permit the Ship to cross Germany. Therefore, the Dutch train left for The Hague during the morning on January 8<sup>th</sup>.

Ford's expedition arrived in Holland, completing its duty. Students and delegates left Europe between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of January<sup>121</sup>.

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<sup>119</sup> Gelderman, Carol, *Henry Ford: The Wayward Capitalist*, New York, The Dial Press, 1981, p. 128

<sup>120</sup> *Ivi*, p. 130.

<sup>121</sup> *Ivi*, p. 132.

When the expedition concluded its trip, many believed that Ford's project reached its purpose and ended, while in reality, the Conference for mediation still had to begin. Many believed also that the United States would always remain neutral.

One of the first actions that the Conference undertook was an appeal to the neutral nations to take the initiative to offer mediation (see Appendix III). Particularly, it was proposed to the parliaments of Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Holland<sup>122</sup>. However, no governments proceeded at that time.

Subsequently, the Conference elaborated a document addressed to the belligerent nations, the *Appeal to the Belligerents*, that can be considered the forerunner of President Wilson's fourteen points. This appeal testified that a durable peace could be ensured only by promoting disarmament and through the establishment of an international organization able to settle disputes by negotiations and not by arms.

The differences of opinion between delegates were present also during the conference, so much so as to undermine its basis. Furthermore, in February, Germany announced its will to promote submarine warfare. This means to carry out a violation of the freedom of the seas that induced heavy reactions between both pacifists and belligerents. Relations between The United States and Germany became more and more sour so that the United States could consider itself as non-neutral. Therefore, on March 1<sup>st</sup> the Ford Peace Conference ceased to exist.

When the United States cut their diplomatic relations with Germany, Ford showed his last opposition to the war. Indeed, once Ford came back to the United States after leaving the ship for health problems, after few days he felt better and continued his activism for the pacifist cause against military preparedness.

However, when in April 1917 the United States entered the war, Ford abandoned the pacifist cause that for a long time he had supported, validating the opinion of some journalists who initially did not consider him seriously. Ford decided to put his factory in the service of the production of war vehicles. Initially no-one asked for his help. Soon the situation changed. In May 1917 the American government asked him to provide two thousand chassis for ambulances<sup>123</sup>.

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<sup>122</sup> Gelderman, Carol, *Henry Ford: The Wayward Capitalist*, New York, The Dial Press, 1981, p. 133.

<sup>123</sup> *Ivi*, p. 140.

By August, he began the production of aeroplanes for fighting.

After this summary about Ford's expedition, it is possible to estimate that it did not obtain the awaited success or the hoped result proclaimed by Ford.

The Peace Ship was the turning point of the whole program based on the establishment of the conference because it managed to draw global attention and for the first time to break the censorship concerning the theme of peace and disarmament. This project aimed to promote communication between two enemies through a neutral agency that could help the powers to settle disputes, to negotiate. It was the real spirit of the conference, the real purpose.

However, the main goal of the expedition passed into the background, that is, to hold a conference not only with American delegates but also with delegates from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Spain for establishing terms of peace.

The plan *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice* that was the basis of the expedition was far from Ford's statement "Out of trenches by Christmas." Through a persistent use of the press during his campaign, "Out of trenches by Christmas" was understood as the end of the dispute, that is, as the real objective to reach, while the idea of the plan, proposing a conference for continuous mediation, lost its initial importance.

The United States could not wait for a slow improvement of the course of actions as the Conference required, but it needed prompt action, and the Peace Ship was vivid, concrete with well-defined objectives. Ford wanted to transmit through the press, that "Ford's peace crusade was doomed from the start as a viable initiative though as a media event of course, it made wonderful news, since failure often makes a better story than success<sup>124</sup>."

At the same time magazine reported

Ford's success as an automobile manufacturer is no proof that he is a master of public question, that he has the qualifications of a statesman, that he can create, interpret or guide and lead public opinion concerning these great problems of human conduct on which the destinies of nations turn<sup>125</sup>.

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<sup>124</sup> Henry, Jim, *Noble cause becomes a farce; Peace Ship cements Henry Ford's image as a well-meaning but naive do-gooder*, in "Automotive News", Vol. 76, n. 6044 (June 15, 2003, p. 48.

<sup>125</sup> Watts, Steven, *The People's Tycoon: Henry Ford and the American Century*, New York, Vintage Books, 2005, p. 247.

Although Ford could not be considered the perfect man to lead such a great cause as the pacifist one, he was able through his eccentricity to give to Julia Grace Wales' plan the right attention; everybody knew her project, and everybody began to hope in changes. A business man such as Ford needed prestige, press, attention, and maybe the noble cause of the Conference of Continuous Mediation Without Armistice served just for his aim. However, where a man stopped, a woman was able to go on, and women through their effort will bring great achievements for welfare.

## THE UNOFFICIAL NEUTRAL CONFERENCE FOR CONTINUOUS MEDIATION

The works belonging to the Ford Peace Ship did not reach their end, had much more to offer and delegates resumed their activities in January 1916. It is worth mentioning that Ford's great enterprise operated with the purpose of giving birth to a Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation according to Julia Grace Wales' plan. According to her "the plan was in its tendency not morally neutral but international, designed to bring out a clear definition of issues, and hence tending to an ethical international line-up<sup>126</sup>." The plan was approved by a resolution called during the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915 in order to promote the end of the hostilities through both the submissions of peace proposals to belligerents and efforts to persuade neutrals to act in favour of mediation.

During 1916, the idea of the Neutral Conference got more and more acknowledgment and authority in the European capitals thanks to delegates' intense activity. On the other hand, in the United States it was not really supported due to the still live remembrance of the Ford Peace Ship fiasco that made the progress of peace movements there hard. Just think that the WWP, the first movement in the United States to support the mediationist idea, now was decreasing its involvement in the cause.

The first meeting of the Conference officially took place on February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1916 at the Grand Hotel in Stockholm with three to five delegates elected by the peace organization of neutral countries such as Denmark, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States<sup>127</sup>.

In particular, at its first meeting only American and Swedish representatives were present. Delegates from Denmark and Norway arrived on February 15<sup>th</sup>. Swiss delegates on February 28<sup>th</sup> and finally, Dutch delegates on March 3<sup>rd</sup><sup>128</sup>.

Members declared that the Conference had objectives of primary importance: "The creation of an international organisation founded on right and justice, which would

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<sup>126</sup> Randall, Mercedes M., *Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch, Nobel peace laureate*, New York, Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1964, p. 163.

<sup>127</sup> Wynner, Edith; Lloyd, Georgia, *Searchlight on Peace Plans, Choose Your Road to World Government*, New York, E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc, 1944, p. 406.

<sup>128</sup> Lochner, Louis, *The Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation at Stockholm*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol. 78, n.8 (August 1916), p. 238.

include an agreement to submit all disputes between States to peaceful settlement, is far more important for the welfare of humanity than the solution so far suggested<sup>129</sup>.”

Among members of the Conference, there were members of parliament, editors, businessmen, professors and journalists. One third of delegates were women and half of them had taken part in The International Congress of Women at The Hague in April 1915<sup>130</sup>. Totally, there were 27 delegates.

In order to ensure a constant advance of the Conference and a higher activity, delegates decided to get together three times a week. Furthermore, they established that the chairman should change every week so as to represent all nations present at the Conference. Louis P. Lochner was appointed general secretary of the Conference.

Three committees were constituted, each of them with a specific purpose:

- Press Committee: handled propaganda efforts so as to obtain support from people.
- Executive Committee: promoted mediation between belligerents.
- Committee of expert and consultant: scientific study on actual political matters and issues related to war.

Issues related to war in which delegates debated were so numerous that they decided to divide into four different subcommittees so as to study each theme in a better way<sup>131</sup>:

1. National conflicts: questions of neutrality and the transfer of territory. Acknowledgment by powerful nations of the right of belonging to small nations and minority nationalities.

The American Neutral Conference Committee on Emily Balch and Rebecca Shelley’s proposal conceived the following petition:

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States of America, declare our conviction that adequate guarantees against future wars – the avowed aim of both belligerents – can be secured by

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<sup>129</sup> League of Nations Society, *Project of a League of Nations*, in “*League of Nations Publications*”, n. 15 (August 1917), p. 23.

<sup>130</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada’s Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 258.

<sup>131</sup> Davidson, Gordon Westbrook, *Henry Ford: The Formation And Course Of A Public Figure*, Columbia University Press, 1966, p.120.



- Repudiation of military conquest as a means of territorial expansion.
  - Recognition of the right of each people to determine its own social, political, and economic development.
  - World organization for the development of international cooperation and the settlement of international disputes<sup>132</sup>.
2. Freedom of the seas, all of them agreed on this principle, however there were disparities of opinion on deciding if this principle should be applied to artificial waterways or to natural ones<sup>133</sup>.
  3. Colonies and other economic questions of international character.
  4. International organizational:
 

We believe that right and not should be the deciding factor in international politics. We are aware that even in a better future, full of a spirit of conciliation and co-operation, controversies between the nations will not disappear. But we trust that it will be possible to create international machinery fitted for the settlement of those disputes by peaceful means<sup>134</sup>.

The Neutral Conference took into consideration programs of the following organizations:

The International Congress of Women at The Hague, the Central Organisation for a Durable Peace, the international Peace Bureau, the World Peace Foundation, the general Swedish Peace Congress, the Women's Peace Party, the Emergency Federation of Peace, the League to Enforce Peace, the New York Peace Society, the National Peace Council, the Union of Democratic Control, the Dutch Anti-War Council, the Swiss

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<sup>132</sup> Jenkins, Thomas A., *Joining The Issue*, in *"The Advocate of Peace"*, Vol. 79, (January 1, 1917), p.29.

<sup>133</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p.475.

<sup>134</sup> League of Nations Society, *Project of a League of Nations*, in *"League of Nations Publications"*, n. 15 (August 1917), p. 23.

Committee for a Durable Peace, the American Socialist Party, the French General Confederation of Labour, the South German Social Democrats<sup>135</sup>.

These programs agreed on the fact that nations should have a permanent international law-making body, a permanent international law-interpreting body and an international council for solving not justiciable controversies<sup>136</sup>.

Delegates were aware that only the Conference could not stop the war, but they believed that its main function was to distribute to the whole world the peace plans and to make them known. A great effort was required to guarantee an equal representation for all nations. For this reason, delegations composed at least by two members were established with the duty of submitting simultaneously proposals of peace to the belligerent governments. They were sent to the governments of the belligerent countries that had diplomatic representation in Stockholm (Austria, Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and Turkey) in order to ask for permission to travel through their countries to make invitations to the Conference<sup>137</sup>. Then, the delegations came back to the Conference headquarters to review proposals and advance them to belligerents until the reach of the establishment of both terms of peace and the mediation.

We believe that various public statements by leading spokesmen of the opposing belligerents indicate that discussions based on these principles may be substituted for armed conflict.

We recognise, however, that the nature of the conflict makes difficult the initiation of direct negotiations by the belligerents themselves. We, therefore, earnestly urge our government, acting alone or in cooperation with other neutral powers:

- To invite the belligerent to state the basis upon which they would be willing to begin peace negotiations.

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<sup>135</sup> Robertson, John Mackinnon, *Peace organisation after the war: a review of some schemes of reconstruction*, London, International Arbitration League, 1918, p.5.

<sup>136</sup> Call, Arthur Deerin, *Estimate of the situation*, The American Peace Society, 1917, p. 7.

<sup>137</sup> Davidson, Gordon Westbrook, *Henry Ford: The Formation And Course Of A Public Figure*, Columbia University Press, 1966, p.121.

- To mediate by constructive peace proposals which shall safeguard the just claims of the belligerents and the common interests of all nations<sup>138</sup>.

As a result, the Conference conceived two Appeals that are the most important works produced by the Conference. Delegates worked hard on these Appeals reaching different results.

On March 1<sup>st</sup>, two Committees of seven members for each one were established in order to formulate an Appeal to the neutral nations asking them to promote an official neutral conference to mediate; the other Appeal was addressed to belligerents to submit peace proposals to them.

The Appeal to Neutrals was completed on March 9<sup>th</sup>. In that moment, the foreign ministers of the three Scandinavian governments met in Copenhagen with a deputation from the conference in order to present the Appeal. This is the first time in which the Neutral Conference received official recognition<sup>139</sup>.

The Appeal to Neutrals reminded neutral states that their duty was one of mediating. The Appeal ended with the following words "It is in view of these considerations that the unofficial Conference at Stockholm respectfully begs you to be willing to endeavour by every means in your power to obtain the co-operation of neutral nations toward official mediation between the belligerents and toward the future development of an international order of justice<sup>140</sup>."

One the immediate results that the Appeal produced was that the Swedish delegate Mayor Lindhagen<sup>141</sup> introduced a bill in the Second Chamber of the Riksdag to push the Swedish government to call a Neutral Conference. The bill passed. The same was proposed to the Norwegian Parliament. The call for an official Neutral Conference was

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<sup>138</sup> Jenkins, Thomas A., *Joining The Issue*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol. 79, (January 1, 1917), p.29.

<sup>139</sup> Lochner, Louis, *The Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation at Stockholm*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol. 78, n.8 (August 1916), p. 239.

<sup>140</sup> Tuttle, Peter Guertin, *The Ford Peace Ship: Volunteer Diplomacy In The Twentieth Century*, Yale University Press, 1958.

<sup>141</sup> Lochner, Louis, *The Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation at Stockholm*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol. 78, n.8 (August 1916), p. 239.

also proposed during a session of the Swiss National Council through the requests by the Swiss members of the Conference<sup>142</sup>.

This Appeal received much publicity by the European press also in the belligerent countries, and served to catch the attention about the necessity to end the war as soon as possible<sup>143</sup>.

No nations replied to this Appeal.

The other Appeal-committee worked from the beginning of March to April 15<sup>th</sup> on the draft of the Appeal to the Governments, Parliaments and People of the Belligerent countries. For six weeks, the delegates studied issues on territorial adjustment and international law.

During the drawing up of the Appeal, there were doubts about how it should be transmitted. Some delegates wanted to transmit it confidentially to the Foreign Offices without any publication in journals. Other delegates proposed to address the Appeal directly to the people of belligerent nations with much publicity. The second method was followed.

Finally, on Easter Day, April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1916 the Appeal was entirely published in European neutral countries and its publication was permitted also in Austria, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia<sup>144</sup>.

The first part of the document concerned the self-determination of nations and recommended that “no transfer of territory should take place without the consent of the population involved and that nations should have the right to decide their own fate<sup>145</sup>.”

On the economic side, the Appeal proposed that every country should enjoy equal economic opportunities.

Furthermore, through the Appeal to the Governments, Parliaments and People of the Belligerent countries, delegates expressed their favour concerning the Freedom of the

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<sup>142</sup> Lochner, Louis, *The Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation at Stockholm*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol. 78, n.8 (August 1916), p. 239.

<sup>143</sup> Addams, Jane, *Peace and Bread in Time of War*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1922.

<sup>144</sup> Lochner, Louis, *The Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation at Stockholm*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol. 78, n.8 (August 1916), p. 239.

<sup>145</sup> Tuttle, Peter Guertin, *The Ford Peace Ship: Volunteer Diplomacy In The Twentieth Century*, Yale University Press, 1958.

Seas, the involvement of people in foreign affairs and disarmament. The final paragraph underlined the importance of the establishment of a world conference.

The committee asked ministers from the belligerent countries in Stockholm to call expert consultants from their countries to join the Conference so as to provide their opinion. France rejected the request, Germany did not show a decision, and Britain and Russia stated that it was impossible to restore peace<sup>146</sup>.

Once again, the Appeal did not cause a reaction in the belligerent countries.

However, delegates were satisfied because after efforts to conciliate different nationalistic points of view, the Appeal obtained great attention all over the world.

The Appeal is considered the forerunner of Wilson's Fourteen Points, of the League of Nations and of the United Nations.

The Neutral Conference carried out its duty through the two Appeals. It formulated peace proposals, submitted it to the belligerents, and gave the right attention to peace issues through its press committee.

Although the two Appeals were not able to begin mediation directly, they created publicity for the Conference. For the first time, citizens were informed and suggested by an institution promoting peace, so becoming aware about the consequences of the war. After publishing the two Appeals, the delegates had debates for five days concerning the Conference reorganization. They realized that a body so numerous, composed of 30 delegates, was too large to produce prompt decisions without disputes and changes of opinions. Hence, delegates decided to reduce the number of the members of the Conference and twelve was considered the right number: two delegates from each of the six nations plus the General Secretary Louis Lochner and the Chief of Publicity, Haakon Loken<sup>147</sup>. The Committee of Twelve, also known as the International Committee for Immediate Mediation<sup>148</sup> was officially established on May 16<sup>th</sup>. It was a permanent working committee involved in the promotion of mediation through publicity and propaganda efforts by keeping in touch peace advocates from all over the world.

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<sup>146</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 262.

<sup>147</sup> *Ivi*, p. 268.

<sup>148</sup> Wynner, Edith; Lloyd, Georgia, *Searchlight on Peace Plans, Choose Your Road to World Government*, New York, E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc, 1944, p. 407.

In particular, the Committee had the duty to maintain a relationship with members of the Conference who went back to their home countries, with European peace movements, and with International bodies such as the Central Organization for a Durable Peace, the Cooperative Association, the International Council of Women, the Trade Unions and the Interparliamentary Union<sup>149</sup>.

The Committee of Twelve was involved in a series of activities concerning peace. Among the several activities, their first duty was to obtain financial aid and political independence from Ford. Moreover, they set to carry on the mediation cause, to offer peace proposals and to work with other peace groups to keep people informed<sup>150</sup>. For all these reasons, delegates decided to divide their works by constituting three sub-committees, based on Mediation, Constructive Peace, and Publicity and Propaganda<sup>151</sup>. The Publicity and Propaganda Committee was devoted to the production of small books disclosed in Stockholm in which aims of the Conference were carefully explained, with a review called *Post Bellum* concerning international problems<sup>152</sup>. In this way civilians were directly involved in the work of the Conference and were always informed about delegates' decisions. The committee worked also on the publication of Julia Grace Wales' plan for Continuous Mediation Without Armistice and of the Appeal to Neutrals. Furthermore, the Committee of Propaganda and Publicity was committed to the call of several mass meetings. In fact, in the period between the last meeting of the Neutral Conference and first one of the Committee of Twelve, delegates spent their efforts on the organization of mass meetings in neutral countries. The first meetings took place on May 18<sup>th</sup>, in order to commemorate the first Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899. Ten thousand people got together in each neutral city represented at the Neutral Conference in Stockholm. It seemed that people from European neutral countries were changing their mind towards the mediation proposal.

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<sup>149</sup> Lochner, Louis, *The Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation at Stockholm*, in *"The Advocate of Peace"*, Vol. 78, n.8 (August 1916), p. 239.

<sup>150</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 493.

<sup>151</sup> *Ivi*, p. 513.

<sup>152</sup> Davidson, Gordon Westbrook, *Henry Ford: The Formation And Course Of A Public Figure*, Columbia University Press, 1966, p. 130.

The Committee based on Constructive Peace and on Mediation worked mainly on the promotion of a direct mediation by favouring exchanges of opinions among various governments for finding the right moment to mediate. They settled the beginning of the mediation in the occasion of the visits of people from belligerent countries to neutrals ones and vice versa, in a harmonious and peaceful way. This is the first time in history that mediation obtained democratic support, promoted by people through peaceful manners, and with an important participation by women.

The main purpose of the Committee was to persuade neutral governments to mediate both directly and indirectly because they agreed that mediation should be carried out by neutral governments and not by citizens of neutral countries. The Committee needed to contact citizens from neutral and belligerent countries so that they could influence their governments to stop this bloody war. People were tired of this massacre.

Delegates were aware that mediation was a long and difficult process.

Members wished that some delegates would go to the belligerent countries to settle terms of peace. However, in that moment it could be a waste of time due to the reticence of governments in initiating mediation. Reaching other countries could serve also for another purpose; delegates hoped to reach men in the belligerent countries as much as possible so as to convince them not to support the war cause. The promotion of resolutions could help them to do it. Several resolutions asking governments to call for mediation and the establishment of a world conference were ideated. In cooperation with the Central Organization for a Durable Peace, delegates needed the aid from famous people in the peace environment to help them to formulate terms of peace. Thus, in August 1916, they produced a moderate resolution asking neutral governments to offer mediation as soon as an opportunity was presented,

We earnestly request the Parliaments and Governments of our country to take all necessary and possible measures to call a conference of neutral nations, or to urge one neutral nation

- a) To tender the belligerents their good offices for mediation, and

- b) To call a general conference of the nations of the world for the discussion of an international organization of justice and for the settlement of disputes concerning general, territorial, economical and legal questions<sup>153</sup>.

They also proposed that the neutral nations would send representatives to people's congresses at the end of the war so as to found the basis for an organization respectful of civil and human rights.

As a result, the work of the three Committees produced great activism. People felt like an integral part of the Conference and understood that their efforts were necessary. During the month of August there were many interviews and much publicity by pacifist movements, individuals and religious movements. European journals praised the Committee for having promoted activities concerning peace.

Delegates convened for the thirty-fifth and last time on April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1916 and on this occasion decided that the Conference would be established again at the beginning of the negotiations<sup>154</sup>. Hence, delegates went back to their home countries.

Persuading governments to stop fighting turned out to be useless and many began to discredit the Conference. Maybe the low cooperation among delegates and the numerous controversies and disputes made the project harder than it was; they should have understood that different methods and opinions proposed by different delegates could be applied simultaneously, so as to cooperate and to reach more results quickly. The incessant contrasts between Swiss and Scandinavian delegates during the Conference are clear evidence of that. Sometimes the complex nature of the human soul tends to create situations really different from the ones desired, so forgetting the real purpose for which it is fighting.

During 1916, any belligerent country replied favourably to the request for mediation.

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<sup>153</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 269.

<sup>154</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 492.



In June 1916, the Committee sent envoys to England, Germany and Russia but these expeditions were not successful since they met several critics and were not able to negotiate terms of peace<sup>155</sup>.

However, the Conference operated rightly according to its duties and purposes. With the establishment of the three Committees, it formulated peace proposals, submitted them to the belligerents and announced them through the press and mass demonstration.

As already specified, the Conference was unique. For the first time, delegates representing their own countries got together in order to persuade governments to stop fighting and at the same time civilians were involved in this process by being informed step by step through a Committee devoted just for propaganda activities. The very innovative element concerns the way in which the war should end. Scientific remedies and principles of peace and justice would have stopped the war, in contrast to the usual way to end war based on military conquest.

Therefore, Julia Grace Wales' plan reveals innovative elements to settle a dispute. It is well described in the chapter entitled "Julia Grace Wales: From the Plan of the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation to the Support of War"

If the Conference was not able to set mediation, there was still a chance; this one could be promoted by President Wilson. During 1916, the whole world was waiting for Wilson's acceptance of the mediationists' cause.

President Wilson never considered Julia Grace Wales' plan for Continuous Mediation Without Armistice. However, he realized it through an alternative non-official way, the Ford Sponsored Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation, known as the Ford Peace Commission<sup>156</sup>. Ford promised to finance the Conference with \$10,000 a month. In this situation, members cooperated and strived to reconcile various national points of view. Once he was re-elected in May 1916, President Wilson entered a new policy close to the pacifist one. He was aware that Germany wanted to undertake submarine warfare so leading to the break of diplomatic relations between Germany and America. He

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<sup>155</sup> *Delegates, Mediation Conference*, in "Library of Congress". Available at: <https://www.loc.gov>.

<sup>156</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 569.

understood that mediation could be the only solution to avoid it. Thus, on December 1916, President Wilson offered his peace proposal to Germany. After President Wilson's note to belligerents, the Ford Peace Commission got increased prestige, just like an international commission<sup>157</sup>.

In his speech to the Senate called Peace Without Victory<sup>158</sup>, on January 22, he explained his new intentions for ensuring the global peace, confirmed the principles already stated in the Neutral Conference's Appeal to the Belligerents and proposed the establishment of a league of nations. President Wilson's statements were full of words like cooperation, diplomacy, justice and peace. Indirectly he was suggesting proceeding with mediation.

After the proposal of mediation offered by Germany, the Conference was replaced with an International Commission with headquarters at The Hague and branches in Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen and Berne<sup>159</sup>.

However, once Germany showed its willingness to negotiate, the Allies did not accept mediation. The failure of the peace proposal led Germany to intensify submarine warfare. This could be considered the end of the Ford Peace activities. Henry Ford stopped his donations. Delegates' activities ended.

The declaration of war by the United States marks the end and at the same time the failure of the Neutral Conference.

Nevertheless, if the Conference did not achieve the end of the fighting, it was able to open people's eyes by showing them that alternatives for stopping war existed. These alternatives were far from military conquest, as already explained, there were possibilities based on diplomatic cooperation, negotiations and mediation. For the first time people were kept informed about the progress of the actual political situation by the continuous production of small books and articles, they were taught about peace

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<sup>157</sup> Chatfield, Charles, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America 1914-1941*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1971, p.19.

<sup>158</sup> Steinson, Barbara Jean, *Female Activism in World War I: the American Women's Peace Suffrage, Preparedness, and Relief Movements, 1914-1919*, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1977, p. 109.

<sup>159</sup> Davidson, Gordon Westbrook, *Henry Ford: The Formation And Course Of A Public Figure*, Columbia University Press, 1966, p. 133.

and negotiations, by the establishments of Appeals that for the first time were openly published in neutral countries and in a few belligerent ones.

The Conference did not reach the purpose of mediation but had the power to influence several governments, among them the United States, so that President Wilson during 1916 began to see negotiations as a possible alternative. The plan and proposals of the Conference were outlined so carefully to influence nowadays-global institutions like the United Nations. Soon, it was clear that Julia Grace Wales' plan could be winning. It was just enough to promote it in a correct manner, considering to cooperate for the global peace rather than to debate for individual point of view. Only in this way, is it possible to build a solid structure on which quiet and peaceful relations among nations can persist over time. And today we can confirm it.

## THE ROLE OF CANADIAN WOMEN IN WORLD WAR I

President Wilson won the elections thanks to the campaign based on the famous slogan “He kept us out of war<sup>160</sup>.” As a result, he called the United States Congress in order to promote “A war to end all wars<sup>161</sup>.”

Effectively, World War I gave the possibility to propose new methods through which to solve disputes and not to have wars in the future. However, the merit to have looked for an effective way out from the war should not be attributed entirely to President Wilson. It is possible to assert that WWI employed a large number of women proving and offering them a new role and acknowledgment both on a political and social side. American women experienced WWI differently compared to previous wars, and were able to produce high and important results. In effect, for women World War I can be considered as a stage on which they interpreted roles as diplomats, pacifists, nurses and fighters, giving proof that women do not have to play just the role of mother or wife and that they are able to take care of the whole world.

Social relations and economic and political factors confine the individual to the sphere of their gender. Unfortunately, women have always played roles enjoying only few human rights. In effect, women have always experienced fewer opportunities and fewer rights than men. Differences between man and woman were felt in world conditions, at home and in the community.

Nevertheless, World War I looked like a relief valve for that condition which was too narrow for women. They acquired the strength to realize their value and their potentials: “‘motherhood’ and ‘womanhood’ were powerful integrating forces that allowed women to cross class, and perhaps even racial, lines<sup>162</sup>.”

The demand for action from women according to a separate political culture was so strong that it gave rise to movements and organizations mainly for fighting injustices toward women and children, poverty, diseases, helplessness and crime. These groups

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<sup>160</sup> Freidel, Frank and Sidey, Hugh. *The Presidents of the United States of America*, in “*The Presidential biographies*”. Available at: <https://www.whitehouse.gov>.

<sup>161</sup> Woodrow Wilson, in “*United States History*”. Available at: <http://www.u-shistory.com/>.

<sup>162</sup> Baker, Paula, *The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920*, in “*American Historical Review*”, Vol. 89, n. 3 (June 1984), p. 633.

were usually composed of middle-class women who were spokespersons for popular discontent. In America women's movements were able to influence the area of government interest so as to promote new changes on the political level. The movements had a precise structure and organization with clear purposes and a wide participation. Many of them were charity and missionary organizations and all of them had the objective to raise a moral reform. Changes and reforms required by these organizations effectively were taken into consideration so acquiring a strong political value. As a result, women managed to obtain political equality, superiority and more independence.

Among the women more involved in WWI, both for defending peace and for serving the war, were the Canadian women. One of the most active Canadian women for peace was Julia Grace Wales. Thus, in order to better understand her thoughts it is useful to dwell on the analysis of the woman's role in Canada during WWI. By analysing the women's situation in the country in which Julia Grace Wales was born, it is possible to comprehend which were the factors that influenced her mind.

WWI is thought to be the bloodiest conflict in Canadian history due to the large involvement not only of men but also of civilians such as women and children, costing the life of 61,000 Canadians. Despite this fact, Canada can be proud of the way in which it dealt with the war.

In 1914 Canada was a Christian colony of the British Empire and therefore Canadian foreign affairs were handled in London. The Canadian Parliament was not willing to enter the war, however Canada positively responded to the British declaration of war to Germany. Thus, it fought alongside Britain, allied with Serbia, Russia, and France against Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the presence of a cruel battle, Canadian women took two different ways to outline two kinds of activism. Both ways were in contrast with the dominant view the Canadian women's effort to resist the war which consisted of "sitting at home knitting socks, writing letters, and encouraging our brave

boys to make all the necessary sacrifice to ensure that this would be the war to end all wars<sup>163</sup>.”

On the one hand, many women supported the cause of the war by assisting men’s activities in trenches and some of them reached vertices of the Canadian Army. Nevertheless, the Canadian Victorian point of view based on the differentiation of gender roles limited the participation of women in war. The role of a woman who fights was never taken into serious consideration. Women showed their activism in the trench, above all through nursing activities; in effect nurses were official members of the Canadian Army. At the breakout of the war five Permanent Force nurses existed. By 1915, the Canadian Army Nursing Service had 2,030 nurses, among whom 1,886 were overseas, with 203 reserves. In total 3,141 nurses provided services as volunteers<sup>164</sup>. Their proximity to the front forced them to face continuously high danger and to work in precarious environments and adverse climatic conditions. However, their willingness to render consolation and care to fighters was really huge because they were fighting for freedom and peace. The image of the Canadian woman who supports man at war was very useful as a propaganda medium for promoting the war. To the women’s activity in the trench is linked the women’s activity in the promoter organizations for war as the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), the National Committee of Women of Patriots and Service (NCWPS)<sup>165</sup>. In 1915 Jane Addams organized the Women’s Peace Conference at The Hague and invited the NCWC and NCWPS to take part in the conference but they rejected the invitation. Some Canadian women such as Julia Grace Wales joined it with the purpose to find means to end the war and to avoid other ones in the future.

Effectively, on the other hand, many other Canadian women opposed the war and according to them peace was achievable through peaceful ways and not with fighting.

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<sup>163</sup> Schagerl, Jessica Ann, *Global Imaginaries: Reading the International Interventions, Interactions, and Imaginings of Women in English – Canada, 1899 – 1919*, Ontario, The University of Western Ontario London Press, 2006, p. 198.

<sup>164</sup> *Canada’s Nursing Sisters*, in “Remembering Those Who Served, Remembrance Series”. Available at: <http://www.veterans.gc.ca>, p. 6.

<sup>165</sup> Chenier, Nancy Miller, *Canadian Women and War*. Available at: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia>.

Women assembled together in societies for charitable and religious purposes, which were already present in the first ancient Canadian churches in 1870-1880. It is possible to recall the First Canadian Young Women's Christian Association founded in 1870, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1870 and the Dominion Order of King's Daughter's in 1886<sup>166</sup>.

The women's organizations in Ontario and Manitoba gave life to the first women's organizations for suffrage between 1880 and 1890. These movements developed and at the breakout of World War I new ones were born. They not only felt evangelic reasons, but had also the purpose of reaching legal and political equality. So it was possible to assist to the women's political involvement, that is, affecting the power of the State for promoting official reforms and for consolidating national identity.

Women who joined these movements most of the time came from the middle-class. According to the Victorian ideology, men and women belonged to two different and separate spheres in which women were devoted to childrearing and housekeeping. Through WWI men (husbands, sons, brothers) went to fight in the trenches and women spent a long time alone, had more time for themselves and so to reflect. The war extended women's activities towards new roles and gave them new duties that until then had not been considered as such. Hence, women were involved in temperance, pacifism, health rights and women's suffrage so as to show their good citizenship.

These women felt responsible for the welfare of the society, thus their image needed a public and authoritative acknowledgment and therefore they strongly asked the political class for enacting a legislation for public health and child labour. As a result, a lot of initiatives for increasing women's awareness developed.

The Canadian women's involvement never was so large as in World War I. By 1912 it was estimated that one out of eight adult women in Canada belonged to a women's group so that they became key figures in the country. In 1918 a Women's War Conference was called by the federal government to debate on the woman's role who thanks to her activity related to WWI had reached numerous aims. In 1920 the Women's

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<sup>166</sup> Strong-Boag, Veronica. *Early Women's Movements in Canada: 1867-1960*. Available at: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia>.

International League for Peace and Freedom was established in Canada for the purpose of peace and disarmament. In 1960 the Voice of Women (now the Canadian Voice of Women for Peace) was born. In 1971 the National Action Committee on the Status of Women were founded with the purpose of incrementing activities and exchange of information about matters such as day care, education, family law and maternity leave<sup>167</sup>.

World War I was a hard challenge for Canadian women, however not the only one, in effect women were still fighting several wars for reaching legal and institutional liberties but also for matters such as nuclear disarmament or the invasion of Iraq by the United States in 2003.

WWI gave space to women's actions, which obtained visibility, social and political recognition as never before.

Today the situation is different and one of the greatest difficulties that women's organizations have to face up to is acting in a context in which not only are there gender differences, but those linked to social class or ethnic identity play a big role as well. In this present condition women have to promote the diverse and the weak so as to ensure freedom and peace once again.

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<sup>167</sup> Morris, Cerise. Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, in "Historica Canada". Available at: <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/royal-commission-on-the-status-of-women-in-canada/>.



## JULIA GRACE WALES: FROM THE PLAN OF THE NEUTRAL CONFERENCE FOR CONTINUOUS MEDIATION TO THE SUPPORT OF WAR

A year ago if I had gazed into a magic crystal and seen myself on this freight boat, among the ropes and sailors, watching the receding masts and roofs of Amsterdam, and the barges slipping besides us, and been told that I was bound for Copenhagen to run a gauntlet of war in the North Sea, perhaps (This is put in to be dramatic. I do not think there is much danger.) and to try to talk to diplomats in three capitals, how much of it do you suppose I'd have believed? Did you ever hear anything so crazy and fantastic. The whole thing seems like a preposterous joke if we could take time from the tragedy of the world to think about it. But we must not pause to be weakened by the thought of personal inadequacy<sup>168</sup>.

### LIFE

In order to understand how so innovative and peaceful ideas grew and developed in Julia Grace Wales' mind so deeply as to devote all her life to this question, a short description of her life from childhood to her last days could be a valid tool.

Julia Grace Wales was born on July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1888, in the small town of Bury, Quebec, Canada. She was the eldest of three daughters of Dr. Benjamin Nathaniel Wales and Emma Theodosia Osgood. Her father was a rural physician who always took care of his community and was highly respected. Since Julia Grace Wales' family had New England roots with Christian faith, she spent her life in a religious and cultural environment, with a particular regard for important values as humanity and for fundamental principles such as peace. She was educated at home and when she was seven years old she went to school. From September 1892 to June 1896 she attended the Bury Model School and during years 1897-1898 she attended the Cookshire Academy. She had various interests and always devoted her life to doing goodwill. Soon she became a member of the

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<sup>168</sup> Schagerl, Jessica Ann, *Global Imaginaries: Reading the International Interventions, Interactions, and Imaginings of Women in English – Canada, 1899 – 1919*, Ontario, The University of Western Ontario London Press, 2006, p. 194.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union that promoted abstinence from alcoholic beverages. Thanks to her family, Wales was able to attend university, and in 1903 she graduated from McGill University with First Rank Honours in English literature and with the Shakespeare Gold Medal (at the time McGill's chief academic honour for literary studies). In Harvard University she got the degree in Master of Arts, in 1904. After she completed her studies, in 1909 she began her teaching career in the Department of English at the University of Wisconsin.

It was a peaceful period dedicated to study and career, however Wales' serenity was undermined by the breakout of World War I: "She became like an anguished angel in her determination to find a way that would persuade mankind it could solve its conflicts through reason instead of murder<sup>169</sup>." Julia Grace Wales was born during the Age of Imperialism in which nations were fighting for territorial expansion based on a strong military force. A high spirit of imperialism was supported by imperialistic principles. Louise Phelps Kellogg, secretary of the Wisconsin Peace Society, described Wales' feelings: "The pity and horror of it seized upon her ... [and she] said to herself and others, 'There must be some way out.' Gifted with great sympathy and a philosophical love for getting at the bottom of things, she thought night and day of some possible exit from the entanglement in which she felt the world had been unwittingly plunged<sup>170</sup>."

The Wales family was from Canada, a colony of the British Empire and was involved in the war. It was the only nation in America to be born without cruel revolutions. From this British heritage, Julia Grace Wales acquired the English ideals of citizenship and democracy and she was devoted to their promotion, in order to create an international membership.

During Christmas 1914, she began studying a possible way to restore peace as soon as possible:

Was it not possible, that the nations now at war had been paralyzed by a conventional mode of thinking and were mistaken in supposing that they were helpless in the face of a calamity which they had brought upon themselves?

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<sup>169</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 50.

<sup>170</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 204.

If only we could clear our heads and think out the problem. There must be a simple, human solution. What is the natural thing to do<sup>171</sup>?

The outcome of her study was a plan including a proposal for the cessation or, at least the shortening of this irrational hostility. Her manuscript adopted the name of *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice*.

The idea proposed by Julia Grace Wales' pamphlet was new according to its genre because it suggested developing peaceful proposals while the war was in progress. However, others, such as Hamilton Holt, editor of the Independent, and Senators La Follette and Newlands, had already asked the United States to call a neutral conference. Furthermore, Rosika Schwimmer had worked out a proposal similar to Wales' proposal of a neutral conference. Julia Grace Wales explained:

Although so far as I know, my pamphlet was the first detached development of some aspects of the plan of continuous mediation and some arguments in its favour to appear print, I was not even the first to publish the idea. During the autumn of last year – I think almost immediately after the outbreak of the war – a small folder was issued by Madame Rosika Schwimmer, containing in a few lines a proposal for a conference on neutrals. Not being in touch with the international movement I had not, however, heard of her proposal at the time my pamphlet was printed. Various presentations have been worked out independently by persons of various nationalities showing that the idea is in the air the world over<sup>172</sup>.

Julia Grace Wales decided to articulate her proposal on paper.

People showed a lot of enthusiasm for her plan. In particular, Louise Phelps Kellogg, solicited her to present it to the Wisconsin Peace Society composed of groups working for peace. Wales for the first time publicly exposed her proposal of Continuous Mediation Without Armistice to the Wisconsin Peace Society. In 1915 the Society published the plan under the title *The Wisconsin Plan* and sent it to the most influential

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<sup>171</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), pp. 203- 204.

<sup>172</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 51.

subjects of that time. Joseph Tumulty, President Wilson's Private Secretary, read the pamphlet and declared: "...at the first opportunity I shall bring it to the attention of the President<sup>173</sup>." David Starr Jordan, a prominent pacifist, explained that: "It seems to me the most forceful and practical thing I have yet seen. Among the many documents, averaging several a day, suggesting plans for disposing of the war, I don't know of anything better than this essay. One thing that will make Wisconsin famous is its plan to stop the war... .<sup>174</sup>" He asked Louis Lochner<sup>175</sup> to secure a copy of the pamphlet and to present it to the National Peace Conference in Chicago, 1915. However, Julia Grace Wales decided not to join the National Peace Conference because she did not want to reveal that she was the author of the pamphlet. There were two main reasons behind her decision: on one hand she was Canadian, thus she came from a belligerent country. On the other hand, she considered that if her work was thought to be written by a man, it would acquire a more serious consideration. Also her modesty played a big role in this decisions. Finally, the San Francisco International Peace Conference endorsed the Wisconsin Plan.

Julia Grace Wales' plan caught most prominent pacifists' attention, first of all, Jane Addams's interest. The WPP distributed over 20,000 copies of the pamphlet throughout the United States and Europe. As already explained, Jane Addams invited Wales to participate in the Congress of Women at The Hague in February, 1915. At The Hague Wales' plan was the basis of the Congress, because all the participants agreed on mediation by neutrals without armistice and on the selection of countries to be represented at the Conference. Wales was elected as one of the propaganda mission representatives. In a letter to friends, she explained "All the women I have met are strong personalities, intensely interesting in themselves, but the vital thing is that they represent all American womanhood, its strength, its compassion. It is the Committee behind us that gives us the feeling of power. The Committee has been meaning more

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<sup>173</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 54.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> He was a Wisconsin editor of the Wisconsin Alumnus and a successful journalist.

and more to me every hour I left Madison<sup>176</sup>.” Moreover, in a letter to the Wisconsin Peace Society she added “Everyone to whom I have talked takes to the Plan most kindly the forty-two delegates on board have adopted my Plan<sup>177</sup>.”

Julia Grace Wales was asked to explain her plan during the Conference and soon she worried about her ability to address the crowd. Her modesty made her insecure of the reaction of all delegates concerning her exposition “From what we can gather from the English papers, it may be difficult to get the English women to consider anything less than terms of final settlement. They are clearly against asking for truce, but we will try this on them and hope that we can convince them. We will leave no stone unturned. At least I hope to get the pamphlet into various countries<sup>178</sup>.” She considered

Doubtless, delegations from the other countries prepared themselves in the same way, and that is perhaps one reason why the work went so smoothly at the conference itself... Other passengers, some of them business men from various parts of the world, who had at first regarded our effort with no small scepticism, gradually grew interested and dropped in to listen to the discussions, and sometimes to take part in them. It was interesting, even in these imperfect circumstances, to watch the workings of the collective mind. One felt a growing conviction that if the experience and knowledge, the scientific judgment and inventiveness of the world could be concentrated in an international thinking organ, a way might be found even now to establish a just and permanent peace<sup>179</sup>.

When Rosika Schwimmer introduced to the Conference Julia Grace Wales as the author of the plan *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice*, Wales adopted the following words:

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<sup>176</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005p.64.

<sup>177</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in “*Wisconsin Magazine of History*” Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961),, pp. 207.

<sup>178</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 69.

<sup>179</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 69-70.

Madame Chairman, it is one of the customs of war that when war has been declared, at once communication between the countries will cease. I ask why should that be the case? It is one of those customs which have grown up in earlier ages, when possibly there was some occasion for them, but which is no longer necessary. At one-time communication was so difficult between nations at war that it was practically impossible to continue communication. But now we have telegraph and cables and there is no reason why negotiations should not continue. It is not true that we, as women, can set aside at once in our thinking this thoughtless custom. This conference is a claim for bringing out thinking into action. What we have to do is to think all together. The nations are thinking but they are thinking separately and our ideas must be coordinated, if we are to arrive at truth. If there is one thing we need not be afraid of doing, it is thinking honestly. If the peoples of the world will begin to think, they will begin to be safe. It is so, that we shall be liberated from the great evil that has been over us for centuries. From scientific progress and international progress, we know that there is no reason why under any circumstances humanity shall be helpless. If we desire with all our hearts to find out the truly right way, nothing can prevent us from finding it. We think that of the world are great enough and more than great enough, even now, to save the world<sup>180</sup>.

The Congress adopted the resolution *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice* "This International Congress of Women -the resolution declared-resolves to ask the neutral countries to create a conference of neutral nations which shall without delay offer continuous mediation. The Conference shall invite suggestion for settlement from each of the belligerent nations and in any case shall submit to all of them simultaneously, reasonable proposals as a basis of peace<sup>181</sup>."

Julia Grace Wales' work for peace carried on.

On November 24 1915, she received a telegram in which Henry Ford invited her to come as his guest aboard the Oscar II, sailing from New York to Christiania, Stockholm and

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<sup>180</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p.104.

<sup>181</sup> Steinson, Barbara Jean, *Female Activism in World War I: the American Women's Peace Suffrage, Preparedness, and Relief Movements, 1914-1919*, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1977, pp.59-60.

Copenhagen, in order to establish an international conference dedicated to negotiations and to international disarmament. She was surprised, but finally she accepted. She considered Henry Ford's mission "a supreme spiritual audacity<sup>182</sup>," and was enthusiastic about his sincerity:

We are finding out more and more how clever Mr. Ford is. He is going to give away some industrial inventions without patent, it is said. He has a theory that the question of war and peace should be treated industrially, that the whole things have been a put-up job, and that there is a way to get at it. The fact is that he is above all an industrial inventor, organizer, social experimenter, etc. He has more up his sleeve than most people know. Absolute disarmament is the main thing he is working for, and he thinks he knows how to get it by taking away all the motives of the armament men in Germany and elsewhere, so that the whole thing collapses<sup>183</sup>.

Aboard the Oscar II Julia Grace Wales' activity was conspicuous. She gave several speeches to explain her proposal of neutral mediation and studies lectures and discussions provided by the member of the Expedition. Furthermore, she helped to sort mail that had come to be read during the expedition.

In a letter to her family she well expressed the Ford Expedition's aims and results:

We think that in the neutral countries of Europe it has thoroughly advertised the idea of the Continuous Neutral Conference, and even more thoroughly the general idea of peace and reconstruction. We have received what we feel to be, under the circumstances, a very satisfactory reception in the Scandinavian capitals and The Hague. Our idea seems to be welcome, through people dare to say so more openly in some places than in others... We all feel very strongly that what we need now is a strong backing at home. The wise leading of public opinion in the neutral countries themselves is a very vital thing. Those who had the will have taken the initiative. Now people of real power everywhere must

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<sup>182</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p.265.

<sup>183</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 201.

rally to their support... Our idea is: Start the thing and scare the best and strongest people into helping us by the threat that we will if they won't<sup>184</sup>.

She played a key role in the organization of the Conference by organizing material concerning immediate peace and the constitution of a future world organization. More and more she revised her plan and paid attention to the Conference in progress. Her integrity, moral commitment, modesty and courage emerged and were prominent factors for a democratic conference. Julia Grace Wales studied the constitution of the Conference a lot and her support was necessary especially for methods of preparing proposals. According to her conclusions, all decisions and executive powers were up only to citizens of neutral countries and funds, messengers to or from belligerents and publicity had to be under democratic vote of the Conference.

On April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. In the same year, Julia Grace Wales returned to the University of Wisconsin. An interview with her by a journalist revealed her opinion concerning the peace plan:

“We feel satisfied with what the present administration is doing for the cause of peace,” said Miss Wales. “It is my belief that the United States could no longer have maintained neutrality without treason to internationalism, and that she is now fighting for those principles of international justice which make for freedom, progress, and security of all the peoples of the earth. The idea of constructive pacifism of the working out of moral forces simultaneously with physical. Any nation sincerely fighting for the right has nothing to fear from the principle and much to gain, we believe, and the principle is on the side of any country that is on the side of international righteousness<sup>185</sup>.”

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<sup>184</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 227.

<sup>185</sup> *Ivi*, p. 313.



## THE PROPOSAL

Julia Grace Wales became famous for her plan for *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice*. Recapping, her plan was endorsed early in 1915 by the Wisconsin Peace Society, the National Peace Conference (Chicago), and the Wisconsin legislature. Wales was a delegate (representing the Wisconsin Peace Society) to the International Congress of Women. Her plan was adopted as a resolution of this conference, and she then served as a member of the conference's embassy that took the continuous mediation proposal to European governments. After the International Congress of Women, Wales joined the Henry Ford Peace Expedition and was a member of the subsequent Neutral Conference in Stockholm. She returned to North America in 1917 to resume her academic career, but maintained an interest in the peace movement.

Through her activities related to congresses and groups of peace Julia Grace Wales represents the first generation of Canadian Woman involved in the peace cause. However, she seems to have been more concerned with the peace cause compared to the rest of the Canadian women. Her main purpose was not only to achieve global peace, but also to investigate the conditions that had led to the war and if it is possible to change and transform them into new robust fundamentals on which build a new world. Julia Grace Wales considers the role of women in peace advocacy and comes to the conclusion that their involvement in peace activities and their efforts to stop the war had contributed to give them a public recognition. Through letters Wales was determined to testify women's strength in World War I and their struggle in peace movements,

Now is a critical time for pacifists. It is a time for us to examine in a candid and sympathetic spirit the objections of our critics to remember that even pacifist dogma is not infallible, to subject our formulae to constant test and correction, to seek the truth at all costs. To the search for truth it behoves everyone to make whatever contribution he can<sup>186</sup>.

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<sup>186</sup> Julia Grace Wales Fonds, Vol, 1 n. 44, Peace Movement, General, MG30, C238 (Finding Aid 1760) National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

In particular, according to Wales' address at Point Fortune, August 1915, at the International Congress of Women at The Hague, women with their humanitarian principles have a specific role to put an end to militarism. Because of this important responsibility, they should encourage patriotism, national solidarity, national conscience, international responsibility and altruism. As a result, the possibility to engage cordial international relations with all the nations can exist. The principle of charity and justice are fundamental: "Let us bear in mind that whether or not it is best to enforce justice, there is in any case such a thing as justice, and there is a just course which the nations ought to follow and which it is the duty of every pacifist to seek and to advocate." She underlies the sincere conviction of duty, the self-sacrifice, the courage and heroism that each pacifist should have.

Furthermore, Julia Grace Wales provides a series of writings helping pacifists to prepare good statements<sup>187</sup>: Norman Angell: Letter to the Nation for Oct. 28<sup>th</sup>, pointing out that the Peace League Proposal should shorten the war; Samuel Eliot Jr. Letter to the New Republic for Oct. 7<sup>th</sup>, suggesting reasons why Allies do not state terms; The Spectator for Nov. 4<sup>th</sup>, An Article on The Undue Prolongation of the War; J.G. Wales: The International Plan Discusses in Relation the National Point of View.

Wales' proposal of *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice* needs to be viewed in light of these theorizations.

The following work consists of diary excerpts, working papers for a memoir, newspaper clippings and articles, drafts and publishes copies of her writings, and other materials relating to Julia Grace Wales' participation in the peace movement during World War I, including the International Congress of Women at The Hague, 1915, and the Ford Peace Expedition, 1915-1917, publications and other materials.

Through the rows of her script an important truth lies and it will provide a new approach the peace cause. It is the answer to the dilemma that she had posed at the beginning of her pacifist career and that troubled her during all the life so much so as to devote most of her manuscripts to this cause: "Could the principle of continuous mediation through

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<sup>187</sup> Julia Grace Wales Fonds, Vol. 1 n. 38, Peace Movement, General, MG30, C238 (Finding Aid 1760) National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

public proposals be used by a league of nations for the preservation of world peace and be made a permanent part of world security against war<sup>188?</sup>”

In the opening paragraph of her pamphlet she posed a question hoping to find a response through her plan: “Can a means be found by which a council of the neutral powers may bring the moral forces of the world to bear upon the present war situation and offer to the belligerents some opportunity, involving neither committal to an arbitrary programme nor humiliation on the part of any one of them, to consider the possibility of peace<sup>189?</sup>”

Firstly, it is necessary to specify the main features of such a Conference and which kind of purposes it aims to reach.

The Neutral Conference should last as long as the war lasts and it is thought to be established without the permission of belligerents and with or without an armistice. Its members have to be selected carefully by Neutral Hague judges who are chosen among prominent subjects of the peace environment.

It promises freedom, nationality and democracy in a general context in which values and ideals seems to be lost. Its fundamental proposal is neutral since it lies on abstract principles and hence appears as a hope of escaping from a long and destructive war. Based on principles and ideals that govern welfare the proposal could affect governments so as to find practical means to reach a permanent peace. Thus, the proposal is worthy of listening worldwide. First, it addresses the belligerents, after the whole world, and if unfortunately, the proposal is not outlined, the imperative thing to do is to continue to set a valid and internationally considerable proposal.

As specified, since neutral powers have the leading aim to destroy the human agony brought by the war through putting into practice peaceful principles, each government has to act according justice purposes. In the future, this governmental action will be intended as a reason for pride and gratitude by people. So, the conference has to

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<sup>188</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The principle of the perpetual statement of terms applied to an international peace league*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol. 80, n. 5 (May 1918), pp. 147, 148.

<sup>189</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Continuous mediation without armistice ; a development of the idea of a continuous conference of neutral nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the pamphlet*, Chicago, Woman’s Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 3.

persuade neutral governments to act immediately because a radical proposal posed to the belligerent powers not only could promote a prompt deal, but also and especially a worthwhile deal. Otherwise, the only alternative to immediate action is the passive awareness of the pursuance of war. A war that is making European strength weaker and weaker, “mortgaging the future of civilization”<sup>190</sup>. But, is there the possibility to wait for the moment in which these strengths will be exhausted? According to Julia Grace Wales’ plan there is not so much time, she is the promoter of prompt action to save mankind before bloodshed could grow much more.

The development of the plan takes place by the consideration that in the past people have dealt with periods of crisis without any kind of support, such as preparation in order to face crisis with or rational and practical organization. Once war has been undertaken and the world has no strength with which to survive, in the past this issue was considered an accident that is improbable to meet again in the future and that has not valid remedies through which it could be ended. However, the Conference stands on in order to suggest a rational escape from cruel crisis events. In the past, solutions seemed to be difficult to reach. On one hand, neutral governments do not have the capacity to acquire enough influence to affect belligerents. On the other hand, belligerent powers are not willing to be influenced by neutrals because armistice is considered as a compromise that won’t give them any profits. The compromise is just a preliminary agreement and as such, in the recent future could collapse. Finally, it is necessary to remember that even if neutrals could be able to acquire the strength to influence belligerents, their mediation is presented without armistice and without belligerents’ permission, hence, without the compromise.

Due to the difficulty of the matter, Julia Grace Wales conceives a real solution that she explains in details so as to be applied concretely; she means to formulate a reasonable proposal followed by persuasive arguments to be submitted to belligerents through the following question “Will you agree to adopt or consider the accompanying proposition as a basis of peace if and when the governments of the other warring powers will agree

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<sup>190</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Continuous mediation without armistice ; a development of the idea of a continuous conference of neutral nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the pamphlet*, Chicago, Woman’s Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 13.

to do likewise<sup>191</sup>?” If no government replies negatively, indefinitely, or refuses to reply, in this case neutrals could proceed with the next request as follows:

1) If at any time while the war continues, you are willing to adopt or consider our proposition, or a modified form of our proposition, as a basis of peace provided the other warring powers will do likewise, we beg that you will notify the conference of the neutral powers.

2) In the meantime the conference of the neutral powers, WHICH WILL SIT WHILE THE WAR CONTINUES, will be grateful to receive any information which you may care to give as to your ultimate wishes—that is, as to the maximum which you desire to obtain—in order that the conference may be aided in an effort to discover at the earliest possible moment a plan of settlement such as may appeal to all as worthy of consideration<sup>192</sup>.

Furthermore, the Conference could carry out more proposals to be attached to the request above, always for the purpose of the permanent peace. A similar expedient brings a heavy psychological pressure to belligerents.

It is necessary to underline that even if proposals could be rejected by belligerents, in any case such a Conference of mediation is able to find a practical way to define and solve the issue. This is the very innovative element that the Conference set itself to reach an agreement as soon as possible and above all at the beginning of the negotiation. Few critics demonstrate that the proposal of mediation was already planned in the past and then rejected. However, in the past achieving an agreement or a solution on the matter is something always postponed at the end of the dispute, according to the usual practice. Usually the belligerents fought to win and the defeated party had to ask for mediation. Once the mediator had brought the warring parties together, however, it is generally the victor to dictate terms of settlement. Julia Grace Wales’ plan conceives the

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<sup>191</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Continuous mediation without armistice ; a development of the idea of a continuous conference of neutral nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the pamphlet*, Chicago, Woman’s Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 4.

<sup>192</sup> *Ivi*, p. 5.

matter in a different way because according to her the war is a question concerning the mankind, belligerents and non-belligerent countries. Thus, in the future this innovative method could be used in every similar situation, adopted at the beginning of any war for typologies of disputes that could involve bloodshed. And it happened in this way. Nowadays this method is the mostly used by institutions in order to solve disputes, both locally and internationally.

“Hence a Conference of continuous mediation proceeding by a method of simultaneous standing proposals, might prove to have a practical value independent of the willingness of the powers to accept an ideal plan<sup>193</sup>.”

The Conference develops the theory of the perpetual statement of terms according to which if a nation of the League of Nations enters into a state of war, the declaration of war would be accompanied by a statement of terms to return to harmony quickly. The Conference has to work on the principle of settlement and has to use moral forces to fight the enemy by convincing the belligerent nations to adopt diplomatic relations<sup>194</sup>.

Therefore, why would belligerents reject these proposals?

Belligerent powers fear a very quick compromise, because, as already mentioned, compromise does not necessarily mean the definitive end of the dispute. Moreover, fighting nations are not willing to establish movements for peace causes also because people suffer of a lack of communication means. Accordingly, neutral nations should formulate plans and promote them to people of belligerent countries. However, even if belligerents oppose the armistice, a proposal for the solution of the dispute through the appeal to the principle of nationality does not involve the use of the compromise, i.e. the risk of restarting disputes. The appeal of one government to another is the most effective way to establish lasting peace because governmental action is more internationally considerable and so more immediate and effective, with the awareness

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<sup>193</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Continuous mediation without armistice ; a development of the idea of a continuous conference of neutral nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the pamphlet*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 11.

<sup>194</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The principle of the perpetual statement of terms applied to an international peace league*, in *"The Advocate of Peace"*, Vol. 80, n. 5 (May 1918), pp. 147, 148.

to be perceived. Thus, the government acquires the high function to take charge of the creation, the formulation and the organization of peaceful proposals, so relieving the pain of the too exhausted people. It is clear to understand that the plan shifts from the ideal sphere to the practical political level.

On the practical side, permanent peace finds a great acceptance among labour, women, commercial organizations, and churches. The single individual ardently believes in the cause of peace and wants to support it with their strength. It could achieve their purpose through personal propaganda, the press, public meetings, resolutions of companies and through letters to authoritative people. All these entities are moved by fear, and the prompt restoration of peace is their main purpose. Fear is the most powerful means used during war time, if fear is deleted, hatred will cease definitively and it is the innovation, the conference could offer not only the safety from the winner, but also from the defeated enemy.

Clearly the proposal demands from governments huge concessions, however the advantages it could offer are really suitable if governments learn to discern the use of the governmental mind, theorized by Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, from the power they effectively have. Julia Grace Wales believed that “Diplomats have a tendency to see the mediation more difficult than it really is, might fail to see the wood for the trees<sup>195</sup>.” Governmental attitudes are also examined by Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, a British political scientist and philosopher who tried to suggest a way through which Europe could prevent future wars. He wrote:

All peoples would gain (1) immediate relief from intense economic pressure and excruciating suffering, (2) comparative freedom from military taxation, (3) security from future wars, (4) relief from the prospect of further loss of trade. All governments would gain a desirable exit from a difficult situation. The world would gain the safety of western civilization, which is now threatened. Hence, there is no question that the appeal to the people of all countries would be very strong, especially after economic pressure had become extreme. At the least, the governments of all countries would find it difficult, once the argument of

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<sup>195</sup> Patterson, David S., *The Search for Negotiated Peace. Women's Activism and Citizen Diplomacy in World War I*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 84.

self-defence was wrested from them, to keep the people enthusiastic for the continuation of the war<sup>196</sup>.

According to him, the real causes of war are not related to natural necessities, to superhuman laws or to a fate that man have to accept passively. War takes place because some powerful and influential men, such as kings, emperors, ministers and diplomats think and act according to the governmental mind that affects international diplomacy.

The world is divided, politically, into States. These States are a kind of abstract Beings, distinct from the men, women and children who inhabit them. They are in perpetual and inevitable antagonism to one another; and though they may group themselves in alliances, that can be only for temporary purposes to meet some other alliance or single Power. For States are bound by a moral or physical obligation to expand indefinitely each at the cost of the others. They are natural enemies, they always have been so, and they always will be; and force is the only arbiter between them. That being so, War is an eternal necessity. As a necessity, it should be accepted, if not welcomed, by all sound-thinking and right-feeling men. Pacifists are men at once weak and dangerous. They deny a fact as fundamental as any of the facts of the natural world. And their influence, if they have any, can only be disastrous to their State in its ceaseless and inevitable contest with other States<sup>197</sup>.

Thus, war is undertaken by governments, influenced by the governmental theory. Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson theorized the governmental theory in order to explain how the governmental mind takes possession of men so much so as to lead them to war. It affects few influential men, victims of illusions who exercise their power over numerous men with no education of their minds and with no sensibility. In the governmental theory, States are the enemies of each other, and are considered by powerful men as unreal abstractions. However, Dickinson replies that effectively States are composed by men, women and children; real people, who are not willing to undertake a destructive war.

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<sup>196</sup> Dickinson, G. Lowes, *The War and the Way Out*, London, The Chancery Lane Press, 1914p. 8.

<sup>197</sup> *Ivi*, p. 9.



After having become powerful, the State desires to acquire more power by weakening other States. Consequently, the weaker States want to get stronger by weakening the powerful States. The governmental mind justifies that one State go to war against another State for depriving it of its domains, its markets and its traditions. The assumption of a conflict has just been described. The more these assumptions overcrowded the mind of few powerful men who dominate the international politics, the more the assumptions could be a menace for peace and the serenity of mankind, because these lead men to fight just for an illusion. A bloody illusion. All men who think according to the governmental mind and deeply believe in it, are affected by these assumptions<sup>198</sup>.

Dickinson does not condemn the past, but wants to find remedies for future wars, because political responsibility in the present is tied to past and future responsibilities.

You rulers, you soldiers, you diplomats, you who through all the long agony of history have conducted the destinies of mankind and conducted them to hell, we do now repudiate you. Our labour and our blood have been at your disposal. They shall be so no more.

You shall not make the peace as you have made the war. The Europe that shall come out of this war shall be our Europe. And it shall be one in which it shall be impossible that ever again there shall be a European war.

He proposes a new method for achieving peace, the European Permanent League based on Nations and not on States. It has the function to bring and guarantee peace through the decrease of armaments and the use of negotiations and juridical manners to solve disputes. Certainly, governments earn an easy escape from the difficult situation in which they are.

Dickinson's theory seems to share several points with Julia Grace Wales' plan, both condemn actions by governments and work in order to propose to them practical means through which to solve future disputes. And clearly, Julia Grace Wales' plan takes inspiration from Dickinson's governmental theory in the conception of her plan.

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<sup>198</sup> Dickinson, G. Lowes, *The War and the Way Out*, London, The Chancery Lane Press, 1914, p. 24.

Effectively, Julia Grace Wales appeals to the United States government because it not only is willing to reach a military victory, but also desires to reach a moral victory. So, the plan urged the United States to call a conference in order to publicly show that the United States is committed to the cause of democracy, freedom and to the establishment of the League of Nations for the preservation of World Peace<sup>199</sup>.

I think President Wilson is right in believing that America must not fight, but I believe in my heart that he is mistaken if he thinks that America has no positive moral responsibility at the present moment, a responsibility to be much more than merely passive. The little neutrals will follow where America leads. Let her call a World Conference. Let us have all the truth courageously out in the open. The one safe thing is truth and openness. In every other way lies danger. Let the Conference speak and speak plainly and clearly without fear, and the people of the world will answer<sup>200</sup>.

As already specified, the proposal of the Conference asks governments for huge sacrifices, on the other and could provide great advantages. It avoids the necessity of armistice or the permission from the belligerents, so the plan is not contaminated by compromise. Moreover, it gives the possibility to verify what attitude the belligerents have towards the future. The plan shortens the war and it is adaptable to future situations. People can obtain comfort to the economic crises, the abolition of military taxation and safety from a future commercial loss. Some of the resolutions adopted by the Conference concern the establishment of a permanent world organization, general disarmament, freedom of the seas, the abrogation of all secret treaties, and the education of children in the ideal of a constructive peace<sup>201</sup>.

So the Conference intends to establish a world citizenship responsible for taking care each other and cooperation for welfare, according to “the principle of the public challenge to the good faith of governments<sup>202</sup>.” She advises that the plan lacks any

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<sup>199</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 316.

<sup>200</sup> *Ivi*, p. 123.

<sup>201</sup> *Ivi*, p. 361.

<sup>202</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The principle of the perpetual statement of terms applied to an international peace league*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol. 80, n. 5 (May 1918), pp. 147-148.

specific indication of areas in which mediation should occur, such as indemnification, boundary disputes, colonial settlements. It is a proposal valid throughout for the creation of an international machinery and the realm of international relations<sup>203</sup>.

The plan not only is the concrete expression of the idealists of peace, but also provides political consideration so as to acquire more attention and great effectiveness. In this way the Conference is able to lead worldwide thinking on the correct way to behave internationally.

Thus, the plan offers reflections about the pacifist internationalism typical of Julia Grace Wales' thoughts. It takes care of providing solidarity to people made up of multiple races. In her plan, Wales gives the example of the Americans with European origins who feel like strangers towards the Native Americans and so to demonstrate that the United States is one of the countries with higher racial diversity and at the same time the most powerful creator of peace. No man fights for himself, the only purpose that leads man to fight is related to his family, his homeland, his traditions and his institutions. Every person is like a single family, there are no economical or physical differences, only the brotherhood among men exists. "It is our unique opportunity to propose to each the supreme ethical challenge which, whether or not any can rise to the point of accepting it, must for ourselves and for them endure through the coming centuries as a tangible expression of the international ideal<sup>204</sup>."

Julia Grace Wales' concern for peace is based on her conception of the world; a place in which divisions among states could be overcome without arms. She refers to the principle of the pacifist internationalism that acquires both cultural and political value. This principle considered that the promotion of foreign policy through the creation of an agenda on wide-scale lead to a more peaceful, tolerant and interdependent world. International righteousness is necessary for the establishment of permanent peace.

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<sup>203</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 205.

<sup>204</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Continuous mediation without armistice ; a development of the idea of a continuous conference of neutral nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the pamphlet*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 10.

According to her analysis of early-twentieth century cosmopolitical forms of international relations, she came to the conclusion that the political and moral force of nations depends on its ability to be on good terms with other nations outside of its borders. In the past there was only one method of war based on arms and conquests,

But in any war, in so far as a people are contending for international principles of justice and freedom, an early, specific, and public statement of terms should be a substantial aid to their cause. As has already been recognized in the present war, a standing offer of a peace based on sound international principles adds moral forces to physical, and tends to insure moral victory at the earliest possible moment. Moreover, such a standing challenge keeps the enemy government in a public and unescapable dilemma between right and wrong, and throws on it the perpetual onus of the continuation of the war<sup>205</sup>.

As a Christian internationalist, Julia Grace Wales believed that peaceful internationalism has to promote dialogue without the use of force, and it is a better indicator of the human progress rather than imperial politics based on the expansion of territory through arms. The more relations among states are in accord with sound principles of international justice and welfare, the more they involve moral forces for a return to harmony. Recognition and authority come from the ability of the nation to negotiate and to establish diplomatic relations with other nations, because the promotion of security and freedom of one nation is the promotion of security and freedom of all nations.

Julia Grace Wales proposes a multi-scalar citizenship that reveals a civilizational rhetoric based on the conviction that it is possible to engage in intercultural relations in terms of progress by overcoming isolation and racism and by the promotion of international institution and practices. She stated that “at no time has it been more important than it is today that all peace forces should work together<sup>206</sup>.”

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<sup>205</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The principle of the perpetual statement of terms applied to an international peace league*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol. 80, n. 5 (May 1918), p. 147.

<sup>206</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The Principle of Free Cooperation Without Compromise*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol.79, n. 10 (November 1917), p. 302.

Her anti-imperialism politics come from years of study concerning the social system that gave her the possibility to consider the single race in an interconnected world in which the realization of a single family can affect the realization of other families.

She starts by taking into consideration the single race,

In lands whose population is made up of many races, the opportunity to support a common cause will relieve many citizens from an intolerable sense of estrangement from many of their fellow citizens, and will enable them to join hands in one great task and to weld into one enthusiasm their affection for their fatherland, their loyalty and devotion to an adopted country, their friendship for the whole world<sup>207</sup>.

A single race is a single family that fights for its home and fatherland, for its language, institutions and traditions, for all that it considers most dear. Each single family needs to be considered equal to another one, in light of the brotherhood of men.

She explains how the transition of the mental attitude from a national view to an international consciousness takes place,

The intense race consciousness into which each nation has been quickened may have imported to each a new sympathy with the race consciousness of other peoples, a new capacity and desire to hold its nationality within some form of internationalism. [...] It may be that the present hour of the submergence of the individual in the altruism of the state is one in which the beginnings of a transition from a merely national to an international consciousness could be affected<sup>208</sup>.

Once understood that people are all human together, and that the pursuit of welfare is a common issue, there is a question to be asked: "For the individual believer in the cause of internationalism, what, under actually existing circumstances, is the natural thing to do<sup>209</sup>?"

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<sup>207</sup> Julia Grace Wales Fonds, Vol. 1 n .30, Peace Movement, General, MG30, C238 (Finding Aid 1760) National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, p. 6.

<sup>208</sup> *Ivi*, p. 11.

<sup>209</sup> *Ivi*, p. 13.

Pacifists make efforts for the promotion of internationalism by suppressing nationalist spirit and by making human long-distance relations easier than before. These efforts reflect internationalists' belief in the universal brotherhood. Julia Grace Wales considers

How far any immediate further organization of peace societies can be carried is a matter for investigation; it is probable that our energy can go into some more productive kind of effort than that of the machinery of organization; but in any case there is everything to be said for free cooperation on all possible occasions and in every possible aspect of the work, free cooperation without compromise<sup>210</sup>.

The natural thing to do is provided by Julia Grace Wales' plan of *Neutral Conference Without Armistice*, through its particular responsibility "to devise a peace settlement based on the abolition of armaments and a system of international justice that would protect the rights and freedom of all peoples<sup>211</sup>." The *Neutral Conference* has the fundamental function to concentrate and promote the moral and intellectual forces of the world by increasing the international spirit of neutral countries through means such as propaganda, press, public meetings, resolutions of peace societies, and appeals to people in authority. Julia Grace Wales considers that women should play a key role in the decision-making process of the Conference. As a result, she proposes a new approach based on pacifist women's communities that will lead to the creation of a world community. Women need practical suggestions for correctly behaving as pacifists under an international point of view, thus Wales recalls their duty and their responsibilities. In particular, women have to encourage patriotism in the spirit of mutual service, national solidarity, international responsibilities and altruism. These elements are necessary to cultivate cordial international relations with all nations, "it is not by negative methods that any nation will go on to moral victory, but it is by harmony and cooperation, by mutual respect, by universal devotion that she must conquer. [...]"

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<sup>210</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The Principle of Free Cooperation Without Compromise*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol.79, n. 10 (November 1917), pp. 304-305.

<sup>211</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Patriotic Internationalism vs. Obstructionism*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol.79, n. 10, (December 1917), p. 335.

If we can all think, speak, and act in the spirit of sincerity, humility, and charity, all methods can become spiritual methods, and all our varying efforts will work together to bring Peace<sup>212</sup>.”

Wales’ proposal of *Continuous Mediation Without Armistice* needs to be considered in light of theorizations based on the principle of the constructive internationalism, already mentioned. The principle of universal welfare can be an alternative solution because it can diminish national hatred and hasten the time when settlements will be possible. It underlies the welfare of the family nation and suggests “to restore the shaken faith of humanity and enable it to set its face with new hope toward the goal of ultimate World Federation<sup>213</sup>.” The Conference applies principles of international justice to end the war, it is thought to perform as a sort of international organ in constant operation “to keep clear the close relation between law and use of a police force, that is, to keep clear the international nature of the task as a disinterested public service<sup>214</sup>.”

The argument supported by Julia Grace Wales considers the women’s key role in service of humanity for the establishment of World Peace.

The proposal based on principles of the welfare of all mankind will reduce national hatred and will facilitate the reaching of the agreement. Every single nation is not guilty, is not looking for the war. It is forced to fight for self-defence, for necessity, considering that the aim is universal welfare. The truth is that everybody is responsible for the current war, thus humanity needs to concentrate the intellectual and moral forces of the world to stop the war, because, as Wales’ considers, “to be prepared to use force in defence of world order is better than to be prepared to use force in a selfish national interest<sup>215</sup>.” As she truly remarked, “the strength of our cause has been in its very weakness, in the fact that it has been led by a few idealistic citizens of the world<sup>216</sup>.”

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<sup>212</sup> Julia Grace Wales Fonds, Vol. 1 n. 44, Peace Movement, General, MG30, C238 (Finding Aid 1760) National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

<sup>213</sup> Julia Grace Wales Fonds, Vol 1 n.30, Peace Movement, General, MG30, C238 (Finding Aid 1760) National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, p. 5.

<sup>214</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The principle of the perpetual statement of terms applied to an international peace league*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol. 80, n. 5 (May 1918), p. 147.

<sup>215</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The Principle of Free Cooperation Without Compromise*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol.79, n. 10 (November 1917), pp 305-306.

<sup>216</sup> Patterson, David S., *Woodrow Wilson and the Mediation Movement, 1914-17*, in “*The Historian*”, Vol. 33, n.4, (August 1917), p. 545.

Wales' plan and in general most of her writings reveal her project of international arbitration; all peace forces should work together with the specific purpose of searching for forces for the reconstruction, of offering personal sacrifices for the welfare of the humanity.

She contributes to the creation of the opening chapters of the history of internationalism.

Different critics consider Julia Grace Wales' plan too visionary and utopic. She replies that the Conference of Neutrals does not have the authority to make decisions; its only function is to think as a "world brain" in order to suggest peace proposals that belligerents can accept or reject. She reported: "Now I feel that much of the hope of the world is in this organization. They are planning an unofficial permanent commission, the European centre of which is to be in Holland. It is to have representatives from both neutral and warring countries. Now this organization will be the brain of the peoples<sup>217</sup>."

#### AFTER 1917, A PACIFIST COMMITTED TO INTERVENTIONISM

Julia Grace Wales' evolution of attitude towards war can be collocated in a context characterized by the collapse of the pacifism in which peace conferences experienced an abrupt end.

Peace advocates' speeches often outlined the impossibility of the European war. By considering that the present international order was based on networks according to which each nation was politically and economically tied to another one, pacifists believed that no war could occur in a context of global community in which nations cooperated through complex interfacing<sup>218</sup>. In particular, they theorized a social evolution in which rivalry based on predatory struggle could be replaced by the cooperation. An abstract and too sentimental view led them not to understand the

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<sup>217</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p.112.

<sup>218</sup> Hugins, Roland, *The Possible Peace; a Forecast of World Politics after the Great War*, New York, The century Co. 1916, p. 4.



dynamics of reality. They knew that nations were armed and saw preparedness as a means to preserve peace<sup>219</sup>.

Pacifists' idealized world was destined to collapse. Their meetings were broken up, their headquarters razed to the ground, their thoughts were deleted from letters, their friends were killed, many of them escaped from towns, and others were imprisoned<sup>220</sup>. Pacifism came to an end also due to President Wilson's idealistic and persuasive policy. He was able to persuade many American pacifists to abandon their causes in order to support his calls for military preparedness by catching their attention on the League of Nations that could reconcile their opposition to war and their interest in preparedness<sup>221</sup>. Furthermore, Wilson's reiteration of his appeal for the lasting peace meant that there were no longer possibilities for pacifists. Therefore, Wilson indirectly discredited peace advocates' efficiency of proposals.

By March 1917, most Americans were ready to go to war. Only few pacifists did not change their mind. Among them, liberal pacifists who viewed the war as a threat to the values for which they had spent their energies. They were still convinced that war must not come to America<sup>222</sup>. Liberal pacifists considered that the War was the result of the European state system and that the interests of the United State should stay within national borders<sup>223</sup>.

Among the remaining supporters of peace, there were also literary radicals and those socialist.

The remaining pacifists, as already explained, had a distorted perception of reality, and did not understand the profit that the war could bring America. Furthermore, pacifists did not realize that war was fascinating the masses. At that time, war aroused the interests mainly of people who were not satisfied with their lives. Most people were not so interested in the cause of peace. Often, supporters of this cause came from high

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<sup>219</sup> Hugins, Roland, *The Possible Peace; a Forecast of World Politics after the Great War*, New York, The century Co. 1916, p. 4.

<sup>220</sup> Chatfield, Charles, *World War I and the Liberal Pacifist in the United States*, in "The American Historical Review", Vol. 75, n. 7 (December 1970), pp. 1920-1937.

<sup>221</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), pp. 203-213.

<sup>222</sup> Chatfield, Charles, *World War I and the Liberal Pacifist in the United States*, in "The American Historical Review", Vol. 75, n. 7 (December 1970), pp. 1920-1937.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*

classes. However, the population was mainly composed by middle and working classes that saw the war as a possibility to change their condition. War did not frighten Americans who had nothing to lose in the European War, others were willing to reach peace but first hoped for the German defeat<sup>224</sup>.

At the same time, pacifists were not really able to fulfil their duty. Peace organizations made a lot of noise without reaching their main purposes and dissipated some of their energies in internal conflicts. The failure of the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation was the demonstration that something was wrong among the procedures of peace movements.

By April 1917 most pacifist movement leaders joined the war effort, among them Julia Grace Wales, who was one of the victims of President Wilson's idealistic policy. She realized that President Wilson's call for a League of Nations had several points in common with her plan, "It seems to me that the idea of the standing challenge . . . which was the kernel of the theory of mediation without armistice, has now prevailed and become the definite policy of the governments. . .<sup>225</sup>"

Julia Grace Wales recognized that "there was the strength of our cause has been in its very weakness, in the fact that it has been led by a few idealistic citizens of the world. . .<sup>226</sup> " Therefore, she realized that it was necessary to proceed with the analysis of the constructive pacifism, in order to clarify how peace movements could promote a national harmony and achieve their purposes.

She stated,

We feel satisfied with what the present administration is doing for the cause of peace. It is my belief that the United States could not longer have maintained neutrality without treason to internationalism, and that she is now fighting for those principles of international justice which make for freedom, progress, and security of all peoples of the hearth. The idea of constructive pacifism of the working out of moral forces simultaneously with physical. Any nation sincerely fighting for the right has nothing to fear from the principle and much to gain, we

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<sup>224</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), pp. 203-213.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

believe, and the principle is on the side of any country that is on the side of international righteousness<sup>227</sup>.

First of all, peace organizations should cooperate by promoting freedom, democracy, openness, confidence, truth, cooperation and self-forgetfulness<sup>228</sup>. Anytime peace advocates had worked together for humanity's welfare, they found difficulties in the organization of the tasks and in finding the right way through which to lead them. Among people who were pushed by same purposes and willing to make great sacrifices, divergences of opinion could occur, breaking the endeavours of cooperation. The difficulty laid in the impossibility to find an agreement concerning the way to proceed<sup>229</sup>. Peace leaders should try to find a compromise, but according to most of them, the compromise implied the weakness. However, the compromise is necessary for the promotion of constructive pacifism. Julia Grace Wales suggested that pacifists should reject the obstructionism and support the current administration by clarifying that the United States' cause was based on the principle of democracy, freedom and World Peace<sup>230</sup>. Constructive pacifism should operate to achieve national harmony and international peace. Internationalism according to Julia Grace Wales, should preserve different racial units because each of them was deeply tied to their tongues, laws, institutions, culture, traditions, customs and could not share these elements with other racial units. International cooperation should not abolish the differences of each race because the loss of traditions and culture was the worst damage for the race. On the contrary, peace organizations should promote characteristics belonging to different races symmetrically, so as to create a big family<sup>231</sup>. International altruism should be a

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<sup>227</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 313.

<sup>228</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The Principle of Free Cooperation Without Compromise*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol.79, n. 10 (November 1917), p. 305.

<sup>229</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 302-306.

<sup>230</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Patriotic Internationalism vs. Obstructionism*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol.79, n. 10, (December 1917), pp. 335-336.

<sup>231</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The Principle of Free Cooperation Without Compromise*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol.79, n. 10 (November 1917), pp 30-306.

duty for the nation while isolationism should be condemned<sup>232</sup> since it could be a menace for all nations. Thus, it is possible to realize that the welfare of a nation depends on the welfare of all nations and “the love of a people for people, of nation for nation, binding together the entire family of nations in universal brotherhood<sup>233</sup>.” Pacifism could support internationalism by replacing points of difference with mutual respect, by promoting the willingness to unite where there can be union, and by allowing each other freedom when there must be independent action<sup>234</sup>. This was a clear prerogative for progress and for the enrichment of each nation.

Nevertheless, most peace organizations were not able to work according to these principles, not achieving their goals and not meeting consensus by people. In this case Julia Grace Wales observed: “That is the funny part of peace work; it is harmless. We seem to be like the Salvation Army or the Society of Friends. Nobody molests us. I hope, however, that we shall soon be taken seriously as well as kindly<sup>235</sup>.” She was aware that her plan for Continuous Mediation had little success and did not obtain the Administration’s support.

As most peace advocates, Julia Grace Wales’ idealism and the belief in pacifism decreased until they were replaced by the conviction that nations should resist any attack that could threaten their freedom and welfare<sup>236</sup>. This clearly means that she started to support the war, and so becoming interventionists.

The conscientious objector could not agree with Julia Grace Wales’ new attitude since he believed that undertaking the war meant the lack of justice and that guiltless people could be better defended without arms. The conscientious objector was unwilling to fight according to several principles. He believed in the sacredness of human life, in the superiority of moral force over physical force, in the freedom of action in contrast to the coercion, in the fact that a person should not die for an other person’s life, and finally in

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<sup>232</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Patriotic Internationalism vs. Obstructionism*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol.79, n. 10, (December 1917), pp. 335-336.

<sup>233</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The Principle of Free Cooperation Without Compromise*, in “*The Advocate of Peace*”, Vol.79, n. 10 (November 1917), p. 304.

<sup>234</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 302-306.

<sup>235</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in “*Wisconsin Magazine of History*” Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), pp 203-213.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*

the passive resistance to the enemy so as to avoid the complicity with him<sup>237</sup>. Julia Grace Wales explained that it was possible for the conscientious objector to change his mind and support the fighting. Indeed, the conscientious objector could consider that destroying someone's life was not always wrong, because it could be necessary, especially for saving other people, as for medical experiments, and that this action could bring him a moral superiority that exceeded the physical sphere. In the same way, he could admit that the use of material force had a spiritual aim since the spirit is incarnate in the material life. Furthermore, the conscientious objector believed that human relationships should rely on freedom and no man should interfere in other people's lives. However, the interior freedom is superior to the physical one. He should be responsible for the welfare of his community, by preventing that someone could attack it. Thus, the degree of preventive coercion is mandatory by the principle of non-coercion<sup>238</sup>.

By considering what has been said, the conscientious objector could review his beliefs and declare that a decrease of armaments could be better than a great armament, that the establishment of an organization could be better than the anarchy, that the use of force to defend international order could be better than the force implied for defending one's own national interests<sup>239</sup>.

In this way, it is possible to understand Julia Grace Wales' support for resisting the enemy. She considered that often undertaking war is a duty for the nation for ensuring freedom for future generations. Each nation has the right of self-determination concerning its internal affairs and should conduct them as a public service for ensuring universal peace<sup>240</sup>.

After 1919, Julia Grace Wales' efforts on peace and internationalism were almost replaced by her dedication to the teaching of literature<sup>241</sup>. From 1919 to 1928, she

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<sup>237</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The Conscientious Objector and the Principle of International Defense*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol.80, n. 11 (December 1918), pp 341 – 344.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>239</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *The Principle of Free Cooperation Without Compromise*, in "The Advocate of Peace", Vol.79, n. 10 (November 1917), pp 302 – 306.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>241</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), pp 203-213.

resumed her teaching career. In 1920-1921, she was granted a teaching fellowship at London University<sup>242</sup>. She then taught at Westfield College in London, then at Girton and Newham in Cambridge<sup>243</sup>. In 1921, she gave courses in Shakespeare, the Bible and composition at the University of Madison, Wisconsin. There she received her Ph.D. and in 1927-28, she was promoted to Assistant Professor of English<sup>244</sup>. She spent her last years writing poems and Shakespearean critics in journals. In 1942, during World War II, she conceived her last work entitled *Democracy Needs Education*<sup>245</sup>, an evidence that she never abandoned her early convictions. In 1947, she returned to Canada where she died on July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1957, in St. Andrews East in County Argenteuil in Quebec<sup>246</sup>.

To conclude, following are the words inscribed on a plaque for the inauguration of the new building in the University of Wisconsin dedicated to Julia Grace Wales on May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1966:

Julia Grace Wales dedicated her life to international friendship and understanding and teaching of literature. She came to the University's department of English in 1909 and received her Ph.D. from Wisconsin in 1926. She served the University until 1947, when she was granted emeritus status<sup>247</sup>.

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<sup>242</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 321.

<sup>243</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 213.

<sup>244</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 321.

<sup>245</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Democracy Needs Education*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1942.

<sup>246</sup> Trattner, Walter J., *Julia Grace Wales and the Wisconsin Plan for Peace*, in "Wisconsin Magazine of History" Vol. 44, n.3 (Spring 1961), p. 213.

<sup>247</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005, p. 337.

## CONCLUSION. A CONTRIBUTION TO LASTING PEACE

### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The analysis of Julia Grace Wales' character gives the possibility to reflect on the evolution of the women's condition who when facing a problematic situation, are ready to involve themselves for the service of humanity. This was a motive for their public emancipation. While humanity bent in the face of war and impassively accepted the sad fates that the war presaged, a possible way to escape from it was implemented by a woman. Julia Grace Wales was the foundress of a new way to settle disputes that it is still used today<sup>248</sup>. She developed her plan by imagining

That if all the nations now fighting were to awake tomorrow morning in their right minds, able to survey the wreck already caused, to sum up the sufferings, the human loss, the economic loss; able each to comprehend the motives that had driven the other into battle; able to realize the futility of vengeance, the un-wisdom and wrongness of trying to crush or humiliate a race, the folly of continued competition, the advantages of cooperation, and asking, what under these circumstances would be the natural thing to do<sup>249</sup>.

The results obtained through the implementation of the plan kicked off a new course of actions based on the promotion of internationalism, human rights, freedom, and democracy so being able to influence President Wilson's 14 Points, the League of Nations and the United Nations.

Indeed, women's pacifist activity did not end with World War I, but became stronger because many women experienced a new life style; they fled from their condition of housekeeping and obtained public acknowledgment. Not only were they willing to carry out their works for peace, but also they hoped not to lose that acknowledgment for

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<sup>248</sup> Lawrence, Carol, *Julia Grace Wales: The Canadian Girl Who has won World-Wide Fame*, in "Woman's Century Magazine", Vol. 3, n.1, (July 1916), p. 8.

<sup>249</sup> Wales, Julia Grace, *Continuous mediation without armistice ; a development of the idea of a continuous conference of neutral nations, which has occurred independently to others besides the author of the pamphlet*, Chicago, Woman's Peace Party Press, 1915, p. 1.

which they had struggled so much. The establishment of the Independent National League for Woman's Service (NLWS), the Woman's Section of the Navy League (WSNL), and the government-appointed Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defence (WCCND) explains the connection between women's desire of serving the nation and their desire to obtain acknowledgment for their activity<sup>250</sup>.

The longest surviving international women's peace organization is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) that today counts thousands members through 36 countries and 5 continents.

#### THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, A LINK BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

The International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, as already illustrated, was established by a resolution adopted during the International Congress of Women at The Hague with two main aims: the organization of the diplomatic mission of delegates and the call for a new women's congress in the same place and simultaneously at the Peace Conference. In order to reach these two aims, the Congress at The Hague established an international bureau in Amsterdam and coordinated the function of new international sections belonging to the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. These national sections had to join the principles implemented at The Hague: refusal of war and violence, resolution of conflicts through mediation and arbitration, women's participation in the decision-making process of foreign affairs<sup>251</sup>.

During the Congress of Zurich in 1919, the first constitution was approved and the name of the organization changed from ICWPP to WILPF<sup>252</sup>. Emily Greene Balch was appointed international secretary and treasury of the WILPF in 1919 and on the redaction of the preface to the Congress resolutions she underlined that the features of the Congress at

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<sup>250</sup> Steinson, Barbara Jean, *Female Activism in World War I: the American Women's Peace Suffrage, Preparedness, and Relief Movements, 1914-1919*, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1977, p. 300.

<sup>251</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 107.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*



The Hague in 1915 were unchanged, although the name of the organization changed in WILPF, the headquarters were moved from Amsterdam to Geneva and a new secretary was appointed<sup>253</sup>.

The WILPF constitution presents several points in common with the resolutions adopted at The Hague, such as women's emancipation and their right to vote and more women's participation in internal politics, the promotion of a new kind of education for children aimed at implementing peaceful feelings, cooperation and solidarity between people, the asking for disarmament through the nationalization of the manufacturing of arms, the conversion to civil use of the navy<sup>254</sup>.

Furthermore, the WILPF constitution recalls President Wilson's 14 points that in turn were inspired by the WWP's program, and also after the American declaration of war, it kept believing that with these points it could be possible to ensure a future based on peace and cooperation.

Since 1948 the WILPF obtained consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and it develops consultative relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and others.

Today the WILPF is involved in the fight against violence, freedom, racism, homophobia and in the promotion of social, political and economic equality. To carry out these principles, the WILPF implements active programs such as the disarmament program, the human rights program, the women, peace and security program and the crisis response program<sup>255</sup>.

A current point of view of the women's peace activism is offered by Catia Confortini's

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<sup>253</sup> Suriano, Maria Grazia, *Donne, pace, non-violenza fra le due guerre mondiali. La Women's International League for Peace and Freedom e l'impegno per il disarmo e l'educazione*, Bologna, Alma Mater Studiorum Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2007, p. 107.

<sup>254</sup> *Ivi*, .126.

<sup>255</sup> *About WILPF*, in "Women's International League for Peace & Freedom". Available at: <https://wilpf.org>.

work entitled *Intelligent Compassion, Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* that examines gendered understandings of peace in WILPF. Catia Confortini is the Assistant Professor of Peace and Justice Studies at Wellesley College, now she is serving as chair of the Women's Caucus in International Studies of the International Studies Association. She was the US representative to WILPF's International Board between 2011 and 2014 and she has been the WILPF's Vice President since 2015.

The approach to the analysis is to underlie how through several years the WILPF was able to adapt itself to historical and social changes by fighting for those principles that many women's peace advocates sought to defend in the previous congresses at The Hague.

Since its inception the organization was composed by women with different points of views, these divergences caused a few proceeding slowdowns but all of them were tied by the hope that a new economic and social order based on justice could promote peace.

The WILPF's founders intended this organization as transactional, whose politics influenced by the previous congresses, should be carried out through an executive committee in collaboration with national sections. All kinds of statements should be promoted after a series of consultations between members.

Catia Confortini on the drafting of her work seeks to portrait the "contextual meanings of policy positions, casting a wide archival net and examining the international WILPF's resolutions, statements, official policy documents, all discussions, comments, notes, proceedings of international meetings, official and nonofficial correspondence, and reports in the areas covered<sup>256</sup>."

Since the beginning, the women of WILPF focused on the relations that interplay on the decision-making process. First, they underlined the differences in the decision-making process between women and men. While men adopt a dogmatic style, women seem to prefer a transparent style based on the sharing of work.

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<sup>256</sup> Confortini, Catia Cecilia, *Intelligent Compassion, Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 17.

At the Congress of Zurich in 1919, women showed a sense of disillusionment with the ideal of peace, noting that their colleagues' efforts in the previous years did not reach the expected results.

However, women were still united by the same ideals and principles and were willing to continue fighting for peace, as they demonstrated at the Congress of Luxemburg in 1946. French delegates related on the Nazi occupation and so explaining how close the theme of freedom was to their heart since it is a key component for the establishment of lasting peace. Dutch delegates explained their activity with men of the armed resistance. Danish and Finnish women too experienced the occupation that they resisted without arms. Although travel documents were denied to German delegates, they looked willing to repair the damage that their country had caused<sup>257</sup>.

All these women were victims of war atrocities in their own ways, thus they wanted to promote their activism for the reconstruction of the world after World War II. Peace was their main aim.

The book intends to formulate the relation between feminism and peace by proposing a feminist methodology for the emancipation of social change. It emphasizes how the WILPF does not want to promote only the liberation of women. Their kind of emancipation wants to undermine the basis of the international system inspired by forms of domination. By renovating the system, women desires to promote open relations. About that, during the Congress in 1968 Dorothy Hutchinson declared:

Jane Addam's greatness lay in her rare combination of two qualities... These are Intelligence – the mental capability which sets man apart, and Compassion – the emotional capability which enables Man, by an effort of his imagination, to feel suffering which is not his own, so acutely that he is compelled to act to relieve it... The function of WILPF has always been to study public policy, to make moral judgments based on imaginative identification with those who are victimized by inhuman public policies, and to educate ourselves and others for effective political action to change these policies... We have demonstrated that an enlightened and courageous minority can be the seed of social progress by consistently opposing laws, institutions and customs which glorify power and

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<sup>257</sup> Confortini, Catia Cecilia, *Intelligent Compassion, Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 3.

prestige above human values. We have thus enabled our members to exercise their right to be fully human. To express and to implement intelligent compassion is a human right<sup>258</sup>.

The Intelligent Compassion above mentioned encourages a new approach based on an accurate analysis and comprehension of ideas that at first impact can seem to have no sense. It means to think through a big sense of morality by considering other people and so developing an opening towards diversity, implementing a solidarity among different people and making room for emancipation.

The first theme the books intends to discuss is the link between women, feminism and peace, already existing in the previous congresses. At the Congress in Zurich the Swiss delegate Clara Ragaz considered:

And even as we serve our country best in so far as we strive for its welfare incorporated in the greater good of humanity, so do we also best serve the cause of women by serving all mankind. It is a debatable question even among us women, whether the enfranchisement of women will in itself be a weapon for the prevention of future wars. But even if we may hold different opinions on that head, it seems to me that one thing is undeniable, that is that woman can only come into her full inheritance in a state, or a community life, which is founded not on force but on justice, for where mere force dominates, the lesser part will always fall to her share<sup>259</sup>.

In this way, she offered three different approaches to link women, feminism and peace: the liberation of women will lead to peace, liberation alone will not lead to peace but it is a fundamental tool to reach peace, the liberation of women will occur in a world based on peace and justice.

World War II emphasized the necessity of an international organization that would promote strong cooperation in favour of peace. At the Congress of Luxemburg in 1946, it was debated in which kind of way women could give a big contribution for peace,

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<sup>258</sup> Confortini, Catia Cecilia, *Intelligent Compassion, Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 52.

<sup>259</sup> *Ivi*, p. 10.

through “the study of political and economic issue, objective fact-finding, personal reconciliation, and formulation of just and humane policies<sup>260</sup>.”

During 1945-75, the organization revalued its role as an international women’s organization for the promotion of peace in an international context in transition. The period after World War II marked a detachment from the old system; it indicated the creation of a new world based on multilateralism and self-determination in which peace could be carried out through rational methods, institutions, and organizations. It was a world that believes in economic, social and scientific progress. Thus, the WILPF had to adapt to this new order. By keeping to its main function for promotion of peace, the WILPF began to move criticism towards militarism, racism, sexism, environmental destruction and unfettered capitalism<sup>261</sup>. Points that are thought to enhance a big social chance. Therefore, the WILPF had to readapt its main points to these new needs belonging to a modern context.

In recent times, the debate on the relation between feminism, peace and women’s peace activism considers that women are more peaceful than men are. Women and peace have ideals in common<sup>262</sup>. According to the WILPF a right peace has to be based on freedom, universal disarmament, self-determination and economic development<sup>263</sup>. In addition to the main theme of the feminist peace, Catia Confortini explores two issues, Disarmament and Decolonization, already debated in the program of the WWP. Disarmament is a key element of the WILPF’s advocacy of peace.

In 1948 the WILPF issued a resolutions through which it stated its “belief in the complete abolition of the war method and the universal acceptance of disarmament as the only assurance for the preservation of the human race<sup>264</sup>.”

In the first two decades, the WILPF believed that a system inspired by laws was a necessary passage for demonstrate the importance of disarmament. The WILPF considered that the current economic system based on a great production of arms was

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<sup>260</sup> Confortini, Catia Cecilia, *Intelligent Compassion, Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 11.

<sup>261</sup> *Ivi*, p. 15.

<sup>262</sup> *Ivi*, p. 8.

<sup>263</sup> *Ivi*, p. 12.

<sup>264</sup> *Ivi*, p. 45.

the cause of war. From 1960, the WILPF begun to analysis “ the economic and social aspects of disarmament<sup>265</sup>.” So, until 1974, WILPF’s resolutions asked for a new economic system based on peace.

The WILPF’s consideration about disarmament on post-war years reflected its trust in law, reason, social justice, rationality and objectivity.

Jane Addams and the other founders of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom... exemplified and preached reconciliation and compassion but they never assumes that the world community was ready wholly to substitute these for war as a method for settling international disputes, maintaining order, and promoting human welfare. Their political proposals envisaged, not love, but law as the substitute for war... according to their analysis, wars are caused by the fact that there is no other means to settle international disputes or bring about necessary changes in the international status quo and war can be prevented only by the creation of an international government able to make the necessary political and economic changes<sup>266</sup>.

The WILPF believed that reason and science could demonstrate to men that disarmament is necessary, thus, that political leaders such as the US and the USSR would lead countries through reason.

On the issue of disarmament, WILPF’s women considered that an international system influenced by law could promote agreements based on rational argument, so deleting human instinct that led to the war.

In the WILPF’s conception of the international system, the nation was the main actor and the United States is the best way for establishing a system based on disarmament<sup>267</sup>. If the need of war decreases, at the same time the need of arms decreases. Therefore, nations should learn to converse to solve conflicts and not through the use of war. Democratic laws should be implemented for removing conditions that led to the use of arms.

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<sup>265</sup> Confortini, Catia Cecilia, *Intelligent Compassion, Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 29.

<sup>266</sup> *Ivi*, p. 4.

<sup>267</sup> *Ivi*, p. 33.

The reflection concerning disarmament was closely tied to the fundamental role that science acquired after World War II. The WILPF considered science and technology with huge optimism because they are useful tools for the safety of humanity. It intends the problem of armaments solvable in theory by science and in practice by law<sup>268</sup>: “international laws based on voluntary consent and rational deliberation would be enough to guarantee disarmament<sup>269</sup>.”

Since 1970, the WILPF's attitudes were mainly based on women's great contribution to peace advocacy and disarmament and the incompatibility between women and militarism. War is the antithesis of reason, war is irrational, and women's advocacy is rational. As a result, a new kind of dichotomy emerges, according to which woman = reason and man = irrationality. This reflection contributes to understanding why women should be the promoters of the peace project.

The book deals with another theme, decolonization.

The WILPF asks for the independence for colonies and believes in the equality of races. The period between the breakout of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War in 1950 was characterized by an “openness of pluralism and tolerance for experimentation<sup>270</sup>.” In this period there was not an hegemonic power and the colonies could take part in international discussions alongside their colonizers. There was a strong optimism concerning the possibility to create an independent world based on peace and freedom in which the rights of colonized people were observed<sup>271</sup>. The WILPF declares the need to implement an international tutelage for ensuring a complete independence for colonial territories. In this project, the United Nations has the duty to safeguard the self-determination in order to promote the best standard life-style in colonies, with a particular consideration for health and education.

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<sup>268</sup> Confortini, Catia Cecilia, *Intelligent Compassion, Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 46.

<sup>269</sup> *Ivi*, p. 43.

<sup>270</sup> *Ivi*, p. 60.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*

After 1960, the WILPF experienced a divergence of opinions between who supported decolonization through a gradual process without violence and who, however, believed that the violence was necessary in some cases. On the debates of peace and freedom there was a big consensus related to the fight for independence, in any case preserving the superiority of non-violence over violence.

The WILPF believes that violence should be avoided at any cost, thus it condemns the military intervention for conquering or maintaining colonies, acknowledging that colonialism is a system based on exploitation with the aim of making profit. In promoting decolonization, it is necessary to intervene with negotiations at an international level.

Taking a survey of the conditions in the colonial world, the WILPF thinks that it is of the utmost importance that the powers should immediately loosen the ties between them and their colonies. Regardless of the political and cultural development of the colonies the highest possible degree of independence and political freedom should be established in order to avoid bloodshed, apply universal democratic principles and prevent subject peoples being used as pawns in political struggles<sup>272</sup>.

Today the WILPF is a modern liberal organization with different opinions concerning the relation between women, feminism and peace and try to manage all of them through the fight to violence, oppression and exclusion practices.

The one of the WILPF “is a story of women trying to make sense of a world that was changing and that required them to figure out how to react to those changes while remaining faithful to the spirit and principles of their founders<sup>273</sup>.”

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<sup>272</sup> Confortini, Catia Cecilia, *Intelligent Compassion, Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 64.

<sup>273</sup> *Ivi*, p. 113.



## TARGETS, LIMITS AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

This thesis aims to describe Julia Grace Wales' plan by considering factors and conditions that led to its draft and the results that it achieved. A delineation of the historical framework was necessary in order to offer a better comprehension of the issue.

The purpose is to examine the plan both by Julia Grace Wales' personal point of view and by the political side. On the one hand, the thesis offers a global description of the authoress, in particular, about her life, her education and about the place where she lived, so as to identify factors that influenced her. Many descriptions of events were carried out but considering Julia Grace Wales' feelings and emotions towards that situation. Through her letters, it was possible to add her thoughts and direct speeches in the text; in this way, we had the possibility to put ourselves in her shoes and to believe just for a while to be the protagonists of that affair. On the other hand, the plan was analysed on the international political side, clarifying who were supporters of the plan, how it was promoted by several conferences, many pacifists' considerations about it, and the results that it reached. Particular emphasis was posed on pacifists' efforts on the implementation of the plan and mostly on the development of resolutions in the attempt to establish the conference suggested by Julia Grace Wales.

Therefore, among the aims, obviously the analysis of the results acquire a particular valence, followed by an emphasis on the innovative characteristics of the plan that make it suitable today for the settlement of disputes. For this reason, the thesis intends to describe, through the figure of Julia Grace Wales, women's condition that experienced an evolution from taking care of their family to taking care of the whole world, thanks to the peace cause.

On the drafting of the thesis small limits emerged that did not make its progress difficult; it is necessary to consider them anyway.

The analysis of Julia Grace Wales' thoughts is based on her letters provided by the National Archives of Canada, whose consultation is not free because it is necessary to proceed with a request for accessing some of them. Therefore, I tried to select letters that could be suitable for my case and could bring benefit to my thesis. Furthermore,

her plan Continues Mediation Without Armistice was central since it offers me a detailed clarification of her proposal that I have consequently elaborated thanks to the study of other works.

There were not many biographical texts centred on Julia Grace Wales. Particularly useful was the consultation of Mary Jean Woodard Bean's book entitled *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*. She spent years studying Julia's letters and reveals that sometimes it was difficult to decipher her calligraphy since Julia used to write notes on the margins of the sheets. Due to her Canadian origins, Mary had the opportunity to interview Julia's relatives, in particular her cousin, who provided Mary with precious information and details so as to understand Julia's most intimate sides.

Even though there are no other biographies concerning Julia Grace Wales, the reconstruction of her thoughts was possible through the analysis of works that involved her indirectly, as two Jane Addams' books, *Women at The Hague* and *Peace and Bread* that outline the proceeding of the International Congress of Women at The Hague in 1915; and Barbara Sarina Kraft's book, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford peace expedition and the neutral conference for continuous mediation*, that offers a detailed description of the Ford Peace Expedition based on the establishment of the Neutral Conference.

Another useful tool was the periodical *Advocate of Peace* that provided publications by Julia Grace Wales concerning her point of view on internationalism and pacifism.

Through the consultation of other works and dissertations concerning the condition of women and peaceful organizations at the breakout of World War I, I was able to outline the historical and social context that was the background of the improvement of the plan for Continuous Mediation Without Conference.

The reconstruction of a life and a thought is a long and difficult process. Through this thesis, I tried to offer a general framework of the issue, hoping to have honoured in the best way Julia Grace Wales, a woman who dedicated her entire life to the welfare of

humanity, so to be remembered as “a sort of Joan of Arc<sup>274</sup>.”

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<sup>274</sup> Kraft, Barbara Sarina, *Some must dream: The history of the Ford Peace Expedition and the Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation*, Washington D.C., The American University Press, 1976, p. 52.

## APPENDIXES

### APPENDIX I. MANIFESTO ISSUED BY ENVOYS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN AT THE HAGUE TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES<sup>275</sup>

Here in America, on neutral soil, far removed from the stress of the conflict we, the envoys to the Governments from the International Congress of Women at The Hague, have come together to canvass the results of our missions. We put forth this statement as our united and deliberate conclusions. At a time when the foreign offices of the great belligerents have been barred to each other, and the public mind of Europe has been fixed on the war offices for leadership, we have gone from capital to capital and conferred with the civil governments. Our mission was to place before belligerent and neutral alike the resolutions of the International Congress of Women held at The Hague in April; especially to place before them the definite method of a conference of neutral nations as an agency of continuous mediation for the settlement of the war. To carry out this mission two delegations were appointed, which included women of Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States. One or other of these delegations were received by the governments in fourteen capitals, Berlin, Berne, Budapest, Christiania, Copenhagen, The Hague, Havre (Belgian Government), London, Paris, Petrograd, Rome, Stockholm, Vienna, and Washington. We were received by the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the Powers, by the King of Norway, by the Presidents of Switzerland and of the United States, by the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State. In many capitals more than one audience was given, not merely to present our resolutions, but for a thorough discussion. In addition to the thirty-five governmental visits we met everywhere members of parliaments and other leaders of public opinion. We heard much the same words spoken in Downing Street as those spoken in Wilhelmstrasse, in Vienna, as in Petrograd, in Budapest, as in the Havre, where the Belgians have their temporary government. Our visits to the war capitals convinced us that the belligerent Governments would not be opposed to a conference of neutral

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<sup>275</sup> Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Hamilton, Alice, *Women at The Hague; the International Congress of Women and its results*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915, p. 160.

nations ; that while the belligerents have rejected offers of mediation by single neutral nations, and while no belligerent could ask for mediation, the creation of a continuous conference of neutral nations might provide the machinery which would lead to peace. We found that the neutrals on the other hand were concerned, lest calling such a conference might be considered inopportune by one or other of the belligerents. Here our information from the belligerents themselves gave assurance that such initiative would not be resented. "My country would not find anything unfriendly in such action by the neutrals," was the assurance given us by the foreign Minister of one of the great belligerents. " My Government would place no obstacle in the way of its institution," said the Minister of an opposing nation. "What are the neutrals waiting for?" said a third, whose name ranks high not only in his own country, but all over the world. It remained to put this clarifying intelligence before the neutral countries. As a result the plan of starting mediation through the agency of a continuous conference of the neutral nations is to-day being seriously discussed alike in the Cabinets of the belligerent and neutral countries of Europe and in the press of both. We are in a position to quote some of the expressions of men high in the councils of the great nations as to the feasibility of the plan. "You are right," said one Minister, "that it would be of the greatest importance to finish the fight by early negotiation rather than by further military efforts, which would result in more and more destruction and irreparable loss." "Yours is the sanest proposal that has been brought to this office in the last six months," said the Prime Minister of one of the larger countries. We were also in position to canvass the objections that have been made to the proposal, testing it out severely in the judgment of those in the midst of the European conflict. It has been argued that it is not the time at present to start such a process of negotiations, and that no step should be taken until one or other party has a victory, or at least until some new military balance is struck. The answer we bring is that every delay makes more difficult the beginnings of negotiations, more nations become involved, and the situation becomes more complicated; that when at times in the course of the war such a balance was struck, the neutrals were unprepared to act. The opportunity passed. For the forces of peace to be unprepared when the hour comes, is as irretrievable as for a military leader to be unready. It has been argued that for such a conference to be called at any time when one side has met with some military

advantage, would be to favor that side. The answer we bring is that the proposed conference would start mediation at a higher level than that of military advantage. As to the actual military situation, however, we quote a remark made to us by a foreign Minister of one of the belligerent Powers. "Neither side is to-day strong enough to dictate terms, and neither side is so weakened that it has to accept humiliating terms." It has been suggested that such a conference would bind the neutral governments cooperating in it. The answer we bring is that, as proposed, such a conference should consist of the ablest persons of the neutral countries, assigned not to problems of their own governments, but to the common service of a supreme crisis. The situation calls for a conference cast in a new and larger mould than those of conventional diplomacy, the governments sending to it persons drawn from social, economic, and scientific fields who have had genuine international experience. As women, it was possible for us, from belligerent and neutral nations alike, to meet in the midst of war and to carry forward an interchange of question and answer between capitals which were barred to each other. It is now our duty to make articulate our convictions. We have been convinced that the governments of the belligerent nations would not be hostile to the institution of such a common channel for good offices; and that the governments of the European neutrals we visited stand ready to cooperate with others in mediation. Reviewing the situation, we believe that of the five European neutral nations visited, three are ready to join in such a conference, and that two are deliberating the calling of such a conference. Of the intention of the United States we have as yet no evidence. We are but the conveyors of evidence which is a challenge to action by the neutral governments visited by Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. We in turn bear evidence of a rising desire and intention of vast companies of people in the neutral countries to turn a barren disinterestedness into an active good-will. In Sweden, for example, more than 400 meetings were held in one day in different parts of the country, calling on the government to act. The excruciating burden of responsibility for the hopeless continuance of this war no longer rests on the wills of the belligerent nations alone. It rests also on the will of those neutral governments and people who have been spared its shock but cannot, if they would, absolve themselves from their full share of responsibility for the continuance of war.

Signed by

ALETTA JACOBS [Holland].

CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN [Great Britain].

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER [Austro-Hungary].

EMILY G. BALCH [United States].

JANE ADDAMS [United States].

## APPENDIX II. MEDIAZIONE CONTINUA SENZA ARMISTIZIO

(Personal Italian language translation of Julia Grace Wales' plan for Continuous Mediation Without Armistice)

Si propone che una Conferenza di Nazioni Neutrali sia chiamata a sedere tanto quanto dovrebbe durare la guerra, per una continua e indipendente mediazione con o senza armistizio e se necessario senza lo specifico permesso dei belligeranti; tale conferenza per considerare e sottoporre simultaneamente alle potenze in guerra proposte ragionevoli basate su principi più favorevoli alla creazione di una pace permanente, e di continuare a cercarla attraverso il metodo di sottoporre simultaneamente ferme proposte e stimolando suggerimenti da parte dei belligeranti, alcune proposte di accordo che potrebbero attrarre tutti in quanto degne di considerazione.

La continua mediazione attraverso una conferenza neutrale vorrebbe coordinare il pensiero dei popoli belligeranti, vorrebbe concentrare e articolare le forze intellettuali e morali del mondo.

Può essere trovato un modo attraverso il quale una conferenza di potenze neutrali porterebbe le forze morali del mondo a sostenere l'attuale stato di guerra, e offrire ai belligeranti alcune opportunità, non coinvolgendo né un impegno in un programma arbitrario, né un compromesso delle convinzioni per le quali stanno combattendo, per considerare la possibilità di una pace?

Nel rispondere a questa domanda è offerto qui un piano per una continua mediazione senza armistizio.

Quando le grandi crisi si erano già verificate, gli uomini hanno spesso dovuto affrontarle ciecamente e pagare il prezzo più caro per queste lezioni. C'è una tra le convinzioni della guerra che una volta che il sangue è versato, non un'ulteriore razionale considerazione della questione deve essere affrontata. Oggi se il nostro spirito scientifico e sviluppo dell'intelletto non valgono nulla, noi dovremmo essere abili, sotto la pressione dell'emergenza, di sfondare le paralisi della tradizione e cercare una razionale via



d'uscita, prima che le inesorabili forze della natura potrebbero strapparci tutto il possibile.

Immaginiamo per motivo della questione che tutte le nazioni ora combattenti si sveglieranno domattina con le loro menti giuste, abili di esaminare la distruzione che hanno già causato, di riassumere le sofferenze, le perdite umane, le perdite economiche; abili ognuna di comprendere i motivi che li hanno condotti a combattere; abili di riconoscere la futilità della vendetta, la mancanza di saggezza e l'errore di cercare di distruggere una razza, la follia della continua competizione, i vantaggi della cooperazione. Cosa sarebbe secondo tali circostanze, la cosa naturale da fare? O, ancora, supponiamo che le nazioni neutrali ritrovassero i loro sensi, non sarebbe possibile che sono state troppo paralizzate da un modo tradizionale di pensare? Supponiamo che siano in grado di affrontare il problema con estrema onestà, semplicità, e coraggio. Cosa sarebbe la cosa naturale da fare per le nazioni neutrali?

È convinzione generale che finora i governi neutrali sono senza una sufficiente opportunità di portare una definitiva influenza a piombare nella situazione di guerra. I belligeranti diffidano molto tra di loro per l'armistizio. E loro non vedono nulla da guadagnarci da una mediazione in questo momento, perciò sembra che per loro un rapido accordo significherebbe un compromesso, e un compromesso significherebbe che le ostilità potrebbero essere riprese nell'immediato futuro. Ovviamente, poi, se le potenze neutrali porteranno la loro influenza ufficiale a sostenere il presente, loro vorrebbero mediare senza armistizio e senza lo specifico permesso delle potenze in guerra, e in tal modo non mettendo in pericolo la neutralità, e vorrebbero fare una proposta che non coinvolgerebbe i mali del compromesso.

In vista delle precedenti considerazioni, cosa, chiediamo ancora, sarebbe la cosa naturale da fare per le nazioni neutrali, quelle nazioni neutrali alle quali il compito di pensare in maniera aperta per il mondo è, per il momento stato affidato? La cosa naturale per loro sarebbe venire insieme alla conferenza e tentare di formulare una proposta ragionevole. Loro le alleggerirebbero tutte le argomentazioni convincenti per tale adozione, ogni possibile appello per l'interesse personale di ogni nazione in guerra. Loro dopo sottoporrebbero la proposta ai governi di tutte le nazioni in guerra simultaneamente, insieme alla seguente domanda: *Saresti d'accordo ad adottare o*

*considerare la seguente proposta come una base di pace se e quando i governi di altre potenze in guerra saranno altrettanto d'accordo?*

La proposta stessa potrebbe essere risolta nel dettaglio dagli esperti. Potrebbe essere un tentativo per scoprire quei principi che sostengono il benessere di tutti e che potrebbe costituire un fondamento di una pace permanente. Potrebbe essere che la conferenza avrebbe difficoltà nel concordare i termini dell'iniziale proposta. In tal caso diverse proposte potrebbero essere apportate allo stesso tempo, rappresentando varie teorie di validi accordi.

Se nessun governo dovrebbe rispondere in negativo, rispondere indefinitamente, o rifiutare di rispondere in tutto, le potenze neutrali potrebbero fare prima di ciò la seguente richiesta:

*(1) Se in ogni momento mentre la guerra continua, tu sei disposto ad adottare o considerare la nostra proposta, o a modificare la forma della nostra proposta, come una base di pace a condizione che le altre potenze in guerra facciano lo stesso, ti preghiamo di avvertire la conferenza di nazioni neutrali.*

*(2) Allo stesso tempo la conferenza di potenze neutrali, che siederà mentre la guerra continua, sarà grata di ricevere alcuna informazione che potrebbe interessarti darci come tuo ultimo desiderio – cioè, come il massimo che tu desideri ottenere in modo tale che la conferenza potrebbe aiutare nello sforzo di scoprire il prima possibile un piano d'accordo come sembrerebbe a tutti degna di considerazione.*

La conferenza potrebbe poi procedere a formulare e apportare ulteriori proposte.

È ora evidente e dovrebbe essere attentamente notato che, per mancanza di un termine migliore, la parola mediazione è qui estesa al significato di includere più che una tale semplice mediazione come implica l'acquiescenza dei belligeranti. Ripetiamo che se i belligeranti non saranno disposti ad accettare la mediazione, *la conferenza neutrale non sarebbe confinata ad offrire una mediazione ma vorrebbe cominciare una volta a formulare e apporre proposte nei principi favorevoli di creazione di una pace permanente.*

Gli immediati vantaggi di un simile corso delle azioni dal punto di vista delle nazioni neutrali sarebbe (1) che ciò evita la necessità di assicurare un armistizio o il permesso delle potenze in guerra di mediare; (2) che ciò evita la necessità di un effimero giudizio

nel passato; (3) che non mette in pericolo la neutralità di nessuno; (4) che dà l'opportunità di verificare l'attitudine dei belligeranti attraverso un appello al futuro; (5) che potrebbe apportare un piano radicale libero dal male risultante dal compromesso – un piano che, se potrebbe abbreviare la guerra, potrebbe tendere anche a prevenire simili guerre in futuro.

Ora praticamente un simile corso delle azioni cosa potrebbe compiere nella parte delle nazioni neutrali?

Primo, qual è il minimo guadagno che potrebbe essere atteso con una ragionevole confidenza? Il minimo guadagno potrebbe essere lo spostamento del programma di pacifismo nel campo della seria considerazione politica. Come proposta fatta seriamente da governi a governi, potrebbe guadagnare ascolto, potrebbe avere effetti psicologici, come non una propaganda privata potrebbe mai averle dato. Vorrebbe focalizzare il pensiero del mondo almeno momentaneamente sulla correttezza internazionale. Vorrebbe dare una concreta espressione alla passione inarticolata di tutti gli idealisti sia in terre in pace che in quelle turbate. E se mai nella storia del mondo ci fu un disperato bisogno di una tale comune espressione, adesso c'è.

Esprimendo una fede politica internazionale, il movimento vorrebbe tendere, ulteriormente a dare una nuova solidarietà al sentimento popolare in quelle terre nelle quali la popolazione è formata da molteplici razze. Per esempio, vorrebbe dare conforto ad un gran numero di Americani di nascita o origine Europea dall'intollerabile senso di estraneità nei confronti di molti Americani. Gli permetterebbe di unire le loro forze in un grande compito e unire in un unico entusiasmo il loro affetto per la loro patria, la loro lealtà e devozione per l'America, la loro amicizia per il mondo intero. Dunque la diversità razziale degli Stati Uniti sarebbe resa una delle più potenti forze creatrici di pace.

E le nazioni neutrali del mondo dovrebbero accettare l'invito di uno dei loro numeri per mandare rappresentanti alla conferenza, come corpo deliberativo, seduto tanto quanto l'emergenza continua, rappresenterebbe uno spettacolo di profondo significato, quello che vorrebbe portare a ristabilire la fede sconvolta dell'umanità e consentirle di fissare il suo sguardo con nuova speranza verso l'obiettivo dell'ultima Federazione Mondiale.

Alla questione di quale sia il meglio che il piano possa compiere, dovremmo esitare a basare una seria argomentazione sulla risposta. Già varrebbe la pena considerare per un

momento alcune delle forze che potrebbero plausibilmente essere portate in atto. Primo, cosa potrebbe guadagnare la proposta dalle motivazioni di interesse personale (1) nei popoli, (2) nei governi?

Dato che la proposta iniziale non è una questione di segreta diplomazia, ma è fatta apertamente davanti al cospetto di tutto il popolo, il popolo di paesi belligeranti ne verrebbe a conoscenza attraverso la stampa.

Nell'elemento lavorativo, nelle chiese, specialmente nella Società di Amici, nelle organizzazioni delle donne, e nella grande parte di interessi commerciali, noi abbiamo un corpo di opinioni già fortemente disposto a guardare con favore una proposta per un accordo che proporrà una pace permanente. Ora, il tentativo di dare l'impressione che una tale proposta diventerà sempre più forte all'aumentare della pressione economica. Inoltre, il piano adotterà nella sua parte l'argomentazione della paura stessa, la forza più grande che è usata al momento in guerra. La grande argomentazione con la quale la Gran Bretagna ha fatto appello al suo popolo e alle sue colonie è il pericolo che la sconfitta significherebbe almeno armamenti intensificati nel futuro, schiavitù militare, indebolimento dei principi democratici. Questo è l'appello che è stato avanzato dalle armate dell'impero britannico. Ma ad un tale motivo la nostra proposta vorrebbe fare un appello ancor più forte, per questo vorrebbe promettere una sicurezza non solo dall'aggressione del vincitore, ma dalla vendetta del nemico sconfitto. Vorrebbe promettere libertà, nazionalità, democrazia in termini chiari.

Sarà argomentato che nel presente, tuttavia, il disprezzo nazionale è molto amaro per permettere la sana considerazione di una proposta di pace. Non possiamo lungamente enfatizzare il punto, tuttavia, che il disprezzo nazionale è nato e nutrito dalla paura. Finora il ventesimo secolo è preoccupato, il disprezzo puro è troppo immateriale e allo stesso tempo un motivo negativo per tenere le masse della popolazione a combattere di fronte alla severa pressione economica. Se la paura è eliminata, l'odio morirà di una morte veloce e naturale. Inoltre, sarebbe facile portare l'evidenza raccolta dai periodici partigiani per mostrare il rimorso che ogni parte sente nel distruggere l'altra, il gentile trattamento accordato ai prigionieri, le relazioni amichevoli tra i soldati nelle trincee. Tutti sarebbe grati di tornare se loro potessero alla "vita umana normale". Di nuovo, la

contemplazione di una proposta basata sui principi del benessere universale tenderà di suo a diminuire l'odio nazionale e ad accelerare il tempo in cui l'accordo potrà essere possibile. E questo obiettivo potrebbe essere più vicino di quanto noi pensiamo. È la paura, ripetiamo, piuttosto che l'odio che porta le nazioni a combattere, la paura che è forte abbastanza per un momento da superare la grande forza della pressione economica. Ma la pressione economica è una forza inesorabile e finita, che deve qualche volta e in alcuni modi portare una cessazione delle ostilità. È una delle formidabili alleate di coloro vorrebbero combattere la battaglia della pace.

La vera imitazione dei belligeranti dovrebbe incitarli ad adottare il percorso dignitoso. Si sono tutti voltati ai popoli neutrali desiderosi in una personale giustificazione. Ogni nazione dice che non è da incolpare; che non cerca la guerra; che è stata forzata a combattere per personale difesa immediatamente o anticipatamente; che si è dovuta contendere con coloro che sono stati amichevoli con essa; che non ha motivo di crudeltà, solo che il motivo di tenerezza al solo che per lo stesso tempo ha reso necessario una severa morte del cuore al peccato per gli altri; che il significato utilizzato è stato giustificato da una fine vitale e da una disperata necessità; che il motivo è da ultimo il preservare un ideale e il benessere dell'umanità. Se queste proteste sono sincere, ed è chiaro senza spiegazioni che abbiamo adeguate ragioni per dubitare di loro, non è strano che non ci siamo sentiti abili ad impegnarci noi stessi in qualsiasi giudizio finale di morale attitudine di ogni parte del conflitto. Non possiamo considerare motivi passati, non possiamo distinguere perfettamente tra le azioni dei popoli e le azioni dei governi, tra la responsabilità di una nazione e quella di un'altra. E c'è un senso nel quale tutti siamo colpevoli. Noi siamo tutti umani, inciampando dal buio nel tramonto della conoscenza imperfetta. Tuttavia, è vero che dai loro appelli all'opinione mondiale. I belligeranti sono stati disposti ad aprirsi ad ogni etica sfida che noi abbiamo scelto di presentargli; e c'è una prova di sincerità alla quale loro ora sono sottoposti e alla quale loro ci hanno dato il diritto di sottoporli, quella che giace non in un esame del passato ma in un appello al futuro.

La forza di una tale radicale proposta come quella per la League of Peace, per esempio, giace nel fatto che offre un buon affare. Mentre le concessioni che questa domanda ad ogni governo sono grandi, presenta dei vantaggi, almeno dal punto di vista di ciò che

Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson chiama la “mente governativa”, che non sono piccoli. Tutti i popoli guadagnerebbero (1) un immediato conforto dall’intensa pressione economica e dall’atroce sofferenza, (2) libertà dalla tassazione militare, (3) sicurezza da guerre future, (4) sollievo dal prospetto di un ulteriore perdita commerciale. Tutti i governi guadagnerebbero una uscita desiderata da una situazione di difficoltà. Il mondo guadagnerebbe il benessere della civilizzazione occidentale, che è ora minacciato. Dunque, non c’è obiezione che l’appello al popolo di tutti i paesi vorrebbe essere forte, specialmente dopo che la pressione economica è diventata estrema. Infine, i governi di tutti i paesi troverebbero difficile, una volta che la questione di difesa personale sia stata portata via da loro, rendere i popoli entusiasti per la continuazione della guerra.

Ma dato che la migliore speranza di un movimento di pace giace nel volere del popolo, cosa è guadagnato appellando un governo all’altro invece di utilizzare una propaganda di organizzazioni di pace agli stessi popoli? Primo, come abbiamo visto, l’azione dei governi è la più efficace perché più nazionale. La più immediata e la più cospicua. Secondo, da una simile azione di governo come proponiamo, diamo al popolo di ogni nazione l’inestimabile aiuto di una proposta fatta da loro. Li allieviamo dalle difficoltà, specialmente in tempo di guerra, di creazione, formulazione, organizzazione, di dare ascolto con i loro stessi governi. La campagna di questi individui e i gruppi che desiderano allearsi con il nostro movimento è già organizzata. Tutti loro lo devono fare per importunare i loro governi a dire sì. E terzo, abbiamo posto nelle loro mani questa argomentazione, che il piano è già stato portato dalla sfera degli ideali alla sfera del piano pratico politico, che c’è già nel mondo almeno un governo che lo considera seriamente come un espediente politico.

Attraverso il piano di indipendente e continua mediazione senza armistizio, cioè, attraverso la creazione di simultanee proposte a tutti, c’è dunque una possibilità, insignificante e dipendente dalle circostanze, di effettuazione materiale tanto quanto la durata della guerra. Sia notato che un simile espediente porterebbe una pronta pressione psicologica a piombare sui governi belligeranti; li condurrebbe sotto una perpetua tentazione del corso giusto delle azioni. Al momento ogni parte si risolve a combattere praticamente per sterminare piuttosto che per arrendersi. La nostra proposta vorrebbe supportare prima di ciò, una speranza di uscita da una guerra

indefinitamente continuativa e distruttiva. Tali sono le possibilità di un pratico appello ai sordidi motivi, paura, orgoglio, desiderio per sollevarsi dalla sofferenza.

Ma ci sono altri motivi squallidi da considerare. L'umanità non è una cosa superficiale. Quando pensiamo i motivi dell'umanità, entriamo nell'abitudine di pensare quei motivi che possiamo considerare e li mettiamo in pratica; e questi sono i motivi più bassi; quelli più alti sono incalcolabili. L'idealismo è dal punto di vista delle politiche pratiche una incerta e perciò insignificante quantità; ma esiste. Che non sia una forza materiale è dovuto dal fatto che non abbiamo ancora imparato a liberarlo e ad utilizzarlo. E oggi è singolarmente attivo, singolarmente accessibile. Ma nelle nazioni neutrali le condizioni morali sono approssimativamente normali, nelle nazioni che sono in guerra sono molto lontane dal normale, non basse in maniera anormale, ma almeno alte super umanamente. La vera unità e coesione della razza ha portato l'individuo oltre la sua normale portata. Ogni popolo è come una singola famiglia; non ci sono bassi e alti, ricchi e poveri, ma la fratellanza dell'uomo. Nessun uomo considera cara la vita per sé stesso. Tutti stanno combattendo con una devozione che non può essere messa in discussione per la famiglia e la patria, per la lingua, le istituzioni, le tradizioni, per tutto ciò che loro ritengono più sacro e più caro. Qualsiasi cosa potremmo credere riguardo la follia o la deliberazione del far sbagliato dei governi, il fatto resta che ogni popolo è in uno stato di esaltazione spirituale. Gli individui stanno pensando dappertutto, soffrendo, fronteggiando le ultime problematiche della vita e della morte. I loro sensi sono aguzzati, i loro spiriti sensibilizzati al significato di ciò che è diventato normale, ai territori familiari, alle associazioni di casa, agli ideali della razza, al suo eroismo e la sua poetica, ai simboli della sua religione. Questa cosa è come una marea del mare; è annegata nel profondo. E nell'ora della loro aspirazione e agonia, si sono voltati verso di noi, supplicandoci di ascoltarli e approvarli. Il potere e i popoli sofisticati ci hanno gridato la mancanza d'aiuto e la semplicità dei bambini, come se noi rappresentassimo ora per loro lo Spirito del Mondo della ragione e la saggezza con cui salvarli dall'irreparabile tragedia. Abbiamo solo girato verso di loro i periodici per sapere che ogni nazione, nella confusa complessità delle sue ragioni, è stata spazzata da una genuina passione di personale giustificazione, una passione che indica in ognuno un senso di lealtà ad uno standard di condotta nazionale. *È nostra unica opportunità proporre ad ognuno la suprema etica*

*sfida che, se può aumentare fino al punto di accettarla, deve per noi stessi e per loro resistere attraverso i secoli venturi come tangibile espressione di ideale internazionale.*

Ora tra il massimo per cui speriamo e il minimo che ci aspettiamo di ottenere, c'è un possibile guadagno che non dovrebbe essere sottovalutato. Anche se le proposte ideali siano respinte, una conferenza di continua mediazione supplicherebbe un modo di definire l'argomento e affrettare la scoperta di una tale base di accordo come normalmente sarebbe cercata a fine guerra. Il mezzo di una simile conferenza potrebbe ben essere adottato all'inizio di ogni guerra, per qualsiasi problema che giustifica il sangue versato è degno del collettivo, sistematico pensiero della razza. Ed è possibile per ogni parte in conflitto di essere alquanto in errore come ciò che l'altro suppone che sia il principale problema. Qualsiasi confusione di problematiche deve essere risolta in un tragico spreco di sforzo. Specialmente c'è pericolo di un tale spreco nella presente guerra. Nella vastità della problematica coinvolta, nella natura della difficoltà, nell'interesse che le potenze neutrali hanno nel trovare una soluzione, il problema mondiale è senza precedenti e potrebbe ben domandare un metodo nuovo di trattamento. Razze nobili sono coinvolte in una battaglia sanguinosa, simili popoli che non hanno liti reali, che vorrebbero piuttosto essere amichevoli, ma che non possono venire allo scoperto perché non hanno una vera opportunità di comunicare. Per quanto i popoli sono interessati, la guerra comincia a qualche giorno dalla notizia. Non c'è più tempo di parlare dopo, non c'è più possibilità di parlare ora. Non ci sarà opportunità di essere razionali fino a che tutte le nazioni sono praticamente esauste, a meno che un macchinario può essere utilizzato per farle pensare e interpretarle nel suolo neutrale.

*Dunque una conferenza di mediazione continua procedendo con un metodo di simultanee proposte, potrebbe provare ad avere una pratica valenza indipendente del volere delle potenze di accettare un piano ideale.* Tuttavia, non deve essere dimenticato che qualsiasi modifica potrebbe essere introdotta per una ulteriore discussione proposta dai belligeranti stessi, l'iniziale proposta delle potenze neutrali dovrebbe essere basata in alcuni simili principi universali come noi abbiamo già indicato, per, come abbiamo visto, (1) una simile proposta è un'espressione di ideale ed è perciò degna di ascolto prima dell'immaginazione mondiale; (2) è una neutra proposta perché è basata su principi astratto; (3) coinvolge un sensato affare perché è fondata su principi che



governano il benessere di tutti, e come affare potrebbe da ultimo produrre un effetto pratico nell'attitudine dei governi.

Ma lasciateci ripetere che è il campo del minimo risultato che potrebbe essere atteso dall'immediata azione sulla quale desideriamo principalmente basare la nostra argomentazione. Noi speriamo di enfatizzare il punto che la terribile forza dell'angoscia umana sarà dissipata e distrutta a meno che non può in alcuni casi essere concentrata a condurre l'idea di pace mondiale nelle menti dei popoli. È il compito delle potenze neutrali di mettere in pratica le idee e lasciare che la natura li volti dall'inarrestabile presa del fatto fisico. Se un singolo governo belligerante poteva essere indotto a vincolarsi, sebbene certo condizionatamente, al seguente programma, ci sono state finora trionfi non paralleli per la causa del pacifismo. Ma anche se non un simile risultato potrebbe essere raggiunto, anche se il solo risultato è stato la cristallizzazione di un aperto nazionale sentimento in una nazione neutrale e dell'opinione popolare in altre terre, lo sforzo ne varrebbe la pena. E che ogni governo dovrebbe aver preso una posizione storica per la radicale giustizia sarebbe per tutti i tempi una fonte di orgoglio e gratitudine al suo popolo.

Ma una terza domanda deve essere posta: Per il singolo individuo che crede nella causa della pace, cosa, sotto le attuali circostanze esistenti, è la naturale cosa da fare? Potremmo dire confidenzialmente che ci sono più di settemila profeti in ogni nazione neutrale che credono ardentemente nella causa della pace e sono speranzosi di apportare il loro estremo sforzo in questo supporto. A loro ci appelliamo. Se il corso delle azioni che abbiamo sottolineato è infatti l'unico ragionevole per le nazioni neutrali da seguire, se contiene qualche promesso di aiuto, diretta o indiretta, immediata o futura, per la causa della pace, poi la cosa naturale da fare per l'individuo è esortare ciò, nella stagione e fuori stagione, attraverso una personale propaganda, attraverso la stampa, attraverso incontri pubblici, attraverso risoluzioni di società, attraverso lettere aperte a persone d'autorità. Quando ha lottato con ogni messo a questo comando poi guadagnare per il problema la seria considerazione dei popoli neutrali e i governi neutrali, poi e non fino a quando ha consegnato la sua anima.

Il nostro compito è in definitiva uno. È il compito di persuadere i governi neutrali all'azione immediata. Potremmo mettere in ogni mano l'opinione che quando i belligeranti sono pronti per la mediazione, loro possono fare il movimento per questo senza ulteriore interferenza da noi; che noi potremmo guadagnare aspettando fino a che loro sono pronti per ascoltarci. Lasciateci in conclusione riassumere le principali argomentazioni contro questa visione: (1) sebbene opposti all'armistizio e non coscientemente pronti per la mediazione, i belligeranti potrebbero in realtà essere più aperti o essere consapevoli all'appellarsi al senso comune. (2) temono un accordo veloce perché temono il compromesso; ma una proposta, per esempio, per una soluzione delle dispute tramite appello al principio di nazionalità non coinvolge il grande male del compromesso, ossia il pericolo di una veloce ripresa delle ostilità. (3) le nazioni in guerra non sono desiderose di iniziare un movimento per la pace; e nel contempo i popoli non hanno potere per comunicare. Per il motivo del benessere di tutti, per il motivo di un esame senza passione e di universale interpretazione, le nazioni neutrali devono formulare piani e proporli a loro. (4) Se una proposta è probabile di esercitare una pressione psicologica che tenderebbe ad abbreviare il tempo di accordo, poi è un serio errore rimandare di proporlo ai belligeranti. Sebbene non potrebbe essere immediatamente accettata, ancora più presto è fatta, più presto farà effetto. Osiamo a ritardare ad agire quando la prontezza dell'azione potrebbe nel lungo termine correre a salvare anche una settimana di sangue versato e sofferenza? (5) una radicale proposta fatta simultaneamente alle potenze in guerra potrebbe tendere a promuovere non solo un accordo veloce ma un accordo di valore. Vorrebbe almeno iniziare il lavoro che deve essere iniziato qualche volta di portare la forza della sana opinione pubblica a sostenere il conservatorismo dei governi; e ora mentre l'opinione pubblica è rinforzata dalla pressione economica nella nazione e dal pericolo dal nulla, potrebbe essere facile fare che la forza senta ciò che sarà fatto dopo. (6) l'unica alternativa all'azione immediata è la passiva acquiescenza nella definitiva continuazione della guerra, una guerra che sta giornalmente indebolendo la vitalità dell'Europa, spazzando via lentamente le conquiste dei secoli, "ipotecando il futuro della civilizzazione", e portando un'inestimabile perdita sopra i nostri bambini sui figli dei nostri bambini.

Dovremmo aspettare fino a che queste cieche e futili forze saranno esauste? Il tempo di fare uno sforzo decisivo per salvare il nostro mondo è ora, prima che la distruzione proseguirà ulteriormente.

### APPENDIX III. APPEAL TO THE NEUTRALS<sup>276</sup>

To the Governments and Parliaments of the Neutral Nations represented at the Second Hague Conference.

Two years will soon have passed since Europe was overwhelmed by the frightful catastrophe which is ruining and desolating the world. Two years, and still no one can foresee the hour when this fratricidal conflict will end, for the two groups of Powers which are arrayed against each other declare that they have inexhaustible resources of men and means.

It would seem that Europe is rushing toward the abyss.

Has not then the moment come to act? If by an opportune step, an intervention of neutrals, the war could be shortened by a day, by a single day, of bloodshed and destruction, ought not this step to be taken, however difficult, however fraught with uncertainty it may appear?

History will not be sparing in its judgement of the neutral countries if they remain merely spectators of the terrible conflagration. Moreover, those who are suffering from the war, and the belligerents themselves have made the neutrals judges of their cause. Otherwise to what purpose are all the books, White, Blue, Red, Yellow, all the statements and all the commentaries which they have circulated in profusion in the neutral countries? May it not be that the belligerents, like the neutrals, are becoming persuaded more and more that a solution by force of arms will never be a solution?

That truth is one which follows from the principles unanimously adopted by The Hague Conference of 1907. In the convention for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the representatives of all the Powers declared, practically, that they were "animated by a strong wish to co-operate in maintaining the general peace and resolved to further with all their efforts the friendly settlement of international disputes," that they recognized "the solidarity which unites the members of the society of civilized nations," that they wished "to extend the empire of right and to strengthen the

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<sup>276</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005.

sentiment of international justice,” that it was of importance to “consecrate in an international agreement the principles of equity and right on which are based the security of nations and the well-being of peoples.”

A Conference consisting of delegates of six neutral countries (Denmark, the United States, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland) has assembled in Stockholm on the initiative of Mr. Henry Ford. This Conference is not official, but it is based on the guiding principles adopted by the Governments represented in the secondo Hague Conference. Hence it has resolved to address to the Governments and Parliaments of the neutral countries an urgent request, asking them to take the initiative in calling an official Conference of the neutral nations with a view to hastening the conclusion of a just and permanent peace.

It is the duty of the neutral Governments to offer mediation: “Independently of these means,” we read in the convention cited above, “the contracting Powers judge it useful and desirable that one or more Powers not concerned in the conflict should offer on their own initiative, so far as circumstances permit, their good offices or their mediation to the nations at war.”

The Powers not concerned in the conflict have the right to offer good offices or mediation even during the course of hostilities.”

“The exercise of this right can never be regarded by either of the parties to the conflict as an unfriendly act.”

it in in view of these considerations that the unofficial Conference in Stockholm respectfully begs you to be willing to endeavour by every means in your power to obtain the co-operation of neutral nations toward official mediation between the belligerents and toward the future development on an international order of justice.

#### APPENDIX IV. APPEAL TO THE BELLIGERENTS<sup>277</sup>

A Conference composed of Delegates from six neutral countries (Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States) has been convened at Stockholm upon the initiative of Henry Ford to work for the achievement of an early and lasting peace based upon the principles of justice and humanity.

This Conference represents no Government. It has no official sanction. It represents the goodwill of millions throughout the civilized world who cannot stand idly by while the deadly combat rages unchecked. It does not attempt to impose its judgement upon the belligerents. But its members, as private individuals unhampered by considerations which restrain Governments, have resolved to do everything within their power to promote such discussion as may tend to bring the belligerents together on just and reasonable terms.

Through a thousand channels utterances have already reached the Conference, pleading that a long continuance of the struggle will mean ruin for all. But as both sides believe that only complete victory can decide the issue, ever new sacrifices of blood and treasure are made exhausting the present and impoverishing the future. Still we are convinced that an agreement between the warring nations might even now be reached, were certain universal principles to be accepted as a basis of discussion, principles which cannot be violated with impunity, whatever the military results of the war.

The first duty of a Neutral Conference, then, is to call attention to those universal principles and concrete proposals upon which agreement seems possible, and upon which there may be founded a peace that will not only satisfy the legitimate needs of the warring nations themselves, but also advance the welfare of humanity at large.

The Neutral Conference does not propose to discuss all the issues at stake. Nor does it desire to set forth a plan for the construction of a perfect world. But it emphasized the universal demand that peace when it comes shall be real, ensuring mankind against the recurrence of a world war. Humanity demands a lasting peace.

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<sup>277</sup> Woodard Bean, Mary Jean, *Julia Grace Wales: Canada's Hidden Heroine and the Quest for Peace 1914 -1918*, Ottawa, Borealis Press, 2005.

In presenting this appeal to Governments, Parliaments and People for discussion and comment, the Neutral Conference hopes that no formal objection may prevent its sympathetic consideration both by those in authority and by the people whom they present.

#### A. RIGHT OF NATIONS TO DECIDE THEIR OWN FATE

History demonstrates that annexations contrary to the wishes of the people concerned bring with them the danger of future wars of liberation. Hence the acceptance of these principles appears generally to be regarded as an essential pre-requisite to the satisfactory settlement of this war, namely, that no transfer of territory should take place without the consent of the population involved, and that nations should have the right to decide their own fate.

It follows that the restoration of Belgium must first be agreed upon before there can be any understanding between the belligerent powers. Furthermore, the occupied French territory should be returned. A reconsideration of the difficult Alsace-Lorraine question is also an absolute necessity. The independence of Servia and Montenegro should be assured.

In its wider interpretation, the principle of the right of nations to decide their own fate postulates the solution of a problem like the Polish question by guaranteeing the union of the Polish nation as an independent people. Further applications would be the adjustment of the frontiers between Austria and Italy, as far as possible according to the principle of nationality; autonomy for Armenia under international guarantee; and the solution of various national questions in the Balkans and in Asiatic Turkey by international agreement.

#### B. ECONOMIC GUARANTEES

Economic competition is generally admitted to be one of the causes of the present war. Hence the demand becomes more and more insistent that the economic activity of all peoples should be afforded development on equal terms. The recognition of the principle of the Open Door in the Colonies, Protectorates and Spheres of Influence would be an important step in this direction, as would also the internationalization of certain waterways, e.g., the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.

The German Colonies ought to be returned, the exchange of colonies made possible by satisfactory compensation, and Germany's access to the Near East guaranteed.

C. FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

The principle of the Freedom of the Seas should be recognized.

D. PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF FOREIGN POLICY

Effective Parliamentary Control of Foreign Policy should be established, so that secret treaties and secret diplomacy may no longer endanger the most vital interests of a nation.

E. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Far more important, however, for the welfare of humanity that the solutions thus far suggested, is the creation of an international organization, founded upon law and justice, which would include an agreement to submit all disputes between states to peaceful settlement. Hence the almost universal opinion that in the coming treaty of peace the principle of such an international order of justice must be accepted.

F. DISARMAMENT

Equally important with the insistence upon an international organization is the demand that disarmament be brought about by international agreement.

G. WORLD CONGRESS

In order to bring about the creation of an international order of justice, it will be necessary to secure the adherence of both belligerents and neutrals. The difficulties that result from the present catastrophe do not affect the warring nations alone. They affect the whole world. In their settlement the whole world should participate. A World Congress should therefore be called together.

Such a Congress should concern itself with more than the immediate questions arising out of this war. Problems like that of guaranteeing political and spiritual freedom to special nationalities united with other peoples, though not direct issues of this war, are nevertheless of vital importance to the future maintenance of peace.

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to suggest a possible approach to the task of uniting again the international bonds that have been torn asunder in this fratricidal war. Whatever may be the ultimate solution, there is abundant evidence of the growing



conviction among belligerents and neutrals alike that the hope of the world lies in the substitutions of law and order for international anarchy. The Neutral Conference therefore feels justified in hoping that the end of this war will witness the institution of an international order of justice which will make possible an enduring peace for all mankind.

Easter, 1916.

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