

Texas State University

Texas State University was established in 1899 by the Texas legislature. It's almost 39,000 students reside on two campuses in Central Texas (San Marcos and Round Rock). President Lyndon Baines Johnson is Texas State's most famous graduate. The San Marcos Campus contains the second-largest spring in Texas which forms the headwaters of the San Marcos River. This crystal clear river, which remains 71 °F (21 °C) year-round, is the home of many unique species of plants and animals. It also provides a locus for the university's environmental and aquatic biology specializations. The university has 98 bachelors, 90 masters' and 12 doctoral degrees. As an Emerging Research University, Texas State offers opportunities for discovery and innovation for its faculty and students.

The Nobel Peace Prize 1931

Jane Addams, Nicholas Murray Butler



Award Ceremony Speech

Presentation Speech by Halvdan Koht¹, member of the Nobel Committee, on December 10, 1931.

In awarding the Peace Prize to two Americans, the Nobel Committee today brings the United States into first place among those nations whose representatives have received the prize during the past thirty years.² Previously, France had the highest number of prize winners, a total of six, while other nations had no more

¹Mr. Koht, also at this time professor of history at the University of Oslo, delivered this speech in the auditorium of the Nobel Institute in Oslo on the afternoon of December 10, 1931. Because neither laureate was able to attend, Mr. Hoffman Philip, United States minister to Norway, accepted the prize on their behalf in a brief speech expressing their gratitude and that of the United States for the honor conferred. This translation of Mr. Koht's speech is based on the Norwegian text in *Les Prix Nobel en 1931*.

²From *Nobel Lectures, Peace 1926–1950*, Editor Frederick W. Haberman, Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1972 Copyright © The Nobel Foundation 1931. "The Nobel Peace Prize 1931—Presentation Speech". *Nobelprize.org*. Nobel Media AB 2014. Web. 23 Aug 2016. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1931/press.html.

than two or three. As of today, seven Peace Prizes will have gone to America, four of them during the last five years.

What is true of the other Nobel awards is also true of the Peace Prize: people do not always agree that it is given to the most suitable candidates. And no one is more aware of the difficulties involved in the selection than the members of the Nobel Committee. But I trust everyone will agree that it is only natural that so many Peace Prizes should have gone to the United States in recent years.

The United States of America is a world in itself, as large as the whole of Europe; and this world is a great land of peace where war between states, either economic or military, is unthinkable. But the United States is, at the same time, one of the great world powers and economically is now the greatest of all. By virtue of this position, she influences decisions on war and peace in all corners of the globe. We can say, in fact, that, because of this vast economic strength, she wields greater power over war and peace than any other country on earth. All who yearn for a lasting peace must therefore look to America for help.

America helped—perhaps it would be more correct to say compelled—Europe to create a League of Nations which would provide a firm basis for peaceful coexistence among nations. It was a crushing blow that America herself did not join this organization, and without doubt her failure to do so contributed largely to the failure of the League of Nations to live up to expectations. We still see too much of the old rivalries of power politics. Had the United States joined, she would have been a natural mediator between many of the conflicting forces in Europe, for America is more interested in peace in Europe than in lending her support to any particular country.

It must be said, however, that the United States is not the power for peace in the world that we should have wished her to be. She has sometimes let herself drift into the imperialism which is the natural outcome of industrial capitalism in our age. In many ways she is typical of the wildest form of capitalist society, and this has inevitably left its mark on American politics.

But America has at the same time fostered some of the most spirited idealism on earth. It may be that this idealism derives its vigor from the squalor and evil produced by social conditions, in other words from the contrasts within itself. It is certainly an undeniable fact, which must strike anyone who knows the country, that the American nation has an instinctive and profound faith in what the philosophers of 100 or 150 years ago used to call human perfectability, the capacity to become more and more perfect. It is a faith which has provided the foundation for some of our greatest religions and one which has inspired much of the best work for progress. It was proclaimed by Jesus Christ; it inspired the work of men like Emerson and Wergeland.³ To the American mind nothing is impossible. This attitude applies not only to science and technology but to social forms and conditions as well. To an American an ideal is not just a beautiful mirage but a practical reality the

³Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), American essayist and philosopher. Henrik Arnold Wergeland (1808–1845), Norwegian poet, dramatist, and patriot.

implementation of which is every man's duty. American social idealism expresses itself as a burning desire to devote work and life to the construction of a more equitable society, in which men will show each other greater consideration in their mutual relations, will provide stronger protection to the weak, and will offer greater opportunities for the beneficent forces of progress.

Two of the finest representatives of this American idealism are awarded the Nobel Peace Prize today. Both have worked assiduously and for many years to revive the ideal of peace and to rekindle the spirit of peace in their own nation and in the whole of mankind.

In honoring Jane Addams, we also pay tribute to the work which women can do for peace and fraternity among nations. The old concept implied that woman was the source of nearly all sin and strife on earth. Popular tradition and poetry would also have it that women were frequently the cause of the wars waged by kings and nations. I know of only one legend to the contrary, the story of the Sabine women who threw themselves between their Roman fathers and brothers and their Sabine husbands.

In modern times the poets, starting with Goethe, Ibsen, and Bjørnson⁴, have seen women in a different light; in their eyes women reflect the highest and purest moral standards of society. And no man has placed greater faith in the work of women for the cause of peace than did Bjørnson. It is this new position acquired by women in the society of our time, their new independence in relation to men, that gave us reason to anticipate that they would constitute a new force in the work for peace. Bjørnson seemed to see women as bringing "the spirit of calm to the tumult of battle", with the prayer that love should prevail over the passion to kill, and to believe that when women obtained power in society and in the state, the very spirit of war must die.

We must nevertheless acknowledge that women have not altogether fulfilled the hopes we have placed in them. They have allowed too much scope to the old morality of men, the morality of war. In practical politics we have seen too little of that love, that warm maternal feeling which renders murder and war so hateful to every woman. But fortunately we have seen something of this feminine will which revolts against war. Whenever women have organized, they have always included the cause of peace in their program. And Jane Addams combines all the best feminine qualities which will help us to develop peace on earth.

Twice in my life, once more than twenty years ago and now again this year, I have had the pleasure of visiting the institution where she has been carrying on her lifework. In the poorest districts of Chicago, among Polish, Italian, Mexican, and other immigrants, she has established and maintained the vast social organization centered in Hull-House⁵. Here young and old alike, in fact all who ask, receive a

⁴Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), German poet and dramatist. Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), Norwegian poet and dramatist. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832–1910), Norwegian poet, novelist, and dramatist; recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature for 1903.

⁵See Jane Addams's biography; see at: pp. 195–198.

helping hand whether they wish to educate themselves or to find work. When you meet Miss Addams here—be it in meeting room, workroom, or dining room—you immediately become poignantly aware that she has built a *home* and in it is a *mother* to one and all. She is not one to talk much, but her quiet, greathearted personality inspires confidence and creates an atmosphere of goodwill which instinctively brings out the best in everyone.

From this social work, often carried on among people of different nationalities, it was for her only a natural step to the cause of peace. She has now been its faithful spokesman for nearly a quarter of a century. Little by little, through no attempt to draw attention by her work but simply through the patient self-sacrifice and quiet ardor which she devoted to it, she won an eminent place in the love and esteem of her people. She became the leading woman in the nation, one might almost say its leading citizen. Consequently, the fact that she took a stand for the ideal of peace was of special significance; since millions of men and women looked up to her, she could give a new strength to that ideal among the American people.

And when the need became more pressing than ever, she inspired American women to work for peace on an international level. We shall always remember as one of the finest and most promising events during the last great war, the gathering of women from all over the world, even from enemy countries, who met to discuss and pursue common action for world peace. The initiative for this conference, which took place at The Hague in April of 1915, came from the Dutch women, and it is only right to pay tribute to the memory of Dr. Aletta Jacobs⁶ who stood at their head. But it was natural that they should ask Miss Addams to come to preside over their conference. From the moment the war broke out, she had launched a propaganda campaign, with the aim of uniting America and the other neutral countries to end the war, and had succeeded in forming a great organization of women to support this program. So it was that she energetically opposed the entry of the United States into the war. She held fast to the ideal of peace even during the difficult hours when other considerations and interests obscured it from her compatriots and drove them into the conflict. Throughout the whole war she toiled for a peace that would not engender a new war, becoming, as she did so, the spokesman for the pacifist women of the world. Sometimes her views were at odds with public opinion both at home and abroad. But she never gave in, and in the end she regained the place of honor she had had before in the hearts of her people. Devotion to a cause always inspires respect, and in her devotion Miss Addams is truly American. This very year she joined with representatives of countries all over the world to call for general disarmament.

In Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the great Columbia University in New York, the Nobel Committee sees a man who shares the qualities of Jane Addams. His work for peace began at about the same time as hers, some twenty-five years

⁶The International Congress of Women, with 1,500 delegates from 12 nations, assembled at The Hague on April 28, 1915, upon the invitation of the Dutch Committee of the International Suffrage Alliance of which Dr. Aletta Jacobs (1849–1929) was a leader.

ago, and it has been distinguished by tireless energy and a zeal almost without parallel. He is one of those men who give themselves completely to anything they undertake, always ready, always willing. Nothing can discourage him or sap his strength. Nothing can disturb the serene smile in his eyes. And his personality is infectious, for he communicates courage, vigor, and confidence to all who work with him. He has a great talent for putting others to work and for finding the right job for the right man. If there be a man who can truly be called American, then Butler is that man: a greathearted worker and a splendid organizer. I have watched him at work at his university and I have seen him preside over a peace conference—wherever he goes, an aura of vitality seems to follow him.

It was another winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, the Frenchman d'Estournelles de Constant, who drew him into the work for peace and who first oriented his efforts. In 1907 he was elected president of the American branch of the Conciliation Internationale which d'Estournelles himself had founded. While d'Estournelles' chief aim had been reconciliation between France and Germany and between France and England, Butler adopted a much wider program, and, as a result, the American branch rapidly became the most important in the whole organization.

In my opinion it would be difficult to name another peace organization which has persisted in such effective, tenacious, and steady work for the cause of peace as has this American group under the presidency of Butler. With typically American practical common sense, he saw the need to establish this work on a sound economic footing, and it was primarily his influence that prompted Carnegie to establish the very substantial Endowment for International Peace in 1910.⁷ Butler himself became president of one of its sections, that concerned with "intercourse and education", which he finally linked to the American branch of the Conciliation internationale, and later he became head of the Endowment itself. But throughout these years, the kind of work he did remained basically the same.

We can see at once that all this activity has been directed by a man of great knowledge and wide views. He has not confined himself merely to empty generalities but, on the contrary, has raised all the questions which might imperil international peace. He has had experts sent to examine potential causes of war in the Balkans, the Far East, and Mexico, and so has succeeded in compiling invaluable reports on a number of political danger spots. His main concern has always been the gathering of information on all kinds of international conditions and relationships, and his great ambition has been to create an "international mind", the will and the ability to examine every question from an international point of view which never forgets that in any dispute each of the two combatants may have his justification and consequently the right to a fair hearing. He himself has never failed in this obligation, and he has done more than most to draw attention to such a duty in all parts of the world.

⁷Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919), American industrialist, who gave \$10,000,000 for the Endowment.

It is also worthy of mention that on one occasion four or five years ago he intervened in an actual situation, securing results that delighted many friends of peace. When Brind made his famous speech in April, 1927, proposing that France and the United States should agree to outlaw war, his appeal found no response in America until Butler took it up and successfully rallied public opinion to it. He himself had discussed the matter with Briand beforehand, and the work he then did⁸ drew America into the negotiations which, in the following year, resulted in what we know as the Kellogg Pact. People may hold differing opinions as to the practical effect of this pact, but it is at least a living proof of the development of the peace idea. It was no more than a just recognition that Briand should send particular words of thanks to Butler on the day the pact was signed. And it is only natural that in addition to Briand himself, two other Nobel Peace Prize winners, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Elihu Root, should have strongly supported Butler's candidacy for this year's prize.

In the case of peace workers such as Butler and Jane Addams, it is often difficult to point to tangible and manifest results of their actions or to particular events in political life with which their names may be associated. Those who set their sights on awakening and educating public opinion cannot expect swift victories of the kind that win popular acclaim. Consequently, it has come about—and perhaps had to come about—that the Peace Prizes have passed over such patient pioneers as these and have gone to statesmen holding governmental positions of authority who had the power to transform efforts for peace into treaties and other political measures.

But a statesman and the policies he represents reflect the social and intellectual conditions of his country. If his work is to endure, it must have a solidly developed foundation. Enterprises for peace such as the League of Nations, the Locarno Treaty, or the Kellogg Pact would have been impossible if they had not been backed by a desire and will for peace on the part of powerful sections of the people in all countries.

Certainly, there are profound forces which shape the progress of society and of the state, forces which inevitably affect what we call peace policy. New interests and new ideals are born which direct nations toward new forms of organization. The idea of international peace and justice can perhaps never attain ultimate victory until our entire society is reconstructed upon a new foundation. Such is the context of progress in all fields of society.

But any new idea which grows and prospers always needs men who can give it a clear and conscious form. Nothing in society ever moves forward of its own momentum; progress must always be sustained by the human thought, human will, and human action to transmute the need into a living social form. We should therefore recognize as a great historic mission the work of all those who help us to see the goal which, willingly or unwillingly, we should make our own, all those

⁸Among other things, Butler stirred up public discussion with the publication of an open letter in the *New York Times* (April 25, 1927).

who help to unite popular thought and public will in positive action for social reconstruction. With every specific idea that they implant in the popular will, they take us another step along the road to the new society.

It is to two such people that we now pay tribute. A long labor, rich in sacrifice offered in the cause of peace, is today honored by the Nobel Prize. Miss Addams and President Butler belong to those who have brought the ideals of peace to life in thousands and thousands of people. They have taught large sections of the population to demand peace from their leaders. They have created forces which will stimulate progress, and all those who aspire to a peaceful society on earth are deeply in their debt.

About the Author



Jane Addams (September 6, 1860–May 21, 1935) won worldwide recognition in the first third of the twentieth century as a pioneer social worker in America, as a feminist, and as an internationalist. She was born in Cedarville, Illinois, the eighth of nine children. Her father was a prosperous miller and local political leader who served for sixteen years as a state senator and fought as an officer in the Civil War; he was a friend of Abraham Lincoln whose letters to him began “My Dear Double D-’ed Addams”. Because of a congenital spinal defect, Jane was not physically vigorous when young nor truly robust even later in life, but her spinal difficulty was remedied by surgery. In

1881 Jane Addams was graduated from the Rockford Female Seminary, the valedictorian of a class of seventeen, but was granted the bachelor’s degree only after the school became accredited the next year as Rockford College for Women. In the course of the next six years she began the study of medicine but left it because of poor health, was hospitalized intermittently, traveled and studied in Europe for twenty-one months, and then spent almost two years in reading and writing and in considering what her future objectives should be. At the age of twenty-seven, during a second tour to Europe with her friend Ellen G. Starr, she visited a settlement house, Toynbee Hall, in London’s East End. This visit helped to finalize the idea then current in her mind, that of opening a similar house in an underprivileged area of Chicago. In 1889 she and Miss Starr leased a large home built by Charles Hull at the corner of Halsted and Polk Streets. The two friends moved in, their purpose, as expressed later, being “to provide a center for a higher civic and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago”.

Miss Addams and Miss Starr made speeches about the needs of the neighborhood, raised money, convinced young women of well-to-do families to help, took care of children, nursed the sick, listened to outpourings from troubled people. By its second year of existence, Hull House was host to two thousand people every week. There were kindergarten classes in the morning, club meetings for older

children in the afternoon, and for adults in the evening more clubs or courses in what became virtually a night school. The first facility added to Hull House was an art gallery, the second a public kitchen; then came a coffee house, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a cooperative boarding club for girls, a book bindery, an art studio, a music school, a drama group, a circulating library, an employment bureau, a labor museum.

As her reputation grew, Miss Addams was drawn into larger fields of civic responsibility. In 1905 she was appointed to Chicago's Board of Education and subsequently made chairman of the School Management Committee; in 1908 she participated in the founding of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and in the next year became the first woman president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. In her own area of Chicago she led investigations on midwifery, narcotics consumption, milk supplies, and sanitary conditions, even going so far as to accept the official post of garbage inspector of the Nineteenth Ward, at an annual salary of a thousand dollars. In 1910 she received the first honorary degree ever awarded to a woman by Yale University.

Jane Addams was an ardent feminist by philosophy. In those days before women's suffrage she believed that women should make their voices heard in legislation and therefore should have the right to vote, but more comprehensively, she thought that women should generate aspirations and search out opportunities to realize them.

For her own aspiration to rid the world of war, Jane Addams created opportunities or seized those offered to her to advance the cause. In 1906 she gave a course of lectures at the University of Wisconsin summer session which she published the next year as a book, *Newer Ideals of Peace*. She spoke for peace in 1913 at a ceremony commemorating the building of the Peace Palace at The Hague and in the next two years, as a lecturer sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation, spoke against America's entry into the First World War. In January, 1915, she accepted the chairmanship of the Women's Peace Party, an American organization, and four months later the presidency of the International Congress of Women convened at The Hague largely upon the initiative of Dr. Aletta Jacobs, a Dutch suffragist leader of many and varied talents. When this congress later founded the organization called the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Jane Addams served as president until 1929, as presiding officer of its six international conferences in those years, and as honorary president for the remainder of her life.

Publicly opposed to America's entry into the war, Miss Addams was attacked in the press and expelled from the Daughters of the American Revolution, but she found an outlet for her humanitarian impulses as an assistant to Herbert Hoover in providing relief supplies of food to the women and children of the enemy nations, the story of which she told in her book *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922).

After sustaining a heart attack in 1926, Miss Addams never fully regained her health. Indeed, she was being admitted to a Baltimore hospital on the very day, December 10, 1931, that the Nobel Peace Prize was being awarded to her in Oslo. She died in 1935 three days after an operation revealed unsuspected cancer. The funeral service was held in the courtyard of Hull House.

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*Miss Addams did not deliver a Nobel lecture. Hospitalized at the time of the award ceremony in December, 1931, she later notified the Nobel Committee in April of

1932 that her doctors had decided it would be unwise for her to go abroad.

1. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, p. 112.

From *Nobel Lectures, Peace 1926–1950*, Editor Frederick W. Haberman, Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1972. This autobiography/biography was written at the time of the award and first published in the book series *Les Prix Nobel*. It was later edited and republished in *Nobel Lectures*. To cite this document, always state the source as shown above.

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About the Editor



Dr. Patricia M. Shields is a Professor in the Department of Political Science of Texas State University. She received her BA in Economics from the University of Maryland College Park (1973). She further pursued her study in Economics at Ohio State University by earning a Masters of Arts (1975) and finished her educational pursuit with a Ph.D. in Public Administration (1977). She began teaching at Texas State in 1978 and received tenure in 1984. Since her Texas State career began, she has received many awards for excellence in teaching such as the National Association for Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, Leslie A Whittington Excellence in Teaching Award (2002),

The Texas State Presidential Award for Excellence in Teaching (2001), the Texas State Faculty Senate, Everette Swinney Teaching Award (2010) as well as the Professor of the Year Award from the Central Texas Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration (2006). She has taught 10 graduate and undergraduate courses including statistics, public finance, public policy, public sector economics and research methods. Currently she focuses on the MPA Program capstone process and has supervised over 400 Applied Research Projects, many of which have won national and regional awards. She has published over 60 articles and book chapters in subjects such as public pricing, cut back management, privatization, the sunset review process, military recruitment, conscription, women in the military, military families, expeditionary and peacekeeping forces, positive peace, and military bureaucracies. She is most well-known for applying the philosophy of pragmatism to public administration and research methods in public administration. It was in this literature that she found the works of Jane Addams and Addams's link to public administration. She has also published two books *Step by Step: Building a Research Paper* and *A Playbook for Research Methods: Integrating Conceptual Frameworks and Project Management* (with Nandhini Rangarajan) and an edited book *Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in Military Studies* (with Joseph Soeters and Sebastiaan Rietjens). In 1984 she won the Texas State Presidential Seminar research award and in 2007 she won the *Public*

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