

TOWARD PEACE

FRANK MILLER
IN
THE WORLD



INTRODUCTION

Project Director, Theresa Hanley

The Mission Inn Foundation is proud to present *Toward Peace: Frank Miller in the World*. This exhibition provides a glimpse into Frank Miller's life-long interest in world peace with special emphasis on Miller's involvement in the international peace movements in the years before the United States entered the First World War.

Although now largely forgotten, during those years Americans of many backgrounds worked to encourage the United States to stay out of the war and to play a role in negotiating its end. Historian Michael Kazin describes this movement as “the largest, most diverse, and most sophisticated peace coalition to that point in U.S. history.” (*War Against War: The American Fight for Peace 1914-1918*).

As proprietor of a resort hotel with an international clientele, Miller was introduced to the diverse experiences and ideas of his hotel guests. With the skills he utilized in so many aspects of his life, Miller wove his peace ideals into the practicalities of his business – and used the assets of his business to promote his ideals. His engagement in the peace movement was influenced by his friendships with local and national religious leaders, social reform activists and academics including David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University. As a hotelier whose business survival depended on international tranquility and unfettered travel, Miller would have been drawn to the argument espoused by business and political leaders who understood the emerging international economy. Andrew Carnegie is the most well-remembered of these figures. In 1910, Norman Angell, an emerging British journalist who had spent his young adulthood in California working as a cowboy and miner, penned the most influential treatise on this economic theory. With support from Carnegie's new peace endowment, Angell published *The Great Illusion* arguing that military build-up was a ‘great illusion’ – that war was economically and socially irrational.

Miller's most intriguing peace friendship was with Dutch physician, suffragist and peace activist Aletta Jacobs. Jacobs and her husband, Carel Victor Gerritsen, were guests at the Mission Inn in November 1904 and the Miller's daughter, Allis, visited with them in Amsterdam the next summer. Allis and her parents met Jacobs again in Amsterdam in

August 1907 and she took them to The Hague during the Second Hague Peace Conference. There, Jacobs introduced Miller to the *Cercle Internationale* – an international salon of leading peace activists including the flamboyant journalist W.T. Stead and Nobel Peace Prize awardee Bertha von Suttner.

Miller left us no written treatise or other lengthy account of his thoughts on peace – only snippets in letters and newspaper articles. Most significantly, his actions as reported by his contemporaries and the construction of a lasting physical commemoration on Mount Rubidoux by his friends and neighbors form some of the strongest historical evidence. An entrepreneur who understood that his personal fortune was tied to the continual improvement of his community, Miller also believed that the success and well-being of his community were tied to international affairs and world peace.

Miller's involvement in the pre-World War I peace movements introduced him to some of the time's most intriguing characters. We are pleased to present short biographies of some of these extraordinary figures – all researched and prepared by members of the Mission Inn Foundation's award-winning volunteer Docent corps.

Finally, as we work to put Miller's actions into the broader contexts of his own time and to evaluate their relevance for us today, we turn to two scholars of the history of the Mission Inn and Riverside. Vince Moses discusses the religious movement now often called the "Social Gospel" and its effects on Miller. Emily McEwen explores the broadest contexts of the era in her essay on decolonialization after World War I.

ZONA GALE

By Sally Beaty



Zona Gale on Mt. Rubidoux
about 1916.
Mission Inn Foundation Collection

Zona Gale was born in the small town of Portage, Wisconsin in 1874, the eagerly awaited and only child of Eliza and Charles Gale. This picturesque village at the junction of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers was a place she would call ‘home’ for the rest of her life.

Described by her mother as a grave little girl, somewhat withdrawn – perhaps the result of a severe bout with diphtheria that transformed a chubby toddler into a fragile, thin slip of a child. As a substitute for active play, Zona turned to books and imaginary adventures.

Zona wrote constantly during her teen years, almost all Gothic tales you would consider hopelessly sentimental, but that was the style of the time. She submitted each one for publication, and they all came back ‘with a distinctive thump that I could recognize from my upstairs bedroom.’

After attending Portage schools, she enrolled at the University of Wisconsin – Madison, earning a Bachelor’s Degree in Literature in 1894. She earned a master’s degree four years later while working for two Wisconsin dailies, the *Evening Wisconsin* and the *Milwaukee Journal*. Her assignments - Society weddings, women’s clubs, and theatre openings. Male colleagues referred to female reporters as ‘sob sisters’ – no offense intended.

Feeling somewhat stifled in Milwaukee, Zona decided to carve out a more interesting professional path in New York City. After weeks of hounding city editors, she joined the staff of the *Evening World* as a general reporter and daily columnist and going out on all manner of assignments. Despite her success, she left the newspaper in 1903 to take a chance on making it as a free-lance writer. During that year, she wrote from dawn to dusk eating little and sending most of what she earned to her parents, hoping they could buy the farm they’d always wanted.

On a trip back to Portage in 1903, Gale realized the material she needed for her writing was in the sights and sounds of town life. She returned a few months later, in 1904, to concentrate full-time on fiction, using her hometown as the setting and inspiration for nearly all her work. Zona found herself writing about everyday happenings and commonplace people. It was from this new direction that the Friendship Village series was born and her first novel *Romance Island* was accepted for publication. Reviews were admittedly mixed. She later commented that she remembered feeling ‘proud of it for years, and ashamed of it for many more.’ But, it was a beginning.

Writing was not her only bread and butter, it was her life – that and the liberal political causes she found herself drawn to. She was an outspoken supporter of Senator Robert La Follette and his progressive movement. She promoted the 1921 Wisconsin Equal Rights Law and became Vice President of the Wisconsin Women Suffrage Association. She lobbied for peace movements and pacifist causes of every shape and color and became a regent for the University of Wisconsin, her alma mater.

This activism on behalf of women was her way of helping to solve “a problem that became a frequent theme of [her] novels: women’s frustration at their lack of opportunities.” The deeper she became entrenched in these causes the more her writing began to shift from the sentimental to realism. *The Tragedy Birth* was published in 1918. The best seller *Miss Lulu Bett*, released in 1920 was an ironic feminist look at small town life. The dramatization of that novel earned Gale the \$1000 Pulitzer Prize for Drama in 1921.

It was around 1912 that Gale began coming to California during the winter months to escape the harsh Wisconsin winters. Her mother would often come with her, knitting nearby, ever watchful, as she wrote, lectured or held meetings. She had been staying in Pasadena when she heard of the Mission Inn in Riverside. Between 1912 and 1920, she stayed there frequently, looking forward to winters at the Inn, and renewing her close relationship with the members of the Miller family. Her hometown of Portage was only 40 miles from Tomah, the Miller’s Wisconsin hometown. Gale and the Millers had a common heritage that bound them together. But more than that, Zona found that she shared many views in common with the family – pacifist leanings, and a passion for the rights of others regardless of their race or creed or gender. It was a comfortable place for her to be, and perhaps why she agreed to write Frank Miller’s biography years later.

MARY CHURCH TERRELL

By Mary A. Knox



Peace, education and civil rights leader Mary Church Terrell between 1880 and 1900.
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

Mary Church Terrell was born in Memphis, Tennessee to Robert and Louise Church, both small business owners; former slaves who were freed prior to the Emancipation Proclamation in January, 1863. As small business owners and vitally interested in the welfare of the black community, Mary's parents knew the value of education and freedom. They impressed their values and concerns for education and civil rights on Mary and her brother.

Mary, who received a degree in Education from Oberlin College in Ohio in 1884, was one of the first African American women to graduate from college. Fluent in three languages (English, French and German), she was also a poet and a writer, writing short stories and newspaper articles.

After graduation she left for Washington, DC to begin her teaching career, where she met her future husband, Robert Terrell, a young talented attorney who became the first Black Municipal Judge in Washington, D.C. Mary was never one to sit on the sidelines. In addition to her teaching career, she began her life of public service chartering the NAACP with William DuBois, securing women's right to vote, investigating police mistreatment of African Americans and bringing down segregated restaurants in Washington, DC. Eventually, there was a court order making it illegal for restaurants to serve customers based on race. Toward the end of her life, Mary witnessed other Civil Rights changes, including the historic "Brown vs. Board of Education" ending segregation in the schools.

Mary Church Terrell's life was filled with public service. A few special honors she earned were:

- > Named as one of the Top 100 Outstanding Alumnae of Oberlin College (1933)
- > Doctorate in Humane Letters (1948)
- > A neighborhood in Washington D.C. named after her (1975)
- > Recognized as a Civil Rights Activist on a US Postage Stamp (2009)
- > Oberlin College named its main library The Mary Church Terrell Library (2018)

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL

By Ursula Dube



An engraving of May Wright Sewall from the third volume of *History of Woman Suffrage*.
History of Woman Suffrage, Volume III

Educator, suffragette, pacifist, such was the life path for May Wright Sewall. Born in Greenfield, Wisconsin in 1844, May attended Northwestern Female College, earning a Mistress of Science degree. After moving to Indianapolis where she worked as a teacher, May Sewall founded the Indianapolis Equal Suffrage Society in 1874 and thus began her life's work of public involvement. Her skill at organization soon took her to the national level and membership in the National Women's Suffrage Association where she served with Susan B. Anthony.

As the chairman of the executive committee, May Sewall directed the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848. At this meeting she introduced the idea of forming national and international councils of women's groups that would bring women together to discuss topics beyond suffrage. After her idea was accepted, she began traveling abroad to promote efforts to organize these groups.

The first meeting of the International Council of Women was held at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. Under May's leadership, the International Council of Women became the driving force in the Peace Movement.

In 1914 May Sewall was appointed to organize an international conference of women for the promotion of cooperative internationalism to be held in conjunction with the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. When war broke out in Europe, there was uncertainty about the exposition. May Sewall wrote, "While many distinguished advocates of Peace felt that work for its establishment was inevitably suspended by the war—to me the war seemed a proclamation to the women of the world that some action by them was imperative."

And take action, she did! May Sewall traveled extensively, bringing her message to

the nation. On April 15, 1915, May Sewall spoke at the First Congregational Church in Riverside. She declared, “We propose to write a new Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1915, a Declaration of Independence by the women of the world from war.” After their conference in San Francisco, May Sewall produced a report titled, “Women, World War and Permanent Peace.” A number of resolutions were passed, including a demand for the creation of an international legislative body, international court system, and calling all nations to agree to a general disarmament.

Although she is not well-known today, Booth Tarkington named May Sewall one of Indiana’s three most outstanding citizens, right behind former president Benjamin Harrison and poet James Whitcomb Riley.

FRANK AUGUSTUS MILLER, DAVID STARR JORDAN AND PEACE

By Dr. Jerry Gordon, Ed.D



David Starr Jordan from *The World's Work: A History of Our Time*, volume 26. *The World's Work* was a monthly magazine covering business and national concerns.

The World's Work: A History of Our Time, Volume 26

Frank Miller, founder of Riverside's Mission Inn, was a close friend of David Starr Jordan although their backgrounds and professional experiences were quite different. Both were born in the 1850s, however Jordan was a few years older.

Miller's schooling was marginal while growing up in western Wisconsin. Jordan, who grew up in rural New York State, had a significantly better education based on his parent's decision to send him to an excellent female seminary near his home. From there Jordan entered the recently established Cornell University in nearby Ithaca where he studied ichthyology, the study of fish. He continued his education at Butler University in Indianapolis, and later at Indiana University where he eventually became its President. In conversation with the President of Cornell University, Leland Stanford took his advice and hired Jordan to become the founding

president of Stanford's newly forming university in California.

It is not clear when Jordan met Frank Miller, but they became good friends as Jordan found him to be smart, curious, progressive, and very interested in world peace. From that point Jordan participated in several Riverside based functions sponsored by Miller including the 1908 Native American Conference held at the Mission Inn. Jordan was deeply saddened upon the death of Miller's wife Isabella in 1908. He invited Frank to his home in Palo Alto to help him deal with his grief, and to get him on with his life. Miller took Jordan's advice and guidance and returned to Riverside and began to think about an addition to his Mission Inn which was to be dedicated to Isabella. Upon the completion of the new wing in 1911, Miller sponsored his first peace conference in the beautiful Music Room so named because of Isabella's interest and talent in music. Jordan attended

that Peace Conference and served as conference chair.

Jordan made several trips to Riverside, but perhaps one of the most significant was in December, 1925. Upon Miller's return from a five and one half month visit to Asia he discovered that a peace tower and bridge had been constructed during his absence to commemorate his activism on behalf of peace. David Starr Jordan was the main speaker at the dedication.

Jordan was the first president of Leland Stanford's university beginning in 1891 until he resigned in 1913 to pursue international peace as war loomed. His feelings toward peace took root during the Spanish-American War of 1898 when he became one of our nation's outspoken critics of military and economic imperialism. Over the next few years Jordan led an effort against war. He joined forces with Grover Cleveland and Andrew Carnegie and headed the anti-imperialist league with Edward Ginn, a Boston publisher and founder of the World Peace Foundation.

While still President of Stanford, Jordan taught a very popular course titled "International Arbitration" which dealt with the maintenance of global peace. He pleaded with Andrew Carnegie to set aside \$10,000,000 to be used against war. In 1917 Stanford formed the Emergency Peace Federation. The Federation was an unofficial commission of distinguished citizens to consider alternatives to war. However, despite his commitment to peace, he eventually supported the American military in order to end American casualties, but Dr. Jordan continued his quest for peace after the war and for the rest of his life.

From the Exhibit: Uncomfortable Truths: Eugenics

Some peace activists of Miller's time presented their ideas in difficult terms. They often declared that war killed society's "best and brightest." University presidents, David Starr Jordan of Stanford and Rufus von Kleinschmid of the University of Southern California, played direct roles in Miller's peace advocacy. Both Jordan and von Kleinschmid were proponents of Eugenics. Discredited by the scientific community, Eugenics held that racial, ethnic, or other inherited characteristics determined human value. In the United States, laws, legal decisions, and medical practices – including forced sterilization and unethical scientific experimentations – resulted from eugenic thinking. In Europe, eugenic theories underpinned Hitler's Holocaust.

Did these ideas influence Frank Miller? Because Miller himself did not write about his peace thoughts, it is difficult to determine to what extent these ideas may have influenced him. We are left to evaluate his ideas based primarily on his actions. Such uncomfortable truths about some peace activists demonstrates the importance of continual research into and re-evaluation of our past.

ALETTA JACOBS

By Joyce Lyons



Aletta Jacobs, identified here by her suffragist credentials as President of the Dutch Executive Committee. Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, Manuscript and Archives Division, New York Public Library

Who was Aletta Jacobs? That's Dr. Jacobs, if you please. She was the first female medical doctor in the Netherlands.

It wasn't easy; many considered it impossible. Yet, young Aletta wanted to follow in her father's footsteps. As a child, she accompanied her father, Dr. Abraham Jacobs, on many of his visits to patients. She was the eighth of eleven children and believed herself to be her father's favorite.

Her parents considered education important for all their children. Boys and girls went to grade school together. After grade school the boys got to go to high school and girls were expected to learn feminine occupations, like sewing or housekeeping. Aletta did not want to be a seamstress and hated housekeeping! She wanted to go

to high school with her brothers. Her father agreed and spoke to the authorities and she was allowed to go to high school.

Later, when Aletta wanted to attend university and study medicine, her father spoke up for her again – this time going all the way to the Premier of the Netherlands. She was reluctantly allowed to attend university and when she spoke up for herself insisting that girls were just as smart as boys, it was often not well received. Nevertheless, Aletta Jacobs completed all her examinations with honors and earned a doctorate in medicine.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs began to campaign for women's issues shortly after opening her medical practice in Amsterdam. She fought for birth control after seeing women living in wretched conditions and having babies year after year with no means to provide for them. She fought against prostitution after seeing young girls, who had been forced into prostitution, dying from dreadful diseases and alone and scorned. She wanted to vote so

she began to campaign for woman's suffrage.

It was a natural step from working for woman's suffrage to involvement in the Women's World Peace Movement. She traveled the world attending conferences, often in leadership roles. In her travels, Jacobs gained lifelong friendships with women all over the world. Many would stay in her home when they visited Holland. Allis Miller was one of her guests in 1905. A year earlier, Jacobs and her husband, Carel Gerritson spent time at the Mission Inn. Miss Miller returned to Holland two years later, in 1907, with her parents. Jacobs spent a few days with them and took them to a conference at The Hague to hear her dear friend William Stead speak.

When war broke out in Europe, Jacobs focus became solely on the Peace Movement. In 1915 she visited heads of state all over Europe in an effort to persuade them to intercede with the warring countries. She then went to America where she spoke with President Woodrow Wilson to urge him to take a prominent role in mediating an end to the war. After the war, Jacobs continued to work for woman's suffrage (achieved in Holland in 1919) and world peace until her death in 1929.

JANE ADDAMS

By Judith Runyon



Jane Addams in about 1913.
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs
Division

The first American woman to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931 came from the farming town of Cedarville, Illinois. Jane Addams was the 8th of nine children and led a rather privileged life. She graduated from Rockford Female Seminary in 1881 at the top of her class. The same year she and each of her siblings inherited \$50,000 from their father's estate, equivalent to \$1.32 million dollars today.

Jane became part of a new generation of college educated, financially secure, independent women. She was part of a growing supporter of progressive minded women who applied their talents toward the betterment of society, to do something useful in the world. More specifically, in Chicago, where Jane lived, these women were successful in establishing a juvenile

court system, better urban sanitation, protective labor legislation for women, and even, more playgrounds for children.

Over the course of the next six years (1881 to 1887), Jane studied medicine, but left her studies due to poor health. For twenty-one months she traveled and studied in Europe with her good friend Ellen Gates Starr. She and Miss Starr eventually founded a settlement house (Hull House) in an underprivileged area of Chicago in 1889, an idea formulated after seeing the Toynbee House in London's East End. For the next few years, Addams served on several important boards serving the underprivileged areas of Chicago. Jane believed that women should make their voices heard in civic affairs and reasoned that women should have the right to vote. She was a feminist and an ardent suffragette.

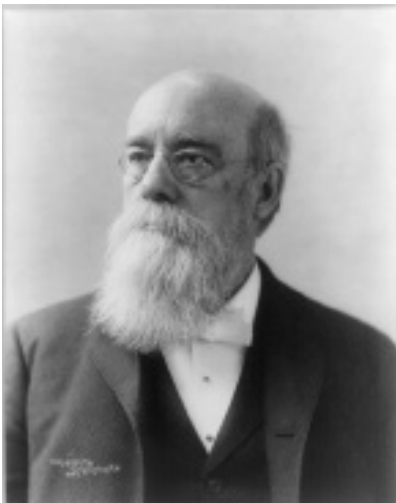
In 1910, Jane Addams received the first honorary award from Harvard University given to a woman. The same year she published her book *Newer Ideals of Peace*. She was an avowed pacifist. In 1913 she spoke for peace at the Peace Palace at The Hague in the Netherlands where she was sponsored as a lecturer by the Carnegie Foundation. She

was against the United States future wars. In 1915 she headed the Women's Peace Party and later helped found the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She presided over the International Congress of Women at The Hague where she was chosen to head a commission to find an end to the war. Jane met with ten leaders of neutral and hostile countries to discuss mediation. She protested the United States ultimate entry into WWI in 1917. Her actions made her very unpopular. Branded as unpatriotic, she was expelled from the Daughters of the American Revolution. Later she served as an assistant to Herbert Hoover by providing relief supplies for the women and children of the enemy nations, a story she told in her book *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922).

Leaving a legacy as a staunch reformer, pacifist, suffragette, lecturer, and author, Jane Addams passed away at the age of 74 in Chicago, the city where she lived most of her life.

BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS - THE SOCIAL GOSPEL, THE PEACE MOVEMENT, AND WORLD WAR I, 1890-1919

By H. Vincent Moses, PhD



Portrait of Washington Gladden from
1905.
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs
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*“Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be
called children of God.”*

Matthew 5:9 New International Version (NIV)



Powered by the free agency perfectionist theology of the British Methodist evangelist Rev. John Wesley, the Second Great Awakening of 1832 generated an avalanche of American Protestant-led social reform. The Wesleyan Revolution carried in its program abolition of African slavery, women’s and Negro suffrage, prison reform, child labor reform, Temperance, among other issues. The ills of rapid industrialization in the post-Civil War era reawakened reform zeal among Protestant liberal leaders and their denominations, this time under the umbrella of the newly emerging Social Gospel.

Protestant ministers, including Washington Gladden and Lyman Abbott, and Walter Rauschenbusch (*Christianity and the Social Crisis* [1907]) were prominent among the advocates of the Social Gospel. They built on Wesley’s theological argument that God’s Grace included a mandate requiring Christians to perfect themselves and society to

prepare the way for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth. That mandate undergirded the Social Gospel's fight to eradicate the social ills engendered by rapid industrialization, especially issues of social justice, economic inequality, poverty, alcoholism, crime, racial injustice, and the growing threat of the scourge of war.

Prior to World War I, the Social Gospel served as the theological wing of the Progressive Movement, providing the religious rationale for the Progressives' agenda of social reform through legislative action, and the Progressives' own anti-war movement based on reason not moral opposition to violence. The Progressives, including Woodrow Wilson felt war could be mitigated through international organizations which could facilitate the peaceful resolution of conflict.

Most of the leaders of the Social Gospel were sympathetic to the International Peace Movement, although they were not generally pacifist. Certain of them remembered that the Civil War had been a necessary "just war" to end slavery, to rid the Union of its mortal sin, as Lincoln argued in his deeply Wesleyan manner. Augustine's Just War Theory simmered just under the surface, at the ready if needed to eliminate an otherwise unconquerable injustice. Key Social Gospel leaders interpreted Jesus' peacemakers of the Sermon on the Mount in the Augustinian sense of ending war in a just and righteous way, as Lincoln said in his second inaugural address, "with malice toward none, with charity toward all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right..."

Once America entered the "war to end all wars," social Gospel leaning liberal denominations advocated a righteousness and just war to defeat tyranny and uplift all mankind. God, they came to argue, had chosen America as his instrument to redeem the world. Social Gospel leaders began to see the war as the ultimate Progressive reform, i. e., the reasonable application of violence to usher in social justice for all.

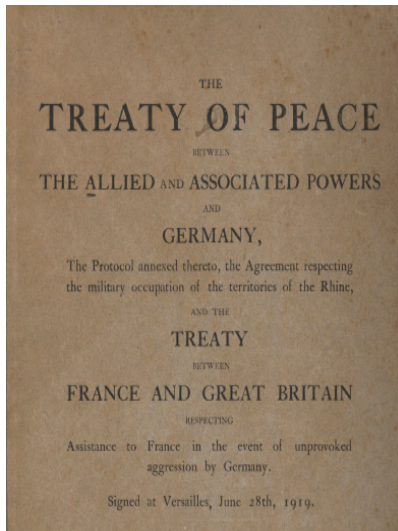
Meanwhile, the Alien and Sedition Acts, plus the Espionage Act passed shortly after the declaration of war led to imprisonment of more than a hundred thousand conscientious objectors and anti-war activists, many of whom died in Alcatraz Prison, while national leaders of the Peace Movement were hounded by vigilantes and authorities or changed their position toward the war.

In late 1921, President Warren G. Harding, as a part of his "return to normalcy" commuted most of the sentences of people imprisoned under the wartime acts.

Future battles for peace and justice would need to be left to a new generation of young American activists.

DECOLONIZATION AFTER WORLD WAR I

By Dr. Emily McEwen, PhD Humanities Advisor



Cover of the English version of the Treaty of Versailles.
Auckland Museum

The end of the Great War in 1918 brought with it not only questions of how the victorious nations would negotiate an enduring peace, but also questions as to how global boundaries would be redrawn. Prior to the eruption of war in 1914, a handful of empires controlled the majority of the world's land, people, and resources – Austria-Hungary was comprised of portions of modern day Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Czech-Republic, Poland, Ukraine, Romania and Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Ottoman Empire encompassed lands in present-day Turkey down into northern Africa; the German Empire included Alsace-Lorraine and colonies throughout Africa, the Pacific, and portions of China; Russia held territory spanning across eastern Europe; France governed regions in northern Africa

and islands in the South Pacific; and the vast British Empire ruled over ten million square miles of land on all seven continents. The United States took possession of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam following the Spanish-American War, in addition to invading and occupying Haiti in 1915, and expanding military and economic activities throughout Central and South America.

For the millions of people living under colonial rule on both sides of the conflict, the end of World War I and the subsequent debates about how the post-war world be reorganized held the promise for independence and self-rule. Approximately 650,000 colonial soldiers fought for the Allies, with tens of thousands more toiling as civilian laborers producing war supplies. In the war's aftermath, returning soldiers who had fought against the imperial encroachments of the Central Powers now wanted to claim their own rights and freedoms. Additionally, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, German, and Russian empires left in its wake power vacuums and political confusion. Indeed, the end

of fighting did not mean automatic peace as nationalist and communist conflicts erupted across the already war-torn regions.

The 1919 Treaty of Versailles peace negotiations were conducted by the Big Four Allied nations: Britain, France, Italy, and the United States. Prior to the armistice, President Woodrow Wilson outlined his now famous Fourteen Points in January 1918, which included his call for the right of self-determination for all peoples. Ignoring American imperial designs in the Philippines and Haiti, Wilson stated, “National aspirations must be respected; people may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. ‘Self determination’ is not a mere phrase; it is an imperative principle of action.” Britain and France, however, were preoccupied with punishing the former Central Powers, extracting reparations, and stopping the spread of communism; granting independence and self-determination to colonial states was not their top priority. Instead, the League of Nations (another idea put forth by Wilson in his Fourteen Points and adopted following the Paris peace conference) granted Allied powers “mandates” over former German and Ottoman colonies. These mandates did not officially transfer land holdings to the former colonies able to govern themselves. The mandate system gave Britain and France control of former German and Ottoman holdings throughout the Middle East and Africa.

The post-World War I mandate system, which presumed to “prepare” fledgling nations for independence was largely based on established racial prejudices and the desire for ruling nations to continue extracting resources from the former colonial lands. As historian Mary Renda outlines,

The very notion of developmentalism – that the ‘less developed’ countries should have the opportunity to develop along the lines of capitalism, supposedly following in the footsteps of the ‘more advanced’ nations – presumed that there was but one path toward progress and light. And this assumption – that the path followed by western European countries and by the United States was the proper path for all – was, among other things, a racial assumption. In this sense, racial hierarchy undergirded liberal developmentalism at every point.

The discussion surrounding self-determination and the end of colonial rule in the aftermath of World War I lay the intellectual and political groundwork for the wave of independence movements that would sweep Africa and Asia following World War II, resulting in the creation of 36 new independent nations.

SUGGESTED READINGS ON DECOLONIZATION:

Robert Gerwarth and ErezManela, *Empires at War, 1911-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987)

Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001)

Martin Thomas, et al., *Crises of Empire: Decolonization and Europe's Imperial Nation States, 1918-1975* (New York: Bloomsbury US, 2008)

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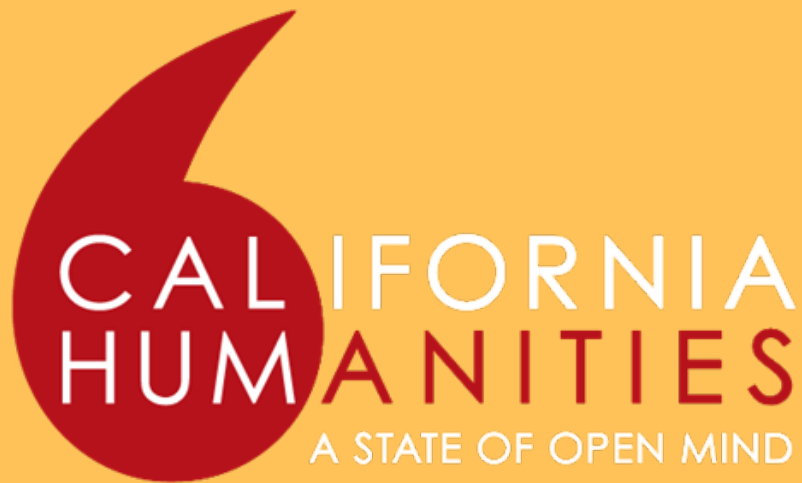
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