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“Peace, Bread, and Ideas for a Cosmopolitan World:
Addams’ Unknown Pragmatist Legacy Today”

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Peace, Bread, and Ideas for a Cosmopolitan World: Addams' Unknown Pragmatist Legacy Today

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1. Introduction: Pragmatism and Kant's political philosophy

Pragmatists can accurately be called “Kant’s children” (Murphey 1968). As Sami Pihlström (2010) has recently shown, many pragmatist topics have been inherited from the transcendental questions posed by Kant: “What can I know?”, “What ought I to do?”, and “What may I hope for?”. The first of these refers to *epistemology and metaphysics*, and addresses the question of how we construct our experience of the natural world. The second is concerned with *ethics*, i. e., the way we judge and act morally. The third question concerns *belief and religion*, where no empirical evidence supports faith. These questions, together with a fourth, “What is man?”, seen as a summary of Kant’s philosophy, have been the main axes “around” which pragmatists have been working while assimilating Kantian ideas (McGiffert 1910, Pihlström 2010, Henschen 2013). Meanwhile, some important Kantian questions are not exhaustively discussed without taking into consideration his post-critical writings: questions of peace and war, universal history, anthropological antagonism, enlightenment, education, moral progress, etc. These all belong to the “primacy of practice”, which is a postulate for both Kant and pragmatists. For this reason, this paper focuses on the question “What can I hope?”, not in relation to religious faith, but from the perspective of possible social amelioration contained in Kant’s latest writings: *What is Enlightenment?* (1784), *Idea for*

a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View (1784), and *Perpetual Peace* (1795). The aim of this paper is to review Kant's political philosophy from a pragmatist perspective.

Kant's view of history as a plan of nature to reach perpetual peace between nations and its cosmopolitan ideal as the historical and moral *telos* has been very influential in shaping our current world in many ways. According to my reading, these ideas are very close to what I call the *utopian moment* within pragmatism: the prosecution of an ideal society which results from the development of human capacities and virtues, the progressive reduction of social injustice, and continuous deepening of the meaning of democracy. Universal social amelioration is at the core of both Kant's political philosophy and pragmatism. For pragmatists, this is to be achieved through the good use of reason and the reconstruction of experience. In some sense, we can see the pragmatist notion of a "community of inquiry" as both an epistemic and a political ideal: the prosecution and longing for some sort of enlightenment.¹ Just as Kant did, so pragmatist philosophy examines human history not only to provide historical evidence of past human experience and nature, but also as a series of stages towards the realization of a normative ideal.

The influence of Kant on pragmatist philosophy of history might be indirect but nevertheless important, since we find Kantian echoes in many progressive philosophies of the nineteenth and twentieth century, including pragmatism. It might be easy to concede that Kant's approach to historical dynamics fits well with another crucial impulse for classical pragmatism: the work of Charles Darwin on the evolution of the species. It is also worth noting that classical pragmatists concerned with pacifism, such as William James and Jane Addams, appealed to human nature as the driving force behind universal history in a way that draws together both Kantian and Darwinian theses. Nature's plan and the greatest problem for the human species according to Kant's fifth proposition in *Ideas* is "*that of attaining a civil society which can administer justice universally*" (Kant 1980, 45). Universal administration of justice should lead to perpetual peace between states, furthered by a Federation of Nations and cosmopolitan law.

¹ "Community of inquiry" was a concept developed by Charles Sanders Peirce, initially restricted to the philosophy of science. John Dewey extended it to a broader social context, in particular, educational environments. Patricia Shields has applied the three key ideas contained in the concept (problematic situation, scientific attitude, and participatory democracy) to public administration (Shields 2003, 511).

More than two centuries went by without this desired state of universal peace being reached. Indeed, quite to the contrary, world history provided more and more examples of bloodbaths, as James (1971, 4) once stated. However, the ideal seems, to many of us, to be an aspiration which can never be given up. It is, therefore, our turn to revisit these ideas with the conceptual tools that pragmatism offers us to transcend Kant's political limitations and figure out how we should go about pursuing perpetual peace. The main limitation of Kantian political theory is, according to some feminist criticisms and standpoint theory, the presumption that universalization "assumes that the author takes an objective view disconnected from entanglements of experience" (Hamington 2009, 53). To my mind, we can better avoid blind formalization and universalization by recovering Jane Addams' legacy, a legacy that remains largely unknown to both pragmatists and political philosophers. Addams provided appealing philosophical arguments that connected pacifism, social justice, and a cosmopolitan spirit. I will provide an exposition of her arguments in dialogue with Kant in the hope that this allows us to better comprehend what is required to work towards perpetual peace in the future.

2. Jane Addams as a political philosopher

If there is someone within the pragmatist tradition of thought who has fought for perpetual peace, that, without a doubt, is Jane Addams (1860–1935). Addams is the only pragmatist thinker to have been awarded a Nobel Peace Prize, in 1931, and despite being not only a tireless social reformer but also a prolific philosopher, her legacy, as I have said, remains largely unknown (Deegan 1988, 1990; Fischer 2010, 2013; Hamington 2009, 2014; Hay 2012, Lake 2014, Haslanger 2017, Miller 2013, Mueller 2011, Pinhard 2009, Seigfried 1996, Warren 2009). Interest in Jane Addams has increased over the last three decades, but there is still no systematic consideration of her contributions, as exists for other classical pragmatists. It is worth addressing the question as to the reason for her exclusion from the official genealogy of pragmatism, which is constituted by some combination of John Dewey, William James, George Herbert Mead, Charles Sanders Peirce, Josiah Royce, George Santayana, and Alfred North Whitehead (Hamington 2009, 32).

Hamington suggests that she might not have been perceived as a philosopher for four reasons: "sexism, the strength of the division between academic disciplines, prejudices against activists and writing style" (Ham-

ington 2009, 32). The divisions between academic disciplines should no longer be a reason for overlooking Addams, since we are experiencing a general trend towards interdisciplinary work. Louis Menand (2001, 306) calls Addams a “sociologist” and Hull House, the settlement house she founded together with Ellen Gates Starr in 1889 in “one of the worst urban areas in the United States” (Menand 2001, 308) a “sociology laboratory”.² Addams’ social work is mostly what she is known for, but having published at least ten books³ and hundreds of papers makes her an outstandingly public philosopher. John Dewey once declared that Addams’ essay “A Modern Lear” (1912) was “one of the greatest things I ever read both to its form and its ethical philosophy” (Westbrook 1991, 89).⁴

Prejudice against activists may be a reason for not reading texts within other philosophical traditions, but that kind of prejudice should not affect pragmatism since pragmatism defines itself as a philosophy “that stresses the relation of theory to praxis, takes the continuity of experience and nature as revealed through the outcome of directed action as the starting point of reflection” (Seigfreid 1996, 6). It is interesting to note that the fact of being involved in politics can today be a mitigation of philosophical criticisms. For instance, Richard Bernstein in one of his latest books introduces some criticism of Dewey for lacking concrete political initiative or institutional analysis. Bernstein then goes on to defend Dewey with this simple argument: “these criticisms need to be tempered by the fact that Dewey was the leading social reformer of his time” (Bernstein 2010, 87). A list of Dewey’s achievements in the national and international political arena is then given. Addams’ list of achievements is by no means less significant. Besides Hull House, she helped found the National Associ-

² Hamington defines Hull House as “an incubator for social programs” and a “feminist ‘think tank’” (Hamington, 2009, 3, 25); for Menand, it was “primarily an educational institution” (Menand 2001, 308); Shield declares that it was “a living example of a community of inquiry guided by Addams” (Shields 2003, 526).

³ Addams authored ten books: *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1906), *The Spirit of the Youth and the City Streets* (1909), *Twenty Years at Hull-house* (1910), *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), *The Long Road of Woman’s Memory* (1916), *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922), *Second Twenty Years at Hull-house* (1930), *The Excellent Becomes the Permanent* (1932), *My friend, Julia Lathrop* (1935). She co-authored *Women at the Hague: The International Congress of Women and its Results* (1915, with Emily G. Balch and Alice Hamilton) and published, together with other residents of Hull House, the *Hull-House Maps and Papers* (1895).

⁴ Addams and Dewey were lifelong friends and they mutually influenced each other. Dewey used Addams’ books in his courses and named one of his daughters Jane in honour of Addams (Hamington 2014).

ation for the Advancement of Coloured People and contributed to the drive for the American Civil Liberties Union. She was a leading figure in the fledgling Playground Association and in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. For many people, she was a kind of civic heroine. Hamington recalls that she was so popular that "when Theodore Roosevelt sought the presidential nomination of the Progressive Party in 1912, he asked Jane Addams to second the nomination. The first time a woman had participated in such an act" (Hamington 2014). Considering that such achievements were more difficult for a woman at that time than they could have been for Dewey, I think that Jane Addams deserves at least the honour to share the label "the leading social reformer of that time". If the argument calls on us to see the broader picture of the philosopher, including not only his or her words but also his or her actions, the title "public philosopher" should most certainly be extended to Jane Addams.⁵

Writing style could be alleged as a reason for rejecting not only Addams' texts but also many of those of her contemporaries. I am sure all of us who have studied philosophy can remember some obscure and tortuous passages in Peirce or Mead. What is meant when an appeal is made to writing style? Was Addams not writing as a professional philosopher? There are many different styles within what we may call the "professional philosophy writing style". For instance, Martin Heidegger wrote in a radically different style from that of Ludwig Wittgenstein or John Dewey. Perhaps "professional philosophy writing style" means "using technical vocabulary". But not all philosophers use technical vocabulary such as *wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewusstsein* or "naturalistic fallacy", especially if their aim is to be understood by a broad audience to bring real change to the world. Here we would do well to remember James' *Talks to Teachers and Students* or John Dewey's lessons on *The Public and Its Problems*.

It seems clear to me that it is only sexism that is left, and, unfortunately, this is still an issue in academic philosophy.⁶

⁵ I particularly like Mueller's observations to this respect: "Comparable to Rosa Luxemburg in Germany and La Pasionaria in Spain, Jane Addams grew into one of the most important activists and the theorists for the classical progressive causes at the beginning of the 20th century. [...] Addams can count as one of the conceptual grandmothers of the United Nations" (Mueller 2011, 95).

⁶ It might not be necessary to explain this affirmation, but, in order to support it, I can quote several recent studies and articles: "Reviving the Female Canon" (Susan Price, *The Atlantic*, 05/13/2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/05/reviving-the-female-canon/393110/>); "Student evaluations of teaching are not only unreliable, they are significantly biased against female instructors" (Anne Boring, Kellie Ottoboni,

Another reason could be that, although pragmatist genealogists would not be reluctant to call Addams a philosopher, they may well not see her as a pragmatist philosopher. Indeed, Addams rarely called herself a pragmatist, but, then, neither Mead, James, nor Dewey always identified themselves as pragmatists. It thus depends on how we define pragmatism, and there certainly are many different pragmatisms. It might be that Addams' adoption of pragmatism was due to pragmatic reasons "because it provided a means not just of understanding experience but of transforming it" (Seigfried 1996, 78). Addams was above all a woman devoted to action:

For action is indeed the sole medium of expression for ethics. We continually forget that the sphere of morals is the sphere of action, that speculation in regard to morality is but observation and must remain in the sphere of intellectual comment, that a situation does not really become moral until we are confronted with the question of what shall be done in a concrete case, and are obliged to act upon our theory. Addams 2012, 103

In accordance with my reading of Addams, she stands for a pluralistic and fallibilist epistemology and for a radical commitment to social amelioration, democracy, and perpetual peace: and all these traits make her a true pacifist and feminist pragmatist philosopher.

Addams' social philosophy is presented here as a promising pragmatist reformulation and reappraisal of some Kantian insights. Moreover, we can find in Addams' writings solutions to some of Kant's limitations: specifically, the exclusion of women and of most non-European men from his pursuit of universal moral progress.

First, Addams' fight against warfare and for universal peace is to be understood in the light of growing internationalism among her generation. Her work at the social settlements of the industrialized Chicago and her journeys through Europe during World War I helped her to arrive at her principled stance for peace. Addams critically opposed Kant's philosophical views of war as "natural state" and the preservation of "military virtues" in James' moral equivalent of war.

Second, Addams' social ethics offers an adequate approach to current social experience. Addams attempted to elucidate the sources of moral

Philip B. Stark, *LSE Impact Blog*, 02/04/2016, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2016/02/04/student-evaluations-of-teaching-gender-bias/>, accessed 06/21/2017); "Science is still sexist. I know from my own experience" (Kirsty Duncan, *The Globe and Mail*, 06/19/2017, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/science-is-still-sexist-i-know-from-my-own-experience/article35336218/>, accessed 06/26/2017).

discrepancies among individuals and sought them as a necessary step for moral growth. According to Addams, many moral dysfunctions are caused by social evils, such as monotonous industrial work and the lack of opportunities to nurture creative citizenship. She used the powers of play and the arts to cultivate the imagination and as a means to work out generational conflicts. She also recovered forgotten histories and memories as tools for reconstructing the life narratives of cultural minorities, especially migrant women.

Third, if an authentic “cosmopolitanism” is to be achieved, we must revise our old-fashioned moral codes and narrow patriotisms. Addams acknowledged the fact that the sentiment of belonging is important for motivating action, but a cosmopolitan spirit requires an extended outlook beyond artificial national borders.

3. Peace: Fighting the anthropological roots of violence

A state of peace among men living together is not the same as the state of nature, which is rather a state of war. For even if it does not involve active hostilities, it involves a constant threat of their breaking out. Thus the state of peace must be *formally instituted*, for a suspension of hostilities is not in itself a guarantee of peace.

Perpetual Peace, Second Section; Kant 1980, 98

All wars are accordingly so many attempts (not indeed by the intention of man, but by the intention of nature) to bring about new relations between states, and, by the destruction or at least the dismemberment of old entities, to create new ones.

Idea for a Universal History; Kant 1980, 48

The account of the intellectual sources that influenced Jane Addams focuses mainly on the works of William Shakespeare, Leo Tolstoy, Thomas Carlyle, Arnold Toynbee, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Karl Marx and John Dewey. Since she preferred a more direct and argumentative approach, she rarely quoted other authors' works and all these influences must be indirectly reconstructed. She rarely mentioned Kant in her essays on peace and war, but I agree with Hamington on the appreciation that they were specifically Kant's ideas that “resonate with Addams' understanding of peace and her plan for international action” (Hamington 2009, 104). I would say that her concern with internationalism and peace is elaborated time and again in her works, from *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1906) to *Peace and*

Bread in Time of War (1922).⁷ Between the former and the latter, she was confronted with a new historical fact, World War I, which inaugurated an era marked by violence. Nevertheless, Addams remained coherent in her war against militarism: she became even more radical and specific in her expression of the ideals of peace.

Addams' starting point sounds quite optimistic: "The following pages present the claims of the newer, more aggressive ideals of Peace, as over against the older dovelike ideal. These newer ideals are active and dynamic, and it is believed that if their forces were made really operative upon society, they would in the end, quite as a natural process, do away with war" (Addams 2008, 1). At the same time, she knows that the prior pacifist arguments lacked persuasive power, because they appealed to human feelings or to the avoidance of evil.⁸ For that reason, she sought a philosophical case to defend the ideals of peace in a more robust way and she found some support in Kant's practical philosophy. Kant presents perpetual peace as an inescapable historical, though still distant in the future, *telos*. His hope in a future peaceful era is based upon the following thesis: (a) all natural creatures are subject to natural laws and, since humans are natural creatures, we are no exception to this general principle; (b) the natural state of human affairs, among individuals or nations, is one of violence and mutual aggression caused by animal instincts; (c) human beings are at the same time naturally rational beings and all natural capacities of creature are destined sooner or later to be developed completely and in conformity with their end; (d) the realm of reason can be reached, if not by a single individual, by the species; and (e) human history shows the re-

⁷ For Hamington, "Addams' work on war and peace is arguably the most enduring aspect of her intellectual legacy" (Hamington 2009, 108). Axel Mueller states something similar by suggesting that "Addams' work on peace makes its most original contribution when we see her as *completing* the traditional understanding of peace and continuing the agenda of explicating the possibility of a political obligation to seek lasting peace outlined by authors like Kant" (Mueller 2011, 98). My own approach to Addams' case for peace does not differ substantially from those expressed by other interpretations of Addams, but I emphasize the anthropological and historical aspects of her argumentation, on the one side, and the ethical and social consequences of Addams' model, on the other.

⁸ Addams refers above all to the two main approaches of older advocates of peace: the first is adopted by Russian artists such as, for instance, Leo Tolstoy, and appeals to imaginative pity; the second is more philosophical and adopted by Jean de Bloch, for example, and appeals to the sense of prudence. Addams dismisses the second approach for being the "*reductio ad absurdum* of the peace-secured-by-the-preparation-for-war-theory" (Addams 2008, 2).

alization of this plan of nature, i. e., the realization of a civil society which can administer justice universally.

Addams is not so interested in discussing the moral and political end of history, as in Kant's implicit philosophical anthropology. However, she does share with Kant this philosophical hope (Kant 1980, 50). Both Kant and Addams presuppose some sort of historical dynamic. Just as for Kant, antagonism drives history for Addams, but her view of historical dynamics implies that industrialism and its machinery are pushing us towards new social challenges, something that Kant and his contemporaries could never have imagined. Addams refuses to make nature the holder of the secret of historical development: social morality is developed through sentiment and action (Addams 2008, 121). Civilization is the substitution of law for war (ibid., 124) and this requires different values. But where Addams distances herself most from Kant is in their respective ontologies: Addams rejects Kant's proposition (b), as expressed above.⁹ Accepting that humans are natural creatures, Addams believes that human experience changes, not through complex moral abstractions, but through experience and habit (ibid., 7). War should not occupy the place in history ascribed to it by theorists such as Kant or Bentham (ibid., 12).

Would it be possible to reduce the impact of natural aggressive instincts or to use them for the benefit of all? Here James' pledge for a "moral equivalent of war" is introduced.¹⁰ Social effort must drive to abolish poverty and disease. Addams calls this "a new heroism [...] so widespread that it may justly be called international" (Addams 2008, 13). Addams echoes James' utopia of an "army enlisted against *Nature*" with the result of injustice tending "to be evened out" and "other goods to the commonwealth" being pursued (James 1971, 13). Despite their agreement, there is a significant discrepancy between James and Addams in whether war is deeply rooted in human nature and history, and in whether the so-called "manly" military virtues should be preserved. For James, the contemplation of history reinforces the idea that our "ancestors have bred pugnacity into our bone and marrow, and thousands of years of peace won't breed it out of us" (James 1971, 5). A few years before, James had claimed that "our permanent enemy is the noted bellicosity of human na-

⁹ I subscribe to Hamington's (2009, 106) argumentation in this respect.

¹⁰ Addams had addressed the concept of a moral substitute for war since 1899. James acknowledged her unique contribution by asserting that Addams had "a deeply original mind and all so quiet and harmless! Yet revolutionary in the extreme". He was so enthusiastic about *Newer Ideals of Peace* that he sent copies to H. G. Wells and George Bertrand Shaw (Hamington 2009, 98).

ture. Man, biologically considered [...] is simply the most formidable of all beasts of prey, and, indeed, the only one that preys systematically on its own species" (James 1904, 845–6). Modern consciousness is, according to James, divided in a double personality: one rejects the idea of war because of its destructive potential, but, at the same time, we have inherited a warlike type and a history of cruelty. Supporters of war do not desire to give up the idea of war being "the romance of history" and militarism a "great preserver of our ideals of hardihood" (James 1971, 7). For those who back militarism, the exercise and preservation of values such as bravery and prowess is a duty to protect the survival of the human species.¹¹ Addams laments the manipulation of Darwin's evolutionary theory by the advocates of warfare. She explains in *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922) how concerned she was during the war by the increase of military propaganda to keep people in a fighting mood. That literature converged on the pseudo-scientific statement that war was valuable in securing the survival of the fittest. Addams paraphrases Nicolai's work on the "Biology of Peace"¹²: he insisted that "primitive man must necessarily have been a peaceful and social animal and that he developed his intelligence through the use of the tool, not through the use of the weapon; it was the primeval community which made the evolution of man possible, and cooperation among men is older and more primitive than mass combat which is an outgrowth of the much later property instinct" (Addams 2002b, 83). Addams stresses that when Darwin postulates a "struggle for survival" he is not meaning "struggle of one individual or species against the others". And today's struggle for survival obliges us to eradicate all destructive forces from society: war, poverty, disease, and injustice.

James' strategy is to persuade militarists to embrace pacifism, that there are legitimate uses of martial virtues in times of peace. Is there any social advantage of maintaining martial virtues? The difference between Addams and James is that Addams is neither persuaded by the thesis that war is rooted in human nature, nor does she desire to maintain "masculine virtues" if that means tolerating violent behaviour. Is there a gender dimension to violence? This is surely a controversial question. Addams

¹¹ "The Moral Equivalent of War" was directed against *Die Philosophie des Krieges* (1907) by Sebald Rudolf Steinmetz, who asserted "if there were no war, we would have to invent it". The other of James' interlocutors was Lieutenant General Homer Lea, for who the "softness of feminism" was putting the nation in danger from a probable attack by Japanese military forces (Foust 2006, 893).

¹² For the influence of the German physiologist Georg Freiderike Nicolai on Addams, cf. Agnew (2017).

does not make a clear statement on this, but, for her, there is surely a gender issue in violence: the indisputable fact that women are more exposed to different types of violence in times of war. This is the sense of the resolutions adopted by the International Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915, particularly the second resolution through which the Congress “opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare” and therefore 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” (Addams, Balch & Hamilton 2003, 72). Would we be in a better place if women ruled the world? Addams’ response to this question is elaborate. She thought that social life would be improved through the inclusion of vulnerable collectives: women and immigrants. If perpetual peace is to be achieved, we should start with the militarism that continues to work in our local governments and everyday experience. This means, and I think this is an original contribution posed by Addams to the pacifist cause, that the institutional and political measures that may favor international peace among the states might be no less important than providing means of social pacification within the democratic societies.¹³

4. Bread: Social justice, sympathetic knowledge, and imagination

The greatest problem for the human species, the solution of which nature compels him to seek, is that of attaining a civil society which can administer justice universally.

Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose, Fifth principle; Kant 1980, 45

Addams often denounced the presence of militarist ideals in local government, that is, a view of social order maintained through hierarchy and repression. This old-fashioned ideal had become inadequate for the state of affairs at the time: industrialism and immigration had brought social conflicts for which the era was not prepared.¹⁴ The nature of those prob-

¹³ Mueller also sees Addams’ emphasis on “solidary practices” and “affective attitudes” as a genuine contribution of the theoretical problems of older ideals of peace (Mueller 2011, 113). He goes further by asserting that Addams’ original contribution is that of “discovering the epistemic role of the cognitive entailments of *enacting* moral sentiments in collective practical and institutional ways of confronting social and economic basic needs” (Mueller 2011, 115).

¹⁴ “Addams borrowed the terms ‘militarism’ and ‘industrialism’ from Herbert Spencer’s sociology. According to Spencer, in a militaristic society, order is maintained through hierarchy and repression. Spencer labels ‘industrial’ a society organized for freedom and

lems was mostly economic, but Addams refused to approach them in terms of class struggle.¹⁵ The orators who divide the world into “proletariat” and “capitalists” were creating a new scholastic fragmentation, establishing two substitutes for human nature and ignoring “the fact that varying, imperfect human nature is incalculable” (Addams 2008, 47). It is precisely the complexity, richness, and variability within human nature and experience that makes theoretical tools of the past useless:

The philosophers and statesmen of the eighteenth century believed that universal franchise would cure all ills; that liberty and equality rested only upon constitutional rights and privileges; that to obtain these two and throw off all governmental oppression constituted the full duty of the progressive patriot. We still keep this formalization because the philosophers of this generation give us nothing newer.

Addams 2008, 23

In contrast to Kant’s formalism, Addams’ understanding of democracy includes a political dimension (constitution, rights, and administration) as well as epistemic and moral dimensions (social experience, knowledge, and civil virtues). Democracy is more than a “creed which believes in the essential dignity and equality of all men”; it requires furthermore “the practice of democratic spirit and it implies a diversified human experience and resultant sympathy, which are the foundations and guarantee of Democracy” (Addams 2012, 7–8). As it was for Dewey: “Democracy requires a robust democratic culture in which attitudes, emotions, and habits that constitute a democratic *ethos* are embodied” (Bernstein 2010, 86).

Being aware that a formal defence of democracy cannot achieve the real practice of it, Addams’ arguments for the inclusion of women and immigrants in local government are more related to social epistemology than to politics.¹⁶ She believed that women were better prepared to assume the challenges of the most populated centres of the nation because

concerned with personal and social well-being, traits he associated with laissez-faire, capitalism and classical political liberalism. [...] He was a pacifist, believing that warfare could no longer lead to social progress” (Fischer 2006, 5).

¹⁵ Addams had read Karl Marx’s writing long before founding Hull House. Although she sympathized with socialistic notions, she never identified herself as a communist or socialist (Hamington 2009, 127, 147).

¹⁶ Fischer stresses the strong connection between Addams’ pacifism and social work: “Addams did not come to pacifism through maternalistic beliefs about woman’s essential nature or through an unconditional commitment to nonviolence. She came to pacifism through her work with Chicago’s multinational, immigrant communities. Two dimensions of her work at Hull House were formative for her pacifism: the neighbourhood’s multinational charac-

the work they had been performing through the centuries had equipped them better. The militarist administration of city governments and its policies were not able to organize collective responsibility to tackle the internal problems of cities: insanitary housing, infant mortality, adulterated water, smoke-laden air, and juvenile crime. She proposed to change the model of city government towards what is called “public housekeeping”, so that city governance would resemble more closely that of a household. City governments were failing to include the valuable experience of those who had been acquiring the sort of skills that modern cities require, especially women. I think Sally Haslanger (2017)¹⁷ makes a good point here by stating that Addams’ recovering of so-called “feminine virtues” is not essentialist. The reason why she recovered those skills is not only because most people who have these skills were women; it was because the accumulation of expertise in this role made women good housekeepers (Haslanger 2017, 161). I think Addams would accept without a problem that, if men develop these abilities, their contribution to city government would result in a benefit for all. She was a steady advocate of women’s right to vote, but she never held an essentialist view of gender roles.

Addams liked to learn from women and men from different countries. A very nice example is her book *The Long Road of Woman’s Memory* (1916). In that book, Addams developed her insight into how memory structures collective and individual lives. She collected her experiences from forty years at Hull House, and she observed how genuine solidarity can grow while sharing and elaborating past experiences. From her own memories, Addams explains how popular theatre was used at Hull House with the purpose of working out cultural and generational conflicts. For instance, Greek immigrants played Sophocles’ tragedies *Ajax* and *Electra* with other immigrants from Russia, Poland, and Latvia (Addams 1960, 179). This also worked for deconstructing prejudices among immigrants concerning their host nation. Addams recalls an amusing remark made by an Italian who visited Hull House, which was full of paintings. The visitor “expressed great surprise when he found that we, although Americans, still liked pictures, and said quite naïvely that he didn’t know that Americans cared for anything but dollars, that looking at pictures was something people only did in Italy” (Addams 1960, 174–5). The educational programmes

ter and her participation in forming labor unions and negotiating strikes” (Fischer 2006, 2). Three quarters of Chicago residents were immigrants or children of immigrants in 1889.

¹⁷ I would like to thank Encarnación (Esa) Díaz León for drawing my attention to this paper.

at Hull House included music to help immigrants' children regain and preserve the songs of their countries. In *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1906) Addams insists on how city government fails to utilize immigrants in that government. They represent hundreds of years of civilization, a source of culture that is not only valuable for enlarging social knowledge, but for integrating them effectively into public life. They were taught the American Constitution, and the local authorities thought that that was enough to make them citizens, but failed to understand that all this vocabulary was unconnected with their backgrounds (Addams 2008, 39). I think there are good reasons to claim that Addams opened interesting ways of building up a transcultural ethics based on sympathetic knowledge (comprehension of others using arts, shared memories, and imagination) and lateral progress (the inclusion of all).¹⁸

Addams stood up for both universal education and the renewal of educational methods, which would include play,¹⁹ the arts, and the promoting of intellectual curiosity in children and adults. The global tendency spoke for monotonous industrial work, the use of children in factories, the reduction of human existence to the economic aspect, and alienation. Addams decided very soon that all human beings deserve the experience of beauty in their lives. Her faith was strong that "every human being is a creative agent and a possible generator of fine enthusiasm" (Addams 2012, 70). As Kant said, we are creatures of two realms: a natural and a spiritual. And Addams agreed with him that we need to feed our stomachs as much as our souls. Or, to express it in pragmatist terms: radical democracy requires the constant reconstruction of experience to nurture creative citizenship.

5. Addams' ideas for peace and a cosmopolitan spirit to come

One age cannot enter into an alliance on oath to put the next age in a position where it would be impossible for it to extend and correct its knowledge, particularly on such important matters, or to make any progress whatsoever in enlightenment.

What Is Enlightenment? Kant 1980, 57

¹⁸ On lateral progress see Hamington (2014).

¹⁹ Addams knew of the innovations in play theories of her time, mainly *Kindergarten* philosophy by Friedrich Fröbl, which was taught at Hull House, and Karl Groos' books on play. She published *The Spirit of the Youth and the City Streets* (1909) and *A Plea for More Play, More Play and More Education for our Girls and Boys* (1914) opposing child labour and demanding more urban spaces for play.

Although Addams was committed to pacifism decades before World War I, her experience in European countries and the public ostracism she suffered in the United States²⁰ did not weaken, but indeed reinforced, her faith in a world without violence. In an analogous way to Kant, she believed that persuading people that war is foolish, wasteful, or unjustifiable might take time. But only when a general principle of peace would rule the earth, this would mean that we have morally evolved (Addams 2008, 130–3). She was convinced that a new internationalism or “cosmic patriotism”²¹ was growing among the younger generations. During the conflict, the reasons given for participating in it were the same everywhere: self-defence, nationalism, patriotism, and the inevitability of war. But Addams also appreciated a social and generational split: the older generation tended to believe more in abstract, theological, or nationalistic grounds, to use patriotic phrases (Addams 2003, 29); whereas women, particularly mothers of soldiers, and a significant part of the young men in the trenches started to question the sense of all war. Again, Addams let experience be the starting point of her reflections, and she travelled to collect testimony from the different fronts. She was impressed by what she and other delegates of the Women’s Conference at The Hague found: stimulants were given to soldiers before a charge was ordered, there was a high percentage of insanity among the combatants, and young men would shoot in the air to avoid killing anyone. The general picture that was handed down of World War I is that it was embraced with enthusiasm by young Europeans and it was fostered with patriotic spirit by many intellectuals. Addams refused to give credit to this obscene war propaganda. She relied more on the real descriptions of what happened by those exposed to violence, like this young man who said to her:

We are told that we are fighting for civilization but I tell you that war destroys civilization. The highest product of the universities, the scholar, the philosopher, the poet, when he is in the trenches, when he spends his days and nights in squalor and brutality and horror, is as low and brutal as the rudest peasant. They say, those newspaper writers, that it is wonderful to see the courage of the men in the

²⁰ Addams was accused of disloyalty, and her name appeared in a list of “dangerous radicals” in 1919 (Klosterman & Stratton 2006, 165).

²¹ “Cosmic patriotism” can be defined as a “loyalty to the well-being of all” (Hamington 2009, 103). The term appears in *New Ideals of Peace*, although Addams is not yet happy with this formulation and acknowledges that the expression may sound rather absurd as referring to an important sentiment that is to move the masses from their narrow national considerations to new levels of human effort and affection in a near future (Addams 2008, 134).

trenches, singing, joking, playing cards, while the shells fall around them. Courage there is no room for, just there is no room for cowardice. One cannot rush to meet the enemy, one cannot even see him. The shells fall here or they fall there. If you are brave, you cannot defy them; if you are a coward, you cannot flee from them; it is all chance. You see the man you were playing cards with a while ago lying on the ground a bloody mass and you look at him and think, 'Well, this time it took him; in a few minutes it may be my turn; let's go back to the cards.' And all the time you loathe the squalor, the brutality, the savages around you, and the savage you are yourself becoming. Why should you kill men who live in other countries, men whom in times of peace you would like and respect? Addams 2008, 134

For Addams, old moral codes, such as patriotism founded upon military prowess, had become burdens and could not respond to the larger and more varied environment with which we were confronted (Addams 2008, 119–23). She proposed to move forward to a progressive patriotism, not of the clan or of the tribe, but one that embodies “the real affection and the real interest of the nation” (ibid., 123). I think she tended to identify the real interest of the nation with progress towards universal social justice combined with integration of cultural difference. This is what she might be aiming at when she uses the terms “cosmopolitan nation” or “cosmopolitan spirit”: the sense of belonging to an enlarged community that moves people’s energies towards social amelioration and which requires the abolition of war. Years later, in 1932, Addams published an article titled “Disarm and Have Peace” where we find a more precise formulation of her ideal: “We have reached a stage in the advancement of civilization when we are quite willing to concede that finance, industry, transportation, science, medicine, culture, and trade are not bounded by national frontiers, but must be international. Must our political thought alone remain insular and blindly ‘national’?” (Addams 1960, 323).

To this purpose, Addams’ specific political responses were quite similar to those posed by Kant: a federation or league of nations, disarmament, and a world court.²² The differences in the theoretical strategies adopted to approach these ends are considerable. I would say that Addams is a Kantian political philosopher in her goals, but not in her methods. First, she shares with Kant the ideal of perpetual peace but still trusts in the

²² “The Women at the Hague anticipated much of what became the United Nations and the World Court” (Hamington 2009, 105): a story which is far less known. Unfortunately, the International Criminal Court (icc) was not established until 1998, after the genocides in the ex-Yugoslavia (1991–1995) and Rwanda (1994).

power of nature, and believes in law and civilization as progressive substitutes for war: she rejects Kant's anthropological philosophy rooted in some sort of natural bellicosity. Human evolution is subject to interpretation, and cooperation might be as original as competition for survival, as she points out when arguing against ideological manipulations of evolutionist theories. I suggest that Addams' ontology of history is dynamic and caused by the collision, abandonment, and improvement of moral ideals. Second, she sees continuity between international peace and national issues because social injustice, economic conflict, and the clash of cultures, sexes, and generations cause violence within states. Her idea of "lateral progress", which is progress in the direction of inclusion of the vulnerable groups, brings the idea of collective moral development to completion. Again, as I say above, against the militaristic way of organising city government, she proposes "public housekeeping": a way of dealing with local affairs that focuses on care, universal education, and the arts. The pluralistic social epistemology provided by her can contribute to an enlarged social experience which avoids essentialism and dogma. Third, Addams acknowledges that a sense of belonging, affection, and feelings move the masses towards political action more than abstract ideals, but she attempts to redirect all these energies to the welfare of all by appealing to "cosmic patriotism" or "cosmopolitanism". Adding pluralistic and fallibilist epistemology to pacifism, I think she became quite close to far more recent formulations of cosmopolitanism, such as that of Kwame Anthony Appiah who uses the metaphor of conversation as that which best fits the cosmopolitan spirit:

Conversation across identities—across religions, races, ethnicities and nationalities—is worthwhile because through conversation you can learn from people with you different, even incompatible ideas from your own. And it is worthwhile, too, because if you accept that you live in a world with many different kinds of people, and you're going to try to live in respectful peace with them, then you need to understand each other, even if you don't agree. Appiah 2008, 41–2²³

Addams put her hope in the emergence of an international mindset among the youngest of her time. Paraphrasing Addams' writing: it may

²³ Hamington related Addams' cosmopolitanism to that defended by Appiah. She quotes Appiah's *Cosmopolitanism. Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2006): "Cosmopolitans suppose that all cultures overlap in their vocabulary of values to begin a conversation. But they don't suppose, like some universalists, that we could all come to agreement if only we had the same vocabulary" (Hamington 2009, 185).

take unique and collective faith and efforts, and constant reconstruction of social experience to establish a cosmopolitan spirit that will allow future generations to live and grow in peace.

I would like to conclude with a statement not of mine, but written just a few months ago by David Brooks (2017) for *The New York Times*, because I feel the goal of this paper is summarized by his words: “Many of the social problems we face today—the fraying social fabric, widening inequality, anxieties over immigration, concentrated poverty, the return of cartoonish hyper-masculinity—are the same problems she faced 130 years ago. And in many ways her responses were more sophisticated than ours”. Surely we would need to keep deepening and refining some of Addams’ conceptual tools to address present problems. For instance, global economy and the social inequalities require more than “public housekeeping” to achieve lateral progress. Addams’ notion of “Cosmic patriotism”, in its abstraction and vagueness, seems to me to be one of her weakest solutions to the problem of combining internationalism and cultural difference. She was aware of this conceptual weakness and, in a pragmatist experimentalist way, she kept testing new formulas. In my opinion, her work on immigrant’s and women’s memory anticipated some insights that would fit in what we know as “politics of recognition”. These are to me sufficient reasons to place a pacifist, feminist, transcultural revolution inspired by Addams’ model on the global political agenda.

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