

## Frank Kellogg

1929

*“The Kellogg Pact is a solemn declaration, invaluable if life is brought into conformity with its words, delusory if actions contradict its great and noble sentiments.”*



Frank Kellogg’s goal was as simple as it was daunting: to outlaw war. His efforts on behalf of this goal were inspiring, if not ultimately successful.

Born in New York, Frank’s family moved to Minnesota when it was still considered “out West.” His father was a wheat farmer, which meant that young Frank spent much of his time working at home. His formal education consisted of one to two years in New York as a boy, and another four or five as an adolescent in Minnesota.

Frank left the farm as a young man and moved to Rochester, Minnesota. He borrowed textbooks and taught himself law, history, German and Latin while working as a handyman to make ends meet. In 1877 he passed the Minnesota state bar and became the city attorney for Rochester. Two years later, he became the attorney for the entire county of Olmsted.

In 1887 Frank’s cousin Cushman Kellogg Davis offered Frank a position in his law firm. Davis was the most important lawyer in St. Paul, Minnesota, and later became a US Senator. He hired his cousin because of his determination, intelligence and hard work.

Frank Kellogg was a major success, earning a fortune over the next twenty years by representing industrial **tycoons** such as Dale Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller. His other important acquaintances included Theodore Roosevelt, who also won the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Despite his wealthy corporate clients, Kellogg was also known as a **trust-buster**. In 1904 President Roosevelt asked him to prosecute on such trust as a special attorney for the deferral government. When Kellogg succeeded, Roosevelt asked him to go after more trusts, which he did with remarkable results. **Rail barons and oil barons** alike, including his former client John Rockefeller, saw their monopolies over the country’s vital industries broken apart, allowing competition to thrive.

By 1912, Kellogg was elected president of the American Bar Association, and became a United States Senator in 1916. One of his first votes was in favor of sending troops to the First World War (under then Captain George Marshall, another Peace Prize laureate).

During the rest of his six year term, Kellogg was best known for promoting farming legislation, in keeping with Minnesota's dependence on agriculture. He also favored US ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, the agreement ending the First World War (or as it was called before the 1940s, "The Great War"). When he ran for reelection in 1922, Kellogg was defeated.

The next year, President Warren G. Harding asked Kellogg to travel as an **envoy** to the 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-American Conference. At the conference, held in Chile, representatives from the governments of all of the Americas met and discussed important issues.

Kellogg continued working as a **diplomat**, becoming the Ambassador to Great Britain in 1923. In 1925 he became **Secretary of State** under President Calvin Coolidge. His tenure was marked by a retreat from **imperialist** ambitions in Latin America, outbreaks of anti-American violence in China, and a fairly docile Europe. Kellogg believed in settling international disputes through legal rather than military means. To this end, he signed some eighty treaties with nineteen different nations. Of these, the most important to Kellogg, and the pact for which the Nobel Organization awarded him the Peace Prize, was the Kellogg-Briand Pact, also known as the Pact of Paris.

Aristide Briand was a French foreign minister, a position similar to that of Kellogg. He drafted an open letter in April of 1927, on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of American entry into the First World War. Briand called for a treaty declaring permanent friendship, and denouncing warfare between them. Kellogg's response was to advocate for something larger: a **multilateral** pact denouncing warfare as a tool to achieve national political goals.

Kellogg saw the pact as a way to possibly make warfare **obsolete**, by creating other means by which nations could resolve their problems. He devoted a great deal of energy to persuading other countries to sign the pact, and eventually 64 of them did so. The Kellogg-Briand Pact was signed in 1928 and proclaimed the following year.

#### 1856 – 1937

- **Birthplace: Potsdam, New York**
- **When Kellogg traveled to Europe and landed in the French port city of LeHavre, he was presented with a gold fountain pen. On the box was an inscription in Latin—a play on words from the old Roman saying “Si vis pacem, para bellum” (“If you wish for peace, prepare for war”). The inscription instead said “Si vis pacem, para pacem.”**
- **Kellogg established a foundation for the study of international relations at Carleton College in Minnesota.**

*“Competition in armament, both land and naval, is not only a terrible burden upon the people, but I believe it to be one of the greatest menaces to the peace of the world.”*

Within months of its proclamation, the pact was broken by conflict in **Manchuria**. Nevertheless, Kellogg felt strongly that it would help put an end to the horrors and suffering that so many had endured during the Great War. He returned to St. Paul in 1929, and then embarked on travels through South America and Europe. Kellogg received honors (including the Peace Prize) and honorary degrees from all over the world for his efforts to eliminate warfare as a political tool.

In 1930, Kellogg became a judge in the Permanent Court of International Justice, but ill health his retirement in 1935. Frank Kellogg died in 1937, on the eve of his 81<sup>st</sup> birthday. In the previous month, Adolf Hitler had held a secret meeting in the German Reich Chancellery, wherein he stated plans to acquire “living space” for the German people. A week before Kellogg’s passing, the infamous Nanjing Massacre had begun in China, where Japanese forces killed a quarter of a million residents of the city over three months.

Frank Kellogg’s optimism may have been lofty or short-sighted, but he saw it as in pragmatic terms. He felt that militarists always used the need for strong defense as an excuse to make war. In his own words;

“It is idle to say that nations can struggle to outdo each other in building armaments and never use them. History demonstrates the contrary, and we have but to go back to the last war to see the appalling effect of nations competing in great armaments.”

### **Vocabulary Terms**

1. tycoon:
2. trust-buster:
3. rail baron/ oil baron:
4. envoy:
5. diplomat:
6. Secretary of State:
7. imperialist:
8. multilateral:
9. obsolete:
10. Manchuria:

### **Study Questions**

1. What effect did Frank Kellogg’s education have on his eventual profession?
2. How did Frank make up for his lack of formal education?
3. What major world conflict took place during Frank Kellogg’s adult life?

4. What effect did Kellogg's legal background have on his tenure as Secretary of State?
5. What was the original purpose of the open letter written by Aristide Briand? How did Kellogg change it?
6. What does the inscription on the box mean in English?
7. What events were taking place at the end of Frank Kellogg's life?
8. How did Kellogg think nations should solve their disputes?

### **Introductory and Extended Exercises**

A. Before reading this biography, print the lyrics to the following two songs (available below), and give each student a copy of one of them:

“Don't Tread on Me” by Metallica

“Bomb the World” by Michael Franti and Spearhead

You could use others as well, but these two are clear, short, and provide alternate points of view. Ask each student to read their lyrics and respond to them in the same way (i.e. by writing lyrics of their own). Ask students to present their work. They can perform it, simply read it, or ask you to read it for them if they are shy. After hearing various responses, ask students to discuss the two points of view behind the songs.

B. On the board, write “Frank Kellogg: Visionary or Dreamer?” After reading the biography and answering the study questions, ask students to decide (aloud or to themselves) which of the nouns on the board best describes Kellogg. For those who said “Visionary” ask them to explain why they think the world hasn't followed his lead. For those who said “Dreamer” ask them to explain how else warfare could be avoided by nations in dispute.

C. Following either of these exercises, ask students to do further research and create an essay outline on an important subject raised in the reading or subsequent discussion.

### **Bibliography**

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**Don't Tread On Me**

*Metallica*

Liberty or death, what we so proudly hail  
once you provoke her, rattling of her tail  
never begins it, never, but once engaged...  
never surrenders, showing the fangs of rage

so don't tread on me

so be it  
threaten no more  
to secure peace is to prepare for war  
so be it  
settle the score  
touch me again for the words that you'll hear evermore...

don't tread on me

love it or leave it, she with the deadly bite  
quick is the blue tongue, forked as lighting strike  
shining with brightness, always on surveillance  
the eyes, they never close, emblem of vigilance

so don't tread on me

so be it  
threaten no more  
to secure peace is to prepare for war  
so be it  
settle the score  
touch me again for the words that you'll hear evermore...

liberty or death, what we so proudly hail  
once you provoke her, rattling on her tail

so be it  
threaten no more  
to secure peace is to prepare for war  
so be it  
settle the score  
touch me again for the words that you'll hear evermore...  
don't tread on me!

## **Bomb the World**

*Machael Franti and Spearhead*

Please tell me the reason  
behind the colors that you fly  
love just one nation  
and the whole world we divide  
you say you're "sorry"  
say, "there is no other choice"  
but god bless the people them  
who cannot raise their voice

(chorus)

we can chase down all our enemies  
bring them to their knees  
we can bomb the world to pieces  
but we can't bomb it into peace  
whoa we may even find a solution  
to hunger and disease  
we can bomb the world to pieces  
but we can't bomb it into peace

violence brings one thing  
more more of the same  
military madness  
the smell of flesh and burning pain  
so I sing out to the masses  
stand up if you're still sane!  
To all of us gone crazy  
I sing this one refrain

(chorus)

and I sing power to the peaceful  
love to the people y'all  
power to the peaceful  
love to the people y'all