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ESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (If known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

No. 734 Jackson Place, the home of the American Peace Society for 37 years, from 1911 until 1948, is a large Victorian town house dating from the 1860s. An attractive brick structure with incised sandstone trim, it is three stories with an English basement and a two-and-onehalf-story hexagonal bay. The brown brick is laid in American bond, and the window sashes, double doors, and rather elaborately carved cornice have been painted dark brown. The double-hung windows on the first floor feature segmental pediments; all others are triangular.

Inside, the staircases run along the right-hand wall, and there are two rooms on each floor. Many of the original interior details remain: banisters, doors, and the fireplaces with their carved mantels. Since the Peace Society moved out, however, the house has undergone several changes. Doors have been cut through the adjoining house in order to provide enlarged office space for the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission (the current occupant), and the back of the building has been truncated to allow for a plaza behind the large new office building which stands to the rear. But the Victorian flavor of the facade is well-preserved as a part of the Lafayette Square Historic District; indeed, this house is one of the few original structures that remain in a row where reconstructions predominate.

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"Almost everybody was in favor of peace, in the abstract ...," writes Henry Steele Commager in his analysis of reform movements in mid-19thcentury America. "It was William Ladd of Maine who made the first important concrete proposals."1. Ladd, a Harvard graduate, sea captain, and prosperous farmer, was caught up in the peace crusade of the 1820s, and devoted the rest of his life to that cause. In 1828 he organized the American Peace Society, the oldest organization in America engaged exclusively in efforts to promote international peace. He edited its journal, and carried its message to State legislatures, to Congress, and even to the White House. His concrete proposals for implementing peace are embodied in An Essay on a Congress of Nations (Boston, 1840), in which he called for both a congress and a court of nations. Ladd had several illustrious successors, among them Elihu Burritt, who made the peace movement truly international in its scope; and Benjamin Franklin Trueblood, in whose hands the Advocate of Peace, the Society's journal, became one of the foremost peace periodicals in the world.

The early history of the American peace movement and its pioneer leaders has been given little attention. According to Merle Curti, the most lucid and prolific of the historians of the American peace movement, most critics have been blind to the obstacles which confronted it and "have tended to think of it as a Greek chorus reciting a dirge against inevitable war, aloofly voicing the principles of abstract justice to an unlistening, catastrophic world."² The criticism is unfounded. Early advocates of peace, with Ladd and Burritt in the vanguard, not only fostered popular sentiment against war, but applied their principles to specific issues of the day, and attempted to persuade legislatures and individual leaders to organize an international court of arbitration as a logical alternative to war. There is little question that Ladd, and the organization he founded, clearly presaged the subsequent development of international organization.

¹The Era of Reform, 1830-1860 (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 174-75.

²<u>Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936</u> (Boston: J. S. Canner & Company, 1959), p. 136.

 9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES Commager, Henry Steele. The Era of Reform, 1830-1860. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1960. Curti, Merle. "Burritt, Elihu." Dictionary of American Biography. 1943. Vol. III. 	
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8. Significance (page 1)

American Peace Society

First organized in New York, the Society moved for a short time to Hartford, then to Boston, where it remained in a house on Beacon Street (later demolished) from 1837 until 1911. Convinced that the Society could function more effectively in Washington, the directors of the organization established a new headquarters in that city, in a Victorian town house on Jackson Place. That house, one of the few originals on the block facing Lafayette Park, served as headquarters until 1948, when the Society moved to another location in the city.

History

In 1819 William Ladd (1778-1841), sea captain and prosperous Maine farmer, turned to the cause of peace and, according to Merle Curti, "almost literally gave his life for it."³ In May 1828 Ladd founded the American Peace Society, now the oldest peace organization in the country. He lectured, organized, and wrote in the cause of peace for the rest of his life, even after he had become an invalid. In 1837 Ladd became a Congregational clergyman, the better to reach worshipers, seminaries, and synods. On his last lecture tour in 1841, his legs were so badly ulcerated that he was forced to deliver his message while seated on stools behind church pulpits.

One biographical sketch notes that Ladd was "not only a martyr to peace," but "one of its greatest architects."⁴ Along with George Cone Beckwith and Noah Worcester, Ladd was one of the earliest exponents of peace. Curti believes that we have underestimated the accomplishments of these men:

"The pioneers did not win, at best, more than a few thousand members for the fifty peace societies which they organized ... But their work, limited though it was, proved to be both necessary and positive. They forged impressive arguments against war; they used statistical evidence; they saw the importance of emotional as well as intellectual appeals They also suggested schemes of world organization, the most important of which was that of William Ladd, who, in 1840, published his classic Essay on the Congress of Nations."⁵

³Ibid., p. 37.

⁴Merle E. Curti, "Ladd, William," <u>Dictionary of American Biography</u>, 1943, X, 527.

⁵Curti, Peace or War, p. 40.

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8. Significance (page 2)

American Peace Society

Ladd's essay contained two major proposals: (1) calling a congress of ambassadors for clarifying and improving principles of international law and for promoting plans to preserve peace; and (2) establishing a court of nations, composed of the most able jurists in the world, to adjudicate such cases as should be brought before it by the mutual consent of the contending powers. The 1840 essay proved important, for, unlike earlier champions of peace, Ladd accepted nationalism as it actually existed and neither anticipated nor advocated radical changes in social structure or individual conduct. Copies of the essay were sent to the White House, to Members of Congress, to the diplomatic corps, and to foreign sovereigns. The idea of an international congress of nations was kept alive throughout the 19th century by the efforts of such reformers as Elihu Burritt, James Browning Miles, and David Dudley Field, but even by 1899 (the date of the first Hague Conference) little or nothing had been added to Ladd's original proposals.⁶

Peace leaders became aware of new, potentially valuable allies in the early years of the movement. They tried hard to convince women that they embodied powerful resources for undermining war. In 1836 William Ladd published The Duty of Females to Promote the Cause of Peace, a tract which brought together all of the arguments that had been elaborated since the first appeal to the "fair sex" in 1813. Women ought to be particularly concerned with the cause of peace, he argued, since their "maternal instinct" makes them the creators and preservers of human life; war is their worst enemy. They therefore should teach their children to hate war and to love peace--women, indeed, might wean men away from their propensity to fight; they might make war impossible. However, "[t]hese eloquent appeals were not accompanied by invitations to share equally in the conduct of peace societies,"⁷ for not until 1871 did the American Peace Society permit women to hold office.

Elihu Burritt (1810-1879), the "learned blacksmith" who taught himself all of the European languages and several Asiatic ones, entered the peace crusade in 1841, when the Society lost its chief apostle, William Ladd. Burritt became editor of the <u>Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood</u>, the Society's journal, and besieged Congress with peace propaganda. In 1848 Burritt almost single-handedly organized the Brussels Peace Congress, which inaugurated a series subsequently convened in Paris, Frankfort,

⁶<u>Ibid</u>., p. 182.

⁷<u>Ibid</u>., p. 114.

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Significance (page 3) 8.

American Peace Society

London, Manchester, and Edinburgh. Burritt, while working to make the peace movement truly international in scope, continued to plead for a congress and court of nations, as Ladd had done. "Almost uniquely in the America of his generation, Burritt was capable of thinking in international terms."⁸

The American Peace Society suffered a decline prior to and during the Civil War; after Appomattox the peace movement seemed all but dead. Still. the Society, regarding itself as the backbone of the movement, resumed its work, its tactics much the same as in earlier years. "The philosophy, program, and method of propaganda did not materially change. The peace classics were reprinted, the old tracts re-stereotyped, and the familiar appeals made to educators, the clergy, and the press."⁹ As work of the Society grew, circulation of its periodical increased fivefold. It devoted much effort to promoting reconciliation between North and South. While active members remained pitifully few, the Society in 1872 was able to obtain some 12,000 signatures on a memorial urging Congress to reduce the army, insert arbitration clauses in treaties, and initiate a congress and court of nations.

Organized pacifism expanded in the period after the war with Spain, and, prior to 1914, peace became an almost universally popular cause. Several factors were responsible for the new wave of popularity. Reform was fashionable, and men of wealth were beginning to devote their fortunes to various philanthropic undertakings. In addition, much publicity was given to the Hague Conferences, held in 1899 and 1907, and there was increasing uneasiness about the possibility of war in Europe. The American Peace Society took full advantage of this new concern for peace. Within a decade its budget was tripled, and membership grew from approximately 500 to many times that number. Convinced that the Society could function as a political pressure group more effectively in the Nation's Capital, the directors moved to that city in 1911, and established a headquarters on Jackson Place NW.

From 1892 until 1915 Benjamin Franklin Trueblood (1847-1916) allied himself with the peace movement, serving as both secretary of the Society and editor of the Advocate of Peace. Much of the organizing work of his predecessors, Ladd and Burritt, had to be revamped as the peace crusade swelled in popularity, and Trueblood played an important role in the movement's turn-of-the-century expansion. Curti writes:

⁸Merle E. Curti, "Burritt, Elihu," Dictionary of American Biography, 1943, III, 329.

⁹Curti, Peace or War, p. 75.

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8. Significance (page 4)

American Peace Society

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"As editor of the <u>Advocate of Peace</u> Benjamin Franklin Trueblood set a new standard for pacifist journalism. Without sacrificing the moral, ethical, and religious elements that had given so much impetus to pacifism, he interpreted the peace movement and the forces promoting war with realism as well as vision An intelligent advocate of arbitration and the limitation of armaments, he believed that, as a result of the solidarity of humanity and the principle of progress that governed history, the groping steps and strivings toward world organization must inevitably, and in the relatively immediate future, lead to a true world federation. He gave to the peace movement an historical sense, a more substantial ground for its optimism, and a sense of realism that did much to mitigate the sentimentality of many of its friends."¹⁰

As World War I approached and pacifism began to lose its popularity, the peace movement suffered increasingly from a lack of unity. The American Peace Society grew more conservative, and probably compromised itself when, even before Congress voted to enter World War I, it frowned on certain anti-war activities. That war was not one for territory, trade routes, or commercial enterprise, but rather one of "eternal principles," according to the Advocate of Peace. Ladd and Burritt had held stronger ideals. Later, the Society opposed United States participation in the League of Nations, and advocated "adequate defense" until the time when international law should reign and a world court developed to settle disputes. "[T]his organization, once a band of radical pioneers, was now frequently praised by men high in the circles of the army and navy."¹¹ Prior to World War I, the American Peace Society had been one of the most active peace organizations in the country, having 46 branches, five sectional offices, and approximately 11,000 members. By the close of the war, all of the branch societies had disappeared, and membership had dropped to 2,500. By 1936 the number had dropped even further, to 1,500.12

James Brown Scott, in an introduction to a 1916 reprint of William Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, assesses Ladd's and--by inference--the American Peace Society's role in the history of the American peace movement:

¹⁰Merle E. Curti, "Trueblood, Benjamin Franklin," <u>Dictionary of American</u> <u>Biography</u>, 1943, XIX, 6.

¹¹Curti, <u>Peace or War</u>, p. 278.

¹²Elton Atwater, <u>Organized Efforts in the United States Toward Peace</u> (Washington, D.C.: The Digest Press, 1936), p. 23.

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8. Significance (page 5)

American Peace Society

"Mr. Ladd cherished no illusions. He believed that his plan was practical, and believing, likewise, that it was wise and just, he felt that it could wait years, if need be, for its realization, and that repeated failures would not prevent ultimate triumph [W]hen a court of nations composed of judges exists as a permanent institution before which nations appear as suitors, and when mankind, accustomed to these institutions, recognize their importance, the name of William Ladd will undoubtedly figure among the benefactors of his kind."¹³

¹³William Ladd, <u>An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of</u> <u>International Disputes Without Resort to Arms</u> (New York: Oxford <u>University Press, 1916</u>), pp. xliv-xlv.

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