CHICAGO, June 30th, 1917.

Hon. Harry Pratt Judson,
President, University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Judson:—

Enclosed please find copy of an article to which I have given much thought and effort.

If you will read it carefully and be good enough to give me your judgment as to the following questions, I will appreciate it very much.

(a) Did the founders of this republic evolve the STANDARD form of government?

(b) Has our recent tendency to drift away from the STANDARD been unwise? Why?

(c) Would our world position be greatly strengthened and clarified if we advocated representative republics instead of democracy as the basis for reconstructing the warring governments?

(d) Would not the establishment of International Peace be greatly hastened by the adoption in all countries of the STANDARD form of government?

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Harry F. Atwood
Chicago, July 10, 1917

Dear Mr. Atwood:

Your favor of the 30th of June came during my absence from the city. Your article is interesting. I think you will find it difficult to prove, however, that there is any "standard" form of government. There can be no doubt that any form of government may as time passes need modification. Our government is a democracy, but a representative, not a pure, democracy. I personally believe that this is the better form. I don't believe that you would succeed, however, in securing any wide agreement to your view of the standard form.

Very truly yours,

E.P.J. - L.

Mr. Harry F. Atwood
7245 Princeton Avenue, Chicago
Dear Mr. Wood,

Your letter of the 30th of June came.

Your message from the editor. Your article in Intermission. I think you will find it difficult to believe. However, I am sure that your knowledge of government can be no greater than any other of government men, since those men have been treated with such a lack of government. I am sure that if you would have government, I personally believe that this is the better way. I hope you will find your way smoothed to your own view of the situation.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Mr. Wood, I refer to your telegram of yesterday.
Chicago, January 12, 1917

Dear Mr. Hale:

I have read with interest the tentative plan for an American conference on the subject, "Upon What Terms Should Peace Be Established?" Before giving a definite answer as to the advisability of a conference being held on that subject in which the University should take part, I want to say that my first impression is one of serious doubt as to whether a conference on that subject is advisable at all. It can only involve fighting over the war from all sides and all points of view. It necessarily involves a rehashing of all the pleas of all the belligerents as embodied in their various state papers. I doubt if it would result in changing the opinion of any intelligent person. Those opinions are now pretty well formed. In short, I suspect that such a conference would produce heat rather than light. It seems to me that a conference on
Office, January 15, 1919

Dear Mr. Hite:

I have keen interest in the tentative plan for an American conference on the subject "upon which the
Short Peace is based". Before giving a definite
answer as to the feasibility of a conference, I must
realize that the United States may not take part
in such a conference in which the United States is not
represented. I want to see that my first impression is one of concurrence
your view. It is only important that the views of all the
representatives of all the powers are expressed in detail, and to express the opinions of any individual
because those opinions are not necessarily in accord with your opinion of any individual
about. I suspect that such a conference would produce best
future from First. It seems to me that a conference on
subjects relating to the proper policy for the United States to adopt in readiness for the end of the war might be practicable and useful. These questions relate to national defense, the Monroe Doctrine, international commerce, the political and economic situation in the Far East, and not a few others.

Now, this is my first impression. Before answering Mr. Loesch’s letter, however, I should want to give the matter mature consideration, and with your permission will hold it under advisement for some days.

Very truly yours,

H.F.J. - L.

Mr. W. G. Hale
The University of Chicago
suppose relative to the proper policy for the United States to adopt in connection with the war might be better to face up to the moment. These decisions relate to national defense, the Monroe Doctrine, international commerce, and political and economic relations in the Pen West and not so often.

How time is my first impression. Before answering Mr. Roosevelt's letter, however, I should have been able to give the matter careful consideration and with your permission will reply later with more information for some days.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

[Address]
President Harry Pratt Judson,  
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.  

Dear Sir:-

I am writing you this letter individually and without the sanction of the Union League Club or its directors, but with the expectation that my action will hereafter be approved after the steps which I suggest shall have been taken.  

I am writing to request that you appoint a committee of three persons to represent the University of Chicago as a preliminary committee of conference to consider with the other committees that shall be appointed by the President of Northwestern University, the President of the City Club of Chicago, the President of the Commercial Club of Chicago, and by myself, the program outlined in the Tentative Plan herewith enclosed.  

The program as outlined has had the approval of several persons other than myself, but it is to be regarded as entirely tentative in form and as subject to change, modification, adoption or abandonment, as the above committee shall deem fit.  

I suggest that this committee of fifteen persons meet and consider the program and determine the question whether or not this program or some modification thereof is a desirable undertaking for the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, City Club of Chicago, Commercial Club and Union League Club to undertake, or whether it is a suitable program for any one organization in this group or for some different organization.
January 11, 1949

President Harry P. Judson,
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I am writing you now to inform you, and I wish to extend my appreciation of the Union Leave Club for the assistance I have received from the committee of the committee of the University of Chicago, so as to prepare a committee of the committee of the University of Chicago as a permanent committee to coordinate with the President of Northwestern University, the President of the City Club of Chicago, and other committees that may or may not be appointed by the President of Northwestern University.

The program as outlined now has the support of several because other than myself, you as a subject to make a proposal of reorganization to the present committee and see them to see the recommendation of a full committee.

I suggest that this committee of fifteen because it may or may not meet any committee the program may interest the present member or by some manner or some modification is a special program for the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, City Club of Chicago, Commercial Club, and Union Leave Club to make a special program for this organization.
My dear Dr. Judson:

Having just returned from the West, I find your kind favor of December 31st. You say you do not believe that it is "at all likely that a movement for the disarmament of nations and the establishment of a court of arbitral justice can be expected at the close of the present war." In view of the fact that such a court was practically agreed upon at the last Hague Conference, the only obstruction having been the failure of the South American States to agree upon the basis of representation in the Court advanced by the powers; and in addition that near the close of President Taft's administration, Germany, France, England and the United States had practically agreed upon the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice, it occurs to me that your faith, to say the least, is not as large as a grain of mustard seed.

You say that the proposition, "If you stand for militarism, we cannot expect your co-operation," is "one of the whimsical things which you often encounter in discussions of these matters by the advocates of universal peace. This indicates your ability to reduce to a trifle an incontrovertible fact. Since the movement concerning which we have written you contemplates the disarmament of nations, together with the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice, and since you declare your lack of faith in the practicability of the proposition, I cannot understand how it is possible for you to co-operate with this movement.

You ask, "Does it follow that I stand for militarism if I don't happen to accord with your particular views?" The view which I am advancing is not my particular view. I would not presume to obtrude my individual view upon you. The view which I present has already been accepted by the Hague Conference, no less than the leading Peace Societies and advocates of the country. The view proposes the abolition of militarism by a practical method of disarmament and the establishment in its place of a Supreme Court of Arbitral Justice.

You take exception to the proposed scheme of disarmament and declare your lack of faith in the possible
establishment of such a court. This places you squarely in line with militarism.

So far as your statement that you believe that the United States ought to be provided with sufficient army and navy for its defense in case of attack, is concerned, I explained in my last letter that we are not urging the disarmament of the United States before all the nations are joined in the movement, that until such time, we believe that preparation for war upon the part of our country is necessary. This statement you totally ignore, and at the same time express your opposition to general disarmament or at least, refuse to join in this movement upon the ground that you do not believe it practical or possible.

Now, I have no doubt but what you are in favor of peace, at least theoretically. You do not seem inclined, however, to take a practical hand in bringing it about. Your argument is simply that national defense is necessary under the present condition, and that this condition must continue indefinitely. Our argument is that preparedness for war does not, in point of fact, prevent war. This is demonstrated by the present European outburst. And therefore the time is at hand to bring about the concerted action of nations in establishing a peace basis for the maintenance of peace.

If you have anything better to suggest than the plan which we propose, you owe it to the cause to suggest it. If, therefore, you will indicate to me what your plan is, I shall be very glad to read it and with your consent, to publish it in our monthly magazine. One thing is sure, humanity has reached a crisis, and we must go forward into a higher order of civilization or back to barbarism. It occurs to me that the University of Chicago owes it to the nation and to the world to take an unqualified stand against war, and for the establishment of universal peace. If we are on the wrong track, we should know it. If you are on the right track, we should know that. Will you, therefore, kindly favor me with a statement of your peace program?

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, President,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.
My dear Dr. Judson:—

I have yours of the 28th. You have certainly misunderstood the nature of the movement to which I called your attention. There was no intimation in my communication, of a campaign of disarmament upon the part of the United States, until all the nations are ready to unite in such a movement. We do feel, however, that the close of this war will be the psychological time for the inauguration of a movement to bring about the disarmament of nations and the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice for the adjudication of international controversies.

If you stand for militarism, we cannot expect your cooperation. If, however, you believe in International Amity based upon disarmament, it occurs to me that you should be identified with this movement. Many of the leading men of the country have enlisted and are enlisting in this propaganda. I note that you do not agree that the present struggle reveals the futility of armies and armaments in the maintenance of International Peace, and that it demonstrates that preparation for war is an absolute failure as a defense against war. In view of your rejection of this proposition, I am at a loss to know in what way the present struggle is conducive to Peace.

In this connection, I enclose an article from Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who is one of our Vice Presidents, and whose authority as a Peace exponent is generally accepted. It is not important that you should be identified with our particular movement, but I confess that I am very much disappointed that a man occupying your position of influence should indicate a sympathy for the greatest peril to civilization. The question before the world is civilization or barbarism. The solution of the problem resolves itself to the question of peace. I have yet to discover that war or preparation for war can in any way be regarded as the condition of peace. That is a new interpretation of the Gospel.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

President Harry Pratt Judson,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.
International Peace Form

To: [Recipient Name]

I have the honor to inform you that I have been authorized to confer with you with regard to the possibility of a conference of representatives of the United States and China to discuss the situation existing between the two countries.

I believe that such a conference would be advantageous and that it would be of great benefit to both nations. I am therefore make[ed] to the suggestion that you confer with your Government and see what steps can be taken to initiate such a conference.

Yours truly,

[Signature]

Secretary of State
Chicago, December 31, 1914

My dear Dr. Hill:—

Your favor of the 30th inst. is received.

I hope that much may be accomplished in the years to come in the direction of international peace. I do not believe, however, that it is at all likely that a movement for the disarmament of nations and the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice can be expected at the close of the present war. You say: "If you stand for militarism, we cannot expect your cooperation." That sort of a statement is one of the whimsical things that I have often found accompanying discussions of these matters by the advocates of universal peace. Does it follow that I "stand for militarism" if I don't happen to accord your particular views? Moreover, what do you mean by militarism? I believe that the United States ought to be provided with a sufficient Army and Navy for its defense in case of attack. I believe it is by no means impossible
OFFICE OF THE HILL, 

DECEMBER 8, 1974

Mr. General of the Army Laid.

I hope that many may be accomplished

In the series to come in the publication of information.

By now I expect "new" paper, that it is all right.

I appreciate your interest in the dissemination of material and the importance of a report of your activities.

Can you accept it with the approval of the President well?

"You can get any material" we cannot accept.

Your cooperation is that sort of a statement is one

of the materials things that I mean after some accomplishment in the dissemination of these matters, my emphasis on

importance because. Does it follow that I cannot get any material?

I hope you cannot be soomatic to your participation.

Am I to report that I have an amount to your participation?

I am able to take the United States Army to the public

with a material that may not be released in the case of attack. I believe it is on some importance.
that it may be attacked, and that it is idle to proceed upon the supposition of entire safety. I do not believe that the present struggle "reveals the futility of armies and armaments in the maintenance of International Peace"; nor, again, do I believe "that it demonstrates that preparation for war is an absolute failure as a defense against war." Perhaps such an opinion as I hold is, in your view, a case of "militarism".

You say again that you are disappointed that I have indicated a sympathy for "the greatest peril to civilization". I have indicated nothing of the sort. In my opinion, organizations in defense of international peace in many cases have based their cause on erroneous assumptions, and are conducting it in a way which does not conduce to winning the support of people who are not in favor of war, but who at the same time are very much in favor of national defense, and who further believe that national defense is necessary under the present conditions of the world, and under conditions which are likely to exist for some time to come.

Very truly yours,

H.J. P.-D.

Dr. John Wesley Hill
18 East Forty-first Street
New York, N.Y.
Having considered these questions the committee shall agree, if possible, upon a report which shall be submitted to the several organizations as the report of the several committees appointed.

If the committee recommends that a program of this character be undertaken in the manner proposed or in some modified manner, the report shall so state and shall request in each case such action to be taken by the particular organization to which each report is made as shall create a permanent conference committee representing these several institutions, or as shall be necessary or desirable to carry out the purposes of the report.

The purpose of this investigating committee is obvious. The Union League Club, for example, must be accurately advised as to the best kind or character of conference to hold if it is to appoint a committee to take part in organizing such a conference; and a proposition which will receive the support of this preliminary committee will be more certain of receiving the approval of the Union League Club if it is presented in this concrete form by a committee so constituted.

As the time is short, I suggest that you take immediate action upon this matter. This letter will be presented by those who are fully informed as to the whole plan and who will be able to discuss the proposition with you in detail.

Yours very truly,

[Signature]

President Union League Club.
Union League Club
Chicago

Officers of the Committee
H. B. Johnson, Chairman
Robert W. Proctor
William B. Heil, Secretary

Having considered these questions the committee shall agree if possible to open a report which shall be submitted to the several organizations for the report of the senator committee appointed.

If the committee recommends that a program of this character be undertaken in the future of the community, it may be practiced in such a manner that the report itself be read and copied in each case.

Any report should be made as a report of the particular organization to which such section of the report or the particular recommendation of the report is made.

The report of the investigation committee is

The Union League Club is interested in the activities of the committee and was interested in the report of the Union League Club.

In the next to the end of the report of the conference on the subject of the conference on the proposition was made a report of the conference on the proposition.

A conference was held by the committee in connection with the proposition. The report will be presented to the Senate and will be printed in the report of the Union League Club.
TENTATIVE PLAN

for an

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

on the subject

UPON WHAT TERMS SHOULD PEACE BE ESTABLISHED

It is obvious at the present time that the basis of all inter-
national relations requires exhaustive reconsideration.

For the fact of the great war in Europe demonstrates that the
old international system has broken down. A peace will ultimately be
made which must either re-establish the old system or give place to a
new one.

Public opinion is not yet formed on these questions. The issues
involved are not yet clearly understood. This is especially true here in
America where we are scarcely beginning to think in world terms.

In order to assist in forming this public opinion upon a sound
basis and make it of real value and effect both in this country and
with the general subject above outlined from the point of view of
abroad, a well organized effort should be made to study the important
particular nation in question. The conference committee might
specify the various phases of the subject in more or less detail
phases of the problem involved in

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE OLD SYSTEM AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE WAR

and the

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AT THE END OF THE WAR.

The difficulty of reaching a clear understanding of all these
problems and of securing men who can deal adequately with them seems
perhaps insuperable. But the importance of the subject matter makes it
desirable to consider some plan of procedure—bearing always in mind
that however much we may fall short of sound conclusions, any such
conference composed of thoughtful men must at least achieve a consider-
able amount of public education and help develop a greater public
interest in the whole subject.

The following plan for an American Conference to be inaugurat-
ed and held in Chicago is, therefore, suggested to deal with the
above subject:

(1) A conference committee to be now formed by the appointment of three delegates each from the following institutions: The University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Union League Club of Chicago, City Club of Chicago, Commercial Club of Chicago.

(2) This conference committee (when permanently formed upon the basis of a generally adopted program) shall canvass the field to secure men of sufficient knowledge and ability to prepare papers upon the various phases of the subject of the conference. All these papers shall be upon a more or less uniform basis.

(3) The committee may then arrange the subject matter of the conference and assign to the various individuals who are selected as competent the task of reporting upon the particular subject assigned to them. One method of procedure would be to appoint one person to represent each of the belligerent powers and one or more to represent the neutral nations, including the United States, and to request the preparation of papers dealing with the general subject above outlined from the point of view of the particular nation in question. The conference committee might specify the various phases of the subject in more or less detail to the participants in advance. Papers could also be secured upon such general questions as The Freedom of the Seas, the Monroe Doctrine as Affected by the War, Plans to Secure International Justice, etc.

(4) If the committee finds that it can secure the writing of these papers by competent persons, it can then organize the conference, to be composed of these persons and of such other persons as the committee may invite, to be held in Chicago at a time to be fixed by the committee, when the papers are to be ready.

(5) The papers would then be presented and read to the conference; and the discussion of the conference could be so planned and conducted as to be directed toward the consideration
of the two main subjects above outlined arranged in such detail as the committee or the conference shall determine.

(6) This program cannot be accomplished without funds. It may be desirable to offer to each person preparing a paper at least $100.00; and other expenses will be considerable. The problem of raising this money will be considered by the conference committee.

(7) The conference committee should be given a free hand by the various appointing institutions; and it should be understood and made public that the institutions in question have taken part only to the extent of inaugurating the general plan for the conference, and that neither these institutions nor their other members are in any way committed by the detailed plans of the conference committee nor by any statements made by the committee or by members of the conference. The conference committee will, therefore, not be obliged to make any reports to the several appointing institutions or secure any approval of their action after the original appointment has been made.
The committee of the conference committee's report.

There may be questions to arise in each section regarding a number of
issues. The committee will advise the conference.

The conference committee may be given a free hand

on the various supporting institutions, and it should be made
under any such principle that the institutions in question
have taken part not only to the extent of the institution, the general plan
for the conference, and that other these institutions, not
their own members, but in any way connected in the conference
plan of the conference committee, will be in any statement make
the conference committee will therefore not be allowed to make the reports
on the various supporting institutions so as any opposition at
their secolion after the attempt opportunity been made to
take a position in the meeting. It is the duty of the conference committee
in the consideration under the conference to make it clear that
our many members of the conference on the other
hand are not necessary required of the conference of the
plan. To carry on this information to the best of the conference's

In the conference is not to be determined

on the conference of the conference committee, or any other body, for
consideration by the conference, and provided to the committee of a
statement to the conference, and the conference will be so
advised. If you have any further comments, please write.

In any case to consider the conference committee to make the

Group Meeting
as first Monday, Dec. 15

Hackett, Sec. of City Club
Edgar A. Bancroft
Guliani Mason, Editor of Post

Wm. B. Hale

Geo. H. Mead

Andrews McLaughlin

Wm. G. Hale

Invited, but

unable to be present.

Chas H. Hamilton
E. C. Jordan

M. E. Hatchkiss

Northeastern Co.,Commiss.
Tentative plan for Conference on the Subject

UPON WHAT TERMS SHOULD PEACE BE MADE IN EUROPE

The first requisite for a solution of international problems is a greater study and extended popular education on pending questions.

The greatly increased interest of Americans in international relations is seen everywhere. This interest has been awakened by the war and directed primarily to the problems which are immediately involved in the war and the establishment of peace on more stable foundations than heretofore.

The United States is the greatest neutral nation, and public opinion here is bound to have great affect on the future of international law.

But in order to make our public opinion of real value there should be a well organized effort made actually to study the war as it now goes on with reference to the breakdown of the old regime of which it is the product and the construction of better plans for the future.

The difficulty of reaching a clear understanding of the problems involved and of securing the men who can adequately deal with them seems perhaps insuperable. But the importance of the subject matter makes it desirable to consider some plan of procedure, bearing always in mind that however much we may fall short of sound conclusions we might at least achieve a considerable amount of enlightenment to those taking part and a stimulus of general public criticism and understanding.

As a tentative suggestion I therefore propose the following plan for a conference on the above subject:
Δηλώνω ότι η σύσκεψη έχει μετατραπε"
(1) The conference should deal with the question upon what terms should peace be made in Europe, not on the assumption that either side in the war will win a decisive victory; but should take into account the causes of the present war, the issues involved in the war, and should study the basis of international relations before the war in order to ascertain whether better or different relations can be established which will tend to produce international justice and thus establish a more permanent peace.

(2) It is obvious that such questions cannot receive adequate consideration in mere conference unless it is preceded by an adequate study of the various phases of the subject by competent men.

(3) It is therefore suggested that the preliminaries of the conference be planned somewhat as follows:

(a) The conference committee to be made up by some such existing organization as the University of Chicago, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, or by a voluntary organization—preferably formed in the middle west.

(b) That this conference committee canvass the field to secure enough men or women of sufficient knowledge and ability to prepare reports on the various phases of the situation and upon a more or less uniform basis.

(c) The basis suggested is that we should first select one person to represent each of the belligerent powers and should ask that person to present a report to the conference treating upon:

(1) A general view of international relations of such power before the war, including its important treaties and understandings which relate to the beginning of the war.
(2) The reasons why such power got into the war as shown by reported facts, as stated by its leading men, and with the conclusion of the author as to the justice or injustice of the cause of his particular nation, and as clear a statement as possible of what such nation is actually fighting for.

(3) The ambitions or purposes of such nation—whether or not they are consistent with international justice and the ambitions of other nations.

(4) The basis upon which such nation is willing to make peace so far as this can be ascertained, and a statement of the author's reasons and conclusions with reference to what sort of peace such nation ought to be willing to make.

(5) What international securities should be given to such nation to exist after the war. This consideration may be taken into account in answering number four supra.

(6) In addition to the above outline of reports regarding each nation special reports must be provided on various topics such as:

(1) The freedom of the seas.
(2) International relations in the Far East.
(3) The Monroe Doctrine as affected by the war.
(4) The problems of international commerce.
(5) A special study of all plans proposed to secure international justice, such as arbitration treaties, including the Hague Conventions, the League to Enforce Peace, etc.

(4) If the committee finds that it can secure the writing of the above reports by competent persons, it can then organize a conference composed of these persons and to be held at the time when the reports are ready. Such conference should probably also include as members any other citizens whose standing and opinions will carry weight in the country and who will be willing to take part in the
deliberations. The conference would consider the reports made and should be so planned and conducted that it will come to certain general conclusions upon such subjects as: (1) The general causes of the war; (2) The violations of international justice which are involved in the war; (3) A general outline of a basis for peace, and (4) Conclusions as to certain steps that may be taken after the war to secure international justice.

(5) The above program cannot be accomplished without adequate funds. Each person asked to prepare a report should be offered from $200.00 to $500.00, as may be determined, for the work involved; and expenses of all members of the conference should be paid at the time of the conference. There would also be other incidental expenses—printing, postage, rent of rooms for the conference, etc.

(6) No doubt the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace would have funds which could be used for this purpose if the trustees so desired, but there would be a considerable advantage in having this conference initiated from the middle west and freed from any previous entanglements. The University of Chicago would therefore seem a desirable agency through which action might be taken. And perhaps the necessary funds could be secured by special subscription.

All of the above suggestions are in more tentative form and there are several serious objections which ought to be considered to the whole plan:

(1) Would such a plan embarrass the administration in Washington and would it be necessary to get the consent of the president if this be done. My personal opinion is that while such a conference might in its deliberations violate the principles that we should be neutral even in thought, this principle has long since
been discarded and the government should distinctly not be asked about the holding of the conference for it should be merely the expression of the individuals who take part in it as a voluntary organization held without any public sanction or connection. Thus its results would be open to any sort of criticism and would merely stand for what they were worth.

(2) The difficulty of securing persons able and willing to make the reports is very great, and it seems hardly possible that any conference could be held at all worth while unless such persons can be secured and such reports made.

(3) The time involved is also important. We do not know when the war will be over and unless the conference is held before the end of the war it would seem useless. At least public interest in it would not be great. It might be possible, however, to secure the participants on the basis that the conference would be abandoned if the war should end before it were held.

(4) The difficulty of securing the proper organized body to call the conference is a serious one as above suggested. But a voluntary organization composed of sufficiently prominent men and if the funds could be secured would perhaps be a solution of this difficulty.

Respectfully submitted,

[Signature]

January 6, 1910.