HARRY F. ATWOOD
LECTURER
BUSINESS PROBLEMS
GOVERNMENTAL ISSUES
PATRIOTIC THEMES

7245 PRINCETON AVENUE
TELEPHONE STEWART 372

17

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,

Harry F. Atwood

CHICAGO, June 20th, 1914.

HON. MARTIN TRAPP JACKSON
President Industrial Club of Chicago,
CHICAGO, ILL.

DEAR MR. JACKSON:-

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 dilemma, I will appreciate it very much.

(a) Did the Commission of this Republic exceed the STANDARD form of Government?

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

(c) Would our motto be Strength or Stability based on the STANDARD form of Government?

(d) Would not the establishment of Industrial Democracy be the basis for recognition of the Martial Government?

(e) Would not the adoption of Strength or Stability be the basis for recognition of the STANDARD form of Government?

Hence do firmly believe by the adoption of all conditions the STANDARD form of Government?

Sincerely yours,

Henry E. Gerstenberg

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,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. Harry F. Atwood
7245 Princeton Avenue, Chicago

Chicago, July 10, 1917

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Very truly yours,

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Mr. Harry F. Atwood
7245 Princeton Avenue, Chicago

Conference on International Policies 7

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

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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,

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Mr. W. G. Hale
The University of Chicago

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The University of Chicago

UNION LEAGUE CLUB
CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL ACTION
CHARLES S. CUTTING
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OFFICERS OF THE COMMITTEE
F. B. JOHNSTONE, CHAIRMAN
EDWIN W. SIMS, VICE-CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM B. HALE, SECRETARY

January 11, 1917.

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.

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INTERNATIONAL PEACE FORUM
JOHN WESLEY HILL, PRESIDENT
185 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

REMOVED TO
18 EAST 41st STREET

January 15, 1915.

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,

John Wolf Stell

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

Phone: Murray Hill 5577
Cable: "Peace" N. Y.

International Peace Forum

18 East Forty-first Street
New York City

December 30, 1914.

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,

John Wesley Hill

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

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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 coöperation." 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

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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 defence 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 defence, and who further believe that national defence 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.P.J.-D.

Dr. John Wesley Hill
18 East Forty-first Street
New York, N.Y.

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H.P.J.-D.

Dr. John Wesley Hill
18 East Forty-first Street
New York, N.Y.

UNION LEAGUE CLUB
CHICAGO

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL ACTION
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OFFICERS OF THE COMMITTEE
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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,

Frank J. Loesch

President Union League Club.

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Yours very truly,

President 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 international 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 abroad, a well organized effort should be made to study the important 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 considerable amount of public education and help develop a greater public interest in the whole subject.

The following plan for an American Conference to be inaugurated and held in Chicago is, therefore, suggested to deal with the

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The following plan for an American Conference to be inaugurated 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

above subject:

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(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.

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Group Meeting
at Lunch Friday, Dec. 5/17

Hooper, Sec. of City Club

Edgar A. Bancroft

Julian Mason,
Editor of Post

Wm. B. Hale

Geo. H. Mead

Andrew McLaughlin

W. G. Hale

Invited, but
unable to be present

Chas H. Hamill

E. O. Jordan

W. E. Hotchkiss,
Northwestern U., Commerce

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:

Plan for a conference on this whole subject:

In a comprehensive subscription I therefore propose the following outline and memorandum.

The Great Increased Interest in Communications in International Relations is seen everywhere. Like interest has been shown by the Nations Assembly, the Pacific Settlement to Peace on more stable foundations than heretofore.

The United States is the Greatest Central Nation, and Public Opinion here is found of great effect on the Future of International Relations.

(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.

(d) 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

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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 principle that we should be neutral even in thought, this principle has long since

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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,

William R. Beal

January 8, 1916.

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