ERNEST LLEWELLYN WOODWARD

One of the objectives which the School of Historical Studies seeks to attain in its plans for the future--in addition to those set forth in the memorandum concerning Professor Kantorowicz--is to develop still further the work of the last fifteen years in modern history, with particular emphasis upon international relations. It therefore is proposing to the Faculty at the present time the appointment of Professor E. L. Woodward of Oxford.

Ernest Llewellyn Woodward, now 60 years old, is a native of London. His professional career has been entirely at the University of Oxford, from which he was graduated in 1913. He has at one time or another been a Fellow of Corpus Christi, St. John's, New, All Souls, Nuffield, Balliol, and Worcester Colleges. His first professorial appointment was to the chair of Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, in 1944. In 1947 he was appointed to a newly established professorship of modern history, the chair which he now holds.

In a sense Professor Woodward's interests are specialized since he is a political historian--that is to say, he is representative of a relatively small group of historical scholars who feel that during the last thirty years the shift away from political history has gone too far and that historians have unduly neglected the very considerable influence which the art of politics plays in human affairs. But even the most superficial glance at Professor Woodward's work will indicate that his views are catholic rather than parochial. For example, more than one-third of his volume The Age of Reform in the Oxford History of England is devoted to matters concerning education, religion, literature, intellectual history, the arts and sciences, and social problems. And scattered throughout the remainder of the volume are continuous and illuminating comments on a great variety of subjects of a non-political character from the development of railways in England to the organization and character of the British Army and Navy. Furthermore, Professor Woodward started his professional career as a mediaevalist, his first published book being on Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire.

During the past twenty years Professor Woodward has given an increasing amount of his time and attention to the history of international relations in their broadest aspects. Although he is at the moment one of the two outstanding British diplomatic historians (the other being Sir Charles Webster) his approach to the history of international affairs is not exclusively--indeed is not even primarily--the approach of the narrow specialist in diplomacy. For example, his books on War and Peace in Europe 1850-1870 (1931) and Great Britain and the German Navy (1935) go far beyond the conventional limits and limitations of diplomatic history. They deal in the large with the character and causes of European conflict and the political, economic, and other factors which operate in war and peace.

This is not to say, of course, that Professor Woodward has not done work which is formal diplomatic history. He is presently engaged in editing the British diplomatic documents on the causes of the Second World War, of which eight volumes have thus far appeared (some of them edited jointly with Rohan Butler of All Souls College, Oxford). He also is engaged in writing a history of British political decisions on the Cabinet level, dealing with the European crisis of 1938-1945; the first volume of this work is now in manuscript.*

Professor Woodward writes a beautiful English prose. His work, although erudite, is never pedantic. He was brought up in the strict Oxford school of scholarly disciplines and is an exacting, although friendly and sympathetic taskmaster for young men. He has a genuine fondness for teaching on the graduate level, and has had a marked influence on the careers of a number of younger British and American historians. Two of his books--a brief popular history of England and an autobiography, Short Journey--give a pretty good idea, on the one hand, of the tremendous fund of factual information at his disposal and, on the other, of the warmth of his human understanding and the maturity of his judgment.

Professor Woodward has been in residence at the Institute for Advanced Study on three different occasions: September 1946--January 1947, October 1948, and during the current academic term September to December 1950. On all three of these occasions, he has been an invaluable member of our academic community. He is a stimulating intellectual companion and loyal friend, as well as an imaginative and sound scholar.

Professor Woodward's age is such that in normal circumstances he probably would not be considered for a professorship, since he would have something like only four years of active service after his appointment became effective in 1951. The School of Historical Studies is well aware of this fact, and indeed is basing its recommendation partly upon it. There is an extraordinarily able group of American historians in their thirties whose development we should like to watch over the next few years before making a definitive choice or choices from among them for inclusion in the Institute faculty. Professor Woodward's brief tenure as a professor would give us time to make observations and choices among these young Americans, and during the interim would add to our group one of the outstanding historians of the modern world.

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*Should Mr. Woodward accept a professorship at the Institute, he would, of course, expect to abandon his work on the British diplomatic documents and, in all probability as well, his preparation of the history of British political decisions dealing with the European crisis of 1938-1945.

Biographical Note

Ernest Llewellyn Woodward

Born in London 14 May 1890.

Education: Merchant Taylors' School; Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1908-1913; senior fellow, St. John's College, Oxford, 1913-1941, on traveling fellowship in France. As an undergraduate at Oxford studied with Sir Ernest Barker, H.A.L. Fisher (modern history and politics), Myres and Zimmern (Greek history), and Russell (later Roman history), among others.

Military and other war service: Lieutenant of Field Artillery, British Expeditionary Forces, in France and the Near East, 1914-1918. Historical Section of Foreign Office, 1918-19.

Professional Career:

Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, beginning with autumn of 1919, after a brief period as history master at Eton School. At All Souls came under the influence of two other outstanding scholars: Sir Charles Oman (Regius Professor of history and one of the great military historians) and Francis Y. Edgeworth (Professor of Political Economy).

Rhodes Traveling Fellow, 1931 and again 1934, in Africa and Far East.

Elected Montague Burton Professor of International Relations, 1944, succeeding Sir Alfred Zimmern. Simultaneously elected Fellow of Balliol College, to which the chair is attached. (As University lecturer in history before 1944, Woodward was a fellow of New College)

Elected Professor of Modern History, with fellowship in Worcester College, 1947.

Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, 1946-47, 1948, 1950. Fellow of the British Academy. Member of the American Philosophical Society. Honorary Doctor of Letters, Princeton University, 1947.

Occasional Lecturer at the Imperial Defence College (London) and the National War College (Washington) as well as at numerous British, American, and Continental universities.

Bibliographical Note

The following is a partial list of Professor Woodward's books:

Special Historical Works

Three Studies in European Conservatism (1930), dealing with Metternich, Guizot, and the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century.

War and Peace in Europe 1815-1870 (1931), a series of essays dealing with the character and causes of European wars, the political and other factors making for peace, and economic factors making for war or peace. In the same volume are two lengthy essays on the classification and criticism of historical material, an essay on historians of the nineteenth century, and a critique of French memoirs as a source of French history during the period 1815-1850. This book is marked by an unusually able analysis, among other things, of the national state and its impact on international politics.

French Revolutions (1934). A volume of lectures given under the Lady Ardilaun Foundation at Alexandra College, Dublin. It is a work of synthesis rather than original research but, like Woodward's work as a whole, is marked for its charm and clarity of style as well as power of analysis.

Great Britain and the German Navy (1935). A lengthy analysis of the political consequences on the German naval building program, with special reference, of course, to Anglo-German relations. It was written by Professor Woodward because he felt that an understanding of the Anglo-German naval program was essential to clear thinking as regards the relationships between Britain and Germany, even in the age of the Nazis. It is a sound, scholarly piece of work.

The Age of Reform 1815-1870 (1938), volume 13 of the 14-volume Oxford History of England. A distinguishing characteristic of this work, which has become the standard volume of reference and study for the period, is the catholicity of its interests. It deals not merely with political and diplomatic questions but with a whole variety of social, cultural, intellectual, educational, religious, legal and military problems, as well as with the progress of the sciences and arts of the nineteenth century. It is beautifully written, shows a quite remarkable grasp of the subject matter, and is marked by what Matthew Arnold would doubtless call "sweetness and light."

Bibliographical Note

Diplomatic Documents

"Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939"

First Series (edited principally by Rohan Butler, in association with E. L. Woodward)

Vol. I - Proceedings of the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers, 1918-1920
II - Withdrawal of German Forces from the Baltic Provinces
British Policy Toward Soviet Russia, 1919-1920
Negotiations regarding Eastern Galicia

Second Series (edited principally by E. L. Woodward)

Vol. I - Anglo-American Relations, 1929-1930
British Attitudes toward European Federal Union, 1930
Negotiations with France and Italy regarding naval armaments, 1931
Negotiations with Germany concerning Austro-German Customs Union, 1931
II - Negotiations concerning Interallied Debts and German Reparations, 1931
Further Negotiations with France and Italy concerning naval armaments, 1931
III - Reparations negotiations with Germany
German Internal Affairs, 1932
The Lausanne Conference, 1932
Negotiations with France and the United States concerning naval disarmament
IV - Disarmament Negotiations, 1932-1933
The Political Situation in Germany, 1932-1933

Third Series (edited principally by E. L. Woodward)

Vol. I - Negotiations with France, Germany, and Czechoslovakia concerning the Sudetenland (the prelude to Munich)
II - Events Immediately before Munich
The Munich Settlement

General Works

Short Journey (1946), a biographical essay.
The Teaching of International Relations in a University (1945); an inaugural lecture at Oxford.

4/50

Ernest Llewellyn Woodward

Born: 1890

Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1908-1913

During his years as an undergraduate at Oxford Mr. Woodward studied with Sir Ernest Barker (constitutional law), H. A. L. Fisher (modern history), Myres and Zimmern (Green history) and Bussell (later Roman history)

Senior scholar of St. John's College, 1913-1914. This was a traveling scholarship for a period of four years. Mr. Woodward spent the first year in France, but the War of 1914 interrupted his plan to spend a year each thereafter in Germany, Russia, and the United States. Studied with Bergson at Collège de France

Lieutenant of Field Artillery in the British Army, 1914-1918, with service in France and the Balkans.

In the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, 1918, 1919, working on documentation for use of the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference

Fellow of All Souls College, beginning with autumn of 1919 (after a brief period as history master at Eton). Made Domestic Bursar of All Souls in 1922. At All Souls came under the influence of two other outstanding scholars: Sir Charles Oman (Regius Professor of History and one of the great military historians) and Francis Y. Edgeworth (Professor of Political Economy)

1931 and again 1934 Rhodes Travelling Fellow in Africa and the Far East. Spent part of 1934 in Canada en route to China

1944 elected Montague Burton Professor of International Relations (succeeding Sir Alfred Zimmern) and Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford + and Fellow of Worcester

Now professor of modern history ~~at Worcester College~~, Oxford

Principal publications:

Historical:

Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire (1917)
Three Studies in European Nationalism (1929)
War and Peace in Europe, 1815-70 (1931)
French Revolutions (1934)
Great Britain and the German Navy (1935)
The Age of Reform, 1815-70 (13th volume in the Oxford History of England) 1938
Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-39, ed.

Publications (continued):

General:

The Twelve Winded Sky
Short Journey

Single Lectures:

The Study of International Relations at a University (1945)
Some Political Consequences of the Atomic Bomb (1945)

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

October 20, 1950

Dear Bob:

Would it be impertinent of me to suggest that you have another talk with Woodward at your convenience? Such a talk would be appropriate, in any case, after your conference with the four people from Princeton.

I am convinced from two long conversations I have had with Woodward that his reactions to mediaeval studies at the Institute were not based to any considerable extent upon his personal evaluation of Kantorowicz. He tells me, for example, that some fifteen years ago he wrote a long memorandum for Flexner--on Flexner's request that he do so--in which he said many of the same things which he said to you a week or so ago. If you are willing, I should very much like a word or two with you about this whole question at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Edward M. Earle

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer

P.S. This was written before my brief talk with you in the Common Room.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

December 13 1950

Woodward

Dear Dr Oppenheimer.

You asked me to let you know whether I should like any part of my salary at the Institute to take the form of superannuation payment. I am hoping that I shall be able to continue the policies for deferred annuities held on my behalf by Oxford University in connection with the scheme known in England as the Federated Superannuation Scheme for Universities. These policies have in fact matured in the sense that I could now take the annuities (or cash options) under them, but they would normally or they will have done so before next May.

accumulate until I am 65, and it is much to my interest to secure this accumulation.

In any case, even if I cannot continue the English payments i.e. if the F.S.S.U. scheme does not permit me to do so (I think it does), I should still wish to take part of my salary here in the form of superannuation allowance. I do not know what would be the best way of dealing with it - e.g. purchase of fixed interest govt securities, or accumulation in a deposit account. but I would do whatever you and the Trustees desired me to do in the matter. Indeed I would be entirely willing - if I cannot use the money for paying my Oxford premiums - for the Trustees to withhold from my salary while I am here the part of my income

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

classed as superannuation contribution, and to invest it as they - the Trustees - may think fit, and let me have the lump sum when I leave the Institute.

There is an added gain from my point of view in taking a part of my salary as superannuation payment. I do not yet know how I shall stand with regard to my U.K. income tax. I rather think that in reckoning the rate of tax on such income as I receive from U.K. sources, my American income will be included, but that I shall actually pay U.K. tax only on such part of this American income as I may receive in or remit to the U.K.

This will put my U.K. income into a high 'surtax' category for the determination of tax rates; on the other hand the U.K. tax regulations allow certain relief for superannuation contributions, so that it would be much to my advantage, to be able to claim this relief, and thus to bring down my theoretical 'total income'. (The top rate into which I shd come is the my stiff figure of 14/6 in the £ income tax + surtax).

May I take this opportunity of publicly on paper my my great gratitude to you and the Trustees, and to my colleagues here, for the honour you have done to me, and for the great opportunity which you are giving me.

Yours sincerely

E. L. Woodward

For Woodward

Abstract of letter of 16th January 1951 from E. L. Woodward to E. M. Earle:

"I was much interested in your letter [concerning the Yale Institute for International Studies]. I hope we can get Wolfers and that the University takes Dunn. It is most queer that Yale should let the Institute go; it was producing such good work--so sensible and quiet and well-balanced. It just bewilders me; the Yale group was just what I had once hoped for, in vain, at Oxford."

E. L. Woodward, Professor of Modern History and fellow of Worcester College, University of Oxford. Now 60 years old, Professor Woodward is one of the deans of British historians. He was educated at the Merchant Taylor's School and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. After service in the British Expeditionary Forces during the First World War, he returned to Oxford and has remained there for the past thirty years. In 1944 Mr. Woodward was named as the first Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford. He resigned in 1947 to accept a newly-created professorship of modern history. Professor Woodward was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study during the first term of the academic year 1946-1947; during his residence at the Institute he participated in the bicentennial conferences of Princeton University and received from the University an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. He is now engaged in editing the British Diplomatic Documents on the Origins of the Second World War, several volumes of which already have been published. He is a member of the British Academy and of the American Philosophical Society. In addition to his volumes of diplomatic documents, Professor Woodward has published: Three Studies in European Conservatism; War and Peace in Europe, 1815-1870; Great Britain and the German Navy; The Age of Reform (Volume XIII of the Oxford History of England), and other historical works, as well as Short Journey, an autobiography. Mrs. Woodward will accompany her husband to the United States.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

June 29, 1950

Dear Professor Woodward:

This is to notify you that the Institute for Advanced Study has been designated by the Department of State as a sponsor of the Exchange-Visitor Program. The serial number assigned to the program of the Institute is No. P-156.

There is now a special type visa under the Exchange-Visitor Program. If you have already made satisfactory visa arrangements, there is no reason to use this Program. But if you have not made visa application, or if it would seem advisable to do so, you may obtain a visa under this Program; you should present this notification to the United States Consul in Your country, and to the Immigration and Naturalization Service at the port of entry into the United States.

Through this notification you are designated as a participant in the Exchange-Visitor Program. Designation does not ensure the issuance of a viaa, but it should prove helpful.

(Mrs. John D. Leary)
Aide to the Director

Professor E. L. Woodward
33 Museum Road,
Oxford, England

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

November 3, 1949

Re. E. L. Woodward

Memorandum to: Dr. Oppenheimer

From: E. M. Earle

With the unanimous concurrence of the members of the School of Historical Studies, I am requesting that, at your convenience, you send Professor E. L. Woodward, 33 Museum Road, Oxford, England, a letter of appointment as member for the period September to January 1950-1951, at a stipend of $4000.

Copy to: Mrs. Hartz
Mrs. Leary
Miss Trinterud

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

November 4, 1949

Dear Professor Woodward:

On the recommendation of the School of Historical Studies, I should like formally to offer you a membership in The Institute for Advanced Study for the period September to January in the academic year 1950-51. We can make available to you a grant-in-aid of $4,000 to take care of the expenses of your visit; this grant is not subject to income tax in the United States.

We are all very pleased that you will be with us again next year.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor E. L. Woodward
33 Museum Road,
Oxford, England

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 27, 1949

Memorandum to: Dr. Oppenheimer

From: E. M. Earle

As you will see from the attached correspondence, Woodward feels that the crisis in Britain somewhat alters the situation as he saw it in the spring. In a way, this is all to the good because he now seems prepared to come, as originally planned, for a term in the autumn of 1950 to participate in the seminar on modern France. What I should like to do, therefore, is to accept his proposal for membership for next year, leaving larger questions to be settled then.

From Woodward's letter, one might get the impression that he had been made a definitive offer of a professorship. I am sure he does not mean to give that impression, because, when I last saw him in England, he understood the situation thoroughly. My letter of October 5 to him made no such proposal. In fact, it said:

> No formal vote was taken at the Monday meeting on the invitation to you, but this was partly because we had not yet prepared any kind of definitive statement of the case. We felt we could get further at this stage by a quite informal discussion. However, there was unanimity on the point that everything possible be done to secure your appointment. This will involve formal action by the "School of Historical Studies", and subsequently by the Faculty as a whole, and by the Trustees. I anticipate no difficulties, although, of course, one can never be too sure that a path into the future will be as smooth as it seems to be.

If you agree, what I should like to do is to offer Woodward membership for the first term of 1950-51 at a stipend of, say, $3500 to $4000. Whatever sum is determined on would, of course, come out of the carry-over from unexpended stipends of last year and this.

I do
J.R.O.

First paragraph of a personal letter from E. L. Woodward to Edward M. Earle dated October 23, 1949

I am enclosing a formal letter. As you well know, I would like very much indeed to come to Princeton for four years--so would Marie--we have talked about it for hours on end. We enjoyed immensely every moment of our time with you in 1946 and again last year, and I feel sure also that I could get some good work done. On the other hand, I have this feeling that, if Great Britain is going to be in a very bad way, I just can't run out of it. You would feel this about the U.S. And, for that matter, my country has treated me very well in the days of its prosperity--I have drawn my income from endowments centuries old, which could have been maintained only among a people with a respect for law, and for knowledge, and I just can't get out of it if things are going badly. The position now is very serious--I think this present government ought to resign--a general election is really necessary if only to free the government itself from immediate electioneering considerations. The handling of the devaluation business has been inept and, I fear, dishonest. The next 12 months--or less--will be as critical as 1940, and I think--as I thought in 1940--that we will get through. The "heart" of the people is sound, and there is plenty of ability, and of courage, if only it can have scope and opportunity.

COPY

Worcester College, Oxford

October 23, 1949

My dear Earle:

You will have had my letter thanking you and the Director and your colleagues for your great kindness in making so magnificent a proposal to me. I have been thinking about it with real and deep pleasure, and I am writing at some length in order to explain my position.

I have commitments up to the summer of 1951. I shall not finish my "official" history of foreign policy during the war before that date, and I do not expect to have completed, until about the same time, the volumes of documents which I am producing on British Foreign Policy, 1919-39. After the summer of 1951 I expect to be free. I shall have done all I have wanted to do here in the way of making changes in our History School. I have in fact just come to the end of my time as Chairman of the Board of Faculty, and, to my surprise!, I have carried the main proposals I set out to bring forward.

I could therefore decide here and now to accept your invitation if the Institute came to a final decision about it, but there is one major difficulty. (There is a minor question. If I were asked to succeed Livingstone as President of my old College, I should find it hard to say "no", but I do not in the least expect to be asked--there are two eligible candidates among the Fellows, and I would not want to come in merely as a tertius gaudens. Anyhow I would know about this in six months time.) The real trouble is the situation in this country. Without being portentous about myself, or holding inflated ideas of what I could do by staying here, I just feel that, if things became bad, I should not want to leave--it would be too much like running away.

As you know, I thought in 1946 that the testing time would come earlier than it has come. Last year I began to wonder whether, after all, we should avoid the climax I had expected. We can't avoid it now, and it is impossible to say what will happen within the next twelve months. I think we shall come through alright--though I'm afraid matters will get worse before they begin to improve: I don't believe that the proposals which the Government is making tomorrow will really meet the situation, and I regard it as a grave mistake not to hold a general election now. However, be that as it may be, my personal feeling is that I cannot decide to leave this country until I know how things are going, and I doubt whether it will be possible to judge the position for another year (or perhaps 8 or 9 months).

In these circumstances you and your colleagues may well think that, in the interests of the Institute, you ought not to wait for a firm answer from me. If you do think this, I shall fully understand your reasons, and shall always be proud that I have had your invitation.

If, on the other hand, you do not regard it as impossible, from the point of view of the Institute, to wait until this time next year for a decision, I would make a suggestion. I would propose that you suspend your offer, leaving yourselves entirely free not to renew it if other arrangements are required--and that you consider having me for the autumn term of 1950, when--if your offer were renewed--I could certainly give you a definite answer. (Four months are in a different category from four years, and I could certainly come for the autumn term of 1950. I have to go--as representing this University--to the International Historical Congress in Paris at the end of August, but I could leave in the first week of September, and stay until January 1, 1951. I see no difficulty about getting leave from here.)

If this plan should commend itself to you there would be an additional advantage from my point of view in that--should your invitation be renewed--I could then make arrangements while I was in Princeton for accommodations, etc., in 1951 and onwards. As a matter of fact these arrangements would be very simple. It would not be worth while for us to take a house--the best plan would be to try to get a bedroom and sitting room at the Nassau Tavern. We should not want more accommodation, as I should be working at the Institute and in the University Library.

I should tell you what my work would be during the four years. As you know, I have promised Nevins to write a history of England since about 1832 in a series which he is editing. This is a short book--about 180,000-200,000 words--and I must have it done by the end of 1951--earlier if possible. I have already sent Nevins a specimen 40,000 words, and if I were at the Institute next autumn, I should hope to get the book finished, or practically finished. I have long had in mind a history of the years 1904, or thereabouts--to 1929 or thereabouts. I want to take this period--roughly 25 years--because I should be able to study a problem which has been of particular interest to me--how far did the First World War accelerate or retard social and political movements already in existence before 1914. When I first began to think of a study of this kind--that is to say, when I was planning it before 1939--I considered it in terms of a history of Europe. I now see that it would be unmanageable over so wide a field, and I would limit it to Great Britain (though I should have to make some incursions into France).

I had to postpone work on the subject in 1939, and I have not gone back to it while I have been doing these laborious investigations in the Foreign Office archives. The book would be a whole-time job, and I cannot treat it as a diversion. I want to go back to it, and I cannot delay doing so beyond 1951 because it will take me 4 years--possibly 5 years--and therefore I must make a start soon. (I already have a publisher who will accept a 2-volume book--indeed he is always asking me about it!)

I should not want MS or archival sources for the book, and I think that there would be material enough at Princeton. I believe that the University Library can arrange to borrow books from elsewhere. Anyhow, I had a general look round last year, and found a great deal of material there. Columbia Library is not far off, and I might find it possible to go to the Hoover Library for a time (though I'm not sure whether this is a general library, and not primarily, or wholly, a collection bearing on military history). I could come back in the summer to Europe for any material not available in the United States.

I am assuming that I should have no teaching obligations. I do not exclude occasional lectures if the Princeton University Faculty invited me to give them, and if your seminar continues, I would like to come into it, but I should not wish to feel that I ought to take part--to an appreciable extent--in the general business of teaching or lecturing. I want to get this book written.

I think this is all I need say now, but I should add that I have discussed the whole question with Marie, who agrees fully with me that we ought not to commit ourselves to a decision now--just as we should not have wished to take a four-year post abroad in 1940--and once again may I say how grateful I am, and how much I appreciate the honour of your invitation.

Yours,

E. L. Woodward

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

ZM Woodward

October 12. 1948

Dear Dr Oppenheimer.

As I am leaving here tomorrow for a day in Washington, and short visits to Boston and New Haven before going home on October 22 I shall not have the pleasure of meeting you and thanking you personally for the kindness with which you and your colleagues have allowed me to use the remainder of my 1946 grant to make a second visit here.

I cannot tell you how much I have enjoyed the privilege of another month here, and of meeting people and at the

Institute and the University, and - last but not least - getting a quiet month in which to read and write. In these grim and darkening days all Universities are taking on the look of the great monasteries in the early middle ages, and, like the monasteries, their influence upon the world is greater because they are distinct from it in discipline and purpose. When I first saw this Institute, I thought of it in terms of a new Cluny or a new Bec, and this is how I shall always think of it.

With all good wishes.

Yours sincerely

E L Woodward.

Arrival reported to Immigration and Naturalization Service, New York City, September 23, 1946.
Departure, January 18, 1947, reported to Immigration and Naturalization Service, New York City, January 22, 1947

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
Princeton, New Jersey

School of Economics & Politics

Arrival date: September 16. 1946

Full name: ERNEST LLEWELLYN WOODWARD

Departure date: January 18, 1948 1947 Uncertain: not before Dec. 15. or after Jan 24. 1947.

Princeton address: Nassau Tavern Princeton.

Telephone: Princeton 2560

Permanent address: 33 Museum Rd Oxford. England.

Date and place of birth: London. May 14 1890

Married or single: M.

Citizenship: British

Number of children accompanying you: None

If foreign, under what kind of visa did you enter the United States? Non-Immigrant Sect. 3 (1) Imm. Act 1924.

Visa No: 170
Place and date of issue: U.S. Consulate General, London. July 8 1946
Expiration date of visa: July 8 1947

Date and port of entry to United States: August 13. 1946. New York

Name of ship: Queen Mary
Name of airline:
Expiration date of entry permit: July 8 1947

Name and address of person, outside of Princeton, to be notified in case of emergency: Miss G. Woodward. St Hilda's College, Oxford. England.

Project or field of work at Institute: Modern History & Social Studies

Academic degrees: (Give name of college or university and year conferred)
M.A. Oxford. 1915.

Fellowships: (Give full name, dates and place of study)
Fellow of All Souls College Oxford, 1919-44: Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, 1944-present time

All positions held: (Please give dates and state if on leave of absence) — yes.
Fellowships as above; Professor of International Relations, Oxford University, since 1944.
Rhodes Trustee Fellow, Oxford University, 1931-1934. Attached Foreign Office, London, since 1939 for special work.+

Honors and Societies: Hon Treasurer, International Committee of Historical Sciences.
Fellow of the British Academy. Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Great Britain.
Member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Great Britain

Publications: (Please give title and reference in full, with Vol. No., year and page numbers. Use other side of sheet.)

(Please fill out in duplicate and send copy to Director's Office.)

+ Since 1944 ~~[illegible]~~ Editor of series of volumes of official documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-39.

Titles of Books

HISTORICAL

Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire. 1917.

Three Studies in European Conservatism. 1929.

War and Peace in Europe, 1815-70. 1931.

French Revolutions. (Six Lectures).

Great Britain and the German Navy.

The Age of Reform, 1815-70. (Penultimate vol. in THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ENGLAND) 1938

~~British Diplomatic Documents~~

Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-39. Vol I, 2d Series [about to appear]

GENERAL

The Twelve-Winded Sky.

Short Journey.

~~SHORT~~ SINGLE LECTURES

The Study of International Relations at a University. 1945.

Some Political Consequences of the Atomic Bomb, 1945.

March 13, 1947

Dear Woodward:

I was greatly interested in your letter of February 24th to Ed Earle. Certainly the weather this year has been an international calamity. It has been bad enough in Princeton. In fact, the last of the snow is only just now disappearing at a time when I ought properly speaking to be out on the golf course getting my hands toughened up for the season. I am glad to say that it is now getting a little warmer and it looks as if I'll be out on the course before very long.

The C. K. Allens have been staying with us a few days on their way to Bermuda and are returning for another visit in April. All that they say reinforces your remarks about the English weather and about the difficulty of getting service of any kind. You know, of course, about C. K.'s heart. I must say that he carries on with remarkable courage and Mrs. Allen is beyond all praise.

I am glad to report that Carr has accepted our invitation to come to the Institute. We have an extremely interesting group of scholars this term and it looks as if next term will be even better.

Earle himself has not been doing so well and the doctor has ordered him off to Saranac Lake for a period of complete seclusion. The reports we get from him as to blood counts, fluid in the lungs, etc. are good and I have every hope that Earle will be back on the job in good shape in September. He looks so well that I with my constitutional skepticism of doctors was inclined to advise him to defy the medical authorities and go ahead with his work. On consulting a very wise doctor of my acquaintance about this, however, I was told that I should be taking a very grave responsibility by giving Earle any such advise. Under the circumstances, I contented myself

with recommending leave on full salary in the hope that he would have no worries and would get back to us by the end of the summer. I must say that he looks extremely well.

Your visit to the Institute was a great satisfaction to all of us and we only wish you could have stayed a year instead of a term.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:kr
Professor E. L. Woodward
Balliol College
Oxford, England

February 24, 1947

My dear Earle:

We were thinking a lot about you on Saturday, for the newspaper informed us that you were having a lot of snow and cold, and we wondered whether you would be able to drive from your house to get your degree. We do hope everything went off alright and that the hood was put over your head with the proper address, and that you are even now making for the mountains.

We are still damned cold. Last night was about our coldest. 30 degrees of frost on a thermometer 7 ft. above ground a few miles out of Oxford. Two more of our pipes are frozen and one is burst, but we aren't otherwise out of action: I'm out of doors again. In fact I crept round to the dentist this morning, to be told cheerfully that I must have some front teeth out. (This doesn't surprise me. God gave me too many--some should have been pulled in childhood, but in the Victorian way this didn't happen. However, it is a nuisance to have to lose about 6 good ivories even if 2 are supernumeraries.)

not/? Our latest White Paper is cheerful reading, but it is a good thing to get the facts set out so that the working class can understand them. I wish the Government had had the courage to state the facts a year ago, but maybe it was psychologically better to wait a little, and the present send-off--those fuel restrictions--will in a queer way bring home the lesson that you can't consume, or divide more equitably, things you have not got, and you only get such things by hard work.

The response to the fuel restrictions has been pretty good on the whole: one sees that there is still a great residuary force in the nation--and not merely a dogged power of 'sticking to it.' I don't feel at all that we are down and out--in fact, the position looks much less chilling than the weather (the latter has now beaten all records since 1841!) but we shant as a nation be eating ice cream sundaes* à la Balt for a long time to come.

I've tried very hard this month--or rather next--in an article in Foreign Affairs on what the English want. As the Yale Review is--still rather against my judgment--printing my lecture, I can feel that I am still holding forth at your seminar!

Hugh Seton W[atson]. He doesn't seem to be on this term's lecture list. I'll have the proof of next term's list in about 10 days. Anyhow I doubt very much whether he or any other of his contemporaries could leave Oxford in the next 2 years--certainly not in the next year.

I dined in All Souls last night. It was too cold to sit long but I had a talk with Falls. A clever, pleasant man: I couldn't say much more about him--nimble rather than original, I should think, but I'll be able to judge him better when the temperature is more favourable.

I wrote to Carr, but haven't had an answer. I'll send him a p.c. if I don't hear in a day or so. Humphrey Sumner looks a little better than he did a month ago, but he and his sister have no servants and, like most victims of our incredibly optimistic system of plumbing, nearly all his pipes are frozen!

All good wishes from both of us. I hope Mrs. Earle will be able to go to the mountains with you.

Yours,

E. L. Woodward

* I have developed a great longing for these!!!

January 22, 1947

Officer in Charge
Immigration and Naturalization Service
U. S. Department of Justice
New York City, New York

Gentlemen:

In accordance with the regulations, I wish to report to you the departure of Professor E. L. Woodward from the Institute for Advanced Study. Professor Woodward, who is returning to his duties at the University of Oxford in England, sailed from New York City on the Queen Elizabeth on January 15, 1947. Professor Woodward entered the United States on August 13, 1946 under Visa No. 170 and came to the Institute for Advanced Study on September 16, 1946.

Yours very truly,

Jane S. Richardson
Assistant Secretary

Copy to Miss Miller
Mrs. Hartz

January 11, 1947

Dear Sir:

Professor E. L. Woodward came to the Institute for Advanced Study on September 16, 1946 as a member of our School of Economics and Politics. During the period of his membership here from September 16, 1946 to January 15, 1947, Professor Woodward received a research stipend of $3,000.

This stipend was given to Professor Woodward to facilitate his own researches and was not in compensation for services rendered. It therefore comes within the definition of non-taxable income as defined by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Professor Woodward plans to return to England, sailing from New York City on the Queen Elizabeth on January 15, 1947. His work in this country was entirely concerned with the advancement of scholarship and he seems to me to be qualified in every way to receive clearance papers and sailing permit.

Yours very truly,

Jane S. Richardson
Secretary to the Director

Copy to Miss Miller
Mrs. Hartz

Three Studies in European Conservatism. 1930.

War and Peace in Europe 1815-1870. 1931.

French Revolutions. 1934.

Great Britain and the German Navy. 1935.

The Age of Reform 1815-1870. 1938. Vol. 13 of Oxford History of England.

Short Journey. 1946.

The Teaching of International Relations in a University. 1945.

December 6, 1946

Dear Woodward:

We are having the members of the Senate of Phi Beta Kappa to tea at our house tomorrow, Saturday afternoon, at four and would like very much to have a few members of the Institute to meet them. Would it be possible for you and Mrs. Woodward to come? I very much hope so.

Yours sincerely,

Professor E. L. Woodward
The Nassau Tavern
Princeton, New Jersey

1946

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

November 26

Dear Aydelotte

Thank you very much for liking my lectures about the bomb. I haven't changed my mind about it in the last twelve months - in fact I am more convinced that the solutions which the scientists are pushing forward won't work, and I wish they had thought a little more about the political implications of their discoveries before and not after these discoveries were made.

I have just come back from a very interesting week end in Oberlin

and Cleveland. I'm very glad that I took the train journey by day via Philadelphia. Apart from the fine scenery of the country a journey of this kind is a revelation of the power of the United States. As someone once said, it is a great pity that Hitler wasn't given a tour on the Pennsylvania railroad through the Altoona-Pittsburgh-Ohio regions. He might have been a little more careful about going to war against the U.S. or any Power backed by the U.S.

Yours sincerely

E L Woodward.

November 26, 1946

Dear Woodward:

I read your pamphlet on the atomic bomb with the keenest interest and admiration. I think it is a notable performance. At my suggestion, Earle is ordering one hundred copies for distribution among interested people inside and outside the Institute.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Professor E. L. Woodward
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

September 23, 1946

Officer in Charge
Immigration and Naturalization Service
U. S. Department of Justice
New York City, New York

Dear Sir:

In accordance with the regulations I wish to report to you the arrival of Professor E. L. Woodward on September 16, 1946. Professor Woodward entered the United States on August 13, 1946 under Visa No. 170 issued by the U. S. Consulate General in London, July 8, 1946. Professor Woodward was born in London on May 14, 1890 and during his stay in Princeton may be addressed at the Nassau Tavern, Princeton, New Jersey. As a member of the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute, Professor Woodward will be engaged in post-doctorate research on modern history of social studies. Inquiries concerning Professor Woodward may be addressed to Professor Edward Mead Earle, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

Yours very truly,

Jane S. Richardson
Assistant Secretary

Copy to Mrs. Hartz

606 West 122nd St. New York
September 15. 1946

Dear Aydelotte.

Thank you very much for your letter. It is most kind of you to ask us to stay with you but I think we had better settle in at once at the Nassau Tavern. Earle booked our rooms for us months ago. and I can see how hard it was to do it. I didn't realise until I arrived here how grim the hotel situation is. Marie has told me of your activities in transporting houses to Princeton: you have done a great many things as head of a college but I don't suppose you ever thought of yourself as literally, a house-remover en gros!

We look forward very much to seeing you and Mrs Aydelotte. I will present myself at the Institute on Tuesday morning but I expect you will be very busy with the beginning of term and

I shall not expect you to put more urgent business aside to see me.

We have had a most interesting 10 days in New York. I can't get over a certain dream-like feeling about my here. Partly because it is the fulfilment of a wish I have had for so long a time, partly because it is my strange fate to be in a country which is so clearly not English and yet to hear English spoken.

I have been reading, at the R. Foundation, a number of reports on proposed changes in the curricula for social studies at the university level. The whole approach is most interesting & I already have the satisfying feeling that I am getting the very thing I hoped to get in coming here.

Yours sincerely

E. L. Woodward

September 14, 1946

Dear Woodward:

I am delighted to hear that you are in the United States and I look forward with great pleasure to your arrival in Princeton.

I understand that Earle has already engaged hotel rooms for you, but I hasten to say that if it would be convenient for you to come first to our house and spend a night or two with us, we should very much enjoy it.

Looking forward with great pleasure to your arrival, I am

Yours sincerely,

FA:kr

Frank Aydelotte

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
c/o Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr
606 West 122nd St.
New York, N. Y.

Dr Flemer. Meaford. Ont.

Sept 2 1946

Dear Sir.

Would you be kind enough to forward any letters addressed to me at the Institute to 606 West 122nd St New York 27. until Sept 14 I shall be coming to Princeton on September 16 and staying at the Nassau Inn.

With my thanks.

Yours sincerely

E L Woodward.

Have notified Mrs. Hertz

August 21, 1946

Dear Woodward:

Many thanks for your letter of August 12th. I am delighted to know that you are soon to be on this side of the ocean and hasten to say that we look forward with great pleasure to your appearance in Princeton.

I shall have your mail forwarded to Magnetawnan until I receive notice from you as to when you are coming down. I know that Dr. Flexner usually leaves about the 1st of September and I doubt whether it would be safe to forward mail after that date.

Earle asks me to say that he looks forward with great satisfaction to your participation in the Seminar this year.

Hope you are having a good holiday in Canada. So far as I am concerned, I have had no holiday at all, being completely occupied with the problem of the housing shortage in Princeton, which is as bad here as it is in Oxford, though that is saying a good deal. Incidentally, I am also concerned with the housing shortage in Oxford and am just now completing arrangements for the sale of Eastman House to the Lovedays.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FA:kr

Frank Aydelotte

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
c/o Dr. Abraham Flexner
Magnetawan, Burks Falls,
Ontario, Canada

c/o Dr A. Flexner. Inglesida.. Magnetawan. Burks Falls.
Ontario.

Cunard White Star
R.M.S. "Queen Mary"
August 12. 1940

Dear Sir.

I have ventured to give the Institute - to which I have been invited for next Term as my address for any correspondence forwarded to me from England and not sent directly to me c/o Dr Flexner with whom I shall be staying until ~~end of~~ the beginning of September. Would it be troubling you too much to ask if you would be kind enough to give instructions for any correspondence which comes for me to be forwarded - until I write giving another address - to Dr Flexner's address as at

the head of this letter. I don't think there is likely to be much to forward.

With many thanks,

Yours sincerely

E. L. Woodward.

July 19. 1946

BALLIOL COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

Dear Aydelotte.

I am ashamed that I never wrote to thank you for your very kind letter written in May and for sending me Lilienthal's report. I have been intending to thank you for these many works last but the troubles of house-decorating & house-moving in the midst of one's work, and without any servants, have made hay of all my private correspondence.

We are still in the hands of workmen - I suppose we ought to feel lucky to get them! - but I think we shall be clear just in time to get away when our sailing orders come. Probably we shall leave about July 30 - We are going first to old Flexner at his camp & then going to

Princeton only in September - Earle has most kindly fixed up a room for us at the Nassau Tavern, and I shall have time to orientate myself before the beginning of term.

You can't think how much we are looking forward to coming and I am most grateful to you and everyone else who has helped to give me this chance. It is so delightful, after three war years, to feel that one is really out on a journey to Learnedland, and that at last I shall be seeing all the richness of your historical schools.

I have just heard from the President that the University is doing me the signal honour of a doctorate - I do feel enormously proud of this (and for a day my wife has been mending up my M.A. hood so that I can bring it with me for the ceremony in October - You can't get new hoods!)

BALLIOL COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

As I've also just heard that I have been elected in this country to the British Academy, I can only compare myself to a novice who suddenly finds himself roped together with first class mountaineers.

We have our passports & visas alright – the Foreign Office fixed them up for us – with the embarrassing result that I am described – by myself – on p. 1 as a university professor, and later on – by the American authorities – as a government official – and I haven't even had to produce fingerprints or to swear that the purpose of my coming is not to subvert the constitution of the United States!

Once again my very thanks. We look forward to seeing you in September.

Yours sincerely

E. L. Woodward.

Mrs Hertz — Jagern

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

9/25 —
Mrs. Skinners?

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

November 4, 1949

Dear Professor Woodward:

On the recommendation of the School of Historical Studies, I should like formally to offer you a membership in The Institute for Advanced Study for the period September to January in the academic year 1950-51. We can make available to you a grant-in-aid of $4,000 to take care of the expenses of your visit; this grant is not subject to income tax in the United States.

We are all very pleased that you will be with us again next year.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor E. L. Woodward
33 Museum Road,
Oxford, England

Married

May 6, 1946

Dear Woodward:

I have just returned from Palestine and read last night your outstanding lecture on "The Political Consequences of the Atomic Bomb." I endorsed with enthusiasm Earle's proposal to invite you over next year, and my enthusiasm is only increased by reading your lecture.

Have you seen Lilienthal's Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy? On the chance that you have not, I am sending you a copy under separate cover. It seems to me that Lilienthal's committee has gone a long way to meet the conditions which you laid down in your lecture. I hope very much we can get him here for a conference sometime while you are in Princeton next year.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Professor E.L. Woodward
All Souls College
Oxford, England

FA:mh

April 3, 1946

Dear President Dodds:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter regarding housing for the Woodwards. I know how severe the problem is, and I am taking every step within my power to adjust the situation. Thank you very kindly for the consideration you have given our part of the problem.

Yours sincerely,

Marston Morse
for the Standing Committee

Dr. Harold W. Dodds, President
Princeton University
Princeton, N.J.
MM:GB

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON NEW JERSEY

PRESIDENT'S ROOM

March 28th, 1946

Dear Dr. Morse:

Dr. Flexner has written me about the housing problem for the Woodwards. As you know, Professor Woodward is to participate in one of our Bicentennial conferences, and naturally we would provide him with accommodations during the period of the conference. However, as he is to be with you several months a more difficult housing problem is involved, which would seem to be more your responsibility than ours. However the University wants to help if it can be of any service, although we are confronted with a problem in respect to our own faculty for which there seems to be no solution.

Dr. Flexner's letter described the desire of the Woodwards to be a bed-sitting room, kitchen and bathroom. I haven't the slightest idea where such accommodations can be found, but we shall help all we can.

Sincerely yours,

Harold W. Dodds.

Dr. Marston Morse,
The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, N. J.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

March 2, 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Stewart:

On Friday morning, March 1, Mr. Willits of the Rockefeller Foundation telephoned me to say that the Foundation would offer Professor Woodward a sum of $2500 to $3000 to cover travel expenses incidental to his visit to the United States during the academic year 1946-1947. Professor Woodward will be offered the option of receiving these funds himself or having them deposited with the Institute for Advanced Study to be drawn upon as needed. They will be available, if necessary, for trans-Atlantic travel, although it is till hoped that the University may be able to contribute all or part of Professor Woodward's expenses to and from the United States.

Edward M. Earle

Copies for Mr. Stewart

February 20, 1946

~~WWB~~ ~~PAW~~ WWS ✓

Balliol College

Oxford

My dear Earle:

This is a very hasty note, but I must thank you at once for your great kindness in getting me the two magnificent invitations I have just had--to the Institute and the Bicentennial Celebration. Of course I am delighted to accept these invitations, and am most grateful to you for them.

I was so very anxious to come to the United States where I can learn so much about research and teaching in my subject that I had--last month--written to the Rockefeller Foundation, at the suggestion of Henry Clay here, to ask whether they could make me a grant which would allow me to combine a term at an American university (I had in mind planting myself at Princeton) with travel to see a few other universities. I do not know whether they will consider this possibility--it is rather out of their beat--but I have now written to tell them that my application would be limited to travel before and after--I shouldn't want to interrupt my stay at Princeton by going away on a tour. (I have told Professor Meritt about this.)

I shall bring my wife with me--our wants would be very simple: a bed sitting room, kitchen and bathroom--we could look after oursleves as we have learned to do here in the last six years.

I will write you more fully about plans but I must send this off at once to thank you.

Yours sincerely,

E. L. Woodward

February 26, 1946

Professor E. L. Woodward
Balliol College
Oxford, England

My dear Woodward:

We are all delighted that you have accepted the Princeton invitations for the autumn.

I very much hope that it may be possible for the Rockefeller Foundation to provide you with an opportunity to visit a number of American universities for the purpose of discussing research and teaching in international relations. It would be possible, I am sure, for us to arrange a sort of lecture tour which would cover all of your expenses, but such an enterprise, as you know only too well, would be physically and intellectually exhausting and would not enable you to accomplish your primary mission of becoming acquainted with American scholars and their work. Needless to say, we shall be glad to support your application to the Rockefeller Foundation for a travel allowance. I am writing Mr. Willits today soliciting his help. In any case, you can count on me to do everything possible to bring about the full realization of your plans.

Would you please let me know the approximate dates of your stay in the United States. I am presuming, off hand, that you will wish to come during the summer and may desire to stay on until the following spring. It would be helpful, I think, if I could have this information. I should like even now to discuss with some of my colleagues at other American universities the possibility of your visiting them.

We shall also do what we can concerning living accommodations as soon as I know when you plan to arrive and when you plan to leave.

This is going to be an exciting year in American academic institutions and I am confident that you will profit from it, as we shall certainly profit from our association with you. I need not tell you how delighted I personally am that this plan which is so close to my heart is about to be realized.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Mead Earle

February 26, 1946

Dr. Joseph H. Willits
Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, New York

Dear Joe:

To my regret, it is a long time since I have seen you and it is an even longer time since you have received from me any sort of official communication.

There is enclosed a copy of a letter which came in this morning's mail from E. L. Woodward, Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford. It is in reply to two invitations which recently went to him from the Princeton community: one from Princeton University inviting him to participate in a conference connected with the Bicentennial Celebration, and the other an invitation from us to become a member of the Institute for Advanced Study for the first term of the academic year. As you know, Woodward is one of the outstanding British scholars in the field of history and international affairs, and his presence in the United States at this time would contribute enormously to an understanding of some of the critical issues which confront the United States and Britain in world politics.

You will note that Woodward has already written the Rockefeller Foundation requesting a grant which would allow him to "combine a term at an American university with travel to see a few other universities." It would undoubtedly be possible for me to turn myself into a lecture bureau and to arrange a schedule of talks for him at most of the leading American colleges and universities. Such a lecture tour, however, would be a serious drain upon his energies and would not enable him to realize his primary objective—namely, to become acquainted with the leading Americans in his field, and to exchange views with them concerning the future of research and teaching in international relations. If, therefore, the Rockefeller Foundation could see its way clear to make a grant to Woodward of, say, $2500 to $3000—for which the Institute for Advanced Study would be very glad, if you so desire, to act as disbursing and administering agent—it would, I am confident, be a notable contribution to Woodward, to the social sciences, and to Anglo-American cultural relations.

If there are any questions concerning Woodward which you should like to ask, I am entirely at your service. With every good wish,

As ever,

Edward Mead Earle

For Mr. Stewart

#2. Dr. J. H. Willits. 2/26/46

P.S. The figure of $2500 to $3000 may seem high. It is, however, based on the fact that Woodward will bring Mrs. Woodward with him and also that it may be necessary to defray all or part of his expenses to and from the United States. Should trans-Atlantic travel allowance be necessary, the Institute for Advanced Study would, I think, be prepared to defray a portion of such expenses.

Balliol
~~ALL SOULS~~ COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

Feby 20 1946

Dear Professor Morse.

Thank you very much for your letter and for your most generous invitation on behalf of the Institute for Advanced Study. I should be delighted to spend a term at the Institute — I have long wanted an opportunity of this kind, and am most grateful to you for giving it to me. In fact, I had already — last month — made, at the suggestion of various people, an application to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable me to combine a term at an American university with travel to other universities in order to learn from them their methods of teaching and research in my subject of international relations.

I don't know yet whether the Rockefeller Foundation will have found it possible to consider a grant of this kind, but I am now writing to tell them of your very kind offer and to say that my application to them would be limited to a smaller undertaking — i.e. a visit to a few universities before or after my stay at the Institute. I should not want to interrupt my term at the Institute by travel elsewhere.

I have also heard from Professor Sprout inviting me to take part in the Bicentennial celebration of Princeton University. I feel most honoured at these two invitations from the University and the Institute, and

once again I should like to thank everyone concerned for their kindness.

Yours sincerely

E. L. Woodward.

c o p y

BALLIOL COLLEGE
Oxford

February 20, 1946

Dear Professor Morse:

Thank you very much for your letter and for your most generous invitation on behalf of the Institute for Advanced Study. I should be delighted to spend a term at the Institute--I have long wanted an opportunity of this kind, and am most grateful to you for giving it to me. In fact, I had already--last month--, made, at the suggestion of various people, an application to the Rockefeller Foundation to enable me to combine a term at an American university with travel to other universities in order to learn from them their methods of teaching and research in my subject of international relations.

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I have also heard from Professor Sprout inviting me to take part in the Bicentennial celebration of Princeton University. I feel most honored at these two invitations from the University and the Institute, and once again I should like to thank everyone concerned for their kindness.

Yours sincerely,

E. L. Woodward

Copy to Miss Miller
Prof. Earle
Miss Wise

February 14, 1946

Professor E. L. Woodward
Balliol College
Oxford, England

My dear Professor Woodward:

It is with the greatest pleasure that on behalf of the Faculty I am extending to you an invitation to become a Member of the Institute for Advanced Study for the first term of the academic year 1946-1947. We are hoping that you may be able to accept this invitation in view of the fact that you now have under consideration attendance at the Bicentennial of Princeton University.

The Institute will be able to put at your disposal a stipend of $2,000, plus $1,000 for the differential in living costs which will be involved in your absence from Oxford. It is hoped, as you know, that Princeton University will provide your travel expenses to and from the United States.

Professor Earle is writing you at greater length concerning the School of Economics and Politics, with which you would be associated, and giving you such other details as you may need to enable you to make a decision. Meanwhile, you might talk with Professor Benjamin D. Meritt of the Institute for Advanced Study, who is, as you know, now in residence at Oxford as Eastman Professor. Professor Meritt will give you any general information you desire concerning the work at the Institute and will, we are confident join with us in the hope that you may be in residence here during the coming autumn.

Sincerely yours,

MARSTON MORSE
Chairman of the Standing Committee

February 14, 1946

Professor E. L. Woodward
Balliol College
Oxford, England

My dear Woodward:

This letter is supplementary to Professor Morse's official invitation, which goes forward in the same envelope. It is also supplementary to the letter of Professor Harold Sprout, dated February 11th, extending to you an official invitation to participate in the Bicentennial of Princeton University.

In view of the many interests which we have in common and of my ardent hope that the coming years will bring even closer cooperation than we have heretofore enjoyed, I very much hope that you may see your way free to detach yourself from Oxford, the Foreign Office, and your other numerous interests, for the purpose of spending a term with us at the Institute. There is enclosed a copy of the current Bulletin of the Institute, which will provide most of the general information you will require, and, as Professor Morse says, Ben Meritt will be able to be of further assistance should you need it. The autumn term begins September 16 and closes December 14. If, of course, you can arrange to stay on until the end of January, we shall be delighted to have you.

As Meritt will explain, membership in the Institute involves no obligations in the way of lectures or other routine academic responsibilities. You would be free to do about as you chose, although, of course, I hope you and I may be able, should you come, to spend a good deal of time together in consideration of some of the critical problems in international affairs which now confront us all. You would also, of course, have access to all of the resources of Princeton University. There will be a number of persons on the Faculty in the Departments of History and Politics who would welcome you here with great enthusiasm and with whom, I am confident, you would develope the most intimate personal, as well as intellectual, associations.

The housing situation in Princeton, as almost everywhere else, is very bad, and will be complicated this coming autumn by an increasing number of returning veterans and by the ceremonies in connection with the Bicentennial at the University. We should, I think, have relatively little difficulty in finding living accommodations for you, but we might be hard put to it, should you decide to bring Mrs. Woodward. However, on this point we should not be willing to confess total failure until we had at least tried.

I need not tell you how much your presence here would mean to me and my colleagues, as well as to a number of my friends at the University. I am, therefore, urging with all my heart that you accept this invitation, if it is humanly possible for you to do so. Your presence here would be one step forward in establishing the intimate associations which ought to exist between the Princeton community and Oxford.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Edward Mead Earle

Woodward
RBe
WWR ✓

February 11, 1946

Memorandum

To: The Standing Committee

From: W. W. Riefler

Subject: Professor E. L. Woodward

The School of Economics and Politics has voted to invite Professor E. L. Woodward, Montague Professor of International Relations at Oxford University, to come to the Institute as a member for the Autumn term of 1946 with a stipend of $2,000 and a supplementary grant of $1,000 for differential in living costs. Professor Woodward will not need travel expenses since he is being invited simultaneously by Princeton University to participate in a conference on International Relations to be held in connection with Princeton's Bicentennial exercises.

Professor Woodward was for a long time a Fellow of All Souls College and in his present professorship is in residence at Balliol.

RBWL
WWR
WWS

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

February 8, 1946

Memorandum to Mr. Riefler:

This is by way of confirmation of our conversation of this morning concerning Professor Woodward.

You have generously agreed during my absence in Washington on Monday to present to Messrs. Stewart and Warren and, with their approval, to the Standing Committee the question of bringing to the Institute as a member for the autumn term of 1946 Professor E. L. Woodward, Montague Professor of International Relations at Oxford University. Professor Woodward is being invited by Princeton University to participate in a conference on international relations to be held in connection with the bi-centennial exercises. His particular lecture is scheduled in mid-October.

There are a number of reasons why it would be highly desirable to take advantage of Professor Woodward's presence in America to associate him for a term with the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute. He is a distinguished historian, well known to Professor Meritt and me of the Institute and to professors of the History and Politics Departments of the University. He has recently become very much interested in military affairs, so that he would become a member of my seminar should be accept an Institute invitation. He would also, it is hoped, work intimately during his presence here with Professors Sprout and Viner of Princeton University.

The University intends to pay Professor Woodward's travel expenses to and from the British Isles. The Institute would need, I think, to offer him a stipend of $2,000 for the first term and perhaps a supplementary grant of $1,000 for his differential in living costs.

As I told you this morning, we want Professor Woodward for himself and also for the additional tie which it would provide with Oxford. He was for a long time a Fellow of All Souls College, with which we already have cordial relationships, and in his present Professorship is in residence at Balliol. He would, I am confident, be a great addition to the intellectual life of this community if we can persuade him to accept membership in the Institute at this time.

Ed.

Edward M. Earle

February 11, 1946

Memorandum

To: The Standing Committee

From: W. W. Riefler

Subject: Professor E. L. Woodward

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Professor Woodward was for a long time a Fellow of All Souls College and in his present professorship is in residence at Balliol.

Copy to Miss Miller
Prof. Earle.

Congratulations on the new endowment - though it seems hard
surprised that [illegible] you

May 10. 1934

- and forgive this
- no time for
reading as it is

All Souls College,
Oxford.

11.45 pm & the post goes just after
midnight!

My dear Flexner.

I was delighted to get your letter.

It is most kind of you to say that you will have us if we come over, and we will wait your cable. If you are coming here or anywhere in Europe, I will join you (or rather, if you are coming here, I will hope you will join us - and stay here. If you are going for a cure, I will go to the same place) If you are not coming to Europe, we will come to you.

I have had the chance of a lunch and an afternoon's talk with Frankfurter. I think on more than general lines we are in agreement. I will talk to him again about the 'statistical approach' in general and Marshak in particular. We have asked him to lunch next week - unfortunately he can't come, but I will get my chance of talking to him. I think he is very good indeed. extraordinarily well-balanced and at the same time very full of life and of ideas. Nothing

counterfeit could ever get past him.

On the 'statistical approach'; I have heard a great deal about it here, where there are wide plans. I have also heard Dr Day, of the Rockefeller Foundation, talk about it; I thought Day rather hoped too much from it, and did not see that the investigation of the problems of society is an art as much as a science, and that statistical enquiry cannot take you beyond a certain point. A great deal depends on 'the way the question is put' and I felt that I wanted to quote to Day the old lines about the Bible - hic liber est in quo quaerit sua dogmata quisque
liber est in quo sua dogmata quisque
et reperit pariter dogmata quisque sua'
quisque sua

The philo[illegible]s criticisms of the historians 'facts' [illegible] particularly vital here, and one has to remember that while in the physical sciences the most important things tend to be 'resemblances', in the study of man in society, the most important things tend to be 'differences'.

One has also to remember the quick change in intellectual fashions - particularly among the new sciences - and the astonishing way in which each change is reported as the discovery of the philosopher's stone. I can't help thinking about it all in terms of another Latin tag - Symmachus' phrase about the need for toleration in religious questions - non unus tantum itinere potest ad tam grande secretum ?! solum itinere potest ad tam grande

All Souls College,
Oxford.

secretum' or even Kipling's 'There are nine and sixty ways of composing tribal lays And every single one of them is right'.

At the same time I think you might do very well to begin on this statistical line and to set up a model. If you set up a model, everything depends on getting a good director - someone who has common sense as well as brilliance, and won't use his machinery 'tendenciously' - this is the great fault in this country (another fault - 'triviality'

is more easily converted) among the 'statistical' sociologists.

I am inclined to think that M. would be a very good man to choose. If we should appoint a Reader here in statistics, he is the most likely candidate (I may mention, for your eyes alone, that there is a chance of this, but on our present plans the Readership will only be £600 a year). He is extremely well spoken of by the economists here, and I believe he has had some chance of a post in Sweden. We are deciding, at All Souls next week (there is no doubt at the formal decision of our Research Committee

- So if he were wise he would come to you. You could also give him more scope.

has made (recommendation) to ~~keep~~ subsidise him for another year,

during which the Readership may possibly mature (as usual,

it is a question of funds). His history is curious - he

was imprisoned, as a youth, by the Tsarist govt; he fought

in Kerensky's army against the Bolsheviks, and

then took refuge in Germany - whence he has now been

expelled. I should say that he had very good,

sound judgment, and - as his history shows - is unlikely

to go to 'extremes' in any theory. On the technical

side he is said to be very brilliant.

But would it not be better for you to come over and

See him. You would want to know how he would fit in.

I feel as you must feel, a certain risk in taking so many "non-American citizens". The risk becomes greater as you leave mathematics proper – you want the Institute to take roots in the soil, and not to be, or ~~[illegible]~~ to get the reputation of being too much a European affair. At the same time a man of M's capacities would make an ideal "bridge" between the mathematical and the humanist side.

But, to my mind, there is still an enormous gulf between the refinements of calculating machines, and the observation of men in society – and the divination of political causes.

I must take this to the G.P.O. here to catch tomorrow's mail. E.L.W.

Woodward

ALL SOULS COLLEGE
OXFORD

May 18, 1934

My dear Flexner:

I was delighted to get your letter. It is most kind of you to say that you will have us if we come over, and we will wait your cable. If you are coming here or anywhere in Europe, I will join you (or rather, if you are coming here, I will hope you will join us and stay here. If you are going for a cure, I will go to the same place). If you are not coming to Europe, we will come to you.

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The philosopher's criticisms of the historian's "facts" are particularly vital here, and one has to remember that while in the physical sciences the most important things tend to be "resemblances"; in the study of man in society the most important things tend to be "differences".

One has also to remember the quick change in intellectual fashions - particularly among the new sciences - and the astonishing way in which each change is regarded as the discovery of the philosopher's stone. I can't help thinking about it all in terms of another Latin tag, phrase about the need for toleration in religious questions: non uno tantum (solum) itinere potest (Not by any one road is one able to carry out his journey to so wonderful an end) ~~ad tam grande~~ or even Kipling's "There are nine and sixty ways of composing tribal lays, and every single one of them is right."

At the same time I think you might do very well to begin on this statistical line and to set up a model. If you set up a model, everything depends on getting a good director - someone who has common sense as well as brilliance, and won't use his machinery "tendentiously". This is the great fault in this country (another fault - "triviality"- is most easily corrected) among the statistical sociologists.

I am inclined to think that M. would be a very good man to choose. If we should appoint a Reader here in statistics, he is the most likely candidate (I may mention, for your ear alone, that there is a chance of this, but on our present plans the Readership would pay £600 a yr; so if he were wise he would come to you. You could also give him more scope.) He is extremely well spoken of by the economists here, and I believe he has had some chance of a post in Sweden. We are deciding next week (there is no doubt about the formal decision - our Research Committee has made a recommendation) to subsidise him for another year, during which the Readership may possibly mature (as usual, it is a question of funds). M's history is curious - he was imprisoned, as a youth, by the Tsarist govt; he fought in Kerensky's army against the Bolsheviks, and then took refuge in Germany, whence he has now been expelled. I should say that he had very good, sound judgment, and, as his history shows, is unlikely to go to extremes in any theory. on the technical side he is said to be very brilliant.

But would it not be better for you to come over and see him? You would want to know how he would fit in. I feel, as you must feel, a certain risk in taking so many non-American citizens. The risk becomes greater as you ___ mathematics proper - you want the Institute to take roots in the soil, and not to be, or to get the reputation of being, too much a European affair. At the same time a man of M's capacities would make an ideal bridge between the mathematical and the humanist sides. But, to my mind, there is still an enormous gulf between the refinements of calculating machines and the observation of men in society - and the divination of political causes.

I must take this to the G.P.O. here to catch tomorrow's mail.

E. L. W.

P. S. Congratulations on the new endowment, though it means more responsibility for you.

~~Telephone 1148~~

~~Paul~~

~~Rich Smith~~

May 7, 1934

Dear Woodward:

I have put off writing to you because of the vagueness of my plans, but it seems unfair not to let you know that I have received your letters and that we are keenly desirous to see you both, if possible, and you alone if it is not possible for your wife to come to America. It will be, however, another week before I am quite sure as to my own plans.

You will see from the enclosed clipping that we have been helped another step towards the organization of the School of Economics and Politics, so that I am as keen as can be to talk with you. I send you a copy of a letter which I had recently from Professor Schumpeter, formerly of Bonn, and now at Harvard. I wonder if you know Marschak and what you think of him and of the quantitative approach to economics. In view of the experimentation going on in that field in the United States, I cannot help asking whether the human-political approach will not yield the truth more nearly than the mathematical approach, or is there room for both? This is something that I should like to have you and Frankfurter discuss.

We are very, very sorry to hear that your wife's mother has had a relapse. I can quite understand that, under the circumstances, you and your wife would both prefer not to make your long journey for another year.

In order not to delay you in the formation of your vacation plans I shall cable you as soon as I come to any conclusion about ours. There are a good many factors involved - health, the future of the Institute, etc.

Shall we take Oswald Mosley at all seriously?

Remember us very warmly to your wife, and believe me

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
All Souls College
Oxford, England

AF/MCE

April 1934.

All Souls College,
Oxford.

My dear Flexner.

We have just come back from Ireland where we decided that we ought to ask the Rhodes Trustees to postpone our journey for another year. Lothian thinks they will agree to do this. My wife's mother had a relapse a little time ago, but has recovered a little; we can't say what will happen, but I felt that, if we could wait, we ought to wait.

Now I am most anxious to see you, and to talk at length about the Institute. I would do whatever suited you best. If you should be coming over to Europe

for a [illegible], we would be delighted if you could stay with us for a time. If my wife should be in Ireland, it is the easiest thing possible for me to put you up in College for as long a time as you can stay.

If you should be going to a continental spa, I would come over to it and establish myself, if I might be allowed, near to you. If you are staying in America, I would come over in the summer - if it were really convenient for you and Mrs Flexner - at whatever time suited you. A time in July - towards

the end-ma[illegible] to the time I should suggest. but the date I mentioned (leaving Oxford on June 23) as the time we should have started on our eastern tour would suit me equally well. My wife would come with me if it were possible, but we should have to decide then nearer the time.

I won't make any arrangements until I hear from you.

Frankfurter has been away all this vacation, but I shall now try to get hold of him & himself - a difficult matter as he is much sought after.

A lovely spring day today - we went out to tea [illegible] the country some 15 miles off. It is queer that as one gets older, one is even more affected by the coming of spring. When I was young, I thought that older people became habituated to things of this kind. I am glad to discover that the very opposite is the case! My wife sends her love to you all.

Yours ever

E L Woodward

Of course when I say "you", as touching coming to Oxford, I mean "you" collectively! - My wife isn't likely to go to Ireland again before June 10.

All Souls College
Oxford

April 21, 1934

My dear Flexner:

We have just come back from Ireland, where we decided that we ought to ask the Rhodes Trustees to postpone our journey for another year. Lothian thinks they will agree to do this. My wife's mother had a relapse a little time ago, but has recovered a little; one can't say what will happen, but I felt that if we could wait we ought to wait.

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habituated to things of this kind. I am glad to discover that the very opposite is the case!

My wife sends her love to you all.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) E. L. Woodward

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March 20

All Souls College,
Oxford.

My dear Flexner.

I was very glad to have your letter - ~~[illegible]~~ it came just as I was trying to get influenza + my annual attack of fever. I had heard a little talk about your mountain from Frankfurter, and was just going to write to you.

I am sorry you have had so bad a time - I expect the inaction worried you as much as the pain almost. I hope you are really better now, and not doing too much. Would not a holiday in Europe be a good thing for you?

I have been thinking and thinking about the plan you are

working out. (Incidentally, I'm alright now. Took some time about it because I had to go back to work too soon) I met Mitrany the other day and want to have a long talk with him next term and also with Frankfurter. Saw F. quite often but never for any long talk – he is very much sought after here, and is doing some excellent work.

I don't know what to think of the economists. I agree with you that they are all pretty near to bankruptcy in the sense that they have committed themselves too deeply and have made too many bad mistakes. One can't help thinking of the astrologers of ancient and

medieval kings - and indeed one begins to understand why astrologers could survive their bad mistakes when ~~one~~ one sees how our economists go on blithely prophesying after all their forecasts have gone ~~wrong~~ awry. It is also instructive to remember that the knowledge of the stars only began to make real progress when the students of the stars left off trying to be arbiters of kingdoms and advisers of kings and took to humbler tasks like measuring and reckoning - and getting better lenses!

Still ~~something must~~ the analogy doesn't really hold, and something ought to be done with all this technique

I don't know what to say until I know more definitely what you are setting out to do on the political side: I will hear this from Mitrany. But in general I am quite sure that the line you have taken on the scientific side is the right line of approach: i.e. not to have too cut and dried a scheme, and above all to begin with small things - with positive lines of inquiry - I mean inquiries where one can get a definite answer, and where the field is not too wide. If you insist - and insist rigorously - on this positiveness, you will exclude the windbags and gasbags

All Souls College,
Oxford.

and doctrinaires and phrase mongers. I say this because our economics school here is suffering from the disease of trying to do too much - our young men all want to be specialists in economics questions of general interest - currency problems, gold standard etc - on which they can write letters to the Times and debate over the wireless; meanwhile the smaller questions go uninvestigated. The same thing is true of ~~[illegible]~~ political science - I notice it in our own College - with Curtis and the Warden himself always trying, as it were, to swim the Atlantic. I think it would be a good thing

for all University professors of the so-called social sciences to begin the day by reading the advice addressed by Elisha to Naaman.

I shall hope to have a good chance of ~~seeing~~ talking over the whole question - and more also - when we meet. We go to Poland next week; when we are there we shall decide whether to carry out our voyage of last yr. In any case I shall come, if I may, to see you in America or at your camp. If we go the whole voyage we shld leave here in the last week of June - alt June 23; I ~~If we come to~~ should have no other engagements in

Canada and U.S.A. and - if you were free, I would come direct to you either at Princeton or your lake.

I listened two days ago for nearly two hrs to a member of the Crane Institute - who is here looking out for likely people. I'm bound to say that I didn't think very much of the scheme which these Crane trustees have adopted. It seemed to me - when you took it to pieces - to be little more than the vague desire of some rich and benevolent and exceedingly well-meaning people to get better information than the newspapers will give them. The plan of dotting the world

with some 20 people who are to collect information — without real research into 'causes' — on any conceivable subject of general political and social interest is not likely to produce very good results. These 20 people will be up against all kinds of difficulties — the central authority will be up against practical difficulties in relation to their 20 representatives — none of these things were thought out, or even thought of. I didn't like to say too much, but I felt I did like to present the Crane family with a copy of your book.

I'm interested that you liked Nicolson's book on Ld Carnock. It is a very well-written book — but I think myself it is

All Souls College,
Oxford.

—in some sections—
A very unscholarly, and written without any real grasp of the subject matter — sometimes it is almost unscrupulously superficial — and all the more annoyingly superficial because H. Nicolson — if he had spent five or six years over the book might have done something very much better.

I'm a little biassed perhaps because I am almost in despair about the diplomatic history of the period between 1890 and 1914. I had hoped in my book that I could take much of this for granted: that the facts were really established. but I have found that this is very far from

bring the case, and I have to examine all of the evidence because practically none of the books are really reliable. This is taking an immense time – I don't see when I can get to the end of it all. The more one begins into the documents + memoirs, the more distrustful does one become of all the secondary authorities.

We went over to Paris last week end to a small conference of English and French historians; very interesting and I think very valuable – we divided into 2 sections, mediaeval and modern; there were not more than 12-16 of us in each section. I came back for a very sad thing. Ryder died, suddenly, of heart failure. As things were, I could not have wished

him to have died because the docs found he had cancer, and as they could not operate. He is spared months of great pain. But I am sad to lose him - he was a good, honest man. Such loyalty one does not often find.

One does not know what to think of Europe now - on the whole I believe the situation is less - a little less - dangerous than it appears; but one can't really tell for another year, perhaps, until one sees what is happening inside Germany. It is pure that the boundaries of liberty in Europe now are pretty well what they were a hundred years ago - with ~~the same~~ a similar internal position

in England and France: France, dissatisfied, irritated with her government, yet determined to keep her liberty: England, with a new class coming into power, a new set of problems, and perhaps – as in 1834 – on the verge of a great change in what we might call the social tone.

With our good wishes to you all,

Yours very truly

E L Woodward.

I won't ask you about that grant again – but I thank you once more, and I hope I shall have the chance of earning it properly. I haven't done so as yet.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE

OXFORD

March 29, 1934

My dear Flexner:

I was very glad to have your letter. It came just as I was trying to get influenza and my annual attack of fever. I had heard a little earlier about your neuritis from Frankfurter, and was just going to write you. I am sorry you have had so bad a time. I expect the inaction worried you as much as the pain almost. I hope you are really better now, and not doing too much. Would not a holiday in Europe be a good thing for you?

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With our good wishes to you all,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) E. L. Woodward

I won't ask you about that grant again, but I thank you once more, and I hope I shall have the chance of earning it properly. I haven't done so as yet.

E.L.W.

February 6, 1934.

My dear Woodward:

I received your letter of December 16th many weeks ago, but at that time I was passing through an attack of neuritis which affected my left shoulder and put me completely out of business. A more painful experience I have never had to go through. It reached its zenith about the middle of January and is now gradually declining, but I am still quite lame and I find a very close connection between my shoulder and my cerebral functions. My arm indeed has been so stiff and sore that it has been almost impossible for me to hold a book. I have, however, got beyond that stage, so that I can once more relieve the tedium by reading. Only last night I finished Harold Nicolson's life of his father, which struck me as a very fair English sort of book, the kind of book that it would be very difficult for anyone but an Englishman to write. I enjoyed also the book of Tyler Dennett of the Princeton faculty on John Hay, another fair and judicious study of a useful man by an author who is not trying to exaggerate his subject into a hero.

I wish you would cease to bother about that remittance, for you have no idea how easy in mind it makes me feel when it comes to asking your counsel.

We have about concluded, if we can find the man, to establish

next a School of Economics and Politics in the sense of political theory. The time seems opportune to make a thorough critical examination of the theoretical basis upon which our present inharmonious economic and political efforts are based. I hope Mitrany is equal to the task of doing the work on the political side. On the economic side I am yet at a loss, for the economists, in this country at least, seem to be so deeply committed by what they have said and written that disinterested objective thinking on their part is precluded. Now I should like to get you to jot down your thoughts on this subject. You might find it interesting to discuss the subject with Frankfurter or Mitrany or Adams, your new Warden. Take your time about it, for there is no hurry, but I have such confidence in your balanced judgment that there is no one to whose conclusion I would attach greater significance.

I was interested in what you have to say of the internal changes at All Souls. I know that Adams is very happy. I am sorry that Ryder will soon be retired.

We have done far better with the Institute than I had expected at the outset. We have five professors - two Germans, Einstein and Weyl; one Hungarian, von Neumann; and two Americans, Veblen and Alexander. There are twenty-two students, not recent Ph. D.'s but almost without exception persons who hold important academic positions and who have been sent to us on leave of absence. They are working much much as they would work at Oxford, picking out a subject in which they are interested, finding some person competent to guide them, and then making their own individual arrangements. There are absolutely no formalities. Every afternoon tea is served in the

Mathematics building, and both the Princeton and the Institute professors and

students attend as they please. Once a week the mathematics club meets and someone presents a paper which is the subject of informal discussion. The thing is going in a very un-American fashion, thanks largely to my residence at All Souls in 1928.

I am sorry that your wife's mother continues ill. Latterly I have been deeply grieved by the death of Sir William Hardy, who was one of my closest, wisest, and dearest friends - a man of extraordinarily wide interests and immense intellectual energy, as well as a lovable and kind human being.

Our household is on even keel. With the exception of an illness that kept her indoors for three weeks, Jean has been very well. Eleanor has had an exciting winter at the theatre, and Anne is greatly enjoying the new environment in which she finds herself here. It is not Oxford, but it is quite comparable thereto - far more so, I think, than any other American university. She would, I think, like to go abroad in the Spring, but conditions on the continent - even in Austria - are so unsettled that we allow the whole matter to drift. She and Eleanor join me in all good wishes to you and Mrs. Woodward.

Always sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
1, Savile Road
Oxford, England

AF/MCE

December 16. 1933

All Souls College, Woodward
Oxford.

16/10/33

My dear Flexner.

For days and days I have been intending to write to you - you know how it is with letters. You write your 'business' letters, and say to yourself that you will give yourself a pleasant, free, evening writing to your friends and the pleasant free evening never comes.

Before I go any further: - how am I to send you back those pounds of <u>yours</u>. They really <u>are</u> yours. I've done nothing to earn them. If, after I have seen you next

year. I make out a long and detailed report. I will certainly let you give me the 'consultant's fee': but I do honestly feel now that I ought not to be paid anything. particularly now. because I feel quite sure that you could find scholars who in desperate need of the money. in the U.S.A - in New York city.

I wd have felt more worried about it if the £s hadn't been steadily increasing in $ value. I've put them on deposit in our P.O. Savings bank where they earn 2½% & whence they can be withdrawn at 3

days notice.

I hope you are alright again, and able to work without overtiring yourself. I expect the whole situation worries you very much indeed. Looking at things from an English angle, the position is very much better than it was. Our internal economic position improves daily - a real improvement, and if only the political position in Germany would improve I think Europe would be nearer to a stable position than at any time since 1914. But I don't myself put much faith in any political

remedy until the economic position in Europe improves. When this happens. I still hope for signs of sense - if nothing else - in Germany. If Europe becomes prosperous again the most unworkable sections of the Versailles settlement can be dealt with. The worst part of the settlement - the separations mudde - has gone already. For the main the territorial clauses aren't so bad - they represent a better political division of Europe than the Europe of 1914. If there had been a real

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attempt to use the political changes for something more than working off long years of anger and resentment we might have avoided a good deal of trouble: but after all, if you take a long view, the anger and resentment were only to be expected. Most people have learned a little lesson, and there is a good chance of co-operation if only the Germans will learn sense.

Our local affairs go on as ever. Adams is making an excellent Warden. The Manciple is retiring

this term and I fear Ryder - who has been ill since July - will have to return. I've just given him another 3 months sick leave - luckily a College can't a 'business', and can do this kind of thing for a longer time than a commercial affair could do it.

We have been for a week in the Cotswolds - walking by day and working at night. Very cold indeed - I've never known it so cold in December - but very bracing.

When you have a spare moment I would like to hear what you think of the odd notes I sent to you - I have pondered over the question again & again, & I think the lines I suggested are certainly the safest for a beginning.

We expect to go to China & Japan this year - we have been in considerable difficulty about it, but we have decided that we mustn't alter our arrangements this year once we have them fixed. My wife's mother is home - she was able to be moved at the end of August. She is now in an invalid state - there may be no change for months and months, or the end may come suddenly.

We shall I expect wait until Easter before we come finally to any decision. If we decide to go, we shall in any case travel outwards via Canada or New York, leaving here at the end of June - or rather at the end of the 3rd week of June.

I hope Eleanor is flourishing, and the plays booming, and that Mrs Flexner is well. You know when you ought to come when you - all or any - make your next journey to this country.

With our good wishes -

Yours

E. L. Woodward

September 12, 1933

My dear Woodward:

I am answering you tardily because very shortly after receiving your letter I had a backset, so that I had to pass the remainder of the summer very idly. I came to New York a few days ago reluctantly, because I had some business connected with the Institute which I had to attend to. Mrs. Flexner is staying on in Canada until the end of this week. Eleanor and I are together here, I leading a monklike life and Eleanor as happy and busy as a bee. She and her friends spent the entire summer in Dublin, New Hampshire, rehearsing some European plays which they are going to give in New York this winter. The work was hard and trying, but she stood it extremely well.

I am sorry that you and your wife have had so much anxiety about your wife's mother, and I do hope that by this time things have improved, so that you were able to get a vacation.

I have not yet read your manuscript with the care which it deserves, but I shall let you hear from me on that subject later. Meanwhile, I wonder what light the breakdown of the Economic Conference throws upon the problem with which I am confronted, namely, the organization of the School of Economics and Politics. You must not return the check, because I want to feel free to put questions of this sort to you and to get from you such an answer as you are one of the few who can give.

It is interesting to note in the morning paper that Americans are sendinghuge sums to England for deposit. Since the breakdown of the Economic

Conference there is an uneasy feeling here that we are in for a period of inflation, after which God knows what will happen.

Meanwhile, the German tragedy passes all belief. Undoubtedly, one of the factors holding me back this summer was the unbroken succession of letters from German friends who have been thrown out of their positions. Yesterday I heard that forty-three German professors had received appointments in the new Turkish University at Stamboul. You English have done extraordinarily well, better than we, I think. I have secured posts for several, but our universities are all hard up in consequence mainly of extravagant building and overhead charges during the boom years.

Get hold of Mitrany sometime at your convenience during the autumn. Talk over my problem, and let me have another dose of your wisdom.

With warmest greetings to you and your wife,

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
All Souls College
Oxford, England

AF:ESB

July 1933

All Souls College,
Oxford.

My dear Flexner.

Thank you very much indeed for your two letters. It was just like you to go away and have an operation unknown to your family - I'm very glad it went off so well, but, from people here, I know that it is a very tiresome thing in its after effect: so don't try too much.

I'm still here, working. My wife is in Ireland - her Mother is about the same; still at Portrush there is a slight improvement, - a much greater improvement in a sense, since the Dr said

over a fortnight ago, that he did not give her more than two weeks. The whole position is now uncertain, as it must be in such cases; I am staying here to work until about August 9; then I shall go to Ireland for a fortnight - longer, if necessary; but we cant make any plans at all. I must be here for two or three meetings in September; but we haven't planned anything. Only, alas, it is out of the question to think of Canada.

I'm working away at the diplomatic side of the

1871-1914 period. I've never read solidly through the German documents - unfortunately there are 50 volumes of them, covering the volumes in two large parts. I ~~don~~ can't really feel satisfied with reading the most important sections - indeed one always finds that one can't take other people's choice of what is most important. I've now reached vol 20 pt ii! It is a tiresome business - partly because one has to read other things at the same time, partly because one has always to be making the effort to see things as the Germans will see them - one tries all kinds of little dodges - thinking of what a German will think when certain place names or certain well known tags of verse were mentioned, or trying to get

that pleasant smell of wood fires. But all the diplomatic history is tiresome because it doesn't ever take you to the bottom of a question. I've just tried - through a Jewish friend of mine whom I met in the war, and with whom I have kept in touch - to see whether - at least for the period before 1880 I could get access to the Rothschild correspondence. I found, from Sir Charles Dilke's Life, that the London & Paris Rothschilds corresponded <u>daily</u> after 1815. Dilke says that he was often shown the letters (in the 1880s). Think of these letters as a historical source.+ But I very much doubt whether they - the R.s - will let me see the things - though I would promise not merely not to

+And unused. There is a book on the Rothschilds: but it isn't much good.

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publish, but also not to make use of anything without their consent. One can understand the unwillingness of any financial house which still does business to keep its records closed; though, on general principles, I think they have more to gain than to lose by publication – I don't believe that their influence was, politically, as great or as sinister as people say. After all, an 'international' financial business always loses more than it gains by war, and, in general, does so well out of 'peace and plenty' that there is no reason for it to ~~want~~ take the risks you infer.

However - I mustn't go off into general disquisitions.

Now one thing - you really must let me return that kind cheque of yours. If we get down, next year, to chapter and verse - i.e. if we draw up a memorandum for your trustees, I shall be delighted to take such amount of it as is justified - I've no silliness about being rewarded! - but I can't be paid for something I've not done, and, as you will have seen, the short notes I sent you are just prolegomena - general musings on the difficulty of

catching you ere before you cook it.

I do hope you can come to us in the autumn. We shall be back in our house (now let for 2 months)+ at the end of September. I am going over to Dublin in the 2d week of October to give 4 lectures on French history; otherwise we'll be here, and accessible, until next summer. As you know, so far as rooms are concerned, I can always put people up in College if the house is full, and if you come here & want to see people, you might find yourself more free in College (for memory is still green, and everyone will like to see you, whether chez moi or chez lui)

+ to people when you know. Address Elgood, Mediterranean.

Everyone here is watching Roosevelt's experiments with the greatest interests. On the whole there is anxiety about them – they seem to be so large, and we are still very cautious and individualistic; but a good deal of his measures are things which we have had working here for some time, and the new original experiments are being looked at with real sympathy. It is very interesting – people here have looked gloomily and disapprovingly at Russian and Italian experiments – and Hitler is roundly and rightly hated (all the young men have turned – in a way, too quickly – completely off Germany) – only the American experiment is regarded as though it were, in a sense, our own. We can't get away from a certain pride – a kind of family pride – in the U.S.A.! It's very odd and – from a historical point of view – fascinating because it doesn't get much to the surface. One finds it in these German documents I am reading. The Germans ask –

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Why don't you feel about American economic competition, and American ship building (naval) what you feel about germany? and the answer isn't really that the german fleet was bigger and newer – for that matter American trade rivalry cut into us more seriously than germany+ – but that further opinion never thought, and never thinks, of the possibility of an Anglo-American war; behind it all, there is the historical reason; we've had a civil war – we can't have another civil war, and there isn't present in Anglo-American relations that presupposition of fear which haunts all European relations. If the European states could get into the same

+ As a matter of fact – as people are now beginning clearly to understand – each of us feared – U.S. germ. Eng (& Eng we also) from the other's prospects!!

psychological attitude, it would make an enormous difference – the whole background of discussion would be changed. There would still be rivalries, and anger, and arrogance, and feelings of supposed arrogance, but there wouldn't be that helplessness which we find now.

And yet there is a hope, a common European civilisation, and European wars are civil wars. Only people won't see these things –

that I am in another general disposition!

I'm so very glad that Mrs Flexner found her cure a

Incerely. I hope Eleanor's vacation work is going strong. We liked her keenness about it all.

I'm sending your letter of July 15 to my wife tonight.

Again many thanks

Yours very sincerely

E L Woodward.

E. L. Woodward

July 22, 1933

My dear Woodward:

Mrs. Flexner and I are genuinely grieved by the sad news which you send us regarding the illness of your wife's mother. It is always sad when these inevitable partings come, and words are futile to reconcile those who suffer from what is, after all, inevitable. The best we can do is to assure you and your wife of our sympathy in this and in any other trial, through which you may have to go.

The memorandum reached me this morning, but I have not yet had time to examine it. I should not, however, for a moment consider allowing you to return the remittance which I made to you. I do not believe that scholarly work of this character ought to be done for a mere thank-you. You have put your brains and scholarship and time into this task, and I have no doubt that I shall have repeated occasion to go back to you for discussion and advice, so please do not press the point, but have the check cancelled. The Institute is financially able to pay for what it wants and needs, and I believe it is only fair and right that it should do so.

As to next summer, you may be sure that we shall be delighted, as I have already written you, to have you and your wife come to us at any time that suits you. The beginning of July is usually ideal, for the weather is then often at its very best. You will be private visitors, whatever that may mean, whenever you come and for whatever length of time you can stay. I know that the peace and quiet and beauty of this lake will bring joy to your souls.

I am glad you liked Mitrany, and I shall be very greatly interested in any further communication he and you may report as having had.

My own plans for next year are uncertain, though I do feel that before taking final action in the field of economics and government I shall have to go abroad to have some heart-to-heart talks with you and others.

I am profoundly depressed by the outcome of the much heralded and prepared for World Economic Conference, and I confess further that I am humiliated by the quality of the delegation which Roosevelt sent and by his coarse and boorish language, as transmitted through Secretary Hull. What in the world can a private citizen do under such circumstances - gnash his teeth for better things?

Mrs. Flexner joins me in warmest greetings to you both.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
All Souls College
Oxford, England

AF:ESB

Note. This is not a memorandum of a kind which one would shew to a body of trustees. It is simply a few general ideas which one would would want to discuss before drawing up a memorandum with concrete proposals and regulations. For this reason it is desultory and conversational in style, and, like a conversation, runs off here and there at a tangent. One of the main thoughts dominant in my mind is the necessity for keeping the plan on a small scale, and not merely duplicating existing institutions. Another thing which comes into my mind every time I go to the Institute of Historical Research in London (and I dont go very often) is the importance of remembering that history is an art as well as a science, and that the best work is the best work not because of its "scientific" accuracy - good second class work sometimes has fewer imperfections- but because there is something original, deep, creative, new- whatever you will- about it. This creative impulse is a queer thing which can be killed very easily, and yet is tough enough to survive a great many of the difficulties which second-class work cannot get past.

You will see that I have not attempted to think out any definite programme- only to consider in general terms what new contribution might be made by an endowment. I dont know whether I have not been too obvious and too indefinite. In any case I feel pretty sure that everything I have said will have occurred to you already. If there is anything which strikes you as worth detailed consideration, I would be delighted to work it out at length. Before one came down to the formulation of a scheme it would be necessary to examine in detail the constitution and rules of a number of research institutions in politics. There would perhaps be as much warning as encouragement in an examination of this kind.

To take two English examples- though neither can be called a Research Institute: All Souls and the London School of Economics. You know the faults of All Souls, and I expect you know the faults of the London School of Economics. If All Souls wants a good shaking, the L.S.E. wants a good deal of "debunking". If All Souls is too much of a pleasant family party, the L.S.E. is too ~~much~~ little of a family, and too much ~~[illegible]~~ divided in opinion and purpose. If All Souls is a little too sure of itself, and inclined to assume its excellence, the L.S.E. is too much occupied with window-dressing, and chasing the newest idea.... And so on. French and German experts could tell you similar things about institutions in their own country.

I wish immensely that we could be discussing these things together.

It is important to remember that there is no one reason, no single motive, for the writing and reading of history. If the greatest historians, and not merely the greatest historians, but the "rank and file" of students of history were asked why they had taken up the subject of hist ory rather than the study of the physical and biological sciences, or the study of languages, or philosophy, their answers would be remarkably different. Some would say that they read history out of curiosity; this curiosity, in the more subtle and educated minds, is transmuted into a "desire to know causes". Others would , simply, tell you of the delight in story-telling; "Come let us sit upon the ground, and tell sad stories of the deaths of kings". Others might say that in history they found the true tragic theme. (There is a Japanese saying that the Samurai are those who know the "sadness of things"). It might be said again that a man who despaired of philosophy- of the asking of questions to which no one has ever given an adequate answer- ~~may~~ ~~turns~~ turns to history in order to find in the record of human experience an interpretation of life which he cannot find in metaphysical speculation. Again, there might be practical motives for the study of history. It is assumed, perhaps rashly, that a knowledge of the past is of practical use to the statesman and the ruler. The Chairs of Modern History at Oxford and Cambridge were founded by George I in order to assist in the training of young men for the diplomatic service of the Crown. Behind this practical motive may lie an a-moral cynicism- the attitude of Machiavelli- or the belief of Guizot (or, for that matter, Karl Marx) that there is a deep historical process , and that, in Disraeli's words, it behoves a statesman to be "on the side of the angels". Or the practical motive may be similar to the motive of

Aristotle, a practical wisdom to be gained from the study of constitutions adapted to the varying environment of civilised men. Or again, the motive may be an ethical motive; the desire to find, and explain to others, the examples of noble living among men of times past (Plutarch); piety to the memory of the dead ("Let us now praise famous men...); gratitude to one's state and country, and a desire to keep its past in remembrance (Livy).

Within a single department of human knowledge the same complications may be found. The religious motive, for example, is by no means simple. There is religious history, and there is ecclesiastical history; history written to the greater glory of God (Psalms 105 and 106); history written to justify the predominance of a priestly caste, or usages profitable to this caste; history written to liberate men from fear and superstition, as Lucretius wrote religious poetry.

An analysis of the motives which lie behind the reading and writing of history is not merely of academic value. The development of a scientific technique of historical study sometimes blinds men of our own time to the fact that the reasons why ~~men study~~ history is studied at all are widely different in different historians, and not always logically consistent in the same historian at different times. If one is to make the best use of endowments for historical study, if the historian is to be neither a sentimentalist nor a paid manipulator of a machine, these differences of motive must be kept in mind. They are ~~kept~~ put into the background; some people would find a little coherence of them; but they exist. The confusion which arises from refusing to recognise their existence may be observed by asking half a dozen historians <u>why</u> they are studying history rather than any other branch of knowledge.

The first task of the founder of a historical institute, the trustee of an endowment for historical study, must be to decide what type of historian, that is to say, what type of history the endowment is to encourage and support. An ideal society of historians might include as many types as possible: Ranke and Sybel, Michelet and Taine; Gibbon and Orosius. Yet men are queer creatures, and artists are queer men. If a comprehensive society of this kind could establish a rule of mutual tolerance, ~~there would~~ (without which it would dissolve in disorder and mutual antagonism) there ~~would~~ might be a danger that the different points of view ~~would~~ would cancel out. This cancelling out is a real danger; it has been a factor making for sterility in the ancient and tolerant societies of Oxford and Cambridge. Efen if this danger were guarded against, there would be the tendency which has affected all monastic societies, all aristocracies which ~~have~~ originally have owed their existence to ideas of service; the tendency towards becoming a closed and privileged order, with a private code of behaviour and narrow excellencies. There is the practical dagner of making men- particluarly men of the sensitive, timid scholar's temperament too comfortable and secure. Life seems very long to a scholar in an assured position, working at a subject which absorbs his interest. He will make a virtue out of industrious indolence, and use "incompleteness of knowledge" as an excuse for producing nothing.

The founder of a historical institute, the trustee of an endowment, may hope to avoid these ~~difficulties~~ pitfalls of large societies by limiting his aim. Even so, there are difficulties. It is still essential to remember that there are different approaches to history. A small society, if it is to be effective, must be homogeneous, or it will not be a society at all,

and its endowments might as well be distributed to the first comers who can shew sufficient technical aptitude. Let us assume that your founder or trustee is making a general survey of existing types of organisation which deal with historical studies. Universities will not detain him long. The Faculties of History at the Universities of Europe and America are generally supposed to cover the whole field of history, with a certain degree of specialisation according to the general bias of the University or the haphazard distribution of special benefactions. These benefactions are often lop-sided; Universities seldom have the courage to refuse endowmenta, and can always make the excuse that the balance may be redressed by further benefactions in the future. It may be said at present, that from the point of view of historical studies, there are too many Universities, and too many students engaged in what is caled historical research. Any new endowments ought not to be directed to increasing the number of Universities or creating something similar to a University under another name.

There are, within the Universities, or affiliated to them, a number of special schools such as the Ecole des Chartes, or bodies such as the (London) Institute ~~for~~ of Historical Research. The former type of organisation ~~aims at giving a~~ gives professional training to a particular class of student who is aiming at special work, scientific or administrative in a particular field; the latter aims at providing a clearing - house, a central reference organisation for advanced historical work. These institutions fulfil a useful purpose. Each has its value and each has its dangers. The former type- the Ecole des Chartes- runs the

risk of over-stressing erudition , since it exists for erudition, and never has to stand the strain of what one might call competition in the open market. The public at large troubles little about it, and allows it, for reasons good and bad, to spin its cobwebs- or make its honey!- for itself. The Institute of Historical Research saves much time and prevents a great deal of waste of energy. Yet there is a danger that this "slickness" and elaboration of machinery may kill creative work. History is not made in a factory, and a certain wastefulness must be accepted in all creative work, as in nature itself. There is such a thing as the untidiness as well as the idleness of genius; a "tempo" of mind which revolts from the regularity of perfect organisation . In any case there is no immediate need to increase the number of these technical institutions. Already there is too much second-rate work done in history, and a greater coordination, an increase of technical skill and accuracy will not make second-class work into first class work.

There is another type of institution, not connected with professional training, or the teaching of young men, but with the cooperative work of men with some experience and knowledge of affairs. These Institutes of Politics, such as the Institute of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain have great value in developing and organising public opinion, in spreading reliable information, and counteracting the spread of unreliable information, and in providing a meeting ground for ~~the~~ discussion and exchange of ideas. They may be of help to administrators; in a better organised society they might be of help to statesmen! Again I should not apply a new endowment to a purpose of this kind. If these Institutes

become too numerous, too rich, or attempt too much, they will defeat their own ends. They will become "official", or what is worse, "semi-official" and banal. On the other side, there is always a danger in bodies which can criticise and yet have no executive responsibility

In what direction, then, can a new endowment be most profitably employed? It is clear that, from whatever point of view historical studies are approached, the subject-matter is not exhausted, the problems are not all solved. It is also clear that, although there are no ready-made lessons of history, a relevant historical knowledge might have saved men in power in every quarter of the world during the last fifty years from mi stakes which have cost a heavy price in blood and tears. A new "enlightenment" is wanted; an "enlightenment" which will not come to a premature end, like the "enlightenment " of the eighteenth century, largely through ignorance of history. How can an endowment contribute to this enlightenment? We can assume, from what has been said, that we do not want to add to existing institutions another institution in no way different in type. We can assume, also, that we do not want to do anything on a grand scale, to found a large, all-embracing society. We can also assume that we do not want to use the endowment for encouraging erudition as such, and as an end in itself. Erudition is too often, for a historian, the line of least resistance One end indeed is forced upon us by the times in which we live, times which seem dangerously like the years of the later Roman empire, when the tide of civilisation seemed to be ebbing, and men who had lived in security under an equal law, went back to the walled cities or put themselves under the protection of local force since they could no longer hope for justice and security. The end of purpose which the endowment must fulfil must be the social good, and studies which have been initiated for different

reasons must be directed towards this end. The most urgent "long-range" problems before modern society (apart from problems of personal ethics) are those of government. These problems, modern problems for the most part in their setting, though they have been summed up, for example, in Aristotle's discussion of the different meanings given to equality, fall largely within the field of modern history.

The endowment would be used to help the solution of these problems. Consider then, first, the subject-matter of study, and then the best means of getting results. We have excluded, by definition, a great deal of the subject-matter of history before the agrarian, industrial and commercial, and political revolutions of the eighteenth centuries+; but we have kept in our fold almost as many branches of study as we have excluded. One might say, roughly, that the problems of government fall into two main divisions; 1) problems of the more theoretical kind, involving a study of forms, institutions and laws, in their historical setting, and a survey of the general trend of modern societies, e.g. the validity of the 'classical' themes of sovereignty; the aim here is to get the widest possible generalisations which it is safe to draw from a study of facts: 2) problems of a practical kind, dealing with the history of particular states or of particular questions under the local form in which they present themselves in one or more societies; practical questions, such as the actual relationships of states, and the factors which promote or hinder mutual cooperation. One might define these practical questions, or rather the mode of dealing with them, by a reference to Ranke's attempt to find out "what actually happened". Yet in practise, this

+ One has to be careful about this exclusion. A study of the imperial system of taxation under the later Roman Empire, or of the rise of capitalism in the period of the renaissance and reformation, has direct relevance to present day problems.

work of describing "what actually happened" meanscontinual analysis and selection, and not merely narration; Ranke himself, in emphasising "political"history, overlooked a great deal of what actually happened. Any one who reads Werner Sombart, after reading Ranke, might well complain that Ranke does not tell him the most important "happenings", the "happenings"which are most relevant to our own curiosity and our own needs. On the other hand, the more theoretical subjects of study lead very quickly to detailed and practical observations. You cannot make a valuable examination of the classical theories of sovereignty without coming down to details about election posters and the organisation of party caucuses. Graham Wallas' 'Human Nature and Politics' is, for example, a valuable criticism of Bosanquet's Philosophical Theory of the State. The formulation of a right theory of punishment demands, on the one hand, a careful examination of systems of moral philosophy; but it also involves a detailed examination of the criminal codes, the prison systems, the crime statistics, of different countries. Omit the theoretical work, and you will find yourself in the intellectual confusion which destroys the value of a great deal of social work, and a great deal more social theory. (The question of retributive punishment, for example, is almost always eluded: modern writers will not face up to it). Omit the practical examination, and you find yourself not merely dividing justice from mercy , but wasting your thought on vague general principles. One might give other instances- an investigation

into the causes of war, a study of representative government. You are likely to go wrong in the former case if you do not think out the reasons why modern societies have suddenly realised that war is a crime- if you do not observe the difference which has come over men's ideas about war since society in general does not believe in, or hold as an axiom, the doctrine of personal immortality. (Ruskin and Bismarck, of all dissimilar people, saw this point. An example of the failure to realise its importance may be seen in the ludicrously wrong interpretations of the career of General Gordon. People talk of the tragedy of Gordon's death; but if you read Gordon's letters, you will find that Gordon was not in the least worried about death- particularly death in battle; what haunted him was a fear that he would linger in old age, after losing his physical and mental powers.) On the other hand no explanation of the causes of war between states can be given merely in general terms. Each war must be taken separately- all attempts, for example to distinguish between a "bellum justum", and a war of aggression have broken down in the past, and it looks as though modern attempts to go back to mediaeval theory in this respect will also break down.

Enough has been said to shew that , if the endowment is to be used for the study of the most urgent problems of modern society there will not be an a priori need to distinguish between the two main divisions- theoretical and practical- into which these problems fall. The choice will not lie between theoretical and practical subjects but between different methods of carrying out a programme of investigation. Here again one might outline, roughly, two methods of approach. 1. The trustees of the endowment might draw up a programme covering a subject which, in their opinion, needed

urgent and thorough investigation. Suppose, for example, it was decided to study the influence of law upon public opinion. A preliminary survey of work on the subject would shew the kind of investigation which was necessary ~~the gaps in the subject~~; Dicey's work, for instance, would be seen to be out of date in many respects, even as a historical survey. It would be found difficult to define public opinion. The main subject would soon appear to fall into a number of different subjects of investigation, e.g. ~~subjects;~~ the effect of education, and of different types of education; the influence of the press. The question of the press and public opinion would offer in itself a very wide field of investigation. One would have to study the press of different countries; its development in relation to the reading habits of the people; its ownership and control. (One would come up against most curious paradoxes- the use of primarily as an outlet for the products of paper-mills, newspapers, as the English brewers use "tied houses", for the sale of the beer brewed in their breweries.) In other words, one would draw up a detailed plan of research. The execution of this research would fall largely outside the sphere controlled by the endowment. The endowment would be used by three or four workers who would be engaged upon one or more aspects of the subject, but who would be doing their best to get other institutions to take up other aspects. The work of coordination would be done by the endowment. Its programme would be known; its advice would be taken by those other types of institution we have already described. Its own standards of impartiality, relevance, thoroughness would be an example to others, and not merely to others working in the same field.

The choice of subject might be decided from a different point of view; from what might be called a passive rather than an active point of view.

Instead of thinking out a full programme, the complete execution of which would depend to a considerable extent upon external cooperation, (although the endowment would act as a directing, governing body, and setting, through its own members, the highest standard of execution), the trustees and staff of the endowment might use their resources for the assistance of advanced work upon lines already laid down elsewhere. Take, as an example, the present state of the study of international relations. In recent years, with the opening of archives, and the publication of detailed diplomatic studies, it has been possible to form some clear idea about the policy of the Great Powers in modern times, and to read, in detail or reliable precis, the correspondence between different governments. These diplomatic documents (e.g. the 50 volumes of Die Grosse Politik) however only take one a certain distance, and immediately suggest further lines of investigation. One asks " what were the motives underlying this or that act of policy ?". These forces which determined the policy of states range from motives of personal spite or an out of date sense of honour to economic interests of world-wide importance. Some can never be weighed with any exactness; others are capable of more or less exact appreciation, if the evidence could be examined. There is , for example, the factor of international finance. A great deal of work remains to be done within this field of study. The work is difficult because one cannot hope to get at the facts directly. For obvious reasons the great finance houses and banks cannot open their archives or the books of their customers to public inspection. Even if these sources were open, it is doubtful whether the historian would find what he wants to find. The publications of the Bolshevik

government in Russia, interesting though they are, do not really throw much new light upon questions other than the more formal diplomatic questions. Here then is a ~~question~~ problem which needs further examination. Would it be desirable for the endowment to ~~take~~ look out for a man who is working on this ~~original~~ field of international finance (I have in mind F.B. Fais, I do not know him at all; I only know his book - Europe, the World's Banker, published for the Council of Foriegn Relations by Yale University Press). In ~~this~~ a case of this kind the trustees of the endowment would approach any person or institution , and offer their assistance in the working out of a particular problem. The part which the endowment would play would be more personal and direct than the part played , in similar cases by the Rockefeller Foundation. The endowment would undertake and supervise the work, or a section of it, not merely give financial assistance to suitably qualified persons to carry out their own investigations. The endowment would thus take over a subject, or the branch of a subject, and would "see it through". (One might take the analogy of the distribution, among the different observatories of the world, of the task of producing an accurate star-map).

Again it seems to me the better policy to try to combine these two methods; that is to say, to formulate a working definition of the subjects with which the endowment is prepared to deal; to make this definition fairly wide, and within these limits, to look for individuals who have proved their worth by actual work. These individuals would submit their programme. Most modern investigations must, if they are to be effective, be carried on in collaboration, not necessarily very close personal collaboration, with other bodies, and the relationship between the endowment and other bodies pursuing the same or similar lines of

investigation would settle itself, and settle itself in the best possible way, by the personal relationships and "contacts" (to use an unpleasing word) of the men working at the subject. The endowment would , from one point of view, "come in" to take a hand in an investigation already under way; from another point of view it would be carrying out independent work within the limits of its own definition, and on the lines upon which it had decided to carry out its studies. The indirect purpose of raising the standard of advanced work in "political"research, and rescuing its subject-matter from amateur generalisation or the lucubrations of professional hunters after a Ph.D. degree, would also be fulfilled.

It is obvious that the choice of men is of first importance. In some respects, once a general definition has been made of the subjects of study, the choice of the right men is more important that any special delimitation of subject. A really good man can be trusted to choose for himself a subject which is worth doing, to work at it in the right way, to make a positive contribution, i.e., to write something, and to set an example to others.

The choice of men may be made in two ways; the men may be chosen, for life, or they may be chosen for a certain time. Each method has certain advantages and disadvantages. If you choose a man for life, you relieve him of any anxiety for the future. He need not trouble about immediate results; he can set himself a task which will take a number of years. If your endowment is able to provide a social centre, like the Common Rooms of Oxford Colleges, and if you take into

consideration in making your appointments the capacities of a man to play a friendly and useful part in a small community and to gain by meeting colleagues in other subjects, you can expect time to give to your society ~~xxxx~~ a "flavour" and a tranquillity which you cannot expect to find in an institution composed of men who are only "seconded" for special work.+ This 'vintage' quality will be the more conspicuous in a relatively small society of men working at different subjects On the other hand the disadvantages of life appointments are equally obvious. You have to live with your mistakes! You have to carry dead weights over a long period. You may have to suffer a perpetual 'irritant' in your society. The advantages of making appointments for short periods are very great; ~~xx~~ but on the other side in addition to the loss of continuity, the absence of a feeling that the body to which each belongs is something more than theirpaymaster something different from an office, in a ddition to these intangible though ~~but~~ most important factors, there are very great practical difficulties in the way of getting good results from a series of temporary appointments. Here I cannot speak with any first hand knowledge of American conditions; I can only say how the position would appear to an Englishman. You can always get good young men for appointments lasting only a few years. You can ~~xxxxxxx~~ get senior men for an exchange or visiting professorship tenable for a year. It is extremely difficult to get any one of senior standing to take a post which is not a life appointment. A man over thirty five, whether he be married or single, must consider the future. In England and Scotland the number of academic appointments of a senior kind is limited. Any one who left Oxford for three or four years, ~~xxxx~~ would find it extremely difficult to get back again. He could not reckon on a vacancy in the small number of professorships. He could not expect a College appointment because these appointments are generally given

+ If I may quote my own experience, I have learned more from one philosopher and one mathematician at New College than from any of my historical colleagues.

to young men (for obvious reasons). He could not even be certain of a vacancy in his own subject at one of the newer Universities, and in any case he might not want to migrate to some ~~other~~ uncongenial place for the rest of his life (Nottingham or Aberdeen!). However American conditions may be very different; German conditions would be much freer in this respect, French conditions even more rigid than those of Great Britain.

Here again it is possible to make a compromise. If one could reckon on a staff of four, not counting research assistants , or young men working to learn the methods of research , it might be possible to have two of the four as permanent residents, appointed for life. The other two posts might be held either by younger men who would take a position for five, six, seven years, in order ~~to allow them~~ to get a good piece of work done, or by part time residents. Here again I do not know enough about American conditions to say whether the part-time system would be at all possible as an element in the endowment. I am familiar with a system of this kind at All Souls, where in giving an endowment for research the College does not expect to control the whole of a man's time, though it can and does insist upon his doing nothing incompatible with his research obligations. At All Souls most of the research Fellows give such time as is not claimed by the conditions of their research fellowships to work within the University; but this is not always the case, and there is no reason why a research Fellow should not divide his time between two institutions. Probably something of this kind would be less difficult to arrange in America than in England.

I have said nothing of the teaching side of the endowment. This side is primarily important, because it is through the training of well-chosen young

students that the endowment can increase its influence upon the general level and character of research work in "politics". But there is no need to discuss methods or details. It is enough to say that there would be a place for a small number of post-graduate students; that this number should remain small; and that the actual figure should be determined from time to time by the degree to which the staff is able to give advanced instruction without hampering the main work of the endowment. There would no doubt be ample opportunity for members of the staff to give lectures in connection with the ordinary advanced courses of the neighbouring University. Other questions, such as the number and emoluments and duties of research assistants, are also questions of detail. The general aim would be to keep down the" apparatus" as much as possible, a not merely for reasons of expense, but because the multiplication of research assistants, etc, has probably done as much harm as good to the cause of really first class research.

July 15, 1933

My dear Woodwards:

Mrs. Flexner arrived yesterday and gave me the letters which you had sent her to the boat. My apprehensions were more than confirmed. That we are sorry to postpone your visit I need not say, and our hearts go out to you in your grief, as you well know. It is something, however, that at the moment, though a poor consolation, your mother has lived beyond the honored three score and ten. Of course, you are right to stand by. I wish that there were something that we could do to ease the burden which you are bearing now.

I had a letter yesterday also from Mitrany, telling me of his interesting conversations with you. I do not see that our arrangements need be in any wise changed. You must certainly not return the honorarium. If you do, I shall send it back to you. Let your mind play upon the subject, and perhaps from time to time you can discuss it with Mitrany or someone else. If things settle down here, I may come to England and talk things over with you and others, and I shall have need of your memorandum to ponder when it is ready, but dismiss it from your mind for the present, and do not let it at any time become a burden.

Mrs. Flexner returned in excellent health, and Eleanor was enjoying the happiness that youth alone can know.

I don't recall at the moment whether I told you that I had had my tonsils out while Mrs. Flexner was in Europe. I find my mental and physical vigor returning but rather more slowly than I had expected. However, I am sure that I shall be better by the autumn than I was at any time during last winter.

Remember that our invitation is always open to you, and believe me, with best wishes,

Sincerely your friend,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Woodward
1 Savile Road
[illegible] England

12.1.33

All Souls College,
Oxford.

My dear Flexner.

You will have had my telegram and first letter before this reaches you - there is no mail until the 13th. As far as it is possible to make any forecast, my mother-in-law is likely to linger on for a little time. She cannot be moved, and the Dr. still does not think she will get over this illness. My wife and I think that she is likely to live for another month - but of course we may all be

either way.

wrong. My wife got ready to go to Ireland yesterday morning, but a telegram came that there was some slight improvement.

I was going on to the Pacific Congress at Banff in the 2d half of August, but this also I have cancelled.

I am enclosing a cheque for £64.15.3 – the amount of the draft you very kindly sent to

not. I am sending under a separate cover a very rough and short memorandum - mainly covering certain general questions I had hoped to discuss with you. If there is any use in my writing something more detailed and to the point, I should enjoy it very much indeed. But of course there can be no question of my being paid for it.

And if after all the trouble we have put you to there is any chance of our coming to see you

next year – the beginning of July – we shall leave here in the last week of June. We should be delighted – but we should come as 'private visitors'. In the meanwhile I do hope we shall have the chance of seeing you here.

When I can safely make plans in advance I want to get hold of Mitrany again – I was very much taken by him.

Again with many apologies for being forced to be such a 'broken' reed –

Yours

E L Woodward.

1 Sal[illegible] Rd. Oxford.
July 5

My dear Flexner.

I have today sent a letter to you, with a letter from my wife to Mrs Flexner of The Emporium of Britain; but I am writing directly, since it is possible that this letter will get to you earlier. Before either letter reaches you, you may have had a cable from us that we have had to cancel all our plans. My wife's mother was advised by her local doctor - in Ireland - to go to Portrush for a change of air. The local dr. seems no end of a mug because no sooner did my mother in law arrive there she had a heart attack, and was sent at once to bed. This was eight days ago. The dr. at Portrush (as you know, there is the biggest seaside 'resort' in N. Ireland) is a trustworthy man; he gives a very serious report, which - so far - amounts to a forecast that the patient is unlikely to get better. She may linger on for some time - she can't be moved, and anyhow there is no good nursing

home nearer than Belfast, fifty or sixty miles away. Under these circumstances my wife can't leave for Canada. She is anxious for me to go, but I can't help thinking (at first I said I would go) that I ought to stay. My wife's father is dead, and my wife has no brothers, and no other relations in Ireland - no relations in fact except cousins in Cornwall and Essex and Kent). I feel I really ought to be at hand because I could save my wife and her sisters a great deal of distressing business if her mother dies in the hotel. I was very fond of my father in law and if I put it squarely to myself I know he would want me to stay with his daughters now - I am sure you will understand what ~~we~~ I mean and feel about it.

We have been in touch with the C.P.R - our cabin is actually booked for the 21st and the Co. will allow us until early next week before cancelling the our passage. We have asked the Dr. and my sister in law (my wife is still here, as it wld only alarm her mother if she went to Ireland now, and the danger isn't 'immediate') to telegraph a

considered opinion on Monday next. This will have been nearly a fortnight since the attack. If he thinks his patient will not be in danger during the next six weeks, we shall said on the 21st: but from today's report, it looks - and has looked all the time - that the case is one of slow exhaustion, with practically no chance of a recovery. My mother-in-law is nearer 80 than 70, and has never ~~be~~ had a serious illness, and is therefore an extremely bad patient temperamentally, and unused to lying in bed. If the Dr. doesn't change his mind ~~before~~ on Monday - not I shall send you a cable.

It is most unfortunate and we feel that - first owing to Chelmsford's death, and then owing to this affair - we have caused you no end of trouble. I was most anxious to have a talk with you about this memorandum. I have seen Mitrany+; I found him excellent - he told me just what I wanted to know, and the talk has cleared my mind a lot. I can also see that it is important for you to get the preliminary discussions on this question over and settled as soon as possible. Unfortunately I am committed now to things here from

+ I hope to see more of him.

mid-September (when expected to be back in England) as you know I was going on the Pacific Conference at Banff). and I cant get away at Christmas time.

I will send you any memorandum if I can't come myself, but I insist on returning you the cheque you kindly sent to me. I shall post it next week (in sterling; - i.e. the sum you sent me) if we have to send you the cable.

I suppose there is no chance of your coming here to stay with us any time after the middle of October - I have been asked to lecture in Dublin early in October, but we shall be here from the 15th. during term, or during the Christmas vacation. We shall be coming through Canada on our way E. next year, but you ought not - this I fully realise - to delay your preliminary surveys until then, though we hope we may be able later on at Magnetawan.

We are most disappointed and distressed - from every point of view.

Yours very sincerely

E. L. Woodward.

You will be glad to know that we are taking 2 exiled German scholars in All Souls for a yr - all we can give them are rooms, dinner, & £300 a yr. Most Colleges are taking 1 or 2, but have no means of financing them - indeed with the security of jobs for our own people this is a problem. The whole position in my black - this - unless this economy set back has disastrous effects - there is a slight turn for the better in business generally.

Woodward

May 16, 1933

My dear Woodward:

I have yours of the 2d. Don't believe for a moment that the report which you are preparing is going to be mine. Quite on the contrary, you will find that in these matters I am an infant and you will have to teach me the most elementary things about the entire field which I hope that we shall someday cover.

Mrs. Flexner and Eleanor are sailing on the Empress of Britain from Southampton on July 8. Now, won't the Fellows of All Souls do a little American hustling in order to enable you and your wife to catch that boat? You would have a lovely trip across the Atlantic, and come straight to our camp. On the other hand, if you find that impracticable, we shall adjust our dates to any date made necessary by your duties to your college. I should, of course, like for your sake and Mrs. Woodward's to have you make the trip to Banff in order to see the country, though it is a pretty stiff journey to make in midsummer. However, Banff is worth while when one reaches it.

The news from Germany is ghastly. There are numerous German professors here in America who have been dismissed by cable, and I am spending most of my time trying to find some sort of berth for them. In

addition, not a day passes but I receive a letter from someone who has lost his place, or who feels that he will lose it, or who cannot live in the atmosphere of suspicion, oppression and depression, which Hitler has managed to arouse. These letters, though written in Germany, are usually mailed from Switzerland, Holland or Italy. They sometimes contain codes so that the author may write me what appears to be a harmless letter from Germany, but which means something quite different. One of them, for example, from a man of great distinction, includes an elaborate code of which one item is the following: "If I write you 'Müller's book is well worth reading', it means I have been arrested."

I have had almost no letters from Jews. They are apparently afraid to write at all. The persons who write me are non-Jews who are about as radical as you or I. The fact is that the world has never before, as far as I know, seen such a sudden outburst of intolerance and ignorance. Russia at its worst was a Garden of Eden compared to Germany. As usually, the English come off with the highest honors. The attitude taken in the House of Commons, the protests of the British authors and the British scientists, have been dignified and forceful. It is not a question of being pro-French or anti-German. It is just being anti-intolerance. How it will end, God only knows.

Roosevelt, who has shown himself a pretty clever politician, has stolen a march on Hitler, because he is going to make a speech this afternoon in advance of Hitler's address tomorrow to the Reichstag. It will be conciliatory in tone, but, as a matter of fact, America is as unanimous as England though we have no House of Commons in which opinions can be ventil-

ated as they have been ventilated in London. On the other hand, they have not ventured to send us a Dr. Rosenberg - I suspect he might get a good ducking if he came.

The great difficulty arises from the fact that this senseless barbarity coincides with almost universal financial depression. Under ordinary circumstances, England, France and America could have absorbed most of the displaced intellectuals of high calibre. For the rank and file, I do not know what on earth can be done. On the other hand, I have the feeling that Hitler will prove to be a fiasco,- German trade will decrease, unemployment will increase, and forced labor will be very unpopular; and it may be that in a few months time Germany will turn upon him and rend him.

Mrs. Rashdall wrote me about Roger Makins, and I am going to see him when I go to Washington to visit Jean, within the next week or two.

Oxford must be very lovely now. We are unfortunately having a late spring - a very unusual phenomenon here - coldish and wettish. I am longing for Canada, for New York is not attractive at this time of year. But before going, we shall move our little office to Princeton, where I shall spend a week or two getting things into shape for next autumn.

Should you wish to communicate with Mrs. Flexner concerning her sailing date, in case Eleanor cannot give you the information you want, write her in care of the Rockefeller Foundation European Office, 20 rue de La Baume, Paris (8e).

Remember me to your wife, and believe me

Always sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
All Souls College
Oxford
England
AF:GB

Write me henceforth - 20 Nassau Street,
Princeton, N. J.

All Souls Coll. Oxford
May 2 1933

My dear Flexner.

Your letter of April 24 came today, just as I was writing to thank you for your ~~to~~ last letter. So I write again, – and first let me thank you very much indeed for your cheque – and for your characteristic kindness in thinking about the variations of the dollar – Honestly I feel embarrassed at being given so much for doing – not even doing, "being about to do" so little.

It will be delightful seeing you and talking over the whole subject. I cant help suspecting that you, with your experience, will really be drafting the report, at all events providing the leading ideas for it: but I will have something ready as a basis for discussion.

We have not yet booked our passage, but we shall do so after May 13. I am waiting until then because we are having our first meeting about the Warden's election on this day, (later than I had expected) and I shall be able to make a fairly good guess whether we

are likely to make our final election early or late in June. Upon this depends the date when I can leave England - as Dom. Bursar I don't want to leave - at least I ought not to leave, until the Warden is settled, or installed, in the Lodgings.

I can appreciate this means postponing sailing from the 2nd to the 3rd week in July. I see from the sailing lists that there is no fast CPR boat between July 8 & July 29 - the fast in two

Italy. The second too late, so we shall probably come Cunard line to N. York - if the Mauretania sailing on July 22 - we would then come direct to you from New York. I'm sorry to be chopping and changing about with dates like this, but, as you see, I'm not my own master.

If I found that I could not safely arrange to leave before July 29 I would send you a cable on May 13 - but I think this most unlikely.

Everything is almost certain to be settled, and the

Warden and I in, or all arrangements made. July 20.

Curtis wants me to go on to his Pacific conference at Banff ~~with~~ (the conference opens on May 15). I don't feel my great enthusiasm. I always think Curtis tries to do things on too large a scale, and that he doesn't understand the 'law of diminishing returns'. However I ought not to prejudge the thing, and if we leave England on July 22 for New York, I should probably go on to

Banff, but not of course if we can't start until a week later. Cutler has heaped coals of fire on my head by offering us free transport & rail (I suppose it is the Canadian gvt's offer!) from Quebec to Banff - I seem to be receiving other people's kindness over every inch of my travels - and by answering my doubt whether I should be of any use to the conference with the words "You will be making most useful criticism of us all after two days."!!

The news generally is most depressing. I feel ashamed, merely as a civilised man, at what is happening in Germany. One thinks - as one thought, paradoxically, in the war not in terms of nationality but in terms of the failure of civilisation to establish itself - you are ashamed of the age in which you live. Practically, one can't see how it will end. There seems no escape from brute force except by means of brute force.

We are trying to get a scheme going here for giving academic status to some of the expelled University teachers, but the problem is very difficult. The numbers are so great, and we cant find money except at the expense of our own people - particularly our own young people. The more eminent men can easily be placed, and there is no charity in placing them because they can do such service; but the lesser men will be suffering more - the men who havent made their reputations etc.

I wish I felt more confidence in our own government. I think it is the best we can produce at the moment - the Labour party hasn't anything like the same amount of ability. The parliamentary Opposition is painfully weak. Baldwin and Irwin are the most popular ministers - and it is a sign that the English people have still kept their sanity, but Macdonald and Simon have disappointed everyone who did not know them in advance. Fortunately the Civil Service is excellent - though I'm not sure whether

the Foreign Office is as good as it was just before the war. It is a relief that Lloyd George has faded out. One would wish for a stronger and intellectually stronger Opposition.

I should say, incidentally, that one of the ablest young men in our diplomatic service is now at Washington - Roger Makins who was elected to All Souls eight years ago: but of course he is very junior in the hierarchy and doesn't count ~~[illegible]~~ yet. I wish he was 10 years older.

We hope we shall be seeing Eleanor soon - and of course Mrs Flexner if she can make a detour her outer way out or home. My wife has already sent her a message through Eleanor, and then in what the Post Office here calls a 'repeat'.

Oxford is looking very lovely now: although it is cold and wet. Summer may begin any day with a change of wind. I wish I could say the same of politics and economics.

You will rejoice to hear that, after all, Smith

may have yet all he wants for the first stage of the Ashmolean extension. Some one - quite unknown to Smith or any of us - has bequeathed what may amount to £40000 to the Ashmolean.

Yours very sincerely

E L Woodward

April 24, 1933

My dear Woodward:

I send you herewith the draft for $250 in pounds in advance payment for the memorandum which you will prepare in the course of the next six or eight months. I am sending it in pounds, because at the moment I may be swindling you if I send it in dollars. It is likely that this week legislation will be passed enabling the President to do what he wishes with the American currency. It is the general opinion that he will not do much, but, if he should be crowded into any inflationary measures, you are much better off in pounds even though the rate has risen somewhat than you would be with inflated dollars.

My wife and I are looking forward with the keenest pleasure to your visit. Aydelotte will be with us at the same time, perhaps also his wife, no one else, so that we shall have two weeks of utter freedom and quiet. Now if the weather god is favorable, as he usually is at that time of year, you will get a taste of heaven long before you reach that final abode.

I wish I could explain to you what is back of the various goings-on in Washington. The fundamental fact is (1) the decrease in wholesale prices, (2) the fact that in the South and West people mortgaged their farms and their homes to buy automobiles, lived extravagantly from 1920 to 1929, and the political pressure to reduce the weight of indebtedness is very great. We have in Washington no

such group of persons as you have in the Treasury, and Roosevelt is, I fear, not a very strong man. On the other hand, the East is influential beyond its size and numbers, so that the probability is that some sort of compromise will be worked out by which none of us will be too severely damaged.

Mrs. Flexner is going to Gastein with Eleanor, as we now think, about May 10. Mrs. Flexner has not been very comfortable within the last few weeks. A few weeks at Gastein will give her a comfortable summer and winter as well I dearly hope.

All of us join in warmest greetings to you and your wife.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
All Souls College
Oxford, England

AF:ESB

Form 1251

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WEEK-END LETTER	

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to _____ 19____

To Woodward
All Souls College
Oxford

No hurry about memorandum Best for us to talk before you write it out Can be postponed till next winter Will send honorarium now Delighted about Canada Dates satisfactory Writing

Flexner

(Charge Institute for Advanced Study
April 13, 1933)

3.70

E. L. Woodward

April 13, 1933

My dear Woodward:

I received yesterday on returning from Washington your letter of April 2, and I replied this morning by cable as follows:

"No hurry about memorandum Best for us to talk before you write it out Can be postponed till next winter Will send honorarium now Delighted about Canada Dates satisfactory Writing".

I think it would be better if you and I could talk in a leisurely way about the memorandum which you are preparing, while we are sitting in the sunshine at Lake Almic this summer. You can then write out your final conclusions at your convenience. Meanwhile, you and Mitrany will have had an opportunity to talk. There is really no hurry. On the contrary, I hope that we can do our thinking in a leisurely way so that, when it comes to action a year or two hence, we will have left no stone unturned.

As to the date of your visit - the time which you propose is entirely convenient. By that time Mrs. Flexner will have returned from Gastein where she is going for three weeks on her doctor's advice. We both hope, however, that you and Mrs. Woodward can remain with us at least a fortnight.

Eleanor's plans at the moment are somewhat vague, but they will doubtless be cleared up within the next two or three weeks.

I sympathize with you profoundly in the loss which the College has

sustained in Lord Chelmsworth's sudden death. I hope very much that you will find a successor upon whom you will all unite as you united upon him. I read your letter aloud to Anne last night, and we were both deeply moved by your reflection that after all in this rocking and changing world it is something that an institution like All Souls gives one a sense of security and continuity.

Meanwhile, what in the world is one to say about Germany? I have been receiving letters from some of the leading scientists and scholars - some of them from points outside Germany - depicting the situation as being far worse than even the foreign press has reported. The worst of it is that the effort to make the Peace of Versailles work destroyed the moderates in Germany, and now the power has for the moment been thrown into the hands of a brutal and ignorant group of extremists, and the French will say, "You see, we were right." They were not right. "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." Wellington was wiser than Clemenceau, for he made a peace which gave Europe a long breathing space.

Our own political and financial situation is positively hectic. Roosevelt has sent to England an ambassador utterly inadequate from the standpoint of character and mentality - a man whose private history is a scandal. None of his diplomatic appointments can be called good. Meanwhile, he and his Cabinet are grinding out day after day a series of measures to relieve the depression. Surely, men cannot think of such complex issues at the rate in which he and his advisers are working. On the other hand, the country is pervaded by the feeling that this Administration will do something as against the Hoover Administration which was afflicted by incurable inertia or a mania for an ever higher tariff wall.

Give our warmest greetings to your wife, and believe me

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

P.S. I shall send you the draft towards the end of the month.

A.F.

I enclose a note from my wife to Eleanor - when we hope to see [illegible] in May. How well she is doing.

April 2. 1933.

All Souls College,
Oxford.

My dear Flexner.

I have been on the point of writing to you to thank you for your letter and to tell you the time of our arrival, but something has happened which has complicated everything. Our Warden - Lord Chelmsford - had a sudden heart attack yesterday and died at once. He had not been ill,

and the attack was entirely unexpected. He was with his daughter - calling on Sir Edward and Lady Goschen about 15 miles from Oxford.

As you can imagine I have spent most of the last 24 hours on the telephone. The Fellows are all scattered - it is mid-vacation, # and a week end.

It is too soon for me to say definitely,+ but

+April 14. Yes - I can say - after thinking it over, that I can ~~attend~~ get away for ½ July - August, but not for 4 months.

I suspect that I shall find myself kept here for the vacation - that is to say, I can get away for 5 or 6 weeks, but I don't suppose I shall be able to be away for 4 months.

We shall find it extremely difficult to choose a new Warden - we all agreed so easily about Chelmsford but I'm not so sure that we shall agree as easily and quickly about anyone else. We may not make our election until some time in June, and I should then want

but here for the installation of the new Warden. We should, in this case, have to postpone going to the East until 1934.

Now I imagine that you would like your report this year rather than in 1934, - for which I owe you very many thanks once more - and although I can't go as far as I often thought there will be nothing to prevent us coming to Canada I don't expect we could start until a little later - probably three weeks later - than we had intended. Lionel Curtis had wanted

All Souls College,
Oxford.

me to go as one of the delegates to the Pacific conference at Banff in August. I had refused, because I couldn't fit that in with the plan of going straight to Japan after leaving you: but now things have suddenly changed here, Mr Curtis has ~~sugg~~ made the suggestion again. though it may now be too late.

In any case, whether I go on to Banff or no, would it be convenient for us to come to you

for ten days in the second half of July?

I shall, of course, send you my draft beforehand - I have already written down some 'heads of proposals', as the Roundheads called them.

I began this letter two days ago, but I have been making arrangements for the Warden's funeral. The funeral was today: the first part of the service in the College chapel, and the second part in the University church. I suppose

that as a historian one is almost obsessed by the idea of continuity; but it seemed to me today - and although I live in the centre of all this, I am always being struck by it as though it were new - that there was something noble in the mere fact that a society like ours of All Souls has lasted so long - I thought that Warden after Warden had come into the College as a young man, had been affected by it - moulded by it, to some extent - and then at the end his body had been brought into the Chapel and given the solemnity and commemoration

which belong to an ordered civilisation. You feel that, although you know nothing of the universe, and cannot understand the ultimate significance of life or death, you are able, nevertheless, to give some meaning to life and some dignity to the end of life. That you are a link in a chain, and that you can look back over five hundred years and see that the work of many generations has not been without effect. In those days, there is something which reassures you and steadies you – 'Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together'.

E L Woodward

February 27, 1933

My dear Woodward;

I have your two letters, one dated January 29, the second dated February 16. They arrived for some queer reason not many days apart. I should have written more promptly but for the fact that my secretary has been absent on account of serious illness in her family. Meanwhile, my mail accumulated, and I am just now beginning to struggle out of it.

I will begin with the second letter. I am profoundly pleased that you are willing to undertake the preparation of the memorandum. You need not make it too elaborate. I should think a memorandum of 40 or 50 pages would suffice, though you are yourself the judge both of that and of everything else connected with it. It is in my mind to have a resident nucleus, as we have in mathematics, the mathematical nucleus consisting of four full professors, each with his personal assistant. They will be residents not exceeding six months of the year. For the rest of the time they are free to do what they please, and indeed during what I have called the resident period there is no reason why they should not go elsewhere for the purpose of investigation and research. I have the same feeling about politics, economics, and history that I have about astronomy. You must go to the eclipse. The eclipse will not come to you. Einstein must go where there is a fine telescope and clear air. They cannot

be transported to him. A guinea pig can be dissected anywhere, but not political, social, or economic phenomena. On the other hand, these are points which I should not wish you to assume. I would rather you included them in your memorandum in your own way.

I do not know Siegfried, but I do know Mendelssohn Bartholdy, and I shall undoubtedly confer with both the next time I go abroad.

As far as the fee is concerned, I think you ought to know before you leave England how much it is to be, for your doings may depend somewhat on its size, ~~though~~ so, if you are willing, we shall fix it at $250, which we can afford and which, I am sure, is none to much for the amount of gray matter and experience that you are going to put into the task.

I have had some talk on the subject already with David Mitrany. I wonder if you know him. He has been at the London School of Economics, a writer of leaders on foreign affairs for the Manchester Guardian and, so Mr. C. P. Scott once told me, the best judge of contemporary continental politics that he knew. For the past two years he has been lecturing at Harvard. He too is going to give me his counsel. Should you desire to talk the thing over with him, as you are free to do or not, as you please, I may say that he will be returning to England about the end of May. Will you let me know whether you think it worth while to have a powwow with him, but please feel under no obligation.

Books and other facilities you may take for granted. They exist already at Princeton and in New York, and, in so far as they are non-existent, we can easily supply them. Of course you may show your draft to anyone you please. It is no secret that I am burrowing about in this field, and the more criticism we can get, the more sound our procedure is likely to be.

Since I wrote to you last, Mrs. Flexner has been advised by her physician

to take a second cure at Gastein, and she may take Eleanor with her, for she dreads going alone. With the organization of this Institute on my hands I do not feel that I can go abroad this spring. Following her procedure of last year, she would go to Gastein for three weeks and after a week's rest return to America, not via New York, but via Montreal, thence to the camp. This would bring her to Canada somewhere around the 10th of July. If it is possible, she would love to be there while you and Mrs. Woodward are there, and of course the same is true of Eleanor. I am wondering whether there is a boat leaving England just a week later than the Empress of Britain which would enable you also to leave Vancouver a week later than July 15. If not, I will myself be in camp about July 1 or 2, and you and your wife will be welcome whenever you get there, for with or without persons we have the water and the woods and the solitude, for which I have been longing all winter long.

We hear little over here of Buchmann, not much. I am not surprised to learn that the movement is, as you say, "vociferous and ill-mannered".

I am glad the new Warden is doing well. I envy him his job. It is the only one that I know of that I would rather have than my own.

Few people in this country realize - very few - I think at the moment of Haskins as the most eminent - that America is really an offshoot of mediaeval England. My own feeling of dependence in the matter of culture I tried to bring out in a letter which I wrote to The Times the other day in the hope of switching the interminable war debt discussion to a more fruitful basis. I enclose a copy of this note, which has, alas, not yet completely changed American opinion!

Things are very, very dark in the United States, the more so, because we are not used to misfortune. Most Americans look to the new Administration for miracles. I am not among them. Roosevelt's calibre and the calibre of his Cabinet and the new Congress all remain to be determined. The one name mentioned in

connection with the American Embassy in London is so bad that I should hang my head in shame if such a calamity is not averted.

Eleanor and Mrs. Flexner join me in warmest greetings to you and Mrs. Woodward.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
All Souls College
Oxford, England

AF:ESB

Feb 16. 33.

All Souls College,
Oxford.

My dear Flexner.

I have just had your most kind – characteristically kind – letter, and I am quite overwhelmed by it. Of course I should like immensely to think out a scheme on the lines you suggest – the pleasure of doing it, especially in times like these when we seem to be slipping back into the pre-war anarchy of the world without the pre-war material prosperity – the

pleasure of thinking out a constructive scheme for an actual institution - and not merely for a Bodleian which won't be built - is sufficient in itself (more than sufficient for me to break the rules of syntax in an interminable sentence) but I really think that the weight of dollars you propose is far too great.

I imagine that you would want something of 60 pages - I should say 60 as a minimum - probably at least 100. I have benefitted so much from the endowments given to the English-speaking peoples by past generations - by Henry Chichele, Richard Foxe, Thomas White - to mention only three names - that I should without question think it only a small repayment of a debt to do all I could to

enlarge the purpose of present investigators.

Therefore may I - with my many thanks - leave it to you to give me what you will to give the other people whom you may consult.

As for the names of these others. I should feel inclined to suggest André Siegfried and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. I do not know M-B, but from all I have heard

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about him he is a very good man. I do not think you would get a better man in France than Siegfried. He is a little superficial, but his mind is most alert, 'realist', and well-trained. If F. Meinecke were younger, and less specialised I should suggest him but I think M-B would be better. Siegfried's experience at the Ecole Libre des

sciences politiques would be of value, and it would be useful to have the ideas of a man who knows England & America as well as France.

Now for my own memorandum. On first thought - and for my own reflections, if not for my final draft. I should divide the subject into two parts: Part 1 - a

discipline in ends and methods - what

we want to discover - to keep on discovering -

and what are the best means for ~~a do~~

making our discoveries? 2. In a work of

this kind how much can be assigned to

any one institute? If one was

thinking about a star map, one could divide

the heavens by the number of observatories, and

then - making adjustments for the situation, staff

and instruments of ~~a given ob~~ ob-
servatory, allot the tasks with almost
mathematical fairness. But man is
more elusive than Orion, and the study
of man can't be allocated so neatly!

I can write just I not of my own
inner consciousness, like the geneticist he cannot,
by various methods - such as observing the kind of
mistakes made by lack of knowledge - but!

All Souls College,
Oxford.

should like more information for part 2. In the first place how many men would the Institute employ? (There is of course a limit beyond which-even if one had unlimited funds-one would not wish to go. When limit is reached my soul) Then there is the question of apparatus- I mean books and documents. I imagine- from what you have told

me that a working library can be provided at the Institute and that elsewhere within easy distance - using if necessary train or car - there are unlimited library facilities. I should also take for granted certain expert research assistants (e.g. for statistical work)

3. Would you think it possible to have - together with a resident nucleus - a certain number of non-resident members - or rather of

members who would come to the Institute for some months in the year, but whose work would take them - for most part of their time - to places other than the neighbourhood of New York? I think there is an important point. (One might take the analogy of field botanists) ~~or of the foreign correspondents of a good newspaper~~ (I cross this out because it is not really an analogy). I have noticed - in the case of one English professor of international relations [Webster] - that a man's

point of view has been noticeably widened by his spending part of the year in this country and ~~[illegible]~~ part at Harvard, and I should think that in the study of present day political and economic phenomena one must be, ~~be close at hand~~ for most of one's time, near to the phenomena which one is studying - near for purposes of analysis (I am assuming that one is working to analyse, and not to attempt forecasts). One would not want

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Oxford.

people to be roving about vaguely, but whereas Einstein can - given certain apparatus and sufficient paper and ink - do his work anywhere, I am inclined to think that a man who was e.g. enquiring into the relation between law and opinion in England would want to live mainly in England - though it would be most important that - for certain periods

he should come to the Institute - as to a place which he knew and where he was at home - and meet other people working on the same subject in relation to other countries, and that for an inquiry upon law and opinion generally in the modern world, you would begin with local inquiries.

Then - to go to a different point - would you allow me to show my draft to other people - such as Beveridge, or J. L. Stocks, or Zimmern, or Ernest Barker? I should get a good

many copies typed, and ask for their comments.

I think a good many of the points which occur to me will settle themselves as I go along - but I mean I will find that one branch of inquiry is already being done at such a place, or that another branch should be done somewhere else: but the main thing to keep in mind from the first will be to avoid attempting to cover all knowledge

b) to avoid becoming no more than a check,

house, a bibliographical or statistical

institute, or – a mere home of rest. (This

latter danger is very real. Give a learned man

the most perfect surroundings – remove jars,

anxieties, drudgery, slights, and – if you don't

take the utmost care, he will go quietly to

sleep, and sleep for years and years!)

This letter is becoming a preface to a

All Souls College,
Oxford.

respect, so I had better bring it to an end.

Once again - my many thanks, both for your kindness, and for the thing-in-itself.

We shall go and come home, I expect, via Canada. We shall arrive at Montreal by the Empress of Britain - leaving England on June 23rd and we shall leave Vancouver on July 15.

It will be delightful to come to you. I am trying shipping lists doesn't give date of arrival. I'll easily find out.

most grateful again for the enquiries you have made about lectures, but with this proposal of yours - scaled down financially as it should be - I will not now think of anything else. I should not want to give the time in Canada or U.S.A and I shall also want all my time here to draft the memorandum, and would not want

to write any new lectures (still less to [illegible] off old sermons, as it were, upon an audience).

I have done about 300 pp rough draft of Vol I of my magnum opus on civilisation between 1871–1914. I expect to get another 100 pp done this term. I'm 'trying it on the dog' by giving the draft as lectures! – I must now get tomorrow's dose into shape

Our good wishes

Yours very

E L Woodward.

This letter – as the last 3 words show! – is from my wife as well as myself and we thank Mrs Flexner & Eleanor for asking us to break into your lake solitude.

E. L. Woodward

February 1, 1933

My dear Woodward;

I have under investigation the possibility of obtaining for you opportunities to lecture as you cross the continent in July, but, as American universities are all "broke", the outlook is not encouraging, and meanwhile I wonder if you would not like to do a little job for the Institute for Advanced Study.

Having rounded up a group of mathematicians, with which I propose to begin work next October, my mind has been dwelling upon the possibility of creating a school of economics and government adequate to deal with economic and political phenomena of the present day. Now suppose for a moment you had a chance such as I have to attack that subject, how would you go about it? What would you include - economics, law, government, modern history, international relations - what, why, who? Would it be possible for you to prepare a memorandum in which you would let your imagination and reason outline an ideal scheme of this sort? It happens that I have at my disposal the sum of $250 which I can apply as remuneration for an essay of this sort, and, if you should do it, we might have a splendid chance to discuss your proposals if you and Mrs. Woodward would go to Japan via Canada and spend a fortnight with us. Mrs. Flexner and Eleanor join me most heartily in urging this course upon you. You will thus be killing

several birds with one stone. I shall get the benefit of your judgment, learning, and experience. You and your wife will see an aspect of Canadian life which you willnot otherwise see. You will avoid the Suez Canal, and we shall have opportunities for a wide range of talk in leisurely fashion with nothing to distract us beyond the lapping of the waters and the whispering of the leaves.

Don't think for a minute that I am making this proposition to you simply in order to enable you to avoid the Suez Canal or to visit us. I am asking similar memoranda from three or four other persons, who are competent to think in a realm, in which I am really not at home.

Among other things I also want to ask you who on the Continent in France or Germany is equipped to render a similar service. Perhaps in this way I may get some ideas which will enable the Institute for Advanced Study to attack these political and economic problems more satisfactorily than has been the case up to this time.

We are all well, and all join in the warmest greetings to you and Mrs. Woodward.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

E. L. Woodward, Esq.
All Souls College
Oxford, England

AF:ESB

Please return to Flexner

Jan 29. 1933

1, SAVILE ROAD,
OXFORD.

1/29/33

My dear Flexner,

I was - we were - delighted to get your letter yesterday. It will be lovely to see you in your camp - you ought to be surrounded by symbolical scalps of different Universities! We have decided that we shall come and go via Canada. There is a very considerable advantage on the return ticket, and the money we save we can put to another journey some time. We shall go as far as Hong Kong - for Canton - or get our full money's worth out of the company by going to Manila. We expect to sail by the Empress of Britain on June 24 - this ship has, I am told, excellent tourist accommodation. We should leave Vancouver on the 15 July - though if it were a question of giving a few lectures I could wait until 29 July (otherwise, with the lectures, I should not see anything of you). It is very good of you to be making enquiries - I do hope very much that I am not being a nuisance - in fact I must be being a nuisance, but I hope not an appalling nuisance.

I shan't feel in any way affronted if no one wants to give me an audience. Apart from the question of economy, and cutting down 'extras', I should suspect that the American Continent has had far too many English lecturers, and among them, a good many who have in various ways discouraged their hearers from asking for any more goods from the same warehouse!

Have you come across either the Oxford Group movement or the Oxford Society? ~~The~~ Neither body is likely to do us much good. The first is a 'throw-back' revivalism, with a good deal of watered down psychology (a friend of mine described it as a ~~mixture~~ combination of psychoanalysis and mixed bathing!), run by one Buchmann whose career, I gather, hasn't been very brilliant in the United States. The 'movement' hasn't really touched the other dons or undergraduates here, but it is vociferous and ill-mannered, and it has been fostered by several College Chaplains who are terrified of 'missing the bus' and passing on the wrong side of a new religious movement! It has had its uses - like any other quackery - but on the whole it's influence isn't good, and I am worldly enough to think it odd that

1, SAVILE ROAD,
OXFORD.

Brother Buchmann doesn't publish any accounts!

The Oxford Society is an idea of L. Curtis - and like most of his ideas, good in itself but wrongly carried out. It has gone in for advertising itself largely, and has published an annual report - in the name of the University - which is likely to do us a good deal of harm. Kenneth Bell, of Balliol, has been stumping the country about it, and has created the impression that the Society is a kind of freemasons club to enable Oxford men to give the best jobs to ~~the~~ other Oxford men. So far we've been content 1) to let our men stand on their own merits. 2) not to advertise ourselves! However, if the Society gets into right hands it may be a good thing.

Our new Warden is doing us well - providing just the kind of link which we want to join research and practical activity. We have just tried the experiment of widening our Fellowship examination - we offered 3 Fellowships last year in place of two, and, for the first time, set a paper in philosophy. I have a secret hope that some day the College will be persuaded to include the biological sciences. It will be a very good thing

for us to widen our conception of the studies which include "[illegible] in society." We have excellent precedents - Linacre was a Fellow (you remember his portrait in the Hall) and we had several scientific - medical - Fellows in the late 17th century. Our quincentenary happens in 1937, and we are publishing (with Jacob as editor) an extract of Chichele's Register. The Warden also wants us to bring out a book of essays about the College - I am meditating something on the fabric of the College. I found a small 15th century chest in the archives some time ago - it is delightful to make discoveries of this kind! I often wonder how much you in America realise I mean, not as a fact, but imaginatively - that our mediaeval past is also your mediaeval past, and that Greece and Rome are yours as much as ours. - Perhaps you realise it more than we realise it. More hangs on this than is generally realised! Today is the anniversary of the beheading of Charles I. I wonder how many people in America have remembered this. Yet think of the number of American citizens whose ancestors felt on this day nearly 300 years ago that, for good or ill, the most fearsome act of their lives had been accomplished. - I'm getting on my high historical horse, and I'd better stop! We are delighted to hear about Eleanor. Tell her humbly she has put - perhaps they have acted it - to support that the Civic Repertory Theatre acted the Oedipus (of Sophocles, with masks). I saw it acted last summer - although it was done by amateurs - it was the most awe-inspiring play! I'd never seen - perhaps you have seen it often. [illegible]

Yr E.Ll.W.