

Thomas Lowe Hughes Papers
A Finding Aid to the Collection in the Library of Congress



Manuscript Division, Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.
2022

Contact information: <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mss.contact>

Catalog Record: <https://lcn.loc.gov/mm2018086254>

Additional search options available at: <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/eadmss.ms022005>

Prepared by Manuscript Division staff

Finding aid encoded by Manuscript Division staff, 2022

Collection Summary

Title: Thomas Lowe Hughes Papers

Inclusive Dates: 1918-2018

Bulk Dates: 1961-1991

ID No.: MSS86254

Creator: Hughes, Thomas Lowe, 1925-

Extent: 71,500 items

Extent: 200 containers plus 5 classified

Extent: 82 linear feet

Language: Collection material in English

Location: Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

LC Catalog record: <https://lccn.loc.gov/mm2018086254>

Summary: Public official, diplomat. Correspondence, writings, notes, professional files, and other papers of Thomas Lowe Hughes documenting his career as a close aide to Chester Bowles and Hubert Humphrey, his service in the Department of State as the director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1963-1969), and his work as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1971-1991).

Acquisition Information

The papers of Thomas Lowe Hughes were given to the Library of Congress by Hughes in 2018.

Processing History

The papers of Thomas Lowe Hughes were processed and described by Colleen Benoit Kim with assistance from Jake Bozza, Katherine Duvall, Maria Farmer, Emily Flint, Chanté Flowers, Miles Lawlor, Sara Ludewig, and Tammi Taylor in 2022.

Transfers

Audiovisual materials have been transferred to the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division where they are identified as part of the Thomas Lowe Hughes Papers. Among the transferred items are audio and video recordings of Hughes's speeches. Patrons are encouraged to contact the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division in advance of a research visit.

Other Repositories

Other records relating to Hughes and the Hughes family can be found at the Minnesota Historical Society. Records relating to Hughes and the Student Federalists movement can be found at the New York Public Library.

Copyright Status

The status of copyright in the unpublished writings of Thomas Lowe Hughes is governed by the Copyright Law of the United States (Title 17, U.S.C.).

Access and Restrictions

The papers of Thomas Lowe Hughes are open to research. Many collections are stored off-site and advance notice is needed to retrieve these items for research use. Researchers are advised to contact the Manuscript Reading Room prior to visiting.

National Security Classified Information

Government regulations control the use of national security classified items in this collection. Manuscript Division staff can furnish information concerning access to and use of classified material.

Preferred Citation

Researchers wishing to cite this collection should include the following information: Container number, Thomas Lowe Hughes Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Biographical Note

Date	Event
1925, Dec. 11	Born, Mankato, Minn.
1944-1945	National president, Student Federalists
1947	B.A., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
1949	Rhodes scholar, University of Oxford, Oxford, England M.A., University of Oxford, Oxford, England
1951-1952	Professional staff, United States Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations
1952	J.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
1952-1964	Lieutenant and major, United States Air Force
1955	Married Jean Hurlburt Reiman (died 1993)
1955-1958	Legislative counsel, United States Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
1959-1960	Administrative assistant, United States Congressman Chester Bowles
1961-1969	Deputy assistant secretary, deputy director, and director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State
1965	Awarded Arthur S. Flemming award
1969-1970	Minister and deputy chief of mission, United States Embassy, London, England
1971-1991	President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
1995	Married Jane Dudley Casey Kuczynski

Scope and Content Note

The papers of Thomas Lowe Hughes (1925-) span the dates 1918-2018, with the bulk of the material dating from 1961 to 1991. The collection documents Hughes's career in United States politics and foreign policy, especially as an aide to United States politicians, Chester Bowles and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, as director of the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and, later, as the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The collection is organized into eight series: [United States Congress](#), [Department of State](#), [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace](#), [General Correspondence](#), [Speeches and Writings](#), [Boards and Associations](#), [Personal File](#), and [National Security Classified Information](#).

The collection documents Hughes's interest and work in federal politics and foreign policy, much of which was informed by his early involvement with and leadership in the Student Federalists movement as a student at Carleton College and his travels throughout Europe as a Rhodes scholar in the immediate postwar period. His papers comprehensively cover the trajectory of his career in American foreign policy, beginning in the United States Congress as an administrative assistant to Chester Bowles and as legislative counsel to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, then moving into various leadership roles in the Department of State and, finally, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Hughes's professional contacts, associations, and affiliations, many of which Hughes worked to foster and maintain for the duration of his career and beyond, feature prominently through correspondence and meeting notes, filed across several series and found throughout the collection.

The collection's series are listed and briefly described below. A fuller description of each series and a list of its contents can be accessed in the series descriptions within the container list.

The [United States Congress](#) series contains materials documenting Hughes's early career working as legislative counsel to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (1955-1958) and his work as an administrative assistant to Congressman Chester Bowles (1959-1960), as well as his continued professional and personal associations with both throughout his career.

The [Department of State](#) series contains material documenting Hughes's positions with the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) and the United States Embassy, London.

The [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace](#) series spans the years 1948-2008, with the bulk of the material reflecting Hughes's tenure as the organization's president between 1971 and 1991. This series primarily contains records of major projects, events, and functions the endowment undertook under Hughes's tutelage.

The [General Correspondence](#) series was maintained as received and is arranged into three groupings: Alphabetical file, Chronological file, and Special signatures. The series primarily documents Hughes's professional career in the Department of State and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with the majority reflecting Hughes's years at the Carnegie Endowment.

The [Speeches and Writings](#) series contains transcripts of speeches Hughes gave at a variety of professional and personal engagements, articles, and an extensive collection of notes pertaining to speech and article ideas, meetings, and other professional matters.

The [Boards and Associations](#) series documents Hughes's involvement with various international affairs think tanks and nongovernmental organizations.

The [Personal File](#) contains material related to Hughes's education, military service, and endeavors outside of his later professional career.

The remaining series contains [National Security Classified Information](#) associated with Hughes's tenure with the Department of State and United States Congress as an aide to Hubert Humphrey and Chester Bowles.

Arrangement of the Collection

This collection is arranged in eight series:

- [United States Congress, 1940-2018](#)
- [Department of State, 1947-2009](#)
- [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1948-2008](#)
- [General Correspondence, 1943-2006](#)
- [Speeches and Writings, 1955-2017](#)
- [Boards and Associations, 1967-2013](#)
- [Personal File, 1918-2017](#)
- [National Security Classified Information, 1961-1970](#)

Selected Search Terms

The following terms have been used to index the description of this collection in the LC Catalog. They are grouped by name of person or organization, by subject or location, and by occupation and listed alphabetically.

People

Annenberg, Walter H., 1908-2002.

Bowles, Chester, 1901-1986.

Bowles, Chester, 1901-1986. Ambassador's report. 1954.

Hiss, Alger.

Hughes, Alice Lowe, 1894-1967--Correspondence.

Hughes, Evan Raymond, 1892-1954--Correspondence.

Hughes, Thomas Lowe, 1925-
Humphrey, Hubert H. (Hubert Horatio), 1911-1978--Correspondence.
Humphrey, Hubert H. (Hubert Horatio), 1911-1978.
Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963.
Mondale, Walter F., 1928-2021--Correspondence.

Organizations

Arms Control Association (Washington, D.C.)
Balliol College (University of Oxford)--Students.
Carleton College (Northfield, Minn.)--Students.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Face-to-Face (Program)
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Future of Arms Control Panel.
Foundation for World Government ('En ha-Shofeṭ, Israel))
Mid-Atlantic Club.
Oxford-Cambridge Association.
Student Federalists--Correspondence.
Student Federalists.
United States. Air Force.
United States. Congress.
United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations.
United States. Department of State.
United States. Department of State. Bureau of Intelligence and Research.
United States. Embassy (Great Britain)
Yale Law School--Students.

Subjects

Cold War.
Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962.
Defenses.
Diplomatic and consular service, American--Great Britain.
Diplomatic and consular service, American--India.
International organization.
International relations--Periodicals.
International relations.
Nuclear weapons.
Political campaigns--United States.
Presidents--United States--Election--1960.
Rhodes scholarships.
Security, International.
Vietnam War, 1961-1975.

Places

Europe, Western--Foreign relations--United States.
Europe--Description and travel.
Germany--Foreign relations--United States.
Germany--History--Unification, 1990.
Great Britain--Foreign relations--United States.
India--Description and travel.
India--Foreign relations--United States.
India--Politics and government--1947-
Pakistan--Description and travel.
South Asia.
Soviet Union--Foreign relations--United States.

United States--Foreign relations--20th century.
United States--Foreign relations--21st century.
United States--Foreign relations--Europe, Western.
United States--Foreign relations--Germany.
United States--Foreign relations--Great Britain.
United States--Foreign relations--India.
United States--Foreign relations--Soviet Union.
United States--Politics and government--20th century.
United States--Politics and government--21st century.
Vietnam.

Titles

Foreign affairs.

Foreign policy.

Occupations

Diplomats.

Public officials.

Description of Series

Container

BOX 1-15

Series

United States Congress, 1940-2018

The United States Congress series contains materials documenting Hughes's early career working as legislative counsel to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (1955-1958) and his work as an administrative assistant to Congressman Chester Bowles (1959-1960), as well as his continued professional and personal associations with both throughout his career. The series also contains a limited amount of material documenting Hughes's association with Vice President Walter F. Mondale. The Chester Bowles material documents Hughes's work for Bowles's congressional office and campaigns, including correspondence from constituents, drafts of books and articles Hughes edited for Bowles, files documenting bills Bowles worked on, as well as his platforms and policies. Bowles's participation in John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign and subsequent appointment to Kennedy's administration as undersecretary of state is well represented through copies of letters to Kennedy. Replies from Kennedy are present to a lesser degree. Also featured is material relating to Bowles's two appointments as United States ambassador to India, including drafts of his book, *Ambassador's Report*, and correspondence to Hughes from his second tenure as ambassador. The Hubert H. Humphrey material documents Hughes's work with Humphrey as well as his continued association until Humphrey's death in 1978 and Hughes's involvement with Humphrey's legacy after his death. Materials cover Humphrey's policies in the Senate, his electoral campaigns, the inner workings of his Senate office, and, to a limited degree, his vice presidency. The Walter F. Mondale material is limited and consists of correspondence between Mondale and Hughes and ephemera related to Mondale.

Material types include correspondence, memoranda, notes, ephemera, writings, drafts, and clippings.

Arranged alphabetically by name and then alphabetically by topic or material type.

BOX 15-36

Department of State, 1947-2009

The Department of State series contains material documenting Hughes's positions with the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) and the United States Embassy, London. The material ranging from 1961 to 1969 covers Hughes's time as the deputy director, then director of INR and includes meeting notes, correspondence, briefings, and reports relating to the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and other issues relating to the Cold War. Travel files document a 1963 trip Hughes took to Germany and England in conjunction with John F. Kennedy's European tour and a 1964 trip to India and Pakistan resulting in a comprehensive debriefing on the Indian subcontinent. Files also include material on departmental politics and business, Senate hearings, and special study groups. The chronological files of George C. Denney within the series document Denney's time as deputy director of INR (1963-1974), and cover many of the same topics. Material also includes notes and articles written and collected by Hughes after his tenure at INR that primarily reflect on INR's role in world events. The London Embassy files document Hughes's professional activities as minister and deputy chief of mission at the United States Embassy in London, England, from 1969 to 1970. During this time, Hughes served as the second in command to Ambassador Walter H. Annenberg. These materials include correspondence, speeches, schedules and guest lists for embassy events, notes, printed matter, and clippings.

Material types include correspondence, speeches, memoranda, notes, reports, briefings, itineraries, and clippings.

Arranged alphabetically by topic or material type.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1948-2008

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace series spans the years 1948-2008, with the bulk of the material reflecting Hughes's tenure as the organization's president between 1971-1991. This series primarily contains records of major projects, events, and functions the endowment undertook under Hughes's tutelage. Major topics include the Arms Control Association, Future of Arms Control panel, Face-to-Face communication program events, the Mid-Atlantic Club, Board of Trustees meetings, and publication of *Foreign Policy* magazine. The bulk of the series is formed by a subject file containing Hughes's files regarding staff, projects, contractors, and organizations with which the endowment regularly collaborated. Many files contain Hughes's notes and correspondence with individuals regarding project ideas, statuses, and outcomes. Conferences and meetings on the topics of foreign policy, nuclear arms, and United States-Soviet relations, either sponsored by the endowment or attended by Hughes, also feature prominently in the subject file and throughout the series. Also of particular note are the files documenting the Board of Trustees meetings. These files include planning materials for the endowment's biannual board meetings, meeting minutes, reports of the president, and documents reflecting an extensive program review in 1987. Also included are letters sent to the board regarding Alger Hiss's position as president of the organization in the wake of his accusation of espionage in 1948.

Material types include correspondence, notes, reports, and printed matter.

Arranged alphabetically by topic or material type.

General Correspondence, 1943-2006

The General Correspondence series was maintained as received and is arranged into three groupings: Alphabetical file, Chronological file, and Special signatures. The series primarily documents Hughes's professional career in the Department of State and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with the majority reflecting Hughes's years at the Carnegie Endowment and his contacts with diplomats and dignitaries. Topics across the series largely relate to business matters and include interoffice memos and routine outgoing correspondence. Files regarding named correspondents in the Alphabetical and Special signatures groupings often include contextual and analytical notes supplied by Hughes and, at times, associated clippings, printed matter, and other ephemera. Researchers should note that extensive personal correspondence chronicling Hughes's undergraduate and graduate education and extracurricular activities is located in the [Personal File](#).

Arranged into three groupings: Alphabetical file, Chronological file, and Special signatures, and arranged alphabetically or chronologically therein.

Speeches and Writings, 1955-2017

The Speeches and Writing series contains transcripts of speeches Hughes gave at a variety of professional and personal engagements, articles, and an extensive collection of notes pertaining to speech and article ideas, meetings, and other professional matters. The speeches in this series span the years 1954-2007 and represent engagements in which Hughes participated while working for the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as president and president emeritus. The majority of the speeches are arranged chronologically, with some arranged topically for specific functions where Hughes spoke regularly, namely Mid-Atlantic Club meetings, Carnegie Endowment Board of Trustees meetings, and gatherings of the Oxford-Cambridge Association. The writings in this series are largely article adaptations of Hughes's speeches published in *Foreign Affairs* magazine. Also included is material chronicling a preface Hughes wrote for the Bureau of Intelligence and Research's Vietnam study after it was declassified in 2004. The notes in this series are extensive and cover a wide variety of topics ranging from personal and professional meetings, to impressions of projects, colleagues, and current events, and ideas for article and speech

content. Hughes's notes are filed across the collection in multiple series. Other series with significant notes include the [Department of State](#), Bureau of Intelligence and Research file and [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace](#) Subject file.

BOX 154-186

Boards and Associations, 1967-2013

The Boards and Associations series documents Hughes's involvement with various international affairs think tanks and nongovernmental organizations. Hughes served on the boards of several institutions that aimed to conduct foreign policy research and to strengthen diplomatic relations between the United States and its Western allies. Several of these boards and associations specifically focus on United States-German relations. Major topics include the global economy, German reunification, international security and defense, the recruitment and selection of new board members, fundraising and grants, and logistics for meetings, conferences, and lectures.

Material types include correspondence, meeting minutes, notes, reports, conference programs, and clippings.

Arranged alphabetically by organization name.

BOX 186-200

Personal File, 1918-2017

The Personal File contains material related to Hughes's education, military service, and endeavors outside of his later professional career. Correspondence written and received by Hughes while an undergraduate at Carleton College (1943-1947), a Rhodes Scholar at Balliol College, University of Oxford (1947-1949), law student at Yale Law School (1949-1952), and lieutenant in the Air Force (1953-1954) comprises the majority of the series. Major topics include Hughes's involvement with the Student Federalists movement, especially as national president from 1944 to 1945, travels around Europe in the postwar period, work with the Foundation for World Government in 'En ha-Shofet, Israel, in the summer of 1950, and early work as a law student with the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor Management Relations in the summer of 1951. Letters across the series feature Hughes's parents, Evan Raymond Hughes and Alice Lowe Hughes, friends, and contacts from the Student Federalists movement. The correspondence in this series was maintained as received and is organized by institution with which Hughes was affiliated or location at which he resided at a given time. Researchers should note that many topics and correspondents, namely contacts associated with the Student Federalists movement, are spread across the series. Researchers should also consult the [General Correspondence](#) file, as relevant correspondence from Hughes's pre-career years is included, though to a limited degree.

Material types include correspondence, photographs, military papers, and printed material.

Arranged alphabetically by topic or material type.

BOX CL 1-CL 5

National Security Classified Information, 1961-1970

Material types include correspondence, memoranda, notes, and briefings primarily from Thomas Hughes' tenure at the Department of State.

Listed and described according to the series, containers, and folders from which the items were separated. Items marked Top Secret and Sensitive Compartmented Information are housed separately from other classified material in this series.

Container List

Container	Contents
BOX 1-15	<p>United States Congress, 1940-2018</p> <p>The United States Congress series contains materials documenting Hughes's early career working as legislative counsel to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (1955-1958) and his work as an administrative assistant to Congressman Chester Bowles (1959-1960), as well as his continued professional and personal associations with both throughout his career. The series also contains a limited amount of material documenting Hughes's association with Vice President Walter F. Mondale. The Chester Bowles material documents Hughes's work for Bowles's congressional office and campaigns, including correspondence from constituents, drafts of books and articles Hughes edited for Bowles, files documenting bills Bowles worked on, as well as his platforms and policies. Bowles's participation in John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign and subsequent appointment to Kennedy's administration as undersecretary of state is well represented through copies of letters to Kennedy. Replies from Kennedy are present to a lesser degree. Also featured is material relating to Bowles's two appointments as United States ambassador to India, including drafts of his book, <i>Ambassador's Report</i>, and correspondence to Hughes from his second tenure as ambassador. The Hubert H. Humphrey material documents Hughes's work with Humphrey as well as his continued association until Humphrey's death in 1978 and Hughes's involvement with Humphrey's legacy after his death. Materials cover Humphrey's policies in the Senate, his electoral campaigns, the inner workings of his Senate office, and, to a limited degree, his vice presidency. The Walter F. Mondale material is limited and consists of correspondence between Mondale and Hughes and ephemera related to Mondale.</p> <p>Material types include correspondence, memoranda, notes, ephemera, writings, drafts, and clippings.</p> <p>Arranged alphabetically by name and then alphabetically by topic or material type.</p>
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BOX 1	Area redevelopment bill, 1958-1962
BOX 1	Bay of Pigs Invasion, Cuba, 1961
BOX 1	Bills, 1959-1960 (2 folders)
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BOX 1	<i>Congressional Record</i> , 1959-1960
BOX 1	Correspondence
BOX 1	Chronological, 1954-1975 <i>See also Container CL 1, same heading</i> (3 folders)
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BOX 2	"Important," 1953-1959
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United States Congress, 1940-2018

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BOX 7	Miscellaneous notes and reminiscences, circa 1990-2017
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BOX 7	Notes for Chester Bowles, 1954
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United States Congress, 1940-2018

Container	Contents
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BOX 8	Oral history about Bowles, Hughes transcripts, 1973-1977
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BOX 8	Press releases, 1959-1960 (4 folders)
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BOX 8	Reunification of Germany, 1959
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BOX 9	Exit from position, 1961
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BOX 11	S.3308, Revise Federal Election Laws to Prevent Corrupt Practices in Federal Elections, 1956
BOX 11	Bills by Humphrey
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BOX 11	Civil Rights Act, vote tallies, drafts, 1957
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BOX 12	Draft board, Hughes Air Force commission (Humphrey's role), 1952
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United States Congress, 1940-2018

Container	Contents
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United States Congress, 1940-2018

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BOX 15	<i>Running Mate</i> transcript, 1996
BOX 15	Speech, Council on Foreign Relations, 1986

BOX 15-36	Department of State, 1947-2009
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The Department of State series contains material documenting Hughes's positions with the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) and the United States Embassy, London. The material ranging from 1961 to 1969 covers Hughes's time as the deputy director, then director of INR and includes meeting notes, correspondence, briefings, and reports relating to the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and other issues relating to the Cold War. Travel files document a 1963 trip Hughes took to Germany and England in conjunction with John F. Kennedy's European tour and a 1964 trip to India and Pakistan resulting in a comprehensive debriefing on the Indian subcontinent. Files also include material on departmental politics and business, Senate hearings, and special study groups. The chronological files of George C. Denney within the series document Denney's time as deputy director of INR (1963-1974), and cover many of the same topics. Material also includes notes and articles written and collected by Hughes after his tenure at INR that primarily reflect on INR's role in world events. The London Embassy files document Hughes's professional activities as minister and deputy chief of mission at the United States Embassy in London, England, from 1969 to 1970. During this time, Hughes served as the second in command to Ambassador Walter H. Annenberg. These materials include correspondence, speeches, schedules and guest lists for embassy events, notes, printed matter, and clippings.

Material types include correspondence, speeches, memoranda, notes, reports, briefings, itineraries, and clippings.

Arranged alphabetically by topic or material type.

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Department of State, 1947-2009

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The Personal File contains material related to Hughes's education, military service, and endeavors outside of his later professional career. Correspondence written and received by Hughes while an undergraduate at Carleton College (1943-1947), a Rhodes Scholar at Balliol College, University of Oxford (1947-1949), law student at Yale Law School (1949-1952), and lieutenant in the Air Force (1953-1954) comprises the majority of the series. Major topics include Hughes's involvement with the Student Federalists movement, especially as national president from 1944 to 1945, travels around Europe in the postwar period, work with the Foundation for World Government in 'En ha-Shofet, Israel, in the summer of 1950, and early work as a law student with the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor Management Relations in the summer of 1951. Letters across the series feature Hughes's parents, Evan Raymond Hughes and Alice Lowe Hughes, friends, and contacts from the Student Federalists movement. The correspondence in this series was maintained as received and is organized by institution with which Hughes was affiliated or location at which he resided at a given time. Researchers should note that many topics and correspondents, namely contacts associated with the Student Federalists movement, are spread across the series. Researchers should also consult the [General Correspondence](#) file, as relevant correspondence from Hughes's pre-career years is included, though to a limited degree.

Material types include correspondence, photographs, military papers, and printed material.

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