

Lambeth Palace. S.E.1.

31st October 1919.

Dear Mr. Buxton,

I thank you for your letter which has only reached Lambeth to-day, though the typewritten date is October 25th.

The memorandum which you send for my signature deals with details about which I have no firsthand knowledge whatever, and I always abstain from giving my name to documents the accuracy of which I have no means of testing and the arguments of which are controversial.

I do not doubt that what you have drafted is correct, but if I were challenged about it I should be obliged to say that I was relying upon what you have told me and not upon my own knowledge of the situation. I am sure that a detailed statement of this kind ought only to be put forth by those who are really conversant with the whole subject--not in its general aspect only but in its particulars. This is eminently true of you, and it applies also to many others. But it is simply impossible for me with the many things which I have to do, to give adequate time to details such as those relating to the re-construction of the territorial arrangements in Austria-Hungary and the effect of these upon the population problem. I am steadily doing my best to further the appeals which are being put forward on behalf of the funds for bringing preventing famine in Central Europe *and*

or agencies

Western Asia. There are of course many different people who are apparently rather loosely connected with one another as regards the organisation of this relief, but I gather that the "Save the Children Fund" co-ordinates them all and is paving the way for an International Commission. It is to them therefore that I am giving confidence and support. I say this to show you that I am not indifferent in this intensely ~~difficult~~ anxious matter, but I must keep myself to statements of a somewhat general character. I do not in the least criticise (far from it) the issue of an appeal worded as you have worded this memorandum, but I am sure that as Archbishop I should be unwise to sign it as it stands, for I should be legitimately expected to be able to answer for the accuracy of its details. You are aware that the question of joint appeal by the Christian Churches (including the Roman Catholics) covering the whole ground is now under consideration.

I am

Yours very truly,

Randall Maclean

Trust

Lambeth Palace, S.E.1.

9th March 1940.

Dear Noel Buxton,

Forgive me for my delay in
acknowledging your letter of March 2nd
with its enclosed notes. I have been
so busy that I have not had time to
write to you about your suggestions,
But I hope I may be able to do so soon.

Yours sincerely,

Ormsby

Archib P

~~18~~
18

Lambeth Palace, S.E.

29th May 1940.

My dear Noel Buxton,

I am overwhelmed with shame to think that I have waited so long before sending any answer to your letter dated so long ago as March 2nd, in addition to my mere acknowledgement of your notes. The truth is I am so constantly beset by matters of all sorts and kinds arising in almost every part of the world which require my immediate attention that it is difficult to give quiet consideration to such matters as those with which your memorandum on War Aims dealt.

"I think you will recognise that since you wrote, it is no longer profitable to speculate on what might have been done at some earlier stage, as the recent invasions of these quiet countries have made it abundantly plain that it is useless to think of any sort of negotiation with Hitler, and that hateful as the prospect may be there is no course open to those who value peace and justice in the world except to defeat his designs. At the same time of course we must not dismiss from our minds thoughts about the ultimate aims towards which any conceivable peace should be directed. But these will be of a different kind from those which you had immediately in mind in your memorandum."

*Yes, if we can't.
+ terms offered - annihilation
or humiliⁿ
(in subjⁿ)*

*x These were - not subjⁿ.
6 Failure of aggression.
Etc int.
Equal status. e.g. u cols.
Disarm^t.
Collaborⁿ
Inance of Am^s*

Yours very sincerely,

Archib

May 30th, 1940.

My dear Archbishop,

Very many thanks for your letter. It was kind of you to write me about my Memorandum on war aims when the subject has, as you say, become more than irrelevant. We can hardly hope that it may become practicable within a long period, but there might be opportunities, if we escape the worst, as there were during the last war. Lansdowne now appears to many people, who then opposed him, to have been right, and his policy would probably have avoided the wrong turn which events took, owing to the adoption of the knock-out policy by Lloyd George.

May 23rd, 1940.

I value very much your view that public thought should be directed to ultimate aims, because the public mind can only be prepared in that way for the opportunity of negotiation when that moment arrives.

COPY.

Lambeth Palace,
S.E.1.
3rd June, 1944.

My dear Noel-Buxton,

Your letter on the whole makes me the more glad that I could not come into the House on May 24th for I am afraid I should have disappointed you a good deal.

As regards our aim, that has been set out in a document on

"the future of Europe" to which you have referred. Beside this,

I am publicly withdrawing, in a pamphlet issued by Stephen Hobhouse,

to which I have written a Foreword, what I have previously said

about any attempt to punish Germany as distinct from punishing

guilty individuals. The course of the war has inflicted on her

overwhelming punishment. On the other hand, I think that her

record is one that gives ground for being prepared, if it is

thought likely to make for stability, for a treatment which will

do doubt seem like punishment but would I think be justified if

adopted exclusively from the other motive. I suppose it is not

true that East Prussia has been the main seed plot of what we call

Prussianism, for I believe West Prussia has been worse in that

respect; but it has been pretty bad and I see no possibility of

making a really strong and independent Poland while East Prussia

remains in the Reich. Whether it is conceivable that the rest of

Germany could settle down to accept that arrangement, if the economic terms of the Peace are such that the ordinary citizens of Germany have as good a prospect of a full life as anybody else, I find it very hard to form any estimate. That I think is not a point of principle but is precisely the sort of point which one has to put to those whose business it is to form a judgment on such a matter. My own mind would be greatly influenced, for example, by Lord Cecil's judgment on this point. I am sure that if East Prussia is to be transferred, we ought to facilitate - thought I think not to compel - the migration of the German families to the Reich proper. But I am writing all this, so that you may see what in itself I regret very much, how unsatisfactory my outlook is from your own standpoint.

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) William Gantuar.

To Archbishop
re annexation

10, Lowndes Square,

S.W.1.

9.6.44.

My dear Archbishop,

Thank you very much for telling me your view of the Polish annexation question so fully. I always wish to agree with you, and I hope very much that you are right, as the policy of annexation seems likely to be adopted. ~~If it is pursued in the spirit of your pronouncement on the treatment of Germany, the danger that I fear will be greatly modified.~~

But I hope that it is vital that the spirit of ~~your pronouncement~~ should prevail, as in that case Germany will be reduced to a ~~state of~~ ^{peace will} ~~be~~ ^{not be} ~~initially~~ ^{permanently} ~~not be~~ ^{including the best} ~~initially~~ ^{of them} ~~initially~~ ^{will} ~~initially~~ ^{be} ~~initially~~ ^a ~~initially~~ ^{duty.}