

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:  
"LABREPCOM, VIC, LONDON."

TELEPHONE:  
1213 VICTORIA.

1, VICTORIA STREET,  
LONDON, S.W. 1.

31st March 1917

Dear Buxton,

Thanks for your favour of the 30th with enclosure.

I shall give the Memorandum careful consideration, though I must confess, having regard to the conditions under which Bulgaria came into the War, I have never been very much attracted to the course your letter suggests. Notwithstanding this, I am so anxious that the War should be settled on a basis that will best assure the future peace of Europe, and anxious also that it should not be continued a day longer than is necessary to secure that object, that I would be prepared to avail myself of all essential means calculated to have the desired effect.

Yours sincerely,

*Arthur Henderson*

N. Buxton, Esq.,  
12, Rutland Gate, S.W.7.



Foreign Office,  
S.W.1.

15th July, 1929.

My dear Buxton,

Many thanks for your letter of July 11th about the present Yugoslav-Bulgarian tension. I hardly think that the moment has yet arrived to threaten the Serbs with a reference to the Council. That is a weapon which must be cautiously used if it is to be effective.

As you no doubt have seen the Bulgars have officially intimated to us that they would be willing to agree to the establishment of a neutral frontier commission. This could only be accomplished either by agreement between the two countries (which is unlikely) or following a reference to the Council, under Article 11 of the Covenant, by Bulgaria.

v.g. | We are at this moment considering the advisability of warning the Serbs to the effect that if they remain adamant in their refusal to agree with the Bulgars direct to the establishment of a Mixed Frontier Commission, we should be obliged to support any reasonable suggestions made by the Bulgars if they ever applied to the League.

This,

The Right Hon.  
Noel Buxton, M.P.

Foreign Office,  
S.W.1.

This, I think, is as far as it would be wise to go for the present. If it proves insufficient to produce the desired effect we can then consider using our supreme threat. But I still hope that this will not be necessary since our most recent telegrams show an improvement in the tone of the Yugoslav Government which eventually may be converted into acts without our having to use the big stick. In other words we must, I think, wait a little longer to see what effect our representations and those of the French are producing before actually threatening the Serbs to drag them before the League.

I have no information to confirm the report that has reached you that the French are urging the Bulgars not to appeal to the League. In any case I doubt the French having such influence at Sofia as to be able to prevent the Bulgars from appealing to the League if they thought it might be in their interest to do so.

Yours Sincerely  
Arthur Henderson

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:  
"LABREPCOM, VIC, LONDON."

TELEPHONE:  
1213 VICTORIA.

260  
1, VICTORIA STREET,  
LONDON, S.W.

2nd January 1917.

*Private*  
Dear Buxton,

Thanks for your favour of the 29th which has been awaiting my return from France.

I will carefully consider the note you have been good enough to forward. I quite agree that there is much misunderstanding as to the attitude of President Wilson, though I cannot disguise from my mind the fact that he is largely responsible for such misunderstanding. No one doubts his good intentions, but the phrasing of his Note, especially the reference to the objects of the two sets of belligerents, was, I think, unfortunate. Surely all the world knows that the motives which actuated Germany in August 1914 were as wide as the poles from those which actuated either Belgium, France or Britain. If when the President talks of the objects being "virtually the same" he refers to the future only it might be a debatable point as to whether they were the same, but of this I am satisfied, that if we attempt to deal with the future either by separating it from the past or ignoring the past we shall not have gained a lasting or satisfactory peace by negotiation but shall have left ourselves exposed to the danger of a recurrence. I cannot see any favourable opportunity for intervention based upon the President's Note, and I say this fully appreciating his friendship to this and the Allied Countries.

Wishing you the Compliments of the Season,  
Yours sincerely

*Wm. H. Sturges*

12 Rutland Gate.  
S.W.

5th. Jan.1917.

Dear Henderson,

Many thanks for your letter. Certainly you are right that the peace must be one which gives the best chance of permanence.

I hope that you have much more information than I have about the popular state of mind in Germany. The best evidence accessible to me has been that of American diplomats who have been in Berlin during the war. Enclosed Notes about their views may interest you.

1, Whitehall Gardens,

London, S.W.

9th. January 1917

Dear Buxton,

I have your letter of the 5th. January and am grateful for the American notes on German Liberal Opinion which you enclosed. Such information about the popular state of mind in Germany as has reached me is either too indefinite in character, or too restricted in scope to permit me to form an adequate conception of the general position there. I therefore welcome the information you have been so good as to send me.

Yours sincerely,

*Arthur Henderson*

Noel Buxton, Esq., M.P.,  
12, Rutland Gate,  
S. W.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:  
"LABREPCOM, VIC, LONDON."

TELEPHONE:  
VICTORIA 1213

33, Eccleston Square,  
~~1XX~~VICTORIA~~X~~ STREET,  
LONDON, S.W.1.

IN YOUR REPLY  
PLEASE QUOTE A. 197.

25th July 1918.

*Keep  
Henderson*

My dear Buxton,

Your favour of the 14th has been awaiting my return from the North. I confess to my surprise that you should take any appeal in any paper, however badly it may have been worded as replacing the decisions of the Annual Conference of the Party or that of the Allied Conference. It is somewhat strange that at this very time when you are writing me in that strain I should be strongly attacked in "The Times" because in their view I am pushing entirely in the other direction. I hope that Labour will continue to stand for a real world-peace, to be maintained by an effective League of Nations and not allow any honest overtures for peace from the German or Austrian peoples to be ignored or contemptuously rejected. I fully agree with you that our security for the future does not come by way of a dictated peace.

Yours sincerely,

*Herbert Henderson*

Noel Buxton, Esq., M.P.

# THE LABOUR PARTY

SECRETARY:

Rt. Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

33 ECCLESTON SQUARE,

LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telegraphic Address:

"LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON."

Telephone:  
VICTORIA 1213

On your reply  
please quote

A. 197.

12th September, 1918

My dear Buxton,

Yours of the 7th has been awaiting my return to London as I have been taking three days in the country before our Inter-Allied Conference which opens on Tuesday.

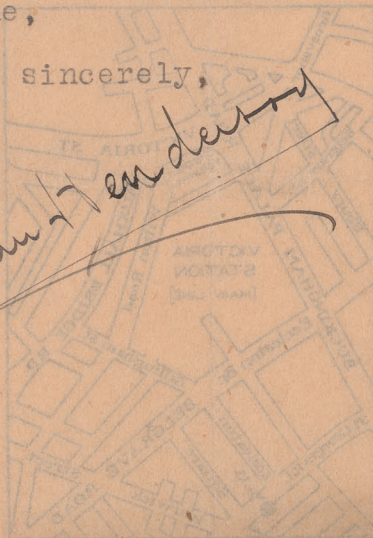
I beg to thank you most sincerely for your generous contribution to our Special Fund. Personally, I rejoice that you have been able thus to mark your appreciation of our efforts in the international sphere, and I cannot say how much I regret the failure of the Majority Socialists to respond when the prospects were so good, having regard to the more encouraging replies received from the Bulgarian, Hungarian and Austro-German Socialist Parties. The attitude of the German Majority makes it difficult for us to move the Americans in the right direction and I am afraid we shall find President Gompers rigid in his determination not to attend an International during the war. We must, however, continue our efforts especially now that there is an improved military position, for there is just a danger of feeling in Allied countries hardening in the direction of a fight to a finish which may mean years of war.

I note your suggestion as to your gift being anonymous and your wishes shall be respected.

Again thanking you and with kind regards,

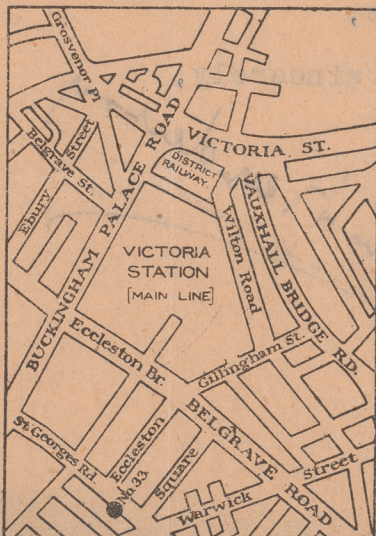
Yours sincerely,

Noel Buxton, Esq.,





**Routes to the Offices of  
THE LABOUR PARTY, 33 ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1**



**Route I. From Waterloo.**

Bus No. 76 to Victoria, or Tube to Charing Cross and Underground to Victoria.

**Route II. From Charing Cross.**

Underground to Victoria or bus to corner of Buckingham Palace Road and St. George's Road.

**Route III. From Paddington.**

Underground to Victoria.

**Route IV. From Marylebone.**

Underground from Edgware Road to Victoria or bus from corner of Chapel Street and Edgware Road to Victoria.

**Route V. From Euston.**

Bus from corner of Tottenham Court Road to Victoria, or Hampstead-Highgate Tube to Charing Cross and thence by Underground to Victoria.

**Route VI. From King's Cross.**

Tube to Piccadilly or Hyde Park Corner, and thence bus to Victoria, or Tube and Underground, changing at Leicester Square and Charing Cross.

**Route VII. From Liverpool Street.**

Bus or Underground to Victoria.



Foreign Office,  
S.W.1.

11th March, 1931.

My dear Noel-Buxton,

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th of March about the research work which Mr. Conwell-Evans is doing. I am sorry to say that I see the gravest objection to your allowing him to include in his book the letter which I wrote to you in January 1917. That letter was written in my capacity as Secretary of the Labour Party and was intended merely for the private guidance of one of its members at that particular time. I am now Foreign Secretary and the complexion which such a letter would take on if published at the present day would be very different from that which it had when it was written. The references to President Wilson could hardly pass without comment in the United States, while the remarks about the objects of the two sets of belligerents would inevitably stir up a whole storm of controversy in Germany and elsewhere - and this at a time when the Germans are once more endeavouring to raise again the whole/

Lord Noel-Buxton.

whole question of "War Guilt". I think that on  
reconsideration you will agree with me that to accede  
to Mr. Conwell-Evans' request would be not only  
impolitic but positively dangerous.

Yours Sincerely

William Henderson

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TELEPHONE:  
VICTORIA 8016 (FOUR LINES).

TRANSPORT HOUSE (SOUTH BLOCK),  
SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1.

WAS.

25th March, 1935.

Lord Noel-Buxton,  
18, Cowley Street,  
Westminster, S.W.1.

My dear Noel-Buxton,

I have your letter of the 21st inst.  
regarding the Cabinet Papers.

*Why!*

I agree with the views you express, and indeed I turned over several of them in my mind before coming to a decision on the matter. When the first letter came, I ignored it, but after receiving the second communication I came to the conclusion that it was not worth while entering into a controversy about the matter, and accordingly I sent the papers back to Hankey.

As you know, statements have appeared in the press that Lansbury has no intention of returning his documents, but I do not know how far this applies to other ex-Ministers.

With kind regards,

Believe me,  
Yours sincerely,

*Robert Hankey*