

Salisbury
REC'D 1936

Old return.

Thank. I agreed re groups.
Yes. personal Xhy must banish hatred
to Xhy allied w/patm

21, ARLINGTON STREET,
S. W. 1.

Xhy faith re peace. bec ascd w/forts + nationm.
Sole regretted Constantinine. to
to it we hunt Ad C to urge disestablish!

4th April 1936.

Dear Lord Noel Buseton

I received your letter last night. I am very much obliged to you for I certainly do not under-rate the importance of it. In the first place I must thank you for taking so much account of what I said, and I am glad that you have given me the opportunity of clearing up a misunderstanding.

In the ^{second} ~~first~~ place you will perhaps be kind enough to remember that the observation to which you refer was made in answer to Strabolgi, who had as I understood attributed the deplorable condition of the world to economic causes. But I should be very sorry if it were thought that I had forgotten the strong religious element in the Labour Party.

^{Even} Apart altogether from their attitude on international questions I should be sure of it. But I know that you fully speak the truth when you indicate that their love of peace is largely founded on a religious basis. It is almost an insult to you to say that I

REGENT 0501.

21, ARLINGTON STREET,
S. W. 1.

entirely concede that this is so. Of course it is, but what I was trying to suggest was in truth ^{is} much more fundamental than the contrast between the conditions of war and the teachings of the New Testament. This is admitted by all religious persons whether they be Churchmen or Nonconformists, Conservative or Liberal or Labour, certainly not least Labour. I was thinking of the failure of Christianity to make these views prevail.

Yes. If you
get into
them
there'd
be no
war.
Hambro

Recently I have been brought into relations with the Oxford Group, of which no doubt you have heard a great deal. I do not pretend to be identified with them but I have been greatly impressed by their teaching. They contend amongst other things that national evils and international evils arise from the loss throughout Christendom (so called) of individual conviction as to direct individual relations with God as taught in the New Testament. They say that the only way to get things right is to bring home as far as possible to every man and woman whom their words can reach the overwhelming conviction of God's immediate presence and guidance, and the phrase I quoted was the phrase

Xurch
all others
say this

The
theory
of
guidance
will have
effect.

to guide us by wartime. Gordon Roberts Ingram groups are peaceful in their guidance

God guided a
scholarship

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3

*This is
Ponsonby's
policy
in effect -
the only
Communist
by name.*

well known in their propoganda, intended to convey the doctrine that you must begin by convincing the individuals and in this way convince the communities to which they belong, and so produce a new world. (I do not think, and I presume they do not think, that the people of this Country have lapsed as far as those of other Countries from what they contend to be the only path. But) they would contend most energetically, as it is indeed obvious, that the great mass of people even here have no such burning conviction as they ought to have, and it was an attempt to apply these principles when I suggested to Ponsonby that any grudging of religious education was fundamentally unsound. He evidently did not appreciate the argument. I should think that very possibly in the brief form into which it was compressed he did not understand it. Of course I realise that though I think you yourself and many others would admit most of my premises you might differ from the conclusion as to elementary education.

My only excuse for this long letter is that your

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21, ARLINGTON STREET,
S. W. 1.

kind words have brought it on yourself if I may
venture to say so. I hope you will not think it
too didactic and wearisome.

Yours very truly,

Salisbury

~~Track~~
This is
interesting

March 24. 1910

TELEPHONE, HATFIELD 2002



HATFIELD

HATFIELD HOUSE,
HATFIELD,
HERTS.

My dear Noel. Many thanks for your letter & enclosure, which I have read with much interest & will show to David, when he comes this week. He has not met since he was here (except for an hour at David's wedding) and I am not in the least touch with him on the question of peace, but I feel sure he will be interested in your paper.

I gather your views as to the present position are that there should be a Conference on European Peace conditions on roughly the following lines -

- 1 that we should meet Germany on the same system of Preferential trading as she has existing between the British & French Empires.

Noel to do this, we should place our Colonies under some form of Mandatory Regime, about we should do at once.

Query: what form of Mandatory Regime would you suggest, and who would be the

mandating conventions proposed.
had the Colonies have any voice in
the matters of their concerns. had the
Mandating power be only England
& France & Italy & Germany; as well
as the United States and Russia and if we
will the other powers also bring their colonies
under the same Mandating Convention?
How or would each Colony have a mandate as on Colonies,
4. Would the Disarmament guaranteed ^{subject to a general rule of Administration?} be approved.
the publication of the Nazi claim to eventual
Dominion of Europe & indeed of the larger part
of the globe, based on the decay of the vitality of
the Democracies, has been not only publicly made
but the whole youth of the Century has been
educated ~~and~~ completely saturated with the
belief in their mission; it will be difficult
to destroy this belief, and the other Nazism, but
for the Nations' success, all is permissible &
no other need stand.

I am not sure from the Paper, whether
it is suggested that the negotiations
should be carried on with Hitler & the
Nazi Government, as this point is not



HATFIELD HOUSE,
HATFIELD,
HERTS.

mentioned, but I imagine
not, as negotiations opened with them
no concessions offered them before a
decided blow to them, and certainly he
was urged upon by them & by the world, as
a P. & O. for their policy of aggression
after their attitude & actions about the
Guarantees.

Here are a few of the points that rise in my
mind on first reading the papers & about it
do not feel quite clear about & which I
ask you.

Questions on form:

The whole ground is so vitiated by the happenings of
the last 2 years.
What seemed clear before, seems completely
dark now. The honors of Poland & Finland,
(apart from what has happened before) which

Seem to arouse no shame or revolt
among the German people, seem to put
a query as to whether as a nation they
are prepared to accept Hitler's Gospel
into all that this entails.

It is a dreadful thought if this is so.
I had always hoped that if Germany's Gestapo
were made, the larger body of the Public mind
would respond; but here last records of German
activities, done since all possibility of any feeling
of "under dog" can exist and the destruction of any
carrying out of their own ^{original} doctrines of the protection of
minorities, as the rights of free peoples, through the
hopes that are had cherished seem like
phantoms, in the face of what has happened.
to change the future dark in deed. /oh

Re. Sawyer

REGENT 0501.

*Samuel
David Cecil*

21, ARLINGTON STREET,
S. W. 1.

March 3rd 1937

My dear Noel,

I am dreadfully ashamed of the delay that has taken place in answering your letter about David; I hope you will forgive me, as I have been laid up and still am, with Influenza, which has cut my writing down to the smallest dimensions, and this is the reason I am not writing by my own hand.

It was very nice to hear that you approved of what David said in this most difficult question. Just when anything seems likely to settle down, something else comes up to remove the possibility of friendly co-operation; however only time can soothe down all these bitter feelings. *Keep for a letter*

*W. Mend
for my son
The Secretary*

COPY

Tract

Hatfield House,
Hatfield,
Herts.

March 24th, 1940.

My dear Noel,

Many thanks for your letter and enclosure which I have read with much interest and will show to David, when he comes this week. We have not met since the war began (except for an hour at David's ^{friends?} wedding), and I am not in recent touch with him on the question you raise, but I feel sure he will be interested in your paper.

I gather your views as to the present position are that there should be a Conference on prospective Peace conditions on roughly the following lines.

That we should offer Germany the same system of Preferential Trading as is now existing between the British and French Empires.

Not to do this, we should place our Colonies under some form of Mandatory Regime, which we should do at once.

Query: what form of Mandatory Regime would you suggest, and who would be the Mandatory Consortium proposed. Would the Colonies have any voice in the [?] matter of their concerns?

Would the Mandatory Powers be only England and France and eventually Germany, (or would they include Italy and Russia and, if so, would the other powers also bring their Colonies under

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of a Col States
Eng act alone.
followed by 7 & an
Col State.

the same Mandatory Condominium?) or would each Colony have a Mandate for its own Colonies, subject to (a) ^{country?} general rules of Administration?

4. How would the Disarmament guarantee be assured?

The publication of the Nazi claim to eventual domination of Europe and indeed of the larger part of the globe, based on the decay of the virility of the Dominions, has been not only publicly made, but the whole youth of the country has been educated and completely saturated with the belief in their mission; it will be difficult to destroy this belief, and the other Nazi one, that for the nation's success, all is permissible and no oath need stand.

I am not sure from the Paper, whether it is suggested that the negotiations should be carried on with Hitler and the Nazi Government, as this point is not mentioned, but I imagine not, as negotiations opened with them or concessions offered them before "adequate failure or total defeat" ~~to them~~, would certainly be looked upon by them and by the world, as a victory for their policy of aggression after their attitude and action about past guarantees.

Here are a few of the points that rise in my mind on first reading the paper and which I do not feel quite clear about and so inflict these questions on you!

The whole ground is so vitiated by the happenings of the last 2 years.

What seemed clear before, seems completely dark now. The

yes

Yes, assumes
a state will up.

New front
shd follow failure
while aim at.

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how great
TB was for
Friedrich.

horrors of Poland and Finland (apart from what has happened before) which seem to arouse no shame or revolt among the German people, seem to put a query as to whether as a nation they are prepared to accept Hitler's Gospel with all that this entails.

Yes.
They like
victory + know 0.
secret of
see 1919 + ... + ...
in so helpless.

It is a dreadful thought if this is so. I had always hoped that if generous gestures were made, the larger body of the Public would have responded; but these last records of German activities, done since all possibility of any feeling of "underdog" can exist, and the destruction of any carrying out of their own original doctrines of the protection of minorities, or the rights of free peoples, make the hopes that one had cherished seem like phantoms, in the face of what has happened - to make the future dark indeed.

Self

COPY.

Alice Salisbury

July 21. 1944.

Hatfield House,
Hatfield,
Herts.

Dear Noel,

Thanks ^{so} much for your letter. The problems are indeed difficult, each view has so much to be said for it. The real difficulty seems the mentality of the German people and the extent to which the doctrine, (absolutely ground into them for two centuries, ^{can be exercised} that they are a super people with a moral right to dominate the world, and that being so, they have the right to abrogate the laws of right and wrong, if it is in the Great Cause of advancing this view, and that force and the fighting spirit is the finest and greatest of moral virtues.

Can anything but definite and visual defeat destroy this view. In the last war they were spared the visual proofs of defeat and based their subsequent propanganda on the theory that they were never defeated, but had broken (?) because of subversive forces at home which were ^{mistaken} by other things than defeat. They deny the responsibility for this war, notwithstanding their attack on Cechoslovakia and Poland and their declaration of ~~the~~ war against Russia (who indeed had no desire to go into war !), they attacked Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium ~~and~~ always with the plea of releasing Europe from tyranny and always on the same ground of the right of force as against

Is not the only chance of destroying this belief

to prove that force is not right, and that war is a horrible
and not noble thing, and that in the end right is bound to win.

I am struck by the mentality of a ~~German~~ German here who was
naturalised by her own wish at the beginning of this war and is for
fond of England where he has lived for years. Her feeling of
outrage over the bombing of Germany is quite overwhelming, it is
useless to remind her of the Blitz over London as the beginning
of this horrible form of warfare, or the destruction, definitely
ordered, of Rotterdam. If Germany does it, it is right; if it
is done to Germany it is wrong, and the *Corridor* is the excuse
if it can only be done by carrying on the war to its completion.

Omit

The difficulty is of course the desire not to alienate the
decent type of German, not to leave this terrible feeling of
hate, but even here what have we to build on. Can they
their view or hold the other parties? T
The experience of the years of concentration camps, hideous
treatment of the Jews, all without any apparent protest, makes
it difficult to understand their views of power or position.

pass 2

for everything, and yet if the Germans have not organised
the late war the *corridor* *would* *never* *created* have been averted.

It seems to me as if nothing *but* the proof that war
is an awful, not a *worth* thing, that force is *not* the



highest ideal in the world, but ^{that} there is a definite right and wrong, which must be recognised as the law on which the structure of the world must rest, is the only chance for the future. We abode by our promises after the last war, we reduced our Fleet, almost destroyed our Air Force, and our Army, and the Germans in consequence looked on us as decadent. We dare not do it again. I have five ~~dearly~~ loved, grand sons at the front, and two grand sons-in-law. You can imagine what an early peace would mean to our family. But it is the peace of the world, the destruction of the awful doctrine of force as an Ideal, that is in question and the belief of the Germans in Force ^{as} and the Supreme right, that seems to make ~~it impossible~~, not to make our beliefs clear that right is might, and right must in the end prevail, and that seems ~~a~~ if it can only be done by carrying on the war to its completion.

The difficulty is of course the desire not to alienate the decent type of Germans, not to leave this terrible feeling of hate, but ~~in~~ even here what have we to build on? Can ^(the decent) they ~~realise~~ their view or hold down the other parties? The experience of the years of concentration camps, hideous treatment of the Jews, all without apparent protest, makes it difficult to understand their views or position. In this country there would have been not only protest but action had such things occurred.

Alice

4



A people must save itself, no one can save it for them. And yet one dreads the dangers of hate, when continuous peace is looked for. It is the choice of evils, but I fear the mentality of the people makes the first sad decision the one most likely to succeed. For the first time I realise the motives of the action of Elijah and Agag !

Yours very sincerely,

P.S.

I am so sorry for infirmities of letter, but with shortage of paper I dare not re-write it !