

to increase the power of Russia, both in Europe and Asia, and to endanger good relations with Germany. . . .

"That the Labour movement reiterates the fact that it has opposed the policy which has produced the War. . . ."

The very night on which this manifesto was adopted, as the *Socialist Review* disclosed, the majority of the Labour Members refused to permit MacDonald to read its terms to the House. MacDonald resigned from the chairmanship of the Parliamentary Labour Party, which he had held since 1911. As the War advanced, he flinched somewhat from the courage of that first stand. There was a letter of his to the mayor of Leicester to be read at a recruiting meeting; there were speeches in the House of Commons, one of them stating: "We entered the War with a bright flag of ideals," which failed to support his first declaration. Yet he advocated peace by negotiation throughout, he gave his name for the collection of funds to aid Conscientious Objectors, he was vilified by the War Party—for these things he received admiration and loyalty without stint from those who hated war.

His place as chairman of the Labour Party was taken by Arthur Henderson, who had joined with Hardie in issuing the appeal to international brotherhood, in the name of the International Socialist Bureau. But recently a Liberal, opposed to the creation of an independent Labour Party, Henderson had been given the post of secretary to the British section, in the hope of drawing him unequivocally into the Socialist fold. A grievous mistake this, for the position required a Socialist of well-grounded theory and proven trust.

Before August was out, on the invitation of Asquith, the Labour Members agreed to co-operate with the Liberals and Tories in a joint recruiting campaign, wherein the war policy of the Government must be justified and extolled. The *Socialist Review* complained that thereafter, with the exception of four of the six I.L.P. Members of Parliament, Ramsay MacDonald, Keir Hardie, F. W. Jowett and Tom Richardson, all the Labour Members of Parliament "in a greater or less degree" identified themselves with the war policy of the Government and its so-called "non-political" recruiting campaign.

W. C. Anderson, who came in at a by-election, was not yet elected to Parliament. Philip Snowden was in America when war broke out. His I.L.P. colleagues were in doubt and anxiety as to the attitude he would take—but on his return he clove to the pacifist minority—a tiny minority indeed!

A handful of Liberals aided the I.L.P. pacifist group to defend, with such courage and faith as they could muster, the ideals of peace and human fraternity: Joseph King and R. L. Outhwaite, who are dead, Trevelyan and Ponsonby, and Lees Smith, who later went over to the Labour Party in the hope (alas! still unrealised) that it would open a new era in world affairs, D. M. Mason, Richard Lambert, J. H. Whitehouse, T. E. Harvey, Arnold Rowntree and a few others.



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"OVER THERE"