

difficulties an identical policy, certain if successful to lead to peace, because based on the same assumptions. It is to be hoped that there will be a record of our efforts in order that it may be known that there were men who believed in human reason when only blind patriotic passion seemed to rule, and who had so much faith in the common instincts for good in their own countrymen and their enemies that they dared to base their whole action on that faith.

*Memorandum by Arthur Ponsonby [M. P.]*

... Generally speaking the influence of the U. D. C. during the war period was exaggerated abroad. This is quite intelligible; such movements are always magnified on the opposite side. But U. D. C. influence must be divided into two parts — (1) influence on opinion, (2) influence on policy.

(1) While in no way wishing to overestimate our influence on opinion, we were undoubtedly the only force operating intelligently and systematically in the direction of peace by negotiations and we certainly attracted a fair number of people who in their various spheres were influential. We never had the herd with us — our followers were more or less picked men and women. But the best way to gauge our influence on opinion is to remember the active steps that were taken by the authorities against us. (Imprisonment of Morel, refusal of halls for meetings, suppressions of literature, inspired press abuse of our leaders, and actual circulation from official sources of material to refute our arguments.) In fact the authorities were frightened of us because they saw we had influence, specially with Labour. If therefore at the end of 1917 or the beginning of 1918 Lloyd George had definitely veered towards peace, I should say that we could have roused a large if not a sufficient body of support for him.

(2) Our influence on policy was practically speaking *nil*. To influence policy in this country you must have spokesmen or anyhow one leader who holds or has held some high position. Macdonald it is true had been Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Trevelyan had been in the Government, but neither of them were sufficiently prominent to command attention. The rest of us, some of whom were known publicly, were also not recognised as leaders of public opinion. In all the Parliamentary