

lege and safety, now take a shorter time than the lifetime of the shortest parliament. Large numbers of new members, as well as old members, have gone to the House of Commons. A great mass of them have gone to the House of Commons literally and exactly as they would have gone on the Stock Exchange. They have gone there simply and solely to make money. The Stock Exchange, of course, is now by far the more honorable institution of the two; for the stockbrokers avow the object of their meeting, and the meaning even of their forms and fictions. Stockbrokers wear no hats out of doors; and Members of Parliament wear hats indoors; males in community always delight in such ceremonial antics. But the stockbroker does not pretend that he goes without a hat out of reverence for the home of heaven, or that he may always be open to the cry of the people. The Member of Parliament really does pretend that he wears his hat as a democratic delegate, who would dare to remain covered before a king. The shadow of a great seventeenth century legend of law and liberty, true or false, does still cover and conceal the acts of a highly modern club of hucksters and gamblers. The matter involved here, however, is one which the stockbrokers and the politicians happen, more or less, to share. Both are concerned with financial transactions that can be done as quickly as conjuring tricks; and are often as misleading as conjuring tricks. It takes an interminable time, sometimes, to "pilot" a Bill through Parliament: many of the actions of Government are excruciatingly lengthy and complicated, especially those for which there is urgent public need and public demand. But the bids for personal advantage, the financial flutters and inside information, may take a few minutes to suggest or a few hours to execute. This was apparent, of course, in the great historic case from which all such inquiry dates; that Marconi case, about which the politicians behaved with so much less delicacy than the stockbrokers. It did not take long for Godfrey Isaacs to give a tip to the present Prime Minister through the present Lord Chief Justice.

There are, of course, other ways of making politics pay. Our national representatives and rulers are not exclusively occupied with their duties as bulls and bears. A method more dignified in form, if equally dangerous in fact, consists of obtaining quicker promotion or higher salaries in the legal profession, or in the new and enormous bureaucracy. Members depend on Ministers for places as Ministers depend on contractors for shares. The point is that neither party depends for either advantage upon his constituents. The one body to which he does *not* look for promotion, the one body from which he can *not* hope for information, the one body that owns no powers, possesses no secrets, promises no titles or rewards, threatens no punishments or disappointments, is precisely that group of citizens which has elected him as a representative.

We put at the opening of the new year this view of the new Parliament because it is the defence of the method of this paper. It explains the necessity for a process to which many of us are in no way prone by temper or habit—the method of public scandal. It is a method which can easily be abused, and is actually abused. It is a method already being used by demagogues for whom we have no regard, against scapegoats to whom we attach no importance. But it remains true, in the extraordinary condition of public affairs, that nothing but scandal can save us from shame. The new Parliament must be watched, the new men must be watched; above all, the older examples of the evil must be watched more than ever; and they must be watched with a deliberate eye to democratic agitation outside the political enclosure. The Parliamentary election must be ignored, especially in this very practical sense; that election as a member must not be held tantamount to acquittal as a man. We know that the very people who have elected the members do not, in their daily conversation, acquit the men. We know that if there has been any "mandate" it has merely been a mandate to finish the war; and if we have continued our protest, in spite of the patriotic claims of

the war, we must certainly renew it with a greater energy in spite of any claims of the sham fight of politics. Inquiries already initiated must go on as before, and much more energetically than before. Whether Moritz Mond is a Minister or not a Minister, the truth about such German-Jewish entanglements must be traced, as we have tried to trace it. Whether Grant Morden is a member or not a member, the investigations about Dope must be followed up, as they have not yet been followed up. A highly crude eulogist of Mr. George, by the name of Dalziel, has acquired the *Daily Chronicle*, in which they were once investigated with some spirit. Nobody is going to acquire the *New Witness*.

That has happened in politics which is said to have happened to religion in the last decay of the Middle Ages. The most unsanctified thing is sanctuary. There has appeared in the political sanctuary of St. Stephen what may then have appeared in the ecclesiastical sanctuaries of St. Peter or St. John; the place is a positive refuge for thieves and outlaws. They go there for safety; we may rather say that they rush there for safety. That rapidity, on which we have remarked above, marks the movements of the new men towards politics as a profession, as it will mark, within the next few years, their rise on the ladder of that profession. They climb up to a high post in the State as a man might climb a tree when pursued by a wild beast. And in a real sense they are pursued; though the beast might be wilder without much danger, and probably will be wilder in the days to come. They flee there for an exceedingly simple reason: because it has been made manifest, ever since the Marconi whitewashing, that the political world is the one world where they are safe from insult. It is the place of no punishments; and it may soon be entirely populated by the people who ought to be punished. It is when the sanctuary is desecrated in this degree that there is heard again an ancient and equally sacred saying: that wisdom crieth without; and her voice is heard in the street

We cannot account for order and regularity in nature except by believing in an intellectual Mind supreme over all.

Write it on your heart that every day is the best day in the year. No man has learned anything rightly until he knows that every day is Doomsday. To-day is a king in disguise. To-day always looks mean to the thoughtless, in the face of a uniform experience that all good and great and happy actions are made up precisely of these blank to-days. Let us not be so deceived: let us unmask the king as he passes.—Emerson.

The songs my mother taught to me
I learned while perched upon her knee;
And though they be but simple rhymes,
I croon them fondly still at times.
'Tis then I realise and know
The debt of love to her I owe:
And how well justified and sure
Her faith in Woods' Great Peppermint Cure.

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