

**FEDERALISM AND
HOME RULE,
PP. 1-102**

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Federalism and Home Rule, pp. 1-102 by "Pacificus"

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"PACIFICUS"

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FEDERALISM AND HOME RULE

BY "PACIFICUS"

"Dangers are no more light, if they once seeme light: and more dangers have deceived men than forced them."—BACON.

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OF "THE TIMES"

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1910

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TO
YOUNG MEN WHO SEE VISIONS

THE spirit of Liberalism is the love of freedom, of Socialism protection of the weak, of Unionism union.

Each of us chooses his part, freely as he thinks, and according to what appear to him to be the needs of the time. But in fact each of us is bound by some tradition which limits or directs his choice. And this is altogether as it should be, for otherwise the fabric of society would not hold together.

My choice was made long ago for union, as the need of my country which seemed to be most urgent. The union of the United Kingdom is a great thing, and to impair that would be to lose all. But with the progress of years the meaning of Unionism has grown and widened beyond what it was at first.

The Unionist party came into being to withstand the disruption of the United Kingdom which was at that time threatened, and which is still threatened. Unionism stands by its original purpose, but it has assumed a new task—to bring about the union of the Empire, a thing which is still to make. And the policy of Unionism covers yet another field which is sometimes overlooked and forgotten, at any rate by our opponents. The public institu-

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tions of a country are its strongholds ; but without a union of *men*—of gentle and simple, of rich and poor, of class with class—there is no real strength in any nation. Unionism stands for a united people no less than for a strong Constitution.

Freedom is in no present danger. It is nowhere threatened among English-speaking men, except in so far as they are enslaved by catchwords and their own prejudices, and except as they allow themselves to be led blunderingly backwards and forwards by party organizations which profess to be their servants.

But it is otherwise with the Socialist principle. The protection of the weak, brotherliness, the duty of the stronger to help the weaker, whether the strength lie in riches, or in authority, or in knowledge, or in character, or in bodily health and vigour, is always in danger of slipping out of our sight. Human nature being what it is—not bad, but negligent and self-absorbed—we stand always in need of reminders to the fulfilment of this duty. Nor must we complain if these reminders are at times harsh and bitter, providing only that they serve their purpose, which is to awaken us.

It was not easy to remember this duty even in the old days, in the countryside, among a permanent people whose faces were familiar. It is harder to-day in our cities, with their millions of workers, ebbing and flowing, and where no large employer of labour knows, or can know, a tithe of his workpeople even by sight. It is never easy.

But while the Socialist has decided that the only way of keeping our duty to our fellow-men clearly before us is by waging a war of class against class, the Unionist believes it to be possible by making peace between class and class. What the well-to-do citizen will gladly give

for the public good knows hardly any bounds but his own ruin, providing the demands upon him are made to appear as an honour conferred upon him and a duty of citizenship. This was the method of Chatham and Pitt, to whom men gave gladly, and would gladly have given even more than was asked of them, and who were worshipped by those very classes upon whom their exactions pressed most heavily.

There has been of late a lamentable departure from this precedent. Taxes have been laid upon us and made to appear as if they were judgments and penalties for our misdeeds. They have been accompanied by taunts and injuries. They have been exacted as restitution. A kind of blackmail has been demanded of us with menaces. This is not according to the traditions of English statesmanship, and it is deeply resented. The spirit of Unionism is utterly opposed to it.

Union, the love of freedom, and the protection of the weak, are not opposing ideas. It is only the methods by which they are sought which are in opposition. At ordinary times it is a good thing rather than a bad that we should look at all affairs from our different standpoints, that we should view them in a different perspective, and that we should be Liberals and Socialists and Unionists at war with one another. But if you go far enough below the surface there is a fundamental agreement, and in times of stress like the present, it is wise, and even necessary, to go in search of this common basis.

The present is not an ordinary time. It is a time altogether different from anything which the oldest of us can remember. The dangers both from within and from without are greater than they have ever been since the wars with Napoleon. And also the opportunities as well

as the dangers are above the common stature. It is no exaggeration to say that benefits to the State beyond any parallel are in the one scale and the ruin of the State is in the other. If we are a people worthy of those who have gone before us, we shall grasp this fact and open a new reckoning.

It is in this hope that I dedicate the pages which follow to Young Men who see Visions.

November 21, 1910

PREFACE

THE following letters, which have appeared recently in the *Times*, form a general argument if taken together ; but none of them is a complete argument in itself. Consequently, misunderstandings have arisen on the part of readers who have not considered the full statement of the case.

The three letters of an earlier date, which are printed in the Appendix, have a certain bearing upon the discussion. Their object is to insist upon the importance of removing questions of constitutional change from the ordinary routine of party politics.

The Introduction deals with the failure of the recent Conference and the position of parties at the present time, and also endeavours to remove certain misconceptions which have arisen in regard to "Federalism"—a term which, although it has come into popular use,