

CHAP.  
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guised and sugared, to responsible government cannot be effected except by a definite and conscious step involving the formulation of a definite scheme. And the reason is obvious. The people of the Dominions can learn to offer advice on their foreign affairs with an ever-increasing freedom, but they can never command nor begin to command the ministers in charge of them until they are committed irrevocably to meeting the cost of the policy they adopt. A democracy can never be responsible for anything until it is responsible for paying the cost of it. As Edward I. realized, the final efficacy of the vote consists in its efficacy in binding the constituencies on whose behalf the votes are cast to pay the taxes, without which effect cannot be given to the vote. Representation cannot exist without a power of taxation by the body in which the representative sits. The people of the Dominions have such bodies in their parliaments, and can give them control of the issues of peace and war by a stroke of the pen. But that stroke severs them from the British Commonwealth, destroys their status as British citizens, and establishes irrevocably their independence. The only other alternative is to place their foreign affairs in the charge of a parliament responsible to the Commonwealth as a whole, and in doing that they must render themselves liable to pay the taxes it votes as well as those voted by the parliament of their own Dominion. A parliament responsible for foreign affairs to all the Dominions alike cannot be established at all until that is done, and it passes the wit of man to conceive how it could be effected by any gradual process of growth without a scheme cut and dried