

which lie within the competence of statesmen to decide this way or that. The present inquiry is limited to points which no statesmen can alter, because they are inherent in the nature of things. No statesmen can make one executive responsible to two different legislatures or electorates. No statesmen can divorce the conduct of foreign affairs from defence, or either from the control of dependencies containing one-fifth of the human race. No statesmen can render ministers responsible to tax-payers without making these tax-payers severally liable to the ministers for their taxes. These are conditions which no Convention can alter. No scheme which ignores them will ever be ratified by a sane electorate, and, if electorates were mad enough to pass them, the scheme would perish in the ruin which it worked. They are the inexorable conditions of extending responsible government to British subjects beyond the British Isles without disrupting the Commonwealth. They are the true *articuli stantis aut cadentis Reipublicae*, real hinges on which the Commonwealth must turn and which cannot be broken without sending it to hopeless destruction. The draftsman instructed to prepare the bill will find, on consulting the departments and governments which his measure will affect, that he cannot lay down his pen until he has dealt with all these changes. Then and then only will he have created the foundation upon which further changes in future years can be based and the process of growth begin again which is vital to the continued existence of all constitutions.

Such is the minimum change by which the people of the Dominions can acquire any genuine