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appointed to frame the Bill. But to say what instructions they will give on matters of this kind is not the purpose of this inquiry.

These are problems which admit of various solutions, and a Convention assembled for the purpose from all the Dominions must settle them according to their wisdom. They are all matters 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 taxpayers without making these taxpayers 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 plunging it in hopeless confusion. 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