

protect them, but by direct action taken by themselves. They would thus transform the republic founded upon representative government to one upon a purely democratic basis. The difference between these two forms of republicanism is thus defined by Mr. Madison, an early American publicist of note—"In a democracy the people meet and exercise the Government in person. In a republic they assemble and administer it by their representatives and agents." Clearly the framers of the constitution distinctly understood the difference between these two forms of government, and knew what they were doing when they adopted the latter. It is their wisdom then which is called in question in this controversy, and it is between them and Mr. Roosevelt that the people will have to decide.

The weapons with which the old constitution is to be assailed are the "initiative," the "recall," and the "referendum." By the "initiative" an agrieved portion of a community may require a vote to be taken upon the question submitted in the form of yes or no, without amendments and without reference to existing laws or authorities. As Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler, in an address given by him on this subject wittily remarks: "I submit this is very like having to answer the question 'have you left off beating your grandmother?'" If you answer 'yes' you embarrass yourself. If you answer 'no' you embarrass yourself still more."

The "recall" is simply a process by which a judge or other official who in his capacity as such has given offence to the community in which he acts, may by a vote of the electors be summarily dismissed from his office on the ground that they who elected or appointed him may unelect or disappoint him. The "referendum" is only another and perhaps more formal mode of the initiative equally liable to objection if put in force for a similar purpose.

Such are the means by which it is proposed to change the great republic into a Democracy in which the rule of the people shall be direct, untrammelled by the forms which the founders of the State thought necessary to combine freedom of action with reason and justice, and to prevent the passion of the moment