

prise. A periodical whose policy is genuinely inimical to special interests, one which is loyal to the masses of the people, as the *Arena's* has been, knocks with every issue at the door of the bankruptcy court. It is not very different from an abolition magazine in a slave community, except that the publisher runs less risk of lynching. But the *Arena* has lived through many years of struggle, since it was wrecked by the deposition of Mr. Flower; and as it has become in every way a better magazine under his resumed editorship than in its most prosperous days, the present reorganization may prove to be the beginning of a new and vital career both for Mr. Flower and for the *Arena*.



The Paine Centennial.

The year that brought Abraham Lincoln into the world took out of it a man to whom, more perhaps than to any other, the world is indebted for the possibilities of character and patriotism that were realized in Abraham Lincoln, and this man was Thomas Paine. For Lincoln was a veritable successor of Thomas Jefferson in other respects than as President, and Jeffersonianism had its most thorough exponent in Paine. This may be denied by the ignorant and narrow among the Lincoln hero worshippers; but no one would deny it or be otherwise than proud of Lincoln's indebtedness to Paine, had it not been for the slanders with which religious and political bigotry have associated the name of that great religious and patriotic pamphleteer. When William Cobbett took Paine's body to England from the grave on his farm at New Rochelle, the bitterness which his pamphlets against idolatry in religion and aristocracy in government had excited, was quite appropriately versified by Byron in four lines that were once to be found in Byron's works:

In bringing back the bones of Paine,
Will Cobbett, you've done well.
He visits you on earth again;
You'll visit him in hell.



It is one of the testimonials to Paine's goodness and greatness that he in his life time, and his name for a century afterwards, should have been enshrined by the type of Christian who, as Swinburne puts it, "spits on Christ," and the kind of patriot who hates democracy. Knowing neither Christianity nor patriotism in their essentials, these calumniators of Paine could no more understand him than the chief priests of old could understand the lowly Nazarene. To do good was Thomas Paine's religion, and

all mankind were his countrymen. He believed in one God, and hoped for life beyond the grave. He was a great writer, if great writing is that which stirs the heart to love and the mind to think. In one pamphlet he lifted the Revolutionary impulse in the colonies, from the level of anger at British taxation to the heights of aspiration for American independence. In another, when the days had come which tried men's souls, he re-inspired the American heart with the noblest passions of that long struggle. Washington thanked and honored him. Jefferson numbered him among his friends. Congress thanked him for his services, and gave him the farm from which Cobbett afterwards took his body. He served the people of France when they fought for liberty, for the French also were his countrymen. He would have saved them the political mistake and the moral ignominy of taking the life of the man whose dethronement he had democratically approved. In all his career, he was a true friend, a wise friend, a courageous and plain spoken friend of the plain people, even as Lincoln learned to be; and for that he has been covered with contumely by the ignorant and the bigoted, by the powerful and the idolatrous. To him as to many another like him, Lowell's lines apply; for of him, too, even—

. . . the men he agonized for
Cast the contumelious stone.



TRIVIAL OBJECTIONS TO DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The president of the New Hampshire Bar Association, in speaking before that body at its annual meeting for 1909, made some remarkable criticisms of the Initiative and Referendum. They ought not to pass without public challenge. These were his words, as reported by the Manchester Union of May 11:

Socialism in its various forms is making its attacks upon our institutions of government and society. For instance, the Initiative and Referendum are being urged to the end that the making of laws shall be taken from the representatives of the people, supposedly chosen because of some superior fitness, and given over to the direct action of the majority of the voters. This of course means the overturn of representative government, the probable end of republican institutions. The majority, when actuated by passion or prejudice, may repeal good laws, enact bad ones, or prevent the execution of wise but unpopular ones. If there is virtue in the system created by our national and State constitutions, that system ought not to be subjected to these violent changes simply because some representatives have been recreant to