

first Republican defeat under the system as evidence that it promoted discord, and succeeded in modifying it. The result of the modifications is described in an interesting letter in another column. The party managers in Cleveland, however, have not been able to force the people back to the system of voting merely for delegates.

The line of reform which everywhere commends itself to conscience and common sense is to extend by law to all primaries the provisions which have worked so well where adopted voluntarily. The first thing necessary is to place primary elections under the control of the law, just as regular elections are under its control. The next thing is to provide an official ballot on which the names of all properly indorsed candidates for party nominations shall be submitted to the party voters. The first feature has been agreed upon by reformers for years; the second feature has rapidly established itself in favor, since the adoption of the official ballot at the regular elections made clear the best method of presenting to the voters the names of candidates opposed by the machine.

This reform is certain to be opposed by the politicians even more strenuously than was the Australian ballot, for it strikes a heavier blow at their power and patronage. Like ballot reform and like civil service reform, it must get its strength from an awakened public conscience which shall wring from legislators the recognition that the maintenance of popular government, as well as the prevention of corruption, demands that the nomination of public officials shall be taken out of the hands of the rings and given back to the whole people, to whom it inalienably belongs. This done, every appeal for civic morality, wherever made, becomes an appeal to those having it directly in their power to make public position a mark of public honor and to keep public servants faithful to the public welfare. Even did we not believe that the public would be harder to corrupt than the rings, we should still believe in this reform, for it makes necessary, at the same time that it makes effective, the education of the whole people in their political duties. But it is self-evident that the public cannot so easily as the rings be corrupted into a betrayal of the public interests. And therefore we urge this reform, equally confident that it will immediately minimize the corruption of our politics and that it will ultimately exalt the character of our citizenship.

Excellence, Not Praise

Intelligent and discriminating praise is not only grateful, but helpful and stimulating; it is good evidence that the aim in the particular work has been carried out, and that the result sought for has been attained. But praise in and for itself is neither an end to be worked for nor a result to be rested in. Like popularity, it is uncertain, and it may be delusive. Popularity is a delightful thing if it comes without seeking, and if the man who has it has no fear of losing it, and does not take it into account; but if it is sought for, or, being secured, is taken into account so as to influence expression and action, it is debilitating and sometimes degrading. Our ultimate aims ought to be entirely independent of other people. Not praise, but excellence, is the ultimate end which every worker ought to have in view. The love of praise weakens and sometimes destroys; the love of excellence clarifies the vision, strengthens the will, and brings into one's life that element of steadiness and persistency which is independent of external fortunes. The man who really loves excellence cannot be discouraged by the absence of appreciation, nor poisoned by popularity, if popularity comes. He is like

a traveler whose whole heart is bent on reaching his destination, and to whom storms and sunshine on the road are almost matters of indifference. He prefers, as every healthy nature ought to prefer, the genial air and the kindly sun; but if these are withdrawn his step is not slackened nor is his purpose clouded.

To seek excellence rather than praise is not only to lift one's work above the vicissitudes of external fortune, but it is also to diminish that baleful self-consciousness which stands in the way of the growth of so many aspiring people. The man who seeks for praise primarily is necessarily always thinking of himself, because he is always wondering what other people think of his work; but the man who loves excellence has a standard far and away from himself and from others. The applause of the whole world cannot blind him when he knows that he is not attaining his ideal, nor can the silence of the world discourage him when he feels that there is coming into his work that supreme excellence which makes it the highest expression of a sincere, noble human soul. To work for praise is to depend forever on the changing moods of those about us; to work for excellence is to be lifted more and more above those moods and above our own weakness.



Editorial Notes

—It is both amusing and pathetic to read the report that a number of persons have been arrested at Hamburg for making disrespectful remarks about the Emperor's musical composition, the "Sang an Aegir." They will actually be tried for *lèse majesté*.

—We print on another page letters from two experts in the training of the deaf, taking issue with some of the views and facts in the article by Dr. S. Millington Miller lately printed in *The Outlook*. The whole subject is intensely interesting, and it is evident that the question as to the best method or combination of methods is not as yet finally settled.

—It is said that Congress will be asked at this session to put the Life-Saving Service on the same basis as the army and navy in regard to retirement on half-pay and pension. This is as it should be. Neither the army nor the navy does more valuable work. Last year six hundred and fifty persons were rescued from shipwreck by the Life-Saving Service, and the property saved amounted to more than seven million dollars.

—Mr. Kipling's poem which serves as the initial contribution to the Christmas issue of "Scribner's Magazine" is a piece of verse of such unusual vigor, grasp, and imaginative force that it revives one's faith in the possibility of virile poetry in this last decade of the century; and, in their way, two or three of the verses which Mr. Howells contributes to the Christmas issue of "Harper's Magazine" have a directness and reality equally reassuring to those who had begun to wonder if the verse of the future was to part company with the old-time masculine traditions of English poetry.

—The appointment of Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson as editor of "Harper's Weekly" means that the traditions established by George William Curtis are not to be abandoned, but that breadth of view, dispassionateness of temper, and ample knowledge are, in the future as in the past, to characterize the management of one of the most dignified journals in the country. Mr. Nelson has had a varied and successful experience as a journalist, he has attained a very high position in the profession, and he has also made a wide reputation by his contributions to the magazines. A graduate of Williams College and still a comparatively young man, Mr. Nelson has a brilliant future before him, as well as a worthy past behind him.

—The spirit of sectionalism seems to die hard in South Carolina. The new Governor, John Gary Evans, was born since the outbreak of the war, graduated at a Northern college, and was elected by the Reform party, which represents the "New South." Yet we find in his inaugural address this specimen of ante-bellum Bourbonism: "It has been truly said that of all the States of the Union, the citizens of South Carolina are possessed of most characteristic individuality. It is expressed by an English historian in these words: 'They are first South Carolinians, next Southerners, and lastly Americans.' This is true; we are South Carolinians from birth and choice, Southerners from principle, and Americans from force of circumstances." The State of South Carolina certainly has reason to be proud that it was the "choice" of such an American as a birthplace.

Good Government Clubs

By Edmond Kelly



THE question as to who is entitled to most credit for the defeat of Tammany Hall—the City Club, the Good Government Clubs, the Republican party, the Police Department, Dr. Parkhurst, Mr. Goff, or Mayor Gilroy—is one upon which it is probable that no two persons will ever agree.

It is difficult to believe that a community possessed of a spark of public spirit would tolerate the ascendancy of a machine under whose reign such appointments were made as those of Mayor Gilroy, or such blackmail levied as that of the Police Department; and yet, when we look back at the triumphant re-election of Grant after the disclosure of the iniquities committed by him in the Sheriff's office, and the indifference evinced regarding all the nominees of Tammany Hall in spite of the daily revelations of the press, we cannot but recognize that there must have been some new influence at work to secure the extraordinary change of public opinion which was evinced at the last election.

In November, 1891, the effort was first made to organize opposition to Tammany in the shape of a social club; it was received at first either with indifference or derision, and when the list of members was published, the "Sun" exultingly and contemptuously remarked that it contained the same old names familiar to defeat in the People's Municipal League. Nor was the "Sun" far wrong. In spite of a brilliant gathering of

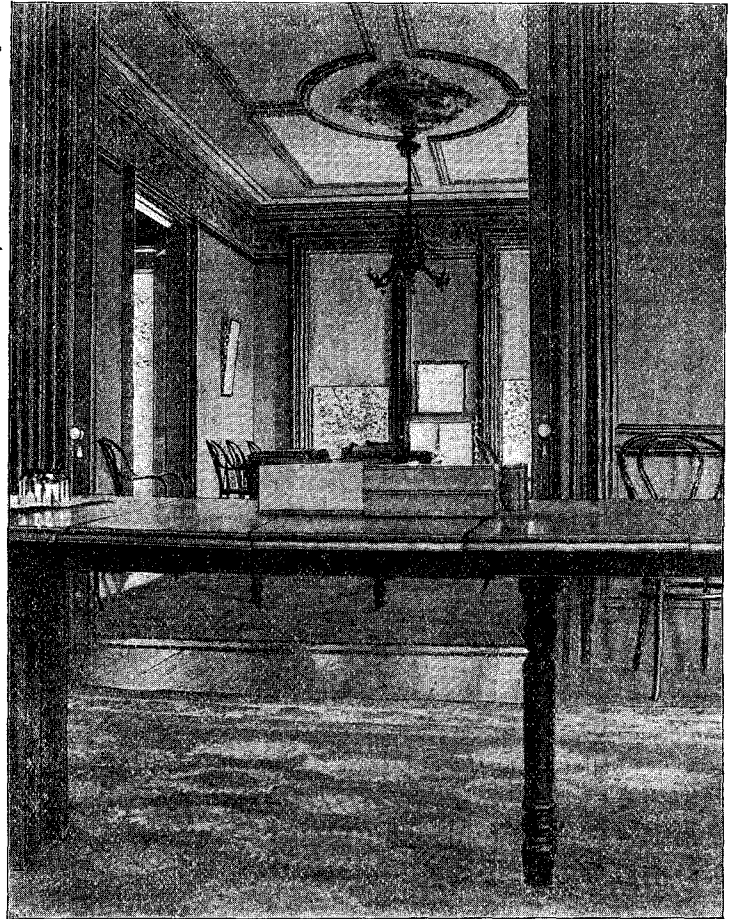


J. Augustus Johnson

millionaires at the opening meeting of the club, it was perfectly clear that the club would exert little influence if it did not extend its sphere of action beyond the walls of a club-house on Fifth Avenue. Nor was it ever the intention of those who originated the City Club to confine their activities thereto. On the contrary, the organization of the City Club was only a first step—and recognized to be a very short step—towards the ultimate goal. No sooner, therefore, was the City Club fairly put upon a self-supporting basis than the same men who originated it turned their attention to the problem of the organization of affiliated clubs in less wealthy districts of the city. They were confronted, however, with a somewhat singular set of difficulties. The Board of Trustees of the City Club would have nothing to do with the organization of any other clubs; it decided that it was unwise to hazard the success of the City Club by subjecting it to the failure or success of other organizations. The Board of Trustees, therefore, would not authorize the formation of a committee for the purpose of constituting affiliated clubs. They would consent to go no further than permit a committee to "draw up a plan for organizing affiliated clubs, and ultimately carry out such plan when approved by the Board of Trustees."

This committee met week after week only to find a majority in the committee opposed to the organization of any clubs at all, the opposition taking the same view as the Board of Trustees. No plan was ever submitted to the Board, because it was believed that no plan would be approved by it. The organization of these clubs, therefore, was left entirely to the personal initiative of a few

members of the committee. The statement had been made in the committee that there was probably not a block in the city in which a Good Government Club could not be organized if an attempt to do so were resolutely



Interior Good Government Club B

pushed with sufficient perseverance and energy; but it met with little or no response in the committee. The truth of the statement, however, was very soon demonstrated by the organization of the first Good Government Club by a few gentlemen residing in East Sixtieth Street. While these gentlemen were deliberating, framing a platform and constitution, securing membership and equipping

a club-house, now known as Good Government Club A, Dr. John P. Peters in Harlem made a similar attempt in the Twenty-third Assembly District. This club is now known as Good Government Club B. The letter C was reserved for the district just south of the Twenty-third District, that is to say, the Nineteenth; but here an attempt was made to take the remnants of an old County Democracy Club, called the Riverside Club, and convert it to Good Government Club



Dr. John P. Peters

principles. The result was as might have been expected—a complete fiasco. Mr. R. W. G. Welling, however, was more fortunate in the Eleventh District, where he and a few others organized what is known as Good Government Club D, which secured last year the nomination and election of Mr. Sheffield to the Assembly, and therefore is entitled to credit for the good work done by Sheffield in the