

jobs which have ever been attached to a river and harbor bill." On Thursday another amendment to the bill was adopted, approving the no less outrageous scheme of the owners of the Portage Lake and River Improvement Company's Canal and the Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway and Iron Company's Canal to unload upon the Government, for the sum of \$350,000, property for which they have no further use.

Encouraged by the ease with which these two jobs had been put through, the advocates of the Hennepin Canal scheme brought forward that measure with a well-grounded confidence in their success. This scheme was defeated in the House three months ago, despite an almost solid Republican vote in its favor, Mr. Browne, an Indiana Republican, characterizing it as "a measure that inaugurates a system that would lead to the most prodigal extravagance, the inauguration of a class of legislation that is in the face of the Constitution, if the Constitution means anything," since it contemplates the construction by the Federal Government of a canal entirely within the limits of a single State. Yet the Senate Committee proposed to commit the Government to the project, which at the lowest estimate will cost \$7,000,000, by appropriating \$300,000 for the preliminary work, and on Monday the appropriation was voted, with the aid of twenty-six Republicans.

The nonchalance with which the Senate thus endorses one job after another would be sufficiently startling if its disregard of the public interest were now manifested for the first time during the session. But in point of fact this river-and-harbor extravagance is only the culmination of a long record of the most discreditable performances in the line of legislation. Only a fortnight ago the Senate virtually defeated, by sending to an unfriendly committee, a bill which proposed to prohibit Senators from acting as counsel for corporations which have or may have legislation before Congress. This measure was aimed at a crying scandal—the practice of Senators appearing before the courts in the capacity of lawyers to plead the causes of railroads in matters which they may be called upon to consider in their capacity of legislators. Nor is this the only indecent feature of the practice. The Senatorial lawyer not merely appears before a judicial tribunal in a case which may come before him as a law-maker, but he pleads his cause to a bench which he has himself oftentimes helped to create. He first as a Senator persuades a President to nominate a friend for a Federal Judgeship, and secures the confirmation of his man; and then as a lawyer takes a fee to argue a case before the man who owes his seat to him. It is notorious that great corporations employ Senators as counsel in the Federal courts chiefly for these two reasons—that they may secure lawyers who enjoy some personal advantage with the judges, and that they may virtually bribe the Senators to favor their interests in matters of legislation. "Matt." Carpenter, who was always delightfully frank, used to joke freely about the great falling off in the number of his retainers in railroad cases before the Supreme Court after his first term in the Senate expired, and the equally significant increase of his business as soon as he was elected

again a few years later. It is quite impossible to conceive of a man with high ideas of public duty, such as characterized John Quincy Adams, and should characterize every public man, doing what the leading lawyers of the Senate have long been doing; and a bill to prohibit the practice would pass without opposition in any body where high standards of action are maintained. Yet thirty-one out of fifty-two Senators voted to smother Mr. Beck's eminently proper and necessary proposition.

The theory of the Constitution was that the Senate would stand as a breakwater against extravagant schemes which demagogues in the House might be inclined to favor. Yet a few weeks ago we found the Senate passing by a very large majority a pension bill which proposed to put on the roll every soldier who served in the army three months, and who now claims to be disabled and dependent upon his own exertions—a proposition never before heard of in any other nation, and involving an increase of taxation by from \$50,000,000 to \$200,000,000 a year. There had never been any public demand for such an extension of the pension system; indeed, everybody knew that thoughtful people would oppose it. But the pretence was made that the "soldier vote" demanded it, and the Senate yielded almost without a protest.

A few weeks earlier a Senator who is universally regarded as a "crank," brought forward a bill appropriating \$77,000,000 out of the Federal Treasury to aid schools in the various States, chiefly in the South. It was clearly shown that the inevitable effect of the bounty must be to injure rather than help the educational system of the South, just getting upon a sure foundation of self-support, and Senators privately made no concealment of their opinion that the scheme was a foolish one. Mr. Plumb of Kansas stated the notorious fact when he declared in the course of the debate:

"Now, I say, what every man knows, that I can count on the fingers of my two hands the members on this floor who are actually in favor of this measure, who will dare avow that they are for it as an original proposition or as one that commends itself to their judgment. But one man says: 'I made incautiously somewhere a speech in favor of it, and at a time when I did not consider the surroundings'; and another man says: 'My Legislature say they want me to vote for it'; and so on all the way round. If there could be some way of voting upon this measure without meeting these conditions, it would have practically no support. I do not believe legislation thus enacted is likely to be wise."

But Senators had got the idea that the scheme was popular with the people, and that if they did not vote for it they might be censured by people who did not understand its folly so well as they themselves did, and they passed it by a vote of three to one, with the express understanding that it would fail in the House, and that they might thus shirk the plain duty of defeating it themselves.

We think it is not too much to say that there has not been a time in the history of the country when the United States Senate occupied a lower place in the public esteem than at present. Neither party can disclaim a share in the degeneracy of the Senate, but by far the larger part of the blame must attach to the Republicans, who not only are responsible as the party in the majority in the chamber, but who have cast a solid or an

almost solid vote for every one of the measures which have aroused the popular disgust. As the only branch of the Government which the Republicans controlled, it behooved the Senate during the present session to elevate its standard, and the weakness of the House gave it a great opportunity; but it has thrown away its chance.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

For a series of years the New York *Sun* published on every Sunday and Monday morning a detailed statement of its circulation for the previous week. It took the ground that the public was entitled to full knowledge regarding the number of copies printed by any journal, and repeatedly called attention to its own course in this particular. Thus, on the 12th of April, 1883, it said:

"It is, of course, reasonable that an advertiser should be informed as to the exact extent of the circulation of the newspaper in which he advertises. He has a right to know how much publicity he is purchaser of, so as to be able to calculate whether he is paying a fair price or not. Accordingly we print conspicuously, at the head of this page, every Sunday and every Monday, a statement of the exact number of copies of the *Sun* sold on each day of the preceding week."

A few months ago the *Sun* appeared on a Sunday morning without the usual statement of the previous week's circulation, and ever since then this statement has been omitted from the Sunday edition. Newspaper men did not fail to notice the change, and it was felt to be only a question of time when the table would disappear from the Monday edition as it had already vanished from the Sunday edition. That time has at last come, and the *Sun* of Monday last appeared without any figures of circulation for the previous week.

The reason for the *Sun's* refusal to take the public any longer into its confidence in this matter is, of course, its loss of circulation within the last three years, which is without exception the most extraordinary thing ever known in the history of newspapers. Mr. Charles A. Dana came into control of the *Sun* in the year 1868, and in writing the prospectus of the paper for 1882 he made this fair summary of the transformation which he speedily wrought in its character:

"The *Sun* of 1868 was a newspaper of a new kind. It discarded many of the forms and a multitude of the superfluous words and phrases of ancient journalism. It undertook to report in a fresh, succinct, unconventional way all the news of the world, omitting no event of human interest, and commenting upon affairs with the fearlessness of absolute independence."

The *Sun* was remarkably successful in living up to this ideal. Its justifiable boast was that it gave "all the news for two cents" at a time when other papers charged twice as much, and that it gave the news, too, in the most convenient form for a busy man to get at. It accompanied the news with editorial comments which provoked attention, and its editorial articles upon matters not of a strictly news character were uncommonly well written. The day laborer, the business man, the man of leisure alike found something to interest them in its columns.

The public was quick to show its appreciation. In an interesting article published on May 21, 1882, the *Sun* said:

"The regular daily circulation of the *Sun* is now at a higher point than ever before in the history

of this newspaper. We have no doubt that it is the highest point ever reached by any American newspaper. The circulation yesterday was 149,226; the average for the past week has been 146,479; the average for the month of May up to date has been 144,423. Under the present management the regular daily circulation of the *Sun* passed the round 100,000 in January, 1873."

The year 1883 showed an advance upon 1882. The new management of the *World* assumed control of that paper on the 11th of May, 1883, and the reduction of price by the *Times*, *Tribune*, and *Herald* followed in September of the same year. Nevertheless, the *Sun* printed of its daily and Sunday editions 52,231,467 copies during 1883, against 52,092,770 during 1882. On the 13th of October, 1883, the *Sun* published a well-considered editorial article reviewing the effect of the change in price by the other papers during the weeks which had then elapsed, and estimating the probable influence of this competition upon the *Sun's* circulation in the future. It pointed out that its own circulation during the week immediately preceding the revolution in the other newspaper offices was 144,434, and that during the week ending October 8 it was 137,242, a loss of only about 7,000 copies; while by an examination of the records it found that during seven years out of the preceding ten there had been a loss, between September 18 and October 8, reaching as high in one year as 3,319, and averaging 1,506. Upon these figures it remarked:

"The conclusion, of course, is that the circulation of this newspaper is too firmly established to be shaken by the strongest possible combination of circumstances. The men and women who read the *Sun* probably would continue to buy and read it if every other newspaper gave its edition away; and the *Sun* continues to shine for all and will continue."

This was a reasonable conclusion. People bought the *Sun* because it was a small paper, presenting the news compactly, intelligently, and interestingly, and there was no reason to suppose that any considerable proportion of its patrons would drop it simply because they could buy for the same money a paper twice as large, made up on a system which they did not like. We have always felt that the confidence in retaining its circulation unimpaired which the *Sun* expressed in this article of October 13, 1883, was justified by an impartial consideration of the circumstances, especially when one also takes into account the rapid increase of population and of possible readers of the *Sun* in New York and the adjacent cities. Yet its circulation has since then undergone a collapse without a precedent in the history of journalism. Below are given the total number of copies of the *Sun* printed (weeklies excluded), and the average daily circulation, for the past three years:

	Total for year.	Daily average.
1883	52,231,467	143,099
1884	44,734,054	122,224
1885	36,393,789	99,709

It will be observed that the circulation of 1884 was less than that of 1883 by nearly 15 per cent., and the circulation of 1885 less than that of 1884 by 18 per cent. The loss has continued during 1886. During the month of June just past the *Sun* printed on four Monday mornings tables of its circulation, and the totals of its daily editions during those four weeks thus compare with the totals for the corresponding weeks of the past three years:

	Total.	Daily average.
June, 1883	4,170,456	148,945
June, 1884	3,539,764	126,420
June, 1885	2,828,597	101,021
June, 1886	2,618,747	93,526

It will be seen that the circulation of the *Sun* in June, 1886, was less than 63 per cent. of its circulation in June, 1883, and, considering the increase of patronage which was reasonably to be expected with three years' growth of population, its present circulation is not more than 55 or 60 per cent. of what it should have been. In other words, it has really lost almost half its circulation within three years.

The *Sun* is still, so far as "reporting all the news of the world" is concerned, an excellent newspaper, well conducted upon the lines originally laid down by Mr. Dana nearly twenty years ago. Why is it that its circulation, which "passed the round 100,000 in January, 1873," and nearly reached 150,000 in June, 1883, has now sunk considerably below 100,000, although the field of patronage has been so greatly widened? There is but one possible explanation. The *Sun* has lost its readers because it has lost its character. Its old patrons have given it up because they have become disgusted with its political course. After pledging itself over and over again to support the Democratic candidate in 1884, even though Cleveland should be nominated, it did its best to secure the election of Blaine. Since Cleveland became President it has labored diligently to break him down, and zealously pushed the interests of Blaine for 1888. After having supported Tilden in 1876 upon a civil-service-reform platform, it is now the most thoroughgoing advocate of the spoils system in the American press.

For two years past the *Sun* has distinguished itself as the special defender of the spoils theory and the particular derider of Mugwumps. Its unwillingness any longer to print the figures of its dwindling circulation is the most eloquent testimony yet rendered to the growth of sound ideas in politics.

BUSSANG AND ITS WATERS.

If the mineral springs of Auvergne are comparatively little known to American tourists and invalids, those of the Vosges, always excepting Plombières, are no better known. One of the most attractive in its mountain quietude, and one as yet quite unfrequented by foreigners, is Bussang. Taking the road due eastward from Paris to Nancy and Épinal, one changes at the latter station for St. Maurice, in the wild valley of the Moselle; where the railroad track comes to an end in sheer discouragement at the grade, and gives up the attempt to follow the dashing waters any further towards their source. You are exactly 300 miles to a furlong from the eastern railway station in Paris, close upon Lorraine and the new frontier, and in the heart of the Vosges. Some of the finest excursions in these mountains are near at hand. If you will go to the Hôtel des Postes, and tell the chambermaid to call you at half-past three in the morning, you can easily climb to the top of the Ballon d'Alsace before sunrise. And what a vision will await you there on any clear summer morning! It is that of the western Alpine summits shining together, "mystic, wonderful"; Mont Blanc standing aloof from the rest upon the right, and glowing softly a hundred and thirty-eight miles away.

But we must not turn so far aside from Bus-

sang as the Ballon d'Alsace to-day. Let us take the St. Maurice stage for Bussang, sitting as well in front as possible, for the better sight of this beautiful valley of the Moselle. The ranges of the Vosges unroll themselves on either hand, gaining in height and steepness as we ascend the valley until, after a half-hour's ride, we come to the village—not yet to the springs—of Bussang.

It is an ancient place, with traditions of Roman occupation, or rather of certain ruins, reputed Roman, that have now disappeared. This claim is a doubtful one. But the sleepy old village has had a curious modern experience. For many years, in the sixteenth century, it was the centre of extensive mining operations in the neighboring mountains: gold, copper, silver, and other metals were found. These mines belonged at first to Christine of Denmark, then Regent of Lorraine, and doubtless a more amiable lady, since she has made little noise in history, than the famous Christine of Sweden, who made her mark a century later in the affair of Monaldeschi. After the time of Christine a colony of Swedes and Danes were employed in the mines, and the mountains were explored more carefully and for a much longer time than those of California have been explored as yet. But they finally ceased to be profitable; in the seventeenth century they were abandoned, and the village relapsed into its secular quietude. But the sturdy Swedes and Danes left the racial record of their inhabitation behind them. The beauty of the Bussenette women and the pleasing individuality of their costumes have been remarked from that time until to-day, and these improvements of type are attributed to the crossing of races that took place in these mountains. Three hundred years ago Montaigne visited the ruins of Bussang—in 1580. One may read in his Journal how he put on canvas overalls and went down to see where the silver came from; and how on emerging he was shown the sources of the Moselle near by, and on the crags the eyries where goshawks were caught, and all the other sights of the place. But after all this, he called Bussang a "petit méchant village." It has improved since then, by virtue of a more permanent source of profit than its mines. Its true wealth is in its delicious mineral waters.

We shall reach the spring by continuing our stage-ride some twenty minutes beyond the "petit méchant village." We draw somewhat slowly up the smooth and solid road that leads toward the steep outlines of the Col de Bussang. Let us ride past the establishment for curiosity's sake. The stage plunges into a long tunnel that pierces the barrier of the Vosges and leads you from France into the sundered district of Lorraine. In the centre of the tunnel a slender black mark on a granite post shows the division between the two countries, and you see foot-passengers stop at the dividing line and place one finger in France and the finger next to it in Germany. We roll on with the stage, and emerge into the bright light and sunny landscape of Lorraine, upon the eastern side of the dividing ridge. Are we really on German territory? In spite of the granite post and the black line, the change of boundary seems a metaphysical thing. You may see a forester with the cap of a German guard, but the same peace and charm prevail as on the western side. The inhabitants are all Lorrainers, and they will tell you—in French or German indifferently—that no German settlers have come into this part of the country as yet. "Further east there are Germans," says the comely young married woman who dispenses beer at the little inn beyond the tunnel, as she points down toward the beautiful plains of Lorraine, all shining, far to the eastward, under the silver mists of the morning. "But here," she adds, "it is just as it was before the war." I ask her if she