POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS

THERE HAVE BEEN BUT TWO IN HISTORY OF UNITED STATES.

First When Jefferson Was Elected President, and the Second Came With Lincoln.

It is surprising when one comes to think of it, that in this country of popular government there has been so few reversals of the governmental policy. A writer in the Baltimore Herald has been looking the matter up and he presents the following interesting statement respecting the changes in National policies since the organization of the Government:

The uncertainties and viciositudes of

politics have long ago passed into a proverb. In this country we are always lding an election somewhere, for some thing or somebody. As we watch the result from year to year it seems that there is nothing so unstable as the popular will. The favorite of last year is the despised and rejected of this. Next year may stand at the head of the poll. In 1862 President Cleveland won the most signal triumph achieved by any candidate of his party since Franklin Pierce's election just 60 years before. Two years later, only 13 Democrats were elected to Congress in all of the old free states— a smaller number, not only relatively but absolutely, then had sat in any Congress since the formation of the party 100 years before. In 1882 the Democratic electoral ticket received the largest plurality in New York which had ever been given to that party in a Presidential contest. In 1896 President McKiniey's majority was nearly six times as great as that of President Cleveland four years earlier. The very next year the Democratic can-didate for Judge of the Court of Appeals was elected by a majority of many thousands. In 1891 and 1892 it seemed that the Democratic party in Maryland was stronger than it had been at any time since the enfranchisement of the negroes. In 1898 the Republicans carried the state of the respective which relatively to the

by a majority which, relatively to the total vote cast, would have been large even for Massachusetta.

When it becomes possible to look back into a long series of years it appears that most of the sudden reversals of possible to look back as the most of the sudden reversals of possible to ligorous the sudden reversals of possible to ligorous are towarders. litical alignment are as temporary as they were usually unanticipated. In-deed, perhaps nowhere in the civilized world are great and permanent political volutions so rare as in this country. revolutions so rare as in this county. It is a common metaphor to speak of politics as a restless sea. The figure is perhaps a good one. The ocean is ever changing, and yet, in essentials, is the most changeless of all the great natural

features of the world. In spite of all the ups and downs of parties and leaders, it remains true that in 112 years there have been in this counonly two decisive political revolus-that of 1861 and that of 1861. Fo the first 12 years after the adoption of the Constitution the Federalists ruled. Some-times one or both Houses of Congress were in opposition, but the President was giways a Federalist and no legislation dis-tasteful to that party could get upon the statute books. From the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson to that of Abraham Lincoln, a period of precisely 90 years, no party other than the Democratic was ever in a position to impose its policy upon the Nation. The Whig party had so much that was brilliant and attractive about it; the gigantic intellect of its Webster, the matchless charm and fire of its Clay have so deeply impressed themselves upon popular imagination that few people realize that it never was in power. Once in the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" cumpaign of 1840 it swept the country in a blaze of enthusiasm. It secured not only the Presidency, but both branches of the National Legislature as well. Unfortunately for it, President Harrison died within a month of his inauguration. It soon became evident that Ty-ler, his successor, was not a Whig at all, although he had been in opposition to some of the Jacksonian policies. When the Whig Congress met for the first time in extra session it found that the President would have none of the great Whig panacea—a National bank. He co-oper-ated in the abolition of Van Buren's inde-Administration restored. After one veto, a tariff act upon which Congress and the President would agree was passed, only to be repealed a few years liter. breach between him and his party complete and, in the second half of his term, the House of Representatives be-came heavily Democratic. Eight years after 1886, the Whigs again elected a President-"Old Rough and Ready," Zach-ary Taylor, the hero of Buena Vista. To emplish this feat, they were driven to the expedient of adopting no platform at all, so that their hopeless inability to agree upon any definite policy could be ignored if not concenled. Even then they would not have wen had not the Demo-cratic faction fight in New York sent onehalf of the Democratic voters of that de cisive state to the support of Van Buren and Adams, the Free Soil candidates. President Taylor and, after his death, President Fillmore had to face during their entire terms a Congress Democratic in each branch. It is therefore absolutely true that from 1801 to 1861 no other than the Democratic partry ever had the chance to give legislative effect to its

exception, the Republican party has been the only one which has had the power to change its wishes into the laws of the ration until 1875 that party had complete control. It is true that President John son soon quarreled with the party which elected him, but, as it had during all his term upwards of two-thirds majority in each House of Congress, it was able, in spite of his numerous vetoes, to pass such laws as it desired. The panic of 1873 and the increasing appreciation in the North of the true nature of the carpetbag governments in the South brought about the Democratic tidal wave of 1974, and the next year there met the first Democratic House of Representatives which Washington had seen since 1839. From March 4, 1875, to March 4, 1883, a nexted of 18 years there were only four period of 18 years, there were only four years in which any partiesn legislation could be enacted. From 1875 to 1879, from 1883 to 1885 and from 1891 to 1893 the House was Democratic and the Senate and President Republican. From 1879 to 1881 both House and Senate were Democratic and the President Republican From 1885 to 1889 the President Republican. From 1885 to 1889 the President and the House were Democratic and the Senate Republican. Each of two Republican Congresses, that from 1881 to 1882 and that from 1889 to 1881, passed a tariff act known as the turiff act of 1883 and the McKinley tariff respectively. Ther Congress passed the civil law still on the statute books. The mospermanent work of the later Republican Congress, the first one over which Thom-as B. Reed presided as Speaker, was the adoption of the so-called Reed rules and the practical annihilation of fillbustering which for 20 years before had been so great and so growing an evil. The great Democratic victories

and 1892 were so decisive that, when President Cleveland was for the second time inaugurated, it was known that both Senate and House would contain a Dem-ocratic majority. Before Congress met, the panic of 1800 came. When, in rese to the President's call, Congres came together in the extra session, it was evident that of party unity and discipline there was and would be none. The Presi-dent knew that the Sherman sliver-purchase act ought to be repealed. The judgment of his party's Repre sentatives and Senators was opposed to him. His term was just beginning. He had great influence: It was all exerted to overcome opposition. Finally, after a struggle prolonged over months, he won, but only because the majority of the Republicans came to his support. At | the author of the Dreyfus revision

the regular session which followed, the party again divided on the tariff ques-tion, and the President was so much opposed to the act which passed Congress that not only would be not put his name to it, but he described the policy which led to its adoption as one of "perfidy and The election of 1894 made the new

House of Representatives Republican, and it has since so remained. From March 4, 1895, to March 4, 1890, the Senate was, as Speaker Reed is said to have described it, decidedly "miscellaneous." The bal-ance of power in it was held by a number of Senators from the far West, who had been Republicans, and who, on some subjects, such as the tariff, were still Republicans, but with whom the free coinnge of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 was and is the paramount issue. The Republican victories of the elections of 1897 and 1895 have again made the Senate Republican, although by a margin which may, if Mr. Bryan is successful, be In the meanwhile, however, President McKinley has the distinction of being the first President since General Grant's first term to have in the second half of his Administration a Congress, both branches of which are in political accord with himself,

The Wilson tariff act of 1894 was soon replaced by the Dingley law of 1897, thus revoking the only one permanent result of the brief Democratic tenure of power from 1831 to 1886. The Pederal election laws were repealed and they are not likely to be re-enacted. The Republicans voted against their repeal, but, though they have since had the power, they have shown no inclination to revise them.

The framers of our Constitution by their system of checks and balances intended to prevent sudden and revolutionary changes of policy. In this, history shows that they succeeded. Indeed, had there been no secession of the Cotton States, the second of the two revolutions we have discussed would probably never have taken place. President Lincoln, but for the voluntary withdrawal of the Senators and Representatives from the E seceding states, would have found himself faced by a Congress hostile in one or both branches. Unable to do much to carry out the policies of his party, the usual reaction would probably have taken place, and at the end of his term he might have been succeeded by a Democrat. The mistake made at the Charles-ton convention of 1860, when the Demo-cratic party split as to the duty of the Federal Government to protect slavery in the territories and the subsequent secession of the Cotton States threw away that control for the legislation of the country which the party had exercised for three score years. For 40 years now, that power then and thus surrendered, has been held by the Republicans. One of the reasons why the Whig party always failed to oust its Democratic rival was, that being the party of opposition, they were always tempted to avoid any careful and precise definition of its political aims, in the hope thereby of getting the support of every possible element opposed to the party in power.

Such a plan is a very good one upon which to win an election. It is a very bad one if the party expects to hold for any length of time power thus gained. When charged with the responsibilities of office the hopeless and incurable divisions of opinion in the Whig party manifested themselves. To a very considerable extent the Democratic party has for the last 40 years suffered from the same tendency. For example, in 1892 there were thousands of votes cast for its candidates in the East by those who felt that the Republicans, in the passage of the Sherman act, had gone too far towards plac-ing the country upon a silver basis. On the other hand, in the Western states hundreds of thousands of votes were thrown against President Harrison because they thought he had not done enough for silver. When the Democratic party came into power and the financial crisis followed, it became necessary to do one thing or the other with reference to the Sherman silver act, and at once it was shown that the party as a party was hopelessly divided.

If Mr. Bryan should be elected next November, one of two things will happen; either he will get control of both houses of Congress, or he will not. In the latter case, he will be able, as the history of the country shows, to do very little for his party, its policies or the country. In view of the peculiar nature of the silve issue, the people will necessarily suffer from the doubt and uncertainty which will exist as to whether or not he will be able to put the country on a silver basis. If, as appears more probable, in the event of his election, a House and Benate sub-ject to his control are chosen, then the country will be face to face with the third great and revolutionary change in its policy. There can be no question ow serious to every material interest of the country such a revolution would

Two Points of View.

Senator Hoar to Erving Winslow.
"I will not debate with you," Senato Hoar continues, "the question whether I am right or wrong. I expect to debate the question in due time. If you think you can best help the cause of liberty and true Republicanism by voting for the men who are for the free coinage of sliver at 16 to 1, by voting for men who are refusing 10,000,000 American citizens suf-frage at home, for overthrowing the inde-pendence of the Supreme Court and for destroying the safeguards of property and American labor, very well. Go your way and do your duty as you see it.
"I shall do mine as I see it, and I think

can best do it by speaking as a Republican to Republicans; by keeping my right to speak as counsellor and associate of the men who have wrought everything that has ben wrought for liberty in this country since the treaty of peace in 1783, and not as the associate or through the instrumentalities of the party or men who have been ranged for 60 years on the side of despotism and oppression of dis-honor and of low wages.

"I agree that I am responsible for my own conduct, and that is a responsibility which no other man can share. If I have done wrong, or do wrong hereafter, cannot justify myself by other men's cer cates. But when you impute to me low and base personal motive in what have said and done, and in what I purpos to do, I have a right to appeal to the fact that when I had said and done the same things, and when you knew well that I purposed to do the same things, you and the leaders of the Anti-Imperialists throughout the country expressed your extravagant praise of my affitude, although you differed from me in the matter of my purpose to support President McKinley. You propose to do evil that good may come. I do not."

Success of the New Currency Law.

Chicago Tribune. Controller Dawes' report of the opera-tion of the new currency law for the first four months that it has been on the statute books shows that 234 National banks have been incorporated, with a cap-ital of \$12,645,690. The applications from banks that wish to issue circulation num-ber 495, with a total capital of \$15,872,900. The Controller points to the four that 104 The Controller points to the fact that ale, or 75 per cent, of the applications are those of banks with a capital of less than \$50,000 each, which is proof that the new law is of advantage in the extension of banking facilities to the smaller towns Banks with a capital of less than \$50,000 can be organized only in towns with population of less than 6000. Many these, towns had no banking facilities whatever before the new law into effect. It is needless to point out the value of a bank to such a community The new law has justified every expects tion of those who urged its passage.

The Rights of Man League at its annual meeting in Paris the other day resolved on presenting a medal to M. Brisson as

ORIENTAL

LOCAL JAPANESE WRITES OF "FAR EASTERN POLICY."

Some Day China Will Rise to Restore the Nation"-Japan's Great Interest in Asiatic Races.

PORTLAND, July 16 - (To the Editor.)-Permit me space for a reply to the opin-ion concerning the motive and policy of Japan, in "The Oriental Crisis," by an "Ex-Attache," transcribed in The Morn-ing Oregonian of June 27.

Since the word "Boxer" flashed like lightning from the ominously dark atmos-phere of the far East, and the Chinese Empire monopolized the attention of the whole world, throwing all other questions of moment into shade, magazines and pa pers have been literally "filled up" with views and opinions from able pens and men of prominent positions and renown. Most of those already exponded seem to acknowledge the appalling enormity of the problem presented to the world to be solved, though some cannot escape in-curring the blame for being too ready in taking a pessimistic view of human affairs and events; and some have ventured to predict the outcome. A few went even far to prophecy the future of the far East. Indeed, it needs a sight of a great statesmanship to foresee outcome of an event that involves nations. It takes a divine inspiration to prophesy fate of a nation. What mortal would have dared to prophecy the present state of this great American Republic only a century ago? Who could have foreseen that the United States would be compelled to exert her energy and strength in subjugat-ing the Molays, as the outcome of the complication with Spain over Cuba, only a couple of years ago! The Ruler of the Universe alone knew them!

Only a thorough knowledge of nature and character of a people, from moral, ethical and historical standpoints, at least, justifies one to be an authority on problems concerning them. Opinion of any person, that lacks such degree of any person, that lacks such degree of knowledge, we must let it suffer the fate of a mere "guess," if not of a groundless jargon. And, unfortunately, people are not nowadays a bit reserved or modest as to refrain from unnecessarily taxing the reading society with hosts of so-called opinions or views or studies that called opinions, or views, or studies that unhappily belong to this category.

unhapplly belong to this category.

Amidst a regular tumult of opinions and views from men of political, military and religious standing, an able treatment of the present crisis that threw some light upon the question, has raised its author-itative voice. The author is said to be an "ex-Attache" of a Legation in the far East, and the position he occupied itself adds much in commanding our attention and due perusal of his treatment. He has not only led us far into the heart of the Celestial society, initiating us into of the Ceiestial society, initiating us into
the secret of the present crists, but dared
take us up to the diszy peak of prophery.
But whether the gentleman is justified
in making such a bold attempt, we are
led to question. Whether the gentleman
has not gone a little beyond his proper
field will be of some worth to examine.

I do not here pretend to question the
correctness or thoroughness of the "excorrectness or thoroughness of the "exattache's" observation concerning the Chinese Empire and the "Boxers." But when it comes to the question concerning the future of China or of the far East and especially the motive and policy, or probable action, of Japan I regret to state that I cannot help but to question the authority and correctness of the gentle-

ridiculous and an opinion founded not upon facts or logically deduced from them, but rather a fantasmal ghost of the gentleman's suspicion and over-ap Different from the conducts of Russia or some of the European powers, Japan has so far never been dishonest or treach-erous in her international dealings, and this statement does not need to be defended. The history of the past 40 years stands as witness. The annals of 10 centuries of her dealings with the other Asiatic Nations confirm it. The upright National character of this island empire

has never yet been stained.

man's opinion, if I do not consider it

It is true, the past, however glorious and worthy, is but a subject of so-called mote the future interests of humanity, nor assure equally glorious or worthy conducts in future. But we must not forget the maxim, 'Past is the best prophet of the future." Let us now come back to the present and consider seriously the probable future action of Japan and her motives concerning China, not from a mere fantasy or imagination, born of blind suspicion and apprehension, but weighing facts carefully and fair-minded.

The gentleman boldly declares: "Japan is not only a non-Christian and thorough-ly Asiatic nation, imbued with the hatred for the white man, common to all vellow

If such statement were made concerning the Japan of 30 or 40 years ago, no one would have questioned it. But it is more than surprising to find a gentleman, especially when he pretends to know something of the Asiatic characters and the far Eastern affairs, attempting to drag that nation, which has a brilliant history of unparalleled progress and de-velopment, down to the level of the Turkish or Chinese nation in his esti-mation. I feel that the gentleman has fatled to do justice to this Island nation, if he had not meant so. Certainly, it is far from denying that Japan is a thor-ough Asiatic nation, from lcy northern end to the tropical south. But from this nothing can be inferred or deduced that justifies the gentleman in treating her with suspicion. Hatred is generally, if not always, born of ignorance or misderstanding, at least, of the character motive and state of another. Are the average Japanese so utterly ignorant of the Western civilization as to keep up fire on the altar of the Goddess of Hatred against the white race? Hatred is an aspect of a weak mind. Of cause I should not be understood to assert that there are no fanatics or demagogues, who are rather to be pitied for their ignorance and narrowness as to think it patriot ism to praise nothing but what pertain to their own country or race; or that the average Japanese are equally disposed towards the white race as towards their own yellow brethren. Unfortunately, there are yet some in every country and community, whose minds are so narrow and dwarfed that they cannot see much beyond the landmarks of their own so clety, or can see beauty but in the color of their own race. And more unfortunately, and as a painful truth, the human society has not yet quite advanced and developed to that stage where, throwing all the visible differences aside, we can stand on the same common level, embrac-ing each other in brotherly love. Such can be only when this earth will rejoice realizing the grand vision of Isaiah. It is true, in some sense, the landmarks between nations have been greatly defaced; but it must be also acknowledged that this very tendency is operating as a strong force and motive in uniting and concentrating not all the races under one fold, but individual races against one another. So the movements are becoming

other. So the movements are becoming larger and of greater consequence. Con-tentions between nations are giving way to struggles between races. The hither-

to greedy strife of territorial aggression is changing into a more serious struggle to preserve species, or race. The day of material realization on earth of the earnest prayer of man. "Thy kingdom come,

peace on earth, and good will to men

and dispositions of races toward each other can be but a disappointment. The

peace on earth, and good will to men."
will come only when this strong tendency
of individual racial concentration develops into a grand force of uniting all
the sems of God on earth. Till then, to
him who dream that a member of a race
will or cught to be equally disposed toward a member of another race, that
differs in character, custom and blood,
as toward his own, the present relations
and dispositions of races toward each

Creator endowed man, nay, the whole of his creation, with a peculiar instinct to love those that are nearer to him, more than those that are distantly related or with whom he has nothing in common at all. But can this be called, with any propriety, "hatred" for the latter? Has ove for one thing necessarily to carry hatred against another? It is an undeniable fact that Japan de-

It is an undeniable fact that Japan desires and will undertake with all her might and energy, development of the Asiatic races to whom she is geographically and historically related, and of which she is one and a part, and, indeed, with whom, in some sense she has interests and fats in common, before she thinks of the interests of any other race. Is this an unnatural inclination? Is this a damnable ambition? A "hatred" for the white races? The Japanese Nation sets the development of the Asiatic races, and of cause, in effect, of humanity at large, as her chief aim and mission, and has constantly been and will struggle to accomplish it; and not a mere "grandeur" of her National career, if by that term the gentleman meant the grandeur of the gentleman meant the grandeur of Rome or Maccdoniat This sensitive na-tion is well aware that this is not, nor in future will be, an age to dream of such a grandeur that costs the human blood and liberty too dearly, but which has to fade quietly in the eve. Will this sagacious nation blindly struggle onward to prepare for a young Sciplo to wail over the tragical scene of a Carthage?

It has to be admitted that Japan is not tree of the secoled Christian Nations if

one of the so-called Christian Nations, if in which is not to be embraced a nation whose predominating thoughts are suc-stantiality of Christian character and whose actions are influenced by noble principles of Christian ethics and moral-

I am at a loss to find any fact or authority that justifies the "Ex-Attache" in bursting out in a fit and declaring in a most assured manner; "the idea of Japan is to secure differential duties in her favor in such a way as to close the Chinese market to all foreign nations, and to drill the Chipese army so as to become a weapon for the furtherance of her dreams of grandeur," and then, with suspicious eyes, questioning the in-tegrity of Japan, whether she would not turn-the Celestial Empire against all Western and Christian powers, thus to intensify the so-called Tellow Peril. The latter is indeed an inevitable deduction from the former. But I doubt if the gentleman can escape the fate of holding himself out in a ridiculous light of draw-ing right conclusion from an erroneous premise. Where has he found facts to rest the former statement on? To nurse a doubt, whether this nation, that has a glorious history of 40 years of heroic and onderful struggles in developing herself, and is now struggling to civiling the Formosians and the Coreans, would not turn her neighbor an enemy to civilisation and human welfare, is to ignore every rule that governs human motives and conducts. But, supposing such a thing possible, nay, probable, will all the Western powers sit down in ease and watch with indifference Japan committing such a great crime against humanity and civilization? Will other powers let Japan have her own way as she pleases with China? A more absurd fantasy can not enter into a man's head!

But, though I trust it is not so, if the gentleman nurse the same ghost of fear, as Emperor William, of a Yellow Perli in the sense that the Celestial Empire, with her \$60,000,000 and one-third of the Asiatic continent, with its yet unex-plored and undeveloped resources, would become a menace to the Western powers, if she be roused and blessed with the life of civilization, I must admit Japan will not hesitate to give the blessing of liberty and civilization to the 600,000,000 of human souls because of it. Truth is not harmful. Real liberty is not a bane. If real liberty and civilization are in danger of becoming a Yellow Berll to the European powers, I suspect there must be something fundamentally wrong in their dealings with China or other Asiatic na tions. If this suspicion proves true, yel-low race, when enlightened, may, aye will become a terrible Yellow Peril "Strength rules till reason comes." Bu when Strength becomes a handmaid of Reason, what on the earth would dare

Doubtlessly and Inevitably chins will

come, sooner or later, to consciousness

aye, she is conscious even now, though

bigoted and mistaken in taking proper steps, of her dotage, and at the same time of the advantages taken over her present helpless condition by the West ern powers. Some day in future, she will rise to defend her honor and restore her national integrity. Jaying aside that ridiculous notion of "Calestial nation." Leaving aside the question, whether the yellow race would become a dangerous peril to the Western civilization, or China would ever again rise to the state of her old glory (for I have not meant here to enter into such discussion, as it is a great and complicated problem, that is rather a fit subject of a more careful study and extended treatment), I shall conclude this reply with regret that a gentleman such as profess to be well versed with characters of the Oriental nations and affairs, should utter a statement that esembles a childish dream and really no worthy of a comment. However, let me add a few more words, lest I might be guilty of doing an injustice to the gentle man by misleading the public to suppose the gentleman as unworthy of conversing on the far Eastern affairs. His opinion concerning the motive and policy, or the probable action of Japan in future, is not altogether without some foundation believe, it has been a speculation based upon the past conducts and policies of the Western powers, especially of Russia It is not the question of siding with Japan or Russia against which the cau-tious "Ex-Attache" warns the other nations, but the main struggle will be tween liberal idea and centralization, be tween the open-door policy and th greedy territorial aggression; nay, the ultimate will be civilization and liberty against barberity and tyranny. This struggle has been and ever will be the main strife on earth, as long as human race continues. Upon the battlefield of this nature. I hope, there will not be any feeling or question of differences in nationalities or races, religions or colors. Let there be no block of suspicion or in-sincerity to impede the way in uniting the strength and energies of all those that hasten to enlist under the flag of liberty and civilization—the flag under which there shines a hope of uniting some day all human races in peace and brotherhood; under which fing there is yet a hope of realizing the fulfillment of that ever-cherished wish of best minds, that grand prophecy of Isaish: "And they shall heat their sweets. they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into proming-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn

F. Y. MATSUOKA.

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Dr. Francis Preston Venable, the new president of the University of North Caro-lina, was formerly professor of chemistry in that institution, and is the author of

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A Busy Port, Cut Off From Navigation by Ice for Four Months

Tien Trin is the commercial capital of Northern China, the Port of Pekin, and the great exchange and mart of Mongolia and Tartary proper, writes H. W. Lawson in the London Daily Telegraph. Situate on the flat, alluvial plain that runs up from the mudbanks of the coast to the foothills of the Mongolian plateau, there is nothing in the site or plan of the native city to distinguish it from any other collection of equat, tile-roofed ramshackle buildings intersected with filth-laden ditches to be seen, with slight variations for soil and climate, from one end of China to the other. The ferocity and turbulence of the Tien Tain mob have been notorious since the lamentable mas-sacre of 1870, which began with the murder of the French Consul and his wife, and culminated in unspeakable outrages upon the wretched Sisters of the religious orders. Unfortunately, those were the days of imperial forgetfulness, and but little was done to bring the responsible authors and abettors of the crime to ac-It was about the time when Foreign Office is said to have remonstrated with our Minister in China because no dis-patch had been received for six months on "Write anything you like, but write something," was the di-

rection given. A waterside population in China, as where, embraces the roughest classes of the community, and the character of the people is not improved by the presence of the great army of yamen runners and parasites, the small fry of the official world, who hang on to the Viceregal Ya-men of Chi Li, of which Tien Tsin is the seat of government. The city is said, according to the rough tests of calculation which serve for the Chinese census to contain over 1,000,000 inhabitants. Packed and compressed into the stone boxes that serve for houses, it is impossible for a stranger to make any estimate of the mbers of those who dwell in them; but on one passes through the foul and narrow streets and slimy alleys, they seem literally to swarm and fester with coolies. beggars and parti-colored soldiers. Like all other Chinese cities. Tien Tsin has its miles of encircling walls, with the inevitable four gates and the regular succession of towers and bastions. Strongly built of mud, with a facing of gray stone, these walls may have served their purpose against bows and arrows in the days of chronic rebellion and civil tumult, bu they will prove uscless to resist the small est gun of a modern armament.

The railway to Pekin, although con structed according to English plans and under English direction, belongs to the Chinese, and is miserably managed, so far the normal type, corrupt, wrong-headed and full of self-importance. In the trains which run to Pekin the only carriage cently sweet or clean is that of the Im perial Maritime Customs, in which Eu-The railway station at Tien Tsin is not in the European settlement, but lies on the further side of the great wooder pontoon bridge, which separates it from the native quarters. In the attack made by the Boxers the other day on the Rus-sian force, it seems that the river formed the dividing line between the two, and it must have been in the attempt to cross the bridge that the Chinese marauders lost so heavily. The European settlement is second to none in China in the breadth nd cleanliness of its streets, and in the solidity and comfort of its houses. Like all the other "Bunds," it is an "Imperium in imperio," with its own municipal ar-

these so-called concessions of Chinese ter-ritory. Each has its own City Council. with officers and staff, regularly appointed and adequately paid, on the exact model of an English municipal borough of the first class. In fact, a Town Clerk of Birmingham would find himseld perfectly at home in the Town Hall of far-away European China.

of the year, has made the merchants put heavier weight of stone into the construction of their houses nero than further south, and the general appearance resen bles nothing so much as an important Scotch town, even in the character of its architecture, which the great Scotch firms who farm out the far East have brought with them from their native land. police force is composed of Sikhs and Pathans—the "black devils" the Chinese call them-who look funny enough in the thick blue clothing and white woolen gloves of a London "bobby," but do their work to perfection. It will be a shocking catastrophe in the East, quite apart from the horrid probability of massacre and outrage, if the Boxers, or their protectors, the Chinese soldiery, are able to lay their hands on this admirable oats of Western civilization, which strikes the eye so curiruption of the Manchus. Tien Tain trades in all the products of the northern prov-inces and of Mongolia, and a prominen feature in the streets of the Chinese city is the fur and skin shop, which supplies the natives with every sort of cout, from costly sable, sewn and put together from 100 scraps and pieces, to the humble sheepskin for coolie wear.

his followers. Wives ride straddis-legged and children in baskets are mounted on camel back, and only the actual leaders go afoot, with the long string of their charges following in single file, tied together in line. Warmly clad in heavy wadded underclothes, topped by enormous sheepskins, their heads covered with long-eared fur caps, in addition to which they put on fur ear-bags, and on their legs "Mongol socks," that is, soft, high boots of sheepskin, under felt overshoes, thickly studded with iron nails, these peopl look to the life the Tartar of the chil dren's book of types. Beyond Kalgan the plateau rises to an elevation of 4000 feet, and the ley blast that sweeps across it cuts into the skin and pierces through the stoutest cloth. The Tartar differs considerably from the Chinaman, or even from his kinsman, the Manchu, in the ruddy yellow of his face and the pleasant frankness of his ginnee. He seems to favor bright colors, and on the top of his fur hood he often sticks the gold-buttoned cap of Chinese official rank, while his women's jackets are of yellow and scarlet, as well as of Chinese blue.

The Tartar travels with his family and

Mongolia is the great stud farm of the empire, and droves of ponies are thence brought down to Tien Twin and the north ern ports, to be shipped to the settlements of the south or sold for commercial pur-poses to the Chinese merchant. Just outside the north gate of Pekin is a larg market where these ponies-griffins they are called-are sold by auction, as they come to hand from their Tartar breeders in shape and make they are not attrac tive to the Western eye, and they look as they are, coarse and underbred. Their heads, in particular, are square and clun sy, but they have great qualities of stur-diness and hard condition, and it is found in practice that their legs will stand any amount of rattling over the hard ground and the stony roads. It is almost need less to say that they are wonderfully sure of foot and clever in avoiding the holes and drops of a "trappy" country. In and near the capital 20 or 30 taels go, a long way toward buying the best that are brought to the hammer, and their keedoes not come to more than about fiv China dollars a month. All they have fo food is chopped straw and millet, with plenty of hot water, making up a sort of gruel, which they eat at odd times by night and day. Their natural pace, agree-able to the Chinese taste, is a slow jog

THE CITY OF TIEN TSIN rangements and its own police. In no part of the empire is local government better understood or administered than in luckly, the breaking is of the roughest their mouths are as hard as fron, and ac customed to be tight held by the head the reins must be taken short to mak them go at all. Moreover, when owned by Chinamen they are ill-kempt and scragg; almost mangy in their coats. Nothing done to improve the stamp, and, unlike the native princes of India, the high officials do nothing to help the farmers and The severity of the climate, which cuts off Tien Tsin from the sea for four months blood.

Labor in China varies in its efficience according to place, and, curiously unlik Europe, seems to vary inversely, wit the temperatures of the climate. At Tie Tsin and the northern ports it takes muclonger to load and unload cargo than a the ports of Yangtse, and the husbands of the soil shows less care in the north ern provinces than it does lower down In fact, the northerners seem incline to hibernate, and allow the rigor of th Winter to unman them instead of spurring them to activity. Still, after watch ing gangs of coolies working in man places, it may safely be asserted the labor are superior to those of any nation with, perhaps, the exception of our own From this it does not follow that th Chinaman, like the London "docker," do not know how to play "ca' canny" whe he chooses. I had the experience of be ing aboard one of the last of the Chir merchants' steamships to leave Tongk before the Pei Ho was closed by ice water traffic, and the coolies employed in sppened to be in receipt of month wages. It was neither their object ne their desire to shut down for the Winte too quickly, so they resolved to take fu time and something more in getting th cargo aboard, both from the wharf ar Tongku, and outside the Taku bar from lighters.

It chanced that this cargo mainly con sisted of peanuts for Canton, packed I matted bags of the roughest make. Eac bag was passed to the comprador's clerk who stuck a tally into the sack, and was then hooked on by a row of cooling into the ship's hold. Not only was possible to make all this a very slo process, but the lingering could be turne to a practical purpose. The hook, if jud clously inserted, caused a constant streaof peanuts to fall out, and these wer-instantly stored in handkerchiefs and taken as "perks" by the hungry work men. It may be imagined how easily 2 hours were consumed in this pleasant pa time. When, however, it is a questie of plecework, either directly or indirect through the labor contractor or gang master, who plays so large a part in the industrial organization of the Celestia Empire, the hours are miraculously short ened, and the ships seldom exhaust the given time in port before they are ready to go to sea or up-river, as the case ma

Chicago Tribune.

Expositions are costly playthings. The Paris exposition attendance thus far has not exceeded an average of 150,000 a day It has been estimated that to make it a financial success would require a total at tendance of 60,000,000 paid visitors, or a average of over 300,000 a day, near double the attendance at the exposition of 1889, when the admissions numbers 32,354,111. The showing thus far indicate a large deficit at the close, and the close ing of 32 enterprises of the Midway kin already is a straw showing which way the wind blows. Even if there were no other causes for the fallure attaching t the conduct of Paris during the prelin inaries of the exposition, a war year is poor year for shows. The tragic exhib tions in South Africa and China have di verted public attention from Paris. Th Parisians, however, wished to be enter danced, they must now pay the piper.

the Chicago man, as he read the bill o "You Easterners make some que You've got croquettes unde of entries. Out West croquette mistakes the head of entries.