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TRADING VOTES ON THE VARIOUS TARIFF SCHEDULES

The Senators Give and Take---Give Their Votes and Take What Best They Can Get.

By Ernest G. Walker. (Mail Special to the Advertiser.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7.—If the books could be exhibited—and some kind of a record there must be—it would show a remarkable system of debits and credits between Senator Aldrich and his Finance Committee, on the one hand, and individual Senators on the other hand.

As an instance to the point, the Senators from Florida might be mentioned. They are Democrats, of course. They have been voting pretty steadily with the Senate minority.

In contrast with those Florida Senators, the Louisiana Senators might be cited. Both the Louisianans are Democrats, but Senator Aldrich would deliver to them any reasonable amount of political goods and take his chances on being paid.

"We don't have to worry about McEnery," said one of the veteran leaders recently. "There's one good thing about him. We know where to find him."

There are many cases where these trades are pending. It all accounts in considerable part for the peculiar manner in which the Senate skips around in its consideration of the tariff bill.

As soon as the bill had been reported to the Senate, nearly two months ago, it was read through and all the paragraphs and amendments agreed to, where there was no objection.

Then a fresh start was taken. The schedules ran from A to N inclusive. The Senate first undertook to clear up Schedule A. After the usual concomitant of unrestricted debate it did enact most of the paragraphs in that schedule.

The Senate Finance Committee put sulphate back at 2-10 of a cent a pound, where it had been 3-10 in the law. But sulphate of ammonia is largely used in the manufacture of fertilizer and the farming interest began to thunder in upon Congress.

Sulphate of ammonia is only an example of the way the Senate leaders have of moving along the line of least resistance. As the sessions have progressed, however, Senator Aldrich has

been saying with greater frequency: "Well, we had better fight this out now," whereupon the Senate settles down to debate and to a test of voting strength.

After they have marched over the enemy and trodden him into terra firma they occasionally turn around and help bind up his bruises. The lumber schedule is a case in point.

"The lumber schedule is now practically finished, thank goodness," many a weary soul ejaculated. Not so. When the issue of free lumber had been disposed of and the Finance Committee had demonstrated its complete mastery of that schedule, its members decided to pass on. Senator Aldrich announced that the committee had decided to redraw several of the lumber paragraphs, especially those on dressed lumber.

As a matter of fact there is not today a completed schedule of the Aldrich-Payne tariff bill, although the Senate is probably within two or three weeks of the end of its work. But week after week Senator Aldrich has been leading the Macedonian phalanx into hotter and hotter campaigning.

By the time the Senator gets around to consider the coal paragraphs, Senator Elkins may feel like delivering the speech over again, lest his colleagues may have forgotten what he has already said.

When this easygoing process of passing a tariff bill has been concluded, the final Senate vote will not be immediately assumed by any means. Thus far consideration is in committee of the whole.

Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, was beaten in his opposition to a provision about inscriptions upon ornamental watches. He promptly announced that he would renew the fight when the bill "came into the Senate."

It is fair to say, nevertheless, that very little of the ground will be gone over again when the tariff bill is "in the Senate." The orators will be talked out and a vote will be had very speedily on the passage of the entire measure.

Senator Tillman of South Carolina, "Pitchfork Ben," inveighed recently against the sham battles over tariff. They made him weary. There have in reality been scores of sham battles over the bill, since Congress sought to fix the tariff upon thousands of items.

Within a few days Senator Aldrich and Senator Brown, of Nebraska, met in the cloak room and had it hot and heavy. Senator Brown turned out to be an insurgent early in the consideration of the tariff bill. It seemed that the captains and lieutenants of the Macedonian phalanx had not taken the proper precautions about holding Senator Brown within their lines.

"Well, I will give you the higher protection on knit goods if you will give me the higher rate on dress goods," Senator Aldrich will say. "Done," responds Chairman Payne and there will be another step forward toward an agreement.

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adopted. The Finance Committee could probably have defeated the amendment. It has been able thus far to carry or defeat any proposition that came up. The appearance would have been a little unseemly, probably, had the Finance Committee defeated an amendment which it had once favored. So the good stiff duty on punice stone for the benefit of Nebraska deposits went through kiting and Senator Brown has been pluming himself on his success. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen what will become of punice stone in conference. It is no secret that a word from Senator Aldrich, who will be the leading conferee, will cause that good stiff duty to be dropped like a hot potato. Without much difficulty one can imagine Senator Brown dancing attendance upon the conferees, waiting outside the committee room and asking for the latest word as to what has happened to punice stone.

That is only one case. The Finance Committee, it is known, intends to raise the duties on ground pulp and on print paper. But there has been no official recommendation yet and so the subject has not been debated. Before the report is made, the orators will be more or less worn out by constant battling and the committee's program in that particular can be carried more easily. Thus are tariff bills passed by such masters of tactics and strategy as now rule the United States Senate.

The publicity feature is not to be overlooked as very important in connection with the Senate's performance which has already worn away two months and more of Congressional time. It is said that never before have the daily newspapers of the country published so little of a tariff debate as this summer. But it is equally true that never before were so exhaustive and so detailed discussions of tariff ever held in the Senate.

Even the acrimonious exchanges become so numerous, whether between Democrats and Republicans or between low tariff and high tariff Senators, that they are almost commonplace. One Senator can call another a liar in parliamentary terms nowadays without attracting any particular attention. All the same every word of the great debate is taken down and preserved. Many a copy over at the Government Printing Office has been saved a job through the summer months because Senators are prolific at talking. The blue lights blaze forth from the top floors, where the composing rooms are, till along into the morning, while the typesetting machines rattle away cast-

ing slugs in response to the quiet touching of the keyboards.

The indifference of the newspapers to the ordinary features of the debate has spurred the Senators to unusual activity in preparing as good "news" speeches as possible and also to exercise their ingenuity in delivering those speeches when they are likely to get the most space. Never before were so many Senate speeches "set up" in advance that the proofs might be furnished days ahead of time to the Washington correspondents. Never before were proofs so generously distributed or sent around with so many polite senatorial notes to the offices of the correspondents. Never before were so many requests made to "look over speech" and to "make as good an abstract of it as your time will allow." Never before were so many Senatorial speeches printed in pamphlet form, after their delivery—which costs a Senator real money out of his own pocket—to be distributed in big manila envelopes, franked, to his constituents and to all others who may or may not be interested.

A Senator must actually deliver his speech. He can not get "leave to print" as may be done in the House. When he first came to the Senate, Mr. Dick, of Ohio, once asked leave to print, thinking he certainly would have the same privilege there he had long enjoyed at the other end of the Capitol. The request, instead of being looked upon with merriment, seemed even to shock the sensibilities of the older Senators, who promptly informed him that his request was impossible.

However, enormous quantities of material on the tariff are being inserted in the Congressional Record by the Senate. The thousand and one campaigns, big and little, that have been under way in this city for the last six months for and against tariff items, can be understood next year when the election is approaching, or a hundred years from now, by anyone who cares to open the broad books into which the Congressional Record is bound. The newspapers may ignore the great bulk of the tariff debating, but the politicians expect to promote a mighty revival of protection and revenue literature in the course of a twelvemonth.

The extensive "inserts" are made, in part, that the readers of the Congressional Record, who are quite numerous the country over, may have the facts at hand. This pleases men who come here to fight for higher duties or for lower duties on plate glass, lumber, hides, coal, woollens and a dozen other big items. Some of them had briefs printed in the Ways and Means hearings and some of them also gave testimony before that body. But there was always additional correspondence and other additional material produced by the time the bill reached the Senate. In certain cases, Senators, knowing they are fighting a hopeless battle for some constituent, content themselves with making a few remarks and putting the constituent's letter or brief into the Congressional Record.

But every Senator, who has made a "set speech" has bolstered up his plea or his defense with much documentary evidence. He has written the Treasury Department for information, ransacked the Congressional Library, and worried the lives out of official heads of statistical and kindred bureaus in Washington. All this has proceeded on a scale never before known during a tariff debate in Congress. Much of the material is absolutely worthless. Some of it is so old as to be out of date. Some of it is presented with almost an open purpose to throw dust in the eyes of people who can not be expected to understand tariff and economical subjects. But some of it possesses value.

Before many weeks the mails to the libraries of the country and to favored (?) constituents will be weighted with packages weighing 300 or 400 pounds each. These will be the bound volumes of the Record—the complete and unexpurgated edition of the tariff story from early March to the end of the extra session when the signature of William H. Taft was put to the bulky parchment which, thereby, is made the new tariff law.

TAKE A VACATION. Now is the time to take a vacation, get out into the woods and mountains and visit the seashore, but do not forget to take a bottle of Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera and Diarrhoea Remedy along with you. It is almost certain to be needed, and cannot be obtained on railroad trains or steamships. It is too much of a risk for anyone to leave home on a journey without it. For sale by all dealers, Benson, Smith & Co., agents for Hawaii.

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