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REVELATIONS BY AN EX-SPEAKER

INSIDE HISTORY OF A STATE
 LEGISLATURE BY ONE
 WHO KNOWS.

United States Senators Now "Made,"
 Not Elected—Method of the "Mak-
 ing" Little Understood—Story of
 How a Great Railroad Company
 Manufactured a Senator—A Three-
 Years' Campaign and Its Bami-
 lations—Potency of the "Barrel."

BY AN EX-SPEAKER OF A STATE
 LEGISLATURE.
 (Copyright, 1906, by Joseph B. Bowles.)

Unless the method of electing United States senators is changed only men with extraordinarily strong pulls or uncommonly long purses can hope to win the coveted togs. Time was, and not so very long ago, when United States senatorial campaigns were conducted along moderate lines. In those days the candidate wrote a few letters, made a few visits to some of the "pivotal" counties, then hid him to the state capital and there awaited the unpledged and open-minded state senators and assemblymen.

But modern methods have changed all this, and now a United States senator is made, not elected. The vote in the house and senate, except in rare cases, is merely the ratification of caucus action. It is the consummation, however, of several years of intrigue, hard campaigning, keen and unscrupulous politicking, promise-giving and pledge making, job-trading and in the majority of cases plain, unvarnished and unblushing bribe asking and bribe giving.

No campaign or agitation which centers on the legislature of a state has in it so much of interest to the practical politician or onlooker who understands the moves as the campaign which leads up to the election of a United States senator. And no election is so little understood. I often have been astounded at the dense ignorance of all that goes into the making of a United States senator shown by men who seemed to be well-informed citizens.

Yet I should not have been surprised, for so much of the preliminary work is in the hands of promoters, not of the man who wants to succeed himself opens his barrel. Some good people have deluded themselves into believing that because some candidates for senatorial honors are not rich men money is not used in their campaigns except in a legitimate and therefore small way. The cold, hard fact is that any man who carries the hall mark of success in politics and who is looked upon as a winner in a race for a seat in the United States senate has no need to spend one lone cent of his own money. Bank accounts of which he had never heard; funds from sources he had never known, ready cash from hands he never before had grasped are his for the intimidation; he doesn't even have to ask.

This engorgement on the part of certain kinds of men who control certain kinds of great transportation and manufacturing businesses explains why comparatively poor men have been able to carry out to a successful conclusion a long, expensive campaign. And when that man gets into the senate he is not going to have his financial backers, his "angels," say he is a man "with cold feet." He is going to make good, for he will need that same kind of money, those same influences; those same brands of passes and "get busy" letters when he comes before the people and legislature of his state for reelection.

I have said that United States senators—I shall modify that statement by saying most of them—are made, not elected. One of the statesmen who "represented" our state in the upper chamber in Washington was manufactured by a great railroad whose general offices were in the principal city of my state. I know he was made because I was one of the men who worked on the job. The sequence of processes which entered into the making of this senator began when the railroad people decided they wanted one of their attorneys to look after their interests in the national capital.

I have been told that the man himself had not the slightest idea of becoming a candidate until he was told by his superior that the great ones had picked him out as a likely probability for toga honors. This picked-out candidate had few of the personal qualities which count so much in the great game of politics. He was not a friend maker; he was not a good mixer; he was a fair spell-binder, had had some public experience, and the fact that he was a favored attorney of the road was conclusive evidence that he knew how to get value received from city councils and state legislatures. But he was what is known in the trade as "an available man." He carried the right political brand; his home town was the center of a powerful political district and as he had never been found out there was no smear on his public record.

The railroad people began the making of their candidate almost three years before the legislature would meet which would elect the senator. This was because the state senators are elected for four year terms and half of the members of the state senate are elected every two years. The railroad campaigners then started out, first to nominate men for the senate who would be favorable to their candidate for United States senator two years later.

No mention was made of the railroad's candidate; the word went down the line to put in men who would do the right thing for the railroad company. The candidate, however, "got busy" and was busy by his company to all parts of the

state, ostensibly on railroad business but really to get acquainted with the political leaders. Never before had that road been so liberal with passes. Any man who had a line on any member of the legislature got a pass for the asking. It was this generosity without any request for legislative favors which made the boys suspect that a gum shoe campaign senator was on, and long before the members of the general assembly which was to elect a senator had been nominated it was known that the railroad attorney was a candidate for United States senator.

Now this is what that man had to do to get the seat in the senate he and his people were after. He first had to have a majority, on joint ballot, in the general assembly of members of his political party, otherwise he could not be elected. Having a party majority he then had to get a majority of the members of that party in caucus in order to get the nomination. To get this caucus majority he had to begin at the very bottom; he had to go to the county conventions to get delegates favorable to him sent to the legislative district conventions to nominate, for members of the legislature, men who would vote for him in caucus. He attended in person on many of these conventions as he could, and where he could not the railroad sent men in his interests.

The company had along its lines local attorneys who handled the legal business of the railroad in their sections of the state. Every local attorney was a politician. I was one of them, that is how I got mixed up in the campaign. With others I was "called in" to the company's headquarters and given a certain portion of the state to handle for the company's candidate. It was my office to round up every township, county and district convention I could get of us, and we worked hard; we had to. I was told that my expense account would be paid without question.

We were unable to get instructions from my fellow in as many district conventions as we wanted, for the United States senator, whose seat we were after, was a pretty live proposition and knew how to promise the same federal job to a dozen men in a way to make each believe that he had that job landed. But here is where our man had the edge on him; our candidate had a barrel. It was not his property—but he had the use of it, and was told to knock in the head if necessary, and he knocked it in.

He had established headquarters in the city, and there a score of active, shrewd, knowing politicians were at work. The nominating conventions had all met and nominated, and from that headquarters went the word that every candidate of our party for the legislature who needed campaign funds could be supplied. I was in the inside room one day when a candidate for the state senate came in. In a cool, businesslike way which was refreshing, he was asked how much money he required to "cash" election. He was modest. He put the figures only up to \$300. He then was asked if he would pledge himself to vote in caucus for our candidate. He said he would. Then he would have no objection to signing a pledge to that effect. He signed and before the ink of his signature was dry he was handed three crisp \$100 bills.

Now that bribe was veiled by the subtlety that the money was part of a campaign fund contributed by enthusiastic men who wanted their party to win the election. As a matter of fact the money was paid for that man's vote by the railroad company, who wanted their candidate for United States senator to be elected. From this headquarters also were sent speakers into close districts and the legislative candidates in such districts knew that their help came from the railroad's candidate. In short, a general campaign for the election of members to the general assembly was ably and effectively conducted by our candidate, and the newest novice in politics could easily figure that the expenses were something enormous.

Our man was elected without trouble, for before the party caucus was held his opponents withdrew. They could not fight the barrel which was never empty, no matter how often its contents were scooped out.

I have sketched out this campaign to show the ramifications and complexities which characterize a campaign for the election of a United States senator. No other election in a state calls upon a candidate for such close, detailed, perplexing, expensive, skillful political work. And each year this game becomes more intricate, for it is the game where the ruling minority governs the majority. It is the few men in the township that control their delegates to the county convention. It is the few men in the county convention who select the delegates to the legislative conventions; it is the dominating minority in the legislative conventions which nominate and in the legislature it is the few rulers who swing the caucus nomination. The people at large have no chance to elect their vote.

So long as the present method of electing United States senators is used the senate will be what is called a "millionaires' club," for it takes a small fortune to make even a moderate, legitimate campaign. Some day, perhaps, senators will be elected by popular vote. But this day will not come until some members of the senate are sent to the penitentiary for buying votes with cash, federal jobs, consulships and contributions to personal campaign funds.

Senator's Tale.
 Hannibal Hamlin, relates the Boston Herald, for many years a United States senator from Maine, and vice president during the civil war, was wont to tell the following story on himself:

A man by the name of Pearson, while passing along the main street in Bangor, stepped into a hole in the sidewalk, and, falling, broke his leg. He brought suit against the city for \$1,000 and engaged Hamlin as counsel.
 Hamlin won his case, but the city appealed to the supreme court. Here also the decision was for Hamlin's client. After settling up the claim Hamlin sent for his client and handed him \$1.
 "What's this?" asked the Englishman.
 "That's your damages, after taking out my fee, the cost of appeal, and several other expenses," said Hamlin.
 The Englishman looked at the dollar, and then at Hamlin. "What's the matter with this," he said, "is it bad?"

WASHINGTON LETTER

THE WORK OF SURGEON-GENERAL WALTER WEYMAN.

MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE

Is Broad Field of Work and Value to the Country at Large—Sir Mortimer Durand "A Good Fellow."



WASHINGTON. — In a big stone mansion on Capitol hill, just south of the capitol building, a genial, friendly, sandy complexioned, decidedly stout and decidedly good fellow, has his headquarters. There is nothing unusual about his appearance, but his name is known throughout the length and breadth of this land, and for that matter throughout the world, wherever disease and infection exist. This is Surgeon-General Walter Weyman, the conservator of the nation's health. He is at the head of the public health and marine hospital service, and his name is associated with every important movement looking to the control of epidemics and the prevention of diseases and plagues entering the borders of the United States.

Dr. Weyman is a modest gentleman, who never intrudes himself on public notice, but his position at the head of the health department of the government brings him into prominence, and the work of his bureau has been so important and at times almost sensational that it necessarily has made him one of the best-known of public officials. Dr. Weyman has worked, during the 14 years he has occupied his present place, in favor of national health laws and for our federal quarantine. He has successfully opposed the old regime of shogun quarantine that obtained in the north. The United States health officers are now recognized everywhere, and no longer opposed in the discharge of their duties. Dr. Weyman has been able during his administration to so police the frontiers with inspectors of his bureau as to reduce to the minimum the danger of the introduction of yellow fever and cholera.

Surgeon-General Weyman was in the marine hospital service before he was called to his present position. He was four years at the head of the marine hospital in Baltimore, and in addition to looking after the health of American seamen, he found time to take up the fight against the cruelty practiced on crews of oyster vessels. He was also in the marine hospital in New York.

Unique Organization.

URING the administration of Surgeon General Weyman, the marine hospital service has made great strides, because a congress has been awakened to the necessity of national safeguards to the health of the people. This public health service has a rather interesting history, as it is unique in the governments of the world. No such organization exists in any other country, and probably no function of our federal government carries with it more arbitrary and far reaching powers than the enforcement of health regulations. The marine hospital service was established by act of congress July 16, 1793. Within two years there was established isolated hospitals at Norfolk, Boston, Newport and Charleston. Up to 1871, when the service was reorganized under a single head, a dozen hospitals had been established, including those at Baltimore, New York and Evansville, Ind. For three-quarters of a century there was a very lax administration of these isolated hospitals. When the service was reorganized, Surgeon General Woodworth became its head, and improvement at once followed.

The upbuilding of the service is slow work, however, but under Dr. Weyman, who took charge 14 years ago, this service, which then only looked after the sick merchant sailors, was transformed into a national health service, controlling national and interstate quarantine, and the inspection of the millions of immigrants who come to this country. The bureau also handles epidemics, state, national and insular, and controls the production and distribution of serums, viruses, toxins and analogous products. It conducts scientific research along hygienic lines, either in the finely equipped laboratory in this city or in some part of the territory or possessions of the United States.

The hygienic laboratory which now occupies the old naval observatory, is engaged in most important investigations. It promises in time to become one of the great institutions of the United States devoted to medical research. Of the best donors connected with the bureau some of the brightest are assigned to work in this laboratory. It is studying leprosy, spotted fever and looking after the purity of drugs, as well as inspecting the serums of anti-toxins.

Soil Inoculation.

TEN years ago the proposition that soils could be inoculated and made more productive would have been laughed at by the average farmer in the country. Today it is a recognized fact that bacteriological inoculation of the soil for leguminous plants will work in the eastern states. The department of agriculture developed this idea, and although its practical application is less than three years old, it has now passed the experimental stage. That the agriculturists of the country believe in this theory is evidenced by the deluge of applications that has come to the department here for cultures of soil-inoculating bacteria. The great majority of these applicants are apt to be disappointed, as the department has not the ability to supply all the demands. Secretary Wilson does not claim that the cultures are beneficial to the soil or to crops under all circumstances. They must be applied to legumes. The

direct benefit is reported in more than 75 per cent of the cases where the cultures have been used.

Since the first of the year a company has established a plant in Pennsylvania for the purpose of cultivation of soil-inoculating bacteria, and another plant is in operation in Vermont. There promises to grow up a very considerable industry in this line, and as the agricultural department is also supplying these cultures a monopoly of the business by any one firm or combination will be prevented. It has been demonstrated by the department that the cost of the material for a culture capable of inoculating an acre is but four cents. Commercial concerns are charging from \$1.50 to two dollars an acre for cultures.

Second Assistant Secretary of State.

WAY off in southern France there is one of the most useful of our public officials enjoying himself to his heart's content after his own fashion. He is a small, undersized man, deaf almost as a post and afflicted with a stoppage in his speech. This does not prevent him, however, extracting a maximum of enjoyment out of his vacation, which he annually takes in southern France and northern Spain, historical and pleasant regions which he explores on a bicycle. This is a rather inadequate description of Hon. Alvey A. Adee, whose official designation is the second assistant secretary of state, but it will suffice to picture him to the hundreds of people who have had to do business at the state department. Mr. Adee is a government institution. He is a fixture in the state department and indispensable in the conduct of certain phases of international business.

Secretary Adee's whole life has been devoted to diplomacy, and if the truth were known, the majority of the able state papers that have appeared over the names of much more famous men than he during the last 20 years have been of his composition. He is an expert in the use of diplomatic language, and in the construction of correspondence that will carry harsh truths in the softest terms. Mr. Adee's greatest affliction is his almost total deafness. He is naturally of a sociable disposition, but this falling prevents his mingling very freely with other people.

Not long ago Mr. Adee presided at the meeting of the directors of the bureau of American republics. As he could not hear any motion made or speeches delivered, he worked out a programme which he had typewritten and given to each member. In this programme the order of business was indicated and the time to be allotted to each subject. The number of minutes each member was to be allowed to speak was also indicated. Mr. Adee called the meeting to order exactly on time and then with a split-second watch before him proceeded to carry out the programme. Some of the grandiloquent South and Central American ministers were much astounded to be cut off in the midst of their speeches by the sharp pounding of Mr. Adee's gavel. The latter never let on for a moment that he knew he was interfering with speeches, but immediately announced the next order of business, and in this way the meeting was conducted on schedule time and according to the Adee programme.

New British Ambassador.

HE new British ambassador, Sir Mortimer Durand, is already voted a "really good fellow" by those with whom he has come in contact in Washington's social and official circles.



There is nothing of the aristocrat about him, and he takes the keenest interest in American manners, customs and sports. Like his predecessor, Sir Michael Herbert, and also like the late Lord Pauncefote, Sir Mortimer seems destined to increase the cordial relations between Great Britain and the United States. He is a welcome visitor at the white house, and President Roosevelt is really very fond of him. The fact is that Mr. Roosevelt enjoys an actual comradeship with several of the ambassadors, notably Durand, Sternberg and Jusserand. The latter is a prime favorite with all the officials. Secretary Taft says he likes him because he is really the one diplomat who can thoroughly appreciate the subtlety of American humor.

Ambassador Durand has a sort of fond in the study of child life. Whenever he has been stationed he has gathered some interesting data about the manners and methods of the juvenile population. He has been greatly amused in observing the newboys of New York and also the young colored and white Arabs of the streets of Washington, but he thinks that for juvenile intelligence the little folks of Persia take the palm. As an illustration of this, he relates an incident that occurred when he represented Great Britain at Teheran. He and some of the legation people got up a picnic and told the cook to prepare a luncheon. The latter said that his children would mark the basket, as they were well acquainted with British ways. When Sir Mortimer himself unpacked the drinkables, in which were claret and brandy, he found a package of peppermint dropped to each bottle. He was a little startled to find how closely the Persian youngsters had studied English ways.

Not Much "Meandering."

A city girl writes: "It is a fond dream of mine to become a farmer's wife and meander with him down life's pathway." Ah, yes; that is a nice thing, explains the sapient scribe of the Osborne (Kan.) News; but when your husband meanders off and leaves you without wood and you have to meander up and down the lane pulling splinters off the fence to cook dinner, and when you meander along in the wet grass in search of the cows till your shoes are the color of rawhide and your stockings soaked, and when you meander out across out across 20 acres of plowed ground with a club to drive the hog out of the corn field and tear your dress on the barbed wire fence, when you meander back home to the house, find that the hilly gals have butted the stuff out of your child and find the old hen with 40 chickens in the parlor, you'll put your hands on your hips and realize that meandering is not what it is cracked up to be.

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