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October 3d, 1878.

We have had EVERY EVENING's full report of Senator Bayard's recent address at Baltimore, before the Maryland Agricultural Association, made up in pamphlet form for gratuitous distribution in this part of the country, but shall be glad to send copies anywhere, on receipt of an address and a one cent stamp for postage.

W. T. CROASDALE,

EDITOR OF EVERY EVENING.

8
"The True Relation of Agriculture to Politics."

ADDRESS

BY

Hon. THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD, ✓

OF DELAWARE,

At Pimlico Fair Grounds, near Baltimore,

BEFORE THE

Maryland Agricultural Associa'n,

ON

Thursday, Sept. 26th, 1878.



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—•—
"The primal duties shine aloft like stars."
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1878.

The True Relation of Agriculture to Politics.

At the Pimlico Fair Grounds, near Baltimore, on Thursday September 26th, 1878, Senator Bayard, of Delaware, by invitation, delivered the following address before the Maryland Agricultural Association. Mr. Bayard spoke as follows:—

Ladies and Gentlemen: There is an old French saying that "He who excuses himself accuses himself," and the same idea finds expression in our English adage, "A man who is good at excuses is good at nothing else"—and yet I cannot forbear to lay before you, in the way of apology for the shortcomings of this address, the wearying heats of our American summer and the professional and other engagements which have turned what should have been a vacation and period of rest into a really busy season of occupation. But my desire to meet and mingle with the people of Maryland has caused me to put aside other engagements which have, nevertheless, stood in the way of that preparation to which the themes proper for discussion before such an association as yours, composed of thoughtful and intelligent citizens, are entitled and deserve.

Not having been bred a farmer, what I do *not* know about this important pursuit would be far more interesting and valuable than what I do; but the pursuit and results of agriculture are so important to society at large, and so essential to civilized government itself, that, although reared in a different profession, my thoughts have been frequently occupied in the consideration of the great and growing importance to us all of this chief source of production and wealth, and the duty which consequently attaches to those who devote their time and energies to farming to obtain and apply all the aid that scientific knowledge can supply.

MORE'S UTOPIA.

Sir Thomas More, the wise, witty and upright chancellor who braved the fury of a tyrant and obeyed his conscience even unto death, met at Antwerp, in 1514, a companion of Americus Vespucius, who feigned to have discovered an island in the Western Atlantic, and the idea was thus suggested by the recent discoveries of Columbus, of the imaginary commonwealth called by More, Utopia, under cover of which title he launched the arrows of his satire at the rulers of his day, and in playful earnest gave many wise hints upon government.

Of agriculture he said something that may be useful for us to consider :

In Utopia farm houses are built over the whole country, to which inhabitants are sent in rotation from the cities. Every family had forty men, and women and two slaves. A master and a mistress presided over each family, and over thirty families a magistrate.

Every year twenty of the family return to town, being two years in the country, so that all acquire some knowledge of agriculture, and the land is never left in the hands of persons quite unacquainted with country labors.

He adds :

The chief business of the magistrates is to take care that no man may live idle, and that everyone should labor in his trade for six hours out of the 24.

His prophetic eye would seem to have had in view the "tramps" of our period, and to have prescribed a very simple but excellent formula for their regulation.

A ROYAL ROAD TO USEFULNESS.

The royal family of Germany, following a very wise rule, is instructed in some branch of mechanical skill. I have been told the present Emperor was a good chair-maker, and the Crown Prince a button-maker, and it would be a good thing for us to imitate this very sensible system, and improve it by having, in every large family, at least one educated farmer.

I know of no branch of study which does not with greater or less directness lead the mind back to the marvels, the mysteries and bounties of our common mother earth, from whose bosom we draw all that sustains our bodies; from the close and humble observance of whose laws we derive our best lessons in science and philosophy, and it is looking through nature, as displayed in the earth, up to nature's God, that we feel most forcibly the ties of religion itself.

THE PROMINENCE OF LAWYERS IN PUBLIC STATIONS.

Here in America, the theory and system of our government being popular, and framed upon the distribution of limited powers to numerous and independent agents, every representative body—the houses of Congress, the State Legislatures, the county commissioners, the city councils—becomes a parliament, the very mean-

ing of which word, "a speaking body," will throw some light upon an important question often asked, Why are our legislatures, State and Federal, composed so largely of members of the legal profession? Why does that profession contribute so largely in filling the chief offices of the Government?

Independent of the fact that ours was intended to be a government of laws, and not of the mere will of rulers, and that the class of citizens who make laws their especial study will naturally be called upon to frame and execute them, and that men "learned in the law" must of necessity, alone, compose the judicial branch of the Government, to whom is confided the interpretation of laws, there can be no doubt that lawyers are often chosen as legislators, chiefly because they can discuss questions, and thus parliament is held, and the rewards of distinction and power are most easily accessible to members of the talking profession.

ONE BAD RESULT.

A bad result of this is the overcrowding of the legal profession and official places by the sons of ambitious parents, or by the ambitious sons of modest parents, to the exclusion of other classes and professions, and frequently, as it seems to me, to the detriment of the community.

It has frequently been observed that the minds of lawyers are too much disposed to technicality and lack that breadth of view which is one of the best qualities in legislation, which is intended to be the stable rule of society, equal in all its applications to all men, of every occupation or pursuit, of every grade in fortune, and of every grade of intellectual faculty.

In England, from which country our institutions of government are chiefly copied, it has been often noted that men distinguished at the bar had failed to maintain their reputation in the halls of legislation, and those whose impress as leaders has been most indelibly and favorably made upon their country's government have been men whose minds were freed from the mere technical education in a single professional pursuit.

FARMERS AND MECHANICS NEEDED IN THE PUBLIC COUNCILS.

Therefore it is that I would rejoice to see a stronger infusion of the intellect of leading men in the agricultural and mechanical pursuits in those representative bodies by whom our laws are moulded, and who should therefore be prepared and equipped for such duties by a greater amount of general culture and acquirement than is usual, and, let me add, should enlarge their studies of government and laws, and bestow a larger proportion of their time and thoughts to the details and practical conduct of political affairs.

Your association is one of the agencies to which we must look for reformation in the particulars I have mentioned. There are especial opportunities for high usefulness given by the comparative seclusion of your lives, which you cannot too highly appreciate or value. Undoubtedly the driving, hurry and bustle of a city life sharpens men's faculties, and burnishes them by constant attrition into a brightness beside which the wits of "Country Cousins" may seem dull—but at the same time it deprives them of those seasons for calm self-communion, of introspection and judgment, which are so essential for public as well as private safety and welfare.

True wisdom is born of serenity and repose; judgments formed in times of commotion are not trustworthy. The calm bosom of the secluded lake reflects most truly the face of the heaven it mirrors, and which can never be pictured in the vexed surface of the stormy sea or turbulent river.

In the quiet mind of the secluded thinker is usually found that wisdom which descends "to guide us in this dark estate."

Country life gives not merely the leisure for study, but especially is fitted for meditation and reflection, needed to counteract the heated sensationalism and feverish thirst for novelty so painfully characteristic of the time and country in which we live.

From homes in the country, oftentimes obscure and sometimes impoverished, have emerged those men who most potently and beneficently have influenced the history of our country.

HAMPDEN AND HAMPTON.

Few figures stand forth upon the canvass of history so eminent and admirable as that of John Hampden, the English country gentleman, whose monument records that, "with great courage and consummate abilities, he began a noble opposition to an arbitrary court in defense of the liberties of his country; supported them in Parliament, and died for them in the field."

And his compeer in virtue and ability, separated in date by more than two centuries, but who will ever rank with him in history, whose constancy and sound judgment, whose intrepidity and self-control have proved such a shield and buckler to his people, when beset by difficulties and dangers greater than even Hampden confronted, is to-day supplied in our own land in Wade Hampton, the planter of South Carolina!

Hampden and Hampton! The names blend in sound, and in future time,

"Far on in summers that we shall not see,"

they will be coupled in the lessons taught

to inspire the youth of all lands with patriotic endeavour.

GREAT WORK WROUGHT IN SECLUSION.

In a pleasant nook in an English garden the mind of the great Newton first detected and comprehended the laws of the gravitation of matter.

Away from cities, in an obscure village, James Watt, the inaugurator of our present wonderful condition of mechanical progress, sat watching the lid of the tea kettle as it rose and fell, until he comprehended the imprisoned power which proclaimed its birth in struggles and demanded and irresistibly compelled its release from confinement.

Far away from the busy haunts of men, distant from cities and their tumults, within the quiet walls of the monasteries, during all the violence and wars of the middle ages the lamp of learning and science was faithfully trimmed and kept burning. And art and science and history in that long and dark period of unrest lay hid and safely preserved and cherished by the patient, modest and conscientious labor and chronicle of the poor recluse and humble monk.

Unconsciously, perhaps, a striking and most practical illustration of the truth I have suggested is given by the means adopted in many states of the Union—some by constitutional amendment, as in Illinois and Pennsylvania, in others by statutory amendment of municipal charters, to arrest the appalling increase of the debts of cities and large towns, which have grown with such rapidity as to threaten absolute confiscation of the property within their jurisdiction. And many city governments, so far from being a protection to the accumulations of industry and an encouragement to enterprise have come to be regarded as their greatest danger.

DEPENDENCE ON RURAL LEGISLATORS TO RESTRAIN THE ILL GOVERNMENT OF CITIES.

Under our system of suffrage as conducted in the cities public expenditures have become so excessive, so wild and profligate, and so large a class of the population have come to look upon the public treasury as their rightful means of support, and the corrupt improvement of private property at public cost has become so common that the power to incur further indebtedness has been withdrawn from the local control of city officials and committed to the restraining influences of state legislatures, which are composed chiefly of representatives from the country districts.

Does not this fact constitute a public admission that a more reliable sentiment, a more "saving common-sense" in the care and administration of property exists among the citizens of the rural districts

than would seem to control their sharper-witted brethren massed at the centres of population?

I barely glance at this serious problem of the government of men in large and dense masses, not proposing on this occasion to treat of the obvious evils of our municipal systems, or their proper remedies, but merely to draw your attention to the confession, contained in the fact referred to, of the manifest reliance exhibited upon the calmer and slower and, as it would appear, more wise and conservative judgment of the inhabitants of the rural districts.

THE BROAD PRAIRIE LAND OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

Never was there a time in the history of our country when calm, independent and resolute resistance to wild and dangerous popular fallacies was so needed as now.

Every thinking man must have felt that the absence of legal ranks and classes in the United States has created what may be likened to a broad prairie land of public sentiment, over which every gale that becomes popular sweeps with unobstructed force and levels all individual opposition.

This is one of the defects and dangers of our democratic form of government, against which its friends must guard it, and which especially needs the opposition of outspoken individuality of opinion, and is yet so indisposed to tolerate it.

A falsehood is not less false because a thousand voices shout it; it is only the more dangerous and should encounter more active and strenuous resistance.

INDEPENDENT OPINION NEEDED.

We do need, and need badly, vigorous utterances of independent opinions. It is from the conflict of honest, outspoken minds that truth is obtained, just as the steel and the flint are both required to strike the light.

And to the tyranny of unchecked popular opinion is added the terrorism of political partisanship, by which American intellect and personal conscience are so rudely assailed, overcome and dragged in the dust of wild and clamorous error.

Upon the thoughtful minds of men who love their country, and whose lives are passed remote from busy crowds, I earnestly press the consideration of their duty and responsibility, to remedy these defects.

FINANCIAL BEWILDERMENT.

If, in the midst of such financial distress and bewilderment as now surround us, remedies, illusory and yet plausible, should be urged; schemes which promise immediate relief, unbounded, easy and seductive, and which have caught the

popular mind sufficiently to promise the possession of temporary political power to their most conspicuous advocates, how plain is the duty and responsibility of every man who sees the lurking error and the concealed danger of such measures to bear his testimony in loud warning against them?

What answer should the farming classes, the land owners and the hardy yeomen of the United States, give to these strange, wild cries we hear going up from the political conventions of parties with new names, that no more rent should be paid for land, no more interest for the use of money, that the precious metals should be discarded, and "absolute money" ordained by law should replace and measure all values and be received for all dues?

THE DUTY AND INTEREST OF FARMERS.

Who should so strenuously resist all schemes which tend to lessen public reverence for pledged faith, to weaken confidence and to cripple and destroy public (and of course private) credit by agreeing to plans for the indefinite postponement of the payment of public engagements according to their terms? What portion of the American people need credit so much and so regularly as the farmer, who has to wait six months between seed-time and harvest for his means of payment? If a man would enjoy credit let him denounce all schemes to weaken credit and insist upon all that will give it strength. To the poor and honest man who needs credit and is compelled to borrow money, I earnestly commend these words.

ALL VALUES ARISE OUT OF LABOR.

What portion of the American people know so well as the agricultural classes the great fact that all values arise out of labor, and that nothing of value can be had without its share of labor?

To whom, therefore, can the fallacy that wealth can be created by empty promises to create it, be more apparent, and by whom should it more scornfully and promptly be rejected?

Who knows the reality and necessity of steady, continuous manual industry better than the American farmer? and who can better attest the falsehood of a system of currency which instructs men that pieces of paper, upon which is printed a promise of payment never to be redeemed, and which can be multiplied indefinitely at the will of any accidental majority of Congress, can ever be a stable and reliable measure of the value of those crops upon the production of which so much human toil, anxiety and care have been bestowed?

The pretended mysteries of the alchemists have long since become the subject

of human pity and derision, and surely the attempt now to revive the greater delusion that a printed Government certificate of value, not convertible into any thing of value, can take absolutely and permanently the place of, and perform all the functions of actual value, will speedily be discarded by the "sober, second-thought" of the American people.

THE LABOR PROBLEM.

But little more than twelve months ago we witnessed, here in Maryland and in other states, occurrences growing out of conflicting claims of labor and capital, in which lawlessness raised its horrid front and shocking scenes of insane and savage destruction of property and life were enacted well calculated to fill every citizen with apprehension and deep anxiety.

So long as public peace and safety are in jeopardy there can be for all good citizens but one immediate, ever-present and paramount duty: the maintenance of the law; and when law is obeyed, and sits firmly and unquestioned in its rightful seat of power; then, and only then, and not until then, shall the bearing and relief of alleged injuries and injustice be patiently, calmly, and kindly heard, investigated and remedied so far as legal justice can suffice.

But I do not propose to touch upon this, the gravest and most important problem of modern civilization, which is shaping itself and constantly demanding recognition in every quarter of the civilized world, not less in empires than republics, and in the solution of which the remedies and course of action which are most deeply touched with a sense of common human brotherhood and are the most influenced by the essential and indelible, but unwritten laws of justice and good will between man and man, will alone prove productive of permanent prosperity to all classes.

PLACES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

But there are facts which all must recognize and which are full of present instruction.

Owing to a variety of causes, which I will not attempt to recapitulate, there is to-day a large body of our fellow countrymen unemployed and in want, who are entitled to the most intelligent consideration and most active friendship and assistance. Go into the streets of Baltimore, and indeed of every lesser town, and you will find them idle but most anxious to be honestly employed.

I read a few months since the statement of a leading coal land owner and miner in one of the Pennsylvania valleys, in which he assured the unemployed people of his district that all the coal mining now needed could be done with one-half the hands gathered in that region, and that for the

other half there was no prospect of employment. These men were to be counted by thousands and with their families are to be counted by ten thousands.

When I think of the fair and fertile peninsula on which I live and of which our dear old "Eastern Shore" forms part, I wish from my heart that all of these strong and willing hands of labor could be transported and permanently established on Maryland and Delaware farms.

When we cast our eyes across the ocean, either to the east or the west, and see the fearful ravages of death in the starvation of millions in British India and the Chinese Empire, or witness an imbruted condition of living humanity with more than the pangs and none of the deliverance of death itself, we can better form an idea of the difficulties of human government under conditions of dense population and insufficient production and realize the blessings of communities, such as our own Maryland and Delaware where, under just and equal laws, the results of industry are protected and personal liberty guaranteed, and where a roof to shelter from the elements, warm clothing and abundant and substantial food are obtainable by any man who, with moderate health and strength, is content to walk with industry, sobriety and simple honesty as his companions.

THE RUSH FROM COUNTRY TO CITY.

Has there not been for more than twelve years past a steady exodus of our young yeomanry from the country districts to the towns and cities? Is it not a fact that the steady labors of the farm and the duller occupations and amusements of the homestead have proven irksome and distasteful to many of the present generation who have sought in the hot bed growth of trade and speculation, fostered by paper money in our centres of population, a more profitable an easier or more exciting kind of life? What has been the result? The cities are filled with the idle victims of over trade and exploded speculations. Agricultural labor has been abandoned by those most fit for it, and our farmers have been compelled to get along with less competent hands and pay them higher wages.

As a result, production has been lessened and at the same time the cost of production has been increased.

One obvious cure for much of the distress we now witness in cities and manufacturing centres will be found in the return of the population to the cultivation of American farms which to-day are at prices far below their intrinsic value because the compensations and advantages of country life and agricultural occupations have not been duly weighed and appreciated.

There need be no fears of over-production of the fruits of the earth by American farmers so long, at least, as the mad ambitions of European rulers turn that continent into a vast camp or battle field, and pervert the energies of their peoples to their mutual destruction, and by vast military establishments suck the very life-blood out of the industries they profess to protect.

"Knowledge comes,
But wisdom lingers."

The progress of invention and the application of natural forces to mechanical uses within the last quarter of a century is indeed marvellous. Undoubtedly every invention whereby labor is released from any task leaves it free to seek new fields of employment and thereby production is proportionately increased, and production is wealth, and personal comfort and luxury are the followers of wealth.

Whether the laborer is made more intelligent, and his condition on the whole advanced, is a deeply interesting and important question which I will not pause now to discuss.

In considering the benefits of the invention of labor-saving machinery to the laborer the increased time for cultivation of his faculties is obvious, and this shows the importance of providing healthful mental occupation.

In proportion as mechanical improvement makes personal thought and skill in the operative less necessary, and so tends to deaden his intelligence, the need of food for his mind is increased and should be supplied. The love and habit of reading should be encouraged so that when men and women have leisure it will not be for mischief, but improvement. It seems to me that every agricultural society ought to own a library of sensible and entertaining books to refresh the weary and attract inquiring minds among the laboring class.

Of the application of steam and electricity to agriculture and mechanical pursuits each day gives some new illustration and amid the wonders developed we feel, as La Rochefoucauld said, "only surprised that we can be surprised." But, knowing what we do, these inventions open to us a vista of material progress into which we may well gaze until imagination fails to trammel up the results.

AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES OF OUR COUNTRY.

By good authority we are told that in 1859-60 the largest cotton crop in the United States, upwards of 5,000,000 bales, was produced, and that but 2 per cent. of the territory especially adapted to its cultivation was occupied. Knowing the peculiar requirements of this plant, in soil

and climate, and the comparatively restricted area, imagination fails to picture the capacities of this country under the wonderful improvements in mechanics as applied to agriculture, of chemistry as applied to agriculture, and of the means of transporting the products of agriculture, not cotton only, but all the other numberless crops so much the less circumscribed as to fitting soil and climate. Surely this land could be the granary and store-house of the whole world.

The skillful cultivation practiced for two centuries in Holland, if applied to the marshes and neglected lands surrounding some of our chief cities, would result in marvellous production. Such, for instance, as at Beemster, where 18,000 acres of the most fertile and valuable land lies 16 feet below the level of the adjacent sea, and yet was drained in 1612, and so ever since maintained; and some of the finest meadows are more than 30 feet below the water level.

And yet Holland, like all the rest of Europe, is glad to use the labor-saving agricultural machinery of the United States.

Here is the beneficence of free trade in thought—each gathering good from the other—all benefited by the discovery of each.

THE UTILIZATION OF WASTE.

In the utilization of what is now regarded as wastes, the American farmers, especially of our own and the more Southern states, have much to learn.

The "dung-hill" of which so many speak with such contempt, and of which so few appreciate the value, has proven the foundation of solid wealth, well worthy of intelligent care. From the Chinese we may learn much as to this, and every day the ignorant wastes and sanitary dangers of the sewerage of our towns and cities are forcing themselves upon the consideration of thoughtful minds.

I am not competent—even if this hasty address would permit me—to speak of the science of agriculture.

It is only of comparatively late years that it has been so treated. In 1802 Sir Humphrey Davy first lectured upon agriculture as a science, and since that date the applications of chemistry, as applied analytically to soils, has thrown new light upon the pursuit.

No farmer but should constantly experiment upon the capacity of his land. It is only by such means that its possible value can be known.

OUR COUNTRY'S GREAT CROPS.

To-day the "balance of trade," as it is called, is effected in favor of the United States chiefly by the cotton crop, yet a wheelbarrow could have carried that crop less than one hundred years ago. In 1782 eight bags (not bales) of cotton were seized

in England on a ship from the United States because it was supposed to be impossible that so much of the fibre could be produced in this country. The very names of calico from Calcutta, and muslin from Mousoul, tell us the Oriental origin of our household fabrics.

Rice, of which the production in Carolina and the other Southern states is so extensive and important, is not indigenous to our soil, but is alleged to have started from a single peck of paddy or rice in the husk, given by the captain of a Dutch brig to Governor Smith, at Charleston, in 1694, into which port the vessel had put in distress. Its culture was afterwards, in 1718, introduced into Louisiana by John Law's famous "Company of the West." To-day ours is the finest rice culture in the world.

There are now known three hundred species of grasses, and may I not ask why are not many of these found suitable for this region, for profitable cultivation, for grazing and live stock improvement?

It is so easy to make these experiments, so interesting to watch their disclosures, and the possibilities of profit are so hopeful, that I cannot but be surprised at the neglect I witness almost everywhere.

By the census of 1870 there were 11,155,240 persons, over 20 years of age, employed in the United States. Of these in agriculture were employed 5,151,767, and in manufactures 2,500,189, giving to these combined employments 7,651,956. Trade and transportation had 1,117,928; leaving for the professions, and others not classed, 2,385,356. The agricultural and mechanical employments thus embracing nearly two-thirds of our working men—and being so essential and controlling a portion of our body politic—how manifest the importance of education and training among them.

THE SAVING VIRTUES FOR A PEOPLE MORALLY SICK.

But I will not weary your patience longer with the speculations of a mind whose practical experience in your calling is so slight.

What may be the results of the wonderful discoveries in physical science we may not fully comprehend, but "I doubt not through the ages an increasing purpose runs." Under all conditions of life; under every change and vicissitude of human affairs, human nature remains the same, and within ourselves rests the responsibility of human will left free.

A saying of Pericles has been preserved: "that possessions (houses and lands) can never produce men, but men can gain of such things as many as they will."

New inventions may render the old useless, and the machinery of to-day may be cast into the rubbish pit to-morrow; our institutions of government may fail and be replaced by others—history is filled



with such illustrations. But there are other things that will never fail, and can never safely be discarded; are needed now, always were, and ever will be needed:

Self-reliance and self-restraint.

Industry and frugality.

Courage and patience.

Truthfulness and honor.

Morality and religion.

These are the essential bases which keep the world sweet and correct those fermentations which human passions generate.

Upon these qualities we must depend for all the hope of permanent and progressive prosperity and happiness. And how shall they be secured? All are home-spun virtues—virtues spun at home; and to the guardians of homes we must look to see that they are implanted and nourished there.

THE DUTY OF WOMEN IN PRESERVING THE FIRESIDE VIRTUES.

Mothers of America, how great a power is in your hands!—to mould the characters of those who are soon to be charged with the government of their country!

How shallow and petty seem all other rights compared with these: the true woman's rights, that spring not from

human statutes, but have their warrant from a Higher Hand.

In reflecting upon the evils which today afflict our country; which have prostrated its prosperity and paralyzed its industries and commerce, I trace the want of influence of the fireside virtues I have named. Ours is a government of laws, but laws moulded by public opinion. In a reformed, regenerated public opinion must we look for the cure of the evils which unclean dishonesty, disregard of truth and honor, unscrupulous private greed and unpatriotic animosities have brought upon us. The family and home circle are the natural birth place and nursery of the principles which, being educated and established there, expand into the community and pervade the whole body of laws and government with their sober and sweet influences.

The care of his family is the just, happiest and proudest duty of the American citizen, and to the American mother is assigned the power and duty of moulding the character of the American man. No written law, no established constitution has created or assigned these duties but in their just performance rest our chief hopes for individual and national welfare and happiness.

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