Address by Hon. J. Sterling Morton.

At the Hastings Fair Yesterday.

On a pleasant summer day more than twenty years ago I sat upon the high bluff of the Missouri River, just north of Nebraska City, and gazing into the clear air which bathed the distant bill tops of Iowa and Missouri in a sort of shadowy sea, I wondered what impulse, what reason or what occult law brought me and mine to this trans-Missouri realm? Why had we come West? Would others follow? Would farms and villages and cities ever spring into life here?

To a young man of twenty-three, full of hope, imbued with a reasonable amount of ambition, and actuated by the supreme motive of founding and establishing a home, where health might dwell and happiness abide, those were very grave questions.

But the great beauty and courage of youth is that it meets the profoundest problems of life with as little reluctance, and disposes of them with as little effort as one further along in years meets with and disposes of newspaper slanders or the vaporings of village gossips. And therefore, with that assuring exuberance which belongs to the vigorous vitality of early manhood, those queries were answered satisfactorily, by the mind upon which they had intruded. For while I looked up into the shimmering sky, I saw dancing among the clouds and capering with the sunbeams and zephyrs, ever so many cottonwood seeds in their neat, white tulle dress. They swayed upward and downward, and wafted here and there like embodiments of uneasy spirits. But the general drift was earthward and partowards a large sand-bar in the river, which the sunshine had not yet dried from its big bath of the June rise. And as they struck currents of air that led down to the waters of the Missouri and swept along its tawny tide, their buoyancy died out, and one after another until hundreds and thousands could have been counted, they fell exhausted as to serial life, upon the cool and refreshing surface of the moist nourishing sand. Then it occurred to me that humanity in all its migrations, in all its weary wanderings is governed by nature's laws, just as inflexibly and, possibly, as unconsciously as cottonwood seed by the law gravitation to descend to the earth, and by capillary attraction—with its silken fingers when landed on the moist sand to draw nourishment, send out roots, establish a trunk and be

And to-day standing at a point which was then in the Great American Desert, as unknown and as unindividualized as a single drop of water is at this moment in the midst of the Atlantic, I look down the avenue of those twenty years—twenty years among a people blessed with robust health. twenty years of bountiful crops, twenty years of material pros-perity which all the world cannot equal in developing results, and behold a forest grown, cut down and utilized from the sand-bar, a State born, represented and taxed, where then only here and there a squatter's cabin made the prairie sod beautiful by contrast.

The timber germs of that summer afternoon became a solid forest. The woodman's axe has mowed it down; moved it by manly muscle to the mills' revolving saws, and the result of natural law was thus formulated in human homes. The cottonwood seed which floated lazily and listlessly upon the breath of summer n 1855, after going through the chemical pro cesses which nature prescribes, became first a sprout, then a sapling, a tree, a saw log and lastly part of a man's house.

The humanity, the young men and women of 1854, 1855 and 1856, who drifted out from hearth sides in the east to wander westward and at last to settle down somewhere have since then passed in life's little day, from morning to noon and to evening, and those who fastened themselves to the soil of Ne braska have become instead of squatters in a distant territory, citizens of a prosperous, central and strongly developing state. THE POTENTIAL MOTIVE.

No man came hither without a motive. In each one there must have been an impelling power, a directing potency. And it is safe to say that ninety out of each hundred were gov erned by the desire to acquire, establish, build up and embellish a home. This ambition to make fast to the soil; to attach one's self to it like a tree, is the highest evolution of civilized life. It has come to the world after many thousands of years of experience, and is a master motive in all that sort of humanity which enjoys making the earth brighter and more beautiful. Permanent homes adorned with the best efforts of their own ers, are the places wherein love of country and the grander love of human liberty are born and cherished into the strength which

preserves and directs permanent and just governments, Robert Collier, of Unity Church, Chicago, has written many very true things. But among them all nothing is prettier or stronger, nothing truer, than this. In the heart of a grain of wheat the miller tells me there is one spot of a golden cast which the reason for a certain delicate golden hue If you grind the wheat for bread, and if you there lies the germ of all the harvests. What that germ is to the grain, the home is to the man. Strip away the enfolding and bare him to the heart of his being, and there you find the golden spot which colors all and is the living germ for harvests yet to be."

The best citizen is that one who comfor tableizes and adorns his home the best in porportion to his means and loves those best whom that home roof covers and protects. The man who does the very best he can for himself does the best be can for the communi ty in which he lives and for the State. A population of men who are doing the very they can for themselves, makes a community distinguished for its thrift, its sobriety, its decency and its prosperity.

If every man who hears me to-day will put forth his best endeavor of mind and muscle to make for his wife and children a comfortable and cosy home; and if every wife and daughter and son will make like endeavor as auxiliary aids to husband and father, then will be com menced, in deed and truth, the foundations of public prosperity. Mere encampments upon these prairies, whether in tents of canvas or shanties of wood, can never beget wealth, thrift and contentment. Savages camp, bar-barians make no permanent abodes, plant no groves, put out no orchards, and have no But refined and cultivated men every where direct present effort and self-denial to the end that a home may be secured and embellished. It is the temple where the triumphs of civilization and enlightenment are gathered by the toil of brain and muscle and gilded by the sunshine of soul. It is the inner sanctuary of patriotism; the conservatory of good morals, and the real source of hones and just forms of popular govern ment.

It should be the earliest aspiration of child hood and youth; the tenderest and most sacred charge of manhood, and the profoundest consolation of honorable old age. No man can be homeless and happy, and no people prosperous who fail to build up permanent and contenting firesides. All these productive prairies which -only ten years since were blank and beautiful as a starless sky-bave been reclaimed from solitude by the plow, spangled with groves, orchards, cottages and mansions, until now tidy and cheerful homes bedeck them on every hand, and stars in the heavens are not brighter on a cloudless night in September.

The civilized motive-born of education and good morals, which inspires mankind to make nomes, is thus found to be the primary

ettlement. That master motive brough here—wrinched crops from untried soils That master motive brought vi with the magic of pluck and labor, caused your hab rations to rise in the landscape, as quietly and almost as quiekly as a ship's shadow if he sunlit Sea. Hardly a person in the sound of my voice this moment can be found, who has not a tender memory about an old home somewhere in the East, in the West, or North, or South, perhaps away over the great occur an old home where a father and brothers and sisters, and over and above all, a mother, was wont to greet and caress. No matter best humble, how poor that home may have beer, it made you glad in childhood, and its memories make you better of morals and

intrials and struggles against adverse our parents then made taught you and self-reliance. And all the chivalry of all the cavaliers cannot equal the zealous will and sonest courage that welled up in your en you heard your father or mother

home two laid down to rest. So you and I have lived long enough to find out that a home in this world, and the hope of a Heaven in the next, are the consummate consolations of humanity, and we ourselves have become the builders and heads of home. and heads of homes.

And as our early homes have tinged our characters, directed our ambitions, and formulated the methods of our very lives, either for good or ill, we can now see clearly how grave and farreaching are the influences which we shall from these Neignaka bomes indelibly impress upon those claffirm whom nature has bequeathed These resposibilities cannot be avoided, shilld be realized and discharged with y and thoughtful courage, and an uning fidelity to truth and right. Not the fline fear of smalty, not the dread of eternal tor-ments, for the inculestion of a sentimental cowardic that coming enough to try and dodge by the doors of prisons here and hells hereafter, can make home desirable, nor these children within their precincts good hearted and honorable-minded. But a hearty admiration for truth as truth and right as right, is a wholesome element in parental character, which, when dominant, makes children industrious, temperate and honest. A firm faith that happiness is found only in truth and in right-doing and that honor and a liar are never partners fixes a pride of character which buoy up a man on the right course, keep him straight in honest ways, through adversity and temptation, when the fear of death and hell has faded ont of sight and importance. A good name is a motive of life. "It is a reason for that great encampment we call existence." While you are building the home of to-morrow, build up also that kind of soul and character that can sweet-

alty and reflecting upon no avenging retributions for violated laws. STRAIGHT CLEAR TIMBER.

ly rest on home's pillow dreaming of no pen

Now let us go back to that cotton-wood forest on the Missouri river. While nature's laboratory was pouring into the sandbar all the cunning chemicals which deftly combined constitute timber, those occult laws which govern the migrations of humanity were slowly surely aggregating a commonwealth in Nebras-ka. But when the forest was grown and the pioneer went into it for dimension timbers, he

always selected with onre the straightest trees. in order to get for the home he was building, what he called clear stuff. He never selected a tree because it grew in a peculiarly colored soil, nor because it seemed weakly, nor because it was crooked. He picked out each stick besuse of its own peculiar merits and its adaptability to his purpose and not because it stood on any particular platform of earth, nor be-cause cottonwoods were in the majority.

And then the same man, having collected

with such cautious judgment all the material for his domicile, and taken such pains to exclude all gnarled and rotten sticks from its component parts, lends his voice and vote to the establishment over this home, of a civil government, to give its protection to property, life and liberty. And it is passing strange that in choosing timber upon which, and out of which, the political fabric is to be formed, man as a rule ceases to be governed by judg-ment or controlled by reason. Individual de-cisions, based upon logical reasoning are thrown aside, and the bat-blind dogmas and pronunciamentos of partyism and caucusism become imperious dictators. Out of the of citizens, party and caucus choose the timber for the governmental fabric. The hearted stuff, coarse-grained, shaky, crooked and gnarled.

Those clear characters, which have adorned homes and lighted up home-life with the glow of joy and happiness, are too often not used at all in the political fabric, but entirely over-looked. And that is your fault and my fault, the fault of all men who are now, or ever have been so tied to party, so welded to party prejudice, that individual judgment and conscience

is surrendered a sacrifice to the gods of caucus. Nature hurried nothing in forming the germ, the tree and the timbers out of which ve builded our houses. The spring shower, the summer sunshine and the winter frost and snow came along leisurely, one after the other for many years, and rootlets and buds and foliage, grew again and again to make the per-fect solid trunk, clear and straight. But political human nature differs from those slow processes and hastens the growth of statesmen timber, with a velocity which no forester, no florist dare even emulate in a propagating gar-

And so men are oftentimes selected to make laws, to expound laws, and to execute laws, who never read laws, never understood and never obeyed laws. And thus we come to consider "THE TEARLY CROP OF TAXES IN NEBRASEA"

"AND WHO SOWS IT?" A TAX

s-when righteous and legitimate-merely a lawful demand of the government upon the citizens for a service rendered. That service is the protection of the life, property and liberty of the citizen. Any other tax than such a one is not legitimate, and is not righteous. The levy of a tax upon the property of all citizens by mere majority voting, out of which to donate money or bonds to a minute minority, called a corporation, in order that the aforesaid minute minority may construct a railroad, is an unjust, inexcusable, fraudulent and swindling tax. It is taking the property of the minority citizens, in the form of cash without due process of law. Nebraska ought to have had a constitution absolutely prohibiting the voting of subsidies in county, city and precinct bonds to railroad or other corporations. Had the people selected timber for the construction of Nebraska's fundamental law with as much care and judgment as they have chosen building stuff for their houses and barns, it would have been impossible to have voted as has now already been voted more

TEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS principal and twenty millions of dollars interest upon this State as a diabolical gratuity to private corporations. That one mistake in forming the organic law of Nebraska will cost the Commonwealth in principle and interest MANY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS,

Then and there was sown seed for an annual crop of taxes, which will equal a dollar an acre upon every farm in the State before its pestilent productive power shall have been ex-And those millions of dollars have hausted. unlike natural laws, harried things up. They have hatchens railroads as the steam hen hatched chicken at the State fair, with great expedition and facility, and with no well-arranged method of feeding and nourishing them. those millions of dollars would have put under tillage

and the teeming products of that land would have called capital into building more railroads in the State than we have yet gotten. Slow and sure are the methods and of those Natural Laws which call the oak from its germ-cell in the acorn up into the sky, to wave its glory of verdure in the sunshine; swing its brawny arms in the tumult of the storm. And equally slow and sure are those economic laws which call humanity out of crowded old lands into the peopleless new which call humanity out of lands, to make human homes, good names and pursue happiness. And as man cannot amend nor improve Nature's laws in formulating the oak, neither can be violate to advantage Therefore the State Constitu tion which provides for making donations of money-or bonds which must be paid in money out of the pockets of the many to the corpo r ate wallets of the few, is the greatest tax-seeding machine of the Commonwealth. And its perpetual and perennial crop will be the best you can-burdensomely bountiful for twenty years to come. Seed time is always present under this abomination. During this very summer a dozen counties have thus planted for tax crops which are certain to mature and furnish a wonderful yield of anxiety, oppression, want and distress.

Droughts may come; grasahoppers may fall

like avalanches upon your fields and corn and wheat may fail to fill your garners, but the sinking fund tax crop is certain as death, inexas fate, for neither summer drouth winter frosts nor chinch bug, nor grasshopper can interpose to stop its full and fatal fruition. The Constitution of Nebraska was constructed in haste and badly botched as to details. It made possible this vast yearly planting of tax crops. To individual citizens, credit and the right and power to run in debt is a dangerous thing. It, injudiciously exercised, has rained thousands of good men. Personal debts make the citizen a slave, and vast public debts make towns, cities, counties and states nothing more nor less than complex machines for the manu facture of sinking funds with which to pay in-terest. The present organic law which is the great fertilizer of the tax crop needs mending. The power to run into debt when vested in a majority-a mere mob-is far more dangerou than when it is limited to individuals. demagogueical and mendacious statement that majority is always right is absurd. The old adage that the voice of the people is always the voice of God is a lie, and a slander on God. The devil voices himself in a vote for county bonds for railroads, so distinctly, that when tax-paying day comes round one can smell sulphur in the air. The voice of the people when it declares in favor of public monies for pri vate purposes is always the voice of the devil And hell is always experienced by property owners as long as the debt lives and draws in-

The law providing for the issue of district oonds for schools is another and most prolific source of the yearly tax crop. Bungling law makers are responsible for its existence and you, the people, are responsible for having given political vitality to such law-makers They were spawned by your ballots, spewed out of your ballot-boxes. And thus to-day school districts, in Nebraska; have their bonds out for more than

SIX MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. and upon them a yearly crop of taxes amount-

ing to six hundred thousand dollars is ex-pected to be garnered by the eastern bond-The people, who prate of liberty and equality, thus forge chains for themselves; make themselves slaves to that relentless and extor-

tionate task-master called interest and sinking fund. You sow taxes ever time you vote for incompetent or dishonest men to occupy position of law maker or law officer. And from the yearly crop which will now aggregate more than a million dollars for sinking fund purposes alone in this State, it is reason to conclude that our affairs bave been badly and bunglingly managed for some years.

Under the act entitled "An Act to establish system of public instruction in the State of which passed and took effect Nebraska, February 15th, 1869, another vast pile of inter-

stacked up. The limitation of school district indebtedness in that loose-jointed enactment is five thousand dollars, (See section 30, page 966, of Revised Statutes

In Otoe county we have more than eighty districts, and had the full limit of indebtedness been reached we should owe for school

property more than FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. Because school districts can or may borrow on district hands we have built school hous extravagantly and wastefully all over the state. Editices large enough for populous sections in the oldest and richest states have been erected

in sparsely peopled districts in the newest who can ill afford the extravagance. Bonds have been created by the votes of the non tax-payers, and handed down as a calami tous legacy of bondage and distress to the tax-payers who succeed them as the real owners and developers of the tax-blighted soil. Un-der this nefacious legislation has been sown a possible to almost bankrupt the people in every newly made school district. It is time to wipe out that part of the law which ren-ders such rule and waste imminent. It is time for you to demand of the law-makers, your servants, solid safeguards and inhibitory bul-warks against this constant inundation of debt. The credit system in constructing

school houses has cost unnecessarily MILLIONS OF DOLLARS in principal and will cost millions more in interest, and it is high time to restrict or al-

together abolish it. The loss of permanent school funds loaned upon balloon hotels in Lincoln, upon church structures of doubtful value in Nebraska City and upon the fancy farms of favorites in diverand sundry places, while it aggregates many thousands of dollars, is only a nickle compar-ed to the vast sums which have been squanthe act named. The malappropriation of the permanent school fund may have been made by corrupt executive, but the School District debts have too often been created by corruption among the citizens themselves. power to create debt is a primary cause of cor-ruption everywhere, and the more it is restricted the safer are the people and the freerer

the homes from oppressive taxation. Ever since the panic of 1873-when truth as to values asserted its supremacy—industry has been fighting against debts and their consequences all over the country. And did not humanity have so short a memory as to its adversities, one might conclude that henceforth the people would dodge debt-making forever. But the present summer has wit-nessed the weakness of human memory in this regard, all over Nebraska. Because wherever a chance has been given to create new and larger debts for railroads it has been taken

with alacrity, with relish and public rejoicing. If some saint should organize a new system of religion and, in it, make Debt the Devil and semi-annual interest the quenchless fire which consumes the savings of the people, and then hold a long and successful revival in Nebraska, he would confer a greater temporal blessing upon the people than have all the law-maker to date. Even present systems of theology mention no taxation in the hereafter and to one to date. who has paid State taxes in Nebraska, from

the inception of the commonwealth, the taxspess of Heaven and its entire freedo a from borded indebtedness may be regarded as among its highest beatitudes.

EDUCATION is a good thing. The State should supply means to all its citizens of obtaining a common school education. Every child should be taught in the District Schools to read and spell cor rectly the English language; to write it legibly and grammatically. And in the same school geography and arithmetic should also be thoroughly inculcated. But when the commonweath has gone thus far in the enlightenment of its youth it should stop. Higher education such as the college or university is presumed to furnish should be left to private enterprise and individual effort. As a rule, State Universities have been State swindles and distin-

The University of Nebraska has been no ex-ception to the rule. The edifice for that insti-tution was constructed before a single student in Nebraska was prepared for a college course; before a preparatory school, or a graded school had been established in the State. The brick and mortar out of which that edifice was erected recked with rottenness, with bribe-bearing contracts, from its foundation to its dome. It cost more than \$150,000 and was at once peopled with a corps of professors, in command of a chancellor, whose principal labors were in drawing fine fat salaries from the public pocket. It was needed by the State just as much as a threshing machine is needed by the homesteader before he has sown an acre of wheat or broken a rod of prairie; or as much as a cider mill is required by one who has no trees on his farm except willows and cottonwoods.

The State did not need the University then; and it would be better off educationally and financially without it now. It is to-day, and always has been, a place-notwithstanding the resence of one or two worthy teachers-infected with personal jealousies, petty squab-bles, literary adventurers and costly humbugs -a place whence there is ever ascending to the public nose a strong smell of pensioned imbecility. It has cost since its erection (over and above what its erumbling sand-stone foundations and their superstructure amounted to) the following sums:

UNIVERSITY FUND Disbursements in 1869 and 1870 " 1871 " 1872 " 1873 " 1874 " 1875 " 1876 " 1877 " 1878 \$ 222 80 64,621 22 50,292 45 37,858 60 36,290 64

\$189,285 71 Balance on hand, Nov. 30th, 1878, \$12,642.16.

And for more than three hundred thousand lollars which have been taken from the popular pockets, what have you to show after de ducting the one or two conscientious instructors, save a badly constructed building, a lean laboratory, a few stuffed zoological specimens, some geological curiosities, an exceedingly poor library, a few sleek and puffy professors and a perpetual muss about and between the chancelfor and the faculty—a constant airing of dirty linen year in and year out, by the legislative laundrymen at Lincoln.

If your son ambitiously desires a collegiate course you ought if able to give it to him, or he as many another has-can earn it himself. In my judgment—and I have pondered the matter seriously—the State has undertaken no business which it botches and bungles more completely than it botches and bungles the mangement of the so-called-higher institutions

of learning.

The detailed expenses of the State University

The detailed expenses of the State University are not within my reach; but I know enough about them and their character to state conscientiously that I firmly believe their publication, truthfully itemized, from the inception of the institution to the present time would astound and disgust the tax-payers of the State. They have been often injudicious, frequently extravagant, and sometimes, I am afraid, criminal. The institution has added far more to your yearly crop of taxes than it has to the means of disseminating intelligence. It may have pecuniarily or politically ben-

fited a few men; but it has been of no general usefulness to the great majority of tax-payers. The District School, economical, plain, practical and thorough, is the people's school.

The University, ornate, utopian and super-ficial, is, too often, an asylum for decaped pulpiteers and plotting politicians. A majority of professors in State Universities and ormal Schools are entirely ignorant of practical affairs, and have frequently been appointed on account of sectarian bias, for political reasons, or because they have failed in other Such men are unfit to be entrusted with the formation of the mental, moral and business character of youth.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL

is the next consumer of taxes which should be popularly investigated. It has abnormally prepared for teaching a number of Nebraska youth, and it has cost the people the following sums and how much more I am not able to say. But it has been a museum in which to lect the relatives of prominent political per-sons and imbue them with vitality at the public expense. In short, it has been a convenient receptable for the extra sisters, cousing and aunts of over-worked statesmen. The cheerful figures following are only a

portion of the extra tax crop which has ripened from this institution. NORMAL SCHOOL.

APPROPRIATIONS AND EXPENDITURES. Binenial term of 1869 and 1871 and 1872. 10,743,43 10,740.71 24,632.00 1872 and 1874. 1875 and 1876. 1877 and 1878. 24,539,09 19,874.72 \$100,610.68 \$94,151.28 Dormitory building tax appropria-\$20,976,63

The educational system by the State should be restricted to the common school, and that should be made strong, economical, thorough and practical. Denominations, private indi viduals and incorporated institutions will supply higher education at less cost, and in better form and more satisfactorily than can the Commonwealth.

'An incorporated Society for the Education of the youth of Nebraska," could furnish all the Normal School advantages and all the Univer-sity culture this State now enjoys, for fifty cents on the dollar of the present cost and the declare ten per cent dividends semi-annually As to the style of teachers manufactured at Peru, incredulous persons may inquire of the County Superintendents who have examined Reliable information leads me to conclude that very many utterly incompetient instructors have been licensed by the Nebraska Normal School, and that the institution has cost vastly more than it is worth. It is good, however, as a tax seeder, and furnishes food for favored tax-eaters. You, the people, are its proprietors, and you can restrict or enlarge its demands for cash at your own option. The taxes taken from your Homes and their comforts whatever goes into the capacious maws of the University, and its competing consumer at Peru.

A GRUMBLER. Smart statesmen, gentlemen in high position will call this the voice of a grumbler, a malcon tent, a fault-finder. But that will not change facts and figures, nor controvert the truth. Nebraska came into the Amirican Union with the boast that she was debtless and had welve thousand two hundred and sixty-five dollars and forty cents on hand. That fact was exultingly paraded by the outgoing territorial executive, and exuberantly aired by the distinguished economist who succeeded him as Governoz of the new State

Patriotic place-hunters declared that the State government would cost not more, probably, than twelve thousand a year, though some suckling statesmen, even then, confessed that possibly our annual expense for Statehood might reach \$30,000. But as we have in-herited on coming to State age 500,000 acres of internal improvement lands, seventy-two sec tions of university lands, between forty and fifty thousand acres of a penitentiary, and an endless acreage of school lands, it was declared that State taxes would amount to only a trifle compared to the blessings which would inure to us from the honor of being represented by the best and most marked ability in Congress But the first years of 1867-8 dispelled the illusion of cheap government by drawing from the people of Nebraska more than a quarter of a million of dollars with which to maintain the dignity and exalted character of the State government.

But the facts and figures are: ments for blenn term 1867 and 1868. 1869 and 1870. 1871 and 1872. 1873 and 1874. 250,963 17 946,845 69 1,183,074 27 211,948 1,469,408 04 1,433,152 and 1876.

Total Receipts \$7,229,700 15

[Note.—The State Treasury shows nothing as the proceeds of about six thousand lots in ncoln, which are supposed to have been Lincoln, which are supposed to have been converted into cash at an average of about one hundred dollars each, by State Commissioners Butler, Kennard and Gillespie, The State should have from said sales realized more than half a million dollars, but the realization is not historically recorded.

The above figures as well as those concerning the University and Normal School, came to me with the following letter:

STATE OF NEBRASEA, TREASURY DEPARTMENT, LINCOLN, Sept. 5th, 1879. J. Sterling Morton, Nebraska City, Neb.: DEAR SIR—Replying to yours of late date, relative to cost of State government, &c., I have to say that the within showing appertains to transactions with this office, so far as my time permits me of compiling." Your first inquiry I am unable to comply with, and I would refer you to the Auditor of Public Accounts for statement of appropriations. Schedule "A" will show the receipts and disbursements of this office from organization of State to Nov. 30th, 1878, atte of last report. date of last report.

Very Respectfully Yours,

G. M. HARTLETT,

A little emphasis on the expression, "so as my lime permits of compiling" renders State Treasurer an exceedingly sugges writer. From his figures it will be obser that as the purchasing power of dollars has increased, the number of dollars required the State government by homes have decreased, as the circulatmedium of the country ing

towards an equality with the world's money, gold, the expenses of the State have increased. It took more greenbacks—worth increased. It took more greenbacks—worth only eighty cents on the dollar—to buy bread and clothes for your household in 1873, than it takes now of 100 cent dollars, in the blessed year of resumption, 1879. But the political household alone is maintained at an ever increasing cost in Nebraska, it seems, whether dollars are under par or at par. Thus the argest taxes for State purposes amounting to arly two millions of dollars were gathered during 1877 and 1878. But you can obtain the figures yourselves and read and re-read them—wondering how the tax payers sleep under those perpetual pocket-pickings, and admiring the stalwart genius which in governing less than five hundred thousand people, can so adroitty dispose of such vast sums, and not arouse the fatigued citizens to

wakefulness and action.

A mere trifle over seven millions of dollars is all that the State Treasurer's time "permits of compiling." Seven millions of dollars for governing a population, twelve years, which averduring the time, than two hundre thousand souls. Seven millions of dollars What have you as citizens to show for the out-

Your lands donated by the General Govern

ment too, where are they-with the exception of the School lands—gone with the seven mil-lions to show how much sweeter it is to live for one's country than to die for it? knotty problem to solve where the lands have gone, though the smell of soil perfumes the State Penitentiary, as follows:

Acres of land...

ount from tax gathered from your pockets. 201,088 sn Acres realized. Total

41,442

There is consolation in that unsold land, but it is diluted with the suspicion that the state owes much on the penitentiary, which it must yet liquidate, and furthermore, consola-tion is neutralized with the faith that five hundred thousand dollars will fail to finally pay off in full the crafty citizens who have constructed that institution, the necessity of which is so lucidly demonstrated by their ex-

In order that you may officially know con-cerning some of these crop taxes. I give you here the following letter from the auditor of the state.

AUDITOR'S DEPARTMENT, LINCOLN, Sept. 10, 1879. 1. Sterling Morton, Nebraska City, Neb.:

J. Sterisny Morton, Nebraska City, Neb.:

DEAR SIR—Yours of 8th inst., at hand. Contents noted. In reply, you will find below a statement showing the appropriations made by the Nebraska Legislature, since the organization of the State to the present time, as appears on the books on file in this office. In the amount appropriated in 1869 and 1870, appears the following items. Dome to Capitol, \$10,568.12: Capitol—fencing, grading, ornamenting the grounds, \$7,688.99; building of Insane Asylum, \$142,905, including architect's fees; University building, \$157,578.26, including architects fees; on acc't Penitentiary, \$48,262.50. The appropriations from 1867 to 1872, I cannot vouch for their accuracy, but can for the years following, viz.: 1873 to 1880 inclusive, as the books were kept in a different manner. The following are the appropriations:

the appropriations: 1867 and 1868. 1872.... 395,816 58 1878. 613,824 57 ** 1880. Which includes erection of a Capitol wing . .875,000 To wings, Insane Asylum
A State Reform School
Work Shop for Deaf and Dumb Institute

It does not include transfers from one fund to another—the bonded indebtedness—investments of educational funds, apportionments of school moneys, &c. These transfers are made by the State Treasurer. Respectfully, &c., P. W. LIEDTKE, Auditor.

J. H. ALFORD, Deputy. The item of ten thousand five hundred and sixty-eight dollars and twelve cents, for that wart-like dome upon the State Capitol, is prob-ably the "baldest" bit of tax-devouring one can find in a long hunt for curiosities of that style. Mr. Auditor has written a cautious epistle, and evinces a business sagacity when he declares relative to appropriations from 1867 to 1782; 'I cannot vouch for their accuracy," which causes me to profoundly respect his good judgment. His letter will bear publication and perusal among the tax-payers, who will be pleased to learn that formerly "the books were kept in

a different manner. The capacity which has cultivated Nebraska for its annual yield of tax-crops is strong and adroit. Compared to it the skill and industry which tills your fields and harvests their annual bounty is mere idiocy and idleness. Upon every ear of corn, every kernel of wheat, and every domestic animal, even to the very dog which watches your stables, the tax descends with unerring regularity and constantly in-creasing weight. Even the chinch-bug and the grasshopper fail to successfully compete with the assessors in the struggle for the result of your daily toil. Those pestilent insects come now and then and levy on your products; but the visitation of the tax-man is as regular as the flight of time, and as inexorable as His harvest ripens whether your fields are barren or fruitful; and debt and interest upon debt, will thrive and mature when all other harvests may have blighted and perished.

But I cannot elaborate. It is my aim merely to suggest, and if I shall have arrested public attention as to the costly extravagance of local government and caused popular thought and investigation as to our annual crop of taxes and who sows it, I will be content. Therefore I pass on to the

BONDED DEET OF THE STATE. The former constitution of Nebraska limited the bonded debt of the State to fifty thousand dollars. The present constitution prohibits a bonded debt of more than one hundred thous and dollars. But the following letter from the state treasury illuminates the fact that braska law-makers have in some mysterious manner created a bonded debt of nearly half a million of dollars in spite of the fundamental inhibition.

STATE OF NEBRASKA, J.
TREASURER'S OFFICE,
LINCOLN, Sept. 9th, 1879.

J., Sterling Morton, Nebraska City:
DEAR SIR:—In answer to yours of the 8th inst., I have to report the bonded indebtedness of the state of Nebraska as follows: to set. of Nebraska, as follows, to-wit: Relief bonds, issue of 1875, \$50,000, semi-annual, at 10 per cent. Funding bonds, issue of 1877, mature 1897, \$449, 267.35, semi-annual, 8 per cent.

Total amount of bonded indebtedness, \$499,267.35

Very respectfully, G. M. BARTLETT,

Thus we provide a small interest crop of five thousand dollars on our ten per cent. bonds, the proceeds of which Governor Saunders, Mr. Church Howe and another gentlemen, converted iuto seed and subsistence for grasshopper

ed settlers on the frontier.

And we glean annually the small sum from our fields of about thirty-five thousand dollars to pay as interest upon those mysterious col-laterals called State Sinking Fund Bonds—at eight per cent. A Nebraska State Sinking Fund Bond is not unlike boarding house hash and city sausages, because nobody can tell how or where they have been made, or what may be their component parts.

And in this connection you may call up an

investigation, which the last session of the legislative assembly engineered, as to cash on hand in the State Treasury. That mild and gentle search of the public contribution-box showed about four hundred thousand dollars funds on hand and deposited in seventeen country banks. It also proved that those banks paid for those State menies four per cent. interest to somebody else than the State itself. Now, if any of you farmers owe four thousand dollars, which is TREASURERS OFFICE, NEBRASSA CITY,

Sept 10th. I. Sterling Morton, Nebraska City, Neb.: DEAR SIR-I find according to the tax lists in office, that you have paid taxes on the N E 4 of 7, 14, or the last ten years, as follows: 8 89,27 88,16 183,64 200,58 232.00 152.80 107.66

Yours truly, N. L. SIMPSON

thousand on hand which you deposit in bank for four per cent. interest (and allow some other person to draw and consume that interest) everybody who hears of it will declare you either insane or idiotic. But such a course would be only the State financial management, emulated and imitated by the citizen. the financial management which would prove the private citizen a lunatic is, when controlling the commonwealth, called marvelously correct statesmanship.

But says one-however large the yearly crop of taxes in Nebraska, may be, I-having only a quarter section of land to pay uponbe burdened thereby. Let us see how that may That certificate merely shows that upon the

farm where I live taxes have been paid in ten greater than I paid as a pre-emptor-for the entire tract. And if taxation is equal throughout the State—every farm has paid a cording ly, in proportion to its valuation. The farmer foots the bulk of the bills for the Commonwealth, by paying the taxes upon his lands, his products, his cattle, his swine, and other domestic animals. And every farmer who will hunt up his tax receipts and examine them closely will ascertain that he tends every year, more and more, to the condition of a mere tenant, as his taxes to State, County and School District, every year, come nearer and nearer to the full rental value of his lands. The problem as to how much the citizen can afford to pay for State governmental protection to his life, property and liberty in Nebrasks is one upon which I wish to steadily fix your one upon which I wish to steady a minds and for its solution inspire you to

candidly cipher and seriously consider.
The tax-makers, tax-gatherers and tax-enters are having as much fun at your expense, and as good a time generally, as did those cruel boys who threw stones at the frogs. [The frog died.] And the able alacrity with which the istest collection of law-givers at Lincoln made appropriations from the public money, commands the admiration of all the contractors for State building; all the public jobbers who are recipients of favors, and all those persons who are immediately benefited by the dis-bursements. But to economically-minded, practical, tax-paying citizens the appropria-tion for the wing of a new Capitol, of seventy-five thousand dollars, at this time seems hasty and needless expense. It looks hadly and it smells badly whenever any appropriation is passed by the outlay of money either for outside or inside influence among members of the Legislature. The bill of last winter which wave that account for the sure of the legislature. winter which gave that seventy-five thousand winter which gave that seventy-live thousand dollars extra levy of taxes upon your property was so passed. More than enough money to buy and improve any quarter section of land in this State, was paid out to pass that bill and create that tax. And the people elected the bad men who could be bribed and the weak, man who could be wineeded or bulned in that Legislature. It appropriated out of the peoples pockets about eight hundred thousand dollars and had the session been longer the steals would have been bigger. The people

ors and tax-consumers everywhere. THE REMEDY. All State bonds, all county bonds, all pre-cinct bonds and all school district bonds which are unimpeachably and legally valid, should be called in and refunded at a lower rate of interest. No State bond should draw more than five, no county more than six, no precinct or school district more than seven per cent, in The power to make more public debts,

except for the common defence and the en-forcement of the laws should be abolished. In the language of Justice Cooley, of the Supreme Court of Michigan, "Many serious errors may be committed and many wrongs done in the exercise of the power to tax, which the parties wronged must submit to, because the courts can afford them no redress whatever, All injuries which result from an exercise of political or legislative authority are to be in-cluded in this category; and these are often the most serious, which in matters of taxation. the people are visited with. In all such cases, a

inquiry into the jurisdictional question, and if it appears that the political or legislative body has kept within the limits of its authority, the judiciary must pause there and admit its incompetency to inquire into wrongs which, within those limits, may have been committed. The wrongs which spring from errors on the part of assessors are, in a large proportion of all the cases, as little susceptible of correction, unless the Legislature shall have provided a remedy by statute. Courts of Equity have but a limited jurisdiction, extending to few cases besides those in which the impelling motive on the part of assessors has been to do injust-

ice and inflict an injury.

The chief protection of the citizen must at last "be sought in the intelligence and integrity of public officers, and where they full as too often they



fam Ca

Hale TE calls DE didnt in th Gr who

few turn effo gre

124.70 173.61 190.95

drawing ten per cent interest, and have four

Fre

He

pay for every rascal in office a heavy premium, and for every incompetent, a burden alty in increased taxes. It is time to call a halt upon the riot of tax-makers, tax-collect-