

ANNUAL MESSAGE
OF
GOVERNOR CARNEY

JANUARY 13TH, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Kansas:

It is a year since I addressed you, and how eventful its history. Spring opened darkly for us. Sad reverses befell the Federal arms, and foreign intervention was seriously feared and threatened. Anxiety oppressed the national mind. As it advanced, midsummer saw the tide of battle turned, and, toward its close, autumn witnessed the solid triumph of the national armies, with the traitor foe able only to delay them on the Rapidan, at Chattanooga and Charleston, and every nation in Europe our friend. The national heart was buoyant with hope and confidence.

The State, too, during the past year, enjoyed an unexampled prosperity. The husbandman reaped full harvests; the laborer was richly repaid; the mechanic steadily employed at high wages, and every branch of industry liberally rewarded. One cloud only darkened it. The brutal hand of the incendiary and murderer burned our cities and towns, and butchered some of the best and bravest of our citizens. In all else, abundance enriched the producer and all the industrial classes.

For these inestimable gifts, let us thank him who guides and directs the fate of nations and of States.

LEGISLATION.

I need not remind you of the great responsibilities which rest upon you. Subjects of grave import will be brought to your consideration, which will require, on your part, patient deliberation and careful inquiry. No law should be enacted which is not demanded by the necessities and wants of the State, and when thus enacted, it should be rigorously enforced. There should be no hurry; and, while the legislator should avoid waste of time, he should be careful neither to listen to the voice of passion nor be swayed by the dictation of party. A wise system of laws help to make a wise people. I trust, therefore, that your deliberations will be characterized, in all that you say and do, by those qualities which distinguish the patriot and give dignity to the statesman.

SECRETARY OF STATE AND ATTORNEY GENERAL.

I transmit the annual reports of the Secretary of State and Attorney General. The former contains, besides the usual statistics, an exhibit of the lands selected by the agents of the State, under grants made by the Congress in the act of admission, which selections have been confirmed by the Secretary of the Interior, and the title vested in the State. The latter gives in detail a statement of the proceedings in, and present condition of, those suits at law in which the State is interested.

FINANCE.

I transmit the clear and succinct reports of the Treasurer and Auditor of State, from which I make the following exhibit:

Total receipts into the treasury the past fiscal year, from all sources, for general purposes		\$166,311.94	
Total disbursements		<u>157,484.95</u>	
Balance in treasury, December 31st, 1863		\$8,826.99	
Amount of seven per cent bonded liabilities		\$204,000.00	
Amount of six per cent bonds		44,300.00	
Amount of ten per cent war bonds and interest		504.50	
Amount of outstanding certificates		325.24	
Amount of outstanding Territorial warrants assumed by the State		24,124.61	
Amount of outstanding State warrants		<u>27,630.18</u>	
			\$300,884.53
Balance in treasury	\$8,826.99		
Due on Territorial taxes	77,912.74		
Due on State taxes	75,334.57		
Due from the United States	12,352.00		
		<u>174,426.30</u>	
			\$126,458.23
From the amount of liabilities, I deduct:			
Bonded indebtedness not due		\$248,300.00	
Outstanding Territorial warrants to be bonded		<u>24,124.61</u>	
		\$272,424.61	
Leaving to be provided for		28,459.92	
To which is to be added the Auditor's estimate for the current year.....		<u>80,927.10</u>	
			\$109,387.02

Also, a material increase in same, to meet necessary expenses not estimated by the Auditor.

The five hundred dollar bond referred to was not presented when due, or it would have been paid.

I was authorized by an act of the Legislature, approved March 2d, 1863, to negotiate fifty-four thousand and four hundred (\$54,400) dollars of bonds created by it, and thirty-one thousand (\$31,000) dollars of bonds created by an act, approved June 3rd, 1861, held by the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, as a guarantee that the contract made with him by the agent of the State should be fulfilled.

I went to Washington immediately after the adjournment of the Legislature. I met the Secretary of the Interior, and found him ready to carry out the contract at the limited valuation of the bonds, as fixed therein and allowed by law, (eighty-five cents on the dollar.) I considered the bonds worth more, and determined to test their value in New York. I visited the city with this view. I ascertained, after a diligent and persistent inquiry, that I could get more for them. Satisfied on this point, although not authorized to do so by the letter of the law of March 2d, 1863, I asked the Secretary of the Interior to release the State from its contract with him. He did so. I sold, thereupon, fifty-four thousand (\$54,000) dollars of the new issue, and one thousand (\$1,000) dollars of the old issue, at ninety-three (93) cents on the dollar, in New York, and on the 25th day of April, 1863, disposed of twenty-six thousand (\$26,000) dollars of the old issue of bonds to the Secretary of the Interior, at par, and cancelled a like amount of ten per cent war bonds. I thought the State could meet its obligations promptly with the money thus raised, but it did not realize the amount due it from the United States, in consequence of the death of Gen. G. W. Collamore and the loss of vouchers by fire. I sold the remaining four thousand (\$4,000) dollars of the issue of bonds that I had previously returned to the treasury, at ninety-five (95) cents on the dollar. I clipped the matured coupons from all of the bonds of the old issue, before sale, and returned them to the Treasurer of the State, cancelled.

I was led to regard the spirit, rather than the letter, of the law, because, on the first sale of bonds made, I realized three thousand eight hundred and fifty (\$3,850) dollars more than otherwise could have been realized; because, in the arrangements made with the Secretary of the Interior, I secured three thousand nine hundred (\$3,900) dollars, and two hundred and thirty-four dollars, and seventy-one cents (\$234.71) interest, accruing between April 25th and July 1st, 1863, more than otherwise could have been secured; and because in the last sale of four thousand (\$4,000) dollars of the old issue of bonds, there were made four hundred (\$400) dollars more than otherwise would have been made, thus saving to the State eight thousand two hundred and eighty-four dollars and seventy-one cents (\$8,284.71,) by the course I pursued. Another potent reason influenced me. The credit of the State was established by it, at the very point where, above all others, it was most important it should be established, both for it and its citizens, namely, in the city of New York.

I ask that, if necessary, my acts shall be legalized.

The war has largely increased the expenses of every loyal State in the Union. The small commonwealth of Vermont pays eight hundred thousand dollars a year for "extra pay of seven dollars a month to the soldiers now in the service." The sum expended by Massachusetts exceeds two millions of dollars, and the larger States have made a still greater outlay for this and similar objects. Kansas has spent less for these purposes than any other State in the Union. I do not hesitate to recommend, therefore, an appropriation sufficient, at least, to make our defenses strong enough to repel any attack, and make the State secure. Better increase your taxes three-fold, if this must be done, than have another raid such as leveled Lawrence to the earth. It would be a saving, and a large saving to the State; for, of all causes which retard its growth, by driving off the settler and frightening away the immigrant, raids are the most powerful. They tell here---they tell in other States---they tell in Europe, against us.

I do not intend to indulge in commonplaces about extravagance, nor shall I dwell on the evil of waste, because it is unnecessary before your intelligent body. The State that husbands its means prudently, like the individual who lives within his income, is always well off, independent and strong. Economy, as well in small as large matters, is the virtue which, with system, will secure a permanent prosperity. It is a mine of wealth. But true economy is as far removed from meanness as it is from extravagance; it will employ its means liberally when a good object can be secured, and refuse a dime when a bad one is presented. It is intelligent, and knows what is wanted; it is judicious, and understands how to obtain it; is practical, and measures its exact value. I counsel you, then, to practice this economy---to do it systematically; not only to have the account of every public officer subjected to a close examination, but know how every dollar of public money is spent. If this course shall be steadily pursued, there will be no defaults and no extravagance, no waste and no meanness. If the public revenue shall be thus properly applied and carefully guarded---if there shall be retrenchment where needed and expenditure when necessary---not only will the credit of our young State, now so well established, be kept firm, but its growth will be steady and solid, and it will be unhurt by the shock of any commercial revulsion.

TAXATION.

It is a curious fact that States and cities rarely avail themselves of each other's experience. Men, for instance, living in Indiana or in Cincinnati, and moving to another commonwealth or another city, would be apt to take the tax systems applied in both, if called upon to adopt them in their new home. I declare the simple truth, when I say that the first tax system adopted by each Western State, and by the cities in each Western State, was bad---so bad that its very abuses compelled an entire reform. But while these abuses existed, and were made patent through newspaper criticism and debates in Legislatures, New England and New York had other systems, the machinery of which was simple, and worked well, ensuring certainty in the collection of taxes, equality in their rates, steadiness in the credit of counties and cities, and of the States themselves. Now, if we were to act, in our representative capacity, as individuals do who always adapt themselves practically to new situations and new circumstances, we would, instead of remembering the ways and custom of our old homes, thrown by as cast-off clothes, examine the best systems of taxation, and adopt one equal to the best. This is the course I recommend to you, as being alike practical and wise.

The first thing needed in a tax system is simplicity. Every man holding property should know what the law requires him to do. Indirection of any kind or character---that sort of cloaking which seeks to get more than is pretended or to let the property-holder off with less than he should pay---is wrong, and invariably leads to difficulty. Besides, the machinery of a tax system should be equally simple in its working. Combine these two qualities together; let all protected by the State share equally its burdens, in proportion to their property, real and personal, and a tax system will be established which will be satisfactory to the people, and just in itself, which will ensure steadiness in execution, and establish the credit of counties, communities and the State.

I would impress upon you, therefore, the necessity of a thorough examination and revision of the tax law. You are aware that some essential parts of it are considered, by able jurists, unconstitutional. Doubts of this kind should not exist in regard to any law, still less in regard to law which concerns every citizen of the State, its revenue and its credit. I need not enlarge on this subject. I address practical men, who will make it their study, and who, if there be need of it, as I think there is, will frame a new tax law, which shall not only avoid the evils of which I have spoken, but secure all the benefits which are now enjoyed by the best tax-regulated States of the Union.

PENITENTIARY.

I call your attention to the annual report of the Directors of the Penitentiary, which I transmit.

Nothing has been done towards erecting a building. The plans and specifications have been prepared, and the contract conditionally awarded. Upon examination, however, of the forty acres of land selected by former Commissioners, on which to erect the building, it has been considered not merely inconvenient, but unfit. The

penitentiary being a very important work to the State, and on which a large sum of money must be expended, the Directors, with this objection before them, thought it best to delay action until you could instruct them what to do. The necessity of having a penitentiary is admitted. The want of jail room and the increasing number of convicts make it a matter of economy. There should be a building erected, and it should be erected in a suitable place. A false step, either as to the building or its location, would work serious mischief---not so much in the present as in the future. While you should act promptly in the matter, you will, I am sure, guard the State well against this injury.

My objections to the present location are wholly of a practical character. It is isolated, and, in case of revolt, or any sudden uprising of the convicts, there are no settlements around it which could render any aid to keepers or guards. Its distance from Leavenworth would prevent the employment of convicts as profitably as if near by, and certainly diminish the profits of their labor. The expense of hauling the material would be greatly increased. When completed, it will, doubtless, become a manufacturing establishment, and the carting of the raw material and the bringing back of the manufactured articles would diminish, to a great extent, the profits. Neither is there sufficient water near, which is highly essential. These difficulties would defeat the object we have in view, namely, not only that the institution should pay its own way, but that, in a fit location, and rightly managed, it should in a few years be able to reimburse the commonwealth. These objections, it appears to me, must impress you with the importance of a change of location, and the more so, because the increased value of land will enable the Directors to dispose of the forty acres without loss.

THE PARDONING POWER.

Section 7, article 1, of the Constitution, provides that "the pardoning power shall be vested in the Governor, under regulations and restrictions prescribed by law." An act making the necessary "regulations" and "restrictions" passed both branches of the Legislature, at the last session, but failed to reach the Executive prior to the adjournment. It is absolutely necessary that some law upon the subject should be enacted. While the present Executive has not refrained from granting pardons in cases where the circumstances seemed to demand his interference, yet there are grave doubts whether such power rests with him, without the prior action of the Legislature. Such a law as is contemplated would relieve the subject from all embarrassment, and carry out the plain intent of the Constitution.

AGRICULTURE.

I refer to agriculture always with pleasure, and the ablest and best may study it always with profit. It is not only the main foundation of the nation's virtue, and its source of prosperity in times of peace, but it is its staunchest prop in times of war. The superficial observer, entering the cities of New York and Chicago, and seeing the wonderful display of beautiful buildings, crowded with rarest and richest wares of every kind, beholding men hurrying to and fro, and business streets thronged with human beings, all bustle and activity, would exclaim. "Here may armies be marshaled; here may government supply itself with the material to conquer." Yet, New York resisted by mob the draft, and Cook County, in which Chicago is situated, is the only county in Illinois which has not filled its quota.

Last year's experience has tested fully our soil and climate, and the result is not only that our granaries are full, but that we are certain now of the rich productive power of the soil. Besides, no one can travel over the State without witnessing rapid improvement made in farm houses and barns, in fencing, in orchards, in stock, in roads and bridges, and in every branch of industry connected with its culture. It must be remembered that the State has had active being, so far as its agriculture is concerned, only six years, and yet the State Fair held at Leavenworth, on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th days of October last, would have been considered in many of the older States remarkable for its display. Nor can I forbear to mention the fact that Christmas witnessed in Leavenworth a show of meats equal to the best markets in the Union. For stock, for cereals, for every product of this latitude, the soil of Kansas is unsurpassed, and offers to the agricultural class as rich rewards as it could ask. And, besides the large yield of crops and ample supply of stock, Kansas offers a steady and remunerative market.

I need not, then, urge upon well informed farmers the necessity of increasing improvements, nor ask them to stimulate their class. Their knowledge will prompt the one, and their spirit secure the other. They have a start which no other State so young ever enjoyed; they have leaped into prosperity amid war. Nor need I state to the Legislature the importance of doing whatever it can legally and properly do to encourage agriculture.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

I call your attention to the fact that no steps have been taken, either by the Territorial or State government, to secure a thorough geological survey. It seems to me eminently proper that this subject should engage your careful and considerate attention.

The wealth of Kansas lies in her soil. Whatever may tend to develop that wealth should receive the sanction and support of the Legislature. A good geological survey, under competent auspices, would not only bring accurately to the knowledge of all the extent and character of our mineral resources, but would materially advance the interest of agriculture, by a scientific classification of soils and by ascertaining their adaptation to the various purposes of husbandry.

It is the opinion of scientific gentlemen that the deposits of coal in this State are far more numerous and extensive than have yet been developed. This single consideration is entitled to special weight in your deliberations. The almost fabulous prices which fuel commands in our cities and principal towns must retard their growth, and occasion distress and suffering among the poorer classes. We should ascertain precisely how far coal may be relied upon as a substitute for wood, which, from its scarcity, will hardly fail, while the present demand continues, to command such prices as will prove oppressive to the indigent.

IMMIGRATION.

The subject of immigration is one which attracts the attention of the whole country. Near two hundred thousand of the young men of the Republic sleep in the soldier's grave, or are disabled for life, and a million of kindred spirits are in the field. This drain upon the labor of the country taxes it heavily, and will tax it still more, unless we supply it with alien labor. The President of the United States, in his annual message, foreseeing this result, urges upon Congress the policy of facilitating, by every means in its power, a rapid immigration, and the Secretary of State, anxious to ward off its consequences, has sent a special agent to Europe, to stimulate it. Every Western State, acting upon this theory, has its Bureau of Foreign Immigration or its agent abroad, laboring specially for their State interests.

You cannot discuss or consider this subject too thoroughly, as there are reasons independent of the general ones, which call upon you to act systematically and vigorously upon it. Population is the source of wealth and the basis of power. That State which has the greatest number of small farms and farmers is the strongest, the richest and the happiest. Thus, Massachusetts, with a barren soil and a bleak climate, making population the test, is the foremost State in the Union in these reports.

But there is another and still more important view. Since the commencement of this century, the tide of immigration has flowed steadily and regularly westward. Each decade exhibits plainly its law of increase. It swept first over Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin, and at last rested in Kansas, so far as the link of Western Free States is concerned. There has been no ebb. But the statesman who examines causes now in operation, and traces them to their consequences, will see great danger of that ebb, and feel that it will come, unless the State shall act intelligently upon the subject.

Richer gold fields than any yet discovered are opening on the western and eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and their fascinating lure will tempt hundreds of thousands of our young men beyond us and into them. But there is another, and, we believe, a greater temptation to emigration. I refer to the South. Slavery will perish and rebel owners of the soil be disfranchised. Their rich lands will fall into the possession of the federal government, and that government naturally and necessarily will exert every legitimate means to people them quickly and densely by the brave and loyal citizens of the nation. The Mississippi has to be guarded, and who can do it so effectively as this heroic class? The Unionists of the South must be protected, and how can this be so easily and safely done as by settling by their side the free-born and true of the North? Besides, there are no more profitable investment to be made in the settled portion of the Republic than in the cotton regions of the South. Thus, with, the gold regions west, with the federal government stimulating this emigration south of us, and with the money motive animating emigrants, it is certain there will be an ebb in the tide of emigration westward, unless Kansas shall act with wisdom and energy.

It is for you to consider, with the great advantages you possess, and the still greater opportunities you can offer to the immigrant, what it is proper for you to do. These advantages are unequalled in any State in the Union. I have spoken of the soil and its fertility, of the climate and its healthfulness, of the superiority of our home market; but I have not referred to that boon which the freeman craves--the HOMESTEAD. The settler here may obtain a

farm of one hundred and sixty acres of choice land, by simply living on it five years, and paying ten dollars to the land office as a record fee. But the opportunities are, as I have said, still greater. Two railroads are under way; a third will be commenced in the spring. Besides, government has made large and valuable grants of land for building other State railroads; so that it cannot be long ere the State shall be ironed over, and all parts of it bound together by the iron girder.

These are the plain and simple facts; but, plain and simple as they are, none more important could be brought to your attention. You will weigh them, and weigh them well, and after doing so, will determine which is the best course to pursue, or the wisest policy to adopt, whether you will establish a Bureau of Foreign Immigration, or send Commissioners abroad, or whether you will do both. You will determine whether you will employ means which have added so largely to the population and wealth of the older Western States, and which, if judiciously employed by us, will add so largely to our population and wealth. I am so convinced of the necessity of prompt, systematic and thorough action that I would gladly co-operate with you in any practical measure you may adopt.

RAILROADS.

I need not press upon you the necessity of watching closely and guarding strictly the railroad interest of the State. To this end, you will familiarize yourselves with the act of Congress, approved March 3d, 1863. That act makes liberal grants of land to aid in the construction of certain railroads and telegraphs, and makes these lands subject to your disposal, for the purpose therein mentioned. Nor need I impress upon you the importance of the subject to the State. A glance at the map will demonstrate that. If, with the liberal grants of the general government, the lines of roads specified in the act shall be built, Kansas will possess large railway facilities. The time given to build these roads is ten years from the passage of the act. If not built within that period, the lands granted will revert to the United States. Still less need I impress upon you extreme caution, as well as local forbearance, in selecting the lines of railways. The law, under which this grant of lands was made, indicates their general course, but it does no more. The power is left with you, mainly, to mark out their tracks; and this should be done promptly, because the lands are now withdrawn from public sale, and, if not used for railroads, a double injury will result to the State, for, in that event, the country through which these lines are intended to pass will have neither settlements nor railroads.

Of the great Pacific railroad, I expressed very fully to you my views in my first message. These views are confirmed every day by facts familiar to all, and by the national necessity. That road will be built, and built soon. A large amount of work has been done already in grading, and large quantities of iron, with engines, cars, etc., were in transit when delayed by the late storm and severe weather. The prospect before us, in this regard, is cheering, and soon the pioneer, who has endured all the hardships and struggles of early Kansas life, will reap a rich reward for his labors and sacrifices, in the enjoyment of the blessings of a ripe civilization.

EDUCATION.

However much the subject of education is discussed, it cannot be discussed too much or too earnestly. As it is second to no other in importance, so it should be second to none in your consideration. There is no misleading or subduing an intelligent people. Had the body of the citizens of the slave States been educated---had they possessed a tithe of the knowledge, and of that experience which knowledge creates, so characteristic of New England, this bloody and fratricidal rebellion never would have decimated their population or desolated their homes. We must remember that the Constitution itself is only a means for our common protection. That which imparts to its efficiency---that which gives to it an all penetrating vigor, is the instructed spirit of the people. Without that, the laws will be passive instruments, or the mere machinery by which despots fetter mind and invade human rights. We owe it, then, to ourselves and to our posterity, as our first and highest duty, to spread the means of education before the youth of our State---to make parents feel it a necessity---to cause the public to demand it as a duty and a right.

I am happy to say that the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (which is herewith submitted,) is in every way encouraging. Reports have been received from thirty-two counties. There are seven hundred and five (705) organized school districts, of which five hundred and six (506) reported to the County Superintendents. The whole number of children reported for the year 1862, was sixteen thousand five hundred and forty nine (16,549), of whom eleven thousand and ten (11,010) attended public and private schools. For the year 1863, the whole number reported is twenty six thousand eight hundred and twenty four (26,824), of whom sixteen thousand six hundred and three (16,603) attended school, an actual increase over the preceding year of sixty-two per cent.

When we consider the local excitements that war has occasioned, it is wonderful that so much has been accomplished. This shows how deep-rooted the cause of education is in the hearts of the people. There is, there can

be no more encouraging sign; no token which promises more for the future. You will, then, consider it your duty to encourage, if able, the higher institutions of learning; but whatever may happen, you will deem it a necessity as well as a duty, to foster and protect free schools, those universal colleges for the people.

NORMAL SCHOOL---COLLEGE---UNIVERSITY.

I call your attention to the report (herewith transmitted,) of the Commissioners appointed to locate the State Normal School---an institution closely identified with, and necessary to the perfection of common schools.

The last Legislature located the Agricultural College at Manhattan, and authorized the Governor of the State to receive the title papers. This duty has been done. The papers have been recorded in the proper office, and deposited with the Auditor of State. Although the Commissioners appointed to select the lands donated to this Institution have not yet made their report, I am unofficially informed that they have nearly all been selected, and are considered among the best in the State. Still, they will not be immediately available, and as this College is in operation, and needs means to make it what it should be, and what it would be if it had means, it is for you to consider whether you will aid it now. When the railroad shall have been completed, its lands will be much more valuable, and from this source it will not only be able to raise ample funds for its maintenance, but to repay whatever sum may be advanced for its benefit. I call your earnest attention to this subject.

I submit the report (with accompanying papers) of the Commissioners appointed to locate the State University. This institution is located at Lawrence. I obeyed the act of the Legislature, approved February 20th, and made proclamation of the fact on Monday, the second day of November, 1863. The requirements of the act were all complied with. A generous and earnest friend of education and Kansas, Amos Lawrence, of Boston, Massachusetts, gave ten thousand dollars to it; the citizens of Lawrence advanced five thousand dollars, making the amount required, which sum has been deposited with the Treasurer of State. I am loath to recommend the expenditure of money, devoted by law to specific objects; but I think this case so clearly exceptional, that I do not hesitate to urge the Legislature to return to the citizens of Lawrence the amount contributed by them. Their gift, as we know, was a generous one; it was noble as well as generous. In a fell hour they lost, as it were, their all. Rebel assassins did this fatal work. Where, then, the patriotic heart in the State, that would not say promptly "Return to these public-spirited men the generous gift, which, when wealthy, they promised, and which promise, when poor, they fulfilled!" Where the legislator, knowing these facts so honorable to them and to humanity itself, who would hesitate in meeting this wish of the people, and of doing a duty which the State owes to herself?

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

The word State is associated with benevolence, and it is right that it should be so. There are those among us, who have eyes, and cannot see, who have ears, and cannot hear, who have tongues, and cannot speak, who, erect in body, are yet insane in mind. For these unfortunates no parents, whether rich or poor, can properly provide. They are to be cared for, and can only be cared for and educated, so far as that is practical, by the State. That, therefore, which gives character, which, in the eye of the benevolent, exalts, which, in the opinion of the Christian statesman, at home and abroad, elevates most a people---is a tender and touching regard for those thrown by Providence upon their mercies. The State, consequently, which mars its humanity by neglecting them, and allowing them to live without instruction or care, will, and should, suffer in reputation.

Your purpose, and the purpose of the people of Kansas are right on this subject, and it is simply a question of ability with both. Yet we are directly responsible for any neglect, and we should be careful, as we respect humanity and would, preserve unsullied our good name, to prepare for these unfortunates safe and comfortable homes. The deaf and dumb are partially cared for; but the blind and insane are wholly neglected. I would recommend, therefore, that you employ a suitable person to make a contract with one of the States, having blind and insane asylums, to care for these afflicted ones, until the State shall have similar institutions of its own.

EXTINCTION OF INDIAN TITLES.

I congratulate you upon the prospect of an early extinction of the Indian titles to lands in this State. This is a subject upon which there are no divided opinions, and the "consummation" alluded to is "devoutly to be wished" by all. The exclusive possession by the various tribes, of large tracts of choice lands, has prevented their settlement, and deprived the State of the revenue which should be derived from them. I anticipate confidently that, before the present Congress adjourns, treaties will be concluded for the removal of the several tribes from the State, and for throwing open to settlement all the choice lands now held by them.

THE MILITIA.

I transmit to you the report of the Adjutant General, and refer you to its valuable details. You will perceive by it how far the organization of the militia has been perfected, and what has been accomplished. You will also see the expense incurred in this essential work. Without it, the border would have been depopulated and made desolate. With it, guerrillas have been held back, and peace and safety secured.

I am not able to make an exact and full statement of the militia of the State at this time, owing to the fact that the necessary reports of the forces ordered into active service have not been received from the counties of Johnson and Miami. Nor am I able to do more than to give you an approximate of the number of enrolled militia of the State, inasmuch as no returns have been received for Allen, Coffey, Clay, Davis, Douglas, Greenwood, Washington, and Wyandotte Counties. Still from the returns before me, I am able to say that there are thirteen thousand and twelve (13,012) men in the State subject to military duty, and that of these, nine thousand eight hundred and twenty-six (9,826) are organized into companies and regiments. I have distributed to this military force five thousand (5,000) stand of arms, and have three thousand (3,000) more (recently received) for distribution.

I would call your attention, in this connection, to what is known as the militia law. That was enacted in a time of peace, and is only fit for peace. Any one who will read it carefully will find it, in many respects, cumbersome and contradictory, leaving officers not only without the means of organizing, but really depriving them of the power to organize the militia. A new law is absolutely necessary; one shorter, plainer and more effective. Nor will there be any difficulty, I imagine, in preparing or enacting such a law; for the events of the last three years have given so many of you a full military experience; and exposed as our people are, and will be during the existence of the war, they urge it as a necessity. I have very few suggestions to make, beyond the general ones already made. These points, however, I would press: that all distinction between volunteer and enrolled militia be abolished, and both be of one class; that power be conferred upon the officers to enforce organization and drill; that the direction be plain as to the course which shall be pursued when any number of the militia are called into active service, and that the pay of officers and men when in such service shall be established.

I have stated to you that the Commonwealth has now in its possession eight thousand stand of new arms, to say nothing of the old ones belonging to it. Their actual money value cannot be less than one hundred thousand (\$100,000) dollars. To save these to the State, and to keep them in order in time of peace, an arsenal is necessary, in some secure locality, with a competent ordnance officer, who shall take bonds for all arms distributed and have charge of the arsenal and its contents.

You may not be aware of the fact that the war has greatly increased the labors of the Adjutant and Quartermaster Generals, but so it is. Their voluminous reports will demonstrate this fact.

The Adjutant General's office has been created anew. The work to be done therein, embracing as it does both the militia and the volunteers of Kansas, has involved the necessity of the employment of four clerks, two of whom I had detailed from the army, thus saving so much to the State. Still, it must be apparent to every one that, in time of war the pay of this department must be materially increased, and this should be done to embrace the past as well as the future. It is certain that the heavy work now done in it cannot be done with the fund provided.

I herewith transmit the report of the Quartermaster General to which I would call your attention; and from which may be seen the use made of the money raised for defraying the expense of protecting the border.

The Quartermaster General has largely increased labors and responsibilities. Nor can these labors and responsibilities be properly met unless power be given to employ an assistant, and his salary be increased. That salary is now only five hundred dollars. I am aware of the objections to increased outlays, and no one, I think, weighs them more carefully than I do. But this fact experience establishes; that the State which pays its officers too little or too much is invariably the sufferer. The medium, or in other words, that which is just, which pays the laborer what his hire is worth, is the truest and safest rule.

THE BORDER.

I was anxious, last winter, about the safety of the border. The general reports which reached me from every quarter, and the detailed reports of pioneers who knew well the guerrilla character, alarmed me. I called together, therefore, on the 28th day of January, 1863, the members of the Legislature representing the exposed portions of the State, (inviting a member of Gen. Blunt's staff to be present,) to discuss and consider the condition of the border, and how best it could be thoroughly protected. We met. The result of our deliberation was that, with a small addition of

Federal troops, forces could be distributed at certain points designated and that this distribution of them would accomplish the object desired. The military authorities carried out the plan agreed upon, very nearly, and I felt safe. But, unfortunately, from cause, possibly, which they could not control, this plan was not adhered to, and large gaps were left, which exposed a wide extent of territory, and the lives and property of the citizens who inhabited it, to the lawless power of the guerrillas.

In April last year, alarms were given, and reports reached me which convinced me that there was immediate danger. The usual indications which always precede raids were manifested all along the border. Daring robberies, house burning and murders became frequent. So satisfied was I of the nearness of the peril that I invoked the military authorities to increased activity and vigilance.

The blow came. Shawneetown, Gardner and Black Jack felt it first; they were sacked and burned, a number of citizens killed, and a large amount of property destroyed or carried away. Distress prevailed. A large committee from the border waited upon me, stating that its protection must be made certain, or that its desolation would follow. "Better" said they, "that we should leave our property and save our lives, than live as we have lived and are living." The truth is that few men slept at the time in their houses; the cold earth and the brush were their beds.

Failing to obtain from the military authorities a sufficient force to protect the border, and give safety and confidence to a people justly alarmed, I telegraphed, on the 9th of May, 1863, to the Secretary of War, detailing these startling facts. In my letter of that date, I said:

"I am powerless. The State has no means, and I have applied to the commander of this district for adequate protection, but have failed to get it. I appeal to you, therefore, most earnestly, either to empower me to raise a regiment of home guards for this special object, or else to have detailed to me a regiment that shall be especially employed in the protection of the border."

I was refused permission to raise a regiment of home guards, and my request for additional troops was not complied with. Meanwhile the alarm on the border increased, and invasion became more imminent. To ascertain accurately the condition of that locality, and to judge intelligently what action was necessary to be taken, in that month of May last, accompanied by Maj. Gen. J. L. McDowell and Q. M. Gen. E. Russell, I visited the scene of danger, and found abundant evidence of truthfulness of all that had been represented to me. I took steps immediately to restore security. The treasury of the State was empty, and there was no law by which I could employ soldiers and promise to pay them, except such employment and pay should be sanctioned by the Legislature. Besides, similar service, rendered under like circumstances, had not been recognized or paid by it. It was impossible, therefore, to obtain men to defend the border, or when willing to do so, who were able either to do it without regular wages or to await the action of the Legislature.

No alternative was left me; I had either to see that border desolated, and its people driven away and slaughtered, or else employ soldiers to defend it and them. I did not hesitate. I determined at once to give the needed protection. I borrowed for this purpose ten thousand five hundred (\$10,500) dollars, at ten per cent interest per annum, and, gave my note therefor, endorsed by Hon. Asa Hairgrove and Hon. W. W. H. Lawrence, Auditor and Secretary of State; and I respectfully ask that an immediate appropriation be made to meet this outlay, as well as every expense incurred by other citizens, in rendering like services to the State, for which they have not paid.

I authorized the raising of one hundred and fifty mounted men, at one dollar per day for man and horse. These were organized into companies, and distributed in the counties of Johnson, Miami, Linn, Woodson, and Douglas, with orders to co-operate with and to obey the commander of the Federal forces, and to fill up the gaps which had been left exposed. They did it, and, while in the service, there were no raids into the State. I must confess, however, notwithstanding the success of this home guard battalion organized by me, that I felt uneasy and anxious about the border. Every report which came to me showed a daring and recklessness on the part of the marauders which boded no good to our people. I determined, therefore, if possible, to check them, and to check them in such a way as to make the invasion of Kansas an impossibility. For the purpose of accomplishing this object, and of avoiding all expense to the State, accompanied by Honorable Asa Hairgrove, Auditor of State, and Senator Fishback, one of the representatives of the exposed border counties, I visited St. Louis, and laid before the General commanding the department the fact I have detailed to you. That officer gave me authority to raise a regiment of mounted home guards, subject to the approval of the war department. Unwilling to take any risk, and knowing the necessity of the measure, and how immersed in business the war department was, I determined to visit Washington; and present the case in person. I did so. My plea for the home guard regiment failed.

On my return from Washington, I found, although matters were comparatively quiet on the border that those best acquainted with it, and with the acts of lawless rebels in Missouri, feared fresh raids. I participated in those fears, and made immediate efforts to raise a new regiment, whose single duty it should be to protect the border. But the war department would not permit it to be thus exclusively employed, and, therefore, the commander of the department could only consent that it should remain in the State until the federal authorities needed its services elsewhere. Its recruitment, therefore, was not nearly as rapid as it would have been if this positive assurance had been given. Meanwhile, it was supposed by military authorities that there were troops enough in Kansas to protect it fully. Indeed, the commander of the district, relying upon the information which he had, and the well-tried valor of the troops under him, felt so secure that he said to me: "I can now protect the border without the aid of your State troops," (referring to the one hundred and fifty mounted men I had raised and organized into companies,) "and save you and the State the expense." I therefore ordered them mustered out. A week thereafter, Lawrence was in ashes!

Immediately after that massacre, I wrote to the President, wrote and telegraphed to the Secretary of War, and to the General commanding this department, reiterating my general views, and demanding arms and men for the protection of Kansas. I annex my telegram to the Secretary of War, to show you the spirit of my communications:

"LEAVENWORTH, August 24th, 1863.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

Just returned from Lawrence. City in Ashes. One hundred and twenty-eight peaceable citizens now known to have been murdered. Want more troops. Either the Kansas regiments should be returned to defend the State, or authority given me to raise two new regiments for home protection. No arms here. Will you at once order enough to meet our wants? I write in detail to-day."

An answer to these requests came as quickly as the wires could bring it. Arms were sent, and troops ordered to Kansas. Thus, at last, the policy I had so earnestly urged, (save as regards home guards,) was adopted by the Government. I do not mention the fact either for self-praise or to censure others; but this must be clear to all who reflect upon the subject; that, had this policy been carried out when I recommended it first, no desolation would have swept over our cities and towns, and no lawless bands laid waste any portion of our fair State.

THE STATE.

All writers agree, and all history confirms the correctness of the opinion, that love of home is the foundation of patriotism and virtue. After that, comes love of State. Where these exist and have in them fervor and strength, the central government will be shielded by a power which is invincible. It is clearly, then, our duty, as well as our interest, to foster, to purify and to enlarge the love of home and of State.

It is well known with what enthusiasm Kansas rallied to the support of the National Government the moment it was assailed by traitor arms, and how, by an almost exhaustive effort, it has stood by it. If ever a State, therefore, was entitled to respect---if ever a State was entitled, in spirit and in letter, to every right which legally belongs to it, our commonwealth certainly could claim this respect and that right. As a general rule, we have enjoyed it. Yet there was an exception, so marked that I cannot forbear, not merely to notice, but to give you and the people detailed information in regard to it.

The Secretary of War, through the Provost Marshal General, on the 5th day of June, 1863, issued the following order:

WAR DEP'T PROVOST MARSHALL GEN'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 5th, 1863.

Major General J. G. Blunt, U. S. Vols.:

General---You are hereby authorized to raise the regiment of cavalry, to serve for three years or during the war. The regiment is to be recruited in the State of Kansas, and this authority is given with the condition that the regiment is to be completed within thirty days. It is understood that you have now about five hundred men recruited for it.

The organization must conform to the requirements of General Orders No. 110, current series, from the Adjutant General's office. All officers will be commissioned by the Governor of Kansas, on your nomination.

All musters into service will be made by the United States mustering officer for the State, and in accordance with Par. 86, Revised Mustering Regulations.

Recruiting Lieutenants will be appointed under General Orders No. 75, of 1862, from the War Department, so soon as the appointments have been issued, the names of the officers must be reported to this office.

I am, General, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES B. FRY,
Provost Marshal General.

This order made the Governor of the State the mere clerk of a Major General. It not only disregarded all usage, custom and law, but it invaded right. I protested against it. The result of my action was a modification of the order. The order, as modified reads:

WASHINGTON, June 26th, 1863.

Major General J. G. Blunt:

General---The authority given, of date, June 5th, to raise a regiment of cavalry, is hereby amended as follows:

The company officers will be commissioned by the Governor, on the nomination of the members of the respective companies. The field officers will be so commissioned on the nomination of the majority of the company officers.

This modification is made at the request of His Excellency, the Governor, but is not intended to affect any appointment which may have been duly made prior to the receipt of this by you.

THOMAS M. VINCENT,
Ass't Adjutant General.

I made no such request as that stated in the modified order. I insisted upon the rights of the State, without limitation or qualification, as I shall ever do. I obeyed the order, because I did not wish to delay the War Department in its military movements, and because I desired to have placed in our front, as quickly as practicable, the soldiers needed to defend it. Nor do I wish it understood that I detail these matters in anger, or out of ill-will to the War Department. Every department---the Government itself---shall command me, whenever my services are needed, or wherever the arms of Kansas can serve or defend it. I mention these facts only because I would have the people of the State watch with jealousy every encroachment upon the right of the State. It is this vigilance which will stop the advance of the oppressor and wall out oppression.

SOLDIER'S CLAIMS.

To protect Kansas soldiers and their families, I authorized, on the 15th of August, 1863, Judge Saunders W. Johnston, who is now a resident of Washington, to act as their agent, without charge to them. It is not right that they should pay a cent to any one for securing to them the money they have so dearly earned, and which the Government so justly owes them. I know that you will concur in this without a dissenting voice. Still, the agent, Judge Johnston, should be compensated fairly for the work he may do, and Kansas can well afford to compensate him, because she has done nothing, by way of legislation to stimulate her brave men to enter the service, or to provide for their families while in the service, as other States have done. What this remuneration for the agent shall be, and what provision you will make for the families of the soldiers, it is for you to determine.

SOLDIERS PAY.

We tolerate in government what we would not tolerate in society. Were the pay of laborers put upon the ground which the federal authorities adopt towards soldiers, it would cause, not merely, dissatisfaction, but revolution. It may be said that this is a subject which you should not discuss or I suggest. I dissent. This is a common interest, and every State has a common concern in it. It is our flag which floats over the army and navy; they are our soldiers who fight the battles, and win victories or meet reverses; it is our cause they defend, and our country they protect. It is your privilege, then, to declare, and mine to suggest, what measures may be necessary to their well being and the well being of their families.

I call your attention, therefore, to the payment of soldiers, and I invoke you, most earnestly, to act upon the subject. That pay should be prompt. We are aware that, when sudden marches are made, or when our forces pursue the foe into their territory, this sometimes cannot be done; but, as a general rule, in my judgment, their pay might be promptly made, and that, too, without the employment of an agent, or without misapplying the funds of government. I give two examples to illustrate my view. On the march of our regiments to Fort Smith, quite a number of our soldiers were taken sick, and sent to the hospital. I conversed with one of them, who had suffered from the worst form of typhoid fever, and who had not received a cent of pay for six months. Again, consider the case of the brave man who falls in battle, and leaves behind him a destitute family; it will take months for his wife to get the small pittance due to him, and even this pittance she may have to divide with an attorney, whom she is compelled to employ to obtain it. It seems to me that a simplification of the machinery of the pay department of the army would remedy these difficulties. (I might more properly call them wrongs,) and enable the soldier's family to receive promptly, and without expense, what is their due. If, in the first case which I have stated, the certificate of the Captain of the company, showing the soldier had been left in the hospital, and if the Surgeon in charge of such hospital should endorse upon that certificate that such soldier had been detained there by disease, would enable that soldier to obtain his pay, all delays would be avoided. So, in the other case stated, there "the warrior by warrior

hands is slain," the endorsement of that fact by the commanding officer of his company, and by the officer in command of his regiment, should be sufficient to entitle his wife (she being identified) to his pay at once. Reforms of this character are imperiously demanded, and Congress should lose no time in making them. If the legislature of the different States were to examine this subject and act upon it vigorously, we venture the assertion that our national legislature would remedy these evils and put an end to these wrongs.

KANSAS SOLDIERS.

There are thirteen Kansas regiments in the field, (besides two colored), and they are scattered in every department of the South and Southwest. I felt this to be wrong to them and to the State, and, in one sense it is so. Yet, the consequences have been so fruitful of good and glory to both, that, apart from the consideration of inadequate home protection, we cannot regret it.

Theirs is a national reputation. They have been, in these departments, in every hard fought battle, and in every such battle they have stood in the van, and on the "rampart's slippery swell." "Foeward" they have fallen, "as fits men to fall," or hurled back the traitors with bloody hands. "You have the bravest officers," said a veteran Major General, "and your men are as brave as your officers."

It would be invidious to designate, where all are so distinguished. Led by officers of dash and daring, who rush to the encounter against fearful odds; who, with pluck and audacity, when surrounded by five times their numbers, and called upon to surrender, answer "Kansans never surrender;" who hold gaps in the mountains, defying and defeating a marshaled division of the enemy; who climb the mountain steeps, and, leaping over battlements, sweep from them the bravest of warrior rebels---our soldiers have in them that fire and enthusiasm, that spirit which makes the bayonet think, and the man who directs it invincible.

The death roll tells what they are. In a strange land, amid the rock steeps and sharp defiles of the mountains, or among the moss fringed swamps of the South, our slain sleep. No sight of home gladdened their eyes before they were paled in death. No friends from home were near to cheer them. Hollowed be their memories! Cherished their fame, wherever valor is praised or virtue honored! And when we shall welcome back, after the war is over, our scarred veterans, the vacant places of the honored dead, if silent, will yet, speak with touching eloquence, dimming the eyes with tears, and moving the tenderest sensibilities of the heart. But we may not mourn, for, it "the fittest place for man to die, is where he dies for man," they will be in the future, examples of heroic valor and a martyr spirit.

I trust that, ere the session closes, I shall be able to present to you fully and in detail, an account of every officer and soldier of Kansas regiments.

SOLDIER'S SUFFRAGE.

I recommended in my first annual message to the Legislature, a amendment to the Constitution, giving to the soldiers the right to vote. This recommendation failed. I heartily renew it, and trust that it will be acted upon promptly.

No on can doubt the justice of the proposition. Our soldiers are entitled to increased privileges while they are upholding the flag of the Republic, and are subject to the perils and privations of camp and hospital. It is a small remuneration and a poor compliment for these heroic services to say that they shall not be equal to those who remain at home, and in peace, pursue the arts of peace.

There are those who believe that they possess the right. I wish it were so. I have consulted some of the ablest jurists of the State, who concur in the opinion, that an amendment to the Constitution is necessary. Such is my own belief. Still, if the Legislature, after due deliberation, shall conclude either that the right exists, or that it has the power to confer that right, I shall gladly second its action. Or better yet, if a test case can be made before the Supreme Court, and that for the soldier, the people of the State would enthusiastically enforce its decision. While there is doubt, however, on this subject, let speedy action be taken to meet the just claims of the soldier, and to perform faithfully our duty to him. There is no fear and should be no anxiety on the part of legislators on this subject, for wherever, through State laws, our brave men in the field have voted almost unanimously for the vigorously prosecution of the war, for universal freedom, for the Union and its Government.

THE COLORED RACE.

The rebellion has forced upon us new issues; and the only safe way is to face them. Fifty thousand colored troops are armed, drilled, and ready to battle against the rebel foe. Wherever tested, they have exhibited steadiness and daring---a courage which feared neither frowning battlements, nor the serried ranks of the foe.

As to their position, the Unionists of the South (with one exception, Kentucky, and in that State they are divided,) have declared with unexampled unanimity, "Let them be freemen, and let slavery perish!"

In the convention recently held by the loyalists of Tennessee, it was proposed by a member to petition Government to compensate loyal slave owners. One of the largest of that class rose, and moved that that part of the memorial be stricken out. The motion was carried, with a few dissenting voices, every slaveholder voting for it. A kindred spirit governs Louisiana, Arkansas and Maryland. Missouri and Virginia avow the same noble sentiments, and advocate the same humane policy. And who are the loyal Unionists of the South? Men reared amid slavery; men who live where the blacks live; men who have felt and who know the bitter blight its brings to human happiness and human progress.

There lingers yet, in the free States, as all fully understand, a prejudice and a passion against the colored race; but how can this prejudice and passion withstand the united action of the loyal men of the South? They will be as foam upon the crested wave! Nor dare any honest man, with ought of heart or mind, claim degradation for this race, after it has fought so heroically for the Union. If we desired to dishonor the name we bear, if we wanted to make the national character infamous, if we longed to have it associated with heartlessness and ingratitude, or to rouse the hate of every lover of freedom throughout the world against it, we would fire this prejudice, and make that passion tremble with energy. Ours is a higher and nobler position. It is one in which justice and freedom shall poise the scales and hold even its balance.

But home questions concerning the colored race are arising, and by petition and through public discussion will be brought before you. What shall be its condition in Kansas? This is, or will be, the issue. Nor can it be shirked or put aside from year to year. No good will come out of this unmanly course, but evil only. Let that issue be met, as it can only be met now, by submitting it to the will of the people in a proper amendment to the Constitution. No citizen can object to this course. "I heartily wish, " says one of the greatest conservative statesmen of Great Britain, when speaking on a kindred theme, "that the deliberate sense of the kingdom should be known on the subject. When it is known, it must be prevalent. It would be dreadful, indeed, if there were any power in the Nation capable of resisting its unanimous desire, or even the desire of any very great and decided majority of the people." Their will must be your law and mine, the law of the State. The Constitution, as it now stands, does not recognize the colored race, and it is for you to submit to the people whether they desire to have them recognized or not.

MEMORIALS.

The Legislature has rendered important service to the State through its memorials to Congress. When pressing in this way, the just claims of the State, and seconded, as it has been and will be, by our able Congressional delegation, it will seldom fail. Trusting that you will not falter in this good work, I shall proceed to mention subject-matters on which you should memorialize Congress at your present session.

I referred, in my first message, to the sufferers of 1855, '56 and '57, and urged upon you the importance of memorializing Congress to relieve them. I earnestly repeat what I then so fully recommended.

In 1861, a number of Kansas regiments were put into the field by the State. In doing this, a debt was incurred of twelve thousand three hundred and fifty-two (\$12,352) dollars. Congress, during that year, passed an act to reimburse the several States that had raised troops, and advanced means for this object. I authorized General G. W. Collamore to adjust this claim with the federal government, inasmuch as the debt had been incurred during his term of office as Quartermaster General of the State. For this purpose he withdrew the vouchers from the Auditor's Office of the United States and the State. These papers he had at his house when the raid was made upon Lawrence, he killed, his house burnt, and these papers destroyed. The vouchers being thus lost, the Third Auditor at Washington, who has this matter under control, could not act upon the claim, nor will he be able to do so until an enabling act has been passed by Congress.

I have elsewhere spoken at length of the condition of the border. It has been, until very lately, continually threatened by the rebel foe, and subjected to lawless raids by roving bands of guerillas. It became necessary to meet these dangers, and, as the federal government had withdrawn the main body of the Kansas volunteers into distant

fields of duty, the State had to do it. A heavy expense was thereby incurred---an expense that will not fall far short of thirty thousand (\$30,000) dollars. That the federal government will reimburse the State, I have no doubt. Congress has already passed an act repaying the State of Missouri for moneys she advanced in organizing and sustaining her home guards. The claim of Kansas is still stronger; for the militia of the State has not only rendered important aid to the federal government, but was accepted by the General commanding the department, put under the command of federal officers, and retained only while the federal authorities thought their services necessary.

The discussion of the subject of the Territorial warrants has been so frequent and general, that every one is familiar with it. Under an act of February 20th, 1863, the Territorial indebtedness was authorized to be assumed and bonded by the State. This has been partially done. That indebtedness arose from the neglect of the federal government, under former administrations, or, more properly speaking, of its officers in the Territory. The last Legislature memorialized Congress upon this subject, and the bill failed in that body for want of time to act upon it. You will realize the importance of prompt action, when I inform you that there is charged against the State a direct tax of nearly seventy-two thousand (\$72,000) dollars, which it has ample means to liquidate when the federal government shall have settled its just claims.

Last year, as you are aware, fearful raids were made along our southern border and into the interior of the State. Shawneetown, Gardner, Black Jack and Lawrence, (and, previously, Humbolt and Olathe,) were sacked or destroyed; besides a large number of farmers lost their all through them. Distress and terror prevailed. Few considered themselves safe in the exposed parts of the State, and the pursuit of regular business day by day and the enjoyment of needed sleep by night were an impossibility.

I visited Lawrence the day after its calamity. The scene beggared description. No pencil could paint, no imagination conceive, the sadness and desolation of that day. Before me lay the smoking ruins of a young and thriving city, and outstretched in the few remaining houses, spared by accident, were the cold and lifeless bodies of the murdered dead. Among them were the remains of one of your body---young Thorp, so gifted, so noble, and so beloved by all who knew him. Yet, as I gazed upon this dark and fearful reality, I turned instinctively towards the living. No tears dimmed their eyes. Their grief was too deep for utterance. They stood calm, resolute, fearless, and amid the loss of life and wreck of property, as if animated by the sublimest courage, said, "We will bury our dead and rebuild our city."

The brave men of Kansas, who have suffered thus, will not be forgotten by the country; nor can the federal government, when informed of their conduct and character, as well as their losses and sufferings, refuse to repay them in full. National justice, as well as national pride, will compel an act which would add glory to the national name, and stimulate, as well as strengthen, the national virtue.

OUR COUNTRY.

The very words "our country" thrill us. When abroad, and we perceive suddenly its flag, we rejoice; but when it is in a struggle for life, we gladly give it all we have and all we are. For what are we without it? As a pitcher broken at the fountain; as one dying of thirst at the dry fountain.

In my former message I expressed to you my faith in the success of our cause, though the timid doubted, and the wary were afraid. Where is the skeptic now? I anticipated reverses, but none such as have gloomed the land. I thought there would be uneasiness and unrest among the pro-slavery population of the free States; but I never dreamed of mobs in the city of New York, or cowardly submission to them, or of actual uprising in the States of the Northwest against the Government. We perceive plainly enough, now that all is past, how these reverses strengthened us and weakened the foe; how these mobs and uprising gave increased power to the federal government, by knitting together the loyal hearts of the nation. Rising, in consequence, above petty jealousies and narrow prejudices, mounting up to the high level of the occasion, one of the proudest ever presented to man by the living God, and infusing into the common heart all the fire of the spirit of earnestness and enthusiasm, THE PEOPLE, in triumphant voice and with invincible power, hushed into silence that traitor sympathy, and blackened with infamy that traitor action, which had mocked their loyal will, and defied a loyal Government.

The pilot at the helm bore a steady hand, and had a clear eye, and, better and braver yet, an honest heart. His ear was open, and he listened with eager intent to learn the wish and will of the people; and as they gathered around and cheered him on, he moved forward, until, with his last proclamation, he cuts up the very root of rebellion, turns into dry ashes the fuel of sedition and leaves not a spark of fire to kindle it.

There is power in events; they channel out their course in defiance of strong governments, and the iron will of despots, as though they were brittle glass. The drift of the events of our day and our country swells with a resistless volume in behalf of universal freedom. But President Lincoln, knowing, yet not trusting this unseen, though mighty agency in human affairs, determined to clinch all by positive legislation and specific action; for no good so great as Liberty can be won or preserved without law, and no evil so deep and so dangerous as slavery, can be checked or crushed except by law.

Good omens cheer us. There is not a token which does not promise to us a sure victory. Thus, a new morn is opening, revealing to us in brightness and glory a regenerated Republic. Let us, then, uphold the Administration and the Government. Let us concentrate all of feeling and of purpose, and know only our cause. Let us, by the noble spirits gone, by the sacred blood shed and the countless treasure spent, by all that is holy in the past and hopeful in the future, stand firm for OUR COUNTRY.

THOMAS CARNEY.

TOPEKA, January 13, 1864.

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