

INAUGURAL  
M E S S A G E  
OF  
GOV. THOMAS CARNEY

---

*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives Of the State of Kansas:*

Monday, in obedience to the Constitution, I took the oath of office as Governor of the State of Kansas, and to-day, in obedience to the same high authority, I address you.

I am conscious of my inexperience, while I know how large will be the responsibilities of the station I hold. But, I am conscious, also, of an honest purpose, while I know, too, that I shall meet these responsibilities faithfully and fearlessly. It is thus in human affairs that duty is best done. It is thus, too, that the highest and humblest in place can best prove their gratitude to the people or manifest faith in Him, whose guidance and protection all ask.

THE FEDERAL UNION.

The Union is the Nation---the Federal Government the government of the Nation. Those who administer it may, and must, represent a party; and its acts and measures, its principals and policy, should be considered and discussed, with boldest and freest spirit. --- The freer, the better. But, the foe without or within, abroad or at home, who shall assail the Union, who shall seek to seize and overthrow the pillars of the Republic, must be mastered. Such foe, whoever he may be, strikes at our common life and must be conquered by a common effort.

THE ADMINISTRATION.

We stand by the Administration, then, because the Administration is the organized authority of the Nation. It has labored to avoid our present troubles. It has sought Union in the spirit of Union. --- It has done nothing, proposed nothing, asserted nothing in opinion or principle, which invaded, or which threatened to invade, the rights of the States, or violate the letter or spirit of the Federal Constitution. No entreaty, no appeal, no forbearance has availed. By fraud and usurpation, the leaders of the rebellion have compelled an unwilling people in the South to defend them, and by ruthless violence and reckless action have forced upon the country its fearful struggle for life. The Administration would save that. We sustain it, therefore, because in that life rests our hope of liberty and happiness.

We stand by the Administration, too, because it avows the only principle upon which the life of the Nation depends. The Chief-Magistrate of the Republic thus declares it:

*"In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. \* \* \* The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just---a way, which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God forever bless."*

The fiery trial through which the Government is passing is plain to all. As the purposes of the leaders of this causeless rebellion are unthreaded, their design to breed anarchy in the free, and establish despotism in the Slave States, is made palpable as the day. The white man, outside of the favored class, will become a vassal in the South, if the rebel leaders of the South shall triumph. Nor can the freeman of the free States escape the ill effects of their brothers' thrall. The hope of the white race in these United States, then, rests, not merely upon mastering the leaders of the rebellion, but in rooting out the cause of the rebellion itself. "The surest way," says Bacon, "to prevent sedition is, to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come, that shall set it on fire." Thus only, can we assure freedom to the free.

## DISUNION.

Time was, when the word disunion would startle the American ear wherever heard. That time has passed. It comes to us now in armed and bloody intent. But our obligation to meet it, in any and every form, is as deep now as when the Government was first organized.---United---greatness and growth are ours. Disunited---distraction and desolation will be the result. The Union has ensured to us every blessing. It has made the people happy. It has developed the resources of the country, secured peace and safety to every citizen, and made the Republic a home for the virtuous, brave and free, whether born on our own or a foreign soil. Disunion will thwart these good influences, and smite every hope of freedom. For the West---under the happiest results which may be anticipated---it means the abandonment of the Mississippi river, and its virtual seclusion from the sea coast. For the Republic---separate confederacies, with perpetual war raging among them, inviting foreign interference, and involving the civilized world in the fearful conflict.

## NO DOUBT ABOUT THE RESULT.

We do not doubt the result. The people have the power in them to conquer, and they will conquer. We have faith in them. We do not care about the triumph of this or that political party, here or elsewhere, if here and elsewhere the right arm of the freeman of the Republic shall be bared in its defense. We believe it will be so bared. We believe the courage of the people will mount with the occasion, and manacle the spirit of sedition as well as its leaders. Let no doubt rest upon the loyal mind. Let no fear touch a loyal heart. The Union must and shall be preserved.

## KANSAS ENDORSES.

There is no mistake about the feeling of the people of Kansas on this subject. It is a unit. No chieftain ever called together his clan by bugle-blast, quicker than Kansans answered the first call of the President. Transportation was deficient, clothing was wanting, tents and equipments; everything which could shelter the soldier from the burning sun or protect him against the merciless storm. --- Yet two regiments promptly rallied and marched to meet the Rebel foe. Again, a second summons came, and that too was met with as lofty a patriotism. With a population of one hundred and seven thousand, Kansas has organized thirteen regiments. Nor is this all. The plume of Kansans, where they have been summoned to fight, has waved in the fore-front of every battle. Face to face and foot to foot, our soldiers have grappled with the armed traitors of the Republic---have beaten or baffled them, and their decimated ranks, more eloquent than words, tell of their dauntless heroism and lofty courage.

## OUR DUTY.

I do not wish to indulge in poetic speech, or empty declamation. Neither will feed the hungry or relieve the sufferer. We must render both substantial aid. And this the State should do. Loyal commonwealths of the Republic have cared for the soldier, by appointing Sanitary Committees; by appropriating funds for their families, while the heads thereof were in the field, and by relieving, on the battle-field or at home, the wounded and the sick.

Kansas should be the rival of the noblest of these commonwealths. We stand first, because in proportion to population and wealth, we have mustered more men to combat Rebellion, than any loyal State in the Union. This has been done, too, at immense sacrifice. Many of our families have been left almost in destitution. I have been an eye witness to the fact, that in many instances the faithful mother, and in some instances only children have been left to attend to the household and farm.

Our soldiers are still in the conflict; exposed every hour to danger or death, while we, even we here, enjoy their protection. Yet they are denied the right of citizenship; they cannot even vote while guarding thus the persons and property of their own State; therefore as the first duty to them and ourselves, I recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the State, by which they shall be permitted to exercise the elective franchise.

The heroic dead are gone. Officers like the dauntless Johnson and Jewell, the intrepid Russel, Woodburn, Jones, Pratt, and Agniel; privates like Sherman, Jolley, Rogers, Redman and Becker sleep in the soldier's grave. But their memory and their example will live. It should be our sacred duty to perpetuate the memories of our fallen heroes. The roll of the glorious dead should be perfected in the archives of the State, and were it possible, monuments should be erected to their honor, to inspire the present with a purer patriotism and the future with a loftier valor.

We cannot mistake our duty; the glory that has covered our arms should make us the more zealous for the well being of the State. Sacred obligations rest upon you and upon me. In the pride we feel for soldiery; we should never forget, as we can never escape our responsibility.

Our military reputation is established. It is for you and for me to lift the civic character of the State to an equally high position. --- To this end, I would impress upon you the necessity of subduing local rivalries, and suppressing partisan feelings; of arresting and exposing fraud; of baffling the schemer; of systematizing the laws; checking extravagance; lessening taxation, and aiding and guarding every public interest.

#### FINANCE.

The financial condition of the State demands your careful consideration. Its importance cannot be over-estimated. The eye of the State is fixed upon you and upon me, and upon you and upon me will rest the responsibility of establishing its credit and character. We cannot escape that responsibility if we would, and I trust we would not if we could.

I am not able to furnish you with such details as I could wish. I have made every effort in my power to obtain, officially, such information as I would desire you to have; but have failed. When I obtain that, I will communicate it fully to you.

There are pressing liabilities upon the State, and soon there will be others, which must be met and met promptly.

There are outstanding warrants upon the Treasury, unpaid for want of funds. On the first of July next there will be required 31,000 dollars, to pay the bonds known as the war bonds. These were created by authority of an Act of May, 1861, to enable the State to borrow money, to aid the General Government in raising troops.

Under the law of Congress, to reimburse the States for actual expenditures for this purpose, Kansas will be entitled to receive from the Federal Government, as I am informed, 12,000 dollars, leaving 19,000 to be provided for by the State.

This amount will have to be raised either by direct tax upon the people, or by a new issue of bonds. The former is impracticable, because it would be impossible for us to make the levy and collect the tax in time. The latter is our only alternative.

In November, 1861, this State made a contract, through the agent created by its authorized agents, with the Secretary of the Interior, at Washington, for the sale of \$150,000 of its fifteen year 7 per cent bonds, at 85 cents on the dollar. Only a portion of this contract has been fulfilled. Ninety-five thousand dollars (\$95,600) of these bonds is all that has been delivered, and only 64,600 paid for. This leaves a difference of fifty-four thousand (\$54,400) of these bonds that will have to be delivered to the Secretary of the Interior, before the contract can be consummated. Legislature of 1862, for reasons of its own, took the completion of this contract out of the hands of its then agents, and their attorney, and placed it wholly in yours.

To complete this contract you will have to authorize the issue of fifty-four thousand four hundred dollars (\$54,400) of 7 per cent, fifteen year bonds, which, added to the thirty-one thousand dollars (\$31,000) of bonds now held by the Secretary of the Interior, and not paid for, will make the required amount.

The contract above referred to, was made for the whole issue of the one hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000) of the 7 per cent. bonds authorized by an act of the Legislature, approved May 1st, 1861; but as a considerable portion of these bonds is now possessed by private individuals, and out of the reach of the State, the Secretary of the Interior, I have learned, has agreed to receive enough of a new issue to make good the contract, and to give the State the benefit of the same, provided the State will affirm by law the act of its former agent. Thirty-one thousand dollars (\$31,000) of these bonds out of the ninety-five thousand six hundred dollars (\$95,600) above referred to, being the difference between what has been paid for and what has been delivered, were left with the Secretary of the Interior, as a guarantee that the State would perform its part of the contract.

Now I call upon you to do your duty. You must meet this responsibility, or forfeit the credit of the State. Its wants are imperative its character is at stake. I will not, if I can help it, and you will not, I know, permit a stain to rest upon that credit, or a blur upon that character.

To carry out the intention of the Legislature of 1862, it will be necessary for you to provide by law, for the appointment of an agent with authority to call upon the Treasurer of the State for the fifty-four thousand four hundred dollars (\$54,400) of 7 per cent bonds, and to empower him to close the unfinished contract between the State and the Secretary of the Interior.

#### AGRICULTURE.

The founders of the State, and the framers of the Constitution, looked to Agriculture as the basis of its progress and prosperity. --- The action of both is clear. The Constitution makes it an *especial* duty of the Legislature to encourage Agricultural improvements. --- "The Legislature *shall* encourage." One fact all history establishes, and this is, that the employment which first occupied the attention of man, and that which ensures plenty and secures health, is the last, which has received the fostering care of Government, or the friendly aid of society. Art, science, law, commerce, all had their place and their laws well developed, ere Agriculture was regarded worthy the attention of statesman or philosopher. The tiller of the soil has been kept aloof from the favored classes. But in our country, and in our age, a new theory has been developed, and that theory is, the more we multiply small farms and encourage small farmers, the surer, the stabler, the more thriving and progressive will be every power which gives vigor to human action, or strength to human Government.

The soil of Kansas is fertile. There are few States in the Union which have a body of land of richer or more enduring quality. The climate is genial and healthful. None could be more so. Both in soil and climate it invites emigration, as the settler will find here every advantage, which will reward labor and insure a certain independence. The cereals average a higher price than in any Western State in the Union. The reward for labor is greater. And the reasons are obvious---because our home market demands all that can be produced, and because in the Gold regions of Colorado, New Mexico and the region known as the Rocky Mountains, a large and rapidly increasing population is settling for mining purposes, which is now, and must continue to be, dependent chiefly upon Kansas for its supplies. Besides, the construction of the Pacific railroad with its branches, certain to be completed, will bring with it a swelling tide of population, which will also be dependent upon this State, for years to come,---until the rich plains and valleys of the Far West can be made productive. This we consider to be the practical and positive advantage we enjoy. The farmers of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois are measurably dependent upon the sea board for their market. That rules rates and fixes prices; that, too, governs the values of labor; but in Kansas, independent alike of the sea-board and transportation companies, and their heavy tariffs, we have a home market which never fails. As to other important interests, there can be no doubt. As a stock country, where the fostering care of man is required to prepare food during any portion of the year, Kansas is unequalled. For sheep husbandry, it certainly ranks with the most favored portions of the world. The dryness of its climate, its rolling prairies, its wonderful supply of grasses, render this a natural home for sheep. Australia, with a narrow rim around its vast deserts, destitute of running streams, subject to years of drought, with the price of lands and labor higher, and far distant from market, has been the great wool producing region. In 1810, it exported one hundred and sixty (160) pounds; in 1850, forty millions (40,000,000). The result of this success, has awakened in the Agricultural regions of Europe a conviction, the sheep are a necessity of a good general system of husbandry. The highest agricultural authority we have states as a fact, that while they afford as much food to man, in proportion to their own consumption, as any other domestic animals, they are believed to return more fertilizing matter to the soil. I urge, then, upon the farmers of this State, upon agricultural societies, and upon you, to do whatever can be done to advance the stock interests generally, and especially that of sheep husbandry.

#### EDUCATION.

The first settlers of Kansas, without exception, I believe, in laying out the plats of towns, invariably set apart certain portions of them to the church and school house. The framers of the Constitution were animated by a like spirit. They have made it imperative upon the Legislature, by positive enactment, to encourage education in every form. The supply of means for this end, if large, is not as large as it should be. This will be understood, at once, by referring to Sec. 3d, Article 6th, of the Constitution. The State has not received its full share of School Lands from its rightful domain, because the previous grants did not take into consideration the Indian Territory, which, according to the Surveyor General's Report, embraces 9,986,441 acres. Out of this area, were it not for the

Indian Reserves and Trust Lands, Kansas would have 664,478 acres for School purposes, in addition to all previous grants. Congress has made good a like deficiency for Iowa, Mississippi and other States. You should ask Congress to be equally just to Kansas.

The Act of Congress of September 4th, 1841, appropriates five hundred thousand acres of land to Internal Improvements to each State; this fund, thus appropriated, has been diverted by the Constitution of Kansas to the support of Common Schools. The laws of Congress are the supreme laws of the land. Now the question arises: whether the assent given by Congress to the admission of Kansas as a State under the Constitution, repeals the law of 1841, and in fact diverts the land as provided for by our State Constitution? My impressions are, that no Act of Congress can be amended or repealed, unless by a subsequent Act of the same body, and that to divert these lands from the purpose specified in the Act of Congress, granting them to the several States, it would be necessary for Congress to amend this law. The question for you to determine then, is, which purpose would be of more service to the State? --- While the Educational fund has received donations, the Internal Improvement fund has received nothing; yet both Internal Improvements and Common Schools are of vital importance. It is necessary that the question should be settled, and, for this purpose, I ask you to memorialize Congress.

Every being in the State should be educated. It is a right which cannot be questioned. Mind is the highest gift of God to man. The Legislator, then, who ignores this right---the Legislature which sacrifices it, ignores and sacrifices that which alone gives, or can give, stability to Law or vitality to Liberty. I entreat you then with all the earnestness I possess, to guard well the Educational interests of the State---to develop them---to hold as inviolable the means dedicated to that high end, and to employ them without faltering or failure to our common advancement. Better straightened means, than a starved intellect. Better poverty of purse, than poverty of heart.

#### **PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.**

For the unfortunate, for the deaf and dumb, blind and insane, the older, and with a few exceptions, the newer States, have provided asylums. The Constitution of the State of Kansas is explicit on this subject: "Institutions for the benefit of the insane, blind, and deaf and dumb and such other benevolent institutions as the public good may require, shall be fostered and supported." This appeals directly to you, and, as you are able, you will respond to the appeal. The State which cares best for these unfortunates is always the truest in council and the noblest in action.

#### **STATE UNIVERSITY.**

My duty is made explicit on the subject of a State University. --- The Constitution directs especially your attention and mine to it: --- "Provision shall be made by law for the establishment at some eligible and central point of a State University." I would direct your attention, then, to the law passed by Congress, July 2d, 1862, styled "An Act donating public lands to the several States and Territories, which may provide Colleges for the benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts." A wise combination of the interests of the State, and a just application of the means which the General Government should grant, will enable us to do for education all that an intelligent people could ask or desire. It is for you to perfect this combination, and by right legislation to receive the benefit of the Act of Congress of July, 1862, which appropriates to this State for educational purposes, ninety thousand acres of land. To do this, it will be necessary for you to express your acceptance thereof by Legislative action, "within two years from the date of its approval by the President." That date was July 2d, 1862.

#### **A PENITENTIARY.**

The Constitution declares that a penitentiary shall be established. By a report to the State Legislature, dated July 15, 1861, of the "Commissioners appointed by the first Legislature of the State of Kansas to fix and determine the location of the penitentiary for the State of Kansas." I learn that a majority of the Commissioners decided upon a site in Delaware Township, Leavenworth County, on the 8th day of August, 1861; that the parties contracting to sell "did not comply with the agreement, between the Commissioners and them, whereby the said contract by its own terms became null and void." I learn further, from the report of the Commissioners that they made "purchase of another tract of land in Delaware Township the deed of which is recorded, and the title of which is reported undoubted." The land thus purchased amounts to forty acres, and cost the State \$15 per acre, "in such funds as may be appropriated for that purpose." This appropriation has never been made. The party who sold forty acres has never received pay therefor, "though the deed to the State of Kansas is perfect." Common justice demands, that this

obligation should be met; besides, wisdom and economy urge us to build a penitentiary, for the convicts are a heavy expense and the cost of supporting them is increasing daily. The State should be relieved of this needless and heavy burden, and the convicts made to earn their bread. I am decidedly in favor of meeting faithfully the contract the State has made. I recommend, and that is all I can do, not only that you shall perfect the contract, but make such an appropriation as well meet the necessities of the State.

#### INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

The Constitution is imperative on the subject of Internal Improvements. "The State shall never be a party in carrying on any works of Internal Improvement." This is its language, and whatever we may think of its justice or wisdom, we must obey it. It will not discourage you, for the people, if poor, are self-reliant, and this, after all, is *the* quality which makes men and States.

Our roads need improvement; our streams should be bridged. --- Let the people, without looking abroad for help, do what they can themselves, and it will not be long, with a well directed and economical labor, before the means of intercommunication between neighborhoods in counties, and between counties, will be easy and safe, in every season of the year. Nor will the labor and money thus expended be lost. Every hour and every dollar so given or spent will return an hundred fold.

But it is right that you should avail yourselves of every opportunity to secure these improvements, and the opportunity now exists by which this may be done.

Military necessity demands that we should have good roads in several leading directions. We can neither defend the common interest of the West, vital alike to us and the nation, nor can we prevent waste of treasure, which, when fully stated, will startle the most intelligent. I proceed to refer to these military roads, and to give the reasons why they should be improved.

- 1st. The completion of the railroad from Weston to Fort Leavenworth.
- 2d. The wagon road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott and South.
- 3d. From Fort Leavenworth to Fort Union, via Riley, Larned and Lyon.
- 4th. From Fort Leavenworth to Fort Laramie and west.

Through the kindness of Major L. C. Easton, Depot Quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, I learn these facts:

That 30,000 tons of freight have been transported from Weston to Fort Leavenworth since the close of navigation on the Missouri river, at an increased cost of nineteen thousand two hundred dollars (\$19,200) to the Government, which entire amount would have been saved had the Platte County Rail road been extended from Weston to a point opposite that post---a distance of four miles.

We are safe in saying that there are thirty thousand men in the field, and at distant posts, south and west, dependent upon Fort Leavenworth for supplies.

The number of trains employed by Government in transporting supplies has been one hundred and twenty-six. These trains average twenty-six wagons each. The amount of freight thus transported, during the past year (1862) is 19,000,000 lbs. The cost of this transportation to the Government has been upwards of a million and a half.

The *increased* cost to the Government, on this large outlay, in consequence of bad roads, unbridged streams, tolls, breakage and delay, is *ten per cent*.

This sum, thus wasted annually, if wisely and economically applied would build the railroad from Weston to Fort Leavenworth, bridge all streams, improve the wagon roads from the Fort to the various depots dependent upon it, and will save to the Government hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Considered in the light of a military necessity, or as a matter national economy, these improvements are imperatively demanded. It will be your duty to collect full details and facts on this important subject and present them to Congress and the country; for, when correctly presented, both Congress and the country will not only admit the appeal to be just, but regard its execution a national duty.

## HOME INTERESTS.

The right political education of a territory is essential to its character. That education moulds and fashions materially the institutions of the State. The tiller of the soil, the mechanic, the professional man and the merchant, who pursue their avocations faithfully and earnestly, and do not allow their attention to be distracted by the alluring prospect of office and its spoils, are as sure to succeed in their business, as night follows day. Steady labor is steady growth. The man who has constant employment, who relies upon himself and his legitimate business, and not upon political position or public patronage, will not only realize permanent success, but create an *individuality* which will be felt in society. The manhood of the citizen makes the manhood of the State. I would urge upon you, therefore, as I would impress upon the people, to look at and labor for, HOME interests. Our hopes should centre in our farms, our workshops and our storehouses, and not in the bureaus of the national capitol. A love of home, thus created, would increase everywhere the love of liberty, and deepen the desire for improvement; would purify the public mind and heart; would strengthen justice and give stability to law.

## THE LAW SHALL BE MAINTAINED.

On one point I do not wish to be misunderstood. I declare here, whatever may happen, that the law shall prevail. No community can thrive where life and property are not safe. It is useless to talk of the border, and the strifes of the border. The farmer and the mechanic should be as safe there as in the center of Fort Leavenworth or the heart of Ohio. The truth is, we can do nothing, be nothing, unless the grappling vigor of law shall repress outrage and wrong. Kansas has been disturbed by lawless bands, professing ability to executive law and to protect private property. Raids and robberies have followed. Our most populous cities have been controlled for hours, if not for days, by those who claimed, insolently, to be the defenders of right and justice. Demoralization of the worst kind has ensued. These bands and their agents, whatever their pretence or whoever they may be, must be put down and kept down, be the cost what it may. Unless this shall be done, there can be no prosperity in the present and no hope for the future. I say, then, deliberately but firmly, so far as power is vested in me as Governor of the State of Kansas, that the law *shall* be maintained.

## PUBLIC LANDS DUE TO KANSAS.

Kansas has never felt the fostering hand of the General Government. The territory came into existence amid turmoil and strife. Notwithstanding the hard and harsh treatment of the Federal Government---notwithstanding this turmoil and strife, it grew, and in two years after its first settlement demanded admission as a State. The demand was denied. I do not violate the truth of history when I say it was rudely and cruelly done. Another application was made, and that too was curtly and offensively refused. The people at last, after having passed through struggles, such as no other territory in the Union ever experienced, were heard by Congress, and admitted as a State into the Union.

Now, I do not propose to ask, or that you should ask, any one act from Congress which we may not rightfully claim. I ask only that the Nation shall do for Kansas what it has done for Illinois, Michigan, Iowa and other States.

This is justice, and what we have a right to claim. For your information, then---for the information of the people---and, if I may be pardoned, for the information of your Representatives at Washington, I proceed to present facts and figures on this subject, obtained from the official reports of the Commissioner of the General Land Office.

A contrast between Illinois, Michigan and Iowa will show the following result.

ILLINOIS.		KANSAS.	
Canals	290,914.50	Internal Improvements under the	
Sept.4, 1841, of \$500,000 grant	209,985.50	Act of 1841	590,000.00
Schools & Universities, etc.	1,100,795.00	Common Schools	2,891,288.00
Railroads	2,595,053.00	Universities, etc.	46,080.00
Swamp Lands	3,267,170.65	Public Buildings	6,400.00
Public Buildings	2,560.00	Salines	46,080.00
Salines	121,620.00		
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	7,587,507.65		3,439,848.00
MICHIGAN.			
Railroads	4,128,000.00		
Swamp Lands	7,273,724.00		
Schools & Universities, etc.	1,113,477.00		
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	12,515,201.00		
IOWA.			
Railroads	4,320 000.00		
Swamp Lands	2,579,976.29		
Desmoines River Grant	869,192.29		
Schools & Universities, etc.	952,214.00		
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	8,729,392.00		

The grant of lands made to Arkansas for all purposes, are,	9,652,482.98
Louisiana, for all purposes,	10,774,878.82
Florida, for all purposes	12,790,637.64

Looking at these facts, there can be no doubt about our rights. I repeat, therefore, what I have said---I would beg of the General Government nothing. In its present hour of trial and of difficulty I would rather increase than decrease its means, if these means were necessary to establish its power. They are not. It can grant to Kansas what it has granted to Illinois. It can give to Kansas what it has given to other States, without diminishing its active resources, or trenching, in any way, upon the public treasury. I press, therefore, the claim of Kansas. Temperately, but firmly, I demand justice.

#### EXTENSION OF THE INDIAN TITLES.

The great importance of extinguishing Indian titles in this State at an early day must be manifest to all. It is a well known fact that Indians locate upon the best lands in any territory where they may reside. This is eminently true of Kansas. Our richest lands, those most abounding in timber and water, are still held by them. The true interest of the State and the duty of the General Government to this State alike require the extinction of Indian titles and that their domain shall be thrown open for settlement. Kansas, now, is deprived of one-half of her resources for revenue, thus throwing the burden of sustaining the State Government upon about one-half of its rightful territory. No wonder, then, that the half which has to sustain the whole expense groans under the oppressive load. Let one-half of this load be divided with the other half, and a work will have been done, which common justice demands and Kansas has a right to expect. Persons not familiar with this subject, will, upon reflection, be astonished at the extent of the Indian domain and the continued and deep mischief it works upon the commerce and labor of the State; how it cripples cities and towns, how necessarily it checks the growth of neighborhoods, and what a depressing influence it has in preventing a dense population of the State. A glance at the map of Kansas will show, at once, the fearful gaps in the settlement of its territory, and, in itself, would be a conclusive argument in favor of the extinction of Indian titles. To aid the Legislature in the examination of this subject and to present the matter clearly to Congress; to make both realize its importance, I have only to state the fact, that the Indians hold in this State 9,986,442 acres. The soil of Kansas is the chief source of its wealth and prosperity. What our people have

done and are doing for the General Government I have already stated. They have poured out, and are pouring out their blood in its defense, and should have the full use and occupation of their own domain. We need it, nor can we become vigorous and strong without it.

### RAILROADS.

I call your special attention to the Pacific Railroad. No mightier work was ever undertaken by any Government. It will put the Atlantic and the Pacific in close neighborhood, and melt down, as it were, the Rocky Mountains; the only barrier the fathers feared could ever divide the Republic.

The timid may doubt; the over cautious fear. Looking at the distance and the obstacles to be overcome, even the prudent might question the result. But plain and practical men who know what the West is, and what the West has done; wise and calculating men, who, at New York and in San Francisco, understand how, within a few years, the interests of the Atlantic and Pacific have been knit together, have no doubt, no fear. I adopt their conclusion. I regard the completion of this work as a certainty. No accident within the republic and no turmoil without, no rebellion at home and no war abroad, can shatter the iron arm destined to link together the far East and the far West.

Western men, least of all, should raise a question on this subject. Where was Ohio at the commencement of this century? Where Indiana, and what was then termed the far West? Ohio, or rather we should say, mid-Ohio, and to be still more specific, the Cuyahoga River in mid-Ohio, was the dividing line. East, the white man was in power---West, the Indian. Now calculate the power of the wave of population west. Then civilization and all its resources, population and all its power, were eastward. The hardly pioneer West was dependent on the East for his bread. Even as late as 1835, the few inhabitants of Chicago would have suffered, if not starved, had not the people of the East sent them supplies. *Yet now Chicago is the great granary of the world.*

Nor is this all. The Western slope is at this time nearly equal, in weight of population, with the Atlantic slope. New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, number nine million, nine hundred and twenty-two thousand, one hundred and thirty-three (9,922,133) souls. Ohio and the States West count up excluding the Territories Oregon and California, nine-million, sixty-four thousand, eight hundred and ninety-six (9,064,896) souls.

Railroads were comparatively unknown in this country before 1840. Between 1840 and 1850 the system was earnestly considered and discussed. The result of this consideration and discussion is shown by the decade which followed.

In this decade Ohio, Indiana and Illinois completed 7,895 miles of railroad, at a cost of two hundred and eighty-seven millions one hundred and thirty-eight thousand and sixty dollars. To be entirely accurate we annex the following official table:

	1850		1860	
	<i>Miles.</i>	<i>Cost.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>	<i>Cost.</i>
Ohio,	575	10,684,400	2,901	111,896,351
Indiana,	228	2,380,533	2,026	70,295,148
Illinois,	110	1,440,507	2,868	104,946,561
Total,	913	14,505,440	7,895	287,138,060

Nor am I wholly satisfied with this representation. It is important to keep before us the actual growth of population. We must understand that, if we would understand the power of the West. --- We must know it thoroughly, if we would know the extent of the resources of the West. We annex, therefore, another table, an official report of the movement of population westward:

	1850	1860
Ohio,	1,980,329	2,339,511
Indiana,	998,416	1,350,428
Illinois,	851,470	1,711,951
Michigan,	397,654	749,113
Wisconsin,	305,391	775,881
Iowa,	192,214	674,943
Minnesota,	6,077	172,123
Missouri,	682,044	1,182,012
Kansas,	000,000	107,206
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total,	5,403,595	9,063,168

We repeat, then, that the completion of the Pacific Railroad is a certainty; and as it will pass through the heart of Kansas, it will open up a section of country to the settler, which for fertility of soil and geniality of climate, is surpassed by no State in the Union.

#### STATE RAILROAD SYSTEM.

To improve the immense advantages which Kansas will reap from this gigantic national work---the Pacific Railroad---you must inaugurate a State railroad system. Your first duty, then, will be, to locate the branches, authorized by Congress, through this State, according to law. Your second duty will be, to look to the establishment of a general State system of railroads. A rightly combined action on your part would secure to the State every benefit possible for a State to enjoy. To this end, you will be called upon to exercise the highest wisdom and the largest experience; for you will be legislating, not for the present, but for the future. Look well to your action; see that no local rivalries or prejudices endanger these great interests. It should be your earnest desire to overlook no portion of the State, and let the development of every part of it, be the result of your legislation. You will soon have public lands at your disposal; there will be valuable treaties to be made with the different Indian tribes. Whatever is to be done, the lands thus secured should be employed with special reference to the promotion of a general railroad system which will develop the resources of the State, and do equal and exact justice to all portions of the State.

I cannot close my remarks on the subject of railroads without paying a tribute of respect in behalf of the State, to the Directory of the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad Company. --- Their energy did much toward directing the great national highway through our State.

#### EXTENDING THE PUBLIC SURVEYS.

In this connection, I call your attention to the importance of completing the public surveys of this State, at an early day. The construction of the Pacific Railroad, and the knowledge that emigration always precedes enterprises of this character, demand it. --- As it is, the settler cannot determine the even section, nor the railroad the odd one in accordance with the Act of Congress; besides, no State railroad system can be perfected without it. The emigration which must follow the conclusion of peace will be immense. That emigration naturally will seek homes along the pathway of this great National thoroughfare. You must *prepare* to receive it, as settlers will not locate upon unsurveyed lands. Beyond this, the educational interest of the State requires it. Our School lands should be located, so that the selections can be made before the best lands are taken up. This cannot be done until the surveys are completed. Kansas as a State, has assumed the grave and responsible duties of a State Government, and has the right to have her lands surveyed. All obstructions in the way of settlement and improvement should be removed speedily, that these lands may be made useful to the State, and become a source of revenue both to the State and the General Government. I affix the following table, which will give you important information upon this subject:

The number of townships surveyed in this State up to Dec. 30th, 1862, excluding Indian Lands, are	626
Townships surveyed, including all Indian Lands, are	765
Total number of townships in this State	2,273
Total number of townships surveyed	1,508

Thus you will perceive that only one third of the lands are surveyed. Of these lands, as I have stated to you before, the Indians hold, but do not occupy or improve, a fraction less than ten millions of acres. Neither justice nor right can uphold a policy which inflicts such wrongs upon the State, and which in reality does great injustice to the Federal Government.

#### FOREIGN INSURANCE.

The insurance for the people of this State is now wholly affected and controlled by companies outside of the State. This business is large and rapidly increasing. These companies pay no tax whatever for this privilege, the profits of which are sent away, without any compensation to the State. They should pay for the protection of the business they enjoy. They should bear their portion of the common burdens of the State. Nor can you mistake your duty here. It is by distributing taxation upon all business equally that you can lessen or relieve the burdens of the people.

#### STATE CAPITOL.

Virtually, we have received nothing from Congress for the building of a State Capitol. We are an exception. Every State West has been provided for liberally. It is true, that an appropriation of of[sic] fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) was made for us while in a territorial state. But even this appropriation was squandered by the officials appointed by the Federal Government to disburse it. Of this sum so appropriated, the State has only received three hundred (300) dollars. As an act of justice, no discrimination should be made between Illinois and Kansas or between Kansas and any other Western State. The Federal Government should do for us what it has done so liberally for the other States admitted into the Union.

#### GENERAL LAWS.

In every State in the Union this objection has been raised by the best and wisest of its citizens, namely: that the greatest mischief done the State has resulted from over Legislation. Various remedies to overcome this evil have been proposed. In many of the States it was thought that biennial sessions of the Legislature would prevent it. This plan has been tried, and, wherever tried, has failed. States, such as Massachusetts and New York, have adopted another mode to correct this evil, and that is through General Laws. The reason of this was, that the township and the county should have control over the legitimate business of the township and county, leaving to the Legislature of the State the control of the legitimate business of the State. Thus, county lines, county seats, incorporation of cities and villages, escheated lands, authority to construct dams and whatever may relate specially to township or county, have been left by the general laws of these States, to the people of townships and counties. With a view, then, of correcting the evil in the State and letting the people do their own business in their own way, so far as relates to local legislation, of ridding the Legislature of corrupting and unnatural combinations, of vexatious and troublesome questions, and of lessening the expense of the Legislature by consuming its time in questions foreign wholly to its business, I beg you as a matter of wisdom and economy, to heed the experience of older States, and to pass general laws.

## SUMMARY.

I have intimated to you that I had not the official information which was really necessary to impart to you. Such is the fact. --- On the subject of taxation, known to be so important to the people, I have neither statistics nor facts. On another subject equally important, that of systematizing the laws and of establishing a true financial policy for the State, I have no data which would enable me to speak advisedly. I have made such recommendations, as in my humble judgment, would best advance the true interests of the State. That I may be clearly understood, I present to you a summary of these recommendations;

1st. An amendment to the Constitution, that our citizen soldiery be permitted to vote.

2d. To affirm by law the acts of the former agents of the State, and to complete the contract made with the Secretary of the Interior.

3d. To advance the benevolent and educational interests of the State.

4th. To accept the Law of Congress, July 2d, 1862.

5th. To locate the branch of the Pacific Railroad, and to establish a State Railroad system.

6th. To Tax Foreign Insurance Companies.

7th. To pass General Laws confining Local Legislation to local authorities.

8th. That you memorialize Congress for a Declatory Act of the Law of September 4, 1841, and of the Act of January 29th, 1861.

---As a military necessity to complete the Platte County Railroad to Fort Leavenworth, and to improve the wagon road leading from Fort Leavenworth, West and South.

---For a just proportion of the Public Lands.

---For the extinction of Indian Titles.

---For the completion of the Public Surveys.

---For the relief of the Sufferers of 1855, 1856, and 1857.

## SUFFERERS OF 1855, '56 AND 1857.

We should not forget the sufferers of 1855, 1856, and 1857. It cannot be your wish, and it is not my purpose, to revive in any way the wild hates and rude animosities of those memorable years in the history of Kansas. The pioneers came here to pursue peace, and the art of peace. They came here to make for themselves happy homes in this beautiful land and dedicate it forever to freedom. --- Their simple and honest purpose was to lay deep and strong the foundation of a free State, for a home for themselves, their children and their children's children. A misguided portion of the people in the southern States, assailed them with ruffian brutality, and involved the young Territory in bloody war, as the scarred bodies of the living, and the charred remains of many ruined homes so sadly, yet so truthfully testify.

Impartial history will sustain my assertion, that these Kansas freeman met the first shock of Treason against the Federal Union, and had the Government done its duty, had it given protection to these pioneers in the common rights which belong to all freeman, had it punished those who violated justice and sought its overthrow; their sacrifices and their losses would never have occurred.

It failed to do it. The debt, then, so incurred in consequence of these losses, and sacrifices, is a debt to the Nation. It will not do for the nation, if it would maintain its own self-respect or the respect of the World, to forget these sacrifices and neglect to pay for these losses. If ever a people could afford to be generous, and to extend an open hand for any object, this Nation could afford to respond to such an appeal.

Your call upon Congress to this end should be immediate and strong, with the conviction on your part and mine that it will promptly and cheerfully recognize the noble deeds of these pioneers, and pay them for losses which we all know were sustained, in a disinterested but glorious struggle to maintain the great principles of the Federal Constitution. Alone, and in this momentous conflict, they beat back their misguided foe and conquered him; and in spite of this in gratitude and injustice, this cruelty and wrong, they carried out the principles of the Fathers, and gloriously sustained the principles of the Constitution of the Federal Union.

I desire most earnestly that the memories of that glorious struggle shall be vividly cherished by the Nation, and that no act of ingratitude shall stain its conduct or mar its character; for as time shall advance, their heroic deeds will rise in importance, and the future will hold them in affectionate veneration, as among the noblest defenders of the Republic.

May the Father of all restore peace to our beloved land, and once again unite our people! May his wisdom, alone Omnipotent in mustering mercies in human behalf, guide the rulers of the Nation and of the State, and light their pathway in this hour of darkness and of trouble.

THOS. CARNEY.

TOPEKA, Wednesday, January 14, 1863.

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