dall, Rauch, Rehfeld, Scofield, Seeley, Simpson, Sheetz, Starkey, Stevens, Tattersall, Talbot, Townsend, Tuttle, Watrous, Willson, Young and Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Ridpath moved that a committee of three be appointed to wait upon His Excellency the Governor, and inform him that the two Houses are now in convention ready to receive any communication from him. Adopted.

The Chair appointed Messrs. Ridpath, Day and Willson, said committee.

The committee appointed to wait upon His Exceltency the Governor, appeared in company with His Excellency, Hon. H. H. Sibley, who proceeded to deliver his message as follows :

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Minnesota has, at length, been permitted to take her place in the Union "upon an equal footing with the original States." Congress, by a solemn act of legislation, approved by the President, has recognized her as a sovereign and independent member of the Confederacy—free, henceforth, from the trammels of Territorial vassalage, and bound by no allegiance to any earthly power outside of her own limits, except to the Federal Union, to the extent prescribed by the Constitution of the United States.

To Almighty God should we express our gratitude, that we have been preserved in our transition from a Territorial to a State Government—from the anarchy which has afflicted the people of a sister Territory under like circumstances. Within our borders there have been no assemblages of armed men, banded together to oppose or to enforce existing laws—no drop of human blood has soiled the pages of our brief political history, and we now assume the responsibilities of self-government, united, as I fervently trust and believe, in the determination to maintain unblemished the character and public credit of the new State of Minnesota.

But, while it is a subject of congratulation that Minnesota is now a State in the Union, she has just ground of complaint that her admission has been so long delayed. The Enabling Act of Congress contained a distinct pledge of the public faith that, upon her compliance with certain conditions precedent, therein contained, she should be received into the Confederacy. Those conditions were accepted without change or modification; a constitution republican in its form, framed by her delegates, and adopted by a nearly unanimous vote of her people was presented to Congress at an early period of the session; nevertheless, she has been compelled to wait for months at the doors of the National Capitol, before they were reluctantly opened to admit her. A spirit of enlarged patriotism would have prompted an immediate and welcome reception by Congress of a flourishing and populous State, which had not only been ever distinguished for her obedience to law, but had complied with each requirement of her Enabling Act. It is not strange that the neglect to admit Minnesota for so long a time should have excited the regret, no less than the indignation of her citizens.

It has injuriously affected public and private credit—checked immigration, and paralyzed, to some extent, the energies of her population. Capital, always sensitive, had ceased to seek investment in our midst, owing to the uncertainty of the action of Congress in our case, and the possible risk of loss in a community where the protection of law might be supposed to be weakened by the anomalous situation in which we were placed. For this state of things Congress is responsible. Having followed the course pointed out to us with scrupulous exactness, we had organized our State Government, as we were expressly authorized to do, and we presented ourselves to the National Legislature with full confidence that the pledges made us would be faithfully redeemed. How was our application received? Our Senators and Representatives were repulsed—our expostulations were unheeded—and the humiliating spectacle has been presented to the world, for the first time in our political history, of a State, against whose admission not a single valid objection could he urged, being kept out of the Union for many months; not because of any fault of her own—not that she merited punishment for insubordination or resistence to law—but simply because it subserved the purposes of Congressional politicians to allow her to remain suspened, for an indefinite period, like the fabled coffin of the false prophet, between the heavens and the earth.

It was in view of the unsatisfactory state of our affairs in Washington, that the Legislature of Minnesota, during the present session, reflecting most truly the sentiments of their constituents throughout the State, provided for an amendment to the Constitution, which empowered the officers elect to qualify on or after May 1, 1858, without longer awaiting the action of Congress. The people, by an imposing majority, endorsed the recommendation of their representatives, thereby administering a deserved rebuke to all who had been instrumental in delaying the admission of the State. It is fortunate that the bill admitting Minnesota has become a law, for otherwise grave questions would, doubtless, have arisen, involving the right of the General Government to exercise jusisdiction within the limits of a State, which could not consistently acknowledge such pretension, and it is far from improbable that serious consequences would have resulted from any attempt to enforce the laws of the United States within our boundaries. The overwhelming majority in favor of the bill on the final vote, in both Houses of Congress, is the most conclusive evidence of the utter frivolity of the objections urged against the measure. In the Senate, 48 out of 51 votes, and in the House of Representatives, 158 out of 196 votes, were cast for the admission of Minnesota.

The hostility of some of its opponents was manifested in a manner, alike unusual and improper. Hon. John Sherman, a member of Congress from Ohio, took occasion, in a speech made by him in the House of Representatives, in opposition to the bill for the admission of Minnesota, most falsely to accuse the Governor elect by name with being a participant in election frauds committed by the Democratic party, as alleged by him, a grave charge, for the truth of which, when questioned, he could give no better authority than the assertions of unscrupulous partizan prints. So long as such an accusation was confined to the columns of party newspapers, known to be utterly unworthy of credit, they merited no attention from me, but when uttered upon the floor of Congress and made a part of its records, I owe it no less to the character of the State, than to my own personal honor, to denounce it as basely calumnious and without the shadow of foundation. If frauds or irregularities were perpetrated by either or both of the political parties in the election

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for State officers, they were entirely unknown to me, and had neither my consent nor countenance. God knows that I am not so wedded to office as to accept any position at the expense of the purity of the ballot box. I have hitherto invited, as I now invite, the strictest judicial investigation into the facts of the case, for, if not legally elected Governor of the State of Minnesota, I would scorn to fill that station for a single hour.

Even after the admission of the State, she was met at the threshold of the Senate by insult to one of her Senators. Hon. Henry M. Rice being about to take the oath of office, was rudely interrupted by Hon. Mr. Harlan, a Senator from Iowa, who objected to his being sworn until certain charges affecting his integrity had been examined, notwithstanding the fact that the refutation of these charges had been previously furnished to the Senate by the War Department. The course of Mr. Harlan was justly characterized as un-senatorial and cruel. If his sole object was to ascertain the truth or falsehold of the allegations against Mr. Rice, he would have been content to resort to the ordinary mode of moving for a Committee of Investigation, after the Senators from Minnesota had been admitted to their seats, and could defend themselves against assaults, and he would have obtained their ready co-operation in eliciting the facts which so nearly concerned the honor of a Senator, and of the State he represented.

The self-reliant and dignified attitude of the people of Minnesota during the pendency in Congress of the Bill for her admission, may well challenge the admiration of the country. Conscious of the strength of their position, and of their rights under the Constitution, they suffered long and silently, refraining from any unbecoming demonstrations, however they might feel outraged by the unnecessary delay. They evinced a willingness to submit to any sacrifice that did not involve the honor of their State, rather than to jeopard the public tranquility, and weaken the bonds of the Union, by hasty and premature action. The intelligence of the admission of the State was received with satisfaction, indeed, but was unattended with those exhibitions of enthusiastic joy with which the tidings of a cordial and warm receptions at an early period of the session would doubtless have been greeted by one and all alike. Two of the members elect from this State have, after a fierce struggle, been permitted to take their seats, Hon. George L. Becker having magnanimously withdrawn his claim and sent in his resignation to the Governor, so as to throw no obstacle in the way of his colleagues.

As a Territory, Minnesota has had a brief and prosperous career. Organized by Congress in 1849, with a population of less than six thousand souls, confined principally to a few settlements on the east of the Mississippi river, there were not wanting false prophets to predict that her high latitude would prove an insurmountable obstacle to her ever becoming a great and prosperous Commonwealth. Nine years only have elapsed, and she has taken her place in the Union with nearly two hundred thousand people, who will compare favorably with those of any other State for enterprise, intelligence and virtue. Her vast extent—her fertile soil—her numerous lakes and navigable rivers—her healthy and bracing climate—her immense pine forests—her mineral wealth—the munificent grants of land by Congress, for schools, for railroads, and other works of improvement—the wise policy of the general government

in favoring pre-emption of the public domain by actual settlers to the exclusion of non-resident speculators—and the certainty that, sooner or later, one of the great railways to the Pacific must be constructed through the center of the State—these are some of the considerations that justify us in anticipating that Minnesota will eventually become one of the most powerful of the Northwestern States. Stretching from the British Possessions on the North, through five and a half degrees of latitude to the line of Iowa, with an area of nearly ninety thousand square miles, no State in the Union is more favored in geograpical position, or possesses more of the elements of wealth than our own. Our lands are of the richest quality, affording a sure and abundant return for the labors of the farmer, so that her Agricultural resources alone are sufficient to insure the ultimate grantness of our State.

A wise economy in the administration of her government is essential to her safe and healthy progress. We have before us the lessons of the past, to warn us against that tendency to extravagant expenditure which has been the bane of some of the old as well as of the new States—which has crippled their reseurces—injured their financial credit—burdened them with taxation and brought them in some instances to the very verge of bankruptcy. We are bound to meet certain Territorial engagements, amounting to a large sum, and organization of an entirely new government must necessarily be attended with some extraordinary disbursements, but all such expenditures should be carefully scrutinized, so that they may not, in any case, exceed the amount required to protect the honor and the interests of the State. With proper management, a short period will suffice to extinguish all her indebtedness, without making it necessary to burden her people with onerous taxation.

The financial crisis through which the country has so lately passed, has had a calamitous, but it is to be hoped, temporary effect upon Minnesota. These derangements have extended through Europe also, and have been variously ascribed to the excessive inflation of the banking system—to the large importations of foreign goods—to the vast sums expended in railroad improvements—and to general heedless speculation and extravigance of living. Whatever may be the particular causes which have superinduced a revultion so wide spread and ruinous, the periodical recurrence of such disasters would seem to indicate, that they are as necessary to the due regulation of commerce and trade, as are storms for the purification of the physical atmosphere. They will doubtless occur as frequently in the future as in the past, and it is the duty therefore, of those who are charged with administering the affairs of the State, so to shape its legislation, as to enable her to meet such crisis, whenever they may happen, without embarrassment or discredit.

The wisdom of general laws which guard the bill holders against the insolvency of banking institutions, has been fully vindicated within the last few months. In the States where such safe-guards do not exist, many of the bankrs have been crushed, and their notes are consequently worthless. In New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, and some other States, the community having confidence in the ability of their own institutions to meet their obligations, under the provisions of banking laws, which require ample securities to be placed in the hands of the State authorities, have continued to receive their bills as currency, and the gen-

eral distress has been much alleviated thereby. The Constitution of Minnesota has provided for a judicious banking system, which will protect the citizens effectually, against loss from the depreciation of bank notes, and a general law has been passed by the Legislature to give effect to its requirements. Banks are, at best, but a necessary evil, and their operations should be restricted to their legitimate sphere, so that they may not be made use of to oppress the commercial classes, and through them the people at large, or a means of disturbing and depressing the monetary affairs of the country.

The great plan of railroad intercommunication contemplated by Congress in the liberal donation of public lands to Minnesota, has not yet been prosecuted, in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining money during the past year, upon any securities, however valuable. The credit of railroad stocks has depreciated very materially, caused by frauds and mismanagement on the part of the Directors of many of these incorporations in the several States. It is vital to the prosperity of Minnesota, that her railways should be completed at an early period. We are now so isolated, that it is difficult, especially in the winter season, to communicate with the south and east. The large amount of produce raised by our farmers, is comparatively of little value, owing to the impracticability of reaching a market. The neighboring States are using every effort to divert the stream of immigration from Minnesota to their own lands, and it is evident that they will succeed to some extent, at least, unless our railroad connections with the east are speedily finished and put in operation.

The People of this State, by an overwhelming majority of votes cast on the 15th of April last, adopted the amendment to their original Constitution, which provides for the Loan of the Public Credit to the Land-Grant Railroad Companies, to the extent of $5,000,000, upon certain conditions. Before any State Bonds can be issued to these Companies, they must produce to the Governor satisfactory evidence, verified by the affidavits of certain of their officers, that a specified amount of labor has been previously performed upon their respective Roads. As the guardian of the interests of the State during my official term, it is proper for me to state that, while I shall avoid being unreasonably strict with these Railroad Associations, I shall require to be satisfied by unquestionable evidence that they have complied as well with the spirit as with the letter of the Amendment authorizing the Loan, and that they are conducting their operations, as parties to the contract, with the people of the State, in good faith, before I will consent to deliver over to them any portion of her bonds.

There is no object of more importance to the permanent prosperity and character of our State than the diffusion of intelligence among the people, and especially the education of the rising generation. Congress has secured to us a large share of the Public Lands within our limits,—not less than one-eighteenth of the whole for Common Schools, and two entire townships for University purposes. These donations should be held sacred, to be appropriated to the purposes for which they were bestowed. If wisely fostered, the State will possess ample means for all time to come for the education of her children; and it is incumbent upon those who now are or may hereafter be entrusted with the regulation of her public affairs, so

to dispose of the funds that may be received for these lands or any part of them that they will be preserved, as provided for in the Constitution, "forever inviolate and undiminished."

It is desirable that there should be an early and complete organization of the Militia, that the power of the State may be at all times available for the protection of the lives and property of her citizens. While none of the States of the Union can afford more abundant or better material for citizen soldiers, in proportion to their population, than our own, it can not truly be said that up to the present period there has been even a partial organization among us. We have warlike tribes of savages on our frontiers, and although, happily, there is no reason to apprehend difficulties with them, yet it is the part of wisdom to be prepared for any exigency which may arise. The events of the last year,—when a small band of Sioux Indians on our extreme south-western border destroyed many valuable lives of citizens of our own Territory and of Iowa,—teach us that for the future we must depend upon our own energies to punish outrages of any kind rather than upon the tardy movements of the General Government. We have likewise a duty to perform in arresting and bringing before the State tribunals, for trial, individuals of the hostile tribes of Chippewas and Sioux who traverse our settlements and destroy each other without mercy. We learn of frequent massacres of Indian women and children in the immediate vicinity of our towns and villages. It does not comport with the peace or dignity of the State to permit such deeds longer to be perpetrated without subjectlng the offenders to condign punishment. We should be ready also to respond to any call that may be made upon us by the Federal Government for aid in repelling assaults from within or from without upon that glorious Union of States of which we now form a component part.

Believing, as I do, that a strict regard for the reserved rights of the States, is indispensable to the perpetuation of our free institutions, I shall consider it my duty jealously to guard against and to resist encroachments upon the rights of the people of Minnesota, should such be attempted from any quarter. It has been held by many of our most profound statesmen, that the greatest peril to which the Union is exposed, is to be found in the tendency of the General Government to consolidate power, not intended to be granted by the framers of the Constitution, in its own hands. And their efforts have been directed to preserve the individual States from the evil effects of such centralization. Happy indeed would it be for the country, if the Federal Government was very much restricted in its patronage and power, and itself confined to the limited objects for which it was created. If this desirable result could be attained public morals would be improved—the principal fountain of political corruption closed, and harmony and good order would take the place of those conflicts of jurisdiction between the Federal and State authorities which so often bring disrepute upon our system of government.

The doctrine of non-intervention on the part of the United States, or of one State, with the domestic affairs of any other State or Territory, embodies the only safe and correct principle. It is, in fact, the cornerstone of the Union, and its observance in all cases would put an end to the interminable disputes which now agitate Congress, and divide the two great sections of the confederacy into opposing factions. The vexed

Kansas question has at length been withdrawn from the arena of national politics, and however much opinions may be divided as to the mode of settlement, every patriot should rejoice that a subject so fraught with peril to the peace of the country, has been referred back for adjustment to the people of the Territory, by whom it is best understood and can most easily be solved.

One of the most serious defects in our Constitution, in my judgment, is the facility it affords for its own amendment. A bare majority of the members of the two Houses of the Legislature may, at any Session, without the satisfaction of the Governor, propose alterations or additions, which, if adopted by a vote of the people at an ensuing election, become a part of the fundamental law. In no other State of the Union have so few checks been thrown around her Constitution. If the organic law can be changed or modified with as much facility as any ordinary statutory enactment, it will cease to command the respect due to so solemn and important an instrument, the provision of which should be placed beyond the reach of feverish and temporary excitement. The "Magna Charta" of the rights and liberties of the people of a sovereign State ought to be held sacred against innovation, until time and experience shall have clearly demonstrated the necessity of a change. It is not, indeed, to be expected that the Constitution of our State is so perfect as not to require modification in some of its particulars, but amendments should only be made when obviously demanded by the public interest or convenience.

The foregoing remarks are not intended to apply to any propositions which have been passed upon by the people, or are now pending before the Legislature, or to express an opinion upon their merits or demerits. They are dictated, simply, by a conviction, in the abstract, that the public safety requires that a more conservative and permanent character should be affixed to our constitution.

We have taken our place in the confedracy under auspicious circumstances. The wise and patriotic administration of JAMES BUCHANAN has elevated our national character, and cast a broad shield of protection over our countrymen in foreign lands. With the single exception of Utah, in which Territory the fanatical Mormons have essayed to raise the standard of rebellion against the General Government, peace reigns throughout the length and breadth of our common country. Having no entangling alliances with other nations, the United States is left free to pursue its own policy, and to work out its own destiny.

Minnesota enters the Union as the thirty-second State. She extends a friendly hand to all her sisters, north and south, and gives them the assurance that she joins their ranks—not to provoke sectional discord or to engender strife—not to enlist in a crusade against such of them as differ with her in the character of their domestic institutions—bnt to promote harmony and good will, and to lend her aid, on all occasions, in maintaining the integrity of the Union.

Having been elected to the high position of Chief Magistrate of the new State of Minnesota, I enter upon the discharge of the duties devolving upon me, with much diffidence of my own abilities, but with a full consciousness that they will be honestly performed. Expecting to be held to a rigid accountability for the course of my administration, I shall exact from those officials for whose actions I may be in any manner responsible, an equally strict execution of the trusts that may be imposed upon them. For nearly twenty-four years I have been a resident of what is now the State of Minnesota, and I have watched each change in the condition of the country up to its present stage of development, with much solicitude. I have no objects and no interests which are not inseparably bound up with the welfare of the State, and it is my highest ambition so to conduct her public affairs, that, when my official term shall expire, there will be found no blot on her escutcheon. and no departure, for which I can be made justly responsible, for whose principles of integrity and sound Democratic policy, which have been the means, under Providence, of placing the American Union in the high position it now holds in the estimation of the world.

Mr. Pierce moved that the Convention adjourn.

Which motion was adopted.

The Convention arose and the Senate withdrew.

IN SENATE.

The Senate was called to order by the President.

On motion of Mr. Murphy, the Senate adjourned until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

W. HOLCOMBE, President of the Senate.

Attest:
ANDREW C. DUNN, Secretary.

NINTY-THIRD DAY.

FRIDAY, June 4th, 1858.

Senate met pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order by the President.

Roll being called the following Senators appeared in their seats.

Messrs. Adams, Banfil, Bates, Bailly, Chase, Cook, Hall, Hudson, Hull, Moreland, Murphy, Ridpath, Richardson, Skinner, Somers, Thomas, and Watson.

Prayer by the Chaplain.

Mr. Hall moved a call of the Senate.

The call being ordered, the following Senators were reported absent.

Messrs. Beman, Carlton, Cave, Cowan, Day, Dunwell, Folsom, Hodges, Jones, Lindsley, Mixer, Northrup, Norton, Phelps, Reiner, Rolette, Streeter, and Van Etten.

The Sergeant-at-Arms was directed to report the absentees in their seats.

On motion of Mr. Bates, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

The Journal of yesterday was then read, corrected and approved.