

Address by President of the State Senate, Hon. A. P. Riddle.

Address by Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. J. B. Johnson.

The following addresses: The Pioneers of Kansas, Hon. S. N. Wood; The Territorial Governments, Hon. John Speer; The Rejected Constitutions, Hon. T. D. Thacher; Kansas during the War, Gen. C. W. Blair; Poem, by Hon. Eugene F. Ware; The Press of Kansas, Hon. D. W. Wilder; The Agriculture of Kansas, Hon. William Sims; The Churches of Kansas, Rev. Dr. F. S. McCabe; Kansas Manufactures and Mines, Hon. Alexander Caldwell; The Women of Kansas, Noble L. Prentiss.

Music by the band.

In order to accommodate the large audience coming from all parts of the State, the meeting was held at the Grand Opera House. The State officers, State judiciary, the speakers, committee of arrangements, and many others, occupied the stage. Seats were assigned in front of the stage for the members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The exercises occupied the afternoon and evening, and extended through more than seven hours, engaging the eager attention of the multitude in attendance, to the closing hour, at 11 P. M.

The exercises were conducted in the order following:

Governor John A. Martin presided during the afternoon exercises, which opened with music by Marshall's Military Band.

#### ADDRESS OF EX-GOVERNOR CHARLES ROBINSON.

Governor Martin introduced ex-Governor Charles Robinson, as the distinguished citizen whom the people first called to preside over the destinies of the State, and who ably and faithfully discharged the high and important trusts so assigned him. He gave an appropriate tribute to the character of the first Chief Magistrate, as one who had performed so prominent a part in the pioneer struggles and conflicts of the people, that at the beginning of the State they bestowed upon him the highest office of honor and trust in their gift:

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF KANSAS.

*Mr. President, and Fellow-Citizens:* We have assembled to celebrate the twenty-fifth birthday of the State of Kansas. On such an occasion, a review of her wonderful growth and achievements is eminently proper, and in these no State can excel our own; but I have been notified that I am expected to speak of Kansas in her ante-natal days, and relate something of her struggles in embryo. While the Territorial period was full of incident and worthy achievement, the field has been so often plowed and cross-plowed, harrowed and raked, as with a fine-tooth comb, for items to add to the fame or infamy of the contestants, that nothing fresh or interesting remains to be said appropriate to the occasion. Some of the results, however, of the Territorial struggle have been inherited by the State, and constitute its chief glory. Of these, I will briefly speak. To begin at the beginning, I will say that the difficulty which culminated in Kansas had its origin in the Garden of Eden. According to report, the first law ever given to the race was a prohibitory law, with death as the penalty for disobedience. This law, of course, was violated by the occupants of the Garden, and should the threatened penalty be inflicted, the Law-Giver would have no subjects, as the violators included the whole human family. Accordingly, the penalty was modified to suit the emergency—a precedent still followed by politi-

cal parties when the enforcement of their laws will leave their party without a quorum in the Legislature, or in a minority at the polls. The amended penalty reads as follows: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread till thou return unto the ground." The penalty attached not only to the law-breaker, but to all his posterity, and from that day to this the chief concern of mankind has been to escape this penalty. Every person seems desirous of making some one else do the sweating while he eats his bread. Every device has been resorted to. Sometimes a man escapes the penalty by withholding the earnings of his employés in whole, or in part; but a favorite method has been to capture, steal, or purchase a man, and to compel him to do the sweating both for himself and his master. This practice had been handed down from generation to generation, till the date of the opening of Kansas to settlement, and it was proposed to introduce it on Kansas soil. Hence the conflict. Many people had come to look upon this business not only as avoiding the penalty for eating the prohibited fruit, but as a great wrong to such as were compelled to suffer the double infliction. Some thought it was the "sum of all villainies," and others "trembled when they remembered that God was just." Many years of agitation had preceded the settlement of Kansas, both among the people and in Congress. Various compromises and provisos had been agreed to, but all such were as ropes of sand before the demands of the slave power. One of these barriers to the extension of slavery went down in the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The opponents to the extension of slavery were beaten—hopelessly beaten—in Congress; the agitators of the North and East were powerless, and could anything be done to stay the progress of this institution? A writer in the Charleston (S. C.) *Mercury* states the case as follows:

"First, by consent of parties the present contest in Kansas is made the turning-point in the destinies of Slavery and Abolitionism. If the South triumphs, Abolitionism will be defeated and shorn of its power for all time. If she is defeated, Abolitionism will grow more insolent and aggressive, until the utter ruin of the South is consummated. Second, if the South secures Kansas, she will extend Slavery into all Territory south of the 40th parallel of north latitude to the Rio Grande, and this, of course, will secure for her pent-up institution of Slavery an ample outlet, and restore her power in Congress. If the North secures Kansas, the power of the South in Congress will gradually be diminished; the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas, together with the adjacent Territories, will gradually become Abolitionized, and the slave population, confined to the States east of the Mississippi, will become valueless. All depends upon the action of the present moment."

This is an exact statement of the situation as it then appeared, and the predictions only failed of realization in consequence of the suicide of Slavery by the Rebellion, which could not then be known. Here, then, was the stake—not the extension of Slavery to Kansas merely, but its extension indefinitely, or final extinction. Who could be found to enter the lists? Slavery had all the advantages. On its side were billions of dollars and the domestic relations of 8,000,000 people involved. Congress was in favor of the Slavery extension, or it would not have removed the barriers from the west line of the State of Missouri. The Judiciary was on the side of Slavery extension, or it would never have made the Dred Scott decision. The Executive Department of the Government favored Slavery extension, or it could not have been elected, and would not have had Jefferson Davis for Secretary of War. Besides, Kansas had a Slave State extending across its entire eastern border, whose inhabitants were alive to the situation, bold, reckless and defiant, while the opponents of Slavery were to be found chiefly at a distance of hundreds of miles from the field of conflict. Congressmen from the North had been beaten and cowed; the old Anti-Slavery Society had no faith in success, or in the value of victory if achieved, and the Liberty and Free-Soil parties had no machinery that could be useful

in such an encounter. Who, under these disadvantages, would enter the contest for this prize with the slave power of the Nation, that had never known defeat? Individuals and individual effort could do something, as was shown in the person of him who will speak this evening for the pioneers of Kansas. But the whole North must be aroused and organization effected, to stimulate and aid emigration. A heretofore comparatively obscure man, a member of a State Legislature, was seized with inspiration, and he stepped forth in the winter of 1854, when it became evident the Kansas-Nebraska bill would become a law, and organized emigration and preached the crusade till victory was secured. So obnoxious did this man become to the slave power that a price was set upon his head, dead or alive, even before the lands of Kansas were open to settlement. But emigration, while indispensable, was not all that was requisite. A State had to be organized, and this work must be done on the soil of Kansas. This was the work in hand, and the election of a Territorial Legislature was the first step to be taken. The party that should secure this would secure a great, if not decisive, victory. As is well known, this victory perched upon the banners of the South. Was there, then, hope left for a free State? All the machinery for making a State was now in the possession of the enemy. This was in 1855, and there would be no new Legislature elected before 1857. In the meantime "returning boards" could be provided and a constitution inaugurated, which might settle the question in issue irrevocably. Could any power or any agency wrest victory from such a defeat, and under such circumstances? Every statesman, every politician, every student of history, and every person of ordinary information of affairs of government, would have answered, and did answer this question in the negative, but the Free-State party of Kansas answered it in the affirmative and made good their answer, as history has recorded. How this victory was achieved—by what measures or policy—belongs to the history of the Territorial period, and not the State, but as its results have been inherited by the State, some of them may properly be named here.

*First.* The victory of the Free-State party made Kansas a free instead of a slave State.

*Second.* According to the *Charleston Mercury*, it put an end to the extension of slavery in every direction, and secured freedom to all other Territories.

*Third.* It made the Republican party of the Nation. The *Cyclopedia of Political Science* says truly: "The predominance of a moral question in politics, always a portentous phenomenon under a constitutional government, was made unmistakable by the Kansas struggle, and its first perceptible result was the disappearance, in effect, of all the old forms of opposition to the Democratic party, and the first national convention of the new Republican party, June 17, 1856."

Eli Thayer says that "the Kansas fight made the Republican party." Also he adds that it was "a necessary training of the Northern States for subduing the Rebellion."

*Fourth.* This being conceded, Kansas made the election of Abraham Lincoln possible.

*Fifth.* Securing a free State in Kansas and the election of Lincoln brought on the Rebellion, which—

*Sixth.* Was the suicide and end of slavery, in this Nation and prospectively in all nations.

All these results the State of Kansas inherits from the Territorial struggle, as can be abundantly shown. I am aware that an attempt has been made to rob Kansas of some of these laurels, but the attempt will fail. One writer would make it appear that the raid at Harper's Ferry, to which he was a party, destroyed slavery, and not the work in Kansas. What are the facts? Were I to quote all the declarations of Southern politicians during the pending of the elections of 1856 and 1860, saying



that should the Republican candidate for President be elected they would go out of the Union, my time and your patience would be exhausted. I will therefore refer to but two or three statements: Jefferson Davis, in his message to the Confederate Congress, does not mention Harper's Ferry, but gave this as a reason for withdrawing from the Union:

"A great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the government with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the Slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase, surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited, thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating, in effect, property worth thousands of millions of dollars. This party, thus organized, succeeded in the month of November last in the election of its candidate for the President of the United States."

I will next quote from a letter attributed to Judah P. Benjamin, Senator from Louisiana, to the British Consul in New York, dated August 11, 1860, as follows:

"The doctrines maintained by the great leaders of the Republican party are so unsuited to the whole South that the election of their candidate (which is almost certain) amounts to a total destruction of all plantation interests, which the South, as sure as there is a God in Heaven, will not submit to. Sooner than yield to the arbitrary dictates of traitorous allies and false friends who have proven recreant to the solemn obligations of the old Constitution, we will either secede from the Union, and form a separate government, or upon certain conditions, at once return to the allegiance of Great Britain, our mother country."

Here again is no allusion to Harper's Ferry, but he proposes to secede because of the success of the Republican party, which was "made" by the Kansas struggle.

The Political Cyclopedia says that "Kansas, it might be said, cleared the stage for the last act of the drama, the Rebellion;" that the Kansas struggle was the "prelude to the War of the Rebellion." One more question remains to be considered: If the success of the Republican party, made by the Kansas struggle, was the immediate cause of secession, war, and consequent emancipation, did the Harper's Ferry raid contribute to that success? This question must be answered most decidedly in the negative. This same cyclopedia says that "the North almost unanimously condemned the whole insurrection," while it is well known that from every stump during the Lincoln campaign it was most vehemently denounced. The Republican party, that there might be no mistaking its position, adopted this resolution in its national platform:

"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest crimes."

After the election, President Lincoln, in his Inaugural Address, quoted this resolution, and added: "I now reiterate these sentiments, and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the prosperity, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the new incoming administration."

Can it be possible that the effect of such a raid as that at Harper's Ferry, almost unanimously denounced by the whole North, especially denounced in the platform of the party, and the denunciations reiterated by its candidate, could be to aid in the election of Mr. Lincoln? To ask such a question is to answer it. Not only did the raid not help the Republicans, but as soon as the facts were developed it did not frighten the South. The Pro-Slavery members of the Senate Investigating Committee, Mason, Davis, Fitch, say that not a single slave could be induced to voluntarily join the raiders, and when arms were put in their hands they refused to use them, and escaped from their captors as soon as they could do so with safety.

The Republican members of this committee, Collamer and Doolittle, said that "the lessons which it teaches furnish many considerations of security against its repetition. The fatal termination of the enterprise in the death and execution of so large a part of the number engaged; the dispersion of the small remainder as fugitives in the land; the entire disinclination of the slaves to insurrection, or to receive aid for that purpose, which was there exhibited; the very limited number and peculiar character of the conspirators, all combine to furnish assurance against the most distant probability of its repetition." It is evident from all the facts in the case, that this raid not only did not help, but hindered the Republican cause, and that it did not have a feather's weight in causing the Rebellion, or the destruction of slavery in consequence of it.

Let us reverse the picture for a moment. Suppose, instead of a Free State a Slave State had been secured in Kansas, with the power to extend the institution at will, into all the Territories. Suppose, as a consequence, the Kansas struggle had not "made" a victorious Republican party in 1860, but had secured the election of Breckinridge, the Southern candidate for President: would the South have then seceded, and would slavery have been abolished? And would either event have transpired in consequence of the Harper's Ferry raid, or five hundred such raids? Cook had been at Harper's Ferry some twelve months, and Brown and his followers four or five months, and yet not a slave had been enlisted for the crusade by either. How much effect would such a raid have to produce secession or the abolition of slavery, with Kansas and the Federal Government in the secure possession of the South?

No, no; the flood-tide of slavery extension received its first permanent check in Kansas, and it was the reflux wave from her borders that carried Abraham Lincoln into the White House, drove the South into rebellion, and buried slavery so deep that for it there can be no resurrection. Not only is the State of Kansas thus indebted to the Territory, but the late slave States, that contended so earnestly to extend their peculiar institution, are doubly indebted. These States have not only been redeemed from a blighting curse, but have been prospered in every way as never before in their history. So general and wide-spread is their prosperity that so far as known not a citizen can be found in the entire South who would reëstablish slavery if he could. But the blessings resulting from the Territorial struggle do not stop here, for the Nation itself has been born again, with that birth which brings with it "Peace on earth, and good-will to men." The old contentions, bitterness and irrepressible conflict between the North and South, have given place to mutual respect, love and good-will. The United States now constitute a Union in reality as well as in name, with like institutions, like aspirations, and a common destiny. Our Union thus cemented, has become the envy of all nations, and a terror to all enemies. The freest, happiest and most prosperous people on the globe, we have become a place of refuge for the oppressed of all nations. Such being the result of the Territorial conflict, well may the contestants embrace each other on the twenty-fifth birthday of this wonderful State, and henceforth dwell together in unity, under a Government that knows no North, no South, no East, no West, but that is "one and inseparable, now and forever."

#### ADDRESS OF GOV. JOHN A. MARTIN.

At the close of his address, and after music by the band, ex-Governor Robinson introduced to the audience Governor John A. Martin, in a few remarks referring to the latter's public career in Kansas to the present time; to his long and useful services as an editor, and to his brilliant military