

each man, not to the State, nor to his neighbor, but before the bar of his own conscience, and the tribunal of his God. No man's creed is worth so much as the freedom to reject any man's creed.

In no part of the country is the relation existing between the churches and the general community more friendly and cordial than in this State. Specially is there a good understanding between the churches and the newspaper press. This amicable relation between the proprietors and editors of newspapers, and the churches and ministers, is creditable to the liberality and the practical good-sense of both parties. Editors and clergymen are natural allies, devoting their labors to the welfare of the community, and fighting their common enemy, "the devil."

As a body, the ministers of the several denominations are regarded with respect and confidence by the people, on account of their qualifications, character, and devotion to their proper work.

If we should ever inscribe a supplementary motto on our coat-of-arms, and if the clergy should be allowed to select the legend, I believe it would be the golden phrase that has come down to us from the seventeenth century: "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*"—In things essential, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things charity.

ADDRESS OF COL. SAMUEL N. WOOD.

In introducing the next speaker, Col. Anthony said: "Thirty years ago I rode from Lawrence to Kansas City with a gentleman who is now in this house. At Westport we stopped at what might now be called a saloon, and took a drink—of water—and watered our horses. On the wall of this saloon was a poster offering \$1,000 reward for Eli Thayer, the founder of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, dead or alive. We asked what they would do with Eli Thayer if they had him; the reply was that he would be hanged. This gentleman who was with me stepped up and said: 'I am Eli Thayer. Proceed to hang.' He was not hanged, but I have the honor this evening of introducing him to you. He was one of the truest of the pioneers in the great struggle. His name is a household word; he is better known as 'Sam Wood.'" Colonel Wood then delivered the following address:

THE PIONEERS OF KANSAS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: My heart fails me when I attempt to speak for the pioneers of Kansas. No tongue or pen will ever be able to do justice to the memory of the old Kansas pioneers.

The Puritans left England for Holland, and finally came to America, in pursuit of religious freedom. They were the pioneers of New England, and sought freedom for themselves, not others. The first settlers or pioneers of the older States cleared away the forests, built houses, redeemed the prairies from silent monotony, made homes for themselves and children, and prepared the way for a more progressive civilization. Theirs was a noble purpose; they bore hardships and privations bravely; looking forward to beautiful homes in the near future, they were cheered, upheld and strengthened by the good-will and sympathy of their neighbors, and above all by the protection of the Government. The pioneers of some of the older States had to band together and live in forts and block-houses, and work with arms by them, for protection from the Indians, while they cleared away the forests or broke up the soil.

The pioneers of Kansas came here for all this, and more. They came here seeking that freedom, not only for themselves, that the Puritans had sought two hundred and thirty-four years before, but freedom for a race. They came, it is true, to make homes for themselves and their children, but for something more. A critical period in our nation's history was upon us. The great question of Freedom or Slavery was being agitated. Was slavery the rule and freedom the exception, or freedom the rule and slavery the exception? Yes, it was a decisive period, for good or ill, to unborn generations. The Territories of Kansas and Nebraska had been thrown open for settlement by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, after a long and desperate struggle against the infamous provision of that bill which tore down the barrier against human slavery, made by the Missouri compromise thirty-four years before. The success of this measure emboldened still more the aggressive spirit of the slave power, and shocked and alarmed every friend of human freedom. It was evident that the great question "Shall freedom or slavery become national?" was to be settled upon the plains of Kansas. The spirit of Liberty, which had seemed to slumber, if not really dead, awoke, was resurrected, and called her sons to action. This call was reëchoed through every village and hamlet in the North. The result was, the pioneers came here with their lives in their hands, as it were, to battle for freedom. It was for a show of fairness that slavery and freedom were invited here to contend for the mastery; but it was well known that the projectors of the Kansas-Nebraska bill expected and intended that Northern men were to go to Nebraska, while the South, with slavery, would have a clear field in Kansas. That the political party then in power deliberately planned this result, no one acquainted with the history of that time can doubt. The slave power had controlled both of the old political parties—Whig and Democratic—and at that time had full control of the Government. Kansas was almost surrounded by slavery—slavery in Missouri, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Texas, and New Mexico. No sooner was Kansas opened to settlement than the minions of the slave power swarmed across the border, seemingly determined to occupy the whole Territory. Leavenworth, Atchison, Kickapoo, Iowa Point, Doniphan and other places were occupied. These were the pioneers of the slave power. But another class of pioneers was pouring into the Territory. The emigrants from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and the real emigrants from Missouri, came largely in their own wagons, with household goods, seeds, and farming utensils. They came unorganized and unannounced. These were the real pioneers of Kansas. They prepared the way, and their coming inspired those who followed with confidence and courage.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law on May 30, 1854; and on the 6th of June, with my family and team and wagon, I left my Ohio home and was en route to Kansas. My wife's parents and family were already on the border; awaiting us at Independence, Mo. We traveled most of the way by water, reaching Independence about June 20. Soon afterward I made a trip into the Territory with my wife and eldest child, camping out on the way. We traveled and camped with White and Yates, old settlers and pioneers of Douglas county, who settled near Bloomington. The 4th of July, 1854, we spent in Kansas Territory. On one of these trips we went by way of Westport and the Shawnee Mission. Crossing the Shawnee Reservation, we reached the site of the city of Lawrence, where we found a solitary settler, Mr. Stearns, a Western pioneer. We passed up the valley to what was then known as Coon Point, then down the California road to Miller's Springs, where we found in camp our first squatter pioneer judge, John A. Wakefield, from Iowa, with a large family, mostly boys. Also, B. W. Miller and family, from Indiana, and others. All of these settlers were for a Free State, and I shall ever remember them as among the real pioneers of Kansas.

At this early day emigrants from every Western State were pouring in. We had not yet heard of the New England Emigrant Aid Society; and while I do not wish to detract, in the least, from the noble work of this society, candor compels me to say that freedom would have triumphed, and Kansas would have been a Free State, had it never been organized.

The Pro-Slavery men from Missouri had met in Kansas and adopted a code of squatter laws, and the whole Territory seemed staked into claims. They had a register of claims, with an office at Westport, Missouri. One law of this remarkable code provided that Nebraska was for the North and Kansas for the South. One provision was, that every white-livered abolitionist who dared to set foot in Kansas should be hung; and, that there might be no mistake, they added, "Every man north of Mason and Dixon's line is an abolitionist." But emigrants from the Free States poured in, and they came to stay. A large number of these from Missouri were for a "Free White State." They wanted no negroes, bond or free.

Our first squatter meeting was held at the house of B. W. Miller, about two miles southwest of the present city of Lawrence. John A. Wakefield, as I said, was our first and only Squatter Judge. The New England Emigrant Aid Society was organized, and the first pioneers sent out by that society reached the Territory early in August. Hon. C. H. Branscomb was the leader, or pilot, of this first party. They pitched their tents on Mt. Oread, where the State University is now located. Dr. Charles Robinson had selected this site for a city, and for the headquarters of the Emigrant Aid Society in Kansas. Dr. Robinson himself came with the second party, which reached Mt. Oread in September, and the city of Lawrence was founded. I was then living on the California road, some three miles southwest of Lawrence, on what was afterwards known as Judge Spicer's place. As soon as I learned that this first New England party were on Mt. Oread, I visited them. Among those whom I met were Hon. D. R. Anthony, Dr. John Doy, S. F. Tappan, J. C. Archibald, Dr. Fuller, A. H. Mallory, Morgan, Goss and others—I think twenty-nine all told. They came to stay—came in the right time, and were a most welcome reinforcement to the Free-State men already here. I need not tell you how our hearts went out to them at this trying time in our early history. You who have since come to Kansas, you who were emigrants and not pioneers, can scarcely understand the hardships, privations and dangers of our early pioneer life.

Among the earliest pioneers' houses I think ours was the best. It was not planned, however, by Haskell & Wood. Four forks were set in the ground, poles were laid from one to the other; these were crossed by other poles, and all covered with hay. The sides were inclosed with the wagon cover and blankets, and thus our first Kansas home was complete. I will not describe its interior, further than to say that our floor was solid, and we had no fear that the foundation would give way. The last rain of 1854 fell on the 12th day of August. It was a terrible storm, almost a hurricane. Our mansion was torn to fragments and scattered far and wide over the prairie. All the novelty and romance of that kind of life went with the house. We never recovered the pieces, either of the novelty and romance, or of the house. We were drenched with rain, but it was dry enough the rest of the season. As I now remember it, not another drop of rain fell after that day.

I have spoken of the pioneers of the West. The pioneers of the East came with their New England culture and Yankee enterprise, but with very little idea of our rough Western pioneer life. They came, however, as true friends of Freedom; ready to do and dare. They trusted in God and Beecher's Bibles. They came to help establish freedom in Kansas; and were determined to have peace even at the cost of fighting for it. They also came to stay, and for a purpose as noble as ever animated the breast of man. Our first State Governor, Charles Robinson, was the recognized

leader of these New England pioneers; a man well fitted for the position. Born and educated in Massachusetts, he was among the early pioneers of California; was in the squatters' riots at Sacramento, contending for the rights of the settlers against a lot of land thieves; was shot through the body, and for a long time lay at death's door. A man of convictions; good in diplomacy, and without fear, he was just the man to lead these New England pioneers.

The pilgrims of the Mayflower sought the wild shores of America that they might be free to worship God in their own way; free to believe in religious matters whatever seemed right to their own consciences. They sought freedom for themselves. But the pioneers of Kansas—both Western and Eastern—heard the call which in every age has thrilled the souls of men with heroic power. At this critical period when the hosts of slavery and freedom were marshaling for this great and decisive encounter, in their inmost souls they heard the divine voice calling for defenders of liberty; and they obeyed the signal that pointed to Kansas as the great battleground. The pioneers who became trusted leaders among the Free-State hosts were men who could not rest in their old comfortable homes when the demon of Human Slavery was clutching at Freedom's rightful heritage. Many of them were sons of the old anti-slavery agitators, and had learned from childhood to hate slavery and to love freedom, and claim it as the right of all men, races and conditions. These men, meeting upon our prairies for the first time, recognized each other as kindred spirits. They spoke the same language, and were working for the same grand purpose. Prominent among these, and true from the first, were Charles Robinson, who presided this afternoon, and D. R. Anthony, our chairman this evening. I might name hundreds of others. I wish that I had time to do their memory that justice to which their noble work so justly entitles them.

When I look back over the almost thirty-two years of my residence in Kansas, I am astonished at the mighty changes wrought in the moral and political, as well as in the physical world. The Great American Desert of my school days has been converted into a very garden of Eden, and our prairies have been made to bloom and blossom as the rose. With a million and a quarter of population, we have become the third corn and fourth wheat State in the Union. We are now raising more beef and pork than all New England. Our fruit is the marvel of the world. Whisky is no longer sold as a beverage, but only as a medicine, and is a drug in the market.

Freedom has been established not only in Kansas, but in the whole country. When Kansas was admitted into the Union as a free State, twenty-five years ago, slave State after slave State seceded and went out of the Union with slavery; but after four years of bloody war, came back begging admission into the sisterhood of States, without slavery. Freedom became national, and slavery had not even a local habitation. There is not a man or woman in this whole nation who now advocates chattel slavery, or would restore the institution if they could. How my heart swells with emotion when I contemplate this mighty change!

Some of the individual changes are no less marked. As I have said, in our first struggle the Government and the party in power were on the side of slavery. Hon. A. H. Reeder, our first Territorial Governor, came here prepared to do the slaveholders' bidding. He betrayed the actual settlers of Kansas by giving certificates of election to our first Border-Ruffian Legislature, when he knew he was legalizing a fraud of the blackest dye. Well do I remember going to the Shawnee Mission, the temporary seat of Government, in company with two wagon-loads of well-armed men, hoping to stiffen the Governor's backbone, but we failed, and Kansas, bound and chained for a short time, passed into the hands of the slave power! Governor Reeder afterwards saw his error, and became our friend. The slave power became so incensed that he was obliged to escape from the Territory in disguise.

Stanton, a slaveholder, afterwards had the courage to do what Reeder had failed to accomplish. That is, to restore the Territorial Government to the control of the actual citizens of Kansas.

General James H. Lane was a member of Congress from Indiana when the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed. He voted to pull down the barriers of freedom, and establish slavery in Kansas. When Congress adjourned, instead of returning to his constituents, he came to Kansas. At first he was a Pro-Slavery man, but afterwards joined the Free-State party, and from that time labored and worked as but few others did, or could, to make Kansas a free State.

The Stringfellows of Atchison—lawyer and doctor—were among the most violent slavery propagandists. They counseled and helped to send Rev. Pardee Butler down the Missouri river on a raft. Judge Le Compte, who became famous during our Territorial days, and under whose instructions the Free-State hotel at Lawrence and Blanton's bridge were indicted as nuisances and destroyed, and Charles Robinson, Andrew H. Reeder, James H. Lane, George W. Brown, George W. Deitzler, George W. Smith, S. N. Wood and Gaius Jenkins were indicted for treason, has also experienced a change. I am happy to say that the Stringfellows, as well as Judge Le Compte, are now good citizens and ardent Republicans.

The *Squatter Sovereign*, at Atchison, one of the most violent Pro-Slavery, Border-Ruffian sheets in our pioneer days, is now the Republican, Prohibition Atchison *Champion*. Instead of being edited by the Border Ruffian, R. S. Kelley, it is now edited by our present Governor, John A. Martin.

Samuel J. Jones, our Westport postmaster, and bogus sheriff of Douglas county, who battered down the walls of the Free-State hotel at Lawrence, also experienced a change; and in the war that followed became an ardent Union man, and I believe a Republican.

Milt. McGee, whom all of our old pioneers will remember as among the most violent Pro-Slavery men, also became an ardent Union man during our late war, and spent his time and money for the Union cause.

I mentioned those, a moment ago, indicted for treason. I am proud that my name was included among the number. We were charged with fighting the whole United States. To oppose human slavery in those days, was to subvert the Government and destroy the Union, or at least to remove its corner-stone. Reeder, Lane, Deitzler, Smith and Jenkins have already passed over to the land of flowers; Robinson, Brown and myself are the only ones left of these traitors to the institution of slavery. This indictment shows whom the Pro-Slavery men regarded as their most dangerous enemies. Had we been arrested and tried at that time, we would have been convicted and hanged. Then our bodies, too, would have been "mouldering in the grave," and our "souls would have been marching on." Kansas was the great school of freedom, and our early pioneers were the great teachers. Yes, the early Kansas pioneers made way for liberty. They made straight the paths for to-day!

With all the power of the General Government against them, and sorely harassed by murderous incursions from hostile neighbors, they stood their ground with brave and patient endurance, and with steadfast faith in the final triumph of the right. They did their work well—each working in his own or her own way; and these old pioneers have left their mark upon the page of time, and the civilization of the age. History will never do them justice. This is no time to find fault with any who took part in this great struggle. As to myself, I did what I believed right at the time, with the light that I then had, and I have no apology to make to the present or to posterity for the part I then took. I concede the same honesty of purpose to others. If any erred, let us throw the mantle of charity over their acts, for not until we reach that better country to which we are one by one surely emigrating, and in which

will be emigrants and not pioneers, will the motives of all, and the whole work of the pioneers of Kansas, be justly estimated.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me express the hope that all our old pioneers who were here twenty-five years ago, who helped to free not only Kansas but a race; all those who lived through the drouth of 1860 and grasshoppers of 1874, with you, Mr. Chairman, may continue to live in this beautiful State, and enjoy the good things of this earth, until the good angels, with the Goddess of Liberty at their head, at the great day of judgment, shall do what the Border Ruffians failed to do in their day—that is, remove them and you from earth, and transplant you all bodily to realms of eternal bliss.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN SPEER.

In introducing Mr. Speer, Col. Anthony spoke of him as one of the ablest and most faithful of those who struggled for the Freedom of Kansas. As a pioneer editor and publisher, he dealt stalwart blows against the slave power in the Territory. He was likewise one of those who suffered most at the atrocious hands of the minions of slavery. Mr. Speer then delivered the following address:

THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel truly grateful for the compliment paid me by the committee in the place assigned me on the programme; but I have just got out of a snow-drift in western Kansas, after six days spent in reaching the Capital, which otherwise would have taken but about half a day, and a snow-bank is not a propitious place for preparing an address of this kind.

The American Government was originally based upon the principle of the universality of freedom, and the Declaration of Independence was an emphatic, succinct declaration that "all men were created equal, and entitled to certain inalienable rights," life and liberty being the most essential of all the rights of man. The Saviour of all declared that upon the commandment, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," hang all the law and the prophets. The fathers of the Republic recognized the principle, and it was embraced by Jefferson in the original draft of American independence; but upon so slender a thread hung the hopes of victory in the desperate struggle for free government, that it was stricken out without inserting a single sentence which could be construed against the sentiment. After more than half a century of toleration of a system accursed of God and condemned by the advanced civilization of man, a struggle commenced, which only reached its climax in the discussion of the Congressional enactment which was destined to break the fetters of tyranny, and to make us in fact, as well as in theory, a nation of freemen. That was the organic act, which declared that the people of Kansas Territory should be perfectly free to regulate their institutions in their own way.

Upon this essential principle the great struggle, not only for Kansas rights, but that for universal freedom, was inaugurated, and the "Territorial Government" became the instrument in precipitating the country into a war which has no parallel in the history of any government which the world ever saw. Inaugurated by fraud and injustice, the very acts intended for our oppression became the instruments in arousing the people—the source of all just government—to throw off a yoke which had borne down the American Nation, and made its pretensions to justice the mock and scoff of the advanced civilization of the world. "Whom the gods will to destroy they first make mad;" and in the light of the present age, we look back at an attempt at tyranny so glaring, so damnable, that at the close of a quarter of a century