Kansas historical collections

Section 24, Pages 691 - 720

This seventeen volume series is the first serial published by the Kansas State Historical Society from 1875 until 1928. The publication of the Kansas Historical Quarterly followed in 1931. Volumes 1-10 were officially titled the "Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society." The title changed to "Collections of the..." beginning with volume 11. The series contains addresses and papers delivered at the annual meetings, biographical sketches, compiled historical information, and transcriptions of select collections in the Historical Society's holdings. The first seven volumes contain biennial reports of the board of directors. Beginning with volume 8 the biennial reports were published separately. Searchable tables of contents and indexes for each volume are forthcoming.

Creator: Kansas State Historical Society

Date: 1875-1928

Callnumber: SP 906 K13

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 221606

Item Identifier: 221606

www.kansasmemory.org/item/221606

The Democrats in Congress were somewhat divided; but the administration, now in the first year of its existence, and in the plenitude of its strength with the still predominant Democratic party, used all its power and patronage to secure the passage of this favorite measure.

On the 8th of February, 1858, on motion of Mr. Thomas L. Harris, of Illinois, the House of Representatives referred the President's message on the Lecompton Constitution to a select committee of fifteen, and "instructed this committee to inquire into all the facts connected with the formation of said constitution, and the laws under which the same was originated, and into all such facts and proceedings as have transpired since the formation of said constitution having relation to the question or propriety of the admission of the said Territory into the Union under the said constitution, and whether the same is acceptable and satisfactory to a majority of the legal voters of Kansas; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers." As a matter of course, in pursuance of parliamentary usage, Mr. Harris was made the chairman of this committee; and by the same usage a majority of the committee ought to have been constituted of members favorable to the object of the resolution. But this usage was wholly disregarded, and the majority of those appointed were partisans of the administration, favorable to the Lecompton scheme, and opposed to any investigation whatever, even of those very questions named in the resolution. The committee divided in the proportion of eight to seven, and thus became the prototype and precedent for another famous commission, organized nineteen years afterwards, in which the same fatal proportion of eight to seven was developed. The majority of this committee, under the lead of the eminent Southern statesman Alexander H. Stephens, refused to go behind the Lecompton Constitution and the vote reported by Gen. John Calhoun. They held these to be absolutely conclusive, and so reported to the House of Representatives. It was in vain that Chairman Harris, at the head of the minority of seven, referred to notorious facts which proved to the satisfaction of the world outside of the administration party, that the people of Kansas abhorred the instrument and all the bad devices by which it had been accompanied, and that in a legal vote they had actually rejected it by an overwhelming majority. The memorable eight of the committee refused to go behind the returns of John Calhoun, or to consider any evidence *aliunde*, or outside of the Lecompton Convention and the vote authorized under it. See report No. 377 of the House of Representatives, 1st session 35th Congress, page 314. It there appears that on the 3d of

treachery to principle more plain and indisputable. He had evidently been taking counsel with the secessionists, and had shown them his message in favor of the Lecompton Constitution; and when Gov. Denver assured him that this instrument was not acceptable to the people, and this assurance was no doubt enforced by Judge Elmore, himself a member of the Lecompton Convention, and a Southern man of the most decided character, the President felt himself so far committed that, against his own regrets, he persisted in sending in his message in favor of what he must have known to be a fraud and a wrong

March, 1858, Mr. Stephens submitted his report to the committee, and the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the law of the Territory of Kansas providing for taking the sense of the people of that Territory upon the propriety of their applying for admission as a State into the Union, and the vote of the people under said law; also the law of said Territory providing for the call of a convention in pursuance of the popular will thus expressed, together with the registration of voters and the apportionment of delegates to said convention under said act, and the election of said delegates as officially certified to, the constitution as framed by said convention, and the vote on its submission under its own schedule and provision, as officially adjudged and announced, embrace all the laws and facts essential to the investigation of the questions submitted to this committee in the resolution of their appointment.

"*Resolved*, That while we do not consider the vote of the 4th of January last on the submission of the said constitution by the late Territorial Legislature as having any material bearing on the events of this inquiry, yet we admit, receive and allow to be filed with the other matters collected by this committee the vote at that election, as proclaimed and published by the officers of the Legislature."

These resolutions, and the accompanying report of Mr. Stephens, were adopted by the vote of eight to seven. They were a mere cob-web of sophistry, behind which were concealed all the frauds and villainies attempted and perpetrated against the people of Kansas. These were to be absolutely suppressed by the purblind supporters of Lecompton, though all the world beside knew them to be fully established by the most conclusive proofs.

In the early career of Mohammed, the great prophet of Islam, he was once pursued by his enemies, who sought to slay him as a false prophet; and one evening being very closely pressed, he took refuge in a cave, to which the entrance was very small. The next morning, the enemy, still pursuing him, traced him to the cave; but seeing the mouth of it covered with cob-webs, which glittered in the morning light, they concluded it had not been entered, and passed on. The spiders had done the work in one night; the intended victim escaped, and lived to control half the civilized world for generations afterwards.

A. H. Stephens of Georgia, Gov. Letcher of Virginia, Gen. Quitman of Mississippi, Gov. Stephenson of Kentucky, and four other members of the committee, all highly respectable and even eminent men in their party, were the spiders that spun the web of sophistry to conceal the truth and to maintain the Lecompton fraud. They did it, quite as unconscious of the great results impending, as did their prototypes, the insects at the mouth of Mohammed's cave. But the device failed. The flimsy fabric was brushed away, the truth came out before the whole world, and the course of history in this country was irresistibly directed by the far-reaching results of these apparently trifling events then so contemptuously disregarded.

The report of this committee opened the long and bitter contest in Congress over the Lecompton question; and, in spite of all the power and patronage of the administration, unscrupulously used in this struggle, in spite

of the report of the committee and the attempt to suppress all the facts, the measure was finally defeated. The English bill, as it was called, was passed in its stead. This was not such a measure as ought to have been adopted; but it was the best that could be obtained under the circumstances, and was accepted by the friends of Kansas, inasmuch as it enabled the people here to rid themselves forever from the Lecompton iniquity and its authors. You then proceeded to form your own institutions, and in due time were admitted into the Union without any further trouble.

To you, the old settlers of Kansas, this was a happy issue out of the troubles of that day; it was not less fortunate, I believe, for the whole country. Yet it was attended with disaster to those who opposed the right, and, through their agency, brought incalculable evil in its train. At the inception of this great struggle in Congress on the 29th of January, 1858, from Washington I issued an address to the people of the United States, in which I attempted to defend my own acts, in these words:

"The measure for which I have been unjustly condemned has enabled the people of Kansas to make known their real will in regard to the Lecompton Constitution. This affords the Democratic party an opportunity to defend the true principles of constitutional liberty, and to save itself from disastrous division and overthrow. If Congress will heed the voice of the people and not force upon them a government which they have rejected by a vote of four to one, the whole country will be satisfied, and Kansas will quietly settle her own affairs without the least difficulty and without any danger to the confederacy. The Southern States, which are supposed to have a deep interest in the matter, will be saved from the supreme folly of standing up in defense of so wicked and dishonest a contrivance as the Lecompton Constitution. The moral power of their position will not be weakened by a vain and useless defense of wrong, when it is perfectly certain they will gain nothing, even by success, in the present attempt.

"The extra session of the Kansas Legislature has done good, also, by giving means to expose and punish the monstrous frauds which have been perpetrated, and doubtless, also, by preventing others which would have been attempted. It has driven the guilty miscreants engaged in them to become fugitives from justice, and has rendered it impossible for the people of the Territory hereafter to be endangered by similar occurrences.

"In view of these facts and results, I willingly accept the rebuke conveyed in my peremptory dismissal from office, but I appeal to the deliberate judgment of the people to determine whether I have not chosen the only honorable course which the circumstances allowed me to pursue."

I was not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but the events which soon followed fully vindicated the wisdom of the premonition, when I warned the Democratic party against "disastrous division and overthrow," as a consequence of disregarding "the true principles of constitutional liberty," and the Southern States against "the supreme folly of standing up in defense of so wicked and dishonest a contrivance as the Lecompton Constitution." The Democratic party came out of the Lecompton struggle divided and hopelessly broken to pieces; and in the next Presidential election, like a disordered army divided and whipped in detail, it was utterly and finally

overthrown. Though in a minority of nearly a million of the popular vote, Mr. Lincoln was legally made President by the vote of the electoral colleges; and then the Southern States, hurried on to their destiny by "supreme folly" in the preceding crisis, were soon involved in that dreadful civil war which entailed the destruction and loss of billions of money and property, and countless thousands of precious lives. Slavery, which was the miserable bone of controversy in this Territory, and the pretext for the tremendous excitement in Congress over the Lecompton question, was engulfed in perdition by the convulsions of the civil war, and is now obliterated forever from every part of our happy country. This, ye old settlers of Kansas, is the outcome and the result of all your sufferings and sacrifices, your steadfastness and prudence, and your heroic fortitude in the old days of your history.

I say the Democratic party was broken to pieces and utterly overthrown; but I must not do injustice to that considerable number of Anti-Lecompton Democrats, many of them distinguished members of the party, who upheld the true principles of constitutional liberty in this great crisis, and manfully opposed and denounced the errors and wrongs of their own administration. They held the balance of power, and are entitled to the credit of having turned the scale in favor of the right. Many of these afterwards became Republicans, and all of them, I believe, sustained the policy of President Lincoln in resisting the attempt of the Southern States to break up the Union, and in endeavoring to maintain the constitutional supremacy of the Federal Government. But as a party the Democratic organization was crushed, and it has now been doing penance during a quarter of a century for the sins of that period. As always happens in such cases, the innocent have suffered with the guilty. But now the party has been purified by long suffering, as if by fire; it stands regenerated, and, to all appearance, is about to be reinstated in the confidence of the nation.

How easily the whole course of these momentous events might have been completely changed! In the summer of 1857, some of your old settlers were disposed to put in operation the Topeka Government, which you had already formed, with a constitution adopted, and all the official machinery prepared for a State of your own. This was, as we all know, antagonistic to the Territorial Government, in defiance of its laws, and not recognized, but expressly repudiated by the Federal authorities at Washington; that is to say, by both the President and the two houses of Congress. We may speak of these things calmly now—I mean neither to flatter nor to offend you. Those who proposed merely to present the Topeka Constitution and Government to Congress in the character of a petition for the admission of the State under it, were pursuing a vain shadow which was only calculated to keep up the agitation and prevent the coöperation of the whole people in establishing a State government by the regular vote of the majority in a fair election; while those who insisted upon its immediate establishment,

putting it in actual operation as the government of the people, and thereby superseding the Territorial Government, were proposing a movement not only irregular, but revolutionary. They were prompting the people to rush into collision with the Federal Government, which had already proclaimed its determination to support the existing laws, and the regular proceedings under them for the preparation of a State government. This determination was certain to be maintained for four years — during the whole of Mr. Buchanan's administration — supported as it was on these points by the undivided Democrats, holding and likely to hold a majority in both houses of Congress. The Topeka movement undoubtedly enlisted the sympathies of the people throughout the Territory. At Lawrence, and perhaps other places, there were attempts impatiently to anticipate the establishment of this revolutionary government, and to get up independent local organizations in defiance of the Territorial laws. In a fair election, and with a full trial of the strength of both parties, everybody knew the Topeka organization would have prevailed; but the Lecompton movement was in progress, and it was indispensable to get that out of the way. The great problem was, how to get the people to recognize this state of things, and to act upon it wisely.

Very soon after he came to the Territory, Governor Walker went out among the people and made addresses in several places, in which he urged the abandonment of the Topeka movement, and earnestly solicited them to go to the polls in the October elections and assert their supremacy in the Territory, which would enable them to control the important question of the State Constitution. President Buchanan was pledged to the policy of submitting the constitution to the vote of the people for ratification or rejection. Governor Walker did not hesitate to promise all his influence in favor of the same policy, and solemnly pledged himself to oppose any constitution not so submitted. At the Free-State Convention at Topeka, on the 9th of June, 1857, being called out by the people at his lodgings there, he gave these assurances in the most solemn and explicit manner, at the same time repeating his declaration that the Territorial Government, with the aid of the army of the United States, if necessary, would maintain peace at the polls, secure a full opportunity for every citizen to vote, and prevent and repudiate every fraud or wrong which it was possible to resist or remedy by the executive authority.

I was not in the counsels of the Free-State party, and knew their designs only through their public avowals. It was well understood, I believe, that they were divided in opinion. One party in the convention, under the lead of General J. H. Lane, was in favor of extreme and violent measures, and proposed to put the Topeka Government into immediate operation; the other was understood to be headed by Governor Charles Robinson, and to advise a more moderate and rational line of policy, being willing so far to confide in our pledges as to try their strength at the polls in the October

elections. There was a bitter contest between these two sections of the Free-State party, and, according to our information, there was imminent danger that the Lane party would prevail. Such at least were the intimations given out to the public, and I had no doubt at the time that they were substantially true; but if they were not, then it remains for those who were inside the Free-State movement to show that these public outgivings were not sincere, and to explain the real intentions of the parties concerned.

But, at any rate, eventually the counsels of the moderate men prevailed. The extremists were withheld from the execution of their dangerous designs, and the masses of the Free-State party were induced to participate in the October elections, and thus to get legal control of the Territorial Government, instead of embarking in a rebellion against the United States. What was the result of this policy of wisdom and moderation, I have already shown. By the rejection of the Oxford frauds, the majority of the people were installed in their rightful supremacy in the Territory. By the election of the 4th of January, authorized by the law passed at the extra session of the Legislature, you demonstrated that the Lecompton Constitution was not the creation of the people. You passed laws to punish frauds and false returns at the elections, and thereby drove from the Territory John Calhoun and his dishonest coadjutors, who had sought to pollute the sources of political power and to maintain the usurpations of a corrupt minority. You placed Mr. Buchanan and his administration, and all those Democrats who supported them, in the wrong. And thus placing them in the wrong before the eyes of the whole world, you were enabled to defeat them and break them up. And finally, you had the great triumph of establishing your own Topeka Constitution, substantially, according to your own will.

Now suppose that different counsels had prevailed at Topeka in the summer of 1857—suppose the extreme men had succeeded in persuading the majority to set up the Topeka State Government in rebellion against the Government of the United States. Instead of placing Mr. Buchanan in the wrong, you would have been in the wrong yourselves. Instead of dividing the Democratic party on the Lecompton question and finally breaking them to pieces, you would have consolidated them on the question of sustaining the Federal Government, in support of the laws against its rebellious citizens. In the midst of conflict and civil war, there would probably have been no frauds at Oxford and no exposure of the methods adopted by your opponents, because violence would have taken the place of fraud, and that violence justified by your own fatal example. It is impossible to conjecture exactly what would have been the course of events. But the whole history of the Territory would have been altered and its destiny materially modified. The Lecompton Constitution would probably have been adopted, and Mr. Buchanan succeeded by another Democratic President. In the course of time, you would no doubt have moulded the constitution to the will of the majority; but the obstacles would have been great and your progress would have been

slow and with feeble paces, compared to those rapid strides by which you have reached your present magnificent position. I do not for a moment suppose that slavery could have been very long continued under any circumstances; but the process of destroying it might have been much more prolonged and difficult, and your implication in it might have been much more disastrous and destructive to all your interests.

Allow me to say here, that in my judgment Governor Walker has never received the full measure of applause which he deserved for his efforts to conciliate the people, and his success in bringing them to a trial of their strength in the Territorial elections. This was the true exodus out of the wilderness of your troubles. It was the policy of true wisdom and exalted patriotism. You met him half way, and notwithstanding his forced resignation as Governor, this policy which he had inaugurated was carried out successfully, and triumphed in the end.

Mr. Blaine, in his recent history of twenty years in Congress, sums up the result of Gov. Walker's administration in Kansas with the simple but emphatic declaration that he "failed." But I must insist, it was no failure. Mr. Buchanan deserted him, and left him the alternative of coming back here to be dismissed, as I was, or of resigning the position which he could no longer hold with honor. But, in spite of all this, by your coöperation and the wise course of moderation which you pursued, he had prepared the way for that result which brought merited rebuke to Mr. Buchanan and defeat to the bad schemes he sought to promote. The failure was Buchanan's, and not Walker's. The triumph was yours; but you will not fail to do liberal justice to the memory of the man who was the author of the policy which finally prevailed, but who was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his patriotic exertions. It was his fortune, as it was mine, to stand on the eminence of truth and right from which he could see the promised land; but that was all.

You alone, ye men of iron, worthy fathers of this great State, pioneers and heroes in the times that tried men's souls, you alone had the privilege of crossing the Jordan that intervened and entering this goodly land of liberty. May it continue forever to blossom like the rose, and may it never cease to flow with milk and honey.

ADDRESS OF EX-GOVERNOR JAMES W. DENVER.

DELIVERED AT THE OLD SETTLERS' MEETING, BISMARCK GROVE, LAWRENCE, SEPTEMBER 3D, 1884.

Ex-Governor Charles Robinson, president of the meeting, in introducing Governor Denver to the audience of old settlers, made some remarks explaining the circumstances attending the appointment of Governor Denver as Secretary and acting Governor of Kansas Territory. It so happened that Governor Robinson was bearer of the information both to acting Governor Stanton of his removal from office, and to Governor Denver of his appointment to succeed to the office.

Having been appointed Secretary of Kansas Territory, assuming office December 21, 1857, General Denver became acting Governor at that date. He served as such till May 12, 1858, when he received the appointment of Governor. He continued in office as Governor till October 10, 1858, when he resigned.

Gov. Denver spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, and Old Settlers of Kansas: I appear before you to-day with diffidence. I am to give a narrative of events that occurred twenty-five years ago, and must speak from memory. I will speak of events as near as I can in their order.

I have addressed some audiences in Kansas before, but, as your president has informed you, under very different auspices from the present. Yesterday you had an address from Gov. Stanton, as to events transpiring in the Territory of Kansas up to the time he left. You have heard from Gov. Robinson the circumstances of my succession to Gov. Stanton. Nothing ever surprised me more than the information given me by Gov. Stanton, who handed to me the paper that Gov. Robinson had handed him that morning. I would rather have retired from public life than to have accepted that position. Not that I had any fear but what I could satisfy a reasonable people as to what my duties were and what their duties were, but it was perhaps difficult for them to understand me when they supposed that I represented an element hostile to them.

The events that brought about the removal of Governor Stanton I was not familiar with, except as I gathered them from general report and from the newspapers. That those troubles were serious, and that they were dangerous to the peace of the country, no one could doubt. Therefore my first resolution was, not to accept the appointment, as I told Governor Stanton, and which he will recollect. He informed me that I must accept; that I could not refuse; that the Legislature was to meet in a few days in regular session, and that if I did not accept it, there would be no representative of the Federal Government here. Under those circumstances, I wrote the President that I would accept the appointment upon condition that I

should be relieved as soon as the Legislature adjourned. I received information that that should be done. When the Legislature adjourned, I sent on my resignation. Answer came back that they wished me to hold on until bills then pending before Congress for the admission of the State under the Lecompton Constitution should be acted upon. That hung fire for a long time, and finally passed Congress with what was known as the English amendment, submitting the question to a vote of the people. Then I asked to be relieved. Again they asked me to remain here until that election came off. I remained, and that election resulted exactly as I supposed it would. I then asked to be relieved again, but they begged of me to remain until the October election, which I did. I then sent on my resignation, and left the Territory without asking permission. That is the way I came to leave here, although a great many supposed that I was compelled to go. The only scolding that I got for doing that thing was from the people of Kansas for going away, and from Mr. Buchanan for having resigned.

The Legislature convened shortly after I took charge of the government. You have heard something about the material composing that body. You have heard of their inexperience, their want of legislative knowledge; but I will add that they were honest in their desires to do what was right, I believe. Some of the members were disposed to resist everything that the Governor should propose, and in a short time it got to be that some of them thought it was a credit to pass any bill over the Governor's veto, if possible. All sorts of schemes were presented. One man was asking for the exclusive right to establish a ferry across a river, another for the exclusive right to build a bridge across a stream, another for town sites, another for a divorce. They were asking for everything you could conceive of, almost. I determined at the outset that I would not take part for or against any of the political factions or parties in the Territory. I did not belong to the Territory. I was not here as a citizen of the Territory; I was here as a representative of the Federal Government. I therefore took no part in the local affairs of the Territory, only so far as was necessary to represent the Federal Government. While I had my own views as to the great question that agitated the country, as to whether it should be a slave State or a free State, I did not propose to mix with it. Had I been a citizen of this State I never should have voted to introduce slavery into Kansas; but I did not consider that I had any business to interfere with that question; all that I had to do was to hold the balance evenly, administer the laws, and protect the rights of the people.

The Free-State men had entire control of both houses of the Legislature; and I might go on here and relate a good many circumstances that occurred during the session that would be very amusing, but it is hardly worth while to do it. Among the many wild schemes that were proposed, the wildest, perhaps, was that of the "Lawrence Water Company," by which the citizens of Lawrence were to be compelled to pay toll to a company for all the water they might use, no matter whether they got it out of the Kansas river or out of the wells. I thought the water ought to be free to everybody, and that a man should have the right to dig on his own premises and get water wherever he could. So I returned that bill with my objections, in a veto message. The bill had passed the Council by a majority. It passed the Assembly by a nearly unanimous vote. Of course I had to return it to the Council. The worthy President of the Council had voted against the bill, and I thought, he being a citizen of Lawrence, that of course I was doing what he would approve; but when the veto message was read he called some one else to the chair and got on the floor and made a very violent assault on the executive action; he thought he could

not submit to anything of that sort, although the executive action was on the same side that his vote had been.

They passed the bill in the Council over my veto, and some one came down and told me in a rather exulting manner what had been done. I laughed, and remarked in answer that that was all right; that if I had had any ill feelings towards the people of Lawrence, I certainly would have approved that bill, because it would have put a tax upon them for all time to come, which, however, I did not think exactly right. In about a half an hour some one came and told me that there was a great crowd in the Legislative hall. I stepped up to see what was the matter; and I think the whole town of Lawrence was there. They crowded the members into a little corner where they could scarcely turn around, and there was as much excitement as I ever saw when Jim Lane was making speeches against Jack Henderson. At last they took a vote upon the question, and there was not a single vote against the veto. The Governor was upheld that time by the unanimous vote of the Assembly.

I only give that as one of the incidents. Another matter that I might refer to was the Minneola capital. It was supposed that a large number of the members of the Legislature were interested in that venture. I did not much fancy living in Lecompton, I admit. It was a poor place to live in at that day; I think it is better now. But it was the Capital, and had been fixed so by law; and I did not think that the Legislature had any right to remove it. They had a right to move from place to place to hold their sittings, but they had no right to remove the capital of the Territory. I learned after a while that there were a good many of the members who were interested in lots in the proposed new capital. I did not know how that might be, but upon general principles I was opposed to doing anything that would get up any excitement or a disturbance. I vetoed that bill. They passed the bill over my veto, and then it appeared who were interested in that affair. Several very good men, for whom I had the highest regard, I found had secured an interest in the shape of lots; and they went to work and put up a great big building that they called the "Capitol Building." About the time that they got it up they came and notified me that I was to remove the records and everything connected with the Territorial Government down to Minneola.

Lecompton, as I said, was not a very inviting place, but from what I could learn it was quite as good as Minneola. Minneola was out on the prairie, with not a shade tree anywhere near it, while Lecompton was on the banks of the river, and we could at least see the water pass by, and could, if we desired, go a-fishing now and then; but down at Minneola we had not even that opportunity. So I declined to go. Then they talked about getting out a mandamus; but finally that all passed away, and Minneola was heard of no more forever.

Then we had a bill to reorganize the militia. That bill was gotten up for the purpose of taking away from the Governor all the rights that he had in relation to the militia. Under the organic act he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of Kansas. The navy was not very strong, but it was pretty nearly as strong then as the United States Navy is now.

For what motive the new militia bill was proposed, I do not know; it might have been good and might not have been good. I do not think it was very good. It was proposed to relieve the Governor of his responsibility. While the Governor was not particularly anxious about such things, he did not propose to be relieved of such responsibilities; he proposed to exercise all that were conferred upon him, as he always did do whenever it was necessary. That was an effort to give somebody else power to appoint military officers, and to commission them. The Governor refused to recognize such appointments. Commissions were issued by some of the parties

named in the bill; and the Governor came very near getting some of them into some very troublesome places, and would have done so if they had not dropped the whole thing.

Then came a proposition for a new convention to frame a constitution. Now, my friends, there has been a great deal said about that matter, and I have received letters from several parties asking for information about it, and I will give it to you as nearly as I can recollect, and I believe, correctly. You will recollect first, that the Governor, under the organic act, had three days in which to consider any bill which might be sent to him by the Legislature for his signature. If he would keep the bill in his possession for three days without returning it to the Legislature, with or without his objections, then it became a law of itself. If he approved it, of course it became a law; if he objected to it, and sent it back, then the Legislature had the right to pass upon it, and pass it over the veto by a two-thirds vote. Now the Legislature had to meet on the first Monday in January, and the law fixed the term for forty days. It fixed the time on the first Monday in January when it should meet, and therefore it included the whole of that day; and at the end of forty days the session came to a close. This bill for the calling of a convention to frame a new constitution was passed and sent to me within three days of the end of the session; that is, it was sent to me on the thirty-seventh day of the session. I concluded that we had constitution enough. We had then pending before Congress the Lecompton Constitution, which was a pretty ugly-looking affair all around. We had the Topeka Constitution, which was objected to on the other side just as much; and then we had the Territorial Government established by act of Congress, and I thought we had about as much government as one little Territory could very well live under.

Some time before that—I think early in the session—I was so thoroughly convinced of the fact that we were having too much constitution, that I sent to Judge Elmore, whom many of you knew, who lived up at Tecumseh, and a man in whose judgment I had great confidence. I sent for him to come down and see me at Lawrence. He did so. We talked the matter over, and I presented to him my views in reference to the Lecompton Constitution. He agreed with me.

Then, says I, "Judge, I want you to go to Washington City and see the President on this subject."

He says, "When?"

I said, "To-morrow morning."

"Why," says he, "I have got nothing—I have no clothing with me."

Says I, "You don't need anything; all you will want will be a shirt, and that you can buy anywhere, as you go along; start in the morning."

That night I wrote a long letter to the President, in which I summed up the condition of affairs here in the Territory, as I then understood them, and I urged him not to present the Lecompton Constitution to Congress at all, but to ask Congress to pass an enabling act to let the people of the Territory hold a convention and adopt a constitution and to wipe out all of those unauthorized constitutions that were presented.

Judge Elmore went on to Washington City and presented my letter to the President, had a long conversation with him, and also with his own brother-in-law, Senator Fitzpatrick, and other Southern gentlemen whom he knew there; and they all agreed to my advice.

Mr. Buchanan said that he was very strongly impressed with it, and that he was very sorry that he had not had the information earlier, because he had prepared his message in relation to the Lecompton Constitution, and he had shown it to several Senators, and could not withdraw it. It went in. You all know the result.

Well, I concluded that I would not approve that bill for calling a convention to frame a new constitution. Several committees were appointed by the Legislature to call upon me, begging me if I would not approve it, to return it to them that they might act upon it. I told them no, that I had made up my mind, and that I was not to be moved; that I thought we had constitution enough, and that I had an absolute veto in that case, and I proposed to exercise it, which I did.

The next night, after twelve o'clock, a bill was brought to me purporting to be a bill calling a convention for a new constitution, and indorsed on it that it had been returned by the Governor and passed by a two-thirds vote, notwithstanding these objections. That was signed by the four officers—the presiding officer of each

house, the Secretary of the Council, and the Cerk of the Assembly. I immediately sent for them, and told them that while that act of theirs, if I was disposed to act upon it, gave me power to do something much to their disadvantage, I did not desire to do it, because I did not want any trouble or disturbance in the Territory; that that act was all wrong on their part; that they certified to that which was not true; that that paper had never been before the Governor; that the bill sent to him never had been out of his possession, and he had not returned it to the Legislature with his objections, and consequently the whole statement was false.

Mr. Currier had the bill in his hands. He asked me what I wanted them to do. I told him I wished them to do one of two things: to give me a certificate of the fact that that had never been acted upon by the Legislature at all, or else to destroy it there, in my presence. They said that that would be pretty rough. Currier said that he would not put his name to any such paper as that, and said he: "What shall we do with it?" Deitzler said: "Destroy it." He said: "All right," and he tore it up and stuck it in the stove. That was the last of that bill.

Now a resolution was passed after the term had closed, after twelve o'clock at night, and the legal term of the Legislature had absolutely closed — a resolution was passed, declaring that that bill had been properly passed by the Legislature, and they resolved that they would go on and hold the convention. Notwithstanding all that had occurred, and the failure of the bill to become a law, they decided to hold the convention. They did hold that convention at Leavenworth, and my friend Col. Ritchie called at my office on his way down, informing me that they were going down there to hold the convention. I told him that that was all right, and if he is here he will no doubt recollect it. "Well," he said, "what are you going to do about it?" "Why," says I, "nothing; the Constitution of the United States gives to the people the right to assemble and discuss all public questions, and after they have assembled if they choose to turn their assembly into a debating society, they have a right to do it; I am not going to trouble them at all." So he went away.

After a time he came back and told me that they had adopted a constitution, and they were going to put it into operation, and wanted to know what I was going to do about it. "Well, now," says I, "Mr. Ritchie, if I were to tell you what I was going to do about it you would know just as much as I do, and I do not propose you shall know what I am going to do, but I will say to you that you had better think two or three times before you make that move." Well, after a time the constitution came around, and it turned out that it was to be submitted to a vote of the people and the returns were to be made to the Governor and three others. They claimed in an address they made, that there were thirty thousand voters in the Territory, and one of the provisions of the constitution was that there should be "universal suffrage;" that every man, woman and child, every horse, every cow, everything that had life in it, should have the right to vote in Kansas. Well, that is only an illustration of the wildness of the times. The people were carried away by their passions and their excitement; but it was not my place to be carried away by anything of that sort. Standing here as the representative of the General Government, taking no part in any of these excitements, it was my place to look at things calmly and weigh them properly, and act for the good of the people.

The election was held, and the returns showed somewhere in the neigborhood of three thousand votes cast, and the thing dropped right there. Nothing more was heard about the constitution. I infer that there were no frauds in that election, or they might possibly have brought it up to the thirty thousand that was claimed in the address.

My fellow-citizens, there are doubtless many other things connected with the legislation of that session that I might refer to. But I presume that you have heard about as much of my administration here as you care about. I came to the Territory without knowing myself that I was to remain here; without being known to many of you. True, I had some friends in the country who received me kindly from the start, and they gave kind reports about me to their neighbors. True, there were some in the country who were determined not to be satisfied with anything I did; but they were very few, and when I was leaving the Territory, the people of Leavenworth, without regard to party, gave me a supper, which I have always regarded as one of the greatest compliments ever paid to me. Every shade of political opinion was represented at that party, from the most ultra Pro-Slavery man to the most violent of the Free-State men, and when I entered the room and looked down that table, I was ready for almost anything that might occur, for I did not see how it was possible for such a gathering of men to get through an evening pleas-

antly and without disturbance, and more especially when the table was loaded down with wine. But it passed off quietly. There was not a single word uttered by anyone there calculated to injure the feelings of anyone else. They treated each other with all deference, respecting each other's opinions, referring to no subject of irritation whatever. Among them I will mention Judge Lecompte, who at that time, talking I think for nearly an hour, never once referred to politics. I have always looked back to that reception as one of the brightest spots in my career.

Now, my fellow-citizens, perhaps it might be well for me to refer a little more *in extenso* to the trip that I made in the southern part of the State with Governor Robinson. The Governor has very kindly informed you about what was done at that time. He did not tell you, however, some things that occurred. He did not tell you, for instance, that shortly after we made our start down there, he and Judge Wright, riding together in a buggy, got into the Marais des Cygnes, about the middle of the stream, when something about the carriage broke, and the horses could not go on, and they had to stop. Judge Wright was in bad health, and thought he would be ruined if he got wet, and so Governor Robinson got out and backed up against the carriage, and got Judge Wright on his shoulders, and walked out with him. The Governor says now, that he was in hopes he would slip and fall down, but he could not find any rock to slip on, and so he got the Judge out safely.

Well, we went on to Osawatomie. The streams were very high. We had to swim several of them; that is, we crossed on a raft ourselves, and had our horses swim. At Osawatomie, some wild fellow there, I believe they called him Pat. Devlin, who looked very much as though he was trying to carry out his name, for he certainly acted as wildly as it was possible for a man to do—I never saw a man under more excitement—while we were trying to get across the stream, he plunged into it and swam across. We were told afterwards that he was determined to kill somebody; that he was especially hostile to Federal officers; and as I was the only Federal officer along, I suppose that I was the one that incurred his hostility at the time.

After a while we met Montgomery—at Moneka, I believe. I addressed the people there, and I appealed to them to turn out and take care of their own affairs, and to protect their neighbors in their rights as well, to live peaceably with each other, and carry on the affairs of the country in the same way as they had been carried on in the communities from whence they had come, and that their rights were the same here as they were there, and that they ought to protect each other and see that no one trenched upon the rights of his neighbor. We were well received there. Governor Robinson made some remarks, and Judge Wright also, and when we were just about ready to depart, Captain Montgomery came up; did not come up to us exactly, but he sent Pat Devlin to say to me, that he wished to talk to me, and if I would give my pledge of honor not to arrest him, he would come up and talk to me. I told him that I was not down there to arrest anybody; that I had come down to see and talk with the people, and see if we could not arrange matters so as to have peace and quiet in the land, but as for giving a pledge of honor, or a pledge of any other kind, that would bind my official action whenever it became necessary to act, I was not going to do it, and I did not do it. We went from there down to Montgomery's place. We met a crowd of people there. They were all armed. I made an address to them there, and so did Governor Robinson, I think; I am not sure about that.

But we went from there to Fort Scott, and the people having been notified that I wished to meet them there, they gathered in to the number of about 800 or 1,000. I think almost every man in Bourbon county was there, and there with his arms on. They had rifles, and shot-guns, and pistols, and knives, and they were all in sight; and they looked as though they were ready to use them on each other. Great excitement prevailed. I made some remarks to the people, talked to them as quietly and pleasantly as I could, and was followed, I think, by Judge Wright. After he got through, Gov. Ransom, formerly Governor of Michigan, took the stand. I had great confidence in Governor Ransom. He was an elderly man, a man of great intelligence, a man who had the respect of everybody that knew him, and I was confident that he would do everything in his power to bring about the result we all so much desired. I turned aside to talk to some one, and in a little while I heard him denouncing the Free-State people for having brought on the condition of affairs that existed there, and in an instant Judge Wright interrupted him very sharply and faced him. I sprang up between them and told them that thing must stop. Says I, "Gov. Ransom, you are a much older man than I; I did not expect this kind of conduct on your part; I had a right to expect something different from you. You must stop this talking. You must take your seat and keep quiet." He did take his seat, and kept quiet. I

regretted very much to do it. I regretted to speak in that manner to a man much older than myself, but it was a crisis in affairs at the time. If he had been permitted to go on it would have resulted in a bloody fight on the spot, for the people had already begun to separate into two parties, and in another minute or two, or upon the firing of a single shot, there is no telling how many people would have been killed there.

To make a long story short, I prevailed upon all the county officers of that county to resign their offices, and then I told the people that while I had the right to appoint any man I pleased to fill the vacancies, that I desired an expression of their wishes in the matter, and that I wanted them to hold an election right then and there, and that I would receive it as instructions as to whom to appoint to those offices. They asked me how they should do it. I told them to set up their candidates, place them out at one side of the public square, one here and another there, and let their friends form a line on the right and on the left. They placed their candidates out, and I gave the word to march. The people then formed. I then appointed two men to count them. They then counted them, and reported to me the number that they had found for each candidate. The first was for sheriff, I think. Then for the next offices we went through the same ceremony, and the election was held in that way. I gave them a certificate of appointment, and as soon as I got up to Lecompton I sent them their commissions. We had no more trouble down there. From there we went to the place on the Marais des Cygnes where that horrible massacre had occurred only a short time before. We found every man who came there had his arms with him. I addressed them about as I had been addressing the people before; quieted the trouble in the neighborhood, and appointed the proper officers for that county; and we came on home, and I believe those adjustments lasted as long as the Territory lasted.

Now I have brought you through pretty much all of the ten months that I was with you. I have perhaps given some facts that you have not heard before; perhaps you have heard some matters differently related. I have endeavored to give you the facts without embellishment, and trust that the relation of them will leave as good an impression upon your mind as the facts themselves did at the time I left this Territory as Governor.

But that was not all that I had to do with Kansas. It so happened that when the war of the Rebellion broke out I was appointed to a command in the army, and ordered to report to General Hunter. I did report to General Hunter at Fort Leavenworth for duty. He looked at my order and said: "Very well, I will just put you in command of all the troops in Kansas." "Well," said I, "General, what are the troops and where are they?" Said he, "I don't know anything about them; you must find them the best way you can." Well, I soon found that he was much disgusted with something. I began to inquire around to find out whether I had anybody to fight or not. The same day, I think it was, a man came down from Troy, Doniphan county, with a requisition for thirty days' rations for six hundred men. He was referred to me. I asked him for his muster roll. He said he did not have any. "Well," said I, "how can I issue rations without knowing whether you have any men at all or not? You must have been mustered into service. You must satisfy me about that."

Well, he said they had always been drawing rations that way. "Well," says I, "I can't give you an order for anything of that sort. General Hunter may do it, but I cannot." Then I took him and introduced him to General Hunter and he asked him some questions. I told him how matters stood. Well he said he would give him rations for ten days, I believe it was, and that he must go back home and bring on the muster roll and the necessary papers to show that they were in the service. At the end of ten days he came back, and with him the Colonel (I have forgotten the name) and the muster roll of the regiment, and the roll consisted of one Colonel, one Lieutenant Colonel, four Captains, four First Lieutenants, six Second Lieutenants, and not a single private. Well, I told him that that kind of a roll was not sufficient to draw rations for six hundred men, and he went away, and I suppose from what I heard afterwards, that there was not a foot of ground between Troy and Leavenworth that he did not make resound with abuses of me.

I afterwards learned that there was a regiment down at Mine creek that had lost its Colonel, and the Major of the regiment came in and reported that there was no Colonel belonging to that Regiment, and that the Lieutenant Colonel had resigned and he wanted the Colonelcy. Well, he produced the resignation of the Lieutenant Colonel, and who should it be but my old friend, John Ritchie. There was some-

thing I did not like about the whole proceeding and so I concluded that I would go down and see about it in person, and I did so, and I rode right into camp without being halted once, although they were within a few miles of the Missouri border, where fifty men could have gone in and surprised them. There was not a single sentinel out. The Lieutenant Colonel was absent. Having resigned, I suppose he had gone home; at any rate he was not there. The Major was up at Fort Leavenworth. I put the senior Captain in command, I do not now remember his name; he was a man whom I had never seen before. I came back up here, and I think I sent H. Miles Moore down there to investigate that matter afterward; and I do not think he has ever made his report to me. I told him to-day that I thought he had better be making that report. The result of that was, that Powell Clayton was appointed Colonel of that regiment by Governor Robinson, and he made a good officer. Colonel Ritchie denied that this was a *bona fide* resignation; that it was taken from him under a false pretense; and that was what the investigation was to be about, as I recollect.

Well, it is not necessary to go into particulars about those matters. I found a number of regiments in the State, composed of good men — as good men as ever shouldered a musket or handled a saber. They needed only discipline to make them good soldiers, and I took pride in making them good soldiers. In whatever I did to bring about discipline in the army, it had nothing in the world to do with my likes or dislikes towards any particular individual. My conduct was directed entirely towards bringing about the efficiency of the soldier, and I would have displaced the nearest friend I had if he was incapable of occupying the position; or I would have taken the greatest enemy I had in the country and put him in command, if I believed he was capable of filling the position. My object was to benefit the whole country, and all I did was with a view to that object.

Now, my fellow-citizens, I suppose you have listened to me about long enough. Of course there are very many incidents that I could relate which occurred during all that time that I have passed over. I have tried to relate the most salient, the most striking facts. As I said, I came to the Territory without any ill-feelings towards anybody. I left the Territory with the same kind of feeling. I took hold of the office of Governor for the purpose of doing my duty as a public officer, and properly representing the Federal Government in the Territory of Kansas, and in doing that I let no person's opinion control me in my action when not in accord with what I thought was right, and I never formed an opinion without fully satisfying myself as to what I believed was best for the Government.

I hope, fellow-citizens, that you may have many meetings such as this. I hope that I may meet you hereafter — not as a speaker, for I assure you that I have no desire to be considered a speaker at all, but as a listener. I thank you most kindly for your attention, and hope that we may meet again.

KANSAS QUARTER-CENTENNIAL.

1861-1886.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS INTO THE UNION, HELD AT TOPEKA, JANUARY 29, 1886.

At a meeting of the survivors of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, held at Wyandotte, on the 29th of July, 1884, initiatory action was taken in reference to a celebration by the people of Kansas, at Topeka, of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the admission of Kansas into the Union. In pursuance of that action, a meeting was held on the 24th of November, 1885, in the rooms of the State Historical Society at the State Capitol, to make preparations for such celebration. At that meeting a program of proceedings was in part made up; and a committee to make further arrangements was appointed, composed as follows: Col. D. R. Anthony, Col. S. N. Wood, Hon. John Martin, Chief Justice Albert H. Horton, Col. Cyrus K. Holliday, Hon. Albert Griffin, Maj. J. K. Hudson, Gov. John A. Martin, Hon. Benj. F. Simpson, Hon. J. C. Burnett, and F. G. Adams.

Col. D. R. Anthony, President of the State Historical Society, was made chairman of the committee, and F. G. Adams, Secretary of the State Historical Society, was made secretary of the committee. Col. C. K. Holliday, Hon. John Martin, and Maj. J. K. Hudson, were appointed a sub-committee.

The program of exercises as completed was as follows:

AFTERNOON.

Exercises commencing at 2 P. M. Music by Marshall's Military Band. Address by ex-Governor Charles Robinson. Music by the band. Address by Governor John A. Martin. Music by the band.

Addresses as follows: The Wyandotte Constitution, Hon. B. F. Simpson; The State Governments, ex-Governor Thomas A. Osborn;* The Judiciary of Kansas, Chief Justice Albert H. Horton; The Cities of Kansas, Col. Cyrus K. Holliday; The Railroads of Kansas, Judge James Humphrey; The Schools of Kansas, Rev. Dr. Richard Cordley.

Music by the band.

EVENING.

Exercises commencing at 7 P. M. Music by Marshall's Military Band.

Opening address by Colonel D. R. Anthony, President of the State Historical Society.

*Governor Osborn was unable to prepare an address, owing to sickness in his family. Other reasons prevented General Blair from preparing the address on the subject assigned to him.

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. Prentis.

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 to 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 enteprise 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 refluent 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

services during the war. Governor Martin then delivered the following address:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KANSAS.

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen: In Grecian mythology it is related that Zeus, warned by an oracle that the son of his spouse, Metis, would snatch supremacy from him, swallowed both Metis and her unborn child. When the time of birth arrived, Zeus felt a violent pain in his head, and in his agony requested Hephæstus to cleave the head open with an ax. His request was complied with, and from the brain of the great god sprang Athena, full-armed and with a mighty war-shout. She at once assumed a high place among the divinities of Olympus. She first took part in the discussions of the gods as an opponent of the savage Ares. She gave counsel to her father against the giants; and she slew Enceládus, the most powerful of those who conspired against Zeus, and buried him under Mt. Ætna. She became the patron of heroism among men, and her active and original genius inspired their employment. The agriculturist and the mechanic were under her special protection, and the philosopher, the poet and the orator delighted in her favor. The ægis was in her helmet, and she represented the ether—pure air. She was worshipped at Athens because she caused the olive to grow on the bare rock of the Acropolis. She was also the protectress of the arts of peace among women. She bore in her hand the spool, the spindle, and the needle, and she invented and excelled in all the work of women. She was the goddess of wisdom and the symbol of thought; she represented military skill and civic prudence. In war she was heroic and invincible; in peace she was wise, strong, inventive, and industrious.

THE ATHENA OF AMERICAN STATES.

Kansas is the Athena of American States. Thirty-six years ago the Slave Oligarchy ruled this country. Fearing that the birth of new States in the West would rob it of supremacy, the Slave Power swallowed the Missouri Compromise, which had dedicated the Northwest to Freedom. The industrious North, aroused and indignant, struck quick and hard, and Kansas, full-armed, shouting the war-cry of Liberty, and nerved with invincible courage, sprang into the Union. She at once assumed a high place among the States. She was the deadly enemy of Slavery; she gave voice and potency to the demand for its abolition; and she aided in burying Secession in its unhonored grave. The war over, she became the patron, as she had been during its continuance the exemplar, of heroism, and a hundred thousand soldiers of the Union found homes within the shelter of her embracing arms. The agriculturist and the mechanic were charmed by her ample resources and inspired by her eager enterprise. Education found in her a generous patron, and to literature, art and science she has been a steadfast friend. Her pure atmosphere invigorated all. A desert disfigured the map of the Continent, and she covered it with fields of golden wheat and tasseling corn. She has extended to women the protection of generous laws and of enlarged opportunities for usefulness. In war she was valiant and indomitable, and in peace she has been intelligent, energetic, progressive, and enterprising. The modern Athena, type of the great Greek goddess, is our Kansas.

THE CHILD OF A GREAT ERA.

It is not a long lapse of time since the 29th of January, 1861. A boy born during that eventful year cast his first Presidential vote at the last election. But no other period of the world's history has been so fertile in invention, so potential in thought, so restless and aggressive in energy, or so crowded with sublime achievements, as the quarter-century succeeding the admission of Kansas as a State. During that period occurred the greatest war the world has ever known. An industrious, self-

governed, peace-loving people, transfigured by the inspiration of patriotism and freedom, became, within a twelve-month, a Nation of trained and disciplined warriors. Human slavery, entrenched for centuries in law, tradition, wealth, and pride of race, was annihilated, and five million slaves were clothed with the powers and responsibilities of citizenship. The Continent was girdled with railroad and telegraph lines. In 1860 there were only 31,186 miles of railway in the United States; there are now fully 130,000 miles. Less than 50,000 miles of telegraph wires were stretched at the date of the admission of Kansas; there are now nearly 300,000 miles. The telephone and the electric light are fruits of this period, and the improvements and inventions in farm implements, in books and newspapers, in all the appliances of mechanical industry, and in the arts and sciences, have revolutionized nearly every department of human activity.

When this marvelous era dawned upon the world, Kansas was a fiction of the geographers. On the map of our country it was marked as a desert, and the few explorers who had penetrated its vast solitudes described it as an arid and sandy waste, fit only for the wild bison, or the wilder Indian. There it had lain for centuries, voiceless and changeless, waiting for the miracle of civilization to touch and transform it.

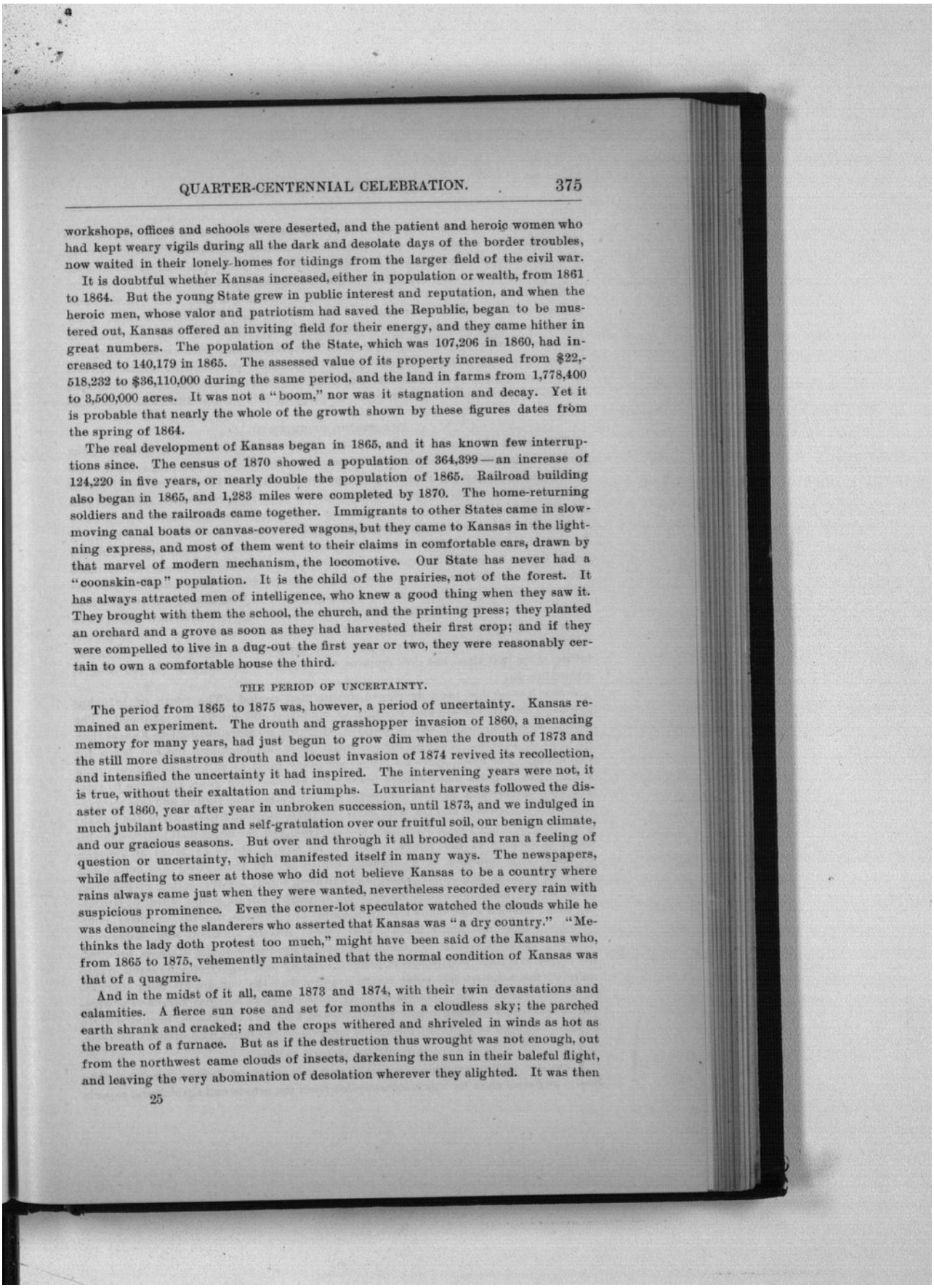
The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill made Kansas the central figure in a tremendous conflict. It became not only the child of a marvelous epoch, and heir to all the progress, the achievements and the glory of that epoch, but it stood for an idea; it represented a principle; and that idea and principle thrilled the heart and awakened the conscience of the Nation. That a State cradled amid such events, schooled during such a period, and inspired by such sentiments, should, in its growth and development, illustrate these mighty energies and impulses, was inevitable. The Kansas of to-day is only the logical sequence of the influences and agencies that have surrounded, shaped and directed every step and stage of the State's material and administrative progress.

NOT THE HISTORIAN.

I am not, however, the historian of this occasion. Very properly the committee assigned to my honored predecessor, the first Governor of the State—who has been with and of it during all the lights and shadows of thirty-one revolving years—the duty of presenting an historical sketch of the difficulties and dangers through which Kansas was "added to the stars," and became one of the brightest in the constellation of the Union. To me was allotted another task—that of presenting, as briefly and as clearly as I am able, the material development of Kansas, and her present condition and position. It is at once a delightful and a difficult task. The growth of Kansas is a theme which has always enlisted my interest and excited my pride. But I cannot hope to present any adequate picture of the Kansas you know so well—the Kansas of your love and of your faith; the imperial young State, at once the enigma and the wonder of American commonwealths.

THREE PERIODS OF DEVELOPMENT.

The development of Kansas, it seems to me, has had three periods, which may properly be called the decades of War, of Uncertainty, and of Triumph. From 1855 to 1865, Kansas was an armed camp. The border troubles, outbreaking late in 1854, continued until the Rebellion was inaugurated. Kansas, in fact, began the war six years before the Nation had fired a shot, and the call to arms in 1861 found here a singularly martial people, who responded with unparallelled enthusiasm to the President's demands for men. In less than a year ten full regiments were organized, and before the close of the war Kansas had sent over twenty thousand soldiers to the field, out of a population of but little more than a hundred thousand. Fields,



workshops, offices and schools were deserted, and the patient and heroic women who had kept weary vigils during all the dark and desolate days of the border troubles, now waited in their lonely homes for tidings from the larger field of the civil war.

It is doubtful whether Kansas increased, either in population or wealth, from 1861 to 1864. But the young State grew in public interest and reputation, and when the heroic men, whose valor and patriotism had saved the Republic, began to be mustered out, Kansas offered an inviting field for their energy, and they came hither in great numbers. The population of the State, which was 107,206 in 1860, had increased to 140,179 in 1865. The assessed value of its property increased from $22,518,232 to $36,110,000 during the same period, and the land in farms from 1,778,400 to 3,500,000 acres. It was not a "boom," nor was it stagnation and decay. Yet it is probable that nearly the whole of the growth shown by these figures dates from the spring of 1864.

The real development of Kansas began in 1865, and it has known few interruptions since. The census of 1870 showed a population of 364,399—an increase of 124,220 in five years, or nearly double the population of 1865. Railroad building also began in 1865, and 1,283 miles were completed by 1870. The home-returning soldiers and the railroads came together. Immigrants to other States came in slow-moving canal boats or canvas-covered wagons, but they came to Kansas in the lightning express, and most of them went to their claims in comfortable cars, drawn by that marvel of modern mechanism, the locomotive. Our State has never had a "coonskin-cap" population. It is the child of the prairies, not of the forest. It has always attracted men of intelligence, who knew a good thing when they saw it. They brought with them the school, the church, and the printing press; they planted an orchard and a grove as soon as they had harvested their first crop; and if they were compelled to live in a dug-out the first year or two, they were reasonably certain to own a comfortable house the third.

THE PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY.

The period from 1865 to 1875 was, however, a period of uncertainty. Kansas remained an experiment. The drouth and grasshopper invasion of 1860, a menacing memory for many years, had just begun to grow dim when the drouth of 1873 and the still more disastrous drouth and locust invasion of 1874 revived its recollection, and intensified the uncertainty it had inspired. The intervening years were not, it is true, without their exaltation and triumphs. Luxuriant harvests followed the disaster of 1860, year after year in unbroken succession, until 1873, and we indulged in much jubilant boasting and self-gratulation over our fruitful soil, our benign climate, and our gracious seasons. But over and through it all brooded and ran a feeling of question or uncertainty, which manifested itself in many ways. The newspapers, while affecting to sneer at those who did not believe Kansas to be a country where rains always came just when they were wanted, nevertheless recorded every rain with suspicious prominence. Even the corner-lot speculator watched the clouds while he was denouncing the slanderers who asserted that Kansas was "a dry country." "Methinks the lady doth protest too much," might have been said of the Kansans who, from 1865 to 1875, vehemently maintained that the normal condition of Kansas was that of a quagmire.

And in the midst of it all, came 1873 and 1874, with their twin devastations and calamities. A fierce sun rose and set for months in a cloudless sky; the parched earth shrank and cracked; and the crops withered and shriveled in winds as hot as the breath of a furnace. But as if the destruction thus wrought was not enough, out from the northwest came clouds of insects, darkening the sun in their baleful flight, and leaving the very abomination of desolation wherever they alighted. It was then

that the bravest quailed, and our sturdiest farmers abandoned all hope. Thousands of people, now among our most prosperous citizens, would have sold everything they possessed for one-sixth of its value, during the year 1874, and abandoned the State forever. But they could find no purchasers, even at such a price.

Somehow—and I mention the fact to their everlasting credit—many of the newspapers of Kansas never lost heart or hope during that distressful season. They lauded the State more earnestly, if possible, than ever before. They asserted, with vehement iteration, that the season was exceptional and phenomenal. They exhorted the people to keep up courage, and confidently predicted abundant harvests next year. And to their influence more than any other, is due the fact that Kansas survived the drouth and grasshopper invasion of 1874 with so little loss of population.

THE PERIOD OF TRIUMPH.

The period of triumph began in 1875. While the world was still talking of our State as a drouth-powdered and insect-eaten country, Kansas was preparing for the Centennial, and getting ready for a great future. And in 1876, she sprang into the arena of Nations with a display of her products and resources which eclipsed them all, and excited the wonder and admiration of the whole civilized earth.

From that time to this the development of Kansas has never known a halt, nor have the hopes of our citizens ever been troubled by a doubt. More permanent and costly homes have been builded, more stately public edifices have been reared, more substantial improvements have been made on farms and in towns, more wealth has been accumulated, during the decade beginning in 1875, than during the two previous decades. No citizen of Kansas, from that day to this, has ever written a letter, made a speech, or talked at home or abroad, with his fellow-citizens or with strangers, without exalting the resources and glorifying the greatness of the State. No Legislature, since that time, has ever doubted the ability of the State to do anything it pleased to do.

A new Kansas has been developed during that period. The youth of 1875 has grown to the full stature and strength of confident and intelligent manhood. The people have forgotten to talk of drouths, which are no more incident to Kansas than to Ohio or Illinois. They no longer watch the clouds when rain has not fallen for two weeks. The newspapers no longer chronicle rains as if they were uncommon visitations. A great many things besides the saloons have gone, and gone to stay. The bone-hunter and the buffalo-hunter of the Plains, the Indian and his reservations, the jayhawkers and the Wild Bills, the Texas steer and the cowboy, the buffalo grass and the dug-outs, the loneliness and immensity of the unpeopled prairies, the infinite stretching of the plains, unbroken by tree or shrub, by fence or house—all these have vanished, or are rapidly vanishing. In their stead has come, and come to stay, an aggressive, energetic, cultured, sober, law-respecting civilization. Labor-saving machines sweep majestically through fields of golden wheat or sprouting corn; blooded stock lazily feed in meadows of blue-stem, timothy, or clover; comfortable houses dot every hill-top and valley; forests, orchards and hedge-rows diversify the loveliness of the landscape; and where isolation and wildness brooded, the majestic lyric of prosperous industry is echoing over eighty-one thousand square miles of the loveliest and most fertile country that the sun, in his daily journey, lights and warms. The voiceless Sphynx of thirty years ago has become the whispering-gallery of the continent. The oppressed Territory of 1855, the beggared State of 1874, has become a prince, ruling the markets of the world with opulent harvests.

THE FACTS OF THE CENSUS.

I am not, in thus exalting the growth and prosperity, of Kansas, speaking recklessly, as I shall show by statistics compiled from the census and agricultural reports

of the United States and our own State. Figures are always dry, I know. But when they tell the pleasant story of the march of civilization into and over a new land, surely they cannot fail to interest men and women who have themselves marched with this conquering army of industry and peace.

THE GROWTH OF KANSAS WITHOUT PARALLEL.

The growth of Kansas has had no parallel. The great States of New York and Pennsylvania were nearly a hundred and fifty years in attaining a population Kansas has reached in thirty years. Kentucky was eighty years, Tennessee seventy-five, Alabama ninety, Ohio forty-five, and Massachusetts, New Jersey, Georgia, and North and South Carolina each over a hundred years, in reaching the present population of Kansas. Even the marvelous growth of the great States of the West has been surpassed by that of Kansas. Illinois was organized as a Territory in 1810, and thirty years later had only 691,392 inhabitants, or not much more than one-half the present population of this State. Indiana was organized in 1800, and sixty years later had a population of only 1,350,428. Iowa was organized as a Territory in 1838, and had, at that date, a population of nearly 40,000. In 1870 it had only 1,194,020 inhabitants. Missouri was organized in 1812, with a population of over 40,000, and fifty years later had only 1,182,012. Michigan and Wisconsin, after fifty years of growth, did not have as many people as Kansas has to-day; and Texas, admitted into the Union in 1845, with a population of 150,000, had, thirty-five years later, only 815,579 inhabitants.

In 1861, Kansas ranked in population as the thirty-third State of the Union; in 1870 it was the twenty-ninth; in 1880 the twentieth; and it is now the fifteenth. During the past quarter of a century Kansas has outstripped Oregon, Rhode Island, Delaware, Florida, Arkansas, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maine, Minnesota, Maryland, Mississippi, California, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Wisconsin, and New Jersey — all States before the 29th of January, 1861. Of the Northern States only eight, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Iowa, and of the Southern States only six, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Virginia, and Texas, now outrank Kansas in population. At the close of the present decade Kansas will, I am confident, rank as the eleventh State of the American Union, and will round out the Nineteenth Century as the sixth or seventh.

In the following table the population of Kansas, as shown by the first census of the Territory, taken in January, 1855, and the official enumerations made every five years thereafter, is shown. The figures also exhibit the proportion of white and colored, and of native and foreign-born inhabitants; the increase of population every five years, and the density of population per square mile of territory at the close of each period. The State census taken in 1865, however, did not show the proportion of native and foreign-born citizens:

Year.	*Total population.*	*Increase.*	*Density of population.*	*White population.*	*Colored.*	*Native population.*	*Foreign-born.*
1855	8,601	.....	.....	106,390	816	94,512	12,694
1860	107,206	98,605	1.3	127,270	12,909	.....	.....
1865	140,179	32,973	1.6	346,377	18,022	316,007	48,392
1870	364,399	224,220	4.4	493,005	35,344	464,682	63,667
1875	528,349	163,950	6.5	952,105	43,941	886,010	110,086
1880	996,096	467,747	12.2	1,220,355	48,207	1,135,887	132,675
1885 *	1,268,562	272,466	15.4				

*Census of March, 1885.

TOWNS AND CITIES.

In 1860 there were only ten towns and cities in Kansas having a population in excess of 500 each; only three having over 1,000 each; and only one having 5,000 inhabitants. In 1880, ninety-nine towns each had a population in excess of 500; fifty-five towns and cities had each over 1,000 inhabitants; six had each over 5,000; and three had over 15,000 each. In 1885, each of one hundred and fifty-four towns had over 500 population; ninety-one towns and cities had each over 1,000; twelve had each over 5,000; six had each over 10,000; four had each over 15,000; and two had each more than 20,000.

ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION.

The origin and character of the population in Kansas is, in this connection, worthy of special note. Every State in the Union, and every Territory except Alaska, contributed to the population of this State. The United States census of 1880 shows that 233,066 persons born in Kansas were then living in the State. The singular fact that native-born Kansans were then living in every State and Territory, is shown by the same authority. Illinois contributed 106,992 to our population; Ohio, 93,396; Indiana, 77,096; Missouri, 60,228; Pennsylvania, 59,236; Iowa, 55,972; New York, 43,779; and Kentucky, 32,979. Three other States — Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin — each contributed over 15,000; and all others less than that number.

The same authority shows that the so-called "exodus" from the South has been greatly exaggerated, Louisiana and Mississippi furnishing only 4,067 of our colored population, while nearly 19,000 came from the three States of Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee.

The colored people constitute, at the present time, less than four per cent. of our total population, and the inhabitants of foreign birth a little more than ten per cent. of the total.

THE MATERIAL RESOURCES OF KANSAS.

The growth of our State in population has not, however, equaled the development of its material resources. The United States census of 1880 shows that while Kansas, at that date, ranked as the twentieth State in population, it was the eighth State in the number and value of its live stock, the seventeenth in farm products, the fourteenth in value of farm products per capita, the twentieth in wealth, the thirteenth in education, the seventeenth in the amount of its indebtedness — State and municipal — and the twenty-fourth in manufactures. Only one State — Nebraska — shows a smaller proportion of persons unable to read and write. And in twenty-eight of the forty-seven States and Territories, taxation, per capita, was greater than it is in Kansas.

In 1880 Kansas was the sixth corn-producing State of the Union. Only Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Indiana, and Ohio then produced larger crops of this cereal. But the corn product of Kansas, that year, was only 101,421,718 bushels, while for the year 1885 it was 194,130,814 bushels, or nearly double the crop of 1880.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

In the following table the aggregate of the corn, wheat, oats, potato, and hay products of Kansas, for the years 1860 and 1865, and for each year thereafter, is given. The figures, prior to 1875, are compiled from the reports of the United States Department of Agriculture; those following, from the reports of the Secretary of our own State Board of Agriculture:

Year.	Corn, bushels.	Wheat, bushels.	Oats, bushels.	Potatoes, bushels.	Hay, tons.
1860	6,150,727	194,173	88,325	296,325	56,232
1865	6,729,236	191,519	155,290	276,720	118,348
1866	6,527,358	260,465	200,000	243,000	123,082
1867	8,159,000	1,250,000	236,000	314,000	162,000
1868	6,487,000	1,537,000	247,000	850,000	118,000
1869	16,685,000	2,343,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	250,000
1870	17,025,525	2,391,197	4,097,925	2,342,988	490,289
1871	24,693,000	2,694,000	4,056,000	3,452,000	687,000
1872	46,667,451	3,062,941	6,084,000	3,797,000	728,000
1873	29,683,843	5,994,044	9,360,000	3,000,000	977,000
1874	15,699,078	9,881,383	7,847,000	1,116,000	530,000
1875	80,798,769	13,209,403	9,794,051	4,668,939	1,156,412
1876	82,308,176	14,620,225	12,386,216	5,611,895	809,149
1877	103,497,831	14,316,705	12,768,488	3,320,567	1,228,020
1878	89,323,971	32,315,358	17,411,473	4,525,419	1,507,988
1879	108,704,927	20,550,936	13,326,637	3,521,526	1,551,321
1880	101,421,718	25,279,884	11,483,796	5,310,423	1,534,221
1881	80,760,542	20,479,679	9,900,768	2,055,202	2,122,263
1882	157,005,722	35,734,846	21,946,284	5,081,865	2,293,186
1883	182,084,526	30,024,936	30,987,864	6,812,420	6,002,041
1884	190,870,686	48,050,431	20,087,294	7,861,404	7,105,132
1885	194,130,814	10,859,401	30,148,060	7,398,465	7,685,340

In presenting these figures it is worthy of note that while, as already stated, the U. S. census reports for 1880 show that Kansas ranked as the twentieth State in population and the sixth in its corn product, it was also the eleventh wheat-producing State of the Union, the eleventh in its oats product, sixteenth in barley, tenth in rye, eighth in hay, and seventeenth in potatoes. Thus the rank of Kansas, in agricultural products, was far ahead of her rank in population.

THE AREA OF KANSAS.

The total area of Kansas is 52,288,000 acres. In 1865 only 243,712 acres of this vast territory were under cultivation; in 1870 the area aggregated 1,360,000 acres; in 1875, 4,749,900 acres; in 1880, 8,868,884 acres; and in 1885, 14,252,815 acres. In the following table I have compiled figures showing the area under cultivation, and the value of the crops produced in Kansas each year, from 1865 to 1885, inclusive:

Year.	Acres in crops.	Value of crops.	Year.	Acres in crops.	Value of crops.
1865	243,712	$5,347,875	1876	5,035,697	$45,581,926
1866	273,903	6,023,849	1877	5,595,304	45,597,051
1867	397,622	8,129,590	1878	6,538,727	49,914,434
1868	562,120	10,467,163	1879	7,769,926	60,129,780
1869	855,801	15,807,550	1880	8,868,884	63,111,634
1870	1,360,000	18,870,260	1881	9,802,719	91,910,439
1871	1,322,734	17,335,120	1882	11,043,379	108,177,520
1872	1,735,595	15,498,770	1883	11,364,040	106,707,529
1873	2,530,769	28,311,200	1884	13,011,333	104,297,010
1874	3,179,616	30,842,630	1885	14,252,815	92,392,818
1875	4,749,900	43,970,494			

VALUE OF FARM CROPS.

The value of the farm crops of Kansas, for the five years ending with 1870, aggregated $59,298,414; for the next succeeding five years their value was $135,958,214; for the next five years, $264,334,824; and for the five years ending with 1885 the farm crops of Kansas aggregated in value $503,485,316. Thus during the past twenty years the farmers of Kansas have produced crops whose aggregate value reached the enormous sum of $963,076,768.

FARMS AND FARM PRODUCTS.

The increase in the value of farms, of farm implements, and of farm products, (including farm crops, products of live stock, and market garden, apiarian and horti-

cultural products,) is shown in the following table. It will be seen that these values have generally doubled every five years:

Year.	Value of farms.	Value of farm implements.	Value of farm products.
1860	$12,258,239	$727,694	$4,878,350
1865	24,796,535	1,200,720	10,653,235
1870	90,327,040	4,053,312	27,630,651
1875	123,852,466	7,935,645	43,970,414
1880	235,178,936	15,652,848	84,521,486
1885	408,073,454	9,604,117	143,577,018

The value of the farm products of Kansas, from 1876 to 1880, inclusive, aggregated $356,557,802, while their value from 1881 to 1885, inclusive, aggregated the enormous sum of $738,676,912.

TAXABLE ACRES.

The steady development of the State is further illustrated by the figures showing the increase of taxable acres. In 1860 only 1,778,400 acres were subject to taxation; in 1865 this area had been enlarged to 3,500,000 acres; in 1870 to 8,480,839 acres; in 1875 to 17,672,187 acres, in 1880 to 22,386,435 acres; and in 1885 to 27,710,981 acres.

LIVE STOCK.

In the number and value of its live stock, Kansas ranked, in 1880, as the eighth State of the Union. In 1860 the live stock of Kansas aggregated in value only a little over three million dollars; in 1865 it aggregated over seven millions; in 1870, over twenty-three millions; in 1875, nearly twenty-nine millions; in 1880, over sixty-one millions; and in 1885, nearly one hundred and eighteen million dollars. The following table gives the number of horses, mules, cows, cattle, sheep, and swine, and their aggregate value, for the years 1861 and 1865, and every year thereafter to and including 1885:

Year.	Horses.	Mules.	Cows.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Value of live stock.
1861	20,344	1,496	28,550	74,905	17,569	138,224	$3,332,450
1865	32,469	2,490	71,996	130,307	82,662	95,429	7,324,659
1866	38,968	2,863	82,075	139,428	108,287	127,875	9,127,306
1867	39,968	2,936	85,120	140,560	106,287	132,750	10,081,590
1868	42,859	2,405	89,461	146,399	101,789	140,662	9,962,311
1869	50,573	2,597	109,142	165,430	107,896	137,848	12,902,830
1870	117,786	11,786	123,440	250,527	109,088	206,587	23,173,185
1871	156,000	14,900	162,000	345,000	115,000	304,800	31,823,484
1872	180,900	16,300	191,100	397,400	116,100	381,000	28,488,704
1873	198,900	17,400	214,000	457,000	123,000	457,200	30,013,898
1874	220,700	19,100	231,009	507,200	141,000	484,600	31,163,058
1875	207,376	24,964	225,028	478,295	106,224	292,658	28,610,257
1876	214,811	26,421	227,274	473,350	143,962	330,355	32,489,293
1877	241,208	32,628	261,642	519,346	205,770	704,862	33,015,647
1878	274,450	40,564	286,241	586,002	243,760	1,195,044	36,913,534
1879	324,766	51,981	522,020	654,443	311,862	1,264,494	54,775,497
1880	367,589	58,303	366,640	748,672	426,492	1,281,630	61,563,956
1881	383,805	58,780	406,706	839,751	806,323	1,173,199	69,814,340
1882	398,678	56,654	433,381	971,116	978,077	1,228,683	83,869,199
1883	423,426	59,262	471,548	1,133,154	1,154,196	1,393,968	104,539,888
1884	461,136	64,889	530,904	1,328,021	1,206,297	1,953,144	115,645,050
1885	513,507	75,165	575,887	1,397,131	875,193	2,461,520	117,881,699

THE WEALTH OF AN AGRICULTURAL STATE.

Kansas is an agricultural State. It has no gold or silver, no iron, and just coal enough to furnish fuel. It is the farmers' and stockmen's State. Its development simply shows what good old Mother Earth, when in her happiest vein, can do. "Agriculture," says Colton, "is the most certain source of strength, wealth, and independence; commerce, in all emergencies, looks to agriculture both for defense and

for supply." The growth and prosperity of Kansas afford a striking illustration of what intelligent farmers, with a productive soil and a genial climate for their workshop, can accomplish — what wealth they can create, what enterprise they can stimulate.

It is difficult, however, to comprehend what the figures I have given, showing the amounts and values of Kansas products, really represent. When we read that Kansas produced, last year, 194,130,000 bushels of corn, the nine figures set down do not convey any adequate idea of the bulk and weight of this crop. But when it is stated that the corn crop of Kansas for 1885 would fill 485,000 freight cars, and load a train 2,847 miles long — reaching from Ogden, Utah, to Boston — we begin to comprehend what the figures stand for.

The wheat crop of the State, last year, was called a failure. It was, for Kansas. And yet it would fill 31,939 grain cars, and load a train 189 miles in length. The oats crop of the State, for the same year, would fill 44,335 cars, and load a train 260 miles long; while the hay crop would load 768,534 cars, making a train 4,510 miles long.

These four crops of Kansas, for 1885, would fill 1,329,808 grain cars, and load a train 7,804 miles in length. In other words, the corn, wheat, oats, and hay produced in Kansas last year would load a train reaching from Boston to San Francisco by the Union Pacific route, and back again from San Francisco to Boston by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé route.

COMPARATIVE VALUES.

In speaking of the value of the farm crops and farm products of Kansas, I can present a clearer idea of the wealth our farmers have digged out of the earth by some comparisons. In 1881 the products of all the gold and silver mines in the United States aggregated only $77,700,000; for 1882 they aggregated $79,300,000; for 1883 $76,200,000; and for 1884, $79,600,000 — making a total, for those four years, of $312,800,000. The value of the field crops of Kansas, for the same years, aggregated $411,092,498; and the farm products of the State for the same period aggregated in value $595,099,894 — or very nearly double the aggregate of all the gold and silver products of all the mines of the country.

The gold and silver products of the world average about $208,000,000 per annum. The farm products of Kansas for 1885 aggregated $143,577,018, or nearly three-fourths the value of the gold and silver product of the world.

For the past four years the farm products of Kansas have aggregated in value each year more than double the annual yield of all the gold and silver mines of the United States.

The gold and silver products of Colorado, for 1883, aggregated only $20,250,000; those of California, $16,600,000; of Nevada, $9,100,000; of Montana, $9,170,000; of Utah, $6,920,000; of Arizona, $5,430,000; and of New Mexico, $3,300,000. The corn crop of Kansas for the same year was alone worth more money than the combined gold and silver products of Colorado, California and Nevada; the oat crop of Kansas was worth $705,000 more than the gold and silver product of Arizona; and the Irish potato crop of Kansas was worth more than the gold and silver product of New Mexico.

PROPERTY VALUATIONS.

The property valuations of Kansas have increased in steady proportion with the growth of the State in population and productions. In 1860 the true valuation of all the property of the State was estimated at $31,327,891; in 1865 it was estimated at $72,252,180; in 1870 it had increased to $188,892,014; in 1875 to $242,555,862; in