

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

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

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN SPEER.

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

THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS.

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

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

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