The Third Book on Kansas

An Interpretation of J. Butler Chapman's "History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide"

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The third book on Kansas was the offering of J. Butler Chapman, from Indiana. It bore the two-fold title, History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide. An elaborate subtitle added component elements of geographical and political appeal:

A Description Geographical and Topographical—Also, Climate, Soil, Productions and Comparative Value With Other States and Territories, Including Its Political History, Officers—Candidates—Emigrant Colonies—Election, Abolition, Squatter and Pro-Slavery Contentions and Inquisitions, With the Prospects of the Territory for Freedom or Slavery. All Compiled From a Three Month's Travel Through the Territory in 1854. By . . . a Resident Since Its Settlement. Vol. 1. With a Map Drawn From Observation and Official Sources. (Map and Book Sold Separately or Together.)

Copyrighted in 1854,¹ the book was published in Akron, Ohio, January 31, 1855.² Teesdale, Elkins & Co. were the printers. The title-page names no publisher. Exactly which months constituted the "Three Month's Travel" the author does not say. Reference in the text to the California road west of Lawrence as a "thronged thoroughfare of wagons, human beings, and stock" from June 1, 1854, to December 15,³ indicates he had been in the territory for at least six months. In the summer he passed along the Kaw, noting its shallow channel without a canoe upon it.⁴ Other records than his own tell definitely of his presence in the territory from the middle of October through November.

For this study the writer has found but one copy of the book. It is in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka. The book was a gift to the Society from Eugene M. Cole, of Indiana, whose name in long-hand appears across pages 1 and 5.⁵ Descendants of the author appear to have no copy of the book.⁶

³ Chapman, op. cit., p. 38.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 72-73.
⁵ D. W. Wilder in his Annals, p. 48, alludes evidently to this copy when he says, "Mr. Eugene M. Cole, of Indiana, Shawnee county, a very intelligent printer, owns a well-worn copy of this peculiar book."
⁶ Chapman, John W., letter, December 14, 1935, and card, January 31, 1936, from North Manchester, Ind., to writer of this article. John W. Chapman is a grandson of J. Butler Chapman.
The Library of Congress has no record of the publication. Sabin does not list it. A rare book dealer, unable to find a copy to offer for sale, describes it, nevertheless, as a four hundred dollar item.

Only for its scarcity, however, does the thin little 116-page Volume I, on age-browned, frail newsprint, have especial monetary value. Apparently no Volume II was ever written; one allusion in the text to “the next volume” which is to include “a reliable history of the prairies” as soon as the author can obtain it from “their former owners”—the Kansas tribe of Indians—is the only reference to a second volume. The one copy of Volume I is now in board covers, but they are an additional protection of some caretaker to the original paper back. The map described on the title page is not preserved in this copy.

For the student of the early literature on Kansas, J. Butler Chapman’s book has two interests: It is a good reflection of the author’s own character and fitful participation in territorial affairs; and it presents with professed and fairly apparent sincerity both Proslavery and Antislavery prospects, the author’s own sympathies being primarily “Free Soil.” The title of the book, History of Kansas and Emigrant’s Guide, is really a misnomer. It is not a history at all; what of it is narrative is the story of the author’s observation of settlement and his own participation in it. Record of his travels in the territory and assertion of his prophecies for its future are, with the exception of eight pages, about all the directions he gives to guide emigrants.

“Like author, like book,” describes J. Butler Chapman and this third book on Kansas well. Widely traveled, variously occupied, addicted to politics and petty quarreling, and prejudiced in favor of town-founding, Mr. Chapman was quite in his element in Kansas territory. Born in Harrison county, Virginia, December 24, 1797, he was an experienced person before emigrating to Kansas. As a youth he had had little education. At fifteen he began working in his father’s fulling, oil, and grist mills in Clarksburg. When eighteen he was a hotel clerk in Winchester and Baltimore. In 1816 his father gave him a horse and clothing and advice to “go west.” The nineteen-year-old youth, known then as John B. Chapman, traveled through southern Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana. At Vin-

censes he engaged as pilot to take a boat up the Red river into Texas. In 1817 he returned to Virginia, where for two years he read medicine with practicing physicians. His father then gave him an outfit of books and medicine and sent him to Tyler county to practice. He followed the profession of medicine in Sistersville, Va., Burlington, Iowa, and Guyandotte, Va., until 1827. Then having read law as an apprentice and received a license to practice, he located in Crawfordsville, Ind. Here, in 1829, he took up fruit-farming as an additional occupation. In 1831 he moved to Logansport. In 1832 he preempted a claim on Turkey creek prairie near Leesburg. Here he farmed, practiced his two professions, medicine and law, and became actively interested in politics.

Office-holding and town-founding soon grew into definite avocations, if not actual additional occupations, for John B. Chapman. In 1834 the Turkey Creek post office was established in Mr. Chapman’s cabin and he was the first postmaster. President Van Buren appointed him local agent of the Indian reservations. Next he became prosecuting attorney for the northern circuit of Indiana and representative in the Indiana legislature. In the latter capacity he secured the establishment of Kosciusko county, and himself chose the names both for the county and for the county seat, Warsaw. As representative he also secured the charter for the railroad through Elkhart county to Goshen. Mr. Chapman had part in the founding of three Indiana towns; in Leesburg, 1835, he was one of the first twelve settlers; of Liverpool, 1836, he was one of three proprietors; in October, 1836, he “transferred his fealty to Warsaw,” becoming one of its founders.

His public activities led John B. Chapman into many personal difficulties. His biographers call him a “persistent meddler in politics.” He was a Jackson Democrat who had voted first for “Old Hickory” in 1823. He knew Jackson and Van Buren personally; politically he emulated their ways. Of uneasy disposition and quick

15. Biographical and Historical Record of Kosciusko County, Indiana, p. 644.
17. Ibid., p. 566. Also, Biographical and Historical Record of Kosciusko County, Indiana, p. 689.
temper, he was himself "an all-around eccentric" who eroded continuous action and change. Withal he was determined and usually accomplished his purpose, though to do so he had sometimes to carry his case to the higher powers in Washington. This he did to substantiate the title to his land on Little Turkey creek prairie.\textsuperscript{19} Patent to the Indian float for Liverpool he procured in his own name.\textsuperscript{20} When he obtained the charter for the Goshen railroad without a petition and without any support of his constituency, he appointed commissioners and "made them meet whether or no, and organize the company, and hold the right of way through Indiana."\textsuperscript{21}

When in 1849 "partial deafness compelled him to relinquish practice"\textsuperscript{22} of law, John B. Chapman joined the gold rush to California. "He wanted to sell all of the world that he could."\textsuperscript{23} Thereafter he made "flying trips to California, Washington, Oregon and Alaska, when to reach the Pacific slope meant many discomforts and not a few actual hardships."\textsuperscript{24} He laid out three towns on the Pacific coast.\textsuperscript{25} He lived in Oregon for three years.\textsuperscript{26} Knowledge of the Western states and territories gained in these travels and sojourns served the author variously in writing his book upon Kansas in 1854. Particularly did he draw upon his long acquaintance with Kansas territory itself.\textsuperscript{27}

"Poverty and the fate of circumstances brought" Mr. Chapman to Kansas as a pioneer emigrant.\textsuperscript{28} He had been in Washington, D. C., when the Kansas-Nebraska question came before congress. Through the intervention of friends in Indiana he had been promised political appointment in Washington territory, now denied him by Gov. I. I. Stevens because he admitted he was "decidedly in favor of free territories."\textsuperscript{29} In company with his wife Mr. Chapman had taken his grievance to President Pierce, the two of them resolving

19. Ibid.
22. Biographical and Historical Record of Kosciusko County, Indiana, p. 472.
25. Chapman, J. B., letter to editor of Northern Indianaian, August 12, 1856, in Northern Indianaian, September 4, 1856. (The writer of this article has been unable to learn the location of these towns.)
27. Ibid., pp. 11, 51-53, 76-77.
29. Isaac Ingalls Stevens, a retired army officer and conspicuous Democrat, was appointed governor of Washington territory in 1853 by President Pierce. He served until 1857. Joseph Schafter, in his biographical sketch, in the Dictionary of American Biography (Scribner, 1935), p. 612-614, says Stevens called himself a "Democratic Abolitionist." For probable explanation of J. B. Chapman's disfavor in his eyes, see p. 266 of this study.
openly on the way that they would not renounce Antislavery principles for the best office he had to give. The visit resulted in nothing but ill will for Pierce, to be nourished by subsequent events in Kansas. In “setting his stakes in this territory,” however, Mr. Chapman determined to identify himself with the people and “labor to promote their interest.”

The varied background of John B. Chapman colors the whole History of Kansas and Emigrant’s Guide, though here it is J. Butler Chapman who writes the book. Use of the new signature even is in keeping with the owner’s restless love of change. He lists every conceivable town and settlement in the new territory; he names the proprietors, where known. He criticizes the hospitality proffered in public places. He revives old friendships begun in other states of earlier residence. Everywhere he notes political sympathies; unhesitatingly he prophesies. He scents quarrels and he participates in them. He runs for office. He founds a town, to which all roads lead and to describe which critics accuse him of having written his book. He secures railroads, and favorably, usually favorably, he compares the new territory with all the other states and territories he has seen.

The introduction to History of Kansas and Emigrant’s Guide repeats the declared purpose of the subtitle. Twice the author asserts his account will be impartial. To guard the emigrant against false allurements, he will picture the territory as he sees it, not as the “paradise” most writers here described it. In chapter X he explains again his motive of enabling pioneers “to traverse the country knowingly,” and “not stop and return home as thousands have done” before. Twice in chapter XIX he says he has written merely to record the truth. By learning what has been done in the first election, the reader may know what can be done. He opens his discussion in chapter I with regret that “the excitement in the congress of the United States, in 1854, gave greater consequence to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska than they deserved.” Politically, he admits, they have been and are of great importance; “but as to their capacity to confer a great amount of human happiness, they have no advantages greatly superior, and have some great

31. Chapman, op. cit., p. 3.
32. Ibid., p. 45.
33. Ibid., pp. 104, 105.
34. Ibid., p. 108.
35. Ibid., p. 5. Cf., also, pp. 112-113.
disadvantages to many other states and territories, as will be shown in this work.” In his writing Mr. Chapman often forgets this determination to be factual and himself indulges in such exaggeration as he here condemns.

The general plan of the book is more logical than its development. Nineteen chapters and an appendix constitute Volume I. Chapter I bounds Kansas territory—Nebraska territory appears only in occasional allusion—and lists desirable road and river entries to the different sections of Kansas. Chapters II to XIII sketch the preéminent geographical features of some of the regions visited by Mr. Chapman. Chapter XIV discusses climate, soil, water supply, timber, resources, adaptability to farming, and desirable crops and stock raising. Chapter XV consists of reprints of published information for settlers. Chapters XVI to XIX are records of outstanding territorial happenings in the autumn of 1854. The appendix presents “the prospects of Kansas for freedom or slavery,” from Mr. Chapman’s viewpoint. Each of these six general sections treats of its chosen theme, but it also treats of more. Anywhere, the author talks of subjects of personal interest to himself. These added topics, too, are likely to appear more than once with the same or with new treatment. The effect is of considerable overlapping. In the beginning, moreover, Mr. Chapman asserts that the political relations of the territories have been so much discussed that he has nothing new to submit on that subject, yet virtually every chapter is full of political bias peculiarly his own.

Usual access to Kansas territory, the writer points out, is from the east side; the principal avenue of approach is the Missouri river. According to the emigrant’s intended destination he will choose his crossing at Kansas City, Leavenworth, Weston, Williamsport, Atchison, Doniphan City, St. Joseph, James R. Whitehead’s ferry, Smithfield, or Iowa Point. Desirable roads leading from the river towns toward the interior of the territory are the Parkersville road, the California and Oregon trail, the Santa Fé road, and the fort to fort road between Leavenworth and Riley.

Although Mr. Chapman gives Kansas the recognized boundaries of 1854, he limits his sketch of geographical features to the eastern portion. He fixes “the terminus of the territory proper,” two hundred miles west of the eastern line. The inhabitable part of Kansas, he says, is “from latitude 37d. 30m. north, to 40d. 10m.; longitude

west from Missouri state line 94d. 30m.; 97d. longitude west from Washington—making a square of two hundred miles east and west, and two hundred and forty north and south."

Chapters II-VI and XI-XII record, in scattered way, the author’s impressions of the portion of this “square” north of the Kaw river. Passing back and forth across the region at least twice, he seems to have jotted down ideas about it as they occurred and not assembled them for orderly, unified portrayal. From widely separated entries, however, the reader learns of the changing soil, the lowering timber line, and the decreasing development of the region from east to west.

The first journey follows the Kansas river westward. The best land is near the confluence of the Grasshopper with the Kaw. "One of the most central and commanding situations in the territory," is the site of Whitfield City, on the Conda river. Along the California road, west of the Vermillion crossing, is rolling prairie. Coal and timber in the ravines are inducements to settlement along Ten Mile creek. Fort Riley has a beautiful setting. On the frontier beyond, good locations are few and all endangered by Indian depredation.

Varying in soil and vegetation, the section has made different appeal to settlers. The Delaware trust land, though legally closed to emigrants, is nearly all occupied by substantial farmers. Elsewhere settlements are sparse. On the Grasshopper the author locates “Osawkee,” laid out by Indian traders named “Dyres.” On the Pottawatomie land he finds the Catholic mission and a lodging kept by “Mrs. Bertrands, an old acquaintance from Michigan.” Germantown on the Vermillion is a promising locality. At Marysville is an Indian trading post.

The settlement of settlements in this region north of the Kaw is, for J. Butler Chapman, his own town, Whitfield City. In these chapters he elaborates upon its superiorities. To it and from it,
literally, all roads lead, both wagon and rail. The site is one of the most commanding and valuable in the territory. Surrounded by large forests, rich lands, and a stone quarry, it itself has beautiful groves of young trees, large limpid springs, an excellent coal bank, and unusual mill power. Shooting off to the northwest winds the serpentine Conda river "like the great hydra for which it was named." The great advantages of setting and resources make Whitfield suitable for business, for the seat of government, and for public institutions of learning. Mr. Chapman and his "partners in the location," Jas. A. Gray and F. Swice, have laid out the town at right angles, with public squares for schools and churches. They have immediately set about the erection of a schoolhouse, Mr. Chapman returning "to the states to procure teachers, designing at the earliest possible period to establish a protestant institution of learning." In the appendix the author also describes a manual labor college, "about being established at Whitfield City," to be open to Indians and white folk; "neither race nor sex will be debarred from its advantages."

The second exploration north of the Kaw extends from Fort Leavenworth along the Missouri river to 40d. latitude. This is the portion of Kansas territory Mr. Chapman has known longest, having crossed it first in 1849. To him it is most attractive, both in natural features and in qualities for development. He notes settlements along the way; he rejoices especially in acorn-fed turkey and venison of Wallace B. Moore, "sportsman-proprietor of Arbana." His pictures of lowland and highland are graphic. The bottoms of the Missouri are "all alluvial and as mutable as the falling snow." The bluffs around Doniphan and Atchison are brushy, inaccessible, and forbidding. The high open prairie beyond Smithfield, "the

49. Ibid., pp. 17, 21-24.
52. Ibid., pp. 22-24.
53. Ibid., p. 23.
54. Ibid., pp. 113-114. The New York Daily Tribune, March 31 and April 4, 1855, announced that "an association under the title of 'The Indiana Kansas Industrial and Literary Association' has been formed at Dublin, Ind.," to secure, among other desirable features for its emigrants, "a manual labor school, acceptable to all, where students can pay their expenses by their daily labor." Five hundred emigrants were expected to remove to Kansas territory under auspices of this company at an early date.
56. Ibid., p. 59.
57. Ibid., p. 49.
most uneven and knobby land in Kansas...is like a meadow set full of haystacks. 69 Though the country is luxuriant, two hindrances make it undesirable for preemption: adjacency to Missouri has made Easterners avoid it unless they have some predilection for politics; 60 absence of an election district has been an obstacle to pioneers wanting representation in the territorial government. 61

In two other separated sections, chapters VII-X and chapter XIII, Mr. Chapman crosses to south of the Kaw, proposing to give "a full statement of all the important localities, towns and cities, prospective and in esse, describing only the tributaries of the Kansas." 62 Here, too, he appears to have traveled twice through the section. In accounts of both journeys, however, he gives little heed to natural features of the region, but lists the settlements along his routes and notes the relative advantages of the lands set aside for the different Indian tribes.

On the first trip he passes through the Shawnee reserve, the land of the Pottawatomies, and the land of the Kaws around Council Grove. 63 He visits the five missions maintained in these lands by three religious denominations—two Methodist, two Baptist, and one Quaker—and writes somewhat critically of their intents. 64 The towns along the Kaw, the Wakarusa, and Rock creek he twice asserts are dense or thick. 65 The ones he names, however, are relatively few, often insignificant, and usually far apart. The places include the public house of Blue Jacket at the Wakarusa crossing of the same name; 66 Franklin, laid out by old acquaintances of the author, L. B. Wallace of Indiana and Jerry Church of Virginia; 67 Bloomington, with hundreds of selections of rich, well-timbered, well-watered land still available; 68 Lawrence city, deserving "a page in history," from "the notoriety of the founders," but here receiving four pages for its twenty to thirty mile view from Capitol Hill, called "hog back ridge," and for its rude habitations—tents, log cabins, hay roofs, and sod houses; 69 Douglas city, surpassing in location, but

69. Ibid., p. 54.
60. Ibid., p. 52.
61. Ibid., p. 59.
62. Ibid., p. 30.
63. Ibid., pp. 44-45.
64. Ibid., pp. 32-34, 44.
65. Ibid., pp. 35-37.
66. Ibid., p. 35.
67. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
68. Ibid., p. 37.
69. Ibid., pp. 38-41.
inaccessible for business;\textsuperscript{70} Tecumseh, in want of timber and population but possessed of the hospitality of Mrs. Thomas Stinson who cooks better victuals than anyone the author knows in Chicago or New York;\textsuperscript{71} and Uniontown, a trading post conducted uneconomically on Pottawatomie land.\textsuperscript{72}

The second journey on the south side of the Kaw covers a region still farther south and extends farther west. From the Missouri border westward along the Santa Fé road the author describes the lands of the different tribes, their extent, the tribal reserves according to the treaty of Washington, 1854, and the terms for settlement by whites. Proximity to the Osage river or its headwaters determines his ranking of the lands. He notes few settlements. Along the Santa Fé trail he finds good situations principally claimed by Missourians, preparatory to election.\textsuperscript{73}

Chapter XIV, entitled “Climate,” embraces information about soil, water supplies, natural growths, and native animal life. It describes the earth as hard, smooth clay, the hardness being easily removed by irrigation. The water supply is variable.\textsuperscript{74} Traveled roads are “smooth in dry weather, never dusty, . . . of the consistency of hard soap”; rains, however, turn those on slopes into gullies, and new tracks have to be made. The soil, a black loam, will produce every variety of vegetable, cotton, hemp, corn, sweet potatoes, “every luxury . . . desired for culinary purposes.” The whole face of the country is a meadow.

Resources include stone, wood, native fruits, and game. A substratum of limestone underlies the whole country. Wood, or timber, is good and splits well, but is short-bodied.\textsuperscript{75} In overflowed lowlands is cottonwood; farther away from streams are white oak, elm, walnut, cherry, white ash, hickory, honey locust, sycamore, and blackberry.\textsuperscript{76} Among the native products are walnuts, hickory nuts, hazel nuts, pecans, acorns, crab apples, plums, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, grapes, and wild honey.\textsuperscript{77} Wild game includes turkeys, prairie chickens, quail, and gray squirrels; deer is scarce; bears are rare. Of the destructive animals wolves, of all colors and sizes, are most common; raccoons appear frequently.

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., pp. 41-42.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., p. 48.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p. 44.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., p. 61. In the text “Missourians” is “Missionaries,” evidently a misprint.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., pp. 74-75.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., pp. 72-74.
\textsuperscript{76} “Blackberry” would seem to be a misprinting of “huckleberry.”
\textsuperscript{77} Chapman, op. cit., p. 74.
Occasionally one sees a badger, a beautiful dapple-grey, but slow and stupid.

Comparing Kansas territory with all other territories and states known to him, Mr. Chapman believes none excel it in soil; only in fertility, however, is the soil superior. With this exception California and Missouri surpass Kansas in everything. Oregon, Washington, Utah, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio all fall behind in one or many ways. In climate, the Kansas winters are colder and the summers warmer than in other states in the same latitude. The air seems more serene and placid than in the East; objects are discernible at greater distances. "Heavy winds prevail, . . . constant, . . . dense almost as water, and seemingly sufficient to tear a common piece of sheeting to tatters." Thunderstorms are common and appear more severe than in the states, owing possibly to the openness of the country.

Two pages of practical advice to emigrants conclude this chapter. Three or four farmers should invest in four or five yoke of oxen and a large prairie plow together. From 10 to 20 acres of prairie, costing about $3 per acre for breaking, should support a family of five for the first season. For economy and efficiency neighbors should join fences. Three types of fences are in use; the timber fence, made of stakes 4-5 feet long, and two inches square, "drove in the ground 8 inches, and a slat nailed on to keep them steady"; the Osage orange hedge with a ditch on the outside to serve as a barrier while the orange, sowed the first year, is maturing; and the fence of rock, a sufficient supply of which nearly every farm has for at least its main fences. One further page of directions in the appendix supplements this advice. Emigrants should bring all kinds of seed, especially Osage orange seed. One gallon will grow plants enough to enclose eighty acres; methods of planting in a nursery and of resetting in echelons "about the new moon in March" follow. For home market farmers should grow corn, oats, rye, potatoes, and various succulents; for foreign market they should produce horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, flour, hemp, and cotton.

In five pages chapter XV reviews the official directions to emigrants. Reprint of an abstract of the preemption laws, by R. R. Andrews, Esq., of Fort Leavenworth, published in a Kansas City paper, tells of the lands subject to preemption, of the amount, not
exceeding 160 acres, to a person, of the qualifications of the pre-emption, and of ways to protect the right.\textsuperscript{83} This is but an abridgment of the pre-emption law of September 4, 1841.\textsuperscript{84} A letter from the commissioner of the land office, October 13, 1854, gives information for settlers.\textsuperscript{85} Rules of a local squatter association for adjustment of discrepancies between claims and the lines of the government survey close the directions.\textsuperscript{86}

The only portion of the History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide that presumes to be history, in the technical sense of being a record of public events, is what composes chapters XVI-XIX; and that is really an ill-ordered journalistic account from the politically-prejudiced pen of an active participant in the events themselves. The interpretations are as lengthy as the narratives. Chapter XVI explains the "notoriety" of Lawrence, by the story of its founding.\textsuperscript{87}

When the Yankees arrived August 1, 1854, they found all the good land on the river already taken by "the Missourians." For one quarter section on the river, or the good will of the settlers, the Easterners agreed to give $1,000. Not getting the good will of one Baldwin, who had a most eligible claim adjoining this quarter on the east, they planned to get possession of it under the provisions of the pre-emption law, which says, "No man shall pre-empt any town or incorporated city." Their construction of the act was that if they could lay out a town upon any settler's claim, "it would prevent him from holding a pre-emption." To reassure themselves in interpretation of this act they sent an agent, Mr. Blood, to Washington "to ascertain from the commissioner of the land office, the legal effect of the pre-emption law."\textsuperscript{88}

Meanwhile, Mr. Baldwin, still residing upon his claim, formed a company with three other settlers to lay out the "City of Excelsior" on his land before the Eastern association commenced its town. A Yankee then pitched his tent on a portion, an act "looked upon by the Excelsior company with some suspicion of a 'Grecian horse.'"\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., pp. 79-81.
\textsuperscript{84} This law appears in v. V. U. S. Statutes at Large, pp. 453-458.
\textsuperscript{85} Chapman, op. cit., pp. 81-82.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., pp. 82-83.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., pp. 84-89.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., p. 84. This was James Blood who in the fall of 1854 went to Washington, D. C., at the request of Amos A. Lawrence, "to study up about Kansas land matters."—Biographical sketch of James Blood, by Ida Blood Hasselman. Also letter of introduction of Col. James Blood to I. S. Mason, commissioner of patents, Washington, D. C., written in Kansas, Mo., September 13, 1854, by Edman Chapman. Also letter of Thos. H. Webb, Boston, Mass., November 6, 1854, to Dr. Chas. Robinson, Lawrence, in "Letter Book No. 1." in papers of New England Emigrant Aid Company. All in manuscript division of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.
\textsuperscript{89} Chapman, op. cit., p. 85.
When Baldwin undertook to remove the intruder, "the whole Yankee corps assembled under the direction of their chief, Doctor Robinson, armed to the teeth with fuses, revolvers, and dirks, to resist the removal of the tent." The quarrel continued, through a series of episodes, for several days. The Excelsior company rallied 25 settlers to try to oppose force by force; when the Yankees paraded to the number of 125, took shelter in a log cabin, and declined a challenge to a fair fight, the Excelsior company sent runners to Missouri to procure aid in maintenance of its legal rights. It set October 14 as the day for relieving the Baldwin claim of the Yankee tent. Each side prepared for a severe contest.

The Chapman account then states that both parties attempted to settle their differences by word instead of by force, inviting J. B. Chapman to address them. He assented, provided they would come to the ground unarmed. They accepted his condition and he addressed a large assembly "on the political interest of Kansas, and the necessity of peace and harmony." His own comment, they "all appeared well pleased that the matter at issue was disposed of so quietly," implies that he settled the matter. Later, however, he writes that the Yankees would no doubt have fought had the Missourians not failed to respond to the call of the settlers. The runners had exaggerated "frightful stories of the Yankee weapons" and the approaching battle, and the stories proved "a damper upon the spirits of the ally." About this time Mr. Blood brought word from Washington that the Emigrant Aid Society might take what land it desired for its city; immediately the Easterners spread out their town of Lawrence over the site of Excelsior. "Might" had given them "right."

Mr. Chapman's purpose in lengthy relation of this story appears to have been exposure of the Easterners' unfair treatment of Mr. Baldwin and other surrounding settlers in taking into the site of Lawrence the site of Excelsior City. The account itself seems an unbiased one, treating both sides fairly. He uses it, nevertheless, as evidence of the "proscriptive spirit of some members, but more particularly of the leaders" of the Emigrant Aid Society that drove from the Antislavery ranks great numbers of noncommittal citi-
zens. Two other episodes of Yankee outlawry he also cites to support this contention. Then, to balance the charge, he reviews again the impudence of Missourians at the border in inquiring into the political proclivities of indifferent emigrants and so prejudicing them against slavery, before they set foot on Kansas soil.

More colorful than the townsite quarrel in Lawrence is the story of the arrival of Gov. Andrew H. Reeder and his tour through Kansas territory. To it the author devotes chapter XVII. Throughout the book he has made continual critical, or satirical, remarks about Governor Reeder's land speculation; comment in that vein shares treatment here with doubt of the governor's political sincerity.

Pomp and pageantry marked the reception of the governor at Fort Leavenworth 100 "about October 6." 101 In the territory "a sycophantic adulation was paid him, which misled both governor and subjects." 102 In Leavenworth city, however, his immediate investment in lots opened the eyes of his devotees somewhat. 103 So did his confusion of executive and judiciary powers in settling a squatter fight for a claim of land.

About October 24, Governor Reeder set out on his tour of the territory, preparatory to its organization. 105 A procession more than a mile long accompanied him. It included governor, suite, attachés, public officers of the territory, numerous carriages, horsemen, and attendants. The author likens it to a funeral procession, but at Franklin, when the parade halted, symptoms of intoxication made a less solemn impression upon the residents.

Arrival of "the cavalcade" at Lawrence city gives Mr. Chapman occasion to impugn once more "the Yankee town," which he now says consisted of "one cabin, .... two long hay-rick tents, and a dozen camp tents." 106 "The grand reception" of the people was

96. Ibid., p. 87.
97. Ibid., p. 88.
98. Ibid., pp. 9-10, 88-89.
99. Ibid., pp. 17, 21, 41-42, 47, 90-95. Governor Reeder drew much adverse criticism upon himself for his land investments. He also had some approval. The Herald of Freedom, July 31, 1854, published a defense, citing the opinion of the New York Evening Post: "There is no law preventing any territorial governor from purchasing lands, and Governor Reeder has violated no law." Why should he be made an exception to the whole class of actual residents? All governors and other officers in newly organized territories have done the same thing.
100. Chapman, op. cit., p. 90.
101. A. H. Reeder received his commission as governor of Kansas territory June 29, 1854, and arrived at Fort Leavenworth October 7, 1854.—Roy F. Nichols, in Franklin Pierce (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 407-408.
103. Ibid., pp. 90-92.
104. Ibid., p. 91.
105. Ibid., pp. 92-93.
106. Ibid., p. 92.
but a deep-laid scheme of the two major political parties, each acting for underground speculation. S. C. Pomeroy, who delivered the address of welcome “made to order a week previous,” \(^\text{107}\) hoped to procure the seat of government and the capital; and the replying governor, before whose eyes floated visions of Indian lands, parried remarks with him upon free institutions and free schools.

In the suite of “his Excellency” was a rival candidate for delegate to congress. This was Robert P. Flenniken, “a Nebraska Democrat,” who was to remain “neutral and mum on politics,” and who in Lawrence did not utter “a sentiment in public on any topic whatever.”\(^\text{108}\) Both this candidacy and the secrecy of it annoyed Mr. Chapman, for he was himself openly a candidate for delegate to congress, as was also Judge John A. Wakefield of this district. That Flenniken on this visit to Lawrence met neither of them “on the stump,” irked Chapman especially.

From Lawrence the governor journeyed westward to Council Grove. To atone for the Abolitionism just displayed he took a town share in Douglas City at $250, though he would no doubt “as soon think of building a city on a crocodile’s back.”\(^\text{109}\) The third day out he bought one section of Kansas half-breed land. The fourth day, at Council Grove, he purchased five or six sections from the Kansas Indians. About November 10 the governor returned to Leavenworth, where without proclamation of territorial organization, and without taking a census, he now ordered an election for delegate to congress.\(^\text{110}\)

The next two chapters are a confused record of that election. Events do not have chronological account. Opinion constantly supplements statement of fact. Repetitions lack consistency. The composition, however, is vivid. From the disorder the reader can easily re-create the colorful picture.

With the November 10 proclamation for the election on November 29, Governor Reeder announced the places for polls\(^\text{111}\) and issued specific instructions to the judges of election.\(^\text{112}\) His public mes-

\(^{107}\) Ibid., pp. 93-95.
\(^{108}\) Ibid., p. 94.
\(^{109}\) Ibid.
\(^{110}\) Ibid., p. 95.
\(^{111}\) Ibid., p. 94.
\(^{112}\) Ibid., pp. 104, 106-109
sengers also carried along "the tickets of Flenniken, and imposing
handbills setting forth who he was."\(^{113}\)

The other candidates already in the field were without official
favor. Judge John A. Wakefield, representing the Yankees at
Lawrence, was an Abolitionist.\(^{114}\) J. Butler Chapman had
announced his own candidacy in addressing the rival city founders in
Lawrence, October 13.\(^{115}\) In his book, he now describes himself as
"a Democrat from Indiana, who, although in favor of a free state,
sustained the institution\(^ {116}\) where the law and the constitution fixed
it, ... was strongly opposed to Abolitionism, and was sup-
ported in his pretensions as a candidate by the Proslavery men and
the Free-Soilers."\(^ {117}\) During his campaign Mr. Chapman advanced
a plan of his own for limited preemption of land;\(^ {118}\) he proposed that
to each actual settler a quarter section be donated, and that to him
alone be granted the privilege of buying forty acres of first-rate
timber. In discussion in his book of the ruinous effect of selling the
public domain in a new country, he says that to bona fide or actual
settlers on quarter sections of prairie land, and to them only, forty
acres of timber land should be allowed gratis.\(^ {119}\) The appendix,
written after the campaign was over, repeats the idea that not a
foot of land should be sold except to bona fide residents and to no
one more than a quarter section, making the chance equal for poor
and rich; and it commends the new treaty with the Delawares pro-
viding for the settlement of their territory by preemption.\(^ {120}\) By

\(^{113}\) Ibid., pp. 99-100. The contemporary press dwelt upon the former public services of Robert P. Flenniken as minister plenipotentiary to Denmark and wealthy lawyer of Penn-
sylvania. The Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth, from November 10 through November 24, 1854, printed the following advertisement: "We are authorized to announce Hon. Robert
P. Flenniken, of the sixteenth election district (embracing Leavenworth and Salt Creek) as a
candidate for delegate to congress for Kansas territory, at the approaching election on the
29th inst."

\(^{114}\) Chapman, op. cit., p. 97.

\(^{115}\) Vide ante, p. 350. Also, correspondence from "T," October 23, 1854, to "My dear
Cousin," and printed in the Philadelphia Sun, November 10, 1854, says "each one contesting
with going to Washington as a delegate must appoint himself and mount the stump." On October
13, when speaking to the rival city founders in Lawrence, J. Butler Chapman announced his
 candidacy.—Boston Atlas, November 1, 3, 8, 1854; Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, November 4,
1854; Philadelphia Sun, November 16, 1854; Springfield Republican, November 18, 1854;
Boston Courier, November 25, 1854; Greene (N. H.) Sentinel, December 16, 1854.—In "Welsh
Scrap Books," v. II, pp. 10, 1, 2, 7, 4, 10, 15, 22, and 4 respectively. The Kansas Weekly
Herald, Leavenworth, from October 20 through November 17, 1854, printed the following
advertisement: "We are authorized to announce J. B. Chapman as a candidate for delegate
in congress from Kansas territory."

\(^{116}\) "The institution" is, of course, slavery.

\(^{117}\) Chapman, op. cit., p. 97.

\(^{118}\) Ibid., p. 57.

\(^{119}\) Ibid., p. 48.

\(^{120}\) Ibid., p. 110. This treaty was ratified July 11, 1854, and proclaimed by Franklin
Pierce, July 17, 1854. It provided for sale of surveyed lands at public sales; lands not so
sold to be subject to private entry; after three years of such offering to private entry, they
may by act of congress be graduated and reduced in price until all lands are sold.—Revision
of Indian Treaties, A Compilation of All the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian
such apportionment, the author contends, “a large amount of the prairies could have been occupied.” 121

On November 10, the day of the governor’s proclamation, J. Butler Chapman was in Leavenworth where he addressed “a respectable number of the sovereigns.” He said there that he was in favor of the homestead bill, of the giving to every actual settler of 160 acres of land, of a liberal policy of internal improvements, of slack water navigation on the Kansas river, of railroads through the territory, both north and south, and east and west, of letting the people settle the slavery question, of advocating the principles of the Kansas bill, of preserving the union at all hazards, of supporting the constitution, of maintaining inviolate the laws of the country, and of protecting every man in his property including slaves. 122

The governor, Mr. Chapman believes, expected to carry the territory for his favorite by the patronage of his office. “By political distinction” on his recent tour he had paid court to every slaveholder in the territory. Official announcement now of the candidacy of Flenniken stirred the rumor that the governor had formed an intrigue with the Abolition faction at Lawrence for 1,000 Yankee votes. The report “ran over the country like wildfire.” 123 To offset such coalition the Proslavery men now looked about for an opponent to represent their interests.

The day of the governor’s proclamation a call of unknown origin was raised in Leavenworth city for a mass meeting November 12 to “nominate” a candidate for delegate. 124 Because of the short notice the handbills could not circulate over the territory. Mr. Chapman believes they were never intended to go beyond Leavenworth fort and town and were meant for “a gull upon the people.” Five hundred Missourians responded to the call, but the convention did not organize. 125 Gen. John W. Whitfield, once a resident of the terri-

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121. Chapman, op. cit., p. 57.
124. Chapman, op. cit., pp. 98-99. The Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth, November 10, 1854, says, “A convention has been called by somebody, we don’t know who, to be held at this place on Wednesday next, to nominate a candidate for delegate to congress. We would like to see a concentration made upon some good and reliable man, but this call comes in a very suspicious way, and we apprehend, it will be ‘Love’s labor lost.’”
125. The Herald, November 17, 1854, says the convention proved to be as predicted, “Love’s labor lost,—an abortion—no one being willing to futter the call, or acknowledge having anything to do with it.” The meeting resolved that the call for the convention was premature, and adjourned without nominating a candidate. “The day of the convention was . . . . big with the fate of many an aspirant for congressional honors—several of whom gave way for another. What the result will be no one now can tell. General Whitfield, Judge Flenniken, and J. B. Chapman are the most prominent, one of whom, will undoubtedly be elected.”
tory, but now an Indian agent at Fort Laramie, was present, mounted the rostrum, and made a speech. Mr. Chapman says the Proslavery men sought out Whitfield "as the most efficient candidate to meet the emergency and beat the governor's man," but the Leavenworth Herald reported Whitfield as saying he became a candidate "upon his own hook." 126 Flenniken refused to address the meeting. As a result of the call, however, he and Whitfield became the leading rival candidates. Proslavery folk maneuvered to keep Wakefield on the track so as to dwindle Abolition votes. Chapman, in his own words, "from the necessity of the occasion, had to decline." 127 He did not, however, withdraw his name. 128

All candidates and their constituencies played politics. Distribution of the polls was the first reflection of it. Lawrence and Douglas, but eight miles apart, were chosen to avoid party criticism. 129 Marysville, the seat of the eleventh district, contained but five votes. 130 The Sac Indian agency, appointed polls for the region of the Nemaha, was wholly inaccessible, being eighty miles away. 131 Only at Lawrence did the governor take counsel in choice of election judges, and there his appointments were "ultra Antislavery." 132 At Leavenworth he named Abolition men, too, but in both places "they were as helpless as children." At every other poll officials were "ultra Proslavery men." For not a single appointment did the governor consult a Free-Soil candidate or friend. 133

To lure voters two or three Proslavery towns set lot sales one week before election. Political talks accompanied the sales. At Douglas City both Mr. Chapman and General Whitfield spoke on the patron of the town. 134 As election day drew near strange individuals floated over the country without even land hunting for excuse. On being asked whether they would vote, they would reply,

126. The Herald, November 17, 1854, reported that General Whitfield addressed "quite a large assemblage . . . from the stump. . . . [He] said in becoming a candidate he had done so upon his own hook, without the urgent solicitation of friends, or the aid and authority of a convention. . . . He said he was a free man, and should submit only to the will of the majority of the people as expressed at the ballot box. He declared himself the firm and unwavering friend of the squatter, and in favor of extending to every settler on the public lands, a pretention. . . . He was before the sovereign. He admitted having encouraged settlers to go on the Delawares lands; said he was "a railroad man" but did not hope to secure a road for Kansas territory at the short session of congress; professed to believe the people alone should settle the question of slavery; and disclaimed all knowledge of the mysterious call for the convention.
128. Vide post, Footnote 137.
129. Chapman, op. cit., p. 94.
130. Ibid., p. 95.
131. Ibid., pp. 97, 95, 100. This agency of the Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas was thirty miles from St. Joseph, "quite out of the way for settlers" around the Nemaha.
132. Ibid., p. 103.
133. Ibid.
134. Ibid., p. 99, footnote.
"O, certainly." For the openness of their intent Mr. Chapman praises them. "It was no fraud, . . . for there was no pretence of right held out." At some of the polls elections were peaceable; at others voters threatened judges with revolvers and dirks. At some polls the inhabitants and the foreigners all voted the same way; at others residents were denied the vote and "Missourians" from various states allowed it. "At Fort Leavenworth, where the military ought to have interfered to protect the sanctity of the ballot box, they were with impunity the most obtrusive and reckless." 135 At the Nemaha polls, where there could be no election by the residents, 400 Proslavery votes were cast by the Missourians. 136 Many a Free-Soiler unable to brave the insults and to endure the after-revenge left the territory that day rather than vote.

The election returns Mr. Chapman quotes do not include the votes cast for himself. The complete report, taken from the affidavits of the judges of the election, reveals that John B. Chapman received a total of sixteen votes. The table below shows the districts registering his name with the number of votes cast for him. The nine districts not included here did not even list him as a candidate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>John B. Chapman</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9 votes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0 votes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0 votes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>5 votes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1 vote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 16 votes 137

135. Ibid., pp. 101-102.
136. Ibid., p. 100. The affidavits of election for District 14, embracing Deschamps, Nemaha, and Brown, show 158 votes.
137. Affidavits of Judges of Election, in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. The report of this election in Wider's Annals of Kansas (Topeka, 1878), p. 41, names only Whitfield, Wakefield, and Flemmken as candidates, and accounts for all votes cast for other persons under the heading "Scattering." Among the contemporary records the St. Louis Republican of November 30, and the Boston Atlas of December 5, said the contest had narrowed down to Whitfield and Flemmken. In citing returns, however, the St. Louis Republican, December 1, the New York Tribune, the Boston Evening Telegraph, and the Boston Daily Advertiser, December 6, 1854, gave the votes cast for Whitfield, Flemmken, and Wakefield. The New York Tribune, December 11 and 12, and the Boston Evening Telegraph, December 13, listed the votes cast in Lawrence for Mr. Chapman, a Proslavery candidate. The Worcester Daily Spy, December 14 and 15, the New York Tribune, December 14, and the West Chester (Pa.) Register and Examiner, December 16, did the same but referred to J. B. Chapman as "Dr. Chapman," an election judge with whom the candidate was confused. The National Era, December 21, credited Chapman with but ten votes. The Boston Atlas, December 27, the New York Tribune, January 3, 1855, and the Worcester Spy, January 3, credited him with sixteen, the two latter papers adding full accounts of the election. The Detroit Evening Tribune, December 29, credited John B. Chapman with sixteen votes. The Indianapolis Daily Journal, December 30, and The Commercial, Wilmington, N. C., December 29, carried long editorials with quotations from the Baltimore Sun on fraudulent election methods used in Kansas. In a communication to The Sentinel, a Southern publication (place not given), B. F. Stringfellow gave election returns for Whitfield, Flemmken, and Wakefield, only, with items to interest people of the South.—"Webb Scrap Books," v. 11, pp. 29, 31, 34, 36-38, 43, 49, 50, 62, 80, 94, 110, 125-127, 132, 133, 143-144.
District 1, which gave him nine votes, included Lawrence. District 12, embracing Whitfield City, had forty-one voters and forty-one votes, one of which was for John B. Chapman. Evidently Mr. Chapman did not vote in this election himself; his name, at least, is not among the forty-one voting in his district, nor do any of the other fourteen affidavits include it. The records were, of course, immediately recognized as fraudulent, and may misrepresent him. The reader wonders, however, whether he may not himself have left the territory that day along with the Free-Soil voters he says feared "to deposite" votes because of the probable after-revenge. The "Executive Minutes," recorded December 4, 1854, in the governor's office during the administration of Andrew H. Reeder, also accord John B. Chapman sixteen votes in the election returns by districts. On December 5, the governor declared Whitfield elected.

Mr. Chapman regards the election returns as just rebuke to the governor for his land speculation. Had he not stooped to low means, the Missourians would not have crossed the border in such numbers to vote. The governor's instructions to the judges of elections were specific. Everywhere, however, they received Proslavery interpretation to fit the Proslavery needs of the hour. The election proclamation had outlined principles for disputing the election; when put to the test they failed of every requisite to meet the exigency of the occasion. Certainty of Flenniken's success had thrown the governor off guard. On the fifth day after the election two or three polls contested the results, but futilely. Wakefield and Flenniken both appeared before the governor in protest. Flenniken discovered the mistake; but Wakefield supposed that if one poll was found corrupt, it would invalidate the election. Whitfield received so great a majority at all polls that the governor could

138. Vide ante, pp. 254-256.
139. Kansas Historical Collections (1881-1884), v. III, p. 240.
142. Ibid., pp. 105-109. These instructions as quoted by Mr. Chapman vary from the original in ways that are probably only typographical. His copy in line 1 omits "true" and in the first sentence of the third paragraph from the end substitutes "it" for "of." Other variations are in the use of capital letters. Copy of the original of these instructions, in the "Executive Minutes," recorded in the governor's office during the administration of Gov. Andrew Reeder, in Kansas Historical Collections, v. III, pp. 254-255.
143. The Herald of Freedom, January 6, 1855, called the election an outrage, the candidate having been elected by Missourians. "Governor Reeder did all in his power to secure us from this outrage." He provided an oath to be administered to voters not known to judges, but judges were bound by force of circumstances; in some districts they were perhaps favorable to proceedings.
not successfully enter a caveat at any. "His Excellency was caught in his own net." 145

J. Butler Chapman's account of political events in Kansas territory no doubt reflects his own somewhat changing political outlook. In the text proper he says there were two organized parties in the territory in 1854, the Proslavery and the Abolition.146 They were equally intolerant, but his preference was for the former because of the agreeable hospitality of slaveholders as neighbors. Both Proslavery and Antislavery leaders had, by their proscriptive spirit, however, prejudiced many independent freemen against both parties. These individuals constituted a third class that regarded "the oligarchy of abolitionism quite as oppressive and repulsive . . . as the oligarchy of slaveholders." 147 Emanating from the widely separated regions of New England, Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana, these settlers had as yet no organization and no name.148 In identifying them in spirit with the Free-Soilers and in saying that they might "yet rally under the independent standard of American liberty," 149 Mr. Chapman named two other parties, already represented in the territory. "The American party," he even says, "may yet decide the fate of Kansas." 150 A fifth party, the Free State, under banner of which he had offered himself as candidate for delegate to congress, he merely alludes to in discussion of possible new alignments.151 The hospitable nature of the Southerners would normally lead the Free-State party to unite with the slaveholders; but election disappointments, leading unsuccessful parties to join against the successful, may bring Free-Soilers into line with the Abolitionists.152 The Free-Soilers he admires exceedingly as fine "stalwart fellows, who think and act for themselves"; very tenacious of their politics, "the old line they do not regard." 153

In the appendix, written presumably later than the text, the author says there were three parties in Kansas, the Proslavery, the

145. Ibid., p. 166. Filed with the affidavit of election in the third district, held at Stimson's house at Tecumseh, is a petition to set aside this election, presented by men of Lawrence and Topeka. It bears 77 signatures.

146. Chapman, op. cit., p. 166.

147. Ibid., p. 87.

148. Ibid., p. 89.

149. Ibid., p. 87.

150. Ibid., p. 165.

151. Ibid., p. 164.

152. Ibid., p. 165. In an article entitled "Dead-Dead," quoted from the Atchison Squatter Sovereign, the Herald of Freedom, September 29, 1855, said there had been a completefusion of the Free-Soilers and the Abolitionists in Kansas territory.

Abolition, and the Free State;[154] and then, in subsequent discussion, as in the text, he alludes to the Free Soil and the American, or Know Nothing, as also there.[155] In distinguishing the first three, he says the Proslavery party looked upon every man who would not vote for slavery as an enemy; the Abolition party advocated “universal emancipation and equality of the African race”; the Free-State party was “for leaving the slaves where the Constitution found them, and a government free of foreign officers and of slavery.” The Free-Soil party was most numerous in the territory, but the election experience had shown that not one half of them had “either the freedom or the independence to vote according to their convictions.” They had come to regard the slave power as an infringement upon the rights of free men, yet the Abolitionists had as little sympathy for them as Proslavery men had for Free-State men. With which group the Know Nothings were affiliated no one could tell; their creed forbade their uniting with either the fanatic Abolitionist or the slavery propagandist, but the Abolitionists might unite with the Know Nothings. “Should the American cause once raise its standard in Kansas, a new era will commence there.”[156]

The appendix notes three other informative items of significance. A college was contemplated for Lawrence city.[157] Lawrence already had two printing presses; a press was also preparing for Whitfield City.[158] Under the caption of “Rail Roads” the author tells only of his own road to Whitfield City, “for which he has had a bill to pass congress, by the energy and perseverance of Gen. Whitfield, to procure the right of way from the Indians through their several territories.” The road will run from the Missouri along the north side of the Kaw to Pawnee town; beyond that point the route will probably follow the valley of the Big Blue. As soon as the company is incorporated, work will begin. It will give employment to one or two thousand laborers. The recent privileges granted by congress render the investment safe for capitalists and the prosecution of the work certain.[159]

[154] Ibid., p. 111.
[155] Ibid., pp. 111-112.
[156] Ibid., p. 115.
[157] This college was the proposed university.
[159] Ibid., p. 115. Entries in the Congressional Globe, Second Session of the Thirty-third Congress (John C. Rives, Washington, 1853), v. XXIV, pp. 130, 367, 933-934, and 914, show that on December 26, 1854, Mr. Whitfield introduced a bill to aid the territory of Kansas in the construction of a railroad in said territory, and January 29, 1855, another bill “granting the right of way to the Wyandot and Pawnee railroad through the public lands in Kansas territory,” both of which were read a first and second time and referred to the committee on public lands; and that on February 24 the latter bill was again considered and returned to the committee for printing and on February 26, passed the house. The Herald of Freedom, January 20, 1855, observed that “General Whitfield introduced a bill in congress, on the 29th ult., to aid in the construction of a railroad in Kansas.”
Study of J. Butler Chapman's *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide* leaves mixed impressions. The idea of illiteracy, suggested at once to the eye by uncertain spellings, odd word usages, and occasional faulty sentences, becomes insignificant to the mind in consideration of content. The actual errors are largely typographical, attributable as much to a careless printer no doubt as to the unlettered author. Although Mr. Chapman kept up an extensive correspondence and planned to be a newspaper editor, he was obviously not an accustomed professional writer. Points of rhetoric were probably beyond his ken; but from his long and varied experience he had gained fair enough mastery of colloquial English to express himself effectively. Often, too, he wrote with strength, especially on matters political. Here and there, naive constructions befit new, individual concepts aptly. A bluff, for instance, is "studded over with copse of young timber," or in the Miami tract the Osage river "passes angling through to the north"; or the Santa Fé road is "a great and ancient thoroughfare" leading through the "beautiful . . . wilderness prairie of Kansas territory." The pertinence of phrasing makes more lasting appeal than any wrong word form.

Erroneous statements are few. The Kansas river, the writer says, has "its source in the Black Hills of the Rocky Mountains," longitude 104°, latitude 44°, whereas its westernmost branches really arise around longitude 101° and latitude 39°. Rock creek, he believes, "heads up with the Osage and Neosho," but its tributaries have actual origin in the region of the Osage only. The Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts he refers to as "the Emigrant Association of the Aid Society, of Boston." He overlies by at least one third or one half the number of city lots in Lawrence pledged each

160. These uncertain spellings are not only of proper names, of both persons and places, but also common words like "equipped," "enhancing," "opinion," "disasterous," "beligerant," and "renowned."—Chapman, op. cit., pp. 64, 115, 48, 49, 49, and 90.

161. Wrong usages are such as of "lay" for "lie" and "setting" for "sitting"; and of word forms as of "adaptedness" for "adaptability," and "handsome" for "handsonly."—Ibid., pp. 51, 47, 64, and 48.

162. Chapman, J. B., letter to "Dear Will," August 28, 1856, in Northern Indianaian, Warsaw, August 28, 1856, refers to "my numerous letters of some twenty a week."

163. Prospectus for the Kansas Intelligence, in the Kansas Freeman, Topeka, November 21, 28, 1856, and January 20, 1856. *Also Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 3, 1855.


165. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

166. Ibid., pp. 11-14.

167. Ibid., p. 6.

168. Ibid., p. 87.

169. Ibid., pp. 39-40.
member of the company. He criticises C. B. Boynton’s location of setting for the Indian legend, “Young Eagle and Wolf;” in Kansas instead of in the Rocky Mountains, himself forgetting that the actual boundaries of Kansas territory embraced a goodly portion of the Rocky Mountain range. Roads in Kansas territory he describes as “the finest imaginable, rendering carriage traveling the most delightful in the world.” Much used roads he finds “smooth in dry weather” and “never dusty.” Across the great plains “the hum and din of civilization now prevails.” Most of the misstatements are exaggerations.

The effects of the book upon the reader are otherwise diverse. Sketchy pictures of the territory vie for remembrance with vivid accounts of momentous happenings. Little that is, except Whitfield City, has the author’s unqualified approval. Fact and opinion intermingle. Nice observation ends often in fancy or extravagance. Intended impartiality gives way to prejudice; or partiality turns to pertinacity. Long association with infectious politics has predisposed every outlook; but adherence to different platforms has left an odd inheritance of like and contrary principles. In consequence the casual reader cannot be sure whether he is perusing a defense or a denial of even so crucial a question as slavery. If the author meant sincerely to make the book a consideration, not a negation, of the issue, he let his own sympathies and criticisms, notwithstanding, contradict his avowals and acts so often that anything short of analysis leaves even the studious reader confused.

Politically J. Butler Chapman is a medley. Only once in the book does he positively declare any party affiliation. Then he calls himself a Democrat, who, although in favor of a free state, sustains slavery, opposes Abolitionism, and expects support of Proslavery

170. He says the number pledged to each member is 60. Correspondence from residents of Lawrence, printed in Northern and Eastern papers at the time, indicated that one fourth of the 9,000 city lots would be given to persons that would build upon them within the year but differed in the numbers designated for individual members. S. F. Tappan, in The Atlas, Boston, November 1, 1854, said that members of the first two parties would receive “about 50 lots”; of the third party, “2 lots.” A nameless correspondent, in the same paper, November 3, said that each member of the first two parties would receive “about 40 lots each to speculate upon.” E. D. Ladd, in the Milwaukee Sentinel, November 6, 1854, wrote that every alternate lot would be drawn by members of the association.—“Webb Scrap Books,” v. II, pp. 1-4. Cf. also, Andrews, History of the State of Kansas, p. 315.


173. Ibid., p. 22.

174. Ibid., p. 72.

175. Ibid., p. 15.
men and Free-Soilers.\textsuperscript{176} He does not once call himself a Free-Soiler, but consistently he approves or condones all Free-Soil attitudes and acts. He claims to want freedom for Kansas territory, but until November, 1854, he seems to want office more. Freedom for him, however, at this time means not a state devoid of slavery, but a state in which the citizens are free to make their own choice of institution—in which they have the right of popular sovereignty; this definition explains somewhat his expectation of Free-Soil and Proslavery support; it accounts, too, in part for the hatred for Abolitionists who wanted the territory kept free by federal power. After his failure of election he continues to favor the Free-Soiler and to hate the Abolitionist; and the Proslavery man who deserted him at the polls he justifies in motive but condemns in act.\textsuperscript{177} Here his own motive baffles the reader somewhat. Is he still courting Proslavery favor? If so, why? If not, why these startling assertions: “a thousand times better for Kansas had congress declared it slave territory”;\textsuperscript{178} at the time of writing, the pronouncement would be for slavery;\textsuperscript{179} and “it will be a more difficult matter for Proslavery men to keep it slavery hereafter than to make it slavery now.”\textsuperscript{180} Are these presentments of fact, or opinion? or, are they simulation? The possible implications suggest unpleasant criticism. One paper, in election returns, listed him as “on both sides.”\textsuperscript{181} Another, after the campaign, referred to him as “Polliwog (anything, nothing).”\textsuperscript{182}

Chronological review of the political career of J. Butler Chapman and of the party platforms to which he had adhered explains some of his apparent inconsistencies and noncompliances politically in Kansas territory. Directly or indirectly, too, it accounts for some of the other insistent prejudices recorded in History of Kansas and Emigrant’s Guide.

In contrasting himself in 1856, with Buchanan, who “has no opinions of his own,” Mr. Chapman writes that “all my political opinions and dogmas are original with myself.”\textsuperscript{183} They were his, no doubt, in combination; but individually they had origin outside himself. As a Jackson Democrat who had voted for Old Hickory first in

\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., p. 97.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid., pp. 101-105.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., p. 103.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., p. 100.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., p. 110.
\textsuperscript{181} New York Tribune, December 13, 1854.
\textsuperscript{183} Chapman, J. B., letter to “Mr. Editor,” August 12, 1856, in Northern Indiana, September 4, 1856.
1823,\textsuperscript{184} he had early been imbued with the idea that to the victor belong the spoils.\textsuperscript{185} To John B. Chapman, however, had come few spoils. In 1834 President Jackson did appoint him local agent of Indian reserves in northern Indiana. Unnamed pretexts took him frequently to Washington where he personally “became acquainted with the potentates of the nation,” Jackson and Van Buren,\textsuperscript{186} and “had access to their inner chambers.”\textsuperscript{187} Once at least he was Van Buren’s dinner guest. Van Buren’s reputed “adroitness in maintaining a noncommittal attitude until it was practically certain which side was to win,”\textsuperscript{188} had emulation in J. Butler Chapman’s attitude toward slavery in Kansas territory in 1854. The Democratic convention in Baltimore, May 5, 1840, adopted the resolution “that Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, . . . that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, . . . are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, . . . and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union”;\textsuperscript{189} this stand against federal interference with slavery, readopted by Democratic conventions of May 29, 1844,\textsuperscript{190} May 26, 1848,\textsuperscript{191} and June 6, 1852,\textsuperscript{192} was a consistent political profession of Mr. Chapman in the territory in 1854.

From the platform of the Free-Soil Democrats of 1848, who had withdrawn in discontent as “Barnburners” from the general Baltimore convention in May and held their own convention in Buffalo, August 9, Mr. Chapman drew the principle “That the free grant to actual settlers . . . of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy.”\textsuperscript{193} From this platform, too, he derived the ideas, and the phrases for expounding them, of the maintenance of “the rights of free labor against the aggressions of the slave power” and of the securing of “free soil for a free people.” In his own territorial campaign for delegate to congress, in 1854, Mr. Chapman made modified

\textsuperscript{184} Vide ante, p. 290.
\textsuperscript{185} Stanwood, Edward, \textit{A History of the Presidency} (Houghton, Boston, 1898), pp. 150-151.
\textsuperscript{186} Historical Atlas of Kansas County, 1879.
\textsuperscript{187} Hoyne, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{188} Stanwood, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 190.
\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 218.
\textsuperscript{191} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 234.
\textsuperscript{192} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 249.
\textsuperscript{193} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 239-241.
use of this principle along with that of Resolution 12 of the 1852 platform, "that public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold, . . . but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers."\textsuperscript{194} After his failure of election and his fuller, more open account of political parties in Kansas territory,\textsuperscript{195} he endorsed in spirit, if not in verbatim phrase, their Resolution 11 "that all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil. . . ."

From the 1848 platform of the "Barnburners" and from the 1853 platform of the Free-Soilers, he also, no doubt, derived his opinion of the desirability of "the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the government";\textsuperscript{196} and he, therefore, pauses in his book to criticise all military officers now in such posts.\textsuperscript{197}

From still another party Mr. Chapman drew still other tenets. This party bore different names, Native American, American, and Know Nothing. With its principle that Americans must rule America, he coincided first in establishing a Protestant institution of learning in Whitfield City,\textsuperscript{198} and second in supporting the Free-State advocacy of a government free of foreign officers; after the "Missourian" voting at the territorial polls, November 29, 1854, he added to his insistence upon noninterference by congress in individual state affairs, "nonintervention by each State with the affairs of any other State," and "the recognition of the right of native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws."\textsuperscript{199}

His public utterances also showed his sympathy with Resolution 13 of that platform, opposing "the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration [that of Franklin Pierce] in the general management of our national affairs . . . as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in the vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question."

His doubtful position on the slavery question was probably a re-

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid., pp. 253-256. Vide ante, p. 253.
\textsuperscript{195} Vide ante, p. 258.
\textsuperscript{196} Stanwood, op. cit., pp. 241, 255.
\textsuperscript{197} Chapman, op. cit., pp. 14, 26-29, 46-47, 49.
\textsuperscript{198} Ibid., p. 24; vide ante, p. 245. This anti-Catholic feeling probably explains his inability to learn anything about the Catholic mission at St. Mary's, merely mentioned in his tour of this region.—Chapman, op. cit., p. 25.
\textsuperscript{199} Stanwood, op. cit., pp. 261-263. These Native American or Know-Nothing principles had expression in the platform of the party, formulated February 19-22, 1856, in Philadelphia.
flection of a movement within the American party in the fall of 1854, after elections were over, to "nationalize" it, "which, in the parlance of the times, was but another name for placing it in the attitude of hostility to freedom, and its demands, or at best making it neutral thereto." Southern members and some Northern members, without antislavery convictions, assumed that "fidelity to the Union . . . required that they should strive to arrest Antislavery movements, defeat Antislavery action, and proscribe Antislavery men." This may well have been the Chapman 1854 interpretation of the 1840, 1844, 1848, and 1852 Democratic declaration against Abolitionists. In the country at large the Union degree of the Know Nothings, adopted at the Cincinnati convention in November, 1854, was construed to mean that the North should keep quiet on the subject of slavery. Like the Know-Nothing membership at large, Mr. Chapman did not then sense that the whole "political being of the North depended on unceasing agitation"; the pitiful returns in his favor in the election of 1854 opened his eyes somewhat.

One other rabid prejudice in the Chapman book was probably also political as early as 1854, his opposition to polygamy, but not until the formulation of the Republican platform in 1856 did the prohibition of it become an item in a party platform. At the end of his first chapter J. Butler Chapman records a moral fear for the future of Kansas because of her joining Utah on the West.

In the campaign he was avowedly a Democrat, seeking office on a Free-State ticket, and expecting Free-Soil and Proslavery support. He liked Southerners and slaveholders for their warm hospitality; he disliked Northerners for their cold and designing ways. In 1854 Free-Soilers drew from both sectional groups; nevertheless, he seemed to suppose that they all believed in popular sovereignty and were indifferent as to whether Kansas was slave or free. Many settlers, he claimed, who had come to the territory to make homes rather than to engage in politics, held the same views. Up to November 10, 1854, Mr. Chapman seemed to presume that through this bond of indifference between Free-Soilers and nonparty settlers, and through the popular sovereignty profession of Free-Soilers and Southerners, he would easily win his seat in congress. He forgot, or ignored, the pledges of the Free-Soil conventions of 1848 and 1852.

to freedom and their resolutions against slavery, and he did not inscribe upon his banner “Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men.” His profession was a compromise apparently to carry Southern votes. Free-State settlers were said to have taken “little interest in this election, as they did not consider that the question of free institutions was in any way involved in it.” From November 10 through November 29, the Free-State candidate and his lukewarm constituency discovered, however, that not only their right of franchise was at stake, but also their right to territorial self-government. They came to suspect Governor Reeder, his policies, and his motives, and they found the pleasing hospitality of the “Missourians” untrustworthy.

Secretive allusion, during the campaign and after it, to the American party, has no explanation in this acknowledged plan. Three times in the book the author named the party, and hinted darkly at its presence and its prospects in the territory. It was, he said, the most powerful party in the United States. May the American cause not already have carried its standard to Kansas in the non-committal “Free-State” candidate for delegate to congress? And may not the “Free-State” caption, in his case at least, have been but a “Know-Nothing” veil? The middle neutral course he tried to steer, the advocacy of government free of foreign officers, the non-intervention of states in affairs of other states, and the arraignment of the federal administration were all insinuations of the American party. In the breaking up of old line parties new party lines overlapped. Free-Soilers were first “barn-burning” Democrats; Native Americans were Democrats, Free-Soilers, or Whigs before they became Know Nothings and later blended with Republicans.

Not at all odd, with this political inheritance, is the uncertainty of J. Butler Chapman’s party membership in 1854-1855. As he wrote, his professed “political opinions and dogmas” were his own. They changed with his needs and hopes. He countenanced slavery when he was relying upon Proslavery support. When that support failed him, he condemned the institution. Not until 1856, however, did he foresee its downfall, even if it cost the severance of the union. Freedom was at last worth that price. Marshaled for

207. Ibid., p. 112.
209. Chapman, J. B., letters to Will, June 12, July 5, 1856, in Northern Indiana, July 10, July 31, respectively.
the conflict then were two political parties, “one for the liberty of the people,” and the other “for the disfranchisement and subjugation of the people.” Respectively, these parties were the Republican and the Democratic. Mr. Chapman’s sympathies were now with the former. The position was an evolution, resulting from his later experiences in Kansas territory.

The poor organization of Mr. Chapman’s book makes its prejudices obvious. With every repeated presentation of subject matter is repeated record of the author’s biased mind. Even the discussions of opposing points of view, designed to show both fairly, reveal unmistakably his own preference. His criticisms are no doubt often sincere expressions of honest observation. His use of them, however, makes his motive sometimes seem less open. In most of his comments upon public institutions and policies, for instance, he is directly or indirectly maligning the federal administration and its chief officer. In some he is vindicating personal wrong. The worth of his opinion is, in consequence, hard to evaluate. Just as anything military stirs adverse comment, and the very name of Governor Reeder is anathema, so everything in the Indian policy is at fault.

His book is full of thrusts at the government, at the Indian agents, and at the Christian missions for their inadequate provisions for Indians. He would lead the Indians to adopt habits of civilized life through precept and example of colonies of white folk placed in each tribe by the government to teach agricultural and mechanical arts; when educated they may better investigate the claims of the Christian religion. In the Rev. Thomas Johnson’s having taken his slaves to a territory, then free, Mr. Chapman sees strange comment on the present practice of the Christian missions. His remarks wax warmest over the Kansas Indians who once owned the whole territory of Kansas “from the Arrow rock to the Nebraska river” but who would now be forgotten except for the territory and the river that perpetuate the name.

212. Ibid., pp. 26, 29, 34, 44, 55.
213. Ibid., pp. 32-33, 57.
214. Ibid., p. 23. As delegate to congress before the territory was organized Doctor Johnson, according to Chapman, had used “the plenteous of his power” to have all school funds from the Indian department appropriated to his establishment. He had been nominated at Kickapoo, September 20, 1853, and declared elected November 8.—P. Orman Roy, The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise (Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1909), p. 148. Also, Wm. E. Connelly, The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker (Lincoln, Neb., 1892), p. 88.
Twice in his book the author pauses to comment upon the custom of paying for political patronage in place names. To hold himself above reproach Mr. Chapman first named his own town, laid out in August, 1854, “Delaware City.” In petitioning for a post office, he found a “Delaware” post office already existed. He then selected for his town “Whitfield City, a name of ancient remembrance among all Christian denominations.” Evidently he meant to refer to George Whitfield, 1714-1770, the English preacher and founder of Calvinistic Methodists, who had traveled widely in America. His spelling of the name, however, makes the reader wonder whether he was not rather paying tribute to J. W. Whitfield, the successful Proslavery candidate for delegate to congress, who, when elected, got immediate congressional action on the railroad projected by Mr. Chapman, but named by Mr. Chapman, “Kansas and Whitfield railroad.” The Kansas Weekly Herald did announce that the proprietors named Whitfield City “after the Squatter’s friend, Gen. Whitfield, delegate elect.” Whatever the significance of “Whitfield,” the Chapman town changed its name twice again. In 1856 it was “Kansapolis,” spelled also by its proprietor “Kansapoli” and “Kansaspoli.” Soon the town was known, too, as “Rochester.”

Sometime after the publication of his book Mr. Chapman returned to Kansas. He attended the Big Springs convention, October 5, 1856, and witnessed the organization of the Free-State party there. Later in the fall he issued the prospectus of a new paper to be located in Whitfield. The press which his book had announced was “preparing for Whitfield City” had evidently be-
come a reality. The *Herald of Freedom* now referred to him as “J. B. Chapman, Esq.,” and seemed in sympathy with his paper to be called the *Kansas Intelligencer.*225 “It is to advocate an immediate organization of a state government and will be decidedly Anti-Slavery in tone.”226 Four issues of the *Kansas Freeman* in Topeka published the “Prospectus” in its advertising columns.227 Clarinda P. Chapman was to report meetings of the constitutional convention in session in Topeka in October, 1855, for the *Kansas Intelligencer.*228 At least one issue of this paper, now frankly labeled “Free Soil,” must have appeared, for on June 12, 1856, Mr. Chapman wrote his son, Will, that it had been threatened as soon as issued and he had taken it “75 miles off in the wilderness.”229

Mr. Chapman now divided his interest between the development of his town and the organization of territorial politics. To both enterprises border warfare was an active hindrance.230 The town company of Kansapolis numbered about thirty—all Abolitionists and Republicans. Buildings included a saw mill and several frame houses. In the election of January 15, 1856, the Chapman house was the appointed place of voting for the Whitfield precinct.231

In June Mr. Chapman became involved in a quarrel with his fellow townsmen over boundary lines and the appropriation of part of one piece of property for a public road and bridge. Probate court proceedings of the county of Calhoun,232 deposed and recorded in June, and filed October 16 and 17, relate the story. The portrayal is colorful in language and in event. The offender tears down fences and tries to bully the owner off his claim. Failing in this attempt he threatens to drive him off or pull his neck. Then, on June 13 John B. Chapman and others receive recognizance to pay, of their goods and chattels, to the territory of Kansas, $550, and to

225. The Kansas State Historical Society has no other record of this paper than the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Freeman* notices. Herbert Flint, in his master’s thesis (unpublished), *Journalism in Territorial Kansas,* p. 1, p. 122, does not include the *Kansas Intelligencer* in his list of Kansas papers for 1854-1856.


228. *Daily Kansas Freeman,* Topeka, October 30, 1855.

229. *Northern Indiana,* July 10, 1856.

230. Ibid.

231. Election proclamation of J. H. Lane, chairman of the executive committee of Kansas territory, in the *Kansas Freeman,* Topeka, December 19, 1855; also in *Herald of Freedom,* January 12, 1856.

232. Calhoun county, established by the first territorial legislature held in 1855, embraced the region north of the Kansas river with Riley on the west, Nemaha and Brown on the north, and Jefferson and Atchison on the east. It included Whitfield City. It comprised what is now Jackson county, the eastern part of Potawatomi and what of Shawnee is north of the Kansas river.—*Statutes of the Territory of Kansas,* 1855, pp. 295-211; *Laws,* 1857, pp. 37-46; *General Laws,* 1860, pp. 83-87. Also Hiden G. Gill, *“The Establishment of Counties in Kansas,”* in *Kansas Historical Collections* (1900-1904), v. VIII, pp. 449-472.
keep the peace toward the people of the territory. The quarrel seems to have been a typical Chapman quarrel. Misunderstanding, impulsiveness, and persistence were at the bottom of it.

Affairs of wider significance were more disturbing to Kansapolis and its proprietor through the spring and summer of 1856. Border war prevailed over the whole territory. The town was in an exposed position without means of defense. Continual threats of plunder and robbery hindered business. Mr. Chapman himself lost a good riding horse, “an elegant racer,” that had cost him $150. Southerners robbed wagon loads of provisions en route from Kansas City. On June 11 Kansapolis lost its post office to Indianola, its rival Proslavery neighbor. In August “fifty” of its men were called to Nemaha to aid a band of 250 emigrants detained there by “guerillas of the South.” Once the Free-State sympathizers talked of sending J. Butler Chapman “to the states to try to get some arms through by Iowa.”

Both openly and secretly, now he gave allegiance to the Free-State cause whatever the name and the duty. Affiliations he formerly evaded or denied, he defended frankly; Free Soil, Free State, Anti-slavery, Abolition, and Republican were all admitted groupings now. In the same spirit and terms that he had condemned Abolitionists during his campaign for delegate to congress in 1854, he now damned the Proslavery men whose favor he then courted. Know Nothings were the only political party of which he now said nothing.

The J. B. Chapman of the private letters in 1856 was as busy politically as had been the J. Butler Chapman of congressional candidacy in 1854. Here, however, he was but a private citizen with only his own suffrage to control; yet as commentator upon affairs, he hoped to mold opinion. In June he believed the United States troops marching all around Kansapolis were endeavoring to stop the war, but actually they only made it worse. After the congressional committee had come to Kansas, the Free-Soilers ceased to defend themselves and the Proslavery party took advantage to prosecute the war the harder.

On July 5 he wrote at length of the failure of the Free-State legis-
lature to meet in Topeka July 4. He was himself a district delegate to the convention meeting July 2 and July 3, to determine a course of action; and he supported the resolution that the legislature should not be deterred from making its code of laws "at any sacrifice less than loss of life." He also claimed that the Free-State organization in Kansas had been got up entirely at his suggestion. Evidently he referred to the professed principles of his own candidacy on the Free-State ticket in 1854. He had then had some faith in the Democratic declarations, but events of July 4, 1856, in Topeka, led naturally in his letters to defamation of the President. "Thus it is for the first time in the annals of American history that the military, the tool of tyrants and despot, has been used for the subjugation and oppression of free-born Americans. . . . In the Democratic administration of Franklin Nero is the first despotic abuse of that power."

Other correspondence of J. B. Chapman through the summer and fall continued this old habit of abuse. In long half pages of derogatory epithets he inveighed editors for "severe strictures" upon himself; and he berated anew their "tyrant-master, Franklin Pierce," "for the woes and miseries he had caused in Kansas." The writer claimed he had no other motive "than the liberty of my country and the freedom of my posterity"; but as guarantee of the immunity he sought he continued to pay political tribute. Disunion which he now advocated was his own recommendation; but vituperation of Pierce and support of Frémon could have reflected Know-Nothing or Republican fealty here, for both parties damned Pierce and both nominated John C. Frémon in 1856.

In the early fall of 1856 Mr. Chapman was taken "prisoner of war . . . by the Georgia rangers from Tecumseh," carried like livestock, under the flag of Fort Leavenworth, to Leavenworth city, and there thrown into the dungeon. After Gov. J. W. Geary, speaking from the landing nearby, "thought fifteen of us were not

238. Chapman, J. B., letter to Will, July 5, 1856, in Northern Indiana, July 31, 1856.
239. The Kansas Tribune, Topeka, July 9, 1856, lists J. B. Chapman as one of the members of the committee on organization of the mass convention.
240. Vide ante, pp. 252-255. Perhaps he also referred to his support of "an immediate organization of a state government" in the prospectus of the Kansas Intelligence. Vide ante, p. 269.
241. Editors of Goshen Democrat and Democratic Platform, Indianapolis, in letter to Will, August 2, 1856, in Northern Indiana, August 28, 1856, and in letter to "Mr. Editor," August 13, 1856, ibid., September 4, 1856.
worth taking out,"  

Mr. Chapman was removed to the Proslavery barracks where, he said, 200 United States troops came to the succor of the slave troops. Although he despaired of his life, because of the hostility of Missourians to his book, Mr. Chapman finally received a discharge from Col. J. T. Clarkston, but was ordered to leave the territory on the steamer Tatman.

Returning to Indiana he made public addresses on Kansas from the stump. Later, in Ohio, he spoke in public meetings on his recent imprisonment. By January, 1857, he was back in Warsaw, writing critically of the “anti-Republican” government of Kansas, and of its corrupt officials;  

Reeder, Geary, Roberts, and Robinson had all been derelicts.  

He himself was to return to Kansas in a few days with “about one hundred substantial farmers . . . from Indiana and Illinois.”

In April he was again in the territory, writing now to the Leavenworth Times about misrepresentations in the Herald of Freedom of the settlement of the Delaware trust lands; and G. W. Brown, in editorial reply, “An Error,” accused him of misstatement and blunder.  

When he gave up residence in the town of his founding is not on record; in August, land agents of Topeka and Doniphan advertised Kansapolis shares for sale.  

By fall he was living in Leavenworth city where the press now referred to him as “Dr. John B. Chapman.”

In December he became active in organization of a company to construct the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Fort Gibson railroad.  

This was not the projected road to Whitfield City, a route later followed by the Union Pacific, but a new road, crossing the territory in a southerly direction and extending eventually to Galveston, Tex.  

The territorial press tells of his intermittent service as president of the company from December 8, 1857, into the summer of

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245. Ibid.
246. He includes Gov. Charles Robinson for his resignation in favor of Territorial Governor Geary in the attempted compromise to get into the union.—Cl., L. W. Sappington, Kansas, p. 204.
248. Advertisement of Allen and Stratton, Lawrence Republican, August 18, 1857.
249. Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth, March 26, 1858.
251. Fourth Biennial Report of the Attorney General of the State of Kansas (Kansas Publishing House, Topeka, July 1, 1864). Legislative act of February 24, 1866, changed the name to “Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad.” The original charter was granted February 12, 1858.
1859. Twice he was representative of the company in securing right of way through Indian lands, once going to Washington to lobby in congress for necessary support. The offices of the company were in Prairie City, but "Dr. Chapman" lived successively in Leavenworth, Mandovi, and Garnett.

In the winter of 1857-1858 Mr. Chapman had fallen into poor personal repute in Kansas territory. Being enamored of "a beautiful and accomplished young lady," Miss E. Flora Little, whom he importuned "greatly to join him in the holy bonds of wedlock," he transferred to her, in checks and notes, about $9,000. She had required the "bonus on the promise of marriage," because of the great discrepancy in their years; he was 61 and she, 24. On March 1, 1858, she failed to meet him in St. Louis, the appointed place of marriage. On March 2 she wrote him from St. Charles, Ill., that her father thought her too young to marry and was taking her to Canada. By the middle of March, however, when J. B. Chapman brought suit in the recorder's court in Leavenworth to recover his property, she pleaded she had learned since his courtship that he was a married man. He had reported in Leavenworth that his wife was dead. The case had a second hearing the first week in April. The decision was against J. B. Chapman. A month later his wife, who had all the while been residing in Ohio, wrote a friend in Lawrence "a hard story on the Doctor," who had refused to provide for herself and her year-and-one-half old child. Most of the


254. Lawrence Republican, October 20, 1858.

255. Herald of Freedom, Lawrence, December 11, 1858, and June 4, 1859. The New York Daily Tribune, November 6, 1858, and July 28, 1859, also records progress in the building of the road.

256. Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth, March 29, 1858.

257. Vide ante, p. 239. Kansas Weekly Herald, March 29, 1858, gave his age as "near 60." The same paper on April 3 gave it as 56. The Kansas Settler, Tecumseh, April 7, 1858, gave his age as 58 and hers as 23. It also called him "Dr. J. Bird Chapman," of "Kansasopolis and everywhere else."

258. Herald of Freedom, Lawrence, May 1, 1858.


261. Ibid.

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territorial press treated the case lightly, but the editor of the *Herald of Freedom* now concluded critically that Miss Little, who "diddled . . . the scamp" out of his $9,000, did well to let him shirk for himself, and that it was no fault of Chapman's own that he was not guilty of bigamy. "Wonder if the Doctor is a Mormon." The fear, expressed by J. Butler Chapman in his book, of the contiguousity of Kansas territory with Utah and her "people charged with doubtful morality," must have had personal as well as political motivation.

After June, 1859, John Butler Chapman does not seem to figure in Kansas events at all. His immediate destination, however, is not known. Both he and his friends wrote of his poverty. At last, though, came spoils, long delayed, for a life of political service—in the form of a clerkship in the treasury department in Washington, which he held until "his advanced age incapacitated him for the labors of that office and he returned to Warsaw, where he died October 20, 1877." Sight of Warsaw, one of the results of his early pioneering, ever gratified him, for it enabled him "to look back and see that my time and life was not idly spent in God's heritage. . . . I may have done much in vain, but I was never idle in the vineyard." Little is known of the published book of J. Butler Chapman. But one contemporary review has come to light now. It appeared in the form of an editorial in the *Herald of Freedom*, May 19, 1855, almost four months after the issuing of the book. It bore the caption, "A Worthless Publication."

We have just received a work published by J. Butler Chapman, Esq., which claims to be a "History of Kansas and Emigrants' Guide," but every page, as far as we have perused it, abounds with material errors. Its great object seems to have been to give notoriety to "Whitfield City," which is often alluded to in the course of the publication, and made prominent on the map, being represented with a railroad running through it, while towns five times as populous are not mentioned in the book or referred to on the map. We consider the work a poor apology as a "History of Kansas," and hope those desiring reliable information about the territory, will not be gulled into its purchase.

The book appears to have been got up in Ohio, by the advocates of slavery, to counteract the influence of truthful statements with which the press abounds, in regard to Kansas.

Obviously the writer of that review had not read all of the Chapman book. Its inadequacy as either a history or a guide and its

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262. *Vide ante*, p. 265.
"material errors" are readily apparent. The hastiest sort of survey, however, should have betrayed some profession of impartiality or shown some intolerance of Antislavery and Proslavery men. Every discussion is shot through with assertion of both. The book could not have had the consistent advocacy of the South. The review itself is a "poor apology" for a review.

The editor of the Herald of Freedom was himself, of course, a prejudiced reviewer. Probably no one in Lawrence in 1855 could have looked at the Chapman book open-mindedly. Abolitionists and Antislavery folk alike there felt both their cause and their practices above reproach; and the persons who had been active in the laying out of Lawrence city believed their success merited only commendation. J. Butler Chapman does not commend their triumph. On the other hand he does not condemn it. He represents himself at the time as a mediator between the projectors of Excelsior and Lawrence and always as a writer without bias; but throughout his account of the occurrences, and thereafter in frequent allusion to the outcome, he betrays his sympathy with the defeated protagonists of Excelsior city.

Early manifestation of this attitude probably prevented the reviewer's full perusal of the book. Anyway he frankly admits he had not read it all. Though Whitfield City does receive too great prominence, what facts the author records about it are truthful enough; only his enthusiasm for it is too unbounded. The information he gives about other places appears now to be as reliable, too, as the "truthful statements with which," according to the Lawrence editor, "the press abounds." Mr. Chapman does say in his introduction that most writers have made Kansas falsely alluring, and in both his book and his letters about it later, he falls into the same trap himself in making the parts he likes a near paradise. Discounting his exaggerations, however, and weighing his records with facts now known about the items he treats, the student of Kansas history must accord him as much dependability as other chance writers of the time.

His intentions seem sincere. His disposition was unfortunate. The tendency to erratic thought and interest manifested early and to petty quarreling noted in his sojourn in Indiana, trailed him

[266. On March 10, 1855, this same Herald of Freedom, under the caption, "Be on Your Guard," had warned readers to "Look out for Proslavery men, who pretend to be Free Soilers, for the purpose of drawing out information to be made use of at the coming election. We have positive assurance that there are 'wolves among us in sheep's clothing.' Be cautious that they do no harm."
into Kansas and there found reflection in his book. His political outlook would have annoyed any partisan contemporary of any political party.

That it did has abundant evidence in “the truthful statements” of the contemporary press. Correspondence from Lawrence in October, 1854, to Northern papers shows utter lack of sympathy, especially among Lawrence people, for J. Butler Chapman. S. F. Tappen, writing to the Boston Atlas, October 14, called him a “self-appointed candidate,” who in his “political harangue in Oread Hall” murdered the English language cruelly, saying “nothing but words; no ideas.” Another nameless writer referred to him as making a fool of himself. E. D. Ladd, in the Milwaukee Sentinel, gave somewhat different details of the tent episode and talk from J. Butler Chapman’s own, adding that in him “we have no confidence whatever.” “T,” in the Philadelphia Sun, called the address “a political harangue by an Indiana politician,” after which S. C. Pomeroy, “who could and did make a speech,” put “hard hits on the would-be elected delegate. He at once took offense, and said to Washington as a delegate he would go in spite of our crowd.”

These Lawrence correspondents were all out of sympathy with J. Butler Chapman. Governor Reeder’s territorial tour and reception in Lawrence had different interpretations, too, from their pens. Their accounts, all doubtless known to the editor of the Herald of Freedom in Lawrence, probably seemed to him “truthful statements.” They were opinionated, nevertheless, quite as much as J. Butler Chapman’s own in his History of Kansas and Emigrant’s Guide.

That the South doubted him, too, is evident from his own story of being “mobbed in Missouri for having written and circulated a book which they said was dangerous to slavery, because it professed to give a true history on both sides.” This episode led both J. B.

267. “In Oread Hall” is probably a misprint for “on Oread hill.”
270. Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, November 4, 1854.—Ibid., p. 3.
273. New York Daily Tribune, November 3, 1854. This account does not record the date of the mobbing.
Chapman and his fellow prisoners in Leavenworth in 1856 to believe he had no chance for his life.

In a letter of August 2, 1856, to his son Will, Mr. Chapman made another allusion to his book. Once when he was "extremely dry and hungry," he had sent to T. L. Graves, a former political friend in Indiana, "a bundle of maps and my little history of Kansas, which I had written at much expense, to sell for me. . . . And the book and maps I never heard of." 274

On August 12, in reviewing his own achievements for the editor of the *Northern Indianian*, Mr. Chapman says he has written two books; 275 one was no doubt his *History of Kansas and Emigrant’s Guide*. The second is entirely unknown in Kansas. 276

Surveying the early literature on Kansas, in their *Handbook to Kansas Territory* in 1859, James Redpath and Richard J. Hinton listed the Chapman history as the second book on Kansas. They criticized the omnipresence of Whitfield in the volume as a stratagem characteristic of the land speculators. The town was still only a log-hut. Its 1859 appellation of Kansasopolis they called Rufus-Chotean. 277

In 1875 D. W. Wilder, in his *Annals of Kansas*, characterized the little volume as a "peculiar book," and said its author was known in the state, "where he spent a few months, as John B. Chapman." 278 J. H. Bennet, writing of him for his "Early Recollections of Kansas," 1878, said "J. Butler Chapman . . . was his name. 279 It must not be allowed to go down to oblivion without being read once more by the old settlers of Jefferson county." Then he launched into a five-page memory picture of the man and the book. He paraphrased Chapman’s own extravagant picture of Whitfield City. Politically, he called him a "Democrat with Know-Nothing prophecies or else he was a Know Nothing with Democrat prophecies." The book itself Mr. Bennet characterized as "funny" for its prophecies. The description of the "Nimchaw" he regarded as "the dullest portion of his book, and . . . not the less true on that account."

275. Letter of J. B. Chapman to "Mr. Editor," August 12, 1856, in *ibid.*, September 4, 1856.
276. A letter from John W. Chapman, North Manchester, Ind., December 14, 1855, refers to an autobiography of John Butler Chapman treating of his life to the time of his emigration to Indiana. The manuscript of this autobiography was once in the possession of a son, Charles W. Chapman; upon the son’s death family effects were disposed of. This manuscript, according to the grandson, John W. Chapman, is said now to be "in the possession of a lady in Warsaw."
The account of Jefferson county itself was too meager, in spite of the assertion that its high prairie looks "all over creation and the rest of Kansas territory." In 1921 George J. Remsburg reviewed J. Butler Chapman's 1854 observations of Doniphan county, and in 1924 criticized his calling the bluffs around Doniphan and Geary City "poor knobs," for they "have always been very productive, despite their sallow complexion."

Newspaper writers across the years, in stories of Whitfield City, referred to more often as Kansapolis or Rochester, allude to J. B. Chapman as the founder, quote at length from his extravagant picture of the townsite, dwell upon the educational facilities designed for the community, and emphasize quite as much as did he its convenient location on public roads. Some of them quote from "Pioneer Life in Kansas," written by Fannie E. Cole, in 1900, for the Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association. In company with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Cole, she had come to Kansas in the winter of 1855 and settled near Indianola, where she had since lived.

Somewhere during our journey to Kansas a pamphlet written by one J. Butler Chapman had fallen into my father's hands. This pamphlet described at great length and in glowing language the manifold advantages and the phenomenal growth of a city called Whitfield. In this city, besides the many elegant residences, were banks, schoolhouses, and other public buildings, and plans for a great college or university were under way.

My father decided that he would settle as near this town as possible, and for this reason had declined to remain at Lawrence. Whitfield was described as being situated on the banks of the "Cenda river." Upon reaching the site of this wonderful city, my father's disgust can be more easily imagined than described when he found that it was a city of stakes only; not a single house or even a tent to break the monotony of bare hills and wide, rolling prairie. It was not then, and never has been, a town, but is a pleasant country neighborhood of fine farms, some of them small, and pretty homes. The "Cenda river" is well known under the more prosaic appellation of Soldier creek.

The "pamphlet" that lured the Coles to Whitfield City was of course a History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide, the very same copy perhaps, now in board covers in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, for Eugene M. Cole, who was its donor, was a brother of Fannie E. Cole. Historic itself, then, becomes this one known copy of the Chapman book.

283. Topeka Daily Capital, May 3, 1881; Topeka State Journal, November 11, 1922, and December 6, 1922.
284. Kansas Historical Collections (1911-1912), v. XII, pp. 353-358.