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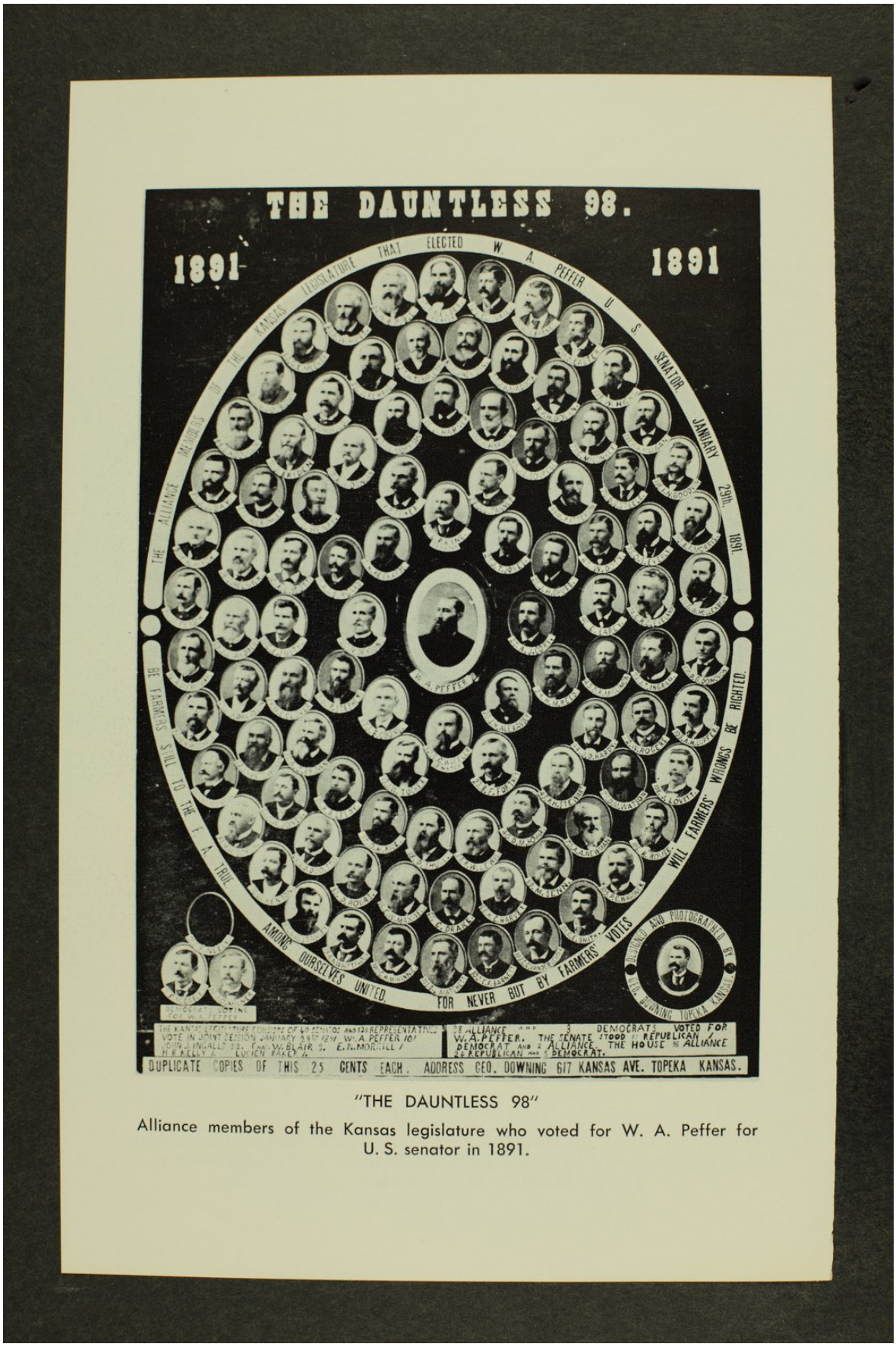


"THE DAUNTLESS 98"

Alliance members of the Kansas legislature who voted for W. A. Peffer for U. S. senator in 1891.

from such sources.[19] Already, many Populists objected to Peffer because of his history of Republicanism and his relatively recent conversion to independent political action. The Winfield *American Non-Conformist* believed that "to overthrow Ingalls and elect a nine-months old convert would sound to the world as a very mediocre type of reform." Other long-time third party men expressed reservations about the permanency of Peffer's loyalty to Populist principles and feared that as senator he would act with Republicans, especially on tariff matters where his reputation as a confirmed protectionist hurt him.[20] These former Union Laborites demanded the selection of one of their own, as a reward for their persistence in the cause of reform, and generally favored either P. P. Elder or John Breidenthal.

Democrats within and without the People's party also feared a latent Republicanism in Peffer and opposed his election. Many Democrats believed that the defeat of Ingalls was vital and "the success of any man be he either Democrat or Alliance is to be eagerly sought for and *fought for,*" wrote one, and though a Democratic replacement would be desirable, "we propose to beat him with *any sort of a man if we must.*" [21] Other Democrats, however, insisted that if the Populists "want our support they must select a candidate that will at least be unobjectionable," and they warned that the Democratic legislators would support neither Peffer nor Willits.[22] Democrats suggested the selection of either Charles Robinson or W. A. Harris. When Democratic and Union Laborite sentiments combined, as in the editorial policy of W. H. T. Wakefield's Lawrence *Jeffersonian,* Peffer was sharply proscribed. But, according to one observer, nearly all Populists of Republican antecedents suffered from "the suspicion that they have too much republican blood in their veins to be up to the wild-and-woolly standard of reform." [23]

One major objection specifically to Peffer involved his age and health. Already nearly 60 years old, he was frail and frequently ill. Indeed, a severe attack of bronchial asthma confined him to bed from December 12, 1890, until January 6, 1891, and two weeks later a sympathetic reporter excused the brevity of one of Peffer's

19. Atchison *Daily Champion,* January 11, 1891; *American Non-Conformist,* Winfield, January 15, 1891; Topeka *Daily Capital,* January 4, 1891.
20. *American Non-Conformist,* January 15, 1891; *Kansas Farmer,* January 7, 1891; Girard *Western Herald,* January 17, 1891; Topeka *Populist,* December 3, 1892; Topeka *Daily Capital,* January 6, 9, 1891; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star,* January 28, 1891.
21. Nelson Acres to Cleveland, November 13, 1890, "Cleveland Papers."
22. Edward Carroll to George Innes, November 29, 1890, "Cleveland Papers."
23. Topeka *Daily Capital,* January 6, 9, 14, 15, 24, 1891.

speeches as resulting from "the judge's enfeebled physical condition as he had just risen from a sick bed." This illness also prevented his fulfilling his appointments in December in the special election in the 32d senatorial district.[24] Opponents of Peffer exaggerated his illness, moreover, and brutally predicted his rapid demise if elected senator, adding that Republican Gov. Lyman U. Humphrey could then appoint Ingalls to serve out the remainder of the six-year term, making the political reformation short-lived.[25]

Others saw in Peffer's precedence in the senatorial contest evidence that he and others in the party had joined in a "ring" to control the party and distribute offices to supporters. Mrs. Lease thought this to be the case but in her characteristic fashion believed that Willits, Peffer's major adversary for the Populist nomination, was a partner. When a scandal developed which implicated the new state president of the Farmers' Alliance in an attempt to gain the senate seat for Republican Cong. E. J. Turner through bribery, the accused attempted to divert attention to this alleged ring. A special Alliance committee absolved the president and few took the "ring" allegations seriously.[26]

Peffer responded in the *Kansas Farmer* to the charges against him and in the January 7, 1891, issue he openly began to seek the nomination. He reminded the *Non-Conformist* that he was a charter member of the People's party, as it was not merely the old Union Labor party but a new and distinct party made up of former Republicans, Democrats, and Prohibitionists as well as Union Laborites. Moreover, Peffer pointed out, he had supported the Alliance demands before either the *Non-Conformist* or the Farmers' Alliance had even been established in Kansas. "The plain truth," Peffer declared, was that while the third party papers had encouraged the Union Labor and Greenback elements, the *Kansas Farmer* had delivered the bulk of the new party's voters through attracting converts from the major parties and thus had provided the actual victory. Peffer also countered the criticism of his tariff position by repeatedly explaining the peculiar nature of his protectionist stance (free trade for common necessities and high taxes on luxuries; protection of the poor, the laborer, and the consumer rather than the rich and the manufacturers). He insisted that his

24. *Ibid.*, January 7, 15, 1891; *Kansas Farmer*, December 31, 1890, January 7, 1891.
25. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 29, 1891; Chicago (Ill.) *Tribune*, January 28, 1891.
26. Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal* in Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 2, 1891; *Kansas Farmer*, January 7, 1891; Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 10, 1891; M. W. Wilkins to Ignatius Donnelly, January 22, 1891, "Ignatius Donnelly Papers," Minnesota Historical Society.

break from the GOP was permanent and asserted his support for a national third party movement, vigorously denied any connection with rings or political combinations, and pointed out that he had not actively sought the nomination but that the people and the party had denoted him the rightful recipient in the state convention, in the campaign, and in local endorsements since.[27] Others deemphasized the issue of Peffer's age and health by noting that Elder was even older than Peffer and that although the Judge was "not a strong man physically," he had a mental and moral courage that fortified him. One reporter observed that Peffer's campaign in 1890 had been both more intense and protracted than any other Populist, while the robust Willits had not begun until after his August nomination and still broke down under the strain three times before the November election.[28]

Such explanations apparently satisfied the party's rank and file. Even while Peffer lay ill in Topeka, unable to fill his speaking appointments in the 32d senatorial district, the Populist party of that district instructed its successful candidate to vote for Peffer. When Chase county farmers heard that their representative favored Judge Frank Doster, they called an emergency meeting of the county Alliance in which they unanimously declared Peffer their choice and instructed their representative to vote only for him. Other Alliances and local Populist clubs continued to endorse Peffer's election and it seemed clear that he was the popular favorite.[29]

As the legislators began to arrive in Topeka in early January, however, it became evident that Peffer was not the first choice of a majority of Populist politicians. Though Willits' election as national lecturer of the Farmers' Alliance had injured his senatorial chances with some, others felt him to be the party's best candidate and pushed his claims as a compromise candidate if Peffer proved unable to increase his lead to a majority. Willits' supporters believed he could attract votes from the Union Laborite faction without alienating those former Republicans that composed Peffer's strength. Doster, one of the most brilliant of Kansas public figures, also appealed to former Republicans among the Populists, but he did not have Peffer's personal popularity. Nearly every other figure of Kansas Populism appeared as a local or group

27. *Kansas Farmer*, January 7, 1891; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 28, 1891.
28. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 29, 1891.
29. Atchison *Daily Champion*, December 23, 1890, January 2, 1891; Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 13, 20, 1891.

favorite, including John Davis, Jerry Simpson, W. A. Harris, John Breidenthal, Harry Vrooman, John H. Rice, and P. B. Maxson.

The most important development was the candidacy of P. P. Elder. On January 3 the Topeka *Daily Capital* ranked the senatorial candidates in order of their estimated strength and placed Elder third behind Peffer and Willits. These three were easily the most important candidates, for Doster in fourth place was far behind. A week later, the *Capital* reported that Peffer had lost ground and that Elder would probably win the nomination. On January 12th the Populist legislators held their first caucus and unanimously agreed to elect Elder speaker of the house. Elder's election inaugurated a senatorial boom for him, and a prominent Allianceman predicted that within a week Elder would be regarded as the strongest Populist candidate. The *Capital* explained Elder's ascendancy: while Peffer, Willits, and others were public candidates and thus generated opposition and defense, thereby creating dissension and animosity, Elder remained quiet at home. Once in Topeka, Elder discovered "his party all torn up as between the Peffer and anti-Peffer factions," and his election as speaker gave him through the power of committee appointments the opportunity to unify the Populists behind him. The Union Labor and Democratic elements of the People's party swung to Elder, moreover, stigmatizing Peffer as "too recently a republican." "On the other hand," the paper added, as a public candidate at last Elder would henceforth be subjected to the same attacks that Peffer had endured.[30]

The debate over the Populist candidate obscured the fact that Ingalls had not conceded and, indeed, provided him with reason not to do so. The division within the People's party might prove so bitter, Republicans hoped, that the Populists would be unable to unite on a candidate, and with solid Republican support Ingalls might be able to win. The ease with which each side of any Alliance dispute, such as the Turner scandal, accused the other of being "Ingalls' fixers" delighted the Republicans, who confidently expected the People's party to break into its constituent parts. Ingalls himself was active in Topeka before the legislature convened and before leaving for congress promised his supporters to return "if advised later that my presence will be of advantage." He cautiously appraised his chances. "Everything *depends*. If the Ghost Dance continues and the expectation of a political Messiah is not

30. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 3, 11, 13, 14, 15, 1891; Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 17, 1891.

repressed, it goes one way. If the frenzy subsides, it goes the other. We cannot tell until the great medicine men have a palaver." In Washington, Ingalls expressed more confidence: "The indications are favorable, and with courage and vigilance success is apparently within reach." [31]

Ingalls depended upon more than courage and vigilance. Republican boss Cy Leland arrived in Topeka "to remain a few days in the interest of Senator Ingalls," as a newspaper delicately phrased it; legislators apparently felt pecuniary pressure; the Republicans increasingly emphasized the Ingalls specialty of bloody-shirt politics; and Ingalls himself in a senate speech on January 14 capitulated to Alliance principles and advocated agrarian and debtor relief. He also repudiated an earlier statement that the purification of politics was an "iridescent dream," an assertion which had outraged the reformers.[32] Peffer denounced Ingalls' belated gesture to Kansas farmers, adding that it was "a pity that so great an effort should have been conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity." The *Capital* and other Republican newspapers, however, expected that this speech would insure the senator's reelection.[33]

The possibility that Ingalls might indeed achieve a victory through Populist dissension activated Populist preparations as the legislature convened. Alliances met and selected men to go to Topeka to watch and protect Populist legislators, "in accordance with Peffer's advice." [34] The record of previous senatorial elections in Kansas seemed to warrant all but the most extreme fears of the Populists, and these earlier elections had involved merely intra-party struggles and nothing so convulsive as the overthrow of the GOP. Not only Populists but Democrats and Republicans expected Ingalls to attempt to bribe legislators, and many were convinced that violent tactics including assassination had not been ruled out. Mrs. Lease warned of spies and wanted a dozen bodyguards for every Populist legislator. Her wish was not completely answered but one reporter noticed that three bodyguards escorted every legislator to prevent Ingalls from practicing his feared "amoral tactics to secure his reelection." [35] In Topeka, the Populists avoided

31. Ingalls to J. W. Steele, January 3, 1891; "Ingalls Papers"; Ingalls to J. A. Halderman, January 7, 1891, "J. A. Halderman Papers," KSHS.

32. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 13, 1891; Topeka *Mail*, January 23, 1891; B. J. Williams, "John James Ingalls: A Personal Portrait of a Public Figure" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1965), pp. 275-276; J. C. Malin, *Confounded Rot About Napoleon* (Lawrence, 1961), pp. 106-109.

33. *Kansas Farmer*, January 21, 1891; Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 16, 17, 1891; Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 15, 1891; Williams, "Ingalls," p. 276.

34. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 3, 1891.

35. Williams, "Ingalls," p. 277; Malin, *Confounded Rot*, p. 79; Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 3, 1891.

the major hotels, crowded together in cheap rooming houses, and absolutely refused to talk to anyone about anything. They held all their meetings secretly, behind locked and guarded doors, and in order to keep a united front decided to make no move on any question without caucusing first. All five Populist congressmen-elect arrived in Topeka vowing to use their influence to keep the Populist legislators in line.[36]

Ingalls and his supporters certainly had no intentions of obtaining his election through violent means, but apparently they did not completely rule out extralegal tactics. Republican senators suggested adjourning the senate to prevent the possibility of holding a joint ballot with the house and thus give Governor Humphrey the opportunity to appoint Ingalls to the senate.[37] Frank McGrath, Alliance state president, and Jerry Simpson both reported that bribes were offered to Populist legislators, though these offers may have been without Ingalls' authorization.[38] Ingalls, however, did give $250 to John Livingston, president of the New York State Farmers' Alliance, to go to Topeka in an effort to influence Alliance legislators for his election.[39]

The legislature convened on Tuesday, January 13, 1891, in a week filled with electioneering. As Elder privately worked his political wiles, Peffer, Doster, and others addressed public meetings, each attempting to make clear his candidacy without announcing it. On Friday night the Populist legislators held their first caucus on the senatorial issue but failed to reach any agreement. Jerry Simpson explained that "the friends of the various candidates have injured them by pressing their claims. No one can tell now who will be agreed upon, and it seems to be anybody's fight." [40]

The same caucus debated the question of the Populist candidate for the state printer. Observers believed the vote on the state printer would indicate the result of the senate race, and Republicans hoped for a Populist wrangle. The Friday night caucus, however, postponed action for the weekend after splitting over Edwin H. Snow, editor of the Ottawa *Journal and Triumph*, McLallin of the Topeka *Advocate*, and B. E. Kies of the *Kansas Commoner*. Both Elder and

36. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 13, 21, 29, 1891; Chicago (Ill.) *Tribune*, January 26, 1891; Topeka *Advocate*, October 2, 1895; Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 13, 1891; Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 17, 30, 1891; Nelson Acres to Cleveland, November 13, 1890, and George Glick to Cleveland, November 27, 1890, "Cleveland Papers."

37. Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 18-20, 1891; Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 21, 1891.

38. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 28, March 21, 1891; Williams, "Ingalls"; Topeka *Advocate*, October 2, 1895.

39. Topeka *Advocate*, October 28, November 4, 1891; Malin, *Confounded Rot*, p. 109.

40. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 15, 18, 1891.

Snow lived in Franklin county, and Elder approached the editor and told him to withdraw from the contest for state printer lest his own senatorial chances be weakened. Snow rejected Elder's threats and on Monday received the caucus nomination from a coalition of his supporters, those who opposed Elder's senatorial candidacy, and others who objected to Elder's highhanded tactics. Snow's selection was a serious setback to Elder's senatorial ambitions, while the unanimity with which Populist legislators stood by the caucus choice in the official balloting on Tuesday discouraged those Republicans who had hoped for victory through Populist divisiveness.[41] Populists rejoiced that "If the vote for state printer is an index, the 'Iridescent Statesman' will be a political corpse next Tuesday."[42]

Faced with apparent defeat, Republicans made valiant efforts to triumph in the senatorial contest. The *Capital* disputed the reasoning that, having held together to elect Snow, the Populists would be able to close ranks behind one candidate to defeat Ingalls. The senatorial election involved other factors, the *Capital* declared, and each favored Ingalls: reputation, experience, image, tradition.[43] Ingalls himself did not rely upon the past. He left Washington and arrived in Kansas City's Union Station Friday night, January 23, where he spent nearly three hours in secret talks with William Buchan, his campaign manager. Both men refused comment and continued to Topeka, where they set up headquarters at the Copeland Hotel. Republican legislators had caucused Friday only to postpone action until Ingalls arrived. Ingalls conferred with politicians all day Saturday the 24th and then attended the party caucus held that night in the senate chamber. He told the Republicans that he had a good chance of success but would withdraw if they thought another Republican would be able to attract greater support. Amidst optimism, his listeners unanimously agreed to stand by the senator.[44]

In their final efforts, Ingalls and his Republican supporters relied upon their traditionally successful political weapon—waving the bloody shirt to stir up partisan and sectional prejudice and animosity. Republican newspapers hammered at the theme that the Southern Confederacy directed the People's party, that unfrocked

41. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 17, 20, 1891; Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, January 21, 1891; Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 22, 1891; G. J. McQuaid to George C. Angle, January 21, 1891, "George C. Angle Papers," Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

42. M. W. Wilkins to Donnelly, January 22, 1891, "Donnelly Papers."

43. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 23, 1891.

44. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 24, 25, 1891; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 23, 24, 1891; Malin, *Confounded Rot*, p. 109.

but unrepentant Confederate officers controlled the Farmers' Alliance, that the People's party opposed the flag and old soldiers, while needlessly pointing out that Ingalls was a national leader in keeping the traitorous Southern Democrats under control. John Livingston arrived and on the basis of his position in the New York Alliance persuaded Mrs. Annie Diggs to introduce him to a Populist audience, whereupon he "revealed" how the goals of the Confederacy were to be realized through the Alliance, declared he possessed letters from other Alliance leaders exposing their intentions to punish Union veterans, proclaimed that Southern brigadiers dictated to Kansans, and announced his support for Ingalls.[45]

Republicans especially emphasized the old-soldier appeal aspect of bloody-shirt politics. They distributed printed petitions to the Kansas posts of the Grand Army of the Republic with instructions to flood the legislature with these demands for the reelection of Ingalls. In a few days hundreds of these pro-Ingalls petitions from Grand Army posts throughout the state descended upon the law-making body. The Republican senate printed them with pleasure in its *Journal,* but the Populist house usually refused to enter them upon the *House Journal* or else tabled them.[46] Veterans staged mass meetings in Topeka and elsewhere on the weekend before the election and in sanguinary and emotional language described how the South viewed Ingalls and old soldiers and how the irreconcilable traitors had welcomed the Alliance at Ocala as a friend of the Democracy. Three thousand Topeka veterans enthusiastically greeted Ingalls and resolved that "the election of any other person to fill his present position . . . will be regarded by us as a direct blow to the defenders of our country in the hour of her greatest need." [47]

Republicans hopefully anticipated that old soldiers among the Populists would vote for Ingalls regardless of the caucus decision. The *Capital* emphasized the increasing Democratic control of the Kansas People's party evident in the apparent displacement of Peffer and other ex-Republicans by "Confederates" in the senatorial contest. In the *Capital's* final plea for Ingalls, it waved the bloody shirt while arguing that if Ingalls were defeated, it would represent the triumph of sectional prejudice and demagoguery! [48]

In a last effort to divide the Populists, Republicans promoted a

45. See John Livingston to Benjamin Harrison, February 6, 1891, and enclosed clippings, "Benjamin Harrison Papers," Library of Congress.

46. *Senate Journal* (Topeka, 1891), pp. 126, 140-142, 151-156, 160-162, 166-168, 176; *House Journal* (Topeka, 1891), pp. 138-140.

47. *Senate Journal,* p. 162; Topeka *Daily Capital,* January 24, 25, 1891.

48. *Senate Journal,* p. 162; Chicago (Ill.) *Tribune,* January 26, 1891; Topeka *Daily Capital,* January 15, 20, 25, 1891; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star,* January 26, 1891.

late senatorial boom for W. A. Harris, a former Democrat and Confederate officer and a leader of the Leavenworth county Farmers' Alliance. The Democrats had avoided any public statements of their intentions but had maneuvered to dictate the selection of the People's party. They preferred a straight Democrat, but, recognizing the Populist ability to elect a candidate totally without Democratic help, determined to press for a Populist with Democratic tendencies. In conjunction with some Democratic-Populists, then, the straight Democrats argued for the selection of Harris. Ingalls' supporters quietly encouraged the Harris boom, expecting that combined with bloody-shirt passions a successful Harris nomination would split the People's party.[49]

Democratic influence upon the Populists was weak, however, and when Populists also perceived "Buchan's handiwork in the Harris candidacy," as one reporter described the Republican interest, the Harris boom faded rapidly.[50] In the last weekend before the senatorial election many other candidates appeared and vanished, leaving Peffer, Willits, and Elder still in the front. With Snow's election, for example, some Populists of Union Labor background swung to John Davis, but the legislators decided in a caucus not to consider any proposals for the five Populist Congressmen-elect. Ex-Gov. John P. St. John appeared briefly as a dark horse candidate when he made a sharp attack on Ingalls, but he was a Prohibitionist and not a Populist. Others suggested S. M. Scott, Alliance state lecturer, as a possible compromise candidate.[51]

On Thursday, January 22, Elder caucused his own supporters, the first time a candidate assembled his followers, and they decided to push his candidacy in spite of Snow's election. Elder announced the following day that "The election of Snow will not hurt me in the least. The men who were in my caucus last night are among the strongest members of the House and prospects seemed to them more flattering than they had yet been."[52]

On Saturday the Populist legislators caucused as a group in the Stormont building and required all those ever mentioned as possible senatorial candidates to speak briefly and to pledge their support for the eventual nominee. Caucus officers permitted no demonstrations and made no attempt to take a vote. The legislators ruled out any surprise candidate by agreeing to select their candi-

49. Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 27, 1891; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 21, 26, 1891; Peffer to Innes, November 29, 1890, and Carroll to Innes, November 29, 1890, "Cleveland Papers."
50. Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 27, 1891.
51. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 22, 1891.
52. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1891; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 23, 1891.

date from the men who spoke. Reporters believed that Breidenthal emerged from the Saturday causus with increased support and that Willits reappeared as the most likely compromise candidate between the pro- and anti-Peffer forces. They also judged that Peffer retained first place because so many of the legislators felt themselves instructed or obligated to vote for him, but expected that after the first ballot some of his followers would desert him.[53] Rumors abounded on Sunday as the Populists "observed the Sabbath by holding a caucus all day." Most involved Elder, who watched his strength flow to Breidenthal, another former Union Laborite. One report held that if Elder failed to receive the caucus nomination, Ingalls would throw his support to Elder and thereby disrupt the People's party and make the new senator indebted to Republicans. Others claimed that Elder had declared his intention to break the caucus pledge if he were not selected.[54]

"It is not a mere figure of speech to say that the eyes of the nation are fixed today upon Topeka," reported the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* on Monday, January 26, 1891. "It has been for the past week the great news center of the country. It is thronged with newspaper correspondents from all the leading cities of the United States. . . . The [senatorial] contest is altogether the most notable which has ever occurred in a state whose history has been enriched by a variety of startling political episodes." The day passed tensely, the Republican senate reading into the record nearly 100 old soldiers' petitions for Ingalls' reelection and the Populist house observing a struggle between Elder and his opponents over control of the galleries and lobbies. Both the Populists and the Republicans had scheduled their decisive caucuses for Monday night, for the two houses of the legislature would vote separately Tuesday before Wednesday's official election for senator.

Republicans gathered in the senate chamber and amidst confidence and harmony quickly pledged themselves unanimously for Ingalls.[55]

In a remarkably different atmosphere the Populists convened their caucus at 8 P. M. in the Trades Assembly hall. Search parties first systematically cleared the hall and ousted the Trades Assembly itself. Populist marshals stationed guards at the entrances, placed

53. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 25, 1891; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 24, 1891.
54. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 26, 1891.
55. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 27, 1891.

"a cordon of stalwart farmers" on the stairs leading to the second floor caucus room, and posted sentinels outside the windows of the building. An Associated Press reporter described other precautions taken on the Monday before the caucus:

> A system of the most rigorous espionage was established, and when a member went out he was accompanied by at least one of his brethren. These guards stood over the alliance men in the hotel corridors, accompanied them on their strolls about the streets, went to their meals with them and walked to the capitol with them this afternoon when they attended the meeting of the house, watching the proceedings from the gallery, button-holed them after the session and stayed with them until the caucus hour arrived.[56]

The caucus balloting revealed both the variety of positions and personalities within the People's party and the dominant status of former Republicans and Peffer in particular. Seventeen aspirants split the 93 caucus votes on the first ballot with Peffer receiving 35—as many as the total of the next four candidates: Willits 12, Elder 10, Breidenthal 8, Doster 5. Generally eliminating the candidate with the fewest votes on each preceding ballot, the caucus struggled through over five hours of debate and voting before declaring Peffer the party's nominee for United States senator. Peffer led on every ballot but the persistent strength of Willits and Elder required 18 ballots before he secured a majority. Finally, the caucus sang "Hallelujah" and adjourned at 1:15 Tuesday morning.[57]

Despite a caucus pledge to secrecy, the news of Peffer's nomination spread rapidly. The Republican legislators had awaited news of the nominee with hope that the Populists would choose a nominee like Harris and splinter the party. They had received reports that only 70 legislators had attended the caucus, and persuaded themselves that these would be unable to give a majority of their party's total votes to one man. Buchan believed that the allegedly absent Populist legislators would support Ingalls. Peffer's nomination made it improbable that more than a few Populists would bolt the caucus choice, and when word of the nomination reached him, Buchan raged over the defeat of his plans and then conceded Peffer's election, adding "it is idle to hope longer." Ingalls received the news calmly and appeared resigned to defeat.[58]

Elder received the news of his defeat at the National Hotel where he waited in his room. While his son and his friends tried to calm him, he raged in a profane tirade for several hours.

56. New Orleans (La.) *Daily Picayune*, January 27, 1891.
57. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 27, 1891; Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 27, 1891; *Kansas Farmer*, February 11, 1891.
58. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 27, 1891; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 27, 1891.

Threatening to resign his office and destroy his opponents, Elder acted, one friend reported, as though he had temporarily lost his sanity. He considered his long career in the reform movement entitled him to senatorial recognition and wept in the realization that at his age, "It was my last chance. . . ." [59]

Other Populists who had opposed Peffer conferred secretly after the caucus adjourned in the Copeland Hotel (causing some Populists to fear they were bargaining with Ingalls). These were largely old third-party men who objected to Peffer's nomination in the conviction that one of their own should have been recognized. They reluctantly agreed, one wrote later, "that our proper course, under the circumstances, was to stand by Peffer until he proved himself false to the principles of the party, a consummation we then expected." [60]

Still other Populists viewed Peffer's candidacy more hopefully. Ex-Republicans like Congressman-elect William Baker admired Peffer and expressed pleasure at his selection. Benjamin Clover declared "of course, the Judge will do; he is pretty close to the old gang, but we are hoping that he will turn about-face now and get a move on him in the other direction." Jerry Simpson approved Peffer's past record and added that he was respectable—something that the party needed to counteract its boisterous and bizarre public image. John Davis regarded Peffer's nomination as a "very creditable one. . . . Peffer seems to be the second choice of everyone, but he will do to beat Ingalls with, and that, after all, is the main point." McLallin, Mrs. Lease, Mrs. Diggs, and others also accepted the nomination unenthusiastically but without protest.[61]

Only superficially had the contest within the People's party appeared as a struggle between moderate and radical factions. Only a few among the former Republicans, like McLallin, genuinely viewed the choice as an ideological decision, favoring the moderate wing of the party. Nearly invariably, the reaction among Populists to Peffer's selection was governed by their previous party affiliation. The opposition of the former Union Laborites arose from partisan prejudice and pride at least as much as from any theoretical disagreements. Indeed, Elder, Union Labor candidate for governor in 1888 and current national chairman of the Union Labor party, ascribed his rejection to the influence of the radicals, and

59. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 27, 1891.
60. A. J. R. Smith in Topeka *Populist*, December 3, 1892; *cf.* Frank McGrath in Topeka *Daily Capital*, March 21, 1891.
61. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 27, 28, 1891.

others added that between Willits and Peffer the radical Populists favored the latter.[62] In many respects, too, former Republicans proved the most militant in arguing for immediate implementation of sweeping reform proposals, in the time-honored fashion of converts, whereas most Union Laborites exhibited a practical fatalism produced by a life of defeat and a custom of compromise through fusion with that other political minority, the Kansas Democracy. These critics simply wanted recognition through senatorial honors for their generation of reform agitation as they saw it come to fruition. Democrats and Democratic-Populists also rejected a true ideological approach to the contest, except insofar as such practical political issues as prohibition influenced their view point. They were willing to accept Elder or another "radical" candidate from the Union Labor faction of the party but were adamant against a "moderate" Republican like Peffer. Years of deliberately inflamed prejudices and exaggerated hostility separated Democrats and Republicans on principle, as well as principles.

"Today at Topeka," the Atchison *Champion* announced on Tuesday, January 27, 1891, "will be enacted the last act in the most picturesque drama which has ever been performed on the Kansas political stage." A turnaway crowd packed the galleries of Representative hall by early morning. The senate requested a joint session at noon for the senatorial ballot, but the house, fearing some deception, refused to consent and each house voted separately. The senate quickly balloted, giving Ingalls 35 of 40 votes. Peffer received two votes, one from Sen. Sydney C. Wheeler of Cloud county, elected by Populists in a special election and the only member not a holdover from the GOP's triumphant success in 1888, and the other from Republican Sen. L. P. King who described himself as an Allianceman who believed that Peffer was a good Republican and a good old soldier too. In the house Speaker Elder called for the vote promptly at noon. He allowed no nominating speeches and only Republican cheers for Ingalls interrupted the roll call. The Populists were mute except to respond to their names. The ranks of the party held firm, resulting in a strict party vote, 96 Populists for Peffer, 23 Republicans for Ingalls, and 5 Democrats for Charles W. Blair of Leavenworth. When the clerk announced the final vote the Populists erupted in a paroxysm of shouts, songs, laughter, and tears. Representatives danced on their

62. *Ibid.*, January 27, 28, 1891; Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, January 28, 1891. For an account of this election as a struggle between radical and moderate groups, *see* David Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1869-1901* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 173. Rothman's interpretation, facts, and political labels all reveal at best a superficial examination of this election.

desks in their excitement over Ingalls' defeat.[63] Because each house of the legislature had not given Peffer a majority there remained the necessity of a ballot in joint session on Wednesday, but the demonstration of Populist solidarity made it only a formality, and all involved conceded Peffer's election.

Populists continued their celebrations throughout the day, culminating in Metropolitan hall that night. The crowd enthusiastically sang "alliance hallelujah songs" and listened to speeches by Jerry Simpson, Mrs. Lease, Mrs. Diggs, and Sam Wood. Simpson congratulated the Populists for closing "their ears to the seducing offers of bribes" and standing together behind Peffer, whose election, Jerry declared, marked a "most important epoch in history." Wood offered his own resolution opposing the old soldier resolutions for Ingalls with "the brilliant soldier record of Judge Peffer" and the meeting adopted it.[64]

Tuesday night Democratic legislators held the last of the senatorial caucuses. Displeased with Peffer's nomination, they had all voted for Blair on the first legislative roll call. Some, however, felt that by voting for Peffer on the official ballot they might be able to exert more influence upon the course of the People's party. Others like Sen. Edward Carroll steadfastly opposed supporting Peffer, and the conference left Wednesday's votes up to the individual Democratic legislator.[65]

Expectation if not suspense brought another overflow crowd to Representative hall on Wednesday. There had been rumors that the senate, in a final effort to prevent Peffer's election, would refuse to meet in joint session, but realizing that even such an audacious act would prove futile before Peffer's tremendous house majority, the senators assembled in Representative hall at noon. Peffer's family sat near the speaker's table while the judge remained in the sergeant-at-arms' room. Ingalls did not attend but stayed in his hotel room with a few friends. Again there were no nominating speeches and few explanations of votes and the voting continued without interruptions or demonstrations. Three Democrats changed their votes from Blair to Peffer in the only variation from Tuesday's balloting, and Peffer was declared senator by a vote of 101 to 58 for Ingalls, 3 for Blair, and three scattered. The senate quickly moved that the joint session be dissolved and left the chamber before Peffer, who had emerged in tears, could speak.[66] He was

63. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 28, 1891.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 28, 1891.
66. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 28, 29, 31, 1891; Topeka *Mail*, January 30, 1891; *House Journal*, pp. 191-197.

"pale, nervous, and trembled like a leaf in the wind," declared one observer, and with "a ministerial swing of the arms, a sing-song voice, a constant looking up to Heaven, a reverential attitude, and the nervous walk of an exhorter," Peffer spoke briefly, thanking the legislators for their confidence and promising all that he would work to establish the People's party through which a new society would be created.[67]

Alliancemen and reformers throughout the country joined Kansas Populists in celebrating Peffer's election. A Missouri Alliance characterized it as "the greatest victory of the times"; L. L. Polk regarded the defeat of Ingalls as "the greatest blow at sectionalism that has been struck for twenty-five years"; and the National Farmers' Alliance considered Peffer's election "the beacon light that will lead to better times and happier conditions." The Missouri legislature telegraphed congratulations to its Kansas counterpart for this step toward uniting the nation; the Knights of Labor rejoiced over the first Knight senator; and a composed P. P. Elder told a great Topeka rally that Peffer's election represented "the victory of the people." [68]

Peffer's election also demonstrated several things about Kansas politics. It revealed the continuing domination of the People's party by former Republicans, the persistent factionalism of the party and the distrust each faction had of the other, the lack of Democratic influence on Populist decisions but the repeated Democratic efforts to control the party, and the Republicans' unbroken reliance upon traditional sectional and partisan prejudice in their effort to destroy the People's party.

The day following the election the streets were deserted and the hotel lobbies empty, as many Populists had returned home, and a giant ratifaction meeting Wednesday night had completed the emotional exhaustion of those who remained. A Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* reporter found barely a quorum present when the house convened before empty galleries, and he noted that "In accomplishing Senator Ingalls's defeat the representatives of the People's Party had been subjected to a strain which told in their faces. They had been educated to believe that murder would be resorted to,

67. Chicago (Ill.) *Tribune*, January 29, 1891. For another description of the scene as "a great campmeeting in the height of religious excitement," *see* the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, January 28, 1901.

68. Topeka *State Journal*, January 29, 1891; Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 29, 1891; Stuart Noblin, *Leonidas LaFayette Polk, Agrarian Crusader* (Chapel Hill, 1949), p. 228; *National Economist* (Washington, D. C.), February 7, 1891; Atchison *Daily Champion*, January 29, 1891; *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, Philadelphia, February 5, 19, 1891.

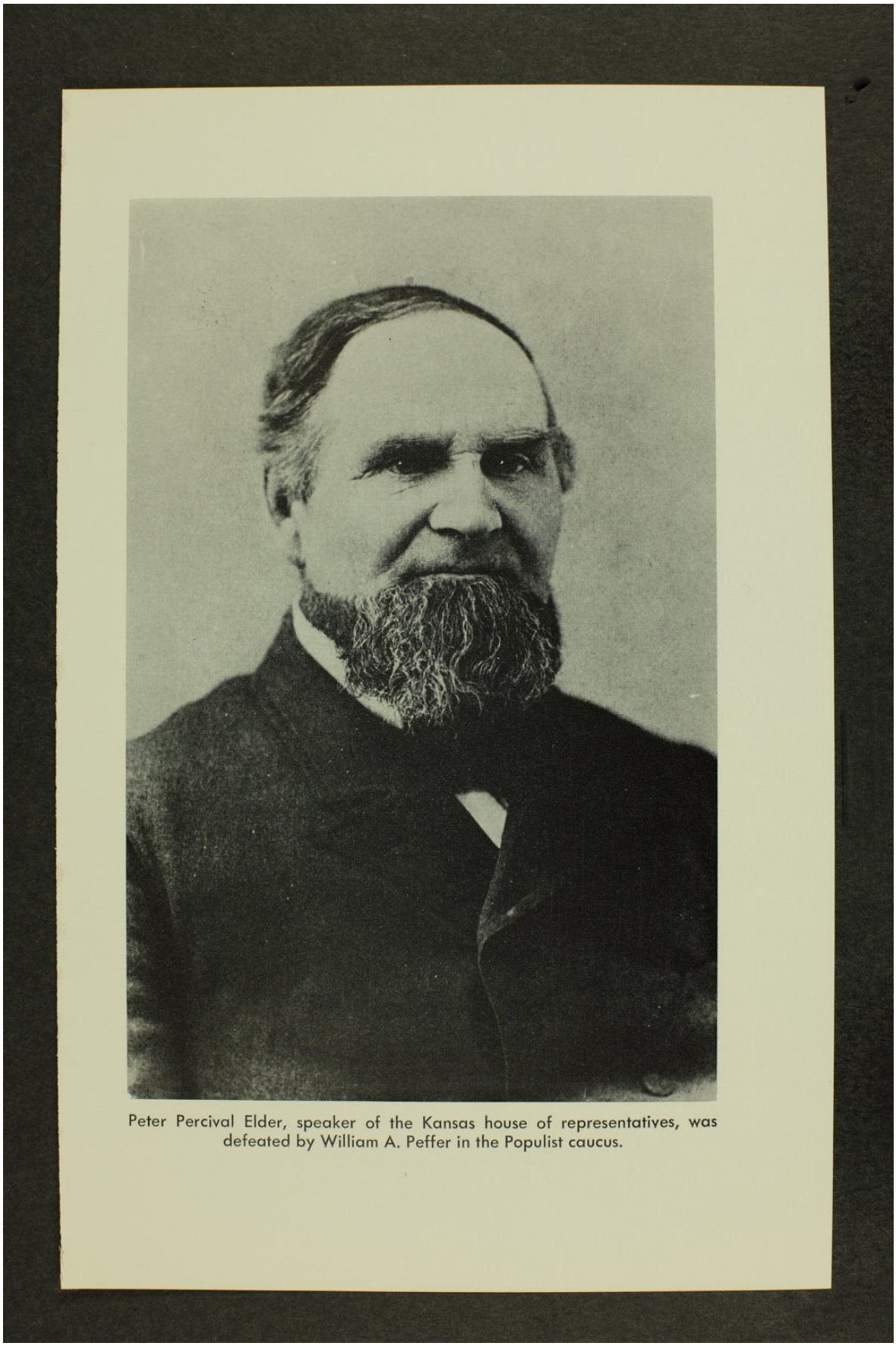
if necessary, to re-elect Senator Ingalls, and the sentries on duty in a besieged garrison never watched an enemy more closely." [69]

But the Populist legislators did their job well. Peffer's election not only overthrew a national symbol of Republicanism and sectional and partisan hatred, but it provided a national leader for the new forces of political reform. *Harper's Weekly* pointed out the impact of the contest: "The election of Mr. Peffer has been enthusiastically welcomed by Alliancemen in all parts of the country, and has greatly encouraged them in their political action. It is one of the greatest purely political victories they have won, and will doubtless tend to strengthen the third-party movement in that body." [70] The intense national interest in the Kansas senatorial contest guaranteed Peffer a vast audience and immense publicity to use to advocate his plans for reform. The Philadelphia (Pa.) *Evening Bulletin* commented after his election that

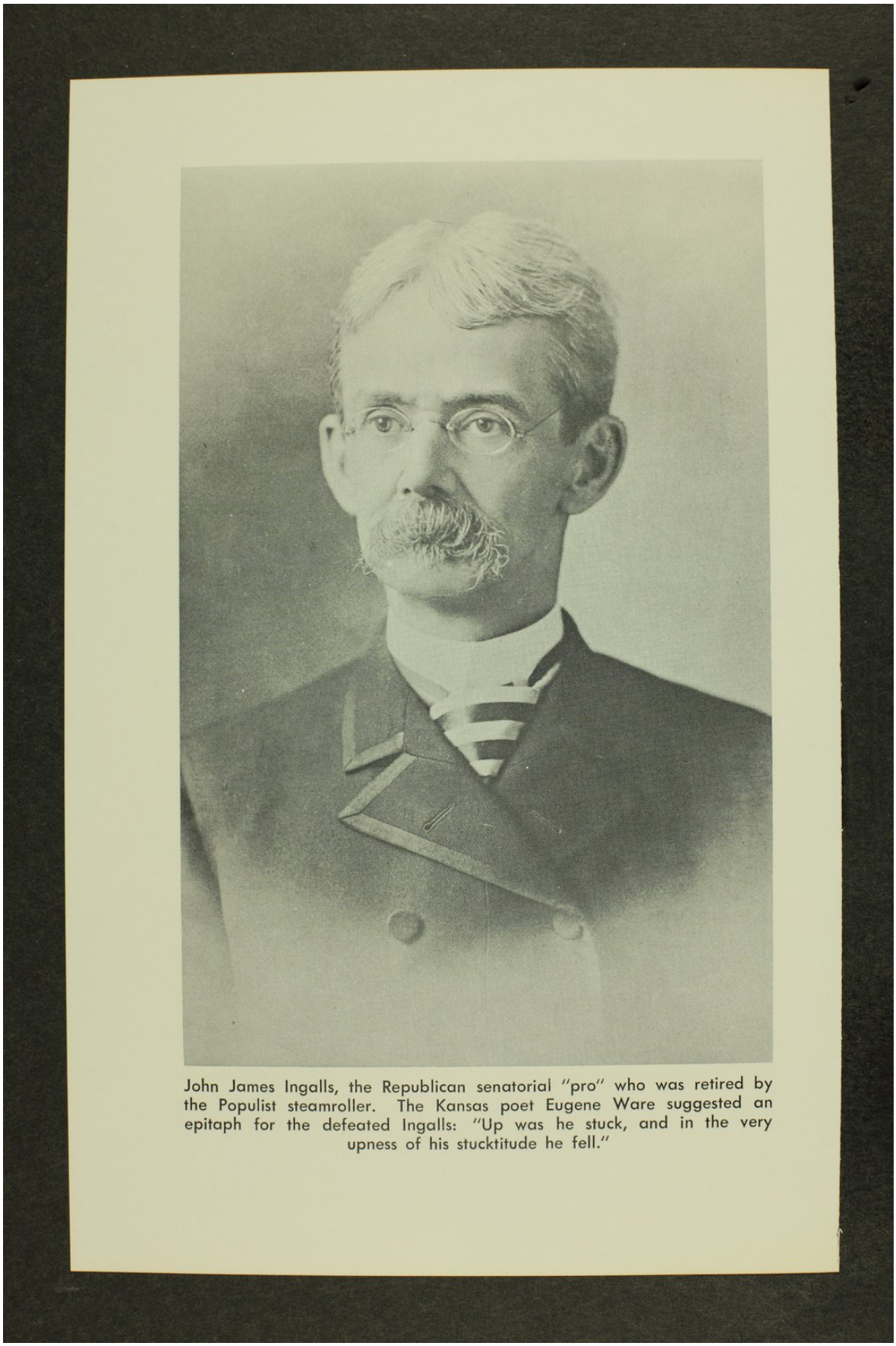
> There has been no senatorial election this winter which has attracted more attention from the country than the one which has just been decided in Kansas. . . . Whether Peffer is a cunning demagogue or whether he is an honest dreamer remains to be seen, but his election to the senate is one of the most curious results of the political upheaval of 1890." [71]

Whether demagogue or dreamer, Peffer had become the first national figure of Populism and, as he told one reporter, "I shall not be the last." [72]

69. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 29, 1891.
70. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 35 (February 7, 1891), p. 103.
71. Quoted in Topeka *Daily Capital*, February 3, 1891.
72. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 30, 1891.



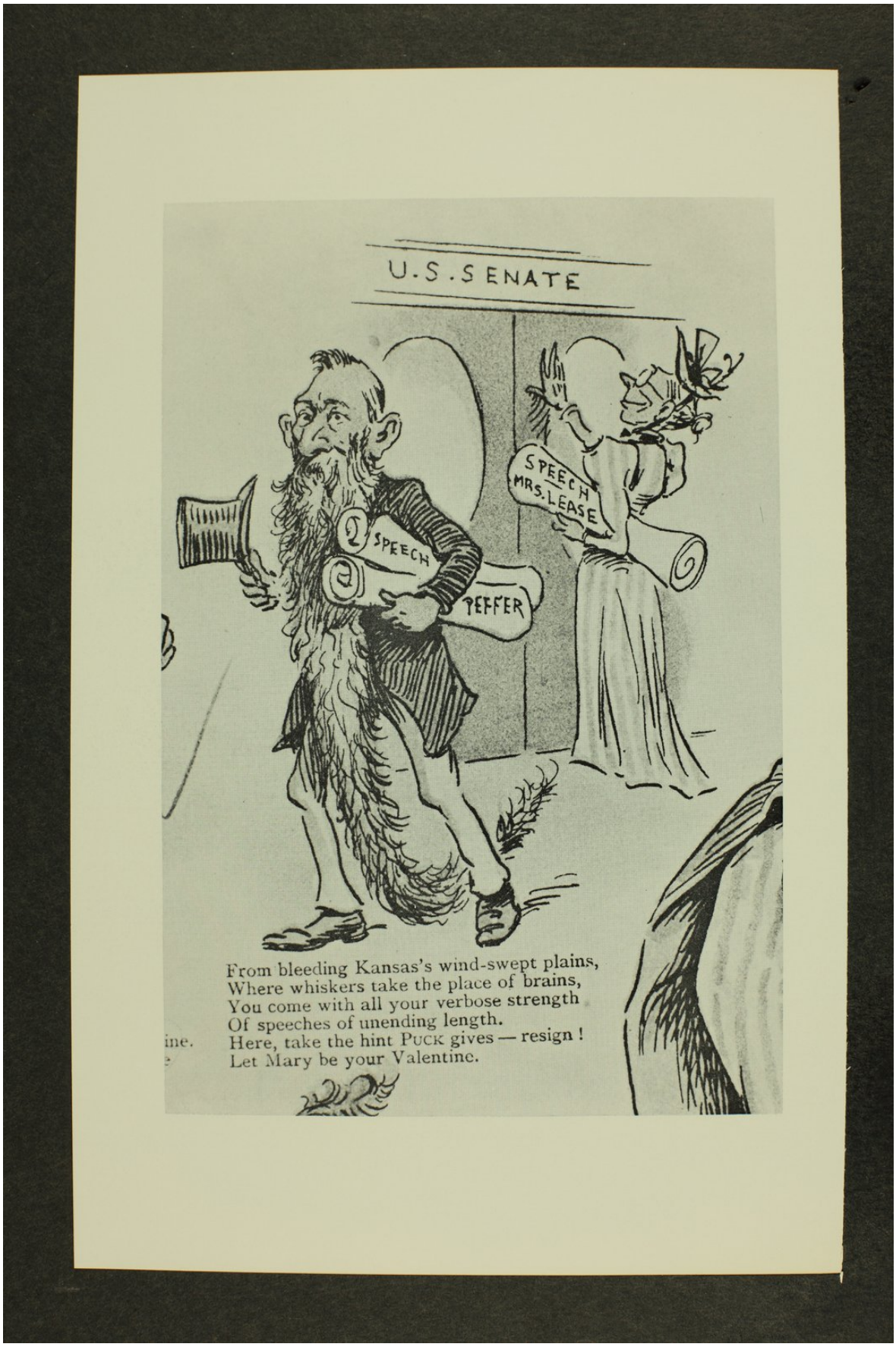
Peter Percival Elder, speaker of the Kansas house of representatives, was defeated by William A. Peffer in the Populist caucus.



John James Ingalls, the Republican senatorial "pro" who was retired by the Populist steamroller. The Kansas poet Eugene Ware suggested an epitaph for the defeated Ingalls: "Up was he stuck, and in the very upness of his stucktitude he fell."

Puck cartoons (see, also, following page) of the 1890's, lampooning the bewhiskered U. S. senator from Kansas, W. A. Peffer. These and cover sketch are from the D. M. Peffer scrapbooks in the Kansas State Historical Society collections.

Kansas historical quarterly



From bleeding Kansas's wind-swept plains,
Where whiskers take the place of brains,
You come with all your verbose strength
Of speeches of unending length.
Here, take the hint PUCK gives — resign!
Let Mary be your Valentine.

Kansas—A Vegetarian Utopia: The Letters of John Milton Hadley, 1855-1856

Edited by Joseph G. Gambone

I. Introduction

IN THE spring of 1855, John Milton Hadley, a Quaker from Indiana, arrived in Kansas territory. His father, Jeremiah, had been appointed superintendent of the Friends' Shawnee Mission in Johnson county.[1] His father's appointment allowed Hadley to journey to the land of "popular sovereignty" where the struggle for freedom had commenced. Although he was concerned about the political future of Kansas, Hadley emigrated to the territory in order to take part in a most unusual experiment—the establishment of a vegetarian colony on the banks of the Neosho river in southeastern Kansas.

Born in North Carolina on January 25, 1835, Hadley was reared upon Quaker belief in racial equality and freedom for all mankind. In 1841 the Hadley family, together with several other Quakers, moved to central Indiana. Because they were deeply opposed to the expansion of slavery, they could no longer remain in an environment that depended on slave labor. In Indiana, they could live in a land free from slavery with the hope of better economic opportunity. The Hadleys eventually settled in Morgan county and engaged in farming.[2]

John Milton's early years were spent helping his father on the

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1. During the winter of 1856-1857, Jeremiah Hadley resigned his position at the Friends' Mission and left the territory. Having become alarmed at the political situation in Kansas, he moved to Iowa. For additional information concerning the Friends' Mission and Quaker emigration, *see* Wilson Hobbs, "The Friends' Establishment in Kansas Territory," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8 (1903-1904), pp. 250-271 (hereafter cited *KHC*); William H. Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," *ibid.*, v. 7 (1901-1902), pp. 322-361; Grant W. Harrington, *Historic Spots or Mile-Stones in the Progress of Wyandotte County, Kansas* (Merriam, Mission Press, 1935), pp. 81-86; H. Pearl Dixon, *Sixty Years Among the Indians: A Short Life Sketch of Thomas H. and Mary W. Stanley, Quaker Missionaries to the Indians* (Galena, Sadie S. Carter, 1921); Sheldon Jackson, ed., "English Quakers Tour Kansas in 1858: From the Journal of Sarah Lindsey," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 13 (February, 1944), pp. 35-52 (hereafter cited *KHQ*); Emory K. Lindquist, "The Protestant and Jewish Religions in Kansas," in John D. Bright, ed., *Kansas: The First Century* (New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1956), v. 2, pp. 357-358; Eugene R. Craine, "The Indians in Kansas," *ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 85-87; and Errol T. Elliott, *Quakers on the American Frontier: A History of the Westward Migrations, Settlements, and Developments of Friends on the American Continent* (Richmond, Ind., The Friends United Press, 1969), pp. 131-159.

2. Although some chronological and factual conflicts exist in the available biographical accounts of John Milton Hadley, the events and dates given here are those which seem to be most logical.—*See*, Alfred T. Andreas and William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883), p. 632; *The United States Biographical Dictionary*, "Kansas Volume" (Chicago, S. Lewis & Co., 1879), pp. 753-754; Olathe *Mirror*, June 24, 1909; Olathe *Register*, June 24, 1909; and Desoto *Eagle Eye*, June 24, 1909.

farm. When he was 17 years old, he left the agricultural chores to his younger brother, Samuel, and took a teaching position at a nearby public school. After a year, Hadley had saved enough money to defray his expenses for two terms at Earlham College, a Friends' boarding school, in Richmond, Ind.

While attending Earlham College, Hadley became a close observer of Kansas affairs. As the struggle over the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act raged in congress, he was instilled with the idealistic fervor of "free-labor," "free-soil," and "free Kansas." However, the Kansas question was not the only topic which interested the young student. An avid reader, Hadley became involved with such diverse subjects as phrenology, alchemy, hydropathy, and vegetarianism.

Apparently Hadley converted to the vegetarian philosophy and adopted a vegetarian diet while a student at Earlham. His conversion, together with his concern over slavery in Kansas, made him a likely candidate for participation in one of the most fantastic adventures, in the guise of a reform movement, ever to take place on the plains of Kansas.

During the winter of 1854-1855, Hadley became cognizant of a plan to establish a vegetarian colony in Kansas. The individual responsible for this proposed settlement was Henry S. Clubb, the leading advocate of vegetarianism in the U. S.[3] His plan called for the establishment of "a permanent home for Vegetarians" in the very center of the country.[4] Here the faithful would gather to live in wonderful health and harmony.

3. Henry S. Clubb, originally of Salford, England, was the leading lecturer on vegetarianism in the Manchester area before his emigration to the United States in 1850. Upon his arrival in New York, Clubb became a secretary of the American Vegetarian Society, and served as a reporter for the New York *Tribune*. The *Tribune* gave much space to hydropathy, phrenology, vegetarianism, and other reform movements; and its editor, Horace Greeley, was for many years a leading advocate of Fourierism in the U. S.

Although vegetarianism dated back to the middle of the first millennium B. C., and was taught by the philosophers of classical antiquity, dietary reform had a rebirth in the U. S. during the 1830's and 1840's. Stimulated by the forceful writings and lectures of Sylvester Graham, tremendous impetus was given to the movement by such notables as Amos Bronson Alcott, Charles Lane, and Henry Wright, who together, in 1844, created Fruitlands, the first cooperative vegetarian community near Boston.

The early advocates of vegetarianism found it difficult to succeed in a world largely composed of "meat-eaters." Regardless of past failures, Clubb decided that the time was right for a new vegetarian colony. By 1855 he was ready to plant the seeds of vegetarianism in Kansas and carry on the work of the earlier leaders.

4. *The Water-Cure Journal*, New York, 1855, quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, April 28, 1855. Inspired by the great impact of organized emigration under the New England Emigrant Aid Company to plant Free-State settlements in Kansas, Clubb apparently decided to promote a vegetarian colony in the territory. He envisioned a permanent colony for vegetarians from various parts of the country which would promote abstinence from the flesh of animals by exhibiting the many physical, intellectual, and moral advantages resulting from vegetarian habits of diet.

From this center the waves of dietary reform would emanate in all directions, to all parts of the nation, until the entire country should be won back from the evils of meat-eating. Clubb believed that vegetarian practices promoted health and longevity, tended towards immunity from disease, was more economical, and that it encouraged temperance. He argued that the vegetarian principle was in accord with scriptural teaching, and had been practiced in Paradise—*See*, the *Vegetarian Magazine*, Chicago, November, 1897; and February, 1900.

Clubb's prospectus was published in *The Water-Cure Journal.* He wrote that his colony would preserve the principles of vegetarianism and would induce thousands of wavering citizens "to adopt a system of diet so highly conducive to their happiness and well-being."[5] He was concerned that the public was rapidly backsliding into the evils of meat-eating. Thus he believed that the project would arrest the weak, would hold them to the true faith, and, of course, would gain new converts. The dream colony was to be named "Octagon City" and was to be settled by members of the Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company.[6]

Upon hearing of the venture, Hadley corresponded with Clubb and placed his name on the list of prospective settlers. Once plans for settlement commenced and a location was selected, Hadley planned to join the colony.[7] When the opportunity arose to make an early journey to Kansas, Hadley did not hesitate. Thus he

5. *The Water-Cure Journal* was published in New York by Fowlers and Wells. Although the journal was devoted to the advancement of hydropathy, philosophy, physiology, and anatomy, its content was of a varied nature, combining instruction with entertainment, and affording a highly readable miscellany of scientific essays, social commentary, and general news items. Many of the New York newspapers called this publication the most popular "health journal" in the world.

6. The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company, an outgrowth of the American Vegetarian Society, was projected by Clubb in 1855. He drew up the prospectus, organized the company, and prepared bulletins which were mailed to all known vegetarians to keep them abreast of the progress of the enterprise. The first meeting of the Kansas company was held in New York on May 16, 1855. Charles DeWolfe of Philadelphia, was elected president; Dr. John McLauren of New York, was appointed company agent to visit Kansas to select a favorable site; and Clubb was elected secretary-treasurer.

At this meeting agreement was reached to operate the company on the joint-stock principle whereby each member would purchase shares for $5 payable either in money or labor. The plan of settlement was based on what Clubb called the "Octagonal Plan," a revision and refinement of Orson Squire Fowler's octagon architectural design. Using Fowler's scientific premise that the most practical form of construction was the octagon since it permitted more receptivity of sunlight, Clubb extended the concept to the construction of his vegetarian community. The colony was to have an area of four square miles or 25,000 acres, with eight equal sides.

Forty-seven prospective settlers attended the initial meeting and agreed to emigrate in the spring of 1856, while correspondence from an additional 61 vegetarians indicated that the first settlement would total 108 members. Although the organizational meeting was dominated by the aura of idealism, the approach of the promoters hinted at speculative activities.

The adoption of the unique octagon plan of settlement seemed to arouse great interest among nonvegetarians in organized emigration to Kansas. However, membership was limited to vegetarians, and, as a result, the settlement would be of a restrictive nature. In order to allow nonvegetarians, who were sincere in abiding by the moral restrictions of the company, to participate in the Kansas venture, Clubb advocated the organization in February, 1856, of a nonvegetarian association to be known as the Octagon Settlement Company. Although this company was to avoid the vegetarian limitation, it otherwise resembled its sister company. In emigrating to the Kansas frontier, both companies acted very much in unison.

Thus it would appear that by establishing several settlements, vegetarian and nonvegetarian, the chances of successful colonization and of greater financial returns to the promoters would be considerably improved. Probably with the hope of profit, the two organizations became so closely connected that it was at times difficult to distinguish between them.—*See,* Russell K. Hickman, "The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies," *KHQ,* v. 2 (November, 1933), pp. 377-385; *The Water-Cure Journal,* 1855, quoted in *Herald of Freedom,* August 11, 1855; *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kanzas* (New York, Fowlers & Wells, 1856), pp. 3-7; and "Vegetarian Settlement Company," February 16, 1856, "John Milton Hadley Papers, 1855-1856," microfilm copy in Kansas State Historical Society.

7. By September, 1855, Dr. McLauren had proceeded to Kansas and had reported a favorable site for the colony in southeastern Kansas on the Neosho river, "within a day's walk of Fort Scott." With the selection of a location, the promoters announced that farm sites would be ready for distribution on May 1, 1956.—*See, The Octagon Settlement Company, Kanzas,* pp. 3-4; and *Life Illustrated,* New York, 1855, quoted in *Herald of Freedom,* January 19, 1856.

found himself in the territory awaiting the arrival of Clubb and his disciples to begin settlement of the "vegetarian utopia." [8]

During his stay at the Friends' Mission, Hadley expressed great optimism about the successful colonization of Kansas, both as a free state and as a haven for vegetarians. His correspondence reflected the optimistic vision of a bright future for Kansas. In April, 1855, he wrote that the territory was "as nearly the equal of Palestine as any"; and, in May, he stated that he would join the colony as soon as a site was located "whereon to plant Our White banner of 'peace and good will' to 'all the world and the rest of mankind'. . . ."

Unfortunately for Hadley, he became seriously ill during the summer of 1855. To regain his strength, he found it necessary to return to a meat-eating diet. Having broken the faith, he withdrew his name from membership in the vegetarian experiment. His illness caused him to reevaluate the concept of vegetarianism and to seriously contemplate the value of "a fleshless diet." Although no longer a practicing vegetarian, Hadley was still convinced that there "cannot well be a land better suited to vegetarianism than Kansas." [9]

During the winter of 1856-1857, Hadley went to Indiana, probably for reasons of health, and taught school until early spring. He then returned to Kansas and settled near Emporia where he farmed for another year. In 1858 he moved to Monticello township in Johnson county, where he taught school, farmed, and was elected justice of the peace for three one-year terms.

8. The vegetarian emigration into the territory did not begin until the spring of 1856. Having complete faith in Clubb's plan for spring emigration, the New York *Tribune* expressed its enthusiasm for successful colonization: "The location selected is in Southern Kansas, and combines all the advantages of mild climate, fertile land, water-power, limestone, coal, wood, pure springs, rolling prairie, and beautiful scenery. It forms the center of an important district, as it comprises some of the best land in the Territory, and must in a few years occupy a prominent position in an agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing aspect."—New York *Daily Tribune*, January 21, 1856.

In mid-March, 1856, the first group of vegetarians from scattered points throughout the country arrived at the site of Octagon City. Apparently the first group was to commence construction of the colony. They were to build the central octagon building to welcome the new members and to begin the operation of sawmills, for the lumber they would need, and gristmills, to convert their grain to meal. Thus the settlement would have the beginnings of economic stability.—*Daily Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, March 26, 1856.

9. For additional information on the Kansas vegetarian colony, *see* Hickman, "The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company," *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, 1950, pp. 19-22; Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus: An Account of Migration From New England* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1950), pp. 103-107; Holbrook, *Dreamers of the American Dream* (New York, Doubleday & Co., 1957), pp. 48-51; Holbrook, "The Vegetarians of Octagon City," *Woman's Day*, New York, December, 1949, pp. 58-59, 116-117, 119; Everett Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890: A Social History of the Northern Plains From the Creation of Kansas & Nebraska to the Admission of the Dakotas* (Lincoln, Johnsen Publishing Co., 1954), pp. 194-196; C. W. Dana, *The Great West* (Boston, Wentworth and Co., 1858), pp. 225-226; L. Wallace Duncan, *History of Neosho and Wilson Counties, Kansas* (Fort Scott, *Monitor* Printing Co., 1902), pp. 37-38; and Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, Etc.* (Chicago, Standard Publishing Co., 1912), v. 2, pp. 380-381, 842-843.

Two published memoirs detailing life in the vegetarian settlement are Mrs. Miriam D. Colt, *Went to Kansas: Being a Thrilling Account of an Ill-Fated Expedition to That Fairy Land, and Its Sad Results* (Watertown, New York, L. Ingalls & Co., 1862), and Donald W. Stewart, ed., "Memoirs of Watson Stewart: 1855-1860, *KHQ*, v. 18 (November, 1950), pp. 376-404.

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Hadley enlisted as a private in the Eighth Kansas infantry. In May, 1862, he was promoted to second lieutenant and served in that capacity 15 months, for six of which he was post adjutant at Fort Leavenworth. He was later promoted to first lieutenant and transferred to the Ninth Kansas cavalry.

When Gen. Thomas Ewing assumed command of the "District of the Border," in June, 1863, Hadley was assigned to Ewing's staff and served eight months as acting assistant adjutant with the rank of captain. Having been replaced by Gen. Samuel R. Curtis in 1864, Hadley returned to his regiment. In May, 1865, he was promoted to major, and served until his command was mustered out at Fort Leavenworth in August, 1865.

After the war Hadley settled at Olathe, and in December, 1866, married Harriet Beach, daughter of the Rev. Isaac Beach, a Presbyterian minister of Olathe. Prior to his marriage, Hadley was unsolicitedly nominated and elected sheriff of Johnson county and served three terms. In 1870 he was elected clerk of the district court in Johnson county, and was reelected to that office in 1872 and 1874.

In 1876, after a spirited campaign, Hadley was elected state senator and served until 1879. In the spring of 1877, following his campaign victory, he opened a law office with George W. Wilson, and practiced for one year. Dissatisfied with the legal profession, Hadley moved to Gardner, in Johnson county, and engaged in the mercantile business, but he remained only a short time.

In June, 1880, he announced his retirement from active politics and became involved in the milling and grain business at Desoto, and eventually purchased the Johnson county flour mills. Although he was frequently approached to again accept public office, he always declined and directed his energy to the milling business and his farm. He died on June 21, 1909.

II. THE LETTERS [10]

APRIL 25TH '55
FRIEND'S MISSION KANSAS TERRITORY

ESTEEMED FRIEND & FELLOW IN THE FIELD OF REFORM—GEORGE—I take this opportunity to reply to thy kind letter which came duly

10. The John Milton Hadley letters are published here through the courtesy of Mrs. Albert Reitzel, Stilesville, Ind. Mrs. Reitzel is the granddaughter of George Allen, the recipient of Hadley's letters.

George Allen, of Morgan county, Indiana, was a close friend of Hadley. During his stay in Kansas, Hadley wrote several letters to Allen, urging him to emigrate to the territory. A vegetarian himself, Allen had an intense interest in the successful colonization of Octagon City. In December, 1855, he became a member of the Vegetarian Kansas Emi-

to hand and was read with interest. We have all been here—all our company—in this grand focus of emigration more than five weeks.[11] I'm sorry to say that my health during this time has not been good. In the first, the mumps— which must have been of Indiana seed, and then sickness of this and that sort, and lately the pleurisy I presume or something like it. Today— my leg is hurting me too. O maybe—My jubilee of health will come after *while*. Sam'l & I are at the Mission—boarding—and tending a crop of corn on grounds which we have rented in partnership with Eli Wilson, to the amount of 50 or 60 acres.[12] The farmer can surely make it "pay" well here for awhile and especially this year if he can get rain—a dryer time is hardly on record in this country—still the soil is remarkably moist and plows where it has not been trodden as loosely as at any period in Indiana, and is more moist than could be expected—

Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances under which I have labored and the unfavorable season so far, I may [say] in truth I like the general features of this region— Well. True, there are some things belonging to the land which are not as the restless heart thats looking for an earthly Paradise would have—some really unpleasant and disparaging items indeed, but taking all and comparing with other places of the habitable globe—this is as nearly the equal of Palestine as any.

I never knew more bees—and the resources for raising cattle are almost boundless—hence—it is a land flowing with "milk & honey." I think thee would like Kansas too George as well as the rest of

gration Company and planned to join the colony in the spring of 1856 (*see*, Henry S. Clubb to George Allen, December 23, 1855, "Charles Allen Family Papers, 1854-1894," microfilm copy, Kansas State Historical Society).

Allen eventually made plans with Samuel Stewart of Lafayette, Ind., to make the journey to Kansas. However, at the last moment, Allen decided not to go (*see*, Samuel Stewart to Allen, February 12, 23, 1856, and Clubb to Allen, May 30, 1856, *ibid.*). When Hadley learned of Allen's reluctance to leave Indiana, he wrote that Allen had become a "coward."

It was not until 1870 that Allen, with his wife and two small children, traveled to Kansas. He intended to buy land and farm near Emporia. However, he became dissatisfied and returned to his home within a year.

11. A month earlier, Hadley's younger brother, Samuel, had written to Allen that he had "landed in the paradisian field of the Union—, the Garden of God." He implored Allen "in the name of humanity to *come to Kansas* and, do all thee can to bring others with thee, for the country is most beautiful and only lacks the artificial part to be an Earthly paradise. But self ease &c. should not be the impromptu in bringing the true hearted emigrant hither; a nobler ambition should be the prompter, that of saving Kansas from the curse of Slavery; in no way could a person do more good to the Union, perform a greater service to his God and to posterity. If Kansas is saved from the thraldoms chains never will there be another slave state annexed to the Union but if we lose Kansas *all is lost;* and nothing short of Civil war will ever again render freedom national. . . . I acknowledge there will be but few of those blessings which are to be found in the older parts of creation, but the satisfaction of knowing a person is performing 'such' a duty to his country repays all tenfold."—Samuel Hadley to Allen, March 21, 1855, "John Milton Hadley Papers."

12. Eli Wilson had journeyed to Kansas in late autumn of 1854, with two fellow Quakers, Benajah W. Hiatt and William H. Coffin, to investigate the country for a suitable location for a Friends' colony. After a brief survey of northeastern Kansas, Wilson went back to Indiana. The following spring, he returned to Kansas and obtained temporary residence at the Friends' mission. Here with the Hadley brothers, Wilson rented farm land from the Shawnee Indians. For additional comment on Wilson, *see* Coffin, "Settlement of Friends in Kansas," pp. 322-361.

your family. The supply of wild fruits exceed that of any country I ever knew. Straw rasp—goose—black berries grow plentifully. Plums—persimmons—crab apples—wild cherries and grapes also abound. There is an unlimited extent of hazel nut thickets—and hickory trees are found and walnut—besides most other mast-bearing timber—All which are apt as I'm told to be very productive. Hence, thee can have "nuts" to crack—George— Now, I have not been over the territory and can not tell from my own sight what the afect of it presents, but there is variety in everything I learn as everywhere else.

The prairies are generally high, rolling-appearing in vast undulating ridges between which there is sometimes gullies or washes but never "sloughs"—or only small ones. Timber is on the water courses as in other prairie countries, and would not look like "woods" in Ind.—that is that here—for in other parts are excellent forests of large trees. There is an old doctor planting a nursery on the Mission farm, who has taken a claim on the Pottowattomie Cr. 60 miles south, and he says he has as good timber as he ever owned in Ohio. And this is the only district which I know of where timbered claims can be taken— there are however some in other parts—but they will all doubtless be gone before the middle of summer. Timber is the grand object with some while others are indifferent to it—and say they don't care for it. Some say it's "scarce"—others that theres enough—while I'm inclined to the latter opinion.

Coal is found in places and signs are noticed here. Rock plenty and of the prettiest kind—such walls as the creeks have— O Thee says thee has a prospect of coming to Kansas. Well I can assure thee, if I'm allowed to be a judge—that thee cant come too quick. Its a pity but thee had come early last spring—though there are chances yet and will be a long time for many good gains in business and profit Still it will depend on what thee is coming for whether its late yet or not. To get claims of timber in good localities for settlement, the day is almost past, Prairie claims, O, oceans of them Reespecting the Vegetarian Colony I know but little more yet than I did.

I have seen C. Morley who is a veget. and belongs to the colony. The project is still on foot—and Clubb is expected on in May—and then a thorough exploration of the territory will be made and the site of the community will be decided.[13] Morley is preparing to

13. In his article for *The Water-Cure Journal*, Clubb wrote that his proposal for a Kansas vegetarian colony had brought together vegetarians from various areas of the country and that several were on their way to Kansas "with instructions to report the results of

live in *Topeka*. He's rather past the meridian of life— and I presume a preacher. He told me he was author of the *Power of Kindness*. The contest for free principles here is strong and well it may be—considering the manner in which the rights of the citizens were outraged at last election. Many thousands of Missourians came over armed and forced their votes by one device and another by threats & lies and force into the ballot box.[14] A struggle will be required to make Kansas a free state. It will call for firmness of the best kind. O for more substantial free state men. Surveying of the territory has not yet begun.[15] One of the surveyors was here last night—he's a veget. I'm *acquainted* (with him) Tell thy father —to come with all his boys—All to come this fall—at least by next spring. He need not fear but that he could live—live happier—make more and put his family in vastly better circumstances.

With profound respect I conclude and remain as ever thine

J. MILTON HADLEY

GEORGE ALLEN
Write soon please—no haste I say—

Isaac & Sammy are well.
They are over the mumps—

their explorations." The proposed expedition to the territory did not materialize until August, 1855, and Clubb did not arrive at the colony until the following spring.

According to Clubb, the major objective of his plan was "the making known to each other such Vegetarians as design going to Kansas, and who, but for this Company would perhaps settle at remote distances from each other, and feeling themselves solitary and alone in their Vegetarian practice might sink into flesh-eating habits; while by the introduction afforded by this Company, they become known to each other, and are thereby sustained in their practice."—*See, The Water-Cure Journal*, 1855, quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, April 28, 1855.

14. The first territorial election was held on March 30, 1855. On that day, hundreds of Missourians, or so-called "Border Ruffians," swarmed across the border and took possession of the polls. Their votes gave the Proslavery forces a resounding victory. The Free-State men promptly dubbed the newly elected legislature "bogus" and referred to its enactments by the same derisive term. Actually there were enough bona fide Proslavery residents in the territory at this time that such intervention would not have been necessary.

On March 31 the *Herald of Freedom* denounced the invasion and concluded that Kansas was deluged with Missourians because the Proslavery sympathizers feared that unless they could gain "political ascendency," Kansas would become a free state. Uncertain about the immediate results of the election, the *Herald* appealed for all men who wished to secure a free Kansas to "hurry forward as rapidly as possible."

The *Kansas Weekly Herald* of Leavenworth, an avid Proslavery journal, asserted that the results of the election indicated a total victory for the Democratic party over the Free-State abolitionists: "Come on, Southern men—bring your slaves, and fill up the Territory. Kansas is saved! Abolitionism is rebuked, her fortress stormed, her flag is dragling in the dust!"

For additional contemporary newspaper commentary, *see Herald of Freedom*, April 7, 21, 1855; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 6, 20, 1855; *Squatter Sovereign*, Atchison, April 3, 10, 1855; *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, April 2, 1855; New York *Daily Tribune*, April 2, 6, 9, 10, 1855; New York *Times*, April 3, 1855. A vast number of newspaper clippings from all sections of the country, concerning the territorial election and its aftermath, are found in Thomas H. Webb, compiler, "Webb Scrap Book," v. 3, library, Kansas State Historical Society.

15. Although Kansas was opened to settlement on May 30, 1854, congress did not authorize the survey of the public lands until July 22, 1854, and the first contract was not issued until November, 1855. However the incompetency of surveyors, together with a blundering administration in Washington, retarded progress to such a degree that a year and a half after the territory was opened to settlement not a single township was reported to have been completed.—*See* "Report of John Calhoun, November 8, 1855," in *Annual Report*, Secretary of the Interior, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Exec. Doc. No. 1*, pp. 308-315. The best available study of Kansas land policy is Paul W. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1954), pp. 48-49.

FRIENDS MISSION KS. T.
MAY 25TH 1855

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—

A dark rainy morning this. I cannot be at plow—hence I'll try to work a little time by way of writing, notwithstanding the hard work this week has nearly worn off the keen edge of my wit, or all I had. Thy favor came duly to hand and was read with inasmuch as it confirmed me of thy fidelity to the great principles of Reform now going forward in the path of life—opposed to the wind and tide of prejudice and "old fogyism." Cast—hurl with uncompromising vengeance every breath of the infernal fumes of prejudice to the 4 winds of the wide-wide world—that scattered in the abysmal womb of uncreated light every subject—religious & moral as well as scientifical and physical shall meet with the same investigation and scrutiny. Let us still labor for the Right—for it is Might—held fast to our faith whatsoever it be—striving to exalt the standard of truth—

Thee has likely noticed in the Water Cure for May some items respecting the movements of Veget. Colony. I received a letter last week from H. S. Clubb. He informs me that there are about 24 families expected to join us this fall.[16] He is very anxious to know how many persons I know who would be ready to enter the community this fall and next spring. No location has as yet been made of a site whereon to plant Our White banner of "peace and good will" to "all the world and the rest of mankind" including of course "apes" of all sorts, pigs and opossums—and every creeping thing—and flying fowl—and swimming fish—supposing these last two tribes are not to put up in the vulgar category of "things." Has thee got any works on vegetarianism? I wish I had a few of the standard ones. I have access to the Water Cure works mostly which are pretty conclusive on all points embraced [in] the creed.[17] I still stick with Stoical tenacity to total abstinence from the flesh pots—bearing the brunt of the storm of taunts and insults—hailed down by others eating flesh—who are so much healthier than I am. The

16. The organizational meeting of the Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company held in New York on May 16, 1855. It was estimated that 108 prospective settlers would journey to Kansas in the spring of 1856.—See, *The Water-Cure Journal*, 1855, quoted in *Herald of Freedom*, August 11, 1855.

17. Water-cure, or hydropathy, was the treatment that professed to cure all disease by the application of hot and cold water. The name is now largely superseded by the term hydrotherapy.

The use of water medicinally, both by application and by drinking, was recognized by the ancient Greeks and Romans in the treatment of disease. During the Middle Ages the same view was professed by many famous physicians. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the water-cure process became a popular and accepted form of medical treatment for acute rather than chronic disease. In the United States widespread medical acceptance of hydropathy for specific therapeutic purposes, resulted in the establishment of water-cure societies throughout the country.