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# The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies

*by Russell Hickman, with Albert Gambone, and a foreword by Adam Shprintzen*

I first learned about the attempt to create a settlement company in Kansas based on the ideals of vegetarianism and octagonal design while visiting the Newberry Library in Chicago during the summer of 2009. My research process was in its infancy, so, as many historical researchers would do when approaching a repository, I made the broadest catalog search possible, simply looking for all hits related to “vegetarianism.” And there, to my surprise, was a reference to *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas, Containing Full Information for Inquirers*, published by the New York–based publishing house Fowler & Wells. I put in my call slip at the circulation desk and waited with anticipation to see what I would receive.

A few moments later—thank you, librarians and archivists—came a rather small volume whose cover gave no hint of the treasures inside. When I opened the book, a whole world opened up, quite literally, with an insert of folded pages. This insert traced the plan for establishing a Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement colony in Kansas Territory on the banks of the Neosho River, near present-day Humboldt and Chanute. While other emigrant companies, like the New England Emigrant Aid Company and Jefferson Buford’s company of white Southerners, are well-known, I knew the Vegetarian Settlement Company was also an important element of the settlement process.

That initial research visit led me to examine this attempt at putting utopian, intentional design in place tied with the principles of meat abstention. Meat abstention and an associated identity had long established itself as a visible and radical social reform movement in the United States, dating to the establishment of the Bible Christian Church in Philadelphia in the summer of 1817. But the term “vegetarianism” was a new label for the movement at the precise moment that Henry S. Clubb worked to build interest in the colony.<sup>1</sup> Vegetarians believed their dietary choice was central to creating broad social change, including greater economic equality, the abolition of slavery, securing women’s rights, and pacifism—a so-called Archimedean lever to serve as a catalyst for total social reform.<sup>2</sup> Through my research,

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Russell Hickman was a Kansas author who contributed several articles on emigration to the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*. Albert Gambone, who edited the article with the John Milton Hadley letters, was a Civil War historian and author of several military biographies. Adam Shprintzen is a historian and professor of nineteenth-century America at Marywood University in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and author of *The Vegetarian Crusade: The Rise of an American Reform Movement, 1817–1921* (2013).

1. On the roots of movement vegetarianism in the United States, see Adam Shprintzen, *The Vegetarian Crusade: The Rise of an American Reform Movement, 1817–1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 1–16. On the establishment of the term “vegetarian” among the movement in the United States, see Shprintzen, 63.

2. “Anniversary of the American Vegetarian Society,” *Water-Cure Journal* 20, no. 1 (July 1855): 10–11.

it became clear that vegetarianism was *particularly* tied to abolitionism. Events in territorial Kansas were becoming a fulcrum in the fight against the slavocracy, so the consistency of abolitionist principles among many movement vegetarians implied that there would be connections between the settlement and abolitionism, complicating conventional categories of success and failure that are often used to understand utopian movements. What became apparent, however, was that these connections necessitated deeper investigation.

The initial scholarly source that I consulted regarding the Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies was an article written by Russell Hickman for the November 1933 edition of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, reprinted below.<sup>3</sup> When I first read the article, I was immediately struck by some important principles that guided my research into vegetarianism. First, I was relieved to know that someone had had an interest in thinking, writing, or reading about the longer history of vegetarianism in the United States. As a recent convert to vegetarianism, I was surprised to realize that the movement had deep and long roots in the food and social reform scenes in the United States. Second, I soon realized that just as the Kansas Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies had disappeared into a larger historical amnesia, so too had our collective memory completely lost the size, scope, and importance of vegetarianism as an antebellum social reform movement.

Hickman's narrative was important to my earliest research into vegetarianism in the United States, so I was especially excited to revisit this article. Reading it again, I was immediately struck by the fact that Hickman views the Kansas experiment through the lens of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, which remains so influential in both historical and popular views

3. The Hickman article and Hadley letters reprinted below appear just as they did in the original, including their footnotes, and do not conform to the current *Chicago Manual of Style*. For the sake of clarity, however, the editors have elected to number the footnotes consecutively across all the texts included here.

of the American West.<sup>4</sup> Hickman emphasizes the settlement as part of a "back-to-land" movement tied to the great social reforms of the antebellum period, found in other rural, utopian experiments and glorified by transcendentalist writers.

The effort to establish a foothold on the banks of the Neosho River in the spring of 1856, led by Henry Clubb, was modern, ultracapitalistic, and ultimately urban-oriented. The colony operated as a joint-stock company and relied on both investment and the promise of individual profit to draw settlers. The village plan—based on Orson Fowler's theories on octagonal design—emphasized communal living, and the location scouted and chosen was distinctly nonurban. Boosters of the experiment celebrated the transformative power of agricultural work and free labor. The larger plan for the colony included a desire to build four octagonal villages stretching into a sixteen-square-mile settlement. The urban-oriented reality of the plans should not be a surprise. After all, the majority of the settlers came to Kansas from urban centers of reform activity, and many had experiences living in communal boardinghouses. Vegetarianism as a larger movement in antebellum America was generally urban, cosmopolitan, and inclined toward the modern.

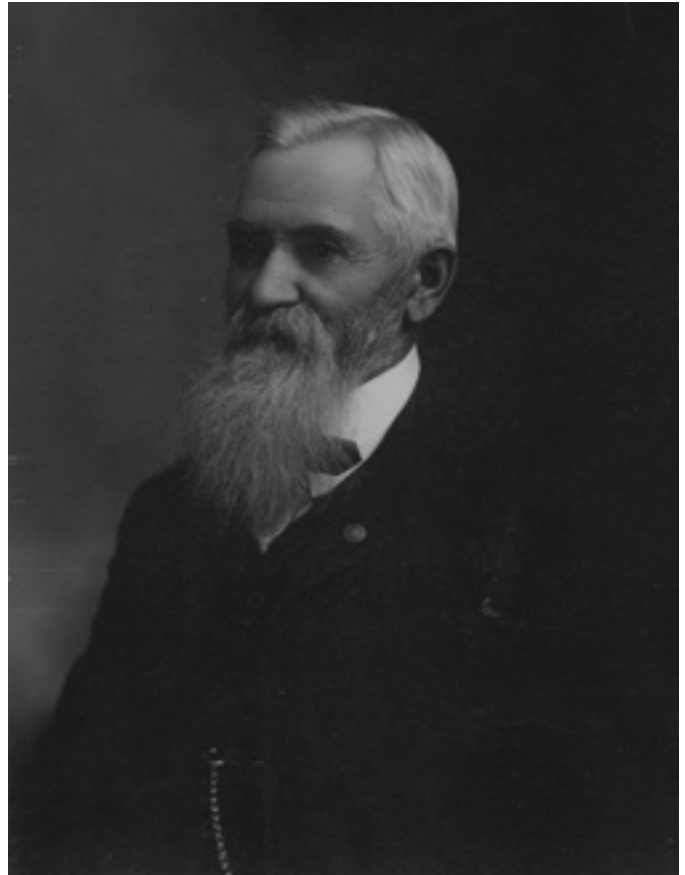
Hickman concludes his important exploration of the experiment by proclaiming that the "project thus brilliantly begun ended in complete failure" based on the infrastructural failings of the

4. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894). Historians of the American West and the environment during the 1980s in particular worked hard to point out the limits and dangers of Turner's frontier thesis and the erasure of the conquest of the West and the diverse populations already living on those lands. See, for example, Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, 1st ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987); Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988); Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*, 2nd ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985). For an overview of the impact of Turner's thesis and the history of critiques, see William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (April 1987): 157–76.

settlement as well as the fact that it had largely disbanded by the spring of 1857.<sup>5</sup> But the longer story of the Vegetarian Settlement Company and its interconnections to the fight to upend the slave system complicate the use of triumphalist narratives as a means of historical analysis. The settlement fell well short of its lofty goals of promoting vegetarianism or even in actually formulating any octagons. There was no library, no grist mill, no agricultural college, and eventually no residents. However, the settlement and its encouragement of spreading the abolitionist spirit into Kansas helped contribute to the fight to end the chattel system.

John Milton Hadley—whose initial reflections about the settlement in personal letters are also reprinted below—volunteered to fight in Kansas’s Eighth Infantry Regiment beginning in October 1861. Hadley served for four years during the Civil War, eventually reaching the rank of full major leading the Ninth Cavalry before being honorably discharged after suffering a wound fighting at DeValls Bluff, Arkansas, in July 1865. Samuel Stewart—another early resident of the settlement—was elected to the Kansas territorial legislature and served as a delegate to the Free State convention in Grasshopper Falls in 1857. Stewart enlisted in Kansas’s Tenth Infantry Regiment, ascending to the rank of captain before being fatally wounded in August 1864.<sup>6</sup>

Henry S. Clubb, the founder of and inspiration for the settlement, enlisted in the U.S. Volunteers Quartermaster’s Department of Infantry Regiment in June 1862, serving four years as a quartermaster despite being wounded during the Second Battle of Corinth in Mississippi in October 1862. The evils of the slave system necessitated a movement to action for vegetarians, even if other values or ideals such as pacifism were compromised in



*Samuel Stewart and his brother Watson came to Kansas with the Vegetarian Emigrant Company. Both brothers served in the Union Army during the Civil War and held political office later in their lives, Samuel off and on until his retirement in 1903, the year in which this portrait was made.*

the process. Emigration drove vegetarians to put their principles into action and was a catalyst for further action to end slavery. This development would never have occurred without the attempt at a vegetarian colony in Kansas.

Perhaps most prominent among abolitionist-vegetarians were the actions of James H. Holmes, once described by William Lloyd Garrison as “full of enthusiasm and indomitable perseverance in the cause of impartial freedom.”<sup>7</sup> Holmes joined with and took command of a regiment of free-state Iowans to attack proslavery supporters in

5. Russell Hickman, “The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (November 1933): 384.

6. Shprintzen, 86–88; “Samuel J. Stewart,” General Index to Pension Files, 1861–1934, T288, roll 453, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

7. “William Lloyd Garrison to Charles Sumner, February 26, 1861,” in William Lloyd Garrison, *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, vol. 5: *Let the Oppressed Go Free, 1861–1867*, ed. Walter M. Merrill (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 10.

Kansas after leaving the vegetarian settlement in the summer of 1856. By August 1857, Holmes had joined with John Brown to defend free-state settlements in Osawatimie against proslavery forces invading from Missouri. Holmes volunteered for the Union cause at the start of the war and was eventually named territorial secretary to New Mexico by President Lincoln in July 1861.<sup>8</sup>

The story of the Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies thus gives us pause to think about the nature of how we frame historical and conventional narratives of success and failure. At first glance, the experiment seems to have followed the trajectory of innumerable nineteenth-century utopian settlements—high-minded in ideals but lacking in planning, logistics, or even the skill sets to survive and grow. And yet, even in its short time, the settlement brought free-state supporters into Kansas, many of whom fought to end the spread of slavery. As events evolved, many of these same vegetarian abolitionists took up arms to fight for the cause of freedom. The settlement was filled with like-minded reformers intent on changing American culture and society through their dedication to the abolitionist cause, undoubtedly discussing the issues of the day while dwelling on the banks of the Neosho. The settlement and its residents played their part in that larger story. And how is that not ultimately a story of success?

## **The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies**

**by Russell Hickman**

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The American frontier has always been a fertile field for experiment in social reform. From the time the “otherwise-minded” enrolled under the standard of Roger Williams in Rhode Island until the disappearance of the frontier toward the

close of the nineteenth century, the vacant lands to the westward gave new hopes to those who wished to found a new society. Cheap land was a great boon to those unemployed or not financially prosperous in the East, while those who were merely discontented could always try a “new deal” in the West. In a period of incubation of varicolored social theories the frontier served both as a safety-valve for the East and as a convenient laboratory to put theory into actual practice, qualities which a more established and crystallized society would have lacked.<sup>9</sup>

Vegetarianism dates back as far as the ancient religion of Hindustan, and was advocated by Plato, Plutarch and other writers of classical times. In Great Britain George Cheyne (1671–1743) was one of the earliest pioneers of the movement, publishing his *Essay on Regimen* in 1740. In 1811 appeared J. F. Newton’s *Return to Nature, or Defense of Vegetable Regimen*, and in 1847 the Vegetarian Society was founded at Manchester. Eduard Baltzer (1818–1887) was an early German pioneer, forming a vegetarian society at Nordhausen in 1868. Sylvester Graham (1794–1851), Charles Lane and Amos Bronson Alcott (1799–1888) were leaders of the early movement in the United States. In 1889 the Vegetarian Federal Union was formed, an international federation of vegetarian organizations.<sup>10</sup>

Vegetarianism in the United States was one of the many changes proposed in the reform movement of the thirties. Numerous cooperative communities sprang up, inspired largely by a hatred of industrialism, and a determination to return to more simple modes of life.<sup>11</sup> In the movement for reform of the American diet, opposing its over-emphasis on meat and heavy foods, Sylvester Graham was a leader. In 1830

9. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, in his *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1926), p. 215, appropriately quotes Lowell’s essay on Thoreau, “Every possible form of intellectual and physical dyspepsia brought forth its gospel.” Even bran had its prophets, and hooks and eyes their champions as a substitute for buttons.

10. *Encyclopedia Americana*, v. 27 (New York, Chicago, 1923), p. 720.

11. *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. I (New York, 1928), p. 139.

8. “Capt. James H. Holmes Dead,” *New York Times*, November 23, 1907.

he was named general agent of the Pennsylvania Temperance Society. He studied human physiology, diet, and regimen during a period of lecturing, and in 1830–1831 delivered lectures on these subjects in Philadelphia and New York, and later up and down the Atlantic coast. Graham advocated the use of bread at least twelve hours old, baked from whole wheat unbolted and coarsely ground. He also proposed hard mattresses, open bedroom windows, cold shower baths, vegetables, fresh fruits, rough cereals, pure drinking water, and cheerfulness at meals. Graham believed that all meats are less wholesome for humans than fruits, grain and vegetables, that all condiments except salt should be avoided, and that tea and coffee, as well as alcohol, deserve to be shunned. Emerson dubbed him the “poet of bran bread and pumpkins.”<sup>12</sup> Yet despite all opposition, Graham flour appeared everywhere, and Graham boarding houses and restaurants sprang up. A few years later, the famous transcendentalist and educational reformer, Amos Bronson Alcott, proposed a cooperative vegetarian colony. Alcott was a reformer par excellence, and was constantly in attendance at reform meetings—anti-slavery, vegetarian, and temperance. During the winter of 1843–1844 Alcott, with the cooperation of Henry Wright, Charles Lane and his son William, worked out a plan for Fruitlands, a cooperative vegetarian community. Lane invested his entire savings in a tract near the village of Harvard, Mass., and in June, 1844, the party moved to this location.<sup>13</sup> Their organization was based on strictly vegetarian principles—no flesh, fish, fowl, eggs, milk, cheese or butter. The experiment was so radical that even the labor of horses was dispensed with, and only the “aspiring” vegetables (those growing above ground) were eaten. Unfortunately the crops

12. *Ibid.*, v. 7 (New York, 1931), pp. 479–80. Also the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, quoted in *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures*, September, 1902. *The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* appeared in the late thirties (David Campbell, editor), and in 1839 Graham published his most ambitious work, *Lectures on the Science of Human Life* (2 vols., 1858). Horace Greeley was a follower of Graham.

13. Lane wrote *A Brief Practical Essay on the Vegetable Diet* (1847).

**Original Correspondence.**

\* *For the Herald of Freedom.*  
**Octagon and Vegetarian Society.**  
 BY HENRY S. CLUBB.

A pioneer party of members of the Octagon and Vegetarian Settlement Companies, with their families, have arrived at the site selected for them, on the Neosho river, about forty miles west of Fort Scott. The land secured is a tract of over thirty square miles, including a fair proportion of timber and prairie. This tract is eight miles in length, and about four miles wide. It crosses at a serpentine and picturesque part of the Neosho, and runs in the direction of northwest from the commencing point, on the east side of that river.

At this site the river affords an excellent situation for a mill, being very rapid, with power sufficient for a saw mill and six run of stones for grinding. The companies propose to erect a stone dam and water-power mill.

Within this tract is a varying and undulating surface of rich bottom land, of timber and prairie, and gently rising hills, interspersed with ridges of rocks; numerous wooded streams of clear water winding throughout the whole, while beneath the surface, coal, limestone, sandstone and slate are found in strata of varied thickness and extent. The prevailing surface around is rich and gently rolling prairie, which can be claimed to any extent east and west.

The first settlement, surveyed on the Octagon plan, is on a site peculiarly adapted for the purpose. The central park embraces several beautiful hills or knolls, on the south west side of one of those gently rising prairies, peculiar to the region. A good stream of clear water skirts the boundary of the part at the foot of those knolls, and within about fifteen chains of the central site designed for the public building, or school house, on the elevation of the principal knoll.— A building is now being erected at that point, the first stone having been laid on the 28th of April. It will be used for the present purposes of the company as a store, and house of entertainment.—

*The first part of Clubb's announcement of the settlement plan, published in Lawrence's Herald of Freedom on May 3, 1856.*

were carelessly planted, and at harvest time the men left to attend reform meetings. Mrs. Alcott and daughters salvaged what was possible, but by winter the Lanes and Alcotts were the sole remaining members of the community and were on the verge of starvation. In January of the next year the experiment was abandoned.<sup>14</sup> In the later movement in this country Henry S. Clubb (1827–19—?) was a leader. Clubb gave his philosophy a wide currency in his later years, as president of the Vegetarian Society of America (late 19th and early 20th centuries). He regarded vegetarianism as based upon Scriptural authority; the early Christian church he believed to have been vegetarian, but considered it corrupted by Constantine.<sup>15</sup> Clubb, in particular, favored suburban gardens and the colonization of vegetarians, as well as undenominational schools and colleges, “away from the contamination of flesh, alcohol, and social vices. . . .”<sup>16</sup>

The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company was projected by Henry S. Clubb in 1855, to establish a permanent home for vegetarians. It was hoped to bring together vegetarians of common interests and aims; otherwise they, “solitary and alone in their vegetarian practice, might sink into flesh-eating habits.”<sup>17</sup> The first meeting of the company was held in New York on May 16, 1855. The joint-stock principle was adopted, with the aim of thereby obtaining the advantages of civilization for the settlers, including agricultural implements and mills. Charles H. DeWolfe, of Philadelphia, gentleman, was made president. At the first meeting forty-seven signed an agreement to emigrate, and twenty-six more indicated that

they would probably go, along with relatives and friends. Their individual capital varied, it was reported, from \$50 to \$10,000.<sup>18</sup> Dr. John McLauren was sent to Kansas to make a favorable location for the colony, and appeared before the company in January, 1856, advocating an octagon settlement near Fort Scott, on the Neosho river. The organization of the company was then completed by the adoption of a constitution, the preamble of which provided:

“WHEREAS, The practice of vegetarian diet is best adapted to the development of the highest and noblest principles of human nature, and the use of the flesh of animals for food tends to the physical, moral, and intellectual injury of mankind, and it is desirable that those person who believe in the vegetarian principle should have every opportunity to live in accordance therewith, and should unite in the formation of a company for the permanent establishment, in some portion of this country, of a home where the slaughter of animals for food shall be prohibited, and where the principle of the vegetarian diet can be fairly and fully tested, so as to demonstrate its advantages, . . .”<sup>19</sup>

By establishing a permanent home for vegetarians, it was believed that a program of concerted action could be followed, with a system of direct healing, as well as permitting the practice of the vegetarian principle. Members were required to be of good moral character, not slaveholders, and applications had to be approved by the board of directors.

The officials of the company immediately levied an assessment of ten per cent (50 cents a share), to provide a fund with which to erect

14. *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. I, pp. 139–140. There is a very good account here of Alcott’s many reform theories. Fruitlands never numbered over eleven individuals.

15. *The Vegetarian Magazine*, November, 1897. Other leaders of the movement, near the turn of the century, include Dr. J. H. Kellogg, of Battle Creek, the elder La Follette, and Clarence Darrow of Chicago. The Seventh Day Adventists have espoused vegetarianism.

16. *Ibid.*, February, 1900, p. 12. Concerning colonization, see below.

17. Henry S. Clubb, in *Water-Cure Journal*, clipped in the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, April 28, 1855.

18. *Life Illustrated* of June 2, 1855. Quoted in *Herald of Freedom* of August 11. In September of that year it was reported that 4,000 shares had been sold. To encourage sales, the first payment was put as low as ten cents, and persons with no capital were advised they could pay for their shares with labor.

19. Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, A Cyclopedia of State History* (two vols., Chicago, 1912), v. 2, p. 842.

a saw mill and gristmill, purchase a stock of provisions, seed grain, tents, utensils, etc. Each member was called on to pay \$10 to this fund of the company, the headquarters of which were at No. 308 Broadway, New York.<sup>20</sup> Clubb announced that persons who became members before the end of the month (January, 1856) would be called founders, and would participate in the drawing of lots.<sup>21</sup> The *New York Tribune* announced that the company then consisted of about fifty families, with capital stock aggregating about \$75,000. The shareholders were one-third practical farmers, and two-thirds mechanics and professional men—not a very promising proportion for life on the frontier.<sup>22</sup>

The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company was the first to adopt the Octagon plan of settlement, a scheme also formulated by Henry S. Clubb.<sup>23</sup> Membership in the company was limited to vegetarians, and as a result their settlements would be of a restricted nature. No doubt the promoters received applications from many would-be settlers in Kansas who did not agree with this limitation, but who were otherwise in sympathy with the objects of the founders—opposition to slavery,<sup>24</sup> and advocacy of a moral life. Thus it would appear that by founding several settlements, vegetarian and nonvegetarian, the chance of success of the colonies and of financial returns to the promoters would be considerably improved.

Whatever their motives, Clubb and his

20. *Ibid.*, p. 843.

21. *Life Illustrated*, clipped in *Herald of Freedom*, January 19, 1856.

22. *New York Daily Tribune*, January 21, 1856. A pertinent criticism leveled at Eastern emigrants, including those of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, was their lack of preparation for frontier life, in contrast to those from the Middle West.

23. See below for a description of this plan.

24. There was a large emigration to Kansas from the free states in 1856 despite the period of “troubles,” although the movement was far greater in 1857. A number of the groups which came in the spring of 1856 were semimilitary in character, some even being hired to fight for the cause of the South, others the North, as occasion might arise. The writer has found no reason for believing that the two companies here discussed were in this category.

colleagues decided to organize a second company as a complement to the vegetarian organization, to be known as the Octagon Settlement Company.<sup>25</sup> This company was to avoid the vegetarian limitation, but otherwise was to greatly resemble its sister company. The Octagon company opened its books for subscriptions in February, 1856, and by the end of the month had enough members to start one octagon village of four miles square. It was hoped to form a city equal in size to that of the Vegetarian company, on the Neosho, opposite its predecessor.<sup>26</sup> The officers of the vegetarian organization were also to serve in the Octagon company, Charles H. DeWolfe being named president, Dr. John McLauren, treasurer and pioneer in Kansas, and Henry S. Clubb, secretary. An agent was named for Great Britain (Robert T. Clubb), and another for New York City.<sup>27</sup> The constitution of the company declared the following objects:

“1. To form a union of persons of strict temperance principles, who, in the admission of members, shall have a guaranty that they will be associated with good society, and that their children will be educated under the most favorable circumstances, and trained under good example.

“2. To commence a settlement in Kansas territory, for the pursuit of agriculture and such mechanic arts as may be advantageously introduced.

“3. To promote the enactment of good and righteous laws in that territory, to uphold freedom, and to oppose slavery and oppression in every form.”<sup>28</sup>

25. The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies have a history so closely connected that it is at times difficult to distinguish between them. There are other examples of parallel and interlocking companies in the territorial period; the American Settlement Company and the New York Kansas League is a case in point.

26. Document, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas* (N. Y., 1856), p. 3.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

28. Blackmar, *Kansas*, v. 2, p. 380.

The promoters planned for their model community a “hydropathic establishment, an agricultural college, a scientific institute, a museum of curiosities and mechanic arts, and common schools.”<sup>29</sup> The “hydropathic establishment,” or water-cure project, occupied a prominent place in the plans of the founders, several of whom belonged to the medical profession. Water-cure societies were then being established in many places; one was organized at Lawrence in March, 1855. They emphasized a “return to nature,” with the avoidance of drugs and patent medicines then so much advertised. The constitution of the Lawrence society provided in its preamble, “that hydropathy, including the hygienic agencies of water, air, light, food, temperature, exercise, sleep, clothing, and the passions in their various modifications, comprises a whole and ample *Materia Medica*, capable of producing all the really remedial effects possible in all diseases . . .”<sup>30</sup>

The octagon plan of settlement, adopted by both the Vegetarian and Octagon companies, was a unique feature of the projects. Each octagon-shaped settlement was to be of four square miles, or 2,560 acres. Upon this square a full-sized octagon was to be imposed, whose eight segments were each to be divided into two farms of 102 acres each. Each of the sixteen farms would front upon the central octagon of 208 acres, which was to be used for a common pasture or park, and to be held by the trustees for the equal benefit of the settlers. A communal life would be attained by placing each farm house facing the central octagon, at whose central point an octagon public building would be constructed, to serve as store, meetinghouse, school, and church. Of the four miles originally taken up, the four corners still remaining outside the octagon settlement would be used for woodland or grassland. It was planned to

29. Document, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas*, p. 4. Each member agreed to abstain from intoxicating liquor. “Maine Law” men were prominent among the Eastern emigrants to Kansas territory.

30. Constitution of Lawrence Hydropathic Hygienic Society, *Herald of Freedom*, March 31, 1855. A water-cure building was to be constructed upon a conveniently situated hill in “Octagon City.”

make four of these octagon villages into a “city” of sixteen square miles, with a square of 584 acres in the center, to be devoted to an agricultural college and model farm.<sup>31</sup>

The octagon plan of settlement aimed to give the western settler some of the advantages of the East, with the hope of avoiding the hated isolation of the frontier. Each settler would live in a village, enjoy the aid and protection of his comrades, and attain social and educational advantages not otherwise possible. The literature of the project stressed in particular the increase in property values which would result from this form of settlement. In the hope that the octagon village would become the center of a city, a detailed plan was worked out to subdivide the farms into lots; each was to be divided into eight squares, of twenty lots each, varying in size from the center.<sup>32</sup> Each purchaser of a share in the company would pay a dollar entrance fee, and an initial installment of ten cents upon the five-dollar share, and could take not less than twenty nor more than 240 shares.<sup>33</sup> He was entitled to as many city lots as he took shares. The company would pay \$1.25 an acre to the government for its land, and all that it received above this would be used for provisions, construction of streets, public schools, mills, and stores. Profits from the mills would be divided among the shareholders. The company would also obtain implements and teams for every shareholder, and issue scrip for the use of its settlers.<sup>34</sup>

In emigrating to the Kansas frontier, the Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies

31. Document, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas*, pp. 5, 6. The frontispiece has an elaborate illustration.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

33. Actual practice varied from the original plan, a fact which must be borne in mind in considering the later history of the colonies. The technique of townsite promotion on the Western frontier was an art in itself, open to all possessed of a “gift of gab” and a native shrewdness. Capital was not an initial necessity, as it would follow as a matter of course.

34. Document, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas*, p. 6. The plan of the New England Emigrant Aid Company was somewhat similar. They also hoped to plant centers of Eastern culture in the wilderness and to profit by a rise in the value of their land holdings, particularly town lots.



Detail from a plat map of Allen County drawn up in 1906. The location of the Vegetarian Settlement headquarters has been marked in pencil on the original map, which still has properties labeled for the Stewart brothers. Courtesy of Barbara Brackman.

acted very much in unison. Doctor McLauren, sent out by the Vegetarian company in the fall of 1855, had already reported a favorable location on the Neosho. He now also acted as treasurer and pioneer of the Octagon company with headquarters at "Octagon City, via Fort Scott." A definite plan of emigration was worked out, the octagon plan of settlement necessitating the arrival of settlers in groups of sixteen, or multiples thereof. Each group was to have a leader and a definite time and place of departure, and a membership properly distributed among the various professions. Both DeWolfe and Clubb were to serve as heads of companies.<sup>35</sup> The Vegetarian (or Octagon) company was given rather wide publicity during the early months of 1856. Late in March of that year a pioneer group, composed of members of both companies, proceeded up the Missouri river, with two more such parties to follow in April.<sup>36</sup>

On the first of May (1856) Clubb reported at length upon the progress of the colony. The site

selected was on the western bank of the Neosho river, west of Fort Scott, and six miles south of the present site of Humboldt. A tract of thirty-two square miles had been obtained (eight octagons), including bottom land, prairie and timber. A building was then being erected as a store and company headquarters. From this eight avenues were then being laid out, according to the octagon plan. The eight octagons were then being surveyed. According to Clubb, the emigrants numbered nearly a hundred persons, with twenty head of oxen, five or six horses, and a grist mill. Vegetarian blacksmiths, farmers, and carpenters were on the grounds.<sup>37</sup> After the town of "Neosho City" was laid out, it appears to have enjoyed a transitory boom. Lots bought early in May at premiums amounting to \$40 were sold a few days later at premiums amounting to \$197.50. Emigrants were then arriving from all directions; a majority came during April, May, and June.<sup>38</sup>

35. *Ibid.*, p. 10. A detailed list of emigrants for the first company is given, classified according to profession.

36. *Daily Missouri Democrat*, March 26, 1856. Clipped in "Webb Scrap Books" (Thomas H. Webb, compiler), v. 10, p. 185. This collection contains a vast number of newspaper clippings from all over the country, concerning the first years of Territorial Kansas, and is now in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society.

37. Correspondence of Clubb, *Herald of Freedom*, May 3, 1856. Announcements of new towns were frequent in the territorial papers, and were often highly laudatory, as a means of advertisement. As a matter of fact, lack of capital prevented the settlement from being established on the grand plan proposed.

38. Neosho City correspondence of May 12, of the *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 23, 1856. The St. Louis papers carried much news of the Kansas border. The above appears to be a typical "boom" notice.



A promotional portrait of Henry Clubb from later in his career.

The project thus brilliantly begun ended in complete failure. It appears certain that in order to gain settlers the promoters made rash promises which could not be fulfilled. There was but one plow in the whole establishment, although the officials had promised implements and teams for every shareholder (*i.e.*, settler). Their promise to construct a saw- and grist-mill also did not materialize. One writer blames the promoters for “gross mismanagement,” if not something worse.<sup>39</sup> The location of the colony was beset by mosquitoes, and chills and fever attacked the settlers.<sup>40</sup> The “inexhaustible” springs dried up, and the crops that were planted were raided by neighboring Indians.<sup>41</sup>

39. L. Wallace Duncan, *History of Neosho and Wilson Counties, Kansas* (Fort Scott, 1902), pp. 37–38. Clubb appears to have abandoned the Kansas experiment precipitately. Yet, after leaving Kansas, he became acknowledged as the leader of vegetarianism in America. He was quite young at the time of the Kansas venture.

40. Mrs. Miriam D. Colt, *Went to Kansas* (Watertown, 1862), p. 88. June 26th entry: “Several members of our company have suddenly been taken with the chills and fever.”

41. Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 38. The colony was located near the boundary of the New York Indian Reserve and the Osage reservation. Nominally it was not open for settlement. As far as law and order went, this was somewhat of a “no man’s land” at this time. The immediate locality was not surveyed until 1857 and 1858. Claim troubles were frequent, and “jayhawking” flourished.

Bitter disappointment and much suffering resulted. As winter neared, all who could leave did so. There was a heavy mortality among the children and older people. By the following spring (1857) hardly a trace of the settlement remained, although the stream along which the companies located is still known as Vegetarian creek.<sup>42</sup>

Among the factors leading to the failure of the colony, the “high-pressure salesmanship” tactics of the promoters appears to rank first. Too many promises of paternalistic aid were made to the settlers. The size of the farms (only 102 acres) may have discouraged the emigrants,<sup>43</sup> but most disappointing of all was the failure to construct mills, and other promised features. The membership numbered many Easterners, who were not prepared for life on the frontier, a significant fact accounting for the abandonment of the colony. The charges, made by many of the settlers, of the dishonesty of the promoters cannot be entirely proved. It appears, however, that money was collected for the purpose of properly starting the colony, which was not so used.<sup>44</sup> Those who resorted to Clubb for help were disappointed, as he had no money to refund.<sup>45</sup>

The later history of vegetarianism was more successful from the standpoint of colonization. In 1890 Henry S. Clubb, then president of the Vegetarian Society of America, became the editor of *Food, Home, and Garden*, which in 1900 was united with the *Vegetarian Magazine*, published by

42. *Ibid.*, p. 38. Andreas, in his *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), comments on page 668 that four settlers remained permanently—Charles Baland, Z. J. Wizner, and Watson and S. J. Stewart. The same author has a brief biography of Samuel J. Stewart on page 675. He served in the Free-State legislature of 1857, and took an active part in the Civil War.

43. Andreas remarks (p. 668) that the two Stewarts were so dissatisfied with the arrangements that they located claims elsewhere.

44. Blackmar, *Kansas*, v. 2, p. 842.

45. August 11th entry, Colt, *Went to Kansas*, p. 128: “My husband has been anxious to see Mr. Clubb at his present abiding place, up on Stone creek . . . to see if he would refund any of the money that he put into his hands. . . . Mr. Clubb had no money to refund, but let us have some cornstarch, farina, a few dates, and a little pearled barley. . . . It is rumored that H. S. Clubb has resorted to his present abode, that he may make his way quietly out of the territory. We can take advantage of no law to regain our money paid to him for the company.”

the Vegetarian company at Chicago.<sup>46</sup> Clubb was then very active in promoting vegetarian colonies throughout the country and made personal tours to locate favorable sites. The *Vegetarian Magazine* and its successor, *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures*, published many accounts of such colonies during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In 1920 the place of publication of this magazine itself was moved to one of these colonies, in Idaho.<sup>47</sup>

**Excerpts from “Kansas: A Vegetarian Utopia’:  
The Letters of John Milton Hadley, 1855–1856”  
edited by Joseph C. Gambone  
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FRIENDS’ MISSION KANSAS  
TERRITORY  
3RD MOTH 30TH 56

#### RESPECTED FRIEND

The Storm prevails—the flaky whiteness comes whirling and twirling hither & thither as the wind directs. A remarkable winter truly this. Who has seen its like? I dont believe I have.

Well, it is to be hoped that old winter will soon withdraw from this part of the *terra firma* his cold mantle and remove his quarters to somewhere else. We have had some pretty weather though fine indeed! Last 1st day was exquisitely delightful—but to-day is only so—for its austere inclement storms. I trust though we shall soon have fine

46. *The Vegetarian Magazine*, January, 1900, p. 12. Reverend Clubb was then also pastor of the Bible Christian Church, Philadelphia. Besides promoting the vegetarian faith, the Vegetarian company also sold various vegetarian products at that time: peanut butter, Kungphfy (a substitute for coffee), Vegetarian soap, Ko Nut (a butter made from cocoanut oil), Graham flour, etc. Compare the Kellogg and other trade products of to-day. Vegetarianism thus became highly capitalized.

47. Information from various numbers of the *Vegetarian Magazine* and its successors. Vegetarianism in America was always closely allied with prohibition. Clubb was the author in 1856 of *The Maine Liquor Law* (New York, 1856), a history of prohibition and its leading advocate, Neal Dow. Clubb also wrote a serial “History of Vegetarianism,” 1907. A likeness of Clubb appears in the frontispiece of the *Vegetarian Magazine* for February, 1900. The John Crerar Library of Chicago has an incomplete file of the *Vegetarian Magazine* and its successors. The Kansas State Historical Society has documents and other information illustrative of the Kansas venture.

weather. From what I learn the weather has been more severe in southern climates the past winter in proportion to its latitude than in northern. We have begun sowing oats—plowed the garden but not done much at gardening.

We have been fixing fences—making rails and the like. Why didn’t thee come on? why turn coward? But may be thee was convinced it wasn’t best for thee to risk thy self where there was any hope of danger—where even a whisper of its blew. But I found it wasn’t best for me to risk my life any longer in the declining path of vegetarianism not from an insignificant *whisper of danger*—nay verily—but from the imperative voice of admonition given under the seal of an experience of some two or three years and growing still more and more urgent as trampled nature sank deeper and deeper. So I shall not quarrel with thee at present for being a coward.<sup>48</sup> Of what service will all our advocacy of reform do. how much real good will we do the world the grand object for which we all should live—if we advocate principles, plans—or anything—and then sit sullenly silent—and do nothing for “*fear*” in some of its forms. But then thee’s young I dont blame thee so much as some others. But just to show thee that thy fear was groundless—built on a shadow—there is no war in the country nor is there likely to be. I have no belief that there is any danger at all from an invasion from Missouri. The *Mo’s* are a different set of fellows—the most of them—2/3 it is said from what is styled the Border Ruffian. A great many are true free state men—many say that Kansas will never be a slave state and many who have been up here at the different times—say they will never be caught up here again on such errands as they have been Their aim is now to out do us with bonified settlers. In this work though they

48. In December, 1855, George Allen purchased 20 shares in the Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company. His correspondence revealed a sincere desire to emigrate to Kansas during the spring of 1856. In January, 1856, Allen purchased an additional 20 shares, giving him the rights to 40 acres of farm land in Octagon City. However, his failure to join the colony resulted in the forfeiture of his deposit.—See, Clubb to Allen, July 25, December 23, 1855, January 14, 1856, May 30, 1856, Samuel Stewart to Allen, February 12, 23, 1856, “Charles Allen Family Papers.”

must surely fail. Thousands are coming in from the free states.<sup>49</sup>

There are now with us three men just arrived—one from Michigan and two from Illinois. They say thousands are coming—that emigration is just setting in. Ho! come on! The valuable points—the good farm sites will soon be claimed in that part of the territory where settlement has begun. Hence thee had better come quickly—if thee wants to make a claim and get a good one. If thee designs settling with the vegetarian colony—thee need fear no danger as their location is in a part of the territory where the enmity of the Southerner is not directed. I calculate thee would do well to join them and proceed with them if thee aims to live with them [at] all. Vegetarianism is a good thing, that is—good for some—while the injunction is “Know Thyself”—Hence if it suits thee—thy nature as a whole—“stick to it”—

We need help at the mission and if thee had been here or was here now thee could get employment. If thee dont come—please send me a full history of thy experience as a vegetarian. My health has been improving some lately. I have gained several pounds, tho’ I have had the chills some this spring again. I’ve got them broken and I hope they will remain. Give my respects to thy father and mother

49. By the spring of 1856 the tide of emigration to Kansas took on a definite Free-State complexion, thus threatening the continuance of Proslavery control of government. Free-State ranks increased as pioneers from Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio moved into Kansas. The spectacle of two rival governments, each denying legal existence to the other, was only the beginning, as violence and the threat of violence dominated the Kansas scene for the first eight months of 1856. Bands of armed Proslavery men marched against Free-State settlements, and Free-Staters retaliated in kind. Action and counter-action continued. News from Kansas made front-page headlines throughout the nation, and allowed the epithet of “Bleeding Kansas” to become symbolical of freedom.

See, Walter L. Fleming, “The Buford Expedition to Kansas,” *American Historical Review*, New York, v. 6 (October, 1900), pp. 38-48; Malin, “Proslavery Background of the Kansas Struggle,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 10 (December, 1923), pp. 285-305; Elmer L. Craik, “Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858,” *KHC*, v. 15 (1919-1922), pp. 334-450; William O. Lynch, “Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas From 1854 to 1860,” *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1917-1918, v. 9, p. 3, pp. 380-392; Lynch, “The Western Flow of Southern Colonists,” *Journal of Southern History*, Baton Rouge, v. 9 (August, 1943), pp. 303-327; and Robert Morrow, “Emigration to Kansas in 1856,” *KHC*, v. 8 (1903-1904), pp. 302-315.

& all the rest. Write soon. Enos may consider this to him as well as thee.

As ever truly J. MILTON HADLEY

FRIENDS’ MISSION K. T.  
5TH MOTH 12TH ’56

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND GEORGE

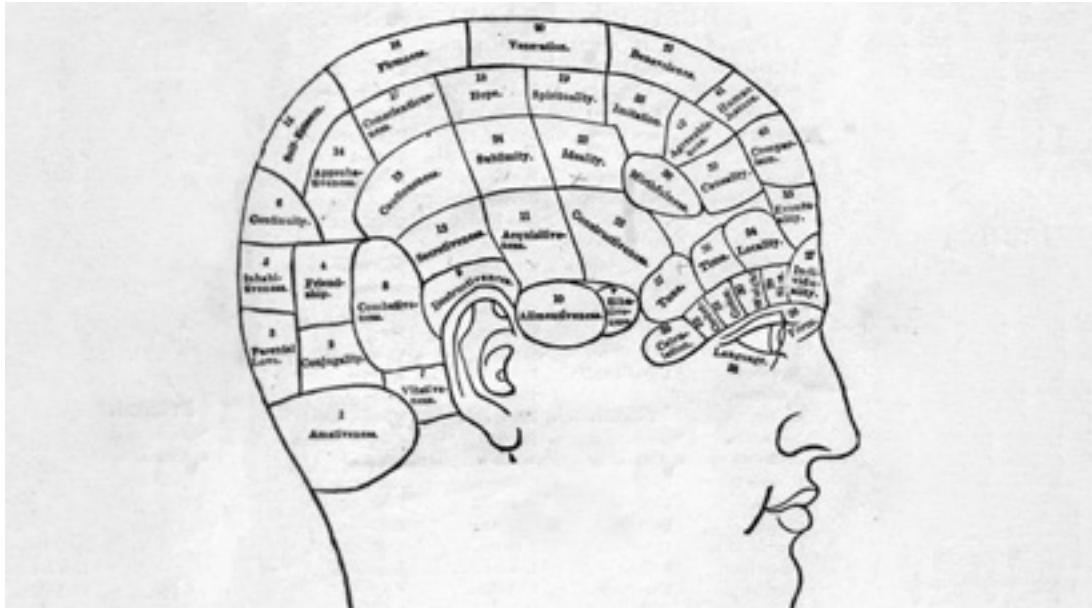
This is 1st day morning. I received thy kind favor 2 or 3 days ago. I was sorry to learn of thy declining health. But it’s what I had feared for thee for some time.

Let me tell thee George—that from [what] I can learn that is almost invariably the case that those whose ancestry have been flesh eaters or have been at any period themselves and then adopted an exclusive vegetable diet become rather slow—effeminate courageless lank-jawed—slab-sided—pale—old looking—melancholy—despondent—hypochondriac—and—finally wofully—wane out of existence. It is a general observation that vegetarians are a set of spooneys, my own agreeing. Now all this in direct opposition to what the publications of Messrs-Fowlers & Wells tell us of them— We cant see and dont know and so are *duped-miserably*.

Our great duty is—to know ourselves. There are those of such an organization & temperament as to be benefitted by vegetable diet alone— There is a great deal in education too. Let’s study to know ourselves— Exercise prudence moderation and temperance in all things. I do not believe a vegetarian to be an abler—a wiser or a better being in any way—George— hear all sides—look around before thee decides. The vegetarians have settled on the Neosho river 40 miles west of Ft. Scott.<sup>50</sup> H.

50. Vegetarians had emigrated with the idea of finding some new Canaan in the form of Octagon City. Farmers, merchants, mechanics, and even professional men with their families were among the recruits who hoped to start a new life on the frontier. They had implicit faith in the company and had accepted fully Clubb’s glorious descriptions of the settlement. When they finally arrived at the Neosho river, they were unable to accept what their eyes beheld. The dream that had fetched them across over 1,000 miles of wilderness became a nightmare.

Most of the members were disappointed and were determined to turn right around and start again on a journey back home. Food was limited and shelter was almost non-existent, except for tents “of cloth,



A typical phrenological diagram, indicating the traits associated with different parts of the skull. This one appeared in Orson Fowler's 1869 *The Practical Phrenologist*. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

S. Clubb has published a letter in the *Herald of Freedom* descriptive of the country—the colony and their plans.<sup>51</sup> He will probably send thee a number of it. I suppose he will. I wish them success—and await the issue.

some of cloth and green bark just peeled from the trees, and some wholly of green bark, struck upon the damp ground, without floors or fires.”—Colt, *Went to Kansas*, p. 46.

51. *Herald of Freedom*, May 3, 1856. Clubb published an encouraging report upon the progress of the settlement. He stated that nearly 100 members had arrived at the site, that the central octagon building was under construction to house families until their own homes were built, that a gristmill was in operation, and that a great majority were “well pleased with the location” as “the merry voices of women and children [filled] the air with gladness.”

Clubb’s assessment of the vegetarian utopia was a total fabrication. He undoubtedly was attempting to advertise the settlement in highly laudatory terms. One member of this ill-fated experiment, Mrs. Miriam Colt, published a vivid account of life in the colony. Her story was a coherent narrative of her dreadful experience. Upon her arrival in early May, she was shocked to see nothing but prairie stretching bare and silent. “The [Company] directors,” she wrote, “after receiving our money to build mills, have not fulfilled the trust reposed in them.”—Colt, *Went to Kansas*, p. 45.

According to Mrs. Colt, neither sawmills nor gristmills were in operation, while the large stone octagon building was, in reality, a log cabin, 16 x 16 feet, without floor or furnishings. She continued: “These intelligent, but too confiding, families have come from the North, East, South and West, to this *farther* West, to make pleasant homes; and now are determined to turn right about, start again on a journey—some know not where! Others have invested their all in the company. Now come lost means and blighted hopes.”—*Ibid.*, p. 46.

One after another of the colonists left. Some of those remaining waited only for opportunities to get away. The more determined ones dug in and attempted to stick it out. They cut logs and built crude shelters. They took turns with the one plow in the colony, broke up the sod and planted what seeds they could.

Such attempts proved fruitless. Everything was against them. It was a cold and wet spring, and extremely hot summer, while mosquitoes scourged the countryside in clouds that could not be escaped. Almost everyone came down with the chills and fever. Although disease appeared to have delivered the final knock-out blow to the colony, its fate had been virtually sealed by the tactics of the promoters, who had enlisted too many Easterners—men who were ill-adapted to frontier life—and encouraged them with rash promises of company employment. Within a few months, Octagon City was deserted and all its dreams vanished.

The project thus brilliantly begun ended in complete failure. Although some mis-management seems to have occurred, charges of dishonesty against the promoters cannot be entirely substantiated. It appears that money collected for the purpose of starting the settlement was not invested properly. In defending the honesty and sincerity of Clubb, Watson Stewart stated in his memoirs that Clubb was basically an honest man who lacked the “practical ability to manage the affairs of the company successfully.”—Stewart, “Memoirs of Watson Stewart: 1855–1860,” p. 385.

Though the movement had all the “stigmata” of the fanatical idealism that flowered during the first half of the 19th century, the organizational structure of the project clearly indicated that the promoters intended to realize a financial profit. Their tactics, together with their high-pressure salesmanship and promotional activities, conflicted with the idealistic principles that had resulted in the establishment of the transcendentalist community of intellectuals at Brook Farm near Boston, the communitarian colony of New Harmony on the banks of the Wabash in Indiana, and the sexual utopian experiment of the Oneida community in upstate New York. Maybe the Kansas colony would have succeeded if Clubb’s dream of a permanent home for vegetarians had been based completely on principles rather than profits.

Lands I learn are for sale now in some parts of Kansas, and will be in most parts soon—except in the reserves.<sup>52</sup> It will [be] some more than three months before it is here in the Shawnee reserve. If thee aims to come to Kansas thee would do well to come soon. A mighty flux of emigration is pouring in from all parts. North. East. West & South—

My health George appears to be improving constantly. I verily expect I could do as much work as thee, unless it would be because thee is more used to it—I make my hand on the farm. And I eat Meat—*hog meat too*—and gravey and lots of greasy things—and that three times a day—just any thing thats set before me—“*asking no questions*”—

True I have the dyspepsia badly too—but I am much abler and enjoy myself better a long ways than I did while I was a vegetarian—and dieted so particularly—

I am a Water Cure still—I believe in the efficacy of water to cure disease—and I also believe in the efficacy of the medicinal agents of nature to same purpose—Why not? Let us see the contrary, I say. I hate medicine as much as any one almost—and think it is abused, too much resorted to—“*All things for some use.*” It has *not* been proven that medicine have not done good—notwithstanding the efforts of the Water Cures—neither do I believe it can be—

Thee comes out and bluntly asks me if I have renounced Phrenology—<sup>53</sup> Challenging me to

52. The first sale of public land in Kansas was begun on November 17, 1856, when the eastern portion of the Delaware trust lands were offered.—See, Gates, *Fifty Million Acres*, pp. 65–68.

53. Phrenology was an allegedly scientific method of rating the mental faculties and character traits of human beings through the study of the conformation of the skull. In accordance with this theory, phrenologists charted the cranium of man in sections, each section being taken to represent the location in the brain of some definite faculty or mental or moral disposition. The cranial protuberances, according to their location, denoted the individual to be endowed with large or small amounts of 35 qualities, such as ideality, benevolence, combativeness, individuality, wit, wonder, and philoprogenitiveness.

The leading American exponent of phrenology was Orson Squire Fowler, who published *The Phrenological Journal*. His writings and lectures helped to popularize the *science* during the middle of the 19th century. Fowler professed “to be able to pronounce opinions so accurate and reliable that you may adopt them as ‘life guides’ in the improvement, development and perfection of yourselves and your children.”—New York *Daily Tribune*, October 3, 1854.

answer— Well I am not disposed to shirk from honest argument but I guess I could do as I please in answering “*that.*” But as is my disposition—using friendly kindness I will just say—that my faith in Phrenology is much shaken. I do not believe that the system as taught by Fowlers is free from many gross errors and inconsistencies. It aims at too much. It reach above the present grasp of human power— Its fundamental doctrines are true and it may in time become a science of *utility*

Our Mission [is] in a tolerably prosperous state Things are reasonably quiet in the territory as much as could be expected. We are anticipating

However many of Fowler’s followers assumed altogether too much for it and made money by charting heads of those interested at prices ranging from 50¢ to \$5 per chart. The more flattering a phrenologist’s analysis, the more people paid to have their heads charted for character evaluation. A typical advertisement professing the scientific value of phrenology appeared in the *New York Tribune*, September 29, 1854: “Phrenology teaches us our Natural Capacities, our right, and wrong tendencies, the most appropriate avocations, and directs us how to attain self-improvement, happiness and success in life. It shows each individual wherein he is deficient or excessively developed, and how to cultivate or restrain those faculties necessary to obtain a consistent intellectual, moral and social disposition.”

Phrenologists also assumed the ability to evaluate society in general. They asserted their proficiency to judge “whom to trust and mistrust, whom to select and reject for specific places and stations.” They could choose “apprentices who have a particular knack or talent for particular trades.” They could tell “who will always bungle”; who will, and will not, “make us warm and perpetual friends”; and who were not “adapted to become partners in business.” Finally, phrenologists believed that they could decide beforehand, “who can, and cannot, live together affectionately and happily in wedlock, and on what points differences will arise.”—New York *Daily Tribune*, October 10, 1854.

Such assertions found little receptivity in the scientific community. With the growth of knowledge in anatomy during the latter half of the 19th century, phrenology was disowned as an exact science.

For a biographical sketch of Fowler, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1931), v. 6, pp. 565–566. For additional phrenological advertisements, see *New York Daily Tribune*, September 28, December 25, 1854, and May 18, 1855.

some trouble—I hope it will all pass by—<sup>54</sup> Fine weather now— Much rain a few days past. not much corn planted—health pretty good—Mother very sore eyes—not much ague—trains to cross

the plains are starting now every day. Give my love to thy father & mother and thy brothers—and believe me as ever thy real friend. [KH]

54. On May 21, 1856, Proslavery forces sacked the town of Lawrence, long regarded as the citadel of antislavery leadership. The Lawrence attack produced retaliation in the form of John Brown's Pottawatomie creek massacre on May 23. Thus civil strife and border warfare engulfed the territory and inscribed on the public conscious the epithet "Bleeding Kansas." See Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence' May 21, 1856," *KHQ*, v. 20 (August and November, 1953), pp. 465–494, 553–597; "Notes on the Proslavery March Against Lawrence," *ibid.*, v. 11 (February, 1942), pp. 45–64; Robert W. Johannsen, ed., "A Footnote on the Pottawatomie Massacre, 1856," *ibid.*, v. 22 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 236–241; Shalor W. Eldridge, *Recollections of Early Days in Kansas* (Publications of the Kansas Historical Society; Topeka, Kansas State Printing Plant, 1920), pp. 45–55; Robert G. Elliott, "The Events of 1856," *KHC*, v. 7 (1901–1902), pp. 521–536; "Correspondence of Governor Wilson Shannon," *ibid.*, v. 4 (1886–1890), pp. 392–403; August Bondi, "With John Brown in Kansas," *ibid.*, v. 8 (1903–1904), pp. 275–289; Samuel J. Shively, "The Pottawatomie Massacre," *ibid.*, pp. 177–187.

The most exhaustive work on John Brown is Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six*. For a more recent interpretation of Brown, and one in partial conflict with Malin's conclusions, see Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (N.Y., Harper & Row, 1970).