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he continued to issue his "Little Blue Books," which for a dime would introduce the workman to Paine and Ibsen, George Washington and Moliere.⁸⁹

Surely the most unique, perhaps most important, feature of the *Appeal* was its continuous self-promotion and its incessant hustle for circulation. In this department, the *Appeal* made William Randolph Hearst's *Journal* and *American* seem timid. In the years 1901-1912 over 12 percent of the stories were items about the *Appeal* itself, usually pleas for more circulation, descriptions of circulation contests, promotions of special editions, and items about the "Appeal Army," a dedicated band of thousands of readers who hustled subscriptions for their "Little Old *Appeal*." After 1912 the proportion of this sort of content actually increased to 15.4 percent of the total. The *Appeal* always operated expansionistically. In other words, subscription prices were so low (25 cents a year for many years) that the paper always needed more and more new subscriptions every day just to cover current operating expenses.⁹⁰ Usually, these were rounded up by "soldiers" in the *Appeal* army, who were motivated by offers of cash gifts, free farms, gold watches engraved with the winner's name, a 25-foot yacht, books, houses, land in Florida, motorcycles, and even a free trip to Girard to visit the "Temple of the Revolution" (the *Appeal* office).⁹¹ And the army members were motivated by their love for the *Appeal* and their belief in the nearness of socialism. Always the

army came through. A plea for more subscriptions would be followed a few weeks later by a success story and a paean to all the loyal comrades who did their part.

The *Appeal* also promoted itself through special editions, which would sometimes run into millions of copies. Many of these would be distributed free, and the *Appeal*'s main trouble with the post office was almost always over sending free copies second class.⁹² There was a special trust edition, a Populist edition, a woman's edition, a coal miners' edition, a Catholic edition, a militarism edition, an amnesty edition, and so on—all promoted for weeks in advance. The biggest special edition of all was probably the "Kidnapping Edition" in the fight to save Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone. Some three million copies were distributed.⁹³ The paper also injected itself into its news columns by fighting lawsuits for disabled workmen or bailing Socialists out of jail, and then modestly taking all the credit. For example: "Appeal Wins Frank Lane Case—\$25,000 Damages," or "Appeal Opens Penitentiary Doors and Frees Quinlan."⁹⁴ And, of course, the *Appeal* allowed the government to thrust it into the news columns whenever possible. When Warren was indicted over the "kidnapping" gimmick and later when he and Wayland and Debs were indicted for sending "obscene" material through the mails, the paper literally played the stories for years. Warren's conviction at Fort Scott was billed as "the Bull Run of the Social Revolution in the United States."⁹⁵

Wayland and the other editors justified their scramble for circulation by the argument that what's good for the *Appeal* is good for Socialism. "There is no getting around it, comrades," the paper declared in 1905, "as the *Appeal*'s list grows the Socialist vote grows."⁹⁶ Warren met the periodic criticism he received head-on: "Maybe some of you comrades get tired of my everlasting prodding after circulation. . . . I honestly believe if we could put a socialist paper every week into the hands of every voter in the United States . . . we could capture the government."⁹⁷

TABLE III
OTHER CONTENT CATEGORIES, 1901-1920
(percentages are proportions of total stories in each time period)

Story Theme	1901-1912	1913-1920	1901-1920
<i>Appeal</i> Promotions	12.3%	15.4%	13.2%
Attacks on the <i>Appeal</i>	3.4	1.0	2.7
Fiction, Poetry, Etc.	2.3	6.1	3.4
Total Stories	2,003	832	2,835

89. Buhle, "Appeal to Reason," pp. 58-59; *Appeal*, November 15, 1919.

90. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1912; July 12, 1913.

91. For just a few examples, see *ibid.*, June 7, August 16, 1902; June 4, 1904; December 2, 1905; October 19, 1907; October 6, 1917. See, also, James R. Green, "The 'Salesmen-Soldiers' of the 'Appeal Army': A Profile of Rank-and-File Socialist Agitators," in *Socialism and the Cities*, ed. by Bruce M. Stave (Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1975).

92. *Ibid.*, April 14, 1906; February 2, 1907; January 23, 1915.

93. Brewer, *Fighting Editor*, p. 62. This book covers the Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone case in detail.

94. *Appeal*, August 12, 1911; August 2, 1913.

95. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1909.

96. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1905.

97. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1907.



radicalism was on the wane, the papers tended to become more concerned with party matters, more sectarian, more introverted.¹⁰⁰ Was this the case for the greatest of radical newspapers, even over its own life cycle?

To test this idea, I set up two indexes, based on content categories, to indicate "Introversion" and "Extroversion." The introversion index includes categories involving *Appeal* and party related news and sectarianism: (1) attacks on the *Appeal*, (2) *Appeal* promotion, (3) anti-organized labor, (4) Socialist activities, and (5) Socialist and economic theory. The extroversion index involves news and comment on the larger society: (1) business, (2) government, (3) social problems, (4) life-styles of the rich, (5) public utilities, (6) popular democracy, (7) agriculture and farm problems, (8) pro-organized labor. A comparison of the change in these two indexes over the two periods is reported in Table IV. The introversion index rose from 34.7 percent to 41.5 percent of the total content from the early period to the later period. Meanwhile, the extroversion index fell from 46.4 percent to 38.0 percent between the two periods. This change in proportion is statistically significant at the .01 level, and the hypothesis is supported.

TABLE IV
INDEXES OF INTROVERSION/EXTROVERSION,
1901-1920
(percentages are proportions of total stories in
each time period)

Index	1901-1912	1913-1920
Introversion	34.7%	41.5%
Extroversion	46.4	38.0
Total Stories	2,003	832

The final conclusion to be drawn from these figures, however, is less than clear. The changes in proportion shown are statistically significant. Probably the *Appeal* did become more introverted after 1912. The most important contributing factors were probably the sharp decline in the proportion of stories on business and the increases in stories on socialist and economic theory and Socialist activities, especially attacks on Socialists and radicals. (See Table I.) Yet in practical terms the changes in the introversion and extroversion indexes are not overwhelming. Due to the large sample size, a significant difference is easy to detect, even if it is relatively small. Perhaps

100. Conlin, "Introduction," pp. 8-11.

more interesting than this small change from extroversion to introversion is the fact that these indexes and the other content categories did not change any more than they did. Though the content changed in measurable ways, as I have noted throughout this essay, it might be argued that the world changed even more and that the *Appeal* of 1920 was really remarkably similar to the *Appeal* of 1901.

IN SUMMARY, the *Appeal to Reason* seems to have built a bridge for its readers between muckraking and socialism. Using all the techniques, and more, of the muckrakers and the yellow journals, the *Appeal* exposed the bowels of the capitalist system. Yet, despite its bluster and bombast and its self-serving exploitation of the evils of capitalism, the *Appeal* always came through with a genuine socialist moral. Wayland and Warren reserved some of their harshest criticism for papers such as Hearst's *Journal* and *American*, which stirred up discontent without defining remedies and solutions.¹⁰¹ The *Appeal* was not a muckraking journal, not a Populist sheet, not a reform organ; it was a socialist propaganda newspaper, first and last. But it was a paper which served up its socialism on a plain, earthenware platter, seasoned to American tastes. And many thousands thought it tasted just fine.

The *Appeal* also captured, perhaps better than any other paper, the simple faith of this first flower of American socialism. The melancholy Wayland, several times near suicide before finally giving in, often took strength from the nearness of socialism. "When I turn from the ferment of fraud and crime," he wrote in 1906, "and look at this picture of progress, made from almost nothing to a national movement inside of sixteen years—then I know we are sure of success, that the future belongs to Socialism, and I see its first faint streaks of light on the eastern horizon."¹⁰² Warren was so confident that in 1912 he sold "life subscriptions"—not for the life of the subscriber, but for the life of capitalism.¹⁰³ By 1920—or perhaps a year or two later—this kind of unbounded confidence was gone. It was a changed world, and the radical movement was changed. And a newspaper like the *Appeal to Reason* could not cross that great divide.

101. *Appeal*, January 3, 1903.

102. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1906.

103. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1912.

APPENDIX

The content proportions reported in this essay are based on a stratified random sample of 60 issues of the *Appeal to Reason*, 1901-1920. Each year was divided into thirds, and one issue was chosen at random for analysis from each of these four-month periods. Three issues per year seemed sufficient in view of past studies of weeklies and in view of the large number and variety of stories in each issue. The unit of analysis was the story. Some stories, of course, were longer than others, but length seemed to be fairly randomly distributed when many stories were considered. Epigrams (defined as stories of 10 lines or less) were not included in the study. Straight advertisements, pictures, and cartoons were also excluded. In general, the earlier years had more stories per issue than the later years. It was for this reason that proportions of content, rather than story counts, are reported. Altogether there were 2,835 stories in the sample.

The stories were coded on the basis of story theme. The categories were derived from pilot studies of the paper itself. The aim of the category construction was to determine empirically a set of thematic categories which would actually describe the content of the paper. This turned out to be possible, with fairly high reliability, because the *Appeal* tended to stick with certain consistent story themes. Stories and items which did not fit any of the categories were coded "other." The "other" category included about four percent of the stories, with little variation over time. These, of course, were included for the computation of the proportion percentages. Listed below are all theme categories along with definitions:

Business.—Includes stories about American business and business practices, business leaders, finance, panics, war profiteering, and related stories.

Government.—Includes stories about all levels of American government and government officials, governmental graft, non-Socialist elections and political parties, the mil-

itary, and governmental involvement in war and war preparations.

Social Problems.—Includes stories about poverty, crime and prisons, sickness, child labor, prostitution, peonage, alcohol, unhealthy working conditions, etc.

Life-styles of the Rich.—Stories about how rich people live in America.

Socialist and Economic Theory.—Includes all stories without news linkages which explain economics or social systems or describe aspects of socialism.

Socialist Activities.—Includes stories about Socialist party activities, activities of party leaders, Socialist elections and campaigns, and business or governmental attacks on Socialists or radicals.

Agriculture or Farm Problems.—Stories about farming or farmers or the farmer movements.

Public Utilities.—Includes stories about municipal ownership and other forms of state capitalism.

Popular Democracy.—Stories about the initiative, referendum, and recall, and woman's suffrage.

Organized Labor.—Stories about labor unions and labor leaders.

Religion.—Stories about religion and about the churches and church leaders.

Foreign News.—Stories about foreign governments, foreign labor and radical organizations, foreign business. All foreign items coded here.

Appeal Promotions.—Stories where the paper itself is the main theme, including circulation promotions, financial reports. *Appeal* lecture tour stories, histories of the paper, *Appeal* army columns, etc.

Attacks on Appeal.—News stories about the *Appeal* being attacked by government or other.

Fiction, Poems, Parables, Etc.—All fictional items, including poems, stories, fables, jokes, etc.

All statistical inferences reported in the text are based upon Pearson chi-square analysis of contingency tables, similar to Table IV.



THE ORIGINAL MILITARY POST ROAD BETWEEN FORT LEAVENWORTH AND FORT SCOTT

ELOISE FRISBIE ROBBINS

THE MILITARY Post road was a direct implementation of United States Indian policy. Apartheid, the European solution to the displaced American Indian, started with the first stockade at Jamestown. With the exception of the French fur trader, neither the European nor the Indian cultures were able successfully to amalgamate or to coexist. The British tried containing the Europeans with the proclamation of 1763 which forbade European settlement beyond the Allegheny mountains. Settlers continued moving west of the mountains. The United States reasoned that there were fewer Indians and that it would be easier to contain them. The new government began the removal of Indians to reservations in 1789. Efforts to limit the territory open for settlement failed.

Pres. Thomas Jefferson learned that Spain planned to cede the Louisiana territory back to France. He was concerned not only with maintaining open trade on the Mississippi, but hoped to provide a buffer zone with the Indians. The U.S. minister to France, Robert Livingston, approached the French minister Talleyrand with an offer to purchase the port of New Orleans. Shocked to discover a very bearish market, he and James Monroe soon purchased the whole of Louisiana territory for a total of \$15,000,000 in money and claims. Although the size of the country had doubled, much of the land was considered worthless for farming, but it would be a good area in which to place the Indians.

The continuing problem was "solved" during Jackson's first administration. Congress passed the Indian removal act of 1830 and the different Indian tribes were forcibly removed west of the Mississippi. The Seminole tribe fought to near extinction, while other tribes, such as the New York Indians, managed to stay in the East. The government's total disregard for Indian rights is shown by grouping the Cayuga, Oneida, Seneca, Mohawk, Onondaga, Iroquis, and Mohegan as the "New York Indi-

ans." They lost their tribal identity and were granted land under the name of a state.¹ Ironically, that state had been named for an English duke.

Saint Louis and Saint Genevieve had been settled in the early 16th century and the development out from the Mississippi river was well underway before this area became the property of the United States. Missouri applied for statehood in 1818 and entered the Union on August 10, 1821, as a slaveholding state. Missouri was a close neighbor to the Indian tribes. Too close a neighbor it appears, for by 1834, petitions demanding protection began to reach the senate. Arkansas became a state in 1836 and this sealed off one of the Missouri's borders, but incidents continued along the other two sides. The citizens of Bates county were particularly incensed over the problems generated by violations of the nonintercourse act. M.G. Wilson, of Bates county, wrote the senate:

A Mr. Jarreau [Michael Gireau], a trader for the American Fur Company, who lives some fifteen or twenty miles from the line, has an Osage squaw for a wife, though not married to her, and lives sixty or seventy miles from any place of civil or military law. He has divers French around him, who sell liquor to the Indians; they come in and remain six or eight days; then they are starved almost to death, and, of course, must fall on the first cow or hog they may meet with. . . .²

He further described the very poor job of the dragoons in protecting the people and, while professing not to object to the fact that the Indians were placed on their border, he did make it very clear that "Such conduct as this, you are well apprized, the citizens of Missouri will not suffer. . . ."

Congress began to investigate the situation. John Dougherty, Indian agent, was asked how many troops would be needed to protect the territory:

1. "Field Survey Notes Bourbon County," in office of the county engineer, Fort Scott, n. d., p. 148.

2. *House Doc. No. 276* (serial 328), 25th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 12. The name is correctly spelled Gireau. The post was located less than five miles from the state line, on the Marais des Cygnes river.

THE ORIGINAL MILITARY POST ROAD

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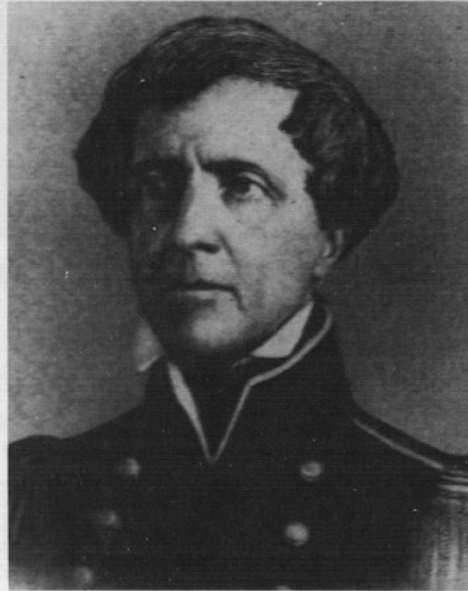
I am of the opinion that six thousand troops are necessary to give the protection you allude to. The State of Missouri is, as you well know, one of the frontier states; two sides of it are unprotected, except by a small force at Fort Leavenworth. The Government are still sending out tribes of red-skins, and locating them on her frontier border; this is well enough, provided the Government will give the necessary protection. The tribes who emigrate to this country do so contrary to their own free will, and are, at heart, the bitter enemies of the white man.³

On July 2, 1836, Pres. Andrew Jackson signed the bill providing for the defense of the Western frontier. By September, 1837, the plan to build a military road along the frontier and to establish a cordon of posts had been discussed with the people along the border. The purpose of the road was to provide for a protective patrol. G.P. Kingsbury summed up the problem as he saw it:

The dragoons should be constantly kept patrolling along this road, to enforce the non-intercourse law, and prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors into the Indian country. There is but little doubt that most of our Indian wars have been occasioned by outlawed white people, who have fled to the frontiers, located themselves among the Indians, and married Indian wives. They introduce whiskey into the Indian country, and sell it to the Indians at an enormous price. The Indians get drunk, commence quarrelling, and in this state of excitement, commit acts of depredation, which, in many cases, lead to war.⁴

The road and posts authorized by congress had not been started by March, 1838. Congress asked the War Department to explain.⁵ Sec. J.R. Poinsett's letter to James K. Polk, the speaker of the house, indicated that they were having trouble getting enough commissioners as the officers had other duties. Col. S.W. Kearny had refused to move until he received a topographical engineer. Gen. Alexander Macomb sent two engineers to Jefferson Barracks, Mo., and placed Kearny's commanding officer, Gen. Henry Atkinson, in charge. General Atkinson, no neophyte in military buck passing, fired a letter off to General Macomb declining the honor for reasons of health, but covered himself by saying, "If it is intended that I should only organize the commission, and give instructions to the other members for the performance of the duty, I will undertake to do so cheerfully."⁶

General Atkinson supervised the project, while Col. Kearny, Maj. T.F. Smith, and Capt.



Col. Stephen W. Kearny (1794-1848), with the dragoons at Fort Leavenworth in the late 1830's, assisted with the survey of the military road in 1837. Photograph reproduced from *Winning the Southwest* by Glenn D. Bradley (Chicago, A.C. McClurg & Co., 1912).

Nathan Boone experienced the "fatigue and exposure," along with Charles Dimmock, the engineer. They began their survey on the middle section from Fort Coffee on the Arkansas river, September 27, 1837, and blazing timber and placing mile markers along the route, reached Fort Leavenworth on October 8.⁷ The proposed road and the posts to be established on it were funded for \$100,000 and the entire road system, of which the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott section was the middle part, would cover nearly a thousand miles from the upper Mississippi, between Saint Peter's and the Des Moines rivers, to the Red river in the south.⁸

As early as 1834 officers had been ordered to keep a journal of the topography and military resources along the frontier. This information was available to the commissioners. They could also utilize existing Indian trails in some

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

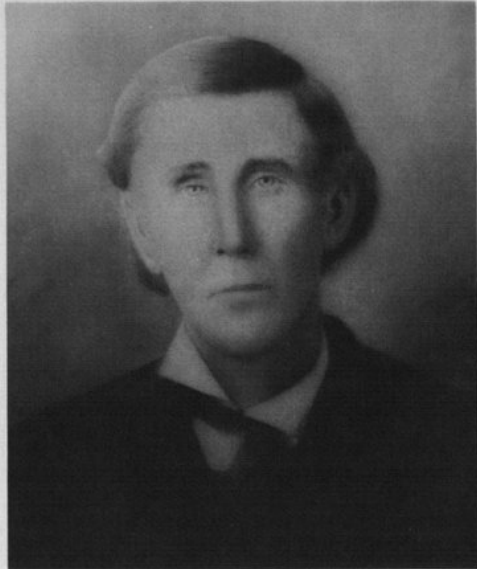
4. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

5. *House Doc. No. 278* (serial 328), 25th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

7. *House Doc. No. 311* (serial 329), 25th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 36-37.

8. *Laws of the United State of America*, v. 9 (Washington, 1839), p. 444.



Moses Grinter (1809-1878), Wyandotte county's first permanent white resident, in 1831 established a ferry and later built a trading post near the present town of Muncie on the Kansas river.

sections.⁹ Throughout the correspondence it was clear that the road should be built first and then a site for a post chosen somewhere along the road. Consistently, the crossing at the Marais des Cygnes was the intended site for the new fort. Dimmock marked it on his blueprint.¹⁰ The commissioners also included it in their report. Col. Jos. G. Totten, Bvt. Col. S. Thayer, Col. T. Cross, and Lt. Col. G. Talcott specifically budgeted \$50,000 for "quarters and other accommodations for 200 men at the post at Marais de Cygne, including defences."¹¹

It is doubtful that the rum-running of Gireau had anything to do with the selection of this site for a fort. Trading Post and Potosi, both in present Linn county, and Grinter crossing, in Wyandotte county were the only settlements along the route marked by Dimmock and they may have had some bearing. It is more likely

that Trading Post was selected because the Marais des Cygnes was navigable at that time. Later, a steamboat would prove the point.¹² Subsequent events, during the 1850's, would prove the wisdom of this site but it was not the location finally selected. Fort Scott was placed 28 miles further south on the Marmaton river.

With the survey complete, a disagreement over how the road would be built developed. In January, 1837, Colonel Kearny had written asking if the work was to be done by soldiers or hired labor. The army was not disposed towards doing the work. He pointed out that labor could be hired for ". . . 75 cents (each) per day, and found."¹³ It would be more expensive to hire civilian labor, since a private earned a little over 23 cents a day. T. Cross, the acting quartermaster general, looked at the matter in a unique way. He felt that the Indians would be agitated by the invitation of ". . . large numbers of laborers, placed under no wholesome restraint, to enter the Indian country for that purpose. It would certainly lead to many collisions between the Indians and the whites, and to numerous violations of those laws, if nothing worse."¹⁴ Cross's observation went unheeded and the road was let out to contract on October 15, 1838.

The firm of Aaron Overton and Daniel Morgan Boon received the contract for construction and completion of the 72-mile section of the Western Military road between Fort Leavenworth and the Marais des Cygnes.¹⁵ Contracts for the section from the Marais des Cygnes to the Marmaton were given to A. Overton and Lewis Jones for \$287.50 a mile.¹⁶ Local labor was hired, where possible. Citizens later described the road as ". . . a fine one."¹⁷

No map of the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott segment of the road as it was built exists. Dimmock merely regarded his blueprint survey "an experimental one."¹⁸ His blueprint did not show miles and, drawn with a straight edge, had a fine disregard for elevations and the Missouri boundary. North was indicated

9. John Hall, "Historic Linn—Romantic, Mysterious, and Tragic Trading Post" (circa August 19, 1914), in manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society.

10. Charles Dimmock, "Survey for a Military Road Along the Western Borders of the States of Arkansas and Missouri," in manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society.

11. *House Doc. No. 161* (serial 366), 26th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 9.

12. Hall, "Historic Linn."

13. *House Doc. No. 278* (serial 328), p. 15.

14. *House Doc. No. 357* (serial 330), 25th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 4.

15. *House Doc. No. 94* (serial 346), 25th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 57.

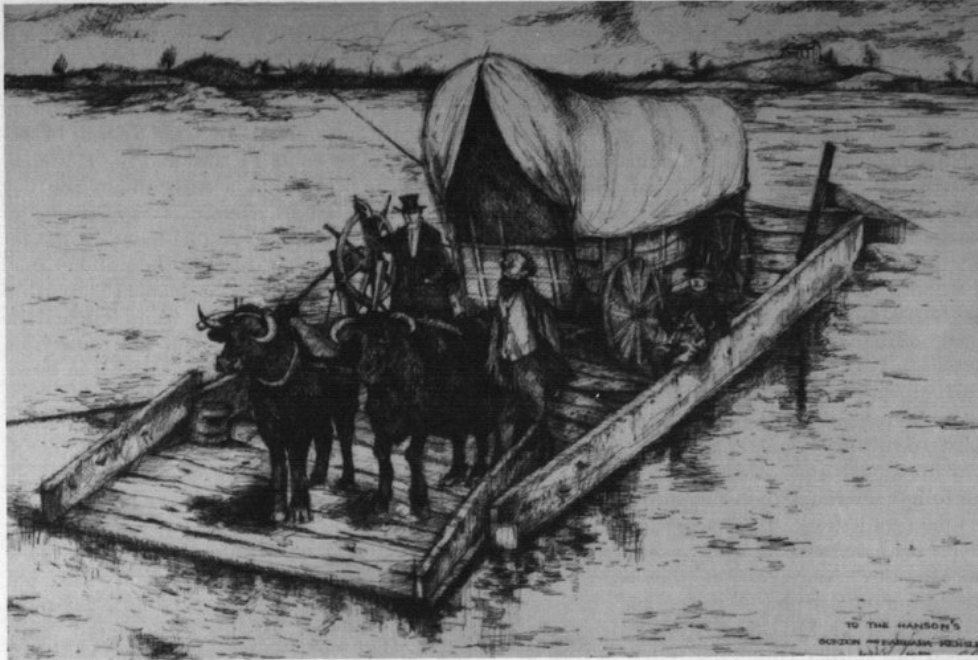
16. *House Doc. No. 89* (serial 35), 26th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 41.

17. Hall, "Historic Linn."

18. *House Doc. No. 278* (serial 328), p. 7.

THE ORIGINAL MILITARY POST ROAD

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The ferry built by Moses Grinter, the first to be operated on the Kansas river, was a link in the military post road. During the 1830's and 1840's travelers on foot, horseback, and in covered wagons crossed for 50¢ per person and \$2 per wagon. Grinter operated the ferry until the 1870's.

with a fancy little design but never labeled. The principal sites Dimmock marked were rivers and the settlement of Potosi. He noted that the Marmaton, Little Osage, Cotton Wood [Mine creek], Marais des Cygnes, Blue, and Kansas rivers would be crossed and that of these only the Kansas and the Marais des Cygnes would need ferries. The Kansas already had a ferry, marked as the Grinter ferry. On this blueprint Dimmock also marked the south fork of the Big Blue as "not fordable," which may account for the change in the route at this point in Johnson county.¹⁹ He did not mention either Sugar creek or Muddy creek, tributaries of the Marais des Cygnes.

Certainly map makers of the period had no genuine knowledge of the exact route. Whitman and Searl's map of 1856, the earliest known map showing the road, had the route lying entirely within the borders of Kansas

territory.²⁰ Later authors used this route as correct and it has been commonly accepted that the road did not enter Missouri.

Most maps from 1857 on, used the government land survey maps as a stated basis for their accuracy. The government surveys were made during the Kansas territorial period and at a time when the road was the major route in eastern Kansas. Maps of the sections were drawn from field notes and were certified as accurate by a surveyor general. The surveyor general's office was located at different times at Leavenworth or Lecompton in Kansas territory and Nebraska City, in Nebraska territory. These plat books formed the basis of all later legal descriptions of land. While they were undoubtedly quite accurate, the county boundary between Lykins (Miami) and Linn counties was not clear to the surveyors and the same section shows up in both county plat

19. Dimmock, "Survey for a Military Road," sections P. S. T., and U.

20. E.B. Whitman and A.D. Searl, *Map of Eastern Kansas 1856* (Boston, J.P. Jewett and Co., 1856).



books. Also techniques varied greatly, one man drawing in the road completely and another indicating the road with a couple of small lines or a note. Some of the surveyors marked the miles on the Missouri border and others marked just the townships.

None of the maps based on the surveys claim to have consulted the records of Missouri. Halsall's map of 1857, locates the break into Bates county, Missouri, at the Linn-Lykins juncture.²¹ Gunn and Berthoud's maps of 1859 also show this but none of these maps indicate the four-mile stretch into Cass county, Missouri, along the Johnson county border.²² However, C.P. Wiggin compiled a map, dated 1857, from United States surveys which showed the road going into Missouri.²³

By consulting the records of both states and eyewitness accounts, the modern researcher can follow the route almost as surely as a First Dragoon could travel it 130 years ago. The road from Fort Leavenworth followed the curve of the Missouri river and the miles were measured from the flag pole on the parade grounds. Two Mile, Five Mile, and Nine Mile creeks helped the soldier count the miles. Where a natural land form did not exist, a mound marker was raised.²⁴ Through what was to become Wyandotte county, the road followed the Missouri to the eastward turn and then dropped down to Grinter's ferry, 22 miles southeast of Fort Leavenworth.²⁵

Moses Grinter had established his ferry on the north bank of the Kansas river in January, 1831, and it was the only dry way to cross the Kansas. This monopoly may have accounted for his rates: 50 cents per person and \$2.00 per wagon. (Day labor was earning 75 cents, and a private 23 cents a day.) Grinter did offer special rates at times, for he once took a large group of Indians, four wagons and baggage across for \$38.75 and he gave a group rate of \$9.25 for five wagons.²⁶ When his first cabin and ferry washed away in the flood of 1844, he rebuilt the cabin on the knoll overlooking the ferry. In

1847 he could afford to build, at this site, a charming Southern-type farm house which is now on 78th street in Muncie.

The road entered present Johnson county in section 3 of township 12, and continuing southeast, intersected the Santa Fe trail in section 29.²⁷ The Santa Fe trail and the Harmony road, which went to a mission on the Big Osage, in Missouri, were the only "roads" of any length existing in Indian territory and far western Missouri at the time the military road was built.²⁸ The military road entered township 13 to the west side of section 9 and touched the Missouri border in section 15. The route from there continued in an irregular fashion down the border to township 14, section 34, at which point it crossed the boundary into the state of Missouri. Cass county records show that it entered south of Belton, on present Holmes road, at a place locally known as Jaudon.²⁹ The road probably continued for the next four miles on the Missouri side, although it does not appear again in the Cass county records.

As a much older state, Missouri, has more primitive surveys for this early period. What was called a "Plat Book" at this time consisted of squares marked with the names of the "patent holder" or the person who owned the land. They did not necessarily live there. The squares are of different sizes to represent different acreages but do not show land forms, roads, or a grid of any type. Records of any consequence, drawn to scale and showing land forms, date from the 1870's. During the Civil War, General Ewing issued his disastrous order No. 11, which vacated the counties of Jackson, Cass, and Bates. Cass county records were removed to Pleasant Hill from Harrisonville under attack conditions. Bates county, which had a strong antiunion sentiment among the elected officials, "lost" many of its records, though the plat book of patent holders did survive.

Johnson county records show the military road returning in township 15, section 22, and angling west to leave Johnson county about three fourths of a mile from the boundary.³⁰

21. John Halsall, *Sectional Map of the Territory of Kansas* (St. Louis, John Halsall, 1857).

22. O.B. Gunn, *Gunn's New Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines* (Pittsburgh, Wm. Schuchman, 1859).

23. C.P. Wiggin, *Sectional Map of Kansas Territory* (Pittsburgh, Wm. Schuchman & Bro., 1857).

24. Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon* (Kansas City, Mo., Franklin Hudson Publishing Co., 1906), p. 21.

25. Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth* (Fort Leavenworth, General Service Schools Press, 1926), p. 72.

26. Harry E. Hanson, *A Historical Outline of Grinter Place From 1825-1878* (No impr.).

27. "Johnson County Plat Book" (1861), in recorder of deeds' office, Olathe.

28. John Francis McDermott, *The Western Journals of Washington Irving* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), pp. 90-94.

29. "Cass County Gov. Field Notes and Plat Book," in recorder of deeds' office, Harrisonville, Mo.

30. "Johnson County Plat Book."

The road follows a relatively straight course, a little less than a mile west of the border through township 16 of present Miami county.³¹ On this section it has been labeled, "Road from Westport to Little Santa Fe." The first part of section 17, between the 35th and 39th mile posts, has no markings. The terrain offers no obstacles at this point and a road marked, "Old Road," starts abruptly at the top of section 27, of township 17, nearly a mile inside Kansas. It is unlikely that the road recrossed the line. Cass county, Missouri, records make no mention of it. Township 18, does not have any marking to indicate a road, and township 19, does not show the road until it is located leaving at an angle for Missouri on the section line between the 14th and 15th sections, and eight and a quarter miles down from the last established point.

At the time of the survey, 1857, Miami county was Lykins county, named for David Lykins, a Baptist missionary to the Wea.³² The Lykins survey was done by two men, who obviously held different philosophies about marking roads. One surveyor drew in the road, although mislabeled, and the other only marked points of entry. A study of the terrain, would indicate a route very close to the border, on high rolling plains would be the most likely. A route any further west than a mile would be in juxtaposition to Sugar creek and the steep hills which provide a watershed to the Sugar.

The road did cross into Missouri at Township 19, section 14, between mile posts 49 and 50. The only confirming information in Bates county, Missouri, is an entry in a road survey book which used the old post road as a survey point for a "new" road going from Butler to Blooming Grove.³³ Blooming Grove was a name given Gireau's Trading Post by John Austin Hall in 1857 when he applied for a post office. The name did not endure and today it is again Trading Post. Along this two-and-a-half-mile route into Bates county, an Indian trading post called West Point was opened in 1848. Hall described Bates county, at the time of the Marais des Cygnes Massacre, 1858:

Nearly all the western border of that state was wild land, particularly that portion east of Linn County, Kansas. The land was nearly all patented to private parties, only a very few of them had settled on them [farms]. The land is beautiful prairie with numerous creeks tending to the southeast.³⁴

This wild land was soon crossed, and the road returned to the Kansas side of the boundary in township 19, section 26, halfway between mile posts 51 and 52. It continued southwest diagonal across Linn county, following the valley between the hills north of Trading Post. Early travelers and those who settled the valley were taken with the many strangely shaped hills of this area. Only the large hill to the north of the Trading Post, Timbered Mound, had trees. The rest were covered with grass to the crest. Mrs. Miriam Colt, who traveled the road in 1856, described the area of Gireau's Trading Post:

Have been traveling along the Missouri border, but now we turn into Kansas Territory. A broad green sea of prairie is spread out before us, and in the distance large mounds stretch themselves along the horizon; some in the forms of cones, others roof shape—not a tree or shrub shade their summits or sides, but the bright rays of the morning sun illumine their whole surface.³⁵

Across this valley the road turned south at Trading Post. A 20-foot strip across the Trading Post Cemetery, bearing southwest of the martyrs monument, still shows how the road entered the post. It did not cross the Marais des Cygnes at this point, but went down the east bank of the river to cross in township 20, section 8, just south of where Sugar creek joins the Marais des Cygnes. There was a ferry there in 1856 when Mrs. Colt crossed ". . . more than a yard deep of muddy water." When their wagon nearly tipped over she so forgot herself that she jumped astride a horse to escape.

At township 21 the military road, as shown on the survey maps, swung to the west to avoid Muddy creek, going five and a half miles west of the state line. This wide detour, the only one of its size along the entire route, may have been made after the May-June floods of 1844.³⁶ The flood which destroyed Grinter's ferry also destroyed a bridge of 275 feet over "Sugar Creek."³⁷ The route as traced in 1856 did not cross Big Sugar creek and circled Muddy creek

31. "Miami County Gov. survey and Township Plat Book" (1857), in recorder of deeds' office, Paola.

32. A.T. Andreas and W.G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 875.

33. "Bates County Road Plat Book" (1870), in recorder of deeds' office, Butler, Mo., item 30.

34. Hall, "Historic Linn."

35. Miriam Davis Colt, *Went to Kansas* (Watertown, L. Ingalls & Co., 1862), p. 40.

36. "Linn County Plat Book" (1856), in office of the county engineer, Mound City.

37. *Sen. Doc. No. 1* (serial 449), 28th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 147.



(at one time known as Little Sugar creek). Post returns from Fort Scott show, "Brvt. 2nd Lt. Edmund B. Holoway, 4th Infantry" was on "D.S. [detached service] since 17th August 1844 with a detachment, repairing military road leading to Fort Leavenworth, Post Order No. 61, August 16th, 1844."³⁸ Holloway returned on September 13. This was the only time in the 11 years that the road served as a military highway that it was repaired. Mrs. Colt does not mention any bridges or any fording of either Sugar or Muddy creeks. The road did return in township 22, section 4, to maintain a nearly straight line, two and a half miles from the Missouri boundary. The road forded Mine creek near Potosi. The creek is still forded near this point today, though cement makes it a much easier crossing.

Just north of the county line of present Bourbon county the military road crossed the boundary of the New York Indian lands, and continued almost straight south through Bourbon county, between a distance of two and a half miles to a mile and a quarter from the state line. The Little Osage was forded, with difficulty, nearly four miles east of Fulton, just south of Barnesville Cemetery. The road increased in distance from the state line to ford the Marmaton, west of the fort between the present bridge and U.S. Highway 69.³⁹ Today the banks are steep in this area but riffles still break the water. Dimmock marked the crossing as fordable. Certainly, this close to the fort (about three city blocks) a bridge or ferry could have been maintained. During the period of Civil War reactivation, a substantial bridge was erected east of the fort. The road used at that time, 1862, was not the original post road but one built in 1859. The stone work and metal superstructure of this bridge still stands.

Capt. Thomas Sword inspected the road in 1840 and reported it "nearly finished."⁴⁰ Colonel Kearny and five companies, 250 men, journeyed to Fort Wayne on the Arkansas-Oklahoma border in October and November of 1839.⁴¹ They were the first of many to use the road.

Fort Wayne had never been considered a

healthful location. It was also much too far south to garrison a patrol for the Missouri border. Gen. Zachary Taylor appointed Capt. B.D. Moor or Moon and Dr. J.R. Motte to select a site for a new post between Fort Wayne and Spring river.⁴² Fort Wayne was to be abandoned.

Captain Moon tried to buy land at Spring river from a half Cherokee, John Rogers. Rogers wanted more than they were willing to pay so the commission continued north to the next river. Bluffs overlooking the Marmaton river crossing provided a clear view of the surrounding plains and here there was no problem of purchase. The land belonged to the "New York Indians." The commission arrived on April 9, 1842, and returned to Fort Wayne leaving Sgt. John Hamilton to begin work on the new post. The garrison of Fort Wayne abandoned that post on May 21, 1842, over a year after the military road had been in operation. They marched to the new site on the Marmaton and "Companies 'A' and 'C' of the 1st Dragoons marched to and occupied the New Site (Camp Scott) selected on Marmaton River, 2 miles west of Little Osage Post office, on the 30th of May, 1842."⁴³ "Occupied" was a very good description. The land had been given to the Indians from the state of New York for as long as the rivers ran and the grass was green or as long as the government agreed to the treaty. Later the Indians were paid—much later.⁴⁴ Captain Moon lost his position as post commander to a temporary major, Bvt. Maj. B. Graham at the same time, October 23, 1842, that Camp Scott became Fort Scott. The post was always designated Missouri, never Indian territory. A permanent major was the highest ranking officer to command the post and at one time, when 1st Lt. (Bvt. Maj.) Alexander Morrow was ill, the assistant surgeon was the commander of the post until Fort Leavenworth could send out a brevet major. The size of the garrison varied greatly during the Mexican War. Men and equipment were channeled

38. "Fort Scott Post Returns," records of the adjutant general's office, Record Group No. 94, National Archives, Washington.

39. "Field Survey Notes Bourbon County," p. 348.

40. Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Army Life on the Western Frontier* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 86.

41. Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West* (Topeka, Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), p. 385.

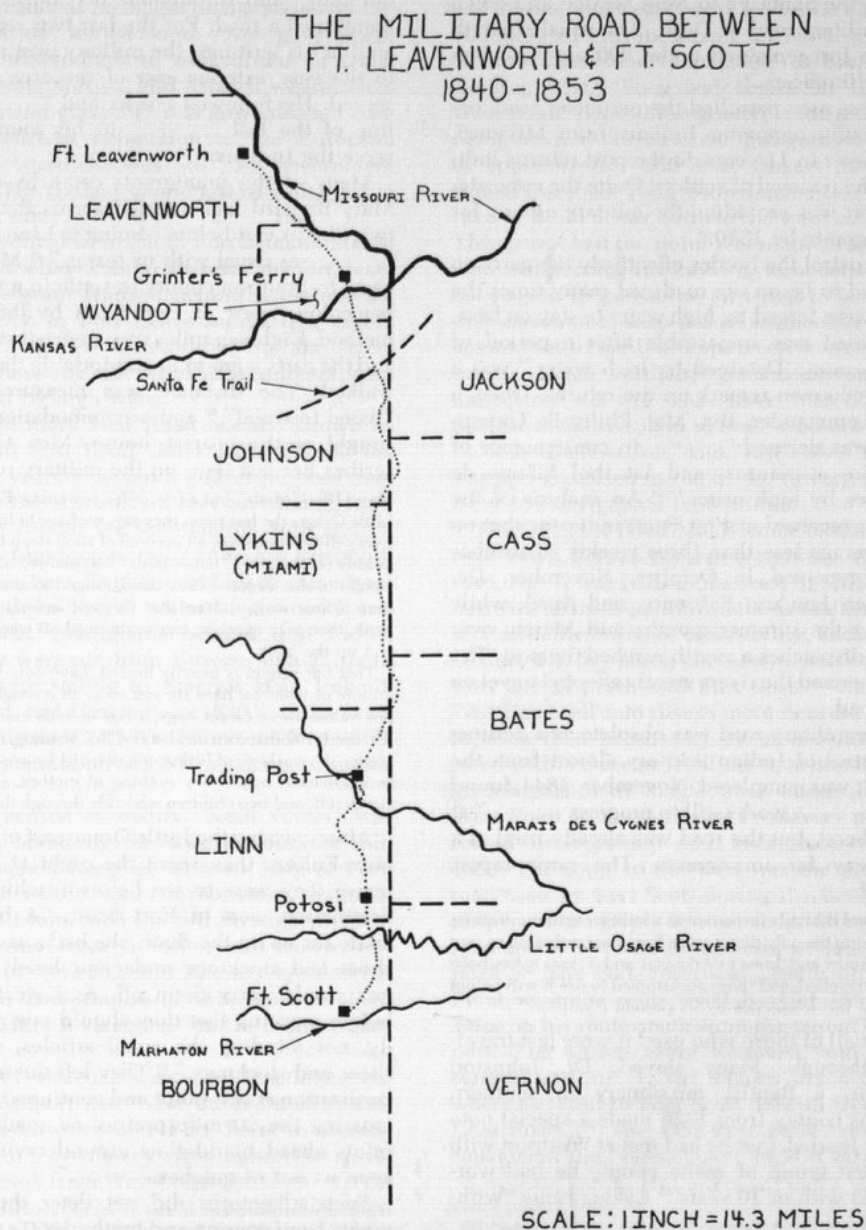
42. Louise Barry, "The Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson Military Road and the Founding of Fort Scott," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 11 (May, 1942), p. 126. Barry gives the name as B.D. Moore. "Fort Scott Post Returns" list the name, as written by others as: Moor, Moores, Moors, and Moon. Where the name was written by Captain Moon, it is a very clear, legible Moon. However, a style of penmanship still used in the Northeast, forms an "r" just as the letter "m" is commonly written.

43. "Fort Scott Post Returns," May, 1842.

44. Ralph Richards, *The Forts of Fort Scott* (Kansas City, Lowell Press, 1976), p. 42. The "New York Indians" were finally paid in 1898—56 years later.

THE ORIGINAL MILITARY POST ROAD

97



No map of the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott segment of the military road as it was built exists. Map makers of the period had incomplete knowledge of the exact route and maps like the one by Whitman and Searl in 1856 were inaccurate. But the modern researcher by consulting records of both Kansas and Missouri and eyewitness accounts can reconstruct the route as has been done here.



down the Santa Fe to New Mexico and down the military road to Texas. The usual strength of the fort remained under 200 men and less than 10 officers.

These men patrolled the perimeter road, occasionally removing Indians from Missouri, but never in 11 years do the post returns indicate the removal of settlers. Quite the opposite; the fort was providing the military escorts for immigrants by 1850.⁴⁵

To patrol the border effectively the garrison needed to be on the road; yet many times the men were forced by high water to stay on base. The road was impassable after a period of heavy rain. "Detained by high water," was a most common remark on the returns. Once, a new commander, Bvt. Maj. Philip R. Thompson, was delayed ". . . in consequence of the fire at Kansas, and [at the] Marais de Cygnes by high water."⁴⁶ An analysis of the orders received at Fort Scott indicates that on an average less than three weekly dispatches were received in October, November, December, January, February, and April; while during the summer months and March, over three dispatches a month reached the post. The weather and the rivers greatly affected travel on the road.

The military road was obsolete as a perimeter patrol of Indian territory almost from the time it was completed. November, 1844, found the ". . . works still in progress . . ." at Fort Scott, but the road was already used as a highway for immigrants. The same report stated:

This road is highly important as a military communication; and, being the only direct route from the northwestern part of Missouri and Iowa to Arkansas and Texas, it has been much travelled, and those accustomed to use it will be put to great inconvenience by its present condition.⁴⁷

Not all of those who used it were just traveling through. Many stayed. Dr. Johnston Lykins, a Baptist missionary in southern Lykins county from 1826 made a special note in his journal, that he had met at Westport with the first group of white people he had worshiped with in 10 years.⁴⁸ Lykins came "with-

out trail" and throughout his journal never mentioned a road. For the last two years covered in his writings, the military post road lay to the very extreme east of the area that he served. He followed creeks and ". . . the line of the hill . . ." in his journeys to serve the Indians.

Many of the immigrants came by ox cart. Mary Barnard had traveled across the prairie twice by ox cart before coming to Linn county, ". . . as usual with ox teams."⁴⁹ Mrs. Colt came to Bourbon county to settle in a vegetarian colony west of Fort Scott by that same method. Eighteen miles was an exhausting day and the carts were so uncomfortable that many walked. The distance was measured from "wood to wood"⁵⁰ and accommodations were sought at the nearest house. Mrs. Colt describes her last days on the military road:

May 11th—"Made" but a few miles yesterday. Forded the Little Osage; the last river, they say, we have to ford; it was a very difficult one too, on account of such steep banks and muddy bottom. Our "noble lords" complained of the great weight of the wagons. They were obliged to attach all the oxen to one wagon, draw that through and up the steep bank, then take another, and so on until all were through and up the bank.

That our wagon is heavily loaded, have only to make a minute of what we have stowed away in it—eight trunks, one valise, three carpet bags, a box of soda crackers, 200 lbs. flour, 100 lbs. corn meal, a few lbs. of sugar, rice, dried apple, one washtub of little trees, utensils for cooking, and two provision boxes—say nothing of mother, a good fat sister, self, and two children who ride through the rivers.⁵¹

After crossing the Little Osage east of what is now Fulton, they spent the night at the last house they were to see before reaching their destination west of Fort Scott. "A bed was made for us on the floor; she bade us put our shoes and stockings under our heads, or the rats would carry them off. And we thought before morning that they should take us bodily, not minding the small articles, such as shoes and stockings."⁵² They left the road and civilization at this point and continued ". . . crossing the 20 mile prairie, no roads—keep pilots ahead to pilot us around ravines and keep us out of gulches. . . ."

Such adventures did not deter the immigrants from coming and by the 1850's the per-

45. "Fort Scott Post Returns," April, 1850.

46. *Ibid.*, June, 1849.

47. *Sen. Doc. No. 1* (serial 449), p. 147.

48. Johnston Lykins, "Journal, 1826-1842," June 25, 1842, in manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society. Johnston Lykins was a missionary to the Indians before David Lykins came to the area. Johnston never mentions David in his "Journal" but they are believed to have been brothers.

49. Mary A. Shattuck, "My Early Life and Travels," *From Pioneering to the Present* (Pleasanton, Linn County Publishing Co., n. d.), p. 125.

50. Colt, *Went to Kansas*, p. 40.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 42.



imeter road was no longer on the perimeter but well inside settled land. The government moved the Indians to reservations in Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona where rivers that ran and grass that was green did not constitute such a temptation to the European settler. Apartheid was still the government policy. The Indians would just be contained in another place.

Order No. 9 went out to Fort Scott on March 30, 1853. They were to abandon the fort, leaving a Sergeant Hudson behind until June 25, and march to Fort Leavenworth. The colors were struck first on April 9, but the rivers would have the last word. The soldiers were detained by high water.⁵³

The Military Post Road became known as the "Old Post Road" after 1853. During the next six years it served a greater purpose than the War Department had ever envisioned, for it was the funnel for immigration into eastern Kansas. Immigrants came from the surrounding states, New England, and many came from the Southern border states of Kentucky and Tennessee. Immigrants coming into Indian territory were not from Europe, though thousands were sailing to America from Ireland, England, and Germany in 1830 and the years preceding the Civil War. The census of 1855, listed a population of 8,601 residents in Kansas territory.⁵⁴

This census to certify "legal voters" was brought about by the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Sen. Stephen Douglas, with the help of Pres. Franklin Pierce, and the Southern congressmen, had ramrodded the bill through in 1854. The Kansas-Nebraska bill created the two territories of Nebraska and Kansas, repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and provided for "squatter sovereignty" on the issue of slavery.

Acts of violence were common along the road. Westport and West Point, in Missouri, and Leavenworth and Fort Scott in Kansas, were strong Proslavery areas. Linn county, located across from West Point and north of Fort Scott, suffered greatly until Free Staters gained control in 1858. The post road provided a roadway for Free Staters coming into the territory to settle but it also provided ready access

and a route of retreat for the terrorists. Charles Hamilton and his men came north out of Fort Scott to kill five men just off the road, north of Trading Post.⁵⁵ They fled across the line to West Point. James Montgomery, credited with being the first "Jayhawker," gathered an army of approximately 200 Free Staters and patrolled the road. John Brown came down the road to build a fort close to the massacre site. Things reached the point where the dragoons, who had become the cavalry, were called out once again to patrol the post road. This time they came not to keep peace between the Indians and settlers, but to stop the civil war on the border. Much publicity generated from the undeclared war and while fewer than 55 people lost their lives, the terrorist methods used by both "Bushwacker" and "Jayhawker" made Kansans go armed to the fields.⁵⁶ Every settlement had a vigilante type militia.

The Old Post Road had become a territorial road when Kansas became a territory. A new road, No. 7, was built to the west in 1859. The next year citizens petitioned the senate for mail service in the towns of Mound City, Paola, and Olathe, that lay along the new route between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott.⁵⁷ The Old Post Road fell into disuse more because of its location than because of the new route. Located within three miles of the state line for the greater part of its length, Free Staters feared West Point in Missouri and Proslavery people feared Linn county and Montgomery after 1858. The route to the west was the military road used by Fort Scott during the Civil War proper. A telegraph line was run along this road and it is sometimes called the "telegraph road."⁵⁸ The Old Post Road, south of West Point, was the route used by Gen. Sterling Price on his route south from the raid at Westport. The Union army followed, and even camped at ". . . the Marais des Cygnes, where the road to Fort Scott deflects from the Line Road."⁵⁹ The Old Post Road was still considered the "direct road" to Fort Scott.

53. Hall, "Historic Linn," Emma W. Morse, letter to George J. Martin, June 18, 1907.

56. Nyle H. Miller, *Kansas: A Students' Guide to Localized History* (New York, Teachers College Columbia University, 1965), p. 9.

57. *Territorial Paper of the United States Senate, Kansas, National Archives Microfilm M721, Record Group 46, Roll 16.*

58. Richard Josiah Hinton, *Rebel Invasion of Missouri and Kansas and the Campaign of the Army of the Border Against General Sterling Price in October and November, 1864* (Chicago, Church & Goodman, 1865), p. 205.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

53. "Fort Scott Post Returns," April, 1852.

54. Leverett W. Spring, *Kansas, the Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1885), p. 43.



The Wyandotte constitution was debated in the senate in 1860, though Kansas did not become a state until January 29, 1861. The voting returns sent to the senate, along with the constitution, indicate how well the road had served to populate eastern Kansas. All of Kansas counties adjacent to the road were organized and the voting population cast an overwhelming majority in favor of the Free-State constitution. Linn county had only six votes cast against the constitution. Lykins sent no returns.⁶⁰ The Wyandotte constitution provided that five percent of the sale of public lands was to go to the state of Kansas to be used for roads.

The Old Post Road was abandoned as the through route to Kansas City and north, but parts of it survived locally into the 1870's.⁶¹

60. *Territorial Paper of the United States Senate, Kansas.*

61. William Shattuck, "Military and Farm Journal 1864-1885," in the files of Mary Mendenhall Frisbie.

Gradually the road was nibbled away, parts going into new roads, other sections going into fields until even the route became unknown.

State Representative F.A. Jewell tried in 1917, to have the legislature mark the route.⁶² People were more interested in new highways funded by the Federal Aid to Roads act of 1916, and the bill was not passed. U.S. Highway 69 was built to serve the descendants of those early settlers and the Old Post Road disappeared into that special oblivion reserved for functional things that no longer function, only to be remembered because it did serve a unique and important purpose to eastern Kansas.

62. *House Journal, Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the State of Kansas* (Topeka, Kansas State Printing Plant, 1917), pp. 236, 360.



THE DIARIES OF FRANCIS H. SNOW

Edited by JOHN M. PETERSON

I. INTRODUCTION

IN THE FALL of 1975, shortly before the opening of the Elizabeth M. Watkins Community Museum in Lawrence, a number of papers and other items were removed from a desk at one time used by former Chancellor Francis H. Snow of the University of Kansas. Among these items were four pocket-sized memo books that had been used by Chancellor Snow as diaries during the years 1904 through 1907. This paper consists of a transcription of the entries in the diaries, together with explanatory notes and a biographical supplement identifying, where possible, the people mentioned in the diaries.

Title-page photo: Francis H. Snow (1840-1908) called the "pioneer naturalist of Kansas" was one of three original University of Kansas faculty members appointed in 1866 and was chancellor of the university from 1890 to 1901. His diaries for 1904-1907 reflect his enthusiasm for entomology, an interest which he pursued because he could see its usefulness to farmers of the state. He is shown in the foreground at a table in his office in Snow Hall, probably in the early 1890's. In the background at the desk is Vernon Kellogg (1867-1937), professor of entomology at K.U. from 1890 to 1893. Photograph courtesy of University of Kansas Archives, Spencer Research Library, Lawrence.

The Diaries.—The main part of each memo book is a section which provides a space for a short entry for each day of the year. Other pages are ruled to accommodate cash accounts, addresses, or general notes. The books also contain a few pages of statistics, useful information, and, in some cases, maps.

The 1904 volume begins on December 27, 1903, while Snow and his wife were on a trip to St. Louis. Entries continue, with only an occasional lapse, through the following months but stop abruptly on September 30. In the other three years, Snow kept his diary sporadically; only during his insect-collecting expeditions was he fairly faithful about making daily entries. The last entry in 1907 records his being taken to a sanitarium after the "stroke" which was the beginning of his final illness.

We do not know if there were earlier diaries in this series. In his youth Snow kept a journal covering most of the years from 1854 through 1866. The only other diary he is known to have



kept was a memo-type book, similar to the 1904-1907 diaries, covering a three-month trip to Europe in 1895.¹

Snow used the nondiary pages of these memo books mostly for business and class notes, a few addresses, lists of insects traded and counts of insects collected, and records of expenditures while on collecting trips. The latter may have been used in making out requests to the university for reimbursement of his expenses. Among the "human interest" items is the score of a series of backgammon games between J. (his wife, Jane) and F. (Frank). J. won 54 games while F. won only 50.

Snow and His Family.—At the time these diaries begin, F. H. Snow was 63 years old. He had retired from the position of chancellor of the University of Kansas three years earlier but was still associated with the University as professor of natural history and director of the Natural History Museum. He was the senior member of the faculty by almost 10 years, having been one of the three original faculty members appointed in 1866.

In 1904 Snow seems to have been fully recovered from the nervous exhaustion and depression which had been a major factor in his decision to resign as chancellor. His hearing was not good but otherwise his health seems to have been excellent and he was quite active. He was interested in almost everything—insects, birds, weather, the university, sports, music, religion, business—but his chief occupation was acting as curator of the K.U. entomological collection. The high point, or points, of his year were the insect collecting expeditions which he directed, and fully participated in, as he had been doing for nearly 25 years.

Even though he no longer was chancellor, Snow and his wife Jane (or Jennie) lived in the house at 1345 Louisiana street which was built with funds from the Spooner bequest to serve as the chancellor's residence.² Apparently the board of regents had authorized Snow, who had been instrumental in obtaining the bequest, to live there until his death. In 1904 none of the Snow's five children, four of whom

were still living, resided at home. Mrs. Snow was semi-invalid but her health had its ups and downs. At times she was able to take part in some rather strenuous activities, such as a collecting trip to southern Arizona in 1904; at other times she was practically bedfast.³ Although the Snows lived comfortably, they were far from wealthy and one feels they watched their expenditures pretty closely.

Lawrence in 1904.—In the spring of 1904, Lawrence was a city of something over 10,000 people. Then, as now, education was its major industry. The city was served by two railroads and had three daily newspapers, three banks, six hotels, two small private hospitals, and numerous churches, including seven Methodist and four Baptist congregations. In addition to a vigorous retail trade, there was some manufacturing. The larger plants included two flour mills, an iron works, and a paper manufacturing company. There also were many smaller plants making such diverse items as cigars, horse collars, pianos, men's shirts, and brooms. The city was still recovering from the effects of the flood of the previous summer, which had been the most destructive experienced to that time.

Although there were some street car lines and may have been a few automobiles, the horse was still the mainstay of in-town transportation. Ten livery and feed stables were in business in the city and, presumably, Snow hired a horse and buggy for the occasional drive he took with his wife. At least, he never mentions anything concerning the ownership of a horse, buggy, or stable in these diaries. Bicycles also were much in use, despite the hills. Snow is said to have been an enthusiastic, or even reckless, bicyclist. He noted the make of his bicycle, a Columbia, in a page provided for such information in one of the diaries.

There were telephones in the city but the custom of making and receiving personal calls, particularly on Sunday afternoon, had not yet disappeared. Entertainment, at least for the Snows, centered in the home. They did a lot of reading, entertained occasionally, had many callers, and each of them belonged to a "study" club. Music also was important to them; witness their devotion to their new "Pianola" and

1. Both the 1858-1866 journals and the 1895 diary are in the University of Kansas archives in the Spencer Research Library. For quotations see C. K. Hyder, *Snow of Kansas* (Univ. of Kansas Press, 1953), pp. 13-79. The 1904-1907 diaries and other items found in the Snow desk also have been deposited in the university archives.

2. Later it became the original Carruth Hall.

3. It is interesting to note that she survived Snow by almost 20 years.



their attendance at many concerts. Train trips to Kansas City or Topeka were fairly frequent but other travel was largely limited to Snow's trips as an official representative of the university and his insect-collecting expeditions.

Notes on the Transcription.—The diary entries have been transcribed as written, so far as possible. Generally Snow's handwriting is quite clear so there are only a few places in which a word or two cannot be made out. A number of proper names were difficult to transcribe but most of them have been cleared up from other sources.

Snow used a number of space-saving abbreviations in these diaries, as he had only four 2½-inch lines for each day's entry. The abbreviations he used most frequently are: "J" for his wife, Jane (Jennie or Jeanie) Aiken Snow; "wf" for wife; "w" for with; "fr" for from; and "wh" for which. Other abbreviations not obvious in meaning have been completed in brackets.

Missing entries have been noted in 1904, as the entries for the first nine months are almost complete. Missing entries have not been indicated for the other three years. In those years the reader must note the date of the entry in order to keep himself oriented in time.

Footnotes provide additional information thought to be of aid in understanding the entries. A biographical supplement identifies most of the persons mentioned in the text. Each name is keyed back to the date or dates on which that person is mentioned.

All addresses mentioned are in Lawrence unless otherwise identified.

II. THE DIARIES, DECEMBER 27, 1903- NOVEMBER 14, 1907

DE 27, 1903, SUN: Self & wf. at New St James Hotel, corner Broadway & Walnut, St. Louis. Attend Pilg[rim] Congr[egational] Ch[urch] am. World's fair grounds in pm. Write to Africans.⁴ Read Major's "A Forest Hearth" in evening.⁵

DE 28, MON: A. A. A. S. at Central H. S.

4. Snow's eldest daughter, Martha, and her husband, William Harvey Brown, had lived in Salisbury, Rhodesia, since 1899. His two youngest children, Edith and Frank, also were there, having gone there for a visit early in 1903.

5. *A Forest Hearth* by Charles Major, published in 1903, was a historical novel by a widely read author of the period whose best-known work was *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (1898). Most of the books Snow mentions probably were works he was reading to his wife, even when he does not so state. Generally they were recently published, light novels. Mrs. Snow's sight must have been too poor to do much reading.

betw. Bell and Finney Ave.⁶ Register in am. Read to wife in pm.

DE 29, TUES: Read (or talk) my paper in "Insect Life above Timber Line in Colorado & Arizona" before Zoology Section. "F."⁷

DE 30, WED: Attend Society of Economic Entomologists. Howard and Sanderson on Boll Weevil. Take wf. to Dr. Green, oculist, for 3½ hours am. at 27th & Washington Ave.

DE 31, THUR: Final visit to A. A. A. S. in am. Dr. Green with wf 5 hours in pm. Sigma Xi banquet at Mercantile Club in evening. 72 present.

JA 1, 1904, FRI: Wife has cold; I see "Sultan of Sulu" in pm.⁸ Shaw banquet in evening at Southern Hotel. 240 present. Chan[cellor]. Chaplin in chair.

JA 2, SAT: Finish cross-checking Smith's check lists of N. Am. Lepidoptera⁹ of 1891 and 1903. Dr. Green w. wf. 4 hours in pm.

JA 3, SUN: Called with J. at Mr. E. C. Chamberlain's, No. 3119 Lucas Ave. Mrs. C. was Hattie Edgell of Andover, Mass. 8 children, all living.

JA 4, MON: Again at Dr. Green's. Wife refitted w. glasses, not corrected for astigmatism as were Dr. Hamman's of Lawrence. Finish reading Major's "A Forest Hearth."

JA 5, TUES: Leave St. Louis at 9 am, getting home at 11 pm. after an absence of 13 days.

JA 6, WED: Resume lecture course in Organic Evolution at 10:15 a.m.¹⁰

JA 7, THUR: Buy a Pianola as a birthday gift to J.¹¹ Attend Sigma Xi meeting in Chemistry Bldg.¹² Edwin Taylor present. Osmosis.

JA 8, FRI: Putting away a fine lot of Lepidoptera in exchange w. Geo. Franck. Valued at \$272, all of wh. is exchange except \$50.00 cash.

JA 9, SAT: Old & New at Col. Learnard's.¹³ Good talk on taxation.

6. Snow was in St. Louis to attend meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

7. This capital letter is clear, but its meaning is unknown.

8. A musical comedy with lyrics by George Ade and music by Alfred G. Wathall.

9. Butterflies and moths.

10. Snow taught only this one course in the years after his service as chancellor. In the university catalog it was entitled "The Principles of Evolution" and was the only course listed under the department heading "Organic Evolution."

11. Pianola was a brand name for a player piano. Note later references to obtaining and exchanging player piano rolls.

12. Snow was instrumental in establishing the Sigma Xi chapter at K.U., the first formed west of the Mississippi.

13. Snow was a charter member of the Old & New Club, which met each Saturday evening in a member's home. The host presented a paper which the group then discussed. The membership of the club consisted of senior faculty members at K.U. and leading business and professional men of Lawrence.



JA 10, SUN: Stormy day—don't go to church. Play Pianola. Read Darrell of the Blessed Isles and the Outlook.¹⁴

JA 11, MON: Spend afternoon at Lawrence Paper mill rescuing entomological publications sold for paper stock by Mr. Folks.

JA 12, TUES: Another afternoon at paper mill. Rescue Kellogg's Injurious Insects of Kansas, Chinch-bug Reports & "English Bulletins."

JA 13, WED: Finished reading to J. "Farrell of the Blessed Isles."¹⁵ Putting away Coleoptera¹⁶ exchange from C. Schaeffer—Brooklyn Inst. Arts & Sciences.

JA 14, THUR: Luncheon at Prof. Hopkins' with Barney Sheridan of Paola. Dress dinner at Prof. Marvin's with J. who has not attended such a function in several years & is the star of the evening.

JA 15, FRI: Attend lecture on Tolstoi in U[niversity] Hall by Prof. Edw. Steiner—couldn't hear much of it.

JA 16, SAT: Old & New at Dr. Morse's. Paper on Heredity. Prepare comparative statement of temperature of 1st half of January for 37 years.¹⁷ Published in Lawr. Gazette.

JA 17, SUN: Go to church—alone—Dr. Cordley preaches a good sermon on living by principle rather than by rule. Try an ear-trumpet.

JA 18, MON: Putting away beetle exchange from Dr. Fenyess. Attend meeting of Oread Ore Co. at Alford's office in evening.¹⁸ Well #3 just in and is a gas well 4 or 5 million capacity.

JA 19, TUES: [No entry]

JA 20, WED: Meeting of General Faculty at 5 p.m.

JA 21, THUR: Sigma Xi regular Jan. meeting

14. *Darrel of the Blessed Isles* by Irving Bacheller, published in 1903, was a sentimental novel in which Darrel, a former criminal who has become a clock tinker, secretly performs good works. *The Outlook* was a weekly magazine, published in New York, which featured articles and comments on current events.

15. See previous footnote. In this diary Snow must have quoted the names of the books he mentions from memory as he sometimes is inaccurate.

16. Beetles.

17. Snow began taking weather readings and compiling records shortly after he came to K.U. In 1904 he no longer was taking the readings but, as will be noted, took great pride in compiling the reports accurately and rapidly. His monthly report contained a descriptive paragraph followed by data on mean temperature, rainfall, mean cloudiness, wind velocity, barometric pressure, and relative humidity. A large comparative tabulation covering the previous 36 years (beginning in 1868) also was included.

18. This entry appears to read "Ore Company" but may be "Oil Company." On April 23 Snow mentions "Oread Oil Company" stock. In both cases he probably is referring to the Oread Mining Company, a Lawrence firm incorporated in 1900 with Hamilton P. Cady and Willis K. Folks, both of K.U., as directors. A Lawrence firm with a similar name, the Orient Oil, Gas and Mining Company, had its offices in the National Bank building. The only Oread Oil and Gas Company whose charter has been recorded by the Kansas secretary of state was not incorporated until many years later.

in Pharmacy Museum. Paper by Mr. Havenhill on India Rubber.

JA 22, FRI: Begin reading Stanley Weyman's "A Long Night."¹⁹

JA 23, SAT: Old & New at Carruth's. Paper on the Religion of Schiller.

JA 24, SUN: Do not go to church. A blizzard raging.

JA 25, MON: 5° below zero at 11:30 a. m. and below zero all day.

JA 26, TUES: 10° below zero in a. m. Putting away Coleopt. exchange fr. Warren Knaus.

JA 27, WED: [No entry]

JA 28, THUR: Examination of my class in "Organic Evolution." All pass with Grade I. Andrews, Kilby, Sawyer, Swenson, Misses Rambo, Oldovyd, Barrett, Clark, Collins, Levan, Smothers, Copeland.

JA 29, FRI: Mr. Rice—student who has been caring for furnace in splendid style—leaves on double failure and I go to "stoking" myself.

JA 30, SAT: Old & New at Prof. Wilcox's. Paper on Religious Toleration.

JA 31, SUN: Had January Weather Report completed at 10 p.m., ready for the printers.

FE 1, MON: Forenoon down town reading proof of Weather Report and paying bills. No class till Sept.

FE 2, TUES: Work on Hemiptera just returned with names by Mr. E. P. VanDuzee.²⁰

FE 3-5: [No entries]

FE 6, SAT: Old & New at my house. I give them Natural Selection vs. Inheritance of Acquired Characters. As guests I have McClung, Cone & Chester Woodward. Absent: Col. Moore, Learnard, Clark, Marvin, Emery.

FE 7, SUN: Stay at home—read Outlook & Stanley Weyman's "The Long Night."

FE 8, MON: Make up exchange of Lepidoptera with Mr. F. X. Engle of Chicago.

FE 9, TUES: Meeting at my house of the Nominating Committee of the Sigma Xi Society—7:30 to 10 p. m. Rice, Newson, Sayre, Haworth, Hyde, Bartow & myself.

FE 10, WED: After 12 days of taking care of furnace myself, am relieved by arrival of new boy—Wickson—obtained thro. Y. M. C. A. Secretary.

FE 11, THUR: Prof. Henry B. Ward is our

19. *The Long Night* by Stanley J. Weyman was published in 1903.

20. The true bugs—stink bugs, chinch bugs, water bugs, etc. Snow was a well-known economic entomologist and collector, and a competent taxonomist, but, due to the vast variety of insects, often sent specimens to specialists, such as VanDuzee, for identification.



guest.²¹ We have 13 Sigma Xi's at dinner and Dr. & Mrs. Strong, making 17 in all. Prof. Ward lectures in Univ. Hall on the Responsibility of the Mosquito for Disease.

FE 12, FRI: Luncheon at Dr. Bartow's with Prof. Ward, Dr. Strong & Dean Green.

FE 13, SAT: Go to Ottawa to attend to real estate business there. Rent my 20.9 acres to Stannard & Co.²²

FE 14, SUN: Stay at home with wife. Call with wife in pm. at Prof Walker's & Dr. Bartow's.

FE 15, MON: Finish paper on the Results of Arizona Collecting Expeditions of '02 & '03 for the K. U. Science Bulletin.²³

FE 16, TUES: Adjourned meeting of Sigma Xi Nominating Committee at my house 7:30 to 10 pm.

FE 17, WED: I go to a Concert last night at Presbyterian Church by the Crampton Concert Co. One of the Univy Lecture Course series.

FE 18, THUR: Regular monthly meeting of Sigma Xi at 5 p. m. in No. 14.²⁴ Elect Ashton, Harris & E. Sanborn.²⁵ I call on Dr. Fifield of K. C. at Dr. Wilcox.

FE 19, FRI: Dr. Fifield speaks in Univ. Hall on Millet's "The Angelus" & the lessons of Work, Love, & Faith.

FE 20, SAT: Old & New at Prof. Miller's. Lively discussion of paper which related utter vastness of the universe. Prof. Sayre questioned its truth.

FE 21, SUN: To Church with Miss Nye. Dr. Cordley has excellent sermon on "Hold Fast W. Thy Faith."

FE 22, MON: Go to McPherson en route to Lindsborg as official Representative of the U. of K. at funeral of President Carl Swenson of Bethany College. Spend evening with Mr. Knaus.

FE 23, TUES: Arrive Lindsborg 9 a. m. At least 7000 people view remains—Service in Auditorium 3½ hours long. Return to McPherson for night.

21. Ward was a graduate of Williams College and his father had been a fellow-student at Williams with Snow.

22. F. H. Stannard of Ottawa was a leading nurseryman with land in both Colorado and Kansas.

23. This is the first mention of the scientific collecting expeditions which Snow had been conducting since the 1870's for K.U., and which continued to be one of his chief interests. By 1904 these expeditions were devoted entirely to collecting entomological specimens but earlier Snow had also collected birds, fossils, and other types of specimens.

24. No. 14, Fraser Hall, which served as the university's early library.

25. Dr. G. H. Hoxie, rather than Harris, was elected at this meeting.

FE 24, WED: Interesting call on W. J. Krehbiel, Mayor of McPherson. Leave at 11:50—home at 5:15. Go to Dinner party at Prof. Hodder's. Profs. & Mrs. Hopkins, Carruth, Bailey, Mrs. Olin, Miss Galoo, Prof. Lawrence—14 at table.

FE 25, THUR: Put away exchange of Geometrids²⁶ from Geo. C. Taylor, Wellington, B. C. & F. X. Engle of Chicago.

FE 26, FRI: Finish copy of Lists of Hemiptera taken in Arizona, and Hamilton, Morton, & Clark Counties, Kansas, by my Expeditions of 1902 & 1903. Good chapel talk by Rev. Luccock of Oak Park on A Man's Value to God.²⁷

FE 27, SAT: Oread Oil Co. Well # 5 comes in. Old & New at Prof. Haworth's. Louisiana Purchase Exposition with Stereopticon Slides—Dinner at round table. 14 eaters including Ross Stubbs and W. R. Crane.

FE 28, SUN: To Church w. Miss Nye. Dr. Fox of K. City, Ks. preaches. Long ride w. J. in p. m. S[outh] of Wakarusa. Finish "Thy Portion of Labor."²⁸ Call w. J. at Mrs. Woodward's, on to the Huey's.

FE 29, MON: Cross-checking Dyar & Smith's Lepidoptera lists. Have Feb. weather report complete for K. C. Star reporter by 10 p. m.

MR 1, TUES: Finish "copy" for lists of Hemiptera, S. W. Kan. & Arizona 1902 & 1903.

MR 2, WED: Sudden change in temperature from 78° at 5:30 p.m. to 14° at 7 am. next morning. Very high wind—Prairie fire in N. E.

MR 3, THUR: Send to "The Auk" a notice of two new Kansas birds—the Parasitic Jaeger *Stercorarius parasiticus* & the White-Winged Cross-Bill *Loxia leucoptera*.²⁹

MR 4, FRI: Put away exchange Lepidoptera from A. Kwiat. Go to K. City, Mo. w. Jean on 5:12 p.m. train, taking box of Pianola music rolls. Put up at Victoria Hotel.

MR 5, SAT: Do shopping w. J. Get new music rolls. Return on plug.³⁰ Old & New at Peter Emery's. Paper on Per Marquette.

26. Geometer moths, so called because their larvae are the measuring worms.

27. Religious exercises were held in the chapel in Fraser Hall every morning from 8:55 to 9:15 but students were not required to attend. On Fridays someone from outside the university frequently was invited to speak.

28. Not identified.

29. This notice, sent to an internationally known journal of ornithology, shows Snow's continuing interest in scientific subjects other than entomology.

30. A slow train which ran between Kansas City and Topeka and stopped at every station.



MR 6, SUN: Write business letter to Martha Snow Brown. Stay at home from church—read Outlook with wf. Long call from Chester Woodward in p. m. Show him superiority of the Pianola to his "Apollo."

MR 7, MON: Reading aloud to J. Josephine Dodge Daskam's "Whom the Gods Destroy."³¹

MR 8, TUES: Ride w. J. to "Suspension Bridge" on the Wakarusa—home via Poor Farm.³²

MR 9, WED: Begin work on "Monograph of the University of Kansas" for the Kansas Educational Exhibit at Louisiana Purchase Exposition.³³

MR 10, THUR: Very high wind all yesterday and last night—maximum 60 m. an hr. First rain for almost a month 0.36 inch.

MR 11, FRI: Making out list of desiderata of N. Am. Coleoptera. Grass shows a shade of green after the rain.

MR 12, SAT: Continue work on Coleoptera list. Old & New at Col. H. L. Moore's. Paper on Qualifications of a General.

MR 13, SUN: Big snow storm—4 inches.

MR 14, MON: Read aloud from Andrew D. White's "Warfare of Theology and Science."³⁴

MR 15, TUES: Tannhauser Recital by Dean Skilton, Profs Preyer, Hubach, Miss Griesinger and Mrs. Lyons. I have to go alone—wife being tired out by going to club where she had Current Event topic on Kimberley Mines.³⁵

MR 16, WED: Finish reading aloud Hamlin Garland's Capt. Macklin of Honduranian fame.³⁶

MR 17, THUR: Putting away Lepidoptera taken by Tucker and McKenzie last summer in June. Begin reading Kate Douglas Wiggins "Rebecca."³⁷

MR 18, FRI: Methodist Conference attended Chapel Service at K. U. and Bishop Walden

31. *Whom the Gods Destroyed*, by Josephine D. Daskam Bacon, was a popular novel published in 1902.

32. The suspension bridge over the Wakarusa was a footbridge. The Douglas County Poor Farm was two miles south of the present intersection of Haskell avenue and 23d street and just south of the Wakarusa.

33. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition opened in St. Louis on April 20, 1904. The Snows had visited the grounds when they were in St. Louis in December, 1903.

34. *A History of the Warfare of Science With Theology in Christendom* by Andrew D. White, was published in 1896. It is quite a contrast to the books the Snows usually read aloud.

35. Mrs. Snow was a member of the "Friends in Council" study club.

36. This book probably was *Captain Macklin, His Memoirs* (1902) by Richard Harding Davis, a light adventure novel about a young American soldier-of-fortune who helps to suppress a revolution in Honduras.

37. *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* by Kate Douglas Wiggins, published in 1903, was a very popular sentimental novel.

makes an interesting address. Go to K. City w. K. U. Athletic crowd for contest w. M. S. U. in Convention Hall. "Biscuit" Bailey makes a sensational win of 2-mile race. Get home at 2:30 a. m.

MR 19, SAT: Old & New at Frank Marvin's—V. Hugo's drama.

MR 20, SUN: Play new music rolls. Go to church w. Ella Nye—have to come home in hack on a/c of rain.

MR 21, MON: Attend Faculty meeting of Sch. of Arts—on question of changing the 5 hour system—and adoption of new course in Domestic Science.

MR 22, TUES: Prof. and Mrs. Wilcox spend evening listening to our Pianola rolls. They have a P[ianola] of their own.

MR 23, WED: Making "copy" for desiderata list of N. Am. Coleoptera.

MR 24, THUR: Attend "Rosemary" at Bowersock Opera House. 1st act objectionable fr. excess of kissing. Mr. Seyster does splendid acting.³⁸

MR 25, FRI: T. A. McNeil makes address in Chapel—"Partial course in stuttering cure."

MR 26, SAT: Old & New at Dr. Morse's. Paper on Emil Zola.

MR 27, SUN: As honorary pall-bearer, escort remains of H. W. Baker fr. U. P. Station to Oak Hill cemetery. Read Sunderland's "A Spark fr. the Clod."³⁹

MR 28, MON: Adjourned Faculty Meeting at 4:30 p. m.

MR 29, TUES: [No entry]

MR 30, WED: Attend lecture of Henry Waterson in Univ. Hall—on Money and Morals. Spring Vacation begins today.

MR 31, THUR: Finish reading to J., James Lane Allen's "The Mettle of the Pasture."⁴⁰

AP 1, FRI: Weather Report issued on time. Have it entered at P. O. as The Monthly Weather Report of the Dept. of Meteorology for 2nd class postage.

AP 2, SAT: Reading to J., G. Cary Eggleston's "Dorothy South."⁴¹ Stay at home from Club.

AP 3, SUN: Go to Lindsborg Ks. w. J. & hear

38. A play by Murray Carson and Louis N. Parker performed by the university dramatic club. Seyster, who played the role of a man of 90, was highly praised in the Lawrence *Daily Journal's* review.

39. *The Spark in the Clod* by Jabez T. Sunderland, published in 1902, was subtitled "Religion and Evolution."

40. *The Mettle of the Pasture* by James Lane Allen, published in 1903, was a novel set in an idealized version of Kentucky before the Civil War.

41. *Dorothy South* by G. Cary Eggleston, published in 1902, was a sentimental Southern romance.



Chancellor Snow's residence at 1345 Louisiana street circa 1900. The home was built with funds from a bequest to the university by William B. Spooner, a great-uncle of Snow's. The board of regents decided to use the bequest to build Spooner library and the residence as a home for Snow during his lifetime and subsequently as the home for following chancellors during their terms of office. In 1904 none of the Snow's five children, four of whom were still living, resided at home. Photograph courtesy of University of Kansas Archives, Spencer Research Library, Lawrence.

the "Messiah." We are the guests of Bethany College Faculty. Lodge at former Rep[resentative] Stromquist.

AP 4, MON: Leave Lindsborg at 9 am after making a talk at Chapel service. We have company on Pullman of Miss Inez Plumb—get home 3:45 pm on U. P.

AP 5, TUES: City election—Hazen to council. Discharge Wixson as furnace boy—Gaskill takes his place. Prepare copy of desiderata list of Lepidoptera—a la Smith's ck. list of 1903.

AP 6, WED: Go to K. C. for new installment of music rolls. Measured for new suit at Browning King & Co's by Mr. Saunders. Meet K. U. Berger M. D. & Lyons LLB.

AP 7, THUR: Get list of desiderata of N. Am. Coleoptera fr. Lawr. Journal Office. Sent on to Geo. Franck.

AP 8, FRI: Board of Regents meet. Get Chancellor Strong to order S. J. Hunter's course on "Bionomics" expunged from new Catalogue of the U. of K.⁴² Big snow storm & blizzard.

42. The course entitled "Bionomics" was a summer session

AP 9, SAT: Old & New at Prof. Sayre's. Geog[raphical] Dist[tribution] of Disease.

AP 10, SUN: Read Sunderland's The Spark fr. the Clod.

AP 11, MON: Calls in evng fr. Dr. & Mrs. Strong & Prof. & Mrs. Cone—Play Pianola to the latter.

AP 12, TUES: Sigma Xi nominating committee met at my residence—Sayre, Newson, Rice, Bartow, Miss Hyde & Stevens. Vote to recommend Jeans, Lewis, Ford, Misses Mead & Green.⁴³

AP 13, WED: Attended baseball on McCook betw. Washburn 9 & K. U. 6.

AP 14, THUR: Working on Monograph of the University of Kansas for the Kansas Educational Exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition.

AP 15, FRI: [No entry]

course listed under Entomology and described as "... a course in field ecology—a study of relations to natural environment, as illustrated by the fauna under consideration: conditions of life, cycle of life, methods of observation, notetaking and collecting." Why Snow wanted it expunged from the catalog is not known; possibly he thought it overlapped other courses and did not justify a separate course.

43. The last two names should read: Misses Medes and Greene.

AP 16, SAT: Prof. & Mrs. Sayre & Lucius came over to play whist.

AP 17, SUN: Go to K. City w. Prof. & Mrs. Dunlap to hear Parsifal in Convention Hall—by Walter Damrosch and the N. Y. Symphony Orchestra.

AP 18, MON: Send Monograph of U. of K. to John MacDonald for K. U. Exhibit at St. Louis.

AP 19, TUES: Finish Article for the Senior Annual "Jayhawker" on History of University of Kansas.⁴⁴

AP 20, WED: [No entry]

AP 21, THUR: Bad news of Mary Ripley having slight "stroke."

AP 22, FRI: After Dr. Naismith on Gymnasiums, Fr[ank] MacLennon speaks in Chapel of me as young as ever, Miss Watson as in her mother's lap 29 yrs ago when he last spoke in Chapel and Prof. Carruth as in knee-breeches. Ed Howe lectures at 2 pm.

AP 23, SAT: Take balance of Mr. Folks' Oread Oil Stock in exch. for my Pipe Organ note: Now own 12,850 shares.

AP 24, SUN: Rain. Finish T. B. Aldrich's Prudence Palfrey.⁴⁵

AP 25, MON: [No entry]

AP 26, TUES: Attend Lecture Recital in Fraser Hall w. J. on Lohengrin. Dean Skilton & Mrs. Lyons and Mr. Hubach.

AP 27, WED: Send box of Amara & Bembindini to Roland Hayward.⁴⁶ Finish Conan Doyle's "Adventures of Gerard."⁴⁷

AP 28, THUR: Busy with invoice of Lepidoptera fr. Geo. Franck.

AP 29, FRI: 1st High School Day at K. U.—Athletic contests and Ball game between Iowa & K. U.—KU wins 9 to 6.

AP 30, SAT: KU wins 2nd game w. Iowa 10 to 6. Miss Nye w. me.

MY 1, SUN: Calls from Prof. & Mrs. Green and Prof. & Mrs. Hodder.

MY 2, MON: Putting away 99 Lepidoptera fr. Geo. Franck—about 45 species new to collection.

MY 3, TUES: Finish reading "Six Trees"—six short stories by Mary E. Wilkins.⁴⁸

MY 4, WED: [No entry]

MY 5, THUR: Go to K. Cy. w. J. in am., try on new suit at Br. King & Co., return Pianola rolls; rest at Midland & start J. for Milwaukee at 5:55 on S. W. Limited.⁴⁹ Great rain.

MY 6, FRI: Went last night to Recital Shaksp. Midsummer Night Dream by Prof. Frazier w. Music accompaniment by K. U. Orchestra, girls chorus & Skilton on organ.

MY 7, SAT: Start for Brownsville, Tex. on collecting trip w. Dr. Adams & Mr. Tucker. Send box Coleopt. to Mr. Knaus.

MY 8, SUN: Arrive Galveston at 11:30 pm. Stop at Atlanta Hotel.

MY 9, MON: Go into camp near sea-wall until boat returns fr. Brownsville for another trip.

MY 10, TUES: Collect Cincindela⁵⁰ on the sand beach and other Coleoptera at electric lights at night.

MY 11, WED: Queer questions: What do you do w. the bugs? Make medicine? Get em to sell? Get em for World's Fair?

MY 12, THUR: Call fr. Houk, K. U. student—law grad of '90. Also fr. Reporter for Galveston Tribune.

MY 13, FRI: [No entry]

MY 14, SAT: Cloudy & threatening rain. Call fr. U. S. Weather Observer Mr. Murdock, grad. of Kan. St. Normal.

MY 15, SUN: Count of specimens shows 16 boxes, 2365 "pinned" for 5 days work. Letter fr. J. changes plan and I give up going to Brownsville.

MY 16, MON: [No entry]

MY 17, TUES: Count shows 22 full boxes & 600 specimens in partly filled—a total of 4000 specimens for 7 days. Rain this a. m. till 9 o'clk.

MY 18, WED: Fresh shrimps for dinner very delicious.

MY 19, THUR: 30 full boxes—4367 specimens + 724 in partly filled = total of 5091 pinned specimens for 9 days.

MY 20, FRI: Call of 1½ hours from Dr. Orton who is experimenting on infection for boll-

44. Snow's six-page article, illustrated with photographs of university buildings, traced the history of the university over the nearly 40 years since he arrived as one of the three original professors.

45. *Prudence Palfrey* by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, published in 1874, was a novel set in New England in the middle of the 19th century.

46. *Amara* and *bembindini* are types of ground beetles.

47. *Adventures of Gerard* by A. Conan Doyle, published in 1903, features a humorous character, Brigadier Gerard.

48. *Six Trees* by Mary E. Wilkins Freeman was published in 1903.

49. Mrs. Snow visited her daughter Mary in Milwaukee while Snow went on the collecting trip to Galveston.

50. Tiger beetles.

weevil.⁵¹ Tells of C. J. Pribbli's campaign in Texas.

MY 21, SAT: Shrimps again for dinner. Take 52 specimens of new *Cicindela*.

MY 22, SUN: Count shows 40 full boxes, 5832 spc. and 286 in unfilled boxes = 6118 total. Hear fine music at Murdock's fr. Austin & Beaumont bands. 6 to 8 pm.

MY 23, MON: Call fr. Dr. Orton. Take new *Cicindela* at 40th & N on salt flats, viz. C. pamphila.

MY 24, TUES: Call fr. Dr. Trueheart, health officer. "We all" visit Cotton Exchange & see Elks Parade & meet the C. Ex. members thro Dr. Orton who gives us a \$5.00 lunch.

MY 25, WED: Call fr. Dr. John T. Moore last evening—the most intelligent man we have met. Moonlight surf bath every night.

MY 26, THUR: Count this a. m. shows 47 full boxes—6634 spcmns—& 516 in unfilled boxes = total of 7150 spcmns. Call fr. Dr. Orton w. Prof. Geo. W. Curtin in evening.

MY 27, FRI: Spend 3 hrs. w. Dr. T. F. Orton examining boll-weevil slides & correcting his Ms. of treatise on boll weevil.

MY 28, SAT: Count shows 61 boxes 8121 spc. for total result of 17 days work of self, Tucker & Adams.

MY 29, SUN: Break camp and start for Lawrence at 7:30 a. m. after a heavy shower. Buy "Gems of Poetry" on train.

MY 30, MON: Washout near Reading, Ks. delays train 2 hrs. Leave Tucker at Wichita. Reach home at 7:15 pm. Supper at Prof. Caruth's.

MY 31, TUES: Breakfast and dinner at Oread Cafe.⁵² Prepare weather report for May until 11:30 p.m.

JE 1, WED: Lunch at Mrs. Woodward's. Clean up library table. Start for Milwaukee at 5:12 pm.

JE 2, THUR: Call on Geo. T. Nicholson in Chicago. Reach Milwaukee at 3:50 pm. Find wife not much improved in health. Take trolley ride w. J. to Soldiers Home station.

JE 3, FRI: Write letters and mail 10 copies of

my lists of Coleoptera, Lep[idoptera], Dipt[era] and Hemipt[era] of Arizona.⁵³ Take J. & Mary to Lake Park.

JE 4, SAT: Take J. to Whale Fish Bay. Do shopping for my trip to Madison, where I am to be official repr. of K.U. at the U. of W[isconsin] Semi-centennial celebration

JE 5, SUN: Take J. & Mary & Francis & Theodore⁵⁴ to Lake Park where we have a good time on the beach.

JE 6, MON: Call on Dr. Viempster. Take 11:15 train for Madison. Become the guest of Mr. Frederickson. Attend reception of Pres[iden]t Van Hise in p. m. & see the May pole dance & march on campus of 500 U. girls & torch light proc[ession].

JE 7, TUES: In academic robes attend inauguration of Dr. VanHise. Sit by Prest. Northrop & Prest. Wheeler. 9:30 to 1 p. m. 8 speeches. Fine lunch in library. Band concert at 4 p. m. Water fete at night.

JE 8, WED: "Jubilee" Day. Addresses by Prest's Gilman, Wheeler, Jesse, Northrop & C. Prof. Owen drives me to his country house w. Trelease. Swell dinner 7 pm to after midnight. Sit next to Prof. O'Shea. Poor after dinner speaking by Albert Shaw, Gen. Fred. Grant & C.⁵⁵

JE 9, THUR: Lunch at Dean Birge's w. Dr. Marsh of Harvard & some Wms. College men⁵⁶ Mr. Frederickson drives me to the station & I return to Milwaukee.

JE 10, FRI: Call on Mrs. Crombis and Mrs. Allen. Go in evening to Refined Vaudeville Show at Davidson Theatre. J. & I go w. all the Cases to White Fish Bay.

JE 11, SAT: Call on Dr. Peckham at the Public Library. Interesting talk about Attidae or Jump[ing] Spiders. Story about sediment in wash basin left by the wasps. Seeds in it.

JE 12, SUN: Calls from Mr. Chas. Palmer & Miss Dr. Frisbie. Make call w. J. on dear Mrs. Barclay.

JE 13, MON: Call on Dr. Bach w. J. Very bright man. Write letters on Ermine's typewriter.⁵⁷

53. *Diptera* are the true or winged flies.

54. Snow's grandsons, Francis and Theodore Case.

55. The use of "& C" twice in this entry is puzzling. It would seem likely that Dr. VanHise would speak at both of these functions and his first name was Charles. However, Snow almost never refers to people by their first initial, except relatives or very close friends. Possibly the "C" stands for chairman.

56. This luncheon probably was given in honor of Snow, since the guests were men from his college & Arthur N. Marsh was a former K.U. professor.

57. Snow's son-in-law, Ermine B. Case.

51. This sentence undoubtedly refers to efforts to control the boll weevil by infecting the insect with a disease. Snow did much work along this line in the 1880's in trying to control chinch bugs in Kansas. Boxes of infected chinch bugs were widely distributed to farmers with the hope that the infection would be transmitted to the general chinch bug population. Results seemed good at first. Later investigators cast much doubt on its effectiveness. See entries for June 30 and July 1, 1904.

52. Probably the Reynolds and Hall restaurant on Oread street, opposite the K.U. campus. In the September 27 entry it is called Billy Reynold's restaurant.



JE 14, TUES: Leave Milwaukee w. J. for home. Meet Jennie Burns Leigh[?] at Chicago & her husband at Union Station.

JE 15, WED: Reach home safely. Lunch at Mrs. Woodward's.

JE 16, THUR: Attend Cong. Association semicentennial at Plymouth Church in forenoon.

JE 17, FRI: Unpack lot of exotic Lepidoptera from Prof. Owen.

JE 18, SAT: Finish yesterday's job and file 4 boxes for exhibit cases.

JE 19, SUN: Dr. Hayes of Topeka preaches. "Lovest thou me more than them?" Dr. Cordley baptizes 3 children. Drive w. J. to Mrs. Gov. Robinsons.⁵⁸

JE 20, MON: Mr. & Mrs. Daugherty take dinner w. us, coming at 10 a. m. He has now no "charge."

JE 21, TUES: Begin to direct 180 copies of my Lists of Arizona Lepidoptera, Coleoptera, Diptera, & Hemiptera.

JE 22, WED: Finish yesterday's job.

JE 23, THUR: Pack box of 25 Coleoptera for Mr. B. Nock of Providence, R. I.

JE 24, FRI: Visit fr. Prof. D. E. Lantz to whom I give 14 Galveston Cicindela.

JE 25, SAT: Begin working up the Galveston Coleoptera. Send Arizona n. sp.[new species] Cych[?] to Henry Wenzel.

JE 26, SUN: Go to church w. J. Dr. Cordley sits in his chair during whole service, but his mind is clear & his voice is firm. Call from Nettie Manley, Mr. & Mrs. Hood & Prof. & Mrs. Sayre.

JE 27, MON: Work on Galveston Coleoptera. Read to J., Prof. Wilcox's fine paper on "The Mission of Congregationalism in Kansas" read before Cong'l State Association.

JE 28, TUES: Call from Miss Watson & Jo Berry & fr. Mr. & Mrs. Prof. W. H. Johnson, who will go with us to Arizona.

JE 29, WED: Call on Dr. Cordley & chat with him for half an hour. He is cheerful & witty & is working 4 hrs. every a. m. preparing sermons for publication.⁵⁹

JE 30, THUR: Prepare article for K. C. Star on

Chinch bug infection in answer to Prof. Stedman.⁶⁰

JL 1, FRI: Dr. Cordley grows weaker. Read proof weather report. C[hinch] B[ug] infection article in tonight's Star. Ride w. J. from 5 to 7. Ice cream at Wiedemann's.⁶¹

JL 2, SAT: About through w. Galveston Coleoptera.

JL 3, SUN: No church. Calls in evening from Dr. Bartow, Prof. & Mrs. Carruth, Constance & Mr. McCollum,⁶² Prof. & Mrs. Sayre & Mr. & Mrs. Hood & Nettie Manley—all at once.

JL 4, MON: A quiet 4th. Heavy thunderstorm at 2:30 a. m., w. rainfall .97 inch.

JL 5, TUES: Rainfall 1.88 inches.

JL 6, WED: Calls in evening fr. Mr. & Mrs. Paul Brooks, & Jennie Sutliff called. Tucker & I were packing for Arizona trip. Rain 1.10 inches.

JL 7, THUR: Finished packing but on a/c of high water could not get away.⁶³ Rainfall 1.95 inches.

JL 8, FRI: Rain .98 inch. Packed 64 specimens of Coleoptera of Galveston & sent to Mr. Liebeck for identification. Total Rain since 2nd inst. of 7.54 inches.

JL 9, SAT: Working Galveston Lepidoptera. Ride w. J. from 6:30 to 8 p. m. See the high water on the Kaw river.

JL 10, SUN: No church. Finish reading to J., Josephine Dodge Daskam's "The Story of a Baby."⁶⁴ Call from Mr. & Mrs. Smithmeyer & their tall boy. Work on Galveston Lepidoptera.

JL 11, MON: Take S. Fe 12:15 for Flagstaff, Ariz. w. Prof. & Mrs. W. H. Johnson & Scott J[ohnson], J. J. Drisco, & Eugene Smith.⁶⁵

JL 12, TUES: On tourist car. Make friends of

60. On June 21 the Kansas City *Star* published an article, datelined Columbia, Mo., which stated that sending out infected chinch bugs to farmers was worse than useless as a means of controlling infestations. Professor Stedman of Missouri University was quoted as saying that cleaning up fence rows was a more effective measure. Snow's letter, published on July 1, defended the practice of disseminating infected chinch bugs but admitted it was not effective in dry weather. He supported his statements with lengthy quotations from a report written in 1896 by F. M. Webster, a Dept. of Agriculture entomologist, and from recent correspondence with Webster.

61. Wiedemann's at 835 Massachusetts street was a popular place to stop for ice cream and candy for many years.

62. Constance Carruth, daughter of Professor Carruth, became Mrs. McCollum in 1907.

63. The 1904 flood on the Kansas river began as though it might equal the previous year's flood. North Lawrence was flooded, train service ceased, the brick plant was flooded, and some people were evacuated. However, the river began to recede almost immediately and damage was not great.

64. *The Memoirs of a Baby* by Josephine D. Daskam Bacon, published in 1904, was a sentimental novel concerning a young couple and their child.

65. Correctly, Judah Drisko and Eugene Smyth.

58. Gov. Charles Robinson's widow, Sara T. D. Robinson, lived at "Oakridge" about four miles northeast of Lawrence.

59. This was Snow's last visit with his long-time friend, Dr. Cordley, who died the evening of July 11.

Miss Chamberlain, Mr. & Mrs. Haskell & two nice Fall River women, mother & daughter.

JL 13, WED: Arrive Flagstaff at 10:27 a. m. Put up Hotel Weatherford. Visit Bobbit Bros. Navajo Rug Dept. Engage C. A. Green for wagon trip—three teams.

JL 14, THUR: Wagon to Thomas' Ranch. Wife goes down the steep trail on horseback. We camp on Louis Thomas's ground. Sleep on ground in our big tent, J. & I.

JL 15, FRI: Mr. Green packs down the trail our camping outfit. We all [illegible] camp.

JL 16, SAT: Begin collecting. Catch 10 trout in p. m.

JL 17, SUN: Catch one big trout close to camp. Collect Sphinx oreodaphne on Evening Primroses, at dusk.⁶⁶

JL 18, MON: Go up the West Fork about 3 miles into the Box Cañon.

JL 19, TUES: Catch trout weighing 15½ oz. Total catch 15 trout to date.

JL 20, WED: Rain begins at 5:30 pm.—the first in 2 years! Heavy thunder at night.

JL 21, THUR: Rained all night. Brkfst at 10 am. Read Crawford's "In the Heart of Rome."⁶⁷

JL 22 & 23: [No entries]

JL 24, SUN: Call at Lewis Thomas's & see Mrs. Sisson of Flagstaff.

JL 25, MON: [No entry]

JL 26, TUES: J. rides horse to see John L. V. Thomas—age 79—the first settler in Oak Creek Cañon at the Junction of the two forks.

JL 27-30: [No entries]

JL 31, SUN: Examine Lewis Thomas's flower garden—"Old man" cactus & "Red-hot Poker."

AG 1, MON: Finish reading Howell's "A Modern Instance."⁶⁸ de Bartley Hubbard

AG 2, TUES: John Thomas brings mail. Go fishing & get only one trout, besides losing glasses in stream. Fortunately have dupl. pair.

AG 3, WED: Sisson boy brings mail.

AG 4, THUR: Go up W. Fork in forenoon. Walk w. J. up do. [West fork] p. m. 1st Catocala

at sugar in evening.⁶⁹ 1st Acmaeodera ampli-collis.⁷⁰

AG 5, FRI: Rain begins at 1 pm. 1st Acmaeodera w. red spot.

AG 6, SAT: Catch 8 trout.

AG 7, SUN: Read Stephenson's "Travels w. a donkey."⁷¹

AG 8, MON: Catch 17 Uk Geom. [unknown Geomotridae] w. red spot. Heavy rain after dinner. Count shows 44 full boxes 4790 insects.

AG 9, TUES: Mrs. Austin and Miss Milligan—teachers at Flagstaff & Trinidad—call on us.

AG 10-12: [No entries]

AG 13, SAT: Count shows 54 boxes—6000 specimens.

AG 14, SUN: Catch 7 trout. Long call from Mr. John L. V. Thomas, who has been in Oak Creek Cañon for 16 years.

AG 15, MON: Prof. & Mrs. Johnson & Scott leave us, in charge of Mr. Green. He forgets his R. R. tickets and has to come back fr. top of canyon trail.

AG 16, TUES: Get my 1st Argynnis Nitocris⁷² a male. Have 103 Sphinx Oreodaphne & 53 Lycomorpha Constans.⁷³ Catch 3 fine trout after sundown.

AG 17, WED: Rains all afternoon after a fine forenoon.

AG 18, THUR: Caught in thunder storm below the fences—5 fine trout.

AG 19, FRI: [No entry]

AG 20, SAT: Fished up stream—10 trout.

AG 21-27: Collect specimens every forenoon and catch trout every afternoon—the latter work becoming necessary in order to keep the party from the pangs of hunger, as our provisions are becoming much reduced.

AG 28, SUN: [No entry]

AG 29, MON: While fishing ¾ mile up the East Fork, an 8 foot flood overtook me on the East bank, & was rescued by Mr. L. Thomas

66. A variety of Sphinx moth. Sphinx moths also are called hawkmoths or hummingbird moths because of their flight or feeding habits.

67. *The Heart of Rome* by F. Marion Crawford, published in 1903, was a romantic novel set in Rome.

68. *A Modern Instance* by William Dean Howells, published in 1882, was a realistic novel concerning divorce and other social problems and was quite controversial when first published. Bartley Hubbard is a leading character in the novel.

69. *Catocala* is a genus of large underwing night-flying moths generally collected by using lights at night.

70. A variety of wood-boring beetle.

71. *Travels With a Donkey in the Cévennes* by Robert Louis Stevenson, published in 1903, was an account of experiences in Belgium and France.

72. *Argynnis* is a genus of fritillaries, or silver-spotted butterflies.

73. *Lycomorpha* is a genus of moths having wings colored in two strongly contrasting colors, frequently black and brick red.



elling a poplar tree wh. I used as a bridge.⁷⁴

AG 30, TUES: Sort over the Hymenoptera⁷⁵ of our catch.

AG 31, WED: Continue same work as yesterday.

SE 1, THUR: Caught 22 trout. Eugene Smyth takes a dozen specimens of *Cicindela Mari-copa*.

SE 2, FRI: Count shows 77 boxes & one bottle, a total of 10,000 specimens for the Arizona Expedition of 1904. Have caught a total of 201 trout.

SE 3, SAT: Start for home. J. ascends trail on horse & Mr. C. A. Green gets [us] up to Flagstaff at 8 p.m. Start the 2 boys, Drisko & Smith, home.

SE 4, SUN: Stay at Hotel Weatherford to give wife a rest & take S. Fe for Lawrence at 9 p.m. Meet Burns, a K. U. law grad.

SE 5, MON: [No entry]

SE 6, TUES: Reach home at 4 p. m.

SE 7, WED: [No entry]

SE 8, THUR: Annie Richtemeyer—the house girl—returns to us.

SE 9-10: [No entries]

SE 11, SUN: Ella Nye declines to live with us on a/c of J's apparently less vigorous condition, fearing that she cannot do for her all needed offices.

SE 12, MON: Engage Miss Pyle [Capitola] in Miss Nye's place. Dine at Will Stevens to meet Prof. Hugo de Vries, the botanist of Univ. of Amsterdam in Holland, w. Strong, Carruth, McClung, Sayre, & Barber.

SE 13, TUES: Working on the Oak Creek Cañon Coleoptera.

SE 14, WED: [No entry]

SE 15, THUR: Miss Pyle comes to live with us & is very nice & helpful.

SE 16-21: [No entries]

74. In a letter to his children in Rhodesia, Snow reported this incident much more graphically. "I was already wet to the skin and had no outer coat and was compelled to pace the bank back and forth for nearly two hours to keep up the circulation singing *Lauriger Horatius* and other ways to relieve the apprehension of your mother who was viewing my plight from the Lewis Thomas's premises while the driftwood was being hurled by from insignificant chunks to great tree trunks at the rate of about 7 miles an hour. I had begun to fear I should have to stay all night, without shelter or fire or suitable clothing when Mr. Thomas returned, and by felling a tall poplar tree, with such success that (its) topmost branches reached to the elevated margin of the stream, provided a bridge across which I gladly made my way a la leap frog or straddle-bug and was soon made comfortable in camp. And I had contracted no cold whatsoever nor rheumatism, and am today in as good health as ever in all my life."—See "F. H. Snow Papers," Kansas University archives, Spencer Research Library. The letter is incomplete, date is missing, and it is on letterhead paper of the Hotel Weatherford, Flagstaff, Ariz.

75. The bees, wasps, and ants.

SE 22, THUR: Attend reception at Pi Phi house by Miss Jennie Sutliff for Miss Helen S[utliff] who starts for Stanford on Monday for a year's leave of absence.⁷⁶

SE 23, FRI: [No entry]

SE 24, SAT: See 1st K. U. football game of the season on McCook field w. College of Emporia—6 to 0 for K. U.

SE 25, SUN: Hear Dr. Burdick preach in Plymouth Church. Our house girl Annie R. goes to St. Louis Exposition for a week.

SE 26, MON: Pack exchange Coleoptera for Germain Boileau. Yesterday and today the hottest days of same date since 1881.

SE 27, TUES: I get breakfast this week & Miss Pyle gets supper & we all three take dinner at Billy Reynold's Restaurant.

SE 28, WED: Making out duplicate list of Coleoptera.

SE 29, THUR: Am having my left eyelid treated this week by Dr. Hamman.

SE 30, FRI: Talk in Univ'y Chapel for 35 m. on The Early Days of the University.

FE 1 [1905], WED: Have Tucker mimeograph January weather report, the State Auditor refusing to have any printing done out of State Printers plant.

FE 6, MON: Dr. Jas. H. Canfield gives Chapel talk. I was one of the guests at dinner given for him by Prof. Sayre in his new house.

MR 17, FRI: To Kansas City—attend the Annual athletic "meet" betw. K. U. & Mo. U. in Convention Hall. Will Bailey wins 2 mile race.

MR 18, SAT: Attend Savage's English Parsifal fr. 11 am to 4 pm with an hour intermission for lunch.⁷⁷ A most magnificent entertainment.

MR 31, FRI: Calsomine cleaners & paperers begin work at residence.⁷⁸

AP 1, SAT: Weather report for March goes to Lawr. Journal for printing by grace of State Auditor & Mr. Folks. Old & New at Col. Moore's. Paper on Russia.

AP 7, FRI: Take 5:40 am train for K. City enroute for Chicago. Stay in K. C. until 6:15

76. Snow's daughter Edith was a member of the Pi Phi sorority which probably accounts for the Snow's friendship with Miss Sutliff, the sorority matron, and with Ella Nye, a member. At this time the Pi Phi house was at 1200 Tennessee street.

77. Henry W. Savage's Grand Opera Company was a large traveling troupe which performed opera in English. They visited Kansas City in both March and April and in each case Snow picked an opera by Wagner to attend.

78. Calsomine was a dry, powdered paint which, when mixed with water, was used on interior walls, particularly plaster.



pm. Write to my Mother.⁷⁹ Call on John Sullivans. Go to Orpeum.⁸⁰ Read Chas. Dudley Warner's *A little journey into the World*.⁸¹

AP 8, SAT: Arv. Chicago 7:45 am. Visit Field-Columbian Museum. E. S. Riggs acts as guide. At 3 pm I lecture at Fullerton Hall, Art Institute, on Fertilization of flowers by insects.⁸² Go to Milwaukee, arrive 9 pm.

AP 9, SUN: Nice visit with Mary Case & Family. We all go to Washington Park in pm. I call on Dr. & Mrs. Pratt in evening.

AP 10, MON: Call on Dr. Kempster. Take 11 a. m. for Chicago. Go to Ch. University & see Dr. Adams & Dr. Williston. Chicago Opera House in evening.

AP 11, TUES: Spend forenoon in Newberry library hunting for Crossman and Culver ancestors.⁸³ P. m. at Olympic. Take 6:30 train for home.

AP 12, WED: Arrive in Lawrence at 10 a. m. Find wife "done up" by a fall on face—now double size & much disfigured.

AP 13, THUR: Receive & put away pkg. of Coleoptera from Chas. Dury.

AP 14, FRI: Wf. improving. Take 6 o'clk dinner at McClungs to meet Prof. LeFevre of Mo. Univ.⁸⁴ Also there—Dyche, Barber, Stevens, Baumgartner.

AP 15, SAT: Go to K. City & hear Savage's English Opera Co. in "Lohengrin." Lunch as guest of Henry Faxon w. Prof. Sayre, who goes to opera w. me in place of his wife who is too sick to come.

AP 17, MON: Consignment of N. Am. Lepidoptera arrive from Geo. Franck—contains over 80 species new to collection.

AP 20, THUR: E. S. Tucker goes to Wichita a/c his stepmothers illness & I take his weather observations.⁸⁵

AP 22, SAT: Old & New Reunion at R. R. Clark's—wives invited. J. not able to go.

AP 23, SUN: J's now having developed an abscess, Dr. Hoxie performs a painful operation to cleanse it from infection.

AP 27, THUR: Attend "party" at Ralph Cone's in honor of Jean Sayre Canfield. J. not able to go.

AP 30, SUN: Prof. & Mrs. Hood call w. their fine 4 mos. little girl.

MY 1, MON: No May day Scrap. Freshmen have funeral procession, & bury the Sophs—class of '07.⁸⁶

MY 2, TUES: Tucker returns & relieves me from weather observations wh. I have taken since April 20th.

MY 4, THUR: Go to Topeka to learn of Kans. Acad. of Sc. Trans. at State Printers. Find all printed without proof-reading outside of Printer's office.

MY 5, FRI: Ethel Allen Hamilton calls. Class of 1882.

MY 6, SAT: Finish putting away & labeling Roy Moodie's Wyoming Diptera & Douglas Co. do.[Diptera] bo[ugh]t of him for \$10.00

MY 7, SUN: Hear Mr. Bolt. Attend Even Song service in Univ. Hall at 5 pm. J. goes too. Prof. Boodin in charge; talks on "Evil."

MY 9, TUES: Take charge of Chapel exercises—first time for *five years*.

MY 10, WED: Take chapel service again. Dr. Strong & Prof. Carruth both absent.

MY 11, THUR: Go at 4:30 pm to hear Prof. Carruth lecture on Schiller in Snow Hall lecture room.⁸⁷

MY 13, SAT: Receive separate sheets of K. Acad. Sc. articles by H. L. Viereck & Jas. A. G. Rehn describing 97 n. sp. [new species] Hymenoptera and 6 n. sp. of Orthoptera.⁸⁸

MY 15, MON: Working on Hymenoptera returned with names by H. L. Viereck.

MY 17, WED: Edith arrives "home again"

79. Snow is referring to his stepmother, Margaret Pollock Snow, his father's second wife. His own mother, Mary Boutelle Snow, died in 1851.

80. Should read "Orpheum." The Orpheum was a vaudeville theater. Its program for the first week in April included skits, musical acts, comedy bicyclists, etc.

81. *A Little Journey in the World* by Charles Dudley Warner, published in 1889, was the first volume of a trilogy concerning the gaining and loss of a fortune.

82. Snow was one of only two persons not on the Field Museum staff invited to participate in this series of lectures.

83. Snow took quite an interest in his personal genealogy and traced his ancestry to one or more Mayflower passengers and to various English families.

84. Professor LeFevre was in Lawrence to give a lecture on "The History of Zoology" at a meeting of Sigma Xi.

85. See footnote 17.

86. The traditional May pole competition between the freshman and sophomore classes had resulted in property destruction and injuries to students in recent years. After seven sophomores were arrested and fined in the Lawrence police court in 1904, the students agreed to give up the May Day scrap. In 1905 the freshmen erected a pole with their flag on top and, even though all who passed by were required to salute it, no serious clashes resulted. This was followed by the "funeral procession" mentioned by Snow.

87. This lecture was part of K. U.'s recognition of the 100th anniversary of the death of Friedrich von Schiller, German poet and dramatist. Professor Carruth, an admirer of Schiller and editor of translations of some of his works, took part in a number of Schiller celebrations held by universities and societies.

88. *Orthoptera* are grasshoppers, roaches, and their kin. The two articles referred to appear in Vol. 19 of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, 1905. Both describe insects from the western part of the United States based on specimens in the K. U. collection.



from So. Africa after absence of more than 2 years. Looks in perfect health.⁸⁹

MY 19, FRI: I conduct chapel service. Hall packed—addresses by Joseph Ellsworth Curry, '86, & Dean Green. Fine music by Mrs. Whiteside & Mrs. Gleed and by Miss Greisinger.

MY 20, SAT: See track meet on McCook field. K. U. vs M. U. Latter wins 57 to 51.

MY 21, SUN: Edith & I go to church. Mr. Bolt preaches good sermon.

MY 23, TUES: Begin packing exchange order of N. Am. Coleoptera for Dr. Staudinger & A. Bang-Haas of Blaesewitz bei Dresden.

MY 26, FRI: Last chapel service of year. May Music Festival begins tonight. Edith & I go.

MY 27, SAT: Music Festival cont'd. J. goes w. me in p.m.—Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Edith goes w. me in evening. W. Prof. Blake in p. m. who takes us [with] them to ride after afternoon performance.

MY 29, MON: Mr. J. C. Horton comes from K. Cy. & spends the night with us.

MY 30, TUES: Write to Geo. Franck for explanation of overcharge on bill of Lepidoptera. We—J., E., Mr. Horton—drive to cemetery & carry flowers for our dead.⁹⁰

MY 31, WED: Have May weather report ready for printer at 10 pm.

JE 1, THUR: Pack for Brownsville, Texas & start w. Tucker & Corwine at 11:11 pm.

JE 3, SAT: Arrive Houston 6:15 am. Secure from Gen. Pass'r & Ticket Agent Tuttle of SAP r'way ½ fare rate to Sinton, Tex. & leave to check camp baggage.

JE 4, SUN: Arrive Sinton, Tex. 11 am. No train to Brownsville Sundays. Go to Corpus Christi & get from Wm. Doherty, Gen. Pass'r & ticket agent ½ fare rate to B'ville.

JE 5, MON: Surviving a bad attack of cimex lectularius at hotel in Sinton, we leave for B'ville at 10 am on the "Gulf Coast Line."⁹¹

JE 6, TUES: Make camp in S. W. Corner of Brownsville by site of estuary or lake wh. was at time of Mexican War the bed of the Rio Grande River. Said river has since cut a new

channel like the Kansas River near Lawrence leaving the so-called lake or old river bed.⁹²

JE 7, WED: Weather hot and dry.

JE 8, THUR: We take a bath & swim every night before retiring.

JE 9, FRI: I sleep under a canopy of mosquito netting—good breeze all night & need one blanket.

JE 11, SUN: Tucker & Corwine go over to Matamoras in Old Mexico.

JE 12, MON: A pair of mocking birds have nest in bushes in front of tent & Mr. M. makes the air resound at all hours of both day and night.

JE 16, FRI: Swam about ¼ across the estuary to the Mexican "Banco."

JE 17, SAT: Count shows 5000 pinned specimens for 11 days work.

JE 18, SUN: Write letters—pm go to Matamoras across Rio Grande—See Wedding ceremony in Cathedral.

JE 21, WED: Heavy rain in a. m.

JE 22, THUR: 4 Mexican boys steal axe, lantern, can of molasses, box of nails & 2 cakes of soap while we take after dinner naps.

JE 23, FRI: Count shows 30 full boxes = 5898 + unfilled boxes 787 + spiders in alcohol est. 200.⁹³ Go sugaring w. Corwine 1½ m. to grove on Don Frederico Lamb's farm.⁹⁴

JE 24, SAT: Swim 125 strokes out & back, total 253 strokes.

JE 25, SUN: Wrote letters to wife, mother & Mr. Scheffer.

JE 26, MON: Heavy rain a. m. Tucker & Corwin go to Matamoras pm.

JE 27, TUES: Moth trap gets a beautiful new *Hyperchiria*? & Corwin takes another by hand.

JE 28, WED: Tucker starts home to do Weather Rept.⁹⁵ Count shows 42 boxes 8103 pinned specimens + say 200 spiders in alcohol.

JE 30, FRI: Got drenched by rain while collecting near B'ville Town & Land Co's farm.

92. Snow probably is referring to the lake northeast of Lawrence at Lake View which was formed when the Kansas river changed its channel.

93. Spiders, being soft-bodied insects, shrivel up unless put in a fluid preservative.

94. "Sugaring" refers to a technique of attracting and capturing moths by smearing a sweet mixture on tree trunks. The most successful mixture was held to be stale beer mixed with molasses. Moths which rested on tree trunks in the daytime and those which were not attracted to lights at night were the prime targets of this technique.

95. Although a third person must have been recording the weather data while Snow and Tucker were gone, it appears that only one of them could be entrusted with preparing the monthly report.

89. Apparently the reason, or one reason, for Edith's sojourn with her sister and brother-in-law in Rhodesia was the state of her health.

90. Snow's eldest son, Will, who drowned in an accident in San Francisco harbor in October, 1899, is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery in Lawrence. Harold Horton Snow, an infant son who died in 1889, also is buried there.

91. *Cimex lectularius* is the bed bug.



Took refuge with Mr. Cowley—overseer & Poet.

JL 1, SAT: Water rising in estuary along wh. we are camped.

JL 2, SUN: Our tent being below level of water, we begin to raise an embankment for protection.

JL 3, MON: Water still rising—a foot in 24 hours. Swim out 130 strokes & back before retiring.

JL 5, WED: Hire Mr. Lamb's grandson to make higher levee to protect our camp.

JL 6, THUR: Swam out 175 strokes, & 211 back. Water in estuary 6 ft above normal & 3 ft above floor of our tent one rod north of the levee.

JL 7, FRI: Count shows 56 boxes 9983 specimens + 200 or more spiders in alcohol. Water flows in along road north of camp.

JL 8, SAT: Break camp & get cart & hack to pull us thro. the water to the RR station. Conductor holds train 8 m[inutes] for us. Leave Brownsville at 8:48 a. m. Good dinner at Katharine.

JL 9, SUN: Arrive Houston 7:45 A. M. take room at Hotel Brazos. Corwine spent day at Galveston. I sort insects, loaf, ride to Houston Heights. Take 9:20 pm S. Fe for Lawrence.

JL 10, MON: Fine sleep in P[ullman] car Ogontz.⁹⁶ Cool night & morning. Bid Corwine good-bye at Mulvane at 9:40 pm.

JL 11, TUES: Arrive home 5:30 A. M.

JL 12, WED: Begin working up Brownsville Coleoptera.

JL 14, FRI: Go w. Edith to lawn & porch party at Capt. John Haskell's in honor of Prof. Wm. McDonald & his wf. nee Hattie Haskell.

JL 16, SUN: Clear up my library desk.

JL 17, MON: Eugene Smyth spends day with me.

JL 18, TUES: Pack 200 B'ville Coleoptera & ship to Chas. Liebeck for determination.

JL 19, WED: Put away 53 sp. N. Am. Coleoptera new to collection, rec'd from J. D. Sherman, Jr. by purchase from the Roberts collection.⁹⁷

JL 20, THUR: Begin working up Brownsville Hemiptera. Take drive w. J. 4:30 to 6:30.

⁹⁶ The source of some Pullman car names is a mystery. This one seems to be named after an extremely small village on Moosehead lake in Maine. Ogontz, Maine (population five in 1950) may have been a fishing camp of a Pullman official.

⁹⁷ The dispersion of the entomological collection of Christopher Roberts of New York was handled by Mr. Sherman. The water-beetle collection went to the New York Museum of Natural History.

JL 21, FRI: Go w. Edith to Barnum & Bailey's Circus—12:15 to 4:30 including extra show.

JL 22, SAT: Go to Ottawa & complete sale of J's 35 acres to Caroline E. Sutton & Geo. W. Sutton her husband.

JL 23, SUN: Mr. Bolt preaches a good sermon "Man shall not live by bread alone." Calls fr. Mr. & Mrs. Cruse & Mary Gardner.

JL 24, MON: Complete sorting of B'ville Heteroptera & forward over 200 sp. to Van Duzee for determinaton.⁹⁸

JL 25, TUES: Wife & Edith start for Milwaukee at 5:44.⁹⁹ I get outfit ready for Arizona trip.

JL 26, WED: With Eugene Smyth, Ebb Crumb & Rollin Perkins I start for Douglas, Arizona at 9:20 pm. Free pass for self & half-fare for rest to El Paso.

JL 27, THUR: Train 2 hours delayed by our engine leaving the track. Mr. Nicholson of Newton on train.

JL 28, FRI: Arrive El Paso 9 am. Get from Mr. Stiles half fare rate to Douglas. Crumb gets 32 Psiloptera Woodhousei.¹⁰⁰

JL 29, SAT: Arrive Douglas 8 am. Met by N. L. Stewart, K. U. grad who is very serviceable. Take wagon for San Bernardino Ranch, 18 m. east of Douglas, altitude 3774 ft., owned by Mr. J. H. Slaughter.

JL 30, SUN: We camp by a flowing artesian well only about 5 yards from the U. S. & Mexico boundary line. Well 440 ft. deep.

JL 31, MON: Collecting is excellent and my team is enthusiastic & efficient.

AG 1, TUES: Each of the 3 boys cook for one day, washes dishes the next day & wipes the 3rd day and I as usual bake the bread.

AG 2, WED: We get acquainted with Willie Slaughter, Dr. Hunsberger & Miss Phelps of Los Angeles—the two latter here for their health.

AG 3, THUR: We have 3055 specimens for 5 days collecting.

AG 5, SAT: Have 5042 specimens for 1st wk's work—the best record ever made.

AG 6, SUN: I spend nearly all of my time beginning 6 am pinning the specimens collected by Crumb and Perkins. Smyth pins K.

⁹⁸ The term "Heteroptera" may be used to refer to a suborder of the Hemiptera or may be used to refer to the entire order. Snow's meaning probably is the latter.

⁹⁹ While Snow went to Arizona to collect insects, his wife and daughter visited Mary Snow Case and her family in Milwaukee.

¹⁰⁰ A species of wood-boring beetle.