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Snow of Kansas

Snow of Kansas

The Life of Francis Huntington Snow
with Extracts from his Journals
and Letters

by

CLYDE KENNETH HYDER

Foreword by

DEANE W. MALOTT

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS PRESS, LAWRENCE, 1953

TO JOHN HERBERT NELSON
ONE OF THOSE WHO HAVE CARRIED
ON A NOBLE TRADITION

Foreword

It would be impossible to serve as the Chancellor of the University of Kansas, as was my privilege for a dozen years after 1939, without coming under the spell of Francis Huntington Snow, one of the original faculty members, and head of the institution from 1890 to 1901.

During my incumbency, Chancellor Snow was laughingly referred to as the last of the short chancellors, his three next successors having been considerably more than six feet tall. But from that smaller frame radiated the physical, mental, and spiritual energy which, spent over an adult lifetime in the University of Kansas, built the traditions, established the moral and intellectual courage, traced the patterns, and set the directions of the vigorous institution which crowns Mt. Oread today.

My pride in *Snow of Kansas* stems from two sources. In the first place, Professor Hyder undertook the task during my administration, and I had the opportunity of introducing him to members of the Snow family from whom some of the original material and several valuable suggestions for the work were obtained. He has produced a penetrating and scholarly, yet vital and interesting and always human account of Chancellor Snow's life and its influence upon the University—thus adding measurably to the lore of our alma mater, for which all of us loyal alumni will forever be grateful.

In the second place, I am a sentimentalist. Universities are the creations of human beings, and it is worth while to know what manner of men spread the American educational ideals from the older states into the newer, and what discouragements and what triumphs lay along their pathways.

And then, besides, in my administrative years at the University of Kansas, I came to have an intimate affection for Chancellor Snow—a man whom, of course, I never personally knew—because in so many ways he set the course and charted the way, leaving

for me established practices instead of perplexing problems, firm traditions instead of debatable policies.

For all of this I shall ever hold high the memory of Francis Huntington Snow, as a great and abiding builder of our University.

DEANE W. MALOTT

Cornell University
October 28, 1952

Preface

In its attention to the subject's environment this book may seem to bear more resemblance to the old-fashioned "life and times" than to many recent biographies. It began as a project to edit selections from Francis Huntington Snow's early journals. In addition to having some historic and much purely human interest, Snow's own words furnish a lively and faithful self-portrait. A man's conversation will give a more vivid impression of his personality than somebody else's words about him. Lacking records of his subject's conversation, an honest biographer will welcome journals and letters as the best substitute.

But a biography is more than a portrait; it is the history of a career, if not, as once thought, of a soul's earthly pilgrimage. Snow's career as educator and pioneer scientist, in itself of great interest, was intimately connected with the University of Kansas. His contribution to the University cannot, of course, be seen in its true light if one ignores his associates. One man may do much to shape an institution; only many men can build an institution. To overlook the role of the many is to distort the role of the one. If some parts of the story seem at first sight digressive, they will finally be found to lend perspective to the view of Snow himself. Naturally, Chancellor Snow's administration will deserve more space in this book than in one devoted to the entire history of the University, such as Professor Robert Taft's spirited and comprehensive *Across the Years on Mount Oread*.

Snow of Kansas is the record of an education and of a man's contribution to the cause of education. As a scientist, no less than as an educator, Snow must be judged in relationship to his contemporaries. In some careers ideas play as important a part as men or women. What educational ideas did Snow acquire at Williams, and how did he modify them? How did his outlook at Andover differ from that of his later years? What intellectual currents influenced his thinking? Readers already profoundly informed on

the history of thought during Snow's time, or profoundly indifferent to it, may exercise the usual privilege of judicious skipping.

The chief materials for this book are, first of all, the journals, letters, and other writings of Snow, listed in Appendix B. Most of these are now in the Watson Library at the University of Kansas; others are in the possession of relatives. With the exceptions specified in a brief statement at the beginning of the Notes, quotations of letters and journals come from the original manuscripts. Records and clippings in the Fitchburg Library, the library of the Fitchburg Historical Society, and the library at Williams College, as well as the records of the University of Kansas—for example, faculty and Regents' minutes, Regents' Reports, catalogues, student newspapers, and other publications—have been helpful. The Notes mention other sources of information, oral and written, when it seems pertinent to do so, and acknowledge indebtedness. To repeat items cited in the Notes in a separate list of works consulted would serve no purpose useful enough to justify the repetition.

By placing at my disposal the relevant documents, members of the Snow family have made an indispensable contribution. Both in interviews and in letters, Mrs. Martha Snow Brown and Miss Edith Huntington Snow patiently answered my inquiries. Francis L. Snow, their brother, also co-operated fully; his reminiscences of his father supplemented his sisters'. Francis Huntington Snow's nephew, Robert Wallace of Murray, Utah, sent me letters written by his grandparents and his uncle, photostats of the Bou-telle family Bible, and other records. Both he and the Snows helped me to find suitable illustrations.

From the beginning of my project former Chancellor Deane W. Malott and Dean John H. Nelson gave me active support and encouragement. Dean Nelson's painstaking and discerning criticism of the manuscript is part of my indebtedness to him. Among other early readers of all or some of this work who have made helpful suggestions are, in addition to members of the Snow fam-

ily, Dean Paul B. Lawson, Professor (formerly Dean) E. B. Stouffer, Professors John E. Hankins, H. H. Lane, Robert Taft, and W. C. Stevens, and Miss Maud Smelser. Professor Taft has kindly permitted the use of certain illustrations originally published in his *Across the Years on Mount Oread*. Professor Stevens and Miss Smelser also furnished personal information.

Anyone who has pored over the Kansas materials in the Watson Library will understand my special gratitude to Miss Smelser, whose expert knowledge of such materials and whose unwearied zeal and patience saved me time and labor and made my researches more pleasant. Other librarians who offered special privileges are Miss Ethel Richmond, reference librarian of the Williams College Library, and Miss Theresa Garfield, librarian of the Fitchburg Historical Society. I am also grateful for courtesies extended by the Fitchburg Public Library, by Wyllis E. Wright, the librarian at Williams College, by Richard G. Hensley and his assistant, William R. Lewis, of the Boston Public Library, by the Rev. John H. Scammon of the Andover Newton Theological Library, and by the librarians of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka. Miss C. M. Underhill, director of the Andover Historical Society, and Miss Jane B. Carpenter of Andover, formerly keeper of the records of Abbot Academy alumnae, added to my knowledge of Jeanie Aiken, later Mrs. Snow, and her family history. Dr. Charles A. Siler of Oak Park, Illinois, Dr. Robert M. Schauffler of Kansas City, Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, and numerous others have courteously answered questions.

It may be needless to say that none of the persons mentioned are responsible for any opinions or possible oversights in this book. Moreover, the author is solely responsible for the Index.

University of Kansas

C. K. H.

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Part One
The Early Years

I

Seedtime

Fair seedtime had my soul. . . .

—William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*.

§1

FITCHBURG, Massachusetts, is notable for running water and enduring rock. There are also woods and hills for a boy to explore. The northern branch of the Nashua River winds around Rollstone Hill, a mass of granite; the Rollstone Boulder, now proudly set in one of the city's principal streets, once stood on this hill—an ancient landmark brought by a glacier. The Nashua is fed by many brooks, one of which ran through the land of Benjamin Snow, Jr.; and the river itself, once unruly, now has so many dams that even a citizen of Fitchburg can hardly be sure of the exact number.

The general impression is one of ruggedness, and we may boldly fancy that their terrain and the staunch individualists of Fitchburg have shared some angularities of character. In the early days citizens had a difference of opinion about where the center of town was; ninety-nine town meetings in nine years were necessary in order to decide on the location of a new meeting-house. The first town meeting, the first religious service, and the first school were held in 1764 in the old Hunt tavern, renamed the Cowdin tavern from a later owner—a comfortable place to visit between Sunday services. Since the early meeting-houses contained no stoves, pious ladies who carried “foot-stoves” (metal boxes filled with hot coals) to church could here replenish their supply of heat with fresh coals, while their husbands warmed themselves with flip. As time passed, of course, tavern and temple renewed their age-old enmity. An early minister, perhaps representing a transitional stage, is reported to have admonished his

congregation thus: "I say nothing, my beloved brethren, against taking a little bitters before breakfast, or after breakfast, especially if you are used to it; what I contend against is this dramming, dramming, dramming, at all hours of the day. There are some men who take a glass at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and at four in the afternoon. I do not propose to contend against old-fashioned customs. . .; but this dramming, dramming, dramming is a crying sin of the land."¹

The Cowdin tavern stood where the American House still stands—an imposing structure built in 1847 by Frank Snow's maternal grandfather, Deacon David Boutelle (1791-1883), a veteran of the War of 1812, whose father, a veteran of the Revolution, had bought the Cowdin property. Deacon Boutelle's farm once embraced more than a ward of the present city; according to old newspaper reports, it extended from Mt. Vernon on the west to East Street and Boutelle Street (the latter bearing the family name) on the east, and from Pearl Street on the north to Winter and Main on the south. The land now covered by the railway station was once part of the Boutelle garden. Standing near that station and looking north, one can see the top of the Deacon's old house projecting above the fronts of business establishments; by walking through an alley one can find the side of the house. Boutelle served as town treasurer and representative of the general court. Few people in Fitchburg can now identify his house, though some may remember that the chapel of Rollstone Church is named after him and that he gave a considerable sum (\$28,000) to help build the church. Only a few years ago a writer for a Fitchburg paper recalled the striking appearance of the venerable man, with his picturesque white hair, as he walked with his sister through the snow to church, his lantern held high to light the way. When the Deacon's ninetieth birthday was celebrated on July 26, 1881, his grandson Frank was present at the reception. The inscription on his tomb (from Prov. 16:31) associates the Deacon's hair with his piety: "The hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness."

Certain citizens of Fitchburg were annoyed when the Boutelle house was built in 1830; grog was, for the first time in their memory, not served at the "raising." Boutelle's convictions on temperance came to be shared by his neighbor and friend, Frank's paternal grandfather, Benjamin Snow (1782-1869), who as a merchant renounced the sale of rum and became the first president of a local temperance society. According to him, this was his greatest honor; he had enjoyed other honors: for example, the presidency of the Fitchburg Philosophical Society, a directorship of the High School Association, and, along with David Boutelle, a directorship of the Fitchburg Bank. A pleasant bit of self-revelation by Benjamin Snow, a few pages of autobiography, is owned by the Fitchburg Historical Society. He was the son of Silas and Mary Snow, and his mother's eleventh child. As a small boy he rode behind his mother on a pillion. There were few chaises in town; the horse-and-buggy days had not arrived. At five he rode a high-blooded colt and milked a young cow, and at eight milked "the kicking cow." At ten he yoked the steers, drove to the woods, and cut a half-cord of wood. For such feats the patriarch of 84 thought himself better off than the "pale, puffing boys," "fed in the lap of luxury," of the 1860's. Even more obviously than Boutelle, Benjamin Snow illustrates the combination of enterprise and thrift with piety often thought to be characteristic of a type of Yankee character. A jack-of-all-trades, known as a successful merchant, he had been a farmer, a tailor, a speculator in real estate; as a peddler he had bought a horse and saddle-bags and "*trampoosed* Chelsea, Randolph, and other towns in Vermont." In all his activities he had, to his own surprise, made money; he cheerfully admitted a fondness for "*accumulation*." He had found life good, had married three women whose "price" was "above rubies," and at 84, living at the corner of Main and Snow Street, named for him, was still gardening, currying his horse, and exchanging pleasantries with his friends and relatives. (As for the latter, Frank mentions a family picture in which twenty-one living descendants appeared.)

Snow had come to Fitchburg when Frank's father was about ten. Benjamin Snow, Jr. (1813-1892) was the son of his father's first wife, Alfreda Hall. After a period of merchandising, he became a manufacturer of paper in West Fitchburg. Already the dams of the Nashua were changing Fitchburg from a farming to an industrial community. In 1839 Benjamin, Jr., bought the paper mill which he owned, entirely or in partnership, till 1862. The motorist entering Fitchburg on Highway 2 may still see a large sign, "Snow Mill Pond." Some minutes later he may drive past the properties of the present Fitchburg Paper Company. Snow was one of the partners who in 1864 bought the nucleus of its holdings, five years later selling his interest to Rodney Wallace. At various times Snow owned other paper mills, as well as a share in a machine-making industry. His business judgment was not as shrewd as his father's. Handsome and gifted, he was, above all, a radical and stubborn idealist; he was fond of reading, not at all talkative, and at times moody and headstrong; even so, he was sufficiently popular among his neighbors to be elected alderman, in 1873 and 1874, by a unanimous vote.

On October 27, 1838, the town clerk recorded that "Mr. Benjamin Snow Jr. made application to me to be published to Miss Mary B. Boutelle both of Fitchburg," and the marriage is certified under date of November 13. On June 29, 1840, Francis Huntington Snow was born. Benjamin Snow, Jr., and Mary Boutelle had four other children: Martha ("Mattie"), Frank's junior by two years; two other sisters who died in early childhood; and a brother, Benjamin the third, who lived to be twenty-five. Frank's mother, who was the daughter of David Boutelle and his first wife, Ruth Baldwin Huntington,* died of tuberculosis when Frank was eleven. Some of her surviving letters, mostly to her aunt, Mrs. Lucy B. Spooner, whom she thought of as "bosom friend" and "elder sister," reflect her devotion to her family, the

* Ruth Baldwin was the daughter of Christopher Huntington of Bozrah, Connecticut. Frank's middle name came therefore from that of his mother's maternal grandfather. Mary Baldwin Boutelle, Frank's mother, was born in Cambridge in 1819.

strength of her religious sentiments, and her grief for Mary Caroline, the little girl for whose "sweet, musical voice" she listened in vain. To one letter we owe a first glimpse of Frank, aged six, who was overjoyed when after a brief separation his parents joined him in Troy, New York: ". . . he was too much delighted to say much for a few moments,—but his eyes were full of laugh— & his mouth stretched from ear to ear." Another letter answers a letter from Martha, then nine years old, who had mentioned washing the oleander, whereat "the guinea hen gave three cheers." The mother's reply is sympathetic, though noting that Martha's spelling was not faultless and advising her to "Be good, be good; if you wish to be happy, be good." In 1851, when this letter was written, Mary Snow did not expect to survive the coming winter. She died on October 21, 1851. Her letters show that she was more adaptable than her husband; to her Frank apparently owed a greater share of sweet reasonableness than his father possessed.

In 1852 Benjamin Snow, Jr., married Margaret Pollock, daughter of William Pollock, who during Frank's boyhood was living in Pittsfield. Frank's second mother had been born in Scotland in 1830 and had come to America when she was about fifteen. This sensible and devout woman, for whom Frank always had warm affection and respect, though deeply attached to his own mother, shared most of her husband's convictions and was never in doubt about her own; one of Frank's children remembers meekly eating porridge without sugar, during a visit to her father's old home, because Mrs. Margaret Snow thought porridge should be thus eaten. Concerned that Frank should not, like his mother, develop tuberculosis, she encouraged him to take healthful outdoor exercise. She seems to have made little distinction between her stepchildren and her own children—Margaret, who died at the age of five, and William Pollock, who died on the Red Sea at twenty-nine.²

Frank Snow, particularly in his later years, had great interest in his family history. He devoted part of one summer to its investigation. He was not displeased to discover that his ancestors

had included a considerable number of English kings and Magna Carta barons and that he was entitled to membership in the Order of Runnymede, as well as the Society of American Wars and similar organizations. Richard Snow, who settled in Woburn, Massachusetts, in the 1640's, was the earliest American ancestor to bear the name, but through his ancestors' marriages Frank Snow could trace his descent from two people who came over on the *Mayflower*.³

§2

Using Frank Snow's journals as a barometer, one may infer that the pressure of the Fitchburg moral atmosphere was rather high. It is said that such was the intellectual curiosity of a character of the Renaissance that he chose to renounce his soul's salvation because of his desire to know how the damned are treated. In the nineteenth century, fear, in this connection, was usually stronger than curiosity, as may be illustrated by Frank's entry: "Deacon Everett with us at dinner. He's getting a little crazy about future punishment. Very gloomy" [March 14, 1866]. But Frank's own circle was concerned much less with theological niceties than with practical reforms. Benjamin Snow, Jr., had refused to sell tobacco at his store even before George Trask, the local Anti-tobacco Apostle, began his agitation. Like his more famous friends among the Abolitionists, Snow was also a zealous advocate of temperance and women's rights. No mere pacifist, he believed in the principle of nonresistance.

During the period of Frank's youth, the reform dearest to his father's heart was the abolition of slavery. The Snow house stood near the intersection of Day and Green Streets. Snow Street, near at hand, contained at one time some houses built by Snow; each of four had an initial letter on the front, so that the four together spelled out the name S-N-O-W.⁴ The Snow house was a station on the Underground Railroad. Frank's sister, Mrs. Martha Snow Wallace, remarks in her valuable little sketch *My Father's House* that when the building was torn down in order to extend

Day Street, some children came to look for a physical railroad in the basement. When a Southerner observed to Mrs. Benjamin Snow, Jr., "I hear, Mrs. Snow, that you keep a corner of your house for niggers," the spirited reply was, "Not a corner, but every spare room in the house has been occupied by colored people." After the outbreak of war, the slaves came in such numbers that a special room was furnished for them; one Christmas Snow gave a dinner for all those in Fitchburg.

A *cause célèbre*, attracting much attention in the North, involved three men—Shadrach, Sims, and Burns—ex-slaves who were arrested in Boston and brought to trial. Shadrach's friends rescued him in the courtroom and took him to Concord, thence to Leominster, and finally to the house of Benjamin Snow, Jr., in Fitchburg. Snow raised a sum of money which enabled Shadrach to go on to Canada. A free Negro named Williams, who until the arrest of Shadrach, Sims, and Burns had lived peacefully in Boston, now became worried about losing his freedom; he came with his family to Fitchburg, where Snow for a time furnished him a secluded house and employment in the paper mill.

The most famous of the colored visitors to the Snow house was Frederick Douglass, well known for his public lectures and still remembered for his autobiography. Another visitor was Josiah Henson ("Father Henson"), supposed to be Mrs. Stowe's model for some traits of her Uncle Tom. Henson came to Fitchburg to collect money to obtain his freedom. Mrs. Wallace recalls some of his stories of slave life—for instance, his laughing heartily while explaining that, having been allowed to keep the heads for themselves, the slaves had cut deep into the shoulders of the pigs they butchered.

Frank Snow's journals contain several references to William Lloyd Garrison. His sister remembered Garrison's benevolent smile and the remark, "They call me a hair-brained [hare-brained] fanatic. I haven't a hair on my head." The fire-eating Wendell Phillips did not strike Martha as a fanatic either. She noticed that when he came down to an antislavery fair or bazaar,

he counted the receipts and substituted his own money for any new ten-cent pieces, which he kept for his invalid wife, to whom he was devoted. Another abolitionist visitor was Theodore Weld. Frank Snow noted in his journals (November 28, 1862) that Weld had to use a manuscript in speaking, so as to avoid "tearing his throat to pieces"; this was likely to happen if he poured out his feelings extemporaneously.

George Thompson, an English antislavery agitator and temperance lecturer, was also among the visitors. An extant letter by Benjamin Snow, Jr., shows that Snow had traveled to Europe, on the way to the Paris Exposition of 1867, in the company of Garrison and Thompson. His son Frank once wrote in a letter that he could remember an occasion when Garrison, Phillips, Thompson, and Douglass were all at his father's house. Surrounded by such influences, he suggested to his correspondent, "You would be as ardent a radical as am I."⁵ The first antislavery lecturer Frank's sister had heard was Lucy Stone, the advocate of women's rights.

The best-known reformer in Fitchburg was "the Anti-tobacco Apostle," the Rev. George Trask, a sturdy eccentric who wrote some three hundred tracts on tobacco and strong drink, as well as *Journal and Memoranda of My War on Tobacco*. This Poo-Bah among reformers was president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and auditor, as well as "the honorary body, corporate and incorporate" of the Anti-tobacco Society, according to its 1860 report. Frank thought him somewhat pompous but "a true man."

Trask was an early pastor of the Trinitarian Congregational Society, a group which in the early 1840's had seceded from the Fitchburg Congregational Church because of the seceders' Abolitionist convictions. Benjamin Snow, Jr., and his wife, having requested letters of dismissal from their church to a church in Troy, New York, were the only members of the group, sometimes called "the black Orthodox Society," who were not excommunicated. (Characteristically, in taking the oath of office as treasurer of the new group, Snow insisted on affirming rather than swearing.)

During the period of Frank Snow's journals, the Rev. Elnathan Davis was pastor. Frank had a high regard for this forthright friend, wont to preach sermons on such texts as "Quit ye like men." Frank never cared for a "milk and water, hurt-nobody sermon," as he expressed it, and apparently the Rev. Mr. Davis did not disappoint him. Davis was a well-educated man, a graduate of Williams, and in addition to being personally amicable, was known as "the Apostle of Peace."

§3

Frank's early journals show him engaged in an amazing variety of useful chores. His father's few acres of land included a large orchard and garden. Though the tract was known locally as "the Garden of Eden," rocks and weeds abounded. If Frank was not paring apples or squashes, sorting apples in barrels, killing and picking chickens, oiling the harness, or performing some other task connected with household, yard, garden,* or field—on one or two occasions we find him sewing patchwork for a quilt!—he was likely to be sawing wood. Sawing wood is in fact nearly as recurrent in Frank's journals as "And so to bed" in the diary of Pepys or "I danced my dance" in the diary of Richard Byrd of Westover. Frank seems to have enjoyed sawing wood, even as a grown man. For a short time he practiced music. He stopped "for several reasons, which I will not write here"; his appreciation of music was always genuine but his knowledge of it rather slight.

Frank's diligence in applying himself to all sorts of tasks bore fruit in accomplishments of later years. Habits of initiative and thrift, too, were fostered by his private business activities. Account books of his early teens record the transactions of "F. H. Snow & Co." There is a poultry account (he liked chickens and doves; many entries in his journals are devoted to them), a garden account, and, since Frank's father gave him the income derived

* One garden entry may seem significant in the light of later developments: "Squash bugs have come! Over two thousand of them slain to-day at three onsets! More coming! . . ." (June 11, 1856).

from windfalls, an apple account. For a time he took care of certain rooms in the old city brick school. At sixteen he had saved \$60—then a much larger sum than now. His personal cash account reveals occasional expenditures for maple sugar, molasses candy, or presents for the younger children. The habit of keeping careful records of his smallest expenditures remained throughout his life.

Though he was always busy, enjoyed being busy, and felt constrained to be busy, Frank's early years were full of such wholesome diversions as skating, coasting, playing backgammon or chess, blueberrying or going for walks, or visiting with some of his numerous relatives and friends. He had one handicap: at an early age, after an attack of scarlet fever, he had become slightly deaf. (In later life he was sometimes startled at being shouted at; sometimes he heard things not intended for him to hear, and not to seem to hear was sometimes convenient.) Because of the circumstances of his mother's death, for a time it was feared he had tubercular tendencies. His outdoor activities, to some extent prompted by his quest for health, may have had some part in shaping his career. All things considered, however, he seems to have been a normal and fairly healthy boy, with little need for the austerities recorded in an entry for March 13, 1856: "This morning I got up and bathed myself in cold water, as I have done almost every morning for the last two months."* Frank's slightly older contemporary and later acquaintance, the future President Charles W. Eliot, used to cope successfully with those who imposed a Spartan practice; for proper sound effects he splashed the cold water which had been placed in his room the night before, dampened his towel, and proceeded to breakfast—an evasion which he later enjoyed describing to his children and grandchildren.⁶

Sundays had a special flavor for Frank. Since church services were held in mornings, afternoons, and evenings, he usually felt

* Frank did not complain lightly: [May 2, 1856] "8 teeth, or rather cavities, filled by Dr. Palmer, which finishes the job, as I think it might."

that he had been attending church all day ("Mr. Davis preached all day"). Some families, like the Snows, took their lunch to church. Frank frequently noted the texts of the sermons and often had an opinion of the sermons themselves.

The two most important holidays, Thanksgiving and Christmas, the Snow clan celebrated with enthusiasm. The following extracts relate to the former:

[November 30, 1854] Thanksgiving day. This forenoon I went to hear Mr. Davis. . . . After church we went down to Grandpa's, where we had a nice dinner of turkey, chicken, and all the good things. There were sixteen of us including Willie. After dinner we children went up into the back chamber and had a fine swing. Then Katy, Anna, Martha, and myself had to play upon the piano. About four o'clock we went over to Grandpa Boutelle's to be measured. Martha and I each have grown one inch and a quarter since last Thanksgiving. Grandpa gave us all a quarter of a dollar. Then we went back to Grandpa Snow's, and from there home. Willie was very good all the afternoon.

[November 27, 1856] Thanksgiving day. There was a union meeting of the Unitarians and our churches in our church. Mr. Davis preached. We all went but Baby. We had Mr. & Mrs. Davis, Thomas & Franky, to dine with us. We had a nice dinner; all the good fixings. We boys settled our dinner by romping on the hay. This evening the Haskell family, all hands, with Aunt Martha & Franky, still staying there, spent the evening with us. We had a first rate time played all sorts of games; Blind mans Buff, Fox & Geese, &c, &c, in which all engaged both old and young.

Another important occasion in New England towns was Cattle Show Day, a harvest festival usually accompanied by a fair. Frank's father often won prizes for the excellence of his fruit. Almost at the time of the following entry Emerson was winning third prize for his grapes at Concord, the first prize usually going to Ephraim W. Bull, who had achieved the Concord grape after growing some 20,000 seedlings:⁷

[September 19, 1856] Cattle show day. This morning I dug some potatoes for Mr. Tolman, then went up town to see the ele-

phant. There was a great crowd as usual, and auction peddlers in abundance. One man had a fit, another got "took up", &c, &c. Towards night I sold out our peaches and some of the pears, and got over four dollars for them; then brought home the pears and plates with Grandpa B's horse and chaise; on the whole I had a nice time; this forenoon I went in to see the "Wild Men of Borneo," an exhibition in a tent; they were well worth seeing, and are very strange, being able to lift two men at the same time, though they are not so large as I am, weighing forty or fifty pounds. Mrs. Gov. Robinson of Kansas is in Fitchburg to-day, and leaves tomorrow; she is about to prepare a book* setting forth the truths & facts in regard to the troubles in Kansas.

Antislavery fairs (bills for which Frank sometimes posted), public concerts, infrequently a circus, and tableaux were among the forms of entertainment: [May 1, 1856] "This evening Martha and I went to see the tableaux, in the town hall, by the ladies of the first parish. They were very fine; among them were 'The May Queen', 'Squeers Family', 'Consequences of being too late', 'Night and Morning', 'Dress Scene'. . . . The band were in the gallery & played between the pieces."

Fitchburg, today a city of some 40,000, had in 1850 not more than 5,000 inhabitants—probably fewer. Nevertheless it supplied serious intellectual stimulus. The Fitchburg Athenaeum, of which Benjamin Snow, Jr., was a director, brought lecturers to the city. Besides lesser-known speakers, Frank's journals between 1854 and 1857 record talks by such celebrities as Cassius Clay (subject, "Slavery"; "an excellent lecture. The town hall was filled," Frank notes); Bayard Taylor ("The Arab"; "very interesting"); Henry David Thoreau ("The Wild"; "a very odd but good one") E. E. Hale ("The Future Civilization of the Pacific"). Frank missed Ralph Waldo Emerson's first lecture but attended another, on "Life," which he understandably pronounces "interesting but rather disconnected, and difficult to remember." Frank liked a lecture on "Work" and one on "The Practical Man" by less fa-

* Sara T. D. Robinson, *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life*, Boston, 1856.

mous speakers. Among the other lecturers were Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, and President Mark Hopkins of Williams College. Speakers like Wendell Phillips and Edward Everett, whom he was to hear several times, made a lasting impression on Frank, as his own references in speeches of his later years indicate.

Frank's journals also record a steady and varied diet of reading, mostly of biographies and novels. He consumed the works of Jacob Abbott, in his day an excellent popularizer of history, and a series of biographies edited by Jared Sparks. A book which particularly interested Frank was the life of the elder Amos Lawrence, borrowed from Grandfather Snow. He copied from it some "sentiments" by the well-known merchant and philanthropist. Significantly, too, the boy was impressed by the books of Hugh Miller, the Scottish popularizer of science; at Williams College he was to read more of them. (When a visiting lecturer spoke of Miller as a farmer's son, Frank noted the oversight in his diary.) He could draw upon the resources of the Athenaeum Library in Fitchburg, which in 1857 contained more than 1,400 volumes. In its early days the Sunday School movement had as one of its purposes the spread of literacy; Sunday Schools often had libraries. Those at Fitchburg contained a few hundred volumes. Such books were often obtrusively moralistic, and one may doubt whether Frank enjoyed them as much as the works of Captain Mayne Reid. Still, by no means all of them were as terrifying as the writings of Mrs. Sherwood, one of whose characters was told, after thinking she had been good for a day, "On many days when you may appear to be good, you are in reality, in the sight of God, very wicked." Frank was an avid and rapid reader, and, having finished his own books, often read books drawn from the Sunday School library by Martha and Bennie. When, at the age of sixteen, Frank was chosen both treasurer and librarian of his Sunday School, he decided to decline the former office and accept the latter, thus beginning the first of several experiences as a librarian.

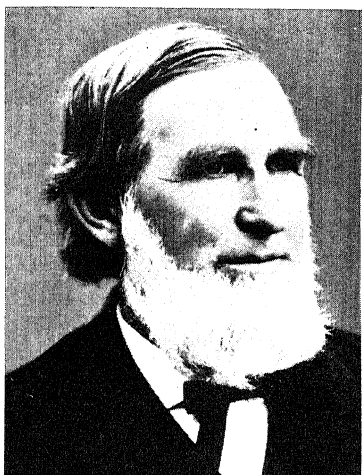
Frank's formal schooling began in Troy, New York, where for business reasons the Snow family was spending a few months. A letter written by his mother shows that his anticipations of school life had been pleasant, and his own comments indicate that he enjoyed the high-school studies in which he excelled, leading his class. But his early experiences at school were decidedly unpleasant. One cannot be sure whether the passage quoted below concerns a school in Troy or in Fitchburg:

My own earliest remembrances of school life carry me back to a little prison room some fifteen feet square, with ceiling low and windows small, into which were crowded thirty pupils,—most of us upon seats so high that our feet were several inches above the floor. To govern that little mob the ferule was brought into daily requisition; and if the bad blood engendered by inhaling carbonic acid [gas]* manifested itself by the utterance of bad words, the unclean tongue was cleaned by our time-honored teacher by the immediate application of a wet cloth dipped in the ashes of the fireplace. Breathing the poisoned air of that little den the writer was perhaps partially excusable for "hating to go to school."⁸

In Frank's day there was considerable respect for the point of view illustrated by Mrs. Malaprop's remark that "nothing is so conciliating to young people as severity." Dr. Keate, the renowned headmaster of Eton, is reported to have ended a sermon on the Sixth Beatitude with the warning: "Now, boys, be pure in heart! For if not, I'll flog you until you are!" Another pedagogue confused his list of boys to be flogged with that of those to be confirmed. Upon learning of his error in flogging all the good little boys, he decided that the floggings would be beneficial anyhow.

Reports of the school committee of Fitchburg show their awareness of the unhygienic conditions in some of the district schools. They were obviously working for improvement by educating the patrons. At intervals they examined the pupils themselves and made candid statements about individual teachers.

* Carbon dioxide.



Benjamin Snow, Jr.
(a late photograph)

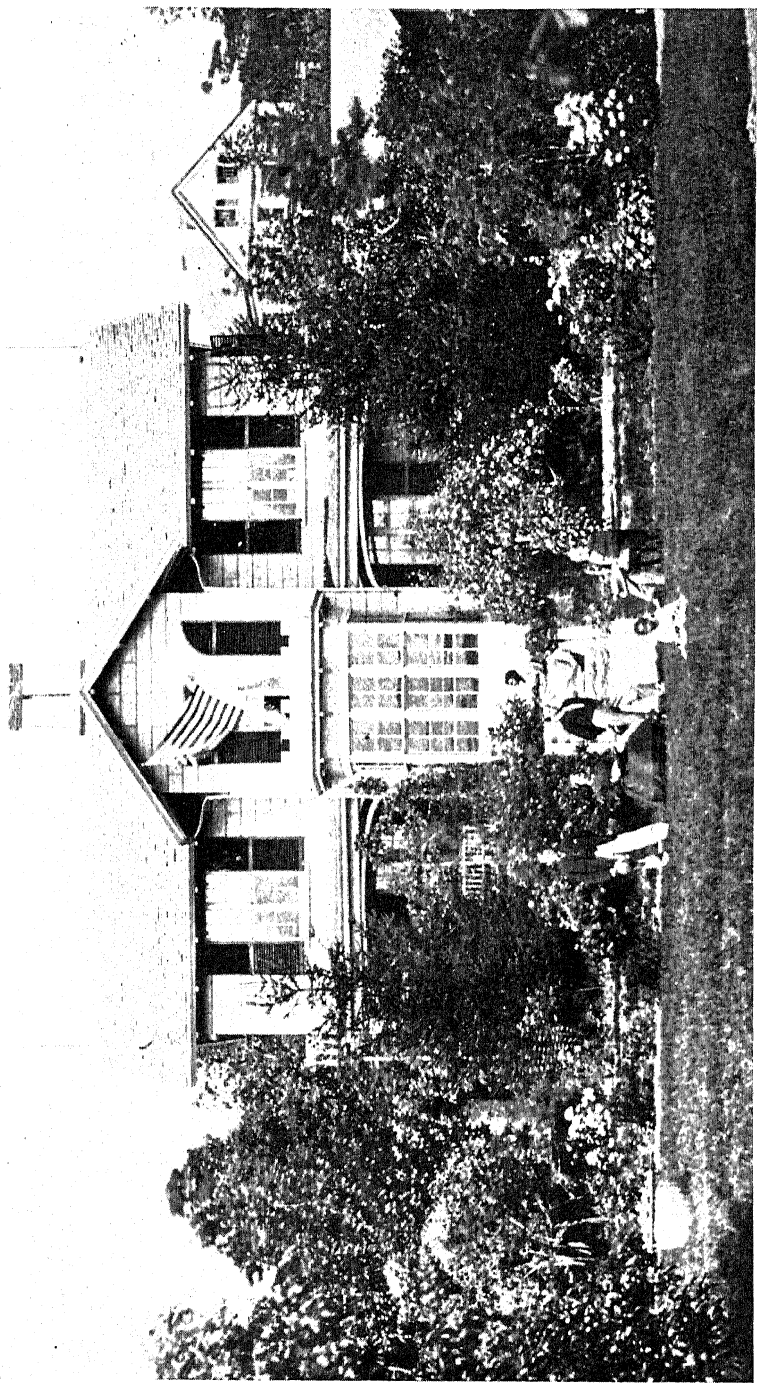


Mary (Boutelle) Snow



Frank Snow and his sister Martha

(pictures on this page by courtesy of Mr. Robert Wallace, who believes that his future uncle was seven and his future mother five when the two children were photographed)



The house of Benjamin Snow, Jr., in Fitchburg, Massachusetts; photographed, according to available evidence, in the early 1870's. Left to right: Frank, his stepmother, his brother, and his father. (The identity of the other two persons, the woman seated on the steps and the child, is unknown.) By courtesy of Mr. Robert Wallace.

Since he taught both in district school and in the second department of the high school for a time, a teacher described as a model pedagogue in spite of his singularly unpedagogical name, Charles Lamb, must have been one of Frank's teachers. Miss Lucy Ann Rice was an assistant in Fitchburg High School in the early fifties, before marrying Milan H. Hitchcock, principal for a short time while Frank was a student; she was succeeded in 1855 by Miss Olive Amelia Richardson. Both women were considered competent teachers. Hitchcock's successor, principal of the high school during 1854-57, was Eli A. Hubbard, a graduate of Williams College, whose work was highly praised by the school committee. He was a president of the Athenaeum and the local temperance society, a moral and intellectual leader in the community. An exacting scholar and disciplinarian, he won the lasting affection of his star pupil.

The first free high school in Fitchburg had been opened in 1849, in an old building known as the Academy, described as "a modest two-story building painted white, with cupola and belfry." This was the building in which Frank studied. What he studied is fairly clear from his journals. "I think Mr. Hubbard is to be more strict this term; for he has laid down several new rules," he writes on December 4, 1854. "I am going to study Greek, Latin, and Arithmetic. The first class in Virgil is coming down into our class, and we are to begin Cicero together. . . . This term is to be but eleven weeks long; and thereafter there are to be only two terms in a year, and only one or two weeks vacation between September and July, and six weeks in the summer." Before being formally admitted to the high-school department, students were examined in geography, arithmetic, and grammar. Frank had been studying the classical tongues as well as more elementary subjects when he faced this ordeal in August of 1856. The school committee were invariably satisfied with his performances, though he notes, regarding mental arithmetic, "I was so *young* that *they thought I should be likely to forget it.*" Obviously the

boy's italics are meant to convey irony. (When he wrote the sentence, he was not quite fifteen.)

§4

Frank's high-school days were stirring times. After the passage of the disastrous Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the eyes of Americans were focused on Kansas. In Fitchburg interest in the territory was particularly strong. A number of settlers had gone from Fitchburg to Lawrence; the Rev. Elnathan Davis, Frank's pastor, had written some lines to be sung when the Kansas-bound group left the city to join the westward-bound party of emigrants in Boston. Among the Kansas leaders well known in Fitchburg was Dr. Charles Robinson, leader of the Free-state forces and agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.* After Robinson's death, Frank Snow wrote in a magazine article: "He occupied as his office a room in my father's house, and made his home there for several years."⁹ Robinson's biographer states that it was Benjamin Snow, Jr., who persuaded Robinson to edit a local paper.¹⁰ The two men were agreed on the questions of slavery and abstinence from intoxicating liquors. Robinson was destined for a leading role in the early history of Kansas, as its first governor. His influence on the life of Frank Snow was also important, since he was later to be responsible for Frank's joining the faculty at the University of Kansas. These facts help to set in perspective certain entries in Frank's journals:

[March 5, 1856] This evening I went to prayer meeting with father. Kansas was the special object of prayer.

[March 27] This evening I finished reading "Foster's Essays", and began "What's to be done", a book which Martha borrowed at Aunt Haskell's. It was reported to-day that a hundred Sharp's rifles,† sent out from this vicinity to the Free State men in Kansas, had been captured by the Missouriians: very unfortunate for

* For further details see page 99.

† Since the inventor's name was Christian Sharps, the preferable name for this breech-loading, single-shot gun would be Sharps's or Sharps rifle, but "Sharp's" and even "Sharpe's" were in common use.

the former, I think; but, as it is, the Missourians can not use them, on account of their not being put together; some of the parts of each being sent in another box by a different route.

[April 5] To-night about six o'clock, Gov. Robinson of Kansas unexpectedly made his appearance in Fitchburg. . . . Father met him coming up the street; and got his consent to have a meeting in the Town Hall at eight o'clock. Then Father got some bills printed, and sent some boys round town to cry the meeting. I went to the meeting. The town hall was crowded to the utmost capacity. Just as the Doctor had begun to speak, a sound of music was heard and presently the band entered the hall, followed by the F. Fusileers in citizen's dress. After he had been speaking a few minutes, we were startled by the loud report of a cannon, which continued firing some time. It was a first rate meeting. The Doctor did exceedingly well; he gave the history of the troubles of Kansas, past and present, which was very interesting to me. After the meeting was through, the Fusileers arranged themselves in a line and Captain Kimball gave a toast to the Doctor, which was followed by three hearty cheers from the company, for the Doctor.

On May 23, 1856, news reached Fitchburg of the brutal assault on Senator Charles Sumner by Preston Brooks of South Carolina, after Sumner, an able and conscientious but pedantic and humorless man, had made an incendiary speech on slavery. All through the North, not just at Fitchburg, indignation reached feverish heights.

[May 24, 1856] There was an indignation meeting held in the upper town hall by the citizens of Fitchburg this evening on acct. of the treatment of Chas. Sumner. Father Mother & I went to it. Speeches were given by several, among them were: J. Brown, Mr. Wilcox, Mr. Davis &c.

[June 9] This forenoon I wiped the dishes for mother, helped Father plant some pumpkins, sowed some lettuce, picked over all the apples, of which we have over a barrel of sound ones, & cleaned out the stove in the wash room. This afternoon I picked up weeds, on the west side of the house, & went to hear Lieut. Perry from Kansas direct, on the common, who has come east for aid of men & money for the protection of Free State men in

Kansas. The meeting to the town hall this evening, when Col. Harwood was chosen president &c. . . . They took up a collection in aid of Kansas, but only \$111.00 were taken; a small sum indeed to compare with the contribution of citizens at a similar meeting last week, when \$5000 were taken in the hall, and this sum doubled outside. Grandpa Snow, besides, pledged \$25 and 1 Sharps rifle and a Mr. Upton offered himself, to go to Kansas with Grandpa's rifle.

[July 4] There was a meeting to get aid for Kansas in the Town hall which Father, Mother & I attended. Mr. Whitman of Kansas & an eyewitness of the sacking of Lawrence,* spoke. . . . After his speech subscriptions were taken of material aid in shape of money, to be placed in the hands of a committee chosen for that purpose. Grandfather Snow subscribed \$200, Father, \$100.

[July 6] A beautiful day. Mr. Davis preached on the Kansas question, & urged his people strongly, to contribute freely of their substance for the aid of Kansas.

John C. Frémont, the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1856, who is mentioned in the entry below, would have been favored in the Snow circle because of his position on slavery. His friendship with Governor Robinson would not have lessened their esteem; the two men had collaborated in California, which, in Frémont's view at least, Robinson had done much to save from falling into the hands of the pro-slavery group.

[August 7] A Fremont and Dayton notification meeting was held here to-day under a large tent erected for that purpose. The number of persons present on the occasion is variously estimated, probably between eight and twelve thousand. Almost every delegation had a banner, & was accompanied by a band of music. . . . With the Boston excursion train came the Calliope, which does not play half as well as it did the first time. At one o'clock the multitudes assembled under the tent, & the meeting was organized, & the speakers commenced, among whom were Horace Greel[e]y, Henry B. Stanton, & Mr. Curtis, all of New York, &c &c. The speakers finished about six, and after speaking a short

* On May 21 pro-slavery forces led by Sheriff S. J. Jones had burned the hotel and Governor Robinson's house and committed other acts of destruction and plundering in Lawrence.

time in the evening in the Town Hall, the delegations were escorted to the depot by a torch light procession.

[November 4] I hope that John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate, has been elected. If Buchanan is elected there will be fighting between the North and South ere long.

In view of the expectations of many politicians and prophets as late as 1860, this last comment, by a sixteen-year-old boy, does not seem lacking in perspicacity.

During his boyhood in Fitchburg, the main lines of Frank's character emerged. His untiring industry, his intellectual interests and powers of application, his moral seriousness, his candor and courage are already salient. Kansas, too, was much in his thoughts. Did he already feel the stirrings of the pioneer impulse? After a reference to his father's recent journey, he observes: [October 12, 1856] "Though he likes the western country very well, he thinks this is the best place for him. . . . I think I should like to go out there myself."

II

Mark Hopkins and a Pine Bench

A pine bench, with Mark Hopkins at one end of it and me at the other, is a good enough college for me!

—Washington Gladden's report of what President Garfield said at an alumni dinner.¹

§1

WHEN HE went to Williams College in September of 1858, Frank was eighteen. Since it was not till three years later that "for the first time I performed a ton-sorial," he was still boyish-looking. During his last year at Williams another student was surprised to discover that Frank was a senior, for "*Barba seniore[m] probat*"; Frank could have solaced himself with old Fuller's reflection that the beard does not make the philosopher.

Williams College was a natural choice for Frank. Williams-town is approximately a hundred miles from Fitchburg. Though Mark Hopkins had not yet become a legendary figure, he enjoyed a wide reputation as educator and religious leader. He had spoken at Fitchburg. More important in determining Frank's choice was the fact that his teacher, E. A. Hubbard, and his pastor, Elnathan Davis, were Williams graduates. Three of Hubbard's teachers as well as two of his former pupils were on the Williams faculty. Hubbard gave Frank a letter which praised his scholarship and character; so did Davis. Kendall Brooks, the Baptist minister, described him as "unfailingly faithful, and loved by all who know him." Frank cherished these letters; he lived up to them, graduating with the highest marks in the class of '62. He won honors of another kind, too, becoming library inspector,

treasurer, and later president of the Philologian, one of the two debating societies; librarian, treasurer, and president of the Lyceum of Natural History; vice-president of the Anti-Secret Society. He was chosen to give the Greek oration at the Junior Exhibition on March 25, 1861—a recognition, of course, of his excellence in Greek. (His choice of subject seems characteristic—*Λεωνίδας καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι*—that is, “Leonidas and the Three Hundred.” Did he not admire the courage of minorities?)

When Frank took the coach from North Adams to Williamstown fellow passengers were his future roommate, Edgar Wells, and a future friend, George L. Raymond, whose statement illuminates the second part of Kendall Brooks’s comment. During Frank’s senior year, just before the Adelpic Union Exhibition, as the meeting of the two literary societies in a joint debate was called, a debater representing the Philologian became ill. The president of the Adelpic, Raymond, requested Frank, who had already been named as an alternate, to take his place. To do so meant spoiling an unblemished record for class attendance, a record Frank was eager to maintain; but he cheerfully made the sacrifice, to him important, and helped his side to win.

Wells and Raymond may not have impressed Frank much on that day, for the roads that lead to Williamstown delight the traveler’s eye with a panorama of mountains, valleys, running water, and trees, with a profusion of ferns and wild flowers. Were not these, as well as books and men, to be among his teachers? It has been said that Benjamin Franklin was born at Philadelphia at the age of seventeen. If Frank was not born at Williams College, much that was most characteristic of him developed there. On at least a superficial level, Frank’s account of his arrival at Williamstown recalls the famous scene of Franklin’s munching a puffy roll, after having first asked the baker for “bisket”:

[September 11, 1858] Having arrived here the first thing to be done was to get some dinner and finding that I must pay fifty cents for one at the Mansion House, and not being acquainted

with any body here I bought some crackers for three cents and retiring to the shade of a tree enjoyed my simple repast realizing to the fullest extent the truth of that saying of Solomon "Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, than an house full of sacrifices with strife".²

At two I presented myself for examination before Prof. Lincoln in Latin, who gave me about a dozen lines in both Cicero and Virgil, and Prof. Phillips in Greek, who gave me about six lines of the Anabasis to read, and on account of the absence of Prof. Tatlock, asked four or five questions in Algebra. Being fully approved as to scholarship I was admitted to the course after presenting my recommendations and pledging myself not to drink, sell, or in any way assist in imparting to others intoxicating liquor.

The rules at Williams seemed stringent to Frank, who rather objected to beginning the observance of the Sabbath, as was done elsewhere in New England, on Saturday evening, students being expected to remain in their rooms then. Frank did not consider one day holier than another; his Christianity was not of the ceremonial kind.

He soon found a private room "at New Street at Mr. Hoskins'."* Towards the end of May, 1859, he returned from a vacation to find that his landlord had rented quarters to an unauthorized roommate. Since the boy was conceited and talked much during study hours, Frank moved to 31 West College—"a room overlooking an extensive and beautiful country." During his sophomore year he stayed at 5 West College and during his junior year at 11 Kellogg Hall, his roommate during these two years being Edgar Wells of Manchester Centre, New York. Wells joined a fraternity during his junior year, so that Frank chose during his last year to live by himself, at 16 South College.³

Students at Williams lived simply. Frank estimated his total expenses for four years at \$1227, of which he made \$10 by sawing wood. In those days college students usually took care of their

*New Street and Spring Street being identical, the address given in the 1858-59 Williams College catalogue is 3 Spring Street.

own rooms. They supplied their own wood and water, and since the water had to be carried from outside the house, baths were not a daily habit, particularly in winter. In fact, Frank knew one student who, after his last swim in the fall, bought a suit of underwear which he kept on till the first swim of the following spring.⁴ Early morning hours of winter in bare and poorly heated classrooms sometimes made for discomfort, too.

Though their order was slightly altered later, the following passage describes Frank's college exercises in his first term:

[September 11] . . . Breakfast at 7, Prayers at a quarter to eight, immediately after which comes a recitation in Greek (*Memorabilia*) at classical hall in Kellog[g] Hall before Prof. Phillips who seems to be well posted in knowledge of the Greek and withal a pleasant instructor; Recitation in Latin (*Livy*) at eleven, before Prof. Lincoln, who is officer of our class, and a thorough instructor, whom I like much though he appears to be unpopular with some; Dinner at noon, recitation at $\frac{1}{2}$ past four in Mathematics (*Algebra*) before Prof. Tatlock, who is by far the most humorous and fond of joking of all the Faculty and does not object to being applauded by his classes; at half past five prayers again in the chapel, after which we take our third meal. At the college prayers the faculty take turns in preaching, each officiating for a day at a time. Thursday afternoon I wrote my first letter home and now eagerly await a reply. Friday afternoon after getting my *Algebra* lesson I began to hem a pair of sheets and finished one believing that constant occupation would tend to repel the advances of homesickness. . . .

Frank's homesickness lasted till he got a letter from Fitchburg. During one of his walks, seeing a farmer digging potatoes, he stopped and helped the man for half an hour: "It seemed much like home to be at work again." A week afterwards he engaged briefly in another familiar occupation: "It is not popular here to saw wood, especially among those who room in college, but I think I shall be able to become unpopular without shrinking in any good work."

Frank was, in fact soon too busy to be homesick. To avoid monotony, he arranged a place where he could study while standing. Like many good students, he made out a timetable; unlike many, he included time for reading: "I have left a portion of my leisure for reading which I think is very desirable, and ought to form a part of any regular course of study. I have got a lesson in advance of the class in my Latin, and intend to do the same in my other studies, as I shall then be sure to know if there are any breakers ahead and have time to master them." Frank carried out this plan of anticipating trouble. During one of his winter vacations, he "grubbed out twenty-five lines per day of Homer, wishing to become familiar with the style before next term." Nor did he ever neglect his reading. He tackled a volume of Gibbon or a treatise on the English language with zest, as if sawing wood. His enthusiasm for Hugh Miller continued. In later life he wrote a letter to a newspaper in which he said that Miller's books had awakened in him "a taste for natural science." The Bible and Shakespeare had contributed to his "love of pure English." In his reading he could draw upon the resources of the College Library in Lawrence Hall (named after the elder Amos Lawrence, who had provided funds for the building). The books were doled out once a week by a member of the faculty. The two literary societies had more attractive libraries; Frank's, the Philologist, contained more than 4,000 volumes, as he estimated.

In his semi-centennial address of 1843, Mark Hopkins had explained that the studies at Williams were organized into a system whose chief divisions were the languages, mathematics, physical science, and man "as he is in himself, and in his relations to his fellow-creatures, and to God." Like other colleges, Williams emphasized the classical languages and mathematics. The latter study began with algebra and geometry and went as far as calculus; mathematics was, moreover, a component of "navigation and surveying" and "mechanics." The classical authors most stressed in the curriculum included Homer, Thucydides, Plato,

Xenophon, and Demosthenes among the Greeks and Livy, Horace, Juvenal, and Tacitus among the Romans. Bliss Perry remembered that his own first lesson in Latin, from Livy, was identical with his father's before him and his son's after him. Undeniably such studies supplied valuable mental training; to glance at the Williams "biennials" in the sixties (the examinations given to test the student's progress at the end of the sophomore year) is to gain respect for the thoroughness of that training. Unfortunately, thoroughness in certain directions was usually achieved by some neglect of the classics as literature, as mirrors of civilization or of recurring human problems. The redoubtable Dr. Samuel Taylor of Phillips Academy used to ask his class some three hundred questions on the first seven lines of the Iliad.⁵ Though one of Dr. Taylor's students thought he had thus learned the most valuable lesson of his life, the lesson of thoroughness, one can learn to be thorough in other subjects, too. As a boy, the future President Lowell of Harvard noticed that one of his teachers never thought of the Odyssey as poetry or even as a storehouse of myth; Homer had apparently written it to illustrate the irregularities of Greek grammar. Not all teachers, to be sure, were of this kind, and even from the more unimaginative the student could acquire some skill in the use of language. By other means Williams gave its students training in English; translations were supplemented by original compositions. Regularly representatives of each class spoke or declaimed in chapel, usually in the presence of President Mark Hopkins and the professor of rhetoric. Frank does not record their comments when he recited such pieces as "The Wreck of the Hesperus" or "The Gambler's Death."

Instruction in the sciences was mostly carried on by the lecture method. The subjects taught included mineralogy, botany, zoology, optics, astronomy, chemistry, geology, and "natural philosophy," which, under Albert Hopkins, seems to have emphasized astronomy more than physics. In his 1843 address, Mark Hopkins dwelt on the importance of actual observation, of using

apparatus like the microscope and telescope, and of participation in "scientific expeditions and pedestrian tours." "The direct object," he stated, is "not so much the extension of science, as to convey a more accurate impression of the universe as now known, and to promote habits of observation." "The student is led," he continued, "to direct communion with nature, and with nature's God, and though you do not advance science immediately, yet you kindle fires. You incorporate your course into the very being. You awake thoughts and feelings 'that shall perish never.' "* The study of science at Williams was thus intended to be broadly cultural and humanistic, not professional. Yet, together with his hardly less important activities in the Lyceum of Natural History, it laid the foundation for Frank's scientific career.

The third part of President Hopkins' program was developed chiefly through his own course for seniors, which Frank, like most of his classmates, thought of as the crowning experience at Williams. Since Hopkins had been trained as a physician, it began with lectures on anatomy and physiology in their larger aspects. Frank's comments on his classmates' physiological ignorance show that the information was not unessential. Hopkins then passed to mental and moral philosophy, comprising something of what we should now call logic, ethics, and psychology. Nor did he neglect theology, through his Saturday discussions of the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Whatever his limitations, Hopkins was no atomistic thinker. He liked to envision man in his wholeness; and like Socrates he knew that no knowledge is more indispensable than self-knowledge.

§2

As Hans Zinnser the scientist remarks, in regard to his debt to a teacher of literature, George Woodberry, "One is trained by men and not by curricula." At this period the Williams faculty

* The quotation is adapted from a passage in Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality." Hopkins would not have regarded science and poetry as unrelated.

would have done credit to any college or university in the land. Men like Phillips and Lincoln were admirable teachers; Mark Hopkins, John Bascom, Paul A. Chadbourne, and Arthur Latham Perry were great teachers. The latter four, as well as Ebenezer Emmons, are still of sufficient note to be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Of them all, Mark Hopkins was as a teacher the most remarkable—the born teacher whom no pedagogical theories would either help or hurt; who knows by some instinct the chords of other natures. He had unflinching poise, a kindly sense of humor, and, when it was needed, the gift of eloquence. He was not graceful; a humorless visitor once accused him of lacking the “abdominal dignity” of his predecessor. But impressiveness of personality was linked with largeness of mind. Hopkins loved the mountains, and one of his illustrious students, Senator Ingalls of Kansas, thought him “mountainous in mien.” (One must, of course, make allowance for Ingalls’ rhetoric.)

As an original thinker, Hopkins now seems less impressive. William Paley and the Butler of the *Analogy* mean little to a generation which insists on asking different questions. The so-called “faculty” psychology is outmoded. But Hopkins displayed clarity and an extraordinary sense of the relatedness of things. His book, *The Law of Love and Love as a Law*, shows him as a leader far enough—but not so far as to lose the confidence of his contemporaries—in advance of the sterner New England theology. (Incidentally, its title suggests a point of view central in the religious outlook of Frank Snow, whose lasting respect and affection for his old teacher are apparent in many ways.) Since the history of philosophy was not then taught in American colleges, it is not surprising that Hopkins was not deeply versed in philosophy; but he had his own philosophic system, and, according to Bliss Perry and others, he taught his students to philosophize. Of course, no teacher is a magician; Hopkins frankly confessed that there would be a handful in each class, perhaps half a dozen, whom he could

not influence. But most students thought that Hopkins was profound even when he was not. The younger generation needs old truths, not just new ones. If Hopkins sometimes seized upon a hoary-headed platitude, he could revitalize it, making it sound newly born in the world of thought.

Frank's journals show that Mark Hopkins spoke briefly to the freshmen about the laws of physical health. Later, Frank found that Hopkins' pine bench reached to the mountains. It was East Mountain, rather than the dominating Greylock, to which he led them on the first expedition: "He said he hoped we would continue our excursions thus begun, showing how Nature as well as books should be our instructor, and the many advantages to physical as well as moral and intellectual growth to be gained by this means." Though nearly all Frank's later references to Hopkins reflect admiration, only one has particular interest; it shows the great teacher in a favorite game, probing for a hole in the intellectual armor of the young idealist, who stood his ground: [March 31, 1862] "Prex had me up on the question of the rightfulness of *any war*; told him I didn't see how we could 'love our enemies and shoot them', and that I thought *all wars wrong*."

Some of his colleagues, indeed most competent judges, thought John Bascom a more original and fertile thinker than Hopkins. Loving philosophy above all other subjects, Bascom was at this time a teacher of rhetoric whose duty it was to criticize student themes and orations. He regarded rhetoric as a kind of "intellectual architecture" rather than as a system of conventions; students like Washington Gladden and G. Stanley Hall profited from his penetrating criticism and suggestions for reading. His thwarted passion for philosophy shows itself in titles of his books, such as *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* or *The Philosophy of English Literature*. In his readable *Things Learned by Living* Bascom confesses that for some reason, obscure to himself, readers sometimes thought him obscure; his was a subtle mind. In Williams circles a more common criticism was directed at the liberalism of

Bascom's religious views. But his sermons were warmly approved by Frank, who notes also a personal visit (February 14, 1862): "Finished 'Paradise Lost'. Prof. Bascom called on me this P. M."

Bascom was to leave Williams College in order to serve as a distinguished president of the University of Wisconsin; later he was to return to Williams as a teacher. He succeeded at Wisconsin a president who also returned to Williams, in this case as its president—Paul A. Chadbourne. Chadbourne had been appointed Professor of Botany and Chemistry at Williams in 1853 and Professor of Natural History in 1859. He was a short, slender man—vigorous, able, versatile. His teaching of science was, considering the time devoted to each subject, necessarily rather elementary. "He made the dullest boy, for that hour at least, fascinated by crystals and stamens," writes Bliss Perry. "He dictated terse and brilliant summaries of the main principles of botany and mineralogy; he made us draw illustrations and bring in specimens." Frank Snow mentions having Chadbourne examine his botanical specimens: "Prof. Chad. was 'satisfied.' I have 56 species as a result of the season's botanizing; have enjoyed it much."

Chadbourne's lectures introduced students to several branches of science—particularly to mineralogy and botany. During the earlier years of the century, under the influence of Amos Eaton, who had studied under the elder Benjamin Silliman at Yale and who had taught at Williams, the college had been strong in science. A student of Eaton's was Dr. Ebenezer Emmons, who had named many of the Adirondack mountains and who had won an international reputation in geology. Though not an especially good teacher, he was an expert in the subject. He was at his best on "field trips" and assembled excellent museum collections.

Science was also taught by Mark Hopkins' brother, "Prof. Al." In 1835 Albert Hopkins had led a scientific expedition, composed mainly of students who were members of the Lyceum of Natural History, to Nova Scotia. Through his own efforts, the Astronomi-

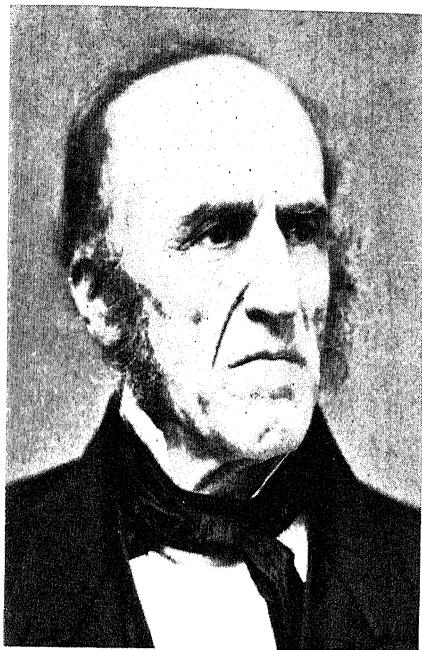
cal Observatory had been built—one of the oldest of such buildings in America and apparently the oldest survivor of its kind. Here students observed the heavens and learned to make observations of the weather by means of instruments—instruction which was to prove of great value to Frank.

By the 1860's, however, Albert Hopkins' teaching of science had become somewhat perfunctory, perhaps because of domestic afflictions or because his heart lay elsewhere. John Bascom remarks that Albert Hopkins was "possessed by religious sentiments more profoundly and habitually than any other man I ever met." Even in his scientific activities his religious point of view was evident. Largely through his efforts the Lyceum of Natural History had been organized, succeeding the earlier Linnaean Society. The motto of the Lyceum was *Φυσις βίβλος Θεού*—that is, "Nature the book of God." As time passed, Albert Hopkins' energies seemed absorbed in the exertion of the religious influence which he wielded, chiefly through the special prayer meetings which he had fostered for about thirty years. The wholesomeness of that influence, emotional and subjective as opposed to the more intellectual approach of his brother Mark, was questioned in some quarters even in the early days; of its strength there could be no doubt. A certain magnetic quality of Albert Hopkins himself, unsmiling, formidable, and "patriarchal" in appearance, was a component. When he stepped forward and brought a service to a close, he could, like the Ancient Mariner, hold his audience in silence with his eye.

The following entries, written during Frank's senior year, tell their own story:

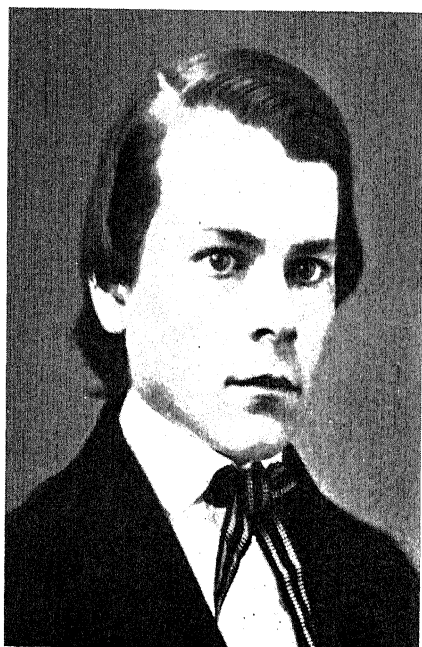
[March 7, 1862] Full attendance at Prayer meeting. My foolish fears and lack of confidence kept me from saying what I felt I ought to say of my silence on religious matters. Prof. Al. called on me yesterday P. M. and incited me to Christian activity.

[March 15] My conscience troubles me for two things 1st Silence at the Prayer meeting . . . , 2d Absence from Prex' levee.



President Mark Hopkins of
Williams College

(by courtesy of the Williams College
Library)



Francis Huntington Snow, '62

(by courtesy of the Williams College
Library)



Professor Paul A. Chadbourne of
Williams College

(by courtesy of the Williams College
Library)



Professor John Bascom of
Williams College

(by courtesy of the Williams College
Library)

I greatly need to cultivate my social nature both in religious and ordinary matters.

[March 21] Broke the ice in prayer meeting tonight; feel very happy.

[April 14] Think I am beginning to wear off my bashfulness in company.

[July 3] Had our last class-prayer-meeting this evening. It was a glorious meeting: 43 men present, and we all said something—except 5 or 6 of our wild boys. Even *Tom Parker* asked us to remember him in our requests to God. A very sad time it was, too; had not realized before that we were so near the parting.

May Albert Hopkins have had a part in Frank's later decision to train himself for the ministry? However that may be, clearly the feelings which led him to make a public profession of religion helped him to overcome his social backwardness.

Another remarkable teacher was Arthur Latham Perry, who taught history and political economy and, for some years, German. (While Frank was at Williams students had only one elective: they could choose between French or German, the latter being Frank's choice.) By nature warm-hearted, humorous, lovable, Perry had no Alceste-taint of misanthropy, but he carried candor to the point of indiscretion, detesting deceit. His pioneering texts won him wide recognition in the field of political economy. He was capable of discussing with equanimity most economic topics; but "when he came to foreign trade and American tariffs," his son Bliss observes, "he smelled the battle like a war-horse." Indeed Perry speaks of protectionism as "contrary to common sense and common decency and common morality." Though Perry never swore, he could make the word "tariff" sound almost like cursing. He gave the family horses such names as "Cobden." Like William Graham Sumner of Yale, who took a similar position, Perry discovered that his views did not coincide with those of certain alumni, especially the owners of factories. These views were to influence Frank's future colleague, James H. Canfield, a free-trade zealot; conceivably, though such a question must be specu-

lative, Perry's influence may have helped to eliminate Canfield as Frank's future rival for the Chancellorship of the University of Kansas, since Canfield's views on tariffs proved unpopular in Kansas. Classes with Perry strengthened Frank's interest in history. Where could one find a more joyous antiquarian or one whose enthusiasm was more contagious? One of Perry's achievements was to convince a conference of governors that the Bennington memorial should not be a "squat" classical design but of towering stone. He clinched his argument by picturing the ghosts of the embattled farmers revisiting the scene of their victory and asking: "Who was this Minervy?"

Frank's comments on Perry's sermons, as on Bascom's, are mostly laudatory. At first Frank missed the discussions of "politics"—that is, slavery—to which he had been accustomed. Even Mark Hopkins disappointed him on this score. Later, he was gratified by denunciations of the evils of slavery; he was particularly pleased with the effect upon one church member who had inherited a plantation—a man with whom Frank decided not to take communion.

§3

Frank was ingenuous and full of passionate convictions, but his college life was not one of unrelieved moral seriousness. As at other periods, an overflow of good spirits, even gayety, was with him a characteristic mood. His were the days when students enjoyed taking hikes in small groups, or even walking alone. (Once, save for a few miles, he walked all the way to Fitchburg.) He especially enjoyed his annual excursions to Greylock, the most majestic of the mountains that enclose the Williamstown valley. For the period from the fall of 1859 to early in 1861 his journals are almost a complete blank; but, significantly, a note affirms that he visited Greylock September 26, 1860, and May 31, 1861.

During some of his walks he collected flowers or minerals and examined geological formations: [November 19, 1861] "Exam-

ined the geological strata as I was able before dark, and then enjoyed the beautiful scenery by moonlight; the mountains and the river were bathed in a silver light." [February 19, 1862] "Walked half way up East Mt. . . . Examined the arrangement of buds on the twigs of various trees, finding them all according to *law* $1/2$ $1/3$ $2/5$ $3/8$ $5/13$ &c."*

His interest in nature was intensified by the Lyceum of Natural History, of which Frank became president in September of 1861. It was one of the earliest and probably the most influential of such organizations in American colleges. It lasted some fifty years, meeting every two weeks to hear reports on assigned topics. Besides the earlier expedition to Nova Scotia, led by Albert Hopkins, it had organized scientific expeditions to Newfoundland and Florida, at a time when other colleges and universities were not engaging in such expeditions. It had been successful in most of its undertakings and had accumulated large collections in Jackson Hall. Frank often visited this building. During his time the Lyceum had a project, apparently successful, to buy a copy of Audubon's *Birds of America*.⁶ The Williams faculty considered the Lyceum a means by which students could broaden their scientific studies much beyond the scope of the curriculum.

Another student organization which was valuable to Frank was his debating society, the Philologian. He was president of it from January to April, 1862, vacating the chair with an address on "True Scholarship." Early in his freshman year the president astonished him one night by asking for an extemporaneous speech on "Progress of Peace Principles." He was much pleased when nearly all the members voted in the negative after a debate on whether the Fugitive Slave Law should be obeyed. He himself debated on another favorite topic, winning for the affirmative—the

* As Professor W. C. Stevens points out, Frank's observation confirms Asa Gray's statement, in his *Lessons in Botany*, regarding the arrangement of leaves or buds, placed on stems in symmetrical order by "unerring mathematical rule" (as distances between them are measured around the circumference of the stem), so as to take advantage of light.

The modern game of football was unknown, though students kicked a ball around the grounds, often breaking windows. Animal spirits found vent in other ways. Something more culpable than animal spirits had been manifesting itself at Williams when Frank entered the college:

[September 14, 1858] President Hopkins after prayers last night requested the students to remain in their seats, when he proceeded very severely to rebuke that spirit of the evil one which has exhibited itself so frequently during the past two years in the annoyance of students by others, and the wanton destruction of property which has recently been going on; in which doubtless reference was made to the burning of the Gymnasium and also of the recitation seats which took place last term, together with the destruction of numerous doors and windows.

President Hopkins lived up to his promise of greater strictness, but student pranks continued:

[September 28, 1858] Yesterday after recitations in Algebra some of our fellows locked the Sophs into their recitation room with Prof. Linc[oln]. and they were obliged to break the panels through to avoid the disgrace of sneaking out the windows. . . . In retaliation the windows in our recitation room were found all missing this morning so that the first division which recites at six o'clock had to recite in almost the open air. The missing articles were however found and replaced before the second division recited. Also several Freshmen in the college found themselves tied in this morning by ropes, running across the passages. . . . Several have found their key holes fast plugged up with sticks driven in hard and cut off short, if ever they leave their room.

Once some sophomores tied a sack around the head of a freshman and dragged him, screaming, along the street. On another occasion students filled the chapel with hay which had been newly cut on the campus. Frank records in October that the freshman class took a vote on whether to flunk Latin grammar lessons on Monday morning. He sided with the group opposing this drastic action, which was rejected. Boys will be boys even if they are

the consigning of Euclid to the flames, Euclid being portrayed as a man or as a book. (Sometimes the names Anna Lytt,* for Analytic Geometry, and Matthew Matics were used.) Ritualistic acts might be introduced, such as putting the book under foot to represent "going over" Euclid or stabbing a hole in it to represent "going through" Euclid. There were songs:

Euclid is dead, joyful are we;
Come let us sing, be merry and free. . . .

Tidings how grateful!
How sweet to know,
That Euc' so hateful
Is now laid low!⁹

The procession accompanying the first Freshman Wake was apparently suggested by the celebration of Class Day at Yale, which one of Frank's classmates had observed during a visit there. A large figure representing a freshman was taken to the funeral pyre on a wagon illuminated by torches and drawn by four white horses, and was buried to the accompaniment of mimes, songs, and speeches. The printed program is full of puns:

To Latin authors we've been *Linc*-ed,
And of Greek roots have had our *Phill*,
And Prof. Tat. has made us "prove it,"
Prove it *some how*—"will or nill."

Frank was delighted with it all, and pleased with the Wake of the two following years, but in his senior year he found it disappointing—the schedules "shamefully scurrilous, abounding in unjust personalities" and the speakers long-winded, "besides being exceedingly gross in some of their attempted jokes." The Wake lasted several years, until the college authorities put an end to it, evidently because of such faults as Frank mentions.

* According to the authors of *Eight O'clock Chapel*, freshmen at Bowdoin were told that the tombstones marked "Anna" commemorated daughters of the presidents, so named.

that Allen's first exclamation before he made the more famous speech demanding the surrender of the fort, was "Get out of here, you damned old rat!"¹⁰

Not long after Frank's return to Fitchburg by train a curious incident occurred. Coming home somewhat late from a temperance meeting, he found the door locked. In order not to awaken his sleeping parents, who through Martha's oversight had not been informed of his being away from the house, he removed a screen and entered through a window. He received a stunning blow in the face from a washbowl, which his father, supposing him to be a burglar, had hurled with tremendous force. "Father was so much affected that he could do nothing but cry, while mother helped to staunch the blood and bound up my wound; then I went up to Uncle Thomas, who put on plasters." ("Uncle Thomas" was Dr. Thomas Boutelle.) Frank was not seriously injured, and the chief interest in the episode is his concluding sentence: "Father's NonResistance has thus been put to the test and found wanting."

In December of 1861 Frank visited an uncle's family in Brooklyn. Though he saw Cooper Institute, the Astor Library, the Union Seminary, and Barnum's, he was delighted most with Henry Ward Beecher. "He puts his whole self into his sermon and keeps the audience in fixed attention. Abounds in illustrations, most of which are beautiful and all forcible. If there is anything I admire, it is such power in speaking." Frank's scrapbooks were to contain several of Beecher's speeches. At the conclusion of his visit he reflected: "I know I could not live to old age by the city method. Rise at 7:30—Breakfast at 8—Lunch at 1 and dinner, rich and hearty, at 6:30. Retire at 11 & after." A few months previously Frank's Grandfather Snow had told him that he planned to rise the following morning at four. "Resolved that henceforth I will be up at least by *five*." Yet his city cousins seemed to thrive on their strange schedule.

Constitution and Prof. Al's Lectures on Philosophy.* Have not missed a question. Did rather a daring thing in Tacitus; we were examined as of old seated three a time about a round table. Linc[oln]. gave me for my passage—the 13 ch. Germania—I by mistake grubbed up the 13th Agricola, and did not notice the blunder, until I rose to recite, when I found it out by a glance at the top of the page. Not wishing to make my error known, I turned at once to the 13th Germania and plunged right in without a moment's preparation; fortunately I did not suffer from my inadvertency. Was up in the 282d section in De Corona†—on *Classification* in Botany and on the different classes of products under Value in Pol. Econ. winding up with "Water as a motive power" in Philosophy. We had but *one round* from each of the Profs. today—hence I got off from Story, and shall not be examined in either Optics or Astronomy tomorrow morning. There were no flunks except the two Parkers who flunked *dead* in Greek. . . .

[July 9] Hurrah for '62! Every man of us rejoices to-night that the Stygian stream has been safely passed. We are, *in re*, though not *in nomine*, Alumni. Not one has been shipped, but the whole class with its fifty one members, has been approved. . . . What a thrill of joy filled each heart, when our only doubtful one, Tom Parker, had his name read off, in the Latin tongue, as the roll was called by the venerable Dr. Davis. . . .

Bascom had *one round*, and Prex had *three*; the former in Eng. literature and Aesthetics, the latter in Hamilton, Wayland, and Catechism,‡ with which latter was combined a little of Paley and Butler. Did not miss to-day, either. Was up in Eng. Lit. on the "several times when our lang. borrowed from the French"; in Ham[ilton]. on "Primum Cognitum" and in Wayland on the "kinds of agents". In the last round I was up on the conclusiveness of Paley's argument for the Deity, and entered into a long

* "Philosophy" here means "natural philosophy," or the interpretation of nature by Albert Hopkins, who was less interested in what would now be called physics than in astronomy.

† The oration of Demosthenes "On the Crown."

‡ The books referred to seem to be Sir William Hamilton's *Metaphysics* (Bowen's abridgment; Frank had also read Hamilton's *Logic*), Francis Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science*, William Paley's *Natural Theology*, Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion*. Though a Williams College catalogue lists "Vincent on the Catechism" as a requirement, President Hopkins' Saturday morning lectures on the Shorter Catechism set forth his own views. Hopkins' book, *Evidences of Christianity*, was the text in a course usually taught by A. L. Perry to junior classes.

collected for his own purposes. The majority of his classmates were preparing for the ministry, most of the rest for other learned professions—law, medicine, and teaching. This tabulation represented students' intentions; a later class report mentions sixteen teachers, thirteen lawyers, eleven physicians, six merchants. Most of the students were from New England, though New York and Illinois were represented; Ireland, India, and Hawaii were each the birthplace of a single student. Slightly more than half of the students confessed that they used wines; less than half smoked, and only five chewed tobacco. Their ages ranged from 18 to 29, though most were not more than 22—Frank's age. Frank records weights and heights; but, though he records his own weight as 120, he significantly omits his height, which was to remain a little less than five and a half feet. But if during his sojourn in this temple of learning, he did not greatly increase in stature he steadily increased in wisdom.

Class Day, as an occasion of rejoicing by seniors distinct from Commencement, was first observed at Williams by the class of '61. It had originated at Harvard in 1773, when the president of the college had trespassed on the part of the morning usually devoted to the valedictorian's entertainment of his classmates. The class had decided to spend the afternoon in conviviality. From Harvard the custom had spread to other schools.¹¹

[July 11, 1862] Our long-awaited Class-day came yesterday, and long shall it be remembered by every man of '62. The weather was propitious in the extreme, neither warm nor cold, a thin veil of cloud obscuring the hot sun, for our comfort. Under escort of the Wilmington Band, we marched to the church at 2 p.m. [Franklin] Carter preached with his winning grace and ease. [J. H.] Denison had a grand oration, full of deep thought. . . . He occupied nearly an hour in its delivery. [J. A.] French had a splendid poem, parts of which were worthy of a great poet; think I should have to study it long, however, in order to trace the connection between some of the parts. About 3/4 of an hour was spent listening to it, and then we took our places as a class on the

circle, and enjoyed our ludicrous performances to the full: all sorts of dances, or hops, around the spreading maple, songs of every description, from class song to Gideon's Band, the latter accompanied by practical illustration of the ties of "heart and hand" that so closely bind us. Charlie Clark was with us, and sang the "Female Smugguelier." When we were all tired out by our many jigs and songs, we separated, at about 5:30, to meet again in the evening. We had music and dancing on the college green from 8 to 9:30. The trees were prettily hung with lanterns of Red White and Blue, which made a fine illumination. At 9:30 we collected again, and, preceded by the music, marched down to Meacham's to the supper. Our good host had provided a profusion of delicacies, and substantial as well, for the gratification and strength of the physical man; while our historians and prophet were prepared to give us full supplies of wit [and] wisdom, relating to the past and the future.

First [G. F.] Mills read the annals of Sophomore year, and then came [S. W. Y.] Ely's first third of the prophecy; [E. H.] Titus having prepared no history of the Junior year, delivered a translation of a certain Greek oration* which was delivered that year—a most ludicrous combination of high-sounding words, strung together without respect to sense; it kept us in a perfect roar of laughter. After another installment of the prophecy, [J. H.] Goodhue related, in capital verse, our class experience for this last year, and then we had the rest of the prophecy. Ely treated us with great fairness, exhibiting particularly the love-experience, as well as the faults and foibles, of us all; not a mean thing was said, however, from beginning to end, though it occupied two hours in delivery. As to his treatment of myself—*vegetarianism*† and *non-resistance* supplied him with abundant material for satire. It was a capital thing, all were agreed. During the intervals between these exercises, we made ourselves hoarse with singing all the college songs we could think of; Billy Ball sang "Larry" and Tom Parker did "Billy Barlow" in fine style while Charlie Clark revived old times by his accurate imitation of trumpet music. Next came the statement of his personal experience by each member, we having voted to keep "*mum*" on all that should be revealed,

*Titus obviously had in mind Frank's Greek oration during the junior year. See page 23. Titus, Mills, and Goodhue were class historians; Ely was the prophet.

† Nothing is known of the intensity or duration of Frank's interest in vegetarianism.

nounced the fact, "whereupon there was a simultaneous rush of the whole class for my sanctum: where for about five minutes there was a scramble indescribable. Before prayers every classmate in town had secured an impression of Nix.") Frank continues his discussion of class honors in the July entry: "So we have 14 honors, a larger number than any other class has received at Williams: . . . Hurrah for '62! Both Faculty and Trustees testify to the fact of our being the smartest class ever here yet.

". . . they gave three cheers for Snow, after the app[ointments]. were read. Perhaps Spalding and [E. H.] Griffin were somewhat disappointed, but they did not show it, and were very cordial in their congratulations."

For Williamstown, Commencement was an exciting occasion. Nathaniel Hawthorne, visiting during the Commencement season of 1838, saw peddlers, gingerbread-sellers, and vendors of other wares—on all sides plenty of racy characters. Farmers and their families flocked to town. Old students returning to the campus could renew their acquaintances not only with the faculty but with other local celebrities. In Frank's time there was, for instance, the old Negro Abe Parsons, called Abe the Bunter, who literally used his head to make a living. In bunting he seems to have been a worthy rival of Mike Fink, the Mississippi River boatman, or James Riley, King of the Hoodlums in old San Francisco. Students took up collections to induce this "black battering ram" to display his powers on boards, barrels, doors, or even some kinds of stone. Rumor said that he had sold his cranium to several scientific-minded persons, delivery to be made after death.

Bill Pratt, the campus sawyer of firewood, entertained small groups with Joycean ebullitions of verbiage. His dress always included several shirts and pairs of trousers; his diet, consisting of crackers, cheese, and hard cider, hardly sorted with his wit. An extract taken down in shorthand, cited by Carroll Perry, will serve as a sample: "Gentlemen of the noble conjugation! Sancti-

reflected that two of his former students, the friends and brothers-in-law Professors Phillips and Lincoln, as well as three of his old teachers, the brothers Hopkins and Professor Tatlock, had seen Frank more than live up to Hubbard's letter of recommendation.

During his senior year Frank had contributed to the *Williams Quarterly* an article on "Harmony in Education," holding up the ideal of an education that does justice to man's threefold nature—body, mind, spirit.¹² His own education at Williams had been of that kind. On August 2 for the last time, with his sister Martha and another girl, he visited his favorite scene in Massachusetts—"The heavily wooded mountains, which, with so abrupt a descent, enclose the silver thread of the Deerfield River, and the long reach of hill and mountain district which stretches away, at least as far as the Connecticut valley. . . ." The mountains, the running water, the valleys, also the influence of his teachers, would endure: "A teacher affects eternity." The visitor to the Williams College burial ground, which is peacefully surrounded by evergreens, will find that Mark and Albert Hopkins, Chadbourne, Perry, Lincoln, Phillips, and Tatlock are associates in death as formerly in life, lying together in sight of the mountains they loved. There, too, is buried a president of Williams, Harry A. Garfield (1863-1942), son of the President of the United States whose statement about his old teacher Mark Hopkins is worth many epitaphs. Of the epitaphs which do appear on these tombs the most striking is perhaps that of Albert Hopkins, builder of the old Observatory: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."*

* From Dan. 12:3.

I forget it excuse me if I offer a word of caution. I hear that some of the 'fair sex' so called have taken to adorning your desk with bouquets of flowers, instead of your assistant[']s. Beware[,] Frank, it is a plot to entrap you." Since Kate Haskell, Frank's favorite cousin, was an assistant at the high school,* George may have had inside information.

At first all seemed to go well: [September 22, 1862] "That 'big day' has come and gone, and the days have now ceased to be *big*, having degenerated into the monotony incident to school life. Have 77 scholars, well disposed almost without exception, none of them ugly, though many of them are fond of fun. My time is chiefly devoted to teaching the languages—which occupy the whole forenoon and the last half-hour of the afternoon." Though subsequent entries indicate that a few of the boys were roguish, Frank clung to his determination not to resort to "the brute appliances of strap and rod." He sent four or five pupils to the school committee, to be put on probation. This measure proved inadequate. For reasons to be explained presently, Frank could not maintain a satisfactory degree of discipline.

The decision based upon his difficulties at the school was not announced till Frank had a heavier sorrow to record. His journals, which, incidentally, contain several somber passages about the illness or sudden death of young people in Fitchburg, relate that in November, their parents being away, Martha and he faced the responsibility of caring for Bennie and Willie after they had contracted diphtheria. The boys recovered, but a few weeks later scarlet fever, at that time a more serious disease than now, broke out in the community. The younger Snow children fell ill, and on February 7 the family was grieved by the death of Margaret, the youngest child. Mrs. Snow had watched unsparingly over the children through weary days and nights. The woman who assisted her, a devotee of the still new cult of Spir-

*In 1860 the high school had been moved from the old Academy (cf. above, page 17) to a newer building, which later became a grammar school.

had the distinguished honor of being elected, this P.M., a member of the Board of Trustees of the public library. . . .”

After pointing out the rare qualifications of the teacher, the school report stated that many students had accomplished more than ever before in a comparable period. That this was not true of all students it attributed to the teacher's slight difficulty in hearing, which made his control of a large group impossible. “The pupils will certainly remember,” it concluded, “as long as they live, the unwearied fidelity, the ready learning, and facility in teaching, and wonderful self-control of this teacher. We regretted that the limited means at our disposal could not allow us to retain him as a *teacher* and commit the government of the school to some gentleman to be associated with him.”

A few weeks later Frank was teaching a Sunday School class, consisting of young women. During this period the sentimental side of his youthful nature was asserting itself:

[December, 1862] Miss Anna Dickinson lectured in our church Sat. evng 28th to a *crowded* house. . . . She is a very remarkable girl—only 20 yr. but very precocious, knowing all about the Antislavery Reform and its supporters, the country over, and also conversing without the least apparent effort on a great variety of topics. She kept us up till near midnight of both Sat. and Sun. by the charm of her graceful tongue.*

She has black hair and eyes, rosy cheeks, a compact figure, though quite short. Her lecture was on the War and she held the audience willing captives for nearly two hours,—exposing to scorn and ridicule the acts of some of our generals—McClellan in particular—and drawing plenteous tears from almost every eye, as she portrayed the sufferings and noble conduct of the poor wounded & sick soldiers at the hospital in Phila, where she ministered as an angel of goodness for some six mos. . . .

If I should ever experience that blissful feeling called love, I should want to love some such woman as Miss D. She is a charming little Quaker.

* Miss Dickinson was entertained at “the Abolition Retreat” of Fitchburg, as Frank calls his home.

§2

Frank's interest in natural history, which he had developed at Williams College, was now a solace and a delight.

[April 1, 1863] While coming home from the prayer-meeting this evening, noticed a very rare phenomenon,—nothing less than a miniature rainbow by moonlight. There was a ring around the moon perhaps two degrees in diameter; and an arc of about one half its circumference was formed on the edge of a cloud of considerable thickness. This portion of the ring clearly displayed all the colors of the solar spectrum, in a double manifestation, i.e.: arranged in their proper order upon both sides of a dark band in the middle of the ring.

[April 19] A charming spring day; its warm sunbeams opened the pure petals of a little bunch of "Epigea repens", which I gathered in the bud a week or more ago. No Flower do I love more; its pink-tinged whiteness is an emblem of purity and loveliness.

[May 3] Never till this week did I observe the wondrous beauty which blooms, unnoticed, in the elm and red maple blossoms.

[May 31] John Adams and self this afternoon attended service in God's temple, communing with His lesser angels,—the flowers.

[June 11] Had a beautiful horseback ride yesterday afternoon, and was delighted by finding, at the end of a shady ox-road in the North part of the town, a large quantity of the beautiful "*Linnaea borealis*";* the first I ever saw; hence my joy at stumbling upon it.

[June 22] Finished "*Walden Pond*";—upon a general estimation, think it a capital book; albeit his odd whims often lead Thoreau to the semblance of insanity, he has many wise and rare thoughts and a great originality in expressing them. Life with him was something higher than drudgery after fame or money. Were his ideas of benevolence to suffering man more prominent, so as to take off the rather deep tinge of selfishness which seems to mark his writings, I should like him better. It is refreshing to find a man now & then who is free from the monkeyish passion for imitation which has taken possession of the ninety-nine hundredths of every class of people in modern society.

* The *Linnaea borealis*, or twinflower, had been a favorite of Linnaeus himself, after whom the genus is named.

was later to be more sympathetic, dubbed his son "professor of one snake."

At the time this strenuous father of a strenuous son had more than ordinary business cares. Moreover, his reformer's zeal points to some nervous instability in his make-up; he could be irritable and arbitrary. When he found Frank tutoring a girl in the study of Latin, he expressed his aversion to such "*quidolling*." Once Frank offended him by trading an old watch ("an ungoable concern") and two railroad shares—a gift of his father and his grandfather—for a fine watch and chain, "an elegant hunter." Frank was accused of spending his last dollar on a bauble. "The *chain*, not the watch, seemed to offend him." A sort of climax came when Frank found his father (May 1, 1863) wheeling in wood. After the elder Snow had stopped for the night, Frank threw off his coat and worked all night and till 9:30 the next morning, pausing for rest only for half an hour at breakfast. He had moved five cords of wood three times, carrying a large part of it up a ladder to the top of piles already begun. He worked at other tasks till 1:30, having now put in more than sixteen hours. Then, lying down for a moment of rest, he fell asleep till five o'clock. He hoped this feat would convince his father of his ability to work: "*Mental* labor seems to be rather at a discount in our family; wish it were not so." But Frank was never the person to spare himself. On one rare occasion, after taking a long nap after dinner, he reflected, "I'll never indulge again, unless absolutely sick." Withal he had difficulty in understanding anybody without enthusiasm for work. Once a colored "contraband" named George, who had escaped from a sloop in York River and who for a time helped Frank's father, dropped his hoe promptly at six o'clock, after working nine and a half hours. Frank was disgusted and in his journal noted that George was "terribly lazy."

At the time of his graduation from Williams, Frank had decided to become a teacher, but he now began to reconsider his

IV

The Christian Commission

Forth from its scabbard all in vain
Bright flashed the sword of Lee. . . .
—Abram Joseph Ryan, "The Sword of Robert Lee."

Go down, Moses,
'Way down in Egypt's land,
Tell old Pharaoh,
"Let my people go!"
—"Go Down, Moses."

§1

FRANK'S journals show that he followed with intense interest the events of the Civil War. On September 23, 1862, his father hung in the belfry of the Trinitarian Congregational Church a bell bought at an auction—one of several bells which had been captured in the South. They had been turned over to Southern authorities for use in making cannon but had been seized by General Benjamin Butler. The news of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued on the preceding day, arrived in Fitchburg in time for Benjamin Snow, Jr., to ring the bell half an hour at sunset, to celebrate the approaching end of slavery. Frank thought the bell more musical than any other in town. On January 1, 1863, when Lincoln's Proclamation became effective, he helped his father ring the bell; he writes, "Blistered my fingers in helping the Rebel bell ring forth its joyful peals, this morning at 7 o'clk. All the other bells were keeping company with ours, and we made a merry tintinnabulation." A local newspaper reported that when the first peals rang out, a small boy dashed out into the streets, shouting, "The niggers are free! The niggers are free!"*

* According to a newspaper report, the bell, which was adorned with harps and cupids, was later hung in a church in Ayer.

gleam of hope for our almost dying cause. Isn't there some way for me to lay away in some dark corner my scruples against fighting? I actually wish there may be, tonight.

Frank's convictions were not those of the chronic radical, born of revolt against parental authority masking itself as rebellion against society and the state as unconscious father-substitutes; he had acquired these convictions from his father, from the Rev. Elnathan Davis, and from others he had known in boyhood. Furthermore, he occasionally had doubts about the biological soundness of nonresistance. Left to work one day in the garden with his younger brother as assistant and finding that the latter did not obey him, he finally became "wroth" and "violated my non-resistance principles by administering a sound spanking, after which he returned to his allegiance and worked well."

In the spring of 1863 Frank was excited by the possibility, of which he had heard from a Williams classmate, of supervising some plantations in the South where "contrabands" were kept; and, anticipating plantation life, he practiced horsemanship. But his application came too late. He then considered service as a teacher or superintendent among the freedmen. In July came the summons to the colors:

[July 18, 1863] Rec^d a government appointment to-day for a term of three years: in other words have been drafted into the U.S. army under the late Conscription Act; hence am a *soldier*, "nolens volens". There are of the 1st Class in Fitchburg, (i.e. from 20 to 35) 241 "patres et fratres conscripti",* and I don't know of a single one who is going to serve, all whom I have seen preferring to pay the \$300 commutation money. Shame, say I, on a man who refuses to fight when he believes it to be a Christian duty, as all pretend to believe save myself. I am greatly mortified to be in such company, among so many sneaks & cowards. Could I be sure of a place where no fighting would be required, no amount of danger would deter me from going. Though, nominally, I should thus be connected with the army, I might be of

* Frank is playfully alluding to the use of "*patres conscripti*," "fathers [and] elect"—that is, "senators"—by Cicero and other Latin writers. Cf. his later use of "conscript brothers."

employee of Uncle Sam. (P.O.)* The device succeeded and I followed him in. We went up stairs; Jack Merriam† was exceedingly gracious & condescending, promising to aid us to the utmost of his ability in getting through, that night. . . . After supper we strolled along Main St., stopping at an old manse to inquire the name of a tree whose leaves had a singular variety of form:—it was the English mulberry. We had lots of fun about Hiram Blood's substitute, who was described by his principal as being 26 ft. in his stockings and 5 yrs. 10 mos. old.

Blood offered him a quarter to get some supper with, but he said he didn't want any supper, but he *would like* "one good stiff horn". It made him so tipsy, that Blood had to trot him a mile or two to make him sober enough to undergo examination.

About 8 in the evening Alison, Blood & I succeeded in getting our examination, on the ground of a pressing necessity of our immediate return home next morning. Surgeon Richardson looked us over very critically while in our natural state, made us amble across the hall three times, sounded the integrity of heart, lungs, legs, feet, arms &c.

Poor Alison was exempted, for heart-disease, while I was pronounced a sound and able-bodied man, and had the distinguished honor of being the first Fitchburg man "accepted." Before me four had been exempted. . . .

[July 28] Having made myself a citizen once more by the payment of 300 dollars to the Collector of the Gov^t Revenue, . . . I was ready to go home, while the rest of the party who came up with us had the agreeable alternative of returning home with their persons unexamined, or waiting a few days in Greenfield at their own expenses. . . . Were I a fighting man, I should really hate to go in such a company of desperadoes. None go as yet but substitutes, and they are almost all roughs from New York City & the Canadas, who take every chance they can get to desert with their money.

§2

More than a year after the events just described, Frank found the long-desired opportunity to serve in the War without offense to his conscience. On August 1, 1864, after passing examinations

* Alison seems to have worked in a post office.

† The name is uncertain.

from almost every conceivable form of disease and wound, these poor fellows are generally very cheerful. The Commission is doing a great work for them and they look upon its delegates as their best friends. I am gradually becoming accustomed to these scenes, though I confess that my first afternoon's experience was almost too much for me and I was several times obliged to go into the open and to avoid being discovered in a fainting condition. I can bear it now without such feelings, and am already very much attached to this work. My health is good, and I have no fear on that score. . . . The Sumter House, which the Chr. Com. now occupies, was formerly a triple den of iniquity. . . . Just opposite is a large military prison, containing between 5[00] and 600 deserters, bounty jumpers, and villains of every grade. A strong guard is placed over them. If one of them puts his head out the window the guard are required to shoot at it; two of them have been shot dead within a fortnight for that terrible offence. Twice a day about a dozen of the worst offenders are required to wash & sweep the street around the prison, each having a long heavy chain with a solid iron ball, attached to the waist and ankle. . . .

When he wrote this passage, Frank had already held services in some of the wards. In one he had talked for fifteen minutes to an audience of deserters and bounty-jumpers, taking his text from John 14:18: "I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you." At first a few of his auditors covered their faces with newspapers; in a moment they removed them and commenced listening:

[August 7, 1864] It certainly will be a curious circumstance in the history of my "clerical" life that my first "sermon" was preached in a military prison into one of the wards of which (No. 8.) I was locked by the guard, while an audience of about seventy-five of the most reckless and abandoned villains in the country were sitting or lying on the floor around me, myself in the center without pulpit conveniences of any sort my cap in my pocket and the thermometer at about 100 degrees.

[August 9] I have to-day witnessed some of the most soul-harrowing scenes which a terrible war can possibly furnish. A transport arrived this forenoon with some three hundred and fifty of the wounded men in the sanguinary attack on the rebel fortifications before Petersburg on Sat. July 30th.

in the religious services of these images of their Maker carved in ebony, as members of their race have been called; for them the year of jubilee had at last come.

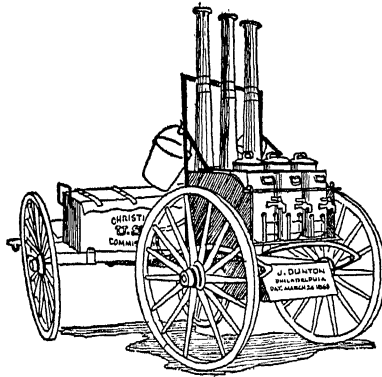
On August 17 Frank records a trip in a sailboat to Mt. Vernon, then outside the Union lines and treated as neutral territory. It was visited by a few people each month. He and his companions found the house just as Washington had left it. They carried a watermelon with them. On their way back they had a swim in the Potomac. During the trip Frank noticed a large flatboat loaded with dead horses, which were being taken to a factory not far away. He heard that the factory utilized every part of the horses except their intestines.

Some days later he attended the Episcopal service in Christ Church "for the sake of sitting in Washington's Pew. I had the honor of occupying the head seat of the pew and felt my own littleness to a remarkable degree." On September 4 he described another interesting service: "Father Gates of our Commission was the preacher, and he hurled heavy bolts at the sinners before him. . . . The sable saints. . . remained for half an hour singing their joyous songs of deliverance from sin. . . ."

The delegates of the Christian Commission were required to keep an account of their services. During his first period Frank preached 14 times, prayed 30 times, wrote 128 letters, visited 2,730 who were ill, read the Scriptures 105 times, and sang hymns 100 times. He distributed 3,945 books and 816 papers. He also taught a Sunday School class of small colored girls and made inquiries about the status of the freedmen and the political preferences of soldiers and civilians.

On September 10, Frank mentions the death of a soldier who had eaten a peach from his hand. His report of this pathetic episode, "A Peach," appeared in the literature of the Christian Commission.³ Visiting L'Ouverture for the last time, he was pleased to note improvement in the men. His father had given him \$50 to distribute in the hospitals. "Left \$20 with Chaplain Leonard to

[March 28, 1865] Took as many papers as I could carry and went along the front distributing them as I went until I reached our picket line at a point where the pickets of the enemy were in plain sight not more than 100 yds. distant. Could plainly distinguish the different color of their clothing, gray blue & one red. Went out beyond our vidette post with one of the pickets and tried to exchange papers with them, Gen. Grant having sent large numbers of the Phila Inquirer of Friday last along the lines that the rebs might read the report of the great meeting in that city on Thursday evening in regard to refugees. We shouted to them, "Johnny, exchange paper? Meet you half way." But they shouted back "Don't want any of your papers", & one of them sung out that their officers were watching them.



The Coffee Wagon*

This took place in a fine peach & apple orchard of young trees wh[ich] has been well pruned by grape shot shell and minnie balls† on Sat. last. In the center of the orchard stands the "Armstrong House" of wh[ich] nothing now remains but the oak wood frame work which is thickly spotted w[ith] minnie balls. . .

The coffee wagon referred to in the extract which follows, the only one of its kind, inspired amused and grateful comment by the soldiers. One of them called it "the Christian Light Artillery."

* The illustration is based upon a picture in Lemuel Moss's *Annals of the Christian Commission*, Philadelphia, 1868, p. 445.

† The name is derived from that of the French inventor (Minié) of a conical bullet.

killed & wounded & the 5th Corps was repulsed & obliged to fall back during the forenoon to the S. side of the creek. In the afternoon, however, it recovered the lost ground & gained possession of several miles of ground towards the South Side R. R. The dead & wounded of both sides fell into our hands and presented a sad scene to one unaccustomed to such sights. Men lay on the ground stiff in death, their unclosed eyes turned upward in vacant stare, & their stiffened hands & arms raised toward heaven as if in supplication to God to take vengeance on their murderers. And O what agony was depicted in the faces of some of our wounded boys. . . . There lay a man with a terrible gash in his head thro' which the brains protruded in ghastly profusion. It was an inestimable boon to be allowed to moisten their parched lips with a little cold water from the spring near by or to note down a few words of farewell from some dying boy to his beloved mother. . . .

This morning I heard for the first time the thunder of artillery & the continuous roar of musketry in battle. At one time I was so near that I plainly saw our advanced line of skirmishers hastening forward on the double quick & firing rapidly as they went, stopping only to load their pieces. Could see the smoke from the guns, & hear the sharp quick whistle of the Minnie balls from the enemies' muskets flying over my head.

[April 1, 1865] Worked in hospital until night. At 8 o'clk P.M. Bros. Chase, DeWitt, Uniac* & I started for the front with the coffee wagon. We worked our way thro' woods & mud & burning brush for some 10 miles reaching a bloody hospital ground at half past one A.M. of Sunday, Apr. 2d 1865.

It was a most romantic and sometimes awful journey. The moon shone bright upon a scene of grandeur unequalled in my own experience. These Virginia pine forests are of most magnificent growth and the thick underbrush set on fire by our advancing forces revealed the full extent of their stateliness. During the last half of our march the moon went down and we wallowed in mud to the tops of our boots. In going through a thick forest of pines, the darkness being almost palpable, I heard a groan proceeding from the right hand of the road. After groping about in the mud for a while I reached the spot where the sufferer lay. It was a wounded rebel. I gave him a drink of brandy and left him

*Edward H. Uniac of Philadelphia, A. DeWitt of Hoosick Falls, New York, and George S. Chase of East Chester, New York.

well stocked with human chattels, but now untenanted except by their disconsolate owners. . . .

[April 7] . . . My first duty was to scour the woods in the vicinity for any wounded who might have been overlooked. Found no wounded but within a rod of each other lay two Mass. captains stiff in death. . . stripped of their clothing save a shirt, & even of the rings on their fingers.

Next I went back to the house & spent the time till after 10 o'clk in writing letters home for the wounded. . . . I slept on a fine hair sofa in a secesh bedquilt & in a richly furnished parlor, wh[ich] was the only part of the house not drenched in the blood of our & the rebel wounded.

[April 8] Rose early and helped bury Lieut. Geo F. Davis of 4th Ms. Cav. & David Pringle of 54th Penn. They lie by the side of the rebel colonel Boston in Watson's garden. Bro. Williams had gone to spend the night as protector to a secesh family about $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile away, who were in great fear of violence to the daughters, from our soldiers.

Frank W. Watkins, the father of the family, is a graduate of Amherst College class of 1832. Came over to invite me to breakfast at his house. I accepted the invitation & found a cordial welcome but a poor breakfast. The two daughters are quite pretty and of modest education. They played on the piano for us and bade us goodbye with eyes in tears. . . . We left them at 9 o'clk & moved on toward Farmville, stopping on the way at the house of Mrs. Venable, whose niece Miss Carrington, with blue eyes & auburn hair, of good figure & medium height, & withal 18 years old, is by far the most attractive specimen of Southern maiden I have seen. She is *brave*, too, and though our soldiers had ransacked the house from morning to night & from night to morning for two days, she yet refused to go to a place of greater safety with the Watkins, who are her cousins. Her father is a Confederate officer. . . . He paid a stolen visit to his family night before last, but made his escape yesterday morning. Had he remained with his regiment he w[oul]d have been gobbled up by our forces.

This interesting Miss C. lives in the house in which Gen. Joe Johnston was born & brot. up.—a large mansion and well furnished.

Our troops are in a blaze of joy tonight at the glorious termination of this brief campaign. Bands are playing all along the lines and hearty huzzas greet the ear on every side.

Within 15 minutes after Gen. Lee had left the house the most enthusiastic cheering was commenced among the rebel troops and was thought at first to be from the same cause as that of our own soldiers, but it was afterwards ascertained that it was the sight of Gen^l Lee which inspired his men with such enthusiasm; but a great many of them shed tears when he told them of his surrender to Gen^l Grant. I chanced to be standing within a rod of Gen^l Grant when he dismounted from his horse upon his return from the consummation of his first year's work as Lt. Gen. of the U.S. armies.* He seemed almost as cool and unmoved as when I saw him ride to the front at Petersville one day last week. While his staff officers were looking about for drink of a more *spiritual* nature, he satisfied his own thirst by drinking from a tin cup wh[ich] he filled with water from a pail wh[ich] stood near by. Then sitting down on Gen. Gibbon's camp chair he cut off a twig from a little bush at his feet and began to whittle. In a few seconds he turned to Gen. Gibbon & drily remarked "I think we will begin to go home tomorrow." Gen. Gibbon got enthusiastic at once, and shouted to his comrades of Grant's staff, "Hurra, boys, hurra! We're going home". In striking contrast was the immovable Grant, though even *he* gave evidence of satisfaction which could not be concealed. Night closes upon over a hundred thousand happy Union soldiers who can now lie down between their blankets for the first time since the opening of the war with the surety that there will be no fighting on the morrow.

[April 11] Spent last night at headquarters of the 10th U.S. C.T. & with Col. Armstrong. I found him exhilarated in the highest degree by the great victory and boiling over with fun. He rules his boys of the reg^t with a vigorous hand, but seems to be loved & respected by them all. He claims the honor of being the first to enter Petersburg and the first to check the escape of the rebels on Sunday by the advance of Capt. Noonan's company of black skirmishers. We had a delightful retrospect of college days as we sat at the open front of his tent before the huge camp fire, while our ears were charmed by the fine music of the black band

* Many years later Frank described his observation of this scene as one of the supreme moments of his life.

Frank had seen the closing scene and some of the chief players in a great drama.⁴ He spent several more days in the service of the Commission. He observed the mistresses of plantations and their meanest slaves receiving the same rations, "so that there is at least one bond of union between them, a union based on the solid foundation of Gov^t hard tack." He called on the attractive little rebel, Miss Carrington, again. He visited hospitals, cleaned out a church with a cedar-bough broom of his own manufacture, ministered to the soldiers and the Negroes, visited Richmond. But everything must have been, in relation to what he had seen and felt, an anticlimax. He had now been to school to the most stern and terrible of all teachers—war. He had seen in defeat the chieftain who personified the hope of half a nation. And on April 16 came the news of the assassination of Lincoln, whom he had voted for in 1864, traveling from Andover to Fitchburg in order to do so. On April 20 Frank was taking note in his journals of the flowers in the woods and the rich deep note of the mocking bird. Far away in Brooklyn a poet was soon to end a famous threnody:

Lilac and star and bird twined with the chant of my soul,
There in the fragrant pines and the cedars dusk and dim.

his independent studies and the cultivation of his social nature; occasionally he participated in games of chess or "football"—that is, kicking a ball around in the snow. In January of 1865 he notes that Charles Treat and he were reading daily three pages of Hebrew from the Pentateuch. In the following year he was engaging weekly in an hour of German conversation with another friend. Frank's comments make it clear that his days at Andover, with their varied activities, were among his happiest.

Andover was a quiet little town of tall elms and shaded walks. It contained three educational institutions of note—the Theological Seminary, Phillips Academy for boys (now Phillips Andover), and the Abbot Academy ("the Fem. Sem."), one of the oldest girls' schools in the East. Many people would not have found the town exciting. A professor in the Seminary once explained that Andover did not need the opera and the theater; it had the sewing circle and the church. The little boys are said to have played at preaching. In the 1860's the atmosphere was probably as heavy with learning, dignity, and orthodoxy as during Dr. Holmes's residence there. To illustrate the preoccupation with learning, a story is told of a Seminary professor who was fond of introducing Latin phrases not only in his sermons but also in his prayers. "O Lord," he is said to have prayed, "Thou art the *sine qua non* of our hopes and the *ne plus ultra* of our expectations."¹ (This bit of pedantry is perhaps no more startling than the case of the possibly mythical tutor, scientific rather than classical in his turn of mind, who began a prayer: "O Thou who dost cause the planets to revolve in their elliptical orbits—the force of attraction varying inversely as the square of the distance."²) The dignity of Andover, or rather a respect for social conventions often mistaken for its leading component, may be illustrated by an anecdote told by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps [Ward], the daughter of Professor Phelps of the Seminary. One night a swain of the town kissed a beautiful young girl, who thereupon cried for twenty-six hours, though apparently she stopped long enough to explain her sad plight to her teachers and friends, who flamed with indignation. From this

daughter of Jonathan Edwards. He was wedded to a theology of almost identical extraction. If the Deacon's Masterpiece—the wonderful "one-hoss shay"—had really broken down, Park was unaware of the fact. He had somewhat liberalized the older theology, it is true, but he blissfully ignored the encroachments of science and the new kind of biblical criticism already well developed in Germany. Park gave lectures which Newman Smyth, in his *Recollections and Reflections*, was to call "theological gymnastics." He was a powerful preacher and had a mind at once logical and subtle; indeed the subtlety bolstered the logic. Students noted that when the more independent-minded among them (John Bascom, for instance, in an earlier day) disagreed with Park, the Professor assumed that they really agreed but did not know how to express themselves. Sometimes Park had to fall back upon the inscrutability of the Inscrutable, as when, after considering the doctrine of future punishment, he ventured to imply that the Deity may have ways, still unknown to us, of dealing with sinners.

During his middle year Frank kept in a large ledger his notes of Park's lectures, occasionally adorning the pages with "proof texts" cut from a Bible and neatly pasted in at appropriate points. A few of Frank's notes will show that Park had a talent for lively illustration of the abstruse:

What is the distinction between the secret & the revealed will of God? The distinction an exceedingly *infelicitous* one. One strong arg[umen]^t for the truth of the gospel is that it has had strength to survive the explanation of ministers and theologians. . . .

There is one divine in this class who the other day suggested a question wh[ich] had it been put in the Middle Ages would have made that man a Duns Scotus or a Thomas Aquinas. The question was: "If an infant dies before it is born, w[oul]d it need to be *born again* before it can be saved?"

. . . The grace of God can live where neither you nor I can said Whitefield to a young man who asked him which he had better marry, a woman of amiable temperament but not an Xⁿ,* or a woman who was an Xⁿ. . . .

* Christian.

deacon with an ear trumpet. A similar sight had caused one of Frank's friends to suggest, picturesquely, that a deaf man's ear was smoking a meerschaum. The church was large and had such an echo that some of Frank's words came tumbling back; but he thought the services successful and, though unlicensed, boldly pronounced the benediction.

Less than a fortnight later he was no longer unlicensed. With nine others he appeared before the Andover Association:

[February 13, 1866] . . . I was called upon to prove God's *Justice* from Nature, to explain the "various readings", to state & prove the doctrine of Saints' Perseverance, Decrees, & the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Then all who had been baptized in infancy were asked to raise their hands. All raised them but me. My mother was a *Baptist*. Then all who were Congregationalists by preference & belief as well as by education. All of us were such. Lastly we were asked to give our religious experience & to state our motives for entering the ministry. We then withdrew until the association had decided our fate, which was to receive licenses, each one for three years.

Frank soon discovered that, as Charles Kingsley remarks, "there is a great deal of human nature in man." In one sermon he offended some women visitors from Richmond by mentioning slavery. Perhaps he invited this result, for, on another occasion, when he found a Confederate soldier present, he referred to "unfeeling rebels." After using the same phrase at Rye, New Hampshire, he listened to the remonstrances of a man who objected to his introduction of "politics": "Told him it would be very unpleasant for me to have people go out but that whatever I considered to be *needed truth*, that I sh^d always endeavor to preach."

The congregation at Rye had had difficulties with their former minister, who persisted in occupying the parsonage though dismissed:

[June 24, 1866] In Mr. O's farewell sermon after bidding goodby to his people whom he had been taking to task for their failings, he turned around to the Baptist minister who sat in the

It was so, for Frank was about ready to start for Kansas.*

§3

Before Frank decided to go to Kansas, he had made another important choice. Besides the "Porter Rhet.," a sort of discussion club, he was attending in his last year at Andover a club called "Les Miserables" (Hugo's novel was sufficiently familiar for Lee's army to be nicknamed "Lee's miserables"), originated by a friend, Fred Allen. It aimed to "combine the literary & social in pleasing proportions." The programs might include an original paper, an essay, and readings, but also "charades and fun." The club contained some Andover students, some townspeople, and more than a dozen young women, a few of these from Abbot Academy. It met every two or three weeks, usually at the home of one of the girls.

Among these girls was Jane Appleton Aiken, invariably called "Jeanie" in Frank's journals (in his later letters "Jean" and "Jane" occur) but also called "Jennie" by her family and friends. Jeanie's hair at this period seems to have been brown but not especially light. She had a broad forehead, hazel eyes, full lips, and a ready smile. On the surface, at least, she seemed gay and vivacious, but she possessed serious intellectual interests and steadfast Christian convictions. Indeed her own journal shows an absorption in religious questions perhaps excessive, for a girl of twenty-one, even in her time. That she was a Congregationalist could hardly have displeased Frank.

Jeanie, who was five years younger than Frank, was the daughter of John Aiken, a business man with educational interests; he had served as trustee of the Theological Seminary and of Phillips Academy. He had moved to Andover in 1850 and lived at 48 Central Street, opposite the Old South Church. Jeanie's

* One of William Allen White's favorite stories concerned an emigrating New England family who are supposed to have exclaimed, "Goodbye, God; we're going to Kansas." White suggested that the correct punctuation may have been something like "Goodbye, God! We're going to Kansas." Since Frank intended to keep on preaching, the first form of the exclamation at any rate would not be pertinent to his case.

had watched pigs fighting for food below a rear window. General and Mrs. Pierce often visited the Aiken house in Andover. Once Pierce's friend Hawthorne came to dinner; when Jeanie summoned up courage to tell him how much she had enjoyed *Tanglewood Tales* and *A Wonder-Book*, the author smiled graciously and declared that, of all his books, he had most enjoyed the writing of these.

When Pierce is first mentioned in Frank's journals he gets short shrift: [February 2, 1866] "Called at the Bucks & Aikens this evening: Alice very agreeable. Jeanie ditto & also lovely & cordial. Saw ex-Pres^t Pierce for a moment. Too bad that he is her uncle." Frank's comment is no doubt colored not by his notions of the amiable and otherwise attractive President's weakness as an executive but by Pierce's position on the question of slavery. From the Robinsons he had probably heard much about Pierce's dealings with Kansas. Frank later saw the more attractive side of Pierce. Family tradition speaks of a visit to the General's summer retreat, Frank, Jeanie, and Julian Hawthorne being house guests. Did Frank ever think of the parallelism between himself and Jeanie on the one hand and, on the other, Franklin ("Uncle Frank") and *his* "Jeanie" (as the General called Mrs. Pierce)? Jeanie Aiken had some of her aunt's nervous sensibility.

Girls who had impressed Frank, like the bold little rebel, Miss Carrington, or the charming little Quaker, Anna Dickinson, now faded into the background. (As a matter of fact, when Frank heard Miss Dickinson speak again in May, along with Wendell Phillips and George Thompson, he commented on Thompson's good English but said nothing of Miss Dickinson.) Miss Lilla Abbot, unaware of manifest destiny, seems to have put in a useless bid: [January 4, 1866] "Took tea & spent evening at Lilla Abbot's. Was the only one invited—very funny. Played me her most beautiful music—for the last time—as she goes to Chicago next week. Skated on Abbot Meadow before tea. Sent Lucy Hollister a card-case in remembrance of the 'sleigh-ride'."

[March 4] Some sleep last night. *Preached* in our own church this forenoon and this evening. Got along nicely. Father & Mother *perfectly satisfied*.* Isn't it glorious. Was completely at ease in the pulpit in spite of my fears. Mr. Davis helped me in the preliminaries. In evening all my friends & relations were out. Have greatly enjoyed the day and feel *very happy* at my success. Still anxious about J[eanie].

[March 6] Letter from Jeanie Aiken—very *encouraging*—wants to know me better before deciding—All right now I guess. *Hurra!*

In her journal Jeanie referred to Frank's offer of his love as "a gift so valuable coming from such a pure noble heart that I am truly thankful to God. . . ."

Back in Andover on March 12, Frank called on Jeanie and had "a most delightful time." On March 14 he described his state as "perfect bliss"; he "stayed till five minutes of midnight." Some days later he took his sister Martha to see Jeanie and was delighted to observe that the two girls were pleased with each other. There remained "the dread ordeal of the talk with Jeanie's father," after which Frank records the first exchange of kisses. [March 27] "Went to sleep last night in a *peaceful holy joy* never felt before. Tea and long evening with Jeanie. Mrs. A. says many kind words to me." Jeanie's cousin, little Lottie Ripley, soon addressed him as "Uncle Snow" ("Venerable youth!"), and he was greatly amused by a friend's "set speech of felicitation." When he went to Fitchburg for a brief vacation in late April, he gathered some wild flowers and sent them to Jeanie. During this visit his cousin Mary Snow Haskell, "the cheerful lively chatterbox of former days," died; as he stayed up all night with "dear Mary's lifeless clay," he turned to Jeanie's letters for solace.

In a few days he was again at Andover: [May 4, 1866] "Yesterday came back from Fitchburg to begin my last term of study at Andover. I came back as I never came before—an "*engaged*" man.—Jeanie Appleton Aiken has made me the *happiest man* on

* The elder Snow had been lukewarm about Frank's plan to become a minister.

I have to resort to it. I begin to think that *NonResistance* is not a good rule for universal practice.

Mr. Dooley was to observe that, though one can choose, for instance, whether to like a man or lend him money, it is hard not to oblige him if he wants to fight. Fiske regretted his precipitate action and made friendly overtures. Once, during Frank's absence, he called at Jeanie's home, but she chose not to appear.

The second incident pointed to a change in Frank's habits. A prankster posted a schedule on his door, signing Frank's name to it:

"Lecture 8½ to 9½ A.M.
Going to the post office 9½ to 12 M.
Making his toilet 3 P.M. to 5
Calls 6½ to 12."

In later days Frank once told a friend he had "batted down the eyes" (as another generation said, "beat the time") of a rival. Several passages make it obvious, however, that both he and Jeanie were considerate of Newman Smyth's feelings. The following passage, which mentions Smyth incidentally, throws some light on the way Frank was spending his time:

[June 29, 1866] My 26th birthday. Read *Ecce Homo*. To Jeanie at 11½ o'clock. Again at 2½ o'clock. We ride to North Andover. Jeanie gives me for my birthday present a nice travelling case, made with her own hands. . . . Jeanie and I go to Prof. Smyth's levee this evening. Lots of people there. Newman Smyth meets Jeanie for first time since 'it' took place. . . . I don't seem to care to talk to people so much as I used. Enjoyed what time I was with Jeanie far better than any other part of the evening. . . . This is the happiest birthday I ever spent.

Ecce Homo (1865), by J. R. Seeley, had attracted attention, and was arousing controversy, by its emphasis upon the purely human side of Christ's character and career. Frank used the book as the subject of his "Anniversary Piece," delivered at the time of his graduation. In early June he had preached in the Old South

Church at Andover, facing a good deal of the "Fem. Sem." in the gallery, as well as townspeople and some of his friends in other parts of the church. Jeanie was there and "behaved splendidly, not changing her countenance once."

July and August were especially busy months. (Were any of Frank's months not busy?) Early in July Jeanie visited Fitchburg and met most of his relatives at a gathering of the Snows and Boutelles. Since at Andover Frank had worn one of the long shawls worn by (often less prosperous) men of the day in lieu of overcoats, she was surprised to discover that they were substantial citizens. In August Frank made a trip to Cumberland, Maine, where Jeanie was visiting. He also went to Williamstown, where he called on President Hopkins and also talked with Professor Chadbourne an hour about the apparatus that would be needed in teaching the sciences. Though preparing for the ministry, Frank had never really given up the idea of teaching. Even on his way to serve as a delegate of the Christian Commission, he had heard of a vacancy in the Springfield High School and had applied for the position, in spite of reluctance to leave the Seminary. Early in 1865 a letter from Dr. Charles Robinson, now ex-governor of Kansas and a regent of the University, still in the planning stage though the plans for its establishment had long been under way, had raised the question of Frank's accepting a professorship of languages. But the University did not open when it was expected to, in the fall of 1865. In November Robinson wrote to Frank again; though the Regents had taken no formal action, he had sounded out several of them and was confident that Frank could have the professorship of languages at the opening of the University in 1866. In December Frank wrote for more information. In January he received another letter, replying to some of his inquiries. Frank answered this letter, enclosing recommendations from Professors Park and Barrows of Andover and Mark Hopkins, Franklin Carter, and John L. T. Phillips of Williams.⁶

As it happened, Frank was elected to a professorship of a kind not anticipated by any of these sponsors.*

Even after he felt assured of a position, he was consulting a number of friends about his decision. Late in July he mentions a letter, which must have been encouraging, from the Rev. Richard Cordley, who had gone out to Kansas as a member of the famous "Andover band"—a group of Seminary students who during 1856 had chosen Kansas as the field of their Christian labors after graduation and who in anticipation of those labors had assembled in regular prayer meetings.

[August 2, 1866] Graduate from Andover. Father & Willie came in this morning to hear me.† I get through all right & have rec^d a great many congratulations upon my success. People are too kind to me. Father puts in my hand letters from Kansas informing [me] of my election to the Professorship of Mathematics & natural science in the State University of Kansas.

This is too cruel to tear me away so soon from Jeanie. But—it must be borne. This seems to be a *splendid opening*, but O, how far away. And it will be very hard for Jeanie. Father is very anxious that I shall *accept*. So are Uncle Spooner & Aunt Lucy. And so all my student friends & Prof. Park.

During his Andover years Frank had traversed new fields of learning. He had increased his skill in public speaking. His knowledge of the ways of life had been enlarged, not only through his studies at Andover but also through his experiences with the Christian Commission, described in the preceding chapter. There were other gains. The most important, Frank doubtless thought, was Jeanie Aiken.

He could not have known to what extent his life had been shaped on the day he decided to go to Kansas—an important day for Kansas, too.

* The circumstances are explained more fully on pages 105-06.

† The reference is to Frank's "Anniversary Piece" on *Ecce Homo*. At the "Anniversaries" the various classes were given public examinations. The librarian at the Andover Newton Theological Library at Newton states that Frank's speech on "The Theology of *Ecce Homo*" was one of twenty-three speeches delivered during the day.

Part Two
Snow of Kansas

VI

Early Years in Lawrence

An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance."

The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands.

—Prov. 30:27.

§1

BY 1866 LAWRENCE, Kansas, had passed through the most dramatic period of its history. Settled in 1854 by a party of New Englanders under the leadership of Charles Robinson of Fitchburg, who on a trip to California in 1849 had camped on Mount Oread, it had soon become the center of political conflict and intrigue by such masters of the art as Jim Lane, the flamboyant opportunist—eloquent, unscrupulous, and apparently at times deranged—whose rivalry with the cool and resourceful Robinson was still fresh in the minds of many of its citizens. Some of them had the indelible memory of Quantrill's raid, which had left the town aflame and its chief street littered with corpses. An old friend of Frank Snow's, Josiah C. Trask, had died in that raid. During his first years in the city, young Snow must have heard many stories of the raid, from the Rev. Mr. Cordley and others. Several of these stories reflected rare presence of mind. During the raid, one man had avoided death by being disguised as "Aunt Betsy" holding a baby in "her" arms. Another had run into a strange house, put on a bonnet and dress, and walked away undetected. A young woman whose yard was full of flowers had enabled her husband to escape by means of a speech which she had quickly formulated after observing that the leader of an approaching gang wore a flower in his hat. "Good morning," she said calmly. "You have come to see my flowers." The man com-

plimented her on them and ordered his followers not to molest the house, in which her husband was concealed.¹ In recovering from the raid, the citizens had shown a resilience of which they were to stand in need again and again, as, for instance, during the floods of 1903 or 1951.

In 1866 Lawrence was a city of several thousand—probably about 6,000 or 7,000. As they had for years, white-covered wagons still filled the roads, carrying emigrants on their way to southern Kansas or elsewhere. Snow found the atmosphere to be one of forward-looking enterprise. "We are all young out here," he was to comment. He observed, too, that the town was "full of youthful Daniel Websters and Charles Sumners" and that crowds flocked to hear even a phrenologist expound his quackery. He was to notice also the breezy, sometimes turgid Western style of speech—his friend David H. Robinson or himself being referred to in the papers, for example, as "the eminent Professor" or "the distinguished lecturer."

Soon after Snow's arrival in Lawrence on September 1, 1866, he called upon the Rev. R. W. Oliver, Chancellor of the University. At the time Oliver was a bit uncertain of his duties; the Board of Regents later explained that he was to preside over meetings of the Regents and act as a financial agent. Born in Scotland in 1815, he had served as an officer in the British army but had given up his military career to become an Episcopal clergyman. He had been a chaplain in the Union army, but before the end of the War had come to Lawrence as rector of the Episcopal Church. An amiable and gregarious man, he was blessed with a certain shrewdness and a sense of humor. Suspecting that a Baptist minister was attempting to proselytize members of his Sunday School, he remonstrated with the man for trying to transform his chickens into ducks. Perhaps imagery involving fowl, villatic or wild, came naturally to Oliver, as a sentence from Snow's letter below may indicate:

[September 3, 1866] In coming back from church to the Governor's* house directly, I almost got lost on the high prairie in the high wild grass. At almost every step one starts up a wild pigeon or a flock of prairie chickens or a covey of quail.

Upon my arrival in Lawrence on the first, after taking my first Kansas meal at the Sherman House, I met my former townsman, Mr. Samuel Kimball, who at once took me to the Episcopal Rectory, where he introduced me to the Rev. R. W. Oliver, the Chancellor of the University, who I thought would inform me of the necessary preliminary steps to be taken before the opening of the University on the twelfth instant. I found him in his study in company with the O. S. Presbyterian minister, the Rev. W. A. Starrett, a member of the Board of Regents. They were smoking long-stemmed pipes and the air was saturated with tobacco smoke. The Chancellor informed me that he didn't think of anything that needed to be done before the opening day, and advised me to get a gun at Jaedicke's and a horse at O'Connor's stable and go hunting prairie chickens and quail.²

Young Snow followed his suggestion, as apparently did David H. Robinson, the new Professor of Ancient Languages. Snow liked to recall Oliver's advice (he did so in the first Chancellor's presence on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University) as a sort of beginning for his activities as a scientist. Moreover, from an inspection of their surroundings Snow and Robinson acquired a livelier appreciation of their scholastic problems. The country swarmed with game but not with prospective students.

From his windows Snow could during some evenings look out upon dozens of prairie fires, often upon a sea of flame miles in length, for in the fall the farmers burned the long grass. The Indians near Lawrence—Kaws, Delawares, Sacs, or Sauks, and Foxes—occasionally appeared in order to trade buffalo robes and other articles in the city. They were adorned with paint and rings and wore their hair in fantastic braids. Snow assured Jeanie Aiken of their peaceful intentions. They were more likely to be victims than aggressors. An especially wild-looking redskin, clad only in a

* Charles Robinson, then a member of the Board of Regents.

blanket, was one day made drunk by some colored citizens, who stole his pony; as Snow relates, the thieves were identified in police court.

Occasionally wild Indians did appear, as Snow explained in a letter regarding three chiefs "of a tribe called the Washitaws":

As Prof. Robinson and I were returning from the Post Office we saw them in front of us buying water-melons at a huckster's stand on the side-walk. They each selected a huge one and when they reached the spot where their ponies were tied, they sat down on the side-walk—or rather upon their heels—and devoured a big melon, digging out the rich pulp with their fingers.

They were dressed in red and green blanket stuff which was made into tight-fitting trousers and a sort of toga wound loosely around the waist and shoulders. They had their bows and arrows on behind them—huge bows and quivers full of arrows. Their faces were painted all over with thick paint, the forehead a bright vermilion and two streaks of the same color running across the cheek bones. The rest of the face was a yellow color.

The great chief of the tribe was a monstrous fellow. They called him "The Shadower." His tribe was now collected with several other tribes at the Big Bend of the Arkansas where they are receiving rations from the Government. This delegation of the Washitaws with their lovely squaws are on their way to visit the Delawares, who have a reservation not far north of Lawrence. This sort of visiting they call "smoking ponies." They stay a few days with a tribe as they "swing round the circle" smoking the peace pipe, and when they go, their hosts present them with one or more nice ponies. It would be deemed very dishonorable not to do that. So the visitors return home with a nice lot of ponies, which they in turn give away to *their* visitors.³

Snow was soon grateful for Indian ponies, since Charles Robinson presented one each to him and Professor Robinson, later thoughtfully adding some bushels of corn for feed. Kitty, the pony Snow rode at first, was transferred to Professor Robinson after Snow acquired Gypsy, the more handsome of the two. Gypsy often pranced about as if to throw her rider, but, as Snow proudly affirmed, even in antic moods was constrained to acknowledge his

mastery. For a time she lived an independent life; in October of 1867 she had been gone for four months when Snow found her, fat and saucy, on the prairie with her pretty "little daughter colt." For more than a generation Lawrence citizens were to remember Snow on the Indian pony, invariably at a gallop. Though the Indians had taught Gypsy briskness, her pace struck beholders as symbolic of Snow's dispatch.

§2

The site of the University was Mount Oread, thus named as a compliment to Eli Thayer, organizer of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, who had sponsored a school for young women, the Oread Collegiate Institute, on a hill in Worcester, Massachusetts. The name had a classical flavor, oreads being mountain nymphs in Greek mythology, and is certainly more euphonious than Back Bone Ridge, said to be one of its predecessors.

The first building, later called North College, on the site of the present North College Dormitory, was soon a place to show visitors, as was the big windmill on the hill west of Mount Oread, for grinding meal and flour from grain and manufacturing wagons and plows. Sight-seers might also inspect the old fort on the southern part of "the Hill," as Mount Oread is called, or the first log cabin built by the Free-state men, or the burial place of Quantrell's victims.

The second University catalogue mentions proudly that the new buildings commanded a sweeping view of the Kaw (or Kansas River) for about fifteen miles of country, dotted with hundreds of farms. In the opposite direction lay the valley of the Wakarusa. Visitors like Bayard Taylor had admired the beauty of the scene. Snow reports that John Pierpont, the well-known Unitarian clergyman and lecturer, had exclaimed, "If God ever made a more beautiful spot than this, I have never seen it!" No trees grew on the Hill in those early days, impeding the view. The other trees in the city were mostly young.

The beauty of the country could be breath-taking, as Snow discovered when spring came, bringing the verbenas, the wild strawberries, and the blue woodland and pink prairie phlox, but the Hill, and indeed all of Lawrence, could show its muddy vesture too—as Mrs. Snow later described it, a general “puddingness.”

Snow’s letter of September 9 tells of a rude introduction to the ways of the terrain: “There are no buildings between the University and our boarding place on Kentucky Street,* and a ditch about eight feet deep with nearly perpendicular sides is located about half way between the two buildings. When Professor Robinson and I came down from the hill last night it was very dark and raining and I tumbled head foremost into the soft, muddy ooze, to the serious detriment of my clothing. I could hardly have extricated myself from the ditch but for the aid of Professor Robinson, to whom a lightning flash revealed my location.”⁴

Before Snow left the East, he had called on Amos A. Lawrence (1814-1886), for whom, originally at the suggestion of Charles Robinson, the city had been named. Lawrence had already turned over to trustees, one of them Robinson, notes valued at \$10,000, to be used for building a Free-state college. Various churches—the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal—had tried fruitlessly to establish a school under the conditions necessary to obtain the fund. In 1864 the Legislature, after an intense struggle, had passed a law establishing the University at Lawrence, with the proviso that the city should supply forty acres of land and a \$15,000 endowment; the funds were raised by Mr. Lawrence and citizens. In July of 1866 Chancellor Oliver reported to the Regents his success in persuading the Episcopal Church and the city of

* 933 Kentucky Street, as shown by one of Snow’s letters. A letter of April 26, 1867, indicates that after the marriage of Mrs. Weld’s daughter to J. C. Horton, both Snow and Robinson roomed at North College, boarding at the house of the Rev. W. C. Tenney, the Unitarian minister. In the fall of 1867, because the appointment of Mrs. Cynthia A. Smith as teacher of French necessitated giving up their sleeping quarters, Snow and Robinson moved to the Tenney house.

Lawrence to give up any claims to the property on Mount Oread. He had procured from General Jim Lane a small tract of land necessary to complete the square around the University building. After a visit to the East and some negotiations he had also obtained the right to use the funds originally raised for the relief of sufferers from the Quantrill raid. Some of it had been lent out to merchants and other citizens to re-establish their homes and places of business. The building, Oliver reported, was nearly complete.⁵

Amos A. Lawrence and other trustees of the Quantrill relief funds were willing to turn over part of the funds to the Regents "for the purpose of securing an education free of expense to the children of those who fell in the Quantrell* raid." The Regents agreed that orphans of Quantrill's victims and of Union soldiers of Kansas should not be charged tuition.

At the time state universities had to reckon with the joint claims of church and government. In spite of the example of Jefferson in founding the University of Virginia, sectarianism was a strong force in education. Various denominations wanted to found or maintain their own colleges; in some cases, they tried to prevent the founding of state universities. The next step, if they failed in this, was to control them as much as possible.⁶ These considerations throw light on what happened in Lawrence on July 19, 1866. In making sure that no one denomination be represented by a faculty majority, the Regents were attempting to create a safeguard against undue influence by any religious body. The Regents' minutes merely record that F. H. Snow, a Dr. Alden, and E. J. Rice were nominated for the professorship of belles lettres and "mental and moral science," E. J. Rice being elected. David H. Robinson was then elected Professor of Languages, and Frank Snow Professor of Mathematics and Natural Science. Each of the three men was to receive, and did receive, a salary of \$1600 a year.⁷ Snow later learned from "reliable tradition," probably from Governor Robinson, that "the Methodists elected the first professor, the Baptists the second, while the Congregationalists

* Often so spelled.

and Presbyterians contended for the third, and it was long after midnight when the contest was finally won by the Congregationalists.⁸ The charter of the University of Kansas had been modeled on that of the University of Michigan. For a time Michigan had been naming representatives of each religious denomination for professorships.⁹

On September 13 Snow wrote:

The opening exercises. . . occurred yesterday forenoon, beginning just after the carpenters had driven the last nails in completing the main stairway. The principal address was given by Judge Solon O. Thacher, and was full of wisdom, and hopefulness for the future of the institution. Our President pro. tem.* delivered an original poem of which I recall only two lines:

'Twas here was shed the patriots' blood,
Not drop by drop, but in a flood.

. . . The Univ. building is fifty feet square and has three stories. The lower story or basement has four rooms—two large and two small. I shall fit up my chemical laboratory in one of the large rooms as soon as the apparatus already ordered shall arrive. One of the smaller rooms is occupied by the janitor.† In the second story are four rooms, two large and two small, one on each side of the spacious hall. My recitation room and study, connecting with each other, occupy the eastern half of this story, commanding a beautiful view of the whole town of Lawrence and the surrounding country for fifteen or twenty miles. Professor Robinson's recitation and study rooms occupy the western half of this story. In the third story is the chapel, which is a beautiful room and occupies the whole northern half of the floor, and two smaller rooms are set aside for library and museum. The latter are both empty now, except that there are a few Congressional reports‡ in the one and three or four geological specimens of our own collecting in the other.¹⁰

* E. J. Rice had been named acting president of the faculty, chiefly because of his seniority. (The Regents' minutes [December 5, 1866] clearly indicate that he was made acting president, not president.)

† Among the "puerilities" Snow noticed in an early catalogue was probably the naming of the janitor among the faculty. Dr. Albert Newman, an intelligent local physician who volunteered to deliver lectures on physiology and hygiene, was mentioned as lecturer.

‡ Mentioned in the University catalogue as "the nucleus of a library."

The Regents included such men as Judge Solon O. Thacher, a fellow member of Snow's church whom he regarded as the ablest of Kansans, ex-Governor Robinson, and the enterprising Cyrus K. Holliday, the Santa Fe's founder and first president. This fact was fortunate, for difficulties abounded. Kansas had hardly a genuine high school; a few so-called high schools did exist, the most respectable one being at Leavenworth. As in other state universities of the time, a preparatory department was a necessity. Still the members of the faculty must have been startled when they discovered that the students meeting in the chapel before the opening exercises included not one of college rank. Twenty-two boys and eighteen girls were candidates for the preparatory department; in a few days the total number had increased to fifty-five. For some years scoffers liked to refer to the University as the Lawrence High School. One member of the Kansas legislature offered to have his wife do all the teaching for \$500 a year. During the first years it was a problem to keep even the small enrollment. Professor Robinson recalled that in the spring of 1867 more than half the students mysteriously dropped out of school. Upon investigating, he and Snow discovered that they had gone home to assist in farm work. After some missionary effort the two men were able to combat the exodus, and the year closed with an enrollment of twenty-two. Early in 1868 Snow noted that one girl—the whole junior class—was reciting to him daily for half an hour in *Evidences of Christianity*.* After marrying this charming girl, Miss Henrietta Beach, Robinson explained that he had deemed it expedient to attach the junior class permanently to the institution.

In spite of all obstacles, the young teachers were determined to maintain high standards. When a girl who had been a sophomore at a small religious school of Kansas presented herself, she learned that she was not quite ready for the freshman class. Early in January three students were sent away "for lack of brains." In February of 1868 Snow comments, "We aim to be *thorough*, even

* In those days, a common study.

if we don't graduate a student for *ten years*. You wonder that so few are ready for the college course, but you must remember that our standard is as high as that at Harvard. . . ."11

From the first, too, the sympathies of the faculty made it certain that there would be no exclusion of students on the ground of either color or sex. After he and his colleagues had persuaded the students to adopt a tolerant attitude towards their admission, Snow regretted that the two colored girls who applied in 1868 had to be refused for lack of scholarship. Though the charter of the University had specified that the buildings for "the female branch" should be separate from those of "the male branch," no attempt was ever made to carry out this provision, so that the University of Kansas was one of the earliest—probably the third—of co-educational state universities.

The acting president of the faculty, Elial J. Rice, a college graduate from New York, had founded Savannah Seminary in Ohio and been superintendent of schools at Evansville, Indiana. During his year in Lawrence he was often too ill to teach; his youngest colleague considered that he had tuberculosis and sometimes looked like "a living skeleton." His classes were often taken by his wife.

At first Rice impressed Snow as opinionated. In matters affecting the conduct of the school Rice was a minority of one, unable to cope with the future Chancellor and the future Dean of the College. Rice grew "more tractable."

Snow and Robinson were soon warm friends. David H. Robinson had been valedictorian of his class at the University of Rochester in 1859 and had secured his Master's degree there in 1862.* Before his call to the University he had taught Latin in Leavenworth. For nearly thirty years students were to be struck by his joviality, kindly humor, and ready sympathy. One youth

* At this period nearly all the colleges in the country conferred the M.A. degree upon graduates who returned for Commencement at the end of three years and who paid a small fee. (Frank Snow and several of his classmates had thus been awarded the M.A. degree in 1865 at Williams.) At Harvard the current saying was that staying out of jail after getting an A.B. would earn one the higher degree.

remembered becoming so interested in Latin that he kept his diary in that language.¹² Robinson treated the language as if it were alive, introducing it in class conversations, sometimes using its sonorousness to impart dignity to amusing accounts of current happenings. He was a tall man with a beard. At this time Snow wore sideburns and was (as already indicated) not quite five and a half feet tall. As they strode along together—Robinson was often amused at the rapidity of Snow's pace—they made a striking contrast. Snow reported what a little boy said, referring to their landlady, Mrs. Weld: "That's Mrs. Weld's little professor. She's got one big one and one little one." The little professor wrote to Jeanie Aiken of his boon companion: "You ask if the Prof. and I keep silent study hours. Sometimes I whistle and he sings. Sometimes, when we get tired of study, we read a play of Shakespeare together. He knows how to be funny, and I know how to laugh at him."

Snow and Robinson were soon going on expeditions together. During their first two years in Lawrence they often discussed and decided educational policy. It was well they did so. When Snow returned from his vacation in the East in the fall of 1867, he found Rice's position occupied by Professor John W. Horner, formerly the president of Baker University at Baldwin, whom he described as "an inveterate schemer." (Rice had changed positions with Horner, becoming president of Baker. He took with him letters from prospective students of the University.) The following passage from a letter written in February of 1868 explains why few were displeased by Horner's decision to retire at the end of the term:

I haven't told you of a fuss we had in the chapel the other morning. Prof. Horner is a very quick tempered man. Some of the students had been absent from his literary exercises of the day before. At the close of the devotional exercises he rose and read off the names of the delinquents and told them to pass down stairs to his recitation room. They obeyed one by one as he called their names until he came to Carruth,* who remained in his seat.

*Not W. H. Carruth but a relative.

Horner was so mad that he went to the boy, collared him and was dragging him out of the chapel when I put a stop to the proceedings by saying with considerable force, "Professor Horner, that is a matter for Faculty consideration." He angrily retorted, "No, that is something that belongs to me." Prof. R. upheld me in what I had said, and Horner thus outnumbered, released the boy from his grasp, but went down stairs in a passion. He called a Faculty meeting at close of session and acknowledged his culpability for getting angry, but was sure a conspiracy was on foot to evade his exercises.

He could bring no evidence, and it afterward appeared that the disobedient boy did not know that he was appointed for an exercise. The result is that the boy's parents have withdrawn their three children, one of whom constitutes our Freshman class. So much for a flash of temper.¹³

§2

Several of Snow's letters show his sense of dedication to his new work in Kansas. In October of 1866 he writes, "But I feel now as I have felt all along, that this is the place that God has marked out as my portion of the great vineyard to be cultivated for Him." He realized that this would bring hardships to the future Mrs. Snow, as another letter indicates: "For your sake I wish I might spend my days in New England, and not put you and yours to the trial of our living in this far away land. But when, on the other hand, I think of my work here in this young state, which needs so much the influence of Christian labor, and of the clear and unmistakable guidance which directed me hither, I am greatly perplexed and sorely tried and can find no rest but in trying to commit our way to the dear Father in Heaven."

Though Snow now thought of his mission as that of an educator, he continued to preach often, particularly to country congregations in the Kanwaka and Wakarusa communities and in North Lawrence. In May of 1867 he estimated that he had already preached his seven sermons seventy-seven times; he longed for a little leisure to compose others. He even experimented a bit with extemporaneous sermons. He spoke at a schoolhouse on Thanks-

giving Day, 1866, calling attention to current blessings—the opening of the University, the building of the railroads, the freedom from border warfare with a now regenerate Missouri. Sermon Number 8, first preached at Lawrence in June of 1867, had as its subject “Science and Revelation” and is an interesting reflection of the author’s religious opinions. The youthful preacher declared his belief that the God of the Bible and the God of Nature are one. He advanced the explanation, commonly advanced during the decades after the publication of Charles Lyell’s *Principles of Geology* (1830-33), a book which had caused much controversy, that the “days” of creation were really indefinite periods. This sermon also shows Snow’s interest in Louis Agassiz’s theory that the races of men did not all originate in Eden or from one source, an idea offensive in religious circles. Nevertheless Snow had not moved far from orthodoxy, as his comment (March 12, 1867) on a lecture delivered in Lawrence by Ralph Waldo Emerson* indicates:

Mr. Emerson’s lecture was a very enjoyable production. Our people turned out en masse to hear it, but as is usually the case with regard to him, many were greatly disappointed because they were unable to appreciate his philosophical style and dry delivery. He treated his subject much more logically than is his usual manner. He made use of a vast amount of learning and said some striking and original things. I thought he gave evidence of holding the Darwinian theory of the development of the human race from the tadpole, and was pained to hear him speak of Confucius with as much respect as of Christ.

Mr. Emerson spoke in the Unitarian church Sunday morning, or rather, lectured on “The Immortality of the Soul.” It was a very beautiful discourse, far superior to the lecture of the previous evening.¹⁴

At this time Snow mentioned favorably Hugh Miller’s *Footprints of the Creator*, “devoted to the refutation of development”

* Emerson was only one of several celebrities appearing in Lawrence during these years. In December of 1866 Snow had written enthusiastically of a meeting with Theodore Tilton, journalist and champion of women’s rights. Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony also lectured in Kansas. Snow’s letters indicate that he had more sympathy than his fiancée for the cause of woman suffrage.

—as evolution was then called. That his ideas were to change radically may be judged from the fact that after some twenty years of teaching a Sunday School class, composed mainly of married women, he gave it up, believing that his evolutionary views were offending certain members.

During his early years Snow delivered lectures on secular subjects, too, adding both to his own reputation and that of the University. Early in 1867 he lectured in Topeka on the natural sciences and was gratified when the State Superintendent of Instruction requested that part of the lecture be printed in the *Kansas Educational Journal*. During the next five years his articles on "The Study of Plants," "Natural Science a Necessity in Our Public Schools," "The Higher Education of Woman," and "The Claims of the Natural Sciences" appeared in this periodical, some of these papers having been originally delivered before the State Teachers' Association.¹⁵ In "The Study of Plants" he urged the advantages of botany in introducing nature-study in the elementary schools. "Every blossom of the opening spring speaks eloquently of the wondrous processes by which the vital force within has transformed lifeless elements of matter into beautiful living forms." No expensive apparatus would be necessary, since a single leaf or flower would furnish material for lessons. In the second paper he dwelt upon the importance of nature study in awakening interest and appealing to faculties of observation and reasoning, which should not be made subordinate, as so often, to memory. The great inventors—Watt, Stephenson, Whitney—and the true poets—Chaucer, Milton, Shakespeare—owed much to powers of observation. "The Claims of the Natural Sciences" praises Hugh Miller and "our own Agassiz" for their devotion to science, a study which has the power to invigorate the senses, to awaken admiration of "the mysterious principles of order and beauty in Nature which force themselves upon his [the student's] attention," and in other ways to expand the mental powers. Such study may appeal to the sense of beauty—"one of the purest enjoyments of life." Herbert Spencer was then a great influence in American

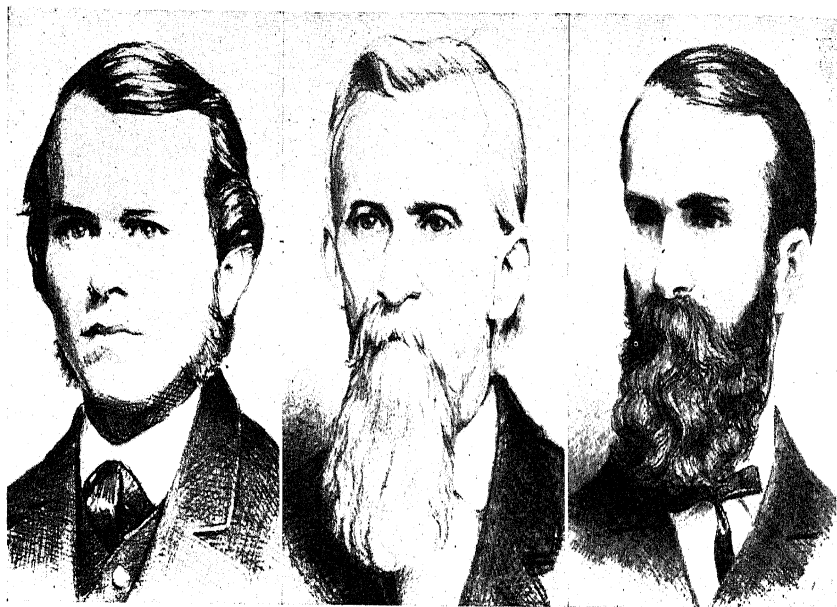


Jane Appleton ("Jeanie") Aiken at
the age of fourteen

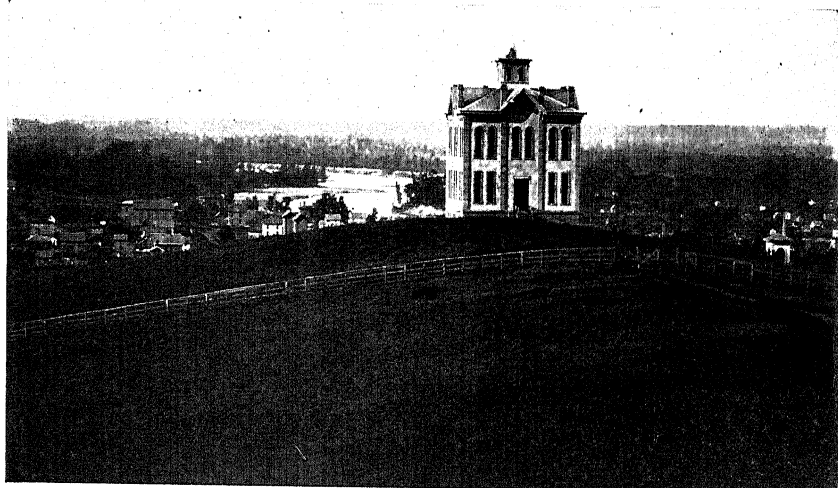


Jane Appleton Aiken at the age of
sixteen

(pictures on this page by courtesy of Miss
Edith Huntington Snow)



The early faculty: Francis Huntington Snow, Elial J. Rice, David H. Robinson. These pictures, like those of Chancellors Fraser and Marvin on later pages, were drawn by Victor Kalin, '42, from early photographs.



Old North College

(Professor Robert Taft, by whose permission the pictures on this page, as well as some other photographs, are reproduced from his "Across the Years on Mount Oread," states that the photograph above was made by Alexander Gardner, of Washington, and credits it to the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

educational circles, and there is a little of Spencer in Snow's ideas; but certainly, unlike some of the newer educational theorists, he recognized the value of Latin and Greek, even in understanding scientific nomenclature. The almost Wordsworthian view of nature as a means of esthetic and even moral education, the emphasis upon the study of nature as a revelation of the divine, would not have surprised Louis Agassiz and many of his contemporaries (Whittier's "The Prayer of Agassiz" is an eloquent record of that scientist's outlook); but Snow had made such ideas his own at Williams College, assimilating them from the teaching of men like Mark and Albert Hopkins and Paul Chadbourne.*

§3

Snow had by the early 1870's evolved an educational philosophy suitable to his role as teacher, but he had chosen the natural sciences as his permanent field of teaching only after considerable deliberation. His early interest in outdoor life and his training in natural history at Williams counted for more than he himself realized. Nevertheless, anticipating that at the end of a few months, when it was hoped Professor Robinson's work could be divided, he would have an opportunity to choose between the sciences and the ancient languages, he sometimes weighed the advantages of each branch of learning. (In reality, Professor Robinson's work was not to be divided for a few years.) At first he felt less prepared to teach the sciences than to teach Greek, but he was sure that the sciences would make a broader appeal to practical-minded Kansans. After holding this conviction awhile, he inclined once more to the languages, the study of which had been "a delight." A little later he reversed himself again, arriving at his final choice of the sciences. In May of 1867 he wrote: "I am appalled at the thought of the vast amount of ground included within my present professorship and can't imagine when I shall even get time to master its many branches of study." It would be

* Cf. pages 28 and 32.

easy to exaggerate Snow's difficulties. Such chairs—a jest current at the time called them settees—were not at all unusual in the newer colleges and universities. They were made inevitable by the small size of enrollments and by the lack of funds. Moreover, graduate work was just beginning to develop. Where would one have found specialists in the modern sense, even if there had been a need for them? How many such specialists, if found, would have had Snow's advantages of knowing the classics and mathematics? How many would have had his enormous energy, his adaptability, and his assimilative power? Furthermore, for the first few years Snow was teaching in the preparatory department. At no time did he attempt to teach all at once the various branches of science. During the first term, indeed, he taught, during the morning hours, chiefly a few classes in mathematics.

One of Snow's students during the first year was Susan Savage, daughter of Joseph and Mary Savage. Susan's father was to collect fossils for the University and to be a frequent host to the Science Club at his farm. Her mother also developed an enthusiasm for science. Both parents became members of the Kansas Academy of Science. An honorable but not altogether kind destiny was in store for Susan. As Susan Savage Alford she was to be the mother of the first University student to fall in the Spanish-American War. From the features of her son Daniel Chester French was to model the face of the student who appears as the companion of Dean Green in front of Green Hall.

As Susan Savage long remembered, after the morning family worship she rode on her pony three miles into town for her first day at the University. She wore her long riding skirt, to be changed later for the hoopskirt which she carried in the book bag hanging on the horn of her saddle. Among her new teachers she was particularly impressed by the cheerful and kindly manner of one who was so boyish-looking that a stranger was to approach him, supposing him to be a student, and to ask to have the faculty, particularly Professor Snow, pointed out. She noticed how Snow would patiently repeat, with no trace of annoyance, his

clear explanation of mathematical principles. Later, she observed his contagious enthusiasm in the teaching of science. In the absence of Professor Robinson, Snow could teach Latin and Greek as competently as mathematics.¹⁶

Among the later students who have written of Snow as a teacher are James W. Gleed and W. C. Stevens. Gleed recalled Snow's tireless labors—his morning classes, his afternoon work among the scientific collections, his studies far into the night. Though Gleed confessed to being by nature a Platonist, "he managed to give me . . . some slight insight into the scientific mode of thought; some appreciation of the value of open mind, exact observation, and just inference; and all this I found of great value in after years."¹⁷

Professor Stevens thus sketches Snow in the classroom:

We see his room filled with students. We see him enter with sprightly step and smiling face. A friendly feeling between teacher and student pervades the room. . . . Questions on the day's lesson are asked clearly and forcibly; the ineffective answer is passed over without reproach, and the successful one is rewarded with a smile. Thus the hour of friendship and good-will is passed, and the students feel a surprising amount of interest in the subject, considering the character of the textbooks then in vogue; for it must be admitted that they were about as barren and dry-as-dust as such things well could be. They were the bare skeletons of science swinging and creaking in the wind; but in the classroom the rare personality of the teacher draped them about until they became comely, and for the moment fair to behold. . . .

It was, of course, a physical impossibility, with classes as large as Professor Snow had, for him to spend much time with any one student. . . . A single laboratory class filled the south and west rooms now occupied by the Greek Museum,* and although one of these rooms lacked the teacher's presence for half the time, order and diligent work were the rule. Once, I remember, the boys barricaded the door between the two rooms with a movable blackboard and proceeded to indulge in horseplay. The teacher

* At the time of which Professor Stevens speaks, Snow's classes were held in the present Fraser Hall.

forced his way in and stood at the entrance laughing. The boys applauded and settled back into good order without a word of remonstrance or reproach from the teacher; and nothing of the kind again occurred. . . .

What was the secret of Professor Snow's success as a teacher? . . . He was friendly, he was kind, he was patient, he was honest, he was lucid and forceful in speech, he was enthusiastic; and above all and under all was his manliness and fearlessness. These characteristics won for him the respect, the admiration, and the affection of hundreds of students who came under his tutelage. In after years we loved to recall, not so much that we had studied botany and zoology at the University, as that we had studied them under Professor Snow.¹⁸

Snow's letters indicate that from the beginning he made some use of the experimental method. ". . . I have many experiments to perform, and so far have made no failure," he comments in October, 1867. He was more fortunate than many of his contemporaries. One reason why students remembered the lectures of Ezra Carr, Professor of Natural Sciences at the University of Wisconsin, was his coolness after the failure of an experiment.¹⁹ Even William James's experiments did not always go as planned: "When he drew his own blood with his pocket knife and applied the litmus test, his gore appeared to be acid; and the experiment was carried no further because there were no volunteers to provide the needed material."²⁰ In an earlier generation than James's, Professor John W. Webster used to conduct a renowned experiment, "the volcano," in which he placed potassium chlorate, potash, sugar, and sulphuric acid on a bit of soapstone. While the instructor was leaving through a private door, members of the class vied with each other in dashing through other doors and windows, to escape the stench and charcoal-filled air. Webster is also memorable as the only Harvard professor to be executed for murder.²¹

§4

Snow was to win renown not only as a teacher of science but also as a pioneer scientist. Professor Robinson mentions Septem-

ber 14, 1866, as the date of the first University "scientific excursion." The three members of the faculty rode on horseback to Cameron's Bluff, in search of petrified turtles. Robinson and Snow rode so hard and behaved so boyishly that they "quite shocked our venerable President, who never thereafter could be induced to ride with us." On October 1, Snow rode three miles along the banks of the Kaw and found a "fossil print of the side of a fish."

In his early years at the University he devoted much of his time to Kansas ornithology. A passage in his journals concerning a hunting expedition in Fitchburg had set forth misgivings about the hunting of wild creatures. But in a frontier society, with its limitations of diet and its need of game for food, and in the collection of species for scientific purposes, many naturalists found it necessary to use the gun.

One day while out hunting for ducks, Snow saw a pair of large pelicans overhead. After he fired, his heart, he said, nearly jumped into his mouth as he saw one of the birds, a strange combination of oddity and beauty, with wings four feet long, fall at his very feet. Finding a man who had had some experience in stuffing animals, Snow worked with him from half past eight to midnight in removing the skin.

Not all his shots were so lucky. Professor Robinson, a frequent hunting companion, remembered Snow's getting sand in his gun while stalking some game, so that his shot blew off the end of the barrel. A more serious mishap was narrowly averted when Snow, mounted on his pony, was attempting to ford the Wakarusa; pony and rider were swept downstream and reached the bank only after a struggle.²²

For some years Snow was the only Kansas naturalist with an active interest in its ornithology. His *Catalogue of the Birds of Kansas* (1872) underwent many revisions.²³ In the fifth edition, appearing in 1903, Snow estimated that during the last third of the preceding century he had catalogued 305 species and nine varieties of Kansas birds. By 1904 he had verified the occurrence

in Kansas of 348 species and varieties. After Colonel N. S. Goss of Topeka had begun the assembling of his extraordinary collection, Snow left the study of Kansas birds largely to the picturesque Colonel. As late as 1903, however, he made a long journey to check a report that an Arizona road runner had been seen in western Kansas.

The practical importance of birds Snow expounded in an address "The Relation of Birds to Horticulture" (1876). One sentence, "The value of the quail as a destroyer of grasshoppers will warrant the protection of this bird by the most stringent enactments" was based on close observation of the quail's diet by a higher dietary agency. Quail often alighted in or near Snow's yard. He sometimes shot them for breakfast. One morning he was haled into court by a policeman who happened to be near the scene of the shooting. Opening the quail's stomach with a knife, Snow pointed out to the magistrate the evidence of the fact that quail can devour acorns. According to tradition, the court, apparently awed by the ways of science, released him in time to lead a chapel service. The *Observer of Nature* for March 15, 1876, contains this comment: "The new game law, which went into effect on the first of March, contains a section granting special privileges to naturalists for the collection of birds for scientific purposes. Hereafter our Professors of Natural History, in their ornithological researches, will not have to run the risk of being summoned before the Police Judge."

Meteors, too, were to have a practical use, but another generation passed before they became mortgage-lifters. In the autumn of 1867, knowing that meteors were scheduled to fall, Snow prepared a lecture on the subject:*

In the notice of my lecture a week ago it was stated that there was a peculiar fitness between the subject of the lecture and the time of its delivery, since a grand meteoric shower had been predicted for the night of the 12th of November (or the 13th). The

* The proceeds of the lecture, well attended, were to be used in buying an organ for the university chapel.

lecture was on the 12th, hence my reputation was somewhat at stake.

I found a party of six of the students already on the watch, as they had been on the preceding night. . . . When they were coming down the thickest I sent two of the boys to ring the Methodist bell, that all the people might see the splendid sight. I have become quite a lion in this community and have received many congratulations upon my success in getting up a shower of meteors to illustrate my lecture.²⁴

If the stars in their courses did not fight for Snow, at least the shower of meteors, which began near midnight and was falling at the rate of nearly twenty-five a minute between three and four o'clock of November 13, trailing green or golden light, did no harm to his reputation. His letter to a Lawrence paper on the subject was sent out by telegraph and appeared in the newspapers of Chicago and St. Louis, as well as of other cities, chiefly in Kansas and Missouri. In Lawrence, too, Snow's lecture made such an impression that the city council contributed a small sum to help build an observatory.*

In the following year Snow shifted his attention from meteors in the more restricted sense to meteorology. By 1873 he was serving as meteorologist for the State Board of Agriculture, a position he held for several years. At the end of thirty-five years of compiling weather records, he estimated that he had devoted to the task, in terms of eight-hour days and six-day weeks, the equivalent of five years and six weeks. During his absence from Lawrence and regularly during the period of his Chancellorship, assistants made the daily observations, chiefly by means of instruments in the dome of Fraser Hall, but it was he who compiled the monthly and annual reports. His were the oldest continuous weather records in the state; in fact they were among the oldest of the sort in the country. In 1904 Snow could say that his Monthly

* The first observatory was in the cupola of North College. According to J. Howard Compton,²⁵ the new observatory was a small building in front of the site of Fraser Hall. After this second observatory was torn down, a temporary building not far from the site of the present Chancellor's residence was put up to protect the few astronomical instruments which the University owned.

Weather Report was the oldest Kansas publication "that never missed an issue or [came] out late." It was regularly sent out to dozens of Kansas newspapers. Not all of the editors recognized its value. Snow liked to tell of one who returned an issue, saying he did not care to know what the weather had been; he knew that himself. What he wanted was a reliable weather forecast.

Others were more appreciative. In the course of time, Snow found, lawyers used the weather data in court; engineers consulted them in estimating desirable sizes for culverts; farmers could make use of the facts about the average last killing frosts or temperature ranges.²⁶

The reports also demonstrated that Kansas weather is the subject of much legend. Even Kansans, reacting against the roseate pictures of promoters in the East, liked to exaggerate its perversities. In their less chauvinistic moods Kansans admit that their climate has a spicy variety. They do not claim that the state is rainless; they are willing to call a breeze a wind before it blows posts out of the ground. They proudly exaggerate the depth of their mud, or occasionally their dust, telling the story of the rider whose neck was barely visible above the mud, or the dust, and whose horse was almost entirely invisible. When somebody commiserated with him, he replied, "Oh, I'm all right, but I'm a little worried about the two fellows below me." In truth, the eastern third of Kansas gets as much rain as any of the states except a few along the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts; the wind in eastern Kansas compares favorably with the wind in states like Illinois and Ohio. Western Kansas is less windy than the Panhandle of Texas or parts of Oklahoma. Such facts, some of them definitely established by Snow's records, are a balm to Kansas pride.²⁷ Snow was widely quoted in 1907 as having shown that the Kansas climate had become more moist in recent years. Willis Moore of the U.S. Weather Bureau attributed the seeming change to the cyclical nature of weather.²⁸ One of the indignant Kansans who replied to him was Congressman Philip C. Campbell. The Congressman alleged that Moore "probably has visions of buffalo

disporting themselves in our great state. No doubt he still thinks we have grasshoppers out here. He probably indulges in the delusion that we have long-whiskered populists."

The association in the public mind of droughts with grasshoppers and Populists was not altogether illogical. Undeniably grasshoppers (Rocky Mountain locusts), which have greatly outnumbered buffaloes, Populists, and nearly all other fauna, do like hot dry weather. When Snow came to Kansas, they were thriving vigorously. As he traveled to Leavenworth in September, 1866, to fill a preaching appointment for one of the Regents, he saw that his train moved slowly and sometimes stood still because the crushed bodies of grasshoppers on the track made the locomotive wheels revolve ineffectually.²⁹ Though 1874 was the grasshopper year in all Kansas, in the eastern part of the state the spring of 1875 was just as bad. In May, 1875, two weeks after the hatching of a colony on Mount Oread, Snow caught 190 grasshoppers with a single sweep of his hand. In an article in the *Observer of Nature*³⁰ he mentioned three farmers who by means of ditching had destroyed in ten days 320 bushels of the pests; he himself had caught in his butterfly net half a bushel in half an hour. He estimated that on June 1 a quart contained 4,000 hoppers, whereas five days later, the hoppers having almost doubled in size, it contained a paltry 2,100 specimens. A man living near Tecumseh told a University of Kansas student that grasshoppers had invaded his pens and eaten the skin off a hog. A Kansas farm boy, the future scientist Clarence E. McClung, told of an old woman who gathered her cabbages and put them under a tub; when she later lifted the tub, she found only a tubful of hoppers.³¹ (It must have been about this time that Grasshopper Falls, Kansas, was rechristened Valley Falls.) One of Snow's students, George Gaumer, heard of a farmer who had found the meat of prairie chickens so redolent of hoppers as to be inedible. One of Snow's occasional correspondents was a noted Missouri entomologist, C. V. Riley, future founder of the U. S. Bureau of Entomology, who had a happy thought: Why not eat the hoppers? He drew up some

recipes and staged a dinner, ending with a dessert compounded of baked locusts and honey, which might have been acceptable to John the Baptist or certain Arabians of the desert regions (candied grasshoppers, too, are relished in Japan) but did not prove tempting to Missouri palates.³²

The sober facts about the grasshoppers sound like folklore. Kansas was rich in insects and other uncharted forms of life, worthy of exploration by more than a generation of scientists. In 1866 there were two pioneer scientists in Kansas—Frank Snow and Benjamin F. Mudge. In April of 1867 J. D. Parker began the teaching of natural science at Lincoln College, later Washburn. He was a man with a passion for founding organizations. Learning that Topekans had no interest in a scientific association, he went to see Mudge at Manhattan; together they formulated a plan to organize such an association. They enlisted the aid of others who were interested, including Snow. His signature was among those attached to a letter which in the summer of 1868 appeared in the *Kansas Educational Journal*, calling for a meeting to organize the new society. The first of many annual meetings was held on September 1, 1868. Mudge became president, Parker secretary, and Snow treasurer, of the new organization, called the Kansas Natural History Society but renamed in 1871 the Kansas Academy of Science. In its early days the Society aroused little interest. On the first day of the second meeting, in Topeka in 1869, Mudge, Parker, and Snow were the only members present. A turning-point came in 1870, when Snow and the other members of the University faculty invited the Society to meet in Lawrence. The meeting was well attended, and the scope of the Society was enlarged. The members soon realized the need for an inventory of the fauna, flora, and minerals of Kansas. In studying the state's resources, the Academy was to make valuable contributions.³³ In 1873, when the legislature recognized it as a co-ordinate department of the State Board of Agriculture, it had a membership of 200. In faithful attendance at its meetings and participation in its programs, Snow had no peer. More than sixty

of his papers were to be included in its *Transactions*. He was treasurer from 1869 to 1873 and president from 1874 to 1878—a longer term of office than that of any other president.*

After Mudge's death in 1879, Parker recalled that Mudge and Snow had agreed to divide between them the kingdoms of the living and the dead—Mudge to study the fossil forms and Snow the living forms of life in Kansas. (Theirs was the boldness of the early gods.) The two men had become close friends.

Mudge, who was born in Maine in 1817, after his graduation from college had practiced law and engaged in business and politics, serving as mayor of Lynn, Massachusetts, but science was his real love. He moved to Kansas at the outbreak of the War. In 1864, after he had made his abilities better known by delivering public scientific lectures, the legislature appointed him state geologist; and in the following year he began to teach the natural sciences in the Agricultural College at Manhattan. He was genial, forceful, and sturdy of character, and was regarded by Snow as the equal of three ordinary men. Of the stories about Mudge's experiences, the most striking was his encounter with a party of Indians on the warpath. Mudge is said to have diverted them with a display of the acrobatic possibilities of his false teeth, a feat which, unacquainted with the dentures of white men, they may have taken as evidence of supernatural power. In an encounter with hostile politicians, Mudge found it harder to save his scalp. In 1874 he and two colleagues journeyed to Topeka to work against the confirmation of some regents recommended by the governor. By a small vote the mission failed, and the three men were dismissed, some articles from Mudge's valuable collections also being discarded. Probably through Snow's influence the University of Kansas appointed him a lecturer on geology and paleontology. On the last morning of his life Mudge packed some specimens for the University in a box and wrote a letter to his friend

* Snow also served as a curator and as a member of various commissions, particularly those on entomology, ornithology, and zoology. These commissions made through their chairmen an annual summary of progress in their branches of scientific study.

Snow. In the evening he listened to his wife read Lear's speech over the dead Cordelia. Then, feeling unusual sensations, he walked out into the yard; a few minutes later he was stricken with apoplexy.

§5

Snow and Jane Aiken had originally planned to be married in the summer of 1867, but the death of Miss Aiken's father early in that year led to the postponement of the wedding. Extant letters reveal that Snow was contemplating the duty of escorting a considerable party of women on his journey to the East, though he hoped he might share this "fearful responsibility" with Professor Robinson as far as Rochester, New York. In the fall when he returned to Lawrence he once more had escort duty, not lightened, one may be sure, by thoughts of his own altered plans. Back in Lawrence before the opening of the term, he went on horseback to Mound City to visit an old Andover friend:

MOUND CITY, KANSAS, Sept. 5

I took Kitty* for my traveling companion and had my little bundle with my rubber blanket strapped on behind the saddle. My first destination was my farm† situated 25 miles southwest of Lawrence on the Santa Fe wagon road. I stopped at three o'clock to bait my horse and self at the rude abode of a farmer. I got plenty of oats for the horse and bread and milk for myself. This was at Willow Springs. I wanted to reach my broad acres before dark but did not succeed in doing so.

Night closed in upon me alone and on the prairie. I slept out doors that night. Do you want to know how? I thought I saw some haystacks to the right of the road and was rejoiced to find that I was not mistaken. I unsaddled my pony and tied her to one stirrup of the saddle, covering the latter all over with hay. Then I wrapped myself in my rubber blanket, crawled into a pile of hay within a rod of my pony and was soon warm as toast. I left

*Professor Robinson's Indian pony.

† Snow had bought from James Horton a tract of 160 acres, paying for the whole \$300.

a little place big enough for me to see Kitty and for the bright moon to shine into my face. Being very tired, I soon fell asleep.

At five it was light enough for me to see a house three quarters of a mile away, to which I proceeded, obtaining a good breakfast for us both. The people were from Worcester County, Mass., and I made friends with them at once. They directed me to my acres which I soon reached. . . . That very morning a long train of at least a hundred wagons loaded with wool from Mexico passed slowly by presenting a very imposing appearance. Their white covers dotted the prairie for at least a mile.

Next I struck for Mound City. I first went south down the 110 mile creek along an Indian trail and made my way through the high grass and thickets where white men never before had been. About noon I passed an Indian cabin. The squaw was broiling meat. Her little boy pointed me to the trail near by and after crossing several creeks and passing several Indian cabins I reached the Sac and Fox Agency.

I had lost my map on the way, but my compass proved its value on many different occasions. I was very hungry and thirsty when in the middle of the afternoon I reached the nice place of Judge Usher, Indian agent. After getting dinner for myself and baiting my horse I started on a very good road in a southeasterly direction, crossed the Osage river, alias Marais des Cygnes, and reached Greenwood. This town has a "hotel" and two houses. Then pushed on to Ohio City, the last four miles of the way by moonlight.

Arrived at half past eight. Found the city to consist of a "hotel", store, school-house and three dwelling houses. Had to wait half an hour for the landlord to come home from a woman's rights meeting before I could get supper and lodging. Slept soundly and in good quarters. Breakfasted yesterday morning at six and was soon on my way again. Passed through no town or village all day. Crossed the Pottawattomi River and a half dozen creeks. This is a country of "magnificent distances."

I got my dinner at the log cabin of a Vermont woman who was delighted to see a young man who had been in her native state within three weeks. She said she hadn't seen anybody she had ever seen before during the four years of her life in Kansas. . . .

I reached Mound City at dusk, having traveled 45 miles yesterday and over a hundred since leaving Lawrence. It is a beauti-

ful country but needs more settlers. I am amazed at the boundless capacity of this state to support life. It will some time be thickly settled. . . .³⁴

During the following spring, prospects for the University did not seem bright. The legislature had not appropriated a special salary for the new Chancellor, John Fraser, who was compelled to take over the teaching position which Horner had filled. Mentioning this point in a letter to Miss Aiken, Snow added that the discouragements were insignificant in the light of the plan to claim his wife—"to be with me always, a God-given helper and comforter through all my earthly journey." The wedding took place on July 8, 1868. The young couple went on a journey to the White Mountains.³⁵ Late in August they set out for Lawrence, going by way of Niagara Falls and Chicago.

At Niagara they were joined by Mrs. James C. Horton, daughter of Mrs. Weld, at whose house in Lawrence Snow had boarded. The Hortons were to prove congenial and helpful friends. They lived two blocks west of the house where the Snows went to live, after a short stay with Mrs. Weld—a house then on the corner of Tennessee and Pinckney (now Sixth) Streets.³⁶ Horton, later a member of the firm of Woodward, Faxon, and Horton, wholesale druggists with headquarters in Kansas City, was a public-spirited lawyer with an interest in Kansas history.* The Hortons did much to make Mrs. Snow feel at home in Lawrence. Horton's generosity may be gauged from the fact that his will distributed something like \$100,000 among his friends, Snow's daughters being among the legatees.

Surviving letters indicate that Mrs. Snow felt keenly the pathos of separation from her mother, then in early widowhood; she regarded this separation as the most severe test of her devotion to her husband, whose thoughtfulness is also a recurrent theme in her letters. Sitting in the moonlight and thinking of her far-away

* His reminiscences of business in early Lawrence were sometimes amusing. For instance, he remembered the time when a Lawrence banker, who had tried in vain to collect the principal of a note, one day seeing the borrower in a drunken stupor on the sidewalk, extracted from the man's wallet the amount due.³⁷

mother, she had once burst into tears; later that night she noticed that her husband remembered Mrs. Aiken and his wife's brother affectionately in his prayers. At the end of two months she concluded that he was "as kind and good as possible," that they were both "blessed with two excellent tempers." In a journal entry for January 1, 1869, she wrote: "God has sent Frank and me as much happiness in each other's love as ever falls to the lot of man and woman." In 1895 she recalled her husband's patience with a young girl's immaturity. "I am glad I was capable of improvement and that I could keep the love which has so blessed my life."

Mrs. Snow was soon deep in the arts of the household, proud of her little parlor and undertaking bold ventures in cookery. An episode from one of these ventures may be told in her own words to her mother:

Last night I mixed the bread but didn't know just how stiff to make it. Mr. Kimball our next door neighbor was at work here setting our pump. He is a real nice jolly man and used to be Frank's S[unday] S[chool] teacher in Fitchburg. I was wishing that his wife could tell me about my bread when Frank proposed that we should go there & ask her. So he mounted the pan on his head and I followed with my hands all dough, my dress tucked up and a towel put around me for my apron for you see I came out here without one *cooking apron* & have had to buy some calico to make some when I can get time. Wasn't that a funny introduction to my new neighbor? . . . She said my bread was all right so I brought it back and left it to rise, which it did all over the pan onto the table. Frank helped me knead it. He tries to spare my back all he can.

Game proved an aid to the daily fare. One morning Mrs. Snow woke up to see her husband standing at the window in his night shirt, his gun aimed at some quail near the house. She had so much duck and quail to eat that occasionally by way of change she would have welcomed boiled New England mutton.

Herself by nature somewhat diffident, Mrs. Snow noted with satisfaction that her husband could be depended upon to say the right thing on public occasions. She felt at home in the Congre-

gational Church; it seemed like a piece of New England. She once helped her husband fasten labels on the books in the Sunday School library. Snow was librarian for the University, too, now, but for the present the Sunday School library required more of his energy. Though he greatly preferred just to teach a class, he was drafted as Sunday School superintendent for a time.

At night the Snows often read together, histories and biographies being favored. Occasionally Professor Robinson joined them in their readings. Mrs. Snow noticed that her husband would never leave a doubtful point unsettled. At the end of the readings she often found a pile or two of large reference books which needed rearranging. She observed a similar assiduity of inquiry in different circumstances: "Frank makes the best of everything except when he loses something and hunts for it; then there's no peace till it's found."

The family readings were among the early memories of the Snow children. Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, George Macdonald, Hawthorne, and the New England poets were favorite authors. Snow himself did most of the reading, seated at the head of the table in the sitting room. Since her health was often delicate, Mrs. Snow sometimes listened on the couch. The children thought her a remarkable storyteller and particularly enjoyed hearing her tell of the old days in Andover. They noticed that their parents liked to play games, especially backgammon and, in later years, whist.

The first of the Snow children, William Appleton Snow (in boyhood "Willie" or "Willy," later "Will") was born June 21, 1869. When the infant was little more than a week old, his father wrote to Mrs. Aiken: "He is looking better every day, and those who have seen him with unprejudiced eyes pronounce him a fine boy—wonderfully *handsome* for his age. . . . This is my twenty-ninth birthday and a very happy one it is." The other children were: Martha Boutelle, born in 1870; Mary Margaret, 1872; Edith Huntington, 1875; and Francis Lawrence ("Frank"), 1882.*

* Harold Horton Snow, born in September of 1888, died in the following June.



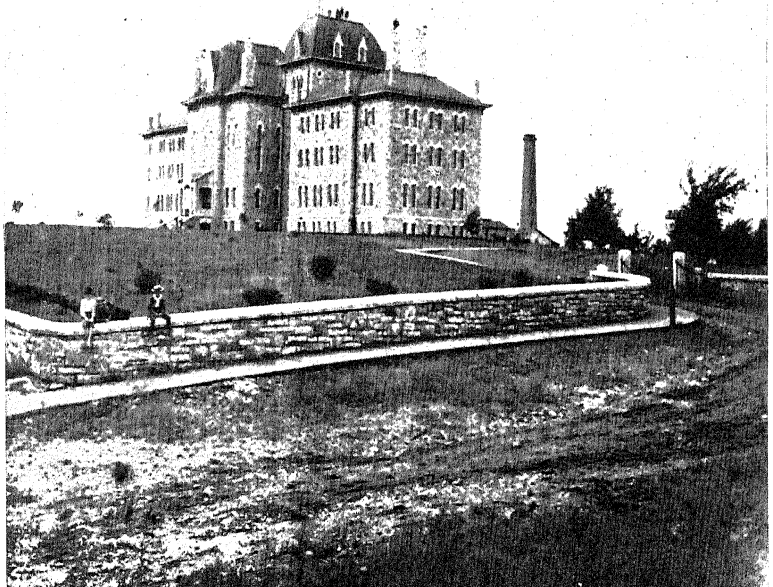
General John Fraser, Chancellor of
the University, 1868-74



Byron Caldwell Smith, early
Professor of Greek



James Marvin, Chancellor of the University, 1874-83



A view of University Hall, the present Fraser Hall, in the early 1880's, with Adams Street, now Fourteenth Street, in the foreground

Snow infected all his children with his enthusiasm for natural history, and some of them showed a decided talent for collecting insects. The Snow house became the temporary lodging place for all sorts of plants, animals, and insects—most of them being processed for “cabinet” or museum purposes. (One family anecdote concerned the terror of a hired girl who, groping in the dark, touched some feathers and fur on a bed; while looking for a specimen, Snow had laid out the contents of a trunk on the bed and had forgotten to put them back.) The Snow children helped with the processing. After a few years, their home territory was considerably enlarged by their father’s buying new lots near their house. If their playing took them far, a high-pitched whistle brought them running. Their father believed in obedience; they found him sometimes less patient than their mother, with whom he was invariably patient. They could not, of course, always appreciate the extent of his cares, since he was usually cheerful. (During the early years in particular he was much concerned about his weakling brother, Benjamin Snow the third, whom his father had sent out to Kansas and who died in North Lawrence at the age of twenty-five.) As a boy in Fitchburg Frank Snow had dreamed of going to the West; to his children he transmitted something of his pioneering spirit.

VII

The Early Faculty: Campaigns and Maneuvers

In one of his [Fraser's] sallies he had fixed the name "von Moltke" on me—after the general of the Franco-German war, noted according to his description, for "short and decisive campaigns."
—Kate Stephens.

. . . the dearest sweetest, noblest spirit of a man I have met in this earthly pilgrimage.

—Frank Harris's statement about Byron Caldwell Smith.

§1

ABOND of sympathy in the early faculty was the fact that most of them had come from the East. At social gatherings, reminiscences of old times and general conversation were sometimes followed by charades, games, and college songs. Several felt that these parties were incomplete unless Snow sang "The Three Little Kittens"—not the song about those that "lost their mittens" but another—or "Noah's Ark."¹

Among persons of marked individuality cordial and friendly feelings may be the rule, but interesting exceptions will come to light. The man who first combined the duties which originally had been divided between Chancellor Oliver and Professor Rice—General John Fraser—was a man of marked individuality. Fraser was born in Cromarty, Scotland.² He seems to have been personally acquainted with Hugh Miller,* since in 1870, when he was elected president of the Kansas Natural History Society, Fraser gave his reminiscences of Miller to the group. After his graduation at Aberdeen, Fraser went to the Bermudas and then to

* Miller was also born in Cromarty. Little is known of John Fraser's early life; it is possible that the David and John Fraser mentioned by Miller in *My Schools and Schoolmasters* were relatives.

the United States. At the outbreak of the War he was serving as Professor of Mathematics at Jefferson College in Pennsylvania. As a soldier in the Union army he made an enviable record; in brief, he was wounded, was made a prisoner, and rose from the rank of captain to that of brevet brigadier-general. Some notes written during his imprisonment survive. There are four drafts of a letter, each successive draft a bit more diplomatic than the preceding one, complaining about the food. A daily allowance of half a pint of molasses and a pint of unbolted cornmeal no doubt justified such a complaint, though Fraser and his fellow officers could supplement their allowance, to the extent of their cash, with eggs at \$6 a dozen or mush and milk for \$2.25. To help keep up the morale of his fellow prisoners, Fraser is said to have lectured to them on the plays of Shakespeare. After the war he became the aggressive president of the Pennsylvania State Agricultural College, where he embarked upon an overambitious program of reorganization. The influence of Regent W. A. Starrett and S. A. Riggs, of Lawrence, who had been Fraser's admiring students at Jefferson College, was at least partly responsible for his choice as Chancellor-elect, as early as December of 1867. He did not serve till the academic year 1868-69, taking over Horner's duties. Robinson and Snow were much pleased by his appointment.

Under Fraser, Snow's teaching load was lightened, by vote of the Regents in July of 1869; he continued to teach the natural sciences, but in 1869-70 another Civil War veteran took over the teaching of mathematics. He was F. W. Bardwell (1832-79), who had been colonel of a regiment of Negro soldiers.* Bardwell had been trained at the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, in its day probably the best of institutions for the training of scientists, and had taught in Antioch College, Ohio. He had also held a position in the Naval Observatory in Washington. One of his

* Bardwell also taught astronomy and later engineering and astronomy. As subjects were reassigned or fields became too broad, academic titles changed rapidly.

students, William Herbert Carruth, thought him inventive, broad-minded, and public-spirited.³

Fraser was to clash with Bardwell, as he was to clash with D. O. Kellogg, Jr., and Byron Caldwell Smith. Kellogg became Professor of History and the English Language and Literature in 1870. A cultivated clerical gentleman who had outgrown dogmatic theology, though he was sponsored by an Episcopalian bishop and indeed filled a preaching appointment at Leavenworth for some months, he was a well-read and able teacher. More remarkable was his friend, Byron Caldwell Smith, who came to the University in 1872, after three years of European travel and postgraduate study, and was promoted in the following year to a professorship in Greek. While the tradition of Smith's brilliance rests upon the testimony of many besides Snow, Robinson, and Kellogg, his catholicity of interests and tastes, his intellectual alertness, and his idealism are obvious in *A Young Scholar's Letters*, the posthumous volume of Smith's correspondence which Kellogg edited.

Teaching space was badly needed. A local paper observed in December of 1871 that Snow's class of seventy-two students of botany was meeting in a small room of the old college building. Disappointed that the legislature had not appropriated funds, Fraser had already proposed to a group of Lawrence business men that bonds be voted to erect a \$100,000 building. The plan was audacious, but Fraser's enthusiastic eloquence swept aside obstacles. In 1870 the citizens responded favorably.⁴ At least a wing of the building could be completed for present needs. Fraser was all energy. He made a long trip to investigate college buildings. The limestone building which was to be erected, though for many years its interior was unfinished, was in its day one of the finest of such buildings in the country. Since the foundations did not reach bedrock, a new foundation had to be added later. More than once the sturdy building has had its face lifted; its portico, once slightly askew because of having been borrowed from an

old state asylum at Osawatomic,⁵ was changed and still later removed. But the building gave the University living room and still remains indispensable. Since the time of Snow's administration it has borne Fraser's name, and is his truly monumental achievement.

The building was formally opened late in 1872. In April of 1873 President Grant visited Lawrence and the University, gracefully complimenting General Fraser. In June came the long-awaited first Commencement. All three graduates delivered orations at the morning Class Day exercises. The speakers were of course "elegantly attired"; newspapers were wont to add, of early graduates, that such a profusion of bouquets was hurled in the speaker's direction, at the end of a speech, as to constitute "a floral storm." (In 1874 even one of the less successful speakers was accorded "a fair round of applause" and "a good supply of flowers.") The class planted a vine as the first step in the decoration of the University grounds. As spokesman of the faculty Kellogg gracefully accepted the class gift, some art illustrations. Miss Flora Richardson, having bidden farewell to the citizens of Lawrence and the faculty, presented a charge to the juniors, symbolized by the gift of an old silk hat. In behalf of the juniors Miss Hannah Oliver accepted. Miss Oliver, though born in England, had been in Lawrence during Quantrill's raid. As an early graduate and later as a teacher of Latin, this woman of quiet charm and genuine erudition was destined to become a symbol of the early days—a person well suited to expound a bit of University history or to explain the meaning of the University seal at the induction exercises for new students.

Mrs. Snow later recalled how on the first Commencement Day she had gone to help make sandwiches in the new Main Building, as it was often called in the earlier years,* in preparation for the banquet to which townfolk were invited. At ten o'clock the faculty, students, and guests marched into the new building. Fraser made the opening speech, expressing himself "rather freely

* "University Hall" became the official name long before the change to "Fraser Hall."

with regard to the action of the Legislature." After a florid oration by Senator Ingalls and the distributing of diplomas, the banquet began. The handsome Nelson A. Miles, of Leavenworth, a future general of the Spanish-American War, was the cynosure of ladies' eyes during that afternoon of many speeches. The Egyptians, Montaigne comments, liked to think of death even at their banquets. According to a story told by Professor Robinson and Kate Stephens, while the band was playing a Strauss waltz in the evening, some mischievous students lowered a skeleton from the ceiling. The word "Prex" was printed on an attached placard. When his former student and bride of a few months asked Fraser the meaning of "Prex," he quickly replied, "The faculty."⁶

Before another Commencement arrived, the word "faculty" may have seemed as unwelcome to Fraser as a skeleton in the midst of festivity. Fraser was a man of many amiable qualities. A Kansas publication spoke of his kindness and generosity in a choice mixture of figures: "His large heart never turned a deaf ear to the suffering and afflicted." (May one assume that the writer had in mind an *auricle* of the heart?) He is given credit for being somewhat witty; it is now hard to judge his wit, since in cold print specimens of it—for example, his calling on Ida Blood to recite by saying, "Blood will tell"—lack the spontaneity of the original occasion. Probably his alleged rebuke to unruly students, "Now, young ladies and gentlemen, if you should ever go to heaven and meet me there, how will you feel, and what will you say, when you remember your conduct in the classroom?" is uncharacteristic even if correctly reported. Certainly he was a man of considerable learning and ability.

Unfortunately, he lacked essential tact in personal relationships. This can be proved in the very terms of the elaborate defense which he wrote for the use of a Kansas editor, giving his own interpretation of the events leading to his resignation. Fraser admits that he had found fault with Bardwell's teaching of mathematics; that he had quarreled with Governor Robinson

over plans for the new building; that on more than one occasion he had lost his temper in faculty meetings. At one meeting a crisis had developed over Fraser's listing in the University catalogue all students who had enrolled in a calendar year, instead of in a school year of nine months. Fraser claimed that the use of the calendar year was the practice of all other state schools; the University had to compete with them for the favor of the legislature. When, at a faculty meeting, Byron Caldwell Smith raised the question of what names should appear in the next catalogue, Fraser was enraged. Smith ventured to raise questions regarding the honesty of using the calendar rather than the school year. The breach soon became irreparable. Fraser considered that Kellogg was ambitious to have his job and that Governor Robinson, Smith, Kellogg, and Bardwell were leaders of a plot against him. They and their colleagues regarded Fraser as intransigent and too much the general in his attitude towards his subordinates. Though Fraser in his defense explained that Snow and Professor D. H. Robinson sided against him because of his own criticisms of the latter before the Regents, probably both men saw that Fraser's usefulness was now at an end; he had antagonized nearly all the faculty, as well as some regents. The chief members of the faculty presented Fraser with an ultimatum; he responded by bringing the conflict before the Board. For the Committee on Internal Management the faculty drew up a paper on their relations with the Chancellor. On March 18, 1874, Robinson, Snow, Bardwell, Miss Leonard,* Kellogg, and Smith appeared, in the order named, before the Regents. Fraser also appeared. His resignation was now in order and in April was proffered; desiring a general housecleaning, the Regents held "an informal discussion in regard to a rearrangement of the Board of Instruction," as stated in their minutes. Snow was the first member reappointed, to the chair of natural sciences, provision being made also for him

* Elizabeth P. Leonard, teacher of French and drawing.

to select an assistant for chemistry and physics. Subsequently Bardwell, Robinson, and Smith were also reappointed.*

On April 14 Fraser offered his resignation. In November he was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction in Kansas. After serving a term, he became a member of the faculty at the Western University of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh. He died in 1878. His death was followed, about two months later, by that of the other old soldier, Bardwell.

§2

Before the appointment of Fraser's successor, Chancellor James Marvin,† Byron Caldwell Smith contributed an unsigned article to a local paper, deploring sectarian influences at the University. Undeniably these existed, and for some years continued to exist. A committee from the Regents waited upon Smith, who cheerfully acknowledged writing the article. The Regents decided to defer action. In the fall, Smith's health became poor, his illness being diagnosed as "renal neuralgia." He was granted leave of absence from January 1, 1875, to the end of the academic year, and went to Philadelphia to join his friend, D. O. Kellogg, Jr., whose resignation the Regents had accepted, after some delay. Even if his health had permitted him to return to the University, Smith could not have done so, for the Regents did not renew his contract. He had offended some of them by his newspaper article. Moreover, in certain quarters he was considered dangerously heterodox in his religious views.

* One of the resignations accepted was that of S. W. Y. Schimonsky, elected in 1872 to the chair of engineering and drawing. A Prussian who had left Europe in 1848, Schimonsky, who once explained that his name was pronounced very like "she-monkey," was later asked to add German to the subjects he taught. The broken English and classroom manner of this good-hearted and learned man inspired considerable merriment. "Fräulein Alleze Gose," he remarked solemnly to a student named Alice Goss, holding his hand on his breast, "you break my heart. You study not at all." Schimonsky's fondness for his students was apparent in his unorthodox grading system. On good authority, he is said to have reported grades of 102, 105, and even 110. Informed that 100 was the standard of perfection, he maintained that his best students had been better than perfect.

† The position was first offered to Professor S. H. Carpenter of the University of Wisconsin. Professor Robert Taft, in his *Across the Years on Mount Oread*, states that the heat and the grasshoppers of the summer of 1874 led Carpenter to decline.

During his few years at the University, Smith had drawn many students into his orbit. Conspicuous among them were two who were to play parts in a strange drama in which the leading roles may be assigned to the young man, the maiden, death, and "the satyr."* For the future editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Saturday Review*, and *Vanity Fair*, for a few years a lion in British literary circles, the word "satyr" is not strictly applicable; he had too much of Narcissus in his composition. In one of his letters William Allen White sought for the *mot juste* (during White's student days the legend of Harris was still alive in Lawrence); rejecting "scalawag" and "bounder," White trod "the primrose path of etymological dalliance" and lighted upon "stinker."⁷

"Frank" Harris attended the University as a special student for a brief period in 1874-75, enrolling under the name of James Harris, from Wales. The students found him amusing. The *Kansas Collegiate* for October 26, 1875, notes that "James F. Harris, the young man of infinite capabilities and a thundering bass voice, was last heard from in Philadelphia, at which place he had arrived on his way to England. He described his journey as a succession of forced marches, midnight rides on the cow catcher, and perilous passages over the car trucks. After Jimmie has enjoyed a few days' deck work on the Atlantic his experience as a cheap traveler will surely be complete." Obviously Jimmie's imagination was already lively; he really seems to have stopped in Philadelphia on his way to England, though later stating that he had seen Smith in Denver and then crossed the Pacific for travels in the Orient. The *Collegiate* for March 15, 1876, reports that he had already reached South Tenby, Wales.

The "thundering bass voice" was, figuratively speaking, to remain with Frank Harris. Oscar Wilde once remarked, "Frank Harris is upstairs, thinking about Shakespeare at the top of his voice." Years later, Harris wrote to Kate Stephens: ". . . to know me at all you would have to know me as the person who brought

* Kate Stephens once referred to Harris as "a rancid old satyr."

Shakespeare to life after three centuries in the grave." How the Bard would have relished that! No doubt he would have considered Harris a "natural" in both the Elizabethan and modern senses of the word. At another time, Harris wrote to Miss Stephens, "No one writes English more correctly than I have done except Swift and Pater; but Pater treats it as a dead language and Swift has nothing new or profoundly true to express in it. At the moment I am studying how to loosen the corset and free the muscles and nerves of it." Harris occasionally admitted his limitations, with a touching modesty: "Christ goes deeper than I do, but I have had a wider experience."

At the University Harris had a speaking acquaintance with Miss Stephens, daughter of a prominent lawyer, Judge Nelson Timothy Stephens. The sole member of one of Professor Smith's advanced Greek classes, she listened on a May morning of 1874 to her teacher's declaration of love. The letters which he wrote to her before his death from tuberculosis, appearing long afterwards in a book with a strikingly infelicitous title, have recalled to more than one person the last days of the young Keats. Like his famous predecessor, this inheritor of unfulfilled renown seemed half in love with easeful death: "The thought of death came then, as it always comes to me, with a sense of balmy, cool relief. Your love has been a torch that has re-illuminated in me the love of life." Times of hope were succeeded by a realization of doom, "the most bitter infliction which life has for innocent hearts—the defeat of life and love. . . ," in Smith's words. Near the end he wrote: ". . . My hand sinks and my feeble hours are few. God be with you, Light and Life."

Many years afterwards Kate Stephens renewed her acquaintance with Frank Harris in New York. She found him still fervent in his hero-worship of Smith. When his autobiography appeared, it paid such a glowing tribute to his former teacher that H. L. Mencken looked for Smith's influence in Harris' literary work and professed to find it everywhere. But, besides making ridiculous statements about other members of the University faculty (it

does not mention Snow), the autobiography stated that Smith had felt a strong attachment for a girl he had met in Greece, alleging that this love affair had unfortunate after-effects. Of course Harris could have known about such an attachment only if Smith had told him of it. Smith's letters, however, indicate that Harris had not enjoyed his confidences and that in fact he had little respect for Harris' character. They suggest that Smith's successor had circulated gossip about Smith, from motives of self-interest, which Harris could have heard. The letters that Smith had written while in Europe show that his idealism regarding sex was on a par with his idealism on other subjects; they intimate that love and sexual attraction should be integrated with each other and with life in its broader aspects. Harris, on the other hand, wallowed in sex as an end in itself, as something detached from other aspects of living. He fed his Casanova complex by elaborating accounts of romantic episodes, whether real or imaginary. His unreliability is now notorious. Though he was not destitute of the literary graces, over nearly everything he wrote there hovers a miasma of charlatanism.

After reading his autobiography, Miss Stephens recognized that most of his comments about Smith and about his own career at the University were clearly fiction, concocted to satisfy his inner need for a dramatic role. But she could not help taking his allegations more seriously than they deserved to be taken. Harris had desecrated the shrine which she had devoted to the memory of her betrothed. In *Lies and Libels of Frank Harris* (New York, 1929), she brands Harris' rumor-garbling as an invention of his "superheated sensorium"; a passage of her indictment calls him "a chimpanzee maddened by the satyriasis of his zoological garden—a chimpanzee pretending to personal intimacy with Bernard of Clairvaux." If it had not been almost tragic, Miss Stephens' long agonizing over Harris' distortions would have its humorous aspects. Hearing that he wished to be buried in America, she once offered to buy for him a plot in a Lawrence cemetery if he would retract his statements.⁸

Miss Stephens survived till 1938. She had taught Greek at the University from 1878 to 1885, emphasizing, like Smith, the Greek contribution to modern culture. In 1885 she left the University under circumstances not of her own choosing.* An attractive, refined-looking woman, she was nevertheless sometimes curiously hoydenish and sometimes boldly aggressive. She displayed more talent in her many literary and other activities, in which she won considerable recognition, than in her personal relationships.⁹ She remained a fiercely loyal alumna. No doubt it was solace from the bruises of the world to reflect that for one she had been "my heart's queen, the tenderest and sweetest lady in the world."

If that one, Byron Caldwell Smith, had remained at the University, he could have done much to maintain the prestige of the classics in competition with the natural sciences. Unlike Smith, Fraser, or Miss Stephens, the Professor of the Natural Sciences was mostly untroubled by campaigns and maneuvers and by the swirling currents of University politics. He clung to his island fortress of effort in behalf of the University as tenaciously as an ant clinging to its prey—as tenaciously as any leech. Reluctantly he had been drawn into the controversy with Fraser; just as in the earlier clash with Horner, so in this matter he had spoken when the interests of the University were threatened. As a rule he was content to watch, to wait, and, figuratively speaking, to keep on sawing wood.

* Cf. pages 184-85.

VIII

Teaching and Collecting

And gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche.

—Geoffrey Chaucer, "Prologue."

Deep down in the love of Nature, whether it be of the sensual or intellectual kind, and in the art of observation which is its outcome and first expression, lie the roots of all our Natural Science.

—D'Arcy W. Thompson, "Natural Science," in *The Legacy of Greece*, edited by R. W. Livingstone.

§1

SINCE the Regents frequently consulted them, the University faculty largely shaped educational policy. Would it be hard to decide who the most influential person on the faculty was? From the early years, students were given the choice of a classical or a scientific course. Though at a somewhat later period a Latin scientific course offered the option of Latin instead of French or German, no Latin or Greek was required in the scientific course. On the other hand, six classes in science were prescribed for students in the classical course in 1868-69; in 1875-76, twice as many, to say nothing of several courses in mathematics, were required in the classical course and in the modern-literature course then offered. In 1870-71 "civil and topographical engineering" was added, and in 1873 the course in modern literature just mentioned. At various times special courses of study in natural history, chemistry, and English were specified. The student could therefore choose among several curricula, but within these the choice of studies was decidedly limited; in the year 1886-87 juniors and seniors were allowed to select majors and minors.

In putting the scientific course on more than an equality with the classical course, the Regents, from the beginning, diverged from the practice of most older institutions. Their minutes for

December 7, 1870, record Chancellor Fraser's annual report as stating, "Our youth ought to be thoroughly furnished for a *useful* as well as a *refined* life. We must be prepared to give thorough instruction in such branches of science as experience shows to be necessary to success in industrial life." A later statement shows that the Regents regarded the classical course as a preparation for the learned professions; the general scientific course, for "the skilled industries"; the engineering course, for "engineers, surveyors, and draughtsmen."¹ Oral examinations had not yet given way to written. Partly for that reason the Regents emphasized that students must learn to write as well as speak effectively. Though D. O. Kellogg, Jr., offered systematic instruction in the English language and literature as well as in rhetoric, the Regents insisted that every professor should pay some attention "to neat, methodical, and correct composition." According to the wife of former Governor Charles Robinson, Miss Leonard had been employed partly because the Regents wished the students to have the example of her "pure English." In 1874, too, the Regents recorded their belief that the languages, as well as the sciences, should train students in "habits of independent observation and research."

Snow's own reports furnish ample evidence that the direct study of nature was a vital part of his instruction. In botany the students prepared a small herbarium. In zoology the chief subject was the insects, birds, fishes, and mammals of the state, the insects getting a share of attention out of proportion to their relative size if not their numbers. Students of geology studied the rocks in the vicinity and in the cabinets. In meteorology they learned how to use instruments in making weather observations. Even in physiology, which Snow began to teach in the fall of 1875, the forty lectures were illustrated by the skeleton and the manikin and supplemented by dissections in the laboratory. In the early eighties Snow added classes in comparative anatomy and the direction of special students in natural history. Though in 1884 L. L. Dyche began to assist him in the latter two branches, Snow kept as busy

as ever, teaching sciences which ought to have been taught by four men, as he noted in his 1886 report. Nevertheless in that year he had added histological botany to his repertory. Two years later he writes: "During the last year, in order that my assistant [L. L. Dyche] might have time to devote to the art of taxidermy, . . . I have taken entire charge of eight of the ten classes. . . . The result has been a degree of physical and mental exhaustion which ought not to be repeated. . . ."

Students were not conscious of any exhaustion but only of cheerful enthusiasm. Snow's classes appealed to the impulse to collect, often compelling, whether the objects collected be patch-boxes, African violets, or insects. Important to frontier youth was the feeling of contact, not with mere textbooks, but with the living book of nature. In their zeal for collecting even the girls astounded their mothers and older sisters. One who came to the University in 1869 remembered how, fresh from a New York academy where nature-study had meant little more than textbooks, she had been impressed by Snow's talk in chapel on the rocks on Mount Oread. Next year in zoology she first studied the birds around Lawrence. She observed the consternation of the girls when they learned that they were supposed to collect insects. In the spring of 1870 she was arising early and turning up rocks and rotting timber on Mount Oread, particularly in the ruins of the old fort. Gradually she grew bolder and surprised the boys by collecting an occasional snake. In 1875 a freshman, Annie Mozley, neatly stuffed her first bird—the first attempt at taxidermy by a girl student. Dora Wade then shot and skinned a bird, inspiring the tribute, "Let the young gentlemen take off their hats." An occasional girl student who could not bear to see insects die did find collecting an ordeal.²

Prominent among "the young gentlemen" collecting at this time was George Gaumer. In June of 1875 Gaumer had in his rooms a hawk, two owls, a turtle, and a water snake. In November he supplied his fellow students with some intimate details about the snake: "It is very tame, and, since the warm season has

passed, appears to be best pleased when coiled around my neck or in my coatsleeve. Frequently, when I have been sitting quietly reading for a long time, it will leave its bed behind the door and crawl upon my lap and over my shoulders.

“October 29 she [the shift of gender is not without justification] gave birth to twenty-three young ones; twenty-one of which were alive and at once able to take care of themselves.”³

In the fall of 1875 Snow reported that Gaumer, enrolled as a student in the special course in natural history, had contributed nearly 3,000 insects to the University cabinets. Gaumer chose as the subject of his Commencement oration in 1876 “Entomological Research”—a subject contrasting with some others for that year, such as “Goethe and Schiller” and “Know Thyself.” Gaumer’s collection of insects won recognition at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.⁴ In his display were some specimens of a beetle, *Amblychila cylindriciformis* Say, then rare. A foreign scientist offered him liberal financial inducements to collect some of the beetles. With the aid of laborers laying track for the Santa Fe, Gaumer and his helpers are said to have delivered some 1,700 specimens. Gaumer’s later career included collecting in Cuba for the British Museum, the professorship of natural sciences in the University of New Mexico, and a medical practice and high governmental service in Yucatan, from which he sent back a collection of rare birds, as well as some insects, to his alma mater.

Gaumer had been an active member of the Natural History Society, organized in 1873, of which Snow was sponsor and, on a more official basis, “corresponding secretary.” Snow’s membership in the Lyceum of Natural History at Williams enabled him to appreciate the stimulus of such an organization. On April 1, 1874, appeared the first University paper, published by the Society. Its title, the *Observer of Nature*, is worth noting, as is a statement in the opening article, “The First Naturalist,” which declares that Aristotle was “lightly built, about the size of Prof. Snow.” This doubtless affectionate comparison might have brought out another point of resemblance: both Aristotle and

Snow commanded a small army of collectors. The contents of the periodical, the first issue declares, were to be largely based on original observations. Among the titles in the first number are "The Power of Observation," "Insects and How to Collect Them" (by George Gaumer), "The Baltimore Oriole," "Birds of Kansas." The first and last of these were the work of Snow. "The Power of Observation" says of the man who neglects to see what is around him: "Whenever he walks abroad, the beautiful and curious flowers along his pathway make no impression upon his slumbering vision. His ear is deaf to the delicate harmonies in the notes of the birds. Life for him is divested of many of its most satisfying enjoyments."

In other articles, some of them to be given as papers read before the Kansas Academy of Science, Snow wrote on the larva and chrysalis of the Sage Sphinx; his "Catalogue of the Lepidoptera of Eastern Kansas" ran through three issues. His list of butterflies appearing in Lawrence had led to a correspondence with W. H. Edwards, then regarded as a leading American authority on butterflies, who helped him to identify some of those mentioned in the "Catalogue." In 1875 the *Observer of Nature* included Snow's "The Fishes of the Kansas River as Observed at Lawrence," a subject discussed in 1870 in a talk before the Academy of Science. This paper, the first contribution to the ichthyology of Kansas,⁵ mentions Snow's having seen a blue catfish weighing 175 pounds. He reports a tradition that a 250-pounder had been caught in 1856. The fish had been landed with the aid of a steamboat towline and a yoke of oxen.⁶

The Natural History Society met every two weeks for programs which included "essays, orations, a paper, and a debate." A subject for debate was "Resolved, that caterpillars are more injurious than grubs."

Comments by alumni indicate that the Natural History Society and the two literary societies, the Orophilian and the Oread, contributed much to their training. Listed with other organiza-

tions in an issue of the *Observer of Nature*, in 1874, is one to which the alumni owed only some laughs, the T. C. Society. Boys will be boys—especially those that never grow up. The initials stand for “Turkey Catchers.” The scapegraces in this organization sometimes raided barnyards to collect birds, but not for museum purposes. Hearing of one such raid, Judge N. T. Stephens invited the raiders to dine at his house, where the guests were dumfounded to observe several whole turkeys on the table. They understood the point even before the end of an embarrassing meal, when the Judge delivered his lecture. Professor Robinson celebrated the incident in the kind of macaronic verse then fashionable.

Since the practice existed at Harvard in the seventeenth century and at the University of Virginia in the early nineteenth, stealing turkeys was hardly an original diversion. Even Judge Stephens’ method of dealing with the offenders has interesting similarities to the treatment meted out to Lincoln Steffens and other would-be chicken-stealers at the University of California, as described in Steffens’ autobiography. Nor did the dissolution of the T. C.’s end turkey-stealing. When W. E. Borah attended the University (1885-87), he refused to join some of his fraternity brothers in taking four turkeys from a farm one night; instead Borah condemned the foray. After the turkeys were served at a dinner, Borah insisted that the farmer be paid. The pranksters persuaded a rustic-looking person, disguised as the wronged farmer, to call upon Borah, then rooming at the house of L. L. Dyche, and to demand payment for the stolen turkeys, threatening to prosecute Borah’s friends if he was not paid immediately. After Borah paid the man five dollars, those in the plot enjoyed an oyster supper at Borah’s expense. Whether either Borah or the farmer recovered his loss is not clear.⁷ But it is clear that the conscientious Borah, already participating in debates and an earnest student—of his teachers, he was particularly devoted to J. H. Canfield and W. H. Carruth—went to the Senate, whereas the youths who

stole them seem to have lived and died as obscurely as the turkeys.*

§2

A case could be made for botany as Snow's first love among the sciences. He contributed several items to a preliminary list of Kansas plants, published in the early seventies by Professor J. H. Carruth.⁸ One cannot be sure at what period, if he had seen both a relatively immobile insect and a plant, Snow would have collected the insect first.

Like the study of plants, the study of insects could prove useful to the Kansas farmer; it could also appeal to one's sense of the beautiful. In the wings of some butterflies was there not a beauty beyond the beauty of opals or of rubies? Snow's old teachers at Williams did not think of scientific interests as unrelated to esthetic or religious interests. Nor did men more eminent as scientists, men like Louis Agassiz, Asa Gray, Benjamin Peirce, Joseph Henry.

The *Observer of Nature* shows that the influence of Louis Agassiz was reaching as far as Kansas. After his death some funds were raised on the campus as a contribution to a memorial in his honor. Professor Bardwell donated a photograph of him to the Natural History Society. According to the *Observer of Nature*, the moth-proof cases being put up to hold birds and geological specimens were modeled upon some in "the Agassiz Museum" in Cambridge, which Snow had doubtless visited.

As a teacher Agassiz was most interested in leading his students to observe. He often began by leaving a student alone with some natural object for some hours or even a few days. For Nathaniel Shaler, as for many others, the object was a fish. After Shaler reported what he had discovered about the fish, Agassiz left Shaler alone with it for another week, expecting him to look at it about ten hours every day. It was hard to find out enough

* In 1936 Borah withdrew as Republican candidate for the Presidency after the nomination of Alfred M. Landon, who graduated from the School of Law in 1908, was assured.

about a fish to satisfy Agassiz. Some of Agassiz's students, like David Starr Jordan, looked so hard at fishes, at the master's bidding, that they spent the rest of their scientific careers studying them.

The lesson that Agassiz taught was, of course, nothing new. The great educational theorists of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment—Rabelais, Montaigne, Locke, Rousseau—appreciated the importance of observation. But Agassiz did dramatize the idea for students of science in his time.

But he did not do so in person or directly for Frank Snow, who had already learned the lesson well at Williams College, from the Lyceum of Natural History, and from men like Chadbourne and Emmons and even from a man who was no scientist at all, Mark Hopkins. Hopkins' address of 1843, already quoted, states that one of the main ends of science is to promote habits of observation. In 1873 Snow was expecting to attend, during the summer of the following year, the Anderson School of Natural History, which in 1873 Louis Agassiz established at Penikese Island, off the coast of Massachusetts, about halfway between Martha's Vineyard and New Bedford. Agassiz assembled a select group of scientists for a few weeks in the summer, hoping to stimulate the teaching of science. Penikese is said to have fathered Woods Hole and other marine laboratories.

The enthusiastic, magnetic, and beloved Louis Agassiz died in December of 1873, so that Snow's plans to study under him were not to be fulfilled, a point on which some commentators have gone astray.* But his son, Alexander Agassiz, in his own right so eminent a scientist that the question of which was the greater, he or his father, has been seriously discussed, decided to carry on the school at Penikese in the summer of 1874; since the son did not have his father's gifts as a teacher or organizer, it came to an end then.

Soon after Commencement Snow left for Penikese, having put George Gaumer in charge not only of his meteorological instru-

* The reasons for this conclusion are stated fully in the note on pages 278-79.⁹

ments but also of his pony and cow. A passage from a letter to Mrs. Snow, dated July 19, 1874, gives a brief glimpse of his activities there:

. . . I think I didn't write that nearly the whole school went on a dredging excursion on Monday. We had but moderate success, obtaining about a dozen species of shells. The dredge consists of a sort of iron carpet-bag with net attached. This is dragged along the bottom of the ocean and brings up whatever life exists usually imbedded in a mass of mud which must be washed out in a sieve before its treasures are revealed. We go again tomorrow, this time to the vicinity of the Gay Head—on Martha's Vineyard, Monday being the regular day for dredging. . . . Thursday, I secured a fine specimen, the Black Bass or Rock Fish (*Centropristes atrarius*). First I made a drawing of it and then dissected it, examining all the different organs and observing their functions. These I have preserved in alcohol and will exhibit to you in due season. That consumed the day after attending lectures. Friday I made a skeleton of my fish carefully removing the flesh from the bones in such a manner as not to break out or detach them from their proper place. Lastly I spread out the skeleton on a board and set it to dry. Friday evening we had a brilliant lecture from Prof. Mayer on sound, illustrated with beautiful experiments. Yesterday morning I rose before 5 o'clock and with three others rowed over to Gull Island to obtain some terns. But one of the party did any shooting—Mr. Whitman—who secured 10 birds of which I obtained three—representing two different species—and of rarely delicate beauty. As Gull Island is about a mile away we returned in time for breakfast. During the forenoon I found time to skin the three birds besides attending three lectures. These were in drawing by Prof. Palter, who gave us an exercise in drawing the Shark, by Prof. Putnam on Sharks & by Prof. Barnard on the Protozoans. After dinner five [of] us rowed over to Cuttyhawk Island—distant about 4 or 5 miles and crossing on foot to the other side, about 2 miles, divested ourselves of all artificial clothing and waded about among the rocks, carefully searching with hands & feet for starfishes, we were nearly two hours in the water and secured some 25 specimens. Returning to the other side of the island we dragged the net for small fish and eels with good success. Also obtained several crabs and horse-shoe crabs with two

or three lobsters to complete the day's collections. We reached home (?) about 8½ o'clock with a big appetite which being satisfied we divided our specimens putting some into the aquaria and consigning the rest to alcohol. The last and best enjoyment of the day was the reading of your letters. I had a letter from Gaumer a day or two ago. . . . I have just come in from the Sunday meeting, in which interesting questions concerning the relation of science to religion were discussed. . . . Don't let the babes forget their father.

Snow afterwards recalled his pleasure in watching the graceful flight of large flocks of terns on Penikese.¹⁰ Another bit of observation he chronicled at length. One day in July just after sunset, he came across some specimens of the insect *Polyphylla variolosa* Harris. Returning to the spot two days later he found upwards of fifty specimens in fifteen minutes. The male insects were scratching the ground. After digging a few inches, Snow saw a female just emerging from the pupal stage and two others struggling upwards. From several inspections, he concluded that the function of the large antennae of the males, sensitive to sound vibrations, was to enable them to find mates which were beneath the surface of the soil. Since the 1870's studies of communication between insects have greatly advanced knowledge of that subject, one of the most recent contributions being Herr von Frisch's experiments with bees, establishing their ability by means of "dances" and postures to inform their fellows of the direction and distance of sources for honey. Snow had as a working basis Mayer's explanation in 1873 that "the fibrillae of the mosquito's antennae are tuned by nature to vibrate in sets in unison with sounds of different quality," the purpose being to enable the male mosquito to find the female in the dark. Snow attributed the large size of the antennae of the male *Polyphylla variolosa* to the peculiar difficulties attending his search for a mate.¹¹

The formulation of this hypothesis would perhaps have seemed more intelligible in the light of Darwin's theory of "sexual selection." Snow was acquainted with Darwin, but he did not

accept the theory of evolution till much later.* Statements by David Starr Jordan indicate that the scientists at Penikese were debating the theory and that many had already accepted it. (Incidentally, in his autobiography Jordan mentions Snow as a "delightful member of the group. . . an excellent naturalist, simple, hearty, and jocund.")

Undoubtedly Snow's summer at Penikese was a stimulating experience, not merely because of the lectures and the study of specimens but because of his association with a group of some fifty distinguished scientists from various parts of the country. But the fundamental contribution to his point of view and his equipment as a scientist had been made long before, at Williams College.

§3

A Lawrence newspaper notes early in 1876 of the present Fraser Hall: "Natural history fills the second floor south in the main or central part of the building, and most naturally attracts the attention of a visitor. The cabinets of birds and insects, of every color, size, and shape are a fascinating study, and we speak with a feeling of pride, mixed with not a touch of wonderment at the untiring energy displayed, when we say that these cabinets have been collected almost entirely by Professor Snow, and his corps of students."

From the beginning Snow had built up the collections; nearly every University catalogue noted hundreds and thousands of additions. He brought back from Penikese Island 1,000 marine specimens. Among the other additions of 1874 were "1,000 Kansas insects, 800 Massachusetts insects, 200 Kansas birds, 1,000 plants of Virginia, obtained by exchange."¹² After mentioning in 1875 an increase of 12,000 insects, Snow states, "During the year I have prepared with my own hands two hundred and fifty bird skins, a large proportion of which represent the ornithology of western Kansas." Superfluous specimens of all kinds were used for ex-

* See page 230.

change purposes. Fifty exchanges are recorded for one year alone. Snow's vigilance in seizing every opportunity to add to the collections may be illustrated by the agreement he made with the Regents in 1884—to buy with his own funds the Cooper collection of minerals, the legal ownership of which he retained for seven years, until the Regents were able to raise the amount of the purchase price.¹³ Even a passing carnival might make its contribution. The *Kansas Review* in 1880 announced that Snow had bought a boa constrictor from a show then in town.*

The Accession Book at Snow Hall shows that some of the insects in the Snow collection came from strange places—the larva of one, for example, from the back of a man who had visited in South America; the Lawrence physician who removed the larva took it to Snow as a matter of course. Multitudes of insects came from places not far from the Snow home, for Snow did not stop his collecting with the end of the summer vacation. In the early days he liked to hitch his pony to a buckboard and drive to the banks of the Wakarusa. There he unhitched and turned the pony loose to graze. Next he would usually smear trees with a mixture of beer and molasses—a mixture which inspired many jokes about Kansas prohibition. His little son Willie was often his companion on these trips, behaving extraordinarily well, as his father wrote.

Snow conducted his first scientific expedition in 1876. Three men in the senior class—Elmer B. Tucker, George F. Gaumer, and Charles W. Smith—and two women—Lizzie A. Williams and May Richardson—accompanied the Snow family to headquarters near Colorado Springs and later in South Park. Each member had his allotted task: Tucker and Gaumer collected insects, particularly butterflies and moths; Smith and the girls col-

* Snow also enlisted the aid of E. P. West, who during the eighties contributed much to the collection of fossils (his collection of fossil leaves was especially remarkable), and of C. H. Sternberg, whose *Life of a Fossil Hunter* (New York, 1909) reveals that its author had collected for the arch rivals Cope and Marsh, as well as for various museums and the University of Kansas.

lected flowers and plants. It was later noticed that the future Judge Smith had collected a wife, for it was Lizzie Williams Smith who wrote of the expedition, incidentally remarking of Snow: "While his interest in collecting. . . never abated, we learned of his tender care for his invalid wife, his solicitude for the welfare of his young son, his cheerfulness in all circumstances, his winsomeness, his love for music, and for all the best things in life. We learned to know him as a man, and found him as fine and interesting as we had known him as an instructor." Most of the party, including the young women, climbed to the top of Pike's Peak, along with Willie Snow, who reached the summit first, establishing a record as the youngest person who had accomplished the journey.¹⁴ As so often in the years to follow, Snow summarized the results of the expedition at a meeting of the Kansas Academy of Science.

Citizens of Lawrence helped to defray the expenses of the first expedition. The University bore the expenses of most of those which followed. The Santa Fe often helped with passes. Extending from 1876 to 1907, the expeditions were twenty-six in number—four in Kansas, eight in Colorado, six in New Mexico, two in Texas, and six in Arizona.¹⁵ Those who accompanied Snow on these expeditions included some who afterwards became distinguished scientists.

The second expedition, to Wallace County, Kansas, is memorable particularly for the capture of several hundred specimens of *Amblychila cylindriciformis* Say, the tiger beetle—so called because of its carnivorous habits. (In two instances Snow observed insects eating each other "with the keenest relish."*) Thomas Say, the famous naturalist, had found a specimen in 1823 near the base of the Rocky Mountains. Since the time of Say this beetle had been regarded as rare. Snow and his companions discovered that its favorite haunt at night was the holes of animals like the kangaroo rat. After Snow had sold a considerable number of speci-

* In *Grassroot Jungles*, Edwin Way Teale points out that dragonflies can outdo even these: they sometimes eat parts of their own bodies.

mens not needed in the University collection, the price went down; whereupon he desisted from further sales till the price went up again, having something of a corner on the market. The proceeds paid for the expenses of the expedition. The exchange value of the insects enabled Snow to make additions to the beetle collection of the University; and the two students who had accompanied him and who had been promised part of the proceeds from the beetles they captured earned a substantial part of their college expenses for a year.¹⁶

The next expedition was among the most successful and adventurous. Snow and his friend Benjamin F. Mudge,* as well as L. L. Dyche and a few other students, were in the group. The party at first camped near Hackberry Creek, in Gove County, Kansas, where coyotes and antelope were still abundant. Snow found twenty-eight fishes and saurians and Mudge twenty-two in one day. In less than three weeks the party collected 41 saurians, 117 fishes, and 6 pterodactyls. The most valuable find (Mudge pronounced this discovery worth all the others) was Snow's—a fossil saurian with the snakelike scales clearly preserved, still the only known specimen of the sort. During a period of forty years a large museum in New York attempted to buy it, but it remains in the museum in Lawrence which has been named after a member of the collecting party, Lewis L. Dyche.¹⁷

An incident of the trip was a storm which struck the tent about two o'clock one morning and wrecked it—the worst storm Mudge had seen during twelve years of camping on the plains. An event which could have been serious was to follow. In his report of the previous expedition Snow had mentioned the dangers from rattlesnakes and rabid skunks. Nearly every day some member of the party saw a rattler. On June 27 Snow came into camp carrying a small rattlesnake in one hand; in the other he held a piece of fossilized fish, in such a way as to give point to a playful remark that he was carrying a rattler in one hand and a pistol to shoot it with in the other.¹⁸ After a small-necked bottle

* See pages 122 ff.

was brought out, for use in preserving the snake in alcohol, Snow attempted to thrust the snake into the bottle, holding it behind its head between the thumb and finger of his left hand. During the operation he brought his right hand close to the left. With its coils now braced against the bottleneck, the rattler struck with such force as to carry Snow's left hand along; one fang plunged into the middle finger of Snow's right hand. "By George, he has bitten me!" Snow exclaimed. (Witnesses affirm that he used no stronger language.) Quickly he put the snake down, moved his foot on it to prevent its escape, and began sucking the bleeding finger. Dyche tied a string so as to keep the venom isolated, the bite was lanced to speed the flow of blood, and other members of the party carried on the oral treatment initiated by Snow. For two or three minutes he felt a pain which he compared to being pressed by a hundred hot needles, a pain more intense than having the nerve of a tooth yanked out by a dentist. Then an ache supplanted the pain. The wound was later lanced twice. About an hour after the bite, when the string was removed, the finger had swollen to double its normal size and the arm had become discolored. Snow seized the opportunity to study the symptoms scientifically, later writing to his wife:

I made some valuable observations upon myself during the first 24 hours. Five hours after the bite I noted my pulse, it had fallen to 50 about 24 pulsations below the normal rate; 8 hours after the bite it had risen to 56; next morning 19 hours after the bite it had risen to 60 and at the end of 24 hours it had reached 72 or about the normal rate. Not being under the influence of whiskey or any other medicine, this retarding of the circulation was evidently due to the venom of the snake. I have never seen this fact recorded and presume it is a new observation. So science gains by my snake-bite and I value the experience highly.

Snow ate such a hearty dinner that the cook thought the food supply would not outlast more snakebites, and in the afternoon resumed his collecting. His friend Joseph Savage later gave a circumstantial account of the happening before the Kansas Academy

of Science. Since he had recovered easily without the use of whiskey, then a favorite remedy for snakebite though actually worse than useless, Snow hoped like a good Kansas scientist that he had aided the cause of temperance.

In spite of this mishap Snow harbored no fear of rattlesnakes and soon forgot his resolve, made for his wife's benefit, not to handle them. He was once bitten again, without harm, since the offending snake struck through a gunny sack. According to a well-authenticated story, he once invited Chancellor Lippincott to see his "pet"—a rattlesnake which Snow had been handling familiarly, as the dismayed Lippincott discovered after Snow had taken it from a cage. Lippincott did not linger even a moment; Snow enjoyed his consternation. Later Lippincott urged Snow not to handle "that snake" again.¹⁹

On still another occasion Snow was bitten, this time by a Gila monster, and again he sought to make the occasion productive of scientific evidence. While he was collecting in New Mexico, miners told him that the mere breath of the Gila monster was fatal. In 1883 he took a pet Gila monster with him to a meeting of the Kansas Academy of Science. In 1888 he acquired another specimen and watched it in action. Tested on animals, the bite caused only a temporary swelling. He concluded, therefore, that the reptile was not venomous and set forth this conclusion in a published paper.²⁰ Late in July of 1906, near the end of a collecting expedition not far from Tucson, Arizona, Snow captured two Gila monsters, which he carried in a bucket. When they crawled up the sides of the bucket to escape, he would push them back with his hand. Finally, one of them sank six teeth just below the end of his left thumb. Since he quickly applied an antidote and since the lizard had not secured a firm hold, he suffered no harm. Its companion having died, Snow kept the offending Gila monster in a cage where he could observe its behavior. He encouraged it to eat by thrusting its nose down into a saucer containing raw eggs. (Since this Gila's tail is described as broad, it must have been well fed, for the creature stores reserve food in

its tail.) One day it escaped, alarming certain members of the family, until it was found lurking behind some book shelves. Snow finally put it in a box with two frogs. Late one afternoon it bit one of them, which was found dead the next morning. After looking up the material published on Gila monsters and carrying on some correspondence, Snow decided that the degree of poisoning depends on the manner of the Gila monster's bite; the amount of venom injected varies with circumstances. Potentially, the bite of this harmless-looking combination of orange and black, with a texture often compared to Indian beadwork, is as dangerous as a rattlesnake's. Though the accidents may not have added anything to the total sum of knowledge, Snow's prompt seizure of the opportunity to study the rattlesnake and the Gila monster showed the scientific temper.

In August of 1878, soon after his return from Gove County, Snow led an expedition to Platte County, Colorado. One day as he and his companion, Dyche, were walking along, a few feet apart, a large rock fell from a cliff and passed between them. In the following year, while camping near Idaho Springs, Colorado, Snow set out alone to climb Gray's Peak. He had grown fond of mountain climbing; one of his lectures dwells upon the subject enthusiastically: "And what fine wilderness was thus revealed—storms and avalanches, lakes and waterfalls, gardens and meadows, and interesting animals—only those will ever know who give the finest and most buoyant portion of their lives to climbing and seeing for themselves." Snow thought the mountains relatively safe, too, since they lie beyond the haunts of evil and pestilence. (He could also have questioned the safety of city streets; one night during a blustery storm a church steeple toppled and fell just behind his buggy, a fact of which he was unaware till the following day, when somebody informed him.) After spending a night in a miners' cabin on Gray's Peak—the miners told him that the couch on which he slept had been occupied on the previous night by a mountain lion—Snow left for camp. On the way down, he was startled to find himself sliding on the ice of a

glacier. Fortunately, he had his butterfly net in his hand. With the handle-end stabbing at the snow, he managed to terminate the unwelcome glissade in time to avert disaster. Cutting steps part of the way, he then proceeded slowly and cautiously to the bottom of the ice mass, between Gray's Peak and Irwin's Peak. There he discovered a new species of butterfly, *Chrysophanus snowi* Edwards,* as it was soon to be named in his honor.²¹ Once more a mishap had served scientific ends.

The Shakespearean phrase "accidents by flood and field" would be partly applicable to a happening during the expedition of 1904 in Oak Creek Canyon, near Flagstaff, Arizona. Snow was fishing in a mountain stream near the camp when he saw and heard a wall of water, presumably from a cloudburst upstream, roaring towards him. He scrambled up the bank. Afterwards he wrote his daughter Martha a letter telling of the event:

I was already wet to the skin & had no vest or coat and was compelled to pace the bank back & forth for nearly two hours to keep up the circulation, singing Lauriger Horatius & other lays to relieve the apprehension of your Mother who was viewing my plight. . . .

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 the top-most 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. . . .²²

For suspense, most of these experiences were eclipsed by what happened in 1881. During the early part of the summer, Snow was in the East. Reading of Apache Indian raids in the section of New Mexico where he intended to collect, he bought a Winchester rifle in Boston. (By this time the nonresistance principles acquired from his father and the Rev. Elnathan Davis were outgrown.) A letter which he wrote from New Mexico on August

* Though "*Chrysophanus*" ought to mean "showing like gold," the butterflies of the genus have copper wings. "Snow's Copperwing" would be a satisfactory name for the species.

11 informed Mrs. Snow, then at Andover, that he had camped in Water Canyon, untraveled by either Indians or white men—about twenty-five miles west of Socorro. “Willie [his small son] and I are getting lots of fine butterflies and other insects, and Dyche is putting up plants, of which there are many new and beautiful species here. Prof. [H. H. S.] Smith* is learning how to collect, but chiefly makes himself useful about the camp.” One day a messenger, who showed a bullet hole in his hat, brought news to the miners and the members of the collecting party that the Apaches were on the war-path. The group in the Canyon assembled at the miners’ cabins and for three days and nights maintained constant vigilance. Though fresh moccasin tracks were found near the cabins, no fighting occurred. Then the group decided to march to Socorro. In Snow’s words,

We were asked to leave all our belongings in order to go down the canyon double-quick, but I could not see how a dozen or so of light cigar boxes filled with my bugs could endanger our march, so despite the wishes of the others I carried with me thirteen boxes of my bravest† insects. I tied them up so I could get my arms around them and, putting my Boston Winchester over my shoulder, and with little Will, my boy, clinging to my sleeve we started for Socorro.

We formed in van and rear guards and right and left squads. I was put on the right flank. On the way down we found pools of blood where men had been murdered, and their wagons looted. Our teamster was one of the victims. A posse of 100 men coming out from Socorro met us and with them we continued our march down the canyon.²³

The papers in the East and elsewhere carried reports that Snow and his companions were believed to have been massacred, but fortunately Mrs. Snow was not given an opportunity to see these reports until after a telegram from her husband arrived.

* Professor of Physics and Astronomy.

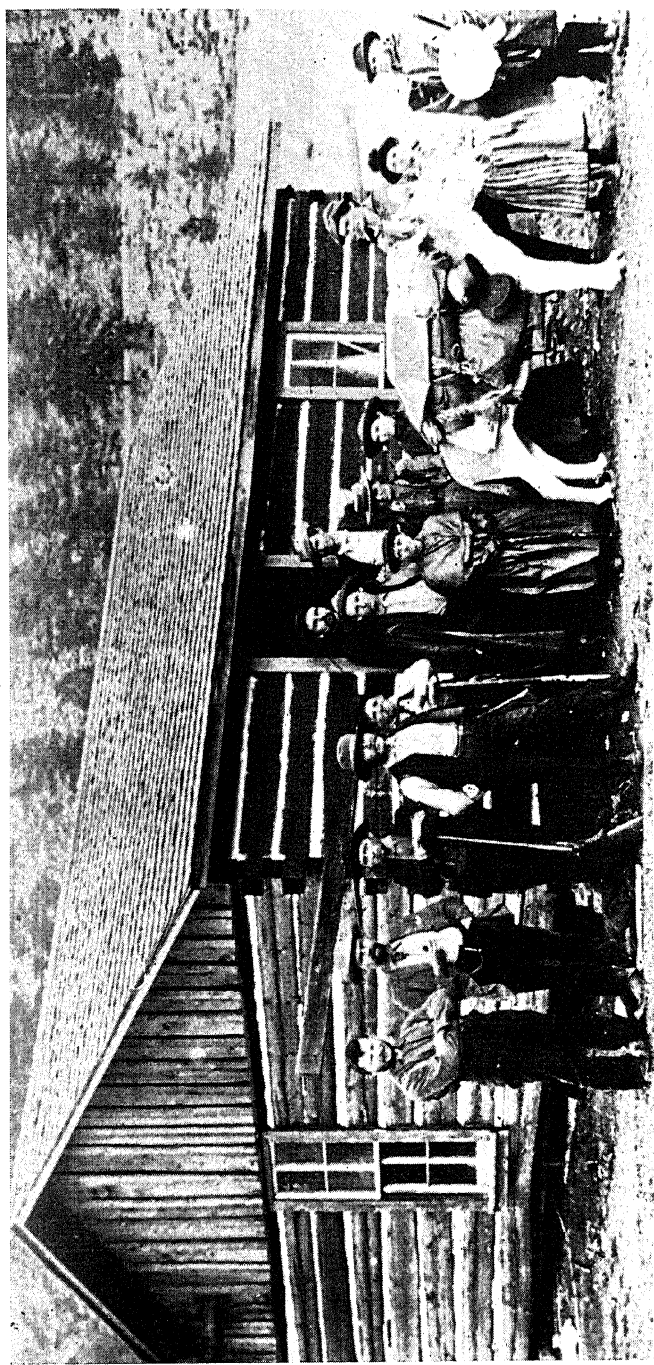
† As most readers will not need to be told, Snow uses the word in the Elizabethan sense, “finest.”

Much lore about the Snow expeditions has grown up. Snow usually warned new recruits that the camping trip would be a test of their mettle. He expected everybody to do his share of the necessary work. One job he usually reserved for himself: he was boyishly but justifiably proud of his ability to make good muffins, or gems, as they were sometimes called. After one expedition, in 1903, he was quoted as saying he had baked more than 1,500. A football player who participated in an earlier expedition displayed such a hearty enjoyment of muffins that speculation as to the number he had eaten became keen. For a time he had issued daily oral bulletins, but as the numbers mounted he became self-conscious and more reserved. When he got home to Lawrence, he revealed that he had eaten several hundred (not far from a thousand) muffins during his five or six weeks in Colorado, where the mountain air and his physical exertions had whetted his appetite. Professor W. C. Stevens, who accompanied Snow on two expeditions to New Mexico, in 1883 and 1884, recalls that Snow was always the first of the party to rise. After he had made a fire and begun the bread-making, he would usually "beat on the dishpan tambourine-fashion and shout in sing-song some doggerel rhyme which he improvised. . . ." One bit which Professor Stevens remembered:

Up! up! ye sleepers,
The sun is on high.
Ope wide now your peepers,
Nor longer there lie.

Though the first one up, Stevens explains, Snow was not the first to go to bed:

. . . from the long journey and the labor of establishing camp I was tired, and looked forward to early bedtime and rest. But I soon saw Professor Snow had no such plans. The axes were brought out and we went to splitting logs, building a rousing campfire, smearing trees with molasses and beer, and to capturing in our cyanide bottles beetles and moths that boomed and fluttered



A famous group of campers in Estes Park. This photograph, taken in August of 1889, "represents what the old theatrical bills used to call 'the entire strength of the company'" (William Allen White).

Left to right: W. A. White, H. E. Riggs, Frank Craig, E. C. Franklin, Vernon Kellogg, A. L. Wilmoth (in the door), Herbert Hadley, Jennie Sutliff, S. C. Brewster, Eva Fleming, Nell Franklin, the Burro, W. S. Franklin, Helen Sutliff, Professor Snow.



Several of the campers shown in the previous illustration, "as we were when we dressed in our Sunday best in Lawrence, after we had returned from the mountains," according to White.

Upper row, left to right: S. C. Brewster, E. C. Franklin, Frank Craig, Frederick Funston.
Lower row: H. E. Riggs, Professor Snow, Vernon Kellogg, Nell Franklin, William Allen White.

about the campfire or sipped themselves tipsy from the dope on the trees. And so we went on and on into the night until I weakened and excused myself to the good professor and dragged myself to my lowly cot. He accepted my excuses graciously and went on collecting without me I know not to what hours.²⁴

E. S. Tucker, who as student and later as museum assistant accompanied Snow on a few expeditions, recalled that one night after a large lantern was lighted and a big funnel was placed underneath as a trap, a tremendous swarm of insects, which are sensitive to changes in temperature and air currents, appeared:

. . . the Doctor hastily called out all hands to capture them. Care must be exercised always to prevent injury in catching the delicate creatures; but here the great number of beauties which fluttered in sight nearly drove the Doctor to distraction for fear their perfect condition would be marred. . . . He groaned aloud as if the sight of so many prizes gave him a pain, being unable to catch every one that he wanted. Really, the party presented a comic, as well as an animated, scene; the effect of the members in prancing around the lights, whirling nets frantically in the air, or in searching the ground for choicest specimens of the fallen hosts, amid a din of excited exclamations, mingled with the Doctor's groans, would have afforded an entertainment for an audience.²⁵

The routine was not unvarying. The pleasant gatherings around the bonfire at night, the songs, the lively conversations, sometimes the informal talks or stunts, the friendly comradeship lingered in many students' memories. There was a good deal of fishing, too, some of it in the early days when game laws were so liberal and fish so plentiful that one could bag them with a butterfly net as they leaped down falls. For Snow, however, insects could be as exciting as any fish. During a camping trip in South Park, Colorado, Snow set out with a bucket to find some drinking water, cattle having muddied the stream close by. Then twilight drew near but not Snow. When Mrs. Snow became worried, Dr. E. W. Schauffler, who had been Snow's classmate at Williams, set out to find him. He discovered Snow on his hands and knees

watching some beetles of a kind new to him, which had caused him to forget the water and not to notice the approaching dusk.

Many stories point to the perplexity and sometimes the suspicion of strangers who observed Snow and others in action. Charles H. Sternberg, the fossil hunter, happened to be in western Kansas one summer when Snow and his companions were in the vicinity. He heard a cowboy ask what the Snow group were doing. Told they were collecting bugs, the cowboy said, "I don't believe it. They are grown men." He decided to investigate. Snow took him to his tent and showed him many specimens, reeling off their scientific names. Later the cowboy remarked, "That man is the smartest man I ever saw. He knows the names and surnames of all the bugs in this country."

Snow always came back from his expeditions looking healthy and refreshed, ready to plunge into the classifying and arranging of his insects. Professor W. C. Stevens, as a student, often saw him in the museum in the afternoon, usually singing at his work, the burden of the song "being a string of scientific names applying to the subject in hand. He said this helped him to remember the names, and the results in this respect were truly phenomenal."

Birds, plants, fossils, minerals, and insects had all been collected by Snow. Beginning in 1890 he added shooting stars to the list. In March of that year Snow heard that meteorites had been found in Kiowa County. One had been used to cover a rain-barrel, another to hold down the roof of a stable, still another to fill a hole under a fence; one had lain for some years on the sidewalk in front of a real-estate office. Mrs. Kimberly, wife of a farmer on whose land several meteorites had been found, had a notion that the strange-looking stones might be of value. Apparently she informed Professor F. W. Cragin of Washburn College, in Topeka, of their existence; at any rate Cragin arrived in Kiowa County early in March and bought more than a thousand pounds of meteorites.²⁶ When Snow came a short time later, he could procure only one specimen. In subsequent visits, however, he

bought five others. One of these he kept; the other four he sold to George F. Kunz, an expert for Tiffany of New York, the firm which had bought most of Cragin's supply. Snow turned over to E. H. S. Bailey and E. C. Franklin of the Department of Chemistry the task of analyzing the meteorite which he kept. The proceeds of the sale of meteorites cleared the Kimberly farm of its mortgage. Other Kiowa County farmers began to plow hopefully.

On June 25, 1890, a schoolteacher, a Miss Guild, was riding near the farm occupied by J. H. January in Washington County, Kansas. Hearing a rumbling sound which was heard by people fifty miles away she glanced up and saw a streak. Then something struck the ground less than fifty yards away, throwing up dirt about forty feet. January crawled out from under his wagon, which he had been repairing, and rushed to the spot. Later, with the help of four other men, he dug the meteorite from the ground and sold it to Snow and Cragin, who, arriving on the scene about the same time, agreed to divide it. Snow turned a fragment over to E. E. Slosson, then an assistant in chemistry, for analysis; the results he included in a letter to *Science*.²⁷

Early the next year *Science* carried another letter from Snow, concerning a meteorite he had bought from a student in Tonganoxie.²⁸ He divided this meteorite into thirty-six slices and received for these a slice of a meteorite from Roeburne, Australia, as well as enough additional cash to pay his expenses and leave a small profit.

In 1904 Kimberly's son unearthed a meteorite and caused another buzz of excitement. Newspapers paid so much attention to Snow and his collection of meteorites in 1905 that he began to get letters from all parts of the country, together with shipments of rocks—usually copper ore, petrified wood, or limestone—which the senders took to be meteoritic. A Kansas woman wanted a more detailed description so that she could find a meteorite "providing such a heavenly blessing is permitted."

§4

On a collecting expedition in Estes Park in 1889 Snow joined a group of University students already in camp. The passage below is taken from his letter of August 2, 1889:

After a stage ride of 32 miles (Loveland to Moraine), from 11:30 a.m. to 8 p.m., I was put down at the cabin of the "Kansas boys", as they are now quite widely known in this region. I found them just returned from a ten days trip to "Specimen Mountain", and came in upon them with a Rock Chalk, Jay Hawk just as they had seated themselves to the supper table. Kellogg & Ed. Franklin did not return from their trip with the rest but they will be here tonight. The boys, having lived 10 days on oatmeal and corn-cake, were ravenously hungry. Supper consisted of roast mountain sheep (two of which were killed by Funston and Hadley*) fried trout, biscuit & coffee. There is no butter in camp, but milk in abundance. The cake was much enjoyed and I had to unpack my trunk to get it out to round up the supper in becoming style. The boys are strictly enforcing the rule of "No razors in camp", and you would be amused to see the different stages in the evolution of beard illustrated by the various members of the party. Will Franklin & Harry Riggs† have a patriarchal aspect, Funston, Wilmoth and Brewster have a less advanced development, while Hadley, Craig & the younger Brewster exhibit the incipient stages of hirsute adolescence. Hadley's pantaloons have been repaired successfully with a cloth of another color but most of the rest exhibit a decided need of repairs in the fundamental portion of their attire. Funston was hard at work with his pants off this forenoon in the act of reseating them, when the young ladies of the Sutliff cabin‡ put in an appearance and he was compelled to

* William Allen White commented, in his discussion of some pictures in the University of Kansas Library: "To kill a mountain goat was a felony. . . . Hadley's goat was eaten in peace but we took Funston's goat back to our cabin, a long trek over the mountains, and while we were trying to boil some to an edible consistency, we literally stunk up Moraine Park. Two game wardens came riding by attracted by the smell, got off their horses. We saw them coming around the curve in the road, and ducked the pot under the floor. But the cabin smelled to high heaven of mountain goat and the wardens searched the whole place but couldn't find that kettle."

† Henry E. Riggs, after a successful career as consulting engineer for railroads, was appointed in 1912 to the chair of civil engineering at the University of Michigan. He later became president of the American Society of Civil Engineers.

‡ A group of University of Kansas girls, including the two Sutliff girls and their mother, occupied a cabin about a mile away from the boys' cabin.

suspend operations rather hurriedly. Being the cook today he was forced to exhibit to them his rent arrearages as he opened the stove door to examine the roasting wild mutton. I slept last night on the cabin floor with W. S. Franklin for a bedfellow, and found him a very quiet non-calcitrant partner. When Kellogg gets back I will put up the fine new tent I bought in Denver. This is a nice lot of boys. The two Brewsters, Hadley & Wilmoth occupy a tent by themselves and have a separate mess, and I am with the 7 boys in the cabin, messing with them. They take turns as cooks, each of the 7 holding office for one day each week and they will not allow me to share the work, which is good of them. So I can collect at my pleasure. This is a fine locality for botanizing, and I hope to make a large collection of plants as well as insects.

This "nice lot of boys" included several who were to win an international reputation. One of them was the future General Frederick Funston, who entered the University in 1886. William Allen White, who entered the same year, and Vernon Kellogg were to be Funston's closest friends. In Funston's reminiscences of his student life,²⁹ his studies, for excellent reasons, play no important part. Instead he liked to dwell on thoughts of "Grave Injustice" Higgins, a youth so nicknamed after a group of revelers departed and left Higgins to bear a landlady's reproaches. "Madam, you do me a grave injustice," Higgins began. "I assure you that—" but the landlady had walked out before Higgins could complete the sentence. The luckless Higgins became the victim of an unfortunate episode the aftermath of which appealed greatly to Funston's not oversubtle sense of humor. A Lawrence family had become thoroughly enraged by the way students returning from the athletic field cut across a corner of their yard. One of its members grew so morbid on the subject that one day he emptied both barrels of a shotgun at a trespassing group.* For some time, Funston asserts, Higgins kept "exuding bird shot"; it was said he "could not even laugh without an accompaniment of the telltale rattle on the sidewalk." Funston also liked to dwell on the pompous visiting egotist who was taken on

* E. M. Hopkins' diary records this event as occurring on October 10, 1892.

a snipe hunt, not once but twice; though on the second occasion the pranksters themselves had to walk several miles, since a group of students followed them and drove their team back to town. A committee of which Hadley was a member waited upon the egotist and introduced him to several supposed "sons of various rich or powerful men," Funston posing as a son of the president of the Santa Fe. Finally, the youth was invited to a gathering of several hundred students who assembled in a city park, ostensibly in his honor. William Harvey Brown, Snow's future son-in-law, presided in a dignified manner. W. S. Franklin made a speech of welcome. When the conceited youth began his response, a student parade, which the police finally dispersed, interrupted him.

In 1893 Funston left for a two-year trip to Alaska, during which he boldly traveled alone through hundreds of miles of territory previously unvisited by white men. He collected plants for the Department of Agriculture. More than a hundred specimens found their way into the University herbarium.³⁰ During one of his student years Funston had roomed at the house of Professor W. C. Stevens; he also stayed at the Snow house for a short time, as did Vernon Kellogg for a longer time. It is not clear whether Snow or his disciple Stevens inspired the thoughtful gesture by the future captor of Aguinaldo.

Like Funston, Herbert Hadley enjoyed hearing the chimes at midnight. Hadley's mother had died while he was young. At Lawrence he lodged at the house of his motherly aunt, Mrs. D. H. Robinson. The letters which Hadley wrote while in camp in 1889 were mostly addressed to his father. "I never felt better in my life and am getting hard and fat. . . . Our crowd is an especially jolly one. Will Franklin and Harry Riggs are both in for fun and Funston keeps the whole crowd laughing most of the time" (June 26). "This has been the pleasantest summer I ever spent" (August 10). With some complacency Hadley records that he had surpassed the others in baseball, hunting, and fishing. One of Hadley's activities at the University—incidentally, one which the fac-

ulty approved of—was public speaking. His career was to include a period as governor of Missouri and later as chancellor of Washington University. His friend William Allen White saw him preside over the Republican convention in 1912, when Hadley was talked of as a possible compromise candidate to bring together the Taft and Roosevelt factions; and White amused Roosevelt by stories of Hadley's "harmless student revelry." "I told him about Hadley's escapade with Mamma Bear on Specimen Mountain when he filled the cub's bottom full of birdshot, not knowing that Mamma was around the other side of the rock, and how Hadley ran around the edge of a cliff and dropped fifteen feet and came rushing into camp and fainted. . . ." ⁸¹

An especial friend of Snow's, E. C. Franklin, had no encounter with a bear but earned the nickname of "Buck" when he saw a deer and stood motionless with "buck fever." (In after years he was nicknamed "the goat," because of his enthusiasm for mountain climbing.) He had other enthusiasms: one of his friends remembered how Franklin had induced his guests in an automobile to stand up and yell whenever they saw a choice bit of scenery. ⁸² From student days a particular enthusiasm was chemistry, a subject which he taught at the University of Kansas from 1888 to 1903. In their investigation of the ammonia system he and his student, H. P. Cady, advanced knowledge in their field. Franklin's career as a chemist, culminating in his election to the presidency of the American Chemical Society, attracted the attention of David Starr Jordan, who commissioned Vernon Kellogg to persuade him to come to Leland Stanford University, where he became dean of the Graduate School.

The Franklin boys had shown their scientific bent at an early age. One day after their father gave them a microscope, Will, the younger brother, went to a neighbor and asked for a louse to look at under the microscope, the hygienic habits of the neighbor's offspring being familiar to him. Will (W. S.) Franklin also taught at the University. His numerous books and articles earned him distinction as a physicist.

Vernon Kellogg was Snow's favorite pupil and a faithful friend. In his boyhood he had roamed the woods around Emporia, learning the ways of birds and wild animals. Soon after he entered the University he surprised Snow with his knowledge of ornithology. His studies led him to decide in favor of a scientific rather than the journalistic career he had originally considered, though he and White worked together on a local paper, Kellogg becoming associate editor. After Snow was made Chancellor, Kellogg took over his work in entomology and also served as his secretary. Kellogg's numerous books and articles included a once widely admired treatment of his teacher's favorite subject, evolution. After President Jordan called Kellogg to Stanford, one of his students there was Herbert Hoover, who took Kellogg with him on the Commission for Relief in Belgium. Kellogg later served as secretary of the National Research Council. Before the era of atomic scientists, and indeed before World War I, Kellogg showed a concern for world peace. A good deal of an aristocrat by nature, he thought and wrote effectively as a scientist whose science was tempered with humanity.³³

Kellogg learned from J. H. Canfield as well as from Snow. For Kellogg's friend William Allen White one should reverse the emphasis.³⁴ White acknowledges his indebtedness to Snow and A. R. Marsh but indicates that Canfield was his idol. He confesses that he entered the University mainly because of Kellogg's glowing pictures of its social life. Prepared for society in his own way, White came dressed in a Prince Albert coat, a wide-brimmed hat, and a necktie containing a bull's-head stickpin. His bosom friend Funston remembered him as "fat, freckle-faced, and flippant." He was soon a well-known character, startling the faculty with some of the items which he sent to the *El Dorado Republican* and startling the students with items contributed to "The Month," a column in the *University Review*, edited by his friend Kellogg. Now and then he introduced notes of fraternity combinations for political purposes, which, he averred, were "public property." In his student days White published verse of which he was later not

proud, of the folksy, Rileyesque variety. In the *University Review* for June, 1889, for instance, he anatomized his passion for the gurgle of the old wood pump. Though White soon ceased to write verse, he retained something of the bardic character. When he chose to indulge his power of invective, such tropes came trooping from his pen as to raise blisters on his opponents' faces.

He returned to his alma mater at Snow's invitation in September, 1897, to make the opening address and received an ovation, being already famous as the author of "What's the Matter with Kansas?" and other pieces. As editor of the *Emporia Gazette* and as a regent of the University, he more than repaid his debt to the school from which he could not graduate because of professed inability, perhaps unwillingness, to pass solid geometry. This confidant of several Presidents always regretted the omission. "On my eightieth birthday," he once declared, "I may go back and challenge the University to give me my degree and toddle across the stage with a cane, waving my false teeth defiantly at the Faculty to show that I am a scholar if not a gentleman."³⁵ Long before his sixtieth birthday the Sage of Emporia had become almost a folk hero, a champion of American leadership in world affairs yet the voice of Main Street, the incarnation of common sense tempered by idealism, the exposé of the stuffed shirt and the political charlatan. The University has awarded him something better than a Bachelor's degree—a School of Journalism named in his honor. The Watson Library at the University of Kansas owns a letter in which White says that the camping trip "represented more to me than any other weeks in my life—more in the way of stimulation—spiritual, emotional, physical—than anything that ever happened. I read a lot, tramped a lot, washed a mountain of dishes, because I would rather wash dishes than cook; got down fire wood because I would rather drag down fire wood from the mountain than fish. . . ."³⁶

Snow, an excellent angler, delighted in fishing; but in all his activities, scientific or recreational, human beings interested him most. He was pre-eminently a fisher of men.

IX

Prelude to the Chancellorship

Look here upon this picture and on this. . . .

—William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*.

§1

JAMES MARVIN, who served as Chancellor from November of 1874 to September of 1883, was, in contrast to the impulsive Fraser, a man who acted after much deliberation. He was conscientious and businesslike. Kate Stephens thought he gave the impression of struggling with the old Adam.

Certainly he had to struggle with the legislature. The grasshopper plague of 1874 and 1875 necessitated the slashing of budgets. Salaries were temporarily lowered in April, 1875, the individual members of the faculty appearing before the Regents to waive the expected three-month notice. During a procession to the present Fraser Hall, to dedicate the assembly room, a governor of Kansas saw that part of a handrail of hardwood was pieced out with unstained pine. "What does that mean?" he asked. "That, Governor, is where the appropriations ran out," replied Marvin.¹ Nevertheless, in the face of such odds, he managed to restore harmony in the faculty. He also undertook the adornment of the campus with trees and shrubs, notably on Arbor Day of 1878; the original lilac hedge east of Fraser Hall was established on his initiative, with some help from Joseph Savage and the Douglas County Horticultural Society. Since the chemical laboratory in Fraser was a fire hazard, Marvin urged the construction of a new chemistry building, which was built in 1883. Marvin called to the Regents' attention the need for "philosophical apparatus" and other equipment, often mentioning the valuable collections made by the Professor of Natural History and his students.

Chancellor Marvin's most important achievement was the strengthening of the faculty.* Four of his appointees were, like Snow, from Williams College—James W. Green of '66, James H. Canfield of '67, the latter's cousin Arthur G. Canfield of '78, and L. W. Spring, who began as a classmate of Snow's but did not graduate till 1863.

By far the most notable of this group was James H. Canfield, ultimately Snow's chief rival for the Chancellorship. After his graduation from Williams he had worked in a lumberyard, helped build a railroad, and practiced law. He became interested in local school affairs and realized that teaching was his vocation. John Bascom, formerly of Williams but at the time president of the University of Wisconsin, invited Canfield to teach there; but, when after the death of the incumbent's father, Canfield's delicacy led him to decline the position, Bascom recommended Canfield to a University of Kansas regent, Francis T. Ingalls, like his brother Senator John J. Ingalls also a Williams graduate. Canfield came to Lawrence for an interview.

Though Canfield never forgot this successful interview with the Regents, in March, 1877, his visit to Dodge City to see some relatives was more vivid. An anecdote points to the notorious reputation of that town. When a Santa Fe conductor asked a despondent prospector where he was going, the man answered, "Hell." "That will be sixty-five cents," replied the conductor. "And get off at Dodge City."² After Canfield got off at Dodge City early one Sunday morning, he went to the town hotel to "spruce up" a bit. Doing so required only half an hour, so that Canfield mildly remonstrated when the proprietor charged him three dollars, for those days exorbitant. The man responded by drawing a gun; Canfield reconsidered and found his objections to the charge not insuperable. He then went to church but got more excitement out of the news that a horse thief had just broken out of jail. In the afternoon, in a safe place behind a pile

* Chancellor Marvin should not be confused with his son, Frank O. Marvin. Cf. page 255.

of barrels and boxes, Canfield witnessed an exchange of shots between two gunmen, one of whom bore—somewhat to Canfield's surprise, for the man's conduct was clearly unepiscopal—the nickname of "Bishop." Canfield missed the climax of the day's performance, the shooting of the town marshal in the door of a dance house.³

In the fall when Canfield began teaching, his chair proved more roomy than he had anticipated. Though supposedly teaching only history and the English language and literature, he had more than a hundred students in "elocution and voice-building" and a class in physical geography, also large. His vitality, his enthusiasm, his energy, and his magnetic personality won for him prompt recognition. He was a man of genuine oratorical power; his speech at the Williams centenary in 1893 was a landmark in the history of the college. Canfield's deep religious-civic convictions and his fervor in expressing them may be illustrated by the following passage from a sermon which he delivered at Snow's church, the Plymouth Congregational, on "The Practical Relations of Christian Men and Women to Local Politics":⁴ "If you will be content to hold your goody-goody theories in silence while others persist in their body-body practices, or if you chance to be one of those who 'don't count'—and let us be thankful that there are very few such!—you can slumber in monotonous and undisturbed inefficiency till the last moment of your useless life; with the profound satisfaction that after death men will write on your tombstone, 'Here lies a flint that never struck fire.'"

Canfield struck fire which kindled such men as William E. Borah and William Allen White. White wrote that free spirits were drawn to Canfield: "Our meeting place was in [his] classes . . . and he was a free man who preached freedom and nurtured independent thinking. . . . Let's say that it was the love of freedom, the thing called independence, that we got out of K.U."⁵

The seminar method, old in Germany, was comparatively new in the United States. Henry Adams is credited with introducing it in this country, in the teaching of history. Canfield established

a seminar in historical and political science which attracted not only resident students but visiting members—men like Charles F. Scott, the Gleeds, Judge Solon O. Thacher, Judge J. S. Emery, ex-Governor Robinson. Kansans were not long in discovering that Canfield preached free trade—a doctrine which, as his daughter Dorothy Canfield Fisher once commented, was then as popular in Kansas as free love.* (In 1908 Canfield wrote to W. H. Carruth that the authorities had not interfered with his work as an instructor; two regents had once tactfully suggested that carrying newspaper controversies too far might complicate their problems at Topeka.) Canfield left the University in 1891 to become president of the University of Nebraska. After a successful administration there (a somewhat overpublicized feature of it was the introduction of athletics for girls), he became president of Ohio State University and finally librarian at Columbia University. After his death, President Nicholas Murray Butler said, "I cannot help thinking that on Canfield's tired heart the name Kansas was written." In a room in Fraser Hall where Canfield once taught there is a tablet with his picture and the words he himself had approved: "He loved the state and was loved by its children."

A student and later a friend and neighbor of Snow was also one of Canfield's star pupils and admirers—William Herbert Carruth. (His name, too, was to be mentioned in connection with the Chancellorship, but he was not really a serious contender for the position.) On that March day in 1877 when Canfield first came to Lawrence, he had gone to the post office, where Carruth was working; and, having just bought a new suit of clothes in Chicago, was assumed by Carruth to be a drummer. The son of Professor J. H. Carruth, a botanist whose researches Snow had aided,⁶ Carruth had been a fellow student with J. W. (Willis) Glead under Ephraim Miller, in the Lawrence High School. All three were

* Before coming to the University, E. E. Slosson was warned that it harbored "an anarchist, an evolutionist, and a free-trader." The "anarchist" was W. H. Carruth, apparently so called because he believed that cities might well control their own systems for distributing water and electric power. Canfield's heresy; if mentioned in the order of climax, seems to have been more dangerous than either Carruth's or Snow's.

to move to the University faculty—Miller as teacher of mathematics and later Dean of the College; Gleed as instructor in Latin and English and elocution as well as teacher of Greek during the absence of Kate Stephens in Europe, and later lecturer in the School of Law; and Carruth as teacher of the modern languages and then of German only. As an undergraduate Carruth was the able editor of the *Kansas Collegiate* and later of the *Kansas Review*. He was an excellent student both at the University and at Harvard, where he won his Ph.D. degree in 1893. He was attracted not only to the study and teaching of German but also to his teacher of German, Miss Frances Schlegel, whom he married in 1882. (Here he seems to have been Snow's debtor, for Snow had apparently been responsible for Miss Schlegel's coming to the University.⁷) A many-sided man of passionate convictions and great moral courage, Carruth knew how to bring out the interest and beauty of the language of folktale and *Lieder*, of Weimar and the storied Rhine. Many remembered the Sunday readings at his house, or his clear tenor singing voice and his talks at the Unitarian Church. Once he ventured into politics, running for mayor in 1909, as a reform candidate who promised to close certain "joints" in North Lawrence; his enemies spread a report that he would forbid citizens of that community to keep chickens and pigs, so that he was defeated by a slight margin. Carruth was an initiator of the summer term and served for some years as Vice-Chancellor. William Allen White liked to think that by sponsoring a book of verse he had helped Carruth to discover his poetic talent. (Their common interest in writing was one bond of friendship between Carruth and Arthur G. Canfield, who also wrote polished verse.*) Probably Carruth took more pride in "Each in His Own Tongue," written after a conversation with Snow,[†] than in his editing of the German classics. The poem was widely reprinted. Kate Stephens ran across a version which apparently had been

* A. G. Canfield came to the University to fill his cousin's position during the latter's serious illness. He stayed to teach the modern languages, later French. In 1900 he resigned to accept a professorship at the University of Michigan.

† Cf. page 229.

retranslated back into English⁸ from a Russian translation—though the fact should not be reported in Gath or in Moscow, since it might afford the Russians a basis for claiming it as their own. In one of his raids on the University of Kansas faculty, David Starr Jordan persuaded Carruth to come to Stanford, in 1913, as Professor of Comparative Literature. To that place, in lieu of Lares and Penates, Carruth, now a neighbor of Herbert Hoover and Vernon Kellogg, carried some slips from the old lilac hedge. At Stanford Carruth greatly enjoyed giving his course in versification; he continued to influence poets, would-be poets, and poetasters. A fitting memorial was the establishment at the University of Kansas of the poetry prizes which are named for him and which are awarded in an annual contest.

§2

“Hurrah for good luck; for Ophelia & Walter; for old K.S.U.; for Prof. Snow and for the regents too!!” “Hurrah for good luck, Old K.S.U., wife & baby too, if it is a true Blacktail Buck.” Such chortlings come at intervals in the diaries of Lewis L. Dyche, as in these extracts from entries of October 1 and 2, 1889. During Dyche’s infancy, his mother being ill, an Indian squaw served as his wet nurse; probably not for this reason Dyche grew up to be a mighty hunter.* At nine he was hunting and trapping along the banks of the Wakarusa. At twelve he had learned to read. At sixteen, though handicapped by a late start, he decided to get a college education. For three years he attended the state normal school at Emporia. Then he and a companion came to Lawrence in a covered wagon and camped in the hollow below the museum which now bears Dyche’s name, cooking their meals at a campfire and sleeping in the wagon till cold weather forced Dyche to move to a small room, where he continued to do his own cooking.⁹ At first Dyche enrolled in the classical course, but natural history fascinated him. Snow soon discovered his talents in col-

*Dyche is reported never to have had an accident with a gun but to have been shot five times by careless companions.

lecting and had made him an assistant before his graduation in 1884. Snow also took him along on several collecting expeditions. The *University Courier* for September 22, 1882, states that Dyche had won the first premium at the Topeka fair for his entomological collection. (Dyche was scientific editor of the *Courier*.) Before his triumph at a greater fair, he studied taxidermy under W. T. Hornaday and, to further his studies, visited museums, taxidermists' shops, and zoos. In a few years not only Snow but others recognized him as one of the most skillful American taxidermists. He determined to collect the mammals of North America for the University before they became extinct. (Even buffaloes, today fairly numerous, were then considered a rapidly disappearing race.) At the Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893) Dyche read a paper which impressed experts in his field. What impressed the multitudes was the magnificent display of mounted animals at the Kansas Building, a display of specimens which had required years to collect and months, with the aid of assistants, to mount. At the Chicago Fair Dyche gained a national reputation.

In the following year Dyche accompanied Dr. F. A. Cook on the Arctic expedition which turned out to be a series of calamities. On July 17, 1894, the *Miranda*, as Dyche's journal notes, was damaged by an iceberg. On the next day he was at Cape St. Charles and while watching the seals saw and heard an iceberg burst with a roar like a clap of thunder, stirring huge waves capped with white foam and distributing the ice over several acres. It soon transpired that the iceberg which had struck the ship had done more damage than at first supposed, and so the ship returned to St. John's, Newfoundland, for repairs. There Dyche heard a man remark, "A man who would go to Greenland for pleasure would go to hell for recreation." On July 29 the ship started for Greenland. One night Dyche lectured in the dining-room on moose and moose-hunting. On August 9 the ship ran over a hidden rock and had to make for harbor. By this time several people on board were mutinous, though Dyche himself defended Cook. Dyche made some collections ashore and worked



“No better picture of [Frederick] Funston . . . is extant. . . . He often set out alone for a day’s hunting or fishing, accoutered as he is here. Note the gun, the bedroll, the tin cup. He was a little man, not over five feet four, clumsy—he always had to coon a log crossing a stream. He couldn’t walk because he got dizzy. But he was intrepid. I never knew a braver man” (William Allen White, in a letter in the Watson Library at the University of Kansas). The picture was, of course, taken during the famous camping trip in Estes Park.



Professor Lewis L. Dyche in arctic costume, looking somewhat as he may have looked when harpooning a walrus. By courtesy of Mrs. Dyche.

long hours getting them ready for the ship, which eventually sailed, accompanied by a fishing schooner carrying the passengers.

When the *Miranda* leaked so badly that it had to be deserted, Dyche's collections were lost. The captain declared that the ministers on board had been Jonahs. "I knew we were going to have trouble," he added. "The rats left us." Before he reached home, Dyche had to transfer to other ships. As a crowning bit of ill luck, one of these, the *Portia*, ran down a schooner.

On May 17, 1895, Dyche sailed on the *Golden Hope* on his second Arctic expedition; he came within sight of Greenland's icy mountains on June 9 and landed at Holsteinborg, fifteen miles north of the Arctic Circle, a month later. There on July 19 he met the *Kite*, a sailing vessel sent in search of Lieutenant Robert E. Peary and his companions. The Museum of Natural History in New York had arranged for Dyche, after the rescue of Peary, to spend some time in collecting for that museum, as well as for the University of Kansas. No American museum then possessed specimens of walrus. In hunting this animal Dyche found his keenest excitement. Once when a calf had been harpooned, a host of walruses rushed the boat, which was loaded with Dyche, Peary, and their companions, and struck it a number of times. A little later the men came across a hundred walruses on an ice pan. After slaying the last of the walruses killed in the day's hunt, Dyche records: "We towed him to the *Kite* and lifted him on board with the steam-winch. He was a fine brute with large tusks. My blood is hot with excitement. Six big bull[s]. All killed by my own rifle. What a grand lot of specimens, what a fine experience & what supreme excitement. A day among days. Whoop, Hurrah, Rock Chalk, Jayhawk K. U. Now I am full of business. I cut holes in the skins. Have the mate & sailors to help me and get all six animals on board."

Dyche's party reached St. John's on September 21, 1895. There Dyche sent some telegrams, including one to his wife and the following to Snow: "Arrived well with Peary party. Walrus, bears, deer, narwhale, seals, eggs, birds. Fine collections."

In 1896 Dyche went far into the interior of Alaska in quest of a rare type of mountain sheep. Three years later he was at Monterey Bay after sea lions, which sometimes caused him no little difficulty: "We killed them both again when half a mile from the island & after we got them ashore I finally killed them both again for the last time. Though one of them had to be killed twice after we got it ashore" (July 22, 1899).

Dyche had plenty of work as well as excitement—long wearisome hours of photographing, measuring and weighing, skinning, and finally mounting. Among the examples of his mounting in Dyche Museum probably few have attracted as much attention as Comanche, the horse which survived the battle of the Little Big Horn, though badly wounded when found near the scene of Custer's last fight. (An Indian, Little Soldier, is reported to have said that the Indians would not take the horse while a dead man was holding its rein.) The animal was sent to Fort Lincoln, where for several months a farrier and Lieutenant (later General) Hugh L. Scott nursed him back to health. Then he became the pride of the Seventh Cavalry, Custer's regiment. At Fort Riley, he had a place of honor in parades on the anniversary of Custer's last stand but no military duties. Wandering around the post and grazing in yards or near the bandstand during a concert or dropping in at canteens, where the soldiers fed him buckets of beer, were for him common performances. In 1891, at a ripe old age, he died. Dyche got the permission of officers to mount him; he put the horse's skull and a malformed hip-bone, though not all the bones, in the skin. He displayed Comanche at the Chicago Fair in 1893 and later in Old Snow Hall. Today he stands in Dyche Museum, though not with his original tail, for souvenir-hunters worked havoc with that, as well as with several succeeding tails. The United States Cavalry has made some fruitless attempts to reclaim him, its latest attempt being vigorously repelled by Chancellor Deane W. Malott in 1947.¹⁰

Dyche was a skillful showman who knew how to please the public, even politicians. People flocked to hear him lecture, some

of them obviously awed, on such subjects as "Home of the Eskimo and Seal," "The Land of the Midnight Sun," "Wild North American Animals and Their Haunts," "A Hundred Pictures and a Hundred Stories." Some of the lectures ended with Dyche's expressing the hope that he might one day plant the U. S. flag and a Kansas sunflower on the North Pole. This ambition Dyche did not achieve, the financial and other difficulties being too great. Though he once introduced Peary to a Kansas audience, he remained loyal in his opinion of Dr. Cook, apparently believing that the latter had reached the Pole.*

In 1909 the University gave Dyche leave of absence to serve as state game warden. He made an elaborate study of the food habits of fish, examining the stomachs of 1,100 of one variety alone; he completed the Pratt (Kansas) Hatchery, then the most ambitious of its kind; in lectures and public statements he reminded Kansans of the importance of wildlife conservation.¹² Some politicians did not love him for his efforts to keep his office nonpartisan. But legislators had respected him, and it was partly through his efforts that they appropriated money for the Natural History Museum named after him.

§3

Long before Dyche's collections complicated the problem, the problem of housing the specimens had become acute. The present Fraser Hall no longer supplied room for this purpose and ample space for laboratories and classrooms. The members of the early faculty could not be insensitive to the smallest need of the University. This entry occurs in the faculty minutes for October 15, 1874: "Mr. Roberts, the Janitor, was instructed to obtain a coupling to unite the 2 inch water pipes with the 2¼ inch hose borrowed from the city." Small wonder, then, that the faculty sent to the Regents memorials informing them of the straits of the

* Beginning in 1895 Dyche had an especially able assistant in Charles D. Bunker, who was skillful in erecting dioramas. It was Bunker who, noticing the inroads made by a tiny insect, devised "the dermestid beetle method of cleaning skeletons"—that is, letting the insects eat off the flesh—a technique now widely used in museums.¹¹

rapidly growing Department of Natural History, as it did on November 16, 1875, or that the Chancellors' reports dwelt on this subject.

Nine years later, on September 30, 1884, the faculty thus addressed the Regents on the subject of a new building:

The undersigned would respectfully suggest to the Board. . . that the coming legislature provide means for the erection of a special building for the department of Natural History. The growth of that department has been remarkable, and it has reached the point when it can rightly demand substantial recognition. No one long resident in Kansas need be reminded of the many ways in which it has practically and helpfully touched the daily lives of by far the largest class of our citizens. None can forget that all it has accomplished has come from the earnest and self-sacrificing labors of the man who still guides and quickens its growth.

Its collections are unusually complete and valuable. In Entomology it is said to have but one superior in this country,—Harvard College. In all branches of its work it is pressing well to the front, but its collections are limited in their usefulness by reason of necessarily imperfect display; are not convenient for reference; and large portions of them are even stored in inaccessible places liable to deterioration and decay. . . .

In 1883 the Chemistry Building had been erected at a cost of \$12,000,* of which the legislature had provided only \$8,000, the balance coming from another fund. The request for \$50,000 must have seemed to the legislature to involve a truly stupendous sum. Indeed “\$50,000 for a bug house” struck some members as an absurdity.¹³ The passage of the bill appropriating that sum was an indication of the widespread confidence in Snow.

When the students heard of the passage of the bill, they organized what a local paper called a “jollification.” On March 6, 1885, a large group assembled near Woodward's drugstore on Massachusetts Street and built a bonfire. Preceded by a drum corps, they then marched to Snow's house; there Snow was picked

*In January of 1884 it was occupied by the Department of Chemistry.

up and carried on shoulders to the fire downtown, where several speeches were made. One of the students carrying Snow was W. C. Spangler, who was to serve as Acting Chancellor for a brief period both before and after Snow's administration.¹⁴

At a meeting of the Board of Regents on October 7, 1885, Chancellor Lippincott moved that the new building be called "Snow Hall of Natural History." On November 16, 1886, Snow Hall was dedicated. Appropriately enough, in this era of enthusiastic collecting, the principal address was given by one of the two most eminent collectors of fossils in the country, Professor Edward Drinker Cope of the University of Pennsylvania. As a paleontologist Cope was renowned, among other reasons, for the long, bitter, and sensational feud between himself and Professor O. C. Marsh of Yale,¹⁵ a potentate whose deputy collectors included men like B. F. Mudge and S. W. Williston. Though Snow wished to remain in the background, Chancellor Lippincott called on him to introduce Cope. Throughout the ceremonies when Snow's name was mentioned there were cheers.

Snow had been consulted about the location of the building and the arrangement of the rooms. As progress was made, observers noted that his smile had grown broader. No building on the University campus has awakened more sentiment than this simple and graceful limestone building, Romanesque in style. Some have dwelt upon the consternation among girl students caused by the escape of a bat or a snake; others have recalled the gymnasium in the basement separated from Stevens' botany laboratory by netting, or the quirks of the flight of stairs leading up from the second story, which, according to Stevens, once sent the famous visiting Dutch botanist, Hugo De Vries, sprawling. Above all, the reminiscences emphasize that men like Snow, Dyche, Williston, Stevens, and Haworth taught there. Until 1902 Snow Hall contained the Natural History Museum, as well as classrooms. When the old building finally had to be razed—the process was not complete till 1933—a college teacher of science wrote that the razing was "more or less a sacrilege"! But before

that time, the present Snow Hall had been built; on June 16, 1930, it was dedicated, the principal speech being delivered by Snow's former student and son-in-law, Ermine C. Case, then Professor of Paleontology at the University of Michigan.¹⁶

§4

A few months before the dedication of Old Snow Hall the Science Club had been organized.¹⁷ Along with Vernon Kellogg, L. L. Dyche, and others, Snow appeared on the program of the first annual meeting, giving papers on "The Transitional Character of the Essential Organs in the White Maple (*Acer dasycarpum*)" and "Some Results of Eighteen Years of Meteorological Observation at Lawrence, Kansas." The meeting of February 4, 1887, adjourned with the Science Club yell, which with a slight change became the University yell, one of the best-known of college yells. The Jayhawk mentioned in the University yell has been associated with the legend of Pat Devlin and his plunder-laden mule: Pat, the story goes, declared that he had been "a-jayhawking" and explained that the Jayhawk is a pugnacious bird known in Ireland. But even experts in the ways of the tree goose and the phoenix have found no traces of the bird there; and the statement which is said to have appeared in an old Kansas geography, that the Jayhawk is "native to this locality," can be true only in a Pickwickian sense. As early as 1872 Senator John J. Ingalls wrote of the bird with due seriousness—he pointed out that it was an early bird and caught Missouri worms—though not with the adequacy of Kirke Mechem, who illustrates his discussion with "invisible Jayhawks on their way to sow volunteer wheat." If Henry Maloy, '14, the student cartoonist mainly responsible for the bird's physical characteristics,* had read Ingalls,

* Maloy's early Jayhawk was a bird with human legs and shoes—the latter to kick the Missouri tiger and to conceal the fact that the cartoonist at first made the legs bend in the wrong direction. In its various toucan-like transmogrifications, the Jayhawk has appeared on tanks, jeeps, and planes; the yell has been heard on the battlefields of four wars.

The cartoon in which the Jayhawk has most proudly flaunted its plumage showed the bird riding an elephant. The cartoonist thought that graduates and former students of the University, such as Landon, Borah, White, Roy Roberts, were remodeling the Republican party.

he would not have thought of the Jayhawk in the yell as a mere verb, a back-formation from "Jayhawker."

Scientists have continued to show an interest in the bird, now a University symbol. E. E. Slosson thought the yell "a creed, a boast, and a challenge"; he alluded not only to the early struggles of Kansas ("Jayhawkers," at first a synonym for "freebooters" or "border ruffians," came to mean antislavery fighters and then citizens of Kansas, "the Jayhawker state") but also to the discoveries of fossils by pioneer Kansas scientists. B. F. Mudge found a specimen of *Hesperornis regalis*, the giant-toothed bird of the Kansas Cretaceous. It is this bird which Raymond C. Moore, the geologist, regards as the ancestor of the Jayhawk.¹⁸

The original form of "Rock Chalk—Jayhawk, K. U.," which did not contain the words "Rock Chalk," may have been the invention of E. H. S. Bailey, Professor of Chemistry. Bailey was more benign and amiable than his predecessor, Professor George E. Patrick, who was a competent student and ardent lover of chemistry. Bailey's most brilliant student, H. P. Cady, ascribes to Bailey "a profound knowledge of chemistry, mineralogy, metallurgy, and the related sciences." His later special interest was the chemistry of foods. The new Chemistry Building occupied in the fall of 1900 was to be nicknamed "Bailey's Barn." "Bailey's Boys" numbered, among members of the Science Club, E. C. Franklin and E. E. Slosson. Slosson, an editor of the *Outlook* and of Science Service, Inc., and author of *Creative Chemistry* and numerous other works, once confessed that the idea of popularizing science first occurred to him as a result of participating in a program of the Science Club. From A. R. Marsh he learned how to write, as he said on another occasion.

The term "It" designated the annual meetings of the Science Club. Freud's Latin equivalent, "Id," could have served as well, for in the meetings the Ego and the Superego took not too scandalous a holiday. At the first annual banquet E. L. Nichols, Professor of Physics, proposed that each member tell of his experience in love, sing a song, or dance a jig. At a later meeting Snow read

an "Ode," and Bailey a "Weather Summary for 1893" in the manner of Snow. Carruth once came as a guest to read a poem on W. S. Franklin's newly achieved paternity. Somebody devised a strange "polar animal," alleged to have been tamed by Dyche; it was compounded of feather-duster tail, burlap neck, and nail-keg head and, when praised, wagged its tail joyfully. Doubtless such professorial cavortings owed much to the spontaneity of the occasion. In the nineties the scientists found comradeship also in Sigma Xi, the chapter being the first established in a state university and the first west of the Mississippi River, the fourth in the United States. Snow was elected president. He was also a charter member and the first president of the Kansas Alpha chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, organized on April 2, 1890. (It, too, was the first chapter west of the Mississippi.)

A center of gravitation on the campus, Snow had had several opportunities to go to other universities. It is not strange that his salary remained as high as any faculty salary except the Chancellor's. Miss Kate Stephens, though she admired the Professor of Natural History, noticed financial inequalities; it was easy, she thought, to get appropriations for the sciences but not for the subjects dealing with man himself, such as Greek. When she complained to Chancellor Lippincott, she found him unresponsive. He was much displeased by a disrespectful passage in Miss Stephens' report to the Regents referring to himself as the Regents' representative on the faculty and to his predecessor Marvin, by way of contrast, as "the former president and honorable Chancellor." Such incidents led the Regents to conclude that Miss Stephens' tenure was not conducive to harmony. She was never docile or inarticulate. After she received a notice of dismissal, she created a temporary sensation by airing her grievances in a newspaper interview. She was surely mistaken in attributing her dismissal to her sex and her lack of religious convictions. Undeniably she had been an inspiring teacher, and with one exception her students rushed to her defense. Miss Stephens was henceforth to pursue her career and to cultivate her literary talents chiefly in

the East. She was to devote much effort to giving the public her own view of her father and of her betrothed, Professor Smith.*

She was succeeded by A. M. Wilcox (1849-1929), whose training included a Yale doctorate earned under such men as William Dwight Whitney, a year of travel and study abroad, and another year at Johns Hopkins. "Zeus" Wilcox, as students sometimes affectionately called him, was a lively teacher whose gentleness of spirit and whose erudition reminded a colleague in the English Department of the Venerable Bede. He was Chairman of the Department of Greek till 1915 and for many years curator of the Classical Museum, which he fostered and which bears his name. For interested students he founded the Greek Symposium, which sometimes met at his home, where an evening's program could include songs or stories in Greek, readings from contemporary poetry, or even "a graceful but comical dance executed by the Professor himself." At the Congregational Church on Sundays his greeting and handshake seemed as indispensable as the minister's, or Snow's.

Wilcox thought that the "Rock Chalk" in the University yell had been introduced at the suggestion of Arthur R. Marsh. The truth about this question, hardly one of Homeric scope, cannot now be settled. In 1886 Marsh succeeded L. W. Spring, Williams, '63, who in 1881 had taken over from J. H. Canfield the teaching of courses in English, leaving Canfield the ample fields of political science and history. Spring had once been a minister in Snow's home town, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, and had originally come to Lawrence as a minister. He was a man of broad outlook and a forceful speaker and writer. After he resigned in 1886, he returned to Williams as Professor of English. He was the author of a judicious book on the early history of Kansas and after his return to Williamstown was to write another on the history of Williams College.

William Allen White described Arthur R. Marsh as "a young Harvard man in his late twenties, full of enthusiasm, an excep-

* See pages 138 ff.

tional scholar, and a man of great charm and beauty of character." Carruth said of Marsh: "He preached culture with papal infallibility . . . I believe the gain would have been incalculable . . ., if he had remained with us."¹⁹ Marsh wrote the preface and edited a volume of poems called *Sunflowers* which White sponsored and to which Carruth contributed. In 1889 Marsh left Kansas to join the Harvard faculty; he became, before he abandoned the teaching profession, Professor of Comparative Literature there.

Lippincott found a worthy successor to him in Charles Graham Dunlap, who had been trained in the classics at Wesleyan University in Ohio and then had studied Germanic philology at Johns Hopkins. A fastidious and exceedingly dignified gentleman, wont to gaze abstractedly out the window while his colleagues were talking, Dunlap was also a dramatic and effective teacher of undergraduates.

Lippincott made other fortunate appointments: in 1885 L. E. Sayre as the first professor, later known as the faithful and popular Dean, of the School of Pharmacy; and L. I. Blake, who succeeded E. L. Nichols as Professor of Physics when Nichols was called to Cornell in 1887. Blake had an able assistant in W. S. Franklin.*

Another accomplishment of Lippincott's administration was progress towards the freeing of the University from the burden of its preparatory department. Though primarily a clergyman himself, Joshua Allen Lippincott had become Chancellor in 1883 after teaching mathematics and astronomy at Dickinson College, Pennsylvania. He was well liked by the students, and under him the University grew steadily if slowly. He resigned in March of 1889, his resignation taking effect on September 1.

After Lippincott's resignation, the Regents appointed W. C. Spangler Vice-Chancellor; he was later made Acting Chancellor. Snow was appointed Dean of the Faculty,† with the understand-

* Cf. page 167.

† This title is used in the Regents' minutes, but Snow was usually referred to as the President of the Faculty.

ing that he would preside at faculty meetings. The situation was almost parallel to that of 1866, when authority had been divided between Oliver and Rice. Spangler, who had been a student in several of Snow's classes, had served some years as clerk of the Board of Regents and was therefore familiar with University problems. An attorney by profession, he was an able and trustworthy man of business.

Who would be the next Chancellor? The newspapers of the state engaged in anxious and clamorous discussion. A few of the faculty and one Lawrence paper favored Arthur R. Marsh. The Regents thought well of him, having referred to him in a resolution as "a man of rare genius and power." But besides coming from the East and cherishing some "eastern" ideas, Marsh had the disadvantage of being a Unitarian. His appointment would have been offensive in religious circles. (Both Marvin and Lippincott had been Methodist clergymen.) James H. Canfield had a much larger following. He was well known among educators of Kansas and of the nation, having served as secretary and then as president of the National Educational Association. Though his qualifications were conceded even by his enemies and though he had support among the Regents, political opposition traceable to his free-trade views was an insuperable handicap. Apparently Canfield promptly suggested to the secretary of the Board that the appointment should be offered to Snow. Indeed Snow's name was frequently mentioned, though usually with the implication of his unwillingness to leave his classroom and museum. (His official title after March of 1889 was "Professor of Natural History and Director of the Natural History Museum.") At a meeting of March 12, 1890, the Regents elected Charles F. Thwing of Minneapolis Chancellor. The Rev. Mr. Thwing, who later became president of Western Reserve University, declined the offer. (According to a New York paper, Thwing was also unsound on the tariff question.)

The newspapers now became impatient with the Regents' seeming delay. One editor said that they "should take a few bot-

tles of nerve and brace up or resign." "For a whole year," commented the *Western School Journal*, "they have permitted a half-dozen huckstering politicians to deter them from their plain duty." John Morley once asked a young journalist what his specialty was. "Invective," came the answer. Kansas editors of the time would have sympathized with this view, as well as with the amenities described in Mark Twain's "Journalism in Tennessee." To call a fellow editor "a coward and a scoundrel" was too mild. He was a "lop-eared, lantern-jawed, half-bred . . . , whiskey-soaked, pox-eaten pup."²⁰ Col. Anthony of Leavenworth, whom Snow once thought more sensible than his sister, the feminist Susan B. Anthony, and who is supposed to have kept loaded pistols on his desk, was described as "the fiendish, bloodthirsty proprietor of the Leavenworth *Times* Gentlemen congregated on the sidewalk scatter at his approach, as though a cyclone of epidemic pestilence was imminent, and ladies shudder as they drop their veils and shrink with horror, when they realize his vicinage." An irresponsible journalist of the 1890 vintage sent to the *Chicago Herald* a dispatch in which he stated that Canfield was opposed by hide-bound tariff men. "So for nearly a year," he continued, "the Chancellorship has been vacant, and old Professor Snow, a respected and mummified member of the Pre-Adamite Order of Silurians, is running the university on a pre-historic basis." This comment Snow, now about fifty years old and as vigorous as ever, must have enjoyed; he took pleasure in quoting it at the inauguration of his successor, Chancellor Strong. But it was the source of some anguish to Canfield, who in the face of several months of alternate praise and abuse had maintained a dignified silence. He now broke his silence to express his sense of outrage. He was reported, too, as saying, "I have always been a Snow man." The friendship of Snow and Canfield had been and remained cordial.

C. S. Gleed, a former student at the University and now an influential lawyer, had been considered a Canfield man. The Regents' minutes for April 11, 1890, record that "on motion of Regent Gleed, Francis Huntington Snow was unanimously elected

Chancellor of the University." Snow had been persuaded to accept, though with reluctance, since he preferred his career as teacher and scientist to that of an administrator. Friends assured him that he could harmonize conflicting interests and that nobody else was so familiar with the needs and problems of the University.

The appointment brought a spontaneous overflow of feeling among students and faculty. On a Friday evening after the news was announced, a large group of students marched to the Snow house. After preliminary speeches there, they paraded down Massachusetts Street, stopping at a street corner for a second installment of speeches and some songs. The next stop was at the Santa Fe station, where Snow was to leave for Topeka. Here three students, a regent, and the Chancellor spoke briefly. When the train arrived, students carried Snow on their shoulders to his seat. Lusty cheers followed the departing train.

On Saturday evening supper was prepared at the Snows' for a meeting of the Old and New Club, of which Snow was a charter member. The faculty and their wives surprised him by coming to the house. Next came a crowd of students, who serenaded the Chancellor and called for speeches. Each speaker was assisted by students to the top of the front porch. Of the faculty, Snow spoke first, asking the students to continue calling him "Professor." Robinson, Miller, Carruth, A. G. Canfield, Bailey, Sayre, F. O. Marvin, Blake, MacDonald, Wilcox, W. S. Franklin, Sterling, Templin, Dyche, Hopkins, Winkler all had turns in speaking. Regents Spangler and Emery, the latter a member of the first Board of Regents, also spoke. To please the crowd, Professor Robinson used both Latin and English, Carruth English and German, and Wilcox "the present Attic Greek." The Chancellor's son, Will Snow, wrote to his sister Martha that one of the faculty showed considerable hesitancy about being elevated to the porch and on the way up "dangled helplessly and ineffectually pawed the air for some time." At the end of the speeches, the students marched to a street corner downtown, built a fire, and celebrated

far into the night, their boisterousness at length displeasing the city marshal. At the Snow house the faculty also had a good time, talking and singing to a late hour.

Among the many letters of congratulation was one from D. O. Kellogg, Jr., a colleague of earlier days. A letter came from a former regent, Francis T. Ingalls, now the able president of Drury College; one came also from a New York attorney who had been the subject of faculty discipline after he and a fellow conspirator had sent a telegram announcing the death of Ingalls. (The faculty minutes for January 15, 1880, record that Robinson, Snow, and Canfield were appointed to arrange the memorial exercises for Ingalls, actually held before the fraud came to light; Snow eulogized Ingalls at the exercises.* During the excitement many students showed their appreciation of the prank by parading in Massachusetts Street.)

Having read about a hundred newspaper comments on her husband's appointment, Mrs. Snow wrote to a daughter, "I am more and more convinced that your Papa is a wonderful man. No other man could have taken this position without receiving some unfavorable criticism . . . even the Canfield papers only sputter a little . . ." Many editors had remained good-humored even in the heat of the contest. One had made the obvious weather-prophetic pun, remarking that whatever the outcome, Kansas could still count on about five and a half feet of Snow.

§5

In Santa Fe Canyon in August of 1880 Snow had watched hordes of house flies (*Musca domestica* L.) removed from the walls of tents by yellow jackets (*Vespa occidentalis* Cresson), with occasional assistance from other kinds of wasps. After depriving the flies of their wings and legs, the yellow jackets took away the remaining parts of the bodies for storage in their nests, to be eaten by their young.²¹

*Like Snow, Ingalls was a Williams man. According to Snow's speech, he had graduated at the head of the class of 1864.

Though such spectacles interested this contemporary of Fabre and of Lubbock, he devoted not more than about a dozen papers to the habits or structure of insects. As a collector his reputation had steadily grown. Since 1881 he had been Doctor Snow to most citizens of Lawrence, for in that year Williams College conferred upon him an honorary Ph.D. degree. In 1890 Princeton made him an LL.D. A small boy of Lawrence in the early eighties read in the *Youth's Companion* a serial about a Professor Hale, who he was sure must be a thin fictional disguise for Doctor Snow.²² By 1890 Snow had been honored with membership in a number of scientific organizations and was one of the editors of *Psyche*, the organ of the Cambridge Entomological Club, of which he had become an active member in 1883. In 1891 he was made president of this organization; his presidential address, read for him in February of the following year at a meeting he was unable to attend, dealt with "Experiments for the Destruction of Chinch Bugs by Infection."

Aside from his contributions to systematic entomology, economic entomology chiefly engaged Snow's attention, a fact which made his selection as Chancellor seem logical to Kansas farmers. In 1882 he had been appointed entomologist to the State Board of Agriculture. He had answered hundreds of inquiries, helping farmers to cope with the insects which damaged their fruit or laid waste their crops. Besides writing many articles on troublesome insects, Snow encouraged Vernon Kellogg, who in 1890 took over the teaching of entomology, to continue furnishing such information. Kellogg's *Common Injurious Insects of Kansas* acknowledges the author's extensive obligations to Snow.

Snow's spectacular attempts to cope with the chinch bug gained disproportionate attention, eclipsing contributions probably more substantial. In 1888, having previously discussed the chinch bug in his reports to the State Board of Agriculture, Snow recorded the occurrence of an epidemic among the chinch bugs in Kansas. At an annual meeting of the Board in 1889 he reviewed what was then known of such epidemics, mentioning

the experimental work of men like S. A. Forbes in Illinois, who had studied fungus-infected chinch bugs in the early eighties. Professor Otto Luggler of Minnesota had tried to spread the infection in that state by sending out packages of dead bugs. In June of 1889 Dr. J. T. Curtiss of Dwight, Kansas, informed Snow that a disease had attacked chinch bugs in his vicinity. Snow procured some of the diseased bugs and began experimenting with them. Finding that the disease was contagious in the laboratory, he tried sending out diseased bugs, being apparently the first person to inoculate healthy bugs with fungus in order to spread the contagion. A newspaper reporter in Lawrence heard of his experiments and published an article on the subject. Within a few days letters asking for diseased chinch bugs came from nine different states. Snow began sending out boxes, with directions that the diseased bugs in them be mixed with ten or twenty times as many healthy bugs and kept with the latter for from thirty-six to forty-eight hours before all were turned loose in infested fields.

Thus began the vast chinch-bug warfare. Even today, when they are more conscious of the grave dangers of arousing unjustified expectations, scientists often discover to their regret that their research has been prematurely publicized. Snow himself pointed out that the newspaper report had hailed as a discovery what was only experimental. But large-scale trials of the method were hardly possible without some publicity. In 1889 and 1890, when the number of boxes sent out was fairly small, reports were highly favorable. Those who reported favorably included men like H. J. Waters at the Columbia, Missouri, Experimental Station, afterwards editor of the Weekly Kansas City *Star*, and F. M. Webster of Indiana, who as late as 1896 had not changed his opinion.

In 1890 only thirty-eight boxes were sent out. The Kansas legislature meeting in 1890-91 appropriated \$3,500 for an experimental station during 1891 and 1892; the legislature meeting in the winter of 1892-93 appropriated an additional \$4,500, to be spent during the three years ending June 30, 1893, 1894, and 1895. At the height of interest in the experiment, in 1894, some 8,000



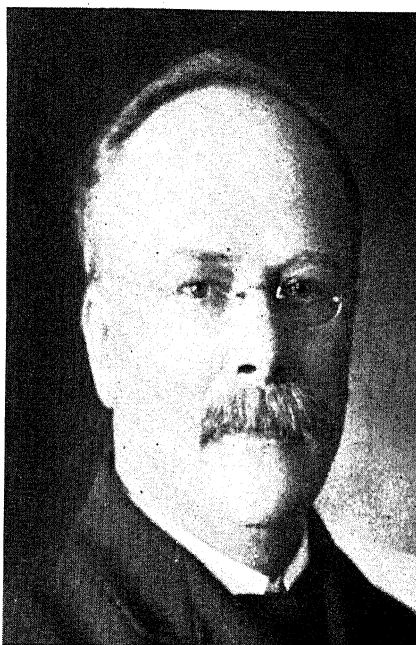
Francis Huntington Snow
(from a photograph made about 1880)

James H. Canfield





Arthur R. Marsh
(from a late photograph)



Samuel W. Williston

packages of chinch bugs were sent out. Live chinch bugs, to be exchanged for infected bugs, came pouring into the Lawrence post office. On at least one occasion bugs escaped from their box and enjoyed the freedom of the building.²³

Eight thousand packages may not seem a large quantity in view of the bugs' ability to increase. According to an account in a newspaper, a Topeka banker heard a farmer say that he could make more money selling chinch bugs at \$2 a bushel than he could harvesting wheat. In jest the banker offered the farmer \$1.50 a bushel. In a few days the farmer brought in thirteen bushels. When the banker thought of sending the bugs to Snow as a joke, the freight agent would not accept them for shipment. For a long time people who thought of chinch bugs thought of Snow—even if they did not know how to spell "chinch bug."* (While helping with letters from thousands of farmers, Vernon Kellogg compiled a list of more than forty different spellings.)

Sometimes Snow was extravagantly praised for what was considered a great discovery. Newspaper writers mentioned him along with Pasteur and Koch. In an era of the spoken word, Snow would doubtless have been transformed into a culture-hero, like Johnny Appleseed or the saint who disposed of the snakes in Ireland. Most farmers seemed enthusiastic about the chinch-bug remedy. Not all were careful observers. As the experimenters were to learn, some mistook the skins of molted bugs for dead bugs; some supposed that the absence of chinch bugs was decisive proof that the disease had been successfully propagated, though the disease could have broken out spontaneously, or the chinch bugs for other reasons could have been scarce. In 1893, out of 3,570 reports, 1,852 were favorable, 1,053 unfavorable, and 665 doubtful. On the assumption that even half of the experiments were successful, the saving in bushels of grain represented hundreds of thousands of dollars. Undeniably Chancellor Snow always believed that the remedy had effected such savings.

* One day a colored youth passed by when Martha Snow was observing a rain gauge. "Is that where you expand your chinch bugs?" he asked.

Was such a belief justified? W. C. Stevens, who because of Snow's absorption in the duties of the Chancellorship assumed a prominent part in carrying on the work of the station, observed that the farmers were sometimes disappointed. Once he visited a farmer who had denounced the remedy in a local paper, mollifying him by pointing out that the work was experimental and was intended to be helpful. At another time Stevens addressed an entire group which was critical of the remedy.

The opposition had even its political aspects. One paper said that people from Lawrence made belief in the Snow remedy an article of faith; people in other parts, it continued, did not feel obliged to do so. For political reasons, explained in the next chapter, Republican Boss Cy Leland was particularly sardonic about the battle with the chinch bug.

At first failures were supposed to be due to lapses in carrying out instructions. When the experiment was at its height, about fifty substations were established; some of those in charge did not distribute insects which had been properly infected. Farmers, too, often failed to follow directions.

As time passed, the chinch bug was found to be a hardy creature. Marshall A. Barber, who assisted in the experiment, froze chinch bugs in a cake of ice; some were alive sixty-five hours later. Barber noted that one species of the disease-bearing fungus was likewise hardy. Both Barber and Stevens, as well as Will Snow, the Chancellor's son, went on field trips to observe results. Chancellor Snow's final report summed up conclusions which he had reached in consultation with his assistants. Of the two fungus diseases propagated, the so-called white and the gray fungus, the former was chiefly used. Conditions in the field were unlike those in the laboratory. In the field the bugs did not die with the unanimity observable in the laboratory, any more than all human beings die in a pestilence, in which a variety of circumstances may affect the degree of exposure to contagion or resistance to it. Even though Snow continued to believe in the remedy, he can-

didly admitted that certain factors in the experiment were unappraised. He mentioned that some scientists were doubtful of the results. "We do not know," he wrote, "to what extent the spores of these diseases are normally present in any given region. When they are present, whether naturally or artificially introduced, and the weather conditions are as given above, an outbreak of the disease will occur." For some years the Department of Entomology continued to co-operate with farmers who wished to try chinch-bug infection. In the summer of 1910, experiments were made which showed that the chinch-bug diseases were still widespread in Kansas counties and would break out under favoring natural conditions. The conclusion was that artificial dissemination of the disease as a counter-measure was unprofitable, other methods being more effective.²⁴

Some of the other methods for controlling the disease, such as the use of barriers, had been explained in material sent out by Snow's station. The experiment also had educational value. It made the farmers familiar with the habits of the bugs and with the need of using available knowledge in coping with them. Moreover, it dramatized the University's desire to help the citizens of the state, furthering the cause of "state service," today accepted as one of the aims of a state university.

Science gains when scientists walk through open doors; if the doors lead nowhere in terms of "practical" results, even this result may be indirectly useful. Unsuccessful experiments are not necessarily misguided. Finally, science may reopen doors which seem to have been closed. At this writing, a newspaper reports experiments with a disease organism which, when sprayed on fields, seems to create an epidemic among alfalfa caterpillars. The twentieth century is too familiar with the possibilities of biological warfare, whether waged against insects or men, to discount entirely the kind of effort made by Snow.

X

A University Comes of Age

. . . that the glory of the University should rest upon the character of the teachers and scholars . . . not upon their number nor upon the buildings constructed for their use

—Initial report of Daniel Coit Gilman to the trustees of Johns Hopkins University.

If any man wishes to be humbled and mortified let him become President of Harvard College.

—President Holyoke on his deathbed.¹

§1

ERNEST RENAN, it is said, was seldom able to catch a bus; he was too polite to precede anybody. His could hardly have been the temperament of an administrator. On the other hand, aggressiveness, skill in the management of people, a bird-like perception of who may safely peck whom, and similar evidences of “executive ability” do not win the highest success in educational circles, however impressive they may seem in the Army or in business. Even if the president of a university is willing to leave the forming of educational policy to his subordinates, his scale of educational values is of pre-eminent importance. Even in 1890 these ancient truisms were sometimes overlooked. Was not Snow a skilled teacher, a scientist? But would he on that very account fail to be a good executive? Some skeptical persons had their fears.

Snow’s inauguration speech on June 11, 1890, in response to the speech made by Regent C. S. Glead, indicates his educational point of view. He discussed several subjects—the position of the University, the necessity of a preparatory department in the early days and its imminent abolishment, the role of courses in science in the curriculum, and the impending transition of the Univer-

sity from its status as a college, with a restricted course of study, to that of an institution in which "all branches of learning are thrown open to the student." More freedom of choice in studies had long before been advocated by men like Thomas Jefferson and President Francis Wayland of Brown; but not until the late 1880's was the elective system, with all its excesses, being widely adopted, through the influence of President Eliot and others. Probably with this fact in mind, Snow pointed out that the University allowed freshmen and sophomores, not an unrestricted choice of studies, unsuitable to immature minds, but a choice among six prescribed two-year courses; juniors and seniors had a wider option, being permitted to concentrate on a favorite subject.* This program combined breadth and specialization. Since the University was a Kansas institution, Snow added, it must have a close connection with the public-school system.

All these topics were important. But what was of primary importance to this pupil of Mark Hopkins? The choice of faculty was his first concern. The University had recently lost Nichols to Cornell, Spring to Williams, Marsh to Harvard, Smith to Princeton. It was time to turn the tables and call competent men from the eastern schools. Snow was able to announce that a good beginning had been made. Mainly because of Snow's influence, Samuel W. Williston had been induced to give up his position at Yale and accept the chair of geology and paleontology. Though he did not so say so in his inaugural speech, Snow had in fact attached so much importance to this appointment that he had consented to become Chancellor only if Williston should join the faculty.² The outcome justified such a stand, for, as Williston's colleagues came to believe, nobody else could have done more to stimulate scientific research at the University.

Snow's other appointees greatly strengthened the faculty. They were to include, in the sciences, Clarence E. McClung, Erasmus Haworth, Vernon Kellogg, W. C. Stevens, Marshall A. Barber,

* Cf. pages 141-42.

and Hamilton P. Cady; and, in the humanities, Frank H. Hodder, R. D. O'Leary, Arthur T. Walker, and Eugénie Galloo. (These, and a few others, are discussed in Appendix A.) Snow was especially pleased when his faculty won favorable notice from a visiting celebrity, Dr. Hugo Münsterberg, the eminent German psychologist, or when he heard that the University of Kansas had, because of its faculty, been accorded high rank among state universities.*

Several times Snow was pressed to make appointments for political reasons. This pressure he successfully resisted. He also defended the principle of academic freedom. In 1892 Professor Frank Blackmar in a public address, though expressing a belief in pensions for disabled soldiers, condemned "service pensions"—pensions for those not disabled. A Kansas politician demanded Blackmar's resignation. During the excitement Snow wrote to a regent: "He [Blackmar] thinks, and I must say that I agree with him, that the University should not be made a target for ambitious politicians."³ After the organization before which Blackmar had spoken had threatened to defeat the politician in the next election, he explained to the governor of Kansas and others that he had really misunderstood Blackmar.

Snow's courage on such occasions was one of the reasons why, in the main, the faculty were happy under his leadership and why several of them stayed at Lawrence even after the 1897 reduction of salaries. Having himself been appointed from the faculty, Snow respected the teacher's individuality and was not tempted to believe that teachers, who must be individualists if they are worthy of their salt, can be dealt with as units in an efficiency system. Snow did not forget that he was the leader of a choir, not a soloist. Being a scholar himself, he knew how to estimate the value of scholarship, and he was generous in his praise of faculty achievements.

There was, to be sure, occasional grumbling during his administration because of the belief that the science departments

* For details see page 268.

were favored and the humanities neglected. Snow's friend Carruth, for example, held this view. The University required its students to take more science than most universities. Men like Williston did not help the cause when, in their robust and sometimes dogmatic way, they lamented the scientific ignorance of the so-called educated man and depreciated mere linguistic or literary studies. In 1899, when an echo of Carruth's criticism had reached Regent C. F. Scott, Snow pointed out in a letter to Scott that the number of his additions to the teachers of the humanities compared favorably with that of his additions to the ranks of the scientists. One should add that, partly because of Snow's previous activities, at the beginning of his administration the scientists enjoyed a wider reputation than their colleagues in the humanities. The appointments of Hodder, O'Leary, Walker, and Galloo helped to restore the balance. Certainly, because of his own training in the classics and other humanistic subjects, Snow was not disposed to minimize their value.

But the criticism must be seen in perspective. The cultural background in the later nineteenth century turned students more and more to the sciences, not merely in Kansas but also in other parts of the world. Some humanists distinguished between science and "scientism"; some scientists made their subjects humanistic. With the advance of scientific knowledge many, however, forgot that the spheres of the sciences and of the humanities should make them allies, not enemies. Sir Thomas Browne, a man of letters as well as a physician, could in his day be a member of the Royal Society; the author of *Faust* could advance the frontiers of science. The triumphs of invention and applied science, with their attendant physical comforts, need not be depreciated even by those who think that the world created by man's intellectual and moral nature has a vital bearing on the quality of men's lives, and their happiness.

The rivalry of the scientists and their colleagues in the humanities was not often too unfriendly. Both attracted able students. Neither faculty nor students found the educational machinery so

elaborate as in our own times, when its complexity sometimes bewilders both. Since, as he pointed out, the University was in a transitional stage, Snow gave some attention to organization. The School of Arts, as the College was then called, acquired a dean in the year 1892-93, with Snow's appointment of his friend David H. Robinson. During Snow's administration the School of Engineering, the Graduate School, and the School of Medicine, as well as University Extension and the Summer School, were organized; Music and Painting were consolidated in the School of Fine Arts.*

The steady movement towards the university ideal was not accomplished without effort or criticism. One cannot be sure that ex-Governor Robinson himself, a member of the first Board of Regents and again on the Board in the early nineties, sympathized with all proposed changes. Robinson, then in poor health, resigned early in 1894, not long before his death. Charles F. Scott, one of the most helpful and able of Snow's Regents, attributed his resignation to inability to grasp the distinction between a college and a university; Robinson, Scott thought, wanted the University run along the lines of Williams College in an earlier generation.⁴ At any rate, the relations of Snow and Robinson continued to be friendly. Indeed Robinson explained to Snow that an important reason for resigning was, in Snow's words, "the feeling that he could no longer consistently continue to hold an appointment under the present administration with the one administration paper of Douglas County making a consistent and vicious attack upon the Institution.† With his hands free he thinks he will be better able to protect the interests of the University . . . I greatly

* A distinguished new member was Carl A. Preyer, the composer, whom Snow twice persuaded to remain at the University. For further details about the Schools, see Appendix A.

† This Populist paper, the *Jeffersonian*, had resorted to incredibly petty, vituperative, and even scurrilous comments on the management of the University. Its motives were obviously political: one cause of bitter complaint was the organization of a Republican Club on the Hill. (Snow, too, was a Republican.) Snow's public lectures on evolution, in 1894, were made the excuse for additional criticism. Early in 1895 an anonymous circular attacking Snow was distributed to members of the legislature. Rumor attributed it to "a Populist newspaper in Lawrence."

regret the Governor's resignation as he was a very successful arbitrator of opposing political interests and a staunch friend of the University at all times and under all circumstances."⁵ Robinson's successor, instead of being like Robinson a faithful friend of the University, was to be a self-seeking and trouble-making political manipulator.

§2

Like other college administrators, Snow sometimes had to deprecate the misinterpretation of the remark attributed to Garfield.* "The story of the log at Williams College," he said in an address at the opening exercises of the University, "emphasizes the paramount need of great men as instructors, but it will not be denied that Mark Hopkins and James A. Garfield took their seats upon that hypothetical log only after the foremost American college president of his time had developed his mind for a full half century by the careful use of the best books of all time and the prospective scholarly national president had prepared by hard study during the three lower years of the course for what was regarded as the great crowning glory of the senior year, daily personal, friendly contact with the inspiring mind of that greatest of American teachers."

The "log" nowadays must be libraries and laboratories and other expensive equipment—above all, in Snow's estimation, a library. For a library building he was able to play a trump card. Since 1880 it had been known to the Regents that the University was to be a beneficiary of a will by Snow's great-uncle, William B. Spooner, who had been led to make the bequest primarily because of his interest in the son of his wife's niece. (The will identified the "Lawrence Seminary"—as it called the University—as the institution with which Frank Snow was connected.) In 1891 the original bequest and accumulated interest totaled \$91,618. Snow journeyed to Boston in November to collect this sum, spending a few hours in Cambridge with Professor A. R. Marsh and Presi-

* Cf. pages 22 and 274.

dent Eliot. Though the amount of the gift might seem like a pittance in a modern institutional budget, in 1891 it was believed to be "the largest . . . ever bequeathed to a state university." Chancellor Snow urged that the entire sum be used for a library building. The Regents decided to set aside a portion of it for the Chancellor's residence,* badly needed for the entertainment of visitors; this residence was to remain Snow's house during his lifetime.⁶ The Snows moved in on December 30, 1893.

The Spooner Library, later the Spooner-Thayer Museum, was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies in October of 1894. On the front of the building was inscribed one of Snow's favorite texts: "Whoso findeth wisdom findeth life." The chief speaker was President Cyrus Northrup of the University of Minnesota, who recalled that as a student at Yale in 1856 he had helped to pay for a rifle pledged for use in Kansas. D. W. Wilder, author of *The Annals of Kansas*, though unable to be present at the dedication, wrote of his early acquaintance with Spooner as a Boston abolitionist and reminded the young people of Kansas that the gift came from "a pioneer in the cause of freedom."⁷ The handsome brownstone building was much admired, being discussed in such magazines as *Harper's Weekly*.

Snow himself had been a librarian of the University, though at first having little to look after except "the nucleus of a library." In vain Chancellor Oliver had recommended the purchase of the books belonging to former President Tappan of the University of Michigan. In 1874, when Charles S. Gleed, then a student, was making the first book list for Byron Caldwell Smith, who had succeeded Snow as librarian, there were still fewer than a thousand volumes. Ephraim Miller, who became librarian after Smith left the University, was assisted by Carrie Watson from 1878 to 1887; when he resigned in that year, Miss Watson took over the librarianship. The present Watson Library, finished in 1924, was named in honor of this campus celebrity. Miss Watson had been

*In his reports the previous Chancellor, Lippincott, had emphasized the need for a new library building and a Chancellor's house.

a small girl during Quantrill's raid. She studied library science in Boston in the summer of 1888 and at Amherst, birthplace of the Dewey decimal system, in the summer of 1899; later she took a course in bibliography at Yale.

In his reports Chancellor Snow stressed the importance of library funds, and during his administration the number of books was almost trebled. In his report for the years 1895-96 he declared that in the best universities the library is "the soul of the institution." He himself had recently visited eight of the leading universities in the country. He had also visited small colleges in which both library and laboratory facilities were almost completely lacking, a condition, he boldly said, representing "educational robbery" of students.

In August of 1894 Snow received a letter from Fred B. McKinnon, who had succeeded Vernon Kellogg as his private secretary, informing him of a prospective gift of land and cash for a hospital site in Rosedale, Kansas. The donor was Dr. Simeon Bell of Kansas City. Dr. Bell was led to make the gift, McKinnon reported, "through the agency of your friend Dr. Tiffany." "It seems that Prof. Sayre was the guest of Dr. Tiffany a week or so ago," he continued, "and was invited with Dr. Tiffany to the house of Dr. Bell, and while there the matter was talked over at the suggestion of Dr. Tiffany." During Snow's absence in New Mexico, Sayre discussed Dr. Bell's offer with S. W. Williston, who approved the idea of a hospital which would be the nucleus of a medical school. Though Snow urged the adoption of a four-year medical course, the Regents did not comply with his suggestion; not until 1898 was a two-year course organized, with Williston as Dean.* With the reorganization of the School of Medicine early in Chancellor Strong's administration Bell's gift was put to good use.

On March 22, 1898, lightning started a disastrous fire at the University, destroying the power and heating plant and the ma-

* Cf. page 258.

chine shop and its machinery. Without heat, students had to be given a two-week vacation. On behalf of the Regents, Snow wrote to members of the state senate, who agreed to the restoration of the loss. Funds were lent by citizens of Lawrence to begin replacement of the power plant. Through the influence of Professor Lucien I. Blake, George A. Fowler of Kansas City gave \$18,000 for the erection of Fowler Shops. He later added \$3,000 for equipment. In recognition of Blake's services, the Regents passed a resolution that the physics building, which Blake had helped to plan and which had been dedicated in 1895, having been constructed with funds appropriated by the legislature, should be renamed Blake Hall. Blake, said by Professor Robert Taft to have been the only University faculty member to employ a valet, had taken his doctor's degree under Helmholtz at the University of Berlin. He had joined the faculty in 1887. He had interested several members of the Science Club in telegraphy, installing sets in the Snow and other houses, as well as in the Chancellor's office.* (Snow and his daughter Martha learned the Morse code and sent messages to each other. Martha sometimes used the private telegraph system to mention groceries or other needs of the day.)

Besides funds for Blake Hall and the power plant, the legislature provided an appropriation for a new chemistry building. In several reports Snow had discussed the need for it, pointing out the inadequacies of the old building and the fact that its basement was a threat to health. The new building was made ready for use in the fall of 1900.

* Blake and E. C. Franklin worked out a method whereby the time required for taking X-ray photographs was shortened. Blake's labors in testing for the American Navy ways of sending messages under water were often praised, but a sneering reference by one Kansas newspaper must be quoted: "One of the high-priced 'professors' at the high school which the state maintains at Lawrence at a cost of a round \$100,000 a year, puts in his time experimenting on a system of signals for ships at sea, a subject of soul-crushing interest in Kansas." Whether the Spanish-American War convinced the editor that the Navy is important to Kansas is unknown. To be sure, though he might have learned from Snow's letter to a man who presented a valuable fossil to the University Museum that Kansas had once been under water, the fact would not have struck him as "practical." In the nineteenth century Kansas did not need a navy, whatever may have been true aeons ago.⁸

Many requests for buildings went unheeded. In his 1894 report Snow called for a natural history museum, a chemistry building, engineering shops, a gymnasium, an astronomical observatory, a fine arts building, and a dormitory for women. Even by 1901 not all these were provided for, but mere attempts to win educational objectives often make the path easier for those who actually reach the goal. Probably nobody was happier than Snow when at last in 1901 the legislature finally appropriated money for a natural history museum.

§3

As he strove to build up the faculty and the equipment of the University, Chancellor Snow's problems were complicated by having to cope with political intrigues. The average college president does not enjoy a long tenure; weak or strong, he will eventually displease many people. Snow's three predecessors had resigned their office under pressure, though the last two had gone more quietly than General Fraser. The days of sectarian influence on the University were past, but in the 1890's the keen struggle between Populists and Republicans brought new peril.

In January of 1895 Snow was concerned about the composition of the Board of Regents, three of whose members' terms were soon to expire. He wrote a letter to Governor Morrill tactfully offering some suggestions. Morrill's reply indicated that he had to take into account what was good for the Republican party, not merely what was good for the University; but, when they were made, Snow was apparently satisfied with Morrill's appointments and wrote an appreciative letter. In the spring Republican Boss Cy Leland brought charges against a Populist regent, who had served the interests of the University faithfully both in the legislature and on the Board of Regents. He had been an able member, according to the testimony of other regents, but after a hearing in Topeka Governor Morrill had him removed, supplanting him with a Republican. Snow and nearly all the faculty, with the notable exception of Carruth, signed a petition in the Populist re-

gent's behalf, and several of them, including Snow, testified at the hearing. Few of Leland's charges were proved. As a regent the man's conduct was not successfully challenged, but Leland's allegation that he had been intemperate on certain occasions (not in Lawrence) was hard to disprove; in the Kansas of that period intemperance was as good a charge as could be found for disguising an action motivated by political considerations.

Boss Leland's next hostile move against the University apparently came when J. England Challinor, state accountant, visited Lawrence, and, though finding nothing wrong with University bookkeeping, made captious criticisms on subjects not pertinent to his duties. He reported gossip that the Regents were too deferential to the Chancellor, usually letting him have his way; that salaries were too high, as if the University of Kansas were competing with Yale and Harvard (Challinor would probably not have appreciated the fact that in a sense it was; for example, Marsh had left Kansas for Harvard, and Williston had come from Yale to Kansas); that professors were being allowed leaves of absence while assistants, taking their place, were paid low salaries. With more vigor than logic, several Kansas newspapers tried to put Challinor in his place. One termed him a "pestilential and malicious demagogue" and "a toadying, self-stultifying dude, who goes around the state with his little wart of a head stuck out and evasive eyes peering out." The Atchison *Champion* remarked that this combination of "personal spleen and political impudence" "ought at least to wait until the odor of the British Channel is out of his clothes, and the London fog out of his brain, before he attempts to draw comparisons between Harvard and Yale and the University of Kansas." The Lawrence *World*, apparently well informed, asserted that Challinor's report was drawn up "to curry favor with an ignorant demagogue up in Doniphan County, who does not know a verb from a bung hole." Boss Leland hailed from Doniphan County.

A few papers defended Challinor. One of these pictured Snow as an aristocrat and "a crank upon the athletic and manly games

of croquet and lawn tennis." It portrayed "sycophantic professors of high scientific attainments" scrambling to bring him a croquet ball when he knocked it out of bounds. This paper also spoke slightly of efforts to curb the chinch bug and alleged that the political success of calamity-howlers (evidently the Populists) had been due to the teaching of James H. Canfield (Canfield, a liberal Republican, was no longer on the faculty). Other newspapers sometimes pretended that the purpose of the University was to keep Lawrence alive: ". . . when school dismisses in the spring the natives take a long summer siesta, until the outside students wake them up again in the fall."

In 1897 the Populist regent removed in 1895 was restored to the Board by action of the state legislature. In 1899 Snow heard that at the instance of Boss Leland another effort was under way to supplant this regent. Leland had at the time refused, as chairman of the Board of Commissioners in Doniphan County, to accept a package of circulars on methods of chinch-bug extermination and was issuing public statements criticizing Snow. Apparently through the influence of C. S. Gleed and other influential friends of the University, Leland's design was frustrated.

Chancellor Snow had offended Leland not only by championing the regent in question but also by checkmating various plans to make political plums out of University positions. Snow stood for the principle of nonpartisanship in such appointments, of making competence the sole criterion. The regent under fire had supported him in this attitude, thus winning the enmity of another Populist regent, from Lawrence, who also disliked Snow for his resistance to political appointments.

Snow's letter of December 24, 1898, to C. S. Gleed speaks feelingly of the political influence being used in behalf of a candidate for a position in the School of Law. After referring to a demand by the Populist governor, L. D. Lewelling, and his associates in 1893 "that Chaplain V. D. Biddison should be appointed to the chair of political science," Snow adds: "There were well founded

reports two or three years ago, that a political deal was 'on' by which in return for Judge ——'s withdrawal as candidate for election as judge he should be given a permanent position in the faculty. . . . I presume the later movement in favor of his appointment is an attempt to 'deliver the goods.'" The same letter comments, "If the time has come when the University cannot be administered as an educational institution independent of political interference, I am ready to present my resignation."

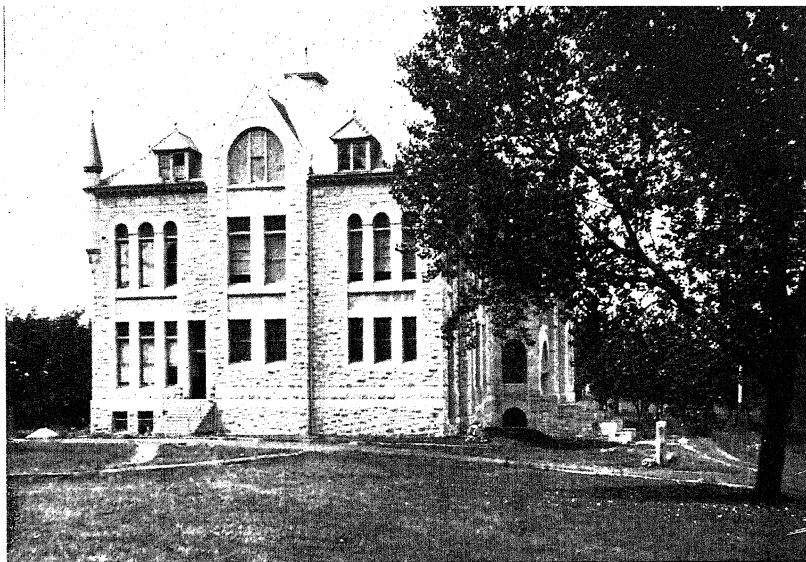
On February 24, 1897, Snow wrote to Regent Charles F. Scott, urging him to go to Topeka in the interests of the University . . . particularly for the purpose of seeing that the Republicans are held in line for the University in opposition to any schemes of 'Boss Leland' and for the purpose of avoiding a party line-up on account of indiscreet remarks of Republicans with reference to Populists during discussion of the University bills.

I am watching every move in the game and endeavoring to see that every possible effort is put forth in the wisest possible manner for the salvation of the University.

I enclose a copy of a letter placed upon the desks of the members of the legislature this morning.

The letter to which Snow refers pointed out that attendance at the University had more than doubled since 1890, though total expenses were then only a third greater than in the fiscal year 1890-91. The letter also gives statistics in regard to the salary scale of the University in comparison with that at other institutions.

In the closing days of the legislative session of 1897 Snow's position as Chancellor was seriously threatened by Populist machinations. The Chancellor was by statute *ex-officio* president of the Regents, seven in number, the other members being appointed by the governor. The Topeka *Daily Capital* for March 10, 1897, stated that a bill had been introduced in both houses of the legislature empowering the governor to appoint a seventh regent; the seven would then choose a president. This measure not only would add a regent but would remove the Chancellor from the Board. The member who introduced the bill in the lower house



Old Snow Hall in the 1890's



The faculty in 1892-93

In the rear, left to right: A. G. Canfield, L. E. Sayre, E. M. Hopkins, Ephraim Miller, D. H. Robinson, S. W. Williston, C. G. Dunlap, W. H. Carruth, L. I. Blake, Olin Templin, E. H. S. Bailey.

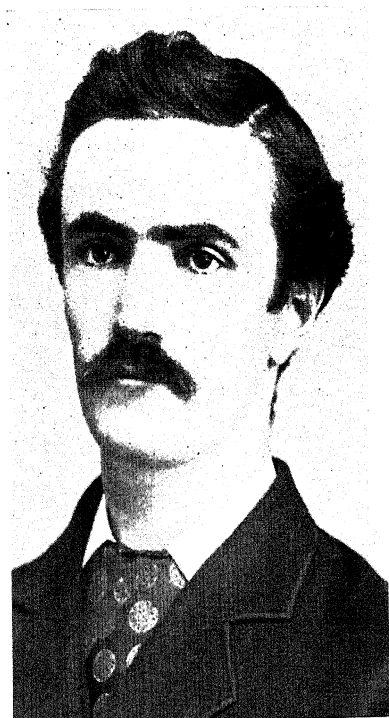
Seated, left to right: F. H. Hodder, L. L. Dyche, A. M. Wilcox, F. H. Snow, F. W. Blackmar, G. B. Penny, F. O. Marvin.

Some members of the senior staff and a considerable number of instructors do not appear in the picture.



Francis Huntington Snow
about 1896

(by courtesy of Mrs. Martha Snow Brown)



William Herbert Carruth

said that it had been sponsored by Governor Leedy, a Populist; its sponsor in the upper house made the misleading statement that the bill was sponsored by the Regents themselves. The *Capital* commented that the bill was intended ultimately to accomplish the removal of Snow as Chancellor. That one regent, the Populist who had been appointed after Robinson's resignation, did support the bill is clear from Snow's letter of March 22 to Fred B. McKinnon:

Four days before the adjournment of the legislature, — who has been confirmed as regent for the next four years, attempted to railroad through the legislature a bill ousting me from membership in the Board of Regents and providing for the appointment of another regent in my place. The bill went through the Senate by a vote of 25 to 10 having been read first, second and third times and final passage within a half hour of its first introduction. The bill was not even printed, consequently many of the members did not understand the real animus of the movement. By hard work in the House we succeeded in defeating the bill. It was called up only a few moments before the hour of twelve when all business but appropriations should cease. The Republican members stood solid and about fifteen of the Populists were against a motion to call up the bill. — was frantic with rage at his failure and I have the satisfaction of knowing that he has unmasked himself in public and his real character and intentions are universally understood. Messrs. Rogers and Sams, the other Populist members of the board, stood by me through the fight and will not join with — in any vicious measures in future meetings of the board.

My health is superb and continues to be, otherwise it would have been impossible for me to endure the strain of the past two months.

Snow also wrote to an old classmate, President Franklin Carter of Williams, who had recently delivered an address at the University:

I have been standing against the politicians of both parties for the last six years for the purpose of preventing removals of members of the faculty and employees for political purposes. I have

stood firmly upon this ground and consequently it seemed necessary that I should be removed from the Board of Regents. I was in Topeka during the whole of the last week supervising opposition to the proposed reorganization of the Board

Verily the way of the college builder is thorny, but there is great satisfaction in beholding a measure of success notwithstanding the many obstacles encountered. In my own case the conduct of the populist legislature will undoubtedly receive a severe rebuke at the next general election, and the University will begin a new era of success.

To one of his old Fitchburg teachers he wrote on February 10, 1898:

For the past five years my board of regents has been evenly divided, three Populists and three Republicans, and as I myself am a regent I have been the balance of power between the two parties and have been successful in keeping the bosses in both parties from using the positions at my command for the purpose of awarding political services, hence the effort on the part of certain Populists and certain Republicans as well to secure my removal from the board of regents. I am myself a good Republican, though not partisan, and have always voted the straight Republican ticket. I do not apprehend any immediate danger of losing my position on account of my political enemies.

Snow had now weathered the severe political storms of the nineties, saving the University from the fate that overtook the State College in Manhattan, which certain schemers, after the Populist victory in 1892, sought to make over according to an ideological pattern. President George T. Fairchild had developed to a high degree of efficiency an institution for training in agriculture and mechanics. Fairchild himself, a competent economist and an educator of high ideals—incidentally, the father of David Fairchild, the famous plant explorer—had taught political economy objectively, encouraging freedom of discussion. He had also arranged for public lectures by speakers of the three parties. This was not enough for the schemers, who managed to have T. E. Will appointed to teach political economy, with a decidedly parti-

san bias. Will subsequently got himself appointed lobbyist at the legislature, and, in 1897, with the aid of certain regents, introduced a bill which established for four years a Populist majority in the Board of Regents. Under the law five new regents were appointed, all of them known in advance to be agreeable to the plotters' plans. The new Board then passed a resolution terminating the service of all employees on June 30, ignoring existing contracts. Regents who opposed the resolution were not allowed to make a record of their dissent. More than half the faculty and other employees were dismissed. Fairchild was supplanted by Will. A professor who boldly requested the Board to give reasons for their action was summarily discharged, for "general inefficiency." When an overwhelming majority of alumni of all shades of political opinion registered a protest against the arbitrary actions of the Populist regents, their protests were ignored. On a minor scale the Hitlerian or Stalinesque techniques all too familiar to the twentieth century—propaganda, purge, suppression of evidence, falsification of past records, all in the name of "liberal" political views—were the order of the day. It required some years for the institution to recover from this blow to its integrity by a few power-hungry men. In May of 1897 Snow was writing a letter of recommendation in behalf of Fairchild, whom he praised highly, denouncing his dismissal as "a gross outrage."

In view of improving economic conditions in Kansas, Snow's optimistic outlook after the battle of 1897 proved to be justified. On March 18, 1899, he wrote to a former student in his Evolution class, Wilkie C. Clock, then attending the School of Theology at Boston University:

You have probably already learned that we succeeded remarkably well in obtaining support for the University. We have a maintenance appropriation of \$120,000 for each of the next two years, which is \$30,000 per annum more than the present allowance and \$20,000 more than in any preceding period. We also have \$35,000 for a chemistry building, \$5,000 for a system of fire protection, \$30,000 to make good the loss by fire of last March, \$1,500 a year for continuing the geological survey, and \$1,600 a year

for the expenses of the Board of Regents. In addition to this we have about \$7,000 a year from the interest on our endowment fund, making a total of more than \$350,000 for the next biennium. The Senate also voted to give us a museum building, but the House refused to concur. We will undoubtedly get that building next time.

The internal affairs of the University have been very harmonious. We have had three general convocations* of all the students and faculty of the University, . . . to the manifest increase of the University spirit in which we were sadly lacking from lack of opportunities of getting together. The arts and law students, it is true, scrapped a little before the exercises began, firing pamphlets at each other for ammunition, but no harm was done.

§4

Throughout his administration Snow's reputation in Kansas stood him in good stead. Even before he became Chancellor, his speeches and visits in Kansas communities had won many friends for the University. As an illustration of the extent of such speeches in the nineties, a statement in Snow's report for 1891-92 is revealing: "During the past two years I have filled appointments to deliver scientific and educational addresses and lectures upon invitation in 52 different places." The Chancellor's eagerness to speak in behalf of the University supplied material for a newspaper anecdote, obviously untrue. A train killed an unknown man, who, having no identifiable relatives, must be buried at once. In the group of passengers, including Snow, would anybody say something in behalf of the dead—something appropriate to a burial service? Nobody knowing the dead, nobody could; but at last Snow stepped forward: "I cannot speak in this man's behalf, but I would like to say a few words in behalf of the University of Kansas." As in many such anecdotes, legend points to a truth—the truth of Snow's devotion to the University, though shutting an eye to another obvious truth, that Snow had good manners, taste, and intelligence.

* According to E. M. Hopkins' diary, the first of these was held on November 22, 1898.

In the Chancellor's office, along with a telephone and typewriter and some other changes which brought a more business-like air, there appeared an electric bell for calling the "guide," a youth whose business it was to show the University, certainly not excluding the Museum, to visitors. But, though Snow was sensitive to the value of "public relations,"* in the current phrase so dear to officials of some mushrooming institutions, he did not suppose that they could make a university, any more than a neon-lighted façade can make a reliable firm of physicians. In dealing with the legislature, the best way to obtain co-operation was to tell the truth about the needs of the University; the facts could speak for themselves.

A letter quoted at the close of the preceding section refers to the newly instituted convocations. Snow showed interest in other campus activities. Possibly some of these may have been adapted from customs existing at Williams College. Accounts of the quarter-centennial celebration in 1891 mention a pipe-smoking ceremony on Class Day. After the planting of the Ivy, during which each member of the class shoveled a little dirt, J. D. Bowersock delivered the "pipe oration," alluding to Indians who fifty years before had smoked the pipe of peace on Mount Oread. Members of the faculty and senior class then took a puff at the pipe—even the girls and women engaged in "dainty whiffs"—the manner of the "smoking" being marked by idiosyncrasies which amused on-lookers. Later generations of seniors, with a regard for hygiene, modified this practice by distributing individual pipes at the

* Few college presidents escape some embarrassment from garbled press reports. Snow was among a group of educators invited to Princeton in 1896, its 150th anniversary. While in the East he may have heard of the Princeton Inn, which served beer to upperclassmen in order to keep them away from more disreputable places; as a letter to his old friend, Professor George L. Raymond of Princeton, explains, Snow understood that the Inn had faculty approval. In 1898, a prohibition organ, the *Voice*, solicited college presidents' opinions of the Inn. Snow wrote: "I am of the opinion that the Princeton Inn, under the restriction which I know to exist in its management, is on the whole of service to lessen the evils of intemperance among students." Unfairly, the *Voice* did not quote Snow but merely listed him as one of two approving the Princeton plan—the other being President Eliot. A Chicago publication thereupon alleged that Snow had gone on record as favoring the "gilded saloon." Tearful letters came from the W. C. T. U. societies at Lecompton and Emporia. Snow published his correspondence with the *Voice* and reaffirmed his lifelong convictions on temperance.

senior breakfast. That this custom was transplanted from Williams* in particular can hardly be proved, since it had existed at more than one college in the East. For example, in 1854 the first Class Day exercises at Dartmouth were held around an old pine, where Indians were supposed to have smoked peace pipes. Eventually Dartmouth seniors came to smoke clay pipes around the tree, as a part of the Class Day exercises, breaking them against the trunk at a given signal.

During the nineties student activities multiplied. Though a Snow Literary Society was organized in the later nineties, in addition to the literary societies already existing, student interest on the Hill, as on other campuses, was shifting to athletics. The University had had a gymnasium for a brief time in 1882, but without a supervisor the apparatus had not lasted long. In 1891 some more gymnastic apparatus was installed in Fraser, for limited use. Several times Snow attempted to secure a gymnasium. One fruitless attempt came after he had heard Andrew Carnegie speak at Williamstown in 1893; a tactful letter to Carnegie listing a gymnasium among the needs of the University met with no response.

Preceded by some sporadic participation in both baseball and football, competitive football began in 1891. Colonel McCook, of New York City, provided funds for an athletic field, later extended by a tract from the holdings of Governor Robinson. E. M. Hopkins, who had not played football but who had watched it played at Princeton and for that reason was supposed to be an expert, served as the first coach. Surprisingly enough, this teacher of English led the team of 1891 through a season of victories. After it had vanquished Missouri by the score of 22-8 in Kansas City, Hopkins noted in his diary, "Our fellows applauded me wherever I went." Hopkins found only eleven pairs of pantaloons available for the first team; sometimes "time-out" had to be called for mending the uniforms. In the fall of 1892, after another series of victories, Hopkins turned over his coaching duties to Professor

* Cf. page 46.

A. W. Shepard, who had played right end at Cornell and who sometimes filled that position on the University team, since in those days it was considered legitimate for a coach to play. (Coach Alonzo Stagg, for instance, is said to have participated in the first game between Chicago and Illinois.)

In the nineties, as in our time, winning was important. A Kansas newspaper, alluding to a passage in a speech in which Snow had suggested a scientific explanation of the snakelessness of Ireland, commented: "Chancellor Snow is fooling away his time explaining why there is [*sic*] no snakes in Ireland. That won't satisfy the people of Kansas, Mr. Snow, and you might as well know it first as last. We want to know why the University football team got the stuffin' beat out of them every game last fall, and what you have done towards providing 'diseased' chigres [*sic*] for us next summer."

Possibly such queries help to explain Snow's jubilation, on January 30, 1894, after he found that with Hopkins' help he could bring from Princeton the Rev. Hector W. Cowan, "football coach of the Princeton team last fall, not simply as a football coach but as an instructor in physical training for the young men of the entire University This will be a great card for K.U. especially as Mr. Cowan will also be a director of the chapel services,—certainly a very remarkable combination of official duties I repeat, this is an immense thing for K.U. and will tend to develop the green eyes rapidly in other Kansas institutions."

In his report for 1893-94 Snow explained that the citizens of Lawrence and the faculty had provided funds for Cowan. Cowan's teams, though enjoying some victories, did not win enough games to suit everybody, nor was his successor popular. But the popularity of the coach of 1899-1900, no less a person than Fielding H. Yost, was undeniable, for his was the all-victorious eleven of 1899. He proved too good to keep, and at the end of the year went to Stanford, and later to Michigan, to win further laurels.

Yost's successor was Dr. James Naismith, said to have been recommended to Snow by Alonzo Stagg of Chicago. Like Cowan,

Naismith could lead chapel. More impressive was another fact: he had invented the game of basketball. (As late as 1936, when Dr. Naismith was honored by being sent to visit the Olympic games, the Russians had filed no historical counterclaim.) Naismith once remarked to his friend and colleague, Forrest C. Allen, the celebrated strategist of basketball:* "It is just a game to play. It doesn't need a coach." According to Miles W. Sterling, the space requirements of basketball led to the lowering of the basement floor of Old Snow Hall, when the gymnasium was put there. After Naismith came, interest in physical education developed rapidly.

W. H. Carruth, who had taken a good deal of interest in sports, sometimes protested against growing professionalism, thus incurring an occasional rebuke from student publications. (After a crucial decision in an early game in which he had served as referee, Carruth considered that he had been for a time a pariah.⁹) Others besides Carruth suspected that things were getting out of hand. In a letter to C. S. Gleed, who evidently had misgivings, Snow stoutly defended football, contending that it had decreased the amount of "indoor vice" and the number of disciplinary problems.

His personal interest in athletics admitted of no doubt. After one football victory he was observed to dance joyfully on the field. Once, after the referee's final whistle, a girl student found herself being hugged by the exuberant Chancellor. Celebrating another victory, students marched to the Chancellor's house, shouting in unison Snow's name.

The players could always count on Snow's support. When a representative of the University of Nebraska alleged that Coach Woodruff had given football players instructions while looking after the injured, Snow officially expressed doubts regarding the truth of the allegation and made the point that the mayor of Lincoln and other prominent people had threatened the referee with

* Allen, too, was to visit the Olympic games—as coach of such stars as Clyde Lovellette of the famous team of 1952.

a social and business boycott unless he reversed certain decisions.

But Snow's popularity with students was not based primarily upon sympathy with their athletic interests. They admired many things about him—for example, his openness and friendliness. Unlike some educational dignitaries, he made people who talked to him feel as comfortable as an old shoe. Nobody would have been tempted to say of Snow what was said of Sir Robert Peel, "He never unbuttons himself." Yet in his relations with students Snow also knew how to be firm and to anticipate trouble, as this passage from a letter of May 1, 1898, shows:

Thursday night occurred the Junior promenade, and as the Juniors called upon me to protect them from being raided by the Sophomores, I summoned the male sophs to my office and warned them to refrain from any interference. Also notified the Mayor to have the approaches to Pythian hall guarded by policemen. M. and I attended the function, which was very enjoyable

No disturbance occurred One or two Juniors had had their best suits purloined by Sophomores and had to appear in "any old thing," but there was no violence.

This being "First of May" time, and there being rumors of May-pole fights, I summoned the Freshman boys on Thursday and informed them that no May-pole could be erected on the campus without discipline from the Faculty. It is the Freshmen who take the initiative in such matters, according to long established custom. On Friday morning the Sophomores had a 1900 flag flying from the flag-pole of the main building, but it was not defended and it was taken down by the janitors at seven o'clock before any one saw it. There may be some May-day class fights to-morrow morning but I hardly think so.¹⁰

Like many a college president of the twentieth century, Snow was faced with a war emergency. On May 20, 1898, he wrote to E. F. Engel:*

Affairs are running quite smoothly at the University, although we have been a good deal disorganized by the universal war ex-

* Engel had served as a "guide" (cf. page 213) and later as registrar and Assistant Professor of German. As Professor of German he was a pioneer in the use of the so-called laboratory method of teaching language.

citement. Our students have been affected to a certain extent and twenty-five of them have already departed for the front, nine of them in the 20th Kansas regiment and sixteen in the 22nd. The 20th regiment has already started for Manila with Fred Funston as colonel and E. C. Little . . . as lieutenant . . . We had a mass meeting in chapel when the war excitement was at its highest point and allayed the fever to a considerable extent. About 75 students on the ground are now drilling regularly.

Visiting educators from the East were surprised at Snow's free-and-easy manner with students, who appreciated tales about his boyish sense of humor. One of these* concerned a group of students who moved Snow's two-seated phaeton out of his barn (he was then living in his house on the corner of Tennessee and Pinckney [now Sixth] Streets) and took it all the way to Fraser Hall. After it had been pulled up the steps with difficulty, Snow, who must somehow have got wind of the plot and carefully concealed himself in the vehicle, rose from his hiding place and said, "Thanks for the ride—now take me home." The students did, Snow doubtless chuckling to himself throughout the journey.

Even more than such stories the students appreciated Snow's personal interest in their welfare. Those to whom he lent money from his own funds, so that they might continue their education, included some who afterwards became outstanding members of his faculty. He had in many instances observed the difficulty of their struggle. For a time Snow allowed three brothers, whose resources had dwindled without impairing their sense of humor, to occupy a cottage on his property. Calling on them one night, he saw a bone tied to a string suspended from the ceiling; below, a kettle was placed so that steam arose around the bone. When Snow inquired what the brothers were doing with that curious arrangement, one of them replied, "Making shadow soup!"

§5

The cares of office called for effort to keep in physical trim. Snow took time for an occasional game of croquet and tennis and

* This story is told by a former student, who vouches for its authenticity. The author has been unable to verify it from other sources.

finally became a devotee of golf. He also played in baseball games between the faculty and the seniors. Just as in earlier days students had marveled at the headlong pace of his Indian pony, after 1895 they were amazed at his bold dashes down the Adams Street hill (the present Fourteenth Street) on a bicycle. A campus publication contained a humorous sketch entitled "the Chancellor on the downward path."* Though the Chancellor's cycling speed, in



the days before bicycles were equipped with coaster brakes, caused anxiety among his friends and family, he suffered few mishaps. One student who saw him take a tumble rushed to the spot but found him concerned only for the safety of his papers. After another accident he had a rent in his trousers sewed up in the hope that his family would not see any evidence of his accident. One day he collided with a cross-eyed man whose eyes he had been watching. "Why don't you look where you're going?" the man angrily gasped. "Why don't you go where you're looking?" came Snow's swift rejoinder.

* Printed at another time with a different legend.

E. M. Hopkins organized the Oread Bicycle Club, open to any bicycle-riding members of the faculty who cared to sign the elaborate constitution, which provided for group tours at least once a week, led by a "pace-maker" and with a "director of the ambulance corps" bringing up the rear. Snow served as president and went on many of the tours.*

Though Snow's correspondence during the nineties often reflects good health and spirits, his duties were sometimes irksome; men who had known him as a teacher, like W. C. Stevens and Marshall A. Barber, thought that he seemed less carefree than of old. Besides the responsibilities of office, he had personal anxieties.

The Chancellor's private investments at times caused him much worry. His scale of living was always modest. His account books, which record his salary and expenditures in minute detail, show only small sums in black at the end of the year. At no time in his life did he indulge in extravagance. He lived comfortably, to be sure, but the facts throw an amusing light on the words of a Populist legislator who was heard to remark, as he came out of the Chancellor's house, "Chancellor Snow lives sumptuously like a prince!" A family inheritance did enable Snow to make investments, and some of these, whether because of too great confidence in a friend or because Snow had a touch of his father's imprudence in enterprise, turned out badly, though his investments in real estate were mostly shrewd.

Travel sometimes lightened periods of unusual strain. The Chancellor could then forget his worries and indulge his scientific inclinations. From Florida he wrote in 1892: "Sitting by an open window, I have my fly net at hand, for which I have cut a long bamboo handle. Occasionally I swing my net out of the window over the blossoms of the Japan plum and catch an interesting fly, several species of which are attracted by the sweetness of the flower clusters."¹¹ During his visit to the Yosemite with some

* Hopkins, by the way, amused his neighbors by raising his bicycle to his second-floor apartment with a rope and lowering it by the same method. During the process the walls of the building received resounding blows.

friends in the summer of 1896, Snow spent a day in estimating the age of one of the large sequoia trees in the King's River forest. He notes in his lecture on "Big Trees" that, after clearing away the charred surface of a fallen giant ". . . I counted over 4000 rings, which showed that this tree was in its prime, swaying in the Sierra winds, when Christ walked the earth."

On June 15 of the preceding year Snow had sailed for Europe on the *Obdam*. He enjoyed the voyage, zestfully participating in deck games, as well as in a program, with a speech on "The Wild and Woolly West." In the company of Professor and Mrs. C. G. Dunlap and (as far as Switzerland) the Rev. Samuel Greenfield, a Jewish rabbi whom he had met on the *Obdam*, he visited Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Brussels, and Cologne, and went up the Rhine in a steamer. At Wiesbaden he parted company with the Dunlaps. At such cities as Heidelberg, Berlin, and Zurich he visited the universities and talked with their officials; at Budapest he hunted up a famous entomologist and the curator of minerals and meteorites at the museum. Alone he climbed a mountain peak near Grindelwald, Switzerland, and marveled at his own endurance. At Berne he was shocked by the news of the death of an old friend, Professor D. H. Robinson—"one of the most solid and true of men." He admired the earnest performance by the peasants and workers at Selzach of a "passion play," in reality *tableaux vivants* of Old and New Testament episodes. After journeying to Paris, he was struck by the magnificent parks and boulevards there, "gay with carriages and pedestrians and bicycle riders," but observed, too, the poor asleep on stone steps behind a fountain or statue, and the tired old women dozing in chairs in dark corners of Notre Dame. Seeing the "bicycle riders" led him to take seven lessons in cycling.* Art galleries had drawn so much of his attention that by this time he was proud of his ability to spot a Rembrandt or a Murillo. As was to be expected, the Pasteur Institute and the Jardin des Plantes interested him; but curiously enough, among the various sights of Paris, it was the

* His later interest in cycling is mentioned on page 219.

Morgue which he twice revisited. The full play of the fountains at Versailles he considered one of the supreme spectacles.

He left for the United States on the *Obdam* on September 12. In one of his speeches he later dwelt upon the efficient training for the professions and for government service which the German universities afforded.¹² Characteristically, he was most impressed by an inscription on a schoolhouse at Grindelwald, Switzerland, a schoolhouse situated within view of the mountains: "A schoolhouse am I, built by men; God has established a greater one—look yonder—a model schoolhouse. Take your seat therein and learn God's lessons" (Snow's translation).

Another source of concern, particularly in the late nineties, was the state of Mrs. Snow's health. Not at all gregarious by nature, Mrs. Snow had taken an active interest in affairs on the Hill. Faculty wives appreciated her personal interest, including such evidences of it as the garments she knitted for their infants. She was frequently at home to the young women of the University. She also organized the Women's League, for faculty wives and women who were teachers or students. Members of the legislature or other important guests sometimes appeared unexpectedly at the Chancellor's house; if their coming imposed any burden, the guests invariably carried away an impression of her friendly hospitality, intellectual alertness, and personal charm.

During Mrs. Snow's illness the Snow daughters could lend a helping hand. Some of the family responsibilities had fallen to the lot of Martha Snow, who in July of 1898 became Mrs. William Harvey Brown. Mrs. Brown's husband had been a member of Snow's class in zoology. One day he found a horse's skeleton. Snow suggested that he collect the bones and mount them. This was the first of many skeletons which Brown prepared for the University Museum. He accompanied L. L. Dyche on vacation expeditions to the Rocky Mountains. His acquaintance with W. T. Hornaday, director of the New York Zoological Society, resulted in Brown's being sent in 1889 as naturalist on an expedition to Africa arranged by the Smithsonian Institution. During the re-

turn journey, his ship stopped at Capetown, where Brown joined a group of British pioneers, sponsored by Cecil Rhodes, who settled the country later named Rhodesia. Since Brown continued his collecting activities for the Smithsonian, he was known as "Curio" Brown in Rhodesia, where he served as member of the legislative council and later as mayor of Salisbury. (He presented some of his curios to the University Museum.) After shooting a large rhinoceros one day, he became the first person in that part of Africa to give the "Rock Chalk, Jayhawk."¹³ His book, *On the South African Frontier*, published by Scribner's in 1899, tells of his observations and his experiences, which included some fighting during the rebellion of the Matabeles.

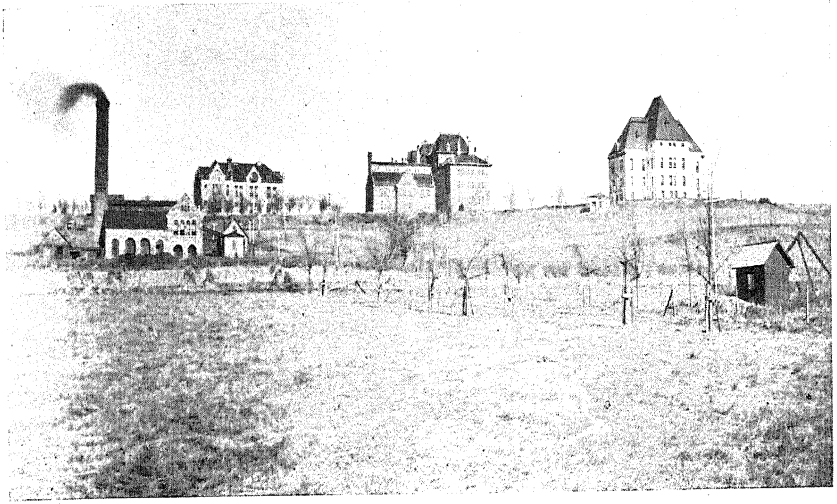
Early in 1899 the Browns sailed for Salisbury, Rhodesia. The younger Snow son, Francis Lawrence ("Frank"), accompanied them for a visit of more than two years, mainly because eye trouble made it necessary for him to discontinue his schooling temporarily. As a small boy Frank had made his own collection of insects and had gone with his father on summer expeditions. From a second trip to the African frontier he brought back for the University several thousands of insects, some representing new species (one of these was named for him). In Africa he worked on a newspaper. After a varied journalistic and publishing experience, for eleven years he served as Professor of Industrial Journalism, and Chairman of the Department, which he organized, at Oregon State College. For nineteen years he was editor and publisher of the El Segundo (California) *Herald*.

Miss Edith Huntington Snow, frequently her father's companion in his last years, also once visited the Browns in Africa. But for this daughter of a pioneer scientist and educator there were other than physical frontiers to explore. Her studies at the University of Kansas and for a brief period at Stanford, where she was the companion of her brother Will, interested her in artistic forms of expression. An illness led her to her own particular medium, weaving. The preparation for her career at the Snow-Abbott Looms, later the Snow Looms, included a period of study

in New York, as well as travel and observation in Europe. Early realizing the value of weaving as occupational therapy, she was encouraged by a group of prominent New York physicians to develop a school for weaving which would help nervous patients, disabled veterans, and others with similar needs. Her own designs are prized by collectors. She collaborated with Miss Laura Peasley on a widely used text, *Weaving for Hand Looms*.¹⁴

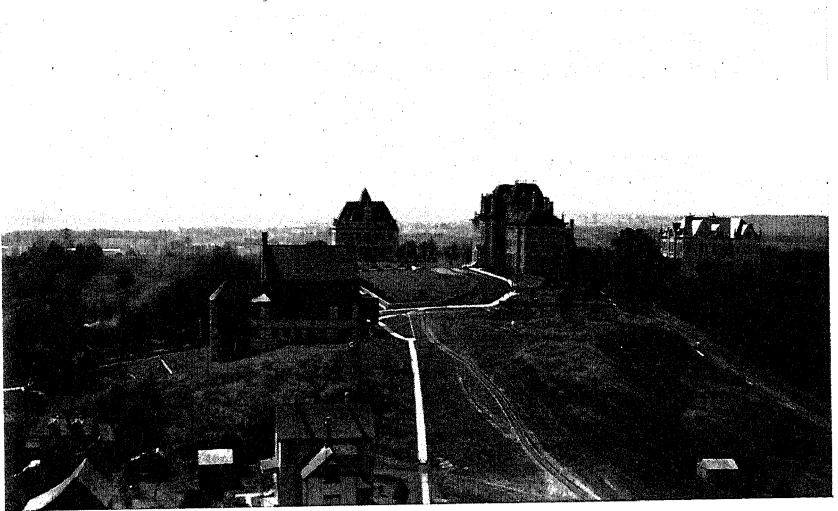
In 1899, when the Browns and Mrs. Brown's younger brother sailed for Africa, as just indicated, Chancellor Snow wrote to Vernon Kellogg: "As for me I am enjoying the honors of a grandfather, my namesake Francis Huntington Case having been born on the 4th of April." These honors were to be conferred several times by various members of the Chancellor's family (a Francis Huntington Brown and a second Francis Huntington Snow were also namesakes), and he wore them gracefully. He must have enjoyed the thought of having founded a dynasty; one of his letters is signed "Francis I." Mrs. Case, formerly Mary Margaret Snow, had married Ermine C. Case.* Along with certain other members of the class of 1893, Case earned a place in University tradition as one of the designers of a totem pole. He and E. F. Robinson, son of Professor Robinson, bought a large pole in Kansas City and had it secretly adorned with carvings and paint. At the top was the carved image of Chancellor Snow's face, at first with sideburns, which were later removed, and with an owl, presumably representing wisdom, perched on his forehead; below came a mule, a red devil, and other fanciful symbols of the classes. A potlatch was held to celebrate the raising of the pole, east of Fraser Hall. For several years it was a center of Commencement activities. While a student, Case accompanied Williston on a fossil-hunting expedition—the first of more than a score of such expeditions in which Case was to take part. After some years of teaching at the State Normal School at Milwaukee, he became Professor of Paleontology at the University of Michigan.¹⁵

*During an extended journey with her husband, Mrs. Case died at Capetown in 1923.

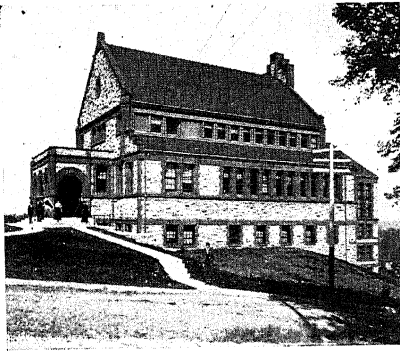


According to Professor Robert Taft, this picture of the University from the south, like the photograph below, was made about 1896.

Left to right: the power and heating plant, Snow Hall, Chemistry Hall (later the Old Journalism Building), Fraser Hall, Blake Hall.



This view of the University from the north shows Spooner Library, Blake Hall, Fraser Hall, and Snow Hall.

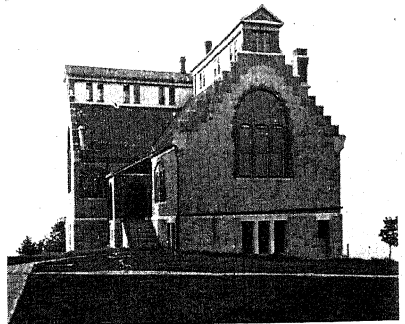


Spooner Library soon after it was built; later the Spooner-Thayer Museum of Art



Old Chancellor's House, later Carruth Hall
(an earlier view shows no trees)

Old Chemistry Hall, as it appeared
in the late 1890's; afterwards the
Journalism Building



In 1899 the Chancellor's oldest son, Will, was a reporter for the San Francisco *Chronicle*. As a child Will, too, had been his father's companion in collecting. A likable and brilliant youth, he had early shown talent in scientific research. As a boy he doubtless felt the urge to display his independence of leading strings; as a consequence, he had also sometimes experienced paternal discipline. Will Snow had associated with such convivial companions as Hadley and Funston. None the less, the ties between father and son were close. For a time he was Chancellor Snow's private secretary and, after Kellogg left the faculty, became Instructor in Entomology. Afterwards he studied and taught at Illinois and then taught at Stanford, during Vernon Kellogg's leave of absence from the Department of Entomology there, before deciding to carry out his long-cherished ambition to be a journalist.

In October of 1899 the return of veterans of the Spanish-American War was causing excitement. Editors sent reporters to the water front to obtain information as soon as possible. Officers on board incoming ships did not always oblige. In a tribute to his friend, Vernon Kellogg told how Will Snow had taken the place of a cub reporter who could not swim but who had been ordered to climb from a launch to a transport. When Snow went up towards the deck, a quartermaster came towards him and deliberately stepped on his fingers, forcing him to jump back to the launch. Kellogg heard, too, that Snow had saved the life of a reporter who had been washed overboard.¹⁶

The day before the Twentieth Kansas Regiment arrived in San Francisco harbor, Will Snow had written a story recalling how these war heroes had been ridiculed during their encampment in California several months previously. Some of them had not been familiar with military practices. One officer, for instance, had said, "All set, boys? Well, come along." Another soldier, ignorant of tides, had asked, "Where's all that water that was here last night?" One youth had not previously seen a lemon. All seemed to play the "grasshopper role," eating up everything "in the line of march." Then Funston had arrived, already the sur-

vivor of many battles (he had earlier joined the Cubans and had been taken prisoner), and the green Kansas youths were soon showing their true soldierly qualities.

The San Francisco correspondent of the *Kansas City Star* as well as a reporter for the *Chronicle*, Will Snow had been compiling the history of the men in the Twentieth. On the night of October 10, he went out on a tugboat in San Francisco Bay to hail the transport *Tartar*. After he had identified himself, a bag of dispatches, containing accounts of the Pacific voyage, was tossed down to the boat. As he leaned forward, standing near the edge of the boat so that he might be more clearly heard by those on the transport, the boat lurched; he lost his footing, fell, and almost instantly disappeared in the dark rough waters. For his father there was a long trip to San Francisco and an unsuccessful search for the son's body. Passers-by observed a short, blue-eyed, white-haired man, the image of grief and despair, pacing up and down on a beach.

A memorial service was later held in Lawrence, the speakers being Dr. Cordley, Professor Williston, and William Allen White. Along with others of the Twentieth, Funston was there. As everybody in San Francisco knew, Funston was also at San Francisco after the earthquake and fire of 1906. All that survived in the office of the *Chronicle* was a metal tablet with an inscription to an old friend of Funston's: "In memory of William Appleton Snow As he lived so he died, faithful above all things to his trust."

§6

Concern about Mrs. Snow's ill health in 1898 and 1899 and the cares of the Chancellorship had taken their toll, but the shock of Will Snow's death was a stunning blow. In spite of dogged application to executive work, this burden of grief completely upset Snow's naturally sensitive nervous equilibrium. After Commencement of 1900 he suffered a collapse. During the summer he went to the lakes of Wisconsin and then to Estes Park, Colorado. E. C.

Franklin went with him to Eagle River, Wisconsin. One day Franklin was with the Chancellor in a small boat on a lake. Snow was plunged in the deepest melancholia. It occurred to the devoted Franklin that the most startling and ridiculous action he could think of at the moment might help his friend. He stood up in the boat and dived into the lake without removing any of his clothing. The absurdity of the act had the desired effect of temporarily lightening Snow's gloom. In September Snow returned to his duties, which he continued for about two months; then he asked for leave of absence, his request being sent from Eureka Springs, Arkansas. This was granted, and W. C. Spangler was appointed to act as executive agent for the Regents.* Late in 1900 and during the early months of 1901 Snow was at Stanford University, California, reading, playing an occasional game of whist or golf, and visiting with his friend, Vernon Kellogg, his most constant companion, as well as with the David Starr Jordans and others. Kellogg was among those who urged him to resign his position as Chancellor. His resignation was submitted at the Regents' meeting on June 4; it became effective on September 1. The last part of 1901 he spent in Milwaukee. When he returned to Kansas the day before Christmas, his health had greatly improved.

Twice the Regents passed resolutions in Snow's honor. Describing his administration as "a period of marked progress . . . not only in material things, but in the growth and development of University spirit," they ascribed his success to "his tireless energy, his devotion to duty, his wisdom and foresight, . . . his liberal and generous management of University affairs."

At Strong's inauguration, attended by President Hadley of Yale and many other educational leaders, Snow reviewed the progress of the University, mentioning particularly the increase in enrollment from 505 to 1154; the enlargement of the faculty from 34 to 79; the erection of six new buildings, three of them from

* Spangler served as Acting Chancellor till August of 1902, when Frank Strong, appointed Chancellor in April, began his term of office.

private funds, and the addition of equipment; the organization of new schools and departments; the strengthening of the ties between the University and the high schools; the cultivation of Kansans' interest in the University as their own. Not one to trumpet his own achievements, Snow spoke in his official capacity for the institution as a whole. Nor would he have claimed growth in enrollment or in size as something due to his own agency. During the eighties and nineties state universities throughout the Middle West grew steadily. His own services in guiding his institution through a period of economic stress remained unmentioned, nor could he well have explained how he had defended academic freedom and saved the University from the skulduggery of spoils-seeking politicians.

When Snow arose to speak, he looked shorter than ever in contrast to the tall Strong; the large audience stood, waving their handkerchiefs, and cheered the beloved little white-haired man who, more than any other one person, had contributed from its very beginning to the building of an institution. The spontaneity of the applause not only on this occasion but whenever his name was mentioned during the speeches of the day touched him deeply. He felt, too, that a great load had been lifted from his shoulders.

XI

Some Call It Evolution

Some call it Evolution

—William Herbert Carruth, "Each in His Own Tongue."

A LOVER of sunrises and sunsets, Snow sometimes took members of his family to the top of the Hill for the view which had delighted at least two poets—Bayard Taylor and Walt Whitman. A well-known incident illustrates his love of scenery. In a letter William Herbert Carruth mentioned the incident as the genesis of "Each in His Own Tongue." Carruth stood with Snow

on the high bluff overlooking the Kansas River valley, stretching in beautiful variety of greens and browns, orchard, wheat stubble and corn, away toward the eastern horizon that blends the haze of the distance with the bluest sky in the world. One of us said—I scarcely recall which one—"There is no season like the Kansas autumn." The other replied, "We can say nothing but 'God.'"

We stood for a time in silence, and then I remarked, since Professor Snow had wrestled much with the problem of evolution, "It is the same with evolution; it is all summed up in the word 'God.'"¹

A hint of the scene witnessed by the two men on that October day, probably in 1895, appears in Carruth's poem:

A haze on the far horizon,
The infinite, tender sky,
The rich, ripe tint of the cornfields,
And the wild geese sailing high,
And all over upland and lowland
The charm of the goldenrod,—
Some of us call it Autumn,
And others call it God.

"Each in His Own Tongue," still prized on Mount Oread, may not seem a great poem to lovers of the symbolic and enigmatic in contemporary poetry. (One may insist that it shows a considerable degree of artistic selection and that, if parts of it seem trite, triteness is often the result of quotability.) But it is introduced here for other than literary reasons. These two men, who did not always see alike in academic matters, would both have accepted the poem as a not unfair statement of their creed. The friends—the one a humanist much interested in science and the other a scientist, trained in the classics and inclined to approach the sciences humanistically—had met on common ground in more than the literal sense. This should not seem strange, since poetry has been called "the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science," though ministering to different and often more direct aspects of experience.

After the early 1880's, the idea of evolution occupied a large place in Snow's thinking.² Probably no human being influenced his later point of view as much as this idea. Furthermore, nothing better illustrates his independence of mind and his courage, or the quality of his leadership, than what he wrote and said about evolution. Characteristically, once he had formed convictions on any really important question, he could not be silent about those convictions. Besides, was it not his duty as an educator to help inform the public, as well as the students, of recent scientific theories? In doing so, he was pioneering, once again, in an important way. Those who held "evolutionist" to be synonymous with "atheist" attacked him bitterly. Yet the idea of evolution he incorporated into a point of view that remained essentially religious, in a way that reflects interestingly the history of thought during his lifetime.*

To understand how this was possible, one must know something of the story of an idea which has been hailed as the master thought of the nineteenth century. To be sure, evolution, in the

* For Snow's earlier attitude toward the subject see pages 111-12. The evidence for the time when he changed his opinion is discussed on page 282.

broadest sense, has a much longer history. Any reader of folktales or of Ovid becomes aware that the notion of metamorphosis fascinated the primitive mind. Fragments of the ancient Greek Empedocles seem almost Darwinian. Plato's conception of "ideas" (occult realities assumed to account for the objects manifest to the senses but not apprehensible by the senses) stood for the fixity of species, not their development. This is hardly the place to explain how "the great chain of being," a notion ultimately of Platonic origin, in the eighteenth century fostered a belief in nature's organic unity, preparing the way for evolution; or how evolutionary ideas finally tended to undermine the metaphysical conceptions of an Absolute Being which had been influenced by Platonism. In his arrangement of species, Plato's disciple, Aristotle, shows his awareness of an order of increasing complexity, though not of transmutation; and he emphasizes the idea of development in every organism of its potentiality. Passing over evolutionary aspects of the thought of many writers, one may note that the Scotch Lord Monboddo (1714-99)—a writer whom Snow mentions—was laughed at for suggesting kinship between man and the orangoutang. To a surprising degree Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802) anticipated the theories of his grandson Charles. The most famous of the more than fifty evolutionists who have been counted in the half century before *The Origin of Species* (1859), Lamarck, postulated evolutionary change through response to environment—especially through use and disuse and the inheritance of acquired characteristics. Aware of the ideas of Lamarck, Erasmus Darwin, and the geologist Charles Lyell, Charles Darwin was also familiar with T. R. Malthus's statement (1798) of how the increase of population, which grows faster than food supply, brings about a struggle for survival—a statement which led Darwin to the principle of "natural selection." (It was Herbert Spencer who first used the phrase "survival of the fittest.") Before the publication of Darwin's book, both his findings and those of Alfred Russel Wallace, who had also been influenced by Malthus, were transmitted to the Linnaean Society; and Dar-

win had corresponded with such men as Asa Gray, the eminent Harvard botanist, who promptly accepted the Darwinian theory.³

Any reader may encounter casual bits of evidence that evolutionary ideas were not unknown in America, too, at a fairly early date. Joseph Le Conte once talked to a Southern planter who, having read the popular book published in 1844 by the Scotch writer Robert Chambers, had come to believe in the transmutation of species. In 1852 James A. Garfield, the future President, debated publicly with a freethinker who had already maintained in forty debates the idea that men, animals, and vegetables had come into existence by progressive development.⁴

Broached in an age already familiar with evolutionary ideas, the Darwinian theory had far-reaching effects. In the sciences, it furnished a means of testing the classification of species (though, to be sure, a species cannot be strictly defined except as a taxonomist's classification; taxonomists themselves have been known to effect some astonishing mutations). It not only deeply affected all the sciences, except possibly chemistry and physics, but also created new sciences, such as genetics and ecology, which in turn modified evolutionary theory. It helped to shape the philosophies of Nietzsche and Bergson, of James, Dewey, and Whitehead. It touched the arts—for example, the American naturalistic novel and the architecture of Sullivan and Wright. It spawned "social Darwinism," which has been in recent times illustrated by the Nazi aviator's belief that bombing has a salutary social influence, obliterating the crowded slums of cities and thus accelerating the non-survival of the "less fit."⁵

It bred intellectual and moral confusion. The idea of progress, since the seventeenth century almost an article of religion in the Western world, was assimilated with it, though some advocates of evolution, like Thomas Huxley, came to believe that organic and ethical evolution not only are not allied but are antagonistic. The uncritical often thought that any social change is beneficial. In an illuminating discussion of the evolutionary theories

of Aristotle, Hegel, and Darwin, F. S. C. Northrop has recently stated that, though all three have been accepted as philosophers of both social and organic evolution, the philosophies of the first two thinkers are applicable, or rather partly applicable, only to social evolution, and the Darwinian theory only to organic evolution.⁶ If the implication of this point of view had been accepted seventy-five years ago, the world might have escaped some disasters. Though the Marxians built much of their ideology on the Hegelian dialectic of thesis, antithesis, synthesis (the final synthesis to be the classless society), they combined with Hegel the Darwinian "natural selection." Similarly, the Fascists appealed to Darwin in glorifying force and strength as essential to the survival of the fittest.

Basarov, the first nihilist, the hero of Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* (1862), affords an example of the results of the purely experimental and positivistic outlook fostered by the study of science. To Basarov, the older liberalism, love of nature or of music and art, and indeed most of what gives life color and dignity, are valueless illusions. To him truth is observed only by the senses, usually in the laboratory. Turgenev brings Basarov face to face with the realities of love and death, which in the end annihilate the nihilist. Basarov and his kinsmen in Dostoevsky illustrate the connection between the crudely "scientific" outlook and a type of radicalism. The characters in Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* are the logical sequel.

When Snow was a student, Butler's *Analogy* and Paley's *Natural Theology* were used as texts in Williams and other colleges. Dwelling on the correspondences between the seen and the unseen worlds, such books answered the Deists, who believed in a God of nature and reason but not of orthodox revelation. Their authors stressed the argument from design, as in Paley's famous comparison of the watch which implies a watch-maker. Darwin's "natural selection" at first appeared to destroy this argument. Though the theory was itself modified by later theories

of mutation, the immediate effect on theology was devastating. Had a god called Natural Selection supplanted Jehovah?

Least disturbed were those of the inner light, like the Quakers, the Transcendentalists, and the Unitarians. Such believers, who, as do the Orientals, listen to the voice of intuition and find the divine within, are unmoved by the decay of dogma. As Carruth says,

Like tides on a crescent sea-beach,
 When the moon is new and thin,
 Into our hearts high yearnings
 Come welling and surging in;
 Come from the mystic ocean
 Whose rim no foot hath trod,—
 Some of us call it Longing,
 And others call it God.

Other thinkers, valuing reason as highly as intuition, sought to assimilate the new truth to the old. Snow's former teacher, President Bascom of Wisconsin, was among them. In 1883 the chair of Theology once filled by Snow's Andover professor, Edwards A. Park, was taken over by George Harris,* who frankly sought to harmonize evolution and ethics.⁷ A pioneer in the attempt to reconcile science and religion was the scientist Joseph Le Conte, a cousin of John Le Conte, the coleopterist to whom Snow used to send some of his insects for classification. Joseph Le Conte thought of evolution as appearing in cycles or stages, each of which pointed to a higher level involving previously unavailable powers. At a human level, for example, a new force appeared—man's ability to co-operate in the evolution of his own spirit, guided by ideals not conscious in the lower levels. The highest possibility of human evolution was exemplified in the figure of Christ. Like John Fiske (one of Snow's favorite writers) and other contemporaries, Le Conte thus found the teachings of evolu-

* Earlier Newman Smyth (identified on page 90) had been nominated by the Trustees but rejected by the Visitors.

tion consistent with theism. His position was not far from that of believers in "emergent evolution," who build their faith on the universal evidence that to combine is often to create something new. Nineteenth-century poets, working out their own "natural religion," linked evolution and spiritual aspiration—with "one far-off divine event," with "the lamplit race," with "the dream of the blossom of good," to quote three of them.

Such beliefs pointed upward rather than downward. To avoid sham spirituality, man could not ignore his place in nature; but the implication that he occupied a branch of the family tree on another branch of which perched "an apelike creature" sharing with him a common ancestor, perhaps the Gilbertian "protoplasmal primordial atomic globule," not only affronted human dignity but had repercussions in conduct, unless indeed man looked to the summit of the tree rather than to its lower branches or base. Being to some extent logical and symbolical and living in a world shaped by his own qualities, man could find purpose in life to the extent that he invested it with purpose.

Those who at once dismiss nineteenth-century views as hopelessly outmoded by others more recent might well ask themselves whether they are not misled by the belief in "progress" and its corollary, that the recent is more valid than the less recent. Fairly recent is the view that unanswerable questions are meaningless. The modern jesting Pilate does not merely refuse to stay for an answer; he refuses to ask the question.* Is truth only something which will work in the environment? Such a position also has belief in evolution as one of its starting-points. Is it any wonder that, to escape confusion further confounded, many have unduly depreciated science?

But reality exists, in spite of a million relativisms, or co-existing and apparently contradictory planes of truth not reconcilable by limited human perceptions; and the Platonic Socrates and most

* A recent biographer of Gertrude Stein states: "Just before she died, she asked, 'What is the answer?' No answer came. She laughed and said, 'In that case, what is the question?' Then she died." Some thinkers of Miss Stein's era put themselves in the position of wanting to know the answers *before* they asked the questions.

succeeding philosophers have known that to shut one's views of nature and one's views of the good in separate compartments is to court schizophrenia. Is it science, or its abuse, which is evil? The sense of the complexity and order which pervade the universe—the Meredithian vision of "the army of unalterable law"—may be a part of the scientist's experience. As Snow said to the graduating class of 1896:

You have acquired a knowledge of the astounding facts of the physical and organic sciences. Your minds have been expanded by the matchless conception of a universe slowly developed from its primitive elements and gradually brought to its present condition by a continuous process which is still far from having reached its completion. You have traced the history of this mundane sphere from an original unformed nebular mass through untold millions of years to its present substantial and inhabitable condition. You have unveiled the ever continuous procession of plant and animal life, which has advanced from elementary simplicity through increasing stages of complexity until the highest orders have been attained and man himself has appeared as the crown and glory of terrestrial existence A supreme Intelligence, pervading all time and space, the Cause of all causes and the Life of all life, is the inevitable requirement of the mind which demands an adequate cause for every effect. Such a mind finds no escape from the final recognition and enthronement of the Lord of lords and the King of kings. Not an absent deity, who like a magnified man sits enthroned afar, and only occasionally visits his created universe, but an ever present indwelling God, a spirit invisible, eternal, unchangeable, who every instant sustains his creation and provides for the welfare of his creatures.

Snow's religious background and training made it imperative for him to work out a point of view which would assimilate the new insights of science. Since from his youth he had thought of the ways of nature as the ways of God and since evolution seemed to be the keystone of the structure built by nature the architect, the ways of God must include evolutionary processes.

Ministers themselves, Snow thought, if given a training as scholarly as their calling warrants, would recognize the distinction

between theology and religion. "Only under the guidance of a thoroughly educated pastor will the seeker after the truth . . . be able to harmonize the teachings of God in Nature and of God in the Scriptures in such a way as to avoid the imputation of casting a shadow of doubt upon the veracity of either of these equal factors of divine illumination."⁸

In his endeavor to reconcile scientific and religious truth, Snow necessarily drifted far from the convictions of his Andover days. Andover itself was now feeling the impact of the higher criticism, which was concerned with a literary and critical approach to the Scriptures in their larger relationships. Men like the brothers Smyth, Egbert and Newman,* whom Snow had known at Andover, had learned much from the German scholars in this field, working in the textual tradition established by F. A. Wolf. Snow's paper on the higher criticism for the Old and New Club, "The Wise and Fearless Use of Truth," contrasts with the sermon which he had preached in his early days at Lawrence.† He now states frankly that all those who have tried to make geology seem consistent with Genesis have been misguided. He affirms that no good can come from overlooking inconsistencies and absurdities due to human authorship. "If any man thinks he approves himself to God when he does violence to his reason and moral sense, he gravely misconceives God's character." The notion of the infallibility of the Scriptures, not held by the church before the Reformation, cannot well apply to something which lives and grows. No doubt Snow would have seen in the Bible itself an evolution of moral conceptions, the views set forth in the New Testament to some extent superseding those in the Old. Since at Andover he had made a study of *Ecce Homo*, no doubt, too, he was familiar with the writings of the Christologists and had heard of *Essays and Reviews*, as well as the work of higher critics later and more sweeping than the once much-denounced Bishop Colenso. He kept in touch with recent theology, reading writers like Lyman Abbott

* See pages 82 and 90.

† See page 111.

and Washington Gladden, spokesmen of the liberal point of view. Snow had lived through a revolution in the interpretation of the Bible.

His paper on "Eschatology," read before the Old and New Club in 1888, considers the evidence in favor of personal immortality, arguing that the soul has an origin other than in molecular activity. "A spiritual result must have a spiritual cause"; whether matter and mind are "twin sisters" or have a common essence, that essence cannot be so-called matter; the common essence must be unknown. Snow also examines the passages in the Bible bearing upon the future state. (He could still discuss these passages in their original Hebrew and Greek meanings, and with some knowledge of recent theological theories.) He concludes: "The great fact of immortality being conceded, we may safely leave the details of the unknown future in the hands of a God whose love and justice are unimpeachable, and who in the end will be found to have done all things well."

Snow would have been interested in Whitehead's treatment of God as both process and original being, since Whitehead's speculations were based partly on knowledge of recent physics. One of Snow's lectures on evolution clearly indicates that he did not accept the explanation, favored by Tennyson and others ("The Lord let the house of a brute to the soul of a man"), which would restrict evolution to the physical side of man's nature. On this point Snow quotes Henry Drummond, whose *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* and *Ascent of Man* had helped to popularize the view that thus to limit evolution was to foster "an unnatural religion and an inhuman science." "We may emphatically reiterate the sentiment that a knowledge of the slow process by which God 'makes things make themselves'* enlarges our conception of the character of God and dignifies the objects of his creation by satisfying the requirements of the human mind in seeking a reasonable explanation of the method of their creation."

* Quoted from Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*.

The most succinct statement of the essentials of Snow's creed is a passage dated April 4, 1893, written for the Rev. Stephen A. Northrop of Fort Wayne, Indiana: "I recognize in Jesus of Nazareth the most perfect character in history. His matchless teachings, his self-sacrificing service for mankind as a whole and above all his personal love for every human being have introduced a power into the world which must ultimately lead to its complete redemption. I recognize in the Bible a record of the religious development of the human race culminating in the glorious personality of Jesus Christ, and I believe that its pages contain the truths essential to salvation."

The word "contain" is worth noting. The statement says much; the orthodox would find much that it does not say. But Snow was never one to conceal his convictions. When the question of liberalizing the creed of the Plymouth Congregational Church arose, he spoke out in a public meeting and in a letter which repeated substantially the statement made to the Indiana minister. In another letter he had written, "The only orthodoxy to-day is the truth as we can best discover it individually, and the love of the truth makes one a lover of the Lord."⁹

For Snow any other course would have been intellectually dishonest. He finally gave up his position as Sunday School teacher of a class of women, having learned that his ideas were disturbing some of them, who thought he dwelt too much on evolution. But at no time did he suppose that only through science can one approach truth; this collector of butterflies would have appreciated the lines of W. H. Davies:

A hundred butterflies saw I—
But not one like the child saw fly.

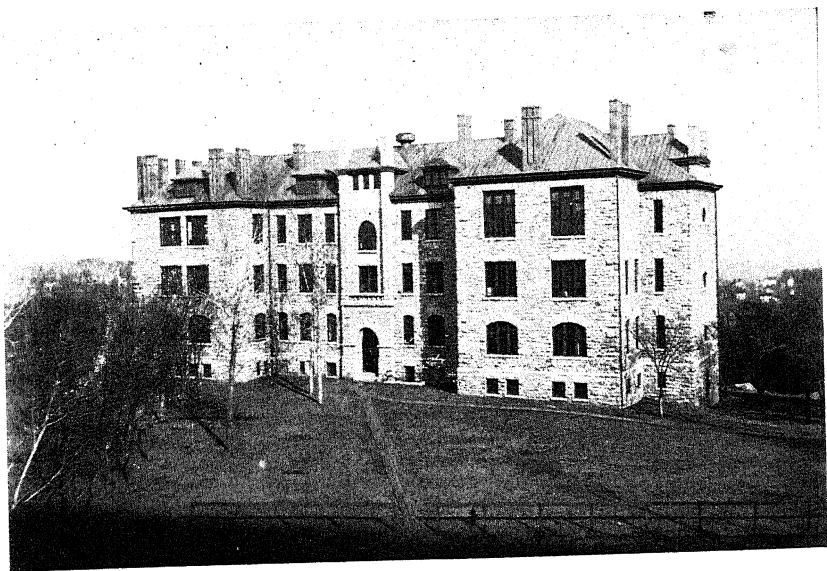
Snow's lectures on evolution were given not only at the University but also in extension courses. On January 30, 1894, he wrote enthusiastically to Vernon Kellogg, who was himself to become one of the better historians of evolution: "I am now booked

for a course of six University Extension lectures on Evolution at Kansas City, Missouri. These are to be given in the new high school auditorium and 500 tickets have already been taken for the course I have bought over fifty books on Evolution which will enable me to present the subject more thoroughly."

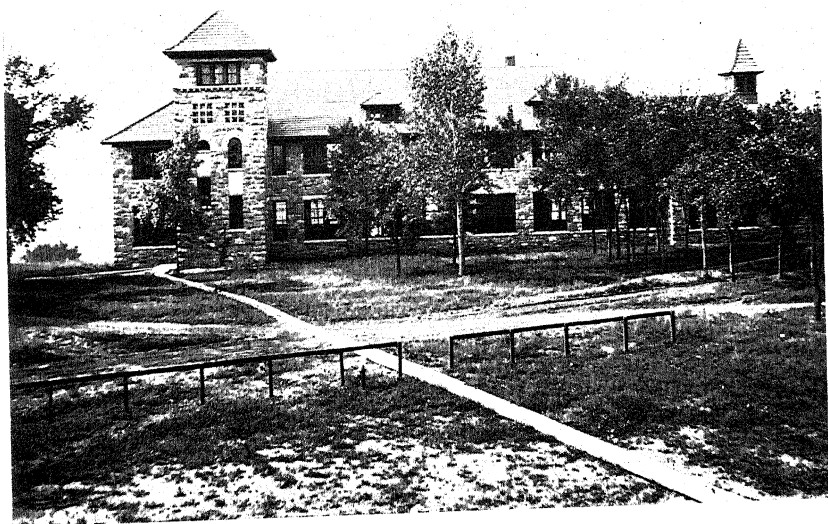
Newspaper accounts indicate that the lectures were popular. Some questions proposed to Snow after the lectures have been preserved: "Is an idiot an animal or is he an immortal being?" "Has woman evolved after man?" "Supposing that the father or mother of a family before marriage was immoral, but reformed a short time before marriage, what traits do you think would be impressed upon the children—the immoral or the reformed?" "How do you account for Eve?" "Did man have a soul before the Fall?" "Who made God?"

Though some of these questions would seem naïve to an intelligent freshman, others would give pause to any sage. (Unfortunately, Snow's answers are not on record.) Of course not all his auditors accepted his point of view. One appreciative listener wrote to inform him of a plot "to catch you on some of Ingersoll's hard questions." Naturally, Snow was pleased when he found that he had been persuasive: "Last week my journey was to Emporia, and my lecture was on 'Evolution.' I doubtless created much commotion among a few good Calvinists to whom evolution and infidelity are synonymous terms. John MacDonald of Topeka—an old fashioned Scotch Presbyterian—said to his neighbor on the platform that the Chancellor sugar-coated the doctrine so thickly with religion that there were not fifteen people present who did not swallow it entire, and with satisfaction."¹⁰

But opposition was sometimes bitter. Local ministers delivered sermons denouncing Snow; many others, whether ministers or laymen, were scandalized. Still others respected Snow's views because they were his. "Nobody but Doctor Snow," ran one comment, "would have dared to say publicly that Isaiah could be wrong. Nobody else could get away with it."



The Chemistry Building, later named Bailey Chemical Laboratory, as it appeared about 1900



Fowler Shops in 1900; now, having been remodeled, the home of the William Allen White School of Journalism and of the University of Kansas Press



Francis Huntington Snow, from a photograph apparently belonging to the early 1900's

Former Chancellor Lippincott, Chancellor Strong, and former Chancellor Snow in 1906



The critics did not realize that if a teacher of science does not at least explain the theory of evolution, he would be teaching an incomplete if not a bogus science. It was not possible to suppress knowledge of the theory. Many felt compelled to readjust their religious views. Snow helped hundreds of people to do this. Looking back upon their college careers, some graduates found Snow's religious faith one of their most inspiring memories. He seemed to them, too, to be a man who incorporated the essence of the religious spirit.

For religionists the world over obtain through their faith an adjustment to life; sometimes they attribute this result to the more specialized dogmas of their creeds. Since these vary with the believer, is not this the truer explanation—that most religions share the essence of the religious spirit, devotion to an ideal?*

This devotion to worthy ends would have been understood by Confucius and Buddha, by Socrates and Cicero, by Erasmus and Goethe.

This, after all, not evolution, is the theme of Carruth's poem; the religious impulse must manifest itself in various ways, reflected by "each in his own tongue." Evolution, the nature mystic's peace in the presence of autumn, the religious mystic's longing, and "Consecration" are, of course, not God; they are ways of apprehending or feeling the presence of the divine:

A picket frozen on duty,
A mother starved for her brood,
Socrates drinking the hemlock,
And Jesus on the rood;
And millions who, humble and nameless
The straight, hard pathway plod,—
Some call it Consecration,
And others call it God.

* This point of view, shared by many thinkers, has perhaps been elaborated most fully in recent times by John Dewey in *A Common Faith*.

XII

The Moving Tide

But such a tide as moving seems asleep

—Alfred Tennyson, "Crossing the Bar."

AFTER HIS retirement from the Chancellorship in 1901, Snow's academic title became "Professor of Organic Evolution, Systematic Entomology, and Meteorology."* But his teaching was confined to one class in Evolution, optional for juniors and seniors. Early in 1902 his health had greatly improved, so that he was able to spend many hours a day as curator of his collections. At a meeting of the Kansas Academy of Science in 1906, he was quoted as saying: ". . . in my room on the third floor of the Museum building, I live with my bugs, and beetles, and bees, and wasps and birds. I am perfectly content, and feel as though I was already in heaven while still here on earth." Freedom from routine he considered an academic heaven. He continued, of course, to make weather observations.

Occasionally—much less often than formerly—he made public addresses. A favorite subject, growing out of his long interest in both botany and entomology, was "The Fertilization of Flowers." Another favorite topic was "The Unity of Truth with Reference to Science and Religion." In the spring of 1907 he spoke at Bethany College on "The Life and Achievements of Carolus Linnaeus," pointing out that Linnaeus had "looked through Nature to Nature's God."

He was still willing to go to Topeka to use his influence in behalf of the University. (During such a trip, in 1903, as a member of a group he listened to one of Mrs. Carry Nation's harangues, and ventured to ask her a question which she could not answer.)

* Snow's course in Evolution was apparently listed for the first time in the University catalogue for 1896-97. In the catalogue for 1898-99, while he was still Chancellor, he was mentioned, in the faculty roster, as "Professor of Entomology and Organic Evolution, and Director of the Museum of Natural History."

But, though Snow was co-operative, he avoided trespassing on the sphere of Chancellor Strong, never interfering in the business of administration. For this Strong was grateful and after his retirement to the School of Law told Chancellor Lindley of his desire to follow Snow's example in relation to his own successor.

Snow continued to build up his scientific collections, as he had, though with far less time at his disposal, during his Chancellorship. From 1902 to 1907 he went on ten expeditions. One of his last letters, written July 20, 1907, speaks of the diligence and enthusiasm of his little party, then in Arizona, and adds: "They have all had a hard time keeping the shoes on their feet. The ground is so rocky that soles, though hobnailed, do not last long and they have all had to cut pieces of rawhide from a dead steer and tack them on again and again. We have perfect harmony . . . and are all in perfect health."¹

Aside from his scientific expeditions, his longest journey was a trip to Williamstown, in 1902, to attend the reunion of his class on the occasion of its fortieth anniversary. Needless to say, he often thought, not merely of Williams College, but of the land of his fathers. In 1904 he served as president of the New England Society, making an address on Forefathers' Day, at a banquet attended by 140 local New Englanders or descendants of New Englanders. During the summer of 1898 he had visited several towns in Massachusetts, where his buried ancestors were numerous, to investigate the Snows of yesteryear.* Occasionally he showed his children a large genealogical chart. If the blue blood of kings and Magna Carta barons coursed through their arteries, *noblesse oblige*.

Nor did Snow forget his own childhood in New England. He thought thrift a good thing to encourage. Years before, he had given his small son Frank a coin for every mouse the boy could

* Of course Villon's refrain ("*Mais ou sont les neiges d'antan?*") may not have occurred to Snow. Puns on grave subjects are thought to be in doubtful taste. Is it a mere coincidence that in a cemetery at Fitchburg, marked off in lanes with botanical associations, there is one devoted chiefly to a branch of the Snow family and named Snowberry?

find. Snow's account books record that he sometimes paid his youngest daughter small sums for eating oatmeal or for "not coughing," and similar entries refer to his grandchildren.

As a boy he had raised chickens, and his fondness for them remained. Once he bought a large black rooster at a poultry show and carried him home on his bicycle. More than once he entered chickens in shows himself, winning prizes both at the Douglas County Poultry Show and at the Topeka State Fair. Since his son Frank liked chickens and rabbits, too, Snow arranged to have a pen and hutches placed under the roomy front porch of the Chancellor's house. Visiting his pets under the porch, young Frank was sometimes amused to overhear, along with the cackling of his hens, comments by women who called on his mother and who thought it an impropriety to keep chickens in such a place. Though Snow doubtless found the gallinaceous more musical than the human cackling, his son's reports of the conversations left him undisturbed.

Cats had also been among his favorite pets. After a football game one day he picked up a stray cat and took it home with him. During meals it often perched on his shoulders and, when Snow turned his head during a conversation, sometimes seized the opportunity to snatch food from his plate.

In the later years Snow had cultivated an interest in art, admiring the collection of his friend, B. W. Woodward, who had generously made it accessible to faculty and students of the University. With D. H. Robinson, Snow had studied the pictures at the Chicago fair, which had fostered much public interest in art. He brought back from his European journey in 1895 a large collection of prints. A newer enthusiasm was a player piano, on which, in spite of the neglected music lessons of his boyhood, he could play to his heart's content. He still liked to sing, too, and often did so as a member of small groups, especially on Sunday evenings, but he had no illusions about his musical ability; indeed a favorite way of teasing Mrs. Snow was to raise his voice suddenly while singing in church.

To imply that during his last years Snow's serenity was unbroken would be to suggest that he was less than human. Nobody could be more generous than Snow in praising his colleagues. Unhappily one of these was inconsiderate in his treatment of Snow. On at least one occasion Snow felt that, through aggressive publicity, a former student was credited with achievements for which he himself was largely responsible. On such occasions his language could be stronger than the "By George!" which had escaped him after being bitten by a rattlesnake. Yes, ingratitude *is* stronger than a serpent's tooth. Recognition of his deserts, to be sure, was not lacking. In 1902 the seniors dedicated the annual to him. He delighted in taking walks on the University grounds and observing the signs of its growth; during such walks those who saw him, whether students or faculty, were sure to recognize him with affection and respect.

Only those who die young escape sadness for the friends who precede them in death. In 1904 Snow presided at the memorial services for Dr. Richard Cordley, his long-time pastor. To J. C. Horton, another friend, and W. C. Spangler, twice Acting Chancellor, Snow had to pay mournful tribute—as well as to Robert P. Bright, his former private secretary, who died in 1902—"the most faithful and efficient helper I ever had," whose "unselfish soul was as pure as the blue sky and the sunshine."

His own health had its ups and downs. Grief for his eldest son still weighed upon him, and perhaps it was not entirely the surviving habits of youth which often led him to arise before five o'clock and go up to the Hill to work in his laboratory. Though his savings and property amounted in those days to a modest but comfortable fortune, he was sometimes much concerned about the future financial security of his wife and his youngest daughter. In October, 1907, he suffered a severe recurrence of the nervous difficulties which had cost him months of misery at the close of his administration. There were complications, the chief difficulty being arteriosclerosis, as his physician

thought. For a time he stayed at the sanitarium at Bonner Springs, where for some weeks his son Frank was his companion.

Though in the summer of 1908 Snow's nervous health had greatly improved, so that nobody suspected how near he was to the end of all journeys, a complete change of scene and associations appeared desirable. He chose as his traveling companion Charles Siler, of the class of 1907, who as a student had worked in his office. He and Siler spent a few weeks at Delavan Lake, near Delavan, Wisconsin, then proceeded by rail and water to Hessel, Michigan. After about a month, they went to a cottage on Nagawicka Lake at Delafield, Wisconsin.

As Siler has recalled for the benefit of Snow's biographer, Snow and he talked of many things that summer. The early days of the University were a favorite subject. One of Snow's stories related to a traveling agent who had been refused permission to address the students. The agent climbed on a window sill and began to speak. The Chancellor (possibly Fraser) ordered him to climb down and, when the agent did not comply, grabbed him by the tails of his coat, to the accompaniment of cheers from the students and younger members of the faculty. More than once, too, Snow spoke enthusiastically of William Herbert Carruth's services to the University.

Having taught school and having studied medicine for two years, Siler was wavering in his choice of career, which was to be at first that of a medical missionary to China and later that of a physician in America. Since Snow never referred to his own illness, it was with diffidence that Siler finally asked Snow's advice on a personal problem. "Always complete the task you have begun," Snow said, "and before you have gone very far you will understand what course you should follow." In subsequent years Siler found the comment of value. In 1951 he wrote, with deep sincerity: "It required many years for me to realize how much I got that summer, not from what Dr. Snow said, but from what he was. I can record some of the things he said, but words fail me when I try to tell you what he was Dr. Snow's mind was

perfectly clear to the last, his judgment unbiased, his attitude sympathetic, his wonderful optimism still battling against odds. . . .”

Snow's apparent improvement cheered Siler, who did not know of the inroads on an aging heart. The quiet waters of lakes may soothe the tired—even those who feel keenly the disappointment of no longer being able to live a varied and strenuously active life. More than lakes, Snow had always loved the running water and the mountains. During that summer his thoughts must have turned to old Fitchburg, through which wound the Nashua, curving about Rollstone Hill. Did he not sometimes think of Williamstown, where his friend, President Henry Hopkins of Williams, the son of Mark Hopkins, who had died abroad in August, was to be buried on a day fateful for Snow, September 20? * Whether on that morning in September Greylock lived up to its name and was shrouded in a lock of gray mist, or wore sunshine on its summit, we cannot know, but we may be sure that the Green and the Hoosic flowed swiftly on, like the mountain rivers of Colorado, which Snow also loved, and like the Kaw and the Wakarusa, winding their way through the lovely valleys surrounding Mount Oread—which, though not a mountain but only a hill, Snow loved best of all. “Time,” said Marcus Aurelius, “is like a river of all beings, like a rushing torrent.” All the rivers might join other rivers, but eventually their waters would reach the moving tides of the ocean.

Four years before, in Arizona, Snow had evaded a wall of water which rushed down the mountain stream where he was fishing. Then—did he think that the sentiment of the first verse was appropriate by the side of a river?—he had sung an old favorite of his college years, “Lauriger Horatius”:

Lauriger Horatius,
Quam dixisti verum—

* Henry Hopkins had served as a pastor in Kansas City for twenty-two years. In 1902 he had become president of Williams. Before the end of his able administration in 1908, he had indicated his desire to resign, for reasons of health. His successor was Harry A. Garfield.

Fugit Euro citius
Tempus edax rerum.
(Horace, poet of the laurel,
You spoke the very truth:
Swifter than the southeast wind
Flies time with greedy tooth.)

There was no escape now, for on the morning of September 20, Snow was conscious of strange symptoms. "Siler," he said, "I don't want any breakfast this morning. This is something different from what I have been feeling." That the end should come suddenly was not inappropriate. Charlotte Brontë has a simple but eloquent remark concerning her sister Emily's death: "Never in all her life had she lingered over any task that lay before her, and she did not linger now. . . . She made haste to leave us." After Snow spoke, Siler attempted to help him to a chair on the porch, where the air was cool. In the effort, he felt Snow lean heavily against him. During most of his years, Snow had been a student and had loved students; through them he had kept his youthful spirit. Therefore it was fitting that a student of the University was near him when he died quietly and peacefully on that September morning at 8:05 o'clock.*

Funeral services were held at the Plymouth Congregational Church, and, on November 10, memorial services at the University Chapel (now Fraser Theater).² The Kansas Academy of Science took extensive notice of the death of one of its most active and respected members.³ Of the many tributes, a passage in a letter from James B. Angell, former president of the University of Michigan, may be cited as representative: "His life has been singularly beautiful and conspicuously useful. His modesty, perhaps, prevented the full recognition of the value of his services."

*Mrs. Snow had been spending the summer with her daughter, Mrs. Case, at Shelby, Michigan. She survived till May 20, 1928.

XIII

An Appraisal

Our Scholar travels yet the loved hillside.

—Matthew Arnold, "Thyrsis."

TO ADD more than a brief statement about Snow as scientist, educator, and man would be superfluous. Like many others of his generation, Snow approached science as a naturalist and nature-lover. The laboratory scientists of our day find it difficult to appreciate the enthusiasm of a generation of collectors; some of Snow's contemporaries would have been startled by a specialist in botany, for example, who cannot identify as many flowers in the field as a Boy Scout. Snow loved the outdoors and all the creeping, walking, jumping, swimming, flying, and growing creatures of the wild. The scientists who have followed the enthusiastic collectors—many of these in the fullest and best sense amateurs of science—have shifted their attention from the systematic to the organic. If there has developed a tendency to depreciate the earlier work, one should remember that analysis must precede synthesis and that the systematic approach still provides material for testing hypotheses.

Even a specialist would find it difficult to evaluate Snow's scientific work. Probably nobody has even counted the species of insects which bear his name, though forty was the number mentioned a few years before his death. In 1908 C. E. McClung estimated that the Snow collection—not all assembled by one man, to be sure—comprised about 250,000 specimens representing some 21,000 species. There were about 11,000 species of Coleoptera (the beetles) and 4,800 Lepidoptera (butterflies and moths), with a considerable number of type specimens, many of the latter being found in the Diptera (the flies). To discuss the present greatly enlarged collection in Snow Hall is beyond the scope of this book.

Though Snow's most significant work was done in entomology, we should not overlook his pioneer cataloguing of the birds of Kansas, his discoveries of fossils, his reports on the weather. Furthermore, one must not forget that he was not merely a collector but a collector who influenced others to collect.

Such statements cannot summarize, but can only suggest, the record of achievement. Moreover, the collections made a contribution which transcended in importance their direct contribution to science, especially in interesting the students and the public in the work of the University. And what of Snow's indirect contributions? As a teacher he helped to train, as an administrator to encourage, more than one generation of scientists. Twenty-three years after his death a statistical study indicated that Kansas then ranked second only to Johns Hopkins, and first among state universities, in the numerical proportion of its graduates starred in *American Men of Science*.¹ Who can estimate how much Snow, not only through his own teaching but also through his appointment of able scientists who taught others, had contributed to this result?

Snow's contribution to science, then, cannot be separated from his contribution as educator. Though working quietly in the background, always with great energy, he helped to nurture the University in its infancy. He dramatized its strength and its needs. His was the firm guiding hand that brought it safely through a troubled adolescence, its scope enlarged and its essential role in the life of the state more widely recognized. His the vision that fostered its growth, his the ideals that helped to elevate its standards, his the courage that shielded it from corrupting influences.

On the surface, Snow's career may seem almost typical. Williams College gave him training which in many essentials was not different from that available in other colleges of the East. Snow was one of many New Englanders who settled in communities of the Middle West, exerting an influence out of proportion to their relative numbers. Other states had their pioneer scientists and

educators. But Snow's accomplishments sprang from an individuality rare, if not unique, in quality. Like those of other men, to be sure, his virtues had complementing limitations. A man as strenuous as Snow may at times be nervous or irritable; a conscientious man, single-minded in following his own sense of duty, may be exacting, as Snow occasionally was. The outspoken man's friends sometimes wonder, as did Snow's, where to draw the line between outspoken and sharp-spoken convictions. Along with such limitations, Snow possessed many endearing qualities. He had the charm of spontaneity, an abounding and sometimes even embarrassingly boyish sense of humor, an open and usually sunny disposition—though, because of his nervous endowment, he knew the meaning of melancholy. He was a lover of beauty, whether found in nature, art, or human character. The reformist zeal of his youth came to be tempered and mellowed by a broader experience, making for tolerance. This development was not without periods of tragic intensity. Eventually, De Quincey's *Ladies of Sorrow—Our Lady of Sighs and Our Lady of Tears* if not quite *Our Lady of Darkness*—were among his teachers.

Two of his characteristics stand out. One was an unusual flexibility of mind.² How many men of Snow's era with a highly specialized training in the classics could have turned wholeheartedly to science? How many deeply schooled in the orthodox theology of New England could have welcomed and warmly championed the doctrine of evolution? How many having attended a small college like Williams could have seen clearly the necessities of a state university? How many with purposes anchored in the eternities could have listened to the voice of the Time-Spirit, attentive to what a poet has called the music of the world and the music of the soul?

Even more obviously, Snow possessed a rare capacity for devotion. His personal and social affections and his "natural piety"—that is, the reverence for nature which the coiner of that term hoped would bind all his days "each to each"—were integrating forces. But there was one even stronger. Just as some men may

feel the call of the sea or the impulse to pursue knowledge beyond known horizons, others have found their deepest fulfillment in dedication to an institution greater than themselves—for example, to a college or university. In estimating the strength of this dedication in Snow, let us not forget his essentially religious spirit. He once wrote, in a paper on "African Explorers": "In reviewing Livingstone's life we are impressed with the fact that the nobility of his character is even more conspicuous than the greatness of his work." May this not be truthfully said of Snow himself?

"If you seek his monument, look around you." So runs a translation of the Latin epitaph for Sir Christopher Wren, architect of St. Paul's. If you would see the monument of Frank Snow, do not linger in Oak Hill Cemetery, at a grave marked by unpretentious stone, but visit Mount Oread. If you ascend by way of Fourteenth Street, down which used to dash a rider of ponies and bicycles, you will pass a dormitory, formerly the Chancellor's house, and an art museum, once a library building constructed with funds which came to the University through Snow's influence. Across the street, at the top of the hill, you will note the Natural History Museum, named for one of his students and still housing material he collected. A block to the south is the venerable Fraser Hall, so christened in his administration, which once contained his classroom and later his Chancellor's office. Not far away is the Library; he was once the librarian, and the story of his contribution to its growth need not be repeated. And there is still a Snow Hall, not the one in which he taught but one which contains his desk and microscope, possibly the earliest of its kind in Kansas, and his magnificent collection of insects. In the present Chancellor's Office in Strong Hall, one may be directed to the little organ which he helped to acquire for the chapel and to the barometer employed in the compilation of his weather records. Finally, across the hall from the suite of the Chancellor, in the Office of the Graduate School, the principal room is dom-

inated by a large cabinet-bookcase which formerly served to hold his books, his notes, and his scientific apparatus.

Legend and literature speak of immortal wanderers—Cain or Ahasuerus, the Flying Dutchman or the Ancient Mariner. Some universities of the Old World have stories of such a wanderer, like Arnold's Oxford Scholar-Gypsy, sometimes conceived of as the genius of the place, though not always, like him, the embodiment of its ideals. A truer genius, however, has been defined by John Henry Newman: "a living teaching, which in course of time will take the shape of a self-perpetuating tradition, or a *genius loci* . . . which haunts the home where it has been born, and which imbues and forms, more or less, and one by one, every individual who is successively brought under its shadow."

Snow did indeed love to walk the hillside. But let us indulge no vain fancies of a ghostly Snow's revisiting the Hill, to enjoy the fragrance of a lilac hedge or delight his eyes again with the physical evidences of a university's growth. For it was to something intangible, the University invisible—the *genius loci*, in the broadest sense the spirit of the University—that he made his most enduring contribution. In later times, to those beset by other problems than his, the example of one who greatly loved and served the youth of Kansas may still be a call to courage and to a purer educational faith. In this sense, one may say, "Our Scholar travels yet the loved hillside."

Appendix A

The Schools and the Faculty during Snow's Administration

DURING his administration Chancellor Snow carried out a number of important changes in the organization of the University. Snow's successor credited him, in making such changes, with strengthening the College while at the same time building up the professional schools. In the year 1892-93 Snow's friend, David H. Robinson, became Dean of the School of Arts, as the College was then called, thus ending his long career as secretary of the faculty, into whose minutes he occasionally introduced humorous touches. Like the Venerable Bede, who invested the early history of England with an atmosphere of good feeling traceable to his own personality, Robinson left the stamp of his amiability on the University tradition, partly through his "Reminiscences." These were contributed to a little historical volume prepared by Miles W. Sterling, which appeared on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the University (1891). The celebration of that event brought Chancellors Oliver, Marvin, and Lippincott and Professor A. R. Marsh back to the campus, for short speeches. President Angell of Michigan gave the chief address, on "State Universities."

Besides giving the College a dean, Snow organized other schools and divisions, sometimes converting a previously existing department into a school. The School of Engineering was established by the Regents in 1891, incorporating the Departments of Civil and Electrical Engineering, to which Mechanical Engineering was soon added. Professor Frank O. Marvin became the dean—a sympathetic man who found special aptitude in technical subjects compatible with cultivation of interest in the fine arts, particularly music and painting.

These subjects had their separate schools, consolidated in 1891, and in 1894 the name was changed from the School of Music and Painting to the School of Fine Arts. George B. Penny, in 1889 the successor of William MacDonald* as Dean of Music, served as Dean of the School of Fine Arts till 1903. Penny adapted words for "The Crimson and the Blue" to a tune borrowed partly from "Annie Lisle," with some indebtedness to the song of Cornell University. He is also conspicuous in University lore as the hero of a classic story of professorial absent-mindedness. One day he drove to the Santa Fe station, tied his horse to a hitching post, and proceeded serenely on an extended journey by train, forgetting the horse. The story goes that Vernon Kellogg soon rescued it and took it to a livery stable.

Penny ascribed his administrative success chiefly to Snow's co-operation.† Penny's most important addition to his faculty was Carl A. Preyer (1863-1947). In his first year as teacher of piano (1891) Preyer was so much discouraged by the small enrollment that he sent in his resignation. Snow persuaded him to stay. The results were fortunate, though Preyer evidently did not quite vanquish his impulse to resign; the Regents' minutes note that in April of 1898 his resignation was again refused. Preyer soon became the idol of his students and, like Penny, the subject of lively anecdotes. To take a piano upstairs, he had one wall of his house removed; and, having begun to smoke in Germany at the age of eight, he devised a means of smoking while he played or composed, using a looplike device suspended from the ceiling to hold his small cigars at the level of his mouth. In 1895 Preyer composed a *tour de force* called the *Windmill Suite, Op. 31*, in honor of a Lawrence landmark,‡ portraying in each sequence

* MacDonald, who assumed the duties of his position in the fall of 1884, was the first Dean of Music, though not the first teacher of the subject, which had been taught, more or less informally, from the early days of the University.

† A new pipe organ acquired after strenuous efforts, and at last ready for use in January of 1898, represented a minor triumph for Snow and Penny, who in business matters was unworldly and even childlike. To avoid delay, Snow lent a substantial sum to the pipe-organ fund.

‡ See page 103.

one of his students; but it was for other works that Charles S. Skilton, his fellow composer and colleague after 1903, ranked him with Edward A. MacDowell. A special Preyer Day was celebrated at the University on April 29, 1927.¹

Another outstanding addition to the Fine Arts faculty was William Alexander Griffith, appointed Professor of Drawing and Painting in 1899. During his twenty-one years of teaching he did much for the appreciation of art. He was primarily responsible for the gift to the University of the W. B. Thayer collection, which was put on display in the building that, originally the Spooner Library,* was renamed the Spooner-Thayer Museum. Early in 1921 Professor Griffith went to Laguna Beach, California, where for many years he was a prominent member of the art colony which he helped to establish. His landscape paintings were widely admired.

Dean Penny had offered to the prospective members of the Men's Glee Club,† organized soon after he came to the University, a trip through Kansas "to bring the University before the people." The Extension movement, which had a similar purpose, was the offspring of the older Extension movement in England and of Chautauqua, in New York State. There in the late 1870's training originally intended for Sunday School workers had been widened to include home study courses, in which as many as 25,000 students a year were later enrolled. American universities took over the idea. University Extension was introduced at Kansas under Snow, in the year 1891-92. Several extension classes were organized under such instructors as Blackmar, Blake, Carruth, Dunlap, Hopkins, Snow, and Templin. At the celebration of the Williams centennial in 1893, Snow included in a speech some discussion of Extension as a valuable means of overcoming prejudice

* See page 202.

† The first brass band at the University was organized, in 1878, by a youth who had been the leader of a band in Abilene, Kansas, in the wild days of that town—Stuart Henry. The brother of T. C. Henry, who demonstrated that winter wheat could be grown in Kansas, Stuart Henry during 1891-96 should be regarded as a pioneer among American men of letters who have lived in Paris, but his best-known book is *Conquering Our Great American Plains* (1930).

and making friends. The catalogue of 1899-1900 specifies thirty-four Extension courses offered by staff members of professorial rank. Snow's own course in Evolution was one of the most popular. Though correspondence courses were not organized till 1909, the lectures of the 1890's were the basis for the expanded role of University Extension in the twentieth century.

The summer-school movement in American universities may also have owed something to the summer assemblies in Chautauqua, New York, but perhaps as much or more to teachers' institutes, since summer schools were at first thought of primarily as instruments of teacher training. With Snow's encouragement, W. H. Carruth organized the first summer term, in 1897. Because of hostility to Carruth, as Snow believed,² a Populist regent opposed its establishment and at first had the support of other Populists, but Snow won the Board over to approval of the plan, which, as he pointed out when he found the Board at first divided according to party, had no political angles.

Like University Extension, the Medical School was to offer many opportunities for state service. Though premedical work was given earlier,* organization of the School of Medicine came in 1898, when Williston became Dean; he also served ably and enthusiastically on the State Board of Medical Examiners. The School was to be prominent in public-health activities. Here again Snow pointed the way. Keenly interested in sanitation, he had published in the Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Health (Topeka, 1890) an article on "Polluted Water," mentioning the sewage carried downstream from Topeka by the Kaw; incidentally, this article quotes from letters by Williston, who had been health officer in New Haven. Many years afterwards Marshall A. Barber and Samuel J. Crumbine went from Topeka to

* A year of premedical work had been offered since 1879. An early student wrote that most of the faculty had been scandalized when the class petitioned for permission to dissect a cadaver. Only Snow had shown himself sympathetic.

In an address given in 1899, long before the days of psychosomatic medicine, Snow insisted upon the necessity of a broad culture for physicians because of the complexities of the interrelationship between body and mind.

Lawrence in a boat, taking samples of water every half mile. Even at the end of their journey the water had not purified itself. Crumbine waged a successful campaign for the sanitary drinking cup in trains and public places—his was the slogan “Swat the fly,” in which, as he said, he combined the baseball phrases “Swat the ball” and “sacrifice fly”—and, to support Crumbine’s campaign with facts, Barber took cultures from cups and glasses on trains and in schools. The campaign effected a change in national habits. Crumbine’s autobiography, *Frontier Doctor*, mentions the work of Bailey in food analysis and of the Dean of Pharmacy, Sayre, as Director of Drug Analysis for the State Board of Health. Beginning in 1911, Crumbine himself served for a time as Dean of the Medical School.

In the opinion of the Regents in the early nineties, the School of Law lagged behind the rest of the University. The teaching of law had been established, in the face of obstacles, in 1878, at the instance of Chancellor Marvin. Judge N. T. Stephens, foremost among the local lawyers who had urged the establishment of the School, had declined an appointment to teach law. His son-in-law James W. Green accepted the position. In the nineties the School of Law added to its staff several lecturers, including men like J. W. (Willis) Glead and J. S. Emery.

During the nineties, Dean Green grew steadily in the favor of the students. Though his colleagues demurred to his willingness to go to extremes in pleading for his “boys,” his sympathetic personality and his keen interest in athletics, particularly football, made him a subject of legend even outside the School of Law, whose graduates were almost fanatical in their devotion. When the memorial statue in his honor by Daniel Chester French was dedicated, French was quoted as saying: “I have never seen such a love for a man as this unless it be in the case of Lincoln.” This statue, being a symbol of the Law School, has had what a journalist once called a “colorful” history. Students from the rival School of Engineering and, for some years, students from Manhattan—at least before an agreement was made between the

University and the State College—have insisted on daubing it with paint.

A great new force had come into American education in the late 1870's, with the founding of Johns Hopkins University under the presidency of Daniel Coit Gilman. Though the Graduate School at Harvard had been established a few years before, President Eliot himself acknowledged that the quickening power of Johns Hopkins was speedily felt in Cambridge as elsewhere. The training of faculty personnel in Germany also contributed to the development of graduate studies in America. The University of Kansas Graduate School was organized in 1897. Snow appointed Frank W. Blackmar as its first dean. Blackmar had written his doctoral thesis on the history of federal and state aid to higher education. He was to serve on state commissions and to write many books in the fields of sociology, education, and history. These books included a biography of Governor Charles Robinson, and after the latter's death Blackmar served as an executor of Robinson's estate. His acquaintance with Mrs. Robinson's nephew ultimately enabled the University to secure for a nominal sum a valuable part of the campus.*

Snow's changes resulted in the transformation of a college with certain professional departments to a university of full stature. Nevertheless he attached far more importance to the building up of the faculty than to changes in organization. The most convincing evidence of his success as an administrator is the fact that probably during no comparable period of the University's history have so many able men been added to its faculty as were added during Snow's administration.

Foremost among his additions to the faculty was Samuel W. Williston (1852-1918). In 1857, the Williston family had occupied

* The School of Education (established by the Regents in 1909) was founded later than the other Schools mentioned in this section. By an act of the legislature a normal department was opened in the spring of 1876; its work, which had been closely connected with that of the Preparatory Department, was discontinued by the Regents April 1, 1885, though courses in "didactics" were offered for a time. Beginning in 1893 A. S. Olin was Instructor in Pedagogy. Professor Olin retired in 1924.

a log cabin near Manhattan. When he was fifteen, Williston, whose father, a blacksmith, could not read, was devouring books like Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, which turned his thoughts towards evolution; and in after life Williston declared that he himself had given in February of 1874 what he believed to be the first public lecture in favor of evolution delivered west of the Mississippi. As a student at the Agricultural College in Manhattan he came under the instruction of Benjamin F. Mudge, and was soon an ardent collector of fossils. His skill attracted the attention of the man for whom Mudge collected—that tycoon among collectors, O. C. Marsh of Yale.* After an especially pleasing find by Williston, Marsh took out his watch and made Williston a present of it. In 1876 Marsh invited him to New Haven, where he was employed in the Yale museum. He had already begun the study of medicine with his family doctor in Kansas and in 1880 took his M.D. at Yale, but continued his scientific studies, earning his Ph.D. degree in 1885. (In 1913 Yale was to confer upon him a third degree, the Doctorate of Science.) He engaged in private practice, became city health officer, and was made an assistant professor and then a professor in the Yale Medical School. As a student in Kansas, Williston had invited Snow to speak before a student group in Manhattan; subsequently he visited Snow in Lawrence. By 1890, the year he came to the University,† the two men had been friends and correspondents for several years.

Williston was a large man of imposing personality and tremendous capacity, physical and intellectual. A Lawrence hostess remembers how she once left a dish of grapes on the table in her parlor, expecting them to be enjoyed by several guests. Having arrived first, Williston absent-mindedly ate all the grapes before

* See page 181.

The authors of *Eight O'Clock Chapel* state that Marsh's frequent use of "the geological hammer" inspired a parody:

"Break, break, break
On thy cold gray stones, O. C."

† See page 197.

the other guests came.* He made important contributions to more than one field of science. His special studies in the Diptera (flies) of North America brought him international recognition. Retaining his delight in collecting, he helped, along with Snow and others,† to build up the paleontological collection in Dyche Museum. His studies in paleontology attracted the attention of President Harper of the University of Chicago, who in 1902 called him to that institution as Professor of Vertebrate Paleontology. Kansas was still his first love. At Chicago he put Kansas further in his debt, for one of his students there was Raymond C. Moore, the University of Kansas geologist.

Williston had begun his work in science at a time when the study of medicine was a natural approach to a scientific career. At Kansas, besides geology and paleontology, he taught anatomy and physiology. In 1898 Snow made him Dean of the newly organized School of Medicine. Even before that, Williston had been busy enough. The year Clarence E. McClung entered his class in histology, Williston decided, about halfway through the course, that he had too much to do; he asked McClung to take charge of the class.

McClung had been for some years Professor of Zoology when, in 1912, he was invited by the University of Pennsylvania to become Professor of Zoology and Director of the Zoological Laboratory there. McClung's studies of the chromosomes which determine sex attracted world-wide attention and are said to have stimulated more scientific research than any other discovery made in Old Snow Hall. Both McClung and Williston served as national presidents of Sigma Xi.³

Williston contributed to a bulletin of the Geological Survey of Kansas a work on the mesosaurs. The Survey, which came into existence after a generation of advocacy by the Kansas Academy

* His student, Clarence E. McClung, tells another story of Williston's absent-mindedness—often another name for intense concentration. Once Williston, who preferred to work with individuals and small groups, was disturbed by a noisy class across the hall. Investigating the noise, Williston found that the class was his own; he had forgotten to meet it.

† Cf. the note on page 152.

of Science, had been authorized by the legislature and then, early in 1895, by the Regents. Chancellor Snow was *ex officio* director, Williston paleontologist, and E. H. S. Bailey chemist. Erasmus Haworth became its first geologist. Haworth had taken his Bachelor's and Master's degree at the University in the early eighties and his Doctor's at Johns Hopkins in 1889, and had joined the faculty in 1892. Till 1915 he served as state geologist. His contributions to stratigraphy brought prestige to his department outside of Kansas, but Kansans appreciated his work in economic geology. (He helped many oil men to find fortunes.) At Haworth's suggestion Snow induced the Regents to add a department of mining engineering, of which Haworth was for many years chairman.

Though Snow had insisted on retaining his chair, his duties as Chancellor compelled him to turn over to others his former classes. Vernon Kellogg taught entomology and served as Snow's private secretary till 1894.* William Chase Stevens was elected Assistant in Botany upon Snow's recommendation.⁴ In 1897 Stevens studied at the University of Bonn, under the eminent Strasburger. In 1899 he became Professor of Botany and for many years served as chairman of his department. One of his best-known texts, *Plant Anatomy* (1907), was a pioneer work in its field. After his retirement in 1937 from active teaching, one whom thousands of students had warmly admired, he devoted most of his spare time to the preparation of *Kansas Wild Flowers*, which, published in 1948 not long before the author's eighty-eighth birthday, is fittingly dedicated "to the memory of Francis Huntington Snow. . . . Founder of Natural History in the University of Kansas."

Marshall A. Barber, who as an undergraduate had studied under both Snow and Stevens, was called back to Kansas from Harvard in 1894, to help carry on the chinch-bug experimental work and to assist in the Department of Botany. Barber had been

* Gertrude Crotty was appointed to teach Snow's classes in physiology and zoology. A later teacher of these subjects, Ida Hyde, appointed in 1899, obtained her Ph.D. degree at the University of Heidelberg under extraordinary difficulties, being the second woman to receive it from that institution.

a roommate of E. E. Slosson and an interested observer of such robust student institutions as the dining clubs (the Quincy Street Gourmands, the New York Street Masticators, *et al.*). He got his first "visual acquaintance with malaria parasites," in his own words, from an authority on mosquitoes, Williston, who supplied a sample of infected blood. For several years Barber taught bacteriology at the University. His ingenuity early produced a pipette which made possible the microscopic examination of a single bacterium. When the German scientist Robert Koch visited Washington, somebody mentioned Barber's pipette. Barber was asked to travel to Washington in order to demonstrate the instrument to Koch, whose skeptical attitude soon changed to one of enthusiasm. Barber's later career was devoted to fighting the scourge of malaria in remote parts of Africa, Europe, and South America. He made significant contributions to malariology, discovering, for example, the virtues of Paris green as a larvicide. Something of Barber's humanity and wisdom, tempered by his quiet humor, appears in his modest account of his antimalarial work, *A Malarialogist in Many Lands* (1946), and in his *The Schoolhouse at Prairie View* (1953), which deals with his early school days in Kansas.

That a university should have some departments in which the teachers are outstanding scholars was an article of faith with Snow. Chemistry, which already boasted such members as Bailey and E. C. Franklin, was greatly strengthened in 1899 by the addition of Hamilton P. Cady (1874-1943), a young man in whom Snow had taken a strong personal interest, lending him money for a brief period of graduate study at Cornell. A few years after his return to Kansas, Cady received the first Ph.D. degree conferred by the Department of Chemistry. He generously acknowledged his obligations to both Bailey and Franklin. Cady's best-known achievement was his discovery during the first World War that helium can be taken from natural gas. After Snow's death in 1908 he carried on for a time Snow's work as weather observer. He

became Bailey's successor as Chairman of the Department of Chemistry.

The humanities, not just the sciences, won notable recruits under Snow. The first appointee to a new chair of philosophy* was Olin Templin, previously an assistant in mathematics. Templin filled the position with success. As a later dean of the College and founder of the Endowment Association he had an important influence on the future of the University.

The Department of History, after the loss of J. H. Canfield, in 1891, gained Frank H. Hodder from the faculty at Cornell. Like Canfield, Hodder at first gave scholarly attention to the history and government of Kansas; afterwards he investigated other aspects of American history, making original contributions on such subjects as the Missouri Compromise and the Dred Scott case. He was a man of great ability and of forthright, independent character, which made him more than once a storm center. Chancellor Lindley called him "an unabridged edition of a man." In personality he was truly leonine—if indeed a lion with a lisp and one that might in moments of preoccupation put a paw in its mouth is conceivable. The students, whom he delighted in the classroom, noticed that he always left for his 1:30 class, cigar in hand, at 1:05; they also enjoyed his courage in talking aloud in the main reading room of the Library.

Edwin M. Hopkins, who had been a graduate student at Princeton, joined the Department of English before Snow became Chancellor, arriving in Lawrence on October 30, 1889; he found, he afterwards said with slight exaggeration, "four and one-tenth buildings, the tenth being a one-room shack with a telescope in it, and a campus with a barn attached." Hopkins was a lanky and vigorous man with a logical mind and a knack of asking thought-provoking questions. His skill in teaching so impressed J. H. Canfield, later the Chancellor at Nebraska, that Canfield suggested that Hopkins follow him to that school. Hopkins'

* Chancellors Fraser, Marvin, and Lippincott had taught courses in "mental and moral philosophy."

diary states that Snow persuaded him to stay. Hopkins was one of the founders of the National Council of Teachers of English, the founder of the Kansas Association of Teachers of English, and a "godfather" of the Quill Clubs, for students interested in writing. He also taught the first class in journalism at the University and was the first coach of the football team. In his investigations of English pedagogy, he devoted great labor to gathering statistics on the heavy load of high-school English teachers. All in vain he tried to lead the public to see that English, because of the manuscript-reading it must impose, should be regarded as "a laboratory subject." Hopkins' diary shows that he bore bravely and cheerfully a sorrow that would have crushed many men but that he did not cease to resent some of fate's minor affronts, such as the loss of his position as organist at a local church.

His student and younger colleague, R. D. O'Leary, was regarded by the class of 1893 as their most brilliant member. He joined the English staff in 1895, after a year's study at the Harvard of William James and Francis James Child, at first as Dunlap's substitute during a leave of absence. O'Leary was no less fearless than his friend Hodder and just as formidable and cogent at faculty meetings, to which both men often lent a touch of drama. O'Leary was an enthusiastic lover of the essay and the author of the only important theoretical book on that genre—a genre whose present waning popularity underlines the current superstition that "objective fact" and statistical measurement count for more than individual interpretation, personality, or wisdom. He was also a man of social consciousness, with clear-cut convictions about right and wrong in world or personal affairs. In the correction of themes nobody could have been more conscientious. A former student who, after many years, thought of destroying the papers he had written in O'Leary's class could not bring himself to do so; when he glanced at the comments in red ink, he decided the themes were as much O'Leary's as his. Of several tributes by journalists and professional writers, one by Ben Hibbs, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, must be quoted:

There were several things, several qualities of character and several matters of technique, that made Professor O'Leary one of the really great English teachers in this country. . . . He wanted us to put beauty and smoothness and sinew into our sentences. He tried passionately to make us feel the dignity and the majesty of the English language at its best. More than once during my newspaper years, remembering something Professor O'Leary had said, I trudged back to the shop after hours to rescue a piece of copy from the linotype hook and change a single word. Maybe it didn't help much, maybe not one reader in a thousand would have noticed, but I could go to bed with an easy conscience.

In 1936 this Celtic wisp of a man, who some years previously had survived the affliction of being run down by an automobile, was stricken with influenza. His sense of duty led him to return to the classroom before he was well. So there remained for him a few short days before pneumonia set in; during one of those days O'Leary felt he had never taught better. For O'Leary, the hater of egotism and pretense, this was no self-deception; a short time before, students had chosen him as their favorite teacher in the University.

In the classical languages, besides Wilcox, there was Miles W. Sterling, '83, who as early as his senior year had been an assistant in Latin under Professor David H. Robinson. He soon devoted himself to Greek and, except during a year's graduate work at Johns Hopkins (1887-88) under the renowned Basil Gildersleeve, continued to teach that subject for more than half a century. His students did not deplore his longevity. He was also the first historian of the University.

After the death of Snow's friend Robinson in 1895, Snow appointed David H. Holmes as Robinson's successor, perhaps liking the coincidence of given names and initials. Holmes was erudite, and ambitious enough to have the faculty approve a course in Sanskrit, but soon had good reason to seek fresh woods and new pastures. To replace him in 1897, Snow was pleased to discover at the University of Chicago, where he had won the esteem of such masters as Paul Shorey, a young man of classical face and fiber—

Arthur T. Walker, who was soon giving, Snow said, "great satisfaction." When Walker came to Lawrence, he roomed for a time at the Chancellor's house. He brought a revolver with him, which he placed beneath his pillow for use against possible burglars. Evidently he intended to stand for no nonsense; nor did he in the classroom, where he was a terror to shoddy performers. An excellent scholar, an authority on Julius Caesar, Walker was in 1908-09 president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and for many years served as an editor of the *Classical Journal*.

In 1893 Miss Eugénie Galloo joined the Department of Romance Languages, after study at the Sorbonne and the University of Michigan. She became head of her department in 1900 and was also the first president of the Kansas Modern Language Association. She remained a campus personality till her death in 1941, known for her exacting standards and her extraordinary learning.

Snow's pride in his faculty is reflected in a letter to Vernon Kellogg, dated January 30, 1894:

We had a visit from Dr. Hugo Münsterberg . . . whom I had the pleasure of entertaining at our new house. He is a delightful man. He is considered to be the most eminent German professor of physiological psychology and has a leave of absence . . . from the German government on condition that he will write a volume on the American Educational System. He has selected Michigan University and Kansas University as types of the University system. He was evidently astounded at what he saw at K.U. I only fear that his visit will lead to an invitation from Harvard University for some of our best men. He was particularly pleased with Williston, Blake, Dyche and Hodder. He told Mrs. Snow that he was commissioned by President Eliot to look up good men for the Harvard faculty.

Eliot, who visited the University in 1900, was once quoted as placing the University of Michigan and the University of Kansas first among the institutions of the West, and President Angell of Michigan also ranked Kansas, because of its faculty, high among the best state universities.

Appendix B

The Writings of Francis Huntington Snow

The following list of works by Snow which were consulted in the preparation of this book is not intended as a formal bibliography; it is, however, more nearly exhaustive than F. O. Marvin's "The Scientific Papers of Dr. Francis Huntington Snow" (*Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, XXII, 28-34), which included items that Snow himself had considered of sufficient importance to record, but of course no manuscript materials. Omitted from the following list are Snow's reports for the Department of Natural History or the Natural Sciences and his reports as Chancellor, both contained in a volume of Regents' Reports (beginning in 1868), in the Watson Library. Except for the summaries appearing in the *Transactions*, the numerous weather reports are also omitted. See also p. 274, the lists on pp. 283-84, and the Notes, *passim*, for mention of letters.

The abbreviation "TKAS" is used for *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*.

1. BOOKS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS

- "Harmony in Education," *The Williams Quarterly*, IX, August, 1861, 119-21.
- "A Peach" and "You've Touched My Heart," in *Information for December Meetings* (a pamphlet published by the Christian Commission), pp. 19-20.
- "Letter from an Agent of the Christian Commission," in Henry A. Willis, *Fitchburg in the War of the Rebellion*, Fitchburg, 1866, pp. 144-47.
- "The Study of Plants," *The Kansas Educational Journal*, V, May, 1868, 4-6.
- "Natural Science a Necessity in Our Public Schools," *ibid.*, VII, October, 1870, 144-51.
- "The Higher Education of Woman," *ibid.*, VII, April, 1871, 307-21.
- "The Claims of the Natural Sciences," *ibid.*, VIII, January, 1872, 253-63.
- "Catalogue of the Birds of Kansas," *ibid.*, VIII, April, 1872, 376-83. (The issue for May, 1872—IX, 50—contains some additions to the catalogue, contributed by J. A. Allen and Spencer F. Baird. Cf. *The American Naturalist*, VI, August, 1872, 484-85, footnote.)
- A Catalogue of the Birds of Kansas*, Topeka, 1872. The same list appeared in *Transactions of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, I, 375-86. See also TKAS, I, 21-29, in the reprint of 1895. (Certain early volumes of TKAS were included in reports of the Board of Agriculture; most were also issued separately. Snow points out that his pamphlet of 1872 is really the third edition, though printed as the second. Cf. p. 276, note 23. There were other editions in 1876 and 1903. The *Catalogue* of 1876 appeared earlier in the *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture*, pp. 128-39.)
- "The Climate of Kansas," TKAS, I, 40-50 (reprint of 1895). (The paper is dated January 1, 1873.)
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1872," TKAS, I, 61-64 (in the reprint of 1895).
- "Catalogue of Plants Seen in Kansas. . . , with Additions by F. H. Snow and Professor E. Hall," by J. H. Carruth, TKAS, I, 8-20 (reprint of 1895).
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1873," TKAS, II, 19-22 (pp. 86-89 of the reprint of 1896).
- "The Power of Observation," *The Observer of Nature*, April 1, 1874, p. 2.
- "Birds of Kansas," *ibid.*, p. 3.
- "List of Butterflies Occurring at Lawrence, Kansas, with Notes," *ibid.*, April 29, 1874, pp. 2-3.
- "Butterflies," *ibid.*, June 10, 1874, p. 1 (Snow's letter quoting a letter from W. H. Edwards).
- "The Fishes of the Kansas River as Observed at Lawrence," *ibid.*, March 4, 1875, pp. 2-3.

- "Birds of Kansas," *ibid.*, March 24, 1875, p. 2.
- "Birds of Kansas," *ibid.*, June 4, 1875, p. 2.
- "The White Pelican," *ibid.*, June 4, 1875, p. 2.
- "The Rocky Mountain Locust," *ibid.*, June 15, 1875, p. 2.
- "Larva and Chrysalis of the Sage Sphinx," *ibid.*, October 26, 1875, p. 1.
- "Catalogue of the Lepidoptera of Eastern Kansas," *ibid.*, November 23, 1875, pp. 2-4; December 13, 1875, pp. 2-4; March 15, 1876, pp. 2-4.
- "New Kansas Birds," *ibid.*, April 26, 1876, p. 4.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1874," *TKAS*, III, 130-32 (in the 1896 reprint).
- "Observations on the Use of the Antennae of *Polyphylla variolosa*, Harris," *TKAS*, III, 128-29 (in the reprint of 1896).
- "Birds of Kansas," *TKAS*, III, 133-34 (in the reprint of 1896).
- "The Rocky Mountain Locust (*Caloptenus spretus* Uhler.)," *TKAS*, IV, 26-28. (The paper is dated June 20, 1875.)
- "Fishes of Kansas," *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture . . . for the Year Ending November 30, 1875*, pp. 139-41.
- "Larva and Chrysalis of the Sage Sphinx. *Sphinx lugens* Walker (*eremitoides* Strecker)," *TKAS*, IV, 28-29.
- "Catalogue of the Lepidoptera of Eastern Kansas," *TKAS*, IV, 29-59.
- "Meteorological Summary for 1875," *TKAS*, IV, 60-62.
- "The Best Means of Defense against the Insect Enemies of the Horticulturist," *Transactions of the Kansas State Horticultural Society for the Year 1875*, V, 104-12. (A paper read in December, 1875, before the Society.)
- "Meteorological Summary for 1876," *TKAS*, V, 59-61.
- "The Relation of Birds to Horticulture," *Transactions of the Kansas State Horticultural Society for the Year 1876*, VI, 62-75.
- "List of Coleoptera Collected in Colorado in June, July and August, 1876, by the Kansas University Scientific Expedition," *The Kansas Collegiate*, February 14, 1877, pp. 4-6. Also in *TKAS*, V, 15-20.
- "*Amblychila cylindriciformis* Say," *The Kansas Collegiate*, October 23, 1877, pp. 6-7. Also in *TKAS*, VI, 29-32.
- "Hunting *Amblychila*," *The American Naturalist*, XI, December, 1877, 731-35.
- "Additions to the Catalogue of Kansas Birds," *TKAS*, VI, 38.
- "On the Dermal Covering of a Mosasauroid Reptile," *TKAS*, VI, 54-58.
- "The Insects of Wallace County, Kansas," *TKAS*, VI, 61-70.
- "List of Lepidoptera. Collected in Colorado in June, July and August, 1876, by the Kansas University Scientific Expedition," *TKAS*, VI, 70-75.
- "List of Coleoptera, Collected near 'Dome Rock,' Platte Cañon, Colorado, by the Kansas University Scientific Expedition for 1878," *TKAS*, VI, 75-77.
- "Meteorological Summary for 1877," *The Kansas Collegiate*, October 23, 1877, pp. 6-7. Also *TKAS*, VI, 89-91.
- "The Climate of Kansas," *Second Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, pp. 462-75.
- "Larva of *Eurycreon rantalis* Quen," *Psyche*, III, October, 1880, 127.
- "List of Lepidoptera, Collected near Idaho Springs, Colorado, by the Kansas University Scientific Expedition for 1879," *TKAS*, VII, 61-63.
- "List of Coleoptera Collected in Santa Fé Cañon, New Mexico, by the Kansas University Expedition for 1880," *TKAS*, VII, 70-73.
- "Douglas County Additions to the List of Kansas Coleoptera in 1879 and 1880," *TKAS*, VII, 78-79.
- "Meteorological Summary," *TKAS*, VII, 89-97 (summaries for 1878, 1879, and 1880).
- "Preliminary List of the Hymenoptera of Kansas," *TKAS*, VII, 97-101.
- "Additions to the List of Kansas Lepidoptera," *TKAS*, VII, 102-05.
- "The Snake-Bird in Kansas," *Bulletin of the Nuttall Ornithological Club*, VII, January, 1882, 61.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1881," *TKAS*, VIII, 23-25.
- "List of Lepidoptera and Coleoptera, Collected in New Mexico by the Kansas University Scientific Expeditions of 1881 and 1882," *TKAS*, VIII, 35-45.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1882," *TKAS*, VIII, 81-84.

- "Additions to the List of Kansas Coleoptera in 1881 and 1882," *TKAS*, VIII, 58.
- "*Musca domestica* Linn. versus *Vespa occidentalis* Cresson," *Psyche*, III, May, 1882, 339.
- "A New Museum Pest, *Trogoderma tarsale* Mels.," *Psyche*, III, June 1882, 351-52.
- "Injurious Insects and How to Destroy Them," *Quarterly Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1883*, pp. 39-48.
- "Homivorous Habits of *Lucilia macellaria*, 'the Screw-worm,' *Psyche*, IV, March-April, 1883, 27-30.
- "Three Injurious Insects. The Tree Cricket, the Raspberry Saw-Fly, and the Screw-Worm," *Crop Report for the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Month Ending May 31, 1883*, pp. 6-12.
- "Three Noxious Insects. The Forest Hand-maid Moth, the Maple Worm, and the Codling Moth," *Quarterly Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Quarter Ending December 31, 1883*, pp. 93-101.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1883," *TKAS*, IX, 43-45.
- "Paris Green, London Purple and Pyrethrum as Insecticides," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Month Ending April 30, 1884*, pp. 19-27.
- "Preparatory Stages of *Hyperchiria zephyria* Grote," *TKAS*, IX, 61-62.
- "Lists of Lepidoptera and Coleoptera Collected in New Mexico by the Kansas University Scientific Expeditions of 1883 and 1884," *TKAS*, IX, 65-69.
- "Insects Injurious to Wheat," *Fourth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, pp. 604-11. (The Hessian Fly and the Fall Web-worm.)
- "Injurious Insects," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Month Ending June 30, 1885*, pp. 5-18. (The Hessian Fly, the Wheat-straw Worm, and the Web-worm.)
- "Is the Rainfall of Kansas Increasing?" *TKAS*, IX, 101-03. Also *Science*, V, January 2, 1885, 12-13.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1884," *TKAS*, IX, 124-26.
- "On the Discovery of a Fossil Bird-track in the Dakota Sandstone," *TKAS*, X, 3-6.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1885," *TKAS*, X, 31-33.
- "Injurious Insects from July to September," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Quarter Ending December 31, 1885*, pp. 152-57.
- "Pear Blight," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1886*, pp. 9-13.
- "The Chinch-bug," *Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, part 2, pp. 153-57.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1886," *TKAS*, X, 142-44.
- "Loco-weed," *Science*, IX, January 28, 1887, 92.
- "The Purslane-Worm (*Copidryas gloveri* Grote)," *Science*, X, October 21, 1887, 204.
- "Is There a Venomous Lizard?" *Science*, XI, January 27, 1888, 50.
- "Is the Rainfall Increasing on the Plains?" *Science*, XI, March 30, 1888, 158.
- "*Aechmophorus occidentalis* in Kansas," *Auk*, V, n. s., April, 1888, 201-02.
- "The Chinch-Bug. (*Blissus leucopterus* Say)," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1888*, pp. 127-31.
- "The Chinch-bug. *Blissus leucopterus* Say," *Sixth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, part 2, pp. 205-08.
- "On the Discovery and Significance of Stipules in Certain Dicotyledonous Leaves of the Dakota Rocks," *TKAS*, XI, 33-35.
- "The Logan County Nickel Mines," *TKAS*, XI, 39-42.
- "Three New Kansas Birds," *TKAS*, XI, 62-63.
- "A Comparison of the Records of the Two Anemometers at the University of Kansas," *TKAS*, XI, 107-09.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Years 1887 and 1888," *TKAS*, XI, 115-20.
- "The Mode of Respiration of the Common Salamander," *TKAS*, XII, part 1, 31-32.
- "Experiments for the Artificial Dissemination of a Contagious Disease among Chinch-bugs," *TKAS*, XII, part 1, 34-37.
- "Meteorological Summary for the Year 1889," *TKAS*, XII, part 1, 49-51.
- "The Curve of Mean Daily Temperatures at Lawrence, Kansas, for Twenty-one Years, 1868-1888," *TKAS*, XII, part 1, 52-53.
- "Polluted Water," *Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Health*, pp. 337-43.

- "Kiowa County, Kan., Meteorites," *Science*, XV, May 9, 1890, 290.
- "A Stony Meteorite from Washington County, Kan.," *Science*, XVI, July 18, 1890, 38-39.
- "Another Meteorite from Kiowa County, Kan.," *Science*, XVI, July 18, 1890, 39-40.
- "Notes on Some Kansas Meteorites," *TKAS*, XII, part 2, 105 (refers to the notes published in *Science*).
- Inaugural Address as Chancellor in *Addresses concerning the Chancellorship, the University, Higher Education*, Topeka, 1890.
- "Experiments in 1890 for the Artificial Dissemination of Contagious Diseases among Chinch-bugs," *TKAS*, XII, part 2, 119-22.
- "Chinch-bugs. Experiments in 1890 for Their Destruction in the Field by the Artificial Introduction of Contagious Diseases," *Seventh Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, part 2, pp. 184-88.
- Experiment Station. First Annual Report of the Director, for the Year 1891. Contagious Diseases of the Chinch-bug*, Topeka, April, 1892. (There were six annual reports between 1891 and 1896/97. The first annual report contains [pp. 216-17] a list of Snow's published articles on "contagious diseases of the chinch-bug." This list includes a few items, such as his reports in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, not cited in the present list of his publications.)
- "A New Kansas Meteorite," *Science*, XVII, January 2, 1891, 3.
- "Experiments for the Destruction of Chinch-bugs in the Field by the Artificial Introduction of Contagious Diseases," *Insect Life*, III, March, 1891, 279-84.
- "Insects Injuring Kansas Wheat," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the Month Ending April 30, 1891*, pp. 7-10.
- "The Chinch-bug Disease and Other Notes," *Insect Life*, IV, October, 1891, 69-72.
- (With Vernon Kellogg) "Two Grain Insects," *Bulletin of the Department of Entomology (the University of Kansas)*, February, 1892, pp. 3-9.
- "Experiments for the Destruction of Chinch-bugs by Infection. Address as Retiring President of the Cambridge Entomological Club," *Psyche*, VI, March, 1892, 225-33.
- "Chinch-bugs—Experiments in 1892 for Their Destruction by Disease," *Eighth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, part 2, pp. 248-55.
- "The Horn Fly of Cattle," *Bulletin of the Department of Entomology (the University of Kansas)*, May, 1893, pp. 3-7.
- "The Promotion of Education by the College through a Connection with the Common-school System and by University Extension," in *A Record of the Commemoration, October Eighth to Tenth, 1893, on the Centennial Anniversary of the Founding of Williams College*, Cambridge, 1894, pp. 165-72.
- "Results of Chinch-bug Experiments," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1894*, pp. 108-13.
- "Charles Robinson," *The Agora*, IV, October, 1894, 77-83.
- "Work in Economic Entomology at the University of Kansas for the Season of 1894," *Insect Life*, VII, October, 1894, 140-44.
- "Periodicity in Kansas Rainfall and Possibilities of Storage of Excess Rainfall," *Ninth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, pp. 338-40.
- Address in honor of Professor D. H. Robinson, under the heading "Memorial Services," *Kansas University Weekly*, I, October 25, 1895, 136-37.
- "Popular Education in Europe," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1896*, pp. 216-21.
- (With S. J. Hunter) "The More Destructive Grasshoppers of Kansas," *Bulletin of the Department of Entomology (the University of Kansas)*, October, 1897, pp. 1-17.
- "The Beginnings of the University of Kansas," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Topeka, 1900, VI, 70-75.
- "Notes on the Birds of Kansas, and a Revised Catalogue," *TKAS*, XVIII, 154-76. (This paper, read before the Kansas Academy of Science at Topeka, January 2, 1903, was reprinted as the fifth edition of Snow's *Catalogue*.)
- "Notes for 1903 on the Birds of Kansas," *TKAS*, XIX, 261-62.
- "Notes of 1904 on the Birds of Kansas," *TKAS*, XIX, 263.
- "Some Results of the University of Kansas Entomological Expeditions to Galveston and Brownsville, Tex., in 1904 and 1905," *TKAS*, XX, part 1, 136-54.
- "Some Results of the University of Kansas Entomological Expeditions to Arizona in 1904 and 1905," *TKAS*, XX, part 1, 155-81.

- "List of Species of Hymenoptera Collected in Arizona by the University of Kansas Entomological Expeditions of 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, and 1906," *TKAS*, XX, part 2, 127-39.
- "Results of the Entomological Collecting Expedition of the University of Kansas to Pima County, Arizona, in June and July, 1906," *TKAS*, XX, part 2, 140-64.
- "List of Coleoptera Collected in New Mexico by the Entomological Expeditions of the University of Kansas," *TKAS*, XX, part 2, 165-89.
- "Additions to the List of Kansas Birds," *TKAS*, XX, part 2, 209-10.
- "Is the Gila Monster a Poisonous Reptile?" *TKAS*, XX, part 2, 218-21.
- "Change in the Climate of Kansas," *TKAS*, XX, part 2, 288-91.

2. MANUSCRIPTS

Besides the letters specified in the Notes (see p. 274, the introductory note, p. 275, note 6[V], and *passim*) and the Journals (in addition to journals in the Watson Library, covering the period 1858 to 1866, these include three journals covering parts of 1854, 1855, 1856, and 1857—these three lent by Frank L. Snow during the composition of this book—and a brief record kept by Snow during his European journey in 1895), the F. H. Snow manuscripts include the following: (a) a series of sermons: "Christian Boldness," "Power of Evil Habit to Control the Life," "Testimony of Consciousness to the Gospel Plan of Salvation," "The Christian Life a Life of Service," "Choose Ye This Day Whom Ye Will Serve," "Inspiration," "Latest View of Scholars on the Pentateuch," "Christ in You the Hope of Glory," "Science and Revelation," Thanksgiving Sermon, "Preached at Kanwaka, Kansas, in Wakefield Schoolhouse, Thanksgiving Day, 1866"; (b) Snow's Inaugural Address June 11, 1890; "Some Plymouth Church Workers," a paper read December 2, 1897, at the fortieth anniversary of Dr. Cordley; an address of welcome at an annual encampment of the G. A. R.; a paper on early school studies; a chapel address on the supposed death of F. T. Ingalls, in the volume called "College Pranks at Kansas University 1879-1880"—all in the Watson Library; and (c) the following, kept in a special Watson Library file (for dates of some of the papers, given before the Old and New Club, cf. pp. 283-84): (1) an address at the beginning of a school year; (2) "African Explorers"; (3) a paper on the antiquity of man; (4) "Big Trees"; (5) Commencement addresses for 1890, 1893, 1896, 1898 (two versions), 1899, 1900; (6) "The Curative Power of Hypnotism"; (7) "Dangers of Mountain Climbing"; (8) "Eschatology"; (9) three lectures on evolution; (10) "The Evolution of the Teacher in Scholarship"; (11) "Early Settlers of New England"; (12) "Holland"; (13) on the Kansas school system; (14) list of slides on Switzerland, Versailles, and Paris; (15) a paper on meteors; (16) a speech, mainly about the microscope; (17) a speech on physicians; (18) "Plan for a Law Prohibiting the Alphabet to Women" (the title, of course ironical, is quoted); (19) "Popular Education in Europe"; (20) "Present Requirements for Admission to College"; (21) "Relative Values in Secondary and Higher Education"; (22) report of parasite shipment; (23) The Sierras; (24) "Some Kansas Cranks"; (25) a report on the State University; (26) speech on University Extension; (27) "On the Wise and Fearless Use of Truth" (a paper on the higher criticism); (28) "The Use and Abuse of Text-books"; (29) "Woburn, Massachusetts"; (30) a series of chapel talks and miscellaneous notes.

Notes

Some of Chancellor Snow's letters are preserved only in the typescript prepared by his daughter, Mrs. Martha Snow Brown. Whenever I have quoted passages from this manuscript, I have used in the Notes the term "Brown typescript." Except for those instances in which I have stated otherwise and except for the carbon copies of letters written during part of the period when Snow was Chancellor (in the volume called *Correspondence 1892-1899*, in the Watson Library at the University of Kansas), which, being carbon copies, raise no question of textual transmission, I have quoted from original manuscripts lent to me by relatives.

"TKAS" in the Notes refers to the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*.

I

1. The several volumes in its *Proceedings*, published by the Fitchburg Historical Society, have been useful for the Fitchburg background. Miscellaneous sources include *Fireside Legends; The Old Records of the Town of Fitchburg, Mass.*; Ray G. Hulsing, *The Teachers and Graduates of the Fitchburg High School*; Mrs. Martha Snow Wallace's *My Father's House*; Benjamin Snow's autobiography in the library of the Fitchburg Historical Society; newspaper clippings and obituaries in the Fitchburg Public Library.

2. Records in the Boutelle family Bible, supplemented by newspaper articles and private information. Joseph Savage's "The Pink and White Terraces of New Zealand," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, XI, 26-30, contains brief extracts from the Journal William Snow kept in New Zealand.

3. The Snow line can be traced back to James Chilton and Thomas Rogers. The article on F. H. Snow in the *Dictionary of American Biography* seems to be incorrect in tracing Snow's line to Richard Warren. I am indebted to Mr. Robert Wallace for calling my attention to these facts.

4. Information supplied by Miss Theresa Garfield of the Fitchburg Historical Society.

5. Letter of December 8, 1866, quoted in Mrs. Martha Snow Brown's typescript, p. 98.

6. Henry James, *Charles W. Eliot*. . . , Boston and New York, 1930, I, 24.

7. Townsend Scudder, *Concord: American Town*, Boston, 1947, p. 215.

8. From Snow's article in the *Kansas Educational Journal*, VII, October, 1870, 144.

9. F. H. Snow, "Charles Robinson," *Agora*, October, 1894, pp. 77-83.

10. Frank W. Blackmar, *The Life of Charles Robinson*, Topeka, 1902, p. 83.

II

1. Quoted in Washington Gladden's *Recollections*, Boston and New York, 1909, pp. 72-73. Gladden was present at the alumni dinner of 1872 at which Garfield spoke. Senator John J. Ingalls declared that Garfield said, "A pine log with the student at one end and Doctor Hopkins at the other would be a liberal education." See *A Collection of the Writings of John James Ingalls*, Kansas City, Missouri, 1902, pp. 405-06.

In gathering material for this chapter, I have consulted the alumni records, catalogues, and student publications in the library at Williams College. Among the books which have made some contribution to my impressions are Arthur Latham Perry's *Williamstown and Williams College*, 1904, a mine of information; Bliss Perry's autobio-

graphical *And Gladly Teach*, Boston and New York, 1935; Carroll Perry's *A Professor of Life*, Boston and New York, 1923, primarily concerned with A. L. Perry but containing sidelights on Williams Commencements and other matters; Washington Gladden's *Recollections*, referred to above; S. G. W. Benjamin's *The Life and Adventures of a Free Lance*, Burlington, Vermont, 1914; G. Stanley Hall's *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*, New York, 1923; Leverett W. Spring's *History of Williams College*, Boston, 1917; John Bascom's *Things Learned by Living*, New York and London, 1913. W. M. Smallwood's "The Williams Lyceum of Natural History," *New England Quarterly*, X, September, 1937, 553-57, contains material on the L. N. H.

2. Prov. 17:1.

3. This address is given in the journals and in the college catalogue.

4. Snow mentions this youth in his manuscript on "Some Kansas Cranks."

5. Newman Smyth's autobiography *Recollections and Reflections*, New York, 1926, contains the statement about Dr. Taylor.

6. "Stories of Old Williams," typescript in the Williams College Library; also the reference at the end of note 1.

7. The report by George L. Raymond of the class of 1862, on the occasion of its fifteenth anniversary.

8. *Songs of Williams*, ed. Washington Gladden, New York, 1859, p. 29.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 48. See Carroll Perry's *A Professor of Life*, pp. 69-70, for his father's note on the burial of Euclid at Williams. Henry D. Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, New York, 1901, pp. 117-18, discusses the ceremony, as does Muriel Rukeyser, *Willard Gibbs*, Garden City, New York, 1942, pp. 96-97.

10. Arthur Latham Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 35.

11. S. E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 120.

12. "Harmony in Education," *Williams Quarterly*, IX, August, 1861.

IV

1. Some of the facts about Fitchburg's role in the Civil War are taken from Henry A. Willis' *Fitchburg in the War of the Rebellion*, Fitchburg, 1866.

2. In some of the statements about the Christian Commission I am indebted to Lemuel Moss, *Annals of the Christian Commission*, Philadelphia, 1868.

3. Printed in Moss, pp. 655 f., though not under Snow's name; earlier printed in a pamphlet, *Information for December Meetings*.

4. Snow's letter giving a less personal account of the closing events of the War (dated April 29, 1865) appeared in the *Fitchburg Sentinel*; Henry A. Willis in *Fitchburg in the War of the Rebellion*, pp. 144-47, also quotes Snow, under the heading of "Letter from an Agent of the Christian Commission."

V

1. Story told by the father of H. J. Haskell; reported by the latter in "Random Thoughts," *Kansas City Star*, May 15, 1949.

2. Henry A. Beers, *The Ways of Yale*. . . , New York, 1895, p. 77.

3. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps (Ward), *Chapters from a Life*, Boston and New York, 1896, pp. 27 ff.; Sarah Stuart Robbins, *Old Andover Days*, Boston, 1908, p. 88.

4. Another of Jane Aiken's aunts had married Jeremiah Mason, a distinguished lawyer and U. S. Senator.

5. Roy Franklin Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, Philadelphia, 1931, 224 ff.

6. Along with Frank Snow's letter, these letters of recommendation are in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka. (Park wrote two.) I have also consulted the Robinson letters there and in the Watson Library of the University of Kansas. Franklin Carter, Williams, '62, had succeeded Frank's teacher of Latin, Professor Lincoln, who had died.

VI

1. See the chapter called "Incidents of the Raid" in Richard Cordley's *Pioneer Days in Kansas*, Boston, 1903, pp. 190-213; L. W. Spring's *Kansas*. . . , Boston, 1894, p. 293.

2. Quoted in the *Graduate Magazine*, December, 1904, p. 82.

3. Brown typescript, pp. 74-75.

4. See note 2.

5. Minutes of the Board of Regents and the letters of Amos Lawrence to R. W. Oliver. The University did not really get all of the \$15,000 promised. Financial difficulties and arrangements were too complex to detail here. See especially Miles W. Sterling's account in the *Quarter-Centennial History of the University of Kansas, 1866-1891*, Topeka, 1891, pp. 70 ff.; also Sterling's "Early K. U. Finance," *Graduate Magazine*, April, 1913, pp. 203-08. Other discussions of early history are found in Chancellor Snow's address before the Kansas State Historical Society, January 18, 1896, reported in its *Transactions*, VI, 1900, 70-75; Robert Taft, *Across the Years on Mount Oread*, Lawrence, 1941.

6. I am indebted to the discussion of the problems of early state universities in Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin*, Madison, 1949.

7. In view of some myths about early salaries, I must point out that official records and Snow's account books support my statement. The legislature of 1868 reduced the appropriation for salaries by \$100, but the Regents made up the difference (Regents' Reports, 1868), as they also compensated for the discount connected with early use of state scrip. The \$1600 salaries compared favorably with salaries of other state universities of the time.

8. Quoted in the manuscript version of one of Snow's speeches. Snow's letter of December 1, 1866, as quoted in the *Graduate Magazine*, December, 1904, p. 89, contains this passage: "To show the extent to which politics attempt to manage the university, it may be stated that owing to the absence of three members of the Board of Regents, the Methodist members, who are always on hand, improved the opportunity, during an hour's absence of Governor Robinson, to elect the Methodist member of the faculty a member of the executive committee of the Board. Upon the Governor's return, he insisted that either the other two members of the faculty should be added to the committee or Professor Rice should be withdrawn. The second alternative was adopted."

9. Curti and Carstensen (see note 6), I, 19.

10. *Graduate Magazine*, December, 1904, pp. 83-84.

11. Brown typescript, p. 73.

12. A. C. Scott, "What a Boy Thought of Professor Robinson," *Graduate Magazine*, May, 1907, pp. 284-87.

13. Brown typescript, pp. 146-47.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

15. "The Study of Plants," *Kansas Educational Journal*, V, May, 1868, 4-6; "Natural Science a Necessity in Our Public Schools," VII, October, 1870, 144-51; "The Higher Education of Woman," VII, April, 1871, 307-21; "The Claims of the Natural Sciences," VIII, January, 1872, 253-63 (delivered as a lecture before the Kansas Academy of Science in October, 1871).

16. Reminiscences of S. D. Alford, especially "The First Five Years at 'Kansas University,'" *Graduate Magazine*, October, 1909, pp. 11-15.

17. J. W. Gleed, "Dr. Snow as His Students Knew Him," *Graduate Magazine*, January, 1909, pp. 139-43.

18. W. C. Stevens' tribute is contained in a manuscript in the Watson Library. Cf. p. 283, note 3[XII]. For other tributes see Frank A. Lutz, "Value of University Associations," *Graduate Magazine*, April, 1909, pp. 259-60; Emma Upton Vaughn, "When the University Is Mentioned," *ibid.*, December, 1909, pp. 92-93.

19. Curti and Carstensen (see note 6), I, 181.

20. Henry A. Yeomans, *Abbott Lawrence Lowell*. . . , Cambridge, 1948, p. 39.

21. I. Bernard Cohen, "Harvard and the Scientific Spirit," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, February 7, 1948, pp. 393-98, especially p. 394.

22. Recounted in Robinson's "Reminiscences" (not always completely accurate) in the *Quarter-Centennial History* by Miles W. Sterling, p. 191.

23. Snow pointed out that the so-called second edition of October, 1872, was really the third edition, the real second edition being contained in Weston's *Guide to the Kansas Pacific Railway* (July, 1872). Cf. Appendix B. D. E. Lantz's paper read before the Kansas Academy of Science on October 28, 1897, "A Review of Kansas Ornithology," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* (hereafter referred to as *TKAS*), XVI, 224-76, was the occasion of Snow's reviewing his catalogue of birds in "Notes on the Birds of Kansas, and a Revised Catalogue," read before the Academy on January 2, 1903 (*TKAS*, XVIII, 154-76). There are additional notes in *TKAS*, XIX, 261-63, and XX, part 2, 209-10.

24. Brown typescript, p. 139.
25. J. Howard Compton, *The Building of the University of Kansas*, Master's thesis, 1932.
26. Snow's report to the Board of Regents for 1888; reminiscences of Professor W. C. Stevens.
27. Some of these statements are based on S. D. Flora's "Some Common Fallacies about Kansas Weather," *TKAS*, XXVIII, 55-60.
28. Though Moore may have been right, Professor H. P. Cady, who after Snow's death took charge of weather observations, was inclined to think that the evidence favored Snow's view. See his "Is the Rainfall in Kansas Increasing?" in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, XII, 132-33.
29. *Graduate Magazine*, December, 1904, p. 84.
30. "The Rocky Mountain Locust," *Observer of Nature*, June 15, 1875, p. 2.
31. Speech by Wyman R. Green, "McClung and the Kansas Grasshoppers," *Activities in Honor of President McClung at the University of Pennsylvania* (the "President" in the title refers to Sigma Xi), reprinted from *Bios*, XI, October, 1940, 146-49.
32. *Kansas City Times*, June 6, 1950.
33. For the history of the Academy see Parker's sketch of Mudge, *TKAS*, VII, 7-11; "The Kansas Academy of Science," XVI, 24-33; the lecture by A. H. Thompson, IX, 4-16. Parker seems to have had a part in founding academies of science at Kansas City and in Nebraska, as well as the California Science Association.
34. Brown typescript, pp. 128-30.
35. Information from one of Snow's account books.
36. A later city directory (1893) gives the address as 547 Tennessee Street. J. C. Horton is listed in an early directory as living on the northwest corner of Louisiana and Pinckney.
37. On J. C. Horton, see the articles in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, VIII, 1904, 143-48 and 199-205.

VII

1. Ephraim Miller, "Some Memories," *Graduate Magazine*, January, 1905, pp. 123-31.
2. The chief sources of information on John Fraser are S. A. Riggs, "Recollections of John Fraser," *Graduate Magazine*, January, 1906, pp. 117-23; the article cited in note 1; and the papers dealing with Fraser in the Watson Library.
- Riggs gives 1827 as the date of Fraser's birth. Other dates appear elsewhere.
3. The addresses of Ephraim Miller, Bardwell's successor, and of Carruth are printed in the *Kansas Collegiate* for October 4, 1878, pp. 1-4.
4. Though the principal of the bonds was not fully redeemed, the interest paid during the course of several years amounted to a large sum.
5. For some of the information about Fraser Hall I am indebted to J. Howard Compton, *The Building of the University of Kansas*, Master's thesis, 1932.
6. Kate Stephens, "Kansas University Legends," *Graduate Magazine*, December, 1907, pp. 81-92, especially p. 83; also in the same author's *Life at Laurel Town. . .*, Lawrence, 1920.
7. Letter from William Allen White, dated June 27, 1929, in the Kate Stephens file.
8. For this particular detail I am indebted to Miss Margaret Habein, who in her judicious biographical and critical thesis (in the Watson Library) on Kate Stephens gives a full account of Miss Stephens' controversy with Harris. My account, originally written before I read Miss Habein's thesis, is based chiefly upon Harris' autobiography and Kate Stephens, *Lies and Libels of Frank Harris*, ed. Gerrit and Mary Caldwell Smith, New York, 1929. My impressions of Smith come chiefly from a reading of *A Young Scholar's Letters. . .*, ed. D. O. Kellogg, New York, 1897, and *The Love-Life of Byron Caldwell Smith, with an Introduction by A. I. Tobin*, New York, 1930.
- It hardly seems worth while to deal with Harris' statements in detail. (One of them seems to indicate that his knowledge of sex was derived partly from reading the advertisements of the quack doctors of his generation.) Miss Habein emphasizes as a possible motive Harris' resentment of Smith's comment about him in the letters Miss Stephens allowed him to read; she also points out that, as Harris' biographers agree, Harris' theory of biography led him to discover sexual quirks in his subjects.

9. The point is well illustrated by a story Miss Stephens herself tells, blind to her own self-revelation. One day Miss Elizabeth P. Leonard, a cultivated and widely traveled woman, according to Hannah Oliver uniquely endowed with "the grand manner" and according to Kate Stephens "icily conventional," asked Miss Stephens to read before Friends in Council, a club which Miss Leonard had founded. Having been dazzled, like Smith and Harris, by Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads*, Miss Stephens chose to read from that volume. She professes complete surprise at seeing that her auditors were shocked, but even a modern group of women would consider that the particular poem which she chose was unsuitable for a social occasion.

VIII

1. Regents' minutes for January 30, 1873.

2. Gertrude Boughton Blackwelder, "Nature-Study in the Early Seventies," *Graduate Magazine*, April, 1909, pp. 251-53; *Observer of Nature*, June 4, 1875; conversation with Miss Agnes Emery.

3. Article in the *Observer of Nature*, November 23, 1875, p. 1.

4. The activities of George Gaumer are discussed by Miss Agnes Thompson in the *Graduate Magazine*, January, 1916, pp. 104-05.

In April the Regents authorized Snow to lend to the State Centennial Board "such portions of the Natural History collections belonging to the University as they may desire, provided such collections be returned without loss or injury or expense to the Institution."

5. John Breukelman, "A Review of Kansas Ichthyology," *TKAS*, XLIX, 51-70, especially p. 54.

6. "The Fishes of the Kansas River as Observed at Lawrence," *Observer of Nature*, March 4, 1875, pp. 2-3.

7. Letter from Thomas F. Doran to Claudius O. Johnson in the Watson Library volume dealing with the traditions of the University; also Johnson, *Borah of Idaho*, New York, 1936, pp. 16-19.

8. J. H. Carruth, *Catalogue of Plants Seen in Kansas, with Additions by Prof. F. H. Snow and Prof. E. Hall*, *TKAS*, I, 8-20 (reprint of 1895). Carruth's later publications indicate further help from Snow.

9. As an example of the confusion I may cite Lane Cooper's *Louis Agassiz as a Teacher*, Ithaca, New York, 1945, which mentions (p. 65) "Frederick [sic] H. Snow" as one of Louis Agassiz's students. Students in the Anderson School in 1874, directed by Alexander Agassiz, have evidently been confused with those of 1873. David Starr Jordan's *The Days of a Man*, New York, 1922, I, 115, is also misleading.

A letter written by Mrs. Snow to her mother on August 12, 1873, speaks of her husband's plan to attend the Anderson School in the following summer, when she herself hoped to come with him to visit her mother: "Frank and I have been castle building a little for next summer, wishing he could get accommodation for us all at Penikese Island if he goes there to the Institute. Alpheus Packard invited him to be one of the fifty to be there and he thinks if all goes well he shall accept the invitation." This letter indicates that Snow had returned to Lawrence. An earlier letter, written by Mrs. Snow on July 6, 1873, states that her husband had gone East at his father's invitation, to see his family, having chosen the particular time because of his sister's plans to be in Fitchburg. Furthermore, Snow took with him on his journey his little son Will. Mrs. Snow adds that "it was too good an opportunity" for her husband to miss, "and so I took it right up & insisted that he should go." Snow did not, therefore, attend the School at Penikese in the summer of 1873.

Alpheus Packard, mentioned in Mrs. Snow's letter, was a well-known entomologist who had been Louis Agassiz's assistant; he was also Mrs. Snow's cousin. It is not at all unlikely that Snow had met Louis Agassiz, possibly at the museum in Cambridge, but if he had ever been under his tuition, no invitation from Packard would have been necessary. When could he have been? The School at Penikese was established in 1873. Snow's account books during the summers of both 1873 and 1874 chronicle his movements through the record of his expenditures. Even the purchase of an orange is the subject of an entry. In 1874 there are at least twelve entries referring to Penikese, including such items as the expenses for the journey from Boston to the island and for

board at Penikese. For the summer of 1873 there is no single entry which could refer to Penikese—even if any other evidence besides Mrs. Snow's letters were needed.

10. In the article "On the Discovery of a Fossil Bird-Track in the Dakota Sandstone," *TKAS*, X, 3-6, especially p. 5.

11. "Observations on the Use of the Antennae of *Polyphylla variolosa*, Harris," *TKAS*, III, 128-29.

12. *Observer of Nature*, June 15, 1875, p. 4.

13. Regents' minutes, September 30, 1884.

14. Lizzie Williams Smith, "A Colorado Outing of a Half Century Ago," *Graduate Magazine*, January, 1929, pp. 15-16, supplemented by Snow's account in his paper given before the Kansas Academy of Science.

W. H. Edwards of West Virginia and A. R. Grote of Philadelphia identified for Snow some of the Lepidoptera found in Colorado. *Pamphila snowi* Edwards became the first of a series new to science, many of them bearing Snow's name. Other scientists whom Snow consulted in connection with the classification of insects in his early years of collecting included Dr. John Le Conte and Dr. George H. Horn of Philadelphia.

15. L. L. Dyche's "Doctor Snow as a Collector, and His Collections," *TKAS*, XXII, 39-45, gives a summary of Snow's expeditions.

Dyche apparently made some use of an earlier discussion by E. S. Tucker (see Scrapbook No. 8, pp. 72-73; this scrapbook contains clippings giving information on some of the expeditions). Tucker's numbering of the expeditions (complete to the time he wrote his article) seems to have had the approval of Snow. Data on those undertaken during the period of Snow's Chancellorship are less complete than for the others. Those who wish fuller information may see the sources indicated above and the list of Snow's writings. For the convenience of curious readers, brief notes follow. (This list, of course, takes no account of the numerous collecting trips in the vicinity of Lawrence.)

(1) 1876. June, July, August. Three weeks at Colorado Springs, with expeditions to the east, to the summit of Pike's Peak, etc.; by way of the Ute Pass to the South Park and three weeks in the South Park. The students returned home during the first week of August; the rest of the party remained in Englemann's Cañon till September 1. Snow, Mrs. Snow, their son Willie, and five students—George Gaumer, Charles W. Smith, Elmer B. Tucker, Miss May Richardson, Miss Lizzie Williams. Cf. pp. 152-53.

(2) 1877. Three weeks along the Smoky Hill River in Wallace County, Kansas, not far from Fort Wallace. Snow, Richard Foster, John M. Walker.

(3) 1878. One month in Gove and Wallace counties (June 12-July 12). Snow, Prof. B. F. Mudge, Richard Foster, and L. L. Dyche. Cf. pp. 154-56.

(4) 1878. About two weeks (in the last part of July, according to Snow) near "Dome Rock," Platte Cañon, Colorado. Snow, Richard Foster, L. L. Dyche.

(5) 1879. July 26-September 8. Chicago Creek Cañon, near Idaho Springs, Colorado. The Snow family, L. L. Dyche, Miss Annie E. Mozley.

(6) 1880. July and August. Eight miles north of Santa Fe, in the Santa Fe Cañon. Same persons as for 1879.

(7) 1881. Water Canyon, about twenty-five miles west of Socorro, New Mexico, for about five days, when the party was forced to move by the Apaches; some collecting at Socorro and Pecos for the rest for the month, except for a day at Deming. Snow, Willie Snow, Prof. H. S. S. Smith, L. L. Dyche. Cf. pp. 158-59.

(8) 1882. Nine weeks in Gallinas Cañon, near Las Vegas Hot Springs, New Mexico. The Snow family, W. W. Russ, Miss Mary Dyche, L. L. Dyche.

(9) 1883. July and August at the place mentioned in No. 8. The Snow family, W. H. Brown, W. C. Stevens, L. L. Dyche.

(10) 1884. August, according to Snow (Dyche's account does not quite agree with Snow's). Snow, Willie Snow, and W. C. Stevens camped on Walnut Creek, about twelve miles north of Silver City, New Mexico. L. L. Dyche and W. H. Brown spent part of the time near Las Vegas, at Harvey's Ranch or near it.

(11) 1889. Estes Park, Colorado. See pp. 164 ff.

(12) 1890. Bailey, Platte Cañon, Colorado, beginning in July.*

* During the nineties the expeditions were mostly family affairs. Some of the information about them comes from Mr. Frank L. Snow and from Chancellor Snow's account books.

- (13) 1891. Manitou Park, Colorado. The Snow family and the family of Professor Bailey.*
- (14) 1892. Estes Park, Colorado. The Snow family and Will Coleman, a student.*
- (15) 1894. Hop Canyon, in the Magdalena Mountains, about thirty miles west of Socorro, New Mexico. Snow and his son Frank, Ermine Case, Hugo Kahl, and a student.*
- (16) 1897. Estes Park, Colorado. The Snow family and W. H. Brown.*
- (17) 1902. About ten days in Hamilton County and ten in Morton County, Kansas, mostly in June. Snow, his son Frank, Roy Moodie, E. S. Tucker, Will Bailey.
- (18) 1902. Oak Creek Canyon, about twenty miles southwest of Flagstaff; also at Humphrey's Peak, in Coconino County, Arizona. Snow, Frank L. Snow, Roy Moodie, C. F. Adams.
- (19) 1903. Clark County, Kansas, at or near Englewood, in May.
- (20) 1903. Congress Junction in Yavapai County, 125 miles south of Ash Fork; and Bill Williams Fork, Arizona. Snow, C. F. Adams, G. P. MacKenzie, Eugene Smyth.
- (21) 1904. Three weeks in May at Galveston, Texas. Snow, C. F. Adams, E. S. Tucker.
- (22) 1904. Oak Creek Canyon, twenty miles southwest of Flagstaff, Arizona (in the same locality as that visited on the second expedition in the summer of 1902), July 16 to September 2. Snow, Professor W. H. Johnson, Eugene Smyth, Judah Drisko. (Cf. p. 158.)
- (23) 1905. June 6 to July 8 at Brownsville, Texas. Snow, E. S. Tucker, E. G. Corwine.
- (24) 1905. July 30 to September 2 on Sycamore Creek, Cochise County, Arizona. Snow, Eugene Smyth, S. E. Crumb, Rollin Perkins.
- (25) 1906. Nine days near Tucson, Arizona. Snow, L. A. Adams, S. E. Crumb. On July 3 Eugene Smyth joined the company. On July 4 the party started by wagon for Sycamore Canyon in the Baboquivari Mountains, about sixty miles southwest of Tucson. At the second camp, collecting lasted about three weeks.
- (26) 1907. Chiefly near Patagonia and Greaterville, Arizona. Snow, W. J. Baumgartner, W. R. B. Robertson, Fred Farragher, Eugene Smyth. Cf. p. 243.
16. "Amblychila cylindriciformis, Say," *TKAS*, VI, 29-32.
17. The paragraph is based partly on a passage in one of Snow's letters and on his "On the Dermal Covering of a Mosasauroid Reptile," *TKAS*, VI, 54-58. Professor H. H. Lane supplied the information about the New York museum.
18. My account of the rattlesnake bite is based upon letters from Snow to his wife (June 30 and July 2, 1878) and upon Joseph Savage's "On the Bite of the Rattlesnake," *TKAS*, VI, 36-38.
19. "Snow and the Snake," *Agora*, December, 1895, p. 297.
20. "Is There a Venomous Lizard?" *Science*, XI, January 27, 1888, 50.
21. Clippings in the Watson Library (Scrapbook No. 8, pp. 93 ff.); Snow's "List of Lepidoptera, Collected near Idaho Springs, Colorado, by the Kansas University Scientific Expedition for 1879," *TKAS*, VII, 61-63 (pp. 58-60 in the reprint of 1906).
22. From a letter of September, 1904.
23. Quoted in a newspaper interview among the clippings in Scrapbook No. 8, p. 12; I have corrected the spelling.
24. Quoted from the manuscript by W. C. Stevens. Cf. pp. 115-16 and p. 276, note 18.
25. From E. S. Tucker, "Collecting Insects at Night," *TKAS*, XX, Part 1, 108-20.
26. Snow's letter to *Science*, XV, May 9, 1890, 290, "Kiowa, Kan., Meteorites," and George F. Kunz, "On the Group of Meteorites Recently Discovered in Brenham Township, Kiowa County, Kan.," *Science*, XV, June 13, 1890, 359-62.
27. F. H. Snow, "A Stony Meteorite from Washington County, Kan.," *Science*, July 18, 1890, pp. 38-39; the same issue of *Science* (pp. 39-40) contains Snow's letter on "Another Meteorite from Kiowa County, Kan."
28. F. H. Snow, "A New Kansas Meteorite," *Science*, January 2, 1891, p. 3.

* During the nineties the expeditions were mostly family affairs. Some of the information about them comes from Mr. Frank L. Snow and from Chancellor Snow's account books.

29. "General Funston's Reminiscences of the University," reprinted from the *Kansas Magazine* for April, 1909, in the *Graduate Magazine*, December, 1915, pp. 67-72.

30. *K. U. Weekly*, February 21, 1896, p. 44.

31. William Allen White, *Autobiography*, New York, 1946, p. 467.

32. W. C. Stevens is my informant.

33. The discussion of Kellogg is based chiefly on materials in the University scrap-books relating to him.

34. Besides White's *Autobiography* and the published volumes of his letters, as well as books like Walter Johnson's *William Allen White's America*, New York, 1947, I have made some use of White's annotations on the pictures of the Colorado camping trip, contained in a letter in the Watson Library.

35. Quoted in *William Allen White's America* (see preceding note), pp. 41-42.

36. White's letter, mentioned in footnote 34.

IX

1. This story is told by J. H. Canfield, in the article cited in footnote 3, below.

2. L. L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe*, Lawrence, 1950, p. 151.

3. J. H. Canfield, "Recollections," *Graduate Magazine*, February, 1905, pp. 163-72.

4. Printed in the *University Review*, IX, May, 1888, 205-10.

5. Quoted in Walter Johnson, *William Allen White's America*, New York, 1947, p.

41.

6. Cf. p. 147.

7. J. H. Long, "Frances Schlegel Carruth," *Graduate Magazine*, October, 1908, pp. 12-14.

8. Kate Stephens in the *Graduate Magazine*, November, 1925, p. 33.

9. Besides Dyche's journals, I have consulted "Prof. Dyche's Arctic Expedition," *Agora*, V, December, 1895, 234-37, and Clarence E. Edwards, *Camp Fires of a Naturalist*, New York, 1893, as well as miscellaneous clippings. I have also interviewed members of his family.

10. The sketch of Comanche is based chiefly on clippings in the Watson Library.

11. Information supplied by Professor E. R. Hall.

12. Edwin O. Stene, "The Development of Kansas Wildlife Conservation Policies," *TKAS*, XLVII, 289-323.

13. Snow's comment in "History of the University of Kansas," a brief review (pp. 8-13) in the *Jayhawker* for 1904.

14. Statement in Snow's speech on Spangler after Spangler's death.

15. See, for instance, Thomas Barbour's *Naturalist at Large*, Boston, 1943, pp. 135 ff.

16. The Watson Library volume devoted to "Francis Huntington Snow, Snow Hall and New Snow Hall." Especially useful has been W. C. Stevens' article, "Vivid Memories Outlive Stone Walls," *Graduate Magazine*, November, 1932, pp. 1, 3-4.

17. For facts about the Science Club I have consulted surviving programs; "Recollections of the University Science Club," *Graduate Magazine*, December, 1926, pp. 8-10, and May, 1927, pp. 18-20; Eugene W. Caldwell, "My Recollections of the Science Club 'It,'" *Graduate Magazine*, May, 1919, pp. 231-34.

18. John James Ingalls, "The Last of the Jayhawkers," *Kansas Magazine*, I, April, 1872, 356-62; Kirke Mechem, *The Mythical Jayhawk*, Topeka, 1944; E. E. Slosson, "Our Yell. Rock Chalk! Jay Hawk!! K. U.!!!" *University Review*, April, 1890, pp. 225-28; Raymond C. Moore, "Discovered: Ancestor of Jayhawkornis kansasensis," *Graduate Magazine*, April, 1932, p. 10.

19. W. A. White's letter is quoted in the *Graduate Magazine*, November, 1922, p. 5. Carruth is quoted on pp. 6-7 of the same article, "The K. U. Poets of Yester-Year," pp. 5-7.

20. Quoted in Cecil Howes's "The Fighting Editors of the Frontier," *Kansas Teacher*, September, 1945, pp. 46-48.

21. Snow's "*Musca domestica* Linn. versus *Vespa occidentalis* Cresson," *Psyche*, III, May, 1882, 339.

22. My informant is Dr. Edward Bumgardner.

23. Information supplied by Sam Elliott.

24. See, for example, "Will No Longer Fight Chinch Bugs with Sporotrichum," *Graduate Magazine*, January, 1911, pp. 145-47.

X

1. S. E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*. . . , Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 99.
2. Williston declared in "Francis H. Snow, the Man and Scientist," *Graduate Magazine*, January, 1909, pp. 128-34 (see especially p. 129), that he had accepted his position at the University mainly because of Snow. W. J. Baumgartner reports that he heard Snow say that he had consented to become Chancellor only if Williston should join the faculty. The minutes of the Board of Regents suggest this possibility, recording that on April 10, 1890, Williston was elected Associate Professor of Geology and Paleontology. Snow, who as President of the Faculty had doubtless had some voice in making appointments, accepted the Chancellorship on the following day. (On September 24 Williston was made a full professor.)
3. Letter of June 11, 1892, to D. A. Valentine. (Most of the letters quoted in this chapter are from the carbon copies in the bound volume of Snow's *Correspondence 1892-1899* in the Watson Library.)
4. Letter from Scott to F. W. Blackmar, in the Watson Library.
5. Snow's letter of May 28, 1894.
6. According to family tradition, Mrs. Snow talked to ex-Governor Robinson about the need for a Chancellor's house for the entertainment of important guests. But the Regents had heard about the need from Lippincott, as his reports show.
7. The letter from Wilder is quoted in Noble L. Prentis, *A History of Kansas*, Topeka, 1909, p. 245.
8. The book cited in note 7 also quotes (p. 221) a letter from Snow to S. S. Hand, about a fossil fish; the letter points out that the ocean once covered the western part of the United States.
9. For details see Robert Taft, *Across the Years on Mount Oread*, Lawrence, 1941, pp. 41-42.
10. Brown typescript, p. 181.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
12. See, for instance, Snow's "Popular Education in Europe," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1896*, pp. 216-21.
- The account of Snow's European trip is based chiefly upon a short journal which he kept and upon his letters.
13. Article by the Chancellor's son, Francis Lawrence Snow, "'Rock-chalk' in Africa," *Graduate Magazine*, February, 1914, pp. 273-78.
14. Louise Llewellyn Jarecka, "Edith Huntington Snow: Weaver, Artist, Craftsman," *Handweaver and Craftsman*, April, 1950, pp. 7-11.
15. *Graduate Magazine*, May, 1916, pp. 246-47; also the discussion of the totem pole in the volume dealing with University of Kansas traditions, in the Watson Library.
16. Kellogg's tribute to Will Snow is contained in a letter to the Topeka *Capital*, October 19, 1899.

XI

1. Quoted in the *University Daily Kansan*, December 17, 1924, p. 2. The article mentions Carruth's possible obligations to a passage in *Faust* for his title.
2. Several bits of evidence point to a time near the middle eighties: 1) Snow was quoted as saying, in a speech before the Kansas Academy of Science, that Mudge had not believed in evolution and that at the time he himself had not. Mudge died in 1879. 2) Snow preached for the last time in 1880 his sermon on science and religion (cf. p. 111). If his opinion had changed by 1880, he would not have expressed the views it sets forth. 3) According to Snow's daughter, Mrs. Brown, her husband as a student heard Snow express disbelief in evolution. Brown was a freshman in 1883-84. He was absent from the University during 1884-85. When he returned to school the following year, he was surprised to learn that Snow's views had changed. 4) A paper read before the Kansas Academy of Science (*TKAS*, XI, 33-35; Topeka, 1889) mentions the theory of evolution favorably.
3. Though I cannot mention the sources of impressions from some years of miscellaneous reading, in my discussion of evolution I have found the following especially helpful: *Evolutionary Thought in America*, edited by Stow Persons, New Haven, 1950; Paul B. Sears, *Charles Darwin*. . . , New York, 1950; Jacques Barzun, *Darwin, Marx, Wagner, Critique of a Heritage*, Boston, 1947.

4. *The Autobiography of Joseph Le Conte*, ed. W. D. Armes, New York, 1903, pp. 174-75; Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield*, New Haven, 1925, I, 123.
5. Mentioned in *Evolutionary Thought in America* (see note 3), p. 164.
6. F. S. C. Northrop, "Evolution in Its Relation to the Philosophy of Nature and the Philosophy of Culture," in *Persons* (cited in note 3), pp. 44-84.
7. *Persons*, p. 412.
8. Quoted from Snow's lecture 10, Watson Library.
9. Brown typescript, p. 178.
10. *Ibid.*

XII

1. Brown typescript, p. 188.
2. At the services held in the Plymouth Congregational Church Professors Haworth, Stevens, Templin, Dunlap, McClung, and Snow's physician, Dr. Mervin T. Sudler, were pallbearers. The Rev. W. W. Bolt was in charge.
The speakers at the memorial services in the University Chapel were Dean J. W. Green, who spoke for the faculty; Col. H. L. Moore, "for his fellow citizens"; J. W. Glead, who discussed "Dr. Snow as His Students Knew Him"; W. H. Carruth, who in the absence of S. W. Williston, spoke briefly of "Dr. Snow's modesty" and read extracts from the journals kept during the Civil War. The *Graduate Magazine* for January, 1909, printed the addresses, as well as Williston's paper on "Francis H. Snow, the Man and Scientist."

At a meeting of the New York Union, an organization of University alumni presided over by W. S. Franklin, E. E. Slosson gave a brief appreciative speech on Snow. Vernon Kellogg's article "Francis Huntington Snow" appeared in the *Journal of Economic Entomology*, II, February, 1909, 83-85.

3. Memorial addresses given before the Kansas Academy of Science (printed in *TKAS*, XXII) included Ephraim Miller's "Francis Huntington Snow, Scientist" (this contains several inaccuracies); W. C. Stevens' "Professor Snow as a Teacher" (part of the material in the manuscript tribute in the Watson Library); L. L. Dyche's "Doctor Snow as a Collector, and His Collections"; F. O. Marvin's valuable though not exhaustive list, "The Scientific Papers of Dr. Francis Huntington Snow"; and brief statements by E. H. S. Bailey, L. E. Sayre, and others.

XIII

1. Stephen S. Visher, "Starred Scientists," *Journal for Higher Education*, February, 1931, pp. 78-80.
2. As additional evidence of his wide interests, the list of Snow's papers, as noted in the records of the Old and New Club, is given here:
 1875. Evolution.
 - Feb. 25, 1882. Evolution.
 - Dec. 2, 1882. The Germ Theory of Disease.
 - Feb. 16, 1884. Latest Views of Scholars on the Pentateuch.
 - March 28, 1885. African Explorers.
 - Dec. 5, 1885. The Human Brain.
 - Dec. 4, 1886. Sexuality in Plants.
 - Oct. 29, 1887. Cyclones.
 - Feb. 11, 1888. The Mind in Disease and Cure.
 - Dec. 1, 1888. Eschatology.
 - March 9, 1889. The Ethical Import of Darwinism.
 - Jan. 4, 1890. The Geographical Distribution of Plants and Animals.
 - March 29, 1890. The Credibility of Weather Prognostications.
 - Nov. 1, 1890. Darwin's Voyage in the Beagle.
 - March 14, 1891. Value of the Labors of Louis Pasteur.
 - Nov. 14, 1891. How Far Should Studies Be Elective?
 - March 1, 1892. Dr. Brinton's "Races and Peoples."
 - Oct. 29, 1892. The Future of the College.
 - Jan. 28, 1893. The Columbian Exposition.
 - Oct. 21, 1893. Natural Selection vs. Inheritance of Acquired Characters.

- Feb. 3, 1894. The Man of Culture.
 Dec. 8, 1894. Hypnotism and Its Curative Power.
 April 6, 1895. Where Man Got His Ears.
 Nov. 30, 1895. Same title.
 March 4, 1896. Helpful Science.
 Nov. 28, 1896. The Ideals of American Universities.
 April 10, 1897. "A Singular Life."
 Dec. 18, 1897. Same title.
 April 16, 1898. Higher Criticism.
 Oct. 15, 1898. Early Settlers of New England.
 Feb. 18, 1899. Does the Higher Education Fit Men for a Political Life?
 Dec. 16, 1899. Examples of Kansas Cranks.
 March 17, 1900. Genealogical Records.
 Dec. 8, 1900. Evolution and the Bible.
 March 2, 1901. Science vs. Theology.
 March 29, 1902. Southern California.
 Dec. 20, 1902. The Garrisonian Abolitionists.
 March 21, 1903. The Geographical Distribution of Plants and Animals in Kansas.
 Oct. 24, 1903. Life in the Arizona Desert.
 Feb. 6, 1904. Natural Selection vs. Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics (cf. the title for Oct. 21, 1893).
 Oct. 22, 1904. Life in the Arizona Desert.
 Feb. 4, 1905. The Effects of Isolation upon Insular Life.
 Dec. 9, 1905. The Fertilization of Flowers by Insects.
 March 10, 1906. The Peculiar Insect Fauna of Southern Texas.
 Dec. 9, 1906. The Origin of the Races of Mankind.
 March 9, 1907. Biblical Chronology.
 Dec. 7, 1907. Climatic Changes, Ancient and Modern.
 Feb. 8, 1908. The Ideal Creed.

A list of lectures which Snow was delivering to Kansas communities during the late nineties follows: The Story of the Creation; Shooting Stars and Meteorites; Prehistoric Man; The Story of the Bacteria; The Doctrine of Evolution; The Geographical Distribution of Animals; Natural Selection; A Common Sense View of Higher Education; Origin of the Races of Mankind; A Vacation in Holland, Belgium, Germany, and Austria (with slides); Switzerland and Paris; The Yosemite and the Big Trees of California; Educational Expansion.

APPENDIX A

1. For some of the material on Preyer I am indebted to Howard F. Gloyne, *Carl A. Preyer*. . . , Lawrence, 1949. My comments on other teachers are based partly on collections, chiefly of clippings, in the Watson Library.

2. Snow's letter to J. P. Sams, April 1, 1897.

3. Among the sources for my discussion of Williston are E. C. Case's sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the biographical memoir by Richard Swann Lull in the *Memoirs of the National Academy of Science*, Vol. XVII.

The statement about McClung and sex chromosomes occurs in W. J. Baumgartner's paper, "A Record of Zoology Majors of the University of Kansas," *TKAS*, XXXV, 67-77.

4. This information comes from Professor Stevens himself. An apparently contradictory anecdote in oral circulation is, according to Professor Stevens, untrue.

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