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Benjamin Spock and the Spock Papers at Syracuse University

BY ROBERT S. PICKETT *

Born in 1903 at New Haven, Connecticut, into a staunch Episcopalian family, Benjamin McLane Spock has become one of the most noted figures in the history of American pediatric practice. His moralistic New England heritage has expressed itself in an almost selfless devotion to the children of America, first through the best seller Baby and Child Care, which has revolutionized attitudes towards parenting and, later, during the 1960s, by his leadership in the American peace movement.

Benjamin Spock's early family life provided an initial stimulus for his eventual drive to attain success in a professional field and to live a socially useful life. Thereafter, the direction of his life as well as his professional and political concerns seemed to evolve from both a mixture of personal attributes and a set of historical circumstances that provided the arena for his activities.

Doctor Spock, as he is known to millions of people, has not been a major contributor to scientific research. However, he has triumphed where more medically esteemed physicians have often failed. He be-

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The author specifically wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Ruth Wynn of the Department of Child, Family and Community Studies of Syracuse University for her efforts prior to the creation of this article and for her collaboration with him in interviewing Jane Spock, as well as her role in the initiation of a larger collaborative study that will deal with Doctor Spock's contribution to child development.
gan his career as a competent practitioner and established himself relatively early as a specialist in the area of behavioral problems of children. He also became a faculty member of respected medical schools. Nevertheless, prominence did not come from these achievements. His major professional contribution grew out of his ability to take his own experience as a physician, add to it the scientific and practical findings of others, and translate all this into a form that millions of people could use on a day-to-day basis. Spock reached the literate lay public with concrete and helpful advice that has aided worried parents in their attempts to handle the mundane as well as the more serious health problems of childhood.1

Because of his ability to deal in simple and direct ways with the common problems of child care, the name 'Dr. Spock' is now revered in nearly every corner of the world. The paperback version of his *Baby and Child Care* is the daily authority on how to care for small children, and still remains one of the world's best-selling books. By 1985, forty years after its initial publication, over 30 million copies had been sold.

Many of the elements which have contributed to Spock's life can be examined in the Benjamin Spock Papers housed in the George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University. Spock's papers, which are described in the last section of this article, include a substantial amount of material relating to his career from the mid-1940s to the early 1970s. During this period, he completed *Baby and Child Care* and went on to become a controversial political figure. The following

pages provide a background sketch that will trace Spock's career from his early family life in New England to his eventual activities as a prominent author and a controversial political figure. This brief biography will present a context for those who wish to know more about the person who became the friendly doctor to the world's parents and was subsequently identified with radical elements in American politics.

SPOCK'S CHILDHOOD AND EARLY EDUCATION

Benjamin Spock's childhood was not touched by the so-called 'permissiveness' that his critics would later charge that he advocated. He began his life in the controlled environment of a proper New Haven household and received his early upbringing at the hands of an authoritarian mother. Although she had very firm ideas of her own, Mildred Stoughton Spock assiduously followed the regimen prescribed by the leading pediatrician of the day, Dr. L. Emmett Holt. Holt's *The Care and Feeding of Children*, which originally appeared in 1894, was the standard treatise on systematic child care. Holt emphasized regularity in all things. When and how much food should be fed to babies as well as when they should be bathed, made to sleep and eliminate were all matters of a set pattern. As applied by the formidable Mrs. Spock, this meant sleeping in cold rooms and a diet of vegetables and dairy products. Young Benjamin's father, a long-standing official of the New Haven Railroad, was a more distant figure. He had definite views as to how a child should be reared, but he tended to be more reserved in their expression.

Benjamin's initial school experience was an exercise in toughening the mind and body. While still under the age of five, he underwent the rigors of Mrs. Hocking's outdoor school in New Haven. Exposed to the bracing northern air while he sat learning his letters, the young boy discovered that education was as much a matter of moral and physical training as it was of academic discipline. His later schooling, which reinforced this perspective, occurred under the watchful eyes of New England private-school masters, first at Hamden Hall and then at Phillips Andover Academy. Andover, in particular, was known

for its emphasis upon moral training. Spock went to Yale College for his undergraduate studies and completed them in 1925.

While at Yale, young Spock was not acknowledged as a scholar, but he received acclaim for his physical prowess. Blessed with a large frame, determination, and considerable energy, he was crucial to the Yale crew team’s success as they went on to the Olympic competitions of 1924. He felt at home on the water, and his qualities as a member of the crew team exemplified the way in which he approached most things. In describing Spock’s contribution to the team, a Boston Post sports writer commented: “In the race against Harvard and in all the races which were rowed by Yale in 1924 he passed the stroke down his side of the shell with such smoothness and accuracy that he kept all forward of him in line”. 3

A professionally oriented person by virtue of his background and early schooling, young Ben Spock decided on a medical career. In 1925 he entered Yale Medical School. Spock’s academic career provides few clues to his later activities, but at about the time of his first year in medical school, an event occurred that gave some indication that he would not follow the path of his forebears. Although he was the eldest son and his family obviously wanted him to continue at Yale, Ben decided to transfer to the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University. Another telling instance of independence was his falling in love with Jane Cheney—not the ideal choice, in his mother’s view. Nevertheless, after a year of trying separation, the young couple married in 1927.

The move to Columbia meant that Benjamin and Jane began their married life in the less formal atmosphere of New York City, a fact that had distinct implications for his eventual career. They managed on the relatively meagre resources supplied by a legacy from Benjamin’s godfather and some assistance from Jane’s mother, but their lives were enriched by a lively social life. Both were admired for their ballroom dancing and for their conversational abilities. During this period, New York was alive with intellectual activity. Immigrants from Europe were bringing new ideas to the arts and to politics, and philosopher John Dewey’s notions of progressive education were being translated into reality. It was a time of excitement.

3. Benjamin M. Spock Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University.
Upon completing his initial medical education, Spock took a two-year internship at the New York Presbyterian Hospital and eventually a one-year internship at the New York Nursery and Child’s Hospital. The Child’s Hospital, which later became affiliated with the Cornell Medical Center, provided a pediatric placement in the Upper Hell’s Kitchen area of Manhattan’s West Side. There, the young physician saw at firsthand to what joys the less fortunate entered the world. His earlier background had not allowed him to see much of the less privileged side of life, but his internships opened up new realities.

Marriage also revealed new vistas. Jane Cheney, attractive and socially conscious, exposed her husband to political notions outside the scope of the elder Spocks’ New England Republicanism. Jane’s
allegiance to socialism during her college years and publications such as *The New Republic* and the more Marxist *New Masses* entering the Spock household were signs that Benjamin's more conservative outlook was being subjected to profoundly new influences. Although he would never forsake some of his reserved personal habits or appear in public in less than business attire, the young physician's perspective on social issues underwent an irreversible trend away from conservative politics.

At this juncture, Benjamin Spock's intellectual and professional training also departed from the traditional path of most pediatricians. Possibly because Jane had to undergo psychoanalysis as a prerequisite for her job as a recorder of psychological case histories, and certainly because of his experience with patients, Spock became more interested in the psychoanalytic perspective. It was apparently Jane who first suggested to him that personality formation was fairly well established by age two.\(^4\)

In order to gain additional knowledge and experience, Spock took a year of advanced training at the Payne Whitney Clinic of the New York Hospital. While there, he underwent his own analysis and under supervision conducted an analysis of an adult patient. Though he gained considerable insight from this experience, he failed to develop great skills as an analyst and decided not to specialize in child psychiatry. Nevertheless, his interest in the psychological aspects of child rearing proved very useful. As a psychoanalytically oriented pediatrician, the young Dr. Spock headed in a direction that would mark him as unique, both in terms of his practice (which he pursued for nearly a dozen years) and as the advice-giver that he eventually became.

The early 1930s were difficult for the young couple. Benjamin Spock was not the easiest person to live with. Though he was blessed with a great deal of energy and maintained a warm and pleasant public presence, he held impossibly high standards for himself as well as for those around him. During these years Jane's health was a problem. Her first pregnancy ended in a premature birth and the baby was lost. Although she was eventually able to deliver successfully their first child, Michael, she suffered through several miscarriages and was obliged as well to undergo a gall bladder operation. A worrier by

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nature, she worried about her husband. Benjamin had suffered a bout of pneumothorax. In addition, he was struggling to come to terms with the death of his father.

Like many couples, the Spocks had to wrestle with the economic uncertainties of the Great Depression, but their fortunes, both in terms of finances and physical health, gradually improved. During the period after the birth of their first son, Benjamin was beginning to gain a reputation as a competent and understanding pediatrician. He also enjoyed his work in the New York Hospital, where the clients were considerably more varied than those of his largely upper-middle-class practice. While working there, he became familiar with a great variety of children’s diseases and learned more about the effects of child abuse and neglect. As time passed, he developed considerable skill in the handling of children. Though he towered over them and retained an imposing presence, the children seemed to know that they could trust him.

WRITING THE BOOK

During the early 1940s, the situation in Europe was pressing Americans to recognize the inevitability of their country being drawn into war. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, the United States moved into an all-out mobilization. Doctor Spock volunteered immediately to enter the service, but was not accepted because of problems with his back. As a result, during the first two years of the war, the Spocks continued their civilian life in New York City and summere at Honnedaga Lake in the Adirondacks, where Spock served as resident physician to a small group of rich families. It was there that he found the time he needed to begin to think about writing a book that would embody his ideas about child health.

Benjamin Spock was a natural writer. He came from a family of people who believed in the written word and practised that belief. In an age in which people increasingly used the telephone as a means of communication, he continued to be an inveterate letter writer. Writing for a larger public did not prove at all difficult for him, for he had already begun to put out papers with other physicians. In 1936, he had collaborated with Dr. Mabel Huschka of the New York Hospital in writing an article entitled “The Psychological Aspects of Pediatric Practice”, which appeared in volume 13 of Appleton-
Century's *Practitioners Library of Medicine and Surgery*. This publication convinced him that there were important ideas that he could communicate by the written word.

As the summer of 1943 commenced, the Spocks started the project that would eventually become Benjamin's major contribution to the welfare of both parents and children. With Jane's constant help as spouse, typist, and collaborator, he began to write the first sections of the book. Fortunately, because of the minimal medical demands of the handful of families who provided the cottage in which the Spock family resided, the work rapidly took shape. Benjamin would pace back and forth or sit on the porch railing, occasionally jumping up to peer at the copy that began to commit itself to paper, while Jane sat patiently at the typewriter. Occasionally she would offer suggestions, as he haltingly uttered the phrases that eventually formed the corpus of *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*.

When the Spocks returned to New York City, the process of writing the manuscript continued. Despite a long and busy day, they
worked until late in the evening. There was no longer any time for the sailing that Benjamin loved. The social activities that they so thoroughly enjoyed were replaced by intense efforts to acquire more information to buttress the central focus of the book. Although Jane was now pregnant with their second son, she gathered practical advice and counsel from social workers and did library research, while Benjamin consulted with colleagues and acquaintances, checking out various parts of the manuscript. He even asked mothers for their reactions to the ideas he was developing. Producing the manuscript placed heavy demands upon the household, but the Spocks did not seem to mind the pace.

Benjamin Spock's eventual entrance into the United States Navy and his final assignment on the West Coast disrupted the later phases of manuscript completion; but this did not deter the continuation of the writing. When he took on active duty, Jane consulted others when she needed to. It was she who carried out final negotiations with the publishers. Also, she did the tedious work of last-minute revising and indexing, often taking down his changes by long-distance telephone at two in the morning. Nevertheless, by the end of the war, the book was done, son John had been born, and the Spocks were ready to take on new challenges.

Doctor Spock's approach to advice-giving, both in terms of his practice and his writing, was at odds with the more strict pediatric procedures of the day. Because of his psychological training, he went against current views by recommending much more physical contact between parents and their children. He knew that some of the rigidity of pediatric advice had grown out of conditions prevailing in earlier times. He was aware, for example, that infant-feeding concerns emanated from the period prior to the widespread use of pasteurization, when many infants and small children had died from bacterial contamination of cow's milk, and the various infant formula experi-

6. Although he had not done so in the first edition of Baby and Child Care, Benjamin Spock acknowledged in later editions the many contributions which Jane made during the book's initial creation. See the dedication page in Benjamin M. Spock and Michael B. Rothenberg, Baby and Child Care (New York: Pocket Books, 1985). Readers will also note in this edition how the co-authors took great pains to credit all those who contributed in any way to that specific edition. This is typical of Benjamin Spock's innate sense of fairness.
mentations had not yielded widespread reliability. By the 1930s, however, pasteurization had become mandatory and many more children were surviving to adulthood. With such improvements as these in mind, he advocated more flexible attitudes in matters like feeding, sleeping, and toilet training.

As he conscientiously worked with the families in his practice, Spock noted that intelligent and concerned parents were often very anxious about doing the right thing for their children. He also noticed that the medical establishment paid little heed to these general concerns. He thought that if the knowledgeable parents in his practice, such as anthropologist Margaret Mead, worried about how to handle her child, the legions of parents who lacked her education and financial resources would certainly need help. Obviously, here was a fertile field for a person who wanted to influence lives in a positive manner.

Though some of the Spocks’ friends regarded him as “too permissive” with respect to matters such as discipline, feeding, and toilet training, he did not falter in his convictions. Typically, in keeping with his approach in other matters, he displayed a firmness that belied his gentle and flexible public demeanor. He was determined to make parents feel comfortable as caregivers to their own offspring. Coincidentally, his colleague Erik Erikson, who later paid monthly supervisory visits to Spock’s program at the University of Pittsburgh, was in the process of developing a theoretical approach that stressed the importance of trust in the initial development of human beings.

During the 1960s, Spock came under attack for having fostered permissiveness in child rearing. His critics claimed that he was responsible for the unruly youths who demonstrated in the streets and universities. Spock was quite willing to accept his special affiliation with the younger generation, but the charge of permissiveness was incorrect. He had not advised parents to be permissive. In fact, he had repeatedly told them to be “firm and friendly”. That was his personal and professional style. Spock believed in limits. He even remarked that he had erred with respect to the older of his two sons, because there had been no “clear rules and clear limits” as to how to rear a child.7 He may have thought of himself as “a loving father”,

7. Bloom, Doctor Spock, 89.
but his children thought that he was "distinctly reserved". In any case, he was not a permissive parent, nor did he intend that others should be. His desire to inspire all parents with confidence in their own efforts had been misconstrued and misinterpreted.

Doctor Spock's attitude reflected his own New England background. His practical emphasis upon self-reliance came through as he reversed the earlier approaches on child rearing of pediatrician L. Emmett Holt and the more recent views of behaviorist psychologist John Watson. Watson, the dominant figure of American child psychology in the 1920s and 1930s, distrusted parents and advocated professional systemization of child rearing. By contrast, Spock expressed considerable faith in parental ability. He believed that parents possessed inherently good judgment and only needed to gain confidence. Other authorities concurred with the Spock approach. People such as Doctors Milton Senn and Frances Ilg at the Gesell Institute at Yale University regarded Spock's work as an important breakthrough. Even though he did not pay great homage to Gesell's famous 'ages and stages' approach to child development, they thought that Spock was thorough and imaginative, as well as practical.

BENJAMIN SPOCK AT MID-CAREER

The years following the initial publication of Baby and Child Care were busy ones for the Spock family. The paperback version had become an enormous success. In a note written to Spock in the fall of 1947, Pocket Book publisher Robert F. de Graff remarked: "It is probably unnecessary to tell you that the book has had, in our opinion, a remarkable sale, which has only been limited by an inability to get sufficient paper to supply the demand". Book publishing at that time was on the crest of the wave that ushered in huge sales in

9. John B. Watson began publishing as early as 1913, but the most clearly delineated example of his views with respect to parenting can be seen in his Psychological Care of Infant and Child (New York: W. W. Norton, 1928). For a brief, but useful analysis of Watson's perspective, see Elizabeth M. R. Lomax, et al., Science and Patterns of Child Care (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1978), 109-50.
inexpensive paperbound books. The Pocket Book edition of *Baby and Child Care* contributed to this revolution. The original printing was a quarter of a million copies, but these were quickly snapped up by an eager public. Numerous printings of larger runs soon followed.

The Spocks were also on the move. Benjamin Spock had come to a crossroad in his career. Given the success of his book, he decided to leave clinical work and become an academic. Forsaking a promising practice, which he had begun in 1933, and leaving behind many colleagues and friends, he joined the staff of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. To a considerable extent, the stay in Rochester provided a relatively peaceful interlude in the life of the Spock family. While in New York, both of the Spocks had been active in many of the concerns of the day. Jane had been involved in alleviating the plight of Spanish children suffering from the ravages of the Spanish Civil War, and Benjamin had been caught up in the progressive movement in education. In addition to his busy practice, he was the attending physician at the Brearley School for girls. His intellectual life was also exciting; he was continuing his studies at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, intensively reading John Dewey and Sigmund Freud, and engaging in stimulating interactions with the educational psychologist Dr. Caroline Zachry. Nevertheless, the move to the Mayo Clinic was justifiable—for personal as well as career reasons. The Mayo Clinic was one of the most prestigious institutions of its kind, and Rochester offered a much quieter atmosphere, one that could have been considered more conducive to the raising of two sons.

In spite of the pleasant surroundings, the stay in Minnesota lasted only a brief time. After four years the Spocks moved to Pittsburgh, where Benjamin took on with his teaching and research commitments a complex array of administrative duties at the University of Pittsburgh. The Spocks enjoyed the social life in Pittsburgh; but Benjamin did not find administration to his liking, nor did his research efforts prove to be particularly fruitful. Fortunately, he had gained sufficient stature to be in demand in other places. In 1955, an offer from the Medical School at Western Reserve University lured them away to Cleveland, Ohio.

By now, Benjamin Spock's professional career was discernibly sep-
arate from the conventional mainstream. Increasingly, he used his talents to synthesize his knowledge and experience for the public’s well-being. During the years immediately following World War II, the United States had experienced an enormous growth in population—the ‘baby boom’. A very young generation of parents needed and eagerly sought counsel. Doctor Spock provided the support they wanted, and herein lay his major gift to society.

Benjamin Spock’s talents as a speaker and a writer contributed to considerable demands upon his time. Although he fended off most offers of speaking engagements tendered to him, Spock was unable to resist the pressure to present his views to the mass media. He began to write monthly columns for large domestic publications, such as the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Redbook*. Also, he was persuaded to appear in a series of programs on the relatively new medium of television. His strength did not lie in his ability to generate new knowledge, but rather to pass on in simple and straightforward language the recent medical discoveries of his colleagues.

Spock spent the remainder of his academic career as professor of child development and child psychiatry at Western Reserve. His move there ushered in a period of peak activity. By 1956 publishers had sold over eight million copies of his book, and demand for it continued. Spock was called upon to prepare new revisions to keep up with burgeoning medical knowledge and an ever-broadening market of readers.

As the financial rewards from Benjamin’s long-standing best seller and his other writings were realized, the Spocks ranged further in their vacations. In the early 1960s, they began sailing in the Virgin Islands. Jane, who had to learn how to sail to keep up with her husband, had developed a cautious but accomplished style of sailing. By contrast, he was more adventurous. He loved the excitement of the open sea, which, no doubt, offered a welcome contrast to the demanding schedule in Cleveland. In addition to an active social life, he was revising *Baby and Child Care*, authoring and co-authoring numerous books, writing continuously in domestic magazines, teaching, advising, and supervising students, conducting investigations, constantly negotiating with his publishers, and answering countless letters from anxious parents all over the world. Also, in this period, he began his involvement in national issues.
In the early years, the issues which Spock took up were closely related to his role as a pediatrician. In this respect one thinks of his leadership in the national campaign to support fluoridation. But, gradually, his attention turned to national priorities that were less specifically related to child health. He gladly accepted the invitation to membership on the United States Committee for UNICEF. He was also called upon to address the White House Conference on Children and Families.

As he became increasingly involved in the national arena, Spock addressed topics other than health and began to advocate social policy that he thought might have an impact on children. *Ladies' Home Journal* editor Bruce Gould urged Spock to adhere to the kind of articles that readers had been accustomed to seeing, but Spock in-
sisted on writing about broader issues. Not long after the Soviets had launched Sputnik, a number of self-proclaimed authorities on edu-
cation, such as historian Arthur Bestor, began to use the national
media to flay the American educational system. Although he knew
that it was far from perfect, Spock wrote extensively in its defense.

In time, Spock was drawn into larger issues, such as nuclear dis-
armament and civil rights. Though his higher income now provided
the opportunity for longer vacations in his beloved sailboats, he could
not escape from his own sensitivities. After an initial wariness on his
part, he ardently supported John F. Kennedy's New Frontier, but
eventually was disappointed by both Kennedy's and Lyndon B. John-
son's war policies. Spock's inborn sense of justice and the moral fer-
vor that smoldered below his normally gentle manner could not be
contained for long. As he neared the end of his fifties, Spock began
to speak out, both in his writings and in public gatherings.

Doctor Spock was well known for his work as an advice-giver, but
his new activities cast him in a different light. Obviously, the times
had changed since the end of World War II, and now was the time
to be preoccupied with new matters. He assumed leadership in the
National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, known nationally as
SANE. Instead of the baby doctor writing replies to mothers who wor-
ried about thumb-sucking or bed-wetting, Spock appeared in SANE's
SANE made good use of Spock's image. The large photograph de-
picted him as the concerned father-physician, looking down wor-
rriedly on one of his charges, apparently dismayed by a world in which
children could not grow and prosper.

Spock's prominence as a leading member of the peace movement
and his eventual nomination in 1972 as a third-party candidate for
presidential office presented a major dilemma to many of the millions
of parents who loyally followed his advice. He no longer seemed to
be the benevolent physician they thought they knew. In the per-
spective of Spock's life, however, the turn toward activism was an
understandable development. His more radical activities had come
at the end of a long, often vacillating move from an essentially con-
servative to a much more radical outlook; but the underlying moti-
vation for his actions had been consistent. He wanted to make a
better world for children.

The way had not been easy and had never been free of personal
conflict. Spock's early background as well as his training as a physician marked him as a member of a relatively elite group. His innate propriety and subsequent training prevented him from making an easy transition from pediatrician for a relatively small group of families in New York City to a national celebrity, first as the writer of a best seller and later as a controversial political figure. Although he enjoyed being in the limelight, he was often uneasy about such fame. He was also initially unsure that such activism was consistent with his professional position.

In his early years, Spock scrupulously tried to avoid conflicts and rationalized his refusal to become identified with political activities, many of which he secretly endorsed. He argued that active political participation in causes would violate the trust of his followers; but when he became convinced that lack of involvement would result in what he regarded as a negative outcome, Spock began to take on a
much more public style. Initially, he participated in activities such as backing political candidates with whom he sympathized. However, as time went on, he gravitated to concentrating on issues which he thought that even these politicians had evaded.

When it became clear to him that continued nuclear testing would definitely bring harm to future generations of children, Spock could not remain within the boundaries of professional detachment. He became a man who was ready to go to jail for his beliefs. In time, that opportunity presented itself, and he was spending brief stays in local jails as a result of civil rights demonstrations. Then, in a highly emotional court case in 1968, Spock and four other people stood trial in the federal district court in Boston. They were charged with crimes against the state. Specifically, the “Boston Five”, as the newspaper writers referred to them, were indicted for “conspiracy to aid and abet violation of the Selective Service Act”. Spock was convicted. Although the verdict was later thrown out, Spock had demonstrated both his commitment to the peace movement and his own high standard of personal responsibility.

Involvement in activities such as the peace movement allowed Spock to be at ease with himself. He felt that he was contributing to the good of mankind, and he was pleased that he was not being reimbursed for his efforts. He commented to his biographer Lynn Z. Bloom that he felt contented with his activism for peace, because it salved his “harsh, chronically dissatisfied conscience”.11

Perhaps, Benjamin Spock’s humanitarian activities were not in line with those of the majority of doctors of his time; but in many ways, he fitted a time-honored pattern. Along with well-known people such as Erich Lindemann, Karl Menninger, and John C. Rock, Spock belonged to a national group of doctors known as Physicians for Social Responsibility. Their chief concern was the possible impact of chemical, biological, and radiological warfare. Writing in the mid-1970s, Eugene P. Link described Spock as representing an American tradition originated by people such as Doctor Benjamin Rush, an early American patriot. In his article on Spock for the Encyclopedia of American Biography, Link pointed out that Spock fitted the standard in that he came out of an elite background, but that he was “strongly democratic and humanitarian in action as well as in word

throughout his life”. Link noted that Spock had “joined a select, but distinguished company of predecessors who ministered to the body politic as well as the body physical”. 12

“RETIRING” TO THE POLITICAL ARENA

After his retirement from Western Reserve in 1967, Spock continued his writing although his life became increasingly involved in third-party politics in the national arena. During the same year, Spock co-chaired the National Conference for a New Politics, in which a varied assemblage of people concerned with civil rights, poverty, and anti-war protest formed a loose coalition to express their convictions and to take courses of action that were at variance with the political mainstream. This volatile group represented many of the hopes that had been ignited earlier in the work of leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr.; but its days of major national influence were numbered. After King’s assassination, the upheaval at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Nixon’s election, and the killings at Kent State and Jacksonville, the group coalesced sufficiently to nominate Spock as the Presidential standard-bearer for the People’s Party in 1972, and in 1976 he was nominated to be a vice-presidential candidate.

The year 1976 witnessed two other benchmarks in Spock’s life. He made the substantial so-called feminist revision of Baby and Child Care, in which he reflected an increased sensitivity to feminist criticisms of his book. Also, he divorced Jane Cheney. During the same year, he married Mary Morgan.

In the 1980s, prior to beginning the revision for the fortieth anniversary edition of Baby and Child Care, Spock took another momentous step. With the careful assistance of his wife Mary, he selected a collaborator for the new edition. Pediatrician and child psychologist Michael B. Rothenberg, whom Benjamin had first met in 1955, became the co-author of the revised and updated version of Baby and Child Care. As a nationally recognized advocate for children’s health care, Rothenberg fitted the mold established so long before. However, to insure that the readership would not desert, the

Benjamin Spock at the tiller of his yacht Turtle.

cover was set up to read Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care, though the title page in fact remained as it was. In spite of his controversial politics and his retirement to a boat in the Virgin Islands, the phrase “According to Dr. Spock” thus continues to be uttered in millions of homes throughout the world.

THE SPOCK COLLECTION AT SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

At present, the Benjamin Spock Papers comprise 108 linear feet of documents presented to Syracuse University in three donations.
Additions to these papers are expected. The original and largest donation occupies 63.75 linear feet and dates to 1968. Most of the papers are from the mid-1940s onward and are organized into the following five groups: Correspondence, Medical Reference Files, Memorabilia, Subject Files, and Writings. The Correspondence files (boxes 1–26), which are arranged by date, contain letters written to Spock, as well as a larger number of typescript copies and handwritten drafts of his replies. Much of the early correspondence relates to Spock’s dealings with his publishers and to the various child health programs with which he was involved; but the later papers also contain a good deal of political material associated with the various groups with which he was affiliated. There are many letters from parents and from politically interested people from all over the world, including a good number from prominent figures, such as: Taylor Caldwell, Norman Cousins, Margaret Mead, Ho Chi Minh, child psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner, sex educator Dr. Mary S. Calderone, politicians J. William Fulbright, Hubert Humphrey, John and Robert Kennedy, and union leader Walter Reuther.

The second donation of papers takes up 37 linear feet. It contains material spanning the years 1951 to 1976, but is concentrated largely in the period from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. As such, it pertains to Spock’s presidential candidacy and includes photographs, cartoons, caricatures, and hate-mail sent to Spock. There are also newspaper clippings and many articles about Spock, along with articles and books by him. Financial and legal papers, memorabilia, and audiovisual materials round out this portion of the papers.

The third donation of papers occupies 7 linear feet. It consists of material which had been in the possession of Spock’s biographer Dr. Lynn Z. Bloom and covers the years 1963 to 1971. Included are correspondence, published materials, some of Spock’s writings and notes, Bloom’s own notes and typescript, biographical transcripts, interview materials, and audio recordings made in the late 1960s.
Alistair Cooke: A Response to Granville Hicks’ *I Like America*

BY KATHLEEN MANWARING

When I say I like America, I am thinking of potentialities as well as actualities. I am thinking of an America I could like—without reservation.¹

Written at the urging of his friend Louis Birk, managing editor of Modern Age Books, *I Like America* was Granville Hicks’ attempt to present to a middle-class audience “the official line of the Communist Party in the Popular Front period”.² Published when the slogan ‘Communism is Twentieth-Century Americanism’ identified the interests of the mass of the American population, which was suffering from the Depression and the inadequate response of the New Deal for relief, with the aims of the Party, the book was later described by Hicks as “a venture in propaganda”.³ The Granville Hicks Papers in the George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University document the history of *I Like America*, including the book outline, the proposal as presented to Louis Birk and the subsequent editorial correspondence, book reviews, and the more than 150 letters Hicks received in response to what literary historian Jack Alan Robbins describes as an “evangelical yet totally undogmatic”⁴ exercise in political persuasion.

While the collection follows the development of Hicks’ book from its inception through the reader response that continued to arrive through 1947, it also details the first efforts of Louis Birk to secure funds for one of the publishing industry’s earliest ventures into the

3. Ibid., 154.
production of paperback books. In the pursuit of his vision of establishing a "publishing house in America which will have as its first objective the publication of worthwhile books whether they return their cost of manufacture or not," Birk, at Hicks' suggestion, enlisted the aid of the then champion of progressive causes, Lincoln Steffens. Appealing to Steffens for an introduction to Edward A. Filene, "a Boston merchant with a reputation for liberalism," Birk stated his case simply: "What we need now is initial capital." Steffens agreed to pass along to Filene, Birk's brochure entitled "Proposal in full, with endorsements, opinions, and reactions from a group of America's leading scholars and educators", cautioning that his appeal for funds, while worthy, might be ill-timed in terms of support from Filene:

He is preoccupied with a scheme of his own; he has just put one million into his scheme and it is so much more important than your plan that I, for instance, would not care for the job of presenting your idea. But I have told him about you and your publishing house aborning and he consented to see you about it.

5. Birk to Lincoln Steffens, 13 February 1936, Granville Hicks Papers, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University.
6. Hicks, Part of the Truth, 76.
Steffens tempered his skepticism about the success of an approach by Birk with some advice: “Your opening is price. He believes in books priced so that everybody can afford them. But I can tell you that he sees things much more fundamentally than you seem to. As for me I love to let a capitalist say things to a Red that Reds prefer to tell capitalists.” Replying enthusiastically to Steffens’ suggestion, Birk wrote back: “. . . what I want most is to price books so that people can buy them, after they have bought bread”.

There is nothing further in the Hicks correspondence or in Gerald White Johnson’s biography of Filene, Liberal’s Progress, to indicate that Filene supported the Modern Age Books project or that he had even met with Birk. In any case, Charles A. Madison made the statement in Book Publishing in America that Modern Age Books was started “prematurely and amateurishly” without first establishing adequate means for distribution. The goal to make paperback books available to a mass market quickly disintegrated under the pressures of insufficient capital. Modern Age Books began to issue hardbound books at higher prices, but was finally forced to liquidate in 1942, though according to Birk the popularity of Hicks’ I Like America had saved it from earlier bankruptcy. Birk wrote: “. . . your book was actually what weighed the scales and kept Modern Age from going under many months ago”. Thus Hicks’ book temporarily rescued a floundering paperback experiment that initially failed, but was revived decades later, transforming the publishing industry forever.

I Like America owed much of its success to Hicks’ conversational style, which avoided the more strident approach of much of the Communist propaganda of the 1930s: “What I want to do in this book”, Hicks wrote, “is present my case to the middle middle class, to the group to which we both belong”. Although the title originally included “A Communist Looks at His Country”, Hicks and Birk dropped that subtitle, fearing they might alienate the class to which the book was directed. Birk wrote: “I agree that the word

12. Ibid.
13. Birk to Hicks, 1 March 1939.
14. Hicks, I Like America, 4.
'Communist' or the implication of the word will both be out of consideration".15 In a straightforward approach Hicks argued for a spirit of nationalism that would both recognize the country's strength and admit the need for change: “We need the kind of patriotism that can look at all the facts and still say: ‘I Like America’ ”.16 Leaving rhetoric aside, Hicks appealed to reason in stating that America's potential would only be realized when all of its citizens shared in its abundance:

I am interested in the people who, without having a conscious dislike for America, feel no positive affection. . . . They are the underprivileged, and they lack patriotism because they don't share in America's greatness. They have little or no part in the America that you and I know and love.17

Hicks' argument relied on cementing a bond between the middle class and the underprivileged. He insisted that in a society whose economic system tolerates short-term prosperity alternated with frequent depressions, no citizens except the very wealthiest are ever truly secure:

15. Birk to Hicks, 11 February 1938.
16. Hicks, I Like America, 29.
17. Ibid., 5.
If you're not at the top, there are some unpleasant questions that may have occurred to you. Lawyers, doctors, teachers, ministers, business men, salaried officials—all have suffered in the course of this depression. How sure are you that you will not suffer in the next one? 18

Hicks went on to state that in aligning itself with progressive causes the middle class could facilitate the transfer of the means of economic production to serve the interests of all rather than the privileged few:

When the middle class was really a class, it was not afraid to fight for changes that were not only in its own interests but also in the interests of the great masses of the people. Much of what you and I cherish in American life today we owe to the struggles of our middle-class ancestors. Today the middle class is vanishing, but its ideals are not lost. We can fight for them still, and fight for them all the better because we are part of the working class. 19

Finally, Hicks challenged the middle class to create an atmosphere in which America's potential could be realized: "There are many American dreams more splendid than the hope for simple comfort,

18. Hicks, I Like America, 110.
19. Ibid., 123.
but none more human or understandable". Cautioning against the threat of Fascism, he wrote:

There is no standing still. Either we break through to a society of planned abundance or we slip back closer and closer to barbarism... We thought we were approaching the era of plenty and it turns out to be a new age of darkness.

Thus, Hicks identified two Americas: the land of beauty and abundant resources which exists in the present, and the nation of potential for which there must be shared responsibility to ensure that all citizens be given opportunity to enjoy the wealth. These were not new ideas. Rather, they represented the accepted political orientation of the Communist Party of the United States of America during the Popular Front era. In presenting his stance in a moderate, personal tone, Hicks extended his reach to a wider, more sophisticated, audience—his middle-class peers.

Among the scores of letters in the collection is ample proof that Hicks did in fact hold the attention of that audience. Teachers, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, farmers, and sales clerks responded to the book, many asking what they could do personally to meet the challenge of providing for a better America. Hicks answered some of these letters himself, but also responded in a series of four essays that appeared in the New Masses between August and November 1938. Perhaps the most interesting perspective on I Like America was provided by a newly arrived immigrant who was to document during the early 1970s, in a television series “America”, his own historical view of his adopted country:

166 East 78th Street, New York City.
May 17th, 1938

Dear Granville Hicks,

You have never heard of me but my case may interest, if not amuse, you. I have just finished reading your ‘I Like America’ and I am sending several copies of it to friends of

mine in England who doubted the wisdom or point of my settling here.

I am a young man, not yet thirty, married to an American girl. After a middle-class English childhood, I scribbled my way via scholarships and the like to Cambridge (Eng.), had some luck in the English Tripos there, took a First the same year as what may become known as 'Empson's year'. I taught school in Germany, came back to Cambridge to research in dramatic criticism. By some freak of fortune I was awarded a Commonwealth Fellowship in 1932 and my life, soul—if any—, ethos, future, and present were irrevocably changed by two years in this country,—a year at Yale, a year at Harvard. I went back to England with a wife who damn near died from English damp, became film critic to the British Broadcasting Corporation. On account of the quite grotesque emphasis that any regular broadcaster in the British Isles receives, I made a name and a reputation of sorts (enough, anyway, to have assured me comfort and jobs for the rest of my liberal life). But I had been uprooted and forced to consider, by my floating around the Melting Pot, old German and Irish origins the average Englishman is at any time faintly bored to trace. During my stay back in England I knew I was a set-up for an American immigrant. So in April of last year I emigrated.

For a year I have been broadcasting here and hope to go on, because I believe in radio, I believe in its audience and in the need to tell yourself, with them, what are the good home truths and what the whimsical ones. I believe in radio in spite of the deep reactionary suspicion of it by most intelligent literary people here. But I shall write too and I'm just starting in.

I too like America. I am not a Communist. I am a sort of liberal Englishman disturbed, but not yet to action. Being by training and profession a critic, I try always to believe in the usefulness of the man on the sidelines, separating convictions from the organic processes that convey them. Being a liberal Englishman is a generous qualification here as a dangerous radical. By this I mean that it is the force of habit, not my individual nobility, which makes me regard social insurance and free unions as the merest crumbs that the
working man should expect to tumble from his employer's table. My idea of the most fascinating and rooted tories I ever knew is not odd English landowners, many of whom retain the human integrity to supervise personally at midnight with much touching anxiety the delivery of their gardener's latest child,—but the nice, confused genial young Harvard men I directed in plays four years ago,—well-meaning young men ripe and raw for the gentle seeping of Lincoln Steffens' 'slow, inevitable corruption'.

I like America and though my roots are not here I have read patiently about it, studied its speech for a time as a specialist, seen its highways and back country in all but one of these states. I have read your book and it has depressed, then exalted me as nothing since odd recollections of Aeschylus, Ibsen, and not to draw too fine a literary point,—more recently the Federal Theatre's 'One Third Of A Nation.' More certainly now I know it was a good instinct made me declare citizenship. If ever there was a land to live and die in it is this.

So this rather roundabout confessional is a way of saying thank you for a fine book which foregoes the things that made one despair of all a priori creeds,—the convictions bred from hate, the resentment at a 'success' one does not want for oneself. I hope you sell every copy printed. I hope this letter is a cheering grace note to the lush volume of praise you deserve to get, and will. Again, the thanks of—an immigrant.

Yours sincerely,

[signed] Alistair Cooke

More than three decades later in his book on America, Cooke echoed both his own and Hicks' view of two Americas and the dichotomy inherent in that vision: "As I see it, in this country—a land of the most persistent idealism and the blandest cynicism—the race is on between its decadence and its vitality".22

While Hicks’ book had caught the attention of readers, it was largely ignored by the popular press. As Hicks himself stated:

Some three months after its publication, *I Like America* has had only a handful of reviews. So far as I know, no New York newspaper except the *World-Telegram* and the *Times* has noticed the book. *Time, the Nation*, and the *New Yorker* have ignored it. Most of the reviews that I have seen appeared in small-city newspapers scattered through the country.\(^\text{23}\)

However, there were sprinklings of noteworthy response. Reviewing *I Like America* for the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Elmer Davis wrote: “. . . his book (one of the handsomest of Modern Age productions) is highly respectable from any point of view—the work of a good citizen, a humane and intelligent man, who knows his country’s faults but loves it anyway because he believes those faults can be corrected”.\(^\text{24}\) Clyde Beck of the *Detroit News* had this to say: “Thus one of the world’s great thinkers calls on democracy to save itself, and suggests the direction of safety”.\(^\text{25}\) Not surprisingly, the left-wing

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press celebrated the publication of the book. Walt Carmon of the *Daily Worker* wrote: “Hicks gives a final shove to the great American myth of individualism which has fallen lower than the stock market in 1929”; 26 Kyle Crichton, writing under the name Robert Forsythe for the *New Masses*, put it simply: “I Like Granville Hicks”. 27 But, as can be seen from the following headline in the *Des Moines Register*, the critical acclaim was not universal: “Hicks Hacks Out 4-Bit Book Which Should Relax Patriots”. 28 The *American Mercury* expressed its contempt with grudging praise: “Communism in its most dangerous guise. . . . Good writing and good propaganda addressed to Pink wobblies who need to imbibe their Communism with sweetness and light.” 29 Thus, while the publication of *I Like America* was met with mixed reviews, even his detractors could not deny that Hicks’ greatest ‘fault’ was his effectiveness as a writer in a cause with which they did not agree.

“A Citizen of No Mean City”:
Jermain W. Loguen and the Antislavery Reputation of Syracuse

BY MILTON C. SERNETT

Benjamin Quarles, a widely known and respected pioneer in the scholarly study of Afro-American history, wrote in 1942 that the Gerrit Smith Papers constitute “perhaps the largest single collection of a purely reformist nature in the United States”.¹ With the assistance of Professor W. Freeman Galpin of Syracuse University, Quarles examined the collection, given to the University in 1928, and concluded that Gerrit Smith had “received at least one letter from every literate Negro who was prominent in the North during the twenty years preceding the Civil War”.² Quarles counted 277 letters from black correspondents, nearly twice as many as are included in the Boston Public Library’s extensive Antislavery Collection. Letters from Frederick Douglass to Gerrit Smith account for 101 of those Quarles examined. Douglass and Smith were intimately associated in the emergence of political, non-Garrisonian abolitionism after Douglass settled in Rochester in 1849.

Another, though less well known black correspondent, Jermain Wesley Loguen, also was prominent in upstate New York reform movements, especially in Syracuse. His grave in Oakwood Cemetery is only a short walk from the George Arents Research Library, where his five letters to Gerrit Smith are housed. Together with the Loguen correspondence in the Chapman Family Papers (also in the George Arents Research Library) and other primary sources, they reveal that Loguen’s abolitionist career intersected at many points with that of Smith, especially after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1850.

Though a fugitive himself, Loguen felt “bound to Syracuse” and was instrumental, as Superintendent (or General Agent) of the Underground Railroad, in making Syracuse an “open city”. The following essay highlights Loguen’s connection with Syracuse and substantiates historian Larry Gara’s observation: “No underground railroad station was more frequently and openly advertised than the one at Syracuse, New York”.3

A biography of Loguen appeared in 1859 with the title The Rev. J. W. Loguen, as a Slave and as a Freeman. Though the author is not identified and the narrative is written in the third person, Loguen himself was the principal contributor. He had asked Smith in March 1859 for assistance in order to “get out a book”, the proceeds of which were to offset his expenses in caring for fugitives.4 The Syracuse papers carried excerpts, and five hundred copies of the 444-page volume were advertised in 1859 at one dollar per copy. Loguen presented himself as “the Editor” and dedicated the volume to all those who aided fugitives, admitting that some of the episodes prior to his escape had to be supplied from the editor’s “fancy”.5 The narrative ends in 1852 with Loguen’s return from Canada, where he had sought refuge subsequent to the Jerry Rescue of 1851.

Born about 1813 in Davidson County, Tennessee, of a slave mother and a white master named David Logue, Jermain—or ‘Jarm’, as he was called—failed at his first attempt to escape. But after the sale of his sister to another master, he resolved to try again. In 1834, he and another slave ran away from Tennessee and “track[ed] their way from point to point, and from abolitionist to abolitionist, by aid of the [North] Star, through the dreary wilderness to Canada”.6 Loguen hired himself out to clear land and then in the spring of 1837 farmed on shares near Hamilton, Ontario, until creditors seized the property.

4. Loguen to Gerrit Smith, 23 March 1859. Unless otherwise noted, all future references to Loguen-Smith correspondence draw upon the Gerrit Smith Papers at Syracuse University.
6. Ibid., 303.
He went temporarily to St. Catharines and in the fall of 1837 crossed Lake Erie to Rochester, New York, where he worked as a hotel waiter and porter. He was now twenty-four years old and had added an 'n' to his name. Although he had only recently learned to read, Loguen showed enough natural ability to be accepted at Oneida Institute, the radical abolitionist and interracial school at Whitesboro, New York, presided over by the Reverend Beriah Green. Here he found himself in the company of youthful reformers, black and white, who were dedicated to doing something practical in the fight against slavery.

Since Loguen spent only two years at Oneida Institute, he probably did not complete the entire college curriculum. Older than many of the students, he may have been anxious to put his education to practical use, as well as to begin a family. In his last year at Oneida, Loguen started a school for black children in nearby Utica. There, he met Caroline Storum, a refined and well-educated young woman from Busti, New York, whose parents were described as being but "slightly tinged with African blood". Caroline and Jarm were married in 1840 and settled in Syracuse the following year.

"Syracuse", Loguen reported to the Colored American in May of 1841, "has its philanthropists, and those who can feel for the colored man". He was able to discover about two hundred black inhabitants, perhaps one thirty-fifth of the entire Syracuse population. They took religious matters seriously, gathering for worship in private homes and making plans, under the leadership of the Reverend John Chester, for a chapel to accommodate about four hundred. "But candor compels me", Loguen wrote, "to acknowledge that there prevails a most reprehensible apathy in regard to education [within the black community]". He set about to rectify the situation and soon had a school with forty-four pupils. When a hired classroom proved too small, Loguen began erecting a separate structure near the white Baptist

7. Loguen made 'Wesley' his middle name at the suggestion of Methodist friends. He reported that he was twenty-three before he learned to read. Douglass' Monthly, May 1859.

8. On the influence of Oneida Institute upon Loguen and other black activists, see Milton C. Sernett, Abolition's Axe: Beriah Green, Oneida Institute, and the Black Freedom Struggle (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1986).


building on Church Street. However, due to public animosity he later moved the uncompleted building with oxen to the vicinity of McKinstry’s Candle Factory and then again onto the premises of a tannery.

Elder Lewis licensed Loguen to serve as preacher to the small African Methodist Episcopal Zion congregation, which was still, after Loguen’s third year of residence in Syracuse, without a finished building. While visiting Steuben County in search of financial aid, Loguen delivered his first abolition lecture. Antislavery clergy were so impressed that they induced him to lead a small, racially-mixed congregation at Bath. Before assuming the charge, he attended the Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination, where he was licensed to be an elder. About 1845, he accepted a temporary call from a black congregation in Ithaca. In 1846 he returned to Syracuse, where he remained until 1848, when he was appointed presiding elder and stationed at Troy.

Jermain Loguen is representative of the activist antebellum black
clergy who, however intimately involved in church affairs, viewed abolitionism as essential to their sense of sacred vocation. He early came to the attention of the white upstate New York abolitionists who, like Gerrit Smith, sought to employ political instrumentalities when moral suasion tactics, as advocated by William Lloyd Garrison, proved fruitless. These advocates of single-issue abolitionist politics formed the Liberty Party and in 1844 urged Loguen to “stump” for their candidate, James Birney, against the Whig nominee Henry Clay and the Democratic standard-bearer James K. Polk. Loguen was so effective that John Thomas, an abolitionist in Cortland and later in Syracuse, wrote Gerrit Smith urging that Loguen be given the duties of an antislavery lecturer. Smith entertained Loguen at his Peterboro home and later wrote Thomas: “What a man you sent me! I invited him to pray in my family, and he prayed so feelingly for his mother that he set us all in tears.” Loguen subsequently returned to Syracuse from Ithaca in order to become more active in the antislavery field.

Of the five extant letters from Loguen to Smith in the Gerrit Smith Papers, the first concerns Smith's efforts to give away more than three thousand parcels of land to poor but qualified blacks. Gerrit Smith had by inheritance and his own good fortune amassed an immense amount of land in the counties of northern New York. In 1846 he decided to act on his anti-land-monopolist principles and his belief that if black freedmen crowding the cities were given farms of forty to sixty acres each, they might deliver themselves from economic poverty and, not incidentally, develop some of the virtues of self-respect and industry which Smith associated with the agrarian myth. He requested the aid of black leaders in New York City and upstate New York in finding suitable candidates for his largess.

Loguen assisted with the task of matching candidates and deeds, especially in Tompkins County. His correspondence with Smith reveals that the plan to help the black poor was not going smoothly. Incorrect names appeared on a number of deeds, and Loguen felt

12. Quoted in [Loguen], Loguen, 380.
that some of the proposed grantees were not qualified for the demanding task of subsistence farming. His reservations were justified by the fact that the majority of those awarded land abandoned farming due to their lack of experience. The problem was compounded by the poor soils and harsh winters of northern New York, especially in the Adirondack counties of Franklin, Essex, and Hamilton. Loguen spent nearly seven weeks investigating the lands in Franklin and Essex counties and discovered that many of the illiterate black recipients had been overcharged by unscrupulous “pilots” and were selling their deeds “for a song”.

With their common interests in political abolitionism and the economic welfare of northern blacks, Loguen and Smith naturally joined forces in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Bill, which formed a part of the Compromise of 1850. Earlier southern efforts to enforce compliance with fugitive slave measures, such as that included in Article IV of the Constitution and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, had been rendered largely ineffective by the passage of personal liberty laws in such states as Pennsylvania and by the unwillingness of northern whites to cooperate with slaveholders or their agents in the recapture of blacks. Due to increasing sectionalism, it became clear that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 would not hold. Northern politicians became concerned about the expansion of slavery into the western territories. In the Compromise of 1850, which sought to balance out northern and southern interests, the slaveholders achieved a victory in the inclusion of a more comprehensive fugitive slave law.

By successfully making the problem of runaways a national matter, Southerners could call upon federal officers to help in the recapture of fugitives. The new law was to be exercised by commissioners appointed by the United States circuit courts; and United States marshals and deputy marshals were liable for the slave’s full value, should

13. Loguen to Gerrit Smith, [1847], Gerrit Smith Papers. The abolitionist John Brown purchased land at North Elba from Smith and settled among a contingent of black grantees in the vicinity of Lake Placid. Here he hoped to recruit soldiers for his liberation army.

he or she escape from their custody. Owners of fugitive slaves, or their agents, had only to take an alleged runaway before these commissioners and prove his identity. They were then to be granted a certificate to remove the escaped slave back to the state or territory from where he or she allegedly escaped. Denied the right of habeas corpus, fugitives could not give testimony before the commissioners. Any person who obstructed the arrest of escapees or attempted to aid or harbor them risked a fine of up to one thousand dollars and a maximum imprisonment of six months. 15

The abolitionists of Syracuse, a city of 21,901 whites and 370 blacks in 1850, viewed the Fugitive Slave Bill with contempt and alarm. Since the organization of a county antislavery society in 1835, the city had witnessed numerous abolitionist meetings and debates. In 1839, two years prior to Loguen’s arrival, Syracuse activists assisted in the rescue of Harriet Powell from a Mississippi family that was lodging at the Syracuse House. Described as almost white and “as richly dressed as her mistress”, Harriet was taken to Marcellus and then, because of the ensuing uproar, delivered to Gerrit Smith in Madison County. There, she stayed for several weeks before being escorted to Canada. 16

Soon after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill on 18 September 1850, a call went out for the friends of the escaped slave in Syracuse to voice their indignation. On 4 October a crowd of some five hundred, representing a variety of antislavery views, gathered at city hall. The Reverend Samuel R. Ward, the black abolitionist from Cortland, delivered a blistering attack upon the statute. Mayor Alfred H. Hovey declared, “Come what will of political organizations, and fall where I may, I am with you”. Reverend Samuel J. May, pastor of the Unitarian Church of the Messiah in Syracuse and an outspoken abolitionist, vowed that if any fugitive came to his house, he would defy the law. When Loguen’s turn to speak came, he “uncapped the volcano”. 17

Loguen had returned to Syracuse from Troy, where he was preach-

17. [Loguen], Loguen, 394–95.
ing, only one day prior to the rally against the Fugitive Slave Bill. He felt that he would be more secure among the friends of freedom in Syracuse. Though many urged him to seek refuge in Canada, he rejected their counsel, claiming that his freedom was “from Heaven” and that neither the “despots” in Washington nor their proxies would take it from him. He urged his hearers to resist the Fugitive Slave Bill and to “tell its soulless agents that no slaveholder shall make your city and county a hunting field for slaves”. 18 Whatever the outcome, Loguen was adamant regarding his course of action:

What is life to me if I am to be a slave in Tennessee? My neighbors! I have lived with you many years, and you know me. My home is here, and my children were born here. I am bound to Syracuse by pecuniary interests, and social and family bonds. . . . I don't respect this law—I don't fear it—I won't obey it! It outlaws me, and I outlaw it, and the men who attempt to enforce it on me. I place the governmental officials on the ground that they place me. I will not live a slave, and if force is employed to re-enslave me, I shall make preparations to meet the crisis as becomes a man. 19

In the aftermath of this and other vocal protests of the Fillmore administration’s plan to enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill, W. H. Burleigh of Syracuse wrote Gerrit Smith: “It would be almost certain death to a slave-catcher to appear, on his infernal mission in our streets. No fugitive can be taken from our midst.” 20 To assure this, abolitionists in Syracuse organized a biracial vigilance committee of thirteen citizens whose duty it was to ensure that no person would be deprived of liberty without due process of law. Loguen was one of the members.

Syracuse was already recognized as a haven for runaways prior to 1850. When Samuel J. May came to the city in 1845 from New England, where he was an active Garrisonian, he opened his house to fugitives. So many sought refuge that a local Fugitive Aid Society

18. [Loguen], Loguen, 393.
was organized, and the Loguen home became an official ‘station’ on the Underground Railroad. This report from the Syracuse Daily Star of 21 July 1847 demonstrates that the city was openly known as a haven for those fleeing the “peculiar institution”:

Eleven runaway slaves arrived here from the east on Monday morning last. Assigned to the care of a gentleman of this village, they remained here during the day and passed on toward Rochester in the evening. The party consisted of six males and five females.

Because of its antislavery reputation and its proximity to Canada, Syracuse was viewed with considerable concern by proponents of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

Senator Daniel Webster, one of the architects of the Compromise of 1850, added fuel to the impending crisis by appearing in Syracuse in May 1851. He spoke from a small balcony of the Courier Building and warned the abolitionists:

Depend upon it, the law will be executed in its spirit, and to its letter. It will be executed in all the great cities; here in Syracuse; in the midst of the next Anti-Slavery Convention, if the occasion shall arise; then we shall see what becomes of their lives and their sacred honor.

Loguen wrote Frederick Douglass on 11 August that in traveling about he discovered that the debate over the Fugitive Slave Bill had made the public more sensitive to the plight of the escaped slave than at any time since he had become an abolitionist lecturer. He predicted that friends of the slave would soon be driven “to action” and vowed

to stand his ground and fight even if returned to “the prison-house of woe”.  

The Syracuse stage was now set for a dramatic confrontation. On 1 October 1851 the city was crowded with visitors to the state agricultural fair and abolitionists attending a Liberty Party convention. At the request of a slavehunter from Missouri, Deputy United States Marshal Henry W. Allen arrested Jerry McReynolds, originally called ‘William Henry’ after his white father, but popularly referred to as ‘Jerry’. He had fled Missouri about 1843 and was working in a cooperage and cabinet shop when taken before Commissioner Joseph F. Sabine for a hearing to ascertain whether he should be returned to John McReynolds, his Missouri master.

Word of Jerry’s arrest quickly reached the Liberty Party members assembled in the Congregational church. A signal bell tolled from the Presbyterian church, and a large crowd gathered at the Commissioner’s office on the second floor of the Townsend Block Building, located at the corner of Water and Clinton streets. Gerrit Smith acted as one of two defense counsels. When Commissioner Sabine adjourned the proceedings to find a larger room, Jerry, still in handcuffs, was hustled by supporters out the door and down the stairway to the street. City police recaptured him on the Lock Street bridge, put him in leg irons, and imprisoned him in the Police Office, located in the Journal Building of the Raynor Block.

Loguen, Smith, May, and members of the Vigilance Committee, met at the home of Dr. Hiram Hoyt, a local physician, in order to engineer a rescue. Smith is reported to have said:

> It is not unlikely the Commissioner will release Jerry if the examination is suffered to proceed—but the moral effect of such an acquittal will be as nothing to a bold and forcible rescue. A forcible rescue will demonstrate the strength of public opinion against the possible legality of slavery and this

24. Loguen to Frederick Douglass, August 1851, *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*, 21 August 1851.

Fugitive Slave Law in particular. It will honor Syracuse and be a powerful example everywhere.26

The committee's plans were set in motion about eight o'clock on the evening of 1 October 1851. With encouragement from a throng estimated at two thousand, an interracial group of abolitionists broke into the police headquarters using a wooden battering ram, and liberated Jerry. They removed his irons and found a temporary refuge for him at the home of Caleb Davis. Eventually, they spirited him to Kingston, Ontario, where he died of tuberculosis in 1853. Syracuse citizens, even some of the most conservative, such as the non-abolitionist and Democrat Davis, viewed Jerry's deliverance from the hands of outside agitators as a glorious day for the community.27

On 19 November 1851, a federal grand jury in Buffalo indicted twenty-six persons, twelve of them Afro-Americans, for having "engaged in the Syracuse riots". All but three of the blacks and four of the white defendants escaped to Canada to avoid prosecution.28

27. The shackles Jerry wore and the key to his cell in the Journal Building are in the possession of the Onondaga Historical Association and are periodically on display as objects of civic pride. James A. Sokolow compared the pro-abolitionist rescuers of Jerry with the anti-abolitionist mobs involved in riots at Utica in 1835 and Cincinnati in 1836. The white abolitionists of Syracuse represented a disproportionate number of commercial and professional people, as had the anti-abolitionist mobs in Utica and Cincinnati. Sokolow concluded that Syracuse's upstanding citizenry felt proud of the city's "amicable race relations and republican institutions" and had reacted so violently against efforts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill because of the intrusion of outsiders "who threatened local elites and community autonomy". See Sokolow, "The Jerry McHenry [sic] Rescue and the Growth of Northern Antislavery Sentiment during the 1850s", American Studies 16 (December 1982): 437-43.
28. The trial began in the United States District Court at Albany on 21 January 1852 but was postponed until January 1853. Enoch Reed, a black defendant, was found guilty; a second case resulted in acquittal. The jury was divided on two other defendants, and the remaining cases were dropped. Reed died before having to serve his sentence. Campbell, Slave Catchers, 156–57. The abolitionists had Deputy Marshal Henry W. Allen indicted for violation of a New York statute of 1840, known as "An Act to Extend the Right of Trial by Jury". Gerrit Smith, special counsel for the prosecution, presented a seven-hour argument against the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Bill during the trial in 1852 in Syracuse. Judge Marvin of the New York Supreme Court declared the Fugitive Slave Bill constitutional, and the jury acquitted Marshal Allen. Harlow, Gerrit Smith, 299–302.
guen was prevailed upon by his wife and friends to seek temporary asylum with a Quaker widow in Skaneateles. After three or four days, he was taken to Rochester, from where he went by boat to Canada. He took refuge for seven months in St. Catharines, where he preached, taught school, promoted temperance, and boarded with Hiram Wilson, a white abolitionist who was a graduate of Oneida Institute and a zealous supporter of the fugitive slave colonies in Canada West.29

When word reached Loguen that efforts were being made to have the Canadian government extradite him for allegedly advising the killing of a man during the Jerry Rescue, he angrily defended his reputation. He resolved that if a “requisition” did come, he and his friends would make it plain to the British authorities that the accusations were but a cover to punish him for challenging the Fugitive Slave Bill.30 In December 1851 he wrote a friend that if the government would put him on trial “for rescuing Jerry, and that alone”, he would “hasten back and meet the charge like a man”. To be considered a traitor or a coward, Loguen felt, was a fate worse than recapture or death. He longed to be reunited with his family and participate once again in common cause with the American abolitionists.31

Loguen wrote Governor Washington Hunt of New York State requesting protection should he return to stand trial. He gave no apology for participating “in common with thousands of my fellow-citizens” in the Jerry Rescue, but instead asserted that the bill of indictment at Buffalo had been based on perjured testimony. He was being accused of having urged the killing of a man during the Jerry Rescue. Loguen passionately declared that the Fugitive Slave Bill had so exposed him to “rapacious slave-hunters” that he would not be able to defend himself. Yet he expressed strong loyalty to Syracuse and the United States:

be found in Trial of Henry W. Allen, U. S. Deputy Marshal, for Kidnapping with Arguments of Counsel & Charge of Justice Marvin, on the Constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, in the Supreme Court of New York (Syracuse: Daily Journal Office, 1852), 9-40.

29. [Loguen], Loguen, 427–30.

30. Loguen to General James R. Lawrence, 30 October 1851, Frederick Douglass’ Paper, 27 November 1851. Lawrence served as United States District Attorney in Syracuse.

31. Loguen to J. R. Johnson, 18 December 1851, Frederick Douglass’ Paper, 8 January 1852.
I have resided long enough in her Britannic Majesty's dominions to have become a British subject; but having lived for many years in the State of New York, at Syracuse, as a minister of the Gospel and “citizen of no mean city”, I have never been able to produce any other certificate of freedom than the one which was indelibly written upon my constitutional nature, by the finger of the Almighty.  

Loguen appealed “not for Executive clemency, but for the shield of protection in the free course of Justice”.  

Nevertheless, Loguen returned to Syracuse in the spring of 1852. The United States marshal, sensitive to the outcry which would have resulted had he attempted to act on the warrant for Loguen's arrest, went through the appearance of having friends of Loguen sign a bond guaranteeing that the defendant would not again flee the city. Loguen did not help his case by continuing to advocate resistance to the Fugitive Slave Bill and by traveling about collecting funds for the aid of runaways. While en route to Skaneateles, he eluded a trap set by Marshal Henry Allen. Once again the alarm went through Syracuse, and a rally was held at the Congregational church. But fortunately, Loguen had arrived safely in Skaneateles, soon to return—to the delight of his family and friends. The indictment against him was never successfully brought to court, owing no doubt to the political uproar it would have created.  

Loguen discovered that since returning from exile in Canada, he had become something of a celebrity. Large audiences, estimated at more than two thousand on one occasion, heard him preach, and numerous invitations to speak came his way. He no longer preached on a full-time basis to the fifty- to sixty-member Zion congregation in Syracuse, but resumed work as a domestic missionary under the sponsorship of the American Missionary Society. Traveling with his own horse and wagon, Loguen ministered to black and mixed con-

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32. Loguen to Washington Hunt, 2 December 1851, Liberator, 14 May 1852.
33. Ibid.
34. [Loguen], Loguen, 433-42.
35. Loguen to Henry Bibb, 13 August 1852, Voice of the Fugitive, 9 September 1852.
gregations and spread the gospel of abolitionism in predominantly white churches in upstate New York. 36

As was Gerrit Smith’s habit, Loguen linked abolitionism to a host of other reforms. In 1853 he toured Maine in support of a recently passed temperance law, for he believed that temperance advocates were also abolitionists. Loguen served as an agent for the Frederick Douglass’ Paper, participated in conventions of free blacks, and continued to voice defiance of the Fugitive Slave Bill. He rallied with other black citizens of Syracuse in March 1853 to protest the African colonization scheme. Having risked his very life in defense of the right to be considered fully American, Loguen was not about to lend his name to any, however well-intentioned, efforts by certain black leaders to revive interest in resettling in Liberia. 37

Subsequent to the freeing of William Henry (or Jerry), Syracuse became known as the “Canada of the West” and honored annually—until the Civil War—the first day of October as Jerry Rescue Day. Gerrit Smith presided at the first such holiday observance in 1852 and spoke at the 1853 celebration by invitation of the Jerry Rescue Celebration Committee, which publicly lauded Smith for his “cheerful, bold, positive” bearing on the “eventful” day in October 1851. 38 Smith felt honored and urged his audience to continue in “the high and holy cause” of rescuing every fugitive slave as a sacred obligation. 39 Smith’s address at the convention in 1857 illustrates the rapid apotheosis of Jerry:

The Jerry of today is the Christ of today: and if we have not the anointed vision to discern it, then are we still blind to the original Christ, and all faith in Him is vain. . . . The readiness of men on the night of the first October, 1851, to

37. Syracuse Journal, 21 March 1853. Loguen to Mary Ann [Loguen], Frederick Douglass’ Paper, 2 September 1853.
38. “Committee’s Letter to Gerrit Smith”, Syracuse Daily Standard, 9 September 1852. Loguen was an active member of the celebration committee.
put themselves in the place of Jerry, and lose their own liberty for the sake of restoring his, was of its single self a far greater evidence of the likeness to Christ than it was possible for any man to give, however full of professions and prayers he might be, if nevertheless he refused to sympathize with Jerry, and to suffer for his sake. 40

The Jerry Rescue celebrations served to renew opposition to the Compromise of 1850, raised money to aid fugitives, and demonstrated the need for continued vigilance lest attempts be made again to enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill.

Because of the stalwart opposition shown by the citizens of Syracuse to the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1851, traffic on the Underground Railroad increased annually until the Civil War. Samuel May’s recollections of the antislavery movement in Syracuse speak of the assistance rendered by Jermain and Caroline Loguen:

The charge thus committed to them Mr. Loguen and his excellent wife faithfully and kindly cared for to the last. And I more than suspect that the fugitives they harbored, and helped on their way, often cost them much more than they called upon us to pay. 41

Jermain Loguen kept the Jerry-spirit alive by intense involvement in efforts to aid other fugitive slaves, for, as he wrote Frederick Douglass on 5 August 1853, the memory of “brother Jerry” could best be honored by “agitating, and agitating again”. 42

The attic of Loguen’s house at 293 East Genesee Street served as the temporary refuge of numerous fugitive slaves. Loguen became even more widely known for his success in directing the Underground Railroad in Syracuse. He claimed to have assisted 1500 escaped slaves in reaching Canada in the decade before the Civil War. 43 While it is now difficult to obtain an exact count, the extant records

40. Address Reported by Gerrit Smith to the Jerry Rescue Convention, held in Syracuse October 1, 1857, p. 1, Gerrit Smith Papers.
41. May, Recollections, 303.
42. Frederick Douglass’ Paper, 12 August 1853.
43. Syracuse Daily Standard, 28 June 1860.
indicate that the Syracuse terminal received as many as two hundred fugitives a year. Loguen worked incessantly to obtain food, money, and clothes for the runaways, traveling as far as England to plead their cause. He did so with no apology, despite the fact that he was himself still liable to seizure. The following is the text of "Mr. Loguen's Card":

To the friends of Humanity:
The entire care of the fugitives who may stop at Syracuse, for comfort and assistance, having been devolved upon me by the Fugitive Aid Society, I hereby give notice that I shall devote myself assiduously to the duties I have undertaken to discharge. I must depend for the support of my family, and of the operations I am to conduct upon the liberality of the friends of freedom. I shall gratefully receive money, clothes, and provisions. I will make a faithful use of the same, and will report same annually (in Frederick Douglass' Paper, and the Syracuse Standard and Journal) the amounts that I have received and of the numbers of Fugitives that I have sheltered and found homes for. Meanwhile, and at all times, my accounts will be open for the inspection of the friends of the cause.

From 1857 onwards, when Loguen devoted himself exclusively to the work of the Fugitive Aid Society, he was never known to turn away an escaped slave from his door.

Loguen and his wife took a deep personal interest in the welfare of the fugitives. In May 1859 he reported in the Douglass' Monthly:

The slaves come to us with their frostbitten and bleeding feet, and then we go to work to get them healed. Sometimes we have to keep them for weeks and months—we have two mothers, with a child each, to care for with us at present. Their husbands were sold, and they made their escape and came to us some months ago. We have a father that has just got to us with his little daughter about three years old; its

44. [Loguen], Loguen, 444.
45. "Mr. Loguen's Card", Frederick Douglass' Paper, 17 September 1858.
mother was taken from it, and the father then ran away with the child, so that man thieves could not get it. We are caring for them, too at present. It takes about all the time of myself and family to see after their wants; I mean the fugitives. We have so much to do in the night that some nights we get little or no sleep. They often come sick, and must be cared for forthwith. 46

Loguen’s commitment to the welfare of the fugitives did not end with their departure from Syracuse, for he made several trips to investigate conditions in the fugitive slave colonies in Canada. 47

Loguen’s work was made difficult by the appearance of several imposters whose reputations were suspect and who pretended to be fugitives in order to solicit funds. He once wrote Gerrit Smith concerning a certain William Smith, who had arrived as a fugitive in Syracuse and had approached the philanthropist of Peterboro for money. Loguen’s letter reveals that he was concerned about the character of some of the fugitive slaves, for in it he expressed the opinion that William Smith was a “bad man”. 48

At that time Loguen was himself having to contend with rumors that he was diverting donations for the fugitive cause in order to buy his own freedom. 49 When friends in Cortland, where Loguen preached in the mid-1840s, offered to purchase the freedom of his mother, Nathaniel Goodwin was sent to Tennessee. He was allowed to talk with Cherry, Loguen’s mother, and his sister. But Manasseh Logue, brother of David Logue, refused to part with mother and daughter until ‘Jarm’ should purchase his own freedom. Goodwin returned to Syracuse and informed Loguen of these conditions. Loguen, his narrative tells us, “felt wronged and insulted by the proposition. The result of this effort set him to the extreme of hatred against slavery.” 50

It was equally offending to him when in 1860 the widow of David Logue wrote asking one thousand dollars in exchange for a bill of

47. Anti-Slavery Bugle, 14 July 1854; “J. W. Loguen’s Visit to Canada”, Provincial Freeman, May 1856; and Syracuse Daily Standard, 5 June 1856.
48. Loguen to Gerrit Smith, 23 March 1859.
49. Frederick Douglass’ Paper, 13 March 1854.
50. [Loguen], Loguen, 380–87.
sale giving 'Jarm' his freedom. She claimed that his running away had forced her to sell his brother and sister as well as twelve acres of land. Loguen was "indignant beyond the power of words to express" and wrote Sarah Logue:

I will not budge one hair's breadth. I will not breathe a shorter breath, even to save me from your persecutions. I stand among a free people, who, I thank God, sympathize with my rights, and the rights of mankind; and if your emissaries and venders [sic] come here to re-enslave me, and escape the unshrinking vigor of my own right arm, I trust my strong and brave friends, in this city and State, will be my rescuers and avengers.⁵¹

Loguen took special umbrage upon hearing that Mrs. Logue had reported concerning Cherry, his mother, only that she was "as well as common".

Unable to be reunited with his family in Tennessee, Loguen took special consolation in his family in Syracuse, about which the 1860 United States Census gives us some information. He was then forty-six with real estate valued at $4300 and a personal estate of $1500. While not poverty-stricken, he did have to struggle to maintain his large family: wife Caroline, age 43, and his seven children, ranging in age from 17 to 2.⁵² Amelia, the eldest, later married the son of Frederick Douglass.⁵³ Gerrit, age 12, had been named in honor of Gerrit Smith and lived to become an accomplished artist in India ink and crayon. In 1887 he was appointed Deputy Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Loguen's response to Sarah Logue, dated 28 March 1860, as well as her original letter, can be most conveniently found in The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800–1860, ed. Carter G. Woodson (Washington, D. C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1926), 216–19.
⁵³ See the interesting exchange of letters between Amelia and Lewis, particularly one written by Lewis to his fiancée while serving with a black regiment in the Civil War after the assault upon Fort Wagoner in South Carolina, in Journal of Negro History 11 (January 1926): 91–95.
Jermain Loguen's reform labors were not limited to aiding fugitive slaves. He was elected a vice-president of the Woman's Rights Convention in Rochester in 1853 and a vice-president of the New York State Suffrage Association in 1855. Thus he joined Frederick Douglass, a participant at the famous Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention in 1848, in linking abolitionism with efforts to dismantle the patriarchal establishment that denied blacks and women the right to participate in the political system. Loguen also engaged in efforts to perpetuate abolitionist politics through involvement with Gerrit Smith in the Liberty Party and its successor organizations, the Liberty League and the Radical Abolition Society. He was elected a vice-president of the Liberty Party state convention in 1854.

Loguen broke with the non-resistance doctrine of the Garrisonians, once writing the editor of The Liberator that as an escaped slave he would not shrink from using force to defend his freedom. It is, therefore, not surprising that Loguen should have been party to the plans of John Brown to exercise righteous violence to free the slaves. Loguen accompanied Brown on the first leg of Brown's trip from New York State into Canada in 1858 en route to Chatham, where Brown held a convention to set up a Provisional Constitution prior to the raid at Harpers Ferry. Upon returning to Syracuse, Loguen wrote to Brown on 6 May 1858:

My dear Friend & Bro—
I have your last letter from Canada. I was glad to learn that you & your brave men had got on to Chatham. I have see[n] our man, Gray, & find it as I feared we should—that he was not ready yet. I do not think he will go to war soon—others that would go have not the money to get there with. And I have conclud[ed] to let them all rest for the present. Have you got Isaac Williams with you or not? Have you got Harriet Tubman of St. Catherines [sic]? Let me hear from you soon or whenever you can. As I think I cannot get to

56. Frederick Douglass' Paper, 10 October 1854.
57. Liberator, 5 May 1854.
Chatham, I should like much to see you & your men before you go to the mountains. My wife & all unite in wishing you all the great success in your Glorious undertaken [sic]. May the Lord be with you is our prayer.

Your friend in the cause,

J. W. Loguen

Loguen welcomed the beginning of the Civil War, for he felt that the nation had been "setting traps to catch men long enough" and at last divine providence was working itself out. He at first despaired over the Lincoln administration’s refusal to allow blacks into the Union army. "One colored regiment of brave men", he declared in August 1861, "... would do the cause of liberty more service than half a dozen regiments that are merely fighting for the Constitution and Union". When permission did come to recruit blacks, Loguen was instrumental in organizing a regiment from Syracuse.

Emancipation did not diminish Loguen's commitment to those who had worn the yoke of slavery. Continuing as an agent of the American Missionary Association with responsibilities for educational work in the Upper South, he visited Tennessee in 1861. He appealed to Gerrit Smith on behalf of the freedmen for financial assistance. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church elevated Loguen to the office of bishop in 1864 with responsibilities in the South, but he resigned for fear of being apprehended. Nevertheless, Syracuse's most famous black minister maintained an interest in the work among the freedmen. In the spring of 1865, Loguen, still a missionary agent for the American Missionary Association, introduced Miss Edmonia G. Highgate, a young women who had been teaching school among

58. Quoted in Benjamin Quarles, Blacks on John Brown (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 6. Loguen was nominated for president of the provisional government during the Chatham convention, but his name was withdrawn when someone announced that Loguen would not serve if elected. See Benjamin Quarles, Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), 49.
61. Loguen to George Whipple, 18 August 1865, American Missionary Association Collection, Amistad Research Center, Dillard University, New Orleans.
62. Loguen to Gerrit Smith, 6 November 1861.
63. Harry V. Richardson, Dark Salvation: The Story of Methodism as It Developed Among Blacks in America (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1976), 186.
Norfolk's freed slaves, to Gerrit Smith with a request to his old friend that he help her.\textsuperscript{64} He also wrote Smith for financial aid for the African Zion congregation in Syracuse, which had grown rapidly since the Civil War but had not raised nearly enough money to cover its indebtedness and was in danger of losing its building.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{64} Loguen to Gerrit Smith, 27 April 1865.
\textsuperscript{65} Loguen to Gerrit Smith, 13 February 1871.
In 1872 Bishop Loguen was appointed to take charge of missionary efforts on the Pacific coast. Unfortunately, he died on 30 September 1872 while visiting Saratoga Springs, New York. He was thought to have been buried there; but this author was able to locate his grave in Oakwood Cemetery in Syracuse and brought its deteriorated condition to the attention of local black clergy in 1977. Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw, presiding prelate of the First Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, along with clergy from the black Methodist churches of Syracuse, dedicated a new grave marker in April 1979. The inscription reads:

In Jermin [sic] W. Loguen, the cause of humanity had a steady, uniriting and devoted laborer. Himself a fugitive from injustice, he gave his best energies in aiding the fleeing slave to find a haven of freedom. Born under oppression, he lived to see his country free and rejoice with those who were fellow laborers with him in the work of awaking [sic] the nation’s conscience to the cruel enormities of slavery. Mr. Loguen became a minister in the A. M. E. Zion Church and was consecrated bishop May 29, 1868.

Erected by Western New York Conference 1979
Bishop H. B. Shaw, Presiding

Thus Loguen’s final resting place is fittingly in the “no mean city”, to which he felt “bound” since first arriving in 1841 and for whose citizens he frequently expressed admiration and praise.

Loguen’s abiding affection for Syracuse was due in no small part to the proximity of such staunch abolitionists as Gerrit Smith in upstate New York. On one excursion en route to visit Smith in Peterboro, Madison County, Loguen stopped to preach at Clockville. From there he wrote Frederick Douglass:

66. On several occasions, I have led students in my Syracuse University course, Slavery and Abolition, on a pilgrimage to Jermain Loguen’s final resting place in one of the oldest sections of Oakwood Cemetery. The Loguen grave is in Section 6, Lot 55. His wife Caroline, who died of consumption in 1867, is buried here along with six of the Loguen children. Gerrit Smith Loguen, the artist, is buried in Section 51, Lot 1.

54
I am now snowed in within six miles of our good and glorious friend GERRIT SMITH’s home and I can feel the influence so sensibly of the MODEL man among white men, that I have thought that I could not improve the time better than to write a few lines to my model man among colored men; and that man is FREDERICK DOUGLASS.⁶⁸

In writing this article I have used the letters of only one of the black correspondents to whom Professor Quarles called attention in 1942. Though far fewer than those 101 to Gerrit Smith from Frederick Douglass or the 29 from James McCune Smith (the second most-represented black author), Loguen’s five letters are especially interesting. They document the fact that he provided vigorous leadership to the antislavery movement in Syracuse, most notably and at great peril to himself, by assisting fugitive slaves.

⁶⁸. Loguen to Frederick Douglass, 12 December 1854, Frederick Douglass’ Paper, 15 December 1854.
Jan Maria Novotný and His Collection of Books on Economics

BY MICHAEL MARKOWSKI

In 1961 Syracuse University had the good fortune to acquire the select portion of Professor Jan Novotný's personal library.¹ The Novotný Collection, as it has come to be known, centers on public finance and taxation but contains early and important works in many fields: political science, literature, geography, history, religion, economics, and law. The books are in the process of being catalogued in the George Arents Research Library, where the entire collection may be accessed through Novotný's bibliography: A Library of Public Finance and Economics (New York: Burt Franklin, 1953), 383 pages.

Jan Novotný lectured in fiscal science and law at Charles University, Prague, until 1939, when Adolf Hitler annexed Czechoslovakia. The Nazis dismissed Novotný from the University because of his political views. After the confusion and shootings that followed the takeover, the S.S. closed all Czech universities and transported thousands of students to concentration camps, often for no other reason than because they were Jewish. When World War II ended in 1945, Novotný resumed his position at Charles University and held it for three more years until, in 1948, Communists took over Czechoslovakia and he was dismissed again. Just then, McGill University in Montreal made Novotný the timely offer of a position to teach economics. He accepted it and left Czechoslovakia forever.

Taking as much of his enormous collection of books as weight restrictions allowed, he arrived safely in Canada with 6000 of the most valuable books from his library. Some of these books had come to him by inheritance, but the rest he bought between the two world

¹ I would like to thank the staff of the George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University, whose consistently kind and expert assistance has introduced me to the details of an important research library. I also would like to thank Professor James M. Powell for his help in many areas.
From Maximilian Faust von Aschaffenburg, *Consilia pro aerario civili, ecclesiastici et militari, publico atque privato* (Frankfurt: Schleich, 1641). This engraving shows the various parts of the world paying into a common treasury.
wars, when many rare books came onto the market. Although he often traced former owners to return what he could, he nevertheless amassed one of the largest private collections of its kind in Europe.

The disposition of the 10,000 volumes—the so-called ‘Prague Remainder’ that Novotný was forced to leave for safe-keeping at the State Library in Prague—is not known. When asked recently what might have happened to these books, the State Library at Prague kindly and frankly responded:

Unfortunately, it is difficult today to state up what happened with Novotný’s collection, whether or how it was catalogued and added to the holdings of this library. It is necessary to realize that our library received in that time and generally after the World War II until the beginning of 50s hundreds of thousands of volumes from different public and private sources and collections. All these books were checked up against the holdings of this library and the missing titles and volumes were catalogued and added to the library collections. It is highly probable that this was done with Novotný’s books, too, and that the part of them were included in our holdings and have been being used by our readers.

Although Jan Novotný described himself as a bibliophile, he had a motive beyond collecting attractive, rare, and interesting books. He wanted his library to be the basis of a research institute on public finance. At such an institute, students would work on individual projects “under the personal guidance of the Director. Every week [there would] be a common discussion [along the lines of] the seminar system familiar on the American continent. All students were to be fully supported by fellowships.” This institute was to have a complete library containing historical and current works on economics defined in a broad sense—which explains the breadth of Novotný’s library. It was to have also a well-stocked archive of tax records, government statistics, and other primary documents; a select bio-

2. The letter was written by Jarmila Krivanova, Director of the Acquisitions and Processing Division of the State Library of the Czech Socialist Republic and dated 30 June 1987. I have quoted Mr. Krivanova’s letter exactly.
bibliography; a full bibliography of all works connected to the subject of economics. In addition, there was to be a Museum of Documents and Stamps. Novotný's dream was never completely realized. In some form, however, Syracuse University is recognizing its essence. The Novotný Collection supplements other holdings of the George Arrents Research Library nicely, to provide a good scholarly foundation for the interests of the faculty and students of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

Jan Novotný did not believe in education for its own sake. He held the view that a good education would result in an improved morality in state finance. He wrote: 4

The Western World has spent billions on technical advancement. It should spend a small fraction of this amount also on the advancement of those moral and social forces, which should use these great technical inventions for a better and happier human life.

How would a research institute in public finance bring about "a better and happier human life"? Novotný believed that his conception of education would "lead to a substantial lowering of the burden of taxation . . . [and would produce] a more equitable and less burdensome spread of the whole tax load". 5 In short, Novotný held that moral and ethical leaders would collect and spend taxes wisely and equitably, thus reducing the amount of taxes needed. A goal of this nature has been sought in recent presidential elections and tax reform legislation in the United States, as well as in currently debated tax reform in England.

Novotný understood that a climate of improved morality could not always be a direct, predictable result of any particular kind of education. He was more than aware of the extensive education of Nazis like Goebbels, having personally experienced its results. However, Novotný would have argued that a well-rounded, general education will usually develop a person's ethics and moral commitment more than a purely technical education will. In other words, we should be wary of those responsible for taxing us if they have immersed them-

5. Ibid.
From Johann George Leib, Erste Probe: wie ein Regent Land und Leute verbessern . . . und sich dadurch in Macht und Ansehen setzen könne (Leipzig and Frankfurt: F. Lanckischens Erben, 1708). This frontispiece pictures what the book addresses: how to improve economic activity, whether on the farm or in the early manufacturing centers of the city.
selves only in the minutiae of tax structures and current practices but have not studied what Novotný argued was the center of economic activity: humanity. The study of finance must begin and progress with the study of the humanities.

The study of the liberal arts enables a student to see important and creative links between concepts and current practices. It broadens involvement and background knowledge and stimulates insights. Jan Novotný prescribed just what our current education in finance and administration often neglects to emphasize: a thorough historical study of the state, its financing, and the people involved. The taxman must know his Aristotle and Augustine as well as financial law and accounting. He must know other languages and cultures, especially how others have handled and reacted to financial problems and solutions. In a large sense, those dealing in the state's finance must be aware of the whole context of the lives of those who, throughout the world and over the centuries, have been connected with finance and who have thought and written about the subject. Of course, every individual has, to some extent, been exposed to this background, which Novotný argued must be formally studied as an integral part of the student's program. His concern for a better balance between liberal and technical education has anticipated the thrust of the recent Carnegie Foundation report on higher education, which strongly recommended a greater emphasis on general education. It is in this study of finance in a general and historical context that this collection can make the greatest contribution.

The Novotný Collection can be described as a broad research library of public finance covering the last five hundred years. It contains some 2000 books in Czech and Slovak and some 4000 books in other languages, although this count is deceiving since a single book sometimes contains many separate titles bound within it. The collection is strongest in Central European areas, comprising a multitude of tax records, statistics, government documents, and more general works on economics and government from the declining Holy

7. For one example: in the Novotný bibliography, item 1:1176 contains over 200 separate tax records, but only one title is counted.
Roman Empire, from Bohemia, Austria, Hungary and the controversial Hapsburg Empire. It includes a sizable group of materials in Czech and Slovak, as well as most of the landmarks of economic literature of the West, from Jean Bodin and Adam Smith to Edwin Seligman and John Maynard Keynes. It is virtually complete in some areas, such as in the principal representatives of Cameralism. However, Novotný's collection is spotty in English works on economics. It is also deficient in Italian works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although it does contain some notable items, such as a very rare set of fifty volumes of Pietro Custodi's *Scrittori classici italiani de economia politica*. In its strong areas, Novotný's library compares well with the widely known Kress Library of Business and Economics at Harvard University and the Seligman Collection at Columbia, and surpasses all the libraries on the North American continent in the pre-war materials for Central Europe.

An additional feature of these books is their fine condition. Novotný continually searched out booksellers and auctions, often replacing his poorer copies with better ones. His luck at finding bargains was phenomenal. Once, browsing in New York City, he came across a perfect copy of the rare *Della pubblica felicità* of Ludovico Muratori—for $1.50! The results of such serendipity speak for themselves: many interesting and beautiful bindings; presentation copies of Malthus, Jeremy Bentham, and many others; Georg Obrecht's secretly printed *Politisch Bedencken und Discurs von Verbesserung Land und Leut* (Strassburg, 1606), cf. Novotný, *Library*, 23 and 358; the only known copy of Archisander Relemire's seventeenth-century work of comparative economics, *Hypochondrische Reise, oder die neu-erfundene Wirthschaft* (no place or date). Besides these just mentioned, there are many rare items and many important first editions and signed imperial decrees. For example, there is Maximilian Faust von Aschaffenburg's *Consilia pro aerario civili, ecclesiastici et militari, publico atque privato* (Frankfurt, 1641). Faust von Aschaffenburg attempted to discuss the treasury in an exhaustive manner and from all sorts of points of view—a truly cross-disciplinary work covering aspects of a historical, legal, fiscal, military, intellectual, ecclesiastical, political, sociological, linguistic, public, private, and, of course, economic nature. His treatment creates questions of a comparative nature too, since he cited examples from many parts of the world and from various times. The book is truly a treasure.
To continue this list would be to name each item in the collection as the published bibliography mentioned earlier does. In general, this bibliography arranges the books into three sections. The first section contains books with a publication date before 1850. This is a strong section, partly because it begins very early. For example, there are a number of interesting manuscripts and incunabula, such as Jean Gerson’s Opera of 1488 and Thomas Aquinas’ Opuscula of 1490. Novotný’s aim in including these sorts of books was to account for the early period when economic thought was slowly emerging from other disciplines. There are many Latin works on law and political science and many German and Czech works, partly archival material, from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

The second section of the bibliography contains titles from 1850 onward but excludes Czech and Slovak works. This is the weakest
section. Nothing has been added since 1961, and not very much in the post-war period. There is the spottiness already mentioned. The last section of the bibliography contains only works in Czech and Slovak—the strongest area of Novotný’s library, as said before. This section lists the post-1850 works in these languages. Especially useful are the enormous amounts of government documents, records, and other primary sources—archival material that is a necessity for serious research. Besides this historical strength, the third section contains interesting works like those of Eduard Beneš, who was the president of Czechoslovakia both before and after the revolution of 1948. Various lesser Czech officials are also represented here. The works of some of these officials, as Novotný pointed out, show their authors’ changing colors. One sees, for example, a dedicated Czech before 1938 becoming pro-German until 1945, then a Czech patriot again until 1948, and finally Marxist. Novotný meant to cause a little embarrassment when he noted such instances.

One of the conveniences of a collection like this for the researcher is that needed materials are usually at hand. While borrowing through the interlibrary loan system is efficient, it is more satisfying and convenient to have immediate access to all necessary materials when researching a subject. The Novotný Collection, with all the other related materials at Syracuse University, approaches this ideal.

Jan Maria Novotný, through his commitment to education, tried to ensure a “better and happier human life” for everyone. He wanted to bring this about through a sweeping study of public finance, administration, and taxation, a study which would address the subject from many aspects—historical, philosophical, moral as well as technical. Novotný concluded his short Elementary Economics with a statement that will appropriately conclude this article:

Such is the author’s creed in economic theory: a belief in God, existence of certain rules of ethical conduct for Man, the free will of Man, and Man’s freedom of decision within a free, democratic environment.

William Martin Smallwood and the Smallwood Collection in Natural History at the Syracuse University Library

BY EILEEN SNYDER

When, shortly after World War II, it was decided that Syracuse University should add to its science curriculum a course on the history of science, Professor William Park Hotchkiss became the program's most effective advocate. In his inspection of the Syracuse University Library's holdings that might properly sustain such a course, he was delighted to discover materials of outstanding interest. Over the years Syracuse had been receiving the quiet attentions of several able collectors in this area of study. Among them was Professor William Martin Smallwood.

Professor Hotchkiss wrote:

Dr. Smallwood in biology had amassed a small but finely chosen private library in the history of biology at his home. But his fine Italian hand was revealed in that he grabbed many rare books through regular purchase channels and had them processed and put on the stacks in Lyman. [The science library was in Lyman Hall at that time, about 1939.] A risky procedure, true; but the students in Lyman knew almost as little Latin in 1933 as they do in 1973. A simple solution to the theft problem would be to have everything translated into Latin—nobody would steal it. Anyway, Dr. Smallwood willed his fine library to the University. It is the biggest stock of the old acquisitions.

William Martin Smallwood graduated from Syracuse University in 1897. After receiving his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1902, he joined the faculty at Syracuse as an associate professor of zoology. In 1932 he was chairman of the Department of Biology. That sum-

mer, he and his wife, Mabel Sarah Coon Smallwood, toured Europe and acquired, while in Vienna, the complete works of Cuvier and Oken (which they subsequently donated to Syracuse University).

Inspired by their find, the Smallwoods decided to build a collection of works in natural history and especially in American natural history. Concerning a year's leave of absence in 1936, Professor Smallwood states in the preface to his book, Natural History and the American Mind,¹ "Mrs. Smallwood and I decided to investigate early natural history in the United States. She took over the historical

¹. William Martin Smallwood, Natural History and the American Mind (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1941), vii.
background, the early letters, and the development of scientific illustrations, while I assumed responsibility for dealing with scientific and educational programs."

That year was spent primarily in the eastern United States. In the summer of 1937, they traveled to Great Britain in order to study the collection of eighteenth-century lectures in natural history at the University of Edinburgh and the collection of manuscripts associated with naturalists of colonial America at the British Museum of Natural History, where there was "much material on early explorers".

During these travels in America and Great Britain, they collected sixteenth-, seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century material in the fields of botany, zoology, and geology. While studying the early naturalists, they also endeavored to acquire a number of valuable books from the duplicate collections of American colleges.

Professor Smallwood further undertook to secure gifts from alumni, faculty members, and friends, as well as to arrange gifts and purchases from a variety of institutional sources. As a result of his efforts, generous donations were received from the Smithsonian Institution; the Library of Congress; the Carnegie Institute of Washington, D.C.; the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts; and the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

The Smallwood Collection, as it has come to be known, eventually reached over eight hundred books and manuscripts, each selected to be typical of a period and to demonstrate the historical development of the natural sciences. Subsequently, the University itself solicited acquisitions to supplement the collection. In its description of the collection in a 1939 press release, the University stated:

This collection is far from complete, and the University is hoping that friends will recognize that here is a working library on the early growth of Natural History, which is being used by students in all of the sciences and is an educational asset which merits contributions.

On the bookplate of the Smallwood Collection is the inscription, "Assembled . . . with great industry and good judgment". Professor Smallwood's careful selection and broad knowledge are demonstrated
in the Smallwood Collection by the range of important works in all areas of natural history. Although space precludes a detailed description, there are many items that merit mention. The following list of books under subject headings by dates, with the early American natural sciences separately noted, comprises representatives of some of the more interesting.

MICROSCOPY

Leeuwenhoek, Antony van (1632–1723)
   Anatomia seu interiora rerum.
   Leyden, 1687.
   Dutch microscopist and lens grinder. Sent letters announcing his many discoveries to the Royal Society of London. These letters were subsequently published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

PHYSIOLOGY AND MEDICINE

Whytt, Robert (1714–1766)
   An essay on the vital and other involuntary motions of animals.
   Edinburgh, 1758.

Smellie, William (1697–1763)
   A set of anatomical tables, with explanations, and an abridgment of the practice of midwifery.

Carey, Mathew (1760–1839)
   A short account of the malignant fever, lately prevalent in Philadelphia. To which are added, accounts of the plague in London and Marseilles; and a list of the dead, from August 1 to the middle of December, 1793. Fourth edition.
   Philadelphia, 1794.

Bichat, Xavier (1771–1802)
   A treatise on the membranes in general, and on different membranes in particular. New edition.
   Boston, 1813.
   French physiologist and anatomist. With the publication of the *Treatise* in 1800, he conclusively demonstrated that organs were
composed of tissues, and revolutionized the concept of the structure of the body.

Orfila, Matthieu Joseph Bonaventure (1787–1853)
A popular treatise on the remedies to be employed in cases of poisoning and apparent death including the means of detecting poisons, of distinguishing real from apparent death, and of ascertaining the adulteration of wines.
Philadelphia, 1818.

Macculloch, John (1773–1835)
Malaria; an essay on the production and propagation of this poison, and on the nature and localities of the places by which it is produced.
Philadelphia, 1829.

Lister, Joseph (1827–1912)
A contribution to the germ theory of putrefaction and other fermentative changes, and to the natural history of torulae and bacteria.
(Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, v. 27, pt. 3)
Edinburgh, 1873.
English physician and surgeon. Developed the aseptic method of surgery.

BOTANY

Grew, Nehemiah (1641–1712)
The anatomy of plants.
London, 1682.
With Marcello Malpighi, he laid the foundations of plant anatomy. Their observations were not superseded for a century and a half.

Linnaeus, Carl (1707–1778)
Systema vegetabilium secundum classes ordines genera species. Editio decima quinta.
Göttingen, 1797.
Swedish systematic botanist and naturalist. He devised the binomial nomenclature (genus, species) system of classifying plants and animals.

Brongniart, Adolphe Théodore (1801–1876)
Mémoire sur la génération et le développement de l’embryon dans les végétaux phanérogames.
Paris, 1827.
French botanist. The Mémoire concerns his important work on the structure and development of pollen. Called the “Father of Paleo-botany” for his great Histoire des végétaux fossiles (1828), which compared fossil with living plant forms.
Du Trochet, Henri (1776–1847)
Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire anatomique et physiologique des végétaux et des animaux.
Paris, 1837.
French botanist. Described and named the process of osmosis. The Mémoires was the culmination of thirty years of work in physiological research.

Schleiden, Matthias Jacob (1804–1881)
Principles of scientific botany; or, Botany as an inductive science. Translated by Edwin Lankester.
London, 1849.
German botanist. The first modern textbook in botany, the Grundzüge (1842) had a profound effect in stimulating new directions in botany both in method and philosophy. He and Theodor Schwann were considered the founders of the Cell Theory.

AMERICAN BOTANY

Barton, Benjamin Smith (1766–1815)
Elements of botany; or Outlines of the natural history of vegetables.
Philadelphia, 1803.

Waterhouse, Benjamin (1754–1846)
The botanist. Being the botanical part of a course of lectures on natural history, delivered in the university of Cambridge, together with a discourse on the principle of vitality.
Boston, 1811.

Torrey, John (1796–1873)
A catalogue of plants, growing spontaneously within thirty miles of the city of New York.
Albany, 1819.
American botanist. Inspired to botanical studies by Amos Eaton,
he eventually, in 1836, became botanist to the State of New York. Asa Gray was his pupil and then close associate.

Nuttall, Thomas (1786–1859)
Cambridge, Mass., 1830.
English botanist and ornithologist, he worked almost exclusively in America. The *Introduction* was written as a textbook for his courses at Harvard.

Beck, Lewis Caleb (1798–1853)
Botany of the northern and middle states; or, A description of the plants found in the United States north of Virginia.
Albany, 1833.
Botanist, geologist, physician. Mineralogist for the New York State geological survey of 1836. On the faculty of the Rensselaer School when Amos Eaton was senior professor.

Gray, Asa (1810–1888)
The botanical text-book.
New York, 1842.
In his time the foremost botanist in America. His *Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States* (1848) was a landmark in systematic botany.

**ZOOLOGY**

Bewick, Thomas (1753–1828)
Newcastle, 1816.
English wood engraver. The *British Birds* (1797 and 1804) and the *Quadrupeds* (1790), which he wrote and illustrated, were his great achievements.

Lamarck, Jean Baptiste Pierre (1744–1829)
Philosophie zoologique. Two volumes.
Paris, 1830.
French naturalist. Proposed a theory of evolution based on acquired characteristics.

Owen, Sir Richard (1804–1892)
On the archetype and homologies of the vertebrate skeleton.
London, 1848.
English biologist. Made major contributions in comparative anatomy of animals, both living and extinct.

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825–1895)
The oceanic *Hydrozoa*; a description of the *Calycopeoridae* and *Physophoridae* observed during the voyage of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, in the years 1846–1850.
London, 1859.
Appointed as ship’s surgeon on the *Rattlesnake* at the age of 21, his researches on the voyage began a revolution in the zoological sciences.

Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825–1895)
An introduction to the classification of animals.
London, 1869.
Equally brilliant in zoological and paleontological research, Huxley became an ardent champion of evolution and was known as “Darwin’s bulldog”.

AMERICAN ZOOLOGY

Catesby, Mark (1679–1749)
The natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands.
London, 1754.
English naturalist. His extensive travels and collecting in North America resulted in the *Natural History*. Illustrating the work himself, he also made his own engravings and colored the plates.

Wilson, Alexander (1766–1813)
American ornithology; or, *The natural history of the birds of the United States.*
Scottish naturalist. *American Ornithology*, in nine volumes, was his great work in which he set out to draw and describe as accurately as possible all the birds of America.

Bonaparte, Charles Lucien Jules Laurent (1803–1857)
American ornithology; or, *The natural history of birds inhabiting the United States, not given by Wilson.*
French naturalist, Napoleon’s nephew. Alexander Wilson’s great friend, who attempted to finish Wilson’s work after his death. Most of the birds are painted by Titian R. Peale; but one, the Great Crow-Blackbird, is by John James Audubon. The engravings are by Alexander Lawson.

Nuttall, Thomas (1786–1859)
A manual of the ornithology of the United States and of Canada.
The land birds.
Cambridge, Mass., 1832.

Nuttall, Thomas (1786–1859)
A manual of the ornithology of the United States and of Canada.
The water birds.
Boston, 1834.
His most popular work, the *Manual* remained in print into the twentieth century.

Holbrook, John Edwards (1794–1871)
North American herpetology; or, *A description of the reptiles inhabiting the United States.*
He states in his preface, “The colouring of the plates may be fully relied on, as almost every one was done from life”. Holbrook made

every effort to be scrupulously accurate both in plates and description.

Holbrook, John Edwards (1794–1871)
Icthyology of South Carolina.
Charleston, 1860

Dana, James Dwight (1813–1895)
Structure and classification of zoophytes . . . during the years 1838, 1840, 1841, 1842.
Philadelphia, 1846.
American geologist and zoologist. In the years 1838–42, he was geologist and mineralogist of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition to

the Pacific. His report on the zoophytes—corals and anemones—summarized his work and included many species new to science.

Swiss naturalist and geologist. Researched and published prolifically in many areas of science including work on the fishes of Europe, fossil fishes, glaciers, and the ice ages. He accepted a position at Harvard in 1847 and remained in America the rest of his life.

PALEONTOLOGY AND EVOLUTION

Parkinson, James
London, 1833.
Mantell, Gideon Algernon (1790-1852)  
The medals of creation; or, First lessons in geology, and in the study of organic remains.  
London, 1844.  
English geologist and paleontologist. He discovered remarkable Dinosaurian reptiles in the Wealdon formation of Sussex, including the *Iguanodon* in 1825.

Chambers, Robert (1802-1871)  
Vestiges of the natural history of creation.  
London, 1844.  
Scottish author, publisher, and amateur geologist. The *Vestiges* was a work on evolution which he published anonymously because of the furor he was sure it would arouse.

Owen, Sir Richard (1804-1892)  
Palaeontology, or A systematic summary of extinct animals and their geological relations. Second edition.  
Edinburgh, 1861.

**GEOLOGY**

Cuvier, Georges, Baron (1769-1832)  
French naturalist and comparative anatomist. One of the most eminent and revered paleontologists of his day. His Catastrophic Theory and his belief in the fixity of species held back for years the use of paleontology in the development of evolutionary theory.

Lyell, Sir Charles (1797-1875)  
Principles of geology, being an attempt to explain the former changes of the earth's surface, by reference to causes now in operation. Three volumes.  
London, 1830-1833.  
British geologist. The *Principles of Geology* was his chief work and greatly influenced Darwin.
Murchison, Sir Roderick Impey (1792–1871)
London, 1872.
British geologist and geographer. He described and established the Silurian and Devonian systems along with the fossils that defined them. With the fifth edition, he extended the classification into other countries.

AMERICAN GEOLOGY

Cleaveland, Parker (1780–1858)
Elementary treatise on mineralogy and geology.
Boston, 1816.
Mineralogist and chemist. One of the foremost geologists of the time, his Treatise was the first work on systematic mineralogy and one of the most important of the early publications in geology.

Eaton, Amos (1776–1842)
An index to the geology of the northern states, with a transverse section from Catskill mountain to the Atlantic.
Leicester, Mass., 1818.
Lawyer, botanist, geologist. One of the founders of American geology. The period between 1818 and 1836 is known as the "Eatonian Era". The Index was his first important publication in geology.

Eaton, Amos (1776–1842)
A geological and agricultural survey of Rensselaer county in the state of New York. To which is annexed, A geological profile, extending from Onondaga Salt Springs, across said county, to Williams College in Massachusetts.
Albany, 1822.
The Survey was commissioned by Stephen Van Rensselaer, who also provided financial support for the Rensselaer School, founded by Eaton in 1824. Geology was a required course at the school, which later became Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

Eaton, Amos (1776–1842)
A geological and agricultural survey of the district adjoining the Erie Canal in the state of New York.
Albany, 1824.
His best known work in which he devised a classification system for the rocks of North America.

Silliman, Benjamin (1779–1864)
Outline of the course of geological lectures given in Yale College.
New Haven, 1829.
Chemist and geologist. Founder of the *American Journal of Science and Arts* (called "Silliman's Journal") in 1818, which he also edited. Famous as a teacher, Amos Eaton and James Dwight Dana were among his students at Yale.

Dana, James Dwight (1813–1895)
A system of mineralogy.
New Haven, 1837.
Dana’s first work, published while he was an assistant to Benjamin Silliman, was a landmark in the description and classification of minerals.

Owen, David Dale (1807–1860)
Report of a geological exploration of part of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois.
Washington, 1844.
In the Smallwood Collection there are a number of geologic surveys of the states done at about this time—Maine (1838), Massachusetts (1841), New Hampshire (1841), Pennsylvania (1858), Ohio (1838), Kentucky (1857), Illinois (1837), Indiana (1839).

Agassiz, Louis Jean Rodolphe (1807–1873)
Geological sketches.
Boston, 1866.
A work that interpreted geological concepts for the public.

Winchell, Alexander (1824–1891)
Walks and talks in the geological field.
New York, 1886.
State geologist of Michigan; director of the geologic survey, which he did much to establish in 1859. First chancellor of Syracuse University (1873–75).

TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION

Weld, Isaac (1774–1856)
Travels through the states of North America, and the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797. Fourth edition.
London, 1807.

Ross, Sir John (1777–1856)
Narrative of a second voyage in search of a north-west passage, and of a residence in the Arctic regions, during the years 1829, 1831, 1832, 1833.
Philadelphia, 1835.
In which he discovers the north magnetic pole.

Beechey, Frederich William (1796–1856)
The zoology of Captain Beechey's voyage . . . during a voyage to the Pacific and Behring's straits performed in His Majesty's ship Blossom . . . in the years 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828.
London, 1839.
Contributions by Richard Owen, William Buckland, and G. B.
Sowerby among others. Illustrated with "upwards of fifty finely coloured plates" by J. D. C. Sowerby, Edward Lear (birds), and Zeitter (fish).

Frémont, John Charles (1813–1890)
Narrative of the exploring expedition to the Rocky mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and north California in the years 1843–44.
New York, 1846.

Lyell, Sir Charles (1797–1875)
A second visit to the United States of North America.
Lyell's first visit to North America was in 1841 with three subsequent visits. He traveled extensively throughout the northeast, including a trip to Niagara Falls, of which the geology greatly impressed him.

THE SMALLWOOD COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

In the Manuscript Division of the George Arents Research Library there is a group of thirty letters and manuscripts also assembled by Professor Smallwood. These are primarily associated with Amos Eaton, but include in addition letters of other prominent naturalists of the nineteenth century. The following is a complete list of the items with subject descriptions and, where available, Professor Smallwood's annotations, which have been copied exactly as they appear.

SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: A typical letter from a parent desiring information on the school (Rensselaer) prior to placing his son in it.

Resignation of Lewis C. Beck from the Rensselaer School.
SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: First-hand accounts of an academic quarrel

over 110 years old! The Beck brothers, Lewis C. and T. Romeyn Beck, were former students of Eaton's and faculty members of the Rensselaer School. What the Sentiments and Opinions of Eaton's were with which the Brothers Beck disagreed, we cannot know. We have the letters of resignation and the first draft of Amos Eaton's reply.


Booth, James Curtis. Memoir of the geological survey of the State of Delaware including the application of the geological observations to agriculture. Dover [Delaware], 1841. 188 pages.
Inscribed on the front cover by the author: “Prof. Amos Eaton. From his friend and pupil. The author.”

Amos Eaton's copy with glosses by him. His signature is on the cover.

Cleaveland, Parker. Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. To Amos Eaton, Troy, New York. 31 December 1827.
Cleaveland is preparing a new edition of his Mineralogy and Geology and asks Eaton for information about certain minerals in various locations which are known to Eaton. He also requests Eaton to send him some books and pamphlets written by Eaton and other geologists.


SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: A letter of introduction from Dewitt Clinton, at that time (1824) Governor of the State of New York and one of the most important figures in the country. Besides bearing the Clinton autograph, the letter is of interest in showing the manner in which the booksellers of the day contracted with the author directly for the privilege of selling his books.

A printer's assurance to Eaton of the publication of certain pamphlets and newspaper articles.

Deed. 16 July 1801. Jacob and Mary Vanderheyden convey four lots of property in the town of Troy, New York, to the officers and trustees of the Farmer's Bank for the sum of two hundred dollars.

SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: While this old deed (16 July 1801) has
Perca cernua. Drawn by Edward Donovan, from his The Natural History of British Fishes, volume I (London: Printed for the author and for F. and C. Rivington, 1802), plate 34.

no known connection with Eaton, it was found among other papers of the period and is indicative of the kind of deed which Eaton doubtless drew up during his brief career as a lawyer, and to which, no doubt, he was a part in his various land transactions.

Eaton, Amos. Notes on Animal Physiology. Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. August 1817. Manuscript. Manuscript notes of Amos Eaton's last lecture, delivered at Williams College. Contains an appendix which shows "the apparent connection with his difficulties which resulted in his giving up the practice of the law".

SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: The rarest and most valuable of the Amos Eaton manuscripts: Notes on Animal Physiology, dated August 1817, at Williams College. This is the only MSS of his lectures known. In this lecture he discussed the "Facial Angle" at some length as a means of estimating mental capacities. At the beginning of his conclusion, in speaking of his lectures before the class, he says: I have exhibited more than 200 kinds of minerals and 600 species of plants, besides the exhibition of various parts. . . . This is in accordance with one of his strongest
teaching theories: that botany (and other sciences) should never be taught
"without having each student hold in his hand a system of plants and living specimens for perpetual demonstration. . . . It is true that pictures may be studied; so may the picture of a blacksmith shoeing a horse be studied. But can you become a blacksmith by studying this picture?"

Reply to T. Romeyn Beck's resignation (27 September 1828), in which Eaton attempts reconciliation. He accounts for the procedure of printing school catalogues to which Beck had objected.

SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: Amos Eaton to John Torrey, relative to the proposed scientific survey of New York State. He (Torrey) accepted the appointment as state botanist, which resulted in the preparation of "A flora of the state of New York", published in two volumes in 1843.

Eaton, Amos. Translation of extracts from Adolphe Théodore Brongniart's Histoire des végétaux fossiles, 1828–37, with Eaton's instructions to the anonymous translator. N.d. 31 pages.
SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: Amos Eaton kept abreast of scientific research being carried on elsewhere in this country and others. Here is a note in his handwriting indicating that he wants a literal translation from a work on Fossil Flora by Adolphe Brongniart. Who did make the neatly written translation we do not know; it is nevertheless indicative of Eaton's scholarship that he knew of and wanted the material. The other part of the translation is in Eaton's own hand.

Hooker informs Crookes that he has been awarded the Royal Medal for "thallium and radiation labors" (1875). [Accompanied by an engraving of Hooker by C. Jeens.]

In 1851, Lorin Blodget (1823–1901) was appointed "assistant professor" in charge of researches on climatology at the Smithsonian
Institution. In 1857 he had published his Climatology of the United States, in which he compared the climate of America with that of Europe and Asia at the same latitudes. "This first work of importance on the climatology of any portion of America was so carefully and thoroughly done that the subsequent myriads of observations have essentially but confirmed Blodget's major conclusions." (Dictionary of American Biography)

Humboldt had delineated "isothermal lines" in 1817, and with their use had devised the means of comparing climates of various countries.

Huxley discusses whether a Greek word in a work by Aristotle in the original language should be translated as "form" or "matter". [Accompanied by an engraving of Huxley by C. Jeens.]

Moore, Zephaniah Swift. President of Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, and two faculty members. To whom it may concern. 1 September 1817.
Statement from the President and faculty of Williams College, recommending Amos Eaton as free-lance lecturer and as teacher of natural history.

SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: When Amos Eaton completed his lectures at Williams College, he was given the letter of high recommendation here shown. On the back is a similar endorsement dated a few months later (Nov. 24, 1817), the final paragraph of which is interesting: "As his class consisted chiefly of ladies, and as these branches of learning have not hitherto generally engaged the attention of that sex, we take the liberty to state, that from this experiment we feel authorized to recommend these branches as a very useful part of female education". It bears the signatures of a county clerk, a governor of Massachusetts, a minister, a Congressman and two physicians.


SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: A letter informing Eaton of his appointment as a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. It is written and signed by Samuel George Morton (1799–1851) a
doctor and scientist of importance and sound reputation. He [Morton] greatly influenced the mind and scientific opinion of Louis Agassiz.

Oken, Lorenz. Munich, Germany. To Professor Johannes Ny. Friese, Innsbruck, Austria. 14 August 1831.
Professor Friese was the son-in-law of the founder and first head of the Prague Polytechnic Institute, Dr. Franz Ritter von Gerstner. Oken is sending him copies of the journal Hamburg Bericht and hopes to see him at the meeting in Vienna which will take place the following year.

SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Eaton became engaged and involved in land speculation. Though unquestionably of unimpeachable character he none the less was very impractical. Unwise dealings resulted in his imprisonment early in 1811; but the important bill passed by the New York legislature in that year making it lawful for an imprisoned insolvent to go through bankruptcy and be discharged, made possible his release July 13, 1811. This letter, from Nathaniel Pendleton, dated some years earlier, is important in showing the sort of contract in which Amos Eaton became involved. Most of Eaton’s biographers have glossed over the fact and period of his imprisonment.

Mrs. Almira (Hart) Lincoln Phelps requests Eaton’s critical evaluation of her most recent publication on geology.
SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps (1793–1884) was one of Eaton’s most distinguished pupils and was greatly influenced by him. She was famous as a teacher and an author, among other things of a series of text books on the natural sciences which popularized them as fit subjects for girls’ education. The letter here shown is à propos of one of these text books, whose reception at Eaton’s hands she doubts. She was the sister of the even more famous Emma Willard.


The objections of Mrs. Phelps to the proposed marriage of her sister, Emma (Hart) Willard (founder of the Troy Female Seminary) to Dr. Christopher Yates, whom Eaton was apparently recommending. The marriage took place on 17 September 1838 and lasted only a year. In 1843 Emma Willard got her divorce through an act of the Connecticut legislature.

SMALLWOOD ANNOTATION: Another letter from Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps, this time concerning the private life of her brilliant and deservedly famous sister, Emma Willard. Mrs. Phelps feels that it would be most unwise for her sister (to whom she refers as “Aunt Willard”) to marry again. Never the less, on September 17, 1838 (three months after this letter) she did marry the Dr. Yates here mentioned. The marriage was unhappy from the start, and she was divorced in 1843—a very daring step for her day.

“Emma Willard was one of the great educators of her day. She was the first woman publicly to take her stand for the higher education of women and the first to make definite experiments to prove that women were capable of comprehending higher subjects.” (Dictionary of American Biography)

Rafinesque was an eccentric genius who excelled in many areas of natural history. On a trip to Rochester, he met Amos Eaton, who invited him to join him and his students on a cruise down the Erie Canal. Eaton later wrote, "He is a curious Frenchman. I am much pleased with him though he has many queer notions." In this letter, Rafinesque discusses with Eaton some of the geology of Pennsylvania. There is also a reference to Eaton's "laboratory school" in connection with a tour up the Erie Canal to study natural science.

Riddell, an alumnus of the Rensselaer School, sends species of Louisiana plants with full descriptions for Torrey's *Flora of North America*.

**Smallwood Annotation:** A letter to Amos Eaton from John Leonard Riddell (1807–1865), physician, botanist and inventor. He graduated from the Rensselaer School (Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute) in 1829 and was thus a student of Eaton's. He apparently held both Eaton and the School in deep regard, as evidenced by the letter. Through a long and valuable career he engaged in various governmental scientific enterprises, and made contributions to the development and use of the microscope.


**Smallwood Annotation:** Benjamin Silliman (1779–1864), professor of chemistry and natural history in Yale College from 1802 to 1853, was the most prominent and influential scientific man in America during the first half of the 19th century. Among other achievements of a long and distinguished career may be mentioned the establishment of what has become the Sheffield Scientific School, and the founding of the "American Journal of Science and Arts", of which he was the founder, proprietor and first editor. Under his skillful management it became one of the world's great scientific journals. This entire long letter to Amos Eaton concerns the "American Journal" and some criticisms of it which Eaton had forwarded to Silliman. At the latter's request, Eaton forwarded the letter to Van Rensselaer and Cortlandt, as well as to the
The author of the criticisms. The explanatory note by Eaton is on the back of the last page of Silliman's letter.


Smallwood Annotation: A letter from John Torrey (1796–1873) to Amos Eaton. Torrey as a boy came under the influence of Eaton when the latter was imprisoned for debt at the state prison at Green-which. Eaton inspired him with an interest in science which directed him in his life work. The letter, which begins as a letter of introduction for a friend of Torrey’s, ends chattily with several items of mutual interest. We wonder what became of the “expedition which is preparing by gov-ernment for the South Pole”.


Smallwood Annotation: Stephen Van Rensselaer (1764–1839) was an important figure in early New York State. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute was founded by him and he early engaged Amos Eaton on its faculty. His intimacy with Eaton is shown in this letter in which he indicated that he has sent a copy of Eaton’s Mineralogy to England and is somewhat disappointed in the verdict. The letter is written from Washington, where he was a member of Congress from 1825 to 1829.

On the verso of the letter Eaton has written: “Buckland remarks on my geology. I like the remarks, but the Patroon seems to think they should have been better.”


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Smallwood annotation: From 1820 to 1826 Eaton was professor of chemistry and natural philosophy and lecturer on mineralogy and zoology at Castleton Medical Academy, Castleton, Vermont. These three [Woodward] letters are to Eaton from a fellow faculty member at that time.
ANOTHER LISZT MANUSCRIPT AT SYRACUSE

In late spring 1987, the Syracuse University Library Associates purchased an especially rare item that will enhance the Library's holdings in musical manuscripts. Already part of the collection is the holograph of Franz Liszt's song from 1874, "Ihr Glocken von Marlinc"; see the Courier 20 (Fall 1986): 90–2. The new addition is also a Liszt holograph, a funeral march written in 1827, when the composer was only sixteen years old. No other source of the work is known; it has never been published and probably has never been performed in public. Very likely Liszt composed the piece in reaction to his father's death that year from typhoid fever. George Nugent, of the Syracuse University Fine Arts Department's music history faculty, is preparing a study of the manuscript and its history prior to publishing the work, which is among the earliest surviving works by the composer.

RECENT ACQUISITIONS

Recently, more than one hundred linear feet of architectural records have been added to our extensive Marcel Breuer Collection, which came to us from Mr. Breuer himself in 1967. The new items include original architectural drawings, correspondence, specifications, and photographs. The donation came from Breuer's successor firm Gatje, Papachristou, and Smith, and through the efforts of Hamilton Smith, Constance Breuer, and the Library Associates.

Carolyn A. Davis
Manuscripts Librarian
The George Arents Research Library recently purchased an addition of fifty-one letters to the Ernst Bacon Papers. The letters, which cover the period 1928 through 1978, were written by such people as the photographer Ansel Adams; writers Van Wyck Brooks, Witter Bynner, and Kay Boyle; composers Aaron Copland and Virgil Thomson; and Bacon’s former student, Carlisle Floyd. Ernst Bacon, noted pianist, composer, and conductor, was appointed director of the School of Music at Syracuse University in 1945. In 1947 he assumed the position of composer-in-residence. Winner of a Pulitzer Fellowship (1932) and two Guggenheim Fellowships (1939, 1942), Bacon produced a substantial corpus of musical works. They include two symphonies, an opera, four orchestral suites, five orchestral song cycles, many choral works, chamber works, and hundreds of songs.

Amy S. Doherty
University Archivist

Briefly noted below is a selection of items acquired during 1986–87 by the Rare Book Division of the George Arents Research Library.


Calvör, Caspar (1650–1725). 
*Saxonia inferior antiqua gentilis et Christiana* . . . (Goslar: J. C. Koenig, 1714). The only edition of this history of eighth-, ninth-, and tenth-century Saxony, which includes considerable sections devoted to neo-Latin and German poetry and historical prose from the period. A lengthy appendix contains a mass of notes and precise citations to works of over two-hundred earlier writers, and a tracing of the transmission of some medieval texts through their various printed editions. Purchased with Library funds.

*Domestay Book* (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 1986–88). Facsimile edition of the eleventh-century manuscript. The first full-size facsimile of the 800-page manuscript, which is an invaluable source for the study of the Norman Conquest, medieval England, Norman France, and Scandinavia. Over the next year the Library will receive a complete translation of the manuscript, maps of the thirty-one counties described in Great Domestay, and a complete set of indices. Purchased with Library funds.


Kipling, Rudyard (1865–1936). Significant additions to the Rudyard Kipling Collection including fifty-one letters (1894–1935) from Kipling and sixteen letters (1900–35) from his wife Caroline Kipling to various recipients, an extensive collection of papers and artifacts from Kipling’s publishers, S. S. McClure Co. and Doubleday & McClure Co., autograph manuscript poems and page proofs, incom-
ing correspondence received by Kipling, books from his library, and first editions of his writings. Gift of Chancellor Emeritus William P. Tolley.

A Letter from Rudyard Kipling on a Possible Source of The Tempest (Providence: Privately printed, 1906). With an autograph letter from Kipling to the publisher, Edwin Collins Frost, granting permission to publish this letter, which "originally appeared in The Spectator of 2d July, 1898, in the form of a communication to the editor". Edition limited to fifty-two copies. Purchased by the Library Associates.


New York State. French, John Homer (1824–1888). Gazetteer of the State of New York . . . Accompanied by a New Map of the State from Accurate Surveys (Syracuse: R. P. Smith, 1860). The wall map of the state (171 × 187 cm.), dated 1859, is uncommon and rarely found accompanying the Gazetteer as it was originally issued. Purchased with Library funds.

Oates, Joyce Carol (b. 1938). Nearly complete collection (1959–85) of the first periodical appearances of essays, short stories, and poetry of this Syracuse University graduate. The collection includes more than two hundred contributions to various literary and popular
periodicals and complements a full gathering of Ms. Oates' published works collected by the Library. Purchased with Library funds.


Syracuse, N.Y. Three lithographic urban views of the city from the years 1852, 1859, and 1874. The acquisition of these "bird's-eye views" gives the Library three of the four city-view lithographs of Syracuse that were done in the nineteenth century. They are particularly valuable to geographers, historians, and preservationists in documenting the appearance and development of the city. Purchased by the Library Associates.

Updike, John (b. 1932). A collection of thirteen novels in their first American editions, including many with autographs. Gift of David F. Tatham.

Mark F. Weimer
Rare Book Librarian

SECOND ANNUAL BOOK SALE

The second annual book sale, sponsored by the Syracuse University Library and the Syracuse University Library Associates, was held from 29 through 31 October. Its great success was made possible by the efforts of volunteers from the library staff, Library Associates, and many others who are friends of books. The enormous range of titles and subjects, the quality of the books themselves, and the very low prices all contributed to making the book sale an interesting and worthwhile event.
THE SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATES, founded in 1953, is a society whose efforts are devoted to the enrichment of the Syracuse University Library and especially the rare book and manuscript collections. The Associates' interests lie in strengthening these collections through the acquisition of unusual books, manuscripts, and other research materials which are rare and often of such value that the Library would not otherwise be able to acquire them.

The Associates welcome anyone to join whose interests incline in the direction of book collecting or the graphic arts. The perquisites of membership include borrowing privileges and general use of the Syracuse University Library's facilities and resources, as well as invitations to exhibitions, Associates-sponsored lectures, and special events of the University Library. In addition, members will receive our incidental publications, typographic keepsakes, and the Syracuse University Library Associates Courier, a semiannual publication which contains articles related to unusual and interesting aspects of the Library's holdings and, in particular, to the holdings of the George Arents Research Library for Special Collections.

SUGGESTED MEMBERSHIP CONTRIBUTIONS are as follows: Benefactor, $500; Sustaining member, $200; Individual member, $50; Faculty and staff of Syracuse University, $30; Senior citizen and student, $20. Checks, made payable to Syracuse University Library Associates, should be sent to the Secretary, 100 E. S. Bird Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13244-2010. For further information about the programs and activities of the Library Associates, telephone (315) 423-2585.

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