EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH SCIENCES SOCIETY

Volume 22, Number 1, 2003



A vision of an ichthyosaurus emerging from the depths to confront a plesiosaur on the surface, with its neck arched, preparing to strike.

Illustration by Edouard Riou (1833–1900), which appeared as Figure 130 in Louis Figuier, *La Terre avant le Déluge: Ouvrage contenant 25 Vues Idéales de Paysages de L'ancien Monde dessinées par Riou*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1864), 484 p.

EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY

Journal of the History of the Earth Sciences Society

EDITOR: Gregory A. Good History Department, Woodburn Hall, Room 202A West Virginia University Morgantown, WV 26506-6303 USA Tel: 304-293-2421 Ext. 5247 Fax: 304-293-3616 E-mail: greg.good@mail.wvu.edu

JOURNAL/SOCIETY WEB SITE: www.historyearthscience.org

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR: Vic Baker

Department of Hydrology and Water Resources, The University of Arizona, Tucson AZ 85721 USA: Tel: 520-621-7875 E-mail: baker@hwr.arizona.edu

> FOUNDING EDITOR: Gerald M. Friedman, 1982–1993 PAST EDITOR: Mott T. Greene, 1994–1998

ASSOCIATE EDITORS Mineralogy and Geology, Germany, Antiquity

Paleontology, Historical Geology Kenneth Carpenter Denver Museum of Natural History 2001 Colorado Boulevard Denver, CO 80205-5798 United States E-mail: Kcarpenter@dmns.org Geophysics, Space Science Ed Cliver Space Vehicles Directorate Air Force Research Laboratory (AFRL/VSBXS) Hanscom AFB, MA 01731-3010 United States E-mail: Edward.Cliver@HANSCOM.AF.MIL Geography, Cartography Lesley B. Cormack Department of History and Classics University of Alberta 2-28 Henry Marshall Tory Building Edmonton, AB T6G 2H4 Canada E-mail: Lesley.Cormack@UALBERTA.CA Meteorology and Climatology, Military and Geophysics James R. Fleming

STS Program Colby College 5881 Mayflower Hill Waterville, ME 04901 United States

E-mail: jrflemin@colby.edu

to 19th Century; History, Sociology, and Philosophy of Earth Sciences PD Dr. Bernhard Fritscher Munich Center for the History of Science and Technology Institute for the History of Science Museumsinsel 1 D-80306 Munich Germany E-mail: B.Fritscher@lrz.uni-muenchen.de Paleontology, Geology in Latin America Maria Margaret Lopes Instituto de Geociências Universidade Estadual de Campinas C.P. 6152 13083-970 Campinas, São Paulo Brazil E-mail: mmlopes@ige.unicamp.br Oceanography Eric Mills Department of Oceanography Dalhousie University Halifax, Nova Scotia B3H 4J1 Canada E-mail: E.Mills@DAL.CA 18th- and 19th-Century, American Geology Julie R. Newell SIS Program Southern Polytechnic State University 1100 So. Marietta Parkway Marietta, GA 30060 United States E-mail: jnewell@spsu.edu

Earth Sciences David R. Oldroyd Visiting Honorary Professor University of New South Wales 28 Cassandra Avenue St. Ives, Sydney, NSW 2075 Australia E-mail: doldroyd@optushome.com.au Paleontology in Latin America Irina Podgorny Archivo Histórico del Museo de La Plata CONICET/Universidad Nacional de La Plata Bernardo de Irigoyen 894, 5°A C1072AAR Buenos Aires Argentina E-mail: podgorny@mail.retina.ar Geology in Britain James Secord Department of History and Philosophy of Science Cambridge University Free School Lane Cambridge CB2 3RH United Kingdom E-mail: jas1010@HERMES.CAM.AC.UK 18th- and 19th-Century Geology, Geology in Europe Ezio Vaccari Via Marsala 18 Verona, VR 37128 Italy E-mail: Ezio.Vaccari@lettere.unige.it

Earth Sciences History is published twice per year.

To submit a manuscript or subscribe: Please visit the HESS web site at www. historyearthscience.org. Articles may be submitted to an appropriate Associate Editor or directly to the Editor. Manuscripts are referred by at least two reviewers.

Change of address: Please send your new address via e-mail to the Treasurer and the Secretary. See the inside back cover for their e-mail addresses.

To join HESS: See the clip-and-mail form at the back of the journal or visit the web site. Remember that HESS now can accept credit cards, especially valuable for individuals outside the U.S.

Copyright 2003 by HESS. All rights reserved.

EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY

Volume 22, Number 1, 2003

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial: Celebrating HESS and EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY; Biography, Literary Borrowings, Public Support of Field Science, and Geological Exploration; and Announcements	
Gregory A. Good	niV ₁
Letter to the Editor: The Founding Letter of HESS	-
Claude C. Albritton, Jr., Gerald M. Friedman, Michele L. Aldrich, Walter O. Kupsch, Douglas A. Basset, and Ellis L.	
Yochelson	4
Éloge	
Stephen Jay Gould (1941–2002) Ursula B. Marvin	6
Articles	100
New Frontiers: The Evolution of William G. Tight from Geomorphologist to University President Kennard B. Bork	10
Nothing New under the Earth: The Geology of Jules Verne's <i>Journey to the Centre of the Earth</i>	
John Breyer and William Butcher	36
From Interwar to Cold War: Selling Field Science in the United States, 1920s through 1950s	
Fae L. Korsmo and Michael P. Sfraga	55
Research Note	
Karl Sapper: Geologist, Ethnologist, and Naturalist Alexander McBirney and Volker Lorenz	79
Essay Reviews	
Hugh Torrens, The Practice of British Geology, 1750–1850 Simon J. Knell	90
Naomi Oreskes, ed., with Homer Le Grand, Plate Tectonics: An Insider's History of the Modern Theory of the Earth	
Warren B. Hamilton	93
Book Reviews	
David R. Oldroyd, ed., <i>The Earth Inside Out: Some Major Contributions</i> to Geology in the Twentieth Century Warren B. Hamilton	99
Tom Rea, Bone Wars: The Excavation and Celebrity of Andrew	,,,
Carnegie's Dinosaur	100
Susan Elizabeth Hough, Earthshaking Science: What We Know (and	
Don't Know) about Earthquakes Gretchen Luepke Bynum	101
Donald B. McIntyre and Alan McKirdy, James Hutton: The Founder of Modern Geology	
Robert H. Dott. Jr.	102

Vladimir Jankovic, Reading the Skies: A Cultural History of English Weather, 1650–1820	10.1
Cherry Lewis	104
Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, Michael M. Sokal, and Bruce V. Lewenstein, The Establishment of Science in America: 150 Years of the American Association for the Advancement of Science	
Julie R. Newell	105
Vincent Courtillot; Joe McClinton, translator, <i>Evolutionary Catastrophes:</i> The Science of Mass Extinctions	
Danita Brandt	107
S. M. Walters and E. A. Snow, <i>Darwin's Mentor: John Stevens Henslow</i> , 1796–1861	
Matthew D. Eddy	109
Richard F. Knapp and Robert M. Topkins, eds., Gold in History, Geology, and Culture: Collected Essays	
Michael S. Smith	111
Carla Yanni, Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display	
Gerald M. Friedman	113
David Edgar Cartwright, Tides: A Scientific History	
Cyril Galvin	114
Interesting Publications	
Gerald M. Friedman	118
Notes on Contributors	131

EDITORIAL

CELEBRATING HESS AND EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY; BIOGRAPHY, LITERARY BORROWINGS, PUBLIC SUPPORT OF FIELD SCIENCE, AND GEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION; AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

GREGORY A. GOOD

Editor, EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY West Virginia University Morgantown, WV 26506 Greg.Good@mail.wvu.edu

We start this issue on a celebratory note. Included as a letter to the editor is a letter written twenty-one years ago to people interested in the history of the earth sciences, co-signed by six scholars who will be familiar to most readers: Claude C. Albritton, Jr., Gerald M. Friedman, Michele L. Aldrich, Walter O. Kupsch, Douglas A. Basset, and Ellis L. Yochelson. The letter (dare a historian say this?) is prescient. The founders of HESS urged that the time was right to found a society and a journal, to encourage the development of the history of earth science. One measure of their success—our success—in this endeavor is a comment in a recently published major reference work in the history of science, by historian of geology Rachel Laudan, that **EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY** is "now the major journal for the history of geology and earth science."¹ Hard work and high standards have made the founders' prediction come to pass and to justify this recent evaluation. Let's strive to continue at this level and beyond!

This issue includes another éloge, three articles, and a research note, along with two essay reviews and eleven book reviews. Ursula Marvin explores the life and writings of Stephen Jay Gould, who was equally influential in paleontology, evolutionary biology, and history of science, but was also so much more. Let me remind potential writers of éloges that guidelines were published in **EARTH SCI-**ENCES **HISTORY**, volume 21, no. 2 and are available on the HESS website. Do not submit an éloge without referring to the guidelines, and in all cases, submit to the past president of HESS.

The articles and research note in this issue once again address an interesting variety of topics. Kennard B. Bork explores the difficulties of writing a biography when many of the manuscript materials have been lost to the attrition of time. His subject, William G. Tight, was a prominent geomorphologist at the turn of the twentieth century who transformed himself from researcher and teacher into a university president.

John A. Breyer and William Butcher tackle a problem area that is perhaps new to many readers: the scientific sources drawn on by a literary figure, in this case Jules Verne. If we reflect for a moment, many more possibilities will occur to us. This article also offers an opportunity to consider changing standards since the nineteenth century regarding the direct taking and use of another person's writings.

¹ Rachel Laudan, Earth Science, in *The Oxford Companion to the History of Modern Science*, eds. J. L. Heilbron, James Bartholomew, Jim Bennett, Frederic L. Holmes, Rachel Laudan, and Giuliano Pancaldi (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 941 p., 226–227, on 227. A review of this book will appear soon in EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY.

EDITORIAL

Fae L. Korsmo and Michael P. Sfraga bring us into the middle of the twentieth century and a very different concern: a comparative analysis of the success of three different initiatives in field science to attract public, governmental support in the United States. They examine the failed effort of the U.S. Navy to launch an ambitious oceanographic project in the 1920s, along with the progressively more successful Second International Polar Year (1932–1933) and International Geophysical Year (1957–1958). Readers might profitably go back to EARTH SCI-ENCES HISTORY, volume 19, no. 1 to see this article against the context of the Maury II Conference on the history of oceanography.

Lastly, Alexander McBirney and Volker Lorenz relate the tale of the remarkable explorations of Central America and southern Mexico undertaken by Karl Sapper and his Mayan guides and porters Macedonio Tox, Sebastian Ical, and José Chub, around 1900. While Sapper's main goals were to produce a geological map and to fill out the stratigraphic column for the region, he also undertook anthropological and linguistic studies that have become unfortunately valuable, as some of the native peoples he studied have become extinct.

With this issue we welcome our new Book Review Editor, Victor R. Baker. I look forward to this new partnership in the life of the journal. Please contact Vic if you are interested in reviewing books or in writing essay reviews.

I want to take this opportunity to make a few announcements that might interest our members. Léo F. Laporte informs me that his web site on G. G. Simpson is now up and ready for general viewing. Any other readers who are producing web sites useful in history of earth science are invited to contact me. Perhaps in the future we could include a column listing such web sites, or an occasional review of web sites in the Book Review section. The site address is: http://people.ucsc.edu/~laporte/simpson/Index.html.

Several conferences in the history of geology, oceanography, and meteorology are approaching or recently held. The first is the International Commission on the History of Geological Sciences (INHIGEO) meeting on "Geological Travellers" in Dublin, Ireland from 14 to 18 July 2003. For information, contact Patrick Wyse-Jackson at Trinity College, Dublin (wysjcknp@tcd.ie).

On 10 to 12 August 2003, the Silver Jubilee Anniversary of the Northeastern Science Foundation will be held in Troy, New York, co-sponsored by GSA History of Geology Division and History of the Earth Science Society, as well as by City University of New York, Society for Sedimentary Geology, American Association of Petroleum Geologists, New York State Geological Association, New York State Museum, and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. Abstracts were due by June 1. Proposed symposia include: Oil and Gas Exploration in Northeastern North America, Dolostone as an Exploration Target, History of Geology, From Hall to Plate Tectonics, Karst and Caves, Modern Concepts of the Taconics and Appalachians, Cleaning the Environment or Water-borne Toxic Wastes, Education in Geology—Where are we heading? For more information: www.geocities.com/ northeasternscifdn.

The Seventh International Congress on the History of Oceanography will be held in Kaliningrad, Russian Federation, from 8 to 14 September 2003. The general theme is International Collaboration in the Research of the World Ocean. Registration after the 1 May deadline varies from US\$70 to US\$170. The web site is http://www.vitiaz.ru.

The first call has been issued for papers for a conference to be sponsored by the International Commission on History of Meteorology (ICHM). The conference will be in Wilheim, Germany, from 5 to 9 July 2004 on the theme: "From Beaufort to Bjerknes and Beyond: Critical Perspectives on Observing, Analyzing, and Predicting Weather and Climate." 2004 is the anniversary of the wind scale of Admiral Francis Beaufort (1804), the founding of the British Meteorological Of-

Editorial

fice (1854), the publication of Vilhelm Bjerknes's paper "Weather forecasting as a problem in mechanics and physics" (1904), and the establishment of operational numerical weather prediction (1954). Anyone with a critical, historically-informed paper or session on understanding, predicting, and controlling weather and climate may send it to any of the following members of the program committee: Cornelia Lüdecke (C.Luedecke@lrz.uni-muenchen.de), Jim Fleming (jrflemin@colby.edu), Tsukahara Togo (eug@cs.cla.kobe-u.ac.jp), or Vladimir Jankovic (vladimir. jankovic@man.ac.uk).

Lastly, HESS members should remember the fall 2003 meetings of the Geological Society of America (Seattle, Washington, 2 to 5 November), of the History of Science Society (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 20 to 23 November), and of the American Geophysical Union (San Francisco, California, 8 to 12 December). All three meetings regularly include sessions and papers in the history of the earth sciences. The GSA is planning sessions on "The Science of Lewis and Clark: Historical Observations and Modern Interpretations" and "Henry Darcy's 200th Birthday: Fundamental Advancements Through Observation and Analysis." Check their respective web sites as the meetings approach for program details: http://www.geosociety.org/meetings/, http://hssonline.org, http://www.agu.org.

Listics, HESS could be multidisciplinary in the earth sciences, drawing from the tunities. HESS could be multidisciplinary in the earth sciences, drawing from the ranks of astronomers, oceanographers, and geophysicists, among other disciplines as well as from the ranks of geologists. It could also attract those who approach the history of earth sciences through the history of science, technology, or sociology. HESS would be open to all, regardless of area of training, who are interested in the history of the earth. Finally, HESS would be international in mem-

a distinct society would certainly accomplish this. Another aim is to hold meetings at which papers are presented; while HESS would probably meet jointh with the Division in the foreseeable future, a distinct society has the opportunity to meet with a variety of other organizations, as seems appropriate. Finally, a protessioned society is commonly established to publish a journal of interest to its members. This is a difficult economic undertaking. Commercial publishers of private journals in Europe are considering a journal in history of geology, which of course members would be expensive. A journal published by HESS and distributed to dues-paying members would be more conomical and far more concerned with their interests apport to assist in the founding of a new journal. Of increasity, it will be produced by the most economical means but it will be of good quality technically. In the final analysis, a journal of a society makes more sense than a journal of a society.

In the spring you will be sent a draft constitution for your consideration and approval. The first issue of the journal will be coordinated so that those who you on the constitution and pay dues will peceive the journal for 1982. Meanwhile you can assist us by showing this announcement to all your colleagues, for interest in history of earth sciences runs deep. All suggestions for drafting a constitution and opinions on how the proposed HESS should be organized are most welcome. This is definitely a shoe-string operation and anyone who desires to send a modest donation payable to HESS for printing and postage along with their suggestions (funds without suggestions are equally welcome) should send them to E. L. Yoch-

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

[Editor's note: Gerry Friedman found this letter in his archives and kindly sent it along for the interest of HESS members and readers of EARTH SCIENCES HISTORY. Our journal is now in its twenty-second year, demonstrating indeed the vision of the six co-signers of the letter below. It goes without saying, but the appeals for funds and for ideas are still active, though now they should be sent to the current appropriate officers and not to Ellis!]

February 1982

"The time has come . . . "

A history of the earth sciences society (HESS) is a logical development from the current enthusiasm about the subject. HESS could complement the History of Geology Division of the Geological Society of America by opening new opportunities. HESS could be multidisciplinary in the earth sciences, drawing from the ranks of astronomers, oceanographers, and geophysicists, among other disciplines, as well as from the ranks of geologists. It could also attract those who approach the history of earth sciences through the history of science, technology, or sociology. HESS would be open to all, regardless of area of training, who are interested in the history of the earth. Finally, HESS would be international in membership and in scope.

One aim of a professional society is to promote a discipline; organizing of a distinct society would certainly accomplish this. Another aim is to hold meetings at which papers are presented; while HESS would probably meet jointly with the Division in the foreseeable future, a distinct society has the opportunity to meet with a variety of other organizations, as seems appropriate. Finally, a professional society is commonly established to publish a journal of interest to its members. This is a difficult economic undertaking. Commercial publishers of private journals in Europe are considering a journal in history of geology, which of course would be expensive. A journal published by HESS and distributed to dues-paying members would be more economical and far more concerned with their interests.

As a partial response to the commercial houses, we anticipate institutional support to assist in the founding of a new journal. Of necessity, it will be produced by the most economical means but it will be of good quality technically. In the final analysis, a journal of a society makes more sense than a journal without a society.

In the spring you will be sent a draft constitution for your consideration and approval. The first issue of the journal will be coordinated so that those who vote on the constitution and pay dues will receive the journal for 1982. Meanwhile you can assist us by showing this announcement to *all your colleagues*, for interest in history of earth sciences runs deep. All suggestions for drafting a constitution and opinions on how the proposed HESS should be organized are most welcome. This is definitely a shoe-string operation and anyone who desires to send a modest donation payable to HESS for printing and postage along with their suggestions (funds without suggestions are equally welcome) should send them to E. L. Yoch-

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

elson-HESS, Room E-501, Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C. 20560, USA.

We need your support.

Sincerely yours,

5

Claude C. Albritton, Jr. Dallas, Texas

> Gerald M. Friedman Troy, New York

Michele L. Aldrich Washington, D.C.

Walter O. Kupsch Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

> Douglas A. Basset Cardiff, Wales

Ellis L. Yochelson Washington, D.C.

Family Sciences, History, v. 22, no. 1, 2003, no. 6-9

ÉLOGE

STEPHEN JAY GOULD (SEPTEMBER 10, 1941–MAY 20, 2002)

URSULA B. MARVIN

Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics 60 Garden St., Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA umarvin@cfa.harvard.edu

Stephen Jay Gould got his first inkling of the career he would choose when his father brought him to the American Museum of Natural History in New York. There, the five-year-old came face to face with the gigantic skeleton of *Tyrannosaurus rex*, which, he said, awed him and scared him, but also started him dreaming of becoming a scientist, especially a paleontologist. He grew up hoping that by his own efforts, he could make even the smallest addition to human knowledge of evolution and the history of life.

In 1965, while still a graduate student at Columbia University, Gould published his first scientific paper: "Is uniformitarianism necessary?" in the *American Journal of Science*. He concluded that Charles Lyell's uniformitarianism served very well for banishing theology from geology but has since become an anachronism. On receiving his Ph. D. degree in 1967, he joined the faculty at Harvard University, where at the age of 32 he became a full professor of geology and at 41 was appointed concurrently to the prestigious Alexander Agassiz Professorship of Zoology.

Meanwhile, in 1972 Gould and fellow paleontologist, Niles Eldridge, proposed their theory of punctuated equilibrium, in which, while remaining loyal Darwinians, they described new species being formed rapidly, after long periods of stasis, by branching events in small, isolated populations. They scarcely expected to find direct evidence of such rapid evolution, but in 1997 on a broad mud flat in the Bahamas, Gould hiked from an area rich in the shells of an extinct species of land snails to one rich in those of a living species, separated by a zone scattered with thousands of intermediate forms. He regarded this as a continuous record of one species branching into another within a mere twenty thousand years. In reviewing the full 3.8 billion-year history of life, however, Gould became convinced that, far from being a tale of predictable progression, evolution has been characterized by contingencies, which he described as small steps, each of which could have gone in a variety of ways that would have led to major differences. He concluded that contingencies have played such a dominant role that if a tape recording of evolution were rewound and replayed the results never would be the same twice.

Gould published a steady stream of technical articles and books as well as three hundred consecutive essays, dating from January 1974 to January 2001, in the monthly journal, *Natural History*. The essays were collected into ten books, including the prize-winning *The Panda's Thumb* in 1980 and *The Mismeasure of Man* in 1981. In 1989, his book *Wonderful Life* appeared, a riveting account of the fossiliferous Burgess shale with his reflections on the nature of history. Gould's 1,433-page magnum opus, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory*, came off the press on April 4, 2002. He had begun work on it twenty years earlier during his first bout with cancer, and sometimes he had almost despaired of finishing it. Now, to his delight, it appeared in time to be seen by his respected colleague, the distinguished 97-year-old evolutionist, Ernst Mayr.

Gould was a public crusader against pseudoscience in general and creation-



Figure 1. Stephen Jay Gould in the summer of 1999 at an outdoor party at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology. (By courtesy of the photographer, Cheryl Souza.)

ism in particular, and he played a strong role in the restitution, in 2000, of the teaching of evolution, the Big Bang, and the geological time scale in the Kansas public school system. He wrote scathing criticisms of the misuse of statistics to describe racial differences and to rank levels of human intelligence. Within the scientific community he outspokenly opposed sociobiology, the theory propounded by his colleague at Harvard, Professor E. O. Wilson, who argued for an evolutionary basis of social behavior.

Gould was loaded with honors and awards, including more than forty honorary degrees, numerous prestigious medals of excellence from institutions at home and abroad, and inclusion in the first group of "genius awards" bestowed by the McArthur Foundation. How did he accomplish all that he did while teaching packed classes and small seminars in paleontology, geology, biology, zoology, and the history of science, advising his students, and continually performing new field and library research of his own? It helped that he had such a seemingly endless store of energy that he needed only four hours of sleep each night. Also, he had a prodigious memory for detail, so he did not have to keep checking back into his sources. And he wrote at what he, himself, called a "horrendous" rate, always using his portable typewriter. His articles needed no editing—at least they got none from *Natural History*, according to the editor who said she found them to be utterly readable as submitted. Eventually, he ceased sending out abstracts ahead of his talks. In short, he made every minute count while always maintaining a thoroughly relaxed and amiable demeanor.

Gould's choice of a career in science may itself have been a contingency. He might have chosen music if his father had taken him to a symphony or an opera. He loved music passionately and was very knowledgeable about its history. On Monday evenings, Gould regularly sang with the Boston Cecilia, a choral and orchestral society. He was there, pale and drawn but singing his heart out the week before he died. He also gave the gift of music to his older son, Jesse, who is autistic. In a short note Jesse wrote for Gould's memorial service, he recalled the day his father had taken him to buy his first violin. It was a small size because Jesse was only 5 years and 8 months old, but he said that for many, many years afterward his father always played the piano to help him practice.

Or Steve might have chosen baseball, another great love which he frequently discussed and wrote about. He was a steadfast fan of the New York Yankees, despite his decades in Cambridge where he always bought season tickets for Fenway Park, the home of the Boston Red Sox. Again, he might have chosen from any one of his other broad interests—architecture, comparative languages, or political theory. Whatever he did, Stephen Jay Gould always would have been primarily a historian and philosopher. As such he added an immensely large and valuable œuvre to the history of the Earth and life sciences.

Steve wrote that he learned socialism at his daddy's knee. He was the firstborn member of the third generation of a family of immigrants from Hungary. In 1901, his maternal grandfather, whom he affectionately called "Papa Joe," had crossed the Atlantic in steerage at age thirteen with his mother and two younger sisters. After working at various jobs, Papa Joe wound up in New York's garment district where he married Steve's "Grammy," another garment worker, who had emigrated from Hungary a year before he had. They settled in Queens, the largest borough of New York City, and raised four children. Steve's parents remained in Queens and achieved a measure of prosperity while maintaining a strong identification with their community of working people. At an early age, Steve read the *Bible* and *Das Kapital* and then went on to gain fluency in six languages. Eventually, he became an atheist with a profound concern for living a moral life guided by an attitude of benevolence toward all humankind.

Gould wrote his essays for Natural History from a strong desire, and also a sense of obligation, to share his knowledge and his excitement about science with general readers, whom he pictured as lacking advanced technical training but being as fascinated with science and as aware of its importance to our human existence as any professional. Except for avoiding technical jargon, he utterly refused to "dumb down" the content of the essays. Instead, he adopted what he called the great humanistic tradition of treating his readers as equals by maintaining the conceptual depth that marked his technical and scholarly writings. He referred to his essays as mini-intellectual biographies in which he discussed scientific issues in their historical and social contexts. He based his essays on original research in original languages and frequently included in them important new findings or fresh insights that would have been appropriate for publication in Science or Nature. He was exasperated, therefore, when some of his colleagues refused to cite his essays because they did not view them as suitable for professionals to use as primary sources. Steve decried this exclusionary attitude, arguing that all scientists should share their expertise with the public, else they have only themselves to blame when their work is misunderstood and we all suffer from the rising tide of anti-scientific sentiment.

In hopes of engaging his *Natural History* readers in dialogues, Steve posed questions for them that brought him volumes of thoughtful and interesting letters. Perhaps the item that gave him the most pleasure came from a specialist in genealogy who sent him a copy of the page from the ship's manifest that recorded the arrival of his Papa Joe at Ellis Island. The month after he arrived, Papa Joe had paid five cents for a book, *Studies in English Grammar*, in which he wrote his name and the date adding: "I have landed Sept. 11th 1901." To Steve, this was the most eloquent of all conceivable statements by a young immigrant in a new world, and he chose "*I have landed*" as the title of his own final book of collected essays published in 2002 and dedicated: "To my readers. *Fellow members of the ancient and universal (and vibrantly continuing) Republic of Letters.*"

By then Steve was waging his battle against a second variety of cancer, but he planned to visit Ellis Island with his mother on the hundredth anniversary of Papa Joe's landing. On the morning of September 11th 2001, his flight from Europe made an unscheduled landing in Halifax, where the passengers learned that the twin towers of the World Trade Center had been demolished by two highjacked planes full of passengers, with an immense loss of life in New York. By then he was making his home part-time in New York, one mile from Ground Zero. On observing the wreckage, along with the evidence of thousands upon thousands of individual acts of helpfulness and generosity, he felt confirmed in his philosophy of the Great Asymmetry in human affairs: every spectacular incident of evil will be balanced by ten thousand acts of kindness. He published paeans in Canada's *Globe and Mail* to the kind people of Halifax, who took in many planeloads of stranded airline passengers, and in *The New York Times* and *The Boston Globe* to those of New York who rushed to the scene to aid in whatever way they could. In short order, he and his wife and step-daughter were leading an effort to supply needed items such as hard hats, respirators, and shoe pads to the rescue workers who were tirelessly searching through the wreckage for survivors. Stephen Jay Gould himself would be a survivor for eight more months.

STEPHEN JAY GOULD: SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF THE EARTH SCIENCES

- 1965 Is uniformitarianism necessary? American Journal of Science, 263:223–228.
- 1979 Agassiz's marginalia in Lyell's *Principles*, or the perils of uniformity and the ambiguity of heroes, in *Studies in the History of Biology*, eds. W. Coleman and C. Limoges (Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore), 119–138. Festschrift dedicated to Ernst Mayr on his 75th birthday.
- 1979 Agassiz's later, private thoughts on evolution: his marginalia in Haeckel's Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte (1868), in Two Hundred Years of Geology in America. Proceedings of the New Hampshire Bicentennial Conference on the History of Geology, ed. C. J. Schneer (Hanover NH: The University Press of New England), 278–292.
- 1980 The Panda's Thumb (New York: W. W. Norton and Company), 343 p.
- 1981 The Mismeasure of Man (New York: W. W. Norton and Co.), 352 p.; 2nd edition, revised and expanded, 1996, 444 p.
- 1985 Evolution and the triumph of homology, or why history matters, *American Scientist*, 74:60–69.
- 1985 Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press), 222 p.
- 1989 Wonderful Life: The Burgess shale and the nature of history. W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 347 p.
- 2002 I Have Landed. The End of a Beginning in Natural History (New York: Harmony Books), 418 p.

And a second provide a second second second framework and the protect of the second se

Earth Sciences History, v. 22, no. 1, 2003, pp. 10-3