

“The Milestones of Science” Collection: The Public Library and the Conservation of Buffalo’s Cultural Heritage

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“The Milestones of Science” is a collection of first editions in which important scientific discoveries were first announced. Largely assembled in 1937–38 by the Buffalo (NY) Museum of Science, funds were raised for its purchase by Buffalo’s many ethnic groups. Later, faced with financial problems, the museum approved the sale of the collection in 1994. Following negative press coverage that protested the loss of Buffalo’s cultural heritage, the museum postponed the sale. A solution emerged, involving a trade of the “The Milestones” for the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library’s duplicate *Birds of America* folio by John James Audubon, enabling the city to retain a rare book collection regarded as a cultural asset and community possession. The incident illustrates the political implications of deaccessioning decisions and the controversial role of rare book collections in public libraries.

“The Milestones of Science” is a collection of first editions of significant works in the history of science, acquired sixty years ago by the Museum of Science in Buffalo, New York. “The idea back of the collection was to have something unique, something that would lend distinction to our museum and to Buffalo,”¹ wrote Chauncey J. Hamlin in 1942. He continued, “We hoped to reach circles which perhaps hitherto had not had our museum and its work or the cultural achievements of our city previously brought to their attention.”² Although Hamlin’s intent was to enhance the city’s image, Buffalo’s many ethnic groups contributed funds for its purchase out of a sense of national pride in the accomplishments of these great scientists who were also their countrymen. The community’s involvement in the acquisition of the collection succeeded in fostering a sense of ownership, such that its threatened sale in 1994 became a controversial issue for Buffalo residents. The opportunity was created for two of Buffalo’s cultural institutions, the Buffalo Museum of Science and the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library, to collaborate in finding a solution that would allow the city to retain a valued cultural resource.

The Politics of Deaccessioning

The events leading to a resolution of this issue illustrate the political nature of deaccessioning rare and valuable items in museums and libraries. Community response to such action resulting in negative press coverage can influence future support of both public and private dollars, as the ability of the institutions to serve as guardians of the public patrimony is called into question.

An extensive literature exists on the subject of deaccessioning, particularly concerning works of art in museums. The subject has been explored from artistic, ethical, financial, historical, legal, and managerial perspectives as to both its propriety in specific circumstances and the acceptable uses of the proceeds realized from sales. Although still controversial, deaccessioning is generally recognized as justified in certain situations, where any funds raised are reinvested in support of the institution's collection. Diversion of these funds into operations, however, has proved highly contentious.³ A recent example of the latter is the case of Vermont's Shelburne Museum, where works by Degas, Manet, and others were sold to finance collections maintenance.⁴

In libraries, deaccessioning occurs under a variety of circumstances, all of which have the potential for generating public interest and concern, especially when there is a sense of community title to the assets as a result of tax support to the institution. For public libraries most scrutiny has been directed toward "weeding" practices, where attention has centered on the perceived loss of potentially valuable items. Two recent high-profile cases involve the public libraries of Philadelphia⁵ and San Francisco.⁶ Deaccessioning as a byproduct of preservation efforts may also raise the ire of members of the community, as in the case of the New York Public Library's microfilming and discarding of certain historical pamphlets.⁷

The importance of rare book collections in public libraries has been increasingly debated as funding pressures have mounted. Over the past several years, a number of institutions have decided to divest themselves of all or portions of these collections. The Louisville Free Public Library, for example, transferred several items from its rare book collection to other Kentucky institutions in order to avoid the ongoing costs associated with protection and preservation.⁸ Other libraries have contemplated sales in order to fund pressing needs or to redirect proceeds into new acquisitions determined to be more in keeping with the library's evolving mission. Deaccessioning transactions to raise revenue, however, are rarely free from controversy, as the case of the Kansas City Public Library demonstrates.⁹

In Buffalo, "The Milestones of Science" collection contained a political dimension from the beginning as a result of the museum's effort to garner public support for funding its acquisition. Subsequent decisions regarding the collection also created political repercussions, chief among them being the community's concern that it would lose a portion of its cultural heritage if the items were allowed to leave Buffalo. The Buffalo & Erie County Public Library ultimately found itself in the position of serving the public interest by assuming the role of conservator of these assets when the unique opportunity emerged to augment, rather than diminish, its rare book collection.

"The Milestones of Science"

Chauncey J. Hamlin served as the president of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences for twenty-eight years (1920–1948). During Hamlin's presidency, the Buffalo Museum of Science was constructed to house the society's collections and "The Milestones of Science" first editions were acquired. The collection was Hamlin's idea. It originated with his desire to obtain pictures of the one hundred greatest scientists for display in the museum. In the course of this project, Hamlin writes, "I began to wonder if it would not be possible to secure any first editions of some of the great works of science written by these men—the works in which they had announced their epoch making discoveries to the world."¹⁰

In May of 1937, a rare book dealer called on Hamlin and asked if the museum would be interested in making any acquisitions. Hamlin mentioned his idea of the "Milestones," and the dealer returned within a few days with a first edition of *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543) by Copernicus. The book was purchased and the collection was born. The intention was to build a focused collection, not "so large as to make it unimpressive."¹¹ In compiling the list for the collection, references in the history of science were consulted as well as specialists from various fields and countries. Limited with few exceptions to publications from Gutenberg to 1900, it eventually numbered 198 works and included such titles as Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543), Blaeu's *Grooten atlas* (1634–1665), and Newton's *Principia* (1687). Largely complete by 26 April 1938, it was opened to the public in an exhibition in the Central Hall of the museum.¹² The volumes continued to be displayed in succeeding years, until concerns regarding their condition and security led to the abandonment of the practice.¹³ In 1972 the society published an illustrated catalogue of the collection entitled *Milestones of Science: Epochal Books in the History of Science as Represented in the Library of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences*.¹⁴



Figure 1: Galileo Galilei, *Dialogo . . . sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo Tolemaico e Copernicano* (1632), from "The Milestones of Science" collection. Ordered to be burned by the Inquisition, first editions are extremely rare. Photograph courtesy of the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

It is remarkable that the collection was assembled in so short a period, less than a year, especially during the Great Depression. On the other hand, "the books were acquired quite cheaply as the rare book market had suffered severely"¹⁵ during that era. In retrospect, the speed must also be considered fortuitous in light of the destruction that occurred to books and libraries in Europe as a result of World War II. As Hamlin later stated, "Many of the items in our collection may never be obtainable again."¹⁶ There was only one aspect of the timing of the project that "momentarily gave us pause,"¹⁷ and that was the fear of criticism of the museum for making such purchases in the midst of the widespread unemployment of those years.

In discussing the project in 1942, Hamlin refers to a museum in the "central west" which had received a great deal of unfavorable publicity for purchasing a "splendid though expensive sculpture of an Egyptian cat." Demonstrations by the unemployed were organized to protest the museum's action. "We wondered," he states, "if some parlor pinks or other excitable elements in Buffalo might not raise the same unreasoning outcry against us."¹⁸

Hamlin's description fits newspaper accounts of the community reaction to the purchase of a fifth century B.C. bronze Egyptian cat by the St. Louis City Art Museum in 1938.¹⁹ Protests took the form of letters to the editor, pickets at City Hall, and petitions to the mayor. The museum's tax appropriation was threatened.²⁰ The *New York Times* commented, "Here is an issue nicely drawn. Shall a tax supported institution, such as an art museum or a public library, stop buying what it regards as treasures of beauty or historical significance because the city has a relief problem?"²¹ The article suggested the answer by stating, "The unemployed have been among the chief beneficiaries of the continuing programs of our museums and libraries during the depression."²² Although Hamlin did not have the benefit of the St. Louis example to guide him, since it occurred a few months after "The Milestones" opening, he understood the necessity of community support for his project. "A happy solution . . . was soon found to set our fears at rest."²³

The All Nations Mardi Gras

One evening, after "The Milestones" project was initiated, Hamlin was asked to speak on the museum and its work before the Florentine Society, one of Buffalo's Italian organizations. In his remarks, Hamlin mentioned the works of the great Italian scientists, such as Galileo, Volta, Marconi, and others, which he hoped to secure for "The Milestones of Science" collection. He also spoke on the universality of science and its international aspects. He was asked many questions about

the project. At one point, a member of the audience suggested that an international Mardi Gras celebration should be organized in which all the groups in Buffalo's cosmopolitan population would be asked to participate for the purpose of raising funds for the museum's rare book collection. The proposal proved popular, and a committee was appointed to plan the event.

Thousands attended the All Nations Mardi Gras on 1 March 1938, at which "representatives of each nation . . . sang and performed the dances characteristic of their countries."²⁴ The following month, 750 of the Mardi Gras participants, representing twenty-five nationalities, gathered at the Buffalo Museum of Science "to view the rare books acquired by the institution as a result of the monetary success of the fete."²⁵ Thus, "The Milestones" became associated with a sense of national pride on the part of Buffalo's ethnic groups. Putting to rest the fear of criticism, the Mardi Gras also served to give "the people who participated a sense of ownership or partnership in the enterprise."²⁶

"The Milestones" collection, however, remained little known outside of Buffalo. When the Grolier Club of New York City organized an exhibit in 1958, *One Hundred Books Famous in Science*, the volumes were borrowed from twenty-eight individuals and institutions throughout Europe and America. The collection "essentially duplicated the items in the Grolier exhibition," but "not a single book from Buffalo was borrowed for the New York exhibition."²⁷

The Museum and Hard Times

Over the next sixty years the Buffalo Museum of Science, like many cultural institutions, struggled with insufficient revenues to meet the demands for its services. The museum sought alternate sources of funds, including deaccessioning materials in its own collections. This was deemed acceptable when "the material is no longer appropriate to the purposes of the BSNS [Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences], or because its value is far in excess of its benefit to the BSNS."²⁸ The passing years had also taken their toll on "The Milestones of Science." The volumes began to deteriorate and were removed from display, and security concerns caused the museum to restrict access. They became generally unavailable to the public and were largely forgotten.

It was under these circumstances that the society's board authorized the sale of the collection's most valuable work in the summer of 1987. This was the double elephant folio edition of John James Audubon's *Birds of America*. This work had been bequeathed to the society by Buffalo physician Roswell Park in 1914. Although its acquisition had predated "The Milestones" project, it was incorporated into the collection and

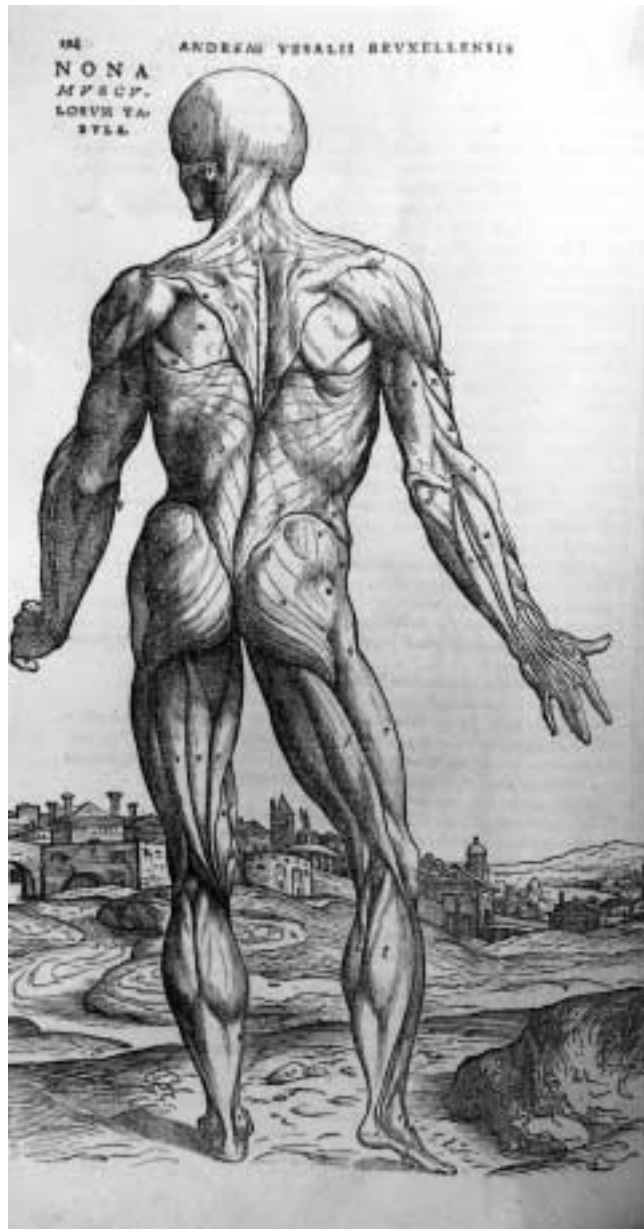


Figure 2: Illustration from Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543), from "The Milestones of Science" collection. Appearing in the same year as Copernicus' *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, it marked a break with the Galenic tradition in medicine. Photograph courtesy of the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

appears in the society's 1972 catalogue.²⁹ Due to the fact that the set was incomplete and only one volume was in relatively good condition, the decision was made to auction the set print by print. The sale was conducted on 14–15 September 1987 and netted the society over \$1.6 million.

The sale did not occur, however, without misgivings on the part of some members of the community. The preceding July the museum's director, Ernst Both, had appeared before the Erie County Legislature's Community Enrichment Committee to defend the decision. He cited the financial need of the museum and the fact that area residents would not be deprived of the work because the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library also owned and displayed an identical set. The local newspaper reported that this argument "appeared to satisfy most committee members."³⁰ George F. Goodyear repeated the argument in his history of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences. Noting that the public library displayed one print per week from its copy of the Audubon set, he concluded, "the City of Buffalo would not be deprived of the opportunity to enjoy this work,"³¹ if the folio were sold.

The society's sale of *Birds of America*, however, had raised the issue of the community's interest in retaining its cultural resources and, by extension, its cultural heritage. In this case, it was reasoned, the community would not be "deprived" of a resource because it was also owned by another institution and available to the public. This was not the case when the society took action several years later to auction many of the remaining volumes of "The Milestones of Science" collection.

"The Milestones" Controversy

The *Buffalo News* reported on 17 July 1994 that an unspecified number of first editions from "The Milestones of Science" collection was headed for the auction block. The museum indicated that proceeds from the sale would be put in a restricted endowment to fund preservation, staff, and interpretive display expenses. The value of the items was estimated to be \$1.5 million. The article noted that "The Milestones" was originally "funded through donations by 'everyday people.'"³²

The reaction to the news was swift, and most of it was negative. A newspaper article on 20 July stated, "The planned auction of rare first-edition books by the Buffalo Museum of Science will rip another hole in the city's rich cultural fabric, already damaged by the departure of other important assets in recent years."³³ Slated to leave town were works by Copernicus, Vesalius, Galileo, Kepler, Darwin, and others. Within a few days, phrases like "holding garage sales" and "cultural strip mining"³⁴ were being applied to the decision. When it became known that the

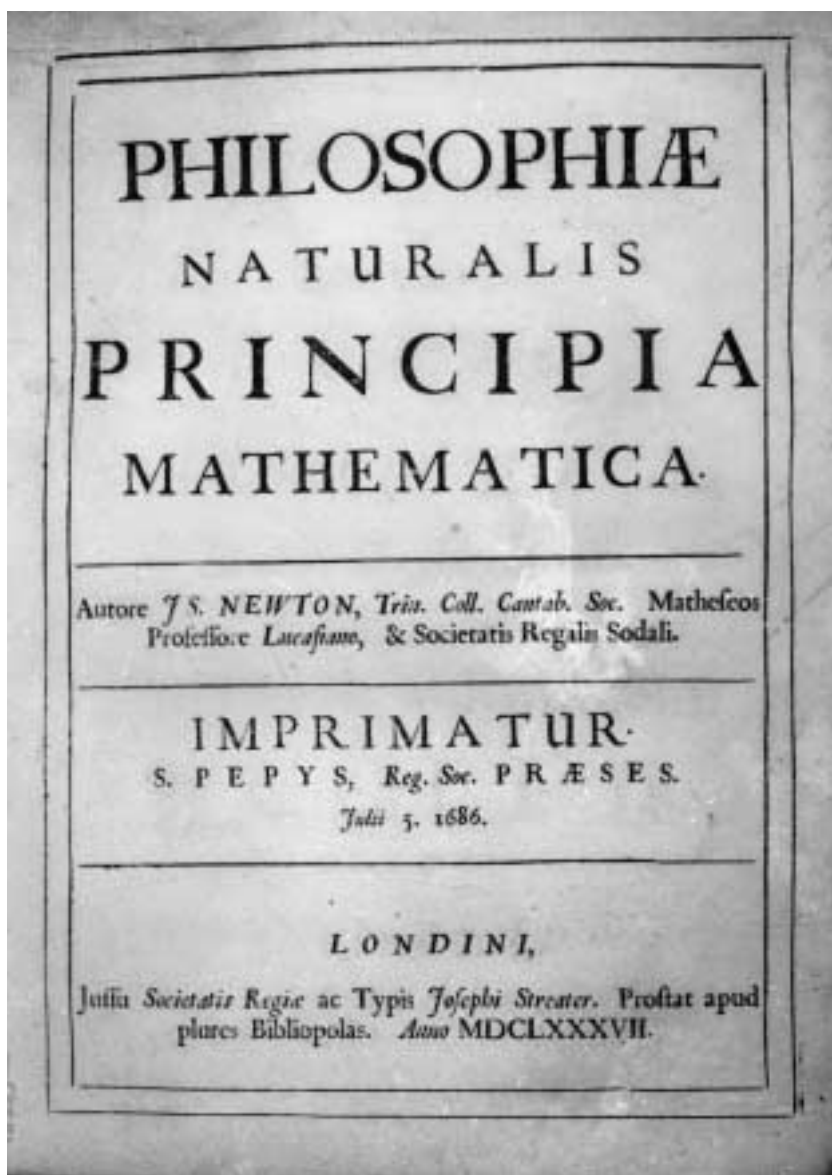


Figure 3: Title page of Isaac Newton's *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica* (1687), from "The Milestones of Science" collection. Due to the significance of the work and the small number of copies printed, the first edition became rare almost immediately after publication. Photograph courtesy of the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

museum's financial plight was more serious than first reported, with the museum having to cut staff and tap its unrestricted endowment to balance the budget the preceding year, there was some acknowledgment that the museum faced a difficult dilemma. Still, "selling off what amounts to the community's cultural resources" was deemed "questionable at best."³⁵

By 4 August the county legislature had passed a unanimous resolution protesting the sale, and a hearing on the matter was scheduled before the legislature's Community Enrichment Committee.³⁶ Bowing to pressure, the museum announced that it was postponing the sale and would study alternatives for solving its financial problems.³⁷ A newspaper editorial called the postponement "a right first step in pulling back from their misguided decision," declaring that "the collection is the property of the Buffalo area's people—a true community possession."³⁸

Throughout the controversy, the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library had been seen as a logical partner in finding a solution, "the most natural institution to care for the books and devise a way to let people see them."³⁹ Historically, the library and the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences had enjoyed close ties. Prior to occupying the newly constructed Buffalo Museum of Science in 1928, the society was located in the basement of the old Buffalo Public Library. This suggestion, however, did not address the museum's need for a source of additional funds. Then, on 2 September 1994, the *Buffalo News* reported, in a front-page headline, "Library's bird prints may feather Museum of Science nest: Trade for Audubon paintings would keep 'Milestones' collection in city."⁴⁰ The intent of the swap, the museum's rare books for the library's double elephant folio edition of Audubon's *Birds of America*, would be to save "The Milestones" while allowing the museum to sell the folio to raise cash for its endowment. What made this proposal a tenable solution was the fact that the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library owned not one but two sets of the Audubon work.

Buffalo's Two Public Libraries

Buffalo had the distinction for many years of having two public libraries available to its residents. Until a merger in 1954, the Buffalo Public Library and the Grosvenor Library operated independently, each with a focus in keeping with its origins. The Buffalo Public Library was the successor institution to the private subscription-based Young Men's Association, founded in 1836. The Grosvenor Library resulted from a bequest to the City of Buffalo in 1857 by Seth Grosvenor, a wealthy former resident, to establish a public noncirculating reference library.

Buffalo, therefore, had twice the opportunity and twice the success in acquiring the Audubon set for its "public library."

The primary object of the Young Men's Association, according to its constitution, was to establish a library and reading room. In its very first year the association acquired, "for the nucleus of what we hope will yet be a very large and valuable Library, such books as would prove to be permanently useful."⁴¹ Among those were the first three volumes of Audubon's *Birds of America* at the subscription price of \$800, a monumental sum in those days. Unfortunately, it was unable to purchase the fourth and final volume.⁴² Audubon's work was not completed until 1838, while "the Association was thrown into extreme embarrassment"⁴³ by a combination of debt and the financial panic of 1837. Although the price paid for the first three volumes was more than one third of the amount paid for all of the rest of the books in the library, the executive committee of the association declared it "cheap at \$800,"⁴⁴ in recognition of the great value of the work. In the years that followed, the volumes were "openly displayed and could be physically handled by anyone who wished to view them. The amount of damage was considerable."⁴⁵

The Grosvenor Library, as a reference library, also emphasized careful selection and the purchase of significant works. Over the years, it succeeded in developing a national reputation for its collections in a number of areas. Strong collections attract valuable donations, and such was the case with the gift in 1929 by Mrs. Frederick L. Pratt of the four volumes of the Audubon double elephant folio.⁴⁶ The set had belonged to her father, Charles H. Williams. Williams acquired the set in 1897, after traveling thousands of miles and devoting years in search of one. Described as "complete, perfect, and genuine,"⁴⁷ the library displayed the plates in a special case, turning one each Monday, so that the set could be viewed in weekly visits to the library over a period of eight years.

With the merger of the two libraries, the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library could boast of two sets of *Birds of America*, although only one was complete in four volumes. The incomplete set was placed in storage, and restoration of the work was not contemplated. It was this incomplete set that was proposed for exchange with "The Milestones of Science" collection. Even with its sale, Buffalo would still not be "deprived of the opportunity to enjoy this work," for it would retain the Grosvenor Library's complete set, which it has continued to display, turning one plate per week.

Rare Books and the Public Library

If all concerned felt relieved that a solution had been found, their optimism soon vanished. Negotiations between the museum and the library

dragged on for months. Finally, it was reported that “the sticking point is price.”⁴⁸ While the sale of “The Milestones” would have raised an estimated \$1.5 million (or more), the incomplete Audubon was appraised by Christie’s at \$1.28 million.⁴⁹ Relative value, however, was not the only barrier to an agreement. There was another issue at stake that did not come before the public eye until later.

All along, museum officials had justified their action regarding “The Milestones” not only in terms of financial need but also because the books were “not essential to their collection.”⁵⁰ A debate on this point was also occurring within the library. It centered on the mission and image of the public library in an era of scarce resources and technological change. It had already been reported that the trade “could prove expensive to the library,”⁵¹ because it had no provisions for displaying the collection at that time. Library trustees decided to delay their decision after receiving an unfavorable recommendation on the acquisition from senior staff.⁵² Shortly thereafter, a newspaper editorial urged the library to accept the books, indicating that they had the “power to inspire people.”⁵³ Library director Donald H. Cloudsley responded in a letter to the editor, “As we approach the 21st century, a public circulating library is not a warehouse for old books but rather a place where people should be able to obtain information—in seconds if possible.” He indicated that the library had financial problems of its own. The book budget had not been increased in three years and the library still lacked an online catalogue. He concluded, “Today’s library user wants answers and not antiques.”⁵⁴

It became obvious that the issues raised could not be easily dismissed as inconsequential. They went to the heart of the difficult choices facing all cultural institutions in an era of flat or declining revenue. With the indecision and uncertainty over the appropriate course of action, polarization occurred between those favoring one side or the other. In addition, the library’s longtime director was set to retire. In light of these developments, the library board decided to wait for new leadership before seeking a resolution to the problem of acquiring “The Milestones.”

Avoiding the Either/Or

In the fall of 1995, Daniel L. Walters was selected as the new library director. He was given the task of studying “The Milestones” issue and making a recommendation for board adoption. In his presentation regarding “The Milestones” on 18 April 1996, he stated that he had approached the problem from three general questions. Is there a policy basis for adding “The Milestones” to the library’s rare book collection? Is there a policy basis for deaccessioning *Birds of America*, and should it be

done for this purpose? Finally, under what conditions should the library proceed?

Regarding the first question, he concluded that the library had an exceptional rare book collection and had served a role in the community in retaining rare and valuable items donated by public-spirited citizens. He stated that "there is indeed a piece of Buffalo and Erie County history in these books by virtue of that 'All Nations Mardi Gras' organized by the museum to help acquire the collection."⁵⁵ Regarding the collection itself, science and technology fell within the scope of the library's collection development policy for rare books, so the books would be appropriate as well as extraordinarily valuable additions.

As for the incomplete and inferior copy of *Birds of America*, he noted that the library had considered deaccession at least two or three times in the previous twenty-five years. The internal debate had focused on the potential use of the proceeds of the sale, rather than the sale itself. The key question was whether it should be done for "The Milestones." The answer, according to his recommendation, was a "conditional" yes.

Stating that the library was overextended and underfunded, he concluded that the library should proceed with the transaction, but "The Milestones" should not become a service priority for public or private funding until a strategic plan had been completed and "the Board has determined with our constituents how the Library should emphasize 'The Milestones' or Rare Books in lieu of other services."⁵⁶ A resolution incorporating this recommendation was discussed by the board and approved by a vote of 11 to 2.

With the library ready to proceed with the transaction, the only remaining obstacle was the museum's governing board. George F. Goodyear, a former president of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, expressed concerns over "getting the short end of the trade with the library."⁵⁷ In light of the protracted controversy and no other alternatives in sight, the board voted to approve the proposal in spite of this objection. The county legislature followed suit shortly thereafter. "The Milestones," which had been in storage with Christie's auction house in New York since 1994, would be returning to Buffalo.⁵⁸

"For Buffalonians"

On 21 April 1997 the incomplete copy of *Birds of America*, originally acquired by Buffalo's Young Men's Association in its first year for \$800, sold for \$1.55 million. Of that amount, the museum netted approximately \$1.35 million for its endowment, far more than it had anticipated.⁵⁹ From the museum's point of view, this must be considered a

successful outcome to "The Milestones" debate. For the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library the issues are more complicated.

The library now possesses an incomparable collection to stand beside treasures like *Birds of America*, the original manuscript of Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, and others less well known, such as its superb antislavery collection. Unfortunately, it does not currently have the facilities or resources to make them available to the public, except in a most limited sense. In the face of many competing needs, the library has undertaken the development of a long-range strategic plan to guide the board of trustees in making the difficult decisions regarding service priorities in the years ahead. In addition, private funds are being sought as a means of expanding access to "The Milestones" and other rare books. In the meantime, this collection, "lovingly assembled nearly 60 years ago by Chauncey Hamlin in Buffalo, by Buffalonians, for Buffalonians,"⁶⁰ will be preserved. "Collectively, we've learned a lot over the years about hanging on to our cultural heritage,"⁶¹ *Buffalo News's* art critic Richard Huntington recently stated in an article summarizing the community's gains and losses. His case in point was "The Milestones of Science."

Notes

1. Chauncey J. Hamlin, "Milestones of Science Collection at the Buffalo Museum of Science," paper delivered at the meeting of the Thursday Club, Buffalo, NY, 12 March 1942, 3.

2. Hamlin, "Milestones of Science," 4.

3. Eric Gibson, "Cultural Patrimony or Overstocked Attic?" *Art News* 95 (January 1996): 144; Patricia Failing, "Deaccessioning: A 'Sorry Drama,'" *Art News* 96 (September 1997): 152.

4. Patricia Failing, "Fading Impressions?" *Art News* 95 (January 1996): 106–9, and "Shelburne shhh," *Art News* 95 (November 1996): 49.

5. Evan St. Lifer and Susan Smith DiMattia, "City Rebukes Philadelphia Library on Weeding Practices," *Library Journal* 122 (15 May 1997): 12.

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8. Gail King, "Feathering Audubon's Nest," *Wall Street Journal*, 27 November 1995, eastern edition, A16.

9. Daniel J. Bradbury, "Barbarians within the Gate: Pillage of a Rare Book Collection?" *Rare Books & Manuscripts Librarianship* 9, no. 1 (1994): 8–16.

10. Hamlin, "Milestones of Science," 2–3.

11. Hamlin, "Milestones of Science," 3.

12. Ruth A. Sparrow, comp., *Milestones of Science: Epochal Books in the History of Science as Represented in the Library of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences* (Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, 1972), xiii–xiv.

13. *George F. Goodyear, *Society and Museum: A History of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, 1861–1993 and the Buffalo Museum of Science, 1928–1993* (Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, 1994), 120.
14. Sparrow, *Milestones of Science*.
15. William H. Loos to Daniel L. Walters, memorandum, 14 March 1996, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, Buffalo, NY.
16. Hamlin, "Milestones of Science," 21.
17. Hamlin, "Milestones of Science," 4.
18. *Ibid.*
19. "\$14,000 Bronze Cat Deal Stirs Rumpus; St. Louis Museum Assailed for Purchase," *New York Times*, 15 August 1938, p. 17, col. 3.
20. Louis Lacoss, "St. Louis Argues Anew As To Art," *New York Times*, 21 August 1938, sec. 4, p. 10, col. 6.
21. Editorial, "Beauty vs. Relief," *New York Times*, 17 August 1938, p. 18, col. 3.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Hamlin, "Milestones of Science," 4.
24. "Thousands See Coronation of Royal Couple: Chauncey J. Hamlin Officiates at Crowning of Rulers of First Mardi Gras," *Buffalo Courier Express*, 2 March 1938.
25. "Final Meeting Held by Cast of Mardi Gras: Representatives of 25 National Groups Inspect Museum, Aided by Fete Proceeds," *Buffalo Courier Express*, 27 April 1938.
26. Hamlin, "Milestones of Science," 5.
27. William H. Loos to Daniel L. Walters, 14 March 1996.
28. Goodyear, *Society and Museum*, 75.
29. Sparrow, *Milestones of Science*, 34–5, 269, pls. 148, 149.
30. Rod Watson, "Defending Action, Museum Will Sell Its Audubon Prints," *Buffalo News*, 14 July 1987, B-1.
31. Goodyear, *Society and Museum*, 121.
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34. Donn Esmonde, "Science Museum Exhibits Poor Judgment with Sales," *Buffalo News*, 25 July 1994, B-1.
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41. Arthur Goldberg, *The Buffalo Public Library: Commemorating its first century of service to the citizens of Buffalo . . . 1836–1936* (Buffalo, NY: Privately Printed, 1937), 13.