

Trouble at Tyson Alley: The Tragic Tale of James Mark Baldwin's Arrest in a Baltimore

Bordello

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Abstract

In June 1908, James Mark Baldwin, then Professor of Psychology and Philosophy at Johns Hopkins University and at the pinnacle of his career, was arrested in a Baltimore house of prostitution. Although he insisted on both his legal and moral innocence and all legal charges against him were dismissed, the threat of scandal led the Hopkins authorities in 1909 to demand his resignation and Baldwin to remove himself and his family permanently to France. While this is one of the most notorious events in the early history of American scientific psychology, almost nothing has been known about the incident itself or its immediate aftermath because both Baldwin and Hopkins took great pains to keep these details private. Based on archival court records, contemporary newspaper accounts, and materials in the Presidential Records at Hopkins, it is now possible to reconstruct the events of 1908 and 1909 in considerable detail. This article describes these occurrences, places them in the context of Baldwin's life, personality, and career, presents newly obtained information on the immediate aftermath of the arrest, including circumstances leading to Baldwin's forced resignation, and describes the long-term consequences of Baldwin's removal from the United States. Although no definitive conclusion with regard to Baldwin's guilt or innocence can be reached, the article concludes by contrasting the treatment received at the hands of his colleagues in psychology with the life-long support received from his wife and family and suggests that Baldwin may have been the victim of a premature rush to judgment.

Trouble at Tyson Alley: The Tragic Tale of James Mark Baldwin's Arrest in a Baltimore Bordello¹

On the evening of June 9, 1908,² James Mark Baldwin (1861-1934) was taking an after dinner stroll near his home at 118 W. Franklin Street in Baltimore when he “foolishly yielded to a suggestion”³ that was to lead to his resignation from the Johns Hopkins University, end his productive years as a psychologist, and change his life and that of his family. Indeed, Baldwin’s foolishness was to exert a significant impact on the history of psychology, leading as it did first to the removal from America of one of the field's most powerful intellects and important contributors and then to Baldwin’s exerting a significant influence on European developmental psychology as an expatriate in Paris. Until recently, however, apart from a few very general statements made by Baldwin himself, very little has been known about what actually took place on that fateful evening. Although there are still

¹ This article could not have been written without the assistance of archivists and librarians too numerous to mention. There are, however, a number of individuals who went far beyond the call of duty to facilitate our work. For this we would like to express our sincerest appreciation to James Stimpert, Senior Reference Archivist, Ferdinand Hamburger Archives, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University (following citations to material residing in the Hamburger Archives will be labeled JHU), Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse, Director, and Owen Lourie, Research Archivist, Maryland State Archives (following citations to material residing in the Maryland State Archives will be labeled MSA), and to the librarians at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. Their interest in and enthusiasm for our research and their extraordinary knowledge of the relevant archival materials were critical to the completion of this project.

² The predominance of the evidence suggests that the arrest took place on 9 June; but there is enough ambiguity in the archival record that it is possible that it occurred on 10 June.

³ In February 1910, Baldwin circulated a short one-page mimeographed description and explanation of the events to be described here to a few colleagues. A copy can be found accompanying a letter from Baldwin to Edward Bradford Titchener, 11 February 1910, Box 2, Folder Jan-Mar 19, 1910, Titchener papers, Cornell University Archives, Olin Library. In this article, citations to quotations from this account will given as "Mimeo."

gaps and a few surmises in the narrative that follows, we can now offer a much more thorough account of the relevant events.⁴

The Incident

Here is how Baldwin himself described the events in a mimeographed letter circulated to a few close colleagues almost two years after the fact:

In the early summer of 1908, I foolishly yielded to a suggestion, made after a dinner, to visit a house of a colored "social" sort and see what was done there. I did not know before going that immoral women were harboured there.

Rob, here is the full text, in case you may need it: "In the early summer of 1908, I foolishly yielded to a suggestion, made after a dinner, to visit a house of a colored "social" sort and see what was done there. I did not know before going that immoral women were harboured there. I was found there by officers, entirely through my ignorance; and to save themselves the proprietors charged me with bringing a woman there. The charge was dismissed by the presiding officer, as soon as he heard my statement, and the people bringing it were subsequently convicted and "sent up". The presiding justice called at my house afterwards and assured me that there was no evidence of anything either illegal or immoral against me.

⁴ These gaps and surmises will be identified as such as they arise in the narrative. Although little has been known about the arrest itself, useful, albeit partial, accounts of the aftermath of the arrest can be found in Pauly (1974) and Richards (1987).

My presence there was of course most unfortunate, and the affair seemed to the [Johns Hopkins] University to threaten scandal to the institution as well as to me. It was suggested to me by the representative of the board of trustees delegated to see me that I resign on account of my health. Seeing that I was then under medical advice to rest my throat for a long period and was on the point of asking for a leave of absence, I agreed to this: and left details of announcement, &c, entirely to the university authorities, as I was on the point of starting to Mexico. Shortly after reaching Mexico City, I received a note from President Remsen demanding my resignation without statement of reasons. I saw nothing to do but to comply, but I accompanied my resignation with a note saying that it was not in any sense to be construed as a confession of immorality: such an intimation I could not allow.

This is the whole case. My resignation did not take effect until Sept. 1909. The circumstantial evidence and the testimony of the interested witnesses is all against me. I simply have to take the consequences: I can only protest that I have committed no immoral act."

JASB comment → Undated letter, mailed (today, it would have been emailed or a post in the social media) to an undetermined number of his colleagues in psychology (approx. late January – early February 1910)

I was found there by officers, entirely through my ignorance: and to save themselves the proprietors charged me with bringing a woman there. The charge was dismissed by the presiding officer, as soon as he heard my statement: and the people bringing it were subsequently convicted and "sent up." The presiding justice called at my house afterwards and assured me that there was no evidence of anything either illegal or immoral against me...The police captain, I am informed, who made the raid on that occasion has since been on trial for protecting crime, and this case has appeared in the evidence against him.⁵

Although this is undoubtedly one of the most notorious events in the early history of American psychology, almost nothing beyond the fact that Baldwin was arrested in a house of prostitution and forced to resign from Johns Hopkins has been known about the incident: not the exact date in 1908, not the location of the bawdy house, not the name of the madam, not the details surrounding the arrest, not the name of the woman Baldwin was presumed to have brought with him to the house, not the names of the arresting officers or of the presiding justice, and not, of course, whether Baldwin was, in fact, a victim

⁵ Mimeo. The police captain to whom Baldwin refers was Capt. Bernard J. Ward, then in charge of the Northwestern District. In a sensational trial that began on 27 December 1909 and ended a few later with Ward's dismissal from the police force, one of the charges brought against Ward involved police protection of bawdy houses; and a case in which a raid resulting in the "arrest of a prominent white man" figured in the trial. In this regard, Baldwin's account is accurate. The Ward trial will be described in more detail below.

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of circumstance and of his own ignorance. This is not surprising, of course, because both Baldwin and the Hopkins administration did everything in their power to hush up the affair. Baldwin had his wife and two daughters to protect; the Hopkins administration was, as we will see, far more concerned with the reputation of the institution than the welfare of one of its most productive and distinguished professors.

It was almost nine months before word of the incident began to leak out,⁶ and then to only a small group, including the then Baltimore mayor, J(ohn) Barry Mahool (1870-1935), the Hopkins president, Ira Remsen (1846-1927), and three members of the Hopkins Board of Trustees, Judge Henry David Harlan (1858-1943), R(ober) Brent Keyser (1859-1927), and Blanchard Randall (1856-1942). Only in late December 1909, more than five months after Baldwin's resignation from Hopkins had become public and 18 months after the arrest, did Baldwin's colleagues at large become aware of the real reason for Baldwin's resignation, and then, as we shall see, in only the most general terms.

Where there are few facts, speculation thrives; and in the case of a prominent figure arrested in a house of prostitution, the direction that that speculation is likely to take is obvious. Opinions concerning Baldwin's guilt or lack thereof circulated freely in early 1910; but the vast majority of his colleagues chose to believe the worst and turned against him. This had significant consequences both for Baldwin and for psychology.

Before proceeding to discuss the aftermath of the arrest, here is our best reconstruction, on the basis of the evidence now available, of what transpired on the evening of June 9, 1908. Baldwin, shown in Figure 1a as he appeared in his late 40s about

⁶ That said, however, it would appear that the affair and Baldwin's part in it were known, possibly from the outset, to at least one and perhaps several Baltimore journalists. For whatever reason, they chose not to reveal the information immediately.

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the time of his arrest, was only a few days away from leaving the United States to summer in Europe. Although we cannot be certain of this, it seems likely that his wife and

 Insert Figure 1 about here

daughters had already left Baltimore, perhaps for Maine, a practice fairly standard among those in the Hopkins community wishing to avoid the numerous discomforts of the Baltimore summer.⁷ The fact that the bawdy house in which the arrest took place was located at 510 Tyson Alley, just two blocks from the Baldwin home at 118 W. Franklin Street (see Figure 2), together with the fact that Baldwin was out walking by himself after

 Insert Figure 2 about here

dinner, something quite natural had he dined alone, lend some credence to this supposition. Be that as it may, it was as he was taking his after-dinner stroll that Baldwin encountered someone who suggested that he visit the house on Tyson Alley and "see what was done there."

What was done in houses of a "colored 'social' sort" in Baltimore in 1908 and who may have made this suggestion? The answer to the initial part of this question is more complicated than might at first appear. While prostitution, gambling, and illegal alcohol

⁷ See, for example, "Where Hopkins Men Will Spend Summer." *Baltimore News*, Thursday, 18 June 1908, p. 4. As a coastal city, Baltimore suffered during this period not only from heat in the summer but from high humidity, swarms of mosquitoes, the stench of drains, and occasional outbreaks of disease (personal communication, James Stimpert, JHU).

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(and sometimes drugs) were not uncommon in houses of this sort, many such places were also home to live performances of rag-time, jazz and other forms of African-American popular music.⁸ Although it is certainly possible that Baldwin knew that the house he was to visit was a bawdy house and that he entered it for the obvious reason, it is also possible that he was, as he later claimed, unaware that women were harbored there and that his visit was prompted by simple curiosity. We will never know; but as we will argue, given the facts that we do have and their susceptibility to multiple interpretations, Baldwin's colleagues' rush to judgment, with all of the negative consequences that followed, may well have been premature.

Who suggested that Baldwin visit the house on Tyson Alley? Again, we cannot be completely certain; but it seems likely that the individual involved was a young black woman by the name of Annie Jones. Evidence for this comes from the fact that Jones was arrested along with Baldwin and the bawdy house madam, Sadonia Young⁹, that the indictments of Young included the charge of "harboring" a minor, with Annie Jones named as the minor involved,¹⁰ and that in his own account Baldwin later indicated that

⁸ See, for example, Southern (2002) for an article on jazz great, Eubie Blake. When Blake was a teenager, he played piano at Aggie Shelton's Baltimore bordello.

⁹ Also known as Sidonia Young, Sedonia Young, Sardonia Young.

¹⁰ Two Count Indictment 1156, State of Maryland vs. Sadonia Young, True Bill filed 16 June 1908; 4 Count Indictment 1157, State of Maryland vs. Sadonia Young, True Bill filed 16 June 1908, MSA. ← Let me ask. Not sure I have seen these at home. Hereafter these will be cited simply as Young indictments. Unfortunately the indictments do not give Annie Jones' exact age, only that she was below the age of eighteen. ← Really? Look at the copy of the (unsent) letter (last page) of Remsen to Helen from Eisenhower archives. I believe it reads 16 (note, I am operating from memory). Regardless of the age, a key question I do not think we have answered is, what was the legal age to be considered a minor in MD at that time. Note, this varies depending on the activity (e.g. driving, military, age of consent for sexual activity, etc.) and state. I was never able to locate an early 20th century US legal scholar. That would be a nice suggestion for a reviewer.

the "proprietors charged me with bringing a woman there."¹¹

As far as we have been able to determine, the police raid took place almost immediately after Baldwin entered the house at 510 Tyson Alley¹². The arresting officers were Patrolman William L. Scrivner (b. 1871, also sometimes spelled Scrivener) and Sergeant William H. Bush (b. 1854 or 1855, also sometimes spelled Busch) of the Northwestern District (see Figure 3b and 3c). After the arrest Young, Jones, and Baldwin were taken to the Northwestern Police District Station House for booking (see Figure 3a).

Insert Figure 3 about here

Why, in a city beset with prostitution,¹³ was this particular house raided? And why, in nominally southern Baltimore, where race was still very much associated with social influence, was this establishment raided just after an obviously prosperous and undoubtedly well-dressed white man entered the premises? The answer is a complicated one that involves allegations of corruption at multiple levels in the Northwestern Police District, conflict and infighting among members of the district force, arbitrary (and possibly corrupt) actions on the part of the district commander, Captain Bernard J. Ward (born 1859, also pictured in Figure 3), and failure on the part of Sadonia Young to come up with protection money on the night of the raid.

¹¹ Mimeo.

¹² According to testimony given by Sadonia Young during the Ward trial, "Four Accuse Serg. Plum," *Baltimore Sun*, 30 December 1909, p. 12.

¹³ See, for example, *Summary of Findings of the Maryland Vice Commission*. Baltimore: 1916. Unpublished typescript, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, MD.

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The main players in this act of the drama were Ward, Sergeant Frank J. Plum (born in 1860, also pictured in Figure 3, and who appears to have been Ward's sworn enemy), Patrolmen William L. Scrivner, and, of course, Sadonia Young. The relevant information comes from testimony presented during Ward's trial before the Police Board, which lasted from December 27, 1909 to January 2, 1910.¹⁴ Ward stood accused of dereliction of duty (for failure to report a bawdy house in his district — not Tyson Alley — for indictment), receipt of protection money from a saloonkeeper, and actions (transferring patrolmen from one part of the district to another following raids that he himself had not authorized) prejudicial to the service. Plum and Scrivner (who respectively had been transferred just prior to and immediately after the raid on Tyson Alley) were called as witnesses against Ward. Young and several other women whose testimony impugned the character of Plum were called as witnesses for the defense.

Here is how the *Sun* reported it: "Sidonia (sic!) Young, the first to testify that she paid the Sergeant [Plum], declared that she gave him \$3 every week and that Patrolman Scrivner was given \$2." Asked about her arrest, Young stated that "On the night of the raid Officer Scrivner had gotten only \$1.50 and I believe he raided me because he did not get the other 50 cents. He ran after the officers when he saw a white man come into my house."¹⁵ Although Plum denied Young's allegations; and Ward, in an attempt to demonstrate his probity, even took credit for authorizing the raid on Tyson Alley, it is not unlikely that

¹⁴ Although we have not been able to locate any of the original court documents relating to the Ward trial, the proceedings were extensively covered in the *Baltimore Sun*, 10 December 1909, p. 16; 11 December 1909, p. 16; 16 December 1909, p. 14; 18 December 1909, p. 8; 24 December 1909, p. 14; 27 December 1909, p. 12; 29 December 1909, p. 12; 30 December 1909, p. 12; and 2 January 1910, p. 12

¹⁵ "Four Accuse Serg. Plum," op. cit.

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Sadonia Young 's account is accurate. What better way, after all, for the police to call her to account for failure to pay for protection than not only to arrest her for keeping a disorderly house; but to do so just after a prosperous white man had entered the establishment. If so, Baldwin's life may well have been completely and disastrously altered for want of 50 cents.

At the station house, Baldwin initially gave a false name, James Manson Brown, and claimed to be a visiting Treasury official from Washington. He was then arraigned before police court magistrate Justice Alva H. Tyson (1868-1913).¹⁶ According to a later statement by Justice Tyson, it was during these proceedings that Baldwin revealed his true identity and explained the circumstantial nature of his presence in the Young house. The charges against him were then dismissed by Tyson on their merits.¹⁷

On June 10th, Sadonia Young was bound over for trial by Justice Tyson and sent to the Baltimore City Jail.¹⁸ Two indictments were then returned against her by the Grand Jury.¹⁹ The first contained two counts, one for keeping a bawdy house, the second for

¹⁶ The Northwestern district station house included a police magistrate's court to provide immediate judicial review of evidence on which arrests were based.

¹⁷ See statement by Tyson quoted in the Ward trial. This account agrees perfectly with that of Baldwin. Nonetheless, there is some ambiguity here. In handwritten notes made in preparation for writing a letter to Helen Baldwin (Remsen Presidential Records, 1910, Record Group 02.001, series 1, file #56, Department of Philosophy, Box 56, JHU. The Remsen Presidential Records file #56 will hereafter be cited simply as RPR; and the notes that Remsen took for his letter to Helen Baldwin, which are contained in this file, will be cited as Remsen notes) Ira Remsen indicates that Hopkins Trustee Henry Harlan had heard that Baldwin had employed a station house lawyer at a large fee in order to get the charges dismissed. During the Ward trial and the news coverage leading up to it, mention is frequently made of the rumor that the "white man" arrested on Tyson Alley paid \$700 to someone unknown to keep his part in the arrest quiet. Indeed, it is even intimated that blackmail was involved. Inasmuch as this is all hearsay, however, and Tyson corroborates Baldwin's account that the charges were immediately dismissed because there was nothing to them, too much credence should probably not be given to what may simply have been rumor.

¹⁸ "Commitment to Jail for Action," signed 10 June 1908 by Alva H. Tyson, MSA ← ditto

¹⁹ Young indictments

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keeping a disorderly house. The second indictment charged her with four counts of criminal conduct (abducting, enticing, secreting and harboring) involving a minor under the age of 18 for the purposes of prostitution, fornication, and concubinage. The minor named was Annie Jones. On June 16th, Sadonia Young was brought to trial before Judge Henry Stockbridge (1856-1924) of the Baltimore Supreme Bench. Coverage of the trial appeared on the front page of the *Baltimore World*:

As an undercurrent of events that have kept the Northwestern district busy during the past few weeks, Sadonia Young, a notorious negro woman, was today fined \$500 and sent to jail for a year for conducting a disorderly house at 510 Tyson Alley. Considerable interest has been aroused in the case because of the incidents surrounding the arrest of the woman. At the time Officer Scrivener and Sgt. Bush, Northwestern, arrested the woman for keeping a disorderly house, a young colored girl named Annie Jones was also arrested, as was a white man in company with her at the time. At the station the man gave the name of "James Manson Brown," and at that time it was reported that he was a Treasury Official from Washington. Later it developed that he was a Hopkins man and is said to have sailed for Europe. Despite that the Young woman was held and that Annie Jones was also taken into custody and detained by the authorities, the case against "Brown" was dismissed.²⁰

²⁰ "Surprise in Court," *Baltimore World*, 16 June 1908.

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Because Officer Scrivner, who was on leave and in Chicago,²¹ failed to appear in court, the charges involving Young's harboring a minor were dismissed. However, on the testimony of neighborhood witnesses, most of whom lived in the 200 block of Franklin Street, Young was convicted on two counts of keeping a bawdy and disorderly house.²²

That might have been the end of it; but, unfortunately for Baldwin, in another piece of bad luck, a journalist who happened to be at the station house on the night of the raid recognized him. That this is the case is evident from fact that the newspaper account of the Young trial, appearing just a few days after Baldwin's arrest, refers to the so-called "James Manson Brown" as a "Hopkins man...said to have sailed for Europe." From notes in Remsen's hand in the Hopkins presidential archive, the journalist in question appears to have been a "well-known Princeton man;"²³ and, if so, this would likely have been Lawrason Riggs (1861-1940). Riggs, who was then affiliated with the *Baltimore News*,²⁴ had graduated from Princeton in the Class of 1883, Baldwin in 1884. At that time, Princeton was quite small; and they would certainly have been acquainted. Baldwin's attempt to disguise his identity, in other words, was doomed from the outset. It was known to the newspapers; and it was known to the judiciary (indeed, this is what allowed Tyson to visit Baldwin at home the next day to reassure him that there was nothing "either illegal or immoral" in what he had done); but as yet it was known to only a few and they were keeping their own counsel.

²¹ Failure to require Scrivner to postpone his leave and appear at the Young trial was mentioned, but did not figure prominently, in relation to problems in the Northwestern district during coverage of the Ward trial.

²² "Surprise in Court," op. cit.

²³ Remsen notes.

²⁴ See Crooks (1968).

Following Justice Tyson's visit (which presumably took place on June 10th), Baldwin left Baltimore for New York City; and on the morning of the 13th, traveling alone, he embarked for Europe on the S.S. New York, arriving at Southampton, England, on the 21st,²⁵ a mere twelve days after his arrest and six days after Sadonia Young went to trial. When he left for England, absolved by Tyson's assurance that he had done nothing either illegal or immoral, Baldwin may well have felt secure in the belief that his troubles were over. As we will see, however, they were just beginning.

The Background

In June 1908, when James Mark Baldwin was arrested, he was at the pinnacle of his career: a noted academic who had made significant contributions to psychology, philosophy, biology, sociology, and education; a professor and chair in one of America's most prestigious institutions of higher learning.²⁶ After graduating with the B.A. from Princeton in 1884, Baldwin spent a year studying in Europe on the Chancellor Green scholarship and two years as a student in the Princeton Theological Seminary and sometime Instructor of French and German in Princeton College. In 1887 he accepted his first regular academic appointment, the Chair of Psychology, Metaphysics, and Logic at Lake Forest College in Illinois. While at Lake Forest he completed work on his doctoral dissertation at Princeton²⁷ under the supervision of the then President of the College,

²⁵ See: <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?h=15758269&db=BT26&indiv=try>.

²⁶ Detailed information regarding Baldwin's life, career, and various aspects of his work appear in Wozniak 1998, 2001, 2004, 2009a, and 2009b as well as in the work of many others. Among the more important are the following: Broughton & Freeman-Moir (1982), Cairns (1992), Mueller (1976), Noble (1958), Pauly (1974), Richards (1987), Russell (1978) and Valsiner & Van der Veer (1988).

²⁷ The dissertation, which involved a critique of materialism, formed the basis for Baldwin (1890a).

James McCosh (1811-1894), and published his first book, *Handbook of Psychology: Senses and Intellect*²⁸. This was followed in 1889 by a four-year term as Professor of Metaphysics and Logic at the University of Toronto during which he established Canada's first psychology laboratory and published a second volume of the handbook, *Handbook of Psychology: Feeling and Will*,²⁹ as well as a series of groundbreaking experimental studies of infant behavior.³⁰

Princeton. Baldwin's ascent to real prominence began in 1893 when he accepted the Stuart Professorship of Experimental Psychology and established a new psychology laboratory at Princeton. In 1894, he collaborated with James McKeen Cattell (1860-1944) to found *The Psychological Review*. Unfortunately, the collaboration with Cattell was sufficiently contentious that he and Baldwin had to take sole editorial control of the journal in alternate years in order to maintain anything even resembling peaceful coexistence.³¹ Despite continuing conflict between the co-editors, the *Review* became one of America's most influential psychology journals. At Princeton, Baldwin also completed work on two important books on the nature of mental and social development, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race* (Baldwin, 1895) and *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development: A Study in Social Psychology* (Baldwin, 1897). He contributed a mechanism to neo-Darwinian evolutionary theory that has come to be known as the "Baldwin Effect," (Baldwin, 1896a, cf., Wozniak, 2009a) and edited a monumental, widely-cited, 3-volume

²⁸ Baldwin (1889).

²⁹ Baldwin (1891a)

³⁰ Baldwin (1890b, 1890c, 1890d, 1891b, 1892). For valuable accounts of the circumstances surrounding Baldwin's appointment at Toronto, see Green (2004), Hoff (1992).

³¹ See Sokal (1997) for a lovely discussion of the collaboration and its discontents.

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Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology (Baldwin, 1901-1905) whose goal was to define every major term in both fields. Contributors to "Baldwin's Dictionary," as it was then popularly known, were drawn from a variety of fields, among them philosophy, psychology, sociology, biology, physics, and mathematics; and they included many leading scholars and scientists of the day. Philosophy, for example, was represented by William James (1842-1910), Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), John Dewey (1859-1952), Josiah Royce (1855-1916), and G(eorge) E(dward) Moore (1873-1958); psychology by Hugo Münsterberg (1863-1916), Pierre Janet (1859-1947), Adolf Meyer (1866-1950), and Edward Bradford Titchener (1867-1927); and sociology by Franklin Henry Giddings (1855-1931). Contributors to biology included Edwin Stephen Goodrich (1868-1946), Edward Bagnall Poulton (1856-1943), and W(alter) F(rank) Raphael Weldon (1860-1906); and to physics and mathematics Simon Newcomb (1835-1909).

Unfortunately, Baldwin was a rather prickly character; he was arrogant, much given to controversy, and extraordinarily concerned with his own rights in matters of intellectual priority. Over the years he engaged in published and unpublished conflict with many of his colleagues. The first of these occurred in *Science* in 1890 when he chose to attack none other than William James (Baldwin, 1890c, 1890d). James showed remarkable forbearance, however; the breach was quickly patched and James eventually became one of Baldwin's greatest admirers. Thereafter, in relatively short order, Baldwin managed to alienate G. Stanley Hall (1844-1924; Ross, 1972) and James McKeen Cattell (Sokal, 1997). He engaged in polemics with the psychologists Edward Bradford Titchener (Krantz, 1969), James Sully (1842-1923; Baldwin, 1896b), and John Dewey (Baldwin, 1898), the biologist Wesley Mills (1847-1915; Baldwin, 1896c), and the philosopher Bernard Bosanquet (1848-

1923; Baldwin, 1902); and he became involved in priority disputes with the sociologists Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904; Lubek, 1981) and Franklin Henry Giddings (see especially the preface to the 2nd edition of *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, Baldwin, 1899). This combativeness did not endear him to his colleagues; and although he was widely respected for his work and his efforts on behalf of the field, he was not widely liked as an individual, a fact that would come back to haunt him in the aftermath of his arrest.

Baldwin loved Princeton. It was his alma mater. It was where he met and married his wife, Helen Hayes Green (1864-1963), and where his first child, Helen Green Baldwin (1889-1984), was born.³² It was home to his wife's family, not only to her mother, Elizabeth Hayes Green (1830-1901) and father, William Henry Green (1825-1900), a noted professor in the Princeton Theological Seminary, but to her only sister, Mary Elizabeth (Masry, 1859-1931), who was married to Princeton's Professor of Physical Geography, William Libbey (1855-1927). Indeed, for most of their years in Princeton, the Baldwins shared a large house with the Greens, Baldwin's study at one end of the house, his father-in-law's at the other. It seems likely that Baldwin would have happily spent the remainder of his career at Princeton (and never known about Tyson Alley) had it not been for two factors: his deteriorating relationship with another member of the Princeton faculty, Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), soon to be appointed president of the University,³³ and his

³² This occurred on 14 September 1889. As Baldwin (1930) later recounted it: "It was with the birth of the first child, Helen (the "H" of the books on mental development), that interest in the problems of genesis—origin, development, evolution—became prominent" (p. 4). Helen's only sibling, Elizabeth Ford Baldwin (1891-1980), was born in Toronto on 3 November 3, 1891.

³³ Wilson, of course, then went on to become Governor of New Jersey and the 28th President of the United States.

growing dissatisfaction with empirical work in psychology.³⁴

In that strange way in which Baldwin's story is, as we will see, constantly fraught with coincidence, Baldwin and Wilson had known one another since childhood. Baldwin was born in 1861 and raised in Columbia, South Carolina. Wilson, five years older, lived in Columbia from 1870 to 1874. There Wilson's father, Joseph Ruggles Wilson (1822-1903), served as a professor at the Columbia Theological Seminary and minister to the First Presbyterian Church, the church attended by the Baldwin family. Whether Baldwin's antipathy for Wilson had its roots in these early years is unknown; but within a few years of Baldwin's arrival at Princeton in 1893 (Wilson had come to Princeton in 1890), Baldwin had formed a decidedly negative view of both Wilson's views and his style.

In 1896, for example, on the second day of the Princeton Sesquicentennial Celebration, Wilson, the humanist, gave an address in which, according to Baldwin, he spoke of "the deadening effects of the 'fumes' arising from the scientific laboratories upon the classics and upon literary studies."³⁵ Ever the champion of scientific research, Baldwin was appalled. As he later wrote of Wilson:

And with this hostility to positive knowledge went lack of information regarding the great scientific achievements of the past. If this was his

³⁴ It is also likely that the death of Helen's parents, her father's in 1900, her mother's in 1901, freed the Baldwins to leave Princeton.

³⁵ Baldwin (1926), p. 59. Baldwin was recalling Wilson's address 30 years after the fact, in Paris, undoubtedly without access to the original. Wilson's critique was not of science applied to the material world; but of science applied to the mind and society by those intoxicated with the successes of physical science. What he actually said was: "...the scientific spirit of the age is doing us a great disservice, working in us a certain great degeneracy...Past experience is discredited, and the laws of matter are supposed to apply to spirit and to the make-up of society...this is...the work of the noxious, intoxicating gas which has somehow got into the lungs of the rest of us from out the crevices of his [the scientist's] workshop..." (Harper, 1898, pp. 127-128).

attitude toward the established sciences, what was to be expected in the case of new sciences such as experimental psychology, which I represented. The 'soul' confined in a laboratory?— fi! Here the fumes become absolutely stifling.³⁶

Nor was Baldwin fond of Wilson as a colleague. As Baldwin described it: "No one wished—least of all did I—to serve on a committee with Wilson; for a report of conciliation and compromise was impossible. It was either a Wilsonian report; or an anti-Wilsonian; there was no 'middle-term.'"³⁷ When it became clear in 1902 that Wilson would be elected to the Presidency of Princeton, Baldwin began to examine his options.

As it happened, the desire to escape from Wilson's influence coincided with a shift in Baldwin's academic interests. His experience in editing the *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* (an endeavor that lasted from 1898 to 1902) had considerably broadened his intellectual and academic horizons and brought him into direct contact with the major philosophical and scientific issues and some of the most important scholars of the period. At the same time, he was becoming disenchanted with laboratory psychology. As he later described it:

The experimental vein was worked, though with lessening interest, for the ten years of my stay at Princeton...the new interest in genetic psychology and general biology had become absorbing, and the meagerness of the results of the psychological laboratories (apart from direct work on sensation and movement) was becoming evident

³⁶ Ibid., p. 60. But in this regard Baldwin was quite correct; it was precisely toward the mental and social "sciences" that Wilson's antipathy was directed.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 61.

TROUBLE AT TYSON ALLEY

everywhere. I began to feel that there was truth in what [William] James was already proclaiming as to the barrenness of the tables and curves coming from many laboratories.³⁸

As Baldwin was contemplating his future in early 1903, the president of Johns Hopkins University, Ira Remsen (see Figure 1d) received permission from the university's Board of Trustees to establish two new chairs, one in philosophy and one in psychology. Writing to Baldwin in July of that year to solicit recommendations concerning appropriate candidates, Remsen must have been surprised to receive a reply indicating that Baldwin, seeking "a change in my base of operations"³⁹ would himself be willing to consider such an appointment. Within a week, six letters had been exchanged between Baldwin and Remsen, the terms of Baldwin's appointment at Hopkins had been negotiated, and Baldwin had been hired as Hopkins' new Professor of Philosophy and Psychology. This position would relieve him of undergraduate teaching and supervision of the experimental laboratory and justify his increased attention to philosophy. On August 18th, he wrote to Wilson, then in Europe, to announce his departure as of the end of the Fall semester;⁴⁰ and the following January, he moved to Baltimore, where his fame and accomplishments continued to grow.

³⁸ Baldwin (1930), p. 4.

³⁹ Baldwin to Remsen, date, 1903, RPR, JHU ← Wozniak contacting JHU

⁴⁰ Wilson (1973), p. 553-554. Baldwin's departure from Princeton was anything but smooth. True to type, he became embroiled in an acrimonious exchange with Wilson and the Princeton Board of Trustees over his salary and duties for the fall semester. When Wilson and the Trustees failed to accept Baldwin's view of the agreed upon arrangements, Baldwin simply abandoned his Princeton courses mid-semester and left for Baltimore. Needless to say, this finalized the break between Baldwin and Wilson.

Baltimore. In Baltimore, after years of conflict over the handling of the *Psychological Review*, Baldwin bought out Cattell's financial interest in the journal and took over as sole owner and editor. He also founded a new periodical, *The Psychological Bulletin*.⁴¹ He was elected first president of the Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology (1904), which he helped organize; and he received honorary degrees from the Universities of South Carolina (1905) and Geneva (1909). He published the first two volumes of what would eventually become a 3-volume work in philosophical psychology, broadly entitled *Thought and Things: A Study of the Development and Meaning of Thought or Genetic Logic*.⁴² And in 1905, at the behest of William Torrey Harris (1835-1909), then United States Commissioner of Education, he served as one of the "educational commissioners" at the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition held in Portland (1905).⁴³ There, he met Ezequiel Adeodato Chávez (1868-1946, see Figure 1b), Mexican Sub-secretary of Public Instruction and Fine Art, who arranged for Baldwin to come to Mexico as a guest of the government and advisor on educational reform to the Minister of Public Instruction, Justo Sierra Méndez (1848-1912). This led in December 1905 to the first of four trips that Baldwin would eventually make to Mexico, to a burgeoning interest in public education that was to play a role in his eventual downfall, and to a lasting personal friendship with Chávez that Baldwin turned to his advantage in the aftermath of his arrest.

The Aftermath

⁴¹ Baldwin purchased Cattell's share of the *Review* following a silent and contentious auction in which he and Cattell were the only bidders. See Sokal (1997) for an amusing account of this affair.

⁴² Baldwin (1906-1911).

⁴³ Baldwin (1926). The Exposition, which was much like a world's fair, ran from 1 June to 14 October 1905. Baldwin attended in early June before touring Alaska and then traveling to Berkeley to lecture on "genetic logic" in the University of California summer school.

Baldwin returned to Baltimore to resume his duties at Hopkins at the beginning of September 1908. He also returned to greet a new colleague in the Philosophy Department. In that month, John Broadus Watson (1878-1958) moved from the University of Chicago to accept a full professorship at Hopkins and take over duties in comparative and experimental psychology. The future of the department, which among others also included Christine Ladd-Franklin (1847-1930) teaching "Theory of Color Vision" and "Symbolic Logic" and Knight Dunlap (1875-1949) teaching "The Psychology of Sensation," looked bright indeed. And that fall, as far as we can determine, there is no evidence that the Hopkins authorities were yet aware of Baldwin's arrest;⁴⁴ but trouble was brewing.

Judge Harlan learns of the arrest. When trouble came, it came from several different directions. In still one more piece of bad luck for Baldwin, the Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City happened to be Henry David Harlan (see Figure 1c); and Henry David Harlan was also an influential member of the Johns Hopkins Board of Trustees. In his capacity as Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench, Harlan had supervisory responsibility for the Baltimore criminal court. While Sadonia Young's case was tried before an Associate Judge of the Supreme Bench, Henry Stockbridge, it is clear that had Harlan interested himself in the case, he would have had ready access to the relevant police and trial documents. And interest himself he did. Whether this occurred because Harlan heard rumors that a "Hopkins man" had been arrested or because Stockbridge alerted him to the nature of the case, or because Lawrason Riggs or someone else in the journalistic

⁴⁴ In a meeting on 7 December 1908, for example, the Hopkins Board of Trustees approved, without comment, Baldwin's routine request for laboratory funds for psychology, [Minutes of the Johns Hopkins University Board of Trustees, Volume 3 \(4 November 1907 to 8 May 1916\), p. ??](#) ← [Wozniak contacting JHU](#)

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community broke their silence,⁴⁵ we do not know; but around the beginning of January 1909, Harlan received a copy of the police report and learned of Baldwin's involvement in the affair. From notes in Remsen's hand, it would appear that initially Harlan also kept his own counsel.⁴⁶

The Mayor, the School Board, and discovery. In February 1909, Colonel Albert B. Cunningham (1846-1915) resigned from the Baltimore School Board and the mayor, J(ohn) Barry Mahool (see Figure 1e), began canvassing Baltimore officials in search of an appropriate replacement. By the beginning of March, the mayor's office was circulating Baldwin's name as a possible selection; and by the 6th, as indicated in a rather strange and suggestive little piece in the *Baltimore News*, Mayor Mahool was apparently prepared to move ahead with the appointment (See Figure 4 for a typescript of this article discovered among the Remsen papers). Whether Baldwin was consulted in this process is unknown.

 Insert Figure 4 about here

If he was, agreeing to allow his name to be put on the mayor's short list for the appointment showed either a serious lapse in judgment or a naive belief that the arrest was behind him. It was not; and here is what the newspaper had to say:

Unless something unexpected turns up Professor Baldwin of the
 Johns Hopkins University will be appointed to the School Board...The

⁴⁵ Riggs, who had received a law degree from the University of Maryland after leaving Princeton, was well acquainted with Judge Harlan, who had been a member of the law faculty and eventually Dean of the Law School at Maryland.

⁴⁶ Remsen notes.

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mayor feels particular pride in the appointments he has made to the school board, and is anxious, apparently, to keep up his record by this appointment.⁴⁷

What makes this piece so odd, obviously, is the cryptic phrase "unless something unexpected turns up." In the normal course of events, reporters are not known for qualifications of this sort. This would seem to suggest that the journalist who wrote the announcement had knowledge of Baldwin's 1908 arrest and, indeed, expected that something would come up to preclude the appointment.⁴⁸ And that is, of course, just what occurred.

The mayor's office was tipped off (possibly by this same journalist who wrote the *News* article) to the fact that it was Baldwin who had been arrested in the raid on the Sadonia Young establishment.⁴⁹ Since appointing someone to the school board who had been arrested in a prostitution raid would have been a major embarrassment to the mayor,

⁴⁷ This notice, headed "*THE NEWS* — March 6, 1909," was discovered where Psych dept? Remsen papers? Was this really published as such. Can we get a copy of the published version? This is from Remsen papers at JHU (Eisenhower Library). We never got the newspaper version of this. Definitely, I do not have this. Let me ask.

⁴⁸ Although the author of this notice is unknown, there are two likely candidates, both with ties to the *Baltimore News* and to the School Board. The first is Colonel Albert B. Cunningham, then on the staff of the *News*, whose resignation from the School Board led to the vacancy that Baldwin would have been appointed to fill. The second is the journalist, Lawrason Riggs, also affiliated with the *News*, who may have been the "well-known Princeton man" mentioned by Remsen as having been present at Baldwin's arraignment, see Footnote 23. Paradoxically, it was Riggs who was eventually appointed to the School Board to succeed Cunningham (Minutes of the Baltimore City School Board, BCA??, documentation?) ← Yes. I have this at home but this is BCA and I sent this your way a while ago.

⁴⁹ Richards (1987) claims that the mayor confronted Baldwin; but we know of no evidence to this effect. Inasmuch as the mayor was, at that time, working closely with Remsen on a variety of civil projects, it seems more likely that Remsen was the conduit for the mayor's inquiry and request that Baldwin withdraw his name.

Baldwin was asked to decline the appointment and three days later, under the headline "Prof. Baldwin Out of It," the *Baltimore Sun* reported that the mayor has been notified that "Prof. Mark Baldwin, of the Johns Hopkins University, would not accept the place on the School Board if it were tendered him and thus Professor Baldwin will no longer be considered."⁵⁰

Hopkins acts. Now that word of Baldwin's arrest was circulating among local politicians, Harlan felt that the Hopkins trustees had to act quickly to avert a scandal. In conference with Remsen, Keyser, and Randall, it was decided that Harlan should confront Baldwin and, if Baldwin admitted responsibility, suggest that he take an immediate leave of absence and resign. According to notes in Remsen's presidential archives, Baldwin "admitted that he was the man arrested...that he realized that he would have to resign his Professorship and that he would leave town at once."⁵¹ This is how Baldwin recalled it in his mimeographed account of these events:

My presence there [at Sadonia Young's] was of course most unfortunate, and the affair seemed to the University authorities to threaten scandal to the institution as well as to me. It was suggested to me by the representative of the Board of Trustees delegated to see me that I resign on account of my health. Seeing that I was then under medical advice to rest my throat for a long period and was on the point of asking for a leave of absence, I agreed to this; and left details of the announcement, &c, entirely to the University authorities, as I was on the

⁵⁰ *Baltimore Sun*, 9 March 1909, p. 12, col. 2.

⁵¹ Remsen notes.

point of starting to Mexico.⁵²

Although it is perhaps understandable, Baldwin's account may not have been entirely forthcoming. While there is some prior evidence in support of Baldwin's need to rest his throat,⁵³ there is no evidence that at this point in time Baldwin was considering a leave of absence during any part of either academic year 1908-1909 or 1909-1910. Indeed, in the November 1908 issue of his very own journal, the *Psychological Bulletin*, he had announced himself as teaching "Theory of Experience" and the "Graduate Conference" for the whole academic year 1908-1909 and "Social Psychology" in the second term.⁵⁴ Thus, it seems that as late as mid-November of 1908 he was proceeding with business as usual.

Nor did his colleagues in psychology have any inkling of what was to come. On December 19th, for example, Watson, who was himself at Hopkins and was hardly known for his sense of discretion,⁵⁵ wrote to the Cornell psychologist, Edward Bradford Titchener, concerning a variety of topics of mutual interest and nothing is said about Baldwin.⁵⁶ From December 29th to 31st, the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association (APA) convened in Baltimore. Baldwin was not only present, he hosted a

⁵² Mimeo.

⁵³ Baldwin suffered life-long from a variety of psychosomatic complaints. He had severe headaches as an adolescent, and much later published a paper describing his own visual symptoms during migraine (Baldwin, 1900). He fainted during his graduation speech at Princeton in 1884, his inaugural lecture at Toronto in 1890, and his first major paper at an International Congress in 1892. In 1897, as reported in the *American Journal of Psychology*, 9(1), p. 135, Baldwin even cancelled oral delivery of his APA Presidential address because he had "been ordered by his physician to avoid public speaking." Whether his throat was really in need of rest or whether this was a convenient excuse will, of course, remain unknown.

⁵⁴ *Psychological Bulletin*, 5(11), [page? ← Do you have this or would you like me to look for it via Interlibrary Loan?](#)

⁵⁵ Only a few years later Watson's own overly-public affair with a graduate student, Rosalie Raynor, would lead to a messy divorce and his own forced resignation from Johns Hopkins.

⁵⁶ Watson to Titchener, 19 December 1909, Titchener papers.

dinner with at least one of the Hopkins Trustees in attendance; and, according to Hugo Münsterberg, who was also present that evening, nothing occurred to suggest that things were other than perfectly normal.⁵⁷

There is, in short, no indication prior to March 1909 of an upcoming leave or of an impending trip to Mexico. Indeed, as late as March 5th (when copy for the March 15, 1909 issue of the *Psychological Bulletin* would have gone to the printer), Baldwin placed an announcement in the journal to the effect that he would be giving a lecture on the evening of April 23, 1909 at the American Philosophical Society Darwin Centennial celebration in Philadelphia.

Mexico and the cover story. Baldwin did not appear for his lecture in Philadelphia in April. On March 11th, he wrote to Remsen requesting an immediate leave of absence so that he could "depart for Mexico on Saturday, March 13th"⁵⁸; and the next day Remsen granted him leave.

But why Mexico and was Baldwin really "on the point of starting to Mexico" when he was called to account? The answer to the second part of this question is almost certainly that he was not. It was mid-semester; nothing had been said about a leave and what university gives professors leave to depart in mid-semester. Baldwin was on the spot. He had been advised, presumably by Judge Harlan, to leave town immediately to minimize the likelihood that his name, and that of the Johns Hopkins, would be associated with scandal. He needed a destination and a good cover story for the trip.

⁵⁷ Münsterberg to Remsen, 8 February 1910, RPR, JHU.

⁵⁸ Baldwin to Remsen, 11 March 1909, RPR, JHU.

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For both destination and cover story, Baldwin turned to his friend, Ezequiel Chávez. As previously noted, Baldwin had been Chávez's guest on his first trip to Mexico; and Chávez had returned the favor, visiting the Baldwin family in Baltimore in early May 1908. There was a lifelong bond of mutual admiration. And another visit to Mexico for purposes of consulting, even if informally, on the state of Mexican education would provide Baldwin with the cover story that he needed to excuse his sudden departure. Although Baldwin's request that Chávez act as his host has not been found, it is likely, given the time frame, that he sent Chávez a cable with this request on or about March 11th. That Baldwin's decision was precipitous and that, at this point, Chávez had no inkling of the real reason for Baldwin's impending arrival is clear from the fact that on the [13th of March ← yes, see next page](#), the very day that Baldwin departed for Mexico, Chávez sent a cable to Remsen, of all people, asking him how many people were coming to Mexico (see Figure 4).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Chavez to Remsen, cable, 13 March 1909, RPR, JHU.

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NUMBER: H 1 SYSTEM: H 1 REC'D BY: on paid via Jaredo jet n CHECK: H 1

RECEIVED at Mexico City 13 MAR 13 1909 190

To: President University J. H. New

Please. Cable how many persons come Mexico professor. Baldwin poor order Del Secretario El Subsecretario Ezequiel A. Chavez

FCR MESSENGERS CALL
 MT. VER. 1118 COURT. 4253
 OFFICE 409 RICHMOND ST.

Watson was placed in temporary charge of the *Psychological Review*, the prestigious lecture at the American Philosophical Society was cancelled,⁶⁰ and Baldwin left Baltimore, arriving in Mexico City on the 28th of March. By that point, his cover story had become more elaborate. As reported by the *Mexican Herald*, Baldwin was on his "sabbatical year...and according to the general custom...he is now entitled to a vacation of a year. He will spend much of his vacation in travel in Europe." Before traveling to Europe, he will "spend a month [in Mexico] in conference with the subsecretary of education, Ezequiel Chavez."⁶¹

⁶⁰ On 15 March 1909, Baldwin had himself announced this upcoming lecture to be given as part of the American Philosophical Society's Darwin commemorative meeting in the *Psychological Bulletin*, 6(3), p. 120.

⁶¹ *The Mexican Herald*, Monday 29 March 1909.

Resignation. On March 30th, shortly after arriving in Mexico and perhaps as an instance of wishful thinking,⁶² Baldwin wrote to Remsen with a formal request for leave of absence for the following academic year, 1909-1910 "on the lines suggested to me by Judge Harlan".⁶³ In this same letter, for the first time, he mentions "the condition of my health, which is suffering from the strain of overwork, especially of lecturing which taxes my throat." This was a justification that would grow stronger in the weeks to follow.

In the meantime, however, Remsen and key members of the Board of Trustees (Keyser, Harlan, Randall), conferring together in early April 1909, decided among themselves that the university's best course was to sever all ties to Baldwin.⁶⁴ On April 12th, Remsen replied to Baldwin's request for a leave. Indicating that presentation of Baldwin's request to the Board would necessitate "a frank statement of reasons therefore" and that that in itself would make it impossible for the Board to grant Baldwin's request, Remsen asked Baldwin instead "to send me without delay your unconditional resignation without any statement as to reason. This is to be without date & is to be acc[epted] at pleasure of B[oard]. We do not see how action upon this can be delayed later than end of this ac[ademic]. year."⁶⁵

⁶² Before his departure, Baldwin had apparently given Judge Harlan a letter in which he resigned his position for medical reasons (Remsen notes). However, this letter has not been found and, in any event, there is ambiguity in the record as to when this initial resignation would have taken effect, so Baldwin may well have thought that he needed to request a leave for 1909-1910.

⁶³ That Baldwin was in a state of high emotion at the time is suggested by the fact that he wrote 1910-1911 rather than 1909-1910. Baldwin to Remsen, 30 March 1909, RPR, JHU.

⁶⁴ Remsen notes.

⁶⁵ Remsen to Baldwin, 12 April 1909, RPR, JHU. This was apparently the second request for Baldwin's letter of resignation. The first letter was sent to Judge Harlan along with a separate request for leave of absence, presumably after Baldwin and Harlan met in March. The Board, however, wanted Baldwin's letter to be phrased somewhat differently and undated so that they could accept it at their pleasure (Remsen notes)

One can only imagine Baldwin's reaction to receipt of this letter from Remsen. On April 17th, Baldwin replied, enclosing the requested undated statement of resignation (see Figure 4). In the cover letter accompanying his letter of resignation, he makes a stronger assertion about the state of his throat: "my throat threatening serious trouble, I have for some months past — on physicians advice — contemplated giving up lecturing" and makes a last ditch attempt to assert his innocence: "May I ask you and the gentlemen you name to consider that I have not acknowledged that there is evidence connecting my name with the case with which rumor connects it, or that...I have done what is immoral."⁶⁶ Here is how Baldwin described his resignation in his mimeographed explanation:

Shortly after reaching Mexico City, I received a note from President Remsen demanding my resignation without statement of reasons. I saw nothing to do but to comply; but I accompanied my resignation with a note saying that it was not in any sense to be construed as a confession of immorality: such an intimation I could not allow.

By this point, Baldwin had become something of a threat to Hopkins. When he announced his impending return from Mexico to Baltimore, Remsen cautioned against it:

[Although this is a] matter for you to decide... there is a certain amount of risk of stirring things up involved in yr. coming to Balt...It is desire of all of us to keep this thing quiet & in any event postpone any discussion in regard to yr. withdrawal until after vacation has begun.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Baldwin to Remsen, 17 April 1909, RPR, JHU.

⁶⁷ Remsen to Baldwin, 12 May 1909, RPR, JHU.

Receiving Remsen's letter at the Manhattan Hotel in New York, where he was staying after returning by sea from Mexico, Baldwin decided to heed Remsen's advice and replies that he is instead departing for Chicago "where I have some business to close up before I sail for Europe."⁶⁸ Tellingly, however, he also takes this opportunity to inform Remsen that he has "accepted an appointment in connection with the National University of Mexico to take effect when the institution is opened in Sept. 1910" and that "In the mean time, I am officially representing the Dept. of Public Instruction of Mexico at certain of the celebrations, etc. in Europe." Hopkins may no longer have wanted him; but others, he made plain to say, still did.

Europe and the resignation announcements. Returning briefly to Baltimore in early June 1909, Baldwin packed up his family for a year's sojourn in Europe. They sailed for England on the S.S. Minnetonka, arriving in London on June 14th.⁶⁹ While the Baldwins were in the mid-Atlantic, the Hopkins trustees, convening on June 7th for the final board meeting of the year, accepted their Professor of Philosophy and Psychology's resignation.⁷⁰

At the behest of the Board, no public announcement of Baldwin's resignation was made until July, by which time the students had left campus. When it appeared, the first such announcement was published on July 15th in a short note in the *Psychological Bulletin*.

⁶⁸ Baldwin to Remsen, date???, RPR, JHU. ← Wozniak asking

⁶⁹ See: <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?h=15529086&db=BT26&indiv=try>. The index for this record lists the ship as the S.S. Minnewaska; but the arrival record fairly clearly indicates that the ship was the S.S. Minnetonka.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the Johns Hopkins University Board of Trustees, Volume 3 (4 November 1907 to 8 May 1916), p. 77. The Board apparently wanted to wait to announce Baldwin's resignation until vacation had begun and students had left campus (Remsen to Baldwin, 12 May 1909 (RPR, JHU). It is not clear, however, that this letter ever actually reached Baldwin since it was apparently sent to Mexico and Baldwin would have en route back to Baltimore on the 12th.

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After Baldwin's departure, the *Bulletin* had been taken over by Baldwin's former Princeton psychology colleague and academic protégé, Howard Warren (1867-1934). The note that appeared in the *Bulletin* was composed by Baldwin, who sent it to Warren; in turn Warren then forwarded it to Hopkins to be vetted by Remsen⁷¹ before insertion in the journal.⁷² It read as follows: "Professor Baldwin has resigned his position in the Johns Hopkins University. He is advised to give his voice a prolonged rest from continuous lecturing. He will spend at least a year abroad."⁷³

Not until mid-September did an announcement of Baldwin's resignation appear in the Baltimore papers; and when it did, the cover story had grown out of all proportion to the truth. Under the headline, "Dr. Baldwin To Be Head," it read:

Hopkins Professor Will Direct Educational System Of Mexico...Friends of Dr. Baldwin gave the information yesterday that...[he will] take up education on a broad scale in Mexico. When he resigned from Hopkins in the early summer it was said that it was with this purpose in view. His European trip was intended to broaden his scope of educational knowledge and to inform himself as to the best methods of teaching prevailing in the old universities abroad...As said by his friends here Dr. Baldwin will have almost entire authority over the educational system in the republic of Mexico. He will be at the head of a national university to be founded in the capital city...From this point of vantage, it is understood he will be expected to direct the whole school system

⁷¹ Buchner to Remsen, 2 July 1909, RPR, JHU.

⁷² Remsen approved it as written, date?, RPR, JHU. ← Wozniak asking.

⁷³ *Psychological Bulletin*, 6(7), 1909, p. 256.

maintained by the government.⁷⁴

This story was picked up by newspapers around the world. If Baldwin read it in Europe, he must have been surprised; but he could hardly have been as surprised as his colleagues in Mexico. When Baldwin did eventually return to Mexico, it was to no grander pursuit than to give a series of lectures at the newly established university.⁷⁵

The International Congress. In concluding his mimeographed letter, Baldwin sums things up this way:

This is the whole case. My resignation did not take effect until Sept. 1909. The circumstantial evidence and the testimony of interested witnesses is all against me. I simply have to take the consequences: I can only protest that I committed no immoral act.⁷⁶

Unfortunately for Baldwin, however, it wasn't merely the testimony of interested witnesses that was against him; it was the vast majority of his colleagues in psychology. Nor was he apparently very quick to realize this.

In mid-July 1909 Baldwin travelled with his wife to Geneva where they visited friends and colleagues and where Baldwin received an honorary degree from the University of Geneva and attended functions at the Sixth International Congress of Psychology. The story of the events that took place at the Congress and of the intense power struggle that resulted among major American psychologists in the weeks and months after the Congress has been well told by Evans & Scott (1978) and will only be summarized here. Suffice it to say that an International Committee formed to decide on the

⁷⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, 16 September 1909, p. 12, col. 3.

⁷⁵ Baldwin (1926).

⁷⁶ Mimeo.

location of the next (Seventh) International Congress in 1913 decided in favor of holding the Congress in the United States, possibly at Harvard, and nominated William James as Honorary President, Baldwin as Effective President, and Titchener and Cattell as Vice-Presidents.

It isn't known how this came about. Baldwin was not a member of the International Committee and had not previously expressed any interest in the Congress. On the other hand, he was extremely well-known internationally, friends with members of the Geneva organizing committee; and he had, after all, just received an honorary degree from the university. Be that as it may, alone in knowing just how precarious his academic situation was, Baldwin must have seen the Congress and his role in it as a lifeline, a way to hold on to a prestigious connection to American psychology and salve the wounds of his dismissal. His American colleagues, however, who at this point still knew nothing of the state of Baldwin's affairs, nonetheless reacted as might have been expected. Cattell had no interest whatsoever in accepting any sort of subsidiary position to Baldwin and complained loudly about the slate of officers. Hugo Münsterberg, at Harvard, was incensed that his university had apparently been chosen to host the Congress without his having had anything to say about it; and although somewhat less negative, Titchener too had his reservations.⁷⁷

The cover story unravels. Then, if the International Committee's decision hadn't caused enough of an uproar, word began to filter out about the real reason for Baldwin's resignation. This began at Hopkins. Sometime in December 1909, Baldwin's good friend and colleague, the physiologist William Henry Howell (1860-1945) wrote to warn him about rumors circulating around Hopkins and to ask him to provide clarification. In

⁷⁷ Evans & Scott (1978).

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response to Howell, just before Christmas of 1909, Baldwin sent those who had been closest to him at Hopkins a confidential letter describing the events of 1908 and the reasons for his resignation.⁷⁸ John B. Watson would surely have received a copy of this letter, and Watson was on the point of departing for the post-Christmas meetings of the APA held that year in Boston.

One can only imagine how quickly after Watson's arrival in Boston word of Baldwin's predicament would have spread among the conferees. In a unanimous vote, the psychologists in attendance agreed that it would be better to cancel the International Congress than hold it with Baldwin in the chair. On January 10th, shortly after the APA meetings had adjourned, Titchener, who as usual had abstained from attending the conference, wrote to Cattell to say that he had:

...just heard, in a letter from a colleague at another university, that Baldwin was caught in a negro dive in Baltimore, and in consequence was summarily dismissed from the Hopkins...If this thing is true, we cannot let Baldwin hold the presidency of the Congress. His scientific eminence is not impaired, but he becomes socially impossible, and the Congress is largely a social matter.⁷⁹

Hugo Münsterberg was deputed on behalf of his colleagues to write to Remsen to inquire about the Baldwin affair; and he did so on February 8th, quoting (somewhat inaccurately) ← Why in a different color? As we say below, unless Remsen knew HM, any

⁷⁸ As far as we are aware, no copy of this letter is extant; but it seems likely that it was similar to the mimeographed letter sent to James, Titchener, Münsterberg and other colleagues in psychology in February 2010.

⁷⁹ Titchener to Cattell, Cattell Papers (Subject File, APA 1), Library of Congress.

defense by Remsen of B (B seemed to have had a reasonable opinion about Remsen in his *Between Two Wars*) would have placed Remsen potentially at odds with the Hopkins people. Baldwin's mimeographed letter to colleagues and asking Remsen whether he, as "the president of Johns Hopkins University agrees that nothing either legal or moral stands against Professor Mark Baldwin."⁸⁰ Rob, if you have it handy (I have it at home, this reference has the passage (Richards, R. J. (1987). *Darwin and the emergence of evolutionary theories of mind and behavior*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.)

Remsen's reply has not been found; but whatever he wrote (and how could he impeach the actions of the Board of Trustees by agreeing that nothing either legal or moral stood against Baldwin), he seems to have given Münsterberg the impression that Baldwin's explanation, such as it was, was not known to Hopkins in 1909; and, in his reply to Remsen, Münsterberg took this as prima facie evidence for Baldwin's guilt:

The essential point for us is that the explanation which Baldwin gives to the facts now is new to you. It seems evident that he would have brought before you everything which might excuse him. As it is obvious that he did not present the matter in this light to you, it is obvious that his present excuses are free inventions. This makes it entirely impossible for us to help him.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Münsterberg to Remsen, date?? RPR, JHU. ← Wozniak asking.

⁸¹ Münsterberg to Remsen, 14 February 1910, RPR, JHU. Münsterberg even ends the letter by taking a gratuitous swipe at Baldwin's honesty in handling the finances of the *Psychological Review*.

In the meantime, the rumors spread and grew uglier and more elaborate. Thus, for example, shortly after William James circulated Baldwin's mimeographed explanation of the affair to a few of his close colleagues, Josiah Royce, himself a well-known Harvard philosopher, dropped a note in reply to James in which he mentions the "now common" report that "frequent and habitual practices of his [Baldwin's] own, deliberately pursued, led to the final scene."⁸²

Luckily for Baldwin, not everyone believed in his guilt; and especially not those closest to him. James, for example, was not impressed by the rumors. He and Baldwin had had a long professional relationship and personal friendship dating back to the earliest years of Baldwin's career; and when James went to Europe to seek medical treatment in the late Spring of 1910, one of his first stops in Paris was to visit Baldwin.⁸³ Howard Warren wrote to Adolf Meyer, who had just been hired by Hopkins to direct the newly established Phipps Psychiatric Clinic, that Baldwin "denies that he went there with any immoral intent, and knowing him as I do I believe him."⁸⁴ But nobody came to Baldwin's defense as did his wife.

In December 1910, Helen returned to the United States to spend Christmas with friends and relatives. From Philadelphia, where she was staying, and apparently without

⁸² Royce to James, 10 February 1910, ALS: MH bMS AMm 1092.9, 560, William James Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. This quotation can also be found in a calendared summary of this letter in James (2004), p. 636.

⁸³ James and Baldwin had lunch at Baldwin's hotel and spent three hours thereafter in discussion, partly with regard to the best way to approach cancellation of the International Congress, see James to Watson, 8 May 1910, a letter written on Baldwin's typewriter in Baldwin's apartment at the hotel. **Where is this letter? Titchener Papers, Cornell?? ← Rob, I do not know this one.**

⁸⁴ **Warren to Meyer date? ← April 4, 1910** AMCMA, Adolf Meyer papers III/244/6, JHU. **See next 2 pages ahead**

her husband's knowledge, she wrote to Remsen asking for an interview.⁸⁵ Remsen replied immediately and a meeting in his office was scheduled for December 15th.⁸⁶ What precise turn their conversation took will never be known; but it is clear from a following exchange of letters that Helen Baldwin went to Remsen to plead not for her husband's job but for his reputation, which she believed had been unjustly damaged by the university's public actions.

Perhaps because she had no clear idea as to what the university might do in this regard, perhaps because the university president and trustees were, like many others, privately convinced of Baldwin's guilt, and certainly because the university had no interest in reopening the case to public scrutiny, the conversation with Remsen bore no fruit. All it elicited from Remsen was a letter in which he recapitulated the facts of the case as the university saw them.⁸⁷ What Remsen apparently failed to understand, however, was that the facts of the case were already fully known to Helen Baldwin. She did not dispute them, nor, in the face of these facts, did she dispute the Hopkin's right to defend itself against the possibility of scandal by asking for her husband's resignation. What she did dispute was the interpretation of guilt placed upon those facts by so many; and, in the final volley in the exchange, a letter sent to Remsen in early January 1911, Helen Baldwin fashioned a remarkably powerful and moving defense of her husband:

I am unable to see the action of the university in any other light than that of declaring to be fact what is really the frightful construction that you put upon those facts. When so extraordinary an occurrence

⁸⁵ Helen Green Baldwin to Remsen, 7 December 1910, RPR, JHU.

⁸⁶ Remsen to Helen Green Baldwin, date? RPR, JHU. ← Wozniak asking.

⁸⁷ Remsen notes.

as this case takes place, before rejecting a man's explanation, it is surely a fair question to ask what such a person's regard is, & when the most searching scrutiny reveals only high & pure character, & that in whatever place he has lived, his influence has been unfailingly for the good of the community, I think it is unreasonable to suppose that suddenly, such a man's whole habit of life & of thought would change & he be guilty of intent of crime in its most aggravated & revolting form. I fully understand that those facts — innocently as they were brought about — made it necessary to sever connection with the University, that I consider just; but what I consider most unjust is that no discrimination is made between your private opinion of the explanation of facts & the public statement — the equivalent of the university's action...I also think it unjust that you regard my husband's resignation as admitting your explanation to be correct. That I am certain it was never intended to do...There is an old saying that reputation is what men think we are, but that character is what God knows us to be, & with that assurance, I can safely rest.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Helen Green Baldwin to Remsen, date?, RPR, JHU.

TROUBLE AT TYSON ALLEY

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 PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW PUBLICATIONS
 April 4, 1910
 HOWARD C. WARREN
 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
 PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, U. S. A.

Dr. Adolf Meyer,
 35 Mt. Morris Park, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Meyer:

Having asked you to intimate to Dr. Jones why we have to be so careful just now in the Bulletin, it is only just that I repeat in writing what I told you.

Professor Baldwin was asked to resign from Hopkins on account of having been arrested in a raid on a house of ill-repute at Baltimore. He denies that he went there with any immoral intent, and knowing him as I do I believe him. If he were a stranger and the charge true it would still make no difference in my scientific attitude toward him. But many psychologists condemn him, and when they suggested that he give up the Review he offered it to me and I bought him out. On account of the excitement the reports created we feel the need of special care just now, to avoid offend^{ing} puritanical susceptibilities which might injure our magazines. Furthermore, we have a duty to educate people up to franker treatment of sexual matters, and need to use care in the process so as not to offend them. (I am confident that if you and I both put it to Dr. Jones in this way he will appreciate the situation and alter his attitude. I do not want to omit his article, nor to print without his corrections. I hope he will return the proof soon; tomorrow is the regular date to send it for paging. We trust he will meet us half-way.)

Sincerely yours,

Howard C. Warren
 P.S. Dr. Jones has returned his ~~the~~ proof with a very nice letter. Thank you for writing to him. I see no objection to inserting the two sentences; cut out which he wishes to restore. H.C.W.

It is little wonder that this remarkable woman, believing in her husband as she did, chose to remain with him during the terrible months from 1908 to 1910, and then, in Paris, throughout all the years that followed. Whether Helen Baldwin's faith in her husband's explanation of the events of June 9, 1908 was justified will never be known. But there is no question about her faith in him as a human being; and it seems appropriate that in all of the many letters, notes, conversations, and newspaper accounts that in one way or another were prompted or influenced by the events of June 9, 1908, Helen Baldwin should have had

the final word.

Life as an expatriate. With only occasional trips to the United States for family business (e.g., the graduation in June 1914 of his daughter Elizabeth from Bryn Mawr College, the marriage of his daughter Helen to John Adlum Sterrett in December of that year, and Elizabeth's marriage to Philip Moen Stimson in June 1920), Baldwin spent the remainder of his life as an expatriate. He traveled twice more to Mexico, once in 1910, a second time in 1912; but for the most part he lived in Paris. The Mexican period is interestingly described in Baldwin's entertaining but only moderately informative memoirs, *Between Two Wars* (Baldwin, 1926). The European sojourn, Baldwin's reasons for settling in France, and his influence on Pierre Janet and, through Janet, on Jean Piaget (1896-1980), Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky (1896-1934), and therefore modern developmental psychology, have been described in some detail in Wozniak (2009b).

While in Mexico, Baldwin lectured in the School of Higher Studies at the National University in Mexico City. He also worked on two of his final contributions to psychology. *Darwin and the Humanities*⁸⁹ and *The Individual and Society*⁹⁰. In the first, Baldwin attempted to show how the theory of natural selection could be applied to psychology, ethics, logic, philosophy, and religion. In the later, he analyzed the psychological basis of social solidarity and community, competition, individualism, the nature of social institutions, social invention, and social progress.

In Paris prior to the outbreak of World War I, Baldwin maintained his interest in psychology. In July 1910, despite the fact that the real reason for his resignation had by

⁸⁹ Baldwin (1909).

⁹⁰ Baldwin (1911).

now become public knowledge, he was elected to succeed William James as corresponding member of the philosophical section of the prestigious Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. As Münsterberg is reputed to have said upon hearing of Baldwin's election to the Académie, "they do things differently in France."⁹¹

During this period he also completed work on the last two volumes of his *Genetic Epistemology* and met regularly with Pierre Janet to discuss topics of mutual interest (again, see Wozniak, 2009). After the war began, however, Baldwin devoted himself almost exclusively (and with considerable disgust for Woodrow Wilson's vacillating neutrality) to urging American entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. In 1916 he published *American Neutrality, Its Cause and Cure*,⁹² and delivered the Herbert Spencer Lecture at Oxford—a pointed attack on German political ideology.⁹³ In that same year, Baldwin, his wife, and daughter Elizabeth were crossing the English channel on an unarmed French passenger ship, the *Sussex*, when it was torpedoed by a German U-boat. Although many of the passengers were lost at sea, the Baldwins survived; but Elizabeth was permanently crippled in the attack. Baldwin's open telegram to Wilson regarding the affair was embodied in the *New York Times*' editorial condemnation of the German action.⁹⁴

Throughout the War, Baldwin worked diligently on a variety of charity and relief missions mounted on behalf of the French people and American troops in France. In 1917, he was decorated for this work with the Legion of Honor. With American entrance into the War, he helped organize a Paris branch of the American Navy League, serving as its

⁹¹ What is the documentation for this? See Richards (1987) book.

⁹² Baldwin (1916a).

⁹³ Baldwin (1916b).

⁹⁴ *New York Times*, 4 April 1916.

TROUBLE AT TYSON ALLEY

Chairman until 1922. After the Armistice, he maintained informal academic contacts and spent time in preparation of his memoirs (Baldwin, 1926). He died after a short illness in Paris on November 8, 1934.⁹⁵

Rob, below is from my PPT

+ Münsterberg - Harvard

- × To Wm. James (February 8, 1910): “psychologists...[behaving like] schoolgirls...” ☺ This is my favorite quote ☺

★ James appears to disbelief incident explanation.

- × To Remsen (February 8, 1910): “...psychologists have taken very severe action against him”.
- × To Remsen (February 14, 1910): “... in *Psychological Review* [Baldwin] behaved dishonestly”

Conclusion

What is one to make of this story? That it is a tale of tragedy is clear. Baldwin was a proud and famous man. His downfall deprived him of his university position and, to a large extent, his standing among his peers. It forced him into life as an expatriate and, to all intents and purposes, brought his academic career to a grinding halt. It deprived psychology of one of its most original thinkers just as that thinker’s productivity was at its peak. But is it the story of a man laid low by a fatal flaw? Was Baldwin guilty of dishonesty

⁹⁵ His wife Helen Green Baldwin returned to the United State with her husband's body and had him interred in the Princeton Cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton. She herself died in Princeton on 5 July 1963, at the age of 99, and was buried next to her husband.

and immorality; or was he the innocent victim of circumstance? Did Hopkins act appropriately to protect its reputation; or did the Hopkins administration sacrifice a major scholar on the altar of that reputation? Did Baldwin's colleagues, many of whom had crossed swords with him over one or another issue throughout the course of his career do him a profound injustice by rejecting his explanation and jumping to the conclusion that he had acted with dishonesty and immorality; or were they right? Only Baldwin could have answered these questions; but for reasons of his own and to protect his family, he maintained a near total silence. Issuing only a single short and very general statement about the affair, he chose to accept the consequences. Readers can judge the matter of his guilt for themselves; but on the principle that a person is innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, we are inclined to side with Helen Baldwin. This was a man of great, if sometimes difficult, character. He may have made a very significant mistake. If he did, he certainly paid for it; but we are inclined to think that he did not.

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